

still thus confound the *scire* and the *esse*, or put the *scire* before the *esse*, they may go on in error, and no reason can silence them. The thing is really first *true* or *false*, before it is *known* or *thought* so to be; If it be *true*, then he that thinketh it *false* is the delinquent. If it be a *sin*, it is not mens taking it for no *sin*, that will make it so, nor disoblige the orthodox from their Ministry. But if it be no *sin* that is Commanded the *Nonconformers* are in the fault. And if it be a Heresie which they stand for, may be silenced.

And yet we will not deny, but if the generality of the Ministry obtain their liberty by some small tollerable sin or error, and the sounder part be few and unnecessary in that Country, Prudence obligeth them to go to some other place that needeth them, and never to exercise their Ministry where in true reason it is like to do more hurt than good.

LXIX. 25. Where under any of the foresaid unjust prohibitions the silenced Ministers and people shall gather no distinct Churches, but only *Auditories* or *Chappels* as parts of the *Parish Churches*, and that only where there is (through the bigness of the Parish, or distance from the Parish Church, or paucity, or insufficiency, or unfaithfulness of Parish Priests a *true necessity*, not *unchurching* or separating from the Parish Church, but owning it and holding Communion with it, and promoting the reputation of the true Parish Minister and Communion, and perswading others to the like, we cannot see that this is any Schism; but rather their practise who fire and divide mens minds by envious clamours against the innocent, and proudly calling others Schismatics. I 3 LXX.



LXX. 26. We have greatly lamented the true Schismatical disposition of some religiously affected persons, who make their singularities or little differences, the occasions of unchristening, *unchurching* or *degrading* those that are wiser than themselves, and running away from one another on pretence of discipline, and avoiding sin. But yet we hold that gentle forbearing tolerable differences, even in distinct Churches, guilty of Schism, so they be kept from unpeaceable reviling of others, is a meeter way to avoid the mischiefs, than with prison, sword or fire to exasperate them. It is noted that *Nestorius* the Heretick was the first sharp persecutor of the *Novatians*: But most of the better Bishops tolerated them, as did the Emperours: And two prudent gentle Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Atticus* and *Proclus*, reduced the *Joannites*, and lenified other divided Parties, which the fiercer men had made and kept up by their violence.

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## SECT. VII.

*Some Matters of Fact preparatory to the true Application of what is before laid down.*

WE must crave that justice of the Reader as to note, that hitherto we have spoken but of the *Doctrinal part* about Schism, not applying it to *England* or any others: Nor shall we now any otherwise apply it, than to lay down some little part of the *Matters of Fact*, which the



the Nonconformists are considering to help others to apply it without mistake, as they shall see cause.

We intend not, in this, the determination of the points in matter of right; nor do we here tell men (unless on the by in the stating of some few questions,) what it is that we account good or evil, much less do we here give the proofs or reasons of our Cause: That is the thing for which we greatly desire the allowance of our Superiours; But must not unnecessarily presume to do it, lest we displease them; though we hear that some of them take us as not sincere, for keeping up a difference, and giving no more reasons of it: The thing which we so greatly desire leave to do, but dare not be so bold yet as to venture by it to displease them, who condemn us for not doing it, lest their anger would be sharper to us if we do it: so great is our difficulty between this *Scylla* and *Charybdis*.

But we hope we may adventure to open some part of the *Matter of Fact*, which Conformity and Nonconformity are concerned in, that so men may conjecture at the Case themselves; which will be no reflexion on the Government (barely to tell what they command,) nor a challenging any of our Superiours to a disputation, nor a charging them as faulty that cannot bear it.



1. *Matters of Fact to be foreknown, to the true understanding of the Cause.*

1. **T**HE root of the difference between the *Old Nonconformists* and the *Conformists*, was that one sort thought they should stick to the meer Scripture Rule and simplicity, and go far from all additions which were found invented or abused by the Papists, in Doctrine, Worship and Government; and the other side thought that they should shew more reverence to the customs of the ancient Church, and retain that which was not forbidden in the Scripture, which was introduced before the ripeness of the Papacy, or before the year 600 at least, and which was found lawful in the *Roman Church*, and common to them with the *Greek*, that we might not seem singular, odd and humorous, or to go further from the Papists than reason and necessity drave us. And the Laity seemed no where so sensible of the difference, as between the way of *Ceremony*, and *unceremonious simplicity*, and the way of our many short Liturgick Prayers and Offices, and the way of *free-praying* from the present sense and habits of the speaker; while pacificators thought both seasonably good.

2. The sad eruption of this difference among the Exiles at *Frankford* while Dr. Cox and Mr. Horn and their party, strove for the English Liturgie, and the other party strove against it for the freer way, is at large reported in a book called *the troubles at Frankford*.

3. Queen



3. Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* discountenancing and suppressing the Nonconformists, they attempted in *Northamptonshire* and *Warwickshire* a little while to have set and kept up private Churches and governed them in the Presbyterian way; But that attempt was soon broken and frustrate by the industry of Bishop *Whitgift* and *Bancroft*: And the Nonconformists lived according to their various opportunities: some of them conformed: some were by connivence permitted in peculiars and small improper places, or Chappels that had little maintenance, in the publick Ministry which kept them from gathering secret Churches: some of them had this liberty a great part of their lives, as Mr. *Hilderseam*, Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Her- ing*, Mr. *Paget*, Mr. *Misley* senior and junior, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Slater*, and Mr. *Ash* at *Bremicham* Mr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Pateman*, Mr. *Paul Bayne*, Mr. *Fox* of *Tewksbury*, *John Fox*, and many more. Some had this liberty all their lives, as Mr. *Knemstubs*, Dr. *Chadderton*, Dr. *Reignolds* Dr. *Humphrey*, Mr. *Perkins*, Mr. *John Ball*, Mr. *Barnet*, Mr. *Geeree*, Mr. *Root*, Mr. *Atkins* Mr. *Gilpin*, *John Rogers* and many others: some were fain to shift up and down by hiding themselves, and by flight, and these preached sometimes secretly in the houses where they were, and sometime publicly for a day and away, where they could be admitted: so did Mr. *Parker*, Mr. *Braadshaw*, Mr. *Nicols*, Mr. *Brightman*, Mr. *Brumskil*, Mr. *Humphrey Fen*, Mr. *Sutcliff*, Mr. *Thomas*, and many more; and after their silencing Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, and many more that went to *America*, Mr. *Cartwright* was per-



permitted in the Hospital at *Warwick*, Mr. *Harvey*, and Mr. *Hind* at *Bunbury* in *Cheshire*, and many more kept in (having small maintenance) being in peculiar or priviledged places: Mr. *Rathband*, Mr. *Angier*, Mr. *Johnson*, Mr. *Gee*, Mr. *Hancock*, and many others oft silenced, had after liberty by fits. Mr. *Bowrne* of *Manchester*, Mr. *Broxholm* in *Darbyshire*, Mr. *Cooper* of *Huntingtonshire* (at *Elton*) and many others suffered more, and laboured more privately. Dr. *Ames* was invited to *Frankera*, some were further alienated from the *English* Prelacie, and separated from their Churches, and some of them called *Brownists*, were so hot at home, that they were put to death; Mr. *Ainsworth*, *Johnson*, *Robinson* and others fled beyond seas, and there gathered Churches of those that followed them; and broke by divisions among themselves. The old Nonconformists being most dead, and the later gone most to *America*, we cannot learn that in 1640 there were many more Nonconformist Ministers in *England*, than there be Counties, if so many.

4. The Conformists shortly fell into dissension among themselves, especially about three things, *Arminianism* (as it was called) and *Conciliation with the Church of Rome*, and *Prerogative*: Dr. *Heylin* in the Life of ArchBishop *Laud* doth fully open all these differences, and tells us that Archbishop *Abbot* was the Head of one party, and in point of *Antiarminianism* even Archbishop *Whitgift* before him, with *Whitaker* and others had made the *Lambeth* Articles, driven the *Arminians* from *Cambridge*: King *James* had discountenanced them in *Holland*, and sent six

Divines



Divines to the Synod of *Dort*, who owned and helpt to form those Articles: And he tells us that Bishop *Land* had no Bishops on his side but Bishop *Neale*, Bishop *Buckeridge*, Bishop *Corbet*, and Bishop *Howson*, and after Bishop *Mountague*, and thought it not safe to trust his Cause to a Convocation; the major part called then *The Church of England*, 1. Cryed down *Arminianism* as dangerous Doctrine; 2. Cryed down any neerer approach to the *Papists*, and the *Toleration* of them; 3. And were much for the *Law* against *absoluteness* in the King; and Dr. *Heylins* and *Rushworth's* Collect. will tell you the full story of *Manwaring* & *Sibthorp*, and Archbishop *Abbots* refusing to license *Sibthorp's* Book, and the Consequents of all. Thus these two Parties grew into jealousies, the Old Church-men accusing the New on these three accounts, and the New ones striving, as Dr. *Heylin* describeth them, to get into power and overturn the Old.

5. In this contention the Parliaments also involved themselves and the Majority still clave to the Majority of the Bishops and Clergy (then called *the Church of England* :) And in all or most Parliaments cried up *Religion*, *Law* and *Propriety* and the *Liberty* of *Subjects*, and cried down *Arminianism*, *Monopolies*, *Connivence* and *Favouring* of *Papists*, and their increase thereby; expressing by *Speeches*, and *Remonstrances*, their jealousies in all these points, till they were dissolved.

6. The writings of Bishop *Jewel*, and much more Bishop *Bilson*, and most of all Mr. *Richard Hooker*, and such as were of their mind, shew us what Principles there, and then were by the  
Laity



Laiety that followed them, received. We will not recite their words, lest our intent be misunderstood; neither *Bishop Bilsons* instances in what cases Kings may be resisted by armes Nor Mr. *Hookers* that maketh Legislation the natural right of the Body politicke, and governing power to be thence derived, to depend upon the Body, and to returne to it by escheats, when heirs fail, and that the King is *singulis Major* and *universis Minor*, &c. (His eighth Book was in print long before Bishop *Gauden* published it, who yet vindicateth it to be *Hookers* own.)

7. In 1637, 1638, 1639. A Bishop *Land* using more severity against dissenters than had been used of late before, and the visitations more enquiring after *private fasts and meetings* and *going out of mens own Parishes to hear*, and such like, and also the Book for *sports on the Lords daies* being necessarily to be read by all the *Conformable Ministers* in the Churches, and *Altars, Railes and Bowing* towards them being brought in, and in many places *afternoon Sermons* and *Lectures* put down, the minds of men before filled with the aforementioned jealousies, were made much more jealous than before. And after the imprisonment of some, the stigmatizing of some, and the removall of many beyond the Seas, and the death of more, the Nonconformable Ministers were reduced to the paucity before mentioned; but the minds of many people were more alienated from the latter set of Bishops, and the old sort of Conformists more jealous of them, and more afraid of Popery, &c. than before.

8. The new Liturgy then imposed on the  
Scots,



*Scots*, with the other changes there attempted, the designs charged on the Marq. of *Hamilton*, the fear of the Lords losing the Tyths, &c. which Dr. *Heylin* mentioneth as the causes or occasions of their arming there, with the progress thereof, and their entring into *England*, and the advantage thence taken by some English Lords, to advise the King to call a Parliament once and again, and the discontents and proceedings of that Parliament against the two Ministers of the King; for former things with such other matters we had rather the reader took from others, than from us. We are unwilling to be the mentioners of any more than concerneth our present cause, and the things are very commonly known.

9. On the 23. of *October*, 1641. The Irish suddenly rose, and murdered no less than two hundred thousand persons, and *Dublin* narrowly escaped them, of which we refer the Reader to the examinations published by Dr. *Henry Jones*, since a Bishop in *Ireland*, and to the history of Sir *John Temple*, and to the Earl of *Orery's* Answer to Mr. *Welsh*.

10. The dreadfulnes of this Massacre (so far exceeding the French) & the news sent over that the Irish said that they had the Kings Commission and the foregoing jealousies of the people and the Parliaments Declarations, raised in multitudes of the people a fear that the Irish when they had ended their work there would come over hither and do the like; and that they had partakers in *England* of whom we were in danger, and that there was no way of safety but to adhere to the Parliament for their own defence, or else it would



would quickly be too late to complain.]

11. In 1642. the lamentable Civil Warr brake out: At which time as far as ever we could learn by acquaintance with some of them and report of others, excepting an inconsiderable number, the Houses of Lords and Commons consisted of those that had still lived in conformity to the Church of *England* and the Episcopal Government and were such Conformists as Dr. *Heylin* describeth Archbishop *Abbot* and the Clergy and Parliaments of his times to have been, Crying out of the danger of a new partie, that said they would shake our *Religion, Liberties* and *Property*. And such were they when the War began, Presbytery being then little known among them.

12. Their fear of being overpowred by the party of whom they seemed to think themselves in sudden danger, caused some of them to countenance such Petitionings and clamours of the *Londoners*, Apprentices, and others, as we think disorders and provocation of the King.

13. The first open beginning was about the Militia: And whether the *Lord Lieutenants* whom the Parliament chose, were not *almost all Episcopal Conformists*, we intreat the Reader but to peruse the Catalogue in the ordinance for that Militia, and to ask any that well knew them (as some of us did many of them) and he may certainly be satisfied.

14. The same we say 1. Of the *far greatest part* of the General Officers, Collonels, Lieutenant-Collonels, and Majors of the Earl of *Essex's* Army. 2. And of the Sea-Captains. 3. And of the Major Generals of *Brigades*, and Counties through the Land.

15. When



15. When the Parliament's Armies were worsted and weakened by the King, and they found themselves in danger of being overcome, they intreated help from the Scots, who taking the advantage of their straits, brought in the Covenant as the Condition of their help; which the Parliament rather accepted than they would lose them, which at first was imposed on none by force: But (to pass by all other Considerations) was judged by many wise men, to be an occasion of division, as making the opposition to *Prelacy*, to be the terms of the Kingdoms Unity and Concord, when they might know that the King and a great, if not the greatest part of the Kingdom, were of the contrary mind, and so it was thought to be (as the Papal terms of Unity) a means of unavoidable division: But others thought that because it tied them to no endeavours, but in their Places and Callings, they might take it.

16. The Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* were men that had lived in Conformity, except about eight or nine of them, and the Scots: But being such as thought Conformity lawful in case of deprivation, but the things imposed to be a snare, which should be removed if it could be lawfully done, they also received the Covenant, but were divided about the sense of the word [*Prelacy*,] many professing their Judgment to be for Moderate Episcopacy; whereupon the describing additions [*Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons*] were added. And upon such a Profession that it disclaimed not all Episcopacy, Mr. *Coleman* is said to have given the Covenant to the House of Lords. And they complained of  
the



Parliament which tied them to meddle with nothing but what they offered to them.

17. This Covenant and Vow was taken by the *Parliament*, and by their *Garrisons* and *Souldiers* that would voluntarily take it, as a test whom they would trust; the rest being had in suspension: And after the wars; by such as were ordained Ministers, and by the Kings adherents when they made their compositions; so far was it afterward imposed. But many Ministers and Gentlemen refused it, and so did *Cromwel's* Souldiers, and in many Counties few did take it.

18. How far the Parliament was from being Presbyterians, may partly be seen in the Propositions sent from them by the Earl of *Essex* to the King at *Nottingham*, and partly by their defeating all the desires and endeavours of those that would have Presbytery settled through the Land: We know of no places but *London* and *Lancashire* where it was commonly taken up, and some little of it at *Coventry*, and some few such places. And that was only as a tolerated or commended thing, without any imposition that ever we knew of; And accordingly it came to nothing in a short time.

17. Till their new modelling their Army, the Parliament had given out all Commissions to their Souldiers to fight for [*King and Parliament.*] But then the King's name was left out; which seeming to many thousands an utter change of the Cause, from that time many did desert them: And thereupon the Party called Sectaries flowing in to *Cromwel*, and his Army conquering, the power fell into their hands, who imprisoned the King, accused and drove away  
eleven



eleven Members of the Parliament, and afterward imprisoned and excluded the major part of the remaining House, and with the rest cut off the King, cast down the House of Lords, pretended a while to set up a Commonwealth (as they called it) imposed an *Engagement to that Commonwealth as established without King and House of Lords*; ordered the sequestration of the Ministers that refused it, and of those that kept not their daies of fasting and thanksgiving, for the Scottish wars which then they made. After which they cast out with scorn that remnant of the Commons that had joyned with them; and chose themselves some men called a Parliament, who attempting to put down all Parish-Ministers, Tythes and Universities (the first put to the Vote, and carried but by a few against them) they were broke up by delivering up their Commission to *Oliver*, who was made Protector, and had the honour designed of saving the Ministry, Tythes and Universities from the Sectaries; even from that danger into which he had brought them.

20. From the time of these *New Causes and Changes*, especially the destroying the King, violating and casting out the Parliament men, imposing the engagement &c. the Ministers called Presbyterian in *England*, some few compliers excepted (many of whom since Conform) declared themselves against all this, and were lookt upon as enemies; though kindness was offered to reconcile them. Some were imprisoned, many cast out of their places in the Universities, some sequestred, and Mr. *Dove* and Mr. *Gibbons* (a Gentleman) beheaded. Mr. *Gee* with the



*Lancashire* Ministers, with some of us, wrote against these proceedings of the then Power : Many Preacht against them, so that the sober Religious people of the land grew commonly disaffected to them : And what the *Scots* did and how they were conquered, we need not here relate.

21. The Ministers who were then in possession of the Parish Churches were of many minds about Church Government. 1. Many were for the old Episcopacy and Liturgie 2. Many were for a reformed Episcopacy : 3. Many were for Presbytery ( that is, Church-Government by Presbyteries, Classes and National assemblies, of Teaching and of Governing unordained Elders Conjunct, as *jure divino* ) 4. Some were for that which is called Independency. 5. Some thought that no form of Church Government was *jure divino*. 6. But the most of our acquaintance were peaceable, moderate men that thought several parties had somewhat of the right, and that the points of difference were so few and small, that they might well live in peace and love, and that none of the parties was so right as that in all things they should be followed, and others trod down to set them up : And many of these were young men that, being at the Schools, had not been engaged in the first quarrels, and desired not to side with any dividing parties, and modestly professed that they had not maturity enough to study themselves to any great confidence in the Controversies.

22. This last sort of men beginning in *Worcestershire* set on foot a work of reconciling

Asso-



Association, in which the Episcopal, Presbyterians and Independants, agreed to practise so much of Church Government and Ministration as they were all agreed in, with mutual Love and assisting concord, and to forbear one another in the rest, till God should bring us neerer. ( And after they added another Agreement, to Catechise every person in their Parishes old and young, that would come to them, or receive them thereto; and personally to instruct and exhort them about the practicals of Religion, and preparation for death and the life to come ) This example was presently followed by the Ministers in *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Essex*, and going on in other Counties, till the confusions 1659 interrupted it, and the return of the Prelacie ended it and many such endeavours.

23. When *Oliver* was dead, many sorts of Government were set up in one year: First his son *Richard* ( who having never been in Arms, and being famed to be for the King, many thought he would have been ready, when he could, to resign the Kingdom to him, and spoke him fair on that account, and others because they thought he would quiet the violent, and keep out utter confusion: ) After his ejection the Remnant of the Commons called the Commonwealth was restored. After this they were cast out again, and a Council of State Chosen by the Army; till the Kingdom grew to scorn them all, and was weary and ashamed of the confusions, and revived their designs to restore the King.

24. The first open attempt of united endeavours  
K 2  
against



against the Army, to restore the King, was by the *Cheshire, Lancashire, and Northwales* men, under *Sr. Georg Booth* (now *Lord De lamere*) and *Sir Tho. Middleton*, who had been commanders for the Parliament; and was broken by the Armies Conquering them. *Mr. Cook, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Seddan*, sent up Prisoners, and in danger of death, and other Ministers, who since are silenced and ruined by those they helpt.

25. But the attempts being renewed, at the same time, the division of the Opposers (the *Army and the Commonwealth Members*) shook them all to pieces, and ruined them, and the new closure of the Old Parliamentarians, and the Royalists, and the Presbyterians, and other Ministers with the Episcopal, strengthened them, and restored the King: The Presbyterian Officers and Souldiers of General *Monk's* Army concurring with the rest, and *Sir Thomas Allen* then Lord Mayor (many *London* Ministers on their part counselling him thereto) with the Aldermen and others, inviting General *Monk* to joyn with the City herein against the Opposers; from which very day, the scales were turned, and all went on without any considerable stop, and the old ejected Members of Parliament first, and the Council settled *pro tempore* after, prepared for His Majesties return; and *Dr. Gauden, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter* Preaching at the Fast of the next Parliament, (as their Printed Sermons shew) the King the next morning was voted to return, and to be invited to his Fathers Throne.

26. In preparation for this, some Ministers now silenced, had treated with some Gentlemen firm to the King, and with Bishop *Usher*, Bishop *Browrig*,



*Browrig, Dr. Hammond*, and others, who all encouraged them ( though some much more than others ) by professing moderate, healing principles and intentions : And in *London*, and several Counties, the Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen that had still adhered to the King, profess and published their peaceable desires of Concord, and resolution against revenge ; And Letters were written from *France* to divers here, to take off all the unjust suspicions that some had raised about the Kings Religion ; all which promoted the Concord that accomplished the Change.

27. Those that saw the marvelous success of this *reconciliation and concord*, and knew that the *Clergies distance* was most likely, if any thing, to hinder the happy perfection and settlement of a full desired peace, did presently attempt an agreement among them : And upon the motion of some of the since silenced Ministers, the Earl of *Manchester*, and the Earl of *Overy* mentioning it to the King, they told us, that it was well pleasing to His Majesty : Whereupon His Majesty vouchsafing them audience, and great encouragement, several persons on each side were appointed to treat of the necessary terms of settled Concord and to yield to each other as far as they could, and offer their mutual concessions : What was done in this is not now to be mentioned, save that part of it was published by some body, which declareth it, and the first part being about Church Government and worship, issued in the publication of His *Majesties Gracious Declaration about Ecclesiastical Affairs*, by which all our breaches seemed at

K 3

the



the present to be almost healed, and the House of Commons gave His M A J E S T Y Publick thanks.

28 At this time the Lord Chancellor as a token of His Majesties Gracious favour and acceptance, offered *Bishopricks to three* that then treated for Reconciliation, and *Deanries to two* or three of them. Of the three first, one did the next day save one refuse it, but in a letter to him professing his gratitude, and that he was so rejoiced in His Majesties Gracious Declaration, that if it might but be settled by Law, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to perswade all men to conformity on those terms, and therefore would not disable himself thereto by taking a Bishoprick, and making men think that it was not for just concord, but his own interest that he wrote or pleaded: Another of them soon accepted: The third and the two or three that had Deanries offered them, only suspended till they saw whether His Majesties Declaration would live or dye.

29. what was done in the next attempt upon His Majesties Commission to *agree on such alterations of the Liturgie as were necessary to tender Consciences, &c.* we are to make no further mention of, then is made by the writings given, in which some body shortly after (in *part* and with many false printings) published; *An Addition to the Liturgie, A Reply to some former Papers of the Bishops, and an Earnest Petition* to them for the *Churches Peace*, which were given in and never answered by them (that we know of) some one printed. And being in writing required by a Right reverend Bishop then in the Chair, as from superiours to lay by meer

Incon-



*Inconveniences*, and to give in those points which we took to be *flat sin*, we gave in *eight particulars* the next day as part; and by that time but one of our arguments about one of them was half handled, and the rest of the arguments untouched, and the rest of the Controverted instances not medled with, our Commission was expired: And the Bishops argumentation as Opponents, afterward, on another occasion printed.

30. Shortly after the convocation of the Clergie settled the Liturgie as now it is settled: The Kings Declaration dyed: The Parliament made the *Act of Vniformity*, by which many Ministers for not conforming to that Law were on *August. 24. 1662* ejected and silenced, on severe penalties. About Eighteen hundred of their names from several Counties were shewed Mr. *Calamy* and others; and some say about 200 were omitted, and that they were in all above 2000.

31. They that had treated for Reconciliation foresaw what sad divisions were like to follow, if we were not healed and united; and therefore in their Petition made a solemn Protestation that *nothing but the fear of sin and Gods displeasure should hinder them from Conformity*, deprecating the woful effects of the division, which could not possibly be otherwise avoided, than by some necessary abatements of the Impositions: and foretelling much that hath since come to pass, which common understanding might easily see in the Causes.

32. The persons that were silenced were not of one mind and measure about all the things imposed on them. 1. Some of them were



Episcopal, and for as much as *Richard Hooker* writeth for, and were against the Covenant (and never took it) and the Parliaments War, and were for the Liturgie and Ceremonies, and had Conformed had these been all that had been imposed, who yet were cast out of Fellowships and Ministry: Yea some had suffered for the King, and been ruined in their patrimony, some imprisoned for him, and some had been in arms for him. 2. Besides these, and other Episcopal Nonconformists, some and very many, and we think the greatest part of any one, were such disengaged pacificators as we before mentioned about associations: 3. Some were for the Presbyterian Government, and 4. Some for that called Independent, which were comparatively but few.

Also some were (as heretofore *Dr. John Reynolds*, *Dr. Humphrey*, *Mr. Perkins*, *Mr. Paul Bayn*, &c. for some part of Conformity (*Kneeling* and *Liturgie*, and some for the *Surplice*) & against other parts: Many would have come in to all the old Conformity, had it not been for that one sentence in the Canon-subscription [*Nothing Contrary to the word of God*] (which kept out *Mr. Chillingworth* himself, as is reported, till some dispensation let him in.) But the *New Conformity* was such as satisfied them all against it. Many purposed to have yielded to Prelacy, Liturgie and Ceremonies, and gone to the utmost that Conscience would tolerate, rather than lay by their Ministry. But when they saw the new Act for *Uniformity*, their deliberations were at an end.

33. Their interest, honour or somewhat else led



led many persons of those times, when they had made the name of *Presbyterians* odious, to call all the Nonconformists that were *Episcopal* or neutral, by the name of *Presbyterians*, even those that had declared themselves against the Presbyterian frame, so they were not Independents. And they continue that practice to serve their ends to this day.

34. The elder sort of the Nonconformists were ordained by Diocesan Bishops: The younger sort were ordained by Assemblies of the Parish Pastors of Cities and Countries, no other ordination being then allowed by those in Power.

35. As to the late Civil Wars which some most lowdly charge on the Nonconformists, this is the truth, that the several parties charge the beginning of that war on one another: One party saith that the *Presbyterians* begun it in *England*: Another party lay it on the old Church of *England* men that followed Archbishop *Abbot*, and such like: Both these accused Parties laid the beginning on Archbishop *Laud* as an Innovator, and those that followed him: And some think that every side had too much hand in it, and were to be blamed. The truth is, 1. That more by far of the Nonconformists than of the late sort of the Prelatists were for the Parliament in those times: 2. That some that were Sectaries, and some that were hot for the Parliament did conform: 3. That some few that had been in the King's Army or Cause, and that were sufferers for him, and were against the Covenant and the Parliaments War, were Nonconformists: 4. That many more of the old *Episcopal* Comformists,



*mists*, than of the later sort of them were for the Parliament: 5. That the Archbishop of York (*Williams*) who had some time been Lord Keeper, was one of the Parliaments Commanders in *North-Wales* (as it is reported without denial.) 6. That most Ministers are dead that were in that War. 7. That the *Westminster* Assembly, as is said, came thither almost all Conformists. 8. That so small is the number of the present silenced Ministers who had any hand in those Wars, that if no other were ejected and silenced but they, the case would be judged comparatively very easie, and it would be thankfully accepted, as hath oft been told. For most were then youths at School, and in the Universities, and many lived in the King's quarters and garrisons, and many other never medled with Wars at all; it being now about thirty four, or five years since the War began. 9. That all the Wars that have been since their opposition to the Parliament and violence done to the person of the King, were far from being owned by the common sort of the now Nonconformists, as was said. 10. The Doctrine of *Bilson*, *Hooker*, and such like, containing such Principles as Parliament-men then usually professed is before mentioned, though not fully recited, and is commonly known; and that the main body of the Parliament, Assembly, Army, Commanders, Lord Lieutenants, Major Generals of Bragades, and Sea-Captains, were professed Conformists of the Church of *England*. 11. Lastly, We had hoped that His Majesties prudence had by the Act of Oblivion long since ended this part of the Contention; but we find still *some* conformable Ministers



nisters whom in other respects we much esteem and love, who (as if Truth, Charity, Justice and Humanity had been forgotten by them) affirm in print that *All the Nonconformists were guilty of the King's Death*; passing over what is aforesaid of the Conformists; and others of them crying out to Magistrates to execute the Laws on us, by the urged Motive of their late sequestrations and sufferings: as if they knew not, or would not have others to know, how few Nonconformists in Parliament or Militia there were at the beginning of the War in comparison of the Conformists; and how much the second, third and following *Causes, Parties, and Tragedies* in that War, were disliked by the now Episcopal and Presbyterian Nonconformists.

36. The people who now adhere to the Nonconformists, who were at age before the Wars (whom we that write this were acquainted with) had very hard thoughts of the Bishops persons, and some of Episcopacy it self, because of the foresaid silencing of Ministers, and ruining of honest men, about *Sunday* sports, Reading that Book, and other such things, besides Nonconformity: But when the Ministers that guided them, began to seem more reconciled to the Episcopal Party, and upon the reports and promises which they had heard, had put them in hope that the next Bishops would prove more moderate, peaceable and pious, than the former, and would by experience avoid divisions and persecution, the said people began to be enclined to more reverent and favourable thoughts of Episcopacy and the Bishops; and were, upon experience of the late confusions, in a far fairer way



way to union & submission to them than before. But when they saw their Teachers taken from them, and some such set over them against their wills, who were better known to them than to the obtruders; and when they heard of about 2000 silenced at once, this so much alienated them from the Bishops, that it was never since in our power to bring them to so much esteem of them, and reverence to them, as might have been; but multitudes by this were driven further from Conformity than the silenced Ministers.

37. The 2000 silenced were not a quarter of the Ministers of *England*, who were in possession before the return of the Bishops: so that it is evident, that above three fourth parts of the Ministers that kept in under the Parliament and Protector (notwithstanding Covenant, Directory and all) did prove Conformists.

38. The *New-altered* Liturgy was not printed and published till *August 24.* or near it, when the Ministers were to be silenced that subscribed not, and consented not: so that we must needs suppose that they were but few Ministers in *England* in comparison of the rest, who *ever saw and read* (much less *long considered*) *that Book before they declared their Assent and Consent to all things in it.* Sure we are, that we that lived in *London*, who had it at the first publishing, found the time past, or so short to examine all things in it with due deliberation, that had it been blameless, we must have been silenced, unless we had consented upon an implicit faith.

39. Since we were silenced, His Majesties Declaration for more Liberty in Religion came out 1673. but soon died: And since then we have  
been



been called to many attempts for Unity, in which we have twice come to an agreement with those honest, peaceable, pious and learned Divines of the Church of England, who were appointed to treat of it with us. But that signified nothing as to our healing, while Reasons unknown to us, or ineffable prevailed.

40. Yet still we have been called on to Tell what we stuck at, and what we desired, and what would satisfy us, (who desire nothing but leave to exercise the Ministry to which we were ordained) and the Cant still goeth on among the ignorant at least, as if we had never told them to this day; or as if since the new conformity we had ever been called or had leave to tell them, or as if the same men would endure us to tell them our case of dissent and the reasons of it to this day. But the Judg is at the door.

## SECT. VIII.

*The Matters of Fact, as to what is required of us, by Laws and Canon, to which we must conform; And first of Lay-men.*

I. **O**F Laymen that will have any Government or Trust in any City or Corporation, is necessarily required the taking of the following Oath and Declaration by a Law.

"I Swear that it is not Lawful upon any  
 "pretence whatsoever to take Arms against  
 "the King: And that I Abhor that Trayterous  
 "position that Arms may be taken by His Authority  
 "any against his Person, or against those that are  
 "Com-



“*Commissioned by him*] And the Declaration is  
 “*[ That there is NO OBLIGATION*  
 “*upon me or ANY OTHER person, from*  
 “*the Oath Commonly called the solemn League and*  
 “*Covenant.*

1. By this Oath and this Declaration the Government and Trust of all the Cities and Corporations of England are constituted or qualified.

2. Part of this Vow and Covenant is *[ against Popery, superstition, and profaneness and all that is against sound doctrine and Godlyness: that we will Repent of our sins, unfeignedly, and amend our lives, &c.]* which the Nonconformists take to be *Lawful and Necessary* things.

3. Thousands of people lived in the Kings Garrisons, or Quarters, and thousands were then unborn or Children, who never took this Vow or Covenant, nor ever heard or read it, or know what is in it.

4. The Parliament that imposed it on others took it voluntarily themselves, as did many thousand more.

5. Many thousands took it that never saw the faces of each other, nor know *in what sense, or with what mind* all others took it: The sense being doubtful, all took it not in one sense: And many thought themselves not bound to take it in the imposers sense, where the words might bear another; And so, its like, thought the Royal party of the Nobility and Gentry, who took it at their composition.

6. It was a Vow to God, as well as a Covenant with men (as the words shew.)

7. The Controversie is not, 1. Whether it  
 was



was Lawfully Imposed, 2. Or whether it was Lawfully Taken, 3. Or whether it bind as a League, 4. Nor whether it bind to any unlawful thing ( which all renounce ) But, 5: Whether as a *Vow made to God, it bind to things necessary* ( as against Schism, *Profaneness, Popery: to Repent, &c.* ) to which men were before bound by other obligations. Nor whether they that took it not be bound by it to repent, &c. but whether no one person in the three Kingdoms, who took it, be so bound: And that since the Scots drew his Majesty to seem to own it ( which we judge they did unlawfully. )

II. All Parents who will have their Children baptized, must submit them to the sign of the Cross, as it is after described. *And so must all that are to be baptized at age submit themselves to it.*

III. All persons that have Children to be baptized must conform as followeth 1. They must procure three persons to be Godfathers and Godmother, who must personally present the Child to be baptized, and must promise and Vow to God in the Childs name the duties of the Covenant, and must in the name of the Child say [ *that he renounceth the Devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world &c, and that he stedfastly believeth all the articles of faith, that he will be baptized and that he will obediently keep Gods holy will and Commandments, &c.* ] Not that they believe, consent &c, but that he ( the Child ) doth believe, desire, &c. And it is not a meer promise for the future [ *I will believe and renounce, &c.* ] but a profession for the present time [ *I do believe stedfastly and I do renounce* ] And in the Catechism it is said that

[ *Repen-*



[*Repentance whereby they forsake sin, and faith whereby they stedfastly believe &c, are required of persons to be baptized (and not only that have been baptized.) And yet that Infants that cannot do this are to be baptized, because [they promise them by their sureties,] and it is not said because they profess to do them at present by their sureties.*

2. The Child is baptized upon the undertaking of these persons as sponsors or Covenanters, whose parts and duties are thus expressed, [To see that this Infant be taught so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn Vow, promise and profession he hath here made by you; and that he may know these things the better, ye shall call upon him to hear sermons, and chiefly ye shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lords prayer, and the ten Commandements, in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his souls health; and that this Child may be brought up to lead a Godly and a Christian life.]

3. The Conformists here are not agreed themselves, what that subjective individual Faith, renunciation and desire are which the Infant at present PROFESSETH by his sureties: It is not that the Infant doth actually believe himself for the Catechism confesseth that he doth not. Nor is there any probability that he doth, unless by miracle unknown. And if it be any ones faith else that the Infant then Professeth which is Imputatively his own, it is not agreed whose faith that is or must be; whether the Godfathers, or the Churches, and what Churches; whether that Congregations, or the Diocesan Churches, or the Na-

tional