

I.

NOTES ON A MANUSCRIPT VOLUME OF COVENANTING TESTIMONIES, LETTERS, AND SERMONS. BY D. HAY FLEMING, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

This little oblong manuscript volume, which has been kindly lent for examination and exhibition to the Society by the Rev. R. A. Henderson, Heckmondwike, Yorkshire, has had 186 leaves. Of these, three have been somewhat shortened, nine have been almost entirely cut out, of one only a small vestige is left, of another about a fourth remains, and a considerable piece has been torn off another. The remaining 172 measure $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$. The paper varies in thickness. The binding, in dark brown leather, is old, and may be the original. Over the binding a leather cover has been very tightly sewn.

The names of several owners occur in different parts of the book. The fly-leaf at one end is inscribed, "Mr John Henderson is the owner of this book, 1717." The writing on the other side of this fly-leaf is much older. Unfortunately, this is the leaf of which a considerable portion has been torn away, but the name of William Herkness occurs twice in one entry on it; and, from what remains of the entry, it appears that he had undertaken, or begun, to teach the children of Jo. Eliot on the 6th of October. The year unluckily is torn off. The first leaves at the other end of the volume have been used as a copy-book by Christian Eliot, whose name occurs some sixteen times in a childish hand, one page being written on the 5th of March 1696. In another part of the volume there has been written, in the same hand as on the back of the fly-leaf, "William Herkness aught this book 1693." The whole of this entry except the date has been scored out. "Will. Herkness 1692" occurs on another page. Henderson had possessed it for at least thirteen years, as in another part there is written, "Mr John Henderson is the owner of this

book, 1730." In an older hand than Henderson's there is inscribed in one place, "William Davidson aught this book and non other but he"; and in another place, "Gulielmus Davidson Edr hujus."

Returning again to the torn fly-leaf, it may be mentioned that most of what is written on it by Herkness is of an arithmetical nature. This was followed by six of the leaves which have been cut out. The next that remains contains a table of weights and measures mentioned in the Scriptures, and a table of money. On the next leaf begins, "The Art of Arithmetick, and first of numeration, July 21, 1690." Eleven pages are here devoted to that study, nine of them being given to addition. Eighteen pages intervene between that and subtraction, these intervening pages being mainly filled with religious matter in a later hand. Subtraction is followed by multiplication, and that again by division. The page on which multiplication begins is dated "Sept. 28, 1690." The rules are in rugged rhyme, and are more quaint than clear. Here, for example, is the one on subtraction:—

"Substraction is to draw a small sune from a great,
The overplus or quhat remains just underneath you set ;
But if the nether figure above his mate surmount,
Then ten unto the upper one in mind sie that ye count ;
So then with ease ye may withdraw each digit from that sune,
And pay one home in under row quhen ten from thence doth come."

By far the greater part of the volume is filled with copies of covenanting sermons, letters, and dying testimonies. These are not all in one hand. I do not think that any of them have been copied in after the middle of the eighteenth century, and some have been inserted much earlier. That there were such collections as this, even in pre-Revolution days, is quite certain. Robert Smith, who was born in Nithsdale about the time of Pentland Rising, relates that, when he was a student at Glasgow University, a Highland student from Inveraray lent him some of Cargill's sermons and martyrs' testimonies.

These, he says, were sweet to him, and the more he got of them the more was his "love inflamed towards that cause for which they died, and to that God that strengthened them to suffer for him." He further states that, to make them his own, he transcribed them. In editing, in 1779, "A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, preached upon several subjects mostly in the time of the late persecution," John Howie of Lochgoin states that he had taken these "from ten or twelve volumes, mostly in an old small cramp hand," some of which he supposed were written by Sir Robert Hamilton and some by Robert Smith. He further explains that these manuscripts came mostly from different hands and distant quarters, and that frequently there were several copies of the same sermon. These copies differed in their details; and so he "judged it best, in transcribing, to compare them, and take that which was most proper for the purpose." It is no wonder that they varied, seeing that the greater part were taken down "in short hand by the common auditory, and mostly by men of a rural education."

In the MS. volume which I am now describing there is "a sermon preached at the communion at Stow, on Saturday, August 11, 1690, by Mr Michaell Bruce"; and another sermon and preface by him. A sermon by Gabriel Semple was "preached at the Toop-cleugh of Ruber-law." A sermon by "Mr Webster" has no place assigned; and "two sermon preached at Whit-Kealderhead" have no preacher's name. Another, which is very long, has this explicit heading: "A sermon preached at a general meeting in the Gray-frair-church of Edinburgh upon the 13 day of June 1638; by that faithfull and zealous servant of Jesus Christ, Mr Andrew Cant, minister of the Gospel at Aberdeen." None of these discourses is in the John Howie "collection" of 1779 already referred to, nor in the other "collection" appended by him in 1780 to the "Faithful Contendings Displayed." It does not follow, however, that they have not been printed, as many were issued as separate publications.

The more interesting of the other documents are :—

(1) A brief account of what passed between the Council and Mr John Dick upon the 4th of March, the day before he suffered ; an account of what passed between him and the Lords of Justiciary ; and his “ last words and carriage ” at the Grassmarket, on the 5th of March 1684. These John Dick items are included in the quarto pamphlet (pp. 51-58) entitled, “ A Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland, and the Covenanted Work of Reformation as it was profess'd in the Three Kingdoms . . . as it was left in write by that truly pious and emmently (*sic*) faithfull and now glorified martyr Mr John Dick.” There is no date of issue on the pamphlet, but it was in type when Wodrow wrote in 1722.

(2) “ The last Testimony of Archibald Stewart, who sufferd at the Cross of Edinburgh. Decemb. 1. 1680.”

(3) “ The Testimony of John Potter in Edinburgh, quho suffered at the Cross of Edinburg. December the 1 day anno 1680.”

(4) Letter from James Skeen, written, in November 1680, from “ the close prison above the Iron House, in the High Tolbooth of Edinburgh.”

(5) Another letter from Skeen directed “ to all professors in the shire of Aberdeen, especially Mr William Alexander, and John Watson, and Mr William Mitchell, my dear aquantancs.” This letter is entitled : “ The Last Testimony for the intrest of Christ from James Skeen, brother to the deceist Laird of Skeen, now in crosse prison for Christ's intrest in the Tollbooth of Edinburgh.”

(6) “ The last spech of James Skeen intended to be on the scaffold being to lay down his life for Christ, December 1st 1680.” This is dated “ Edinburgh 30 Novemb. 1680, the day befor my execution, in close prison according to the unjust sentence of a perfidious court.”

These last five items, viz. Stewart's Testimony, Potter's Testimony, Skeen's two letters, and his last speech, are in the first edition of

“ A Cloud of Witnesses. . . . Printed in the year M.DCC.XIV.,” and in subsequent editions. But in this MS. volume there is another Skeen document, which is not in the “ Cloud of Witnesses.” It is entitled :—

(7) “ The last Testimony to the cause and intrest of Christ from James Skeen, brother to the late Laird of Skeen, being close prisoner in Edinburgh, for the same.”

In the “ Cloud of Witnesses ” there is : “ The Joint Testimony of William Gogner, Christopher Miller, and Robert Sangster, who lived in the shire of Stirline, and suffered at the Grass-mercat of Edinburgh, March 11th 1681.” To this joint testimony the editor of the “ Cloud ” has appended this statement :—“ There are extant particular testimonies of these three martyrs, but because ’tis 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 ’twas not upon any such account they suffered, but for testifieing against the ecclesiastical supremacy, they ought to be recorded among the rest as dying witnesses for Jesus Christ.” It is interesting to note that the particular testimonies of the two so suspected, Christopher Miller and Robert Sangster, are both in this manuscript volume.

It also contains two letters which do not appear to have been printed. The names of the writers are not given, but the second was sent “ to Archbald Stewart and John Potter.”

A third letter, shorter than either of the preceding two, fitly closes : “ Farewell dear freind, never to see other any more till at the right hand of Christ. Fear not, and the God of mercy grant a full gale and a fair entery into the kingdom, that may carry you so swiftly and so sweetly over the barr that ye may find not the rube of death. Grace, mercy and peace be with you. Yours in Christ.” The metaphor reminds one of Tennyson’s beautiful lines. In the MS. neither the

writer's name nor the name of the person to whom it was addressed is given. The "Cloud of Witnesses" gives both, Donald Cargill and James Skeen. This is one proof that the MS. was not copied from the "Cloud."

The other documents which are in the MS., and also in the "Cloud," are—

"The testimony of David Hackston of Rathillet," who was captured at Ayrsmoss, and executed with great cruelty at the Cross of Edinburgh in July 1680.

"The last Testimony of Archbald Aliesone, who died at the Grass Mercat, August 13, 1680."

The Interrogations of Isobel Alison, who was hanged in the Grass-market on the 26th of January 1681.

"The last words of that eminentlly faithfull, and trueelg godly, and now glorified servant of Jesus Christ, Mr Donald Gargill, minister of the Gospell, quher he suffered at the Crose of Edinburgh, July 27, 1681. I mean his words on the scaffold."

"What Mr Walter Smith spake upon the scaffold."

Of the document known as the Queensferry Paper, which was found on Henry Hall of Haughhead, who was mortally wounded at Queensferry on the 3rd of June 1680, only a brief abstract is given in the "Cloud." It is much fuller in this MS. volume, but fuller still in Wodrow. Renwick approved of "the true and corrected copy."

The MS. also contains "The last speach and testimony of Mr Robert Bailzie of Jeryswood, at the Crose of Edinburgh, the 24 of December 1684, which he intended to have delivered on the scaffold, but was hindered." This is not in the "Cloud," but is in Wodrow, and his version is preferable.

The John Henderson, to whom the MS. vol. belonged, lived chiefly in Lilliesleaf, near Melrose, and for a long time was a schoolmaster at Nairn. Since then it has been in possession of the family of the Rev. R. A. Henderson, Yorkshire.

The three hitherto unprinted testimonies and two letters are here-with appended. In the little volume they are singularly destitute of punctuation. I have attempted to remedy that defect, and have broken them up into paragraphs, and have also extended the contracted words. Where a word seems to have been omitted it is here inserted within square brackets. As it is much more likely that the compilers of the volume made their transcripts from copies than from the originals, the blame for palpable errors cannot be apportioned.

When, in his "last speech and testimony," Skeen refers to his blood as being on the heads of certain men, the editor of the "Cloud" says in a footnote :—

"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 revengefull, un-gospel 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. v. 15."

There is room for dubiety as to how far Christopher Miller was responsible for his testimony. Before the Justiciary he declared that he could not write (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 277), and in his testimony he states that he had not been taught to read. Wodrow was informed that those "sufferers who were not indeed in case to draw papers themselves . . . had their testimonies writ for them by some of the warmest of their way, and approved the draught when read to them" (*History*, iii. 266). Altogether apart from the principles enunciated in it, Miller's testimony is interesting for the light it throws on his career. He was present at Bothwell Bridge, was taken prisoner, escaped from the Greyfriars Churchyard, went to France, and stayed there for some six months before returning to Scotland. His father was killed at Bothwell. Regarding his age there is a curious touch of uncertainty on the part of a son—"being seventy or eighty years old." Fountain-hall refers to the trial and execution of Gogar, Miller, and Sangster

in his *Historical Notices* (i. 284), but more fully in his *Historical Observes* (pp. 29, 30), where he says :—

“ii Martii 1681. Ther ware 3 persons hanged at the Grassemarkat of Edinburgh, for disouning the King’s authority, and adhæring to Cargil’s covenant, declaration, and excommunication, and thinking it lawfull to kill the King and his judges. . . . Ther names ware Gogar, Millar, and Sangster ; if they would but have acknowledged his Majestie, they would have been pardoned ; yea, when they ware upon the scaffold, the Earle of Roscommons, by a privy warrand from the Duke of York, came and offered them ther lives, if they would but say, God save the King ; but they refused to doe it, tho Daniel wishes Nebuchadnezar and Darius, heathen kings, to live for ever. . . . To refuse the pardoning ther enemies was to dy in much malice and unmortified rankor, as appears by Gogar’s printed speach. Yet some thought it sad to dispatch men away to the other world in such a spirituall madnesse and religious melancoly, who rushed upon death and ware vain of suffering, and from whose boldnesse in dying (as if it had come from the immediate divine assistance) other simple people, as Hydras head, and Cadmus teeth sown, ware proselyted, at leist ware hardened and confirmed in ther error ; and that it would have been better to have kept them in bonds as madmen, or to have employed physitians to use ther skill upon them as on hypocondriak persones. . . . About 8 dayes before this, they had stollen away 2 of the heads, which stood on the West Port of Edinburgh, viz. Stewart’s and Potter’s ; the criminal lords, to supply that want, ordained 2 of thir criminall’s heads to be struck off and to be affixed in ther place.”

Wodrow (*History*, iii. 278) also refers to Gogar’s printed speech, but without knowing whether it was the short paper which he had in his Bible and intended to declaim on the scaffold.

Renwick (*Sermons*, 1776, p. 589), in expressing approval of all the faithful testimonies of the Scottish martyrs, and particularly of those “declining altogether of that man Charles Stuart,” expressly excepts “that testimony given out in the names of these three well-meaning men, William Gogar, Christopher Millar, and Robert Sangster, which was penned by that blasphemous man, John Gib.”

The last testimony to the cause and interest of Christ from Ja : Skeen, brother to the late Laird of Skeen, being close prisoner in Edinburgh for the same.

To all and sundry professors in the South, especially Mr Rot. M’Waird, in Holland, Mr Tho. Hog, Mr Archbald Riddell, Mr Alexander Hasty, preachers, who now have mad defection by loving their quiet so much, and so complying fully with the stated enemys of Jesus, fearing the offending of them who ar pretended magstrats.

Dear Freinds,—The Lord, in his holy wisdome for trying and purging of a people for himselfe, is as permitted the dovill raise the kingdom of Antiechrist to a dreadfull hight, so that in these sad trying times many ar impudently bold to deny their master. Of nonconformists ministers, not only these who have taken leicence from the usurpers of our Lord's croun and so becom indulged ministers, by which means they acknowled a tirrant on the thron to be head of the Church, which properly belongeth to our Lord Jesus Christ, as Psal. 2. 8, Ephes. 1. 22; but also there ar of minister that say a confedaracy with them, that consult to banishe quite our blesed Lord of Scotland, by sheding the blood of the saints and making armed forces presecute and bear down the Gospell ordinances in the feilds. For after Bothweell many ar gaping for indulgence, and all the whole ministers are content to be ordered by the enemies of Christ and to keep only house conventicles; and, in short, there is not a feild conventicle in all Scotland. Mr Richard Cameron, who now is in glory, being most solitious with Mr Hog and Mr John Dickson to go out to the feilds, they told they thought too great a hazard. The wrath of the adversary, and the Declaration of Sanquhar (by which we declar the usurper Charles Stewart by vertue of perjury, oppresion and tyranny, to have forfeited his right to the kingdom and croun of Scotland, being him (*sic*) only on that head that he might maintian the covenant and the reformed religion by Presbetry, discharging Prelacy as on of the daughters of Bablon under which Popry had ever a kindly growth)¹ mad them cast all freindship of, they being mad tender of keeping up their own reput of being loyall for the opresor they'r zealous for maintianing their loyallty. Aledgeance they swor to our best Lord Jesus Christ, quher he never brake to them, they ar unconcerned, and will not contend with this generation of his wrath who aserts they will not have him to reign over him (*sic*).

O how sad is it so many professors hath fallen from that tenderness and zeale for God, they once have been honoured for, to a lukewarmnes and indiference how the Lord's intrest be promoted, counting it their duty to hide themselves from duty; byt wrath shall not overpass untill it make some of them mourn for their reproaching of the remnant, quhom the Lord hath only honoured to be faithfull and stedfast to his covenant. As Mr Hog, my somtims revernd and dear freind, should so vilife and reproach Archbald Stewart and William Jack, whom the Lord hath honored with suffering and tendernes beyond many, that they should not die [in] peace: O quhat shall be don? Rather he should said—O these men quhom blesed King Jesus delighteth to honour. I am much afraid his contumulis and reproaches, and Mr Ro^t McWaird in Holland—quho, in a letter to profesors at Borrowstounness, writs he wold for their cause be forced to retrat of that he had written—shall bring much sorrow and greife to themselves. O quhat a greife may I

¹ "The declaration and testimony of the true Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatiack, Anti-Erastian, persecuted party in Scotland, published at Sanquhar, June 22, 1680," commonly known as Sanquhar Declaration, is in the *Informatory Vindication*, 1744, pp. 89-91; and in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 212, 213. In it the Cameronians cast off their allegiance to the king, declared war against him, and protested against the succession of James, Duke of York.

write it with to these men and others, quho hath been honoured instruments in the Lord's hands to converts soulls, [and] turn their back on witnesseng for their wronged Master. Mr Riddell, willing to oblige under a consent neer to preach in the feilds against ; Mr Hasty by his complements and dignites ; and never on put the enemies in aprehension he wold do any thing for them ; and so, having offered him the Declaration, he confess the Lords vengeance that followed on Prelat Sharp to be a murther, and that litle handfull that followed Mr Gargils ministry to be rebels.¹ O poor backsliders, quhat will ye do in the end therof, and quher will ye leave your glory without the Lord? Ye shall fall under the prisoners.

How dreadfully did Mr Hog advise a charitable const no wt [*? construction*] to be had on that bloody trator Duke Hamiltoun, to cause his tenents to deny harboring to the Lord's people ; and he advised to keep a distance from a society of lads, who following ministry of the favours of the justified, he said he doubt much if they had the root of the matter in them. [I] am clear in that matter. And, at my last coming south, within few moneths, I found him clear of that mind, the indulged ministers should not be left, because of a sad tendency it had to a further defection ; but he said he had advised to seek the favors of the indulged, but to do it secretly and quietly, and no let any know of it. O how sad and lamentable this is. I had not set it down in writ ; but I think quhen he may converse these severall expresions, he may mourn for them and the Lord may here forgive.

This is another sad evil among profesours, they ar mor for keeping up the credit of men as great preachers, as Mr Welch and Mr Carstairs, etc., quho hath dreadfully encouraged the indulged, than the honor of God, and Christ quho is denyd to be a king for which he was panel'd befor Pontus Pilate. Others of the profosors cannot relish Mr Welch and Mr Carstairs way ; but entertian no favorable thoughts of them than befor ; they presse zealously to keep up Mr M^cWaird's credit and Mr Hog's. O, say they, Mr M^cWaird and Mr Hog is of that mind. Of the numbr of those Messrs Simpson and Messrs Ross, O how do they reproach the poor handfull that ar most tender of the Lord's honor, by cuting contradictions of their own coyning, falaciously taken upon a discource, as these reproaches cast on them quho hath been honoured of the Lord to seall the cause with their blood. I verily beleive I shall have reflections quhen I am gon ; but I blam not their censures. If my Lord justifie me, how dare they condemne me? I'le say on word yet, I look on Mr Donald Gargil as the only faithfull minister in the nation.

Further I will take notice of Mr M^cWairds in Holland, quho hath not so daviat as yet to oun the indulged ministers, so as to consent to union with them. He hath written to this purpose against Mr Flemond, whose clear for

¹Archibald Riddell, while disapproving of the Queensferry Paper, the Sanquhar Declaration, and the slaughter of Sharp, firmly declined to come under any obligation, either by declaration or by simple promise, that he would not preach in the fields, although he affirmed, on the word of a gentleman, that he had not done so "since the indemnity" (Wodrow's *History*, iii. 197-202).

ouning the indulged ministry ;¹ but yet though Mr Thomas Hog elder and Mr M^cWards from this desents, they allow of cleaving to Mr Flemond, Mr Welch, and Mr David Hume, Mr Riddell, Mr Sempell, Mr Arenet, and Mr Hasty, and others quho are favor[er]s of the indulged party. And therefor that cause they preach not faithfully that this toleration of the tirranous usurper, their idoll king, is a sin, quherby the Lord his royall prerogatives is highly denyed and provoked, and on this accout we ought to look on them quite such as these quho have ministered themselvs. O this wofull dreadfull defection in these two eminent men is to be lamented; they are for ouning the ministry of these unfaithfull guids. Among them Mr Castairs elder is the most unsound and untender ; and this is the reason, as I said befor, the shaking of their ministry, though they cannot quit go with lenth of acknowledging the indulged, hath a dreadfull tendency. As also Mr M^cWard and Mr Hog consents so far as to oun the unlawfull powers, making an idol of their oun credit. The word (loyall) being of great consequence to them they cannot disclaim their idoll king, lest lest (*sic*) they be counted disloyall. O quhat should we care quhat men reckon of us, quhen there is such indignation to the blessed Son of God ? So Mr Castairs in publick gave the first vote to my condemnation, of quhom my blood shall be requird among the rest. For an answr for quhat he thought of my testifying against the king and counsell, the great God's declared enemies, he said at the bar befor the councill, he was greived such principalls were ouned by men called Presbetrarians, they seemed rather Jesuiticall or Popish.

Also Mr M^cWards and Mr Hog ar so far unfaith[full] that they allow of obeying these tirrants opresors as to give over feild preachings ; as it is too much seeking men quiet, so denys their churches principales that the ordinances of God may be wher she pleases. If these usurpers should cry down house mettings, that we may give a testimony for our Lord we ought to keep mettings in houses especially. Withall they reproach the Lord's followers for Sanquhar Declaration, and the Toorwood excommunication, because it was not a competent duty to so few ether to dispose (*sic*) that trator on the thron, or yet to declare war against him. But seriously consider, though there were but on or two convinced of the trator's stated enmity against Jesus Christ, and of his perjury, its duty to disoun him, and to declare to be his enemy ; yea, and to put him to death, if the Lord give a convenient tim and place. David said—Do not I hate them that hate thee O Lord ? yea I hate them with a perfected hatred, do I not count them my enemies ?² And the apostle says to

¹ Robert Fleming's paper, entitled *The Church wounded and rent by a spirit of division*, was printed in 1681. M^cWard's reply, *Earnest Contendings for the Faith*, was not published until 1723, but was apparently in circulation in MS. in 1681.

² The Queen of Scots, the day before her execution, said, "I forgive every one, and accuse no one; but I may follow David's example and pray God to confound and punish his enemies and those of his divinity and religion, and pardon our enemies" (Mrs Maxwell Scott's *Tragedy of Folheringay*, 1895, p. 187). Doubtless it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between God's enemies and one's own. That very night, Mary instructed her apothecary to beseech Philip of Spain to persevere

his people—This day separte your selves from that Babell's brood, and com out from among them, and I will be a father unto you, and I will be your God and ye shall be my people. Thus in breife I have written my genuin thoughts of profsors in the South.

Now for encouragement to my dear brethren quho walk zealously in his wayes. I averse it, I am joyfull to venture my salvation on it that this way now contemned most is the Lord's holy way. They overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony, and they loved not their livs unto the death. Therefor its poor advantag to be diligent, the mor because there ar many backsliders now that hath been further advanced, adord with peity and parts than ever the most pretend to, hath fallen away, being left of the Lord quhom they had not honoured, but had too much eyid the credit of selfe. Finaly, brethren, be stedfast, unmoveable, of on mind, always abounding in the work of the Lord; and the God of peace, quho gives us all peace and maintians its to his poor people, shall be with you, which is the firme perswasion and assurance of a dying witnes for Christ his cause and intrest. In witness quherof I subscribe it with my hand, in the close prison of Edinburgh, west side, and 2 storie from the hall, the 19 day of November 1680.

JAMES SKEEN.

THE LAST TESTIMONY OF CHRISTOPHER MILLER.

Men and brethren,—I am, this 11 day of the 3d moneth 1681, in your sight to lay down this life of mine, for ouning of my lovely Lord Christ and his controverted truths, which this day both ministers and profsors ar disouning, and condemning me for ouning such controverted truths; but let them condemne me as they will, I durst not but adhere to them although I am unbred; (and in the by) I must tell you I am unlearned, and it is my oun fault; yet quhat was duty I durst not but oun. Altho I be but feckles and worthiles and unfit for such a work, he hath been pleasd to put this in my hand, and hath given me strengh to endure to the end, for which I blesse his holy name that ever he counted me worthy of such honour as this day he hath put on me, for I wot well I am a brand bluckt (*sic*) out of the fire, for befor Bothwell, at Lothian Hill,¹ the Lord trusted me with great heart exercise, whither or not it was my duty to joyn with that party that was for the defence of the Gospell. It was ay my fear that my being ther would dome skaith to the rest, for it was ny fear that I should have been the Achan in the camp, that would make the Lord God of Israel's anger to break forth among his people and cause his people flee befor his enemies. Yet the Lord took me to

in his enterprise against England—an enterprise which was God's quarrel and worthy of so Catholic a king—and, when he became master of it, to remember the treatment she had received from Cecil, Leicester, Walsingham, Huntingdon, Paulet and Wade (Teulet's *Relations Politiques*, v. 504).

¹ Loudon Hill, Drumclog.

Bothwell, for I durst no bid away for fear of Moroze curse;¹ and he brought me from Bothwell to the Gray-Friars-Yard, and he mad me wonderfully to escape out [of] their hand;² and I was in many jeopardys by the bloody souldiers; and then I did go abroad to France, and stayed the matter of half a year, and cam hom again; and then the Lord, by taking pains upon me, moved me to follow that nicknamed way of preaching; and the Lord did work wonderfully on my heart at a preaching over in Fife preached by Mr Donald Gargill, which after I heard I durst not but oun to the lossing of my life in the quarrell. And after that the Lord gave the bloody souldiers leave to take me and bring me to the Cannongate Tolbooth, quher ther was a wheen of our canny wise professors, which was like to break me; but the Lord discovered them to their collours quhat they were, which mad me abhore their way—for they deboasht themselves with drinking—and seperated from them. And then they gave me up to the bloody enemies, and I was called befor them and got my sentence, and now I am to lay down my life befor you, for which I bless God, and all that is within me exalts his holy name for my lot this day.

Now the reason of my being brought here this day way (*sic*), I durst not oun these usurping murther[er]s to be rulers, quho had taken Christ's rights from him, and quho wer tirrorizing over his inheritance, which did not becom them, and which I durst not but for my soul witness against them, although the ministers and professors doth not think duty but condemne them quho doth it; but I say they will get a worse sentence than mine, for they have my blood upon their head, and the rest of my brethren's blood too. And the reason quherfor I did disoun them was, because they have brokn covenant with God, and covenanted with the devill in establishing that cursed supreamacy, and hold that tirrorant head of the church—the crown which becoms no mortall man to wear, nor Presbetrarian to oun. As for my part, I do not think them Presbetrarians that will oun these cursed wretches, for I wot well they have don as much as might have mad them examplary for judgment, as they might a been an example to any to lookd on, that side that they are on.

Wo to the ministers and professors for their joyning and going in under the hand of that tirrorant. I heir give my testimony against them as the greatst enemies the work of God hath, and says that his veangance be on them for quhat they have don to his glory. They may read their doom in 55 Psalm, v. 12, and downward. David, in Psalm 15, prayeth that they may go quick doun to hell. I desire them to take Cora, Dathan and Abiram's example; and they may read Obadiah, and there they will see quhat Edom, a bastard brother, did; and quhat he got to his reward; and quhat Judas got for betraying his Master. Alace they have all betrayed their Master with a kiss, in joyning with God's enemies and living under their favour. Our blessed

¹ "Curse ye, Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty" (Judges v. 23).

² For Wodrow's account of the sufferings of the Covenanters who were imprisoned in the Greyfriars Churchyard, see his *History*, iii. 123-130. For Mr Moir Bryce's elaborate researches concerning the Covenanters' Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard, see *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, ii. 81-115.

Lord hath sought a proof of many of their lovs that was ministers and proforsors in Scotland ; and they said that they would have nothing adoe with him, he is a hard master ; but they would have their life of that tarrant and the bloody louns thats taking the blood of the poor remnant. And now they had¹ their life no more of God, but of that tarrant and his father the devill. Now they had their life with the broad curse of God on it ; and the poor people of God cannot get leave to live asid² them. They ar groun their greatest persecutor that the poor remnant hath. O wo to them for they will be sure to meet with a black day or it be long, for indeed I think ther is not much repentance ordiand for non of them, for our blesed Lord says these that puts their hand to the plough and look back again is not fit for the kingdom of heaven ; and if any man draw back my soul shall have no pleasure in them ; there remain no mor sacrifice for sin, but a fearfull looking for of judgment and fiery indignation from the Lord, which will devour them quick ; he will lead them forth with the workers of iniquity. They may look if the Scripture allows any of God[s] enemies favours and to do such and [such] things. They may read Ezekiel 33, 13 and downward, and if they allow them liberty they may be doing. As for my part, I have no favour for them, for we ar called this day to com out from amongst them, and not to touch, taste, handle ; but to be seperated, lest we be partakers of their plagues, which will be sudden, sure and certian, and shortly.³

I leave my blood on ministers and proforsors for I wot well they have a good share of it. I leave my blood on Mr Alexander Hasty, first, because he said I was easiery maintianed her and better nor I would be without ; and said I would not com out of prison because I was so well maintianed. 2ly, he said that that poor party would turn Babell's brood. 3ly, he said that party that was downright for God was all distracted. And I leave my blood on James Weer and Gavin Hamiltoun and Robert Henderson, for they wer the men that gave me up because I did rive out the wretches name⁴ out of the Bible. The rest of my fellow prisoners ar not free of my blood. I leave my blood on ministers, because once in a day they wer forward for God in preaching against joyning with enemies, and was faithfull to the Lord in declaring of his mind, and once engaged poor things⁵ to the wrath of the enemies ; and quhen ever hazard cam they turned their back on their Master's work, and left poor things in the dark ; and quhat they have preaching up befor, they have cryed all doun ; and cryed to their hearers to accept of favours of the enemies. O wo to them for quhat they have done now. They may read their doom in Ezekiel 33, from the beginning. If they will not set the trumpet to their mouth, and give the people a faithfull warning, their blood will be required at their hands. Yea, did they see judgment coming on Scotland and sat still too ? Wo to them the Lord will be about with them yet for their silence. In

¹ Had, *i.e.* hold.

² Asid, *i.e.* beside.

³ Perhaps the words *and shortly* were intended to form part of the sentence which follows.

⁴ ? The King's name.

⁵ Engaged poor things, *i.e.* induced simple, trustful men to enter into engagements.

such a day escape who will, they shall not escape. The vengeance of God will pursue them for what they have done to his glory. Indeed, they would have [us] not to speak for Christ and his despised truths. Indeed, all the ministers will condemn us, if we lend in our word to a despised glory. Ha, quoth they, people hath a hand in their own blood. (Say ye so?) I say God will be about with you for that saying, brave ministers. The vengeance of God will be among such ministers and professors, for this is the day God is calling for people to speak for him. And if ye will not speak for his despised glory, ye will get the wicked devil to go with; for I am sure it was all your parts to have contended for lovely Christ and his glory was trampling upon (as well as mine). And I wot well its seen to the world that they have robbed our Lord of his rights, and I am sure that they that have any love to my sweet Lord Jesus dare not but for their heart witness against these wretches. Alas, would ye have them enjoying our Lord's rights, and not on to move their tongue against them. Na, na, our Lord will not want witnesses to witness against this generation for all their abominations, and amongst the few he hath honored me to be on, for which I bless his holy name this day, although ministers and professors do condemn me and say that I do not take the Scripture to be my rule; but I say that they are liars; and says sham and black follow them that will not take the Scriptures to be their rule to squar their life by; which hath been refreshfull to me, although I could make little use of them, I not being learned to read.

I give my testimony to the Confession of Faith, to the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, to the Nationall and Solemn League and Covenants. I adhere with all my heart to the Ruthgland Testimony,¹ and the Sanquhar Declaration, to the Ferry papers that was gotten with that worthy gentleman Henry Hall [when he] was killed. I leave my testimony to the Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagements to Dutys.² I give my testimony to the excommunication at the Torwood as a thing that was lawfully and legally don by a minister of the Gospell; and on just grounds it was don, for any of all the faults was enough to cast any person out of the Church. Read Ezekiel 21, but especially v. 2, and Ezekiel 17, and v. 17 to the 22. These is Scriptures and proofs to prov the justnes of it, and the justnes of my disowning of them as trators to God, which is a Presbyterian principale condemn it quho will. Next, I give my testimony to the bound of condemnation that was gotten that day that our worthies fell at Airdsmoss, quhen our worthy standart bearer Mr Richard Cameron fell, and it was gotten in his pocket,³ quhen our worthy martyr David

¹ Rutherglen Testimony is in the *Informatory Vindication*, 1744, pp. 88, 89; and in Wodrow's *History*, iii. 66, 67.

² The "Solemn Acknowledgement of Publick Sins and Breaches of the Covenant, and a Solemn Engagement to all the Duties contained therein," was emitted by the Commission of the General Assembly on the 6th of October 1648.

³ The paper found on Cameron at his death is referred to in several testimonies. In a footnote to one of these, the editor of the first edition of the *Cloud of Witnesses* (1714, p. 79) says: "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

Hackstoun of Rathillat was taken. I here give my testimony to all that our worthies hath done except the crowning of that tarrant: none protested then I trow. I give my testimony to all their appearances in the feilds, first and last, quherever ther hath any appeared for the work of Reformation in the behalfe of Christ. I give my testimony to all the testimonys of the worthy martyrs that hath gone befor, both first and last, and all that they have don in defence of the Gospel and witenesing for their lovely Lord and Master.

And now here, in my Lord and Master's name, I protest against that tarrant, and all the bloody crew that's under him; and as a dying man I witenes against all those that accept of their favours. First, for his breach of covenant. 2ly, for sheding the blood of the people of God, and destroying that which he was bound to maintian and avouch; and I say God's wrath will pursue him for it. 3ly, for seting up acursed supremacy, insulting over the Lord's inheritance, investing himselfe with that which did [not] belong to him, for or¹ long the Lord will root him out, root and branch, and all his generation, and all that accepts favours from him; for He is on his way to avenge the quarrell of [a] brunt and broken covenant. O, but they have need to fear that hath gone under that tarrant's wings for shelter. 4ly. For his adultry and horrid wickedness that he hath comited and that flows from him. O, the filth that coms down from that thron that polluted the whole land and mad it all accursed. Now I say any of these is enough to cast them of.

I leave my blood on that tarrant's head; and on all these heads, I leave my blood on James the Duke of York his head, a profest Papist, for first quhen he came he got a drink of my dear brethers' blood quho was execute at Magus-Moor;² and the last time he came he got a drink of my brethers' blood, Mr Skeen, John Potter and Archbald Stewart. He got these to his here coming; and now he must have us. He will get blood to drink for he is worthy. I leave my blood on Sir George M'Kenzie, advocat, and all the rest of these bloody wretches. I leave my blood on these assissers,³ and Andro Cuningham, damster,⁴ and on Thomas Dalzel, called Generall, and on the shouldiers⁵ that took me. I leave my blood on all that went to Bothwell in defence of the Gospell, that accepted any of that trator's favours after they cam from it, ministers or professors, or be quho they will. I shall be a standing witness against them in the great day of accounts, that hath strenghtened their hands, quethere they were at Bothwell or not, be quho they will, ministers or professors, man or wife, lass or lad, freinds or relations,

procured, and hence it cannot be certainly known what was the nature of it." In the fourth edition (1741, p. 95), the same footnote is reproduced, but in the appendix (pp. 359, 360) a copy of the paper is given. It is a bond of mutual defence, and was signed by Richard Cameron, his brother Michael, Archibald Stewart, John Potter, and about thirty others.

¹ Or, *i.e.* ere.

² Thomas Waddel, James Wood, Andrew Sword, John Waddel, and John Clyde were hanged at Magus Muir on the 25th of November 1679, although they had nothing whatever to do with Sharp's death.

³ Assissers, *i.e.* jurymen. ⁴ Damster, *i.e.* doomster. ⁵ Shouldiers, *i.e.* soldiers.

my blood will ly heavy at their door, except they repent for contributing to hold up a party against God in this land.

I leave my testimony against the paying of that wicked cess, for the strengthening thes bloody wretches hands to go on against the people of God, in robbing and spoiling and taking, heading and hanging. They are not free of the blood of the saints. Never go to make an excuse for them, for I say here, as in the sight of God, ye ar not free of the blood of the people of God. Repent or else he will com in flaming fire to render vengeance upon them, for there is tribulation and anguish to every soul that doth evill, both Jews and Gentles. There meekle wo and sorrow to them that trouble the poor people of God. Escape quho will, ministers and professors will not escap. I tell you here as a dying man that God will pursue in his justice for quhat you have done to his glory. O, the black day that's abiding you.

Ye will not beleive none. I think, although on rise from the dead, ye will not believe. All the testimonys of our dear worthies, that hath been martyred and mangled for the truth, hath had no weight on you. [You] was no more moved at quhat was in their speechs no more than they were an old wife's tale ; but, believe as ye will, remember that they ar in record in heaven, and they will be a standing witnes against you and me both, if free grace prevent it not. You must not think that all these worthy martyres that hath been so tortured will be in vain ; for our Lords suffering so much blood to be shed on [*blank*] is a purpose that it may be a witnes against this generation ; for any thing that any wrot in their testimony they would ay seek the mind of the Lord in it that they might leave behind them concerning sin and duty. O sirs, take warning, for it is like ye will get few moe warnings. It may be some of your warnings next will be in the howl pot of hell. I here give you all warning as in the sight of a living God befor quhom I must shortly appear and get my sentence. Take it as you will, I durst not but be free with you befor I went of time, that the broad curse of God is on ministers and professors, for your joyning for their uphold.

I give my testimony against the paying of malitia money ; and all them that hath carried armes on the enemies side in town or country. A black day will com on you altogether or long, ay many of you [were] with the enemies all the time of Bothweell ; and some of you contributed for the sending of a whin knaves out against the Lord ; and do you think to escape ? I tell you nay, you will not escape. There is a black day abiding you altogether. Your sentence will be sure and sudden. You was on the other sid against the people of the Lord, and God will lead you forth with them. Take it as you will, you will not escape the just judgment of the Lord. You think you ar weell and at ease, but God will give you a wakening that will make all your ears to tingle. He sits silent now quhen ye comit such wickedness ; but, remember I tell you, he will not bear longer with you. Ye may think you will escape the judgment of God, but there is an ill licklie of it quhen you state yourselves against his people. I give my witnes and testimony against all the robbing, prisoning, finning and confinning, stigmatising, booting, heading and quartering, banishing and sending to other countrys, and against the forfaulting of the Lord's people, and against all that hath been don to them these 20 years, and against all the proclamations that hath gon out against them, and against quatever the enemies hath don first and last. In short, I

here, as a dying witness for Jesus Christ, doth protest against all they have done against the poor people of the Lord ; and likewise I protest against all them that seek any favour from them in less or more.

And now I give my hearty and coridall testimony to the suffering of the poor people of God, from Mr Guthry untill now ; and, especially, I give my hearty testimony to that nickenamed, reproacht party that this day is the but of the world's malice ; which can hardly get leave to live on earth for a pack of ministers and professors, mickle wo and wandreth com on them, and so it will for quhat they have don to that poor party, that this day is force[d] to wandre in the wildrness and dens and cavs of the earth, quhom the world is not worthy of. They ar destitute despised afflicted and tormented. Iniquity is grown to such a hight that they can neither eat nor drink, nor yet wear¹ without sinning. I think then they will be force[d] or long to wandre about in sheep-skins and goat-skins.

Shame and lack be among them that is called ministers and professors, that puts the church and people of God to such straits, for I am sur they have all the wit² of it. Be separated from them, purg out the old leaven that ye may be a new lump. And Paul says, Follow me no further then I follow Christ. Shame and lack will fall on them that will not be separate from them. I wot well they have good warrant from the Word of God to go out from among them and be separated and touch no unclean thing. And you may read the 10 chapter to the Romans, v. 17 to the end of 16 chapter. And you may read how Paul separated from Barnabas, because he would not witness against John for his silence, it is in Acts 5, 39 v. to the end.³ Read Revelation 18, and 1 Corinthians [5,] from the 7 v. to the end, if a brother walk disorderlie, not so much as eat or keep company with them. You may read the 9 of Zechariah. All these Scriptures is sufficient grounds to separate from them that joyns affinity with the people of these abominations. Seperat and com out from them. I here, as in the sight of the living God, seall with my blood an far seperation between true Presbyterians and them that hath accepted that tarrant's favours. Com out from among them. Eat not drink not with them, lest they intise you, and draw you away with them, for I had the sad experience of it myselfe, for there was on that was taken with me, that is in prison this day, that did insnar me with his counsell—I thought he had been in my own judgment—mad me to hearken to his counsell and keep silente befor these wretches at first, which was a sore challeng to me so long as I was in prison, untill I cam in again befor them and told them my mind again. Quherfor I say com out from among them and be seperat, or else I will be a witnes against you. Halt not between two opinions. Side yourselfe and com out. O, make a right choice quhat ever ye do, for it is dangerous now to side with God's enemies. I bid you have a care, and wot very well with quhom you joyn, and with quhom you converse, or with quhom you eat or drink, or quhat you eat or drink. Taste non of their dainties, but choice⁴ water with Daniel and the 3 children, to eat pulse and drink water, or⁵ that ye sin against God, for it is my sorrow

¹ Wear, *i.e.* ware, spend.

² Wit, *i.e.* wite, blame.

³ Acts 5, should be Acts 15.

⁴ Choice, *i.e.* choose.

⁵ Or, *i.e.* rather than.

this day that I sided so long with them, and did not sooner separate [and] com out from among them.

I give my testimony against Popry and Prelacy, Quakerism and Errastianism, indulgence first and last, and all the favorits and siders with them in less or more, be quhat they will, all that keep company with them. I give my testimony against all that gets the enemies' favor to com out of prison quhen they are taken, for truly I can see no way how any can win out cleanly at this time. As for my part I could not see how I could win out, so I see not how any can win without going to the place of execution, or else the (*sic*) come out with prejudice to the work of God, and they will note be free of our blood. They may take it as they will, I do not care.

And now I here give my hearty testimony to that despised way of preaching I was going to, that poor party that is nickenamed Cameron's faction. I blesse the Lord this day that ever I heard that way of preaching. I blesse the Lord that ever I heard Mr Gargill preach. I blesse the Lord this day that ever I say (*sic*) that worthy gentlemen murdered, David Hackstoun of Rath-Elliot,¹ I think, by the Lord's bleseing, the seeing of him murdered did me good, and put me to my duty, and mad me more valiant and stout for my lovly Lord and Master Christ.

I have on word to the shire of Stirling before I go of time. I think it is the most God daring place of any that I know, for I wot weell there hath been much of the powr [and] presence of God seen in the preached Gospell in it, as ever was in any shire in so short a time, for the shout of a king hath been among the mettings of his people at hillsids. O, but he was kind among them, and much of his power and presence was seen at preachings, and many flocking to them, crying, Hosanna to Son of David; and it wold been thought that Stirlingshire wold have don great exploits for Royall Christ, more than any; and quhen the Lord put into and sought a prooffe of their love, and they began to venture and suffer som litle tryalls for Christ; and then our Lord would have them and Scotland better tryed; and he will make them all draw up at Bothwell, and he will make the enemies to carry the day, and my honest father was killed there, being seventy or eighty years old, and chased and brake them, and killed many of them and took many of them prisoners, to see how they will cary under such a dispensation as that, and² they had had as much love as they seemed to have, all that would never have cooled it; but indeed they proved false and hypocriticall in the matters of God. A black day will com on them altogether. And this day they are crying out, Crusifie him, crusifie him, away with such a fellow from the earth; and² we follow him any longer we will lose our goods and be hanged too. Yea, are ye doing so? yea, ar the folke of Stirlingshire doing so well? Ye may be doing; but there shall be another or³ it be long. God in his justice will make you suddenly smart for it ere it be long. Have ye com under a tyrant that hath taken my rights from me? And have you promist to be for him and quit me? Will ye band to be for him, and never defend the Gospell again, but rather pay sess and militia money to uphold and maintian a party against Him and his work? You may be doing, but it shall be a sad doing for you, for the wrath of God will be sure to be poured forth and that suddenly. And

¹ Rathillet.

² And, *i.e.* if.

³ Or, *i.e.* ere.

will you tell me if you think you be free of breach of covenant, when you will joyn with them that hath both broken and brunt the covenant? I am sure the Scripture says you ar not free. Read the 50 Psalm at the end—Quhen thou sawest a thiefe thou consentedest with him in it, and is a guilty as he is. I will be a standing witness against you all except ye repent. Sad will your day be ere it be long. Heavy will your judgment be. It was all your parts to witness for lovely Christ as well as mine. You was once far¹ for contending for the Gospell, but now you will not hear it, but you will joyn with God's enemies and embrace Popry. O black will your day be. I, as a dying man for the truth, will be a witness against you for the reception of the Duke of York, a profest Papist. The wrath of God will pursue you, for quhat you have don to the honour of God. And that wicked Sodom, Stirling, wo, wo be to it, for all that it hath. I leave my testimony against it and you both, and my blood both, for receiving the Duke of York with such noveltie. I leave my blood on them that carried armes quhen that cursed Duke came, and payed fines for the strengthening their hands. I leave my blod on all that carried armes all the time of Bothweell; ore since, on the enemies sid. O Stirling and the shire repent, or else heavy will your doom be. And here as a dying man I protest against the reception of that cursed excommunicat wretch, the Duke of York, because they knew he was a profest Papist.

I here protest against all that they have don in our land in their opresing the poor people of God, against their proclamations and actings against the people of the Lord. I leave my testimony against their sending down the Hilland Host to pillag and plunder the poor people of God. I leave my testimony against the Duk's engagement and Dumbar, for they were against the covenant, for the Englishs were pursuing the bloody damned wretch,² the head of malignants.

But now I most leave of, my time being short, only a word to my dear freinds that ar yet standing to the truth, and as willing to witness for my lovely Lord and Master Christ. Goe on my dear freinds, and be valiant in acting for my lovely Jesus, for, O, he is sweet to suffer for, for I can now set to my seall to it with my blood that he is altogether lovely, and that his yock is easie and his burden light. O, but he is sweet to lay down a life for. If all the hairs of my head were men, and all the drops of my blood lives, I could be will[ing] to lay them all down for my lovely Lord Christ. O, my dear freinds, scare not at the crose of my sweet Lord. O, be strong for him. Spend much tim for him, and be much in eyeing of your hearts. Keep a constant watch that the devill get not a fitting.³ O, study to get on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand in the evill day. Keep by quhat is truth, my dear freinds. Quit not a hoefe of it. Lay your case on him, and he will carry you through. Cast not away your confidence.

O, be busie in praying for vengeance on all the enemies of God; but especially against pretended freinds, which is called ministers and professors. You have good warant from the Word of the Lord. You may read 55 Psalm, 13 v.; and the 109 Psalm; and the 20 of Jeremiah 12 v., quher he prays that he may see his vengeance upon his enemies, and if you will read that chapter you may see that they were seeming professors that he was praying against; and or it

¹ Far, *i.e.* fair.

² Charles II.

³ Fitting, *i.e.* footing.

be long my soul shall be under the altar,¹ crying for vengeance on them that dwell on the earth that will not witness [faith] fully for Christ.

O, my dear billies and freinds, I hope ye will have no ground to scare at the cross of lovely Christ because of our sufferings this day, for I hope that our blood shall be a good lift to the Church of God, and a mean of her delivery. I am now going to leave you, and you ar like to mett with a sore tryall of it ; but do not weary, for it will not be long ; but it will yet be sharper nor it is, and there will be fewer to oun it. O, my freinds, ly near the throne and lean on your welbeloved, untill ye get your foot on the other side of [the] shore, on Canaan's land. O, keep by the Holy On of Israel. Although many do quit with him and his lovely cross, look that you quit not with him. Let them reproach you as they will. O learn to esteem the swet reproachs for lovely Christ greater riches than all the treasures in the world. O, but reproachs for my lovely Lord Christ hath been sweet to me. They ar without compare. O, he hath been kind to me, quho was the feckledest that ever was honoured to seal such contraverted truths with blood. O, but he is kind and was tender of me, quhen he brought me to such and such tryalls. O, trust and credit him much, for he can perfit his strength in the weakest of things, and carry them thorrow to the admiration of onlookers. O, he is sweet. O, he is kind. O, praise him. O, bless him.

Now I bid you fareweell, my dear freinds, that is on the Lord's side. O, act valiantly for him, for he will plead your cause, and execute true judgment for you that ar oppressed. Give him much credit you quho ar his people. O be busie in wrestling upon the Church and people of God's account. Now I am going away to leave you. The Lord help his poor groaning kirk quhen I am gon, and his poor suffering remnant, for indeed it is weighty to me to think on quhat you his poor followers is to meet with, and quhat you will meet with quhen I am gon. Oh, if I could be usefull on your account, but I cannot be it now, only this, keep by your Lord and Master, and converse much with things above. Seek the mind of God how to carry, so as that you may not do skaith to his glory. Keep up fellowship metings. Give not over. Seek much of the mind of the Lord anent quhat is called for at your hands.

Now my dear friends, I bid you farewell for a while. Farewell holy and sweet Scripturs. Farewell all created comforts, sun, moon, and stars. Farewell my dear freinds, that is faithful to the Lord and keep his way. His blessing, that dwells in the bush and it brunt not, be with you ; and my feckless blessing be on you, quho is now to be martyred for the truth. Farewell brether and sister and all relations. Farewell praying, farewell faith, hope and patience. Fareweell sighing and sorowing. Farewell sufferings. Farewell sweet reproaches for lovely Christ. Farewell all things in time. Welcome Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Welcom everlasting praises, everlasting glory. Welcom angels and the spirits of just men mad perfitte. Now, com Lord Jesus, com quickly. Into thy hands I recommend my spirit. Subscribed at the Iron House, in the High Tolbooth of Edinburgh, by me,

CHRISTOPHER MILLER.

¹ Revelation, vi. 9, 10.

This martyr, quhen he was praying on the scaffold, the major smote him on the mouth most barbarously, and stroke him so that they almost hearted¹ him on the back. Quhen he went up the laddar, they immediatly beat the drums and threw him over, scarcely suffering him to say two words of prayer.

THE TESTIMONY OF ROBERT SONGSTER.

Men and brethren,—These are to show you that I am come this day to lay down my life for owning of Christ and his truths, and in so mickle as we are caluminated and reproached by lying upon our names and dreadfull branding us, in saying that we have laid by the Scripture, and sayes we have taken other rules to walk by, for the which we take the great God to witnes against all and on of them, that I take the Word of God to be my rule, and I never designd nothing but faithfulness and honesty to Christ, and for owning of Christ and the Scripture this day, I am murdered. For adhering to the broun (*sic*) down truths I am condemned to die. And also I leave my testimony and witnes against all the apostate ministers in Scotland this day, that hath taken favors at the enemies' hands. The only thing they take away my life for is because I disown all these bloody trators not to be magstrats, which the Word of God cast of; and we are bound in conscience and in covenant to God to disown all such as are enemies to God, and avowed and open enemies to Christ. And they have mad void my law saith the Lord. Say quhat ye will, say devills, say wretches, say enemies quhat ye will, we ar owning the truths of Christ and his written Word; and condemned me in my judgment quho will, I leave my blood on one and all that says we have laid by the Scripture. I leave my blood upon you again to be a witnes and condemnation against you in the great day of judgment. I have no more to say. I think this may metigat you in your rages. I leave his enemies to his curse to be punished with everlasting wrath for now and ever. Subscribed,

ROBERT SONGSTER.

Dear Brother,—If my soul could be assistant to you in your suffering, it wold; and though kindness to suffer[er]s be our duty, yet it is somtims their prejudice for as me [n] bestow he holds in, knowing we cannot bear both, so that quhen we ar served by creatures, we ar like on getting in their debts from severall hands in smalls, quher we must sit down and spend and drink a part with every one; and though this way in the time may content them, yet they know not so well quhat good it does them. Turn to him quher you shall have it better, swetter and surer. Besid sufferers so upheld ar never sure, for we may be outbiden, and quhen we loss our martyr, our witness, our saint, for these that coms not of martyrs ceases from most part to be saints. Woes us that we can nether shew nor receive kindness without danger; and though we cannot do, this is our comfort that he hath done at our intreatie; and let it be your comfort that, though all should stand aloof, he is neer quho is infinite in love, compassion, power and tenderness.

But think ye not to find out his goodness so much by the way he takes, as by the end he aims at and the work he effectnats. His way be sharpe quhen

¹ Hearted, *i. e.*, stunned.

his end is good ; his way be banishments, prisons, scaffolds, and his end purifying, perfiting, glorifying. And as the heart is casten down with the on, so it is raised up by the other. And, undoubtly, non can be so content as they should be with God in his sharp dispensations, quho finds not in experience their good working, and see it in hope perfiting, and I think you can hardly mistake God or gurg with dispensations. He sent you already to prison to begine it, and you ought to think that he hath sent you again to prison to increase if not to prefect it, and there non that knows the greatnes of that benefite but would joyfully receive it, tho it wer to be effectuat throw a thousand years of the extreamest sufferings of a sinless hell. And yet, it will be a thousand to on if ye once fall not out with your crosse, and it also mak you think litle of that kindness that intends his oun glory and your good in all this, and all your enemie will labour to have your heart discourted with providence, so to have your consciences disquieted with challengs. I will not say that challengs for sin at such a time is only from Satan, though it be not ordinary with God to be sor in both (I mean sufferings and challengs) at on time ; and though it be not his time of craving debt, yet let it be your time of seeking pardon. And I am perswaded if God charge you with debt at such a time, it is to put you to seek pardon, that he may gratify your sufferings with a free remission of all. But Satan may challeng you anent the cause of your sufferings, your call and entery to your sufferings, your carriag and testimony under them and anent your other personall evils ; ye must go throw all thir with your selfe (though not for Satan), and for your own peace, for we must not only pray this down which we will have oft to do over again. I but answer them in silence, which gives them the greatest dash, and us the longst and surest peace, and that ye find cannot be answred should not be kept but discairded. A word then of each of them.

As to the first, this generation cannot get a cause larg enough for their bit sufferings (tho the least of its truths be a suficent cause, in holy Christ's esteem, of the gretest sufferings) ; but it is like they shall niether be greater (I do not say that there will not be greater indignities don to him, greater invasions mad on his prerogatives, and greater alterations in religion, for all these may be greater, and not greater to them) causes, nor be more called to take up his crosse, for as it hath been befor, Take up my cross ; it may be after this, Take up your judgments, that your other sins and refusing of his cross hath procured. But as to the cause of your sufferings, the following and avowing the publick wrongs of God against the inhabitions and edicts of men, as it was in old the visible distinguishing characters betwixt pagans and Christians, so it is at this time a distinguishing characters betwixt these that hath yielded to the usurpations of men, and these quho are standing out and keeping possession for Christ till he return. And I must say, if single and rightly performed, that it is the work this day that is most acceptable and most called for ; and the occasion offering, and your health permitting, was a suficent call to you to be present at that time.

As to the 2d, I have no tim to say any more to it at this time, but this, tho the late papers¹ and actions were not publickly concluded and consented to,

¹ Probably the Queensferry Paper, sometimes called Cargill's Covenant. See Wodrow's *History*, iii. 207-211.

yet search them, and, so far as you find in them truth, give your testimony to them, for I am mistaken if the truths of God and the ease of your consciences be not in them, and that which all most be at befor we get our desires, that is, that his wrath depart from us. But I cannot proceed. Grace be with you. Amen.

THE COPY OF A LETTER TO ARCHBALD STEWART AND JOHN POTTER.

Dearest Freinds,—We are comforted in your comforts, and though some have long sadness from these prisons, yet of late it hath followed from that hath refreshed the hearts of sincere and zealous ones, and though we have love to you as our own life, yet we dare not bid you return from that way quher you see truths and find God. You is much set by by us, and we think there is nothing above that—but God's glory, which always ought to be highest to a Christian—at present in our souls; and yet we dare not advise you, but quhat we ours selves by God's grace are would choise if we were in your souls' stead, not to retreat on foot, for a temporall lifes protracted for many years, which yet no man by any imaginable probability can promise to himselfe, and fare less can he promise grace to himself to use rightly quhen he hath so gotten it without God's approbation. And we see how lifes so redeemed ar employed, and the lives of the great part of our ministers and professors may declare, quho never after that wins to a supleaded living for God's glory and publick good, but ar his in darkness, deadness and in deit. And I am perswaded, besids, that some few years cannot be a great temptation to a devot soul, quho hath the experience of this world's vanity and the assurance of eternity's glory; they, knowing somquhat of the vast diferance, cannot but joyfully expect of admission on their part wholly, for to them to live is doubt [less] that we should shew ourselves taking part with Christ quhen wronged, though we should suffere and die for it.

Quhatever men shall put us to upon this account, we may, upon a well grounded peace, beare it; and undoubtly it is not the tenderness of this generation, (for if it were tenderness it would be kything in somequhat else, whereas in nothing at this time true tendernese to kyth in,) but a malignant affection of loyalty, which is highest quhen religion is lowest, and greatest to men quhen they themselves ar worst and in their higest (*sic*) usurpation, and in their greatest apostacy from and oposition to the Son of God. It must then be from an untenderness and sinfull love of life that men sids with powers, quhen they and Christ ar so sundred that both the on and the other ar crying —Who ar on my side, quho? So that we cannot kyth on their side; but withall incontinently we kyth opositis to him; and as for that which they mainly require, that we acknowledge them, we cannot more acknowlegd them in their capacities quherin they stand, and the power they now exercise, mor than we can acknowledge the power of pope, for they have robbed the [pope] of his usurped power, and he hath robbed Christ of that quhich is his due power, so that they take it from him and exercises it for him, and will return it to him again.

And that divine quho pretendes so much to know principles, as he saw ecclesiastick persons not to be acknowledged in civill courts, so he might

have seen also ecclesiastick power exercised by civill and ecclesiastick persons not to be acknowledged, or at least he might have seen his own practise nearer to Jesuiticall principalls than ours; but his intent was to shew himselfe loyall, and not religious nor zealous for his wronged Master (if he think him so). But it may be thought, do we not acknowledge their civill power, and decline their ecclesiastick? For answer—It is an ecclesiastick [power] that they have usurped and are obtruded upon us to be acknowledged, to wit, a power that judges of excommunications, quho shall preach and quhat shall be preacht, quhen we shall hear and quhere we shall hear, is, for their civill power, the tirranie they exercise, the enmity against God and his Anointed they shew, the perjury they avow, which, according to our Scots laws, takes away the privileiges of standing in judicatories, much mor a sitting in judgment, dos sufficient to exhonour us of alegeance. As for that other part touching excommunication (which is meerly ecclesiastick, quherof they cannot be judges), if ever any excommunication was just, this is;¹ and so fare orderly as the times and states of affairs will permit, for the consent of the Church cannot be expected in the preturbed state thereof, neither ought it to be waitted for in a declined and corrupted state of the Church. As for other things that they have fristed into your libels, which ar nether your principles nor consequentiall to them, eject and publickly decline them. And for these that hath been the mean of your beleiving, tho they cannot have a sad heart at your sufferings, yet they do not know themselves to have on ill conscience; and I am perswaded the whole land shall be ether brought (*sic*) to the things ye ar now at, or mad to endure worse and harder things if not both.

Dearest freinds, go on then and secure other things, accordingly, that as you have peace in your present quarell because of your suffering, so man may have safty as to your future and eternall state. And as for my part, he hath given me such abundant liberty in your behalfe, that I am perswaded that I shall be imbarcked ansred (?) in the on or other. And blessed be God that I have *somquhat quherwith to comfort you and to be comforted anent you, beside the hop of a temporal life*; and tho he be able to give you the on as wel as the other, yet let not the hop of this abate ether the ardence in your prepration or the zeal in your testimony, and expect only his mercy in your duty. Go on then kindly morning for your sins, humbly creeping forward to the scepter halden forth, firmly beliving in the sufficiencie of a Saviour for the quenching of all challenges, and for the obtianing of a perfect righteousness, quherby ye may stand unfraid befor his tribunall. And let not the marjowes² of your own thoughts disturb your peace in beleiving. No more, but grace, mercy and peace be with you.

¹ Torwood excommunication. It is appended to the *Cloud of Witnesses*.

² Marjowes, *i.e.*, mar joys.