A DECLARATION OF THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES
of the Parliament of SCOTLAND,
In Vindication of their proceedings from the aspersions of a scandalous Pamphlet, published by that excommunicate Traytor, JAMES GRAHAME.
Under the title of a Declaration of James Marques of Montrosse, &c. Printed in the year, 1649.
Together with
A DECLARATION
And Warning unto all the Members of this KIRK AND KINGDOM
In answer to a paper intituled and reputed the Declaration of JAMES GRAHAME,
By the Commission of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.

EDINBURGH, Printed by Evan Tyler, printer to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1650.

The Committee of Estates Ordains their Declaration in Vindication of their proceedings from the aspersions of a scandalous Pamphlet, published by that excommunicate Traytor, Iames Grahame, under the title of a Declaration of Iames Marques of Montrosse, &c. To be printed, With the Declaration of the Commission of the Generall Assembly in answer to the said scandalous Pamphlet, And also to be published.

Tho: Henderson.
EDINBURGH, January 24. 1650.

A Declaration of the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, In vindication of their proceedings from the aspersions of a scandalous Pamphlet, published by that excommunicate Traytor, James Grahame, under the title of a Declaration of James Marques of Montroffe, &c. Printed 1649.

It may seem strange to such as know the state of affairs in this Kingdom that we should think it worth the while to answer the flanders and groundles reproaches of that viperous brood of Sathan, James Grahame, whom the Estates of Parliament have long since declared traytor, the Church hath delivered into the hands of the devill, and the Nation doth generally detest and abhor. Since we know there hath been and will be in all ages a wicked rabble of godless men, who make it their work to follow the righteous cause with aspersions and calumnies, and it is an endless labour to answer every voyce that speaks against the truth; and seeing also at length the innocencie of our cause, The integrity of our hearts, and the candor of our actions will prevail over the malicious tongues of our adversaries, Yet because our silence may be subject to misconstruaction, and some of the weaker sort may be inveagled by the bold assertions and railing accusations of this impudent Braggard, presenting himselfe to the view of the world, clothed with his Majesties authority as Lieutenant Governour and Captain Generall of this Kingdom: We shall shortly answer what is said against us, take off the maske which he hath put on, and expose him to publick view in his own apparell.

This excommunicate Traytor in the first place, chargeth his own Nation with hatching a Rebellion in this Kingdom, then with the promoting the like in England, and lastly with the sale and murther of their native King, and robbing his Son of all right; horred crimes indeed, if true:

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But
But how can we be accounted the hatchers or designers, or in the least for the disturbers of the peace? Were we not living quietly and peaceably when that new Liturgie, purposely compiled to introduce a change of Religion, and compliance with popery, was violently pressed upon us? And when this and other Innovations in the matter of Religion were condemned by the Generall Assembly holden at Glasgnow, in the yeare 1648. Were we not invaded with Armies both by Sea and Land? Did we offer to stir, untill Religion and justice, the main pillars of Government, were shaken and neer to be overturned? And shall the standing upon our own defence for preservation of our Religion and liberties be reckoned Rebellion? Did we desire any other thing of his Majesty when we were in Armes, But that all matters Ecclesiastical should be determined by the Assemblies of the Church, and matters Civill by the Parliament? And so soon as his Majesty did assent thereunto, did we not forthwith lay down Armes within the space of 48. hours, and return to our own homes, leaving all forts and Castles to his Majesties disposal.

After all differences about Religion were setled in a new Generall Assembly of the Kirk with consent and approbation of his Majesties Commissioner in the year, 1639. and after he had in his Majesties name subscribed the Covenant, he did unexpectedly prorogue the Parliament without consent of the Estates of Parliament, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and to the agreement and pacification at Berwick; and Commissioners, sent to his Majesty to give account of the proceedings of the Assembly and Parliament, and represent their humble desires, were, upon the suggestion of wicked Counsellors about his Majesty, put under restraint, and one of them made close prisoner, contrary to the Law of Nations, and his Majesties Royall warrant; A garrison of English was put in the Castle of Edinburgh, which, beside other violence and outrage, killed divers women and children; our ships and goods were taken, and the owners striped naked, and more barbarously used then with Turks and Infidells. A new Army was levied against us in England in the year, 1640. and a Commission granted to the Earle of Northumberland to subdue and destroy us, and generally great preparations were made both at home and abroad, without ever signifying the cause or any quarrell against us; whereupon wee were again necessitated to take up Armes for our own defence, and with our supplications in the one hand, and swords in the other, to make way through our enemies forces to present our just grievances to his Majesty: when we were advanced the length of New-

Castle
Castle, we were commanded by his Majesty to halt there, and to make
known our desires by Commissioners, to which we readily obeyed, and
through the Lords blessing a happy agreement was again made betwixt
his Majesty and us, and betwixt the two Kingdoms, all Proclamations,
Books and Libells against us were recalled, suppressed and forbidden, and
at the close of the Treaty our loyalty was made known at the time of
thanksgiving for the peace in all the Parish Churches of his Majesties
dominions, and the authors and fomenters of these troubles were with his
Majesties consent referred to the triall and censure of the respective
Parliaments in both Kingdoms, of which number, James Grahame, then Earl
of Montrosse was found to be one, and therefore imprisoned in the Castle
of Edinburgh: His late Majesty himselfe then being Judge, we are justi-
fied, and James Grahame condemned; for his Majesty having come in
person to this Kingdom, parted a contented King from a contented
people, leaving him to be arraigned before the Commission appointed by his
Majesty and the Estates of Parliament for the triall of Incendiaries.

In the next place, this libeller chargeth us with soliciting a partie in
England to begin where we had broke off, hindring them when they were
willing to rest satisfied with his Majesties extraordinary Concessions, and
afterward for assisting them with a strong Army against our native
King.

What can be allledged with leffe probability and more malice then this,
to say, we studied to widen the breach, when it is well known our loyalty
and love to peace made us to send Commissioners expressly to endeavour
a reconciliation. All that know any thing of the beginning of that dif-
ference betwixt his Majesty and his subjects of England, may easily per-
ceive that we had not the least hand in contriving it: The matters then
in question betwixt his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament were
about their own Priviledges and the Rebellion in Ireland, of the rise and
progress whereof we suppose even James Grahame himselfe will ac-
quit us.

Touching the assistance given by this Kingdom to the Houses of Par-
liament about the year 1643. it was not given unrequired, or without
cause, nor upon uncertain or unlawful conditions as he would inform;
But this Kingdom having used their best endeavours by way of mediating
and intercession with his Majesty for an agreement with his Houses of
Parliament of England, without success; and his Majesty having made an
agreement with the Rebells in Ireland, whom formerly hee had declared
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Traytors,
Traytors, for their bloody massacre of many thousand Proteteants, And having also intrusted divers Popish Commanders in his Majesties Armies in England, whereby the Popish, Prelaticall and Malignant partie in all appearance were likely to prevail over all that were well affected to the reformed Religion, We granted assistance unto them upon the earnest invitation of both Houses of Parliament, and a solemn league and Covenant betwixt the Kingdoms for Reformation and defence of Religion, the honour and happinesse of the King, and the peace and safety of the three Kingdoms, which was first approven & solemnly sworn in England by the two Houses of Parliament and Assembly of Divines, and afterward by the Commission of the Generall Assembly of this Kirk, and Convention of Estates, as the most powerfull mean, by the blessing of God, for setting and preserving the true Protestant Religion with perfect peace in his Majesties Dominions, and for establishing his Majesties throne to all ages and generations.

These are the grounds whereupon we engaged to give assistance to the Kingdom of England, as may be clearly seen in the Covenant, Treaty and Declarations of the Kingdoms, which grounds are conscientious and just in themselves, And where any have swarved from these principles by declining either to Malignancie on the one hand, or to Sectarism on the other: We are confident that none can with justice charge the corruptions and failings of men upon the rule according to which they ought to have walked, nor can they impute their faults to us who have carefully studied and endeavoured to pursue those ends as we are able to demonstrate from all our proceedings.

His last and main forgeries against us, are, that his late Majesty being redacted to think on extream courses, did engage us by a Treaty, and having got all manner of assurance from us, did cast himselfe in the hands of our Army which was sent into England for assistance of the two Houses of Parliament against the Popish, Prelaticall and Malignant party; And that we, contrary to all faith, pacion and duty, sold our Soveraign, and afterwards complotted his destruction, and now begin upon the same score with the Son, declaring him King with provifoes, and robbing him of all right while we would seeme to give some unto him, and are more pernitioufly harching the destruction of his present Majestie then ever we did his sacred fathers.

What a strange contexture of multiplied lies doth this malicious man heap together? In all this, there is not one word true, save one that
his Majesty was redacted to think on extream courses, and that makes
against him; for Sir Thomas Fairfax, having defeated the Kings for-
ces in the fields, suddenly resolves to block up Oxford, where the King
was in person, thinking that the shortest way to put an end to their trou-
bles, wherewith his Majesty being surprized, privately escapes with two
or three from Oxford, uncertaine whether to goe, first he came toward
London as far as Harrow on the hil, which is about ten miles from it; and
being privately advertised, that he could not be in London with saftie, he
directed his course toward the sea, and that likewise failing, he came in-
to the Scottish Army without acquainting those that had the trust and
charge of the Army. Where was there either time or place for a treaty
here, and what were these assurances which were given? His late Maje-
fie was often told while he was at Newcastle, that he came to them
without any invitation, assurance or engagement on their parts; and no
doubt if there had been any the least assurance given, it had been long
since made known to the world: But it was so farre on the contrary (as
doth appeare by the letter of the Committee of the Parliament of Scot-
land residing with their Army in England, to the Committee of both
Houses of Parliament, written upon the 5. of May 1646. being the same very
day that his Majesty came into their quarters) That they were
filled with amazement at his comming: In which letter they do farther
proffer, That they cannot think that his Majesty could have been so un-
advised in his resolution to have cast himself upon that Army without a
reall intention to give full satisfaction to both Kingdomes in all their
just and reasonable Demands, and whatsoever should be his disposition or
resolution, that the Parliament of England, might be assured that they
should never entertain any thought, nor correspond with any purpose,
nor countenance any endeavours, that may, in anycircumstance, encroach
upon the Solmne League and Covenant, or weaken the union and confi-
dence betwixt the two Nations. They did likewise declare the same to his
Majesty, and earnestly intreat that he would give speedily satisfaction to
his Parliaments of both Kingdomes, and clearly represented unto him, that
if he should not grant their just desires, they would be constrained to take
such a course as by the mutual advise & resolution of both Kingdoms,
they might be saved from a breach & the dangerous consequences there-
of. The Lord Generall the Earle of Leven, and the officers and souldiers
of the Army, did also joyne in a Declaration to make known their con-
sant resolution to adhere to the whole heads and Articles of their Co-
venant.
venant, and that his Majesty's presence had not begotten any alteration in their minds in the least measure to estrange them from the ways of the Covenant. And further, it is a thing very improbable, that the Committee residing with the Army, would enter into a treaty with his Majesty, for which they could never be able to give an account to the Parliament of Scotland, it being altogether without the bounds of their Commission and instructions, and an express Article of the treaty between the Kingdoms, That no cessation nor any pacification, or agreement for peace whatsoever, shall be made by either Kingdom, or the Armies of either Kingdom, Without the mutual advice and consent of both Kingdoms. But that which removes it beyond all controversy, is, his Majesty's own profession in his letters to both Houses of Parliament and to the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, of the 18. & 19. of May, wherein he Declares, That he came to the Scottish Army with a full and absolute intention to give all just satisfaction to the joynt desires of both Kingdoms, and with no thought, either to continue this unnaturall War any longer, or to make a division between the Kingdoms, but to comply with his Parliaments and those intrusted by them in every thing for the settling of truth & peace, that he had received some papers from their Commissioners, & that he would study totally to apply himself to the advice and Counsells of his Parliament, That he had given order for recalling all Commissions issued forth by his authority against his subjects, and for disbanding all his forces, and ordered a proclamation together with his letter to be published to all his subjects, that it might appear it was his voluntary and cordiall resolution and reall intention to joyn with his Parliaments in settling religion in purity (after the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at Westminster) and his subjects of both Kingdoms in Freedom and safety. Upon these terms the Scottish Army did receive him, and would have cheerfully adventured their lives and all that was dearest unto them for preservation of his person, honour and happiness against all opposition whatsoever. But how far his Majesty was from following the advise of his Parliaments of both Kingdoms, was too too manifest, when he refused to grant the propositions of both, presented unto him at Newcastle, in the Moneth of July, by their Commissioners, or to give a satisfied answer to any one of them; Notwithstanding, many of the chief of the nobility of this Kingdom, and his privie Counsell did beg his assent upon their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, represent the sad consequences of his refusal.

Whilst these things were doing, the Sectarian partie (who never li-
liked any agreement for peace which might carry along with it the Prebystian interest) fearing that the King should at length be induced to give satisfaction to the joint desires of both Kingdoms in the propositions of peace, by all means studied and endeavoured the removeall of the Scottish Armie out of England, for which end they were very busy by their emisaries & agents amongst the members of Parliament & in the City & Committee. In the House of Commons their partie was not great, but most of the members being very desirous to be eased of the great burthen continued upon the Kingdom now after the War was at an end, and not perceiving the design of the Sectaries, did upon the 19. of May, (within a fortnight after the King came to the Scottish Armie,) joyne in a vote to declare that the Kingdom of England had no further use of the continuing of the Scottish Army in that Kingdom, and that upon adjusting of their accompts, they shall be satisfied what shall be due unto them according to the Treaty: Hereupon all supplies for entertainment of that army were withdrawn, though earnestly solicited by the Commissioners of this Kingdom, and for want thereof the Armie was necessitated to take free quarter from the Country people: also secret directions were given to the Parliaments forces, who lay neer to the Scottish Army, to straiten their quarters, which was done accordingly: whereupon they were necessitated to quarter in the four most northern Counties, and a small part of Yorkshire, (the most barren parts of that Kingdom) which made the burthen of those places grow insupportable: thence arose clamours and complaints of intolerable oppreffion, and these were represented in a multiplying glasse, with large additions and aggravations to the Houses of Parliament, so as it was made common discourse, that the Scots came in for their assistance, but were like to stay for their ruine, and if they continued any longer in the Kingdom, the northern parts would be utterly wasted, and many families perish, further by the industrie of the Sectaries libells & railing pamphlets were published, and informations spread against the Scots as Covenant-breakers, apostats from the cause, and compliers with the malignant partie, the better to prepare the minds of the people for removing our Armie by force, if it would not willingly; but the Kingdom of Scotland being desirous to apply themselves to such faire and just ways as tended to an amicable parting, and to the prevention of misunderstandings between the Kingdoms, did in the beginning of August, give power to their Commissioners at London to settle all differences concerning the pay of the Scottish Armie; And the Houses of Parliament having offered to pay presently 200000l. before the removall of our Armie out of that Kingdom, and other two hundred thousand pounds.
pounds thereafter, the Commissioners of this Kingdom, did upon the 2 of September, Declare themselves satisfied therewith, and passed from their former claim, extending to very near ten hundred thousand pounds, that it might appear to all the world that the love of money was neither the cause of their coming into, or abode in that Kingdom. There remained no materiall difference betwixt the Nations, save only concerning the disposall of the Kings person, his Majesty having refused to grant the propositions of peace. Upon the 18. of September, the House of Commons did vote, that the person of the King shall be disposed of as both Houses of the Parliament of England shall think fit, wherein the house of Lords gave their concurrence upon the 24, and a grand Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed to conferre, consult and debate with the Commissioners of this Kingdom concerning the disposall of the person of the King; But before the Houses would give their consent to begin this Conference, they declared, that whatsoever consultation or debate shall be with the Commissioners of Scotland, concerning the disposall of the person of the King, shall not be understood to be any capitulation or treaty between the Kingdomes in relation to the retarding of the march of the Scottish Army and forces out of England, to which our Commissioners were necessitated to agree, or otherwise to have no conference at all: In the conference there were many & large debates for several days, the Houses of Parliament claiming the sole right and power in the disposall of the person of the King in England, and our Commissioners asserting that both Kingdomes had an interest in the disposall of his person, whither he were in England, or Scotland, being the King of both, but at length the conference broke off without any agreement. Then the Houses did again begin to press the removall of the Scottish Armie out of England, and most of Sir Thomas Fairfaxe Armie marched northward; Complaints were renewed from the North concerning their heavie pressures, and it was suggested by the Sectaries to diverse members of the House of Commons, that the Scots were resolved to espouse the malignant quarrell, and intended no lesse then the conquest of England, which was too readily beleived by many, even of those who were promoters of Presbiteriall government, so much the rather that satisfaction being offered in the moneth of August by the Houses touching the pay of the Armie, and the totall summe agreed unto by the Kingdome of Scotland on the 2. of September, their Armie notwithstanding did still continue in the Kingdome of England, for the space of five moneths, from the beginning of September, untill February.
The Kings Majestie, having stayed for a long time in the Scottish Armie, though at first when he came unto them in the moneth of May, he seemed inclinable to give satisfaction to his Parliaments of both Kingdomes, (particularly in the matter of Religion, having in his letter of the 18. of May from the Scots Leagure at Southwell, heartily recommended it to his two Houses of Parliament to take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdomes assembled at Westminster, for speedy finishing that pious and necessary work; And in his letter to Scotland of the 19. of May, professed it to be his voluntary and cordiall resolution to joyne with his Parliaments in setting Religion) yet divers of the Prelatical and Malignant partie, having secretly got access to his Majesty when he was at New-castle, hee became altogether averse from giving satisfaction, and perceiving the steadsfast resolution of the Scottish Army to adhere to the Iolemn Leagure and Covenant, for reformation and defence of Religion, he proposed (in his Answer to the Propositions) to the two Houses of the Parliament of England, that he might come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts with freedom, honour and safety, that he might further treat upon these Propositions of peace presented unto him; And upon the 20. of December, he renewes his desire for comming to London, or any of his houses thereabouts for a further treaty upon the Propositions: This letter coming to their hands upon the 25. of December, upon the 31. they resolve, That Holmby house in the Countie of Northhampton be the place which the Houses think fit for the King to come unto, there to remain with such attendants about him as both Houses of Parliament shall appoint, with respect had to the safety and preservation of his Person in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and libertys of the Kingdomes according to the Covenant, And when the King shall be at Holmby as aforesaid, and the Scots forces gone out of the Kingdom of England, the two Houses of Parliament declare, that then they will be ready, according to their former Declarations for preserving the particular rights of the Kingdom of England, to joyne with the Kingdom of Scotland in employing their best endeavours to procure his Majesties assent to the propositions agreed on by both Kingdoms and presented to his Majestie at Newcastle.

This vote both Houses sent inclosed to his Majestie, and also to the Commissioners of this Kingdome residing with his Majestie at Newcastle, who forthwith transmitted the same to the Parliament then sitting in Scotland, who taking into their most serious consideration the vote of of both Houses, and the necessitie of the speedy return of their Army from England, thought it their duty once more to make their application
to his Majesty, before they took any resolution in relation to the disposal of his Majesties person, and accordingly, they sent Commissioners to his Majesty again, with all earnestness and humility to desire his assent to the propositions as that which was the only way to procure peace, and the most effectual mean to establish and continue Monarchical Government in his Majesties person and posterity, and that his Majesty might be induced to give his assent thereunto, to remember his Majesty, what were his promises when he came into the Scotch Army, for following the advice of his Parliaments, and to represent the many advantages of his granting the propositions, and particularly to give assurance in the name of the Parliament, that this Kingdom would most willingly sacrifice their lives and fortunes to establish his Majesty on his throne, if he should grant the propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and give a satisfactory answer to the rest of the propositions; And upon the other part, in case his Majesty should refuse or delay, then to represent that they found it not lawful for them to assist his Majesty for recovering the possession of his Government, his Majesty not granting the propositions concerning Religion and the Covenant, and giving a satisfactory answer to the rest of the propositions. That they found his Majesties coming to Scotland, dangerous to the cause, to his Majesty, to this Kingdom, and to the union betwixt the Kingdoms, and that both Kingdoms would be necessitated to take a joint course for disposal of his person until he should give a satisfactory Answer to the propositions of both Kingdoms: These earnest desires and offers being made to his Majesty, and the dangers faithfully represented, and his Majesty hearkening to the wicked counsels of these who never sought his honour and happiness, but their own particular interest, and refusing to follow the faithful advice of his Parliament; upon the 16th of January, 1647, the Estates of Parliament passed a declaration, wherein, having considered his Majesties promises when he came into the Scotch Armie, to follow the advice of his Parliaments, his refusal to grant the propositions of both Kingdoms notwithstanding the frequent addresses of this Kingdom for that purpose, his Majesties desire to be in London or some of his houses near to his Houses of Parliament, and the desire of the two houses that he may come to Holdenby house, promising the safety & preservation of his royall person in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and liberties of the Kingdoms according to the Covenant; they did declare their concurrence for his Majesties going to Holdenby house or some other of his houses in or about London, there to remain until he give satisfaction to both Kingdoms in the propositions of peace, and that in the interim there shall
shall be no harm, prejudice, injurie or violence done to his Royall person; that there shall bee no change of Government other then had been for the 3. years preceding, and that his posteritie should nowayes be prejudged in their lawfull succession to the Crown and government of these Kingdomes.

Together with this declaration, they sent some desires to the Parliament of England, that when his Majesty should be at Holmby, Committees from both Kingdomes should attend his Majestie, and employ their best endeavours to procure his Majesties assent to the Propositions of both Kingdomes presented to his Majestie at Newcastle, And in case the King should not give his assent thereunto, that the happie union betwixt the Kingdomes might be continued according to the Covenant and Treaties, That according to the late Treaty betwixt the Kingdomes, no cessation nor any pacification or agreement for peace whatsoever, should be made by either Kingdome, or the Armies of either Kingdome, without the mutuall advice and consent of both: And that none should be debarred from having access to his Majestie who have warrant from the Parliament of Scotland, or their Committees thereunto authorized whereunto the Houses of Parliament did agree, and his Majestie attended by a Committee of both Kingdomes, did repaire to Holmby house in the moneth of February.

The Houses of Parliament who were unanimous concerning the removal of the Scottish Army out of England, and the Kings coming to Holmby house, began now to differ according to the different ends with they had therein proposed unto themselves; for the whole House of Peers, very few excepted, and the far greatest part of the House of Commons were resolved if once the Scottish Armie were removed out of England, to send a considerable number of their owne forces over unto Ireland, to prosecute the war there, (the Lord Ormond, having declared his willingness to leave the sword, and all the places under his command to the house of Parliament) and to keep up in England, only so many forces as was necessary to preserve the Kingdom from disturbance, and these under the command of such officers as had taken the Covenant and were well affected to the worke of Reformation: And their Armie being thus modelled, then to proceed to the settling of a peace with his Majesty upon his grant of the propositions for religion, and such satisfaction in matters civill as should be found necessary for the safety and security of both Kingdoms. All which, these that did best understand the affairs of England, and were most opposit to the Sectaries, did think the Houses of Parliament were better able to bring to passe without, then with the assistance of the Scotch...
tis Armie, in regard of the many jealousies both the Parliament and people had of the continuing of the Scottish Armie in England, the consideration whereof was one of the main reasons that moved this Kingdome to withdraw their Armie out of England, and to agree to his Majesties going to Holmby, there being no ground to hope that the stay of their Armie could be longer usefull in that Kingdome, when both friends and foes were desirous of their removal.

Immediatly after their returne to this Kingdome, and his Majesties going to Holmby, both houses passed an Ordinance for suppressing heresies and schifmes and unwarrantable preaching, and appointed the 10. of May for a day of humiliation because of the grught of heresies and schifmes, and ordained that no foot should be kept up except in Garisons, and only five thousand four hundred Horse in the field under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax; no other officer to be above the degree of a Colonell; no member of either house to have any charge in field or Garison, that all who should be imploied should take the Covenant, and conform to the government of the Church then established, and none who had been in arms against the Parliament should have any charge, nor any prophanne curser, swearer, drunkerd, or other person who was Scandalous in life and conversation, and that eight thousand four hundred foot and two thousand four hundred horse out of the rest of the Army, should goe to Ireland; Two hundered thousand pounds were advanced by the City at the desire of the houses to be sent to the Armie, and such forces as were neither to be kept up in the service of England, nor would engage for Ireland, were appointed to be disbanded on the 2. of June.

The modelling and disbanding of the Armie being thus farre advanced, his Majestie upon the 12. of May, sent an answer to the propositions of peace, wherein he did further condiscend towards the granting of the desires of his Parliaments then he had done formerly, upon receipt whereof the house of Peers voted that the King should come from Holmby, neerer London, to his house at Oatlands, and desired herein the concurrence of the house of Commons.

This is a true relation of what passed from the time of his Majesties coming to the Scottish Armie in the moneth of May, 1646. to the end of May, 1647. And now here we shall make a stand, and desire all such as have not yeelded up their reason and judgment to passion and prejudice, to consider if in all these Transactions any thing of disloyaltie toward our King on the one hand, nor unfaithfulnes in the matter of our Covenant toward the Kingdome of England upon the other, can be laid to our charge. Our chiefe studie and endeavour hath been to render
unto God the things that are Gods, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to our neighbours the things that are theirs. Wee hope it is made cleare and evident to all that will judge impartially, That there was no treaty betwixt this Kingdome, their Committees or Armies with the King before his coming to our Armie; nor after his coming, but with advise and consent of both houses of Parliament, And that it is a malicious wicked device and manifest untruth, that we should our King; wee abhorre the very thought of it as sincerely as wee doe abominatethe treacherous actions of that perfidious Traytor James Grahame, who, as a child of the Devill, hates to speak truth. Let the world judge what ground there is for this reproach which wicked men would cast upon us,
That wee were hired with money by England to agree, that the King should come to Holmbie, when the Armie got only two hundred thousand pound of the Arrears due unto them for a very laborious service, and as a part of the great expenses they had been at by their expedition into England for the ends of the Covenant. When also this agreement for payment of their arrears was made five months before the King with consent of both Kingdomes, went from Newcastle to Holmbie, yea at that time, neither the Kingdome of England, nor Scotland had resolved any thing touching the disposal of the Kings person, whither he should come to London, or to some of his houses neare it, or stay at Newcastle, or goe to Scotland, all the debates about the right and interest to dispose of the King, were subsequent to the agreement concerning the total summe due to the Scottish Armie, and if there had been any transaction publick or privat betwixt the Kingdomes in August, 1646. when they agreed concerning the summes due to the Scottish Armie, would the Kingdome of England have borne the burthen of intertaining the Scottish Armie, (being above 20000. Horse and Foot) five months thereafter to their great charge and expense. What needed all these long debeatks about the King in the painted chamber betwixt the houses and the Commissioners of this Kingdome in the moneths of October, which were also published in print, and what needed these frequent addresses of the Parliament of Scotland, to his Majesty in the moneth of November, December and January, if all was agreed on betwixt the Kingdomes in the moneth of August, And how inconsistent is any such agreement with the offer of the Kingdome of Scotland, very few dayes before his removall from Newcastle most willingly to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for establishing his Majesty upon his throne if even then he would be pleased to give a satisfactory answer to the propositions. Certainly malice it self may here stoppe its mouth, and forbear to lay any thing to our charge in this particular
chcular. Neither can this Kingdom be justly accused of disloyalty or imprudence in giving consent to his Majesties going to Holmbie or some of his Houses about London, because of that which hath followed since; for counsels and resolutions must not be judged according to accidents and events. Who could at that time have foreseen that an Armie raised by the Parliament for their own defence, and which in profession so highly esteemed and magnified the authoritie of Parliament, would not only disobey their orders, but also attempt such horrid things as they have since adventured upon? Surely when the Scottish Armie came out of England, it would have seemed not only improbable but incredible. The Kingdom of Scotland did trust his Majesties person to the honourable Houses of the Parliament of England, who were as deeply engaged by duty, oaths, Covenants and solemnne profession for his Majesties preservation as the Kingdom of Scotland, and no question, they would have preserved his Majesties person from all injury or violence whatsoever, had they not met with unexpected violence against their owne persons; for untill the Armie did by the power of the sword, imprison and seclude the farre greatest part of the Members of the house of Commons, and make voyd the power of the house of Lords, they durft not attempt any thing against his Majesties person. And what wonder, that we who were strangers, could not perceive the depth of such designs (if at that time there was any formed designe of that kind, which were very much question,) when the Houses of Parliament did not foresee their owne ruine, and his Majestie himselfe in the year 1647, when the Propositions of both Kingdomes were presented unto him againe at Hampton Court, in the moneth of September, had such confidence in the Armie, as he was by them induced to beleive that their proposals did much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and might be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace, then the Propositions of both Kingdomes then tendered unto him; And in his answer of the 9. of September, desired the two Houses to take into their consideration the Armies proposals, as the best way in his judgement, in order to peace yea, when his Majestie upon the 11. of November, 1647. did retire from Hampton Court for the preservation of his person, which was in danger as he apprehended, from the levelling partie of the Armie, and was at libertie to have gone whither he pleased; yet so little did he fear any danger to his person from the cheife leaders of the Armie, as he choos'd the Isle of Wright rather than any other place that he might still continue under the protection of the Armie, as he doth profess in his letter of the 19. of November 1647, to both houses of Parliament.

As to the remainder of that which is said against us by that wretched man
man, that we complottted his late Majesties destruction, and have Declared his Son King with provisos, robbing him of all right, and are more perilously hatching the destruction of his present Majesty then ever we did his royal Fathers. We say no person on earth has contributed more toward his Majesties ruine then James Graham himself; And not only the searcher of hearts and our owne consciences, but all our actions and proceedings will witnesse for us, that wee are altogether free of the guilt of his Majesties destruction: We never flattered his Majestie in any evill way, nor advised his Majestie to any such courses as might beget differences betwixt him and his people; Our counsell untoward him always tended to his Majesties giving satisfaction to the just desires of his Parliaments, which through the Lords blessing might have prevented the sad and deplorable condition the royall family is now brought unto by wicked instruments, and we were still so farre from comploting his Majesties destruction, as wee ever freely emparted unto his Majestie whatsoever prejudice or danger wee feared to his person or posterity. The Estates of Parliament of this Kingdome when they first heard of the proceedings of the Sectaries in England against his Majestie, and that some pamphlets had been published there, insinuating the complianc of some in Scotland, with the wicked practises there, did make strict enquirie at all the members of Parliament upon their solemn oath whether themselves had, or they knew of any others within this Kingdome that had accession unto the proceedings of the English Armie in relation to the King or the Houses of Parliament, and could not find that there was any within this Kingdome had any accession thereunto, which they forthwith published in Print & caused to be made publik in England also by their Commissioners before his Majesties death. And further, the Commissioners of this Kingdome, upon the very first motion of proceedings against the King, did by their paper of the 6. of Jan. 1649. represent how contrary it was to the solemn League and Covenant and many solemn professions and Declarations of both Kingdomes, and that such a thing could not but continue and increase the great distractions of these Kingdomes, and involve us in many difficulties, miseries and confusions: they also endeavoured to have access to his Majestie, but could not, and when a Commission was given to certaine persons for his Majesties tryall, they did declare that the Kingdome of Scotland did abominate and detest so horrid a designe against his Majesties person, and in the name of this Kingdome dissent from their proceedings, and the taking away of his Majesties life, and protest that as the Kingdome of Scotland was free from the same, so they might be free from all the evills, miseries, confusions and calamities that might follow thereupon
upon to these distracted Kingdomes, They did likewise imploy their best endeavours with the Lord Fairfax, and others, for preservation of his Majesties person, though without the desired success. And in their paper of the 24. February, they did expostulat with the Commons then sitting at Westminster, for their breach of declarations, protestations, oaths, Covenants and solemn engagements, for taking away the Kings life by a violent death, for their prohibiting to proclaim the Prince of Wales King of these Kingdomes, and for their voting away the Kingly office and the house of Lords, and claiming to themselves the authority of a Parliament. They also desired that nothing might bee done which might wrong King Charles the second in his succession as righteous heir to the Crowne of these Kingdomes, that his just right and title might be acknowledged, and upon just satisfaction given, he might be received and admitted to the exercise of his Government and protested in the name of this Kingdome against all contrary proceedings, for which paper our Commissioners were put under restraint for several days, and afterward sent to the borders of this Kingdome garded with a troope of horse, and a letter being written from the prevailing partie in England, to the Parliament of this Kingdome, to know if they would own the papers of their Commissioners they did by their answer owne and approve their whole proceedings. And no sooner did they hear of his Majesties death, but the very next day the whole Parliament did cause proclaime his sonne the Prince in most solemn manner King of great Britane, France, and Ireland, and with all possible expedition acquainted his Majestie therewith, and afterward dispatched away Commissioners to Holland with their humble desires to his Majestie for setting Religion in purity and his Kingdomes in peace, faithfully promising and obliging themselves upon his Majesties grant of their desires, to doe all for him that could be expected of loyall subjects to their gracious King, and particularly to contribute their best endeavours by all lawful and necessary means according to the Covenant and the duty of faithful subjects, that his Majestie may be restored to the peaceable possession of the Government of his other Kingdomes, and notwithstanding his Majestie was not pleased then, to grant our desires, but to disimiss our Commissioners without satisfaction, promising a further answer by an express to be sent by his Majestie to this Kingdome, and although that express never yet came to us, yet we have renewed our humble and earnest desires to his Majesty by another addresse now presently made to his Majestie in the Isle of Jersey. And whereas it is said we have declared him King with provisoes, we desire it may be considered, that we have demanded nothing of his Majestie but that which we are warranted to doe by the lawes of God and this Kingdome.
dom and the example of his predeceffors, and which is absolutely neffsfor the security of Religion and the peace of this Kingdom. Our endeavours is to walk in the plain ftraight way, neither falling off to the Malignant partie who would introduce an Arbytrary and unlimited government, and give loose reynes to Kings to do what they please without the advice of the E-
states of Parliament, nor declining to the crooked paths of Sectaries, who would undermine and subvert the fundamental and long ef{tablished Go-
vernment of the Kingdom; whereof our former Declarations and the late an{wer of the Parliament the 26. of June laft to a letter from the
prevailing party in England, dated at Westminfter 23. May, 1649. may
be a {fficient testimony. As we have received these grounds and principles concerning Religion and our civill Liberties from our progenitors,
warranted by the Word of God, and constitutions of this Kingdom, fo
we have maintained the fame without alteration these twelve years past,
from the first beginning of these troubles, which were raised by our ad-
versaries because we would not give way to those Innovations in Re-
ligion and the civill Government which they had designed and projected.
And though many in both Kingdoms who have joynd in Covenant with
us, fall away, fome to the one fide and fome to the other, yet it is no
small encouragement for us to continue in our {teadfaith, that we fee
very few of them, that once part from the way wherein they are engaged
by Covenant, that can fix their foot again untill by degrees, they wholly
backslide and fall away, either to one extream or the other, and fo at
length involve themselves in wayes and courses, which not onely true
Religion, but right reason may juftly condemn and abhorre.
Having thus cleared the Proceedings and tran{actions of this Kingdome,
which all a long from the very first beginning cry aloud again{t this pa-
quiller as an impudent lyar in all that he faith again{t us in his Declaration.
We fhall now {peak a little concerning his wicked and difloyall carriage
towards his King and Countrey, wherein his owne hand-writing, and the
records of Parliament will in the first place bear witnes against him.
In the begining of our troubles, the Lord having put it into the hearts
of his people of this land to renew their national Covenant formerly ta-
ken by King Iames, in the yeare 1 5 8 0 . That dif{sembling hypocrit
Iames Grahame, then Earle of Montrofe, did with teares in his eyes and
both his hands lifted up to heaven {ware the words of that Covenant un-
to the Lord in the publifh Assembly of his people; But being a man of a mean
and defperat fortune, and not meeting with that esteem and reward which
he in his vanity proposed to himfelfe, at the first pacification he began
to hearken to the promises of the Court, and to {udy a faction within; and
hold
hold correspondence with the adverse partie without the Kingdome, and by false information, to divide his Majestie from his people. His base and treacherous practices were divers times discovered, and himself made ashamed, yet would he not give over untill at length he was made prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, and afterward brought to his tryall before the Committee for tryall of plotters and incendiaries appointed by his Majestie and the Estates of Parliament, where he was found guilty of perjurie and treachery, and had he then received his due punishment according to justice, he had not troubled the world since; but such was the mercy and favour of his Majestie and the Estates of Parliament as he was pardoned, and no further cenfure inflicted upon him, but that his Majestie declared and caused it to bee inserted in the records of Parliament that he should bee incapable of any office or place in the Court or Commonwealth, and not have access to his Majesties person; Yet not long after his enlargment, contrary to his owne promise and the Articles of the large Treaty betwixt his Majestie and this Kingdome, he repaired to his Majestie in England, and obtained a Commission for invading his native Country, which shortly thereafter he did attempt upon the south borders, and was repulsed, but rather then fail in his designes, he choosed to joyn himself with that barbarous crew of Popish Irish Rebells which invaded this Kingdome upon the north, with whose assistance (and of some unnatural Countriemen, voyd of all religion and humanitie) taking advantage of the quietnes and securitie of this Kingdome when their armies were abroad in England and Ireland, he did cruelly destroy with the sword divers thousands of his owne Countriemen, spoyled many of their goods, burned houses and cornes, ravished women, murthred old and young, killed ministers, complied with papists, countrinanced Idolaters, and dispised the Worship of God; For which abominable Crymes, and his rebellion and treason, as he was excommunicated by the Church, to he was declared traitor by the Estates of Parliament, his coat of Armes tore, and his Estate forefaulted: But for all this, he is not weare of committing wickednes, and therefore would returne into this Kingdome to over-act all his former transgressions and abominations, But if he shall come, we trust in God it is that he may be brought to a shamefull death and cursed end, and here receive from the hand of justice his deserved punishment, where he hath murthred so many of the Lords people, & Julian like hath made apostasie from that cause and Covenant to which he was so solemnly engaged by oath and subscription.

To gaine supplies abroad and assistance at home, this vain man doth publish this his Declaration under the name and title of Liev-
tenant Governor and Captaine generall for his Majestie of the Kingdome of Scotland. Upon what bare pretences he did formerly obtain a Commission from his late Majestie to invade this Kingdome, wee shall not now descant, but wee are very sure that there was scarce any act his Majestie could have done that was more destructive to his own interest or more displeasing to this Kingdome, it being expressly contrary to the ties and bands betwixt King and people; And here we may justly retort upon James Grahame, that he doth begin with the Son upon the same score that he left with the Father, for whether he hath really obtained such a Commission from his Majestie, or doth only abuse his name, Certainly he is not capable of doing his Majestie greater dis-service then is held forth in that declaration. The King received our Commissioners in Holland, and the Parliaments Letter, and treated with them, he denied that he had given any Commission to James Grahame, or any other to invade this Kingdome, & promised a farther answer to our desires by an expresse from himself which is never yet come unto us. The strain and scope of the Declaration makes the whole Nation the party whom his Majestie gives Commission to invade and destroy, for it condemns all the proceedings of the Kingdome, even at the verie first begining of these troubles, as the rebellion of an horrid and infamous faction of rebels, at first causally hatched against his late Majestie of glorious memorie, notwithstanding they were approved by his Majestie in the yeare 1639. at the treaty at Berwick, wherein James Grahame himself was an actor and contenfer. It condemns all the Proceedings of this Kingdome in the year 1640. notwithstanding his Majestie is obliged in the large treaty (which is ratified in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes) for himself and his succours by his promise in verbo Principis, never to come in the contrary ther-of, nor any thing therein contained, but to hold the same firm and stable in all points, and that he shall cause it to be trueltie observed by all his Majesties Leidges according to the tenour and intent thereof for now and ever, these are the verie words of the treaty. And now what can be imagind to be a security to the subjects of this Kingdome, if that which their King is solemnly engaged unto by promise for himself and his succours, in verbo Principis, and confirmed in the Parliaments of both Kingdomes, shall not onlie be questioned, but their desires therein agreed unto by his Majestie declared to be violent and most unjust. And all this is not enough to quarrell treaties and Established laws, and to accuse the whole nation, but they are by this declaration accompted more wicked then any in England, or Ireland, this miserable miscreant is better pleased with the Sectaries or the Irish rebels then with his native Country.
wherein he declares his apostacy to be of such a stamp, as he can sooner reconcile with all the world, then with the Cause and Covenant which he did once swear to maintain and defend. If he may but sit and judge, all those in the Kingdom, who have kept the oath of God, and made conscience of their Covenant, shall be found accessory to the murther and ruine of the King, and all those who have perjured themselves, and made apostasy from the Cause & Covenant, as he hath done, shall be justifi ed as the only righteous persons of the Nation, as he is pleased to style them in his Declaration. Neither is this the height of his insolency & ambition, but in the frontispiece of that pamphlet he is exalted to be Governour of Scotland, as if it were a Province or Conquered Nation, a title which our An- cestors would never endure in the person of any but the King, & we trust in God it shall never take place in this nor any subsequent generation. Is it not a sad & lamentable thing, that when his Majesty hath loft Possessi on of the Kingdom of England, is in little better condition for Ireland, and only Scotland is desirous to embrace him upon grant of their just desires, there should yet be such Counsellors about his Majesty, as would advise him no otherways to come to his Throne in Scotland but by Conquest, and before the Conquelt be made, to declare the Governour, and to choose that Governour such a one as is more generally hated by many degrees than any person of the Nation? what greater provocations can be given then these, or what designe worse then this can be set on foot to make his Majesty and his people irreconcilable? but we know that no bounds can be set to the wickednes of this malicious man who had rather see both King and Kingdom utterly ruined, then that his own designes should faile, and therefore we are very unwilling to think that these things are done with his Majesties knowledge and approbation, but rather that his Majesties name is abused in that pretended Declaration, or if there hath been any Commission granted unto him, that it hath been fur- reptitiously purchased from his Majesty; in which opinion we desire to rest, and shall patiently wait for his Majesties Answer to our desires now again presented to his Majesty in the Isle of Jersey.

These things being duly weighed and considered by foreign Princes and States, we trust that since we have never done any injury or wrong to them, but have rather been ready to perform all friendly duties in our power as we have had occasion and opportunity, and seeing we only desire to enjoy our Religion and Liberties under his Majesty, according to the word of God, and the Lawes and Constitutions of this Kirk and Kingdome, and are most willing, upon just satisfaction given to our desires presented to his Majesty, and published to the world, in Print, not only
to receive his Majesty, and submit to his Government; but also to contribute our best endeavours by all lawful and necessary means according to the Covenant, and the duty of faithfull Subjects, that his Majesty may be restored to the peaceable possession of the government of his other Kingdoms; they will be mindfull of that Common Rule of Justice known by the light of nature, and confirmed by our Saviour Christ, *whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you, doe so to them.* And therefore as they would expect from us in the like case, we doe expect from them that they will neither contribute men nor monies, nor any other ayd or assistance to a declared Traytor, who is neither seeking his Majesties honour and happiness, nor the good of his native country, but meerly to satisfie his own lufts and ambitious ends, and designes.

But in a speciall manner, we doe expect from all Protestant Princes and States, that they will remember what is said to *Iehosaphat* for affiling *Achab.* *Shouldst thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord, therefore is wrath upon thee from before the Lord.* And that as they desire to keep the Communion of Saints, they will forbeare to give him either countenance or assistance, but look upon him as a person justly excluded from civill society, for his Treasonable practices, and excommunicated from the Church of Christ, for his abominable transgressions.

If he shall come into this Kingdom, we are confident that all those in whom the sense of the fear of God, duty to the King, and affections to their native country, is not utterly decayed and extinguished, will hartsily and unanimously joyn to resist and oppose him, & to use their best endeavours, that he may be brought to condigne and exemplary punishment.

But if there shall be any found in the land so foolish, base, and treacherous, as to hearken to the vain promises, and empty professions of that scandalous, wicked, and infamous Pamphlet, published under the name of a *Declaration of his Excellencie James Marquess of Monroffle; Lieutenant Governour, and Captain Generall for his Majestie of the Kingdom of Scotland,* (which, in detestation thereof, we have caused burned publickly at the Cross of Edinburgh, by the hand of the Common Hangman) and shal ayd or assist the said *James Graham,* in his wicked designs against Religion, King, and Kingdom. We doe hereby declare all such as shall joyn or concure with him or his adherents in armes, to be guilty of High Treason, and to be punished and proceeded against as the Parliament or their Committees, shall think fit; And doe further discharge all persons of whatsoever quality or degree, to joyn with them in any Oath, Band,
Band, or Association whatsoever, or to assist or supply them and their adherents, or any of them with Men, Money, Armes, Ammunition, Victual, Counsell, or Intelligence, or to keep any sort of correspondence publick or private with them, or any ways to aid or countenance them or any of them under the pain of being esteemed as Rebels, and proceeded against as the Parliament or their Committees shall think fit, and this we declare to be instead of all Letters of intercommoning. And Power and Warrant is hereby given to all good subjects within the Kingdom, to rise in Armes for opposing and suppressing all such as shall joyne in Rebellion, as they shall be called and required thereunto by the Lord Generall, Lieutenant Generall, or any others having authority for that effect. And for the encouragement of all such as shall suffer in opposing or suppressing them, We doe further declare, that not only the losses and sufferings of such as shall be active in the cause against them, shall be taken in speciall consideration, and repaired out of the Estates of such as shall joyne in Rebellion, as aforesaid; but their service shall be rewarded, according as they shall be found to deserve; And we do ordain these presents to be printed and published at the Mercat Croffe of Edinburgh, and other ordinary places of publication needfull.

A. Ionston.

Clericus Registri.

FINIS.