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and Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he
prostrated with his face to the ground, and
worshipped himself. 1st. Samuel. Chap: 28: 1. 14.
W. Faithorne. fecit.

Saducismus Triumphatus:

OR,

Full and Plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

WITCHES

AND

APPARITIONS.

In TWO PARTS.

The First treating of their

POSSIBILITY,

The Second of their Real

EXISTENCE.

By *Joseph Glanvil* late Chaplain in Ordinary to
his Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

With a Letter of Dr. *HENRY MORE*
on the same Subject.

And an Authentick, but wonderful story of certain *Swedish*
Witches; done into English by *Anth. Hornbeck*
Preacher at the *Savoy*.

LONDON: Printed for *J. Collins* at his Shop under the Temple-
Church, and *S. Lownds* at his Shop by the *Savoy-gate*, 1681.

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TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God

S E T H

Lord Bishop of

SARUM,

Chancellor of the GARTER.

This New and Completed EDITION

O F

Saducismus Triumphatus

Is most humbly Dedicated to your Lordship,

By,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Obliged and

Humble Servant

(The PUBLISHER)

James Collins.

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THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

Reader,

That thou hast no sooner enjoyed this long-expected Edition, thou canst not justly blame either the Author or my self. Not myself, for I could not publish the book before I had it; nor the Author, because many unexpected occasions drove off his mind to other matters, and interrupted him in his present design, insomuch that he was snatcht away by Death before he had quite finished it. But though the learned World may very well lament the loss of so able and ingenious a Writer, yet as to this present point, if that may mitigate thy sorrow, in all likelihood this Book had not seen the light so soon if he had lived, so many emergent occasions giving him new interruptions, and offering him new temptations to further delay.

Indeed it had been desirable that it might have had the polishing of his last hand; as the peruser of his Papers signifies in his last Advertisement. But to compensate this loss, the said Peruser, a friend as well to his Design as to his Person, has digested those Materials he left, into that order and distinctness, and has so tied things together, and supplied them in his Advertisements, that, to the judicious Reader, no-

The Publisher to the Reader.

thing can seem wanting that may serve the ends of his intended Treatise. Not to intimate what considerable things are added, more than it is likely had been, if he had finished it himself: For, besides the Advertisements of the careful Peruser of his Papers, and that notable late Story of the Swedish Witches translated out of German into the English Tongue, there is also added a short Treatise of the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit, taken out of Dr. More's Enchiridion Metaphysicum, to entertain those that are more curious searchers into the nature of these things.

The Number also of the Stories are much increased above what was designed by Mr. Glanvil, though none admitted, but such as seemed very well attested and highly credible to his abovesaid Friend, and such, as rightly understood, contain nothing but what is consonant to right Reason and sound Philosophy, as I have heard him earnestly avouch, though it had been too tedious to have explained all; and it may be more grateful to the Reader to be left to exercise his own wit and ingeny upon the rest. These are the advantages this Edition of Mr. Glanvil's *Dæmon of Tedworth*, and his Considerations about Witchcraft have, above any Edition before, though the last of them was so bought up, that there was not a Copy of them to be had in all London and Cambridge, but the Peruser of his Papers was fain to break his own to serve the Press with; If these intimations may move thy Appetite to the reading so pleasant and useful a Treatise.

And

The Publisher to the Reader.

And yet I can add one thing more touching the story of the Dæmon of Tedworth which is very considerable. It is not for me indeed to take notice of that meanness of spirit in the Exploders of Apparitions and Witches, which very strangely betrayed it self in the decrying of that well-attested Narrative touching the Stirrs in Mr. Mompeffon's house. Where, although they that came to be Spectators of the marvelous things there done by some invisible Agents, had all the liberty imaginable (even to the ripping of the Bolsters open) to search and try if they could discover any natural cause or cunning Artifice whereby such strange feats were done; and numbers that had free access from day to day, were abundantly satisfied of the reality of the thing, that the house was haunted and disturbed by Dæmons or Spirits; yet some few years after the Stirrs had ceased, the truth of this story lying so uneasie in the minds of the disgusters of such things, they raised a Report, (when none of them, no not the most diligent and curious could detect any trick or fraud themselves in the matter) that both Mr. Glanvil himself, who published the Narrative, and Mr. Mompeffon, in whose house these wonderful things happened, had confessed the whole matter to be a Cheat and Imposture. And they were so diligent in spreading abroad this gross untruth, that it went currant in all the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. An egregious discovery of what kind of Spirit this sort of men are! which, as I said, though it be not for me to take notice of, yet I will not stick to
signifie

The Publisher to the Reader.

signifie (it being both for mine own Interest and the Interest of Truth) that those Reports raised touching Mr. Glanvil and Mr. Mompesson, are by the present Edition of this Book demonstrated to be false to all the world. That concerning Mr. Glanvil, by his Preface to the second Part of the Book; That touching Mr. Mompesson, by two Letters of his own, the one to Mr. Glanvil, the other to myself, which are subjoynd to the said Preface: Which thing alone may justly be deemed to add a very great weight to the value, as of that Story, so of this present Edition.

But I will not, upon pretence of exciting thy Appetite, keep thee from the satisfying it by an overlong Preface: which yet if it may seem to be defective in any thing, the Doctors Letter (where amongst other things you shall meet with that famous and well-attested story of the Apparition of Anne Walker's Ghost to the Miller) will, I hope make an abundant supply. I shall add nothing more my self, but that I am

Your humble Servant

J. C.

Dr. H. M. his LETTER
 WITH THE
 POSTSCRIPT,
 To Mr. J. G.

Minding him of the great Expedience and Usefulness of his new intended Edition of the *Dæmon of Tedworth*, and briefly representing to him the marvellous weakness and gullerie of Mr. *Webster's Display of Witchcraft*.

S I R,



Hen I was last at London, I called on your Book-seller, to know in what forwardness this new intended Impression of the story of the Dæmon of Tedworth was, which will undeceive the world touching that Fame generally spread abroad, as if Mr. Mompesson and your self had acknowledged the
 B *business*

business to have been a meer Trick or Imposture. But the Story, with your ingenious Considerations about Witchcraft, being so often printed already, he said, it behoved him to take care how he ventured on a new Impression, unless he had some new matter of that kind to adde, which might make this new Edition the more certainly salable; and therefore he expected the issue of that noised story of the Spectre at Exeter, seen so oft for the discovering of a Murther committed some thirty years ago. But the event of this business, as to juridical process, not answering expectation, he was discouraged from making use of it, many things being reported to him from thence in favour to the party most concerned. But I told him a story of one Mrs. Britton her appearing to her Maid after her death, very well attested, though not of such a Tragical kind as that of Exeter, which he thought considerable.

But of Discoveries of Murther I never met with any story more plain and unexceptionable than that in Mr. John Webster his Display of supposed Witchcraft. The Book indeed it self, I confess, is but a weak and impertinent piece; but that story weighty and convincing, and such as himself (though otherwise an affected Caviller against almost all stories of Witchcraft and Apparitions) is constrained to assent to, as you shall see from his own confession. I shall for your better ease, or because you haply may not have the Book, transcribe it out of the Writer himself,
though

though it be something long, Chap. 16. Page 298.

About the year of our Lord 1632, (as near as I can remember, having lost my Notes and the Copy of the Letter to Serjeant Hutton, but am sure that I do most perfectly remember the substance of the story) near unto Chester in the Street, there lived one Walker a Yeoman-man of good estate, and a Widower, who had a young Woman to his Kinswoman that kept his House, who was by the Neighbours suspected to be with Child, and was towards the dark of the Evening one night sent away with one Mark Sharp, who was a Collier, or one that digged Coals under ground, and one that had been born in Blakeburn-Hundred in Lancashire; and so she was not heard of a long time, and no noise or little was made about it. In the Winter-time after, one James Graham or Grime (for so in that Countrey they call them) being a Miller, and living about Two miles from the place where Walker lived, was one night alone very late in the Mill grinding Corn; and as, about twelve or one a Clock at night, he came down the Stairs from having been putting Corn in the Hopper, the Mill-doors being shut, there stood a Woman upon the midst of the Floor with her Hair about her Head hanging down and all bloody, with five large Wounds on her Head. He being much affrighted and amazed, began to bless him, and at last asked her who she was, and what she wanted? To which she said, I am the Spirit of

4 The Letter of Dr. H. M. &c.

such a Woman, who lived with *Walker*; and being got with Child by him, he promised to send me to a private place, where I should be well lookt to until I was brought in bed and well again, and then I should come again and keep his House.

And accordingly, *said the Apparition*, I was one night late sent away with one *Mark Sharp*, who, upon a Moor (*naming a place that the Miller knew*) flew me with a Pick, (*such as men dig Coals withal*) and gave me these five Wounds, and after threw my Body into a Coal-pit hard by, and hid the Pick under a Bank: and his Shoes and Stockings being bloody, he endeavoured to wash; but seeing the blood would not wash forth, he hid them there. *And the Apparition further told the Miller, that he must be the man to reveal it, or else that she must still appear and haunt him. The Miller returned home very sad and heavy, but spoke not one word of what he had seen, but eschewed as much as he could to stay in the Mill within night without company, thinking thereby to escape the seeing again of that frightful Apparition.*

But notwithstanding, one night when it began to be dark, the Apparition met him again, and seemed very fierce and cruel, and threatned him, That if he did not reveal the Murder, she would continually pursue and haunt him. Yet for all this, he still concealed it until St. Thomas-Eve before Christmas, when being soon after Sun set walking

walking in his Garden, she appeared again, and then so threatned him and affrighted him, that he faithfully promised to reveal it next morning.

In the morning he went to a Magistrate, and made the whole matter known, with all the circumstances; and diligent search being made, the Body was found in a Coal-pit with five Wounds in the Head, and the Pick, and Shoes, and Stockings yet bloody, in every circumstance as the Apparition had related unto the Miller. Whereupon Walker and Mark Sharp were both apprehended, but would confess nothing. At the Assizes following (I think it was at Durham) they were arraigned, found guilty, condemned, and executed, but I could never hear that they confessed the Fact. There were some that reported that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Foreman of the Jury, (who was alive in Chester in the Street about Ten years ago, as I have been credibly informed) but of that I know no certainty.

There are many persons yet alive that can remember this strange Murder, and the Discovery of it; for it was, and sometimes yet is, as much discoursed of in the North-Country, as any thing that almost hath ever been heard of, and the Relation Printed, though now not to be gotten. I relate this with the greater confidence, (though I may fail in some of the Circumstances) because I saw and read the Letter that was sent to Serjeant

6 The Letter of Dr. H. M. &c.

Hutton, who then lived at Goldsbrugh in Yorkshire, from the Judge before whom Walker and Mark Sharp were tried, and by whom they were condemned; and had a Copy of it until about the year 1658, when I had it and many other Books and Papers taken from me. And this I confess to be one of the most convincing Stories (being of undoubted verity) that ever I read, heard, or knew of, and carrieth with it the most evident force to make the most incredulous spirit to be satisfied that there are really sometimes such things as Apparitions. Thus far He.

This Story is so considerable, that I make mention of it in my Scholia on my Immortality of the Soul, in my Volumen Philosophicum, Tom. 2. which I acquainting a Friend of mine with, a prudent intelligent person, Dr. J. D. he of his own accord offered me, it being a thing of such consequence, to send to a friend of his in the North for greater assurance of the truth of the Narration; which motion I willingly embracing, he did accordingly. The Answer to his Letter from his friend Mr. Shepherdson, is this.

I have done what I can to inform my self of the passage of Sharp and Walker. There are very few men that I could meet, that were then men, or at the Tryal, saving these two in the inclosed Paper, both men at that time, and both at the Tryal. And for Mr. Lumley, he lived next door to Walker; and what he hath
given

given under his hand, can depose if there were occasion. The other Gentleman writ his Attestation with his own hand; but I being not there, got not his Name to it. I could have sent you twenty hands that could have said thus much and more by hearsay, but I thought these most proper that could speak from their own Eyes and Ears. *Thus far Mr. Shepherdson, the Doctor's discreet and faithful Intelligencer. Now for Mr. Lumley's Testimony, it is this.*

Mr. William Lumley of Lumley, being an ancient Gentleman, and at the Tryal of Walker and Sharp upon the Murder of Anne Walker, saith, that he doth very well remember that the said Anne was Servant to Walker, and that she was supposed to be with Child, but would not disclose by whom. But being removed to her Aunts in the same Town, called Dame Carie, told her Aunt that he that had got her with Child, would take care both for her and it, and bid her not trouble her self. After some time she had been at her Aunts, it was observed that Sharp came to Lumley one night, being a sworn Brother of the said Walker's; and they two that night called her forth from her Aunts House, which night she was murdered.

About fourteen days after the murder, there appeared to one Graime a Fuller, at his Mill, six miles from Lumley, the likeness of a Woman, with her Hair about her head, and the appear-

8 The Letter of Dr. H. M. &c.

ance of five Wounds in her Head, as the said Graime gave it in Evidence. That that appearance bid him go to a Justice of Peace, and relate to him how that Walker and Sharp had murdered her, in such a place as she was murdered: But he fearing to disclose a thing of that nature against a person of credit as Walker was, would not have done it; but she continually appearing night by night to him, and pulling the Clothes off his Bed, told him, he should never rest till he had disclosed it. Upon which he the said Graime did go to a Justice of Peace, and related the whole matter. Whereupon the Justice of Peace granted Warrants against Walker and Sharp, and committed them to prison. But they found Bail to appear at the next Assizes. At which time they came to their Tryal, and upon evidence of the Circumstances with that of Graime of the Appearance, they were both found guilty, and executed.

Will. Lumley.

The other Testimony is of Mr. James Smart of the City of Durham; who saith, That the Trial of Sharp and Walker was in the moneth of August 1631, before Judge Davenport. One Mr. Fairhair gave it in Evidence upon Oath, that he see the likeness of a Child stand upon Walker's Shoulders during the time of the Trial: At which time the Judge was very much troubled, and gave Sentence that night the Trial was; which was a thing never used in Durham before nor after.

Out

Out of which Two Testimonies several things may be corrected or supplied in Mr. Websters Story, though it be evident enough that in the main they agree: For that is but a small disagreement as to the Year, when Mr. Webster says about the year of our Lord 1632. and Mr. Smart, 1631. But unless at Durham they have Assizes but once in the year, I understand not so well how Sharp and Walker should be apprehended some little while after St. Thomas day, as Mr. Webster has it, and be tried the next Assizes at Durham, and yet that be in August according to Mr. Smarts Testimony. Out of Mr. Lumley's Testimony the Christen Name of the young Woman is supplied, as also the Name of the Town near Chester in the Street, namely Lumley. The Circumstances also of Walker's sending away his Kinswoman with Mark Sharp-, are supplied out of Mr. Lumley's Narrative; and the time rectified, by telling it was about fourteen days till the Spectre appeared after the Murther, whereas Mr. Webster makes it a long time.

Two Errours also more are corrected in Mr. Webster's Narration, by Mr. Lumley's Testimony: The distance of the Miller from Lumley where Walker dwelt, which was Six miles, not Two miles, as Mr. Webster has it. And also, that it was not a Mill to grinde Corn in, but a Fullers' Mill. The Apparition night by night pulling the Clothes off Graime's Bed, omitted in Mr. Webster's story, may be supplied out of Mr. Lumley's.
And

And Mr. Smart's Testimony puts it out of controversy that the Trial was at Durham, and before Judge Davenport, which is omitted by Mr. Webster. And whereas Mr. Webster says, there were some that reported that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Fore-man of the Jury, but of that he knows no certainty: This confession of his, as it is a sign he would not write any thing in this story of which he was not certain for the main, so here is a very seasonable supply for this out of Mr. Smart, who affirms that he heard one Mr. Fairhair give Evidence upon Oath, that he saw the likeness of a Child stand upon Walker's Shoulders during the time of the Trial. It is likely this Mr. Fairhair might be the Fore man of the Jury; and in that the Judge was so very much troubled, that himself also might see the same Apparition as Mr. Webster says report went, though the mistake in Mr. Webster is, that it was the Apparition of the Woman. But this of the Child was very fit and apposite, placed on his Shoulders, as one that was justly loaded or charged with that Crime of getting his Kinswoman with Child, as well as of plotting with Sharp to murder her.

The Letter also which he mentions writ from the Judge before whom the Trial was heard, to Serjeant Hutton, it is plain out of Mr. Smart's Testimony, that it was from Judge Davenport; which in all likelihood was a very full and punctual Narrative of the whole business, and enabled

Mr.

Mr. Webster, in some considerable things, to be more particular than Mr. Lumley. But the agreement is so exact for the main, that there is no doubt to be made of the truth of the Apparition. But that this, forsooth, must not be the Soul of Anne Walker, but her Astral Spirit, this is but a fantastick conceit of Webster and his Paracelsians, which I have sufficiently shewn the folly of in the Scholia on my Immortality of the Soul, Volum. Philos. Tom. 2. p. 384.

This Story of Anne Walker I think you will do well to put amongst your Additions in the new Impression of your Dæmon of Tedworth, it being so excellently well attested, and so unexceptionably in every respect; and to hasten as fast as you can that Impression, to undeceive the half-witted World, who so much exult and triumph in the extinguishing the belief of that Narration, as if the crying down the truth of that story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, were indeed the very slaying of the Devil, and that they may now with more gaiety and security than ever sing in a loud note that mad drunken Catch,

Hay ho! the Devil is dead, &c.

which wild Song, though it may seem a piece of levity to mention, yet believe me, the application thereof bears a sober and weighty intimation along with it, viz. that these sort of People are very horribly afraid there should be any Spirit, lest there should

should be a Devil, and an account after this life; and therefore they are impatient of any thing that implies it, that they may with a more full swing, and with all security from an after-reckoning, indulge their own Lusts and Humours in this. And I know by long experience, that nothing rouses them so out of that dull Lethargy of Atheism and Sadducism, as Narrations of this kind. For they being of a thick and gross spirit, the most subtile and solid deductions of reason does little execution upon them; but this sort of sensible Experiments cuts them and stings them very sore, and so startles them, that by a less considerable story by far than this of the Drummer of Tedworth, or of Anne Walker, a Doctor of Physick cry'd out presently, If this be true, I have been in a wrong Box all this time, and must begin my account anew.

And I remember an old Gentleman in the Country of my acquaintance, an excellent Justice of Peace, and a piece of a Mathematician; but what kind of Philosopher he was, you may understand from a Rhyme of his own making, which he commended to me at my taking horse in his yard; which Rhyme is this,

Ens is nothing till Sense finde it out:
Sense ends in nothing, so nought goes about.

Which Rhyme of his was so rapturous to himself, that at the reciting of the second Verse, the old Gentleman turned himself about upon his Toe as
nimble

nimbly as one may observe a dry Leaf whisked round in the corner of an Orchard-walk by some little Whirlwind. With this Philosopher I have had many Discourses concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and its distinction from the Body, and of the existence of Spirits. When I have ran him quite down by Reason, he would but laugh at me, and say, This is Logick, H. calling me by my Christen-Name. To which I replied, This is Reason, Father L. (for so I used, and some others, to call him) but it seems you are for the New Lights, and immediate Inspiration. Which, I confess, he was as little for as for the other; but I said so onely in way of drolery to him in those times. But truth is, nothing but palpable experience would move him: And being a bold man, and fearing nothing, he told me he had used all the Magical Ceremonies of Conjurati-
 on he could to raise the Devil or a Spirit, and had a most earnest desire to meet with one, but never could do it. But this he told me, when he did not so much as think of it, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible Hand gave him such a clap upon the Back, that it made all ring again. So, thought he, now I am invited to the converse of some Spirit; and therefore so soon as his Boots were off and his Shoes on, out goes he into the Yard and next Field, to finde out the Spirit that had given him this familiar clap on the back, but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.

But though he did not, this stroak, albeit he
 thought

thought it afterwards (finding nothing come of it) a mere delusion; yet not long before his death it had more force with him than all the Philosophical Arguments I could use to him, though I could winde him and nonplus him as I pleased; but yet all my Arguments, how solid soever, made no impression upon him. Wherefore after several reasonings of this nature, whereby I would prove to him the Souls distinction from the Body and its immortality, when nothing of such subtile consideration did any more execution on his mind, than some Lightning is said to do, though it melt the Sword, on the fuzzy consistency of the Scabbard: Well, said I, Father L. though none of these things move you, I have something still behind, and what your self has acknowledged to me to be true, that may do the business. Do you remember the clap on your back when your Servant was pulling off your Boots in the Hall? Assure your self, said I, Father L. that Goblin will be the first that will bid you welcome into the other World. Upon that his Countenance changed most sensibly, and he was more confounded with this rubbing up his memory, than with all the Rational or Philosophical Argumentations that I could produce.

Indeed, if there were any modesty left in mankind, the Histories of the Bible might abundantly assure men of the existence of Angels and Spirits. But these Wits, as they are taken to be, are so jealous, forsooth, and so sagacious, that whatsoever is offered to them by way of established Religion, is suspected

spected for a piece of politick Circumvention; which is as silly notwithstanding, and as childish, as that conceit of a Friend of yours when he was a School boy in the lowest Form of a Country Grammar-school, who could not believe scarce that there were any such men as Cato, and Æsop, and Ovid, and Virgil, and Tully, much less that they wrote any such Books, but that it was a trick of our Parents to keep us up so many hours of the day together, and hinder us from the enjoying our innocent pastime in the open Air, and the pleasure of planting little Gardens of Flowers, and of hunting of Butter-flies and Bumble-bees.

Besides, though what is once true never becomes false, so that it may be truly said it was not once true; yet these shrewd Wits suspect the truth of things for their antiquity, and for that very reason think them the less credible: Which is as wisely done as of the Old Woman the Story goes of, Who being at Church in the week before Easter, and hearing the tragical Description of all the circumstances of our Saviour's Crucifixion, was in great sorrow at the reciting thereof; and so solicitous about the business, that she came to the Priest after Service with tears in her Eyes, dropping him a Courtesie, and asked him how long ago this sad accident hapned; to whom he answering about Fifteen or Sixteen hundred years ago, she presently began to be comforted, and said, Then in grace of God it may not be true. At this pitch of wit in Children and Old Wives is the Reason of our professed Wit-would-be's of this present

present Age, who will catch at any slight occasion or pretence of misbelieving those things that they cannot endure should be true.

And forasmuch as such course-grain'd Philosophers as those Hobbians and Spinozians, and the rest of that Rabble, slight Religion and the Scriptures, because there is such express mention of Spirits and Angels in them, things that their dull Souls are so inclinable to conceit to be impossible; I look upon it as a special piece of Providence that there are ever and anon such fresh examples of Apparitions and Witchcrafts as may rub up and awaken their benumbed and lethargick Mindes into a suspicion at least, if not assurance that there are other intelligent Beings besides those that are clad in heavy Earth or Clay. In this, I say, methinks the Divine Providence does plainly outwit the Powers of the dark Kingdom, in permitting wicked men and women and vagrant Spirits of that Kingdom to make Leagues or Covenants one with another, the Confession of Witches against their own Lives being so palpable an evidence, (besides the miraculous feats they play) that there are bad Spirits, which will necessarily open a Door to the belief that there are good ones, and lastly that there is a God.

Wherefore let the small Philosophick Sir Foplings of this present Age deride them as much as they will, those that lay out their pains in committing to writing certain well-attested Stories of Witches and Apparitions, do real service to true Religion
and

and sound Philosophy, and the most effectual and accommodate to the confounding of Infidelity and Atheism, even in the Judgement of the Atheists themselves, who are as much afraid of the truth of these stories as an Ape is of a Whip; and therefore force themselves with might and main to disbelieve them by reason of the dreadful consequence of them as to themselves. The wicked fear where no fear is, but God is in the generation of the Righteous. And he that fears God and has Faith in Jesus Christ, need not fear how many Devils there be, nor be afraid of himself or his own Immortality. And therefore it is nothing but a foul dark Conscience within, or a very gross and dull constitution of Blood, that makes men so averse from these Truths.

But however, be they as averse as they will, being this is the most accommodate Medicine for this Disease, their diligence and care of Mankind is much to be commended that make it their business to apply it, and are resolved, though the peevishness and perverseness of the Patients makes them pull off their Plaister, (as they have this excellent one of the Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth by decrying it as an Imposture, so acknowledged by both your self and Mr. Mompeffon) are resolved, I say, with meekness and charity to binde it on again, with the addition of new Filletting, I mean other Stories sufficiently fresh and very well attested and certain. This worthy design therefore of yours, I must confess,

18 The Letter of Dr. H. M. &c.

*I cannot but highly commend and approve,
and therefore wish you all good success there-
in; and so, committing you to God, I take leave,
and rest*

Your affectionate Friend
to serve you,

H. M.

THE

T H E

Postscript.

THis Letter lying by me some time before I thought it opportune to convey it, and in the mean while meeting more than once with those that seemed to have some opinion of Mr. *Webster's* Criticisms and Interpretations of Scripture, as if he had quitted himself so well there, that no proof thence can hereafter be expected of the Being of a Witch, which is the scope that he earnestly aims at; and I reflecting upon that passage in my Letter, which does not stick to condemn *Webster's* whole Book for a weak and impertinent piece, presently thought fit, (that you might not think that Censure over-rash or unjust) it being an endless task to shew all the weakneses and impertinencies of his Discourse, briefly by way of *Postscript*, to hint the weakness and impertinency of this part which is counted the Master-piece of the Work, that thereby you may perceive that my judgement has not been at all rash touching the whole.

And in order to this, we are first to take notice what is the real scope of his Book: which

if you peruse, you shall certainly finde to be this: That the parties ordinarily deemed Witches and Wizzards, are onely Knaves and Queans, to use his Phrase, and arrant Cheats, or deep Melancholists; but have no more to do with any evil Spirit, or Devil, or the Devil with them, than he has with other Sinners or wicked Men, or they with the Devil. And Secondly, we are impartially to define what is the true Notion of a Witch or Wizzard, which is necessary for the detecting of *Webster's* Impertinencies.

As for the words *Witch* and *Wizzard*, from the Notation of them, they signifie no more than a wise Man, or a wise Woman. In the word *Wizzard*, it is plain at the very first sight. And I think the most plain and least operose deduction of the name *Witch*, is from *Wit*, whose derived Adjective might be *Wit-tigh* or *Wittich*, and by contraction afterwards, *Witch*; as the Noun *wit* is from the Verb *to weet*, which is, to know. So that a Witch, thus far, is no more than a Knowing woman; which answers exactly to the Latine word *Saga*, according to that of *Festus*, *Sagæ dictæ anus quæ multa sciunt*. Thus in general: But use questionless had appropriated the word to such a kind of skill and knowledge, as was out of the common road or extraordinary. Nor did this peculiarity imply in it any unlawfulness. But there was after a further restriction and
 most

most proper of all, and in which alone nowadays the words *Witch* and *Wizzard* are used. And that is, for one that has the knowledge or skill of doing or telling things in an extraordinary way, and that in vertue of either an expresse or implicite sociation or confederacy with some evil Spirit. This is a true and adequate definition of a *Witch* or *Wizzard*, which to whomsoever it belongs, is such, & *vice versâ*. But to prove or defend, that there neither are, nor ever were any such, is, as I said, the main scope of *Webster's* Book: In order to which, he endeavours in his sixth and eighth Chapters to evacuate all the Testimonies of Scripture: which how weakly and impertinently he has done, I shall now shew with all possible brevity and perspicuity.

The words that he descants upon, are *Deut.* ch. 18. v. 10, 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* The first word or name in the Hebrew is קוסם קסמים [Kosem Kesamim] a *diviner*. Here because קסם [Kasam] sometimes has an indifferent sense, and signifies to divine by natural Knowledge or humane Prudence and Sagacity; therefore nothing of such a Witch as is imagined to make a visible League with the Devil, or to have her Body sucked by him, or have carnal copu-

lation with him, or is really turned into a Cat, Hare, Wolf, or Dog, can be deduced from this word. A goodly inference indeed, and hugely to the purpose, as is apparent from the foregoing definition. But though that cannot be deduced, yet in that this *Divination* that is here forbidden, is plainly declared abominable and execrable, as it is *v. 12.* it is manifest that such a *Divination* is understood that really is so; which cannot well be conceived to be, unless it imply either an express or implicate inveiglement with some evil invisible Powers who assist any kind of those Divinations that may be comprehended under this general term. So that this is plainly one name of Witchcraft according to the genuine definition thereof. And the very words of *Saul* to the Witch of *Endor*, are, קסומי-נא לי באוב that is to say, *Divine to me, I pray thee, by thy familiar Spirit.* Which is more than by natural knowledge or humane sagacity.

The next word is מעינין [*Megnonen*] which though our English Translation renders (from עין [*Gnon*] *Tempus*) an *observer of Times*; (which should rather be a Declarer of the seasonableness of the time, or unseasonableness as to success; a thing which is enquired of also from Witches) yet the usual sense rendered by the Learned in the Language, is *Præstigiator*, an Imposer on the sight, *Sapientes prisca*, says *Buxtorf*, a עין [*Gnajin, Oculus*] *deduxerunt* &

מענון [*Megnonen*] esse eum dixerunt, qui tenet
 & præstringit oculos, ut falsum pro vero videant.

Lo another word that signifies a Witch or a Wizzard, which has its name properly from imposing on the sight, and making the by-stander believe he sees Forms or Transformations of things he sees not. As when *Anne Bodenham* transformed herself before *Anne Styles* into the shape of a great Cat; *Anne Styles* her sight was so imposed upon, that the thing to her seemed to be done, though her eyes were onely deluded. But such a delusion certainly cannot be performed without confederacy with evil Spirits. For to think the word signifies *Præstigiator* in that sence we translate it in English, *Juggler*, or an *Hocus-Pocus*, is so fond a conceit, that no man of any depth of wit can endure it. As if a merry Juggler that plays tricks of Legerdemain at a Fair or Market, were such an abomination to either the God of *Israel*, or to his Law-giver *Moses*; or as if an *Hocus-Pocus* were so wise a wight as to be consulted as an Oracle: For it is said v. 14. *For the Nations which thou shalt possess, they consult מענונים [Megnonenim].* What, do they consult Jugglers and *Hocus-Pocusses*? No certainly they consult Witches or Wizzards; and Diviners, as *Anne Styles* did *Anne Bodenham*. Wherefore here is evidently a second name of a Witch.

The Third word in the Text, is מנהש [*Me-*

nachesh] which our English Translation renders, an *Enchanter*. And with Mr. *Webster's* leave, (who insulteth so over their supposed ignorance) I think they have translated it very learnedly and judiciously: For Charming and Enchanting, as *Webster* himself acknowledges, and the words intimate, being all one, the word מנחש [*Menachesh*] here, may very well signify Enchanters or Charmers; but such properly as kill Serpents by their charming, from נחש [*Nachash*] which signifies a Serpent, from whence comes נחש [*Nichesh*] to kill Serpents or make away with them. For a Verb in *Pibel*, sometimes (especially when it is formed from a Noun) has a contrary signification. Thus from שרש *radix* is שרש *radices evulsit*, from דשן *Cinis* דשן *removit Cineres*, from חטא *peccavit* חטא *expiavit à peccato*; and so lastly from נחש *Serpens*, is made שחש *liberavit à serpentibus, nempe occidendo vel fugando per incantationem*. And therefore there seems to have been a great deal of skill and depth of judgment in our English Translators that rendered מנחש [*Menachesh*] an Enchanter, especially when that of Augur or South-sayer, which the Septuagint call Ὀρωμιζόμενον (there being so many harmless kinds of it) might seem less suitable with this black List: For there is no such abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild Geese fly high in great companies and cackle much, that hard weather is at hand.

But

But to rid Serpents by a Charm, is above the power of Nature; and therefore an indication of one that has the assistance of some invisible Spirits to help him in this exploit, as it happens in several others; and therefore this is another name of one that is really a Witch.

The Fourth word is, מַכְשֵׁף [*Mecasseph*] which our English Translators render, a *Witch*; for which I have no quarrel with them, unless they should so understand it that it must exclude others from being so in that sense I have defined, which is impossible they should. But this, as the foregoing, is but another term of the same thing; that is, of a Witch in general, but so called here from the prestigious imposing on the sight of Beholders. *Buxtorf* tells us, that *Aben Ezra* defines those to be מַכְשֵׁפִים [*Mecassephim*] *qui mutant & transformant res naturales ad aspectum oculi*. Not as Jugglers and Hocus-Pocusses, as *Webster* would ridiculously insinuate, but so as I understood the thing in the second name: For these are but several names of a Witch, who may have several more properties than one name intimates. Whence it is no wonder that Translators render not them always alike. But so many names are reckoned up here in this clause of the Law of *Moses*, that, as in our common Law, the sense may be more sure, and leave no room to evasion. And that here this name is not from any tricks of Legerdemain as in
common

common Jugglers that delude the sight of the people at a Market or Fair, but that it is the name of such as raise Magical Spectres to deceive mens sight, and so are most certainly Witches, is plain from *Exod. 22. 18. Thou shalt not suffer* מְכַשְפֵּה [Mecasséphah] that is, a Witch to live. Which would be a Law of extream severity, or rather cruelty, against a poor Hocus-pocus for his tricks of Legerdemain.

The Fifth name is חוֹבֵר חֵבֵר [Chobher Chebher] which our English Translators render Charmer, which is the same with Enchanter. *Webster* upon this name is very tedious and flat, a many words, and small weight in them. I shall dispatch the meaning briefly thus: This חוֹבֵר חֵבֵר [Chobher Chebher] that is to say, *Socians Societatem* is another name of a Witch, so called specially either from the consociating together Serpents by a Charm, which has made men usually turn it (from the example of the Septuagints ἐπιδάων ἐπαοιδῶν) a *Charmer*, or an *Enchanter*: or else from the society or compact of the Witch with some evil Spirits; which *Webster* acknowledges to have been the opinion of two very learned men, *Martin Luther*, and *Perkins*; and I will adde a third, *Aben-Ezra*, (as *Martinius* hath noted) who gives this reason of the word חוֹבֵר [Chobher] an Enchanter, which signifies *Socians* or *Jungens*, viz. *Quòd malignos Spiritus sibi associat.* And certainly one may charm long enough,

nough, even till his Heart ake, e're he make one Serpent assemble near him, unless helpt by this confederacy of Spirits that drive them to the Charmer. He keeps a pudder with the sixth verse of the fifty eighth Psalm to no purpose: Whenas from the Hebrew, אשר לא-ישמע לקול מלחשים חובר חברים, if you repeat לקול אטוט סוּא before you may with ease and exactness render it thus; *That hears not the voice of muttering Charmers, no not the voice of a confederate Wizzard or Charmer that is skilful.* But seeing Charms, unless with them that are very shallow and silly credulous, can have no such effects of themselves, there is all the reason in the world (according as the very word intimates, and as *Aben-Ezra* has declared) to ascribe the effect to the assistance, confederacy, and co-operation of evil Spirits, and so חובר חברים [*Chobber Chabharim*] or חובר חבר [*Chobber Chebber*] will plainly signifie a Witch or a Wizzard according to the true definition of them. But for *J. Webster's* rendring this verse p. 119. thus, *Quæ non audiet vocem mussitantium incantationes docti Incantantis*, (which he saith is doubtless the most genuine rendring of the place) let any skilful man apply it to the Hebrew Text, and he will presently find it Grammatical Nonsense. If that had been the sence, it should have been חברי חובר מחנם.

The Sixth word is, שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*]
which

which our English Translation renders, a *Consulter with familiar Spirits*; but the Septuagint Ἐγγασείμωθ. Which therefore must needs signifie him that has this familiar Spirit: And therefore שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] I conceive, (considering the rest of the words are so to be understood) is to be understood of the Witch or Wizzard himself that asks counsel of his Familiar, and does by vertue of him give Answers unto others. The reason of the name of אוב [*Obh*] 'tis likely was taken first from that Spirit that was in the Body of the party, and swelled it to a protuberancy like the side of a Bottle. But after, without any relation to that circumstance, *OBH* signifies as much as *Pytho*; as *Pytho* also, though at first it took its name from the *Pythii Vates*, signifies no more than *Spiritum Divinationis*, in general, a Spirit that tells hidden things or things to come. And *OBH* and *Pytho* also agree in this, that they both signifie either the divinary Spirit itself, or the party that has that Spirit. But here in שואל אוב [*Shoel Obh*] it being rendred by the Septuagint Ἐγγασείμωθ, *OBH* is necessarily understood of the Spirit itself, as *Pytho* is *Acts* 16. 16. if you read πνεῦμα πύθωνα with *Isaac Casaubon*; but if πύθων, it may be understood either way. Of this πνεῦμα πύθων it is recorded in that place, That *Paul being grieved, turned and said to that Spirit, I command thee, in the name of*

Jesus

Jesus Christ, to come out of her, and he came out at the same hour; which signifies as plainly as any thing can be signified, that this *Pytho* or Spirit of Divination, that this *OBH* was in her: For nothing can come out of the Sack that was not in the Sack, as the *Spanish Proverb* has it; nor could this *Pytho* come out of her, unless it was a Spirit distinct from her: wherefore I am amazed at the profane impudence of *J. Webster*, that makes this *Pytho* in the Maid there mentioned, nothing but a wicked humour of cheating and couzening Divination; and adds, that this Spirit was no more cast out of that Maid, than the seven Devils out of *Mary Magdalen*, which he would have understood onely of her several Vices; which foolish Familistical conceit he puts upon *Beza*, as well as *Adie*. Wherein as he is most unjust to *Beza*, so he is most grossly impious and blasphemous against the Spirit of Christ in *St. Paul* and *St. Luke*, who makes them both such Fools as to believe that there was a Spirit or divining Devil in the Maid, when according to him there is no such thing. Can any thing be more frantick or ridiculous than this passage of *St. Paul*, if there was no Spirit or Devil in the Damsel? But what will this profane shuffler stick to do in a dear regard to his beloved Hags, of whom he is a sworn Advocate and resolved Patron right or wrong?

But to proceed, that אֵשׁ [*Obb*] signifies the Spirit

Spirit itself that divines, not onely he that has it, is manifest from *Levit. 20. v. 27. Vir autem sive mulier cùm fuerit* [בהם אוב] *in eis Pytho.* And *1 Sam. ch. 28. v. 8. Divina quæso mihi* [באוב] *per Pythonem.* In the Septuagint it is ἐν τῷ Ἐγγαστρίμῳ, that is, by that Spirit that sometimes goes into the body of the party, and thence gives answers; but here it onely signifies a Familiar spirit. And lastly, בעלת אוב [Bagnalath Obb] *1 Sam. 28. v. 7. Quæ habet Pythonem;* there OBH must needs signifie the Spirit it self, of which she of *Endor* was the owner or possessor; that is to say, it was her Familiar spirit. But see what brazen and stupid impudence will do, here בעלת אוב [Bagnalath Obb] with *Webster* must not signifie one that has a Familiar spirit, but the Mistress of the Bottle. Who but the Master of the Bottle, or rather of whom the Bottle had become Master, and by guzling had made his wits excessively muddy and frothy, could ever stumble upon such a foolish Interpretation? But because אוב [Obb] in one place of the Scripture signifies a Bottle, it must signifie so here, and it must be the Instrument, forsooth, out of which this cheating Quean of *Endor* does *whisper, peep, or chirp like a Chicken coming out of the Shell*, p. 129, 165. And does she not, I beseech you, put her Neb also into it sometimes, as into a Reed, as it is said of that Bird, and cry like a *Butterbump*? certainly he might

as well have interpreted בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obb*] of the great Tun of *Heydleberg*, that *Tom. Coriat* takes such special notice of, as of the Bottle.

And truly so far as I see, it must be some such huge Tun at length, rather than the *Bottle*, that is, such a spacious Tub as he in his deviceful imagination fancies *Manasses* to have built; a *μαγνῆϊον* forsooth, or Oracular *Ædifice*, for cheating Rogues and *Queans* to play their couzening tricks in; from that place 2 *Chron.* 33. 6. ועשה אוב *Et fecit Pythonem*. Now, says he, how could *Manasses* make a Familiar Spirit, or make one that had a Familiar Spirit? Therefore he made a *Bottle*, a Tun or a large Tub, a *μαγνῆϊον*, or Oracular *Ædifice* for cheating Rogues and *Queans* to play their couzening tricks in. Very wisely argued and out of the very depth of his ignorance of the Hebrew Tongue! when as if he had lookt but into *Buxtorf's* Dictionary, he might have understood that עשה signifies not onely *fecit*, but also *paravit*, *comparavit*, *acquisivit*, *magnificavit*, none of which words imply the making of *OBH* in his sence, but onely the appointing them to be got, and countenancing them. For in *Webster's* sence he did not make ידעני [*fidegnoni*] neither, that is *Wizzards*, and yet *Manasses* is said to make them both alike. ועשה אוב וידעני *Et fecit Pythonem & Magos*. So plain is it that אוב [*Obb*] signifies *Pytho*, and that adequately in the same sence

sence that *Pytho* does, either a Familiar Spirit, or him that has that spirit of divination. But in בערת אוב [*Bagnalath Obh*] it necessarily signifies the Familiar spirit itself, which assisted the Witch of *Endor*; whereby it is manifest she is rightly called a Witch. As for his Stories of counterfeit *Ventriloquists*, (and who knows but some of his counterfeit *Ventriloquists* may prove true ones) that is but the threadbare Sophistry of Sadducees and Atheists to elude the faith of all true stories by those that are of counterfeits or feigned.

The Seventh word is ידעוני [*Fidegnoni*] which our English Translators render a *Wizzard*. And *Webster* is so kind as to allow them to have translated this word aright. *Wizzards* then *Webster* will allow, that is to say, *He-witches*, but not *She-witches*. How tender the man is of that Sex! But the word invites him to it, ידעוני [*Fidegnoni*] coming from ידע *scire*, and answering exactly to *Wizzard* or *Wise-man*. And does not *Witch*, from *wit* and *weet*, signify as well a *wise woman*, as I noted above? And as to the sence of those words from whence they are derived, there is no hurt therein; and therefore if that were all, ידעוני [*Fidegnoni*] had not been in this black List. Wherefore it is here understood in that more restrict and worst sence: so as we understand usually nowadays *Witch* and *Wizzard*, such wise men and women whose skill is from the confederacy of
evil

evil Spirits, and therefore are real Wizzards and Witches. In what a bad sence ירעוני [*fi-degnoni*] is understood, we may learn from *Levit. 20. 27.* *A man also or woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizzard* [*Jidegnoni*] *shall be put to death, they shall stone them with stones, &c.*

The last word is דורש המתים [*Doresb Hammethim,*] which our Translators rightly render *Necromancers*; that is, those that either upon their own account, or desired by others, do raise the Ghosts of the deceased to consult with; which is a more particular term than בעל אוב [*Bagnal Obb* :] But he that is *Bagnal Obb*, may be also *Doresb Hammethim* a *Necromancer*, as appears in the *Witch of Endor*. Here *Webster* by המתים [*Hammethim*] the *Dead*, would understand dead Statues; but let him, if he can, any where shew in all the whole Scripture where the word המתים [*Hammethim*] is used of what was not once alive. He thinks he hits the nail on the head in that place of *Isaias, ch. 8. v. 19.* *And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto* (האבות, that is, to בעלות אוב, such as the *Witch of Endor* was) *them that have familiar Spirits, and to Wizzards that peep and that mutter*; (the Hebrew has it המהגים and המצפצפים; that is, that speak with a querulous murmurant or mussitant voice, when they either conjure up the Spirit, or give responses. If this be to peep like a Chicken, *Isaias* himself

peept like a Chicken, *ch.* 38.14.) *should not a people seek unto their God? for the living,* [אל המתים] *to the dead?* where *Hammethim* is so far from signifying dead Statues, that it must needs be understood of the Ghosts of dead men, as here in *Deuteronomy*. None but one that had either stupidly, or wilfully forgot the story of *Samuel's* being raised by that בעלת אויב [*Bagnalath Obh*] the Witch of *Endor*, could ever have the face to affirm that המתים [*Hammethim*] here in *Isaiah* is to be understood of dead Statues, when Wizzards or Necromancers were so immediately mentioned before, especially not *Webster*, who acknowledges that שואל אויב [*Sboel Obh*] signifies a Necromancer in this Deuteronomical List of abominable names. And therefore, forsooth, would have it a Tautologie that *Doresh Hammethim* should signifie so too. But I say it is no Tautologie, this last term being more express and restrict. And besides, this enumeration is not intended as an accurate Logical division of Witches or Witchcraft into so many distinct kinds, but a reciting of several names of that ill Trade, though they will interfere one with another, and have no significations so precisely distinct. But, as I said before, this fuller recounting of them is made, that the prohibition in this form might be the surer fence against the sin. And now therefore what will *J. Webster* get by this, if *Doresh Hammethim* will not signifie a
Witch

Witch of *Endor*, when it must necessarily signify a *Necromancer*, which is as much against his Tooth as the other? Nay indeed this *Necromancer* is also a Witch or Wizzard, according to the definition produced above.

The rest of the Chapter being so inconsiderable, and I having been so long already upon it, I shall pass to the next, after I have desired you to take notice how weak and childish, or wild and impudent, Mr. *Webster* has been in the Interpretation of Scripture hitherto, in the behalf of his sage Dames, to fence off their reproach of being termed Witches; whenas there is scarce one word in this place of *Deuteronomy* that does not imply a Witch or Wizzard according to the real definition thereof. And truly he seems himself to be conscious of the weakness of his own performance, when after all this ado, the sum at last amounts but to this; That there are no Names in all the old Testament that signify such a Witch that destroys Men or Beasts, that makes a visible compact with the Devil, or on whose body he sucketh, or with whom he hath carnal Copulation, or that is really changed into a Cat, Hare, Dog, or such like. And to shew it amounts to no more than so, was the task we undertook in this Chapter.

But assure your self, if you peruse his Book carefully, you shall plainly find that the main drift thereof is to prove, as I above noted, that

there is no such Witch as with whom the Devil has any thing more to do than with any other sinner; which notwithstanding, this Conclusion of his a little before recited, comes infinitely short of: And therefore this sixth Chapter, consisting of about Thirty pages in Folio, is a mere piece of impertinency. And there will be Witches for all this, whether these particularities be noted in them or no: For it was sufficient for *Moses* to name those ill founding terms in general, which imply a Witch according to that general notion I have above delivered; which if it be prohibited, namely the having any thing to do with evil Spirits, their being suckt by them, or their having any lustful or venereous transactions with them, is much more prohibited.

But for some of these particularities also they may seem to be in some manner hinted at in some of the words, especially as they are rendred sometimes by skilful Interpreters: for מְכַשֵּׁף [*Mecasseph*] is translated by *Vatablus* and the vulgar Latine *Maleficus*, by the *Septuagint* φαρμακός, that is, *Veneficus*; which words signifie mischievously enough both to man and beast. Besides that *Mecasseph* carries along with it the signification of Transformation also; and haply this may be the difference betwixt מְכַשֵּׁף [*Mecasseph*] and מְעַנֵּן [*Megnennen*] that the former uses prestigious Transformations to some great mischief, as where

Olaus

Olaus Magnus tells of those that have transformed themselves into Wolves to mens thinking, and have presently fall'n upon worrying of Sheep. Others transformed in their *Astral Spirit*, into various shapes, get into Houses, and do mischief to men and children, as I remember *Remigius* reports. And therefore it is less wonder that that sharp Law of *Moses* is against the מכשפה [*Mecassephah*] such a Witch as this is, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*; this may be a more peculiar signification of that word. And now for making a compact with the Devil, how naturally does that name חובר חבר [*Chobber Chebber*] signifie that feat also? But for sucking and copulation, though rightly stated it may be true, yet I confess there is nothing hinted towards that, so far as I see, as indeed it was neither necessary that the other should be. But these are the very dregs, the *Fæx Magorum & Sagarum* that sink into those abominations, against which a sufficient Bar is put already by this prohibition of Witchcraft in general by so many names. And the other is so filthy, base, and nasty, that the mention thereof was neither fit for the sacred Style of *Moses* his Law, nor for the Ears of the People.

In my passing to the eighth Chapter I will onely take notice by the way of the shameless impudence of *J. Webster*, who in favour to his beloved Hags, that they may never be

thought to do any thing by the assistance of the Devil, makes the victory of *Moses*, with whom the mighty hand of God was, or of Christ, (who was the Angel that appeared first to *Moses* in the Bush, and conducted the Children of *Israel* out of *Ægypt* to the promised Land) to be the victory onely over so many *Hocus-pocusses*, so many Jugglers that were, as it seems, old excellent at the tricks of *Legerdëmain*; which is the basest derogation to the glory of that Victory, and the vilest reproach against the God of *Israel* and the person of *Moses*, that either the malicious wit of any Devil can invent, or the dulness of any sunk Soul can stumble upon. Assuredly there was a real conflict here betwixt the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darkness and the evil Spirits thereof, which assisted the **הרטמים** [*Hartummim*] the Magicians of *Ægypt*; who before that name is named, that no man may mistake, are called **מנשפים** [*Mecassephim*] such kind of Magicians as can exhibit to the sight manifold prestigious Transformations through diabolical assistance, and are rendred *Malefici*-by good Interpreters, as I noted above; that is, they were *Wizzards* or He-witches. The self same word being used in that severe Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*. Are not these Magicians then examples plain enough that there are Witches; that is to say, such wretched Wights as do strange miraculous

miraculous things by the assistance or consociation of evil Spirits.

O no, says Mr. *Webster*, these are onely חכמים [*Chacamim*] *Wise men*, and great *Naturalists*, who all what they did, they did בלהטיהם, by their bright glittering *Laminae*, for so להטים forsooth must signifie. But what necessity thereof that להט should signifie *Lamina*? there is onely the pretence of that one place, *Gen.* 3. 24. להט הרב, where it is הרב onely that signifies the *Lamina*, and that of a long form, scarce usual in those magical *Laminae* with Signatures celestial upon them, which *J. Webster* would be at; but להט signifies meerly *Flamma*; so that בלהטיהם by this account must signifie by their flames, if it be from להט *ardere, flammare*: And therefore *Buxtorfius* judiciously places the word under לוט *abscondit, obvolvitur*, reading not בלהטיהם but בלאטיהם, which is as much as to say, *occultis suis rationibus Magicis*, which is briefly rendred in English, *by their Enchantments*; which agrees marvellously well with מנשפים [*Mecassephim*,] which is as much as *Præstigitores Magici*, or such as do strange wonderful things in an hidden way by the help of evil Spirits. But that the *Ægyptian* Magicians should do those things that are there recorded of them in *Exodus*, by vertue of any Lamels or Plates of metal with certain Sculptures or Figures under such or such a Constellation,

is a thing so sottish and foolish, that no man that is not himself bewitched by some old Hag or Hobgoblin, can ever take Sanctuary here to save himself or his old Dames from being in a capacity, from this History in *Exodus*, of being accounted Witches. For if there may be *He-witches*, that is, *Magicians*, such as these of *Ægypt* were, I leave *J. Webster* to scratch his head to find out any reason why there may not be *She-witches* also.

And indeed that of the Witch of *Endor*, to pass at length to the eighth Chapter, is as plain a proof thereof as can be desired by any man whose mind is not blinded with prejudices. But here *J. Webster*, not impertinently, I confess, for the general, (abating him the many tedious particular impertinencies that he has clogged his Discourse with) betakes himself to these two ways, to shew there was nothing of a Witch in all that whole Narration. First, by pretending that all the transaction on the woman of *Endor's* part was nothing but collusion and a Cheat, *Saul* not being in the same Room with her, or at least seeing nothing if he was. And then in the next place, That *Samuel* that is said to appear, could neither be *Samuel* appearing in his Body out of the Grave, nor in his Soul; nor that it was a Devil that appeared: and therefore it must be some colluding Knave suborned by the Witch. For the discovering the weakness of his former Allegation,

tion, we need but to appeal to the Text, which is this, 1 Sam. 28. v. 8.

And Saul said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whom I shall name unto thee, קסומינא לי; that is, do the office of a Divineress or a Wise woman, I pray thee, unto me, באוב [Beobb] by vertue of the familiar Spirit, whose assistance thou hast, not by vertue of the Bottle, as Mr. Webster would have it. Does he think that Damsel in the Acts which is said to have had πνεῦμα κτύπου, that is, to have had אוב [Obb] carried an Aquavitæ-bottle about with her, hung at her Girdle, whereby she might divine and mutter, chirp, or peep out of it, as a Chicken out of an Egg-shell, or put her Neb into it to cry like a Bittern, or take a dram of the Bottle to make her wits more quick and divinary? Who but one that had taken too many drams of the Bottle could ever fall into such a fond conceit? Wherefore אוב [Obb] in this place does not, as indeed, no where else, signifie an oracular Bottle or μαντήριον, into which Saul might desire the woman of Endor to retire into, and himself expect answers in the next Room; but signifies that familiar Spirit by vertue of whose assistance she was conceived to perform all those wondrous offices of a Wise woman. But we proceed to verse 11.

Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. Surely

Surely as yet *Saul* and the woman are in the same Room ; and being the woman askt, *Whom shall I bring up unto thee ?* and he answering, *Bring up unto me Samuel*, it implies that *Samuel* was so to be brought up that *Saul* might see him, and not the Witch onely. But we go on, Verse 12.

And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice : and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me ? for thou art Saul. Though the woman might have some suspicions before that it was *Saul*, yet she now seeing *Samuel* did appear, and in another kind of way than her Spirits used to do, and in another hue, as it is most likely so holy a Soul did, she presently cried out with a loud voice, (*not muttered, chirpt, and peept as a Chicken coming out of the Shell*) that now she was sure it was *Saul* : For she was not such a Fool as to think her Art could call up real *Samuel*, but that the presence of *Saul* was the cause thereof : And *Josephus* writes expressly, "Ὅτι διασάμνον τὸ γυναικὸν ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ διοπρεπῆ παρὰ τῆσται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγῆν, ἔσθ' φησὶν, ὁ Βασιλεὺς Σάουλ." ; i. e. *The woman seeing a grave God-like man, is startled at it, and thus astonished at the Vision, turned her self to the King, and said, Art not thou King Saul ?* Verse 13.

And the King said unto her, Be not afraid : for what sawest thou ? And the woman said unto Saul, I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth.

The

The King here assures the woman, that though he was *Saul*, yet no hurt should come to her, and therefore bids her not be afraid: But she turning her face to *Saul*, as she spake to him, and he to her, and so her sight being off from the object, *Saul* asked her, *What sawest thou?* and she in like manner answered, *I saw Gods, &c.* For Gods I suppose any free Translator in Greek, Latine and English would say, *δαίμονας, Genios, Spirits.* And *אלהים* signifies Angels as well as Gods; and it is likely these Wise women take the Spirits they converse with to be good Angels, as *Anne Bodenham* the Witch told a worthy and Learned Friend of mine, That these Spirits, such as she had, were good Spirits, and would do a man all good offices all the days of his life; and it is likely this woman of *Endor* had the same opinion of hers, and therefore we need not wonder that she calls them *אלהים* [*Elohim*] especially *Samuel* appearing among them, to say nothing of the presence of *Saul*. And that more than one Spirit appears at a time, there are repeated examples in *Anne Bodenham's* Magical Evocations of them, whose History, I must confess, I take to be very true.

The case stands therefore thus: The Woman and *Saul* being in the same Room, she turning her face from *Saul*, mutters to her self some Magical form of evocation of Spirits; whereupon they beginning to appear and rise up,

up, seemingly out of the Earth, upon the sight of *Samuel's* Countenance, she cried out to *Saul*, and turning her face towards him spoke to him. Now that *Saul* hitherto saw nothing, though in the same Room, might be either because the body of the woman was interposed betwixt his eyes and them, or the Vehicles of those Spirits were not yet attempered to that conspissation that they would strike the eyes of *Saul*, though they did of the Witch. And that some may see an Object others not seeing it, you have an instance in the Child upon *Walker's* Shoulders appearing to Mr. *Fairhair*, and, it may be, to the Judge, but invisible to the rest of the Court; and many such examples there are: But I proceed to *Verse 14*.

And he said unto her, What form is he of? and she said, An old man cometh up, and is covered with a mantle. He asks here in the Singular number; because his mind was onely fixt on *Samuel*. And the womans answer is exactly according to what the Spirit appeared to her, when her eye was upon it, viz. איש וקן עלה *An old man coming up*; for he was but coming up when she looked upon him, and accordingly describes him: For עלה there is a Participle of the present Tense, and the woman describes *Samuel* from his Age, Habit, and motion he was in, while her eye was upon him. So that the genuine sense and Grammatical in this answer to, *What form is he of?* is this, an old

old man coming up, and the same covered with a mantle, this is his form and condition I saw him in. Wherefore *Saul* being so much concerned herein, either the woman or he changing their postures or standings, or *Samuel* by this having sufficiently conspissated his Vehicle and fitted it to *Saul's* sight also, it follows in the Text, *And Saul perceived it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground and bowed himself.*

O, the impudent profaneness and sottishness of perverse shufflers and whiffers, that upon the hearing of this passage can have the face to deny that *Saul* saw any thing, and merely because the word [*perceived*] is used, and not [*saw*]; when the word [*perceived*] plainly implies that he saw *Samuel*; and something more, namely, that by his former familiar converse with him, he was assured it was he. So exquisitely did he appear and overcomingly to his senses, that he could not but acknowledge (for so the Hebrew wōrd ירע signifies) that it was he, or else why did he stoop with his Face to the very Ground to do him honour?

No no, says *J. Webster*, he saw nothing himself, but stood waiting like a drowned Puppet (see of what a base rude spirit this Squire of Hags is, to use such language of a Prince in his distress) in another Room, to hear what would be the issue; for all that he understood

was

was from her cunning and lying relations. That this Gallant of Witches should dare to abuse a Prince thus, and feign him as much foolisher and sottisher in his *Intellectuals* as he was taller in *Stature* than the rest of the people even by head and shoulders, and merely, forsooth, to secure his old Wives from being so much as in a capacity of ever being suspected for Witches, is a thing extremely coarse, and intolerably fordid. And indeed upon the consideration of *Saul's* being said to bow himself to *Samuel*, (which plainly implies that there was there a *Samuel* that was the object of his sight and of the reverence he made) his own heart misgives him in this mad adventure. And he shifts off from thence to a conceit that it was a confederate Knave that the woman of *Endor* turned out into the room where *Saul* was, to act the part of *Samuel*, having first put on him her own short Cloak, which she used with her maund under her arm to ride to Fairs or Markets in. To this Country-slouch in the womans Mantle, must King *Saul*, stooping with his face to the very ground, make his profound obeysance. What, was a Market-womans Cloak and *Samuel's* Mantle, which *Josephus* calls *δυναοίδα ιερατικῶν*, a *Sacerdotal habit*, so like one another? Or if not, how came this woman, being so surprized of a suddain, to provide her self of such a Sacerdotal habit to cloak her confederate Knave in? Was *Saul* as well

a *blind* as a *drowned* Puppet, that he could not discern so gross and bold an Imposture as this? Was it possible that he should not perceive that it was not *Samuel* when they came to confer together, as they did? How could that confederate Knave change his own Face into the same figure, look, and mien that *Samuel* had, which was exactly known to *Saul*? How could he imitate his Voice thus of a suddain, and they discoursed a very considerable time together?

Besides, Knaves do not use to speak what things are true, but what things are pleasing. And moreover, this woman of *Endor*, though a Pythoness, yet she was of a very good nature and benign, which *Josephus* takes notice of, and extols her mightily for it, and therefore she could take no delight to lay further weight on the oppressed Spirit of distressed King *Saul*; which is another sign that this Scene was acted *bonâ fide*, and that there was no couzening in it. As also that is another; that she spoke so magnificently of what appeared to her, that she saw *Gods* ascending. Could she then possibly adventure to turn out a Country-slouch with a Maund-womans Cloak to act the part of so God-like and divine a Personage as *Samuel*, who was Θεῶν τὴν μορφὴν ὁμοιωθεῖς, as the woman describes him in *Josephus* Antiqu. Judaic. lib. 7. c. 15. Unto all which you may add, That the Scripture itself, which was written by

Inspira-

Inspiration, says expressly, v. 20. that it was *Samuel*. And the son of *Sirach*, ch. 46. that *Samuel* himself prophesied after his death, referring to this story of the woman of *Endor*. But for our new-inspired Seers, or Saints, *S. Scot*, *S. Adie*, and if you will *S. Webster* sworn Advocate of the Witches, who thus madly and boldly, against all sense and reason, against all antiquity, all Interpreters, and against the inspired Scripture itself, will have no *Samuel* in this Scene, but a cunning confederate Knave, whether the inspired Scripture, or these *inblown* Buffoons, puffed up with nothing but ignorance, vanity, and stupid infidelity, are to be believed, let any one judge.

Now we come now to his other Allegation, wherein we shall be brief, we having exceeded the measure of a Postscript already. *It was neither Samuel's Soul, says he, joyned with his Body, nor his Soul out of his Body, nor the Devil; and therefore it must be some confederate Knave suborned by that cunning cheating Quean of Endor.* But I briefly answer, it was the Soul of *Samuel* himself; and that it is the fruitfulness of the great ignorance of *J. Webster* in the sound Principles of Theosophy and true Divinity, that has enabled him to heap together no less than Ten Arguments to disprove this Assertion, and all little to the purpose: So little indeed, that I think it little to the purpose particularly to answer them, but
shall

shall hint onely some few Truths which will rout the whole band of them.

I say therefore, that departed Souls, as other Spirits, have an *ἀντεξέσιον* in them, such as Souls have in this life; and have both a faculty and a right to move of themselves, provided there be no exprefs Law against such or such a design to which their motion tends.

Again, That they have a Power of appearing in their own personal shapes to whom there is occasion, as *Anne Walker's* Soul did to the Miller; and that this being a faculty of theirs either natural or acquirable, the doing so is no miracle. And

Thirdly, That it was the strong piercing desire, and deep distress, and agony of mind in *Saul*, in his perplexed circumstances, and the great compassion and goodness of Spirit in the holy Soul of *Samuel*, that was the effectual Magick that drew him to condescend to converse with *Saul* in the womans house at *Endor*; as a keen sense of Justice and Revenge made *Anne Walker's* Soul appear to the Miller with her five Wounds in her head.

The rigid and harsh severity that *Webster* fancies *Samuel's* Ghost would have used against the woman, or sharp reproofs to *Saul*; As for the latter, it is somewhat expressed in the Text, and *Saul* had his excuse in readiness, and the good Soul of *Samuel* was sensible of his perplexed condition. And as for the former, sith

the Soul of *Samuel* might indeed have terrified the poor woman, and so unhinged her, that she had been fit for nothing after it, but not converted her, it is no wonder if he passed her by; Goodness and Forbearance more befitting an holy Angelical Soul, than bluster and fury, such as is fancied by that rude Goblin that actuates the Body and Pen of *Webster*.

As for departed Souls, that they never have any care or regard to any of their fellow-Souls here upon Earth, is expressly against the known example of that great Soul, and universal Pastor of all good Souls, who appeared to *Stephen* at his stoning, and to *S. Paul* before his Conversion, though then in his glorified Body; which is a greater condescension than this of the Soul of *Samuel*, which was also to a Prince, upon whose shoulders lay the great affairs of the People of *Israel*: To omit that other notable example of the Angel *Raphael* so called, (from his office at that time, or from the Angelical Order he was adopted into after his death) but was indeed the Soul of *Azarias* the son of *Ananias* the Great, and of *Tobit's* Brethren, *Tobit* ch. 5. 12. Nor does that which occurs, *Tob. 12. 15.* at all clash with what we have said, if rightly understood: for his saying, *I am Raphael one of the seven holy Angels which present the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One*, in the Cabbalistical sense signifies no more than

than thus, That he was one of the universal society of the holy Angels, (and a *Raphael* in the Order of the *Raphael*s) which minister to the Saints, and reinforce the Prayers of good and holy men by joyning thereto their own; and as they are moved by God, minister to their necessities, unprayed to themselves, which would be an abomination to them, but extream prone to second the Petitions of holy sincere souls, and forward to engage in the accomplishing of them, as a truly good man would sooner relieve an indigent creature, overhearing him making his moan to God in Prayer, than if he begged Alms of himself, though he might do that without sin. This Cabbalistical account, I think, is infinitely more probable, than that *Raphael* told a downright lye to *Tobit*, in saying he was the son of *Ananias* when he was not. And be it so, will *J. Webster* say, what is all this to the purpose, when the Book of *Tobit* is Apocryphal, and consequently of no Authority? What of no Authority? certainly of infinitely more Authority than *Mr. Wagstaff*, *Mr. Scot*, and *Mr. Adie*, that *Mr. Webster* so frequently and reverently quoteth.

I but, will he further add, these Apparitions were made to good and holy men, or to *elect Vessels*; but King *Saul* was a *wretched Reprobate*. This is the third liberal badge of honour that this ill-bred Advocate of the Witches has

bestowed on a distressed Prince. First, a *drowned Puppet*, p. 170. then a *distracted Bedlam*, in the same Page, which I passed by before; and now, a *wretched Reprobate*: But assuredly *Saul* was a brave Prince and Commander, as *Josephus* justly describes him, and *Reprobate* onely in Type, as *Ismael* and *Esau*; which is a mystery, it seems, that *J. Webster* was not aware of. And therefore no such wonder that the Soul of *Samuel* had such a kindness for him, as to appear to him in the depth of his distress, to settle his mind, by telling him plainly the upshot of the whole business, that he should lose the Battle, and he and his Sons be slain, that so he might give a specimen of the bravest Valour that ever was atchieved by any Commander, in that he would not suffer his Countrey to be over-run by the Enemy, while he was alive, without resistance; but though he knew certainly he should fail of success, and he and his Sons dye in the fight, yet in so just and honourable a Cause as the defence of his Crown and his Countrey, would give the Enemy battle in the Field, and sacrifice his own Life for the safety of his People. Out of the knowledge of which noble spirit in *Saul*, and his resolved valour in this point, those words haply may come from *Samuel*, *To morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me*, (as an auspicious insinuation of their favourable reception into the other world)

in מְהִיצָה צְדִיקִים *in thalamo justorum*, as *Munster* has noted out of the *Rabbins*.

Lastly, as for that weak imputation that this opinion of its being *Samuel's* soul that appeared, is Popish, that is very Plebeianly and Idiotically spoken, as if every thing that the Popish party are for, were Popish. We divide our zeal against so many things that we fancy Popish, that we scarce reserve a just share of detestation against what is truly so: Such as are that gross, rank, and scandalous impossibility of *Transubstantiation*, the various modes of fulsome *Idolatry* and lying *Impostures*, the *Uncertainty* of their *Loyalty* to their lawful Sovereigns by their superstitious adhesion to the spiritual Tyranny of the Pope, and that barbarous and ferine *Cruelty* against those that are not either such fools as to be perswaded to believe such things as they would obtrude upon men, or are not so false to God and their own Consciences, as knowing better, yet to profess them.

As for that other opinion, that the greater part of the reformed Divines hold, That it was the Devil that appeared in *Samuel's* shape; and though *Grotius* also seems to be enclined thereto, alledging that passage of *Porphyrius*, *De Abstinentia Animalium*, where he describes one kind of Spirit to be, Γένος ἀπατηλῆς φυσῆως, παντομορφόντε καὶ πολύτερον, ὑποκρινόμενον καὶ θεὸς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ψυχὰς τεθνηκότων. (which is,

I confess, very apposite to this story ; nor do I doubt but that in many of these Necromantick Apparitions, they are ludicrous Spirits, not the Souls of the deceased that appear) yet I am clear for the appearing of the Soul of *Samuel* in this story, from the reasons above alledged, and as clear that in other Necromancies it may be the Devil, or such kind of Spirits as *Porphyrius* above describes, *that change themselves into omnifarious forms and shapes, and one while act the parts of Dæmons, another while of Angels or Gods, and another while of the Souls of the deceased* : And I confess such a spirit as this might personate *Samuel* here, for any thing *Webster* has alledged to the contrary. For his Arguments indeed are wonderfully weak and wooden, as may be understood out of what I have hinted concerning the former opinion. But I cannot further particularize now.

For I have made my *Postscript* much longer than my Letter, before I was aware ; and I need not enlarge to you, who are so well versed in these things already, and can by the quickness of your parts presently collect the whole measure of *Hercules* by his Foot, and sufficiently understand by this time it is no rash censure of mine in my Letter, That *Webster's* Book is but a weak impertinent piece of work, the very Master-piece thereof being so weak and impertinent, and falling so short of the scope he aims it, which was really to prove that there

was no such thing as a Witch or Wizzard, that is, not any mention thereof, in Scripture, by any name of *one that had more to do with the Devil, or the Devil with him, than with other wicked men*; that is to say, of one who in vertue of Covenant either implicit or explicit did strange things by the help of evil Spirits, but *that, there are many sorts of Deceivers and Impostors, and diverse persons, under a passive delusion of Melancholy and Fancy*, which is part of his very Title-page.

Whereby he does plainly insinuate, there is nothing but Couzenage or Melancholy in the whole business of the feats of Witches. But a little to mitigate or smother the grossness of this false Assertion, he adds, *And that there is no corporeal League betwixt the Devil and the Witch; and that he does not suck on the Witches body, nor has carnal Copulation with her, nor the Witches are turned into Dogs or Cats, &c.* All which things, as you may see in his Book, he understands in the grossest manner imaginable, as if the Imps of Witches had Mouths of flesh to suck them, and Bodies of flesh to lye with them. And at this rate he may understand a *corporeal League*, as if it were no League or Covenant, unless some Lawyer drew the instrument, and engrossed it in Vellum or thick Parchment, and there were so many Witnesses with the Hand and Seal of the party: nor any Transformation into Dogs or Cats, unless

it were real and corporeal, or grossly carnal; which none of his *Witchmongers*, as he rudely and slovenly calls that learned and serious person *Dr. Casaubon* and the rest, do believe. Oney it is a disputable case of their *bodily* Transformation, betwixt *Bodinus* and *Remigius*; of which more in my *Scholia*. But that without this carnal transmutation a woman might not be accounted a Witch, is so foolish a supposition, that *Webster* himself certainly must be ashamed of it.

Wherefore if his Book be writ onely to prove there is no such thing as a Witch that covenants in Parchment with the Devil by the advice of a Lawyer, and is really and carnally turned into a Dog, Cat, or Hare, &c. and with carnal lips sucked by the Devil, and is one with whom the Devil lies carnally; the scope thereof is manifestly impertinent, when neither *Dr. Casaubon* nor any one else holds any such thing. But as for the true and adequate notion of a Witch or Wizzard, such as at first I described, his Arguments all of them are too too weak or impertinent, as to the disproving the existence of such a Witch as this, who betwixt his *Deceivers*, *Impostours*, and *Melancholists* on one hand, and those *gross Witches* he describes, on the other hand, goes away there as a Hare in a green balk betwixt two Lands of Corn, none of his Arguments reaching her or getting the sight of her, himself in the
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mean time standing on one side amongst the *Deceivers* and *Impostours*, his Book, as to the main design he drives at, being a mere *Cheat* and *Impostour*.

C. C. C. May 25.
1678.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THis Letter of Dr. *Moor* being left amongst other Papers appertaining to this new-intended Edition by Mr. *Glanvil*, and I perceiving in a Letter of his to the Doctor that he had a mind this Letter should be published together with his Book, it is done accordingly, and prefixed at the beginning thereof, as natural Method requires, the *Letter* being hortatory to quicken Mr. *Glanvil* to dispatch his intended new Edition for the undeceiving of the World, and the *Postscript* containing many things of a general influence upon the whole Book. But that the Doctor may suffer no prejudice through this publishing of his *Letter* and *Postscript*, from the sharpness and satyricallness of them in some places, I shall for the more rightly understanding his meaning in the using that mode of writing upon this occasion, transcribe a passage of a Letter of his
to

to his friend Mr. *Glanvil*, relating thereto. *I pray you send me word whether that Postscript will not meet with all the elusory cavils of that profane Buffoon, upon those places of holy Scripture: his unworthy usage of the Holy Writ, and his derisorous Interpretations of it in the behalf of his beloved Hags, provoked my indignation to such Schemes of deriding and exposing him, as otherwise I should never have condescended to.* This is a sufficient Testimony of the Doctor's aversness from such manner of writing. But as Divines tell us, that Anger and Punishment are God's *Opus alienum*, his strange work, as being more abhorrent from his nature; but yet for the good of the Universe he steps out sometimes into that dispensation: so I think it not misbecoming good men, sometimes to condescend, as the Doctor calls it, to the chastising prophane Drolls and Abusers of holy things, by a just derision and satyrical reprehension for their freakish and impious sauciness, provided it be done sincerely, and for the publick good.

Saducismus Triumphatus :

O R,

Full and plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

WITCHES

A N D

APPARITIONS.

The First P A R T thereof conteining

Philosophical Considerations

Which defend their

POSSIBILITY.

Whereunto is added,

The true and genuine NOTION, and

consistent Explication of the Nature

O F A

S P I R I T,

For the more full Confirmation of the
POSSIBILITY of their EXISTENCE.

LONDON; Printed, 1681.

To the Illustrious
CHARLES

D U K E of

Richmond and Lenox.

My LORD,

YOUR Grace having been pleased to command the first, and more imperfect, Edition of this Discourse, I have presumed that your Candour will accept the Draught that hath had my last hand upon it. And though I am not fond enough to phancy any Art or Ornament in the composure to recommend it; yet, I know, the Essay is seasonable, and contains things which relate to our biggest Interests; the design being to secure some of the Out-works of Religion, and to regain a parcel of ground which bold Infidelity hath invaded. And, my Lord, I cannot but observe sadly, that while the Sects are venting their Animosities against each other, and scrambling for their Conceits, and the particular advantages of their way, they perceive

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ceive not that Atheism comes on by large strides, and enters the Breaches they have made. Sober and considerate men see the formidable danger, and some of them have strenuously endeavoured to maintain the Walls, while the factions within are so busie and so divided, that they cannot attend the desperate hazard, and will not joyn in a Common Defence. Among those generous Defendants I desire to pitch, and have undertaken to make good one of the Forts upon which the Enemy hath made impetuous Assaults, and I hope with no contemptible success.

For my part, my Lord, I am very little concerned for the small pedlaries that some mens fondneis calls Religion, by which that sacred thing hath been exposed to a great deal of contempt and dishonour. But yet I think it my duty to have a zeal for those great and certain matters upon which our hopes in an other world are grounded: And that our expectations of a future Being, are not imaginary and fantastick, we have reasonable evidence enough from the Attributes of God, the Phænomena of Providence, and the nature of our Souls, to convince any, but those who will stupidly believe that they shall dye like Beasts, that they may live like them. I confess the Philosophick Arguments that are produced for the desirable Article, though very cogent, are many of them speculative and deep, requiring so great an attention and sagacity, that they take no hold upon the whiffling spirits,
that

The Epistle Dedicatory.

that are not used to consider ; nor upon the common sort, that cannot reach such heights of Argument : But they are both best convinced by the proofs that come nearest the sence, which indeed strike our minds fullest, and leave the most lasting impressions ; whereas high Speculations being more thin and subtile, easily slide off even from understandings that are most capable to receive them. For this reason, among some others, I appear thus much concerned for the justification of the belief of Witches, it suggesting palpable and current evidence of our Immortality, which I am exceedingly sollicitous to have made good.

For really, my Lord, if we make our computes like Men, and do not suffer our selves to be abused by the flatteries of sence, and the deceitful gayeties that steal us away from God, and from our selves, there is nothing can render the thoughts of this odd life tolerable, but the expectation of another. And wise men have said, that they would not live a moment, if they thought they were not to live again. This perhaps some may take to be the discontented Paradox of a melancholick, vext and of mean condition, that is pinched by the straitness of fortune, and envies the heights of others felicity and grandeurs ; But by that time those that judge so, have spent the heats of frolick youth, and have past over the several stages of vanity ; when they come to sit down, and make sober reflections upon their plea-

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pleasures and pursuits, and sum up the account of all that is with them, and before them, I doubt not but their considering thoughts will make Solomon's Conclusion, and find, that 'tis but a misery to live, if we were to live for nothing else. So that if the content of the present life were all I were to have for the hopes of Immortality, I should even upon that account be very unwilling to believe that I was mortal: For certainly the pleasures that result from the thoughts of another world in those that not onely see it painted in their imaginations, but feel it begun in their Souls, are as far beyond all the titillations of sense, as a real lasting happiness is beyond the delusive Images of a Dream. And therefore they that think to secure the enjoyment of their pleasures by the infamy of our natures in the overthrow of our future hopes, endeavour to dam up the Fountain of the fullest and cleanest delights; and seek for limpid waters in the finks and puddles of the streets.

You see, my Lord, how my zeal for this mighty interest transports me to a greater length in this address, than perhaps may consist with strict decorum; and I indulge my Pen the rather in this licence, because possibly your Grace's name may draw some eyes hither that have need of such suggestions, and those that have not need a great deal more. It cannot be proper to add here those large accounts which would be requisite in a design of full conviction: But for the present, if they shall

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shall please to look forward, they may likely meet some things not unfit for their serious thoughts; and I intend to take a season to present them others, more particularly suitable to what I know is as much their interest, as I doubt it is their want.

But, my Lord, I fear I am importunate, and beseech your Grace to pardon the boldness of

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most obedient Servant,

Jos. Glanvil.

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Preface.

There are a sort of *narrow* and *confin'd* *Spirits*, who account all *Discourses needless*, that are not for their particular *purposes*; and judge all the world to be of the *size* and *Genius* of those within the *Circle* of their Knowledge and Acquaintance; so that with a *peré* and *pragmatique Insolence*; they censure all the *braver Designs* and *Notices* that lie beyond their Ken, as *nice* and *impertinent Speculations*: an *ignorant* and *proud Injustice*; as if this sort were the onely persons, whose humour and needs should be consulted. And hence it comes to pass, that the *greatest* and *worthiest* things that are written or said, do always meet with the most general *neglect* and *scorn*, since the *lesser people*, for whom they were not intended, are quick to *shoot* their *bolt*, and to condemn what they do not *understand*, and *because* they do not. Whereas on the other side, those that are able to *judge* and would *incourage*, are commonly *reserv'd* and *modest* in their *sentences*; or, if they should seek to do right to things that are worthy, they are sure to be out-voiced by the *rout* of *ignorant* contemners. Upon which accounts I have often thought that he that courts and values *popular* estimation, takes not

Preface.

the right way if he endeavour any thing that is really excellent : but he must study the *little plausibilities*, and accommodate the humour of the *M A N Y*, who are *active Ministers of Fame*, being *zealous and loud* in their *applauses*, as they are *clamorous and impetuous* in their *oppositions*. As for *these*, 'tis one of my chief cares to make my self as much unconcern'd at their *Censures*, as I am at the *cacklings of a flock of Geese*, or at the *eager displeasure* of those little *snarling Animals*, that are *angry* when I go along the streets. Nor can any man be either *wise or happy*, till he hath arrived to that *greatness of mind*, that no more considers the *tattling of the multitude* than the *whistling of the wind*. Not that I think the *common people* are to be contemned for the *weakness of their understandings*; 'tis an *insolent meanness of spirit* that doth *that* : but when *conceited ignorance* sits down in the *Judgment seat*, and gives *peremptory Verdicts* upon things beyond its *Line*, the *wise man smiles and passeth by*. For such (if *that* may signifie any thing to keep them from troubling themselves about the following *CONSIDERATIONS*) I desire they would take notice from *me*, that I writ not those things for such as *they*; and they will do well to throw up the Book upon this *Advertisement*, except they will stay to hear, That though *Philosophical Discourses* to justify the common belief about *Witches*, are nothing at
all

Preface.

all to *them*, or those of *their measure*; yet they are too *seasonable* and *necessary* for our *Age*, in which *Atheism* is begun in *Sadducism*: And those that dare not bluntly say, *There is NO GOD*, content themselves (for a fair *step* and *Introduction*) to deny there are *SPIRITS*, or *WITCHES*. Which sort of *Infidels*, though they are not ordinary among the *meer vulgar*, yet are they numerous in a little higher rank of *understandings*. And those that know any thing of the world, know, that most of the looser *Gentry*, and the small pretenders to *Philosophy* and *Wit*, are generally deriders of the *belief of Witches* and *Apparitions*. And were this a slight or mere speculative mistake, I should not trouble my self or them about it. But I fear this error hath a *Core* in it that is worse than *Heresie*: and therefore how little soever I care what men *believe* or *teach* in matters of *Opinion*, I think I have reason to be concern'd in an affair that toucheth so near upon the greatest interests of Religion. And really I am astonisht sometimes to think into what a kind of *Age* we are fallen, in which some of the *greatest impieties* are accounted but *Bugs*, and *terrible Names*, *invisible Tittles*, *Peccadillo's*, or *Chimera's*. The sad and greatest instances, are *SACRILEDGE*, *REBELLION*, and *WITCHCRAFT*. For the two former, there are a sort of men (that are far from being profest Enemies to

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Religion)

Preface.

Religion) who, I do not know whether they *own* any such vices. We find no mention of them in their most particular *Confessions*, nor have I observed them in those Sermons that have contained the largest *Catalogues* of the *Sins* of our *Age* and *Nation*. 'Twere dangerous to speak of them as sins, for fear who should be found guilty. But my business at present is not with *these*, but the other, *WITCHCRAFT*, which I am sure was a *Sin* of elder times; and how comes it about that our *Age*, which so much outdoes them in all other kinds of wickedness, should be wholly *innocent* in this? That there *MAY* be *WITCHES* and *Apparitions* in our days, notwithstanding the *Objections* of the *modern Sadduce*, I believe I have made appear in the *CONSIDERATIONS* following; in which I did not primarily intend direct *Proof*, but *DEFENCE*, as the Title of the *first Edition*, which is restor'd in *these* later mention'd.

And if it should be *objected*, That I have for the most part used onely *supposals* and *conjectural* things in the *vindication* of the *common* belief, and speak with no *point-blank assurance* in my *particular* Answers, as I do in the *general* Conclusion; I need onely say, That the *Proposition* I defend is *matter of fact*, which the *disbelievers* impugne by alledging that it *cannot be*, or *it is not likely*: In return to which, if I shew how those things *may be*, and *probably*,

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-bly, notwithstanding their *allegations*, though I say not downright that they are in the particular way I offer, yet 'tis enough for the design of *Defence*, though not for that of *Proof*: for when one saith a thing *cannot be*, and I tell him how possibly *it may*, though I hit not the just *manner* of it, I yet defeat the *Objection* against it, and make way for the *evidence* of the thing *de Facto*; which now I have added from the *Divine Oracles*, and two *Modern Relations* that are *clear* and *unexceptionable*.

I have no humour nor delight in telling Stories, and do not publish *these* for the gratification of those that have; but I record them as *Arguments* for the *confirmation* of a Truth which hath indeed been attested by multitudes of the like Evidences in all places and times. But things *remote*, or *long past*, are either not *believed* or *forgotten*: whereas *these* being *fresh* and *near*, and attended with all the circumstances of *credibility*, it may be expected they should have the more success upon the *obstinacy* of *Unbelievers*.

But after all this, I must confess, there is *one Argument* against me, which is not to be dealt with, *viz.* a *mighty confidence* grounded upon *nothing*, that *swaggers*, and *huffs*, and *swears* there are no *Witches*. For such *Philosophers* as *these*, let them enjoy the *Opinion* of their own *Superlative Judgements*, and en-

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ter me in the first rank of *Fools* for crediting my *Senses*, and those of all the World, before their *sworn* Dictates. If they will believe in *Scott*, *Hobbes*, and *Osborne*, and think them more *infallible* than the *Sacred* Oracles, the *History* of all Ages, and the *full experience* of our *own*, who can help it? They must not be *contradicted*, and they are resolved not to be *perswaded*. For this sort of men, I never go about to convince them of any thing. If I can avoid it, I throw nothing before them, lest they should *turn again*, and *rend me*. Their *Opinions* came into their *Heads* by *chance*, when their *little reasons* had no *notice* of their *entrance*; and they must be let alone to go out again of themselves, the same way they entered. Therefore not to make much noise to disturb these *infallible Huffers* (and they cannot hear a *little* for their *own*) I softly step by them, leaving onely this whisper behind me; That though their *worshipful ignorance* and *sottishness* can relish nothing of a Discourse that doth not minister to *Sensuality* and *Unbelief*, yet my *CONSIDERATIONS* have had the good fortune of a *better* reception from the *braver* and more *generous* Spirits, than my fondest hopes could have expected; and persons whose good thoughts I have reason to value, have assured me that their *kindness* to my Book hath improved upon *second* and more *careful* perusals; which

Preface.

I mention for this purpose, that *those* that *need* my *Remarques*, and cannot *feel* them in a *running reading*, may please to turn their eyes back, and *deliberately* think over what I have offered; from which course I dare promise them more *satisfaction* than from their *haste*.

Bath June 8.
1668.

F. G.

SOME

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SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
ABOUT

Witchcraft.

In a LETTER to
ROBERT HUNT, Esq;

S E C T. I.

SIR,

THE *frequent* and *late* dealings you have had in the *Examination of Witches*, and the regards of one that hath a very particular honour for you, have brought you the trouble of some CONSIDERATIONS on the Subject. And though what I have to say, be but the unaccurate product of a little leisure; yet I hope it may afford you some, not unreasonable, accounts of the odd *Phænomena* of *Witchcraft* and *Fascination*, and contribute to the DEFENCE of the
Truth,

Truth and certainty of matters, which you know by Experiments that could not deceive, in spite of the petty exceptions of those that are resolved to believe nothing in affairs of this nature.

And if any thing were to be much admired in an Age of Wonders, not onely of Nature, (which is a constant Prodigie) but of Men and Manners; it would be to me matter of astonishment, that Men, otherwise witty and ingenious, are fallen into the conceit that there is no such thing as a Witch or Apparition, but that these are the creatures of Melancholy and Superstition, foster'd by ignorance and design; which comparing the confidence of their disbelief with the evidence of the things denied, and the weakness of their grounds, would almost suggest that themselves are an Argument of what they deny; and that so confident an opinion could not be held upon such inducements, but by some kind of Witchcraft and Fascination in the Fancy. And perhaps that evil Spirit whose influences they will not allow in actions ascribed to such Causes, hath a greater hand and interest in their Proposition than they are aware of. For that subtle Enemy of Mankind (since Providence will not permit him to mischief us without our own concurrence) attempts that by stratagem and artifice, which he could never effect by open ways of acting; and the success of all wiles depending upon their secrecy and conceal-

concealment, his influence is never more dangerous than when his agency is least suspected. In order therefore to the carrying on the dark and hidden designs he manageth against our happiness and our Souls, he cannot expect to advantage himself more, than by insinuating a belief, *That there is no such thing as himself*, but that fear and fancy make Devils now, as they did Gods of old. Nor can he ever draw the assent of men to so dangerous an assertion, while the standing sensible evidences of his existence in his practices by and upon his instruments are not discredited and removed.

'Tis doubtless therefore the interest of this Agent of darkness to have the world believe, that the notion they have of him is but a phantôme and conceit; and in order thereunto, that the stories of Witches, Apparitions, and indeed every thing that brings tidings of another world, are but melancholick Dreams, and pious Romances. And when men are arrived thus far to think there are no diabolical contracts or Apparitions, their belief that there are such Spirits rests onely upon their Faith and Reverence to the divine Oracles, which we have little reason to apprehend so great in such assertors, as to command much from their assent; especially in such things in which they have corrupt interests against their evidence. So that he that thinks there is no Witch, believes a Devil gratis, or at least upon inducements,

ments, which he is like to find himself disposed to deny when he pleaseth. And when men are arrived to this degree of *diffidence* and *infidelity*, we are beholden to them if they believe either *Angel*, or *Spirit*, *Resurrection* of the *body*, or *Immortality* of *Souls*. These things hang together in a *Chain of connexion*, at least in these mens *Hypothesis*; and 'tis but an happy chance if he that hath lost one *link* holds another. So that the *vitals* of Religion being so much interess'd in this subject, it will not be unnecessary employment particularly to discourse it.

And in order to the proof that there have been, and are, *unlawful Confederacies* with *evil Spirits*, by vertue of which the *hellish accomplices* perform things above their natural powers: I must premise, that this being *matter of fact*, is onely capable of the evidence of *authority* and *sense*; and by both these the being of *Witches* and *diabolical Contracts* is most abundantly confirm'd. All *Histories* are full of the exploits of those *Instruments of darkness*; and the *testimony* of all ages, not onely of the *rude* and *barbarous*, but of the most *civiliz'd* and *polish'd* world, brings tidings of their strange performances. We have the *attestation* of thousands of eye and ear-witnesses, and those not of the easily-deceivable vulgar onely, but of wise and grave discerners; and that, when no interest could oblige them to agree together

in a common *Lye*. I say, we have the light of all these *circumstances* to confirm us in the belief of things done by persons of despicable power and knowledge, beyond the reach of *Art* and *ordinary Nature*. Standing publick *Records* have been kept of these well-attested *Relations*, and *Epocha's* made of those unwonted events. Laws in many Nations have been enacted against those vile practices; those among the *Jews* and our *own* are *notorious*; such cases have been often determined near us, by *wise* and *reverend Judges*, upon clear and convictive Evidence: and thousands in our own Nation have *suffered death* for their *vile compacts* with *apostate spirits*. All these I might largely prove in their particular instances, but that 'tis not needful, since those that deny the being of *Witches*, do it not out of ignorance of these heads of Argument, of which probably they have heard a thousand times; but from an *apprehension* that such a *belief is absurd*, and the things *impossible*. And upon these presumptions they contemn all demonstrations of this nature, and are hardned against conviction. And I think, those that can believe all *Histories* are *Romances*; That all the *wiser* world have agreed together to *juggle* mankind into a common belief of *ungrounded fables*; That the *sound senses of multitudes* together may deceive them, and *Laws* are built upon *Chimera's*; That the *gravest* and *wisest Judges* have been

Murderers,

Murderers, and the sagest persons Fools, or designing Impostors: I say, those that can believe this heap of absurdities, are either more credulous than those whose credulity they reprehend; or else have some extraordinary evidence of their persuasion, viz. That 'tis absurd and impossible there should be a Witch or Apparition. And I am confident, were those little appearances remov'd which men have form'd in their fancies against the belief of such things, their own evidence would make its way to mens assent, without any more arguments than what they know already to enforce it. There is nothing then necessary to be done, in order to the establishing the belief I would reconcile to mens minds, but to endeavour the removal of those prejudices they have received against it: the chief of which I shall particularly deal with. And I begin with that bold Assertion, That

S E C T. I I.

I.

(I.) **T**He NOTION of a Spirit is impossible and contradictory, and consequently so is that of Witches, the belief of which is founded on that Doctrine.

TO WHICH OBJECTION I answer,

(1) If the *notion* of a *Spirit* be *absurd* as is pretended, that of a *GOD* and a *SOUL* distinct from *matter*, and *immortal*, are likewise *absurdities*. And then, that the world was jumbled into this *elegant* and *orderly* *Fabrick* by *chance*; and that our *Souls* are onely parts of *matter* that came together we know not *whence* nor *how*, and shall again shortly be *dissolv'd* into those loose *Atoms* that *compound* them; That all our *conceptions* are but the thrusting of one part of *matter* against another; and the *Idea's* of our minds mere blind and casual *motions*. These, and a thousand more the grossest *impossibilities* and *absurdities* (consequents of this *Proposition*, *That the notion of a Spirit is absurd*) will be sad *certainties* and *demonstrations*. And with such *Affertors* I would cease to discourse about *Witches* and *Apparitions*, and address my self to obtain their assent to *Truths* infinitely more *sacred*.

And yet (2) though it should be granted them, that a *substance immaterial* is as much a *contradiction* as they can fancy; yet why should they not believe that the *Air* and all the *Regions* above us, may have their *invisible intellectual Agents*, of nature like unto our *Souls*, be that what it will, and some of them at least as much degenerate as the *vilest* and most

mischievous among men? This *Hypothesis* will be enough to secure the possibility of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. And that all the upper *Stories* of the *Universe* are furnish'd with *Inhabitants*, 'tis infinitely reasonable to conclude, from the *analogy* of *Nature*; since we see there is nothing so contemptible and vile in the world we reside in, but hath its living *Creatures* that dwell upon it; the *Earth*, the *Water*, the *inferiour Air*, the *bodies of Animals*, the *flesh*, the *skin*, the *entrails*; the *leaves*, the *roots*, the *stalks of Vegetables*; yea, and all kind of *Minerals* in the *subterraneous Regions*. I say, all these have their proper *Inhabitants*; yea, I suppose this rule may hold in all distinct kinds of *Bodies* in the world, *That they have their peculiar Animals*. The certainty of which, I believe the improvement of *microscopical Observations* will discover. From whence I infer, That since this little Spot is so *thickly peopled* in every *Atome* of it, 'tis weakness to think that all the vast *spaces* above, and *hollows* under ground, are *desert* and *uninhabited*. And if both the *superiour* and *lower Continents* of the *Universe* have their *Inhabitants* also, 'tis exceedingly improbable, arguing from the same *analogy*, that they are all of the meer *sensible nature*, but that there are at least some of the *Rational* and *Intellectual* Orders. Which supposed, there is good foundation for the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, though the notion of a *Spirit* should

should prove as *absurd*, and *unphilosophical*, as I judge the denial of it. And so this first Objection comes to nothing. I descend then to the second *Prejudice*, which may be thus formed in behalf of the *Objectors*.

S E C T. I I I.

I I.

(II.) **T**HERE ARE Actions in most of those Relations ascribed to Witches, which are ridiculous and impossible in the nature of things; such are (1) their flying out of windows, after they have anointed themselves, to remote places. (2) Their transformation into Cats, Hares, and other Creatures. (3) Their feeling all the hurts in their own bodies which they have received in those. (4) Their raising Tempests, by muttering some nonsensical words, or performing ceremonies alike impertinent as ridiculous. And (5) their being suck'd in a certain private place of their bodies by a Familiar. These are presumed to be actions inconsistent with the nature of Spirits, and above the powers of those poor and miserable Agents. And therefore the Objection supposeth them performed onely by the Fancy; and that the whole mystery of Witchcraft is but an illusion of crasie imagination.

TO this *aggregate Objection* I return, (1) IN the general, The more *absurd* and *unaccountable* these actions seem, the greater *confirmations* are they to me of the *truth* of those *Relations*, and the reality of what the *Objectors* would destroy. For these circumstances being exceeding *unlikely*, judging by the measures of common belief, 'tis the greater probability they are not *fictional*: For the contrivers of *Fictions* use to form them as near as they can conformably to the most *unsuspected realities*, endeavouring to make them look as *like truth* as is possible in the main *supposals*, though withal they make them strange in the *circumstance*. None but a fool or madman would relate, with a purpose of having it believed, that he saw in *Ireland* Men with *hoofs* on their *heads*, and *eyes* in their *breasts*; or if any should be so ridiculously vain, as to be serious in such an *incredible Romance*, it cannot be supposed that all *Travellers* that come into those parts after him should tell the same story. There is a large *field* in *fiction*; and if all those *Relations* were *arbitrary compositions*, doubtless the first *Romancers* would have framed them more agreeable to the common doctrine of *Spirits*; at least, after these *supposed absurdities* had been a thousand times laugh'd at, people by this time would have learn'd to correct those *obnoxious extravagancies*; and though they

they have not yet more *veracity* than the Ages of *Ignorance* and *Superstition*, yet one would expect they should have got more *cunning*. This suppos'd *impossibility* then of these performances, seems to me a *probable* argument that they are not wilful and designed Forgeries. And if they are *Fancies*, 'tis somewhat strange, that *Imagination*, which is the most *various thing* in all the world, should infinitely repeat the same *conceit* in all times and places.

But again (2) the strange *Actions* related of *Witches*, and presumed *impossible*, are not ascribed to their own powers; but to the Agency of those wicked *Confederates* they imploy. And to affirm that those *evil spirits* cannot do that which we conceit *impossible*, is boldly to stint the powers of *Creatures*, whose natures and faculties we know not; and to measure the world of *Spirits* by the narrow rules of our own *impotent beings*. We see among our selves the *performances* of some out-go the *conceits* and *possibilities* of others; and we know many things may be done by the *Mathematicks* and *Mechanick Artifice*, which common heads think *impossible* to be effected by the honest ways of *Art* and *Nature*. And doubtless, the *subtilties* and *powers* of those *mischievous Fiends* are as much beyond the reach and activities of the most knowing *Agents* among us, as theirs are beyond the wit and ability of the most *rustick* and *illiterate*. So that the utmost that

any mans reason in the world can amount to in this particular, is onely this, That he cannot *conceive* how such things can be performed; which onely argues the *weakness* and *imperfection* of our *knowledge* and *apprehensions*, not the *impossibility* of those performances: and we can no more from hence form an Argument against them, than against the most *ordinary effects in Nature*. We cannot conceive how the *Fœtus* is form'd in the *Womb*, nor as much as how a *Plant* springs from the *Earth* we tread on; we know not how our *Souls* move the *Body*, nor how these distant and extream *natures* are *united*; as I have abundantly shewn in my *SCEPSIS SCIENTIFICA*. And if we are ignorant of the most *obvious* things about us, and the most *considerable* within our selves, 'tis then no wonder that we know not the *constitution* and *powers* of the *Creatures*, to whom we are such strangers. Briefly then, *matters of fact* well proved ought not to be denied, becaute we cannot *conceive how* they can be performed. Nor is it a reasonable method of inference, first to presume the thing *impossible*, and thence to conclude that the *fact* cannot be *proved*. On the contrary, we should judge of the *action* by the *evidence*, and not the *evidence* by the measures of our fancies about the *action*. This is proudly to exalt our own *opinions* above the clearest *testimonies* and most sensible *demonstrations* of *fact*: and so to
 give

give the *Lye* to all *Mankind*, rather than distrust the *conceits* of our bold *imaginations*. But yet further,

(3) I think there is nothing in the *instances* mention'd, but what may as well be accounted for by the Rules of *Reason* and *Philosophy*, as the ordinary affairs of *Nature*. For in resolving *natural Phænomena*, we can onely assign the probable *causes*, shewing how things *may be*, not presuming how they *are*. And in the particulars under our *Examen*, we may give an account how 'tis *possible*, and not *unlikely*, that such things (though somewhat varying from the common *road* of *Nature*) may be acted. And if our narrow and contracted minds can furnish us with apprehensions of the way and manner of such performances, though perhaps not the true ones, 'tis an argument that such things may be effected by creatures whose powers and knowledge are so vastly exceeding ours. I shall endeavour therefore briefly to suggest some things that may render the *possibility* of these performances *conceivable*, in order to the removal of this *Objection*, that they are *contradictions* and *impossible*.

For the *FIRST* then, That the *confederate Spirit* should transport the *Witch* through the Air to the place of general *Rendezvous*, there is no difficulty in conceiving it; and if that be true which great Philosophers affirm, concerning the real *separability* of the *Soul*

from the *Body* without *death*, there is yet *less*; for then 'tis easie to apprehend, that the *Soul* having left its gross and sluggish *body* behind it, and being cloath'd onely with its *immediate vehicle of Air*, or more *subtile matter*, may be quickly conducted to any place it would be at by those *officious Spirits* that attend it. And though I adventure to affirm nothing concerning the truth and certainty of this *Supposition*, yet I must needs say, it doth not seem to me *unreasonable*. And our experience of *Apoplexies, Epilepsies, Ecstasies*, and the strange things men report to have seen during those *Deliquiums*, look favourably upon this *conjecture*; which seems to me to contradict no *principle of Reason or Philosophy*; since *Death* consists not so much in the *actual separation of Soul and Body*, as in the *indisposition and unsit-ness of the Body for vital union*, as an excellent Philosopher hath made good. On which *Hypothesis*, the *Witches* anointing her self before she takes her flight, may perhaps serve to keep the *Body tenantable*, and in fit *disposition* to receive the *Spirit* at its return. These things, I say, we may conceive, though I affirm nothing about them; and there is not any thing in such *conceptions* but what hath been own'd by men of worth and name, and may seem *fair and accountable* enough to those who judge not altogether by the measures of the *populace* and *customary opinion*. And there's a saying of the
great

great *Apostle* that seems to countenance this *Platonick* notion ; what is the meaning else of that expression, [*Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell*] except the *Soul* may be separated from the *Body* without *death* ? which if it be granted *possible*, 'tis sufficient for my purpose. And

(2) The *Transformations* of *Witches* into the *shapes* of other *Animals*, upon the same supposal is very *conceivable*, since then 'tis easie enough to imagine, that the power of *imagination* may form those *passive* and *pliable vehicles* into those *shapes*, with more ease than the fancy of the *Mother* can the stubborn matter of the *Fætus* in the womb, as we see it frequently doth in the instances that occur of *Signatures* and *monstrous Singularities* ; and perhaps sometimes the *confederate Spirit* puts tricks upon the senses of the *Spectators*, and those *shapes* are onely *illusions*.

But then (3) when they feel the *hurts* in their gross bodies, that they receive in their *airy vehicles* ; they must be supposed to have been really present, at least in these latter ; and 'tis no more difficult to apprehend how the *hurts* of *those* should be translated upon their other *bodies*, than how *diseases* should be *inflicted* by the *imagination*, or how the *fancy* of the *Mother* should wound the *Fætus*, as several credible relations do attest.

And (4) for their raising *Storms* and *Tempests*

pests, They do it not, be sure, by their *own*, but by the *power* of the *Prince* of the *Air*, their Friend and Allie; and the *Ceremonies* that are enjoyn'd them are doubtless nothing else but *entertainments* for their *imaginations*, and are likely design'd to perswade them, that *they* do these strange things *themselves*.

And (lastly) for their being *suck'd* by the *Familiar*, I say (1) we know so little of the nature of *Dæmons* and *Spirits*, that 'tis no wonder we cannot certainly divine the reason of so strange an action. And yet (2) we may conjecture at some things that may render it less *improbable*. For some have thought that the *Genii* (whom both the *Platonical* and *Christian Antiquity* thought *embodied*) are re-created by the *reeks* and *vapours* of *humane blood*, and the *spirits* that proceed from them; Which supposal (if we grant them bodies) is not unlikely, every thing being *refresh'd* and *nourish'd* by its like. And that they are not perfectly *abstract* from all *body* and *matter*, besides the reverence we owe to the wisest antiquity, there are several considerable Arguments I could alledge to render it exceeding probable. Which things supposed, the *Devil's sucking* the *Sorceress* is no great wonder, nor difficult to be accounted for. Or perhaps (3) this may be onely a *diabolical Sacrament* and *Ceremony* to confirm the *hellish Covenant*. To which I add, (4) That which to me seems
 most

most probable, *viz.* That the *Familiar* doth not onely suck the *Witch*, but in the action infuseth some *poysonous ferment* into her, which gives her *Imagination* and *Spirits* a *magical tincture*, whereby they become *mischievously influential*; and the word *venefica* intimates some such matter. Now that the *imagination* hath a mighty power in *operation*, is seen in the just now mention'd *Signatures* and *Diseases* that it causeth; and that the *fancy* is modified by the *qualities* of the *blood* and *spirits*, is too evident to need proof. Which things supposed, 'tis plain to conceive that the *evil spirit* having breath'd some vile *vapour* into the *body* of the *Witch*, it may taint her *blood* and *spirits* with a *noxious quality*, by which her *infected imagination*, heightned by *melancholy* and this worse cause, may do much hurt upon *bodies* that are impressible by such *influences*. And 'tis very likely that this *ferment* disposeth the *imagination* of the *Sorceress* to cause the mentioned ἀφαιρέσις, or *separation* of the *Soul* from the *Body*, and may perhaps keep the *Body* in fit temper for *its re-entry*; as also it may facilitate *transformation*, which, it may be, could not be effected by *ordinary* and *unassisted* *imagination*.

Thus we see, 'tis not so desperate to form an apprehension of the manner of these odd performances; and though they are not done the way I have describ'd, yet what I have said may help

help us to a conceit of the possibility, which sufficeth for my purpose. And though the *Hypotheses* I have gone upon will seem as *unlikely* to some, as the things they attempt to explain are to others; yet I must desire their leave to suggest, that most things seem *improbable* (especially to the *conceited* and *opinionative*) at first *proposal*: and many great *truths* are *strange* and *odd*, till *custome* and *acquaintance* have reconciled them to our fancies. And I'll presume to add on this occasion, (though I love not to be confident in *affirming*) that there is none of the *Platonical supposals* I have used, but what I could make appear to be *fair* and *reasonable*, to the capable and unprejudic'd.

S E C T. I V.

III.

BUT (III.) *I come to another prejudice against the being of Witches, which is, That 'tis very improbable that the Devil, who is a wise and mighty Spirit, should be at the beck of a poor Hag, and have so little to do, as to attend the Errands and impotent Lusts of a silly Old woman.*

TO which I might answer, (1) That 'tis much more *improbable* that all the
world

world should be *deceiv'd* in matters of *fact*, and circumstances of the clearest evidence and conviction; than that the *Devil*, who is *wicked*, should be also *unwise*; and that he that persuades all his subjects and accomplices out of their wits, should himself act like his own Temptations and Perswasions. In brief, there is nothing more strange in this Objection, than that *wickedness* is *baseness* and *servility*; and that the *Devil* is at leisure to serve those, he is at leisure to *tempt*, and industrious to *ruine*. And again, (2) I see no *necessity* to believe that the *Devil* is always the *Witches Confederates*; but perhaps it may fitly be considered, whether the *Familiar* be not some *departed humane Spirit*, forsaken of God and goodness, and swallowed up by the unsatiabable desire of mischief and revenge, which possibly by the *Laws* and *capacity* of its *state* it cannot execute *immediately*. And why we should presume that the *Devil* should have the liberty of wandring up and down the Earth and Air, when he is said to be *held* in the *Chains* of *darkness*; and yet that the *separated Souls* of the *wicked*, of whom no such thing is affirm'd in any *sacred Record*, should be thought so *imprison'd*, that they cannot possibly wag from the place of their *confinement*, I know no shadow of conjecture. This *conceit* I'm confident hath prejudic'd many against the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions*; they not being able to conceive that the *Devil*

should

should be so *ludicrous* as *appearing spirits* are sometimes reported to be in their *frolicks*; and they presume, that *souls departed never revisit the free and open Regions*; which confidence, I know nothing to justify: For since good men in their *state of separation* are said to be *ἰοίγγελοι*, why the *wicked* may not be supposed to be *ἰσοδαίμονες* in the worst sense of the word, I know nothing to help me to imagine. And if it be supposed that the *Imps of Witches* are sometimes *wicked spirits* of our own kind and nature, and possibly the same that have been *Sorcerers and Witches* in this life: This supposal may give a fairer and more probable account of many of the actions of *Sorcery and Witchcraft*, than the other *Hypothesis*, that they are always *Devils*. And to this conjecture I'll adventure to subjoyn another, which also hath its *probability*, viz. (3) That 'tis not impossible but the *Familiars of Witches* are a vile kind of *spirits*, of a very inferior Constitution and nature, and none of those that were once of the highest *Hierarchy*, now degenerated into the *spirits* we call *Devils*. And for my part I must confess, that I think the common *division of spirits* much too general; conceiving it likely there may be as great a *variety of intellectual Creatures* in the *invisible world*, as there is of *Animals* in the *visible*: and that all the *superiour*, yea, and *inferiour* Regions, have their several kinds of *spirits* differing in their *natural*

perfections, as well as in the *kinds* and *degrees* of their *depravities*; which being supposed, 'tis very probable that those of the *basest* and *meanest* Orders are they, who submit to the mention'd *servilities*. And thus the *sageß* and *grandeur* of the *Prince* of *darkness* need not be brought into question.

S E C T. V.

IV.

BUt (IV) *the opinion of Witches seems to some, to accuse Providence, and to suggest that it hath exposed Innocents to the fury and malice of revengeful Fiends; yea, and supposeth those most obnoxious, for whom we might most reasonably expect a more special tutelary care and protection; most of the cruel practices of those presum'd Instruments of Hell, being upon Children, who as they least deserve to be deserted by that Providence that superintends all things, so they most need its guardian influence.*

TO this so specious an *Objection* I have these things to answer.

(I) *Providence* is an unfathomable Depth; and if we should not believe the *Phænomena* of our *senses*, before we can reconcile them to our *notions* of *Providence*, we must be grosser *Scepticks*

pticks than ever yet were extant. The *miserics* of the *present life*, the *unequal distributions* of *good and evil*, the *ignorance and barbarity* of the greatest part of Mankind, the *fatal disadvantages* we are all under, and the *hazard* we run of being eternally miserable and undone; these, I say, are things that can hardly be made *consistent* with that *Wisdom* and *Goodness* that we are sure hath *made* and *mingled it self* with all things. And yet we believe there is a *beauty* and *harmony*, and *goodness* in that *Providence*, though we cannot *unriddle* it in *particular instances*; nor, by reason of our ignorance and imperfection, clear it from *contradicting appearances*; and consequently, we ought not to deny the being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, because they will create us some difficulties in our *notions* of *Providence*. But to come more close, (2) Those that believe that *Infants* are *Heirs of Hell*, and *Children of the Devil* as soon as they are *disclosed* to the world, cannot certainly offer such an *Objection*; for what is a little *trifling pain* of a moment, to those *eternal Tortures*, to which, if they *die as soon as they are born*, according to the Tenour of this *Doctrine*, they are *everlastingly exposed*? But however the case stands as to *that*, 'tis certain, (3) That *Providence* hath not secured them from *other violences* they are obnoxious to, from *cruelty* and *accident*; and yet we accuse *It* not when a whole *Townful of Innocents* fall a *Victim* to the

the rage and ferity of barbarous Executioners in Wars and Massacres. To which I add (4) That 'tis likely the mischief is not so often done by the evil spirit immediately, but by the malignant influence of the Sorceress, whose power of hurting consists in the fore-mention'd ferment, which is infused into her by the Familiar. So that I am apt to think there may be a power of real fascination in the Witches eyes and imagination, by which for the most part she acts upon tender bodies. *Nescio quis teneros oculus*———— For the pestilential spirits being darted by a spiteful and vigorous imagination from the eye, and meeting with those that are weak and passive in the bodies which they enter, will not fail to infect them with a noxious quality that makes dangerous and strange alterations in the person invaded by this poisonous influence: which way of acting by subtile and invisible instruments, is ordinary and familiar in all natural efficiencies. And 'tis now past question, that nature for the most part acts by subtile streams and aporrhæas of minute particles; which pass from one body to another. Or however that be, this kind of agency is as conceivable as any of those qualities ignorance hath call'd Sympathy and Antipathy, the reality of which we doubt not, though the manner of action be unknown. Yea, the thing I speak of is as easie to be apprehended, as how infection should pass in certain tenuious streams through

the *Air* from one house to another; or, as how the *biting* of a *mad Dog* should fill all the *Blood* and *Spirits* with a *venomous* and *malign ferment*; the application of the *vertue* doing the same in our case, as *that* of *contact* doth in *this*. Yea, some kinds of *fascination* are perform'd in this grosser and more sensible way, as by *striking*, giving *Apples*, and the like, by which the *contagious quality* may be transmitted, as we see *Diseases* often are by the *touch*. Now in this way of conjecture a good account may be given why *Witches* are most powerful upon *Children* and timorous persons, *viz.* because their *Spirits* and *imaginations* being *weak* and *passive*, are not able to resist the *fatal invasion*; whereas men of bold minds, who have plenty of *strong* and *vigorous spirits*, are secure from the *contagion*; as in *pestilential Airs* *clean bodies* are not so liable to infection as other tempers. Thus then we see 'tis likely enough, that very often the *Sorcereß* her self doth the *mischief*; and we know, *de facto*, that *Providence* doth not always secure us from one anothers *injuries*: And yet I must confess, that many times also the evil *spirit* is the *mischievous Agent*; though this confession draw on me another *Objection*, which I next propose.

SECT.

S E C T. V L

V.

(V.) **T**HEN it may be said, that if wicked spirits can hurt us by the direction, and at the desire of a Witch, one would think they should have the same power to do us injury without instigation or compact; and if this be granted, 'tis a wonder that we are not always annoy'd and infested by them. To which

I RETURN, (1) That the *Laws, Liberties, and Restraints* of the *Inhabitants* of the other world are to us utterly *unknown*; and this way we can onely argue our selves into *confessions* of our *ignorance*, which every man must acknowledge that is not as *immodest* as *ignorant*. It must be granted by all that own the *being, power, and malice* of evil *Spirits*, that the *security* we enjoy is *wonderful*, whether they act by *Witches* or not; and by what *Laws* they are kept from making us a prey, to speak like *Philosophers*, we cannot tell: yea, why they should be permitted to tempt and ruine us in our *Souls*, and restrain'd from touching or hurting us in our *Bodies*, is a *mystery* not easily *accountable*. But yet (2) though we acknowledge their power to vex and torment us in

our Bodies also; yet a reason may be given why they are less frequent in this kind of mischief, *viz.* because their main designs are level'd against the interest and happiness of our Souls; which they can best promote, when their actions are most *sly* and *secret*; whereas did they ordinarily persecute men in their Bodies, their *agency* and *wicked influence* would be discover'd, and make a mighty noise in the world, whereby men would be awaken'd to a suitable and vigorous opposition, by the use of such means as would engage *Providence* to rescue them from their *rage* and *cruelties*; and at last defeat them in their great purposes of *undoing us eternally*. Thus we may conceive that the *security* we enjoy may well enough *consist* with the *power* and *malice* of those *evil Spirits*; and upon this account we may suppose that *Laws* of their own may prohibit their *unlicens'd injuries*, not from any *goodness* there is in their *Constitutions*, but in order to the more *successful* carrying on the *projects* of the *dark Kingdom*; as *Generals* forbid *Plunder*, not out of *love* to their *Enemies*, but in order to their own *Success*. And hence (3) we may suppose a *Law* of *permission* to hurt us at the instance of the *Sorceress*, may well stand with the *polity* of *Hell*, since by gratifying the wicked person, they encourage her in *malice* and *revenge*, and promote thereby the main ends of their *black confederacy*, which are to propagate

gate wickedness, and to ruin us in our *eternal interests*. And yet (4) 'tis clear to those that believe the *History* of the *Gospel*, that *wicked spirits* have vexed the bodies of men, without any *instigation* that we read of; and at this day 'tis very likely that many of the *strange accidents* and *diseases* that befall us, may be the *infliction* of *evil spirits*, prompted to hurt us onely by the delight they take in *mischief*. So that we cannot argue the improbability of their hurting *Children* and others by *Witches*, from our own *security* and *freedom* from the effects of their *malice*, which perhaps we feel in more instances than we are aware of.

S E C T. V I I.

VI.

BUT (VI) *another prejudice against the belief of Witches, is, a presumption upon the enormous force of melancholy and imagination, which without doubt can do wonderful things, and beget strange persuasions; and to these causes some ascribe the presum'd effects of Sorcery and Witchcraft. To which I reply briefly; and yet I hope sufficiently,*

(I) **T**HAT to resolve all the *clear circumstances of Fact*, which we find in
 H 3 well-

well-attested and confirm'd Relations of this kind, into the power of *deceivable imagination*, is to make *fancy* the greater *prodigie*; and to suppose, that it can do *stranger feats* than are believed of any other kind of *fascination*. And to think that *Pins* and *Nails*, for instance, can by the power of *imagination* be convey'd within the skin; or that *imagination* should deceive so many as have been witnesses in *Objects* of *sense*, in all the circumstances of *discovery*; this, I say, is to be infinitely more *credulous* than the assertors of *Sorcery* and *Demoniack Contracts*. And by the same reason it may be believ'd, that all the *Battles* and *strange events* of the world, which our selves have not seen, are but *dreams* and *fond imaginations*, and like those that are fought in the *Clouds*, when the *Brains* of the *deluded Spectators* are the onely *Theatre* of those *fancied transactions*. And (2) to deny evidence of *act*, because *their imagination* may deceive the *Relators*, when we have no reason to think so but a bare presumption that there is no such thing as is related, is quite to destroy the credit of all *humane testimony*, and to make *all men liars* in a larger sence than the *Prophet* concluded in his *haste*. For not onely the *melancholick* and the *fanciful*, but the *grave* and the *sober*, whose judgements we have no reason to suspect to be tainted by their *imagination*s, have from their own knowledge and experience made reports of this nature. But

to this it will possibly be rejoyn'd, and the *Reply* will be another *prejudice* against the belief for which I contend, *viz.*

S E C T. V I I I.

V I I.

(VII.) **T**HAT 'tis a suspicious circumstance that Witchcraft is but a fancy, since the persons that are accused are commonly poor and miserable old women, who are overgrown with discontent and melancholy, which are very imaginative; and the persons said to be bewitch'd are for the most part Children, or people very weak, who are easily imposed upon, and are apt to receive strong impressions from nothing: whereas were there any such thing really, 'tis not likely, but that the more cunning and subtil desperado's, who might the more successfully carry on the mischievous designs of the dark Kingdom, should be oftner engaged in those black confederacies, and also one would expect effects of the hellish combination upon others than the innocent and ignorant.

TO which *Objection* it might perhaps be enough to return (as hath been above suggested) that nothing can be concluded by this and such-like arguings, but that the *policy*

and *menages* of the *Instruments* of *darkness* are to us altogether *unknown*, and as much in the dark as their natures; Mankind being no more acquainted with the *reasons* and *methods* of action in the other world, than poor *Cottagers* and *Mechanicks* are with the *Intrigues* of *Government*, and *Reasons* of *State*. Yea peradventure (2) 'tis one of the great designs, as 'tis certainly the *interest* of those wicked *Agents* and *Machinators*, industriously to hide from us their *influences* and *ways* of acting, and to work, as near as is possible, *incognito*: upon which supposal 'tis easie to conceive a reason, why they most commonly work by, and upon the weak and the ignorant, who can make no *cunning observations*, or tell *credible tales* to detect their *artifice*. Besides (3) 'tis likely a *strong imagination*, that cannot be *weaken'd* or *disturb'd* by a busie and subtile *ratiocination*, is a necessary requisite to those wicked performances; and without doubt an *heightned* and *obstinate fancy* hath a great influence upon *impressible spirits*; yea, and as I have conjectur'd before, on the more *passive* and *susceptible bodies*. And I am very apt to believe, that there are as *real communications* and *intercourses* between our *Spirits*, as there are between *material Agents*; which *secret influences*, though they are unknown in their *nature* and *ways* of acting, yet they are sufficiently felt in their *effects*: for *experience* attests, that some by the

very

very majesty and greatness of their *Spirits*, discovered by nothing but a certain *noble air* that accompanies them, will *bear down* others *less great* and *generous*, and make them *sneak* before them; and some, by I know not what *stupifying vertue*, will tie up the *tongue*, and confine the *Spirits* of those who are otherwise *brisk* and *voluble*. Which thing supposed, the *influences* of a *Spirit* possess'd of an *active* and *enormous imagination*, may be *malign* and *fatal* where they cannot be resisted; especially when they are accompanied by those *poysonous reaks* that the *evil spirit* breathes into the *Sorcereß*, which likely are *shot out*, and applied by a *fancy* heightened and prepared by *melancholy* and *discontent*. And thus we may conceive why the *melancholick* and *envious* are used upon such occasions, and for the same reason the *ignorant*, since *knowledge* checks and controuls *imagination*; and those that abound much in the *imaginative faculties*, do not usually exceed in the *rational*. And perhaps (4) the *Dæmon* himself useth the *imagination* of the *Witch* so *qualified* for his purpose, even in those actions of mischief which are more properly his; for it is most probable, that *Spirits* act not upon *bodies immediately*, and by their *naked essence*, but by *means proportionate*, and *fitable instruments* that they use; upon which account likely 'tis so strictly required, that the *Sorcereß* should *believe*, that so her *imagination* might be more at the *devotion*

tion of the *mischievous Agent*. And for the same reason also *Ceremonies* are used in *Inchantments*, viz. for the begetting this *diabolical faith*, and heightning the *fancy* to a degree of *strength* and *vigour* sufficient to make it a fit *instrument* for the design'd performance. Those I think are reasons of likelihood and probability, why the *hellish Confederates* are mostly the *ignorant* and the *melancholick*. To pass then to another prejudice.

S E C T. I X.

VIII.

(VIII.) **T**H E frequent impostures that are met with in this kind, beget in some a belief, that all such Relations are Forgeries and Tales; and if we urge the evidence of a story for the belief of Witches or Apparitions, they will produce two as seemingly strong and plausible, which shall conclude in mistake or design; inferring thence, that all others are of the same quality and credit. But such arguers may please to consider,

(I) **T**H A T a single relation for an *Affirmative*, sufficiently confirmed and attested, is worth a thousand tales of forgery and imposture, from whence an *universal Negative* cannot

cannot be concluded. So that, though all the *Objectors stories* be true, and an hundred times as many more such *deceptions*; yet one *relation*, wherein no *fallacy* or *fraud* could be suspected for our *Affirmative*, would spoil any *Conclusion* could be erected on them. And

(2) It seems to me a belief sufficiently *bold* and *precarious*, that *all* these relations of *forgery* and *mistake* should be certain, and not one among all those which attest the *Affirmative reality*, with circumstances as good as could be expected, or wish'd, should be *true*; but all *fabulous* and *vain*. And they have no reason to object *credulity* to the assertors of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, that can swallow so large a morsel. And I desire such *Objectors* to consider,

(3) Whether it be fair to infer, that because there are some *Cheats* and *Impostures*, that therefore there are no *Realities*. Indeed frequency of deceit and fallacy will warrant a greater care and caution in *examining*; and *scrupulosity* and *shiness* of *assent* to things wherein fraud hath been *practised*, or may in the least degree be *suspected*: But, to conclude, because that an old woman's *fancy* abused her, or some *knavish* fellows put tricks upon the *ignorant* and *timorous*, that therefore whole *Assises* have been a thousand times deceived in *judgements* upon *matters of fact*, and numbers of sober persons have been *forsworn* in things wherein

wherein *perjury* could not advantage them; I say, such *inferences* are as void of *reason*, as they are of *charity* and *good manners*.

S E C T. X.

IX.

BUT (IX) it may be suggested further, That it cannot be imagin'd what design the Devil should have in making those solemn compacts, since persons of such debauch'd and irreclaimable dispositions as those with whom he is supposed to confederate, are pretty securely his, antecedently to the bargain, and cannot be more so by it, since they cannot put their Souls out of possibility of the Divine Grace, but by the Sin that is unpardonable; or if they could so dispose and give away themselves, it will to some seem very unlikely, that a great and mighty Spirit should oblige himself to such observances, and keep such ado to secure the Soul of a silly Body, which 'twere odds but it would be His, though He put himself to no further trouble than that of his ordinary temptations.

TO which suggestions 'twere enough to say, that 'tis sufficient if the thing be well prov'd, though the design be not known. And to argue *negatively à fine*, is very unconfusive

clusive in such matters. The Laws and Affairs of the other world (as hath been intimated) are vastly differing from those of our Regions, and therefore 'tis no wonder we cannot judge of their *designs*, when we know nothing of their *menages*, and so *little* of their *natures*. The ignorant *looker-on* can't imagine what the *Limmer* means by those seemingly *rude Lines* and *scrawls* which he intends for the *Rudiments* of a *Picture*; and the *Figures* of *Mathematick operation* are *nonsense*, and *dashes* at a *venture*, to one uninstructed in *Mechanicks*. We are in the dark to *one anothers* purposes and intendments; and there are a thousand intrigues in our little matters, which will not presently confess their design even to *sagacious inquisitors*. And therefore 'tis folly and incoGITANCY to argue any thing one way or other from the *designs* of a sort of Beings, with whom we so little communicate; and possibly we can take no more aim, or guess at their *projects* and *designments*, than the *gazing Beasts* can do at ours, when they see the *Traps* and *Gins* that are laid for them, but understand nothing what they mean. Thus in general.

But I attempt something more particularly, in order to which I must premise, that the *Devil* is a name for a *Body Politick*, in which there are very different *Orders* and *Degrees* of *Spirits*, and perhaps in as much *variety* of *place and state*, as among our selves; so that

'tis

'tis not one and the same person that makes all the compacts with those abused and seduced Souls, but they are divers, and those 'tis like of the meanest and basest quality in the *Kingdom of darkneß*: which being supposed, I offer this account of the *probable design* of those *wicked Agents*, viz. That having none to rule or tyrannize over within the *circle* of their own nature and government, they affect a *proud Empire* over us, (the desire of *Dominion* and *Authority* being largely spread through the whole *circumference* of *degenerated nature*, especially among those, whose *pride* was their *original transgression*) every one of these then desires to get him Vassals to pay him homage, and to be employ'd like Slaves in the services of his Lusts and Appetites; to gratifie which desire, 'tis like enough to be provided and allowed by the constitution of their *State* and *Government*, that every *wicked spirit* shall have those Souls as his *property*, and *particular servants* and *attendants*, whom he can catch in such *compacts*; as those *wild Beasts* that we can take in *hunting*, are by the allowance of the Law our *own*; and those Slaves that a man hath *purchas'd*, are his peculiar Goods, and the Vassals of his will. Or rather those deluding Fiends are like the seducing fellows we call *Spirits*, who inveigle Children by their false and flattering promises, and carry them away to the *Plantations* of *America*, to be servilely em-

employed there in the works of their profit and advantage. And as those base Agents will humour and flatter the simple unwary Youth, till they are on Shipboard, and without the reach of those that might rescue them from their hands: In like manner the more *mischievous Tempter* studies to gratifie, please, and accommodate those he deals with in this kind, till death hath lanch'd them into the *Deep*, and they are past the danger of *Prayers, Repentance, and Endeavours*; and then *He useth* them as pleaseth *Him*. This account I think is not unreasonable, and 'twill fully answer the Objection. For though the matter be not as I have conjectur'd, yet 'twill suggest a way how it may be *conceiv'd*; which nulls the pretence, That the *Design* is *unconceivable*.

 S E C T. X I.

X.

BUT then (X) we are still liable to be question'd, how it comes about, that those proud and insolent Designers practise in this kind upon so few, when one would expect, that they should be still trading this way, and every where be driving on the project, which the vileness of men makes so feisable, and would so much serve the interest of their lusts.

To

TO which, among other things that might be suggested, I return,

(1) That we are never liable to be so betrayed and abused, till by our *vile dispositions* and *tendencies* we have forfeited the *tutelary care*, and *oversight* of the better Spirits; who, though generally they are our guard and defence against the malice and violence of *evil Angels*, yet it may well enough be thought, that sometimes they may take their leave of such as are swallowed up by *Malice*, *Envie*, and *desire of Revenge*, qualities most contrary to their *Life* and *Nature*; and leave them exposed to the *invasion* and *solicitations* of those *wicked Spirits*, to whom such hateful *Attributes* make them very *sutable*. And if there be particular *Guardian Angels*, as 'tis not absurd to fancy, it may then well be supposed, that no man is obnoxious to those projects and attempts, but onely such whose *vile* and *mischievous natures* have driven from them their *protecting Genius*. And against this dereliction to the power of *evil Spirits*, 'tis likely enough what some affirm, that the *Royal Psalmist* directs that Prayer, *Psal. LXXI. ix, x. Cast me not off in the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth.* For----*They that keep my Soul* [*φυλάσσοιτις τὴν ψυχὴν μου*, as the *LXX* and the *Vulgar Latine*, *Qui custodiunt animam meam*] they take counsel together, say-
ing,

ing, God hath forsaken him, persecute him and take him; for there is none to deliver him. But I add, (2) That 'tis very probable, that the state wherein they are, will not easily permit palpable intercourses between the bad *Genii* and *Mankind*, since 'tis like enough that their own Laws and Government do not allow their frequent excursions into this World. Or, it may with as great probability be supposed, that 'tis a very hard and painful thing for them, to force their *thin* and *tenuous* Bodies into a *visible consistence*, and such shapes as are necessary for their *designs* in their *correspondencies* with *Witches*. For in this action their Bodies must needs be exceedingly *compress'd*, which cannot well be without a painful sense. And this is perhaps a reason why there are so few *Apparitions*, and why *appearing Spirits* are commonly in such haste to be gone, *viz.* that they may be deliver'd from the *unnatural pressure* of their *tender vehicles*; which I confess holds more, in the *apparitions* of *good* than *evil Spirits*; most Relations of this kind, describing their discoveries of themselves, as very *transient*, (though for those the holy Scripture records, there may be peculiar reason, why they are not so) whereas the *wicked ones* are not altogether so *quick*, and *hasty* in their *visits*: The reason of which probably is, the great *subtilty* and *tenuity* of the Bodies of the former, which will require far greater degrees of *compression*, and consequent-

ly of *pain*, to make them *visible*; whereas the latter are more *fæculent and groſſ*, and ſo nearer allied to *palpable conſiſtencies*, and more eaſily reduceable to *appearance and viſibility*.

At this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made uſe of the *Platonick Hypotheſis*, *That Spirits are embodied*, upon which indeed a great part of my Diſcourſe is grounded: And therefore I hold my ſelf obliged to a ſhort account of that ſuppoſal. *It ſeems* then to me very *probable*, from the nature of *Senſe*, and *Analogy of Nature*. For (1) we perceive in our ſelves, that all *Senſe* is cauſed and excited by *motion* made in *matter*; and when thoſe *motions* which convey *ſenſible impreſſions* to the *Brain*, the *Seat of Senſe*, are intercepted, *Senſe* is loſt: So that, if we ſuppoſe *Spirits* perfectly to be *disjoyn'd* from all *matter*, 'tis not conceivible how they can have the ſenſe of any thing; For how *material Objects* ſhould any way be perceived, or felt, without *vital union* with *matter*, 'tis not poſſible to imagine. Nor doth it (2) ſeem ſuitable to the *Analogy of Nature*, which uſeth not to make *precipitious leaps* from one thing to another, but uſually proceeds by *orderly ſteps* and *gradations*: whereas were there no *order* of *Beings* between *Us*, who are ſo deeply plunged into the groſſeſt matter, and *pure unbodied Spirits*, 'twere a mighty *jump* in Nature. Since then

then the greatest part of the world consists of the *finer* portions of matter, and our own Souls are *immediately united* unto *these*, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer Orders of Spirits are *vitally joyned* to such *Bodies*; and so *Nature* by *degrees* ascending still by the more *refin'd* and *subtile matter*, gets at last to the pure *Nóes* or *immaterial minds*, which the *Platonists* made the *highest Order of created Beings*. But of this I have discoursed elsewhere, and have said thus much of it at present, because it will enable me to add another Reason of the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions* and *Compacts*, viz.

(3) Because 'tis very likely, that *these Regions* are very *unsuitable*, and *disproportion'd* to the *frame* and *temper* of their *Senses* and *Bodies*; so that perhaps, the *coarser Spirits* can no more bear the *Air* of our World, than *Bats* and *Owls* can the brightest Beams of Day. Nor can the *purser* and *better* any more endure the *noisom steams*, and *poysonous reeks* of this *Dung-hil Earth*, than the *delicate* can bear a confinement in *nasty Dungeons*, and the foul *squalid Caverns* of uncomfortable Darkneſs. So that 'tis no more wonder, that the better Spirits no oftner appear, than that men are not more frequently in the *dark Hollows* under ground. Nor is't any more strange that *evil Spirits* so rarely visit us, than that *Fishes* do not ordinarily fly in the Air, as 'tis said one sort of

them doth; or that we see not the *Batt* daily fluttering in the Beams of the Sun. And now by the help of what I have spoken under this Head, I am provided with some things wherewith to disable another Objection, which I thus propose.

S E C T. XII.

XI.

(XI.) **I**F THERE be such an intercourse between Evil Spirits and the Wicked, How comes it about that there is no correspondence between Good Angels and the Vertuous? since without doubt these are as desirous to propagate the Spirit and designs of the upper and better World, as those are to promote the Interest of the Kingdom of Darknes.

WHICH way of arguing is still from our Ignorance of the State and Government of the other World, which must be confessed, and may, without prejudice to the Proposition I defend. But particularly, I say, (1) That we have ground enough to believe, that good Spirits do interpose in, yea, and govern our Affairs. For that there is a Providence reaching from Heaven to Earth, is generally acknowledged; but that *this* supposeth all things
to

to be ordered by the *immediate influence*, and *interposal* of the *Supream Deity*, some think, is not very *Philosophical* to suppose; since, if we judge by the *Analogy* of the *natural World*, all things we see are carried on by the *Ministry* of, *second Causes*, and *intermediate Agents*. And it doth not seem so *magnificent* and *becoming* an apprehension of the *Supream Numen*, to fancy his *immediate hand* in every *trivial Management*. But 'tis exceeding likely to conjecture, that much of the *Government* of us, and our *Affairs*, is committed to the *better Spirits*, with a due *subordination* and *subserviency* to the Will of the chief *Rector* of the *Universe*. And 'tis not absurd to believe, that there is a *Government* runs from *highest* to *lowest*, the *better* and *more perfect* Orders of Being still ruling the *inferiour* and *less perfect*. So that some one would fancy that perhaps the *Angels* may manage *us*, as we do the *Creatures* that God and Nature have placed under our *Empire* and *Dominion*. But however that is, That *God* rules the lower World by the *Ministry* of *Angels*, is very consonant to the *sacred Oracles*, Thus, *Deut. XXXII. 8, 9. When the most High divided the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people, Κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεῶν*, according to the number of the *Angels* of *God*, as the *Septuagint* renders it; the *Authority* of which *Translation*, is abundantly

credited and asserted, by its being quoted in the New Testament, without notice of the *Hebrew Text*; even there where it differs from it, as Learned men have observed. We know also, that *Angels* were very familiar with the *Patriarchs* of old; and *Jacob's Ladder* is a *Mystery*, which imports their *ministring* in the affairs of the Lower World. Thus *Origen* and others understand that to be spoken by the *Presidential Angels*, Jerem. LI. 9. *We would have healed B. A. B. Y. L. O. N., but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go.* Like the Voice heard in the *Temple* before the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, Μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν. And before *Nebuchadnezzar* was sent to learn *Wisdom* and *Religion* among the *Beasts*, *He* sees a *Watcher*, according to the 70. an *Angel*, and an *holy One* come down from *Heaven*, Dan. IV. 13. who pronounceth the sad *Decree* against *Him*, and calls it the *Decree* of the *Watchers*, who very probably were the *Guardian-Genii* of *Himself* and his *Kingdom*. And that there are *particular Angels* that have the *special Rule* and *Government* of *particular Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, yea* and of *Persons*, I know nothing that can make improbable: The instance is notorious in *Daniel*, of the *Angels* of *Persia* and *Græcia*, that hindred the other that was engaged for the concerns of *Judæa*: yea, our *Saviour* himself tells us, that *Children have their Angels*; and the *Congregation* of *Disciples*

ciples supposed that *St. Peter* had *his*. Which things, if they be granted, the good Spirits have not so little to do with us, and our matters, as is generally believed. And perhaps it would not be absurd, if we referr'd many of the *strange thwarts*, and *unexpected events*, the *disappointments* and *lucky co-incidences* that befall us, the *unaccountable fortunes* and *successes* that attend some *lucky men*, and the *unhappy fates* that dog others that seem born to be *miserable*; the *Fame* and *Favour* that still waits on some without any conceivable *motive* to allure it, and the *general neglect* of others more *deserving*, whose *worth* is not *acknowledg'd*; I say, these, and such like *odd things*, may with the greatest probability be resolved into the *Conduct* and *Menages* of those *invisible Supervisors*, that preside over, and govern our affairs.

But if they so far concern themselves in our matters, how is it that they appear not to maintain a visible and constant correspondence with some of the better Mortals, who are most fitted for their Communications and their influence? To which I have said some *things* already, when I accounted for the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions*; and I now add what I intend for another return to the main *Objection*, *viz.*

(2) That the *apparition* of *good Spirits* is not needful for the *Designs* of the *better world*, whatever such may be for the interest of the

other. For we have had the *Appearance* and *Cohabitation* of the *Son of God*; we have *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and the continued *influence* of the *Spirit*, the *greatest arguments* to strengthen *Faith*, the most *powerful motives* to excite our *Love*, and the *noblest encouragements* to quicken and raise our *Desires* and *Hopes*, any of which are more than the *apparition* of an *Angel*; which would indeed be a great *gratification* of the *Animal Life*, but 'twould render our *Faith* less noble and less generous, were it frequently so assisted: *Blessed are they that believe, and yet have not seen.* Besides which, the *good Angels* have no such *ends* to prosecute, as the gaining any *Vassals* to serve them, they being *ministring Spirits* for our good, and no *self-designers* for a *proud and insolent Dominion* over us. And it may be perhaps not imper-
tinent-ly added, That they are not always *evil Spirits* that appear, as is, I know not well upon what grounds, generally imagined; but that the extraordinary *detections* of *Murders*, *latent Treasures*, *falsified* and *unfulfilled Bequests*, which are sometimes made by *Apparitions*, may be the courteous *Discoveries* of the better and more benign *Genii*. Yea, 'tis not unlikely, that those *warnings* that the world sometimes hath of approaching *Judgements* and *Calamities* by *Prodigies*, and sundry *odd Phænomena*, are the *kind Informations* of some of the *Inhabitants* of the upper world. Thus, was *Jeru-*
Salem

Salem forewarned before its sacking by *Antiochus*, by those airy *Horsemen* that were seen through all the City, for almost forty days together, 2 *Mac.* V. 2, 3. and the other *Prodigious Portents* that fore-ran its Destruction by *Titus*: which I mention, because they are notorious instances. And though, for mine own part, I scorn the ordinary *Tales of Prodigies*, which proceed from *superstitious fears*, and *unacquaintance* with *Nature*, and have been used to bad purposes by the *zealous* and the *ignorant*; Yet I think that the Arguments that are brought by a late very ingenious Author, to conclude against such Warnings and Predictions in the whole kind, are *short* and *inconsequent*, and built upon too narrow *Hypotheses*. For if it be supposed, that there is a sort of Spirits over us, and about us, who can give a probable guess at the more *remarkable futurities*, I know not why it may not be conjectured, that the kindness they have for us, and the appetite of foretelling strange things, and the putting the world upon expectation, which we find is very grateful to our own natures, may not incline them also to give us some general notice of those uncommon Events which they foresee. And I yet perceive no reason we have to fancy, that whatever is done in this kind, must needs be either *immediately* from *Heaven*, or from the *Angels*, by *extraordinary Commission* and *Appointment*. But it seems to

me

me not unreasonable to believe, that *those officious Spirits* that oversee our Affairs, perceiving some *mighty and sad alterations* at hand, in which their *Charge* is much concerned, cannot chuse, by reason of their *affection* to us, but give us some *seasonable hints* of those *approaching Calamities*; to which also their natural desire to *foretel strange things* to come, may contribute to incline them. And by this *Hypothesis*, the *fairest probabilities*, and *strongest ratiocinations* against *Prodigies*, may be made unserviceable. But this onely by the way.

S E C T. X I I I.

I Desire it may be considered further,

(3) That *God* himself affords his *intimacies* and *converses* to the *better Souls*, that are prepared for it; which is a *priviledge* infinitely beyond *Angelical correspondence*.

I confess the *proud* and *phantastick pretences* of many of the *conceited Melancholists* in this age, to *Divine Communion*, have prejudiced divers intelligent persons against the *belief* of any such *happy vouchsafement*; so that they conclude the *Doctrine of immediate Communion* with the *Deity* in this *Life* to be but an *high-flown notion* of *warm imagination*, and *over-luscious self-flattery*; and I acknowledge I have my self had thoughts of this nature, supposing

posing *Communion* with God to be nothing else but the *exercise* of *vertue*, and *that peace*, and *those Comforts* which naturally result from it.

But I have considered since, that *God's* more *near* and *immediate* imparting himself to the Soul that is prepared for that happiness by *divine Love, Humility, and Resignation*, in the way of a *vital touch*, and *sense*, is a thing *possible* in it self, and will be a great part of our *Heaven*. That *Glory* is begun in *Grace*, and *God* is pleased to give some *excellent* Souls the *happy Antepast*. That *holy men* in *ancient times* have *sought* and *gloried* in *this enjoyment*, and never *complain* so *soresly* as when it was *withheld*, and *interrupted*. That the *expressions* of *Scripture* run *infinitely this way*, and the *best* of *Modern good men*, do from their own *experience attest* it. That *this spiritualizeth Religion*, and renders its *enjoyments* more *comfortable* and *delicious*. That it keeps the Soul under a *vivid sense* of *God*, and is a *grand security* against *Temptation*. That it holds it steady amid the *flatteries* of a *prosperous state*, and gives it the most *grounded anchorage* and *support* amid the *Waves* of an *adverse condition*. That 'tis the noblest *encouragement* to *vertue*, and the *biggest* assurance of an *happy Immortality*. I say, I considered these *weighty things*, and wondred at the *carelesness* and *prejudice* of thoughts that occasion'd my suspecting the
reality

reality of so glorious a Priviledge ; I saw how little reason there is in denying matters of *inward sense*, because our selves do not *feel* them, or cannot form an apprehension of them in our minds. I am convinced that things of *gust* and *relish* must be judg'd by the *sentient* and *vital faculties*, and not by the *noetical exercises* of *speculative* understandings : And upon the whole, I believe infinitely that the *Divine Spirit* affords its *sensible presence*, and *immediate beatifick Touch* to some rare Souls, who are divested of *carnal self*, and *mundane pleasures*, *abstracted* from the *Body* by *Prayer* and *holy Meditation* ; *spiritual* in their *Desires*, and *calm* in their *Affections* ; *devout* Lovers of *God*, and *vertue*, and *tenderly affectionate* to all the world ; *sincere* in their *aims*, and *circumspect* in their *actions* ; *inlarged* in their *Souls*, and *clear* in their *Minds* : These I think are the *dispositions* that are requisite to fit us for *Divine Communion* ; and *God* transacts not in this *near way*, but with *prepared spirits* who are thus disposed for the *manifestation* of his *presence*, and his *influence* : And such, I believe, he never fails to bless with these *happy foretastes* of *Glory*.

But for those that are *passionate* and *conceited*, *turbulent* and *notional*, *confident* and *immodest*, *imperious* and *malicious* ; That *doat* upon *trifles*, and *run fiercely* in the ways of a *Sect*, that are *lifted up* in the apprehension of the *glorious prerogatives*

prerogatives of themselves and their party, and scorn all the world besides; For such, I say, be their pretensions what they will, to divine Communion, Illapses, and Discoveries, I believe them not; Their fancies abuse them, or they would us. For what communion hath Light with Darkness, or the Spirit of the HOLY ONE with those whose genius and ways are so unlike him? But the other excellent Souls I described, will as certainly be visited by the Divine Presence, and Converse, as the Crystalline streams are, with the beams of Light, or the fitly prepar'd Earth whose Seed is in it self, will be actuated by the spirit of Nature.

So that there is no reason to object here the want of *Angelical Communications*, though there were none vouchsafed us, since good men enjoy the Divine, which are infinitely more *satisfactory* and *indearing*.

And now I may have leave to proceed to the next *Objection*, which may be made to speak thus:

S E C T. X I V.

XII.

(XII.) **T**HE belief of Witches, and the wonderful things they are said to perform by the help of the Confederate Dæmon, weakens

weakens our Faith, and exposeth the World to Infidelity in the great matters of our Religion. For if they by Diabolical assistance, can inflict and cure Diseases, and do things so much beyond the comprehension of our Philosophy, and activity of common Nature; What assurance can we have, that the Miracles that confirm our Gospel were not the effects of a Compact of like nature, and that Devils were not cast out by Beelzebub? If evil Spirits can assume Bodies, and render themselves visible in humane likeness; What security can we have of the reality of the Resurrection of Christ? And if, by their help, Witches can enter Chambers invisibly through Key-holes and little unperceived Crannies, and transform themselves at pleasure; What Arguments of Divinity are there in our Saviour's shewing himself in the midst of his Disciples, when the Doors were shut, and his Transfiguration in the Mount? Miracles are the great inducements of Belief, and how shall we distinguish a Miracle from a lying Wonder; a Testimony from Heaven, from a Trick of the Angels of Hell; if they can perform things that astonish and confound our Reasons, and are beyond all the Possibilities of Human Nature? This Objection is spiteful and mischievous; but I thus endeavour to dispatch it.

(1) **T**HE Wonders done by *Confederacy* with *wicked Spirits*, cannot derive a suspi-

suspicion upon the undoubted *Miracles* that were wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if *they* were performed by *Diabolical Compact*, since their *Spirit*, *Endeavours*, and *Designs*, were notoriously contrary to all the *Tendencies*, *Aims*, and *Interests* of the *Kingdom of Darknes*. For, as to the Life and Temper of the blessed and adorable *J E S U S*, we know there was an incomparable *sweetness* in his *Nature*, *Humility* in his *Manners*, *Calmness* in his *Temper*, *Compassion* in his *Miracles*, *Modesty* in his *Expressions*, *Holiness* in all his *Actions*, *Hatred* of *Vice* and *Baseness*, and *Love* to all the *World*; all which are *essentially contrary* to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of *Apostate Spirits*, who abound in *Pride* and *Rancour*, *Insolence* and *Rudeness*, *Tyranny* and *Baseness*, universal *Malice*, and *Hatred* of *Men*. And their *Designs* are as opposite, as their *Spirit* and their *Genius*. And now, Can the *Sun* borrow its *Light* from the *bottomless Abyss*? Can *Heat* and *Warmth* flow in upon the *World* from the *Regions* of *Snow* and *Ice*? Can *Fire* freeze, and *Water* burn? Can *Natures*, so infinitely contrary, *communicate*, and jump in *projects* that are *destructive* to each others *known Interests*? Is there any *Balsom* in the *Cockatrices Egg*? or, Can the *Spirit* of *Life* flow from the *Venome* of the *Asp*? Will the *Prince* of *Darkness* strengthen the *Arm* that is *stretcht* out to pluck his *Usurpt Scepter*, and his *Spoils* from him? And will he
lend

lend his *Legions*, to assist the *Armies* of his *Enemy* against him? No, these are impossible Supposals; No intelligent Being will industriously and knowingly contribute to the *Contradiction* of its own *Principles*, the *Defeat* of its *Purposes*, and the *Ruine* of its own dearest *Interests*. There is no fear then, that our Faith should receive prejudice from the *acknowledgement* of the *Being* of *Witches*, and *power* of *evil Spirits*, since 'tis not the *doing wonderful things* that is the onely *Evidence* that the *Holy JESUS* was from God, and his *Doctrine* true; but the *conjunction* of other circumstances, the *holiness* of his *Life*, the *reasonableness* of his *Religion*, and the *excellency* of his *Designs*, added credit to his Works, and strengthened the *great Conclusion*, *That he could be no other than the Son of God, and Saviour of the world.* But besides, I say,

(2) That since *infinite Wisdom* and *Goodness* rules the World, it cannot be conceived, that they should give up the greatest part of men to *unavoidable deception*. And if *evil Angels* by their *Confederates* are permitted to perform such *astonishing* things, as seem so evidently to carry *God's Seal* and *Power* with them, for the confirmation of *Falshoods*, and gaining credit to *Impostors*, without any *counter-evidence* to disabuse the World; Mankind is exposed to *sad and fatal delusion*. And to say that *Providence* will suffer us to be deceived in things of the

the greatest concernment, when we use the best of our care and endeavours to prevent it, is to speak hard things of *God*; and in effect to affirm, That He hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himself in the affairs of poor forlorn men. And if the *Providence* and *Goodness* of God be not a security unto us against such *Deceptions*, we cannot be assured, but that we are always abused by those *mischievous Agents*, in the *Objects* of plain sense, and in all the matters of our daily Converses. If ONE that pretends he is *immediately* sent from *God*, to overthrow the ancient *Fabrick* of Established *Worship*, and to erect a *New Religion* in *His* Name, shall be born of a *Virgin*, and honour'd by a *miraculous Star*; proclaimed by a *Song* of seeming *Angels* of *Light*, and worshipped by the *wise Sages* of the World; Revered by those of the greatest *austerity*, and admired by all for a *miraculous Wisdom*, beyond his *Education* and his *Years*: If He shall feed *multitudes* with almost *nothing*, and fast himself beyond all the *possibilities* of Nature: If He shall be *transformed* into the appearance of *extraordinary Glory*, and converse with departed *Prophets* in their *visible Forms*: If He shall Cure all *Diseases* without *Physick* or *Endeavour*, and raise the *Dead* to *Life* after they have *stunk* in their *Graves*: If He shall be honoured by *Voices* from *Heaven*, and attract the universal wonder

of Princes and People : If He shall allay *Tempests* with a *beck*, and cast out *Devils* with a *word* : If He shall foretel his own Death particularly, with its *Tragical Circumstances*, and his *Resurrection* after it : If the *Veil* of the most famous *Temple* in the world shall be *rent*, and the *Sun* darkned at his *Funeral* : If He shall, within the time foretold, break the bonds of Death, and lift up his Head out of the Grave : If *Multitudes* of other *departed Souls* shall *arise* with *Him*, to attend at the *Solemnity* of his *Resurrection* : If He shall after Death, *visibly converse*, and eat and drink with divers persons, who could not be deceived in a matter of *clear sense*, and *ascend* in Glory in the presence of an astonisht and admiring *Multitude* : I say, if such a one as this should prove a *diabolical Impostor*, and Providence should permit him to be so credited and acknowledged ; What possibility were there then for us to be assured, that we are not always *deceived* ? yea, that our very faculties were not given us onely to delude and abuse us ? And if so, the next Conclusion is, *That there is no God that judgeth in the earth* ; and the best, and most likely *Hypothesis* will be, *That the world is given up to the Government of the Devil*. But if there be a *Providence* that superviseth us, (as nothing is more certain) doubtless it will never suffer poor helpless *Creatures* to be *inevitably deceived* by the *craft* and *subtilty* of their *mischievous Enemy*,

Enemy, to their undoing; but will without question take such care, that the *works* wrought by *Divine Power* for the Confirmation of *Divine Truth*, shall have such *visible Marks* and *Signatures*, if not in their *Nature*, yet in their *Circumstances*, *Ends*, and *Designs*, as shall discover *whence they are*, and sufficiently *distinguish* them from all *Impostures* and *Delusions*. And though wicked spirits may perform some strange things that may excite wonder for a while, yet *He hath*, and will so provide, that they shall be *baffled* and *discredited*; as we know it was in the case of *Moses* and the *Ægyptian Magicians*.

These things I count sufficient to be said to this *last*, and *shrewdest Objection*; Though *some*, I understand, *except*, that I have made it *stronger* than the *Answer* I have applied. That I have urged the *argument* of *unbelievers home*, and represented it in its *full strength*, I suppose can be no matter of just *reproof*: For to triumph over the *weakness* of a *Cause*, and to overlook its *strength*, is the trick of *shallow* and *interested Disputers*, and the worst way to *defend* a *good Cause*, or confute a *bad one*. I have therefore all along urged the most *cogent* things I could think of, for the interest of the *Objectors*, because I would not *impose* upon my *Reader* or *my self*; and the *stronger* I make their *premises*, the *more* shall I *weaken their Conclusion*, if I *answer* them; which whether I have *done*, or *not*, I refer my self to the judgments of

the *ingenious* and *considerate*; from whom I should be very glad to be informed in what particular points my Discourse is defective. *General Charges* are no *proofs*, nor are they easily capable of an answer. Yet, to the *mention'd exception* I say

That the *strength* of the *Objection* is not my *fault*, for the *reasons* alledg'd; and for the *supposed incompetency* of my *return*, I propose, that if the *circumstances* of the *Persons*, *Ends*, and *Issues* be the *best Notes* of *Distinction* between *true Miracles* and *Forgeries*, *Divine* and *Diabolical ones*, I have then said *enough* to secure the *Miracles* of our *Saviour*, and the *Holy men* of *Ancient times*. But if *these Objectors* think, they can give us any *better*, or more *infallible Criteria*, I desire them to weigh what I have offer'd about *Miracles* in some of the following *Leaves*, before they enter *that thought* among their *certainties*. And if their other *marks of difference* will hold, notwithstanding those *allegations*, I suppose the *inquisitive believing world* would be glad to *know* them; and I shall have *particular obligations* to the *discoverer*, for the *strength* with which he will thereby assist my *Answer*.

But till I see *that*, I can say nothing *stronger*; or if I saw it, which I shall not in haste expect, I should not be convinced but that the *circumstances of difference* which I have noted, are abundantly *sufficient* to *disarm* the *Objection*; and

and to shew, that though *Apparitions*, *Witchcraft*, and *daibolical Wonders* are admitted: yet none of these can fasten any *flurre*, or ground of *dangerous doubt* upon the *miraculous* performances of the *H. JESUS* and his *Apostles*. If the *dissatisfied* can shew it, I shall yield myself an humble *profelyte* to their *Reasons*; but till I know them, the *general* suggestion will not convince me.

Now, besides what I have directly said to the main *Objection*, I have this to add to the *Objectors*, That I could wish they would take care of such *Suggestions*; which, if they overthrow not the *Opinion* they oppose, will dangerously affront the *Religion* they would seem to acknowledge. For he that saith, *That if there are WITCHES, there is no way to prove that Christ Jesus was not a Magician, and diabolical Impostor*, puts a deadly *Weapon* into the *hands* of the *Infidel*, and is himself next door to the *SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST*: of which, in order to the *perswading* greater *tenderneß* and *caution* in such matters, I give this short account.

S E C T. X V.

THE *Sin* against the *Holy Ghost* is said to be *Unpardonable*; by which *sad* *Attribute*, and the *discourse* of our *Saviour*,

Matth. XII. from the 22. to the 33. *verse*, we may understand its Nature. In order to which we consider, That since the *Mercies* of *God*, and the *Merits* of his *Son*, are *infinite*, there is nothing can make a *Sin unpardonable*, but what makes it *incurable*; and there is no *Sin* but what is curable by a *strong Faith*, and a *vigorous Endeavour*: For all things are possible to him that believeth. So that, That which makes a *Sin incurable*, must be somewhat that makes *Faith impossible*, and obstructs all means of *Conviction*. In order to the finding which, we must consider the ways and methods the *Divine Goodness* hath taken, for the begetting *Faith*, and cure of *Infidelity*: which it attempted, first, by the *Prophets*, and holy men of ancient times, who, by the *excellency* of their *Doctrine*, the *greatness* of their *Miracles*, and the *holiness* of their *Lives*, endeavoured the conviction and reformation of a stubborn and unbelieving World. But though *Few believed their Report*, and men would not be prevail'd on by what they did, or what they said; yet their *Infidelity* was not hitherto *incurable*, because further *means* were provided in the *ministry* of *John the Baptist*, whose *Life* was more *severe*, whose *Doctrines* were more plain, pressing, and particular; and therefore 'twas possible that He might have succeeded. Yea, and where He failed, and could not open mens hearts and their eyes, the effect was still in *possibility*,

sibility, and it might be expected from *Him* that came after, to whom the *Prophets* and *John* were but the *Twilight* and the *Dawn*. And though *His* miraculous *Birth*, the *Song of Angels*, the *Journey of the Wise Men of the East*, and the *correspondence of Prophecies*, with the *Circumstances of the first appearance of the wonderful Infant*: I say, though these had not been taken notice of, yet was there a further provision made for the *cure of Infidelity*, in his *astonishing Wisdom*, and most *excellent Doctrines*; For, *He spake as never man did*. And when *These* were despised and neglected, yet there were other means towards *Conviction*, and *cure of Unbelief*, in those mighty works that bore *Testimony of Him*, and wore the evident marks of *Divine Power* in their *Foreheads*. But when after all, *These clear and unquestionable Miracles* which were wrought by the *Spirit of God*, and had eminently his *Superscription* on them, shall be ascribed to the *Agency of evil Spirits*, and *Diabolical Compact*, as they were by the *malicious and spiteful Pharisees* in the *periods* above-mentioned; when those *great and last Testimonies* against *Infidelity*, shall be said to be but the *tricks of Sorcery*, and *Complotment with Hellish Confederates*, This is *Blasphemy* in the highest, against the *Power and Spirit of God*, and *such as cuts off all means of Conviction*, and puts the *Unbeliever* beyond all *possibilities of Cure*. For *Miracles* are *God's Seal*, and the

great and last evidence of the truth of any Doctrin. And though, while these are onely disbelieved as to the *Fact*, there remains a *possibility* of *perswasion*; yet, when the *Fact* shall be acknowledg'd, but the Power *blasphemed*, and the effects of the adorable *Spirit maliciously* imputed to the *Devils*; such a *Blasphemy*, such an *Infidelity* is *incurable*, and consequently *unpardonable*. I say, in sum, the Sin against the Holy Ghost seems to be a *malicious imputation* of the *Miracles* wrought by the *Spirit* of God in our Saviour, to *Satanical Confederacy*, and the power of *Apostate Spirits*; Than which nothing is more *blasphemous*, and nothing is more like to provoke the *Holy Spirit* that is so abused, to an *Eternal Dereliction* of so *vile* and so *incurable* an Unbeliever.

This account, as 'tis clear and reasonable in it self, so it is plainly lodg'd in the mention'd Discourse of our Saviour. And most of those that speak other things about it, seem to me to talk at random, and perfectly without Book. But to leave them to the fondness of their own conceits, I think it now time to draw up to a Conclusion of the whole.

S E C T. X V I.

THEREFORE briefly, Sir, I have endeavoured in these Papers, which my respect

spect and your concernment in the subject have made *yours*, to remove the main prejudices I could think of, against the existence of *Witches* and *Apparitions*: And I'm sure I have suggested much more against what I defend, than ever I heard or saw in any that opposed it; whose Discourses, for the most part, have seemed to me inspired by a *lofty scorn of common belief*, and some *trivial Notions of Vulgar Philosophy*. And in despising the *common Faith* about matters of *fact*, and fondly adhering to it in things of *Speculation*, they very grossly and absurdly mistake: For in things of *Fact*, the *People* are as much to be believed, as the most *subtile Philosophers* and *Speculators*; since here, *Sense* is the Judge. But in matters of *Notions* and *Theory*, they are not at all to be heeded, because *Reason* is to be Judge of *these*, and *this* they know not how to use. And yet thus it is with those *wise Philosophers*, that will deny the *plain evidence of the Senses of Mankind*, because they cannot reconcile *appearances* with the fond *Crotchets of a Philosophy*, which they lighted on in the *High-way by chance*, and will adhere to at *adventure*. So that I profess, for mine own part, I never yet heard any of the confident *Declaimers* against *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions*, speak any thing that might move a mind, in any degree instructed in the generous kinds of *Philosophy* and *Nature of things*. And for the *Objections* I have re-

cited

cited, they are most of them such as rose out of mine own thoughts, which I obliged to consider what was possible to be said upon this *occasion*.

For though I have examined *SCOT'S DISCOVERY*, fancying that there I should find the *strong reasons* of mens *disbelief* in this matter; yet I profess I met not with the least suggestion in all that *Farrago*, but what it had been ridiculous for me to have gone about to *answer*: For the Author doth *little* but tell *odd Tales*, and *silly Legends*, which he confutes and laughs at, and pretends this to be a *Confutation* of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. In all which, His *Reasonings* are *trifling* and *Childish*; and when He ventures at *Philosophy*, He is little better than *absurd*: So that 'twill be a wonder to me, if any but *Boyes* and *Buffoons* imbibe any *prejudices* against a *Belief* so infinitely confirmed, from the *Loose* and *Impotent Suggestions* of so weak a *Discourser*.

But however, observing two things in that *Discourse* that would pretend to be more than ordinary *Reasons*, I shall do them the civility to examine them. It is said then,

(1) **T**HAT the *Gospel* is *silent*, as to the Being of *WITCHES*; and 'tis not likely, if there were *such*; but that our *Saviour* or his *Apostles* had given intimations of their existence. The other is,

(2)

(2) **M**iracles are ceased, and therefore the prodigious things ascribed to Witchcraft are supposed Dreams and Impostures.

FOR ANSWER to the FIRST in order, I consider (1) That though the *History* of the *New Testament* were granted to be silent in the business of *Witches* and *Compacts*, yet the *Records* of the *Old* have a frequent mention of them. The *Law*, Exod. XXII. 18. against permitting *them to live* (which I mention'd in the beginning) is famous. And we have another remarkable *Prohibition* of them, Deut. XVIII. 10, 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a WITCH, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* Now this accumulation of Names, (some of which are of the same sence and import) is a plain indication that the *HEBREW WITCH* was one that practised by compact with evil Spirits. And many of the same expressions are put together in the Charge against *Manasses*, II Chron. XXXIII. viz. That he caused his Children to pass through the Fire, observed Times, used Enchantments, and Witchcraft, and dealt with *Familiar Spirits*, and
with

with *WIZZARDS*. So that though the *Original* word which we render *WITCH* and *WITCHCRAFT*, should, as our Sadducees urge; signify onely a *CHEAT* and a *POISONER*; yet those others mention'd, plainly enough speak the thing; and I have given an account in the former *Considerations*, how a *WITCH* in the common notion is a *Poysoner*. But why mere *poysoning* should have a distinct *Law* against it, and not be concluded under the general one against *Murder*; why inere *Légerdemain* and *Cheating* should be so severely animadverted on, as to be reckon'd with *Enchantments*, *converse* with *Devils*, and *Idolatrous practices*: I believe the *denier* of *WITCHES* will find it hard to give a reason. To which I may add some other passages of *Scripture* that yield sufficient evidence in the case. The Nations are forbid to hearken to the *Diviners*, *Dreamers*, *Enchanters*, and *Sorcerers*, Jer. XXVII. 9. the *Chaldæans* are deeply threatned for their *Sorceries* and *Enchantments*, Isa. XLVII. 9. And we read that *Nebuchadnezzar* called the *Magicians*, *Astrologers*, *Sorcerers*, and *Chaldæans*, to tell his *Dream*. My mention of which last, minds me to say, that for ought I have to the contrary, there may be a sort of *Witches* and *Magicians* that have no *Familiars*, that they know, nor any *express compact* with *Apostate Spirits*; who yet may perhaps act *strange things*

things by *diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the use of those *Forms*, and wicked *Arts* that the *Devil* did first impart to his *Confederates*: And we know not but the *Laws* of that *dark Kingdom* may enjoyn a particular attendance upon all those that practise their *Mysteries*, whether they *know* them to be *theirs*, or not. For a great interest of their *Empire* may be served by this project, since those that find such success in the *unknown Conjurations*, may by that be toll'd on to more *express transactions* with those *Fiends*, that have assisted them *incognito*: Or, if they proceed not so far, yet they run upon a *Rock* by acting in the *dark*, and dealing in *unknown* and *unwarranted Arts*, in which the *effect* is much beyond the *proper efficiency* of the things they use, and affords ground of more than suspicion that some *evil Spirit* is the *Agent* in those wondrous performances.

Upon this account I say, it is not to me unlikely but that the *Devils* may by their own *Constitution* be bound to attend upon all that use their *Ceremonies* and *Forms*, though *ignorantly*, and without *design* or evil; and so *Conjuration* may have been performed by those who are none of the *Covenant Sorcerers* and *Witches*. Among *those* perhaps we may justly reckon *Balaam*, and the *Diviners*. For *Balaam*, *Moncæus* hath undertaken to clear him from the *guilt* of the *greater Sorcery*. And the *Diviners* are
usually

usually *distinctly* mentioned from those that had *Familiar Spirits*. The *Astrologers* also of *Elder* times, and those of *ours*, I take to have been of this sort of *Magicians*, and *some* of them under the colour of that *mystical Science*, *worse*. And I question not, but that things are really done, and foretold by those *pretended Artists*, that are much beyond the *regular possibilities* of their *Art*; which in this appears to be exceedingly *uncertain* and *precarious*, in that there are no less than *six* ways of *erecting a Scheme*, in each of which the *prediction of Events* shall be *different*, and yet every one of them be justifiable by the *Rules* of that *Science*. And the *Principles* they go upon, are found to be very *arbitrary* and *unphilosophical*, not by the *ordinary Declaimers* against it, but by the most *profound inquirers* into things, who perfectly *understand* the whole *Mystery*, and are the onely *competent Judges*.

Now those *Mystical Students* may in their first addresses to this *Science*, have no other design, but the satisfaction of their *curiosity* to know *remote* and *hidden things*; yet *that* in the progress being not satisfied within the bounds of their *Art*, doth many times *tempt* the *curious Inquirer* to use *worse* means of *Information*; and no doubt those *mischievous Spirits* that are as vigilant as the *Beasts of Prey*, and watch all occasions to get us within their *envious reach*, are more constant *Attend*ers, and

and careful *Spyes* upon the *Actions* and *Inclinations* of such, whose *genius* and *designs* prepare them for their *Temptations*. So that I look on **Judicial Astrology** as a fair Introduction to *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*. And who knows but that it was first set on foot by the *Infernal Hunters*, as a *Lure* to draw the *Curioso's* into those snares that lie hid beyond it. And yet I believe also, it may be *innocently* enough studied by those, that aim onely to understand *what it is*, and *howfar it will honestly go*; and are not willing to condemn any thing which they do not comprehend. But that they must take care to keep themselves within the bounds of sober enquiry, and not indulge *irregular sollicitudes* about the Knowledge of things which *Providence* hath thought fit to *conceal* from us; Which whoever doth, lays himself open to the designs and sollicitations of *evil Spirits*; and I believe there are very few among those who have been addicted to those *strange Arts of wonder*, and *prædiction*, but have found themselves attacqued by some *unknown Solicitors*, and inticed by them to the more dangerous *Actions* and *Correspondencies*. For as there are a sort of *base* and *sordid Spirits* that attend the *envy* and *malice* of the *ignorant*, and *viler* sort of persons, and betray them into *Compacts* by *promises of Revenge*: So, no doubt, there are a kind of more *airy*, and *speculative Fiends*, of an *higher Rank* and
Order

Order than those *wretched Imps*, who apply themselves to the *Curious*; and many times prevail with them by offers of the more *recondite knowledge*. As we know it was in the *first Temptation*. Yea, and sometimes they are so *cautious*, and *wary* in their Conversations with more *refined* persons, that they never offer to make any *express Covenants* with them. And to this purpose I have been informed by a very Learned and Reverend Doctor, that one Mr. *Edwards* a Master of Arts of *Trin. Coll.* in *Cambridge* being reclaimed from *Conjuration*, declared in his *Repentance*, That the *Dæmon* always appeared to him like a man of good Fashion, and never required any *Compact* from him. And no doubt, they sort themselves agreeably to the *state, port, and genius* of those with whom they *converse*: Yea, 'tis like, as I conjectured; are *assistant* sometimes to those, to whom they dare not shew themselves in any *openness of appearance*, lest they should *fright* them from those ways of *Sin and Temptation*. So that we see, that Men may act by *evil Spirits* without their own knowledge that they do so.

And possibly *Nebuchadnezzar's Wisemen* might be of this sort of *Magicians*; which supposal I mention the rather, because it may serve me against some things that may be objected: For, it may be said, If *They* had been in *Confederacy* with *Devils*, it is not probable, that

Daniel

Daniel would have been their *Advocate*, or in such *inoffensive terms* have distinguished their *skill*, from *Divine Revelation*; nor should he, one would think, have accepted the Office of being *Provost* over them. These Circumstances may be supposed to intimate a probability, that the *Magi* of *Babylon* were in no *profest Diabolical Complotment*, and I grant it. But yet they *might*, and in all likelihood *did*, use the *Arts and Methods of Action*, which obtain *Demonaiick Co-operation and Assistance*, though without their *privity*, and so they were a less criminal sort of *Conjurers*; For those *Arts* were conveyed down along to them from one hand to another, and the Successours still took them up from those that preceded without a *Philosophical Scrutiny, or Examen*. They saw strange things were *done*, and Events predicted by such *forms*, and such *words*; *How*, they could not tell, nor 'tis like, did not *inquire*; but contented themselves with this *general account*, That 'twas by the *power* of their *Arts*, and were not *sollicitous* for any *better reason*. This I say was probably the case of most of *those Predictors*, though, it may be, others of them advanced further into the more desperate part of the *Mystery*. And that *some* did immediately *transact* with *appearing evil Spirits* in those times, is apparent enough from express mention in the *Scriptures* I have alliedg'd.

And the story of the WITCH of E N-

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DOR,

D O R, I Sam. XXVIII. is a remarkable *demonstration* of the main Conclusion; which will appear when we have considered and removed the *fancy*, and *glosses* of our *Author* about it, in his *DISCOVERY*: where to avoid this evidence, he affirms, *This WITCH* to be but a *Cozener*, and the whole *Transaction* a *Cheat* and *Imposture*, managed by her *self* and a *Confederate*. And in order to the perswading *this*, he tells a fine *Tale*, viz. That she departed from *Saul* into her *Closet*, “Where doubtless, says he, she had a *Familiar*, some *lewd* “*crafty Priest*, and made *Saul* stand at the *door* “like a *Fool*, to hear the *cozening* Answers. He “faith, she there used the ordinary words of “*Conjuration*; and after them, *Samuel* appears, “whom he affirms to be no other than either “the *Witch* her self, or her *Confederate*. By this *pretty knack* and *contrivance* he thinks he hath disabled the *Relation* from signifying to our purpose.

But the *DISCOVERER* might have considered, that all this is an *Invention*, and *without Book*. For there is no mention of the *Witches Closet*, or her *retiring* into another Room, or her *Confederate*, or her *form of Conjuration*: I say, nothing of all this, is as much as intimated in the *History*; and if we may take this *large liberty* in the *interpretation* of *Scripture*, there is scarce a *story* in the *Bible* but may be made a *Fallacy*, and *Imposture*, or any thing

thing that we please. Nor is this fancy of his onely *arbitrary*, but indeed contrary to the *circumstances* of the *Text*. For it says, *Saul perceived it was Samuel*, and *bowed himself*, and *this Samuel truly foretold his approaching Fate*, viz. That *Israel* should be delivered with *him* into the hands of the *Philistines*; and that on the morrow *He* and his *Sons* should be in the *state* of the *Dead*, which doubtless is meant by the expression, that [*they should be with him.*] Which *contingent* particulars, how could the *Cozener* and her *Confederate* foretel, if there were nothing in it *extraordinary* and *preternatural*?

It hath indeed been a great dispute among *Interpreters*, whether the real *Samuel* was *raised*, or the *Devil* in his likeness? Most later Writers suppose it to have been an *evil Spirit*, upon the supposition that *good* and *happy* Souls can never return hither from their *Cælestial* abodes; and they are not certainly at the beck and call of an impious Hagg. But then those of the other side urge, that the *Piety* of the words that were spoke, and the *seasonable reproof* given to *despairing* Saul, are *indications* sufficient that they come not from Hell; and especially they think the *Prophecie of Circumstances* very *accidental* to be an argument, that it was not utter'd by any of the *infernal Predictors*. And for the *supposal* that is the ground of *that interpretation*, 'tis judged exceedingly

precarious ; for *who saith* that *happy* departed Souls were never employed in any *ministeries* here below ? And those dissenters are ready to ask a reason, why they may not be sent in Messages to *Earth*, as well as *those* of the *Angelical Order* ? They are nearer *allied* to our *Natures*, and upon that account more *intimately concerned* in our affairs ; and the example of *returning Lazarus* is evidence of the thing *de facto*. Besides which, that it was the real *Samuel* they think made probable by the opinion of *Jesus* the son of *Syrae*, *Ecclus. XLVI. 19, 20.* who saith of him, That *after his death he prophesied and shewed the King his end* : which also is *likely* from the circumstance of the womans *astonishment*, and *crying* out when she saw him, intimating her *surprize*, in that the power of God had over-ruled her *Enchantments*, and sent another than she expected. And they conceive there is no more incongruity in supposing God should send *Samuel* to rebuke *Saul* for this his last folly, and to predict his instant ruine, than in his interposing *Elias* to the Messengers of *Abazias* when he sent to *Beelzebub*. Now if it were the real *Samuel*, as the *Letter* expresseth, (and the obvious sence is to be followed when there is no cogent reason to decline it) he was not *raised* by the power of the *Witches Enchantments*, but came on that occasion in a *Divine Errand*. But yet *attempts* and *endeavours* to raise her *Familiar Spirit*,
 (though

(though at that time over-ruled) are Arguments that it had been her custom to do so. Or if it were as the other side concludes, the Devil in the shape of *Samuel*, her *diabolical Confederacy* is yet more palpable.

S E C T. X V I I I.

I HAVE now done with *SCOT*, and his *presumptions*; and am apt to fancy, that there is nothing more needful to be said to *discover* the *Discoverer*. But there is an *Author* infinitely more valuable, that calls me to consider him, 'Tis the great *Episcopus*, who, though he grants a sort of *Witches* and *Magicians*, yet denies *Compacts*. His *Authority*, I confess, is *considerable*, but let us weigh his *Reasons*.

His *First* is, That there is no *example* of any of the *prophane Nations* that were in such *Compact*; whence he would *infer*, that there are no *express Covenants* with *evil Spirits* in *particular* instances. But I think that both *proposition* and *consequence*, are very *obnoxious* and *defective*. For that there were *Nations* that did actually *worship* the *Devil* is plain enough in the *Records* of *ancient times*, and some so read that place in the *Psalms*, *The Gods of the Heathen are Devils*; and *Sathan* we know is call'd the *God of this World*, Yea, our *Author* him-

self confesseth that the Nation of the *Jews* were so strictly prohibited *Witchcraft*, and all *transfaction* with *evil Spirits*; because of their *proneness* to *worship* them. But what need more? There are at *this* day that pay *sacrifice*, and all *sacred homage* to the **wicked One** in a *visible* appearance; and 'tis well known to those of our *own* that *traffick*, and reside in those parts, that the *Caribbians* worship the *Devil* under the name of *Maboya*, who frequently *shews* himself, and *transacts* with them; the like *Travellers* relate concerning divers other parts of the *barbarous Indies*: and 'tis confidently reported by sober intelligent men that have visited those places, that most of the *Laplanders*, and some other *Northern* people, are *Witches*. That 'tis plain that there are *National Confederacies with Devils*; or, if there were none, I see not how it could be inferred *thence*, that there are no *personal* ones, no more, than that there were never any *Dæmoniacks*, because we know of no *Nation universally possessed*; nor any *Lunaticks* in the world, because there is no *Country of Madmen*. But our *Author* reasons again,

(2) To this purpose; "That the *profligate*
 " persons who are *obnoxious* to those *gross tem-*
 " *ptations*, are fast enough *before*; and there-
 " fore such a *Covenant* were *needless*, and of no
 " *avail* to the *Tempters projects*."

This *Objection* I have answered already, in
 my

my Remarques upon the IX Prejudice; and mind you again here, that if the *designs* of those *evil Spirits* were onely in *general* to secure wicked men to the *dark Kingdom*, it might *better* be pretended that we cannot give a reason for their *temptations*, and *endeavours* in this kind; But it being likely, as I have conjectur'd, that each of those *infernal Tempters* hath a *particular property* in those he hath *seduced*, and *secured* by such *compact*s, their respective *pride* and *tyrannical* desire of *slaves*, may reasonably be thought to engage them in such *Attempts* in which their so peculiar interest is concerned.

But I add what is more *direct*, viz. That such *desperate* Sinners are made more safe to the *infernal Kingdom* at large, by such *Hellish Covenants* and *Combinations*; since thereby they *confirm*, and harden their *Hearts* against God, and put themselves at greater distance from his *Grace*, and his *Spirit*; give the *deepest wound* to Conscience, and resolve to *wink* against all its *light* and *convictions*; throw a *Bar* in the way of their own *Repentance*, and lay a *Train* for *despair* of *Mercy*. These certainly are *sure ways* of *being undone*, and the *Devil* we see, hath *great interest* in a *project*, the success of which is *so attended*. And we know he made the assault *de facto* upon our *Saviour*, when he tempted him to *fall down*, and *worship*. So that this learned Author hath but *little* reason to object

(3) That to endeavour such an exprefs *Covenant* is contrary to the *interests of Hell*; which indeed are *this way* so mightily promoted. And whereas he suggests, that a thing so *horrid* is like to *startle Conscience*, and *awaken the Soul to Consideration and Repentance*: I *Reply*, That indeed considering *man* in the *general*, as a *rational Creature*, acted by *hopes*, and *fears*, and *sensible* of the *joyes* and *miseries* of *another World*, one would expect it should be so: But then, if we cast our eyes upon *man* as *really he is*, sunk into *flesh* and *present sense*; *darkned* in his *mind*, and *governed* by his *imagination*; *blinded* by his *passions*, and *besotted* by *sin* and *folly*; *hardned* by *evil Customs*, and *hurried away* by the *torrent* of his *inclinations* and *desires*: I say, looking on *man* in this *miserable* state of *Evil*, 'tis not *incredible* that he should be prevailed upon by the *Tempter*, and his own *Lusts* to act at a *wonderful rate* of *madness*, and continue *unconcerned* and *stupid* in it; *intent* upon his *present satisfactions*, without *sense* or *consideration* of the *dreadfulness* and *danger* of his *condition*; and by *this* I am furnished also to meet a *fourth Objection* of our *Author's*, viz.

(4) That 'tis not *probable* upon the *Witches* part, that *they* will be so *desperate* to renounce *God* and *eternal happiness*, and so, *everlastingly* undo their *Bodies* and *Souls*, for a *short* and *trivial interest*; which way of *arguing* will onely
infer,

infer, that Mankind *acts* sometimes to *prodigious degrees of brutishness*; and *actually* we *see* it in the *instances* of every day. There is not a *Lust* so *base*, and so *contemptible*, but there are those continually, in our eyes, that *feed* it with the *sacrifice* of their *eternity*, and their *Souls*; and daring Sinners rush upon the *blackest* villainies with so *little remorse*, or *sense*, as if it were their *design* to prove, that they have nothing left them of *that whereby* they are *men*. So that nought can be inferred from this Argument, but *that humane nature is incredibly degenerate*; and the *vileness* and *stupidity* of men is *really* so *great*, that things are *customary*, and *common*, which one could not think *possible*, if he did not hourly see them. And if men of *liberal Education*, and *acute Reason*, that know their *duty*, and their *danger*, are driven by their *appetites*, with their *eyes* open, upon the most *fatal Rocks*, and make all the *haste* they can *from* their *God*, and their *happiness*; If *such* can *barter* their *Souls* for *trifles*, and *sell* *everlastingness* for a *moment*, *sport* upon the *brink* of a *Precipice*, and *contemn* all the *terrors* of the *future dreadful day*; Why should it then be *incredible* that a *brutish*, *vile* person, *sotted* with *Ignorance*, and *drunk* with *Malice*, *mindless* of *God*, and *unconcerned* about a *future Being*, should be *perswaded* to accept of *present*, *delightful gratifications*, without duly weighing the *desperate condition*?

Thus,

Thus, I suppose, I have *answered* also the *Arguments* of this *great man*, against the *Covenants* of *Witches*; and since a person of such *sagacity* and *learning*, hath *no more* to say against what I defend, and another of the *same* Character, the ingenious *Mr. S. Parker*, who directed me to *him*, reckons *these* the strongest things that can be *objected* in the Case, I begin to arrive to an *higher degree of confidence* in this belief; and am almost inclined to *fancy*, that there is *little more* to be said to purpose, which may not by the *improvement* of my *CONSIDERATIONS* be easily answered; and I am yet the more fortified in my conceit, because I have since the former *Edition* of this Book, sent to several *acute* and ingenious persons of my acquaintance, to beg their *Objections*, or *those* they have heard from others, against my *Discourse* or *Relations*, that I might consider them in *this*: But I can procure *none* save onely those *few* I have now discuss'd, most of my Friends telling me, that they have not met with *any* that *need*, or *deserve* my notice.

S E C T. X I X.

BY all this it is evident, that there were *WITCHES* in ancient times under the *Dispensation* of the *LAW*; and that there were

were such in the *times* of the *G O S P E L* also, will not be much more difficult to make good. I had a late occasion to say something about this, in a *Letter* to a person of the highest honour, from which I shall now borrow some things to my present purpose.

T S A Y then (II) That there were *Compacts* with *evil Spirits* in *those times* also, is methinks intimated strongly in that saying of the *Jews* concerning our *Saviour*, *That he cast out Devils by Beelzebub*. In his return to which, he denies not the *supposition* or *possibility* of the *thing* in general; but clears himself by an appeal to the actions of their own Children, whom they would not tax so severely. And I cannot very well understand why those times should be privileged from *WITCHCRAFT*, and *Diabolical Compacts*, more than they were from *Possessions*, which we know were then more *frequent* (for ought appears to the contrary) than ever they were before or since. But besides this, There are intimations plain enough in the *Apostles* Writings of the being of *Sorcery* and *WITCHCRAFT*. *St. Paul* reckons *Witchcraft* next *Idolatry*, in his *Catalogue* of the *works* of the *flesh*, Gal. V. 20. and the *Sorcerers* are again joyn'd with *Idolaters* in that sad *Denunciation*, Rev. XXI. 8. and a little after, Rev. XXII. 15. they are reckoned again among *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, and *those* others
that

that are *without*. And methinks the story of *Simon Magus*, and his *diabolical Oppositions* of the *Gospel* in its *beginnings*, should afford clear conviction. To all which, I add this more general consideration,

(3) That though the *New Testament* had mention'd nothing of this matter, yet its *silence* in such cases is not *argumentative*. Our Saviour *spoke* as he had occasion, and the thousandth part of what he *did*, and *said*, is not *recorded*, as one of his Historians intimates. He said nothing of those large unknown *Tracts* of *America*, nor gave he any intimations of as much as the *Existence* of that *numerous* people; much less did he leave *instructions* about their *conversion*. He gives no account of the *affairs* and *state* of the *other world*, but onely that *general one* of the *happiness* of some, and the *misery* of others. He made no discovery of the *Magnalia* of *Art* or *Nature*; no, not of those, whereby the *propagation* of the *Gospel* might have been much *advanced*, viz. the *Mystery* of *Printing*, and the *Magnet*; and yet no one useth his *silence* in these instances as an argument against the being of things, which are *evident objects* of *sense*. I confess, the omission of some of these *particulars* is pretty strange, and unaccountable, and concludes our *ignorance* of the *reasons*, and *manages* of *Providence*; but I suppose, *nothing else*. I thought, I needed here to have said no more,

but

but I consider, in consequence of this *Objection*, it is pretended; That as *CHRIST JESUS* drive the *Devil* from his *Temples*, and his *Altars*, (as is clear in the *Cessation* of *Oracles*, which dwindled away, and at last grew silent shortly upon his appearance) so in like manner, 'tis said, that he banisht *Him* from his lesser holds in *Sorcerers*, and *Witches*; which argument is peccant both in what it affirms, and in what it would infer. For

(1) The coming of the *H. JESUS* did not expel the *Devil* from all the greater places of his residence and worship; for a considerable part of barbarous Mankind do him publick, solemn homage, to this day: So that the very foundation of the pretence fails, and the Consequence without any more ado comes to nothing. And yet besides,

(2) If there be any credit to be given to *Ecclesiastick History*, there were persons possessed with *Devils* some Ages after *Christ*, whom the *Disciples* cast out by *Prayer*, and the invocation of his *Name*: So that *Sathan* was not driven from his lesser habitations, as soon as he was forced from his more famous abodes. And I see no reason

(3) *Why*, Though *Divine Providence* would not allow him publickly to abuse the *Nations*, whom he had designed in a short time after, for *Subjects* of his *Son's Kingdom*, and to stand up in the face of *Religion* in an open affront to the

the Divinity that *planted it*, to the great *hindrance* of the *progreß* of the *Gospel*, and discouragement of *Christian* hopes ; I say, Though Providence would not allow this height of insolent opposition ; yet I see not why we may not grant, that God however permitted the Devil to *sneak* into some *private skulking holes*, and to *trade* with the *particular* more *devoted vassals* of his *wicked Empire* : As we know that when our *Saviour* had chased him from the man that was *possessed*, he permitted his *retreat* into the *herd* of *Swine*. And I might add,

(4) That 'tis but a *bad* way of arguing, to set up *phancied congruities* against *plain experience*, as is evidently done by those *arguers*, who, because they think that *Christ* chased the *Devil* from all his *high places* of *worship* when he came ; that 'tis therefore *fit* he should have forced him from all his other less *notorious Haunts* : and upon the *imagination* of a *decency*, which they frame, *conclude a fact*, contrary to the greatest evidence of which the thing is capable. And once more

(5) The consequence of this *imagined Decorum*, if it be pursued, would be *this*, that *Sathan* should now be deprived of all the *ways*, and *tricks* of *Cozenage*, whereby he abuseth us ; and *mankind* since the coming of *Christ*, should have been secure from all his *Temptations* ; for there is a greater *congruity* in believing,

ving, that, when he was forced from his *haunts* in *Temples* and *publick* places, he should be put also from those *nearer* ones, *about* us and *with-in* us in his daily *temptations* of *universal* Mankind; than, that upon relinquishing *those*, he should be made to leave all *profest* *communication* and *correspondence* with those *profligate* persons, whose *vileness* had *fitted* them for such *company*.

So that *these* *Reasoners* are very Fair for the *denial* of all *internal* *Diabolical* *Temptations*. And because I durst not trust them, I'll crave your leave here to add some things concerning *those*.

In order to which, that I may obtain the favour of those *wary* persons, who are so *coy*, and *shy* of their *assent*, I grant; That men frequently out of a desire to *excuse* *themselves*, lay their *own* guilt upon the *Devil*, and charge *him* with things of which in earnest he is not *guilty*: For, I doubt not but every *wicked* man hath *Devil* enough in his *own* *nature* to prompt him to Evil, and needs not *another* *Tempter* to incite him. But yet, that *Sathan* endeavours to further our *wickedness*, and our *ruine* by his *enticements*, and goes *up* and *down* seeking whom he may *devour*, is too evident in the *holy* *Oracles*, to need my endeavours particularly to make it good; Only those *dissident* men cannot perhaps apprehend the *manner* of the *operation*, and from thence are *tempted* to *believe*; that

that there is really no such thing. Therefore I judge it requisite to explain *this*, and 'tis not unfutable to my *general* subject.

In order to it I consider, That *sense* is *primarily* caused by *motion* in the *Organs*, which by *continuity* is *conveyed* to the *brain*, where *sensation* is *immediately* performed; and it is *nothing else*, but a *notice excited* in the *Soul* by the *impulse* of an *external object*. Thus it is in *simple outward sense*. But *imagination*, though caused *immediately* by *material motion* also, yet it differs from the *external senses* in *this*, That 'tis not from an *impress directly* from *without*, but the *prime*, and *original motion* is from *within* our *selves*: Thus the *Soul* it self sometimes strikes upon those *strings*, whose motion begets such, and such *phantasms*; otherwhile, the *loose Spirits* wandering up and down in the *brain*, casually hit upon such *filments* and *strings* whose *motion* excites a *conception*, which we call a *Fancy*, or *Imagination*; and if the *evidence* of the *outward senses* be shut out by *sleep* or *melancholy*, in *either case*, we *believe* those *representations* to be *real* and *external transactions*, when they are onely *within* our *heads*; Thus it is in *Enthusiasms*, and *Dreams*. And besides *these causes* of the *motions* which stir *imagination*, there is little doubt, but that *Spirits good*, or *bad* can so move the *instruments* of *sense* in the *brain*, as to *awake* such *imaginations*, as they have a mind to *excite*; and the
imagina-

imagination having a mighty *influence* upon the *affections*, and *they* upon the *will* and *external actions*, 'tis very easie to conceive how good *Angels* may stir us up to *Religion* and *Vertue*, and the *Evil ones* tempt us to *Lewdness* and *vice*, viz. by *representments* that they make upon the *stage* of *imagination*, which *invite* our *affections*, and *allure*, though they cannot *compel*, our *wills*.

This I take to be an *intelligible account* of *temptations*, and also of *Angelical encouragements*; and perhaps *this* is the onely way of *immediate influence* that the *Spirits* of the other-world have upon us. And by it, 'tis easie to give an account of *Dreams* both *Monitory*, and *Temperamental*, *Enthusiasms*, *Fanatick Ecstasies*, and the like, as I suggested.

Thus Sir, to the FIRST. But the other pre-
tence also must be examined.

S E C T. X X.

(2) **M**IRACLES are ceast, therefore the
presumed actions of Witchcraft are
tales, and illusions.]

To make a due return to *this*, we must consider a great and difficult *Problem*, which is, *What is a real Miracle?* And for answer to this weighty *Question*, I think,

(1) **T**HAT it is not the *strangeness*, or *unaccountableness* of the *thing done* simply, from whence we are to conclude a *Miracle*. For then, we are *so* to account of all the *Magnalia* of *Nature*, and all the *Mysteries* of those *honest* Arts, which we do not understand.

Nor, (2) is this the *Criterion* of a *Miracle*, That it is an action or event beyond all *natural powers*; for we are ignorant of the *extent* and *bounds* of *Natures sphere*, and *possibilities*: And if this were the *character*, and *essential mark* of a *Miracle*, we could not know what was *so*; except we could determine the *extent* of *natural causalities*, and fix their *bounds*, and be able to say to *Nature*, *Hitherto canst thou go, and no further*. And he that makes this his measure whereby to judge a *Miracle*, is himself the *greatest Miracle* of *knowledge*, or *immodesty*. Besides, though an effect may transcend *really* all the *powers of meer nature*; yet there is a *world of spirits* that must be taken into our account. And as to them also I say,

(3) Every thing is not a *Miracle* that is done by *Agents supernatural*. There is no doubt but that *evil Spirits* can make *wonderful combinations* of *natural causes*, and perhaps perform many things *immediately* which are *prodigious*, and beyond the *longest line* of *Nature*: but yet *These* are not therefore to be called *Miracles*; for, **T H E Y** are **S A C R E D**
WON-

WONDERS, and suppose the POWER to be DIVINE. But how shall the power be known to be so, when we so little understand the capacities, and extent of the abilities of lower Agents? The Answer to this Question will discover the Criterion of Miracles, which must be supposed to have all the former particulars; (They are unaccountable, beyond the powers of meer nature, and done by Agents supernatural) and to these must be superadded,

(4) That they have peculiar circumstances that speak them of a divine Original. Their mediate Authors declare them to be so, and they are always persons of Simplicity, Truth, and Holiness, void of Ambition, and all secular Designs. They seldom use Ceremonies, or natural Applications, and yet surmount all the activities of known Nature. They work those wonders, not to raise admiration, or out of the vanity to be talkt of; but to seal and confirm some divine Doctrine, or Commission, in which the good and happiness of the world is concern'd. I say, by such circumstances as these; wonderful actions are known to be from a Divine cause; and that makes, and distinguisheth a Miracle.

And thus I am prepared for an Answer to the Objection, to which I make this brief return, That though WITCHES by their Confederate Spirit do those odd, and astonishing things we believe of them; yet are they no Miracles,

there being evidence enough from the *badness* of their *Lives*, and the *ridiculous Ceremonies* of their *performances*, from their *malice* and *mischievous designs*, that the *POWER* that works, and the end for which those things are done, is not *Divine*, but *Diabolical*. And by *singular providence* they are not ordinarily permitted, as much as to *pretend* to any *new sacred Discoveries* in matters of *Religion*, or to act any thing for *confirmation* of *doctrinal Impostures*. So that whether *Miracles* are *ceased*, or not, *these* are *none*. And that such *Miracles* as are onely *strange*, and *unaccountable* performances, above the common *methods* of *Art* or *Nature*, are not *ceas'd*, we have a late great Evidence in the famous *GREATER AK*; concerning whom it will not be impertinent to add the following *Account* which I had in a *Letter* from the Reverend Dr. R. Dean of C. a person of great *veracity*, and a *Philosopher*. This learned Gentleman then is pleased thus to write.

“ **T**HE great discourse now at the *Coffee-*
 “ *houses*, and every where, is about
 “ Mr. G. the famous *Irish Stroker*, concerning
 “ whom it is like you expect an account from
 “ me. He undergoes various censures here,
 “ some take him to be a *Conjurer*, and some, an
 “ *Impostor*, but others again *adore* him as an
 “ *Apostle*. I confess I think the man is free
 “ from

“ from all *design*, of a very agreeable Conver-
 “ sation, not addicted to any *Vice*, nor to any
 “ *Señt* or *Party*; but is, I believe, a *sincere Pro-*
 “ *testant*. I was three weeks together with
 “ him at my Lord *Conwayes*, and saw him, I
 “ think, lay his hands upon a thousand persons;
 “ and *really* there is something in it more than
 “ *ordinary*; but I am convinc'd it is not *mira-*
 “ *culous*. I have seen *pains* strangely fly before
 “ his hand till he hath chafed them out of the
 “ Body, *Dimness cleared*, and *Deafness cured* by
 “ his *touch*; Twenty persons at several times
 “ in *fits* of the *Falling Sickness*, were in two or
 “ three minutes brought to themselves, so as
 “ to tell where their pain was, and then he hath
 “ pursued it till he hath driven it out at some
 “ extream part; *Running Sores* of the *Kings*
 “ *Evil* dried up, and *Kernels* brought to a *Sup-*
 “ *uration* by his hand; *grievous Sores* of ma-
 “ ny moneths date, in few days *healed*; *Ob-*
 “ *structions* and *Stoppings removed*, *Cancerous*
 “ *Knots* in the Breast *dissolved*, &c.

“ But yet I have many reasons to perswade
 “ me, that nothing of all this is *miraculous*:
 “ He pretends not to give *Testimony* to any
 “ *Doctrin*e, the manner of his *Operation* speaks
 “ it to be *natural*, the *Cure* seldom succeeds
 “ without *reiterated touches*, his *Patients* often
 “ *relapse*, he *fails frequently*, he can do nothing
 “ where there is any *decay* in *Nature*, and *many*
 “ *Distempers* are not at all obedient to his *touch*.

“ So that, I confess, I refer all his vertue to his
 “ *particular Temper and Complexion*, and I take
 “ his *Spirits* to be a kind of *Elixir*, and *uni-*
 “ *versal Ferment*; and that he cures (as Dr. M.
 “ expresseth it) by a *sanative Contagion*. *En-*
 “ *thusiasm. Triumphat. Sect. 58.*

This, Sir, was the *First Account* of the *Hea-*
ler, I had from that Reverend Person, which
 with me signifies more, than the *attestations*
 of multitudes of *ordinary Reporters*; and no
 doubt but it will do so likewise, with all that
 know that excellent man's singular *Integrity*
 and *Judgment*. But besides this, upon my
 enquiry into some other particulars about
 this matter, I received these further Informa-
 tions.

“ As for Mr. G. what opinion he hath of his
 “ *own Gift*, and how he came to know it? I
 “ answer, He hath a different apprehension of
 “ it from *yours*, and *mine*, and certainly belie-
 “ veth it to be an *immediate Gift* from Heaven;
 “ and 'tis no wonder, for he is *no Philosopher*.
 “ And you will wonder less, when you hear
 “ *how* he came to *know* it, as I have often recei-
 “ ved it from his own mouth. About three
 “ or four years ago he had a strong *impulse* up-
 “ on his *spirit*, that continually pursued him
 “ whatever he was about, at his *Business*, or
 “ *Devotion*, *alone*, or in *company*, that spake to
 “ him

“ him by this *inward suggestion* [*I have given*
 “ *thee the gift of curing the Evil.*] This *sug-*
 “ *gestion* was so *importunate*, that he complain-
 “ ed to his Wife, That he thought he was
 “ haunted : She apprehended it as an *extra-*
 “ *vagancy* of *Fancy*, but he told her he belie-
 “ ved there was more in it, and was resolved
 “ to try. He did not long want opportunity.
 “ There was a Neighbour of his grievously af-
 “ flicted with the *Kings-Evil*, He stroked her,
 “ and the effect succeeded. And for about a
 “ Twelve-moneth together he pretended to
 “ cure no other Distemper. But then the
 “ *Ague* being very rife in the Neighbourhood,
 “ the same *Impulse* after the same manner spoke
 “ within him, [*I have given thee the gift of*
 “ *curing the Ague ;*] and meeting with persons
 “ in their *Fits*, and taking them by the hand,
 “ or laying his hand upon their Breasts, the
 “ *Ague* left them. About half a year after
 “ the accustomed *Impulse* became more *general*,
 “ and suggested to him [*I have given thee the*
 “ *gift of Healing :*] and then he attempted all
 “ Diseases *indifferently*. And though he saw
 “ strange effects, yet he doubted whether
 “ the cause were any vertue that came from
 “ him, or the peoples fancy : To convince him
 “ of his *incredulity*, as he lay one night in bed,
 “ one of his Hands was struck *dead*, and the
 “ usual *Impulse* suggested to him to make trial
 “ of his vertue upon himself, which he did,

“stroking it with his other hand, and then it
 “immediately returned to its former *liveliness*.
 “This was repeated two or three nights (or
 “mornings) together.

“This is his *Relation*, and I believe there is
 “so much sincerity in the person, that he tells
 “no more than what he believes to be *true*.
 “To say that this Impulse too was but a *result*
 “of his *Temper*, and that it is but like *Dreams*
 “that are usually according to mens *constitu-*
 “*tions*, doth not seem a *probable account* of the
 “*Phænomenon*. Perhaps some may think it
 “more likely, that some *Genius* who under-
 “stood the *sapative vertue* of his *Complexion*,
 “and the *readiness* of his *Mind*, and *ability* of
 “his *Body*, to put it in execution, might give
 “him notice of *that* which otherwise might
 “have been for ever *unknown* to him, and so
 “the *Gift* of *God* had been to no purpose.

This, Sir, is my Learned and Reverend
 Friend's *Relation*, and I judge his *Reflections* as
ingenious as his *Report* is *sincere*. I shall say no
 more about it but *this*, that many of those *mat-*
ters of *Fact*, have been since *critically inspected*
 and *examined* by several *sagacious* and *deep*
 searches of the ROYAL SOCIETY,
 whom we may suppose as unlikely to be decei-
 ved by a *contrived Imposture*, as any persons ex-
 tant.

And now, Sir, 'tis fit that I relieve your patience ; and I shall do so , when I have said, that *You* can abundantly *prove*, what I have thus attempted to *defend* : And that among the many Obligations your *Country* hath to you, for the *Wisdom* and *Diligence* of your Endeavours in its service ; your *Ingenious Industry* for the *Detecting* of those *vile Practisers*, is not the least *considerable*. To which I will add no more, but the *Confession* who it is that hath given you all this trouble ; which I know you are ready to *pardon* , to the respect and good *Intentions* of

SIR,

Your Affectionate and Obliged

Honourer and Servant,

J. G.

ADVER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Hitherto reacheth the Author's ingenious *Considerations, about Witchcraft*. But understanding by his Letters and Papers, that he intended something further to enlarge this First Part of his *Saducismus Triumphatus*, which concerns the *Possibility* of the Existence of *Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches*, but that he has done nothing therein, being prevented by Death, I thought it might prove not an un-
 useful Supplement, to translate most of the two last Chapters of Dr. *H. M.* his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum* into English, and add it to this First Part, as a suitable Appendage thereto. Which is as follows.

A N
A P P E N D A G E
To this First P A R T,
Concerning the
P O S S I B I L I T Y
O F
A P P A R I T I O N S
A N D

Witchcraft.

Containing
The easie, true, and genu-
ine N O T I O N, and consistent
Explication of the Nature

O F A
S P I R I T,

Whereby
The P O S S I B I L I T Y of the E X I S T E N C E of
S P I R I T S, A P P A R I T I O N S, and W I T C H -
C R A F T is further confirmed.

L O N D O N: Printed, 1681.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

RESEARCH PAPERS

WILSON

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WILSON

The
Easie, True, and Genuine
N O T I O N
And Consistent
EXPLICATION
Of the NATURE of a
S P I R I T.

S E C T. I.

*The Opinions of the NULLIBISTS and
HOLENMERIANS propos'd.*

THat we may explicate the *Essence* or *No-
tion* of *Incorporeal Beings* or *Spirits*, with
the greater satisfaction and success, we are first
to remove two vast Mounds of Darkness,
wherewith the ignorance of some hath encum-
bered and obscured their nature.

And the first is of those who though they
readily acknowledge there are such things as
Incor-

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Incorporeal Beings or *Spirits*, yet do very pe-remptorily contend that they are *no where* in the whole World. Which opinion, though at the very first sight it appears ridiculous, yet it is stiffly held by the maintainers of it, and that not without some Fastuosity and Superciliousness, or at least some more sly and tacite contempt of such Philosophers as hold the contrary, as of men less intellectual and too too much indulging to their *Imagination*. Those other therefore because they so boldly affirm that a *Spirit* is *Nullibi*, that is to say, *Nowhere*, have deservedly purchased to themselves the Name or Title of *Nullibists*.

The other Mound of Darkness laid upon the nature of a *Spirit*, is by those who willingly indeed acknowledge that *Spirits* are *somewhere*; but add further, That they are not onely entirely or totally in their whole *Ubi* or place, (in the most general sence of the word) but are totally in every part or point thereof, and describe the peculiar nature of a *Spirit* to be such, that it must be *Totus in toto* & *totus in qualibet sui parte*. Which therefore the *Greeks* would fitly and briefly call *ἔσταν ὀλενμερῆ*, [*an Essence that is all of it in each part*] and this propriety thereof (*τῆς ἀσωμέτων ἐσιῶν τὴν ὀλενμέρειαν*) the *Holenmerism* of *Incorporeal Beings*. Whence also these other Philosophers diametrically opposite to the former, may most significantly and compendiously be called *Holenmerians*.

S E C T. I I.

That Cartesius is the Prince of the Nullibists, and wherein chiefly consists the force of their Opinion.

THE Opinions of both which kind of Philosophers having sufficiently explained, we will now propose and confute the Reasons of each of them; and first of the *Nullibists*. Of whom the chief Author and Leader seems to have been that pleasant Wit *Renatus Des Cartes*, who by his jocular *Metaphysical Meditations*, has so luxated and distorted the rational Faculties of some otherwise sober and quick-witted persons, but in this point by reason of their over-great admiration of *Des Cartes* not sufficiently cautious, that deceived, partly by his counterfeit and prestigious subtilty, and partly by his Authority, have perswaded themselves that such things were most *true* and *clear* to them; which had they not been blinded with these prejudices, they could never have thought to have been so much as possible. And so they having been so industriously taught, and diligently instructed by him, how they might not be imposed upon, no not by the most powerful and most ill-minded fallacious Deity, have heedlessly

lessly, by not sufficiently standing upon their guard, been deceived and illuded by a mere man, but of a pleasant and abundantly-cunning and abstruse Genius; as shall clearly appear after we have searched and examined the reasons of this Opinion of the *Nullibists* to the very bottom.

The whole force whereof is comprised in these three Axioms. The first, *That whatsoever thinks is Immaterial*, and so on the contrary. The second, *That whatever is extended is Material*. The third, *That whatever is unextended is Nowhere*. To which third I shall add this fourth, as a necessary and manifest Confectary thereof, *viz. That whatsoever is somewhere is extended*. Which the *Nullibists* of themselves will easily grant me to be most true. Otherwise they could not seriously contend for their Opinion, whereby they affirm Spirits to be *nowhere*; but would be found to do it only by way of an oblique and close derision of their Existence, saying indeed they *exist*, but then again hiddenly and cunningly denying it, by affirming they are *nowhere*. Wherefore doubtlessly they affirm them to be *nowhere*, if they are in good earnest, for this reason onely; for fear they granting them to be somewhere, it would be presently extorted from them, even according to their own Principles, that they are *extended*, as whatever is Extended, is Material, according to their second Axiome. It is

is therefore manifest that we both agree in this, that whatever real Being there is that is *some-where*, is also *Extended*.

S E C T. I I I.

The Sophistical weakness of that reasoning of the Nullibists, who, because we can conceive Cogitation without conceiving in the mean while Matter, conclude, That whatsoever thinks is Immaterial.

With which truth notwithstanding we being furnished and supported, I doubt not but we shall with ease quite overthrow and utterly root out this Opinion of the *Nullibists*. But that their levity and credulity may more manifestly appear, let us examine the Principles of this Opinion by parts, and consider how well they make good each member.

The first is, *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*, and on the contrary. The conversion of this Axiome I will not examine, because it makes little to the present purpose. I will onely note by the by, that I doubt not but it may be false, although I easily grant the Axiome itself to be true. But it is this new Method of demonstrating it I call into question, which from hence, that we can conceive *Cogitation*, in the

mean time not conceiving *Matter*, concludes that *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*. Now that we can conceive *Cogitation* without conceiving *Matter*, they say is manifest from hence, That although one should suppose there were no Body in the Universe, and should not flinch from that position, yet notwithstanding he would not cease to be certain, that there was *Res cogitans, a thinking Being*, in the World, he finding himself to be such. But I further add, though he should suppose there was no *Immaterial* Being in nature, (nor indeed *Material*) and should not flinch from that position, yet he would not cease to be certain that there was a *thinking Being*, (no not if he should suppose himself not to be a thinking Being) because he can *suppose* nothing without *Cogitation*. Which I thought worth the while to note by the by, that the great levity of the *Nullibists* might hence more clearly appear.

But yet I add further, that such is the nature of the Mind of man, that it is like the Eye, better fitted to contemplate other things than itself; and that therefore it is no wonder that thinking nothing of its own Essence, it does fixedly enough and intently consider in the mean time and contemplate all other things, yea, those very things with which she has the nearest affinity, and yet without any reflection that herself is of the like nature.

Whence

Whence it may easily come to pass, when she is so wholly taken up in contemplating other things without any reflection upon herself, that either carelessly she may consider herself in general as a *mere thinking Being*, without any other Attribute, or else by resolvedness afterwards, and by a force on purpose offered to her own faculties. But that this reasoning is wonderfully weak and trifling as to the proving of the Mind of man to be nothing else; that is to say, to have no other *Attributes* but mere *Cogitation*, there is none that does not discern.

S E C T. I V.

The true Method that ought to be taken for the proving that MATTER cannot think.

L Astly, if *Cartesius* with his *Nullibists* would have dealt *bona fide*, they ought to have omitted all those ambagious windings and Meanders of feigned *Abstraction*, and with a direct stroke to have fallen upon the thing itself, and so to have sifted *Matter*, and searched the nature of *Cogitation*, that they might thence have evidently demonstrated that there was some inseparable Attribute in *Matter* that is repugnant to the *Cogitative* faculty, or in *Cogitation* that is repugnant to *Matter*. But out

of the mere diversity of Idea's or Notions of any Attributes, to collect their separability or *real* distinction, yea their contrariety and repugnancy, is most foully to violate the indispensable Laws of *Logick*, and to confound *Diversa* with *Opposita*, and make them all one. Which mistake to them that understand *Logick* must needs appear very coarse and absurd.

But that the weakness and vacillancy of this Method may yet more clearly appear, let us suppose that which yet Philosophers of no mean name seriously stand for and assert, *viz.* That *Cogitative* substance is either *Material* or *Immaterial*; does it not apparently follow thence, that a *thinking* substance may be precisely conceived without the conception of *Matter*, as *Matter* without the conception of *Cogitation*, when notwithstanding in one of the members of this distribution they are joyned sufficiently close together?

How can therefore this newfangled Method of *Cartesius* convince us that this Supposition is false, and that the distribution is illegitimate? Can it from thence, that *Matter* may be conceived without *Cogitation*, and *Cogitation* without *Matter*? The first all grant, and the other the distribution itself supposes; and yet continues sufficiently firm and sure. Therefore it is very evident, that there is a necessity of our having recourse to the known and ratified

tified Laws of *Logick*, which many Ages before this new upstart Method of *Des Cartes* appeared, were established and approved by the common suffrage of Mankind; Which teach us that in every legitimate distribution the parts ought *consentire cum toto*, & *dissentire inter se*, to agree with the Whole, but disagree one with another. Now in this Distribution that they do sufficiently disagree, it is very manifest. It remains onely to be proved, that one of the parts, namely that which supposes that a *Cogitative* substance may be *Material*, is repugnant to the nature of the Whole. This is that clear, solid and manifest way or method according to the known Laws of *Logick*; but that new way, a kind of Sophistry and pleasant mode of trifling and prevaricating.

S E C T. V.

That all things are in some sort extended, demonstrated out of the Corollary of the third Principle of the Nullibists,

AS for the second Axiome or Principle, *viz.* *That whatsoever is extended is Material;* for the evincing the falsity thereof, there want no new Arguments, if one have but recourse to the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Chapters of *Enchiridium Metaphysicum*, where by unan-

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ſwerable reasonings it is demonstrated, That there is a certain Immaterial and Immovable *Extensum* distinct from the movable Matter. But however, out of the Confectary of their third Principle, we shall prove at once, that all Spirits are Extended as being somewhere, against the wild and ridiculous Opinion of the *Nullibists*.

Whose third Principle, and out of which immediately and precisely they conclude Spirits to be nowhere, is, *Whatsoever is unextended is nowhere*. Which I very willingly grant; but on this condition, that they on the other side concede (and I doubt not but they will) That *whatsoever is somewhere is also extended*; from which Confectary I will evince with Mathematical certainty, That God and our Soul, and all other Immaterial Beings, are in some sort extended: For the *Nullibists* themselves acknowledge and assert, that the Operations wherewith the Soul acts on the Body, are in the Body; and that Power or Divine Vertue wherewith God acts on the Matter and moves it, is present in every part of the Matter. Whence it is easily gathered, That the Operation of the Soul and the moving Power of God is somewhere, *viz.* in the *Body*, and in the *Matter*. But the Operation of the *Soul* wherewith it acts on the *Body* and the *Soul itself*, and the Divine Power wherewith *God* moves the *Matter* and *God himself*, are together, nor can

so much as be imagined separate one from the other; namely, the *Operation* from the *Soul*, and the *Power* from *God*. Wherefore if the *Operation* of the *Soul* is somewhere, the *Soul* is somewhere, *viz.* there where the *Operation*. And if the *Power* of *God* be somewhere, *God* is somewhere, namely, there where the *Divine Power* is; *He* in every part of the *Matter*, the *Soul* in the humane *Body*. Whosoever can deny this, by the same reason he may deny that common Notion in *Mathematicks*, *Quantities* that are singly equal to one third, are equal to one another.

S E C T. V I.

The apert confession of the Nullibists that the ESSENCE of a Spirit is where its OPERATION is; and how they contradict themselves, and are forced to acknowledge a Spirit extended.

AND verily that which we contend for, the *Nullibists* seem apertly to assert, even in their own express words, as it is evident in *Lambertus Velthufius* in his *De Initiis Primæ Philosophiæ*, in the Chapter *De Ubi*. Who though he does manifestly affirm that *God* and the *Mind* of man by their *Operations* are in every part or some one part of the *Matter*;

and that in that sence, namely, in respect of their *Operations*, the *Soul* may be truly said to be *somewhere*, *God everywhere*; as if that were the onely mode of their presence: yet he does expressly grant that the *Essence* is nowhere separate from *that* whereby God or a created Spirit is said to be, the one *everywhere*, the other *somewhere*; that no man may conceit the *Essence* of God to be where the rest of his *Attributes* are not. That the *Essence* of God is in Heaven, but that his *Vertue* diffuses itself beyond Heaven. No by no means, saith he, Wheresoever *God's Power* or *Operation* is, there is the *Nature* of *God*; forasmuch as God is a Substance devoid of all composition. Thus far *Velthusius*. Whence I assume, But the Power or *Operation* of *God* is in or present to the *Matter*, Therefore the *Essence* of *God* is in or present to the *Matter*, and is there where the *Matter* is, and therefore *somewhere*. Can there be any deduction or illation more close and coherent with the Premises?

And yet that other most devoted follower of the *Cartesian* Philosophy, *Ludovicus De-la-Forge*, cannot abstain from the offering us the same advantage of arguing, or rather from the inferring the same conclusion with us, in his Treatise *De Mente Humana*, Chap. 12. where occur these words: Lastly, when I say that *God* is present to all things by his *Omnipotency*, (and consequently to all the parts of
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the Matter) I do not deny but that also by his *Essence* or *Substance* he is present to them: For all those things in God are one and the same.

Dost thou hear, my *Nullibist*, what one of the chiefest of thy Condisciples and most religious Symmists of that stupendious secret of *Nullibism* plainly professes, namely, that *God* is present to all the parts of *Matter* by his *Essence* also, or *Substance*? And yet you in the mean while blush not to assert, that neither God nor any created spirit is any where; than which nothing more contradictious can be spoke or thought, or more abhorring from all reason. Wherefore whenas the *Nullibists* come so near to the truth, it seems impossible they should, so all of a suddain, start from it, unless they were blinded with a superstitious admiration of *Des Cartes* his Metaphysicks, and were deluded, effascinated and befooled with his jocular Subtilty and prestigious Abstractions there: For who in his right wits can acknowledge that a *Spirit* by its *Essence* may be present to *Matter* and yet be *nowhere*, unless the *Matter* were nowhere also? And that a *Spirit* may penetrate, possess, and actuate some determinate *Body*, and yet not be in that *Body*? In which if it be, it is plainly necessary it be somewhere.

And yet the same *Ludovicus De la-Forge* does manifestly assert, that the *Body* is thus
possess

possest and actuated by the Soul, in his Preface to his Treatise *De Mente Humana*, while he declares the Opinion of *Marsilius Ficinus* concerning the manner how the Soul actuates the Body in *Marsilius* his own words, and does of his own accord assent to his Opinion. What therefore do these *Forms* to the Body when they communicate to it their *Esse*? They throughly penetrate it with their *Essence*, they bequeath the *Vertue* of their *Essence* to it. But now whereas the *Esse* is deduced from the *Essence*, and the *Operation* flows from the *Vertue*, by conjoyning the *Essence* they impart the *Esse*, by bequeathing the *Vertue* they communicate the *Operations*; so that out of the congress of Soul and Body, there is made one *Animal Esse*, one *Operation*. Thus he. The Soul with her *Essence* penetrates and pervades the whole Body, and yet is not where the Body is, but nowhere in the Universe!

With what manifest repugnancy therefore to their other *Assertions* the *Nullibists* hold this ridiculous Conclusion, we have sufficiently seen, and how weak their chiefest prop is, That *whatever is Extended is Material*; which is not onely confuted by irrefragable Arguments, *Chap. 6, 7, and 8. Enchirid. Metaphys.* but we have here also, by so clearly proving that all *Spirits* are *somewhere*, utterly subverted it, even from that very Concession or Opinion of the *Nullibists* themselves, who concede or aver that

that whatsoever is somewhere is extended. Which Spirits are and yet are not Material.

S E C T. V I I.

The more light reasonings of the Nullibists whereby they would confirm their Opinion. The first of which is, That the Soul thinks of those things which are nowhere.

BUT we will not pass by their more slight reasonings in so great a matter, or rather so monstrous. Of which the first is, That the Mind of man thinks of such things as are *nowhere*, nor have any relation to place, no not so much as to *Logical* place or *Ubi*. Of which sort are many truths as well *Moral* as *Theological* and *Logical*, which being of such a nature that they are *nowhere*, the *Mind* of man which conceives them is necessarily *nowhere* also. But how crazily and inconsequently they collect that the humane Soul is *nowhere*, for that it thinks of those things that are *nowhere*, may be apparent to any one from hence, and especially to the *Nullibists* themselves; because from the same reason it would follow that the *Mind* of man is *somewhere*, because sometimes, if not always in a manner, it thinks of those things which are *somewhere*, as all *Material* things are. Which yet they dare

dare not grant, because it would plainly follow from thence, according to their Doctrine, that the Mind or Soul of man were *extended*, and so would become *corporeal* and devoid of all *Cogitation*. But besides, These things which they say are *nowhere*, namely, certain *Moral, Logical, and Theological Truths*, are really *somewhere*, viz. in the *Soul* itself which conceives them; but the Soul is in the Body, as we proved above. Whence it is manifest that the Soul and those Truths which she conceives are as well *somewhere* as the Body itself. I grant that some Truths as they are *Representations*, neither respect *Time* nor *Place* in whatever sense. But as they are *Operations*, and therefore *Modes* of some *Subject* or *Substance*, they cannot be otherwise conceived than in some substance. And forasmuch as there is no substance which has not some amplitude, they are in a substance which is in some sort extended; and so by reason of their *Subject* they are necessarily conceived to be somewhere, because a *Mode* is inseparable from a *Subject*.

Nor am I at all moved with that giddy and rash tergiversation which some betake themselves to here, who say we do not well in distinguishing betwixt *Cogitation* (such as are all conceived verities) and the *Substance* of the *Soul cogitating*: For *Cogitation* itself is the very *Substance* of the *Soul*, as *Extension* is of *Matter*,

Matter; and that therefore the *Soul* is as well *nowhere* as any *Cogitation*, which respects neither time nor place, would be, if it were found in no *Subject*. But here the *Nullibists*, who would thus escape, do not observe that while they acknowledge the *Substance* of the *Soul* to be *Cogitation*, they therewithal acknowledge the *Soul* to have a *Substance*, whence it is necessary it have some amplitude. And besides, This Assertion whereby they assert *Cogitation* to be the very substance of the *Soul*, is manifestly false. For many *Operations* of the *Soul*, are, as they speak, *specifically* different; Which therefore succeeding one after another, will be so many *Substances specifically* different. And so the *Soul* of *Socrates* will not always be the same *specifical* *Soul*, and much less the same *numerical*; Than which what can be imagined more delirant, and more remote from common sense?

To which you may adde, That the *Soul* of man is a *permanent* Being, but her *Cogitations* in a *flux* or *succession*; How then can the very substance of the *Soul* be its successive *Operations*? And when the substance of the *Soul* does so perpetually cease or perish, what I beseech you will become of *Memory*? From whence it is manifestly evident, that there is a certain *permanent* *Substance* of the *Soul*, as much distinct or different from her succeeding *Cogitations*, as the *Matter* itself is from its successive *figures* and *motions*. Sect.

S E C T. V I I I.

The second reason of the Nullibists, viz. That COGITATION is easily conceived without EXTENSION.

THe second Reason is somewhat coincident with some of those we have already examined; but it is briefly proposed by them thus: There can be no conception, no not of a *Logical Place*, or *Ubi*, without *Extension*. But *Cogitation* is easily conceived without conceiving any *Extension*: Wherefore the Mind cogitating, exempt from all *Extension*, is exempt also from all *Locality* whether *Physical* or *Logical*; and is so loosened from it, that it has no *relation* nor *applicability* thereto; as if those things had no relation nor applicability to other certain things without which they might be conceived.

The weakness of this argumentation is easily deprehended from hence, That the *Intensity* of heat or motion is considered without any respect to its *extension*, and yet it is referred to an extended Subject, *viz.* To a Bullet shot, or red hot Iron. And though in intent and defixed thoughts upon some either difficult or pleasing Object, we do not at all observe how the time passeth, nor take the slightest

slightest notice of it, nothing hinders notwithstanding but those Cogitations may be applied to time, and it be rightly said, that about six a clock, suppose, in the Morning they began, and continued till eleven; and in like manner the place may be defined where they were conceived, *viz.* within the Walls of such an ones Study, although perhaps all that time this so fixt Contemplator did not take notice whether he was in his *Study* or in the *Fields*.

And to speak out the matter at once, From the *precision* of our thoughts to infer the *real* precision or *separation* of the things themselves, is a very putid and puerile Sophism; and still the more enormous and wilde, to collect also thence, that they have no relation nor applicability one to another. For we may have a clear and distinct *apprehension* of a thing which may be connected with another by an *essential* Tye, that Tye being not taken notice of, (and much more when they are connected onely with a *circumstantial* one) but not a full and adequate *apprehension*, and such as sees through and penetrates all the degrees of its Essence with their properties; Which unless a man reach to, he cannot rightly judge of the real separability of any nature from other natures.

From whence it appears how foully *Cartesius* has imposed, if not upon himself, at least upon others, when from this mental precision
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of *Cogitation* from *Extension*, he defined a Spirit (such as the humane Soul) by *Cogitation* onely, *Matter* by *Extension*, and divided all *Substance* into *Cogitant* and *Extended*, as into their first species or kinds. Which distribution notwithstanding is as absonous and absurd, as if he had distributed *Animal* into *Sensitive* and *Rational*. Whenas all *Substance* is *extended* as well as all *Animals sensitive*. But he fixed his Animadversion upon the *specifick* nature of the humane Soul; the *Generical* nature thereof, either on purpose or by inadvertency, being not considered nor taken notice of by him, as hath been noted in *Enchiridion Ethicum*, lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 3.

S E C T. I X.

The third and last Reason of the Nullibists, viz. That the Mind is conscious to herself, that she is nowhere, unless she be disturbed or jogged by the Body.

THE third and last Reason, which is the most ingenious of them all, occurs in *Lambertus Velthufius*, viz. That it is a truth which God has infused into the Mind itself, That she is nowhere; because we know by experience that we cannot tell from our spiritual Operations where the Mind is. And for that

we know her to be in our Body, that we onely perceive from the Operations of *Sense* and *Imagination*, which without the Body or the motion of the Body the Mind cannot perform. The sence whereof, if I guess right, is this; That the Mind by a certain internal sence is conscious to herself that she is *nowhere*, unless she be now and then disturbed by the motions or joggings of the Body; which is, as I said, an ingenious presage, but not true: For it is one thing to perceive herself to be nowhere, another not to perceive herself to be somewhere. For she may not perceive herself to be somewhere, though she be somewhere, as she may not take notice of her own *Individuality*, or *numerical Distinction*, from all other minds, although she be one *Numerical* or *Individual* mind distinct from the rest: For, as I intimated above, such is the nature of the mind of man, that like the eye, it is better fitted for the contemplating all other things, than for contemplating itself. And that indeed which is made for the clearly and sincerely seeing other things, ought to have nothing of itself actually perceptible in it, which it might mingle with the perception of those other things. From whence the Mind of man is not to have any stable and fixt sence of its own Essence; and such as it cannot easily lay aside upon occasion: And therefore it is no wonder, whenas the Mind of man can put off the sence and

consciousness to itself of its own *Essence* and *Individuality*, that it can put off also there-with the sense of its being *somewhere*, or not perceive it; whereas it does not perceive its own *Essence* and *Individuality*, (of which *Hic* & *Nunc* are the known Characters;) And the chief Objects of the Mind are Universals.

But as the Mind, although it perceives not its *Individuality*, yet can by reason prove to herself that she is some one *Numerical* or *Individual* Mind, so she can by the same means, although she by inward sense perceives not where she is, evince notwithstanding that she is somewhere, from the general account of things, which have that of their own nature, that they are *extended*, *singular*, and *somewhere*. And besides, *Veltthusius* himself does plainly grant, that from the Operations of Sense and Imagination, we know our Mind to be in our Body. How then can we be ignorant that she is *somewhere*, unless the Body itself be *nowhere*?

SECT.

S E C T. X.

An Appeal to the internal sense of the Mind, if she be not environed with a certain infinite Extension ; together with an excitation of the Nullibist out of his Dream, by the sound of Trumpeters surrounding him.

THE Reasons of the *Nullibists* whereby they endeavour to maintain their Opinion, are sufficiently enervated and subverted. Nor have we need of any Arguments to establish the contrary Doctrine. I will onely desire by the by , that he that thinks his *Mind* is *nowhere* , would make trial of his faculty of Thinking ; and when he has abstracted himself from all thought or sense of his *Body*, and fixed his *Mind* onely on an Idea of an indefinite or *infinite Extension* , and also perceives himself to be some *particular cogitant Being*, let him make trial, I say, whether he can any way avoid it , but he must at the same time perceive that he is *somewhere*, namely, within this *immense Extension*, and that he is environ'd round about with it. Verily, I must ingenuously confess, that I cannot conceive otherwise , and that I cannot but conceive an Idea of a certain *Extension infinite and immovable*, and of *necessary and actual Existence* : Which I

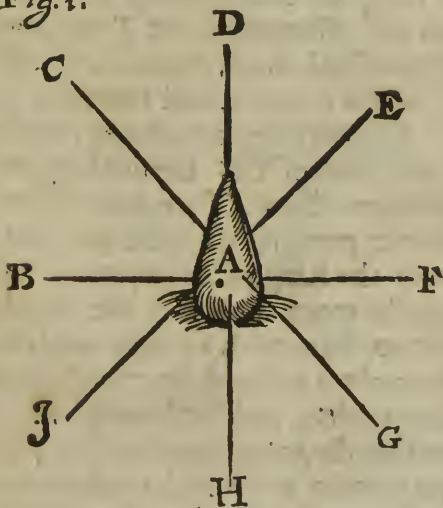
most clearly deprehend, not to have been drawn in by the outward sense, but to be innate and essentially inherent in the Mind itself; and so to be the genuine *object* not of *Imagination*, but of *Intellect*; and that it is but perversly and without all judgment determined by the *Nullibists*, or *Cartesians*, that whatever is extended, is also $\varphi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma\acute{o}\nu\pi$ or the *Object of Imagination*; When notwithstanding there is nothing *imaginable*, or the *Object of Imagination*, which is not *sensible*: For all Phantasms are drawn from the senses. But this *infinite Extension* has no more to do with things that are *sensible* and fall under *Imagination*, than that which is most *Incorporeal*. But of this haply it will be more opportune to speak elsewhere.

In the mean time I will subjoyn onely one Argument, whereby I may manifestly evince that the Mind of man is somewhere, and then I will betake my self to the discussing of the Opinion of the *Helenmerians*. Briefly therefore let us suppose some one environed with a Ring of Trumpeters, and that they all at the same time sound their Trumpets. Let us now see if the circumsonant clangor of those surrounding Trumpets sounding from all sides will awake these *Nullibists* out of their Lethargick Dream. And let us suppose, which they will willingly concede, that the *Conarion* or *Glandula Pinealis*, A, is the seat of the com-

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mon sense, to which at length all the motions from external Objects arrive. Nor is it any matter whether it be this *Conarion*, or some other part of the Brain, or of what is contained in the Brain: But let the *Conarion*, at least for this bout, supply the place of that matter which is the common *Sensorium* of the Soul.

Fig. 1.



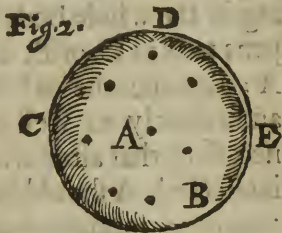
And whenas it is supposed to be surrounded with Eight Trumpeters, let there be Eight Lines drawn from them, namely, from B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I; I say that the clangour or sound of every Trumpet is carried from the Ring of the Trumpeters to the extream part

of every one of those Lines, and all those sounds are heard as coming from the Ring B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and perceived in the *Conarion* A; and that the perception is in that part to which all the Lines of motion, as to a common Centre, do concur; and therefore the extrem parts of them, and the *perceptions* of the Clangours or Sounds, are in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, *viz.* where the *Conarion* is: Wherefore the *Percipient* itself, namely the Soul, is in the midst of this Ring as well as the *Conarion*, and therefore is *somewhere*. Assuredly he that denies that he conceives the force of this Demonstration, and acknowledges that the *Perception* indeed is at the extrem parts of the said Lines, and in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, but contends in the mean time that the *Mind* herself is not there, forasmuch as she is *nowhere*; this man certainly is either delirant and crazed, or else plays tricks, and slyly and obliquely insinuates that the *perception* which is made in the *Conarion* is to be attributed to the *Conarion* itself; and that the *Mind*, so far as it is conceived to be an *Incorporeal Substance*, is to be exterminated out of the Universe, as an useless Figment and Chimæra.

S E C T. X I.

The Explication of the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, together with their Two Reasons thereof proposed.

AND thus much of the Opinion of the *Nullibists*. Let us now examine the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, whose Explication is thus: Let there be what Body you please, suppose C, D, E, which the Soul or a Spirit may possess and penetrate. The *Holenmerians* affirm, that the whole Soul or Spirit does occupy and possess the whole Body C, D, E, by its Essence; and that it is also wholly or all of it in every part or point of the said Body C, D, E, as in A, for example, and in B, and the rest of the least parts or points of it. This is a brief and clear Explication of their Opinion.



But the Reasons that induce them to embrace it, and so stiffly to maintain it, are these two onely, or at least chiefly, as much as respects the *Holenmerism* of Spirits. The first is, That whereas they grant that the whole

Soul does pervade and possess the whole Body, they thought it would thence follow that the Soul would be *divisible*, unless they should correct again this Assertion of theirs, by saying, that it was yet so in the *whole* Body, that it was *totally* in the mean time in *every part* thereof: For thus they thought themselves sure, that the *Soul* could not thence be argued in any sort *divisible*, or *corporeal*, but still remain purely *spiritual*.

Their other Reason is, That from hence it might be easily understood, how the Soul being in the whole Body C, D, E, whatever happens to it in C, or B, it presently perceives it in A; Because the whole Soul being perfectly and entirely as well in C, or B, as in A, it is necessary that after what fashion soever C or B is affected, A should be affected after the same manner; forasmuch as it is entirely and perfectly one and the same thing, *viz.* the whole Soul, as well in C or B, as in A. And from hence is that vulgar saying in the Schools, *That if the Eye were in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot.*

S E C T. X I I.

The Examination of the Opinion of the Hellenic-merians.

BUT now, according to our custome, let us weigh and examine all these things in a free and just Balance. In this therefore that they assert, that the whole Soul is in the whole Body, and is all of it penetrated of the Soul by her *Essence*, and therefore seem willingly to acknowledge a certain *essential amplitude* of the *Soul*; in this, I say, they come near to us, who contend there is a certain *Metaphysical* and *Essential Extension* in all *Spirits*, but such as is ἀμεγέδης καὶ ἀμερῆς, *devoid of bulk or parts*, as *Aristotle* defines of his *separate substances*: For there is no magnitude or bulk which may not be *physically* divided, nor any *parts* properly where there is no such division. Whence the *Metaphysical Extension* of *Spirits*, is rightly understood not to be capable of either *bulk* or *parts*. And in that sense it has *no parts*, it cannot justly be said to be a *Whole*. In that therefore we plainly agree with the *Hellenic-merians*, that a Soul or Spirit may be said by its *Essence* to penetrate and possess the *whole Body* C, D, E; but in this again we differ from them, that we dare not affirm that the *whole Spirit*
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or *whole Soul* does penetrate and possess the said Body, because that which has not *parts* cannot properly be called a *Whole*; though I will not over-stiffly contend, but that we may use that word for a more easie explication of our mind, according to that old trite Proverb, *Ἀμαθέστερον πως εἶπε καὶ σαφέστερον λέγει*, *Speak a little more unlearnedly that thou mayest speak more intelligibly or plainly.* But then we are to remember that we do not speak *properly*, though more *accommodately* to the vulgar apprehension, but *improperly*.

But now when the *Holenmerians* add further, That the whole Soul is in every part or Physical point of the Body D, C, E, in the point A and B, and all the rest of the points of which the Body D, C, E, does consist, that seems an harsh expression to me, and such as may justly be deemed next door to an open Repugnancy and Contradiction: For when they say the whole Soul is in the whole Body D, C, E, if they understand the Essence of the Soul to be commensurate, and as it were equal to the Body D, C, E, and yet at the same time, the whole Soul to be contained within the point A or B, it is manifest that they make one and the same thing many thousand times greater or less than itself at the same time; which is impossible. But if they will affirm, that the *essential Amplitude* of the Soul is no bigger than what is

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contained within the Physical point A, or B; but that the *Essential Presence* of the Soul is diffused through the whole Body D, C, E, the thing will succeed not a jot the better. For while they plainly profess that the whole Soul is in the point A, it is manifest that there remains nothing of the Soul which may be in the point B, which is distant from A: For it is as if one should say, that there is nothing of the Soul which is not included within A; and yet in the same moment of time, that not only something of the Soul, (which perhaps might be a more gentle Repugnancy) but that the whole Soul is in B, as if the *whole* Soul were *totally* and *entirely* out of itself; which surely is impossible in any *singular* or *individual* thing. And as for *Universals*, they are not *Things*, but *Notions* we use in contemplating them.

Again, if the *Essential Amplitude* of the Soul is no greater than what may be contained within the limits of a Physical point, it cannot extend or exhibit its *Essential Presence* through the whole Body, unless we imagine in it a stupendous velocity, such as it may be carried with in one moment into all the parts of the Body, and so be present to them: Which when it is so hard to conceive in this scant *compages* of an humane Body, and in the Soul occupying in one moment every part thereof, What an outrageous thing is it,
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and utterly impossible to apprehend touching that Spirit which perpetually exhibits his *Essential Presence* to the whole world, and whatever is beyond the world ?

To which lastly, you may add that this Hypothesis of the *Holenmerians*, does necessarily make all *Spirits* the most *minute* things that can be conceived: For if the whole Spirit be in every Physical point, it is plain that the *Essential Amplitude* itself of the Spirit (which the two former Objections supposed) is not bigger than that Physical point in which it is, (which you may call, if you will, a *Physical Monad*) than which nothing is or can be smaller in universal Nature: Which if you refer to any *created Spirit*, it cannot but seem very ridiculous; but if to the *Majesty* and *Amplitude* of the *divine Numen*, intolerable, that I may not say plainly reproachful and blasphemous.

S E C T. X I I I .

A Confutation of the first Reason of the Holenmerians.

BUT now for the Reasons for which the *Holenmerians* adhere to so absurd an Opinion; verily they are such as can no ways compensate those huge difficulties and repugnancies the Opinion itself labours under. For, for the first,

first, which so solicitously provides for the *Indivisibility* of *Spirits*, it seems to me to undertake a charge either *Superfluous* or *Ineffectual*. *Superfluous*, if *Extension* can be without *Divisibility*, as it is clearly demonstrated it can, in that infinite immovable *Extension* distinct from the movable *Matter*, *Enchirid. Metaphys.* cap. 6, 7, 8. But *Ineffectual*, if all *Extension* be *divisible*, and the *Essential Presence* of a *Spirit* which pervades and is extended through the whole *Body C, D, E*, may for that very reason be *divided*; for so the *whole Essence* which occupies the whole *Body C, D, E*, will be divided into *parts*. No by no means, will you say, forasmuch as it is wholly in every part of the *Body*.

Therefore it will be divided, if I may so speak, into so many *Totalities*. But what Logical ear can bear a saying so absurd and abhorrent from all reason, that a *Whole* should not be divided into *parts* but into *Wholes*? But you will say at least we shall have this granted us, that an *Essential Presence* may be distributed or divided according to so many distinctly cited *Totalities* which occupy at once the whole *Body C, D, E*. Yes verily, this shall be granted you, after you have demonstrated that a *Spirit* not bigger than a *Physical Monad* can occupy in the same instant all the parts of the *Body C, D, E*; but upon this condition, that you acknowledge not sundry *Totalities*, but one onely *total Essence*; though the least that can
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be imagined, can occupy that whole space, and when there is need, occupy, in an instant, an infinite one: Which the *Holenmerians* must of necessity hold touching the Divine Essence, because according to their Opinion taken in the second sense, (which pinches the whole Essence of a Spirit into the smallest point) the Divine Essence itself is not bigger than any *Physical Monad*. From whence it is apparent the three Objections which we brought in the beginning do again recur here, and utterly overwhelm the first reason of the *Holenmerians*: So that the remedy is far more intolerable than the disease.

S E C T. X I V.

A Confutation of the second Reason of the Holenmerians.

ANd truly the other reason which from this *Holenmerism* of Spirits pretends a more easie way of conceiving how it comes to pass that the Soul, suppose in A, can perceive what happens to it in C, or B, and altogether in the same circumstances as if it-
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Fig: 2.



self were perfectly and entirely in C, or B, when yet it is in A ; although at first shew this seems very plausible , yet if we look thoroughly into it, we shall find it far enough from performing what it so fairly promises. For besides that nothing is more difficult or rather impossible to conceive, than that an Essence not bigger than a Physical point should occupy and possess the whole Body of a man at the same instant, this Hypothesis is moreover plainly contrary and repugnant to the very Laws of the Souls Perceptions: For Physicians and Anatomists with one consent profess, that they have found by very solid experiments, that the Soul perceives onely within the Head, and that without the Head there is no perception: Which could by no means be, if the Soul herself were wholly in the point A , and the very self-same Soul again wholly in the point B, and C, nor any where as to *Essential Amplitude* bigger than a *Physical Monad*: For hence it would follow, that one and the same thing would both perceive and not perceive at once ; That it would perceive this or that Object , and yet perceive nothing at all ; which is a perfect contradiction.

And from hence the falsity of that common saying is detected , That *if the Eye was in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot* ; whenas it does not so much as see in those Eyes which
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it already hath, but somewhere within the Brain. Nor would the Soul by an Eye in the Foot see, unless by fitting Nerves, not unlike the Optick ones, continued from the Foot to the Head and Brain, where the Soul so far as *perceptive*, inhabiteth. In the other parts of the Body the Functions thereof are onely *vital*.

Again, such is the nature of some perceptions of the Soul, that they are fitted for the moving of the Body; so that it is manifest that the very self-same thing which perceives, has the power of moving and guiding of it; Which seems impossible to be done by this Soul, which, according to the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, exceeds not the amplitude of a small Physical point, as it may appear at first sight to any one whose reason is not blinded with prejudice.

And lastly, If it be lawful for the Mind of man to give her conjectures touching the Immortal *Genii*, (whether they be in Vehicles, or destitute of Vehicles) and touching their *Perceptions* and *Essential Presences* whether invisible or those in which they are said sometimes to appear to mortal men, there is none surely that can admit that any of these things are competible to such a Spirit as the *Holenmerians* describe. For how can a *Metaphysical Monad*, that is to say, a Spiritual substance not exceeding a Physical Monad in Amplitude,

tude, fill out an *Essential Presence* bigger than a Physical Monad, unless it be by a very swift vibration of itself towards all parts; as Boys by a very swift moving of a Fire-stick, make a fiery Circle in the air by that quick motion. But that Spirits, destitute of Vehicles, should have no greater *Essential Presence* than what is occupied of a naked and unmoved *Metaphysical Monad*, or exhibited thereby, seems so absonous and ridiculous a spectacle to the Mind of man, that unless he be deprived of all sagacity and sensibility of spirit, he cannot but abhor so idle an Opinion.

And as for those *Essential Presences*, according to which they sometimes appear to men, at least equalizing humane stature, how can a solitary *Metaphysical Monad* form so great a part of Air or Æther into humane shape, or govern it being so formed? Or how can it perceive any external Object in this swift motion of itself, and quick vibration, whereby this *Metaphysical Monad* is understood of the *Holenmerians*, to be present in all the parts of its Vehicle at once? For there can be no perception of the external Object, unless the Object that is to be perceived act with some stay upon that which perceiveth. Nor if it could be perceived by this *Metaphysical Monad* thus swiftly moved and vibrated towards all parts at once, would it be seen in one place, but in many places at once, and those, as it may happen, very distant.

S E C T. X V.

The egregious falsity of the Opinions of the Hohenmerians and Nullibists, as also their uselesness for any Philosophical ends.

BUt verily, I am ashamed to waste so much time in refuting such mere trifles and dotages which indeed are such, (that I mean of the *Nullibists*, as well as this other of the *Holenmerians*) that we may very well wonder how such distorted and strained conceits could ever enter into the minds of men, or by what artifice they have so spread themselves in the World; but that the prejudices and enchantments of Superstition and stupid admiration of mens Persons are so strong, that they may utterly blind the minds of men, and charm them into dotage. But if any one, all prejudice and parts-taking being laid aside, will attentively consider the thing as it is, he shall clearly perceive and acknowledge, unless all belief is to be denied to the humane faculties, that the Opinions of the *Nullibists* and *Holenmerians*, touching *Incorporeal Beings*, are miserably *false*; and not that onely, but as to any Philosophical purpose altogether *useless*. Forasmuch as out of neither Hypothesis there does appear any greater facility of
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conceiving how the *Mind* of man, or any other *Spirit*, performs those Functions of *Perception* and of *Moving* of *Bodies*, from their being supposed *nowhere*, than from their being supposed *somewhere*; or from supposing them *wholly in every part* of a *Body*, than from supposing them onely, to occupie the whole *Body* by an *Essential* or *Metaphysical Extension*; but on the contrary, that both the *Hypotheses* do entangle and involve the *Doctrine* of *Incorporeal Beings* with greater *Difficulties* and *Repu gnancies*.

Wherefore, there being neither *Truth* nor *Usefulness* in the *Opinions* of the *Holenmerians* and *Nullibists*, I hope it will offend no man if we send them quite packing from our *Philosophations* touching an *Incorporeal Being* or *Spirit*, in our delivering the true *Idea* or *Notion* thereof.

S E C T. X V I.

That those that contend that the Notion of a Spirit is so difficult and imperscrutable, do not this because they are of a more sharp and piercing Judgement than others, but of a Genius more rude and plebeian.

NOW I have so successfully removed and dissipated those two vast Mounds of

138 *The true Notion of a Spirit.*

Night and Mistiness, that lay upon the nature of *Incorporeal Beings*, and obscured it with such gross darkness; it remains that we open and illustrate the true and genuine nature of them in general, and propose such a definition of a *Spirit*, as will exhibit no difficulty to a mind rightly prepared and freed from prejudice: For the *nature* of a *Spirit* is very easily understood, provided one rightly and skilfully shew the way to the Learner, and form to him true Notions of the thing. Insomuch that I have often wondred at the superstitious consternation of mind in those men, (or the profaneness of their tempers and innate aver-sation from the contemplation of Divine things) who if by chance they hear any one professing that he can with sufficient clearness and distinctness conceive the nature of a *Spirit*, and communicate the Notion to others, they are presently astartled and amazed at the saying, and straightway accuse the man of intolerable levity or arrogance, as thinking him to assume so much to himself, and to promise to others, as no humane Wit, furnished with never so much knowledge, can ever perform. And this I understand even of such men who yet readily acknowledge the *Existence* of *Spirits*.

But as for those that deny their *Existence*, whoever professes this skill to them, verily he cannot but appear a man above all measure
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vain and doting. But I hope that I shall so bring it about, that no man shall appear more stupid and doting, no man more unskilful and ignorant, than he that esteems the clear Notion of a Spirit so hopeless and desperate an attempt; and that I shall plainly detect, that this big and boastful profession of their ignorance in these things does not proceed from hence, that they have any thing more a sharp or discerning Judgment than other mortals, but that they have more gross and weak parts, and a shallower Wit, and such as comes nearest to the superstition and stupidity of the rude vulgar, who easilier fall into admiration and astonishment, than pierce into the reasons and notices of any difficult matter.

S E C T. X V I I.

The Definition of Body in general, with so clear an Explication thereof, that even they that complain of the obscurity of a Spirit, cannot but confess they perfectly understand the nature of Body.

BUT now for those that do thus despair of any true knowledge of the nature of a Spirit, I would entreat them to try the abilities of their wit in recognizing and throughly considering the nature of *Body* in general. And

let them ingenuously tell me whether they cannot but acknowledge this to be a clear and perspicuous definition thereof, *viz.* That *Body is Substance Material, of itself altogether destitute of all Perception, Life, and Motion.* Or thus: *Body is a Substance Material coalescent or accruing together into one, by vertue of some other thing, from whence that one by coalition, has or may have Life also, Perception and Motion.*

I doubt not but they will readily answer, that they understand all this (as to the terms) clearly and perfectly; nor would they doubt of the truth thereof, but that we deprive *Body* of all *Motion from itself*, as also of *Union, Life, and Perception.* But that it is *Substance*, that is, a Being subsistent by itself, not a *mode* of some Being, they cannot but very willingly admit, and that also it is a *material Substance* compounded of *physical Monads*, or at least of most *minute particles* of Matter, into which it is divisible; and because of their *Impenetrability*, impenetrable by any other Body. So that the Essential and Positive difference of a *Body* is, that it be *impenetrable*, and *Physically divisible* into parts: But that it is *extended*, that immediately belongs to it as it is a *Being*. Nor is there any reason why they should doubt of the other part of the *Differentia*, whenas it is solidly and fully proved in Philosophie, That *Matter* of its own nature, or in itself, is
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endued with no *Perception*, *Life*, nor *Motion*. And besides, we are to remember that we here do not treat of the *Existence* of things, but of their intelligible *Notion* and *Essence*.

S E C T. X V I I I.

The perfect Definition of a Spirit, with a full Explication of its Nature through all Degrees.

AND if the *Notion* or *Essence* is so easily understood in nature *Corporeal* or *Body*, I do not see but in the *Species* immediately opposite to *Body*, viz. *Spirit*, there may be found the same facility of being understood. Let us try therefore, and from the Law of *Opposites* let us define a *Spirit*, an *Immaterial Substance intrinsically endued with Life and the faculty of Motion*. This slender and brief Definition that thus easily flows without any noise, does comprehend in general the whole nature of a *Spirit*; Which lest by reason of its exility and brevity it may prove less perceptible to the Understanding, as a *Spirit* is to the sight, I will subjoyn a more full Explication, that it may appear to all, that this Definition of a *Spirit* is nothing inferiour to the Definition of a *Body* as to clearness and perspicuity. And that by this method which we

now fall upon, a full and perfect knowledge and understanding of the nature of a *Spirit* may be attained to.

Go to therefore, let us take notice through all the degrees of the *Definitum*, or *Thing defined*, what precise and immediate properties each of them contain, from whence at length a most distinct and perfect knowledge of the whole *Definitum* will discover itself. Let us begin then from the top of all, and first let us take notice that a Spirit is *Ens*, or a *Being*, and from this very same that it is a *Being*; that it is also *One*, that it is *True*, and that it is *Good*; which are the three acknowledged Properties of *Ens* in Metaphysics, that it exists *some-time*, and *somewhere*, and is in some sort *extended*, as is shewn *Enchirid. Metaphys. cap. 2. sect. 10.* which three latter terms are plain of themselves. And as for the three former, that *One* signifies undistinguished or undivided in and from itself, but divided or distinguished from all other, and that *True* denotes the answerableness of the *thing* to its own proper *Idea*, and implies right *Matter* and *Form* duly conjoined, and that lastly *Good* respects the fitness for the end in a large sence, so that it will take in that saying of Theologers, That God is his own End, are things vulgarly known to *Logicians* and *Metaphysicians*. That these Six are the immediate affections of Being, as Being is made apparent in the aboye-cited *En-*
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chiridion Metaphysicum ; nor is it requisite to repeat the same things here. Now every *Being* is either *Substance*, or the *Mode* of *Substance*, which some call *Accident* : But that a *Spirit* is not an *Accident* or *Mode* of *Substance*, all in a manner profess ; and it is demonstrable from manifold Arguments, that there are *Spirits* which are no such *Accidents* or *Modes* ; Which is made good in the said *Enchiridion* and other Treatises of Dr. H. M.

Wherefore the second Essential degree of a *Spirit* is, that it is *Substance*. From whence it is understood to subsist by itself, nor to want any other thing as a *Subject* (in which it may inhere, or of which it may be the *Mode* or *Accident*) for its subsisting or existing.

The third and last Essential degree is, that it is *Immaterial*, according to which it immediately belongs to it, that it be a *Being* not only *One*, but *one by itself*, or of its own intimate nature, and not by another ; that is, That, though as it is a *Being* it is in some sort *extended*, yet it is utterly *Indivisible* and *Indiscernible* into real *Physical* parts. And moreover, That it can *penetrate* the *Matter*, and (which the *Matter* cannot do) penetrate things of its own kind ; that is, pass through *Spiritual* *Substances*. In which two Essential Attributes (as it ought to be in every perfect and legitimate Distribution of any *Genius*) it is fully and accurately contrary to its opposite *Species*,
namely,

namely, to *Body*. As also in those immediate Properties whereby it is understood to have *Life* intrinsically in *itself*, and the faculty of *moving*; which in some sense is true in all Spirits whatsoever, forasmuch as *Life* is either *Vegetative, Sensitive, or Intellectual*. One whereof at least every Spiritual Substance hath: as also the *faculty of moving*; insomuch that every Spirit either moves itself by itself, or the Matter, or both, or at least the Matter either mediately or immediately; or lastly, both ways. For so all things moved are moved by God, he being the Fountain of all Life and Motion.

S E C T. X I X.

That from hence that the Definition of a Body is perspicuous, the Definition of a Spirit is also necessarily perspicuous.

WHerefore I dare here appeal to the Judgment and Conscience of any one that is not altogether illiterate and of a dull and obtuse Wit, whether this *Notion* or Definition of a *Spirit* in general, is not as intelligible and perspicuous, is not as clear and every way distinct as the *Idea* or *Notion* of a *Body*, or of any thing else whatsoever which the mind of man can contemplate in the whole compass of
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of Nature. And whether he cannot as easily or rather with the same pains apprehend the nature of a *Spirit* as of *Body*, forasmuch as they both agree in the immediate Genus to them, to wit *Substance*. And the *Differentiæ* do illustrate one another by their mutual opposition; insomuch that it is impossible that one should understand what is *Material Substance*, but he must therewith presently understand what *Immaterial Substance* is, or what it is *not* to have *Life* and *Motion* of itself, but he must straitway perceive what it is *to have both in itself*, or to be able to communicate them to others.

S E C T. X X.

Four Objections which from the perspicuity of the terms of the Definition of a SPIRIT infer the Repugnancy of them one to another.

NOR can I divine what may be here opposed, unless haply they may alledge such things as these, That although they cannot deny but that all the *terms* of the *Definition* and *Explication* of them, are sufficiently intelligible, if they be considered single, yet if they be compared one with another they will mutually destroy one another. For this *Extension* which is mingled with, or inserted into
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the nature of a *Spirit*, seems to take away the *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility* thereof, as also its *faculty of thinking*, as its *Penetrability* likewise takes away its *power of moving any Bodies*.

I. First, *Extension* takes away *Penetrability*; because if one *Extension* penetrate another, of necessity either one of them is destroyed, or two equal *Amplitudes* entirely penetrating one another, are no bigger than either one of them taken single, because they are closed within the same limits.

II. Secondly, It takes away *Indivisibility*; because whatsoever is *extended* has *partes extra partes*, one part out of another, and therefore is *Divisible*: For neither would it have parts, unless it could be divided into them. To which you may further add, that forasmuch as the parts are *substantial*, nor depend one of another, it is clearly manifest that at least by the *Divine Power* they may be separate, and subsist separate one from another.

III. Thirdly, *Extension* deprives a *Spirit* of the faculty of *thinking*, as depressing it down into the same order that *Bodies* are. And that there is no reason why an *extended Spirit* should be more capable of *Perception* than *Matter* that is *extended*

IV. Lastly, *Penetrability* renders a *Spirit* unable to *move Matter*; because, whenas by reason of this *Penetrability* it so easily slides through

through the Matter, it cannot conveniently be united with the Matter whereby it may move the same: For without some union or inherency (a *Spirit* being destitute of all *Impenetrability*) 'tis impossible it should protrude the Matter towards any place.

The sum of which Four difficulties tends to this, that we may understand, that though this Idea or *Notion* of a *Spirit* which we have exhibited be sufficiently plain and explicate, and may be easily understood; yet from the very perspicuity of the thing itself, it abundantly appears, that it is not the Idea of any *possible* thing, and much less of a thing *really existing*, whenas the parts thereof are so manifestly repugnant one to another.

S E C T. X X I.

An Answer to the first of the Four Objections.

I. **B**Ut against as well the *Nullibists* as the *Hobbians*, who both of them contend that *Extension* and *Matter* is one and the same thing, we will prove that the *Notion* or *Idea* of a *Spirit* which we have produced, is a *Notion* of a thing *possible*. And as for the *Nullibists*, who think we so much indulge to corporeal *Imagination* in this our *Opinion* of the *Extension* of *Spirits*, I hope on the contrary, that

that I shall shew that it is onely from hence, that the *Hobbians* and *Nullibists* have taken all *Amplitude* from *Spirits*, because their Imagination is not sufficiently defecated and depurated from the filth and unclean tinctures of *Corporeity*, or rather that they have their Mind over-much addicted and enslaved to *Material* things, and so disordered, that she knows not how to expedite herself from gross Corporeal Phantasms.

From which Fountain have sprung all those difficulties whereby they endeavour to overwhelm this our *Notion of a Spirit*; as we shall manifestly demonstrate by going through them all, and carefully perpending each of them. For it is to be imputed to their gross Imagination, That from hence that two equal Amplitudes penetrate one another throughout, they conclude that either one of them must therewith perish, or that they being both conjoyned together, are no bigger than either one of them taken single. For this comes from hence that their mind is so illaqueated or lime-twigged, as it were, with the Idea's and Properties of corporeal things, that they cannot but infect those things also which have nothing corporeal in them with this material Tincture and Contagion, and so altogether confound this *Metaphysical* Extension with that Extension which is *Physical*. I say, from this disease it is that the sight of their mind is become so dull
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and obtuse, that they are not able to divide that common Attribute of a Being, I mean *Extension Metaphysical* from *Special Extension* and *Material*, and assign to *Spirits* their proper Extension, and leave to *Matter* hers. Nor according to that known method, whether Logical or Metaphysical, by intellectual Abstraction prescind the *Generical* nature of *Extension* from the abovesaid *Species* or kinds thereof. Nor lastly, (which is another sign of their obtuseness and dulness) is their mind able to *penetrate* with that *Spiritual Extension* into the *Extension Material*; but like a stupid Beast stands lowing without, as if the mind itself were become wholly corporeal; and if any thing enter they believe it perishes rather and is annihilated, than that two things can at the same time coexist together in the same *Ubi*. Which are Symptomes of a mind desperately sick of this Corporeal Malady of *Imagination*, and not sufficiently accustomed or exercised in the free Operations of the Intellectual Powers.

And that also proceeds from the same source, That supposing two Extensions penetrating one another, and adequately occupying the same *Ubi*, they thus conjoyned are conceived not to be greater than either one of them taken by itself. For the reason of this mistake is, that the *Mind* incrassated and swayed down by the *Imagination*, cannot together with the
Spiritual

Spiritual Extension penetrate into the *Material*, and follow it throughout, but onely places itself hard by, and stands without like a gross stupid thing, and altogether Corporeal. For if she could but, with the *Spiritual* Extension, insinuate herself into the *Material*, and so conceive them both together as two really distinct Extensions, it is impossible but that she should therewith conceive them so conjoined into one *Ubi*, to be notwithstanding not a jot less than when they are separated and occupy an *Ubi* as big again: For the *Extension* in neither of them is diminished, but their *Situation* onely changed. As it also sometimes comes to pass in one and the same Extension of some particular Spirits which can dilate and contract their Amplitude into a greater or lesser *Ubi* without any Augmentation or Diminution of their Extension, but onely by the expansion and retraction of it into another site.

SECT.

S E C T. XXII.

That besides those *T H R E E* Dimensions which belong to all extended things, a *F O U R T H* also is to be admitted, which belongs properly to *S P I R I T S*.

AND that I may not dissemble or conceal any thing, Although all *Material* things, considered in themselves, have *three* Dimensions onely; yet there must be admitted in Nature a *Fourth*, which fitly enough, I think, may be called *Essential Spissitude*; Which, though it most properly appertains to those Spirits which can contract their Extension into a less *Ubi*; yet by an easie Analogie it may be referred also to Spirits penetrating as well the *Matter* as mutually *one another*: So that where-ever there are more Essences than one, or more of the same Essence in the same *Ubi* than is adequate to the Amplitude thereof, there this *Fourth* Dimension is to be acknowledged, which we call *Essential Spissitude*.

Which assuredly involves no greater repugnancy than what may seem at first view, to him that considers the thing less attentively, to be in the other *three* Dimensions. Namely, unless one would conceive that a piece of Wax stretched out, suppose, to the length of an Eln,

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and

and afterwards rolled together into the form of a Globe, loses something of its former Extension, by this its conglobation, he must confess that a Spirit, neither by the contraction of itself into a less space has lost any thing of its Extension or Essence, but as in the above-said Wax the diminution of its Longitude is compensated with the augmentation of its Latitude and Profundity; so in a Spirit contracting itself, that in like manner its Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity being lessened, are compensated by *Essential Spissitude*, which the Spirit acquires by this contraction of itself.

And in both cases we are to remember that the *Site* is onely changed, but that the *Essence* and *Extension* are not at all impaired.

Verily these things by me are so perfectly every way perceived, so certain and tried, that I dare appeal to the mind of any one which is free from the morbid prejudices of *Imagination*, and challenge him to trie the strength of his Intellectuals, whether he does not clearly perceive the thing to be so as I have defined, and that *two* equal Extensions, adequately occupying the very same *Ubi*, be not *twice* as great as either of them alone, and that they are not closed with the same terms as the *Imagination* falsely suggests, but onely with equal.

Nor is there any need to heap up more words for the solving this first difficulty ; whenas what has been briefly said already abundantly sufficeth for the penetrating their understanding who are prepossess'd with no prejudice : But for the piercing of theirs who are blinded with prejudices, infinite will not suffice.

S E C T. XXIII.

An Answer to the second Objection, where the fundamental Errour of the Nullibists, viz. That whatsoever is extended is the Object of Imagination, is taken notice of.

II. **T** Et us try now if we can dispatch the second difficulty with like success, and see if it be not wholly to be ascribed to *Imagination*, that an *Indiscerpible Extension* seems to involve in it any contradiction. As if there could be no Extension which has not parts real and properly so called into which it may be actually divided, *viz.* for this reason, that that onely is *extended* which has *partes extra partes*, which being *substantial*, may be separated one from another, and thus separate subsist. This is the summary account of this difficulty, which nothing but corrupt *imagination* supporteth.

Now the first source or Fountain of this error of the *Nullibists*, is this; That they make every thing that is *extended* the Object of the *Imagination*, and every Object of the *Imagination Corporeal*. The latter whereof undoubtedly is true, if it be taken in a right sense; namely, if they understand such a perception as is either simply and adequately drawn from external Objects; or by increasing, diminishing, transposing, or transforming of parts (as in *Chimæra's* and *Hippocentaurs*) is composed of the same. I acknowledge all these Idea's, as they were sometime some way Objects of *Sensation*, so to be the genuine Objects of *Imagination*, and the perception of these to be rightly termed the operation of *Fancie*, and that all these things that are thus represented, necessarily are to be look'd upon as *corporeal*, and consequently as *actually divisible*.

But that all *perception* of *Extension* is such *Imagination*, that I confidently deny. Forasmuch as there is an Idea of *infinite Extension* drawn or taken in from no external sense, but is natural and Essential to the very faculty of perceiving; Which the mind can by no means pluck out of herself, nor cast it away from her; but if she will rouse herself up, and by earnest and attentive thinking, fix her animadversion thereon, she will be constrained, whether she will or no, to acknowledge, that
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although the whole matter of the world were exterminated out of the Universe, there would notwithstanding remain a certain subtile and *immaterial Extension* which has no agreement with that other *Material* one, in any thing, saving that it is extended, as being such that it neither falls under sense, nor is impenetrable, nor can be moved, nor discerned into parts; and that this Idea is not onely *possible*, but *necessary*, and such as we do not at our pleasure feign and invent, but do find it to be so innate and ingrafted in our mind, that we cannot by any force or artifice remove it thence. Which is a most certain demonstration that all *Perception of Extension* is not *Imagination* properly so called.

Which in my Opinion ought to be esteemed one of the chiefest and most fundamental Errors of the *Nullibists*, and to which especially this difficulty is to be referred touching an *Indiscernible Extension*. For we see they confess their own guilt, namely, that their *Mind* is so corrupted by their *Imagination*, and so immersed into it, that they can use no other faculty in the contemplation of any extended thing. And therefore when they make use of their *Imagination* instead of their *Intellect* in contemplating of it, they necessarily look upon it as an Object of *Imagination*; that is, as a *corporeal* thing, and *discernible* into parts. For, as I noted above, the sight of their mind by rea-

156 *The true Notion of a Spirit.*

son of this *Morbis υλοειδής*, this *materious Disease*, if I may so speak, is made so heavie and dull, that it cannot distinguish any *Extension* from that of *Matter*, as allowing it to appertain to another kind, nor by *Logical* or *Metaphysical* Abstraction prescind it from either.

S E C T. XXIV.

That Extension as such includes in it neither Divisibility nor Impenetrability, neither Indivisibility nor Penetrability, but is indifferent to either two of those properties.

AND from hence it is that because a thing is *extended* they presently imagine that it has *partes extra partes*, and is not *Ens unum per se* & *non per aliud*, a Being one by itself, and not by vertue of another, but so framed from the juxtaposition of parts. Whenas the Idea of *Extension* precisely considered in itself includes no such thing, but onely a *trinal* Distance or *solid* Amplitude, that is to say, not *linear* onely and *superficiary*, (if we may here use those terms which properly belong to magnitude Mathematical) but every way running out and reaching towards every part. This Amplitude surely, and nothing beside, does this bare and simple *Extension* include,

not

not *Penetrability* nor *Impenetrability*, nor *Divisibility* nor yet *Indivisibility*, but to either affections or properties, or if you will Essential Differences, namely, to *Divisibility* and *Impenetrability*, or to *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility*, if considered in itself, is it altogether indifferent, and may be determined to either two of them.

Wherefore, whereas we acknowledge that there is a certain *Extension* namely *Material*, which is endued with so stout and invincible an *Ἀνταγωμία* or *Impenetrability*, that it necessarily and by an insuperable Renitencie expels and excludes all other Matter that occurs and attempts to penetrate it, nor suffers it at all to enter, although in the simple Idea of *Extension*, this marvellous virtue of it is not contained, but plainly omitted, as not at all belonging thereto immediately and of itself; why may we not as easily conceive that another *Extension*, namely, an *Immaterial* one, though *Extension* in itself include no such thing, is of such a nature, that it cannot by any other thing whether *Material* or *Immaterial* be discerped into parts; but by an indissoluble necessary and essential Tie be so united and held together with itself, that although it can penetrate all things and be penetrated by all things, yet nothing can so insinuate itself into it as to disjoyn any thing of its Essence any where, or perforate it or make any hole

or Pore in it? that is, that I may speak briefly, What hinders but there may be a *Being* that is immediately *One* of its own nature, and not held together into one by vertue of some other, either *Quality* or *Substance*? although every *Being* as a *Being* is *extended*, because *Extension* in its precise *Notion* does not include any *Physical Division*, but the *Mind* infected with *corporeal Imagination*, does falsely and unskilfully feign it to be necessarily there.

S E C T. XXV.

That every thing that is extended has not parts Physically discernible, though Logically or Intellectually divisible.

FOR it is nothing which the *Nullibists* here alledge, while they say, That all *Extension* inferreth parts, and all parts *Division*. For besides that the first is false, forasmuch as *Ens unum per se*, a *Being* one of itself or of its own immediate nature, although *extended* yet includes no *parts* in its *Idea*, but is conceived according to its proper *Essence* as a thing as simple as may be, and therefore compounded of no parts: We answer moreover, that it is not at all prejudicial to our cause though we should grant that this *Metaphysical Extension* of *Spirits* is also divisible, but *Logically* onely,
not

not *Physically*; that is to say, is not *discerpible*. But that one should adjoyn a *Physical divisibility* to such an Extension, surely that must necessarily proceed from the impotencie of his *Imagination*, which his Mind cannot curb, nor separate herself from the dreggs and corporeal foulnesses thereof; and hence it is that she tinctures and infects this pure and Spiritual Extension with Corporeal Properties. But that an extended thing may be divided *Logically* or *Intellectually*, when in the mean time it can by no means be discerped, it sufficiently appears from hence; That a *Physical Monad* which has some Amplitude, though the least that possible can be, is conceived thus to be divided in a *Line* consisting of any uneven number of Monads, which notwithstanding the Intellect divides into two equal parts. And verily in a *Metaphysical Monad*, such as the *Holenmerians* conceit the Mind of man to be, and to possess in the mean time and occupie the whole *Body*, there may be here again made a *Logical Distribution*, suppose, *è subjectis*, as they call it, so far forth as this *Metaphysical Monad*, or *Soul* of the *Holenmerians* is conceived to possess the Head, or Trunk, or Limbs of the Body. And yet no man is so delirant as to think that it follows from thence, that such a Soul may be *discerped* into so many parts, and that the parts so discerped may subsist by themselves.

S E C T. XXVI.

An Answer to the latter part of the Second Objection, which inferreth the separabilitie of the parts of a Substantial Extensum; from the said parts being Substantial and independent one of another.

FROM which a sufficiently fit and accommodate Answer may be fetched to the latter part of this difficulty, namely, to that, which because the parts of Substance are *Substantial and independent* one of another, and *subsisting by themselves* (as being *Substances*) would infer that they can be *discerped*, at least by the Divine Power, and disjoyned, and being so disjoyned, subsist by themselves. Which I confess to be the chief edge or sting of the whole difficulty, and yet such as I hope I shall with ease file off or blunt. For first, I deny that in a thing that is *absolutely One and Simple* as a Spirit is, there are any *Physical* parts, or parts properly so called, but that they are onely falsely feigned and fancied in it, by the impure Imagination. But that the Mind it self being sufficiently defecated and purged from the impure dreggs of Fancie, although from some extrinsecal respect she may consider a Spirit as having parts, yet at the very
same

same time does she in herself, with close attention, observe and note, that *such* an *Extension* of itself has none. And therefore whenas it has no parts it is plain it has no *substantial* parts, nor *independent* one of another, nor subsistent of themselves.

And then as much as concerns those parts which the stupid and impotent *Imagination* fancieth in a Spirit, it does not follow from thence, because they are *Substantial*, that they may *subsist separate* by themselves. For a thing to *subsist by itself*, onely signifies so to subsist, that it wants not the Prop of some other *Subject* in which it may inhere as *Accidents* do. So that the parts of a *Spirit* may be said to subsist by themselves though they cannot subsist separate, and so be substance still.

S E C T. XXVII.

That the mutual Independencie of the parts of an extended Substance may be understood in a twofold sence; with an Answer thereto, taken in the first sence thereof.

BUt what they mean by that *mutual Independencie* of parts I do not fully understand: But I sufficiently conceive that one of these two things must be hinted thereby, *viz.* Either that they are not *mutual* and effectual causes to one another of their *Existing*, or that their Existence is understood to be connected by *no necessary condition at all.*

And as for the former sence, I willingly confess those parts which they fancie in a Spirit are not mutual causes of one anothers Existence; but so, that in the mean time I do most firmly deny, that it will thence follow that they may be discerped, and thus discerpt, be separately conserved, no more than the Intelligible parts of a *Physical Monad* which is divided into two by our Reason or Intellect; which surely are no mutual causes of one anothers Existence: or the Members of the Distribution of a *Metaphysical Monad* according to the Doctrine of the *Holenmerians* (*viz.* The Soul totally being in every part of the Body) which

which no man in his wits can ever hope that they may be discerped, although the said Members of the division are not the mutual causes of one anothers Existence: For they are but one and the same Soul which is not the cause of itself, but was wholly and entirely caused by God.

But you will say that there is here manifestly a reason extant and apparent why these Members of the Distribution cannot be discerped, and discerpt separately conserved, because one and the same indivisible Monad occurs in every Member of the Distribution, which therefore since it is a single one, it is impossible it should be discerped from itself. To which I on the other side answer, That it is as manifestly extant and apparent how frivolously therefore and ineptly Arguments are drawn from *Logical* or Intellectual Divisions, for the concluding a real separability of parts. And I add further, That as that fictitious *Metaphysical Monad* cannot be discerped or pluckt in pieces from itself, no more can any real Spirit, because it is a thing *most simple* and *most absolutely One*, and which a *pure Mind* darkened and possessed with no prejudices of *Imagination* does acknowledge no *real* parts at all to be in. For so it would *ipso facto* be a *compound* Thing.

S E C T. XXVIII.

An Answer to the Independency of parts taken in the second sence.

FROM whence an easie entrance is made to the answering this difficulty understood in the second sence of the *mutual Independency* of the parts of a Spirit, whereby their coexistence and union are understood to be connected by *no necessary* Law or Condition. For that this is false, I do most constantly affirm without all demur: For the coexistences of the parts, as they call them, of a Spirit, are connected by a Law or Condition *absolutely necessary* and plainly *essential*; Forasmuch as a Spirit is a *most simple* Being, or a Being *unum per se* & *non per aliud*; that is, *one of itself or of its own nature immediately so*, and not by another either *Substance* or *Quality*. For none of those parts, as the *Nulibists* call them, can exist but upon this condition, that all jointly and unitedly exist together; which Condition or Law is contained in the very Idea or nature of every *Spirit*. Whence it cannot be created or any way produced unless upon this condition, that all its parts be inseparably and indiscerpibly one; as neither a Rectangle Triangle, unless upon this
 condi-

condition, that the powers of the *Cathetus* and *Basis*, be equal to the power of the *Hypotenusa*. Whence the *Indiscerpibility* of a *Spirit* cannot be removed from it, no not *virtute Divina*, as the Schoolmen speak, no more than the above-said Property be disjoyned from a *Rectangle Triangle*. Out of all which I hope it is at length abundantly clear, that the *Extension* of a *Spirit* does not at all hinder the *Indiscerpibility* thereof.

S E C T. XXIX.

An Answer to the third Objection touching the Imperceptivity of an extended Substance, viz. That whatever is, is extended, and that the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS themselves cannot give a Reason of the perceptive Faculty in Spirits, from their Hypotheses.

III. **N**Or is it any lett (which is the third thing) to the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* in *Spirits*: For we do not thrust down a *Spirit* by attributing *Extension* to it, into the rank of *Corporeal Beings*, forasmuch as there is nothing in all Nature which is not in some sense *extended*. For whatever of *Essence* there is in any thing, it either is or may be actually present to some part of the matter,

ter, and therefore it must either be *extended* or be contracted to the narrowness of a *point*, and be a mere *nothing*. For, as for the *Nullists* and *Holenmerians*, the Opinions of them both are above utterly routed by me, and quite subverted and overturned from the very root, that no man may seek subterfuges and lurking holes there. Wherefore there is a necessity that something that is *extended* have *Cogitation* and *Perception* in it, or else there will be nothing left that has.

But for that which this Objection further urges, that there occurs no reason why an *extended Spirit* should be more capable of *Perception* than *extended Matter*, it is verily, in my judgment, a very unlearned and unskillful argutation. For we do not take all this pains in demonstrating the *Extension* of a *Spirit*, that thence we might fetch out a reason or account of its faculty of perceiving; but that it may be conceived to be some real Being and true Substance, and not a vain Figment, such as is every thing that has no Amplitude and is in no sort *extended*.

But those that so stickle and sweat for the proving their Opinion, that a Spirit is *nowhere*, or is *totally* in every part of that *Ubi* it occupies, they are plainly engaged of all right, clearly and distinctly to render a reason out of their *Hypothesis* of the *Perceptive faculty* that is acknowledged in *Spirits*, Namely that they
plainly

plainly and precisely deduce from hence, because a thing is *nowhere* or *totally* in every part of the *Ubi* it occupies, that it is necessarily endued with a faculty of *perceiving* and *thinking*; so that the reason of the conjunction of *properties* with the *Subject*, may be clearly thence understood.

Which notwithstanding I am very confident, they can never perform; And that *Perception* and *Cogitation* are the *immediate* Attributes of some Substance; and that therefore, as that Rule of Prudence, *Enchirid. Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 3.* declares, no Physical reason thereof ought to be required, nor can be given, why they are in the Subject wherein they are found,

S E C T. XXX.

That from the Generical nature of any Species, no reason is to be fetcht of the conjunction of the Essential Difference with it, it being immediate.

BUt so we are to conclude, that as *Substance* is immediately divided into *Material* and *Immaterial*, or into *Body* and *Spirit*, where no reason can be rendred from the Substance in *Spirit*, as it is Substance, why it should be *Spirit* rather than *Body*; nor from Substance in

a *Body*, as it is Substance, why it should be *Body* rather than *Spirit*; But these *Essential Differences* are immediately in the Subject in which they are found: So the case stands in the subdivision of *Spirit* into merely *Plastical* and *Perceptive*, supposing there are Spirits that are merely *Plastical*; and then of a *Perceptive Spirit* into merely *Sensitive* and *Intellectual*. For there can be no reason rendered touching a *Spirit* as a Spirit in a Spirit merely *Plastical*, why it is a Spirit merely *Plastical* rather than *Perceptive*: Nor in a *Perceptive Spirit*, why it is a *Perceptive Spirit* rather than merely *Plastical*. And lastly, in a *Perceptive Spirit Intellectual*, why it is *Intellectual* rather than merely *Sensitive*; and in the merely *Sensitive Spirit*, why it is such rather than *Intellectual*. But these *Essential Differences* are immediately in the *Subjects* in which they are found, and any *Physical* and *intrinsic* reason ought not to be asked, nor can be given why they are in those *Subjects*, as I noted a little above out of the said *Enchiridion Ethicum*.

S E C T. XXXI.

That although the Hohenmerians and Nullibists can give no reason, why that which perceives should be T O T A L L Y in every part, or should be N O W H E R E rather than be in any sort extended or somewere, yet there are reasons obvious enough, why an extended Spirit, rather should perceive than extended Matter.

BUT however, though we cannot render a reason why this or that *Substance* as *Substance*, be a *Spirit* rather than *Body*; or why this or that *Spirit* be *Perceptive* rather than merely *Plastical*; yet as the reason is sufficiently plain, why *Matter* or *Body* is a *Substance* rather than *Accident*, so it is manifest enough why that which *Perceives*, or is *Plastical*, should be a *Spirit* rather than *Matter* or *Body*; which surely is much more than either the *Hohenmerians* or *Nullibists* can vaunt of. For they can offer no reason why that which perceives should rather be *nowhere* than *somewhere*; or *totally* in each part of the *Ubi* it does occupie, than otherwise, as may be understood from what we have said above.

But now since the *Matter* or *Body* which is *discerpible* and *Impenetrable* is destitute of it-

self of all Life and Motion, certainly it is consonant to reason, that the *Species* opposite to *Body*, and which is conceived to be *Penetrable* and *Indiscerpible*, should be intrinsically endued with Life in general and Motion. And whenas *Matter* is nothing else than a certain stupid and loose *congeries* of *Physical Monads*, that the first and most immediate opposite degree in this *indiscerpible* and *penetrable* Substance, which is called *Spirit*, should be the faculty of Union, Motion, and Life, in which all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* which are found in the world may be conceived to consist. From whence it ought not at all to seem strange, that that which is *Plastical* should be a Spirit.

And now as for *Perception* itself, undoubtedly all Mortals have either a certain confused presage, or more precise and determinate Notion, that as that, whatever it is in which the above-said *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* immediately are, so more especially that to which belongs the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* is a thing of all things the most *subtile* and most *One* that may be.

Wherefore I appeal here to the Mind and judgment of any one, whether he can truly conceive any thing more *Subtile* or more *One* than the *Essence* or Notion of a *Spirit* as it is immediately distinguished from *Matter*, and opposed thereto. For can there be any thing
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more *One* than what has no parts, into which it may be discerped? or more *Subtile* than what does not onely penetrate *Matter*, but *itself*, or at least other Substances of its own kind? For a Spirit can penetrate a Spirit, though Matter cannot penetrate Matter.

There is therefore in the very *Essence* of a *Spirit*, although it be *Metaphysically* extended, no obscure reason why all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies*, why all *Perceptions* and all manner of *Cogitations* should be referred rather to it, by reason of the *Unity* and *Subtilty* of its nature, than to *Matter*, which is so crass, that it is *impenetrable*; and is so far from *unity* of *Essence*, that it consists of *juxtaposited* parts. But I hope by this I have abundantly satisfied this third difficulty.

S E C T. XXXII.

An Answer to the fourth Objection as much as respects the HOLENMERIANS and NULLIBISTS, and all those that acknowledge that the Matter is created of God.

IV. **I**t us go on therefore to the Fourth and last, which from the *Penetrability* of a *Spirit* concludes its unfitness for moving of Matter. For it cannot move Matter, but by

impelling it; nor can it impel it, because it does so easily, without all resistence, *penetrate* it. Here therefore again, *Imagination* plays her tricks, and measures the nature of a *Spirit* by the Laws of Matter, fancying a *Spirit* like some *Body* passing through an over-large or wide hole, where it cannot stick by reason of the laxness of the passage.

But in the mean time, it is to be noted, that neither the *Holenmerians* nor *Nullibists* can of right object this difficulty to us, when-as it is much more incredible that either a *Metaphysical Monad*, or any *Essence* that is *nowhere*, should be more fit for the moving Matter, than that which has some Amplitude, and is present also to the Matter that is to be moved. Wherefore we have now onely to do with such Philosophers as contend that the whole Universe consists of Bodies onely: For as for those that acknowledge there is a God, and that Matter was created by him, it is not hard for them to conceive, that there may be a certain faculty in the Soul, which in some manner, though very shadowishly, answers to that Power in God of creating Matter; Namely, that as God, though the most pure of all Spirits, yet creates Matter the most gross of all things; so created Spirits themselves may emit a certain *Material Vertue*, either spontaneously or naturally, by which they may intimately inhere in the Subject

ject Matter, and be sufficiently close united therewith. Which faculty of Spirits in the *Appendix to the Antidote against Atheism*, is called *ύλοπάθεια*, the *Hylopathy* of Spirits, or a Power of affecting or being affected by the Matter. But I confess that Answer is less fitly used when we have to do with those who deny the Creation of Matter, and much more when with those that deny there is a God.

S E C T. XXXIII.

An Answer to those that think there is nothing in the Universe but Matter or Body.

WHerefore, whenas we have to do with such insense Adversaries, and so much estranged from all knowledge and acknowledgement of *Incorporeal Things*, verily we ought to behave ourselves very cautiously and circumspectly, and something more precisely to consider the Title of the Question, which is not, Whether we can accurately discern and declare the mode or way that a Spirit moves Matter, but whether its *Penetrability* is repugnant with this faculty of *moving* Matter. But now it is manifest, if a Spirit could be united and as it were cohere with the Matter, that it might easily move Matter; forasmuch as

if there be at all any such thing as a Spirit, it is according to the common Opinion of all men to be acknowledged the true Principle and Fountain of all Life and Motion. Wherefore the hinge of the whole controversie turns upon this one pin, Whether it be repugnant that any *Spirit* should be *united* and as it were *cohere* with *Matter*, or by whatever firmness or fastening (whether permanent or momentaneous) be joynd therewith.

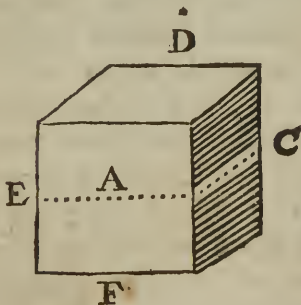
Now that it is not repugnant, I hope I shall clearly demonstrate from hence, that the *union* of *Spirit* with *Matter*, is as intelligible as the *union* of one *part* of *Matter* with *another*. For that ought in reason to be held an Axiome firm and sure, *That that is possible to be, in which there is found no greater (not to say less) difficulty of so being, than in that which we really find to be.* But we see one part of *Matter* really and actually united with another, and that in some Bodies with a firmness almost invincible, as in some Stones and Metals, which are held to be the hardest of all Bodies. But we will for the more fully understanding the business, suppose a *Body* absolutely and perfectly *hard*, constituted of no particles, but the very *Physical Monads* themselves, and without all pores.

I ask therefore here, By what vertue, or by what manner of way do the parts of so perfect a *Solid* cohere? Undoubtedly they can
alledge

alledge nothing here besides immediate *contact* and *rest*: For if they fly to any other affections which are allied to Life and Sense, they are more rightly and more easily understood to be in a *Spirit* than in *Matter*; and we will presently pronounce that a *Spirit* may adhere to *Matter* by the same vertues.

But that the *parts* of *Matter* cohere by bare though immediate contact, seems as difficult, if not more difficult, than that a *Spirit* penetrating *Matter* should cleave together into one with it: For the contact of the parts of *Matter* is every where onely superficial, but one and the same *indiscerpible Spirit* penetrates and possesses the whole *Matter* at once.

Nor need we fear at all, that it will not inhere because it can so easily slide in, and therefore as it may seem, slide through, and pass a-



way. For in a Body perfectly solid, suppose *A*, in which we will conceive some particular Super-

Superficies, suppose E, A, C; this Superficies E, A, C, is assuredly so glib and smooth, that there can be nothing imagined more smooth and glib: Wherefore why does not the upper part of this solid Cube C, D, E, by any the slightest impulse slide upon the inferiour part of the Cube E, F, C, especially if the inferiour part E, F, C, be held fast, while the superiour is impelled or thrust forward? Surely this easiness of the sliding of Bodies perfectly smooth and glib, which touch immediately one another, their easiness, I say, of sliding one upon another, does seem at least as necessary to our *Imagination*, as the proclivity of the passing of a Spirit through the Bodies it penetrates. Wherefore if two parts of Matter, suppose E, D, C, and E, F, C, which our *Imagination* doth most urgently suggest to us that they will always with the least impulse slide one upon another, do yet notwithstanding adhere to one another with a most firm and almost invincible union, why may not then a Spirit, which our *Imagination* suspects will so easily pass through any Body, be united to a Body with equal firmness? whenas this is not more difficult than the other, yea rather much more easie if one would consider the thing as it is, laying aside all prejudice. But now since the *Penetrability* of a Spirit is not repugnant with its *union* with *Matter*, it is manifest that its faculty of *moving*

ving Body is not at all repugnant with its *Penetrability*. Which is the thing that was to be demonstrated.

But it half repents me that I have with so great preparation and pomp attacked so small a difficulty, and have striven so long with mere Elusions and prestigious Juggles of the *Imagination*, (which casts such a Mist of fictitious Repugnancies on the true Idea of a Spirit) as with so many Phantomes and Spectres of an unquiet Night. But in the mean time I have made it abundantly manifest that there are no other Contradictions or Repugnancies in this our Notion of a Spirit, than what the minds of our Adversaries, polluted with the impure dregs of *Imagination*, and unable to abstract *Metaphysical Extension* from *Corporeal* affections, do foully and slovenly clart upon it, and that this Idea lookt upon in itself does clearly appear to be a Notion at least of a thing *Possible*; which is all that we drive at in this place.

S E C T. XXXIV.

How far the Notion of a Spirit here defended is countenanced and confirmed by the common suffrage of all Adversaries.

AND that it may appear more plausible, we will not omit in the last place to take notice, how far it is countenanced and confirmed by the common suffrage of our Adversaries: For the *Hobbiens*, and whatever other Philosophers else of the same stamp, do plainly assent to us in this, That whatsoever really is, is of necessity *extended*. But that they hence infer that there is nothing in Nature but what is *Corporeal*, that truly they do very unskilfully and inconsequently collect, they by some weakness or morbidness of mind tumbling into so foul an error. For it is impossible that the mind of man, unless it were laden and polluted, with the dregs and dross of *Corporeal Imagination*, should suffer itself to sink into such a gross and dirty Opinion.

But that every thing that is, is extended, the *Nullibists* also themselves seem to me to be near the very point of acknowledging it for true and certain. For they do not dissemble it, but that if a *Spirit* be *somewhere*, it necessarily follows that it is also *extended*. And they moreover

over grant, that by its *Operation* it is present to or in the Matter, and that the *Essence* of a *Spirit* is not *separated* from its *Operations*.

But that a thing should *be*, and yet not be *any where* in the whole Universe, is so wild and mad a vote, and so absonous and abhorrent from all reason, that it cannot be said by any man in his wits, unless by way of sport or some slim jest, as I have intimated above; Whence their case is the more to be pitied, who captivated and blinded with admiration of the chief Author of so absurd an Opinion, do solemnly and seriously embrace, and diligently endeavour to polish the same.

And lastly, as for the *Holenmerians*, those of them who are more cautious and considerate, do so explain their Opinion, that it scarce seems to differ an hairs breadth from ours. For though they affirm that the Soul is in every part, yet they say they understand it not of the *Quantity* or *Extension* of the Soul, whereby it occupies the whole Body, but of the *perfection* of its *Essence* and *Vertue*: Which however true it may be of the *Soul*, it is undoubtedly most true of the *Divine Numen*, whose Life and Essence is most perfect and most full every where, as being such as every where contains *infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power*.

Thus we see that this Idea or Notion of a Spirit which is here exhibited to the world,
is

is not onely *possible* in itself, but very *plausible* and *unexceptionable*, and such as all parties, if they be rightly understood, will be found whether they will or no to contribute to the discovery of the truth and solidity thereof. And therefore is such as will not unusefully nor unseasonably conclude this First Part of *Saducismus Triumphatus*, which treats of the *Possibility* of *Apparitions* and *Witchcraft*, but make the way more easie to the acknowledgement of the force of the Arguments of the Second Part, *viz.* The many *Relations* that are produced to prove the *Actual Existence* of Spirits and Apparitions.

Saducismus Triumphatus.

Part the Second



Saducismus Triumphatus;

Or Full and Plain

EVIDENCE

CONCERNING

Witches and Apparitions.

The Second Part.

PROVING

Partly by Holy Scripture, partly by a
choice Collection of Modern Relations,

The real EXISTENCE
of APPARITIONS, SPIRITS
and WITCHES.

By *Jos. Glanvil*, late Chaplain to His Majesty,
and Fellow of the Royal Society.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *J. Collins*, and *S. Lownds*.

1681.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

I Know it is matter of very little Credit to be a Relator of Stories, and I of all Men living, have the least reason to be fond of the Imployment. For I never had any faculty in telling of a Story, and have always had a particular indisposition and backwardness to the writing any such. But of all Relations of Fact, there are none like to give a Man such trouble and disreputation, as those that relate to Witchcraft and Apparitions, which so great a party of Men (in this Age especially) do so railly and laugh at, and without more ado, are resolved to explode and despise, as meer Winter Tales, and Old Wives Fables. Such they will call and account them, be their Truth and Evidence what it will. For, they have unalterably fixt and determin'd the point, that Witches and Apparitions are things ridiculous,

The Preface.

incredible, foppish, impossible; and therefore all Relations that assert them are Lies, Cheats and Delusions, and those that afford any credit to them, are credulous Gulls and silly easie Believers.

Which things, if they should not be so, it would spoil many a jest, and those who thought themselves great Wits, must have the discomfort of finding they are mistaken. They must fall back into common and vulgar Belief, and lose the pretence to extraordinary Sagacity, on which they valued themselves so much, and be brought to be afraid of another World, and be subjected to the common terrours which they despised before, as the juggles and contrivances of Priests and Politicians, and so must see themselves under a necessity of altering their lives, or of being undone. These are very hard and grievous things, and therefore the Stories of Witches and Apparitions must be exploded and run down, or all is lost.

This is the case with multitudes of brisk confident Men in our days, so that to meddle

The Preface.

on this Subject, is to affront them greatly, to provoke their rage and contempt, and to raise the Devil of their Wit and Buffoonry. All which considered, it must be confest to be a very bold and adventurous thing to undertake the Province in which I have engaged. And besides the provocation which it must needs give to the Huffers and Witlings, there is another sort whose good Opinion I greatly value; some sober and ingenious Spirits, who upon other grounds doubt of the Existence of Witches, who may be apt to judge me guilty of Credulity, for the pains I take in this matter. This also hath been some trouble and discouragement.

And upon the whole, I am assured before-hand, that no Evidence of Fact possible is sufficient to remove the obstinate prejudices of divers resolved Men, and therefore I know I must fall under their heavy censures; of which I have considered the worst, and am I hope pretty well prepared to bear the severest of them. But no Man would expose himself to all this for nothing, nor

The Preface.

have I. There were reasons for this engagement, and they were briefly these that follow.

Having been at Mr. Mompesson's house in the time of the disturbance, seen, and heard somewhat myself, and received an account from Mr. Mompesson, and other credible Persons of the whole trouble; I was perswaded to Publish, and to Annex the full account of it to the Second or Third Edition of my Considerations concerning Witchcraft, to which the Story had near Relation. This I did, and they passed Two or Three Editions together, without much further trouble to me. But of late, I have heard from all parts, and am amazed at it, that that so strongly attested Relation is run down in most places as a Delusion and Imposture, and that Mr. Mompesson and myself, have confessed all to be a cheat and contrivance.

Concerning this, I have been asked a thousand times, till I have been weary of answering, and the Questionists would scarce believe I was in earnest when I denied

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nied it. I have received Letters about it from known friends and strangers out of many parts of the Three Kingdoms, so that I have been haunted almost as bad as Mr. Mompesson's house. Most of them have declared that it was most confidently reported, and believed in all the respective Parts, that the business was a cheat, that Mr. Mompesson had confessed so much, and I the same: So that I was quite tired with denying and answering Letters about it. And to free my self from the trouble, I at last resolved to re-print the Story by it self with my Confutation of the Invention that concerned me, and a Letter I received from Mr. Mompesson (now Printed in this Book) which cleared the matter as to him.

This accordingly I committed to my Booksellers hands some years since to be Printed. But it being not done, I was continually importuned by new Solicitations and Questions, and at length out comes Mr. Websters confident Book, in which he saith, That my Story of the Drummer, and

The Preface.

the other of *Witchcraft*, are as odd and silly, as any can be told or read, and as fictitious, incredible, ludicrous and ridiculous as any can be, p 11. *And again*, p. 278 Must not all Persons that are of sound understanding, judge and believe that all those strange tricks related by Mr. *Glauvil* of his *Drummer* at Mr. *Mompesson's* house, which he calls the *Demon of Tedworth*, were abominable Cheats and Impostures, as I am informed by Persons of good Quality, they were discovered to be.

But neither did this Confidence, nor his Book (I confess) much move me; for I was very loth to be troubled any more in this matter. But at last divers Eminent Men, and Learned friends of mine having taken notice of it, and being troubled to see so considerable an evidence against *Saducism*, as Mr. *Mompesson's* Story is, so impudently run down by purposely contrived lyes, they urg'd me very much to re-print the Relation, with my Considerations

The Preface.

rations about Witchcraft; and so give some check to the Insultation and Confidence of Mr. Webster.

To this I stood long dis-inclined, but being prest by the consideration that such a Re-enforcement might be a very considerable and seasonable service to Religion, against the stupid Saducisme and Infidelity of the Age, I was perswaded: And having signified my being now inclined to the design, I received great encouragement from some of the greatest Spirits of our Age and Nation, who earnestly animated me to it. Having resolved, I be-thought me of making a small Collection of the most credible and best attested Stories of this kind that were near and modern, to accompany the Second I had Printed, and to confirm and prove the main Subject.

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This is the whole of the *Preface*, that was found amongst Mr. *Glanvil's* Papers, saving five or six words, which being superfluous to the sense of this last Clause, and

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and beginning something else not perfect-
ed, I thought better left out. But as for
Mr. *Mompesson's* Letter to Mr. *Glanvil*, which
is mentioned in this *Preface*, and designed
to be Printed in this intended Edition, it
is out of the Original Copy as follows.

Mr. *Mompesson's* LETTER TO
Mr. *Glanvil*, Dated Nov. 8.
Anno 1672.

Worthy Sir,

MEeting with Dr. Pierce accidentally
at Sir Robert Buttons, he ac-
quainted me of something that passed between
my Lord of R— and your self about my
troubles, &c. To which (having but little
leisure) I do give you this account, that I
have been very often of late askt the Que-
stion, whether I have not confessed to His
Majesty or any other, a cheat discovered a-
bout that affair. To which I gave, and
shall to my Dying-day give the same an-
swer, That I must bely my self, and per-
jure my self also to acknowledge a cheat in

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a thing where I am sure there was nor could be any, as I, the Minister of the Place, and two other Honest Gentlemen deposed at the Assizes, upon my Impleading the Drummer. If the world will not believe it, it shall be indifferent to me, praying God to keep me from the same, or the like affliction. And although I am sure this most damnable lye does pass for current amongst one sort of people in the World, invented only, I think, to suppress the Belief of the Being either of God or Devil; yet I question not but the Thing obtains credit enough amongst those, whom I principally desire should retain a more charitable Opinion of me, than to be any way a deviser of it, only to be talk't of in the World, to my own disadvantage and reproach; of which sort I reckon you one, and rest in haste,

S I R,

Your Obliged Servant,

Nov. 8.

72.

Jo. Mompesson.

A D-

The Preface.

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Concerning the Attestation of Mr. *Mompesson* and others upon Oath at the Assizes, the same is mentioned also, and their Names expressed in a Letter to Mr. *James Collins*, which Letter from the Original Copy is as follows.

Mr. *Mompesson's* LETTER TO
Mr. *Collins*, Dated Aug. 8.
Anno 1674.

Sir,

I Received yours, and had given you an earlier answer, had I not been prevented by some journeys. I now give you this; That as to any additional part of the Story, I shall not trouble you with at present, not knowing what is either already published or omitted, in regard I have not any of Mr. *Glanvil's* Books by me. I never had but one, which was the last year borrowed of me for the use of the Lord
Hollis,

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Hollis, and is not yet returned. But as to the business of the Assizes (which is likely to work most on the Incredulous, because the Evidence was given on Oath) I shall here enlarge it to you.

When the Drummer was escaped from his Exile, which he was Sentenced to at Gloucester for a Felony, I took him up, and procured his Committment to Salisbury Gaol, where I Indicted him as a Felon, for this supposed Witchcraft about my House. When the fellow saw me in earnest, he sent to me from the Prison, that he was sorry for my affliction, and if I would procure him leave to come to my House in the nature of an Harvest-man, he did not question but he should do me good as to that affair. To which I sent answer, I knew he could do me no good in any honest way, and therefore rejected it. The Assizes came on, where I Indicted him on the Statute Primo Jacobi cap. 12. where you may find, that to feed, imploy, or reward any evil spirit is Felony. And the Indictment against him was, that he
did

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did quendam malum Spiritum negotiare, the Grand Jury found the Bill upon the Evidence, but the Petty Jury acquitted him, but not without some difficulty.

The Evidence upon Oath were my self, one Mr. William Maton, one Mr. Walter Dowse, all yet living, and I think of as good Repute, as any this Country has in it, and one Mr. Jo. Cragg, then Minister of the Place, but since dead. We all deposed several things that we conceived impossible to be done by any natural Agents, as the motion of Chairs, Stools and Bed-staves, no body being near them, the Beating of Drumms in the Air over the House in clear nights, and nothing visible; the shaking of the Floor and strongest parts of the House in still and calm nights, with several other things of the like nature: And that by other Evidence it was applied to him.

For some going out of these parts to Gloucester whilst he was there in Prison, and visiting him, he ask't them what News in Wilts. To which they replied, they

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they knew none. No, says the Drummer, did you not hear of a Gentlemans House that was troubled with the Beating of Drums? They told him again, if that were News, they heard enough of that. Ay, says the Drummer, it was because he took my Dram from me; if he had not taken away my Drum, that trouble had never befallen him, and he shall never have his quiet again, till I have my Drum, or satisfaction from him.

This was deposed by one Thomas Avis Servant to one Mr. Thomas Sadler of North-Wilts, and these words had like to have cost the Drummer his Life. For else, although the things were never so true, it could not have been rightly applyed to him more than to another. I should only add, that the before mentioned Witnesses were Neighbours, and deposed, that they heard and saw these things almost every day or night for many Moneths together. As to the Sculpture you intend, you best understand the advantage, I think
it

The Preface.

it needless. And those Words [you shall have Drumming enough] is more than I heard him speak: I rest

Your Loving Friend,

Tedworth
Aug. 8. 1674.

Jo. Mompeffon.

An

*An Introduction to the Proof of the
Existence of Apparitions, Spirits and
Witches.*

S E C T. I.

*The great usefulness and seasonableness of the
present Argument, touching Witches and
Apparitions, in subserviency to Religion.*

THe Question, whether there are
witches or not, is not matter of
vain Speculation, or of indifferent
Moment; but an Inquiry of very
great and weighty Importance. For, on the
resolution of it, depends the Authority and
just Execution of some of our *Laws*; and
which is more, our *Religion* in its main Do-
ctrines is nearly concerned. There is no one,
that is not very much a stranger to the World
but knows how *Atheisme* and *Infidelity* have
advanced in our days, and how openly they
now dare to shew themselves in Asserting and
Disputing their vile Cause. Particularly the
distinction of the *Soul* from the *Body*, the Being
of *Spirits*, and a *Future Life* are Assertions ex-
tremely despised and opposed by the Men of

this sort, and if we lose those Articles, all Religion comes to nothing. They are clearly and fully Asserted in the Sacred Oracles, but those Wits have laid aside these Divine Writings. They are proved by the best Philosophy and highest Reason; but the Unbelievers, divers of them are too shallow to be capable of such proofs, and the more subtle are ready to Scepticize away those grounds.

But there is one Head of Arguments that troubles them much, and that is, the Topick of *witches* and *Apparitions*. If such there are, it is a sensible proof of Spirits and another Life, an Argument of more direct force than any Speculations, or Abstract reasonings, and such an one as meets with all the sorts of *Infidels*. On which account they labour with all their might to perswade themselves and others, that *witches* and *Apparitions* are but Melancholick *Dreams*, or crafty *Impostures*; and here it is generally, that they begin with the young-men, whose understandings they design to Debauch.

They expose and deride all Relations of *Spirits* and *witchcraft*; and furnish them with some little Arguments, or rather Colours against their *Existence*. And youth is very ready to entertain such Opinions as will help them to phansie, they are wiser than the generality of Men. And when they

they have once swallowed this Opinion, and are *sure* there are no *Witches* nor *Apparitions*, they are prepared for the denial of *Spirits*, a *Life to come*, and all the other Principles of *Religion*. So that I think it will be a considerable and very seasonable service to it, fully to debate and settle this matter, which I shall endeavour in the following sheets, and I hope so, as not to impose upon my self or others, by empty Rhetorications, fabulous Relations, or Sophistical Reasonings, but treat on the Question with that freedom and plainness, that becomes one that is neither fond, fanciful nor credulous.

S E C T. II.

The true stating of the Question by defining what a Witch and Witchcraft is.

I Know that a great part of the Labour in most Controversies, useth to be bestowed on things impertinent to the main business, and by them the Minds of both sides are so confounded, that they wander widely from the point in difference, and at last lose it quite. It would quickly be thus in the Question of *Witchcraft*, and usually is so, without previous care to avoid it. But I shall take the best I can, that my pains on

this Subject be not so mis-bestowed, but closely applyed to the purpose: And in order thereunto shall briefly define the terms of the Question, and then set down what I *grant* to mine Adversaries, and what I *demand* from them. And when these *Preliminaries* are well adjusted, we shall proceed with more distinctness, and still see whereabout we are, and know how far what is affirmed or proved, reaches the main matter in debate.

The Question is, whether there are *Witches* or not. Mr. *Webster* accuseth the Writers on the Subject of defect, in not laying down a perfect Description of a *Witch* or *Witchcraft*, or explaining what they mean, p. 20. What his perfect Description is, I do not know; but I think I have describ'd a *Witch* or *Witchcraft* in my *Considerations*, sufficiently to be understood, and the Conception which I, and, I think, most Men have is, That a *Witch* is one, who can do or seems to do strange things, beyond the known Power of Art and ordinary Nature, by vertue of a Confederacy with Evil Spirits.] Strange Things, not Miracles; these are the extraordinary Effects of Divine Power, known and distinguished by their circumstances, as I shall shew in due place. The *strange things* are really performed, and are not all *Impostures* and *Delusions*. The *Witch* occasions, but is not the *Principal* Efficient

ficient, she seems to do it, but the *Spirit* performs the wonder, sometimes immediately, as in *Transportations* and *Possessions*, sometimes by applying other Natural Causes, as in raising *Storms*, and inflicting *Diseases*, sometimes using the *Witch* as an *Instrument*, and either by the Eyes or Touch, conveying Malign Influences: And these things are done by vertue of a *Covenant*, or *Compact* betwixt the *Witch* and an *Evil Spirit*. A *Spirit*, viz. an *Intelligent Creature* of the Invisible World, whether one of the Evil Angels called *Devils*, or an Inferiour *Dæmon* or *Spirit*, or a wicked *Soul* departed; but one that is able and ready for mischief, and whether altogether Incorporeal or not, appertains not to this Question.

S E C T. III.

That neither the Notation of the Name that signifies indifferently, nor the false Additions of others to the Notion of a Witch can any way dissettle the Authors definition.

THIS I take to be a plain Description of what we mean by a *Witch* and *Witchcraft*: What Mr. *Webster* and other Advocates for *Witches*, talk concerning the words whereby these are exprest, that they are im-

proper and Metaphorical, signifying this, and signifying that, is altogether idle and impertinent. The word *Witch* signifies originally a Wise Man, or rather a Wise Woman. The same doth *Saga* in the Latine, and plainly so doth *Wizzard* in English signify a Wise Man, and they are vulgarly called cunning Men or Women. An Art, Knowledge, Cunning they have that is extraordinary; but it is far from true Wisdom, and the word is degenerated into an ill sense, as *Magia* is.

So then they are called, and we need look no further, it is enough, that by the *Word*, we mean the *Thing* and *Person* I have described, which is the common meaning; and Mr. *Webster* and the rest prevaricate when they make it signify an ordinary *Cheat*, a *Couzener*, a *Poysoner*, *Seducer*, and I know not what. Words signify as they are used, and in common use, *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, do indeed imply these, but they emply more, *viz.* Deluding, Cheating and Hurting by the Power of an *Evil Spirit* in *Covenant* with a wicked Man or Woman: This is our Notion of a *Witch*.

Mr. *Webster* I know will not have it to be a perfect Description. He adds to the Notion of the *Witch* he opposeth, *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil*, and *real Transformation* into an *Hare*, *Cat*, *Dog*, *Wolf*; the same doth

doth Mr. *Wagstaffe*. Which is, as if a Man should define an Angel to be a Creature in the shape of a Boy with Wings, and then prove there is no such Being. Of all Men I would not have Mr. *Webster* to make my Definitions for me; we our selves are to have the leave to tell what it is that we affirm and defend. And I have described the *Witch* and *Witchcraft*, that sober Men believe and assert. Thus briefly for Defining.

S E C T. IV.

What things the Authour concedes in this controversie about Witches and Witchcraft.

I Shall let the Patrons of *witches* know what I allow and grant to them;

First, I grant, That there are some Witty and Ingenious Men of the opposite Belief to me in the Question. Yea, it is accounted a piece of Wit to laugh at the Belief of *witches* as silly Credulity. And some Men value themselves upon it, and pride them in their supposed Sagacity of seeing the Cheat that imposeth on so great a part of Believing Mankind. And the Stories of *witches* and *Apparitions* afford a great deal of

Subject for Wit, which it is pity that a witty Man should lose.

Secondly, I own that some of those who deny *Witches* have no design against, nor a disinclination to Religion, but believe Spirits, and a Life to come, as other sober Christians do, and so are neither *Atheists*, *Sadducees*, nor *Hobbists*.

Thirdly, I allow that the great Body of Mankind is very credulous, and in this matter so, that they do believe vain impossible things in relation to it. That *carnal Copulation* with the *Devil*, and *real Transmutation* of Men and Women into other Creatures are such. That people are apt to impute the *extraordinaries* of Art, or Nature to *Witchcraft*, and that their *Credulity* is often abused by subtle and designing *Knaves* through these. That there are Ten thousand silly lying Stories of *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions* among the vulgar. That infinite such have been occasioned by Cheats and *Popish* Superstitions, and many invented and contrived by the Knavery of *Popish* Priests.

Fourthly, I grant that Melancholy and Imagination have very great force, and can beget strange persuasions. And that many Stories of *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions* have been but Melancholy fancies.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, I know and yield, that there are many strange natural Diseases that have odd Symptoms, and produce wonderful and astonishing effects beyond the usual course of Nature, and that such are sometimes falsely ascribed to *Witchcraft*.

Sixthly, I own, the *Popish* Inquisitours, and other Witch-finders have done much wrong, that they have destroyed innocent persons for *Witches*, and that Watching and Torture have extorted extraordinary Confessions from some that were not guilty.

Seventhly and Lastly, I grant that the Transactions of *Spirits* with *Witches*, which we affirm to be true and certain, are many of them very strange and uncouth, and that we can scarce give any account of the reasons of them, or well reconcile many of those passages to the commonly received Notion of *Spirits*, and the State of the next World.

If these Concessions will do mine Adversaries in this Question any good, they have them freely. And by them I have already almost spoiled all Mr. *Webster's* and Mr. *Wagstaffe's*, and the other Witch-Advocates Books, which prove little else, than what I have here granted. And having been so free in Concessions, I may expect that something should be granted me from the other party,

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Those that are mentioned in the second Concession, though they are not Atheists, Sadducees nor Hobbists; yet if they deny Witches, it is plain they are Antiscripturists, the Scripture so plainly attesting the contrary.

S E C T. V.

The Postulata which the Authour demands of his Adversaries as his just right.

THE demands that I make are; First, That whether *Witches* are or are not, is a question of Fact: For it is in effect, whether any Men or Women have been, or are in Covenant with *Evil Spirits*, and whether they by the *Spirits* help, or he on their account performs such or such things.

Secondly, That matter of Fact can only be proved by immediate Sense, or the Testimony

testimony of others, *Divine* or *Humane*. To endeavour to demonstrate Fact by abstract reasoning and speculation, is, as if a Man should prove that *Julius Cæsar* founded the Empire of *Rome*, by *Algebra* or *Metaphysics*. So that what Mr. *Webster* saith, p.43. That the true and proper mediums to prove the actions of *Witches* by, are *Scripture* and sound *Reason*, and not the improper way of *Testimony* (which we use in the opposition that *Testimony* stands to *Scripture* and sound *Reason*) is very Non-sense.

Thirdly, That the History of the *Scripture* is not all *Allegory*, but generally hath a plain literal and obvious meaning.

Fourthly, That some *Humane Testimonies* are credible and certain, *viz.* They may be so circumstantiated as to leave no reason of doubt. For our Senses sometimes report truth, and all Mankind are not Lyars, Cheats and Knaves, at least they are not all Lyars, when they have no Interest to be so.

Fifthly, That which is sufficiently and undeniably proved, ought not to be denied, because we know not how it can be, that is, because there are difficulties in the conceiving of it. Otherwise *Sense* and *Knowledge* is gone as well as *Faith*. For the *Modus* of most things is unknown, and the most obvious in Nature have inextricable diffi-

difficulties in the Speculation of them, as I have shewn in my *Scepsis Scientifica*.

Sixthly and lastly, we are much in the dark, as to the *Nature* and *Kinds* of *Spirits*, and the *particular* condition of the other World. The Angels, Devils and Souls happiness and misery we know, but what kinds are under these generals, and what actions, circumstances and ways of Life under those States we little understand. These are my *Postulata* or demands, which I suppose will be thought reasonable, and such as need no more proof.

Proof.

*Proof of Apparitions, Spirits,
and Witches from Holy-Scripture.*

S E C T: I.

*The Authours purpose of proving Apparitions
and Witchcraft, to such as believe Scrip-
ture, as first from the Apparition of Angels.*

ANd having thus prepared my way,
I come to prove that there are
Witches against both the sorts that
deny their Existence, *viz.* Those
that believe the *Scriptures*, and the Wits or
Witlings that will *not* admit their Testi-
mony. To the first I shall prove the being
of *Witches* by plain Evidence taken from the
Divine Oracles, and to the other, and in-
deed to both, I shall evince the same by as
full and clear Testimonies, as matter of fact
is capable of, and then answer the opposite
Objections, and those particularly of the
three late confident Exploders of Witch-
craft; * *Mr. Webster, Mr. Wagstaffe*, and the
Authour of the Doctrine of Devils.

The Proof I intend shall be of these two
things, *viz.* That *Spirits* have sensibly trans-
acted

14 Proof of Apparitions, &c.

acted with Men, and that some have been in such Leagues with them, as to be enabled thereby to do wonders.

These sensible Transactions of Spirits with Men, are evident from *Apparitions* and *Possessions*. The Apparition of *Angels*, their discourses and predictions, sensible converses with Men and Women are frequently recorded in the Scripture. An *Angel* appeared to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. Three *Angels* in the shape of Men appeared to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 18. Two to *Lot* in the same likeness, *Gen.* 19. An *Angel* called to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 21. 17. and so did one to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 22. An *Angel* spake to and conversed with *Jacob* in a *Dream*, *Gen.* 31. One of the same appeared to *Moses* in the Bush, *Exod.* 3. An *Angel* went before the Camp of *Israel*, *Exod.* 14. An *Angel* met *Balaam* in the way, *Numb.* 22. An *Angel* spake to all the People of *Israel*, *Judges* 2. An *Angel* appeared to *Gideon*, *Judges* 6. and to the Wife of *Manoah*, *Judges* 13. An *Angel* destroyed the People, *2 Sam.* 24. An *Angel* appeared to *Eliab*, *1 Kings* 19. An *Angel* smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* 184000. *2 Kings* 35. An *Angel* stood by the Threshing-floor of *Ornan*, *1 Chron.* 21. 15. An *Angel* talked with *Zachariah* the Prophet, *Zach.* 1.

An *Angel* appeared to the two *Mary's* at our Lords Sepulchre, Matth. 28. An *Angel* foretold

foretold the Birth of *John Baptist* to *Zachariah* the Priest, *Luke* 1. *Gabriel* was sent to the Holy Virgin, *Luke* 1. 26. An Angel appeared to the Shepherds, *Luke* 2. An Angel opened the Prison Door to *Peter* and the rest, *Acts* 5. I might accumulate many more instances, but these are enough. And many circumstances of sensible Converse belong to most of them, which may be read at large in the respective Chapters. And since the Intercourses of Angels were so frequent in former days, why should we be averse to the belief that Spirits sometimes transact with Men now?

ADVERTISEMENT.

* I find amongst Mr. Glanvil's Papers, the first Lineaments or Strokes of an Answer to Mr. Wagstaffe, and to the Author of the Doctrine of Devils, but more fully to Mr. Webster, at least Seventeen Sheets where he answers solidly and substantially where I can read his Hand, but it reaches but to the Sixth Chapter. And in truth he has laid about him so well in these Sheets that are published, that those may well seem the less necessary.

S E C T. II.

The Evasions his Adversaries use to escape the force of these Proofs of Scripture from the Apparition of Angels, with the Authours Answer.

THERE are several Evasions, by which some endeavour to escape these Texts; as, First the *Sadducees* of old, and *Familists* of later days, who hold, to wit, these, that the *Angels* we read of, were but *Divine Graces*, the other that they were *Divine Phantasmes* created to serve a present occasion, which ceased to be as soon as they disappeared. One would think that none that ever had read the Scriptures, should entertain such a conceit as this, that is so contrary to the account they every where give of those celestial Creatures. But there is nothing so absurd, but some Men will embrace to support their Opinions.

Let us consider a little how differently from this vain Fancy the Scripture describes them. They are called *Spirits*, an Attribute given to God himself the prime *Substance*, who is by way of eminence called the *Father of Spirits*, not of *Phantasmes*. And
Spirit

Spirit imports as much *Substance* as *Body*; though without gross bulk. We read of *Elect* Angels, and the Angels that *stand before the Throne of God* continually, and that always behold the Face of God. Of the *Fallen* Angels that kept not their first Station, that are held in the Chains of Darknes; and of *everlasting Fire* prepared for the *Devil* and his Angels against the Judgment of the great Day. Both had their Order of Superiority and Inferiority, *Michael* and his Angels; the *Dragon* and his Angels. We are made little lower than the Angels. In Heaven we shall be as the Angels of God. Of the Day of Judgment knoweth no Man, no not the *Angels*. Let all the Angels of God Worship him.

Which Descriptions of the *Nature, Order, Condition, Attributes* of *Angels*, and infinite more such up and down the Scriptures, are not applicable to *Phantasms*, but demonstratively prove that the *Angels* of whose *Apparitions* we hear so frequently there, were real permanent *subsistences*; and not mere *Phantasms* and *Shadows*.

S E C T. III.

That the Angels that are said to have appeared in Scripture were not Men-Messengers, but Inhabitants of the Invisible World; And whether they ate and drank or no.

BUT were not those Angels that so appeared, special *Prophets, Divine Messengers*, sometimes in Scripture confessedly called Angels? They did eat and drink with *Abraham*, and with *Lot*, by which it should seem that they were real Men. But whoever shall look over the Instances alledged of the *Apparition of Angels*, and read them in all the Circumstances of the Text, will plainly see that they could not be *Men*.

Such could not be the *Angel* that spake to *Abraham* and *Hagar* out of Heaven, that conversed with *Jacob* in a Dream, that appeared to *Moses* in the Burning Bush, that appeared to *Manoah*, and ascended, in his and his Wife's presence, in the flame of the Sacrifice, that went before the Camp of *Israel*, that stood before *Balaam* in the way unseen by him, that smote the Army of the *Assyrians*, that appeared to *Zacharias* in the Temple, and to the *Mary's* at the Sepulchre.

These

These must be a sort of *Beings* superiour to Mankind, *Angels* in the proper sense, who are sometimes in Scripture called *Men*, because they appear in our likeness.

But whether these do receive refection or sustinence in their own World and State or not, I will not dispute. It is most probable, and it hath been the Doctrine both of Fathers and Philosophers, that they are vitally united to *Aethereal* and *Heavenly* Bodies, which possibly may need recruits some such way, and so *Angels Food* may be more than a *Metaphor*. But certainly they cannot eat after our manner, nor feed on our gross Dyet, except in appearance only. They may make shew of doing it (as the Angel *Raphael* told *Tobit* that he did, *Tob. 12. 19.* *All these days I did appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a Fish*) but really they do it not. So that when *Abraham's* and *Lot's* Angels are said to eat and drink with them, the Scripture speaks as to them it seemed. And so the *Jerusalem Targum* reads, *and they seemed as if they did eat and drink.* And we may suppose that Men's Conceptions of Angels were not very refined in those days, nor could they have borne their sensible and free Converses, if they had look't on them as Creatures of a Nature so distant from their own.

And therefore afterward, when they were better understood, those to whom they appeared were struck with great dread and amazement, and thought that they should presently dye. Nor do we, as I remember, read any more of the Angels eating or drinking after what seemed to *Abraham* and *Lot*. Indeed *Manoah* invited the Angel to eat, *Judg.* 13. 15. but it was before he knew he was an Angel, and it is set down in excuse of the offer, *v.* 16. *For Manoah knew not that he was an Angel of the Lord*, implying that the invitation had been absurd if he had known it.

I have said this in answer to the objection, though the main cause is not concerned. For though I should grant that *Abraham's* and *Lot's* Angels were Men, yet the other instances in which that could not be said or supposed, are more than enough to carry my point, That *real* Angels, *Inhabitants* of the *Invisible World*, did sometimes sensibly appear.

SECT.

S E C T. IIIV.

That Angels are still Ministring Spirits, as well as of old.

BUT it will be said, when they did appear, it was upon *Divine Errands*, and God sent them to serve the ends of his Government and Providence; which I grant. And God Almighty hath the same ends to serve still, he governs the World now, and his Providence is as watchful as ever, and the Angels are the chief Ministers of that Providence, and Ministring Spirits for our good. The Gospel was ushered in by the *Apparition of Angels*, and many things done by them in the carrying of it on. And why we should think they may not be sent, and should not appear on occasion now, I do not see. But this is more than I need say yet, being for the first step only to shew, that Spirits *have* transacted with Men.

S E C T. V.

Proofs from the Apparitions of Evil Spirits, recorded in Scripture.

THose I have mentioned hitherto, have been *good and benign spirits*, but *evil spirits* have also appeared, and sensibly had to do with Mankind. My first instance of this is one of the first businesses that was in the World, the Temptation of *Eve* by the *Devil* in the Serpent. An Argument which those that adhere to the Letter of those three first Chapters cannot avoid. Evil Angels were sent among the *Egyptians*, *Psalms* 78. 49. and those passed through and smote the Land. But the Destroyers, *viz.* the Evil Angels were not permitted to come into the *Israelites* Houses, *Exod.* 12. 23. When God asked Sathan whence he came, *Job* 1. 7. he answered, from going to and fro in the Earth. By Divine permission he raised the great Wind that blew down the House upon *Jobs* Children, *v.* 19. and smote his Body all over with Boils, *Job* 2. 7. He tempted our Saviour in an external sensible way, carrying him from place to place, and urging the Son of God to worship him, *Matth.* 4.

But

But more of this will appear by considering the second head proposed, *viz.* Possession of Evil Spirits.

S E C T. VI.

Proofs from Possession of Evil Spirits, and that they were not Diseases, as the Witch-Advocates would have them.

THAT such Possessions have been, we find frequently and plainly delivered in the History of the Gospel, and so often, that I shall not need to recite particulars. The Evasion that the Witch-Advocates have for this, is, that the *Devils* and *unclean Spirits* spoken of in those places, which our Saviour is said to have cast out, were strange and uncommon *Diseases*, which the *Jews* thought to be *Devils*, and Christ who came not to teach Men Philosophy, complied with their deceived apprehension, and the Evangelists speak according to their conceit in this matter. But if this Answer must pass, then in the first place,

Farewel all Scripture, it may be made to say what we please; and if when the Scripture speaks in a plain History of *unclean Spirits* and *Devils*, we may understand *Dis-*

cases by it, then what we read of *good Angels* may be *Graces* and *Vertues*, and what we read of *Christ himself*, may all be interpreted of the *Christ within*, and so all the *Scripture*, and all *Religion* shall signify what any *Man* thinks fit.

Secondly, The cure of Diseases is mentioned in many of the Texts, distinctly from the casting out of Devils. Thus *Matth. 10. 1.* He gave the Disciples Power against unclean Spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sicknesses, and all manner of Diseases. This was a different Power from the former, and all manner of Sicknesses and Diseases implies the uncommon and extraordinary, which our *Sadducees* would have the Devils to be, *viz.* Diseases, as well as the ordinary and usual ones are. So *Luke 6. 18.* He healed them of their Diseases, and those that were vexed with unclean Spirits, were brought to him, and he healed them likewise. And most plainly, *Matth. 4. 24.* And they brought unto him all sick people, that were taken with divers Diseases and Torments, and those that were possessed with Devils, and those that were *Lunatick*, and those that had the *Palsie*, and he healed them. The *Mad-men*, and those that had the *Falling-Sickness*, the *Distempers* which the *Witch-Advocates* make Devils of, are here mentioned apart, and as distinct from those Devils our Saviour cast out.

Third-

Thirdly, Many things are attributed to those *Devils* that were cast out, which are not applicable to *Diseases*. The *Devils* in the *Possessed* among the *Gergasens*, *Matth. 8. 16.* besought Christ, saying, *If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the Herd of Swine, and he gave them leave.* *Mark 5. 8.* Sure the *Diseases* did not beseech him; But perhaps the *Men* did. Had they a mind to go into the *Swine*? and did they enter into them? A sort of *Possession* this, that was never heard of, a *Beast* possess'd with a *Man*. But *St. Luke* tells us, they were the *Devils* that went out of the *Men*, and entered into the *Swine*, *Luke 8. 33.* The *Men* did not go out of themselves, and therefore, if what went out was not the *Disease*, it was really the *Devil* or unclean Spirit.

So *Luke 4. 33.* In the Synagogue there was a *Man* that had a Spirit of an unclean Devil, and cryed out with a loud Voice, saying, *Let us alone, &c.* Well, but might not this be the *Man* himself that cryed out so? Therefore read a little on, *v. 35.* *And Jesus rebuked him, viz. him that spake, saying to the same still, Hold thy peace and come out of him.* Which must be another Person distinct from the *Man* himself, and who was that? It follows, *And when the Devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, the same Devil that spake; that our Saviour*

rebuked, and commanded to come out, which could be no other than a real Evil Spirit.

And that those *ejected Devils* were not *Diseases* appears further, *Matth. 12. v. 22.* There was brought unto him, one possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him, insomuch (to wit, the consequence of the ejecting the Devil was) that the blind and dumb both spake and saw. The *Pharisees, v. 24.* impute this casting out Devils to a confederacy with *Beelzebub* the Prince of the Devils; our Saviour there argues, that then *Sathan* should be divided against himself: namely, *Beelzebub* the chief against the *Inferiour Devils* that he cast out; who are of his Kingdom, and doing the work of it: For there it follows, that his Kingdom could not stand, v. 26. These things will be hardly applyed to *Diseases*. And,

Fourthly and lastly, If the Evangelist should call *Diseases Devils*, and *unclean Spirits*, and speak of casting out *Devils* in an History, with all the plainness and expressness of Words, and Phrase, and Circumstance, that such an action could be described by, and yet mean nothing of it, what would this suggest, but that they falsely ascribed to *Christ* wonders that he never did, and consequently that they were *Lyars* and *Deceivers*, and vain *Impostours*? For clear it is, that whoever shall read those passages
in

in the Gospel without a prepossest Opinion, will be led into this belief by them, that our Saviour did really cast Devils out of Persons possest. And if there be really no such thing as *Possession* by *evil spirits*, but only Diseases by the ignorant and credulous people taken for such, then the History imposeth on us, and leads Men into a perswasion of things done by the Power of Christ that never were. And what execution this will do upon the truth, and credit of the whole History, is very easie to understand.

S E C T. VII.

That the Witch-Advocates cannot elude Scripture-Testimony of Possession by Evil Spirits, by saying it speaks according to the received Opinions of Men.

I But the Scripture doth, we know, speak often according to the received Opinions of Men, though they are errours, which it is not concerned to rectify, when they concern no *Morality* or *Religion*.

But first, The Doctrine of *Spirits* and *Devils* was not the received Opinion of all the *Jews*: The *Sadducees* a considerable Sect were of another mind. So that the Stories

of

of ejecting such, must look to them as Impostures. And the Scriptures were not written only for the *Jews*, and for that particular time alone, but for all Places and all Ages. Most of which have no such use of calling *Diseases Devils*, and among them the History must either convey a false Opinion, or lose the Reputation of its Truth.

Secondly, Though the Scripture doth not vary from the common forms of Speech, where they are grounded upon harmless and lesser mistakes, yet when such are great and dangerous, prejudicial to the Glory of God, and Interest of Religion, it is then much concerned to reform and rectify such errors. And according to the Belief of the *Witch-Advocates*, the Doctrine of *Possessions* is highly such. For it leads to the Opinion of *Witchcraft*, which they make such a Dismal and Tragical Error, Blasphemy, an abominably Idolatrous, yea an Atheistical Doctrine, the grand Apostasie, the greatest that ever was or can be, that which cuts off Christs Head, and Un-Gods him, renounceth Christ and God, and owns the Devil, and makes him equal to them, &c. As the *Authour* of the *Grand Apostasie* raves.

And Mr. *Webster* saith little less of this Opinion in his Preface, *viz.* That it tends to advance Superstition and Popery, is derogatory to the Wisdom, Justice and Providence

dence of the Almighty, tending to cry up the Power of the Kingdom of darkness, to question the verity of the principal Articles of the Christian Faith, concerning the Resurrection of Christ, and generally tends to the obstructing of Godliness and Piety.

And Mr. *Wagstaffe* loads it with as dreadful imputations in his Preface; As that it doth necessarily infer plurality of Gods by attributing *Omnipotent* effects to more than one, and that it supposeth many *Omnipotents*, and many *Omniscients*. If any thing of this be so, certainly our Saviours inspired Historians would not have connived at, much less would they have spoken in the Phrase, that supposeth and encourageth a common Error; that leads to such a horrid Opinion.

S E C T. VIII.

An Answer to an Objection from Christs not mentioning his casting out Devils to John's Disciples, amongst other Miracles.

BUT saith the *Author* of the *Grand Apostasie*, p. 34. our Saviour himself in his Answer to the Disciples of *John the Baptist*, *Luke 7.* doth not pretend to the casting out Devils,

30 Proof of Apparitions, &c.

Devils, but only the cure of *Diseases*, and raising the *Dead*. To which I say, First, we may not argue negatively from Scripture in such matters, and certainly we ought not to argue from silence in one place, against plain affirmations in many.

Secondly, Our Saviour answers in reference to the things he was then doing, when the Disciples of *John* came to him, v. 21. *And in that same hour he cured many of their Infirmities and Plagues*. Evil Spirits, it must be confessed, are also mentioned. Some of those Diseases it is like were occasioned by Evil Spirits, as (*Matth. 12. 22.*) the blindness and dumbness of the possessed person there was. And then the ejection of the *Evil Spirit* is implied, when the *Disease* is said to be *Cured*.

Thirdly, The business of *John's* Disciples was to enquire whether he was the *Messiah*, and it was fit our Saviour in his Answer should give such proofs of his being so, as were plain and palpable. *Go your way, saith he, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard*, Luke 7. 22. They had heard him Preach the Gospel it is like, and had seen him Cure Diseases: These things were plain and sensible, and could admit of no dispute or doubt. But whether the Distempers Christ then healed, were inflicted by Evil Spirits, and whether those were cast
out

out in the Cure, did not plainly appear at that time. Our Saviour therefore did not bid them mention that Instance to their Master *John*, because they could not testify it on their own knowledge, as they could the things themselves saw and heard.

S E C T. IX.

An Answer to two more Objections; the one, that St. John mentions no casting out Devils in his Gospel; the other, that to have a Devil, and to be mad are Synonyma's.

BUT the passionate Witch-Advocate goes on. *St. John* the Evangelist, who especially sets himself upon the proof of the Godhead of *Christ*, hints nothing of his ejecting Devils. Which one would think should be no proof, since the other three do; and *St. John* chiefly supplied what they omitted. And since this Evangelist so particularly sets himself upon the proof of *Christs* Divinity, he mentions no Miracles, which were the proof, but such as were sensible and indisputable. And our Authour himself after p. 41. saith, That the cure of *Diseases* was more for *Christs* Honour, and the proof of his

his Godhead, than the *casting out Devils* could have been. For possibly, saith he, in that, there might have been some probable grounds of the *Pharisees* Blasphemy, that he cast out Devils by *Beelzebub*.

So that he *answers* and *contradicts* himself at once: For p. 34. he saith, It had been a great oversight in *St. John* to neglect such an Argument. If such a thing had ever been, this would have proved him to have been God indeed, and his Power paramount above all Principalities and Powers, &c. p. 35. And yet now curing *Diseases* proves it better, and the casting out Devils will scarce do it at all, since it might, adds he, be in some sort credible, that he did it by favour, connivance, compliance, complotment, which is upon the Borders of the highest Blasphemy.

Again it is alledged by this Writer, that to *have a Devil*, and to be *mad*, seem to be *Synonyma's* in Scripture, p. 35. I answer, *Possession* begot a certain *mania furor*, and *madness*; and therefore when any were extravagant, the *Jews* said in common Speech, that *they had a Devil*; as we do, *The Devil is in you*, that is, you act unreasonably and madly. But as we do not mean by this *Metaphorical Possession* to exclude the belief of a *real*, so neither did they. Yea, the very Phrase, *he hath a Devil*; or the Devil

is

is in him, applyed to those that act furiously and unadvisedly, doth imply that there is such a *real* thing as *Diabolical Possession*, to which madness and extream folly are resembled.

See then how the Patrons of Witches argue, The *Jews* sometimes used the *having a Devil* Metaphorically; therefore there are no other *Possessions*, or therefore all those passages of Scripture, in which they are literally and plainly related, intend no other. Indeed, if we argued from meer *words* and *expressions* of having Devils, and casting out Devils, there would be somewhat of more colour in our Adversaries reasoning; But since we inferr chiefly from plain circumstances of History and Fact, there is no force at all in it.

S E C T. X.

The Ignorance of the Author of The Grand Apostasie, in his interpreting the word
Δαυμόνις

BUT what doth this Writer mean, when he tells us *Δαυμόνις* can scarce signify any thing else properly, but an unusual aff-
 D d fiction

fiction from God, such as *madness*; when all Men and Boys know that Substantively it is the same with *δαίμων* *Damon*, taken already in Scripture in an ill sense for an impure Spirit. Adjectively it signifies sometimes *Divinum quid*, but so it is not understood in the places we dispute about, *Luke 4. 35. When the Devil had thrown him, the possessed Man, in the midst, he came out of him, the word is, τὸ δαίμόνιον.* The same *v. 33.* is called *πνεῦμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου.* By which & the latter circumstances of the History, it plainly appears that *τὸ δαίμόνιον,* is to be understood *Substantively* for a *Person, viz. an Evil Spirit.* So in the Story of the Devils entering into the Herd of Swine, *Luke 8. 33:* the word we Translate *Devils* is *τὰ δαίμόνια,* called *v. 29. πνεῦμα ἀκαθάρτων,* and the same *Matth. 8. 29. δαίμονες.* Besides the force of which words, I have shewn that the Story also determines them to a *Substantive* and *Personal* meaning.

But the Authour saith, That *δαίμόνιον* can hardly with propriety signify any thing else but an *extraordinary affliction from God,* because of its derivation from *δαίμων,* *p. 37.* One would wonder at the confidence of these Men, especially in their pretended Criticisms, by which they would impose what sense upon words they please. *δαίμων* it is notoriously known signifies *Demon,* taken
often

often in the ill sense, and so particularly in the place newly mentioned, deriving from *Salus scio*, which degenerates here, as in *Saga*, *Witch*, *Wizzard* and the like, and what then should this Authour by this mean?

S E C T. XI.

Whether there were no feats performed by the Demoniacks in the Gospels, but what Mad-men might perform.

IT is further Objected by this Writer, that there are no Feats Recorded of those supposed *Demoniacks*, but what *Mad-men* could perform and often do. In which, he considered not the Spirits in the *Posselt*, in the Countrey of the *Gergasens*, *Matth. 8.29.* *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* write *Gadarens*, the Countries lye near together. *Josiphus* reckons *Gadara* among the *Grecian* Cities which *Pompey* took from the *Jews*, and according to him the people were mostly *Syrians*.

In this Country where our Saviour had not been before, nor after, that we read, two posselt with Devils, who had lived

among the Tombs, out of the Conversation of Mankind met him, and presently cryed out; *What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come to torment us before the time?* Was there nothing now beyond the rate of ordinary Mad-men in this? How did they, who lived in such a dismal solitude among the Tombs, in a place where no Man passed, come to know this was Jesus, who never had been thereabout before, as far as we can hear? Or how came those Mad-men to know, and utter such a great truth, which our Saviour did not presently publish, *That he was the Son of God?* Did any come near to whisper this in their Ear? or was this a raving fancy only? St. Mark writes (who speaks but of a single *Demoniack*) that *when he saw Jesus afar off, he came and worshipped him.* He knew him presently, and understood his true condition before most of the *Jews* about him; and even some of his own Disciples did. Could a meer Mad-man have done so? But further they expected torment and from him, in the time to come, though they looked not for it so soon. Art thou come to torment us before the time? How applicable is this to the condition of Evil Spirits and their expectations?

We have a like acknowledgement of our Saviour from another unclean Spirit,

Mark

Mark 1. 24. I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God. And our Saviour in what he saith, in answer plainly, implies it was the Evil Spirit, not the Mad-man that spake, or at least caused the confession. *Hold thy peace, and come out of him, v. 25.* And that the *Demoniacks* did things beyond the force of meer Mad-men is further sufficiently declared in the History, *Mark 5. No Man could bind him, no not with Chains; because he had been often bound with Fetters and Chains, and the Chains had been pluckt in sunder by him.* I would fain know, whether this be not beyond the force of meer natural madness?

ADVERTISEMENT.

Hitherto the Paper was the same, and the Hand the same, and so far of the Copy transcribed. Afterward the Hand alters, and is Mr. Glanvil's own Hand, but with an Hiatus of above half a Sheet of unwrit Paper between, but the Number of the Pages is continued. Something there was to intervene, to make a more full Connexion; but yet what follows, is

of the same suit, and produced to prove out of Scripture the Negotiation of Evil Spirits with their Clients.

S E C T. XII.

Further proof of the Negotiation of Evil Spirits with their Clients from the History of the Magicians of Egypt; Mr. Wagstaffe, Mr. Webster, and the Authour of The Doctrine of Devils, their Evasions proposed and answered.

IN the General, they all say the same thing; viz. That the Magicians were jugglers, who by their Tricks and Legerdemain, imposed upon Pharaoh and the Egyptians. Mr. Wagstaffe is so modest, as not to describe the manner of the performance. But Mr. Webster thus; *The Magicians holding a Rod in their hands, and seeming to throw it down upon the ground, how soon might they throw down an Artificial Serpent in its stead, and immediately and unperceivably make conveyance of the Rod, p. 154.* This is his feat: and for the changing Water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, he saith, they were

were so easie to be done after the same manner, that they need not any particular explication, p. 155. This is the main answer, after a great deal of Impertinence, and Mr. *webster* hath done his business.

But the Authour of *The Doctrine of Devils*, hath devised a more particular way for this Juggle. 'Tis probable, he saith, that these Men having the Art or Knack of Making, Graving, or Carving the Pictures of Men, Beasts, Serpents, Reptiles, &c. had the Feat also of Colouring, Painting and Fencussing of them also, and so might easily, especially in the dark, or by their Juggling-Feats, as the Text intimates, make a Rod look like a Serpent, &c. p. 114. But besides these Knavish Painters, the Man hath found other Jugglers to help on the Deceit; *Subtle and politick Oratours*, who with fallacious Arguments, cunning pretences, and plausible Rhetorick could so disguise Truth, and flourish upon Knavery and falshood, that falshood should seem Truth, and Truth falshood, p. 115.

Whatever the *Magicians* of *Pharaoh* were; any one that considers these Answers, would take the Framers of them for Colourers, Changers, Perverters of the Face of things, as this Authour speaks, cunning Oratours, Jugglers, *Hocus-Pocus*, *Hiccius-Doccius*, whip the Serpents, Blood and Frogs are gone: But let us look a little nearer to the busi-

ness, and to these subtle men, Witches of Oratours, and examine what they tell us in the light of the *Text* and impartial Reason.

The Text saith, Aaron cast down his Rod before Pharaoh, and before his Servants, and it became a Serpent, v. 10. And v. 11, 12. The Magicians of Ægypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every Man his Rod, and they became Serpents, but Aaron's Rod swallowed up their Rods. Now, say the Witch-Advocates, the Magicians were Jugglers; they did not in like manner, they did not cast down their Rods, but made conveighance of them, they were not Serpents but Pictures. Which are plain contradictions to the Text, arbitrary Figments, that have no ground. And if Men may feign what they will, and put what borrowed sense they please upon plain Relations of Fact, all History will be a Nose of Wax, and be easily shaped as the Interpreter has a mind to have it.

Secondly, If this were so, and the Serpents were but Artificial Pictures; 'tis strange, that neither Pharaoh, nor his Servants should perceive the difference between the Carved or Painted Serpents and the real ones; except they suppose also that Pharaoh contrived the business in a dark Room on purpose, as the Authour of *The Doctrine of Devils*

Devils seems to intimate. And 'tis stranger yet, that neither *Moses* nor *Aaron* that were concerned to detect the Imposture that was so gross and thick, should not discern it, or if they did, 'tis as strange, that they should keep the Jugglers counsel, and say nothing of it.

Thirdly, *Aarons* Serpents are said to have swallowed up those of the Magicians. What, did they swallow the Wiars and Pictures? It seems they were very artificially done indeed, that the true Serpents mistook them for real ones, as the Birds once did the Painted Grapes. But it would be more wonderful yet, if all were but the Oratory of the *Magicians*, for then the Serpents ate their Words and Rhetorick.

Fourthly, *Moses* and *Aaron* turned the Rivers into Blood, v. 20. and the Magicians of *Ægypt* did so with their enchantments, v. 22. They caused Frogs to come up, and to cover the land, Ch. 8. v. 6. and the Magicians did so, and brought up Frogs on the Land of *Ægypt*, v. 7. Now, how did the Jugglers do this, with Painting and Fucussing; or how, by Legerdemain and Slight of Hand were the Waters made Blood, and the Frogs brought up out of the Rivers on the Land? To turn a little Water into the appearance of Blood, was not the thing that was like to what *Moses* and *Aaron* did, and to shew an Artificial

facial Frog, Two or Three was not bringing up of Frogs on the Land of *Agypt*, which implies, multitudes that covered the ground. So that the *Hocus-Pocus* Tricks, and Juggling and Painting will not colour this part of the Story. And I should wonder at Mr. *Webster*, if he did not afford so many occasions of wondring at him, when he passed this so slightly over, saying, p. 155. *As to the changing water into Blood, and the producing of Frogs, they were so easie to be done after the same manner, viz. by Wiers and Juggling, that they need not any particular explication, for by this the manner of their performance may most easly be understood.* How shall one deal with these Men, and what will not their confidence affirm?

Fifthly, 'Tis very strange also how those *Jugglers* should know what signs *Moses* and *Aaron* would shew, and accordingly furnish themselves with counterfeit Serpents, Blood and Frogs against the time; or had they those always in their Pockets? If not, it was great luck for them that *Moses* and *Aaron* should shew those very Miracles first, that they were provided to imitate.

Sixthly and Lastly, If the *Magicians* did all this by Tricks and Juggling, may not one fear what Opinion these Men have of the

the

the same things done by *Moses* and *Aaron*? These indeed out-did the others in divers following Instances, but may not they say, that that was by their having more Cunning and Dexterity in the Art of Juggling? If they or their Profelytes have a mind to say thus, they may by their Principles, which will serve them to elude the History, in reference to *Moses* and *Aaron*, as well as it doth in relation to the *Magicians*. They may with as much modesty turn all into Allegory and Metaphor.

I think by all this it appears, that this shife of the Witch-Advocates is very vain, and that what the *Magicians* did, was not mere Juggling, much less only *Politick Oratory* and *Rhetorick*. As if those *Magicians* by their Eloquence could perswade *Pharaoh* and his Servants against their Senses, as these Patrons of Witches endeavour to do by us, they being the greatest Witches in their own sense that are extant, and some of them are belyed, if they are not so in other senses.

S E C T. XIII.

That what the Magicians of Ægypt did perform, was at least by an Implicit Confederacy with Evil Spirits.

VWELL! If there be any truth in the History, the *Magicians* were not only *Couzeners* and *Hocus-Pocus* Men; there was something done that was extraordinary beyond Mans Art and Contrivance, or the effects of ordinary Nature. And therefore must have either *God*, or some *Spirit* or *Dæmon*, one or more for the Authour. The former no one saith, the Hand of God in this was only permissive. Therefore it is plain the *Magicians* did this by *Spirits*, Creatures of the *Invisible World*. The Text saith, by their *enchantments, per arcana*, the vulgar Latin reads. Which because it is a general word, Mr. *Wagstaffe* takes hold of it, and determines it to iecret and sly Tricks, those of *Legerdemain* and *Couzenage*, when as it is as applicable to any kind of *secret* (and so to the *Diaboli-cal Art and Confederacy*) as to his sense. And that it is so to be understood here, is plain

plain from the matter of the History. By those *arcana* (others read, *incantationes, veneficia*) they did those strange things, *viz.* by secret Confederacy with Spirits, they obliged them to perform the wonders.

But what did the Spirits do, were the Serpents, Blood and Frogs *real* or *apparent* only? I am not obliged to say, who is of one Opinion, and who of another in this, it matters not. The reality of the performance is most easie, and most suitable to the Sacred Story, and there is no difficulty in conceiving that Spirits might suddenly convey Serpents, with which *Agypt* abounded into the place of the Rods; which they might unperceivably snatch away after they were thrown down; This they could do, though the *Magicians* of themselves could not. And they might be provided for the performances by knowing the Command God had given *Moses* and *Aaron*, concerning the things he would have them do; which the *Magicians* could not know, at least not but by them.

And for the Blood and the Frogs, they might by Infusion, or a Thousand ways that we cannot tell, make the Water to all appearance Bloody, or perhaps really transmute some (we know not the extent of their powers.) And to bring up the Frogs from the Lakes and Rivers, was no
hard

hard thing for them to effect, though impossible for the *Magicians* to do by Tricks of Juggling. We see the sense of the History is plain, and easie in our way, but forced, harsh, contradictious, and most absurd in the Interpretation of the *Hag-Advocates*.

To make the Inference from these *Magicians* to my point, yet more plain and demonstrative, I shall further take notice, that if we do not suppose a confederacy, and formal compact between them and the Spirits they act by, it must at least be granted that those *Magicians* had a way to oblige them to act, either by *Words* or *Ceremonies*, which they have bound themselves to attend in order to further familiarity with the persons that so employ them, and at last to *explicit* Compacts: And even this is sufficient for what I would infer.

I have thus dispatcht a great Argument briefly, and yet I hope fully; Mr. *Webster* is after his manner very voluminous about it. But all he hath said in Five or Six Leaves in Folio to the purpose, is in those few Lines I have recited. All the rest is senseless, rambling Impertinence, amusing his Readers with *Actives* and *Passives*, *Me-cassaphims*, *Hartummims*, *Talesmans*, wonderful *Cures*, and the vertues of *Plants*, telling
Stories,

Stories, and citing scraps from this Man, and from that, all which serve only for Ostentation, and the Deception of the injudicious, but signify nothing to any purpose of Reasoning.

S E C T. XIV.

The other grand Instance of Confederacy with Evil Spirits, in the Witch of Endor, whom Saul consulted. A brief and plain Narration of the Story.

I Come to another grand Instance, *viz.* that of the Witch of *Endor*. The Story of her is related, *1 Sam.* 28. and is briefly thus. *Samuel* was dead, *v.* 3. and the *Philistines* gathered themselves against *Saul*, and pitcht in *Gilboa*, *v.* 4. *Saul* on this was much afraid, *v.* 5. and enquired of the Lord, but had no answer from him, *v.* 6. Upon this he bid his Servants find him out a Woman that had a Familiar Spirit, that he might enquire of her. They told him of one at *Endor*, *v.* 7. He disguised himself, and with two Men by night went to her, desired her to divine unto him by her *Familiar Spirit*, and to bring up him whom he

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he should name, v. 8. The Woman first excused her self, minding him how dangerous such a business might be to her, since *Saul* had cut off those that had *Familiar Spirits*, and the *Wizards* out of the Land. So that she was afraid that this Proposition of his was a snare for her Life, v. 9. But *Saul* assured her by swearing, that no harm should come to her for this thing, v. 10.

She then askt him whom she should bring up, and he said Bring me up *Samuel*, v. 11. *Samuel* accordingly begins to appear, and when the Woman saw him, she cried with a loud voice, being much surpris'd, it seems, to see *Samuel* in good earnest, whom she probably expected not, but some Familiar in his likeness. By this she knew *Saul*, v. 12. He heartens her again, and asks whom she saw. She answers, she saw *Gods* Ascending out of the Earth, an usual Hebraism, the Plural for the Singular Number, *Gods*, to wit; a *Spirit*, v. 13. *Saul* asks what Forme he was of, she answered, *an Old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*. Then *Saul* perceived it was *Samuel*; and he bowed himself to him to the ground, v. 14.

Samuel ask't why he had disquieted him to bring him up? He declares the distress he was in, and his desire to know what he

he was to do, v. 15. *Samuel* reproves him, and declares his Fate, viz. That the Lord had rent the Kingdome from him, and given it to *David*, v. 17. That the *Israelites* should be delivered into the hands of the *Philistins*, and that *Saul* and his Sons should to morrow be with him, viz. in the state of the Dead, as eventually it was, v. 19. This is the History, and one would think it speaks very plainly, but nothing is plain to prejudice. The Patrons of *Witches* labour hard to avoid this evidence, and I shall propose and consider their shifts and slights of answering.

S E C T. XV.

The Evasion of Mr. Reginald Scot, concerning the Witches Closet, proposed and confuted.

MR. *Reginald Scot*, the father of the modern Witch-Advocates, orders the matter thus. When *Saul*, saith he, had told her that he would have *Samuel* brought up to him, she departed from his presence into her Closet, where doubtless she had her Familiar, to wit, some lewd crafty
 Ec Priest,

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Priest, and made *Saul* stand at the door like a Fool (as it were with his Finger in a hole) to hear the Couzening Answers, but not to see the Couzening handling thereof, and the conterfeiting of the matter. And so goeth she to work, using ordinary words of Conjurati^on, &c. So be-like after many such words spoken, she saith to her self; Lo! now the matter is brought to pass. I see wonderful things. So as *Saul* hearing these words longed to know all, and asked her what she saw. Whereby you know that *Saul* saw nothing, but stood without like a Mome, whilst she plaid her part in her Closet, as may most evidently appear by the Twenty first Verse of this Chapter, where it is said, Then the Woman came out to *Saul*, &c. *Scot*, p. 108.

Now this is not interpreting a Story, but making one. For we read nothing of her Closet, or her going from *Saul* into it, nothing of the crafty Priest she had there, or of *Sauls* standing at the door like a Fool, like a drowned Puppy Mr. *Webster* has it (very respectful Language for a Prince in distress!) nothing of the words of Conjurati^on, or of the Womans talk to her self, but all this is Whimsy and Fiction.

And according to this way of interpreting, a Man may make what he will of all
the

the Histories in the Bible, yea in the World. If one may supply, and put in what he pleaseth, any thing may be made any thing.

But Mr. Scot saith, it *evidently* appears that *Saul* saw nothing, but stayed without like a Mome, whilest she played her part in her Closet. It *evidently* appears by the Twenty first Verse of this Chapter, where 'tis said, *Then the woman came out unto Saul.* Is it not evident from hence, that she had a Closet, how else should she come out? But the mischief of it is, there is nothing of coming out in the Text, or any Version of it. Our Translation is, *And the Woman came unto Saul.* The vulgar Latine, *Ingressa est,* she came *in*, which implies that she went *out of doors* rather, than into her Closet. The *Septuagint* read εἰσῆλθεν ἡ γυνή, being the same sense with the vulgar Latine. The Chaldee Paraphrase simply *she came.* So the Syriack and the Arabick: But we find nothing of coming out any where but in the *Discoverer.* So that here is a Text made too, as well as many a groundless Comment.

But whether she only came to *Saul*, or *in* or *out* to him, it matters not much, for it implies only that she withdrew, while *Saul* Communed with *Samuel*, out of re-

spect, and after the Communication, she returned and found the King in great disorder, and what is this to a Closet?

S E C T. XVI.

Two of Mr. Websters Arguments for the Witches Closet proposed and answered.

BUt Mr. *Webster* pursues the business in the behalf of the *Discoverer*; First, If they were in the same Room, and *Samuel* a visible Object, how comes it to pass that *Saul* saw him not? Mr. *Glanvil*, saith he, *must pump to find it out*, p. 169. But doth not Mr. *Webster* know, that it is usual in *Apparitions* (and he owns there are such) for the Spirit to appear to one, when it is not visible to another, though in the same Room, and every ways capable of seeing? In the Famous Story of *walker* and *Sharp*, recited by him, p. 299, 300. which he confesseth to be of undoubted verity, he saith, it was reported that the Apparition did appear in Court to the Judge, or Fore-man of the Jury (and I have from other hands very credible attestation that it was so)

but

but the rest saw nothing. Many other well attested Relations of this kind speak of the like, and there are Innumerable Stories of people that have their second sight as they call it, to wit, a faculty of seeing Spectres when others cannot discern them. In which there is nothing, either impossible, or unlikely. And why then should there be need of so much *pumping* to answer this Objection?

Samuel it seems appeared to the Woman a little before *Saul* saw him, shewing himself so, it may be, to prepare *Saul* for the terrible sight by degrees, lest the suddenness of it might have affrighted him into an incapacity of hearing what he had to say to him. Or it may be the Body of the Woman, or some other thing in the Room might interpose between *Saul*, and the first appearance of *Samuel*, or he might be at an unfit distance, or out of due light to see presently as she did. So that there is no need of supposing them to be in two Rooms on this account.

But Secondly, He argues further for the Closet or another Room; The Woman cryed out with a loud Voice when she saw *Samuel*; What need of that, saith he, if they were in one Room, might not an ordinary tone make him to have heard her? 'Tis like it might, but that was not the

cause of her crying out, but her surprise to see *Samuel* (if it were the real *Samuel*) when she expected only her *Familiar*, appearing in some resemblance of him. And 'tis like there were circumstances in this Apparition, which she had never seen before, that might on the sudden affright and amaze her. And if it were *Samuel* indeed, which is very probable, the sight of him assured her that the Inquirer was *Saul*. For though she might not conclude it presently from his requiring her to raise *Samuel*, yet when he really and unexpectedly appeared, it was plain that he was come upon some great Errand, and with whom could he probably have such business as with *Saul*? So that she seeing him, the importance of his appearance, and the Relation he had to *Saul*, brought the King presently to her mind, and with him her fears, and that this was one cause of her crying out, is plainly intimated in the next words. *And the Woman spake to Saul, saying, why hast thou deceived me, for thou art Saul, v. 12.* And that she was affrighted at that knowledge, is implied in *Saul's* assuring her again, against her fears in his immediate answer. *And the King said unto her, Be not afraid, v. 13.*

Besides this, there is another thing that may be collected from the Text, which might

might occasion her astonishment and crying out. For as soon as *Saul* had said, *Bring me up Samuel*, v. 11. it immediately follows, v. 12. *And when the Woman saw Samuel, she cryed with a loud voice*. It seems he appeared before she had performed her usual Conjurations (so little ground is there for what *Mr. Scot* talks of her words of Conjurament, and those she spake to her self) and upon that she was surpris'd and affrighted.

S E C T. XVII.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webster for a Room distinct from that Saul was in, proposed and answered.

MR. *Websters* third Argument to prove a Closet, is that it had been incongruous for *Saul* to have askt what sawest thou, if they had been in one Room. But what is the incongruity, or what the wonder, if one in his condition should speak incongruously?

His Fourth and Fifth Arguments, are to prove that *Saul* had yet seen nothing, when he askt the Woman upon her Out-cry,

what she had seen. They prove that she saw the *Apparition* first, which is granted, but her being in another Room, cannot thence be inferred, as I have shewn, though that be the thing he should make out, or all is impertinent.

The Sixth Argument is, that after all, *Samuel* was but coming up. *An Old Man cometh up*, which proves nothing for Mr. *Webster* but against him; For now, she shews him to *Saul*. She saw the first beginning of his appearing, which *Saul* did not. When he was risen higher out of the Earth, she shews him to the King, who, 'tis said, *perceived* then it was *Samuel*, and bowed himself, v. 14. which is very easie and congruous, applied to one and the same Room. And what then makes Mr. *Webster* insult in the Conclusion of this Argument in these words; *Now let Mr. Glanvil consider, and answer whether it be not only intimated, but clearly holden forth in the Text, that either they were in two Rooms, or that nothing visible did appear before Saul, p. 171.* His seeing nothing at first I grant, but the Two Rooms there is no ground for, and he doth not prove it. Whether he did not see *Samuel* after, I shall now inquire. Hitherto I have nothing to do, but with the conceit of the Closet; or the other Room, which

which Mr. *Scot* made for the Woman, and Mr. *Webster* endeavours to uphold, with much good will, but little success.

S E C T. XVIII.

Convincing Arguments brought to prove that Saul saw Samuel, which frustrates the Figment of two Rooms.

After all, if he really saw the Apparition, the Figment of the two Rooms is gone, or at least signifies nothing to their purpose. This the Text intimates plainly. She said, *An Old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*, and it follows, *And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himself*, v. 14.

He perceived it was *Samuel*, he perceived it, saith Mr. *Webster*, by the Description of the Woman. But she had only said; *An Old Man cometh up covered with a Mantle*; This is but a very General Description, and why must that needs notify *Samuel*? Could the Devil represent no other Old Man in a Mantle, or could none of the
dead

dead appear so but *Samuel* only? By these words alone *Saul* could not certainly perceive that it was he. But he perceived this so, that he could not but know and acknowledge it as the Hebrew word seems to imply. I say this word [perceived] implies more than bare seeing. 'Tis that and somewhat else, viz. that he saw him so, as to be convinced that it was he indeed, the judgment was added to the sense. So that Mr. *Webster's* Objection, that the word was not he [saw] it was *Samuel*, is of no weight, he [perceived] implies that he saw it so as to be assured. If the saying of the Woman had been all, the assurance had been none at all, and *Saul* could not have perceived or understood any certainty of the thing from it.

But secondly, it appears yet further, that his perceiving did imply seeing; For he stooped with his Face to the ground, and bowed himself. Now, what did *Saul* make this respectful reverence to, if he saw nothing? Was it to a *Samuel* in his fancy? Mr. *Webster* saith, Surely in rational consequence it could be nothing else, p. 171. This is something an unusual courtesie to bare *Idea's* and *Imaginations*. But Mr. *Webster* gives a reason: All that the Woman had done and said, being undeniably lyes and cheats, this
also

also in just and right reason must be judged to be so also. Which is assuming the thing to be proved.

S E C T. XIX.

That it was a real Apparition, not a confederate Knave, as Mr. Webster fancies, that Saul saw and did obeysance to.

BUt did she not turn out her *confederate Knave* to act the part of *Samuel*? and was not this he to whom *Saul* bowed? This *Mr. Webster* offers as part of his answer. The *Woman* v. 14. describes *Samuel* in the form of an Old Man covered with a Mantle, Such a shape she must have put the confederate Knave into. It may be it was an Old fellow, or she made him look Old, but let that pass. But where got she the Mantle? A *Sacerdotal Habilitment* it was, according to *Josephus*. Had the *Woman* a Wardrobe of all Habits for all purposes? or was it some short Cloak of her own, that she threw on him? We will suppose either that will serve *Mr. websters* turn best. But how did the fellow himself, or the Old
Quean

Queen for him change his Visage into the likeness of *Samuel*, or how alter his voice so, as to make *Saul*, who so well knew *Samuel*, to believe it was even he? These are hard Questions.

But if we should so far gratify Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Webster* and the rest, as not to press with such untoward Queries; yet one cannot chuse but ask how the *confederate Knaves* came to foretel truly such contingent things, as that the *Israelites* should be vanquished by the *Philistines*, and *Saul* and his Sons slain on the morrow, as v. 19. How could the *Cheat*, or the *woman* in another Room tell this? Why! saith Mr. *wagstaffe*, he spake it at a venture, and He or the Witch gave a shrewd guess to the sequel, saith Mr. *Scot*. But what ground was there for conjecture? and since there was none, the *Confederate* might as well have chose to have told *Saul*, that he and his Sons should live and be victorious; and this, if he were so cunning a fellow, as these cunning Men make him, he would have done. For the *Witches* business and his, was to get by their practice, and the likelier way to a good reward, had been to have Prophesied grateful and pleasant things to the troubled King; and if the Prophefier knew nothing of the event, he might as well have chosen the good, as the evil side.

Which

Which as it had been for his Interest, it had been also for the better saving of the credit of his predictions. For if he had foretold the Kings good success and victory, the Woman and He, the Confederate, in consequence had been sure of reputation and favour, and further rewards, if it had happened so; but no evil could have befallen them from the contrary success. For if *Saul* were killed, the falshood of the prediction would be buried with him (for we read not that the two Servants were at this Communication, which in all likelihood was private) and no other evil like to ensue.

So that if it were a *Confederate Knave*, as the Witch-Advocates have contrived that made the answers, he was not so cunning as Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Webster* and the rest pretend, but indeed a very *silly Juggler*. He speaks very severe and disobliging things, and such as were not like to redound to his advantage, and indeed such things they were, as do not at all look as if they proceeded from a confederate Couzener. They have that Gravity, Majesty, Religion and Vertue in them that became the true *Samuel*, and are very unlike the words of a vicious cheating Knave.

To which may be added, that this Woman, though otherwise an ill one, seems
to

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to have been of a kind and benign nature, by the courteous entertainment she gave the afflicted Prince, and *Josephus* extolls her much for her good Nature. So that it is very improbable, that she would by her self or her Confederate, lay such an heavy Load of Trouble and Desperation upon the King, that was in such distress before. I think all these things put together, are abundantly sufficient to disprove, and shame the ungrounded fanisie of the Witch-Advocates, that all was done by a Confederate. And consequently it was a *real* Apparition that *Saul* saw, and did civil obedience to.

S E C T. XX.

That it was not the Witch her self that acted all (as Scot and Webster for another shift would suppose) putting her self into a Trance, and deluding Saul by Ventri-loquy.

BUT was it not the Witch her self that acted all? Mr. *Scot* saith, that if the Exposition of the *Confederate* like us not, he can easily frame himself to the Opini-
on,

on, That this *Pythones*s being a *Ventriloque*, that is, speaking as it were from the bottom of her Belly, did cast her self into a Trance, and so abused *Saul*, answering to *Saul* in *Samuel*'s name in her counterfeit hollow Voice, p. 111. To the same purpose Mr. *Webster* also supposeth, That what she did or pretended to do, was only by *Ventriloquy*, or casting her self into a feigned Trance, lay groveling on the Earth with her face downwards, and so changing her Voice, did mutter and murmur, and peep, and chirp like a Bird coming forth of the shell, or that she spake in some hollow Cave or Vault through some Pipe, or in a Bottle, and so amused and deceived poor timorous and despairing *Saul*, p. 165, 166.

What stuff is this? and how shall one deal with such Men, as set their Wits upon the rack to invent evasions, and are ready to assert any Non-sense or Absurdity to pervert the sense of a plain and simple History? What I have already spoke against the Dream of a *Confederate*, viz. *Saul*'s perceiving it was *Samuel*, his bowing himself upon it; his taking the Voice for the Prophet's, the suitableness and gravity of the words, and the contrivance of the prediction, and the truth of it, are as strong against this *Whim*, as against the other *idle fantasie*, and in some particulars of more force,

as will appear to any one that considers the matter duly.

For *Ventriloquy*, or speaking from the bottom of the Belly, 'tis a thing I think as strange and difficult to be conceived as any thing in Witchcraft, nor can it, I believe, be performed in any distinctness of articulate sounds, without such assistance of the Spirits, that spoke out of the *Dæmoniacks*. I would fain have any of the Witch-Advocates shew how it is naturally possible. So that this that they suppose, will infer the thing they would avoid. It cannot certainly in any reason be thought, that the Woman could by a natural knack, speak such a Discourse as is related from *Samuel*, much less that she could from her Belly imitate his Voice, so as to deceive one that knew him as *Saul* did.

As for Mr. *websters peeping*, *chirping* and *muttering*, they are nothing to the purpose, and his hollow *Cave*, *Pipe* and *Vault*, are as arbitrary Figments as the *Closet*, and fall under the same confutations that disprove the rest of the *Chimæra's*.

S E C T. XXI.

That it was Samuel himself that appeared, not the Devil, nor a Confederate Knave.

BUT the Witch-Advocates have another Argument to prove an Imposture in this business. For, say they, the person denouncing the fate of *Saul* could not be the true *Samuel*, nor the *Devil* in his likeness; therefore it must be either the *Woman*, or some cheating *Confederate*. Which conclusion follows not, for it is possible it might be a *good Spirit* personating *Samuel*. These the Scripture assures us, are often employed in Errands and Ministeries here below, and on those occasions they cloath themselves in humane shape and appearance. So that it is not absurd to think it might be thus here; but this I affirm not. Who actually it was hath been great matter of debate among Interpreters, and considerable Authours have been on either side. My cause doth not require that I should positively determine who the appearing

F f

person

person was, it might be one of them though I cannot tell which.

I confess it seems to me most probable, that it was the true *Samuel*, for the Scripture calls the Apparition so Five times, that is, as often as he is mentioned. And when the Woman saw *Samuel*, v. 12. And *Saul* perceived that it was *Samuel*, v. 14. And *Samuel* said to *Saul*, v. 15. Then said *Samuel*, v. 16. Then *Saul* was sore afraid because of the words of *Samuel*, v. 20. Which expressions are neither from *Saul*, nor the Woman, but from that Spirit that endited the Holy Scriptures. And if after all this, *Samuel* was a *Knave*, or the *Witch*, or the *Devil*, what assurance can we have in interpreting of Scripture? I know that it speaks sometimes agreeably to the deceived apprehensions of Men; but when it is so, there is something in the Context or Nature of the thing that leads us to make this Judgment. And if we rashly suppose whenever we have a mind to it, that the Scripture speaks according to deceived Opinion; we may by this Rule make it say any thing. The plain Letter, and most obvious Sense is always to be followed, where there is no cogent reason to the contrary, and I shall shew by and by, that there is none to decline it here.

Accor-

According to the obvious plain sense; the words are interpreted, *Ecclesiastick. 46. 20. And after his death* (speaking of *Samuel*) *he Prophesied and shewed the King his end.* And the circumstances of the Story which I have already considered, seem to me very plainly to determine the sense this way. Thus doth the surprize of the Woman, who cryed out with astonishment upon the sight of the Prophet, whom she was affrighted to see. Her knowing it was *Saul* by the Apparition, which she could not have done by the *Devil's* appearing in his likeness. The Expression that *Saul perceived* that it was *Samuel*, he did not only fantasie or think so. The Divine and Majestick words he spake, so becoming the true *Samuel*, and so unlike the words of an Evil Spirit. And the prediction of events so contingent as the loss of the Battle, and the Death of the King and his Sons.

S E C T. XXII.

The needlessness and impertinency of M. Webster's Confutation of Samuel's appearing with his Body out of the Grave.

NOW there are several evasions, whereby some endeavour to shift off this evidence. But if we will deal plainly and sincerely, we must, I think, acknowledge the force of the Arguments, which I have briefly and nakedly proposed.

But all this Mr. *Webster* pretends to confute thus. It was not *Samuel's Body* with his Soul joyned, nor his *Soul* that appeared in his wonted shape and habit, p. 172, 173.

The first he proves by these reasons. First, His Body had lain too long in the Grave, so that it must have been disfigured. Secondly, It must have stunk. Thirdly, There was no Taylor in the Grave to make him a Mantle. Fourthly, It must have been an Omnipotent Power to have done this. Fifthly, A Syllogism is brought to prove this contrary to the Scripture, which saith,
That

That those that dye in the Lord rest from their labours.

Now the Four first Arguments he may take again, we have no concern with them. For 'tis senseless to think, that the gross Body came out of the Grave; and if he means the resting of the *Terrestrial* Body by the Fifth, he may take that back too. And indeed as applyed to the Body without the Soul, the disturbing of it is Non-sense. Its corruption in the Grave is continual motion, and more disturbance than the raising it entirely would be, if it were any at all. But properly it is none, no more than is the taking of a Stone out of a Quarry. Therefore if there be any Argument in this; it falls under the next Query.

The Sixth Argument is a Question, *viz.* Who joyned the Soul and Body again? Not the *Witch* nor the *Devil*. The Opinion is erroneous, impious and blasphemous. And for me let him call it what he pleaseth. His strength is in hard words, which here like the stones thrown sometimes by Witchcraft light like Wool, and here Far also from the Mark.

S E C T. XXIII.

That it was the Soul of Samuel that appeared, without his Terrestrial Body, and that it is an indifferent Opinion, in which are divided as well Papists as Protestants.

BUT there is a second Opinion yet to be confuted, *viz.* That it was *Samuel's* Soul in his wonted shape and habit, p. 173. He must mean his *Soul* without the *Body*, or else 'tis the same again; and if he means without any body, I am none of those that mean with him. It is most fully and plainly proved by those excellent Men, Dr. C— and Dr. M—, that Souls departed are embodied in Aerial or Ætherial Vehicles; and they have largely shewn that this was the Doctrine of the greatest Philosophers, and most Ancient and Learned Fathers. And agreeable it is to the Holy Scripture and highest Reason and Philosophy, as I may have another occasion to shew. Now *Samuel* appeared here to *Saul* in this his more pure *Aerial* or *Ætherial* Body, which he could form into such an appearance

appearance and habit as he had in the *Terrestrial*.

Against the Opinion of *Samuel's* Soul appearing, Mr. *Webster* urgeth cogent Arguments, as still he calleth his; they are all *manifest, cogent, irrefragable, unanswerable*, even then when they are scarce sense. He preface to them, by an intimation, that the Doctrine is Popish; maintained, he saith, it is by the Popish party. His hard words use to be his strongest Arguments. But this is only to raise *odium* and prejudice to the opinion. For there are *Papists* and *Protestants* on both sides of this Question. As also Rabbins and Fathers have divided upon it. Some of the last sort, and those perhaps of the greatest and most considerable having been for it, as R. *Eleazer*, R. *Saadias*, The Writers of the *Midrash*, *Josephus* also, *Justin*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Basil*, *Ambrose*, &c. as some others have been against it. So that, I suppose, a Man may freely and without offence declare his Judgment, though it happen to be different from Mr. *Websters*.

S E C T. XXIV.

Three Arguments of Mr. Webster against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel proposed and answered.

V V Herefore to his Arguments, First he could not, saith he, come whether God would or no. Right! Secondly, He would not run on an Errand without Gods consent. No doubt. Thirdly, That God did not command him, he saith, is most certain. Here I must stop. How doth that appear to be so certain? Why! they never were employed in Ministries here below, because never created for any such end or purpose, p. 173. They were never employed in Ministries here below! What thinks he of the Souls of *Moses* and *Elias*, at the transfiguration on the Mount? were not they then employed in a Ministry here below, or were they only Phantasms? or their glorified Bodies without their Souls? and how then did they talk and converse with our Lord? But these he will say were sent on an extraordinary occasion,

occasion. Be it so, they are sometimes then employed in such, and so Mr. *webster* must eat his words. And if blessed Souls are, or have been employed at any time, how is he so certain the real *Samuel* was not sent here?

Thus briefly to his bold Assertion. But he pretends a reason. *They were never created for this purpose.* If that were so, what then? The Stars were never made to fight against *Sisera*, nor any one. Nor the waters to drown the World. Nor the Ravens to feed Prophets or other Men. May not they therefore be used in those Services? Again, No *sensitive* Being was made primarily for another, but to enjoy it self, and to partake of the goodness of its Maker. May it not therefore minister to others? and doth not every Creature so? All things serve him. Thirdly, The Angels are Ministering Spirits, he saith, ordained to be such. Doth he think they were made for that purpose only to serve us? Fourthly, Reasonable humane Creatures are for one another. *Non nobis solum, &c.* Souls are most proper to serve such, not here only, but in the next World. They are *ἰσχυροί*, like unto Angels, and they are as proper at least for the service of Men. They have the same nature and affections. They feel our infirmities, and consider us more than abstract

abstract Spirits do. Which is the reason given why our Saviour took not upon him the nature of *Angels*, but of *Men*. Fifthly, Souls departed have Life and Sense and Motion, capacity of being employed, and no doubt inclination to it; and whither more properly may they be sent, than to those of their own nature, whom they affect, are allied to, and so lately came from? Sixthly, The Angels are not confined to their celestial habitation, but are sent often to this nether World, as Mr. *webster* and the rest confess, and why then should we think that the Souls of the Just are so limited and restrained?

And Lastly, It is supposed both by Jews and Christians, that the *Soul* of the *Messias* appeared to the Patriarchs, and was the Angel of the Covenant; and we know he was pleased to appear to St. *Stephen* at his Martyrdom, though then in Glory. And in the various Apparitions of Angels recorded in the Scripture, we have reason to think that some were humane Souls, called Angels from their Office.

So that on the whole, we see we have no cause to rely on Mr. *websters* certainty, that *Samuel's* Soul came not on a Divine Command.

S E C T. XXV.

Other Arguments of Mr. Webster against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel, proposed and answered.

BUt Mr. *Webster* goes on: Fourthly, saith he, Mr. *Glanvil* hath only affirmed, not proved it. Which is not so, I alledge the same reasons I have mentioned here, in my *Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft*, Sect. 16. And the frequent affirmations of the Sacred Text, were sufficient ground for the Assertion, though no other reasons were added to them.

He argues, Fifthly, Miracles are wrought to confirm truth, but this would have confirmed *Saul* and the Witch in their wicked ways, p. 174. I answer, Miracles are not always wrought to confirm truth, but sometimes to declare it. And these sort are often for that purpose. Such was this, to pronounce the final Sentence and Doom on *Saul*, as to the concerns of this World. And the Prophet's appearing so contrary to the Womans expectation, and before she
had

had performed her spells, struck her into dread and amazement, and so she could draw no encouragement thence, to countenance her trade of Witchcraft:

Sixthly, He saith it is not credible, but that *Samuel* would have reproved the Sorcerers. But that was not his business, and it is like she being one of that vile and Diabolical profession was forsaken of God and good Spirits, and given up to those evil ones that were her Agents and Familiars. Such derelictions we sometimes read of. And certainly if any course of sinning occasions and brings such a judgment (as some no doubt do) this of Witchcraft and Confederacy with evil Spirits, is one that most justly may.

Seventhly, But God had refused to answer *Saul* by any living Prophet, and Eighthly would not vouchsafe him his Spirit in the ordinary way, and therefore it is not probable he would do it by sending a Prophet from the dead. Which arguings can only discover our ignorance in the Reasons of the Divine Counsels and Actions. But yet it may be said, God had indeed withdrawn all comfortable and directive Communications from him, but this was of another sort, a further instance of the Divine Displeasure, and Declarative of the forsaken Kings Doom. Which was

no favour, but indeed a judgment to which the Divine Justice was probably further provoked by this his sin of dealing with the Sorcerers.

But Ninthly, *Abraham* would not send *Lazarus* upon the Rich Mans desire to his surviving Brethren, p. 175. Nor can any one think it follows that, because one came from the dead to an extraordinary person, and upon an occasion that was such; that therefore Prophets, or other Souls shall be sent from thence, ordinarily to warn those that have other sufficient means of conviction and amendment. The Tenth is to fill up tale. Where doth Mr. *Glanvil*, saith he, find it in Scripture, or Orthodoxal Divines, that ever any Blessed Soul was sent on a Divine Errand to any here below? Which he objected, and I answered before.

S E C T. XXVI.

That the Soul of Samuel might come of it self, as well as be sent by Divine Command, either Opinion defensible.

I Have briefly recited, and I hope cleared Mr. *Webster's* Objections, which he runs out into great length and numerous imper-
ticiencies. And indeed his Arguments are often such confident Nothings, that it is really a shame to go about to answer them. But I shall never pass by any thing of his strength.

But though I have defended the Opinion, that *Samuel's* Soul was sent on a Divine Errand to *Saul*, against Mr. *Webster's* contrary pretences; yet is there another thing supposable, which is as probable, *viz.* That *Samuel* came without any direct command, being barely permitted, and that the earnest and importunate desire of *Saul* to have some Communication with him in his distress, invited and inclined him to it. Thus it might be, and there is no cause to think, but that blessed Souls have some-
times

times such liberty allowed them; which of these it was, I shall not presume to determine, both are defensible, and either sufficient for my purpose.

S E C T. XXVII.

Several other Objections against the appearing of the Soul of Samuel answered.

BUT there are other Objections besides Mr. *Websters*, against the Tenent that it was the Soul of *Samuel*; I shall not conceal any one that hath any force in it.

First it is urged, That *witches* and *Magicians* have no power over the Spirits of the Just, and therefore this *Pythonesse* could not raise *Samuel*. Nor do we say she did. He appeared (as 'tis probable from the Text) before she had made her Conjurations. Which might be one reason of her crying out. He came either sent from God, or of his own inclination. The *Devil* nor *Witch* had nothing to do in it.

But Secondly, would God send *Samuel* at such a time, when he was seeking satisfaction from enchantment? And why not

So Proof of Apparitions, &c.

not as well that, as appoint the Prophet to meet the Messengers of *Abaziah* when he sent to *Beelzebub*, *2 Kings 1*? That King sent to the Idol of *Ekron* to inquire his Fate, and God acquainted him with it by his Prophet *Elijah*. Thus also when *Balak* had required *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*, God put a Prophecy into his Mouth, and made him bless them, *Numb. 22. &c.*

Thirdly, The Woman said, she saw Gods arising, a company of evil Spirits (so some interpret) and what did *Samuel* among them? But I saw *Gods* is more probably rendered by others a *God*, a Divine Personage, the plural Number for the singular to express honour. And that it is so to be understood is signified plainly by the singular Relative that follows; *Of what form is he*, v. 14. Or if more be meant, why might they not be good *Genii* that accompanied *Samuel*, a great and Divine Personage, eminent no doubt in the other World as he was in this?

Fourthly, some argue from the Question of the Apparition, v. 15. *Why hast thou disquieted me? Samuel*, say they, whether sent by God, or coming of his own accord, could not be disquieted by appearing. Nor was there any real disturbance in it, but the Spirit of the Prophet speaks our Language, who are apt to fancy the dead to
rest

rest in their Graves, and to be disturbed of their repose, when upon any occasion they appear among the living.

Fifthly, But he saith, that *Saul* and his Sons should be with him, *viz.* in *Thalamo iustorum*, which some think not unlikely; believing that *Saul* was reprobate only in Type. But more probably the meaning is, that he should be in the State of the dead in another World, as he the Prophet was.

Sixthly and Lastly, The Spectre said, that to *morrow* he should be with him, which was not true, for several days intervened before the Battle. But the word to *morrow* need not be taken in strictness; but in a Latitude of interpretation for a short time. He was to dye in or upon the Fight, and the enemies were now ready for it, and so the event was to be within a very little while. The prediction of which, was a Prophecy of a thing very contingent, and shews that the Predictor was the real *Samuel*:

S E C T. XXVIII.

An Answer to that Objection, That if it was Samuel's soul that appeared, it makes nothing to Witchcraft.

BUT if it were the real *Samuel*, will they say, this Story will then make nothing for the Opinion of Witchcraft. For *Samuel* was not raised by enchantment, but came either of his own accord, or on a Divine Errand. To which Objection, I say,

First, Here is at least proof of an Apparition of a Man after Death.

Secondly, *Sauls* going to this *Pythonesse* upon such an Inquiry, and she undertaking to bring the person up, whom he should name (at least the appearance of him) intimated v. 11. are good proof that this had been her practice, though at this time over-ruled, and that she acted by an Evil Spirit. For certainly when *Saul* intreats her to *Divine to him by her Familiar Spirit*, he did not mean that she should deceive, and delude him by a *Confederate*

Knave.

Knave. The senselessness of which Figment I have already sufficiently disproved. That the Woman was used to such practices, will appear fully when I come to prove Witchcraft from * exprefs Texts.

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* The exprefs Texts that he means, I suppose are such as these; Exod. 22. 18. 2 Chron. 33. 6. Gal. 5. 20. Micah 5. 12. Acts 13. 6. 8. and Chap. 8. 9. and more especially Deut. 18. 10. Where almost all the Names of Witches are enumerated; namely, of all those that are inveigled by Covenant with Evil Spirits, either explicitly, or by submitting to their Ceremonies. See Dr. H—M— his Postscript.

S E C T. XXIX.

They that hold it was an Evil Spirit that appeared to Saul, that their opinion may be true for ought Mr. Webster brings against it.

AS to the Opinion of divers Divines, that the appearing *Samuel* was indeed an Evil Spirit in his likeness, though I judge it not so probable as the other of the real *Samuel*, yet the interpretation is not absurd nor impossible. And because I do not absolutely determine either way, I shall defend it against Mr. *Websters* contrary Arguments, which whether it be so or not so, prove nothing. He saith,

First, That this begs two false suppositions, p. 175. as First, That the Devils are simply incorporeal Spirits. By which if he means *Incorporeal* in their Intrinsic Essential Constitution, such no doubt they are, as every Intellectual Being is. But if he mean by *simply Incorporeal*, disunited from all Matter and Body, so perhaps (and most likely) they are not. But neither
the

the one, or the other of these, is supposed by the Opinion Mr. *webster* impugnes. The second false supposition is, That Devils can assume Bodies. That they can appear in divers Shapes and Figures, like humane and other Bodies, we affirm, and it is plain from the Scripture as to Angels, and I shall make the same good, in reference to other Spirits in due place. So that we may suppose it still, till Mr. *webster* hath evinced the contrary, as he promiseth. How he performs I shall consider in due place.

His Second Argument is, That he is not of their Opinion, that the Devils move, and rove up and down in this Elementary World at pleasure. Which no one I know saith. They go to and fro, and compass the Earth, but still within the bounds of the Divine permission, the Laws of the Angelical World, and those of their own Kingdom; which prevent the Troubles and Disturbances in the World from them, which he saith would ensue.

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Thus far runs the Proof of the Existence of Apparitions and Witchcraft, from Holy Scripture, entire. The three or four Lines that follow in the MS. and are left out, break off abruptly. But what is said, sufficiently subverts the force of Mr. Webster's Arguments against their Opinion, that say it was the Devil that appeared to Saul. I will only here take notice, that this part which reaches hitherto, though it be not fully finished, yet it abundantly affords Proof for the Conclusion, namely, for the Existence of Spirits, Apparitions and Witches, from Testimony of Holy Scripture, to as many as yield to the Authority thereof. But the following Collection is a Confirmation of the same things, as well to the Anti-Scripturists, as to them that believe Scripture.

And the leading Story of the Daemon
of

of *Tedworth*, I hope now will prove irrefragable and unexceptionable, if the Reader retain in his mind, *Mr. Glanvil's Preface to this second Part of his Sado-cismus Triumphatus*, and *Mr. Mompesson's Letters*, the one to *Mr. Glanvil*, the other to *Mr. Collins*, which cannot but abundantly undeceive the World. So that it is needless to record how *Mr. Glanvil* wrote to *Mr. William Claget of Bury*, and professed, He had not the least ground to think he was imposed on in what he related, and that he had great cause from what he saw himself, to say, it was impossible there should be any Imposture in that business.

To the same purpose he wrote to *Mr. Gilbert Clark in Northampton-shire*, as also to my self, and undoubtedly to many more, as he has intimated in his Preface. Besides that, to the Parties above named, he sent a Copy of that Letter of *Mr. Mompesson*, which was wrote to himself.

88 *Proof of Apparitions, &c.*

So that that groundless Rumour being thus fully silenced, we may now seasonably relate, and that with confidence, that assured and unexceptionably attested Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth. Which is as follows.

Proof

*Proof of Apparitions, Spirits
and Witches, from a choice. Collecti-
on of modern Relations.*

RELATION I.

*Which is the enlarged Narrative of the Dæ-
mon of Tedworth, or of the Disturbances at
Mr. Mompesson's House, caused by Witch-
craft, and the villany of the Drummer.*

MR. John Mompesson of Tedworth, in
the County of Wilts, being a-
bout the middle of March, in
the Year 1661. at a Neighbo-
ring Town called *Ludgarshal*, and hearing
a Drum beat there, he inquired of the
Bailiff of the Town, at whose House he
then was, what it meant. The Bailiff
told him, that they had for some days been
troubled with an idle Drummer, who de-
manded money of the Constable by vertue
of a pretended Pass, which he thought
was counterfeit. Upon this Mr. Mompes-

son sent for the Fellow, and askt him by what authority he went up and down the Country in that manner with his Drum. The Drummer answered, he had good authority, and produced his Pass, with a Warrant, under the Hands of Sir *William Cavely*, and Colonel *Ayliff* of *Gretenham*. Mr. *Mompesson* knowing these Gentlemens Hands, discovered that the Pass and Warrant were counterfeit, and thereupon commanded the Vagrant to put off his Drum, and charged the Constable to carry him before the next Justice of the Peace, to be further examined and punished. The Fellow then confessed the cheat, and begged earnestly to have his Drum. Mr. *Mompesson* told him, that if he understood from Colonel *Ayliff*, whose Drummer he said he was, that he had been an honest Man, he should have it again, but in the mean time he would secure it. So he left the Drum with the Bailiff, and the Drummer in the Constables hands, who it seems was prevailed on by the Fellows intreaties to let him go.

About the midst of *April* following, when Mr. *Mompesson* was preparing for a Journey to *London*, the Bailiff sent the Drum to his House. When he was returned from that Journey, his Wife told him, that they had been much affrighted in the Night
by

by Thieves, and that the House had been like to have been broken up. And he had not been at home above three Nights, when the same noise was heard that had disturbed his Family in his absence. It was a very great knocking at his Doors, and the outsides of his House. Hereupon he got up, and went about the House with a brace of Pistols in his Hands. He opened the Door where the great knocking was, and then he heard the noise at another Door. He opened that also, and went out round his House, but could discover nothing, only he still heard a strange noise and hollow sound. When he was got back to bed, the noise was a Thumping and Drumming on the top of his House, which continued a good space, and then by degrees went off into the Air.

After this, the noise of Thumping and Drumming was very frequent, usually five nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outsides of the House, which is most of it of Board. It constantly came as they were going to sleep, whether early or late. After a Months disturbance without, it came into the Room where the Drum lay, four or five nights in seven, within half an hour after they were in bed, continuing almost two. The sign of it just before it came, was, they still
heard

heard an hurling in the Air over the House, and at its going off, the beating of a Drum like that at the breaking up of a Guard. It continued in this Room for the space of two Months, which time Mr. *Mompesson* himself lay there to observe it. In the fore part of the night, it used to be very troublesome, but after two hours all would be quiet.

Mrs. *Mompesson* being brought to bed, there was but little noise the night she was in Travail, nor any for three weeks after, till she had recovered strength. But after this civil cessation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vext the youngest Children, beating their Bedsteds with that violence, that all present expected when they would fall in pieces. In laying Hands on them, one should feel no blows, but might perceive them to shake exceedingly. For an hour together it would beat, *Round-heads and Cuckolds*, the *Tat-too*, and several other points of War, as well as any Drummer. After this, they should hear a scratching under the Childrens Bed, as if by something that had Iron Tallons. It would lift the Children up in their Beds, follow them from one Room to another, and for a while haunted none particularly but them.

There

There was a Cock-loft in the House which had not been observed to be troubled, thither they removed the Children, putting them to Bed while it was fair day, where they were no sooner laid, but their troubler was with them as before.

On the Fifth of *Novemb.* 1662. it kept a mighty noise, and a servant observing two Boards in the Childrens Room seeming to move, he bid it give him one of them. Upon which the Board came (nothing moving it that he saw) within a yard of him. The Man added, Nay let me have it in my Hand; upon which it was shov'd quite home to him. He thrust it back, and it was driven to him again, and so up and down, to and fro, at least twenty times together, till Mr. *Montpeffon* forbid his Servant such familiarities. This was in the day-time, and seen by a whole Room full of People. That morning it left a sulphurous smell behind it, which was very offensive. At night the Minister one Mr. *Cragg*, and divers of the Neighbours came to the House on a visit. The Minister went to Prayers with them, Kneeling at the Childrens Bed-side, where it was then very troublesome and loud. During Prayer-time it withdrew into the Cock-loft, but returned as soon as Prayers were done, and then in sight of the Company, the Chairs
walkt

walkt about the Room of themselves, the Childrens shooes were hurled over their Heads, and every loose thing moved about the Chamber. At the same time a Bedstaff was thrown at the Minister, which hit him on the Leg, but so favourably that a Lock of Wool could not have fallen more softly, and it was observed, that it stopt just where it lighted, without rolling or moving from the place.

Mr. *Mompesson* perceiving, that it so much persecuted the little Children, he lodged them out at a Neighbours House, taking his Eldest Daughter, who was about Ten years of age into his own Chamber, where it had not been a Moneth before. As soon as she was in Bed, the disturbance begun there again, continuing three Weeks Drumming, and making other noises, and it was observed, that it would exactly answer in Drumming any thing that was beaten or called for. After this, the House where the Children were Lodged out, happening to be full of strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the Parlour, they were lodged there, where also their persecutour found them, but then only pluckt them by the Hair and Night-cloaths without any other disturbance.

It was noted, that when the noise was loudest, and came with the most sudden and surprizing violence, no Dog about the House would move, though the knocking was oft so boisterous and rude, that it hath been heard at a considerable distance in the Fields, and awakened the Neighbours in the Village, none of which live very near this House. The Servants sometimes were lift up with their Beds, and then let gently down again without hurt, at other times it would lye like a great weight upon their Feet.

About the latter end of *Decemb.* 1662. the Drummings were less frequent, and then they heard a noise like the gingling of Money, occasioned, as it was thought, by somewhat Mr. *Mompesson's* Mother had spoken the day before to a Neighbour, who talkt of Fayries leaving Money, *viz.* That she should like it well, if it would leave them some to make amends for their trouble. The night after the speaking of which, there was a great chinking of Money over all the House.

After this it desisted from the ruder noises, and employed it self in little Apish and less troublesome Tricks. On *Christmas Eve* a little before day, one of the little Boys arising out of his Bed, was hit on a sore place upon his Heel, with the Latch of
the

the Door, the Pin that it was fastened with, was so small that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The night after *Christmas* day, it threw the Old Gentlewomans cloaths about the Room, and hid her Bible in the Ashes. In such silly tricks it was frequent.

After this, it was very troublesome to a Servant of Mr. *Mompesson's*, who was a stout Fellow, and of sober Conversation. This Man lay within, during the greatest disturbance, and for several nights something would endeavour to pluck his cloaths off the Bed, so that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and sometimes they would be pluckt from him by main force; and his shoes thrown at his head. And now and then he should find himself forcibly held, as it were bound Hand and Foot, but he found that whenever he could make use of his Sword, and struck with it; the Spirit quitted its hold.

A little after these contests, a Son of Sir *Thomas Bennet*, whose Workman the Drummer had sometimes been, came to the House, and told Mr. *Mompesson* some words that he had spoken, which it seems was not well taken. For as soon as they were in Bed, the Drum was beat up very violently and loudly, the Gentleman arose and called his Man to him, who lay with

Mr.

Mr. *Mompesson's* Servant just now spoken of, whose name was *John*. As soon as Mr. *Bennet's* Man was gone, *John* heard a rustling noise in his Chamber, and something came to his Bedside, as if it had been one in silk. The Man presently reacheth after his Sword, which he found held from him, and 'twas with difficulty and much tugging that he got it into his power, which as soon as he had done, the Spectre left him, and it was always observed that it still avoided a Sword.

About the beginning of *January 1662*. they were wont to hear a Singing in the Chimney before it came down. And one Night about this time, lights were seen in the House. One of them came into Mr. *Mompesson's* Chamber which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused great stiffness in the Eyes of those that saw it. After the light something was heard coming up the Stairs, as if it had been one without Shoes. The light was seen also four or five times in the Childrens Chamber; and the Maids confidently affirm that the Doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their sight, and when they were opened they heard a noise as if half a dozen had entred together. After which some were heard to walk about the Room, and one

ruffled as if it had been in silk. The like Mr. *Mompesson* himself once heard.

During the time of the knocking, when many were present, a Gentleman of the Company said, *Satan*, if the Drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more, which it did very distinctly and stopt. Then the Gentleman knockt, to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it did not. For further trial, he bid it for confirmation, if it were the Drummer, to give five knocks and no more that night, which it did, and left the House quiet all the night after. This was done in the presence of Sir *Thomas Chamberlain* of *Oxfordshire*, and divers others.

On *Saturday* Morning, an hour before day, *Jan. 10.* a Drum was heard beat upon the out-sides of Mr. *Mompesson's* Chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the House, where some Gentlemen strangers lay, playing at their door and without, four or five several Tunes, and so went off into the air.

The next night, a Smith in the Village lying with *John* the Man, they heard a noise in the room, as if one had been shoeing of an Horse, and somewhat came, as it were with a pair of Pincers, snipping at the Smiths Nose most part of the Night.

One Morning Mr. *Mompesson* rising early to go a journey, heard a great noise below, where the Children lay, and running down with a Pistol in his hand, he heard a voice, crying *a Witch, a Witch*, as they had also heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was quiet.

Having one Night played some little tricks at Mr. *Mompesson's* Beds feet, it went into another Bed, where one of his Daughters lay; There it passed from side to side, lifting her up as it passed under. At that time there were three kinds of noises in the Bed. They endeavoured to thrust at it with a Sword, but it still shifted and carefully avoided the thrust, still getting under the Child when they offered at it. The Night after it came panting like a Dog out of breath. Upon which one took a Bedstaff to knock, which was caught out of her hand, and thrown away, and company coming up, the room was presently filled with a bloomy noisome smell, and was very hot, though without fire, in a very sharp and severe Winter. It continued in the Bed panting and scratching an hour and half, and then went into the next Chamber, where it knockt a little, and seemed to rattle a Chain; thus it did for two or three nights together.

After this, the old Gentlewomans Bible was found in the Ashes, the Paper side being downwards. Mr. *Mompesson* took it up, and observed that it lay open at the Third Chapter of *St. Mark*, where there is mention of the unclean Spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the Twelve to cast out Devils, and of the Scribes Opinion, that he cast them out through *Beelzebub*. The next night they strewed Ashes over the Chamber, to see what impressions it would leave. In the morning they found in one place, the resemblance of a great Claw, in another of a lesser, some Letters in another, which they could make nothing of, besides many Circles and Scratches in the Ashes.

About this time I went to the House, on purpose to inquire the truth of those passages, of which there was so loud a report. It had ceased from its Drumming and ruder noises before I came thither, but most of the more remarkable circumstances before related, were confirmed to me there, by several of the neighbours together, who had been present at them. At this time it used to haunt the Children, and that as soon as they were laid. They went to Bed that night I was there, about Eight of the Clock, when a Maid-servant coming down from them, told us it was come. The
neigh-

neighbours that were there, and two Ministers who had seen and heard divers times went away, but Mr. *Mompesson*, and I, and a Gentleman that came with me went up. I heard a strange scratching as I went up the Stairs, and when we came into the Room, I perceived it was just behind the Bolster of the Childrens Bed, and seemed to be against the Tick. It was as loud a scratching, as one with long Nails could make upon a Bolster. There were two little modest Girls in the Bed, between Seven and Eleven years old as I guess. I saw their hands out over the Cloaths, and they could not contribute to the noise that was behind their heads. They had been used to it, and had still some body or other in the Chamber with them, and therefore seemed not to be much affrighted. I standing at the Beds-head, thrust my hand behind the Bolster, directing it to the place whence the noise seemed to come. Whereupon the noise ceased there, and was heard in another part of the Bed. But when I had taken out my Hand it returned, and was heard in the same place as before. I had been told that it would imitate noises, and made trial by scratching several times upon the Sheet, as 5, and 7, and 10, which it followed and still stopt at my number. I searcht under and behind the Bed, turn-

ed up the Cloaths to the Bed-cords, graspt the Bolster, founded the Wall behind, and made all the search that possible I could to find if there were any trick, contrivance, or common cause of it; the like did my friend, but we could discover nothing. So that I was then verily perswaded, and am so still, that the noise was made by some *Dæmon* or *Spirit*. After it had scratcht about half an hour or more, it went into the midst of the Bed under the Children, and there seemed to pant like a Dog out of Breath very loudly. I put my hand upon the place, and felt the Bed bearing up against it, as if something within had thrust it up. I graspt the Feathers to feel if any living thing were in it. I looked under and every where about, to see if there were any Dog or Cat, or any such Creature in the Room, and so we all did, but found nothing. The motion it caused by this panting was so strong, that it shook the Room and Windows very sensibly. It continued thus, more than half an hour, while my friend and I stay'd in the Room, and as long after, as we were told. During the panting, I chanced to see as it had been something (which I thought was a Rat or Mouse) moving in a Linnen Bag, that hung up against another Bed that was in the Room. I stept and caught

caught it by the upper end with one Hand, with which I held it, and drew it through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was no body near to shake the Bag, or if there had, no one could have made such a motion, which seemed to be from within, as if a Living Creature had moved in it. This passage I mention not in the former Editions, because it depended upon my single Testimony, and might be subject to more Evasions than the other I related; but having told it to divers Learned and Inquisitive Men, who thought it not altogether inconsiderable, I have now added it here. It will I know be said by some, that my friend and I were under some affright, and so fancied noises and sights that were not. This is the Eternal Evasion. But if it be possible to know how a Man is affected, when in fear, and when unconcerned, I certainly know for mine own part, that during the whole time of my being in the Room, and in the House, I was under no more affrightment than I am, while I write this Relation. And if I know that I am now awake, and that I see the Objects that are before me, I know that I heard and saw the particulars I have told. There is, I am sensible, no great matter for story in them, but there is so much as convinceth me, that

there was somewhat extraordinary, and what we usually call preternatural in the business. There were other passages at my being at *Tedworth*, which I published not, because they are not such plain and unexceptionable Proofs. I shall now briefly mention them, *valcant quantum valere possunt*. My friend and I lay in the Chamber, where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all Night, but early before day in the Morning, I was awakened (and I awakened my Bed-fellow) by a great knocking just without our Chamber door. I askt who was there several times, but the knocking still continued without answer. At last I said, *In the Name of God, who is it; and what would you have?* to which a voice answered, *nothing with you*. We thinking it had been some Servant of the House, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. *Mompesson*: when we came down, he assured us, that no one of the House lay that way, or had business thereabout, and that his Servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was day. Which they confirmed and protested that the noise was not made by them.

Mr. *Mompesson* had told us before, that it would be gone in the middle of the Night, and come again divers times early
in

in the Morning about Four a Clock, and this I suppose was about that time.

Another passage was this, my Man coming up to me in the Morning, told me, that one of my Horses (that on which I rode) was all in a sweat, and lookt as if he had been rid all Night. My friend and I went down and found him so. I enquired how he had been used, and was assured that he had been well fed, and ordered as he used to be, and my Servant was one that was wont to be very careful about my Horses. The Horse I had had a good time, and never knew but that he was very sound. But after I had rid him a Mile or two, very gently over a plain Down from Mr. *Mompesson's* house, he fell lame, and having made a hard shift to bring me home, dyed in two or three days, no one being able to imagine what he ailed. This I confess might be accident or some unusual distemper, but all things being put together, it seems very probable that it was somewhat else.

But I go on with Mr. *Mompesson's* own particulars. There came one Morning a light into the Childrens Chamber, and a voice crying, *a Witch, a Witch*, for at least an hundred times together.

Mr. *Mompesson* at another time (being in the day) seeing some wood move that was in
the

the Chimney of a Room, where he was, as of it self, discharged a Pistol into it, after which they found several drops of Blood on the Harth, and in divers places of the Stairs.

For two or three nights after the discharge of the Pistol, there was a calm in the House, but then it came again, applying it self to a little Child newly taken from Nurse. Which it so persecuted, that it would not let the poor Infant rest for two nights together, nor suffer a Candle in the Room, but carry them away lighted up the Chimney, or throw them under the Bed. It so scared this Child by leaping upon it, that for some hours it could not be recovered out of the fright. So that they were forced again to remove the Children out of the house. The next night after which something about Mid-night came up the Stairs, and knockt at Mr. *Mompesson's* door, but he lying still, it went up another pair of Stairs, to his Mans Chamber, to whom it appeared standing at his Beds foot. The exact shape and proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great Body with two red and glaring Eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappeared.

Another night strangers being present, it purr'd in the Childrens Bed like a Cat,

at which time also the Cloaths and Children were lift up from the Bed, and six Men could not keep them down. Hereupon they removed the Children, intending to have ript up the Bed. But they were no sooner laid in another, but the second Bed was more troubled than the first. It continued thus four hours, and so beat the Childrens Leggs against the Bed-posts, that they were forced to arise, and sit up all night. After this, it would empty Chamberpots into their Beds, and strew them with Ashes, though they were never so carefully watcht. It put a long piked Iron into Mr. *Mompesson's* Bed, and into his Mothers a naked Knife upright. It would fill Porrengers with Ashes, throw every thing about and keep a noise all day.

About the beginning of *April*, 1663, a Gentleman that lay in the house, had all his money turned black in his Pockets; and Mr. *Mompesson* coming one Morning into his Stable, found the Horse he was wont to Ride, on the Ground, having one of his hinder Leggs in his Mouth, and so fastened there, that it was difficult for several Men to get it out with a Leaver. After this, there were some other remarkable things, but my account goes no further. Only Mr. *Mompesson* writ me word, that afterwards the House was several nights beset

set with seven or eight in the shape of Men, who, as soon as a Gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into an Arbour.

The Drummer was tryed at the Assizes at *Salisbury* upon this occasion. He was committed first to *Gloucester* Gaol for stealing, and a *Wiltshire* Man coming to see him, he askt what news in *Wiltshire*. The Visitant said, he knew of none. No, saith the Drummer! do not you hear of the Drumming at a Gentlemans house at *Tedworth*, That I do enough, said the other. I, quoth the Drummer, I have plagued him (or to that purpose) and he shall never be at quiet, till he hath made me satisfaction for taking away my Drum. Upon Information of this, the fellow was tryed for a Witch at *Sarum*, and all the main circumstances I have related, were sworn at the Assizes by the Minister of the Parish, and divers others of the most intelligent and substantial Inhabitants, who had been Eye and Ear witnesses of them, time after time for divers years together.

The fellow was condemned to Transportation, and accordingly sent away; but I know not how ('tis said by raising storms, and affrighting the Seamen-) he made a shift to come back again. And 'tis observable, that during all the time of his restraint

straint and absence the house was quiet, but as soon as ever he came back at liberty, the disturbance returned.

He had been a Souldier under *Cromwel*, and used to talk much of Gallant Books he had of an odd fellow, who was counted a Wizzard. Upon this occasion, I shall here add a passage, which I had not from Mr. *Mompesson*, but yet relates to the main purpose.

The Gentleman, who was with me at the House, Mr. *Hill*, being in company with one *Compton* of *Summersetshire*, who practiseth Physick, and pretends to strange matters, related to him this story of Mr. *Mompesson's* disturbance. The Physician told him, he was sure it was nothing but a Rendezvouz of Witches, and that for an hundred pounds, he would undertake to rid the House of all disturbance. In pursuit of this discourse, he talkt of many high things, and having drawn my friend into another Room apart from the rest of the company, said, he would make him sensible he could do something more than ordinary, and askt him who he desired to see. Mr. *Hill* had no great confidence in his talk, but yet being earnestly prest to name some one, He said, he desired to see no one so much as his Wife; who was then many miles distant from them at her home. Upon this,

Compton

Compton took up a Looking-glass that was in the Room, and setting it down again, bid my friend look in it; which he did, and there, as he most solemnly and seriously professeth, he saw the exact Image of his Wife in that habit which she then wore, and working at her Needle in such a part of the Room (there represented also) in which and about which time she really was as he found upon inquiry when he came home. The Gentleman himself averred this to me, and he is a very sober, intelligent, and credible person. *Compton* had no knowledge of him before, and was an utter stranger to the person of his Wife. The same Man we shall meet again in the story of the Witchcrafts of *Elizabeth Style*, whom he discovered to be a Witch by foretelling her coming into an house, and going out again without speaking, as is set down in the third *Relation*. He was by all counted a very odd person.

Thus I have written the sum of Mr. *Mompesson's* disturbance, which I had partly from his own mouth related before divers, who had been witnesses of all, and confirmed his relation, and partly from his own Letters, from which the order and series of things is taken. The same particulars he writ also to *Dr. Creed*, then Doctor of the Chair in *Oxford*.

Mr.

Mr. *Alompesson* is a Gentleman, of whose truth in this account, I have not the least ground of suspicion, he being neither vain nor credulous, but a discreet, sagacious and manly person. Now the credit of matters of Fact depends much upon the Relatours, who, if they cannot be deceived themselves nor supposed any ways interess'd to impose upon others, ought to be credited. For upon these circumstances, all humane Faith is ground'd, and matter of Fact is not capable of any proof besides, but that of immediate sensible evidence. Now this Gentleman cannot be thought ignorant, whether that he relates be true or no, the Scene of all being his own house, himself a witness and that not of a circumstance or two, but of an hundred, nor for once or twice only, but for the space of some years, during which he was a concerned, and inquisitive Observer. So that it cannot with any shew of reason be supposed that any of his Servants abus'd him, since in all that time he must needs have detected the deceit. And what interest could any of his family have had (if it had been possible to have managed it without discovery) to continue so long so troublesome, and so injurious an Imposture? Nor can it with any whit of more probability be imagin'd, that his own melancholy deluded him, since (besides that he

he is no crazy nor imaginative person) that humour could not have been so lasting and pertinacious. Or if it were so in him, can we think he infected his whole Family, and those multitudes of neighbors and others, who had so often been witnesses of those passages? Such supposals are wild, and not like to tempt any, but those whose Wills are their Reasons. So that upon the whole, the principal Relatour Mr. *Mompesson* himself knew, whether what he reports was true or not, whether those things acted in his house were contrived *Cheats*, or extraordinary *Realities*. And if so, what interest could he serve in carrying on, or conniving at a juggling Design and Imposture?

He suffered by it in his Name, in his Estate, in all his Affairs, and in the general peace of his Family. The Unbelievers in the matter of Spirits and Witches took him for an Impostour. Many others judged the permission of such an extraordinary evil to be the judgment of God upon him, for some notorious wickedness or impiety. Thus his name was continually exposed to censure, and his estate suffered, by the concurrence of people from all parts to his house, by the diversion it gave him from his affairs, by the discouragement of Servants, by reason of which he could hardly get any to live
with

with him. To which if I add the continual hurry that his Family was in, the affrights, vexations and tossings up and down of his Children, and the watchings and disturbance of his whole house (in all which, himself must needs be the most concerned person) I say, if these things are considered, there will be little reason to think he could have any interest to put a cheat upon the World, in which he would most of all have injured and abused himself. Or if he should have designed and managed so incredible, so unprofitable a Delusion, 'tis strange that he should have troubled himself so long in such a business, only to deceive, and to be talkt of. And it is yet more so, that none of those many inquisitive persons that came thither purposely to criticize and examine the truth of those matters, could make any discoveries of the Juggling, especially since many came prejudiced against the belief of such things in general, and others resolved before-hand against the belief of this, and all were permitted the utmost freedom of search and inquiry. And after things were weighed and examined, some that were before greatly prejudiced, went away fully convinced. To all which I add, that

There are divers particulars in the story, in which no abuse or deceit could have been

practised, as the motion of Boards and Chairs of themselves, the beating of a Drum in the midst of a Room, and in the Air, when nothing was to be seen; the great heat in a Chamber that had no Fire in excessive cold weather, the scratching and panting, the violent beating and shaking of the Bedsteads, of which there was no perceivable cause or occasion: In these and such like instances, it is not to be conceived how tricks could have been put upon so many, so jealous, and so inquisitive persons as were witnesses of them.

'Tis true, that when the Gentlemen the King sent were there, the House was quiet, and nothing seen nor heard that night, which was confidently and with triumph urged by many, as a confutation of the story. But 'twas bad Logick to conclude in matters of *Fact* from a single *Negative* and such a one against numerous *Affirmatives*, and so affirm that a thing was never done, because not at such a particular time, and that no body ever saw what this Man or that did not. By the same way of reasoning, I may infer that there were never any Robberies done on *Salisbury Plain*, *Honnslow Heath*, or the other noted places, because I have often Travelled all those ways, and yet was never Robbed; and the *Spaniard* inferred well that said, There was no Sun in
England,

England, because he had been six Weeks here and never saw it. This is the common argument of those that deny the Being of *Apparitions*, they have Travelled all hours of the night, and never saw any thing worse than themselves (which may well be) and thence they conclude, that all pretended *Apparitions* are *Fancies* or *Impostures*. But why do not such arguers conclude, that there was never a Cut-purse in *London*, because they have lived there many years without being met with by any of those Practisers? Certainly he that denies *Apparitions* upon the confidence of this *Negative* against the vast heap of *Positive* assurances, is credulous in believing there was ever any *Highway-man* in the World, if he himself was never Robb'd. And the Trials of *Affizes* and *Attestations* of those that have (if he will be just) ought to move his Assent no more in this case, than in that of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, which have the very same evidence.

But as to the quiet of Mr. *Mompesson's* house when the *Courtiers* were there, it may be remembred and considered, that the disturbance was not constant, but intermitted sometimes several dayes, sometimes Weeks. So that the intermission at that time might be accidental, or perhaps the *Dæmon* was not willing to give so publick

a Testimony of those Transactions, which possibly might convince those, who he had rather should continue in the unbelief of his existence. But however it were, this circumstance will afford but a very slender inference against the credit of the story, except among those who are willing to take any thing for an Argument against things which they have an interest not to acknowledge.

I have thus related the sum of the story, and noted some circumstances that assure the truth of it. I confess the passages recited are not so dreadful, Tragical and amazing, as there are some in story of this kind, yet are they never the less probable or true, for their being not so prodigious and astonishing. And they are strange enough to prove themselves effects of some *invisible extraordinary Agent*, and so demonstrate that there are *spirits*, who sometimes sensibly intermeddle in our affairs. And I think they do it with clearness of evidence. For these things were not done long ago, or at far distance, in an ignorant age, or among a barbarous people, they were not seen by two or three only of the Melancholick and superstitious, and reported by those that made them serve the advantage and interest of a party. They were not the passages of a Day or Night, nor the vanishing
glances

glances of an *Apparition*; but these Transactions were *near and late, publick, frequent,* and of *divers years continuance*, witnessed by multitudes of competent and unbyassed Attestors, and acted in a searching incredulous Age: Arguments enough one would think to convince any modest and capable reason.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Narrative of the Dæmon of Tedworth is published in an Epistolar Form in the former Impressions. But the enlargement thereof, that is to say, the said Narrative enlarged for this intended Edition, is not in that form, and therefore is thus published according to Mr. Glanvil's M. S. in this bare simple form it was found. As for Mr. Glanvil's Letter to Dr. More, which was in the former Impressions, though for the first parts sake it might seem fit here to be interserted, it containing Objections and Queries touching the stirrs at Mr. Mompesson's house, yet the greater part by far being of another subject, and the most material of those Objections and Queries being so well satisfied in this more perfect Narrative it self; I thought it more advisable to omit that Letter in this present Edition, that there might be left more room for what is

*more congenerous to the Argument in hand,
And therefore we will immediately proceed to
the second Relation.*

R E L A T. II.

*Which is concerning witchcraft practised by
Jane Brooks upon Richard Jones, Son of
Henry Jones of Shepton Mallet.*

ON Sunday 15. of Novemb. 1657. about
Three of the Clock in the Afternoon,
Richard Jones then a sprightly youth about
Twelve years old, Son of *Henry Jones* of
Shepton Mallet, in the County of *Somerset*,
being in his Fathers house alone, and per-
ceiving one looking in at the Windows,
went to the Door, where one *Jane Brooks*
of the same Town (but then by name un-
known to this Boy) came to him. She de-
sired him to give her a piece of close Bread,
and gave him an Apple. After which she
also stroked him down on the right side,
shook him by the hand, and so bid him
good night. The youth returned into the
house, where he had been left well, when
his Father and one *Gibson* went from him,
but at their return, which was within an
hour

hour or thereabout, they found him ill, and complaining of his right side, in which the pain continued the most part of that night. And on *Munday* following in the Evening, the Boy rosted the Apple he had of *Jane Brooks*, and having eaten about half of it, was extreemly ill, and sometimes speechless, but being recovered, he told his Father, that a Woman of the Town on the *Sunday* before, had given him that Apple, and that she stroked him on the side. He said he knew not her name, but should her person, if he saw her. Upon this *Jones* was advised to invite the Women of *Shepton* to come to his House, upon the occasion of his Sons illness, and the Child told him, that in case the Woman should come in when he was in his Fit, if he were not able to speak, he would give him an intimation by a Jogg, and desired that his Father would then lead him through the room, for he said he would put his hand upon her, if she were there. After this he continuing very ill, many Women came daily to see him. And *Jane Brooks* the *Sunday* after, came in with Two of her Sisters, and several other Women of the Neighbour-hood were there.

Upon her coming in, the Boy was taken so ill, that for some time he could not see nor speak, but having recovered his sight,

he gave his Father the *Item*, and he led him about the Room. The Boy drew towards *Jane Brooks*, who was behind her two Sisters among the other Women, and put his hand upon her, which his Father perceiving, immediately scratcheth her Face and drew Blood from her. The youth then presently cryed out that he was well, and so he continued seven or eight days. But then meeting with *Alice Coward*, Sister to *Jane Brooks*, who passing by said to him [How do you my Hony] he presently fell ill again. And after that, the said *Coward* and *Brooks* often appeared to him. The Boy would describe the Clothes and Habit they were in at the time exactly, as the Constable and others have found upon repairing to them, though *Brooks's* house was at a good distance from *Jones's*. This they often tryed, and always found the Boy right in his Descriptions.

On a certain *Sunday* about Noon, the Child being in a Room with his Father and one *Gibson*, and in his fit, he on the sudden called out, that he saw *Jane Brooks* on the Wall, and pointed to the place, where immediately *Gibson* struck with a Knife. Upon which the Boy cryed out, [O Father, cooz *Gibson* hath cut *Jane Brooks's* hand, and 'tis Bloody] The Father and *Gibson* immediately repaired to the Constable

ble a discreet Person, and acquainting him with what had passed, desired him to go with them to *Jane Brooks's* house, which he did. They found her sitting in her room on a stool with one hand over the other. The Constable askt her how she did? she answered, not well. He askt again why she sat with one hand over the other? she replied, she was wont to do so. He enquired if any thing were amiss with her hand? her answer was, it was well enough. The Constable desired he might see the hand that was under, which she being unwilling to shew him, he drew it out and found it bloody according to what the Boy had said. Being askt how it came so, she said 'twas scratched with a great Pin.

On the Eighth of *December*, 1657. The Boy, *Jane Brooks*, and *Alice Coward*, appeared at *Castle-Cary* before the Justices, Mr. *Hunt* and Mr. *Cary*. The Boy having begun to give his Testimony, upon the coming in of the two Women and their looking on him was instantly taken Speechless; and so remained till the Women were removed out of the room, and then in a short time upon examination he gave a full relation of the mentioned particulars.

On the Eleventh of *January* following, the Boy was again examined by the same Justices at *Shepton Mallet*, and upon the
 sight

sight of *Jane Brooks* was again taken Speechless, but was not so afterwards when *Alice Coward* came into the room to him.

On the next appearance at *Shepton*, which was on the Seventeenth of *February*, there were present many Gentlemen, Ministers and others. The Boy fell into his fit upon the sight of *Jane Brooks*, and lay in a Man's Arms like a dead Person; the Woman was then willed to lay her hand on him, which she did, and he thereupon started and sprang out in a very strange and unusual manner. One of the Justices to prevent all possibilities of Legerdemain, caused *Gibson* and the rest to stand off from the Boy, and then that Justice himself held him; the Youth being blindfolded, the Justice called as if *Brooks* should touch him, but winked to others to do it, which two or three successively did, but the Boy appeared not concerned. The Justice then called on the Father to take him, but had privately before desired one *Mr. Geoffry Strode*, to bring *Jane Brooks* to touch him at such a time as he should call for his Father, which was done, and the Boy immediately sprang out after a very odd and violent fashion. He was after touched by several Persons and moved not, but *Jane Brooks* being again caused to put her hand upon him, he started and sprang out twice or thrice as before. All this
while

while he remained in his fit and some time after; and being then laid on a bed in the same room, the People present could not for a long time bow either of his Arms or Leggs.

Between the mentioned 15. of *Nov.* and the 11. of *Jan.* the two Women appeared often to the Boy, their Hands cold, their Eyes staring, and their Lips and Cheeks looking pale. In this manner on a *Thursday* about Noon, the Boy being newly laid into his bed, *Jane Brooks* and *Alice Coward* appeared to him, and told him that what they had begun they could not perform. But if he would say no more of it, they would give him Money, and so put a Two-pence into his Pocket. After which they took him out of his bed, laid him on the ground, and vanished, and the Boy was found by those that came next into the room lying on the floor, as if he had been dead. The Two-pence was seen by many, and when it was put into the fire and hot, the Boy would fall ill; but as soon as it was taken out and cold, he would be again as well as before. This was seen and observed by a Minister a discreet Person, when the Boy was in one room and the Two-pence (without his knowledge) put into the fire in another, and this was divers times tried in the presence of several Persons.

Between the 8. of *Dec.* and the 17. of *Feb.* in the Year mentioned, divers Persons at sundry times heard in the Boy a noise like the croaking of a Toad, and a voice within him saying, *Jane Brooks*, *Alice Coward*, twelve times in near a quarter of an hour. At the same time some held a Candle before the Boys face, and earnestly looked on him, but could not perceive the least motion of his Tongue, Teeth or Lips, while the voice was heard.

On the 25. of *Feb.* between two and three in the Afternoon, the Boy being at the house of *Richard Isles* in *Shepton Mallet*, went out of the room into the Garden, *Isles* his Wife followed him, and was within two Yards when she saw him rise up from the ground before her, and so mounted higher and higher till he passed in the Air over the Garden wall, and was carried so above ground more than 30 Yards, falling at last at one *Jordan's* Door at *Shepton*, where he was found as dead for a time. But coming to himself told *Jordan*, that *Jane Brooks* had taken him up by the Arm out of *Isles* his Garden, and carried him in the Air as is related.

The Boy at several other times was gone on the suddain, and upon search after him found in another room as dead, and at sometimes strangely hanging above the ground, his hands being flat against a great Beam
in

in the top of the room, and all his Body two or three foot from ground. There he hath hung a quarter of an hour together, and being afterwards come to himself, he told those that found him, that *Jane Brooks* had carried him to that place and held him there. Nine People at a time saw the Boy so strangely hanging by the Beam.

From the 15. of *Nov.* to the 10. of *March* following, he was by reason of his fits much wasted in his body and unspirited, but after that time, being the day the two Women were sent to Gaol, he had no more of those fits.

Jane Brooks was Condemned and Executed at *Charde Affizes*, *March* 26. 1658.

This is the sum of Mr. *Hunts* Narrative; which concludes with both the Justices attestation, thus:

The aforesaid passages were some of them seen by us: and the rest and some other remarkable ones, not here set down, were upon the examination of several credible witnesses taken upon Oath before us.

Subscribed;

Rob. Hunt, John Cary.

This

This I think is good evidence of the being of Witches; if the *Sadducee* be not satisfied with it, I would fain know what kind of Proof he would expect. Here are the Testimonies of sense, the Oaths of several credible attesters, the nice and deliberate scrutiny of quick-sighted and judicious examiners; and the judgment of an Assize upon the whole. And now the security of all our lives and fortunes depends upon no greater circumstances of evidence than these. If such proof may not be credited, no Fact can be proved, no wickedness can be punished, no right can be determined, Law is at an end, and blind Justice cannot tell how to decide any thing.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The most fit Advertisement here is Mr. Glanvills Transition to fresh Evidences, out of Mr. Hunts examinations, which is this. Thus far, saith he, the Evidence of Fact went in the former Editions, but having resolved upon this Reenforcement, I writ again to my Honoured Friend Mr. Hunt, knowing that he had more materials for my purpose, and such as would afford proof sufficient to any modest doubter. In Answer he was pleased to send me his Book of Examinations of Witches, which he kept
by

by him fairly written. It contains the discovery of such an hellish Knot of them, and that discovery so clear and plain, that perhaps there hath not yet any thing appeared to us with stronger Evidence to confirm the belief of Witches. And had not his discoveries and endeavours met with great opposition and discouragements from some then in Authority, the whole Clan of those hellish Confederates in these parts had been justly exposed and punished. Out of that Book I have Collected some main instances, the clearness of which I think will be enough to overcome and silence any indifferent prejudice. But some are so settled and obdurate, that no proof in the world is sufficient to remove them. I begin with the Witchcrafts of Elizabeth Style.

R E L A T. III.

which containeth the Witchcrafts of Elizabeth Style of Bayford, Widow.

THis Elizabeth Style of Stoke Trister, in the County of Somerset, was accused by divers Persons of Credit upon Oath before Mr. Hunt, and particularly and largely confessed her guilt her self, which was found

found by the Jury at her Trial at *Taunton*. But she prevented Execution by dying in Gaol, a little before the expiring of the term her Confederate *Demon* had set for her enjoyment of Diabolical pleasures in this life. I have shortned the examinations, and cast them into such an order, as I think fittest for the rendring the matter clear and intelligible.

1. Exam. *Rich. Hill* of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset* Yeoman, being examined upon Oath, *Jan. 23. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; one of His Majesties Justices for that County, concerning the bewitching of his Daughter by *Eliz. Style*, declareth, That his Daughter *Eliz. Hill*, about the Age of 13 Years, hath been for about two Months last past taken with very strange fits which have held her an hour, two, three and more; and that in those fits the Child hath told her Father, the Examinant and others, that one *Eliz. Style* of the same Parish appeared to her, and is the Person that Torments her. She also in her fits usually tells what Clothes *Eliz. Style* hath on at the time, which the informant and others have seen and found true.

He saith further, that about a Fortnight before Christmas last, he told *Style* that his Daughter spoke much of her in her fits, and did believe that she was bewitched by her.

her. Whereupon *Francis White*, and *Walter*, and *Robert Thick* being present, willed her to complain to the Justice against him for accusing of her. But she having used several put-offs, said she would do worse than fetch a Warrant. After which the Girl grew worse than before, and at the end of a fit she tells the Examinant when she shall have another, which happens accordingly, and affirms, that *Style* tells her when the next fit shall come. He informs further, that *Monday* Night after Christmas day about Nine of the Clock, and four or five times since about the same hour of the Night, his Daughter hath been more Tormented than formerly, and that though held in a Chair by four or five People, sometimes six, by the Arms, Legs, and Shoulders, she would rise out of her Chair, and raise her body about three or four foot high. And that after, in her fits, she would have holes made in her Hand-wrists, Face, Neck, and other parts of her Body, which the Informant and others that saw them conceived to be with Thorns. For they saw Thorns in her Flesh, and some they hooked out. That upon the Childs pointing with her Finger from place to place, the Thorns and Holes immediately appeared to the Informant and others looking on. And as soon as the Child can speak after the fit, she saith that

Widow *Style* did prick her with Thorns in those several places, which was horrible Torment, and she seemed to the Informant and others standing by, to be in extream pain and torture. The Child hath been so tormented and pricked with Thorns four several Nights, at which times the Informant and many other People have seen the flesh rise up in little *bunches* in which *Holes* did appear. The Pricking held about a quarter of an hour at a time during each of the four fits, and the Informant hath seen the Child take out some of those Thorns.

The same *Rich. Hill* Examined *Jan. 26. 1664.* informs, that when he rode from the Justices house with a Warrant to bring *Styles* before him, his Horse on a suddain fate down on his breech and he could not after ride him, but as soon as he attempted to get up, his Horse would sit down and paw with his feet before. He saith further, that since *Styles* was Examined before the Justice and made her Confession to him, she hath acknowledged to the Informant that she had hurt his Daughter, and that one *Anne Bishop*, and *Alice Duke*, did joyn in bewitching of her.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

2. Exam. *William Parsons* Rector of *Stoke Trister*, in the County of *Somerset*, Examined
the

the 26. of *Jan.* 1664. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill's* Daughter saith, That on *Monday* Night after Christmas day then last past, he came into the room when *Eliz. Hill* was in her fit, many of his Parishioners being present and looking on. He there saw the Child held in a Chair by main force by the People, plunging far beyond the strength of nature, foaming and catching at her own Arms and Clothes with her Teeth. This fit he conceives held about half an hour. After some time, she pointed with her finger to the left side of her Head, next to her left Arm, and then to her left Hand, &c. and where she pointed he perceived a red spot to arise with a small black in the midst of it like a small Thorn. She pointed also to her Toes one after another, and exprest great sense of Torment. This latter fit he guesse continued about a quarter of an hour, during most or all of which time her stomach seemed to swell, and her head where she seemed to be prickt did so very much. She sate foaming much of the time, and the next day after her fit; she shewed the Examinant the places where the Thorns were stuck in; and he saw the Thorns in those places.

Taken upon Oath before me

Subscribed,

Rob. Hunt.

William Parsons Rector of *Stoke Trister.*

K k 2

3. Exam:

3. Exam. *Nicholas Lambert* of *Bayford*, in the County of *Somerset* Yeoman, Examined upon Oath before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; *Jan. 30. 1664.* concerning the bewitching of *Rich. Hill's* Daughter by *Elizabeth Style*, testifieth, That *Monday* after *Christmas* day last, being with others in the house of *Rich. Hill*, he saw his Daughter *Elizabeth* taken very ill, and in fits that were so strong that six Men could not hold her down in a Chair in which she was sate, but that she would raise the Chair up in spight of their utmost force. That in her fits being not able to speak, she would rest her body as one in great Torment, and point with her Finger to her Neck, Head, Hand-wrists, Arms and Toes. And he, with the rest looking on the places to which she pointed, saw on the suddain little red spots arise with little black ones in the midst, as if Thorns were stuck in them, but the Child then onely pointed without touching her flesh with her Finger.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

4. Exam. *Richard Vining* of *Stoke Trister* Butchet, Examined *Jan. 26. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; concerning the bewitching of his Wife by *Eliz. Style*, saith, That about two or three days before *S. James's* day three years since or thereabout, his late Wife

Agnes

Agnes fell out with *Eliz. Style*, and within two or three days after she was taken with a grievous pricking in her Thigh, which pain continued for a long time, till after some Physick taken from one *Hallet*, she was at some ease for three or four weeks. About the Christmas after the mentioned *S. James's* day, *Style* came to the Examinants house, and gave *Agnes* his Wife two Apples, one of them a very fair red Apple, which *Style* desired her to eat, which she did, and in a few hours was taken ill and worse than ever she had been before. Upon this, the Examinant went to one *Mr. Compton*, who lived in the Parish of *Ditch Eate*, (the same Person that shewed my Friend his Wife in a Glass, as I have related in the story of *Mr. Mompeffon*) for Physick for his Wife. *Compton* told him he could do her no good, for that she was hurt by a near Neighbour, who would come into his house and up into the Chamber where his Wife was, but would go out again without speaking. After *Vining* came home, being in the Chamber with his Wife, *Style* came up to them, but went out again without saying a word. *Agnes* the Wife continued in great pain till Easter Eve following, and then she dyed. Before her Death her Hip rotted and one of her Eyes swelled out, she declared to him then and at several times be-

fore, that she believed *Eliz. Style* had bewitched her, and that she was the cause of her Death.

Taken upon Oath before me,

Rob. Hunt.

Whilst the Justice was Examining *Style* at *Wincaunton*, (which is not above a Mile and a half from *Stoke Trister*) upon the former evidence against her, he observed that *Rich. Vining* looked very earnestly upon him. Whereupon he askt *Vining* if he had any thing to say unto him. He answered that *Style* had bewitched his Wife, and told the manner how, as is in his deposition related. The Woman *Style* upon this seemed appaled and concerned, and the Justice saying to her, You have been an old sinner, &c. You deserve little mercy: she replied, I have askt God mercy for it. Mr. *Hunt* askt her, why then she would continue in such ill courses? she said the Devil tempted her: and then began to make some Confession of his actings with her. Upon this the Justice sent her to the Constables house at *Bayford*, which is in the Parish of *Stoke Trister*, (the Constable was one Mr. *Gapper*) and the next Morning went thither himself, accompanied with two Persons of quality Mr. *Bull*, and Mr. *Court*, now Justices of the Peace in this County.

Now

Now before I proceed further in the story, I shall take notice that here are Three credible witnesses, swearing to the same particulars, in that the Child *Elizabeth Hill* was sometimes in strange fits, in which her strength was encreased beyond the proportion of Nature, and the force of divers Men; that then she pointed to the parts of her Body, where they saw red spots arising, and black specks in the midst of them, that she complained she was prickt with Thorns, and two of them saw Thorns in the places of which she complained. Some of which Thorns, one swears that he and others saw hooked out, and that the Girl herself pulled out others; that in her fits she declared *Style* appears to her (as *Jane Brooks* did to *Richard Jones*, in the former Relation) and tells her when she shall have another fit, which happens accordingly; that she describes the Clothes the Woman hath on, exactly as they find. But notwithstanding, all this shall be Melancholy and Fancy, or Legerdemain, or natural Distemper, or any thing but Witchcraft, or the Fact shall be denied, and the three Witnesses perjured, though this confidence against the Oaths of sober Men, tend to the overthrow of all Testimony and History, and the rendring all Laws useles. I shall therefore proceed to further proof, and such as will abundantly

strengthen this. It is the confession of *Style* her self.

I left Mr. *Hunt*, and the other two Gentlemen at the Constables house, where *Style* was, upon business of further Examination, where she enlarged upon the Confession she had before begun to make, and declared the whole matter at that and two other times after in the particulars that follow.

5. Exam. *Elizabeth Styles* her Confession of her Witchcrafts, Jan. 26. and 30. and Feb. 7. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; She then confessed, that the Devil about Ten years since, appeared to her in the shape of a handsome Man, and after of a black Dog. That he promised her Mony, and that she should live gallantly, and have the pleasure of the World for Twelve years, if she would with her Blood sign his Paper, which was to give her Soul to him, and observe his Laws, and that he might suck her Blood. This after four solicitations, the Examinant promised him to do. Upon which he prickt the fourth Finger of her right hand, between the middle and upper joynt (where the sign at the Examination remained) and with a drop or two of her Blood, she signed the Paper with an [O]. Upon this the Devil gave her Sixpence, and vanished with the Paper.

That since he hath appeared to her in the
shape

shape of a *Man*, and did so on *wednesday* seven-night past, but more usually he appears in the likeness of a *Dog*, and *Cat*, and a *Fly* like a Millar, in which last he usually sucks in the *Poll* about four of the Clock in the Morning, and did so *Jan. 27.* and that it usually is pain to her to be so suckt.

That when she hath a desire to do harm, she calls the Spirit by the name of *Robin*, to whom when he appeareth, she useth these words, *O Sathan give me my purpose.* She then tells him what she would have done. And that he should so appear to her, was part of her Contract with him.

That about a Month ago he appearing, she desired him to torment one *Elizabeth Hill*, and to thrust Thorns into her flesh, which he promised to do, and the next time he appeared, he told her he had done it.

That a little above a Month since this Examinant, *Alice Duke*, *Anne Bishop* and *Mary Penny*, met about nine of the Clock in the Night, in the Common near *Trister Gate*, where they met a Man in black Clothes with a little Band, to whom they did Courtesie and due observance, and the Examinant verily believes that this was the Devil. At that time *Alice Duke* brought a Picture in Wax, which was for *Elizabeth Hill*. The Man in black took it in his Arms, anointed

ed its Fore-head, and said, *I Baptize thee with this Oyl*, and used some other words. He was Godfather, and the Examinant and *Anne Bishop* Godmothers. They called it *Elizabeth* or *Bess*. Then the Man in Black, this Examinant, *Anne Bishop*, and *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into several places of the Neck, Hand-wrists, Fingers, and other parts of the said Picture. After which they had Wine, Cakes and Roastmeat (all brought by the Man in black) which they did eat and drink. They danced and were merry, were bodily there, and in their Clothes.

She further saith, that the same persons met again, at or near the same place about a Month since, when *Anne Bishop* brought a Picture in Wax, which was Baptized *John*, in like manner as the other was, the Man in black was Godfather, and *Alice Duke* and this Examinant Godmothers. As soon as it was Baptized, *Anne Bishop* stuck two Thorns into the Arms of the Picture, which was for one *Robert Newman's* Child of *Wincaunton*. After they had eaten, drank, danced and made merry, they departed.

That she with *Anne Bishop*, and *Alice Duke* met at another time in the Night, in a ground near *Marnhul*, where also met several other persons. The Devil then also there in the former shape, Baptized a Picture by the name of *Anne* or *Rachel Hatcher*.
The

The Picture one *Durnford's* Wife brought, and stuck Thorns in it. Then they also made merry with Wine and Cakes, and so departed.

She saith, before they are carried to their meetings, they anoint their Foreheads, and Hand-wrists with an Oyl the Spirit brings them (which smells raw) and then they are carried in a very short time, using these words as they pass, *Thout, tout a tout, tout, throughout and about.* And when they go off from their Meetings, they say, *Rentum Tormentum.*

That at their first meeting, the Man in black bids them welcome, and they all make low obeysance to him, and he delivers some Wax Candles like little Torches, which they give back again at parting. When they anoint themselves, they use a long form of words, and when they stick in Thorns into the Picture of any they would torment they say, *A Pox on thee, I'le spite thee.*

That at every meeting before the Spirit vanisheth away, he appoints the next meeting place and time, and at his departure there is a foul smell. At their meeting they have usually Wine or good Beer, Cakes, Meat or the like. They eat and drink really when they meet in their bodies, dance also and have Musick. The Man in black sits at the higher end, and *Anne Bishop* usually

ally next him. He useth some words before meat, and none after, his voice is audible, but very low.

That they are carried sometimes in their Bodies and their Clothes, sometimes without, and as the Examinant thinks their Bodies are sometimes left behind. When only their Spirits are present, yet they know one another.

When they would bewitch Man, Woman or Child, they do it sometimes by a *Picture* made in Wax, which the Devil formally Baptizeth. Sometimes they have an *Apple*, *Dish*, *Spoon* or other thing, from their evil Spirit, which they give the party to whom they would do harm. Upon which they have power to hurt the person that eats or receives it. Sometimes they have power to do mischief by a touch or curse, by these they can mischief Cattle, and by cursing without touching; but neither without the Devils leave.

That she hath been at several general meetings in the night at High Common, and a Common near *Motcombe*, at a place near *Marnhull*, and at other places where have met *John Combes*, *John Vining*, *Richard Dickes*, *Thomas Boster* or *Bolster*, *Thomas Dunning*, *James Bush* a lame Man, *Rachel King*, *Richard Lannen*, a Woman called *Durnford*, *Alice Duke*, *Anne Bishop*, *Mary Penny* and
Christopher

Christopher Ellen, all which did obeysance to the Man in black, who was at every one of their meetings. Usually they have at them some Picture Baptized.

The Man in black, sometimes plays on a Pipe or Cittern, and the company dance. At last the the Devil vanisheth, and all are carried to their several homes in a short space. At their parting they say [*A Boy! merry meet, merry part.*]

That the reason why she caused *Elizabeth Hill* to be the more tormented was, because her Father had said, she was a Witch. That she has seen *Alice Dukes* Familiar suck her, in the shape of a Cat, and *Anne Bishops* suck her in the shape of a Rat.

That she never heard the name of God or Jesus Christ mentioned at any of their meetings.

That *Anne Bishop*, about five years and a half since, did bring a Picture in Wax to their meeting, which was Baptized by the Man in black, and called *Peter*. It was for *Robert Newman's* Child at *Wincaunton*.

That some two years ago, she gave two Apples to *Agnes Vining*, late Wife of *Richard Vining*, and that she had one of the Apples from the Devil, who then appeared to her
and

and told, *That Apple would do Vining's Wives business.*

Taken in the presence of several
grave and Orthodox Divines
before me

Robert Hunt.

6. Exam. *William Parsons* Rector of *Stoke Trister*, Examined Feb. 7. 1664. before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; concerning *Elizabeth Style's* confession, saith, That he heard *Style* before the Justice of Peace, at the time of her Examination confess, as she hath done also to the Examinant several times since, that she was in Covenant with the Devil, that she had signed it with her Blood, that she had been with the Devil at several meetings in the night, that at one time of those meetings, there was brought a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil in the shape of a Man in blackish Clothes, did Baptize by the name of *Eliz. Hill*, that she did stick in one Thorn into the Hand-wrists of the Picture, that *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into the same, and that *Anne Bishop* and *Mary Penny* were present at that meeting with the Devil.

Taken upon Oath before me

Robert Hunt.

Subscribed,

William Parsons Rector of *Stoke Trister.*

This

This Confession of *Styles* was free and unforced, without any torturing or watching, drawn from her by a gentle Examination, meeting with the Convictions of a guilty Conscience. She confesseth that she desired the Devil to torment *Eliz. Hill*, by thrusting Thorns into her flesh, which he promised, and said he had done it. That a Picture was Baptized for her the said *Elizabeth*, and that She, the Familiar, and *Alice Duke* stuck Thorns into several places of the Neck, Hand-wrists, Fingers and other parts thereof, which exactly agrees with the strange effects related, concerning the torments the Child suffered, and this mischief she confesseth she did, because her Father said she was a Witch. She confesseth she gave two Apples to *Vinings* Wife, one of which she had from the Devil, who said it would do the business, which sutes also with the Testimony of *Vining* concerning his Wife.

She confesseth further, That the Devil useth to suck her in the Poll, about four a Clock in the Morning, in the Form of a Fly like a Millar, concerning which, let us hear Testimony (the other particulars of her Confession we shall consider as occasion offers.)

7. Exam. *Nicholas Lambert* Examined again *Jan. 26. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt* Esq; concerning what happened after *Styles* confession,

cession, testifyeth, That *Eliz. Style* having been Examined before the Justice, made her Confession, and committed to the Officer, the Justice required this Examinant, *William Thick* and *William Read* of *Bayford* to watch her, which they did; and this Informant sitting near *Style* by the fire, and reading in the *Practice of Piety*, about Three of the Clock in the Morning, there came from her Head a glistering bright Fly, about an Inch in length, which pitched at first in the Chimney, and then vanished. In less than a quarter of an hour after, there appeared two Flies more of a less size, and another colour, which seemed to strike at the Examinants hand, in which he held his Book but missed it, the one going over, the other under at the same time. He looking stedfastly then on *Style*, perceived her countenance to change, and to become very black and gasty, the fire also at the same time changing its colour; whereupon the Examinant, *Thick* and *Read* conceiving that her Familiar was then about her, looked to her Poll, and seeing her Hair shake very strangely took it up, and then a Fly like a great Millar flew out from the place, and pitched on the Table-board, and then vanished away. Upon this the Examinant, and the other two persons looking again in *Styles* Poll, found it very red and
like

like raw Beef. The Examinant askt her what it was that went out of her Poll, she said it was a Butterfly, and askt them why they had not caught it. *Lambert* said, they could not. I think so too, answered she. A little while after, the Informant and the others looking again into her Poll, found the place to be of its former colour. The Examinant demanding again what the Fly was, she confessed it was her Familiar, and that she felt it tickle in her Poll, and that was the usual time when her Familiar came to her.

Taken upon Oath before me

Robert Hunt.

8. Exam. *Eliz. Torwood* of *Bayford*, Examined *Feb. 7. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt Esq;* concerning the mark found about *Eliz. Style* after her Confession, Depoeth, That she together with *Catharine White, Mary Day, Mary Bolster,* and *Bridget Prankard,* did a little after *Christmas* last, search *Eliz. Style,* and that in her Poll they found a little rising which felt hard like a Kernel of Beef, whereupon they suspecting it to be an ill mark, thrust a Pin into it, and having drawn it out, thrust it in again the second time, leaving it sticking in the flesh for some time, that the other Women might also see it.

Notwithstanding which, *Style* did neither at the first or second time make the least shew that she felt any thing. But after, when the Constable told her he would thrust in a Pin to the place, and made a shew as if he did, O Lord, said she, do you prick me, whenas no one then touched her.

The Examinant further saith, that *Style* hath since confessed to her, that her Familiar did use to suck her in the place mentioned, in the shape of a great Millar or Butterfly.

Catharine White, Mary Day, Mary Bolster and *Bridget Prankard* do say, that the above-said Examination of *Eliz. Torwood* is truth.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

RELAT.

R E L A T. IV.

which is the Examination and Confession of Alice Duke, alias Manning (another witch of Styles Knot) of Wincaunton, in the County of Somerset Widdow, taken Jan. 27. and Feb. 2. 7. 10. 21. An. 1664. before Robert Hunt Esq.

THe Examinant saith, That when she lived with *Anne Bishop* of *Wincaunton*, about Eleven or Twelve years ago, *Anne Bishop* perswaded her to go with her into the Church-yard in the night-time, and being come thither, to go backward round the Church, which they did three times. In their first round, they met a Man in black Clothes, who went round the second time with them, and then they met a thing in the shape of a great black Toad, which leapt up against the Examinants Apron. In their third round they met somewhat in the shape of a Rat, which vanished away. After this the Examinant and *Anne Bishop* went home, but before *Anne Bishop* went off, the Man in black said somewhat to her softly, which the Informant could not hear.

A few days after, *Anne Bishop* speaking
Ll 2 about

about their going round the Church, told the Examinant, that now she might have her desire, and what she would wish for. And shortly after, the Devil appeared to her in the shape of a Man, promising that she should want nothing, and that if she cursed any thing with *A Pox take it*, she should have her purpose, in case she would give her Soul to him, suffer him to suck her Blood, keep his Secrets, and be his instrument to do such mischief as he would set her about. All which, upon his second appearing to her, she yielded to, and the Devil having prickt the fourth finger of her right hand between the middle and upper joynt (where the mark is yet to be seen) gave her a Pen, with which she made a cross or mark with her Blood on Paper or Parchment, that the Devil offered her for the confirmation of the Agreement, which was done in the presence of *Anne Bishop*. And as soon as the Examinant had signed it, the Devil gave her Sixpence, and went away with the Paper or Parchment.

Further she confesseth, That she hath been at several meetings in *Lie Common*, and other places in the night, and that her Forehead being first anointed with a Feather dipt in Oyl, she hath been suddenly carried to the place of their meeting. That about five or six Weeks since (or more) she met

in the said Common in the night, where were present *Anne Bishop*, *Mary Penny* of *Wincaunton*, *Elizabeth Style* of *Bayford*, and a Man in black Clothes with a little Band, whom she supposeth to have been the Devil. At the meeting there was a Picture in Wax, which the Man in black took in his Arms, and having anointed its Forehead with a little greenish Oyl, and using a few words, Baptized it by the name of *Elizabeth* or *Bess Hill*, for the Daughter of *Richard Hill*. Then the Devil, this Examinant, *Anne Bishop*, and *Elizabeth Style* stuck Thorns in the Neck, Head, Hand-wrists, Fingers and other parts of the Picture, Saying, *A Fox on thee, I'le spite thee*. This done, all sate down, a white Cloth being spread on the ground, and did drink Wine, and eat Cakes and Meat. After all was ended, the Man in black vanished, leaving an ugly smell at parting. The rest were on a sudden conveyed to their homes.

On *Monday* night after *Christmas* day last, she met the same Company again, near about the same place, and then *Anne Bishop* (who was there in a green Apron, a French Waistcoat and a red Petticoat) brought in her Apron a Picture in blackish Wax, which the Devil Baptized as before, by the name of *John Newman*, for the Son of *Rob. Newman* of *Wincaunton*, and then the Devil first,

after *Anne Bishop* and this Examinant thrust in Thorns into the Picture, *Anne Bishop* sticking in two Thorns into the Arms of it. The Picture *Anne Bishop* carried away with her. They were all there present in their Clothes, and the Devil in the shape of a Man in black.

About Five years and a half since, the same persons were at the Baptizing of another Image, by the name of *Peter Newman*, another Son of *Robert Newman*, both which are since dead, and then *Anne Bishop* desired the Examinant to joyn with her in bewitching of *Peter* and *John Newman*.

At another time she was carried to a meeting in the night, to a green place near *Marnhull* as she was then told, where were present *Anne Bishop*, *Eliz. Style*, *Mary Penny*, and some unknown to her. Then also an Image in Wax was Baptized by the Devil, in the fore-related manner, by the name of *Anne* or *Rachel Hatcher* one of *Marnhull*, as she was then informed. After the Ceremony was ended, they had Wine, Cakes, &c.

She likewise confesseth, that she was at another such meeting, where twelve persons were present, many of whom were unknown to her, but she took notice of one lame Man in blackish Hair among them, and of the Devil as before.

She

She saith that after their meetings, they all make very low obeysances to the *Devil*, who appears in black Clothes and a little Band. He bids them welcome at their coming, and brings Wine or Beer, Cakes, Meat, or the like. He sits at the higher end, and usuallly *Anne Bishop* sits next him. They eat, drink, dance, and have Musick. At their parting they use to say, *Merry meet merry part*, and that before they are carried to their meetings, their Foreheads are anointed with greenish Oyl that they have from the Spirit which smells raw. They for the most part are carried in the Air. As they pass, they say, *Tbout, tout a tout, tout, throughout and about*. Passing back they say, *Rentum Tormentum*, and another word which she doth not remember.

She confesseth that her Familiar doth commonly suck her right Breast about seven at night, in the shape of a little Cat of a dunish colour, which is as smooth as a Want, and when she is suckt, she is in a kind of a Trance.

That she hurt *Thomas Garret's* Cowes, because he refused to write a Petition for her.

That she hurt *Thomas Conway*, by putting a Dish into his Hand, which Dish she had from the Devil, she gave it him to give his Daughter for good hansel.

That she hurt *Dorothy* the Wife of *George Vining*, by giving an Iron slate to put into her steeling Box.

That being angry with *Edith Watts*, the Daughter of *Edmond Watts* for treading on her Foot, she cursed *Edith* with a *Pox on you*, and after touched her, which hath done the said *Edith* much harm, for which she is sorry.

That being provoked by *Swanton's* first Wife, she did before her death curse her, with a *Pox on you*, believes she did thereby hurt her, but denies she did bewitch Mr. *Swanton's* Cattle.

She saith, That when the Devil doth any thing for her, she calls for him by the name of *Robin*, upon which he appears, and when in the shape of a Man, she can hear him speak, but his voice is very low. He promised her when she made her contract with him, that she should want nothing, but ever since she hath wanted all things.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

1. Exam. *Thomas Conway* of *Wincaunton*, in the County of *Somerset*, Examined Feb. 12. 1664. before *Robert Hunt* Esquire, concerning *Alice Duke*, informeth, That about Twelve Months since *Alice Duke* alias *Manning*, brought a little Pewter Dish to this
Infor-

Informant, and told him it was good han-
 sel for his Daughter. The Examinant wil-
 led the said *Alice* to carry it to her, she be-
 ing within by the fire, but she forced the
 Dish into his hand and went away. Shortly
 after he was taken extreamly ill in all his
 Limbs. Of which illness the Physicians,
 whom he applied himself to, could give no
 account. When she went from him, she
 was very angry and muttered much, because
 he would not sign a Petition on her behalf.
 She hath confessed to him since that she had
 the Dish from the Devil, and gave it to him
 on purpose to hurt him. He hath been,
 and is since in great torment, and much
 weakned and wasted in his Body, which
 he imputes to the evil practices of *Alice*
Duke.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

2. Exam. *Mary* the Wife of *Tho. Conway*,
 Examined *March 6. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt*
Esq; concerning *Alice Duke*, saith, That
 her Husband *Tho. Conway* about a year ago
 delivered her a little Pewter Dish, telling
 her he had it from *Alice Duke* for good han-
 sel for his Daughter, who had lately lain in.
 In this Dish she warmed a little Deer-sewet
 and Rose-water, anointing her Daughters
 Nipples

Nipples with it, which put her to extream pain. Upon which suspecting harm from the dish, she put it into the fire, which then presently vanished and nothing of it could afterwards be found. After, when she anointed her Daughters Nipples with the same Deer-sewet and Rose-water, warmed in a spoon, she complained not of any pain. She further saith, That her Husband after he had received the dish from the hands of *Alice Duke*, was taken ill in all his Limbs, and held for a long time in a very strange manner.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

3. Exam. *Edward Watts* of *Wincaunton*, in the County of *Somerset*, Examined *Mar. 6. 1664*: before *Robert Hunt*, Esq; concerning *Alice Duke*, saith, That he hath a Child called *Edith*, about Ten years of Age, who for the space of half a year hath languished and pined away, and that she told him that treading one day on the Toe of *Alice Duke*, she in great anger cursed her with a *Pox* on thee, and that from that time the Child began to be ill and to pine away, which she hath done ever since.

Taken upon Oath before me

Rob. Hunt.

A D.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Besides the plain agreement betwixt the witnesses, and the Witches own Confession, it may be worth the taking notice here, how well her confession of having her Familiar suck her in the shape of a Cat, agrees with Eliz. Style's Confession, that she had seen Alice Dukes Familiar suck her in that shape. As also how the bewitching of Edward Watts's Child by Alice Duke her saying, a Pox on her, agrees with the promise of the Devil to her, which is expressly, That if she cursed any thing with a Pox take it, she should have her purpose. She also testifying of the Baptizing the Image of Eliz. Hill, and of those forms of words, Thout, tout a tout, and Rentum Tormentum at their going to their meetings and departing, plainly shews that these things are not transacted in dreams but in reality. The Devil also as in other stories leaving an ill smell behind him, seems to imply the reality of the business, those ascititious particles he held together in his visible vehicle, being loosened at his vanishing, and so offending the nostrils by their floating and diffusing themselves in the open Air.

R E L A T. V.

which is the Examination and Confession of Christian Green, Aged about thirty three years, Wife of Rob. Green of Brewham, in the County of Somerset, taken before Rob. Hunt, Esq; March 2. 1664.

THIS Examinant saith, That about a year and a half since (she being in great poverty) one *Catharine Green* of *Brewham*, told her, that if she would she might be in a better condition, and then perswaded her to make a Covenant with the Devil. Being afterwards together in one *Mr. Hussey's* Ground in *Brewham* Forrest about Noon, *Catharine* called for the Devil, who appeared in the shape of a Man in blackish Clothes, and said somewhat to *Catharine* which *Christian* could not hear. After which the Devil (as she conceived him) told the Examinant that she should want neither Clothes, Victuals, nor Money, if she would give her Body and Soul to him, keep his secrets, and suffer him to suck her once in twenty four hours, which at last upon his and *Catharine Greens* perswasion she yielded to; then the Man in black prickt the fourth
finger

finger of her Right-hand between the middle and upper joints, where the sign yet remains, and took two drops of her blood on his finger, giving her fourpence halfpenny, with which she after bought Bread in *Brewham*. Then he spake again in private with *Catharine* and vanished, leaving a smell of Brimstone behind.

Since that time the Devil (she saith) hath and doth usually suck her left Brest about five of the Clock in the Morning in the likeness of an *Hedg-hog*, bending, and did so on *Wednesday* Morning last. She saith it is painful to her, and that she is usually in a trance when she is suckt.

She saith also, that *Catharine Green*, and *Margaret Agar* of *Brewham*, have told her that they are in Covenant with the Devil, and confesseth that she hath been at several meetings in the Night in *Brewham* Common, and in a Ground of *Mr. Hussy's*, that she hath there met with *Catharine Green* and *Margaret Agar*, and three or four times with *Mary Warberton* of *Brewham*, That in all those meetings the Devil hath been present in the shape of a Man in black Clothes. At their first coming he bids them welcome, but always speaks *very low*.

That at a meeting about three weeks or a Month since at or near the former place, *Margaret Agar* brought thither an Image in Wax,

Wax, for *Elizabeth* the Wife of *Andrew Cornish* of *Brewham*, and the Devil in the shape of a Man in black Clothes did Baptize it, and after stuck a Thorn into its Head; that *Agar* stuck one into its Stomach, and *Catharine Green* one into its side. She further saith, that before this time, *Agar* said to her this Examinant, that she would hurt *Eliz. Cornish*, who since the Baptizing of the Picture hath been taken and continues very ill.

She saith, that three or four days before *Jos. Talbot* of *Brewham* dyed; *Margaret Agar* told her that she would rid him out of the World, because being Overseer of the Poor he made her Children go to Service, and refused to give them such good Clothes as she desired. And since the Death of *Talbot*, she confessed to the Examinant, that she had bewicht him to Death. He dyed about a year since, was taken ill on *Friday*, and dyed about *Wednesday* after.

That her Mother-in-Law *Catharine Green*, about five or six years ago was taken in a strange manner. One day one Eye and Cheek did swell, another day another, and so she continued in great pain, till she dyed: Upon her Death she several times said in the hearing of the Examinant, that her Sister-in-Law *Catharine Green* had bewitched her; and the Examinant believes that she bewicht her to Death.

That

That a little before *Michaelmas* last, the said *Catbarine* cursed the Horses of *Rob. Walter* of *Brewham*, saying, A Murrain on them Horses to Death. Upon which the Horses being three, all dyed.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

R E L A T. VI.

Containing further Testimonies of the villainous feats of that rampant haeg Margaret Agar of Brewham, in the County of Somerset.

1. Exam. **E**lizabeth Talbot of *Brewham*, Examined *March 7. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt, Esq;* saith, That about three weeks before her Father *Jos. Talbot* dyed, *Margaret Agar* fell out with him, because he being Overseer for the Poor, did require *Agar's* Daughter to go to Service, and said to him, that he was proud of his living, but swore by the blood of the Lord, that he should not long enjoy it. Within three weeks of which he was suddainly taken in his body as if he had been stabb'd with Daggers, and so continued four or five days in great pain and then dyed.

Rob. Hunt.

2. Ex-

2. Exam. *Jos. Smith* of *Brewham*, Husbandman, Examined *March 15. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; saith, That some few days before *Jos. Talbot* dyed, he heard *Margaret Agar* rail very much at him, because he had caused her Daughter to go to Service, and said, that he should not keep his living but be drawn out upon four Mens shoulders. That she should tread upon his jaws, and see the grass grow over his head, which she swore by the blood of the Lord.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

3. Exam. *Mary* the Wife of *William Smith* of *Brewham*, Examined *March 8. 1664.* before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; saith, That about two years since *Margaret Agar* came to her and called her Whore, adding, *A Plague take you for an old whore*, I shall live to see thee rot on the Earth before I die, and thy Cows shall fall and die at my feet. A short time after which, she had three Cows that died very strangely, and two of them at the door of *Margaret Agar*. And ever since the Examinant hath consumed and pined away, her Body and her Bowels rotting, and she verily believes that her Cattle and her self were bewicht by *Agar*.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

4. Exam.

4. Exam. *Catharine Green* alias *Cornish* of *Brewham*, Widow, Examined *May 16. 1665.* before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; saith, That on *Friday* in the Evening, in the beginning of *March* last, *Margaret Agar* came to her, and was earnest she should go with her to a Ground called *Husseys-knap*, which she did, and being come thither they saw a little Man in black Clothes with a little band. As soon as they came to him *Margaret Agar* took out of her lap a little Picture in blackish Wax, which she delivered to the Man in black, who stuck a Thorn into the Crown of the Picture, and then delivered it back to *Agar*. Upon which she stuck a Thorn towards the heart of the Picture; Cursing and laying, *a Plague on you*; which she told the Examinant was done to hurt *Eliz. Cornish*, who as she hath been told hath been very ill ever since that time.

That a little above a year since *Jos. Talbot* late of *Brewham*, being Overseer for the Poor, did cause two of *Agar's* Children to go to Service. Upon which she was very angry and said in the Examinants hearing a few days before he fell sick and died, that she had trod upon the jaws of three of her Enemies, and that she should shortly see *Talbot* rot and tread on his jaws. And when this Examinant desired her not to hurt *Talbot*; she swore by the blood of the Lord; she

would confound him if she could. The day before he dyed, she said to the Examinant, Gods wounds I'll go and see him, for I shall never see him more; and the next day *Talbot* dyed.

That she heard *Margaret Agar* curse *Mary Smith*, and say, she should live to see her and her Cattle fall and rot before her face.

Taken upon Oath before

Rob. Hunt.

5. Exam. *Mary Green* of *Brewham*, single Woman, Examined June 3. 1665. before *Rob. Hunt*, Esq; saith, That about a Month before *Jos. Talbot* late of *Brewham* dyed, *Margaret Agar* fell out with him about the putting out of her Child to Service. After that she saw a Picture in Clay or Wax in the hands of *Agar*, which she said was for *Talbot*, the Picture she saw her deliver in *Redmore*, to the Fiend in the shape of a Man in black about an hour in the Night, who stuck a Thorn in or near the Heart of it, *Agar* stuck another in the Breast, and *Catharine Green*, *Alice Green*, *Mary Warberton*, *Henry Walter* and *Christian Green*, all of *Brewham*, were then and there present, and did all stick Thorns into the Picture.

At

At that time *Catharine Green* spake to *Agar* not to hurt *Talbot*, because she received somewhat from him often times, but *Agar* replied, by the Lords blood she would confound him, or words to that purpose.

That a little before *Talbot* was taken sick; *Agar* being in the house where the Examinant lived, swore that she should e're long tread upon his jaws. And that if *Talbot* made her Daughter go to Service for a year, yet if she came home in a quarter it would be time enough to see him carried out upon four Mens shoulders and to tread upon his jaws.

That on the day *Talbot* dyed, she heard *Agar* swear that she had now plagued *Talbot*; and that being in company with her some time before, and seeing a dead Horse of *Talbot's* drawn along by another of his Horses, she swore that that Horse should be also drawn out to morrow, and the next day she saw the well Horse also drawn out dead.

That above a Month before *Margaret Agar* was sent to Gaol, she saw her, *Henry Walter*, *Catharine Green*, *Jone Syms*, *Christian Green*, *Mary Warberton* and others, meet at a place called *Husseys-knap* in the Forrest in the Night time, where met them the Fiend in the shape of a little Man in black Clothes with a little band, to him all made obeysances,

and at that time a Picture in Wax or Clay was delivered by *Agar* to the Man in black, who stuck a Thorn into the Crown of it, *Margaret Agar* one towards the Breast, *Catharine Green* in the side; after which *Agar* threw down the Picture and said, there is *Cornishes* Picture with a Murrain to it, or Plague on it. And that at both the meetings there was a noisom smell of Brimstone.

That about two years since in the Night there met in the same place *Agar*, *Henry Walter*, *Catharine Green*, *Jone Syms*, *Alice Green* and *Mary Warberton*. Then also *Margaret Agar* delivered to the little Man in black a Picture in Wax, into which he and *Agar* stuck Thorns, and *Henry Walter* thrust his Thumb into the side of it. Then they threw it down and said, there is *Dick Greens* Picture with a Pox in't. A short time after which *Rich. Green* was taken ill and dyed.

Further he saith, That on *Thursday* Night before *Whitsunday* last, about the same place met *Catharine Green*, *Alice Green*, *Jone Syms*, *Mary Warberton*, *Dinah* and *Dorothy Warberton* and *Henry Walter*, and being met they called out *Robin*. Upon which instantly appeared a little Man in black Clothes to whom all made obeysance, and the little Man put his hand to his Hat, saying, How
do

do ye? speaking *low* but *big*. Then all made low obeysances to him again. That she hath seen *Margaret Clark* twice at the meetings, but since *Margaret Agar* was sent to Prison she never saw her there.

Taken before me

Rob. Hunt.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Before we pass to other Relations, it will not be amiss further to remark upon these taken out of the Examinations of Mr. Hunt: From the poisoned Apples that Jane Brooks gave to Rich. Jones, and Eliz. Style to Agnes Vining, and the poisoned Pewter-dish that Alice Duke put into the hands of Thomas Conway, (which dish and apples they had from the Devil) we may observe in what a peculiar sense Witches and Wizzards are called φαρμακοί, Venefici and Veneficæ, Poysoners. Not that they mischief People ordinarily by natural Poisons, as Arsenick and the like, but rather by some hellish malignancy infused into things by the art and malice of the Devil, or by the steams of their own Body which the Devil sucks. For the hand of Jane Brooks stroaking down Rich. Jones his side impressed a pain thereon.

We may observe also what an eximious Example of Moses his Mecassephah (the word which he uses in that Law, Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live) Margaret Agar is, and how fitly some interpreters render Mecassephim, Malefici, from the great mischief they do and delight in. And what a great credit this Agar is to J. Webster, and the rest of the Hagg-advocates, which would make them to be meer couzening Queans or Melancholick Fopps that had nothing to do with the Devil. As if the Man in black and a little band were but such another as J. Webster, or any other Hagg-advocate that in waggery acted the part of the Devil in Husseys Knap, or any such like place of a Forrest, and so after all quickly and suddainly recoiling behind a bush and letting fly into the wind, the deluded Hagg took it for the vanishing of the very Fiend and his perfuming the Air with the smell of Brimstone. One that can resolve all the feats of the Hartummim of Egypt into tricks of Legerdemain cannot he easily delude the company with such a feat as this, the old wives being thick of hearing and carrying their spectacles not on their noses but in their pockets?

And lastly from the Devils covenanting with the Witches for their Souls, it may be observed that the old Hagg dealing bonâ fide, and thinking they have Souls surviving their bodies, are better Philosophers than the huffy wits of our Age that deny distinction of Soul and Body.

But

But if they have not (as these Huffers would have it) and the Hags think so themselves, it is a pretty Paradox that these old Fopps should be able to out-wit the very Devil; who does not in bartering for their Bodies and Souls buy a Pig in a poke, as the Proverb is, but a poke without a Pig. But I rather believe that these huffing Wits, as high as they are, may learn one true point of Philosophy from these Hags and their Familiars; these evil Spirits certainly making their bargains wisely enough in covenanting for the Witches Soul. Which clause if it were not exprest, the Soul were free from the Familiars jurisdiction after death. Wherefore it is no contemptible argument these evil Spirits covenanting for the Soul of the Witch, that they know the Soul survives the Body, and therefore make their bargain sure for the possession of it as their Peculium after death. Otherwise if the Soul were mortal they would tell the Witches so, the more easily to precipitate them into all wickedness, and make them more eager by their ministry to enjoy this present life. But this Doctrine is inconsistent with the form of his Covenant, whereby they are assured to him after death.

R E L A T. VII.

Touching Florence Newton an Irish Witch of Youghal, taken out of her Trial at the Assizes held for the County of Corke, Sept. 11, Ann. 1661.

THIS *Florence Newton* was committed to *Youghall* Prison, by the Major of the Town, *March 24. 1661.* for bewitching *Mary Longdon*, who gave evidence against her at *Cork* Assizes, as follows. *Mary Longdon* being sworn and examined what she could say against the said *Florence Newton* for any practice of Witchcraft upon her self, and being bidden to look on the Prisoner, her countenance changed pale, and she was very fearful to look towards her, but at last she did. And being askt whether she knew her, she said she did, and wisht she never had. Being askt how long she had known her, she said for three or four years. And that at *Christmas* last the said *Florence* came to the Deponent, at the House of *John Pyne* in *Youghall*, where the Deponent was a Servant. And askt the Deponent to give her a piece of Beef out of the Powdering-Tub. And the Deponent answering her, that she could not

not give away her Masters Beef, she said *Florence* seemed to be very angry, and said, thou hadst as good have given it me, and so went away grumbling.

- That about a week after, the Deponent being going to the Water with a Pail of Cloth on her head, she met the said *Florence Newton*, who came full in her face, and threw the Pail off her Head, and violently kist her, and said, *Mary*, I pray thee, let thee and I be friends, for I bear thee no ill will, and I pray thee do thou bear me none. And that she the Deponent went afterwards home, and that within a few days after, she saw a Woman with a Vail over her face, stand by her Bed-side, and one standing by her like a little Old Man in silk Clothes, and that this Man which she took to be a Spirit, drew the Vail from off the Womans Face, and then she knew it to be *Goody Newton*, and that the Spirit spake to the Deponent, and would have had her promise him to follow his advice, and she should have all things after her own heart, to which she says, she answered, that she would have nothing to say to him, for her trust was in the Lord.

That within a Month after the said *Florence* had kist her, she this Deponent fell very ill of Fits or Trances, which would take her on the sudden, in that violence
that

that three or four Men could not hold her. And in her Fits she would often be taken with Vomitings, and would Vomit up Needles, Pins, Horse-nails, Stubbs, Wooll and Straw, and that very often. And being asked whether she perceived at these times what she Vomited? she said she did. For then she was not in so great distraction as in other parts of her fits she was. And that a little before the first beginning of her fits, several (and very many) smallstones would fall upon her as she went up and down, and would follow her from place to place, and from one room to another, and would hit her on the head, shoulders, and arms, and fall to the ground and vanish away. And that she and several others would see them both fall upon her, and on the ground, but could never take them, save onely some few, which she and her Master caught in their hands. Amongst which one that had a hole in it she tied (as she was advised) with a Leather thong to her Purse, but it was vanisht immediately though the Leather continued tied on a fast Knot.

That in her fits she often saw this *Florence Newton*, and cryed out against her for tormenting of her, for she says that she would several times stick Pins into her Arms, and some of them so fast that a Man must pluck
three

three or four times to get out the Pin, and they were stuck betwixt the skin and the flesh. That sometimes she should be removed out of her bed into another room, sometimes she should be carried to the top of the house laid on a board betwixt two Sollar Beams, sometimes put into a Chest, sometimes under a parcel of wool, sometimes betwixt two Feather-beds on which she used to lie, and sometimes betwixt the Bed and the Mat in her Masters Chamber in the day time. And being asked how she knew she was thus carried about and disposed of, seeing in her fits she was in a violent distraction? she answered, she never knew where she was till they of the Family and the Neighbours with them would be taking her out of the places whither she was so carried and removed. And being asked the reason wherefore she cryed out so much against the said *Florence Newton* in her fits? she answered, because she saw her and felt her torturing.

And being asked how she could think it was *Florence Newton* that did her this prejudice? she said, first because she threatned her, then because after she had kist her she fell into these fits, and that she both saw and felt her tormenting. And lastly, that when the People of the Family by advice of the Neighbours and consent of the Major, had sent for *Florence Newton* to come to the

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Deponent, she was always worse when she was brought unto her, and her fits more violent than at another time. And that after the said *Florence* was committed at *Troughall*, the Deponent was not troubled, but was very well till a little while after the said *Florence* was removed to *Corke*, and then the Deponent was as ill as ever before. And the Major of *Troughall* one *Mr. Mayre*, then sent to know whether the said *Florence* were bolted (as the Deponent was told) and finding she was not, order was given to put the bolts on her, which being done the Deponent saith she was well again, and so hath continued ever since. And being asked whether she had such like fits before the said *Florence* gave her the kiss, she saith she never had any, but believes that with that kiss she bewicht her, and the rather because she hath heard from *Nicholas Pyne* and others, that the said *Florence* had confessed as much.

This *Mary Longdon* having closed up her Evidence, *Florence Newton* peep'd at her as it were betwixt the heads of the bystanders that interposed betwixt her and the said *Mary*, and lifting up both her hands together as they were manacled cast them in an angry violent kind of motion (as was seen and observed by *W. Aston*,) towards the said *Mary*, as if she intended to strike at her if she could have reacht her, and said

Now

Now she is down. Upon which the maid fell suddainly down to the ground like a stone, and fell into a most violent fit, that all the People that could come to lay hands on her could scarce hold her, she biting her own Arms and shreeking out in a most hideous manner to the amazement of all the beholders. And continuing so for about a quarter of an hour (the said *Florence Newton* sitting by her self all that while pinching her own Hands and Arms as was sworn by some that observed her) the maid was ordered to be carried out of Court and taken into a house. Whence several Persons after that, brought word that the Maid was in a Vomiting fit, and they brought in several crooked Pins and Straws and Wool, in white foam like spittle in great proportions. Whereupon the Court having taken notice that the Maid had said she had been very well when the said *Florence* was in bolts, and ill again when out of them, till they were again put on her, demanded of the Gaoler if she were in bolts or no, to which he said she was not, but onely manacled. Upon which order was given to put on her bolts, and upon putting them on she cried out, she was killed, she was undone, she was spoiled, why do you torment me thus? and so continued complaining grievously for half a quarter of an hour. And then

came

came in a Messenger from the Maid and informed the Court the Maid was well. At which *Florence* immediately and cholerickly uttered these words, *She is not well yet.* And being demanded how she knew she was not well yet? she denied she said so, though many in Court heard her say the words, and she said, if she did, she knew not what she said, being old and disquietèd and distracted with her sufferings. But the Maid being reasonably well come to her self, was, before the Court knew any thing of it, sent out of Town to *Roughall*, and so was no further Examined by the Court.

The fit of the Maid being urged by the Court with all the Circumstances of it upon *Florence*, to have been a continuance of her Devilish practice, she denied it, and likewise the motion of her hands, or the saying, *Now she is down*, though the Court saw the first, and the words were sworn by one *Roger Moor*. And *Thomas Harrison* swore that he had observed the said *Florence* peep at her and use that motion with her hands, and saw the Maid fall immediately upon that motion, and heard the words, *Now she is down*, uttered.

Nicholas stout was next produced by Mr. Attorney General, who being sworn and Examined said; That he had oft tried her, having heard say that Witches could not say
the

the Lords Prayer, whether she could say that Prayer or no; and found she could not. Whereupon she said she could say it, and had oft said it. And the Court being desired by her to hear her say it, gave her leave. And four times together after these words [give us this day our daily bread] she continually said *as we forgive them*, leaving always out the words [and forgive us our trespasses] upon which the Court appointed one near her to teach her these words she so left out. But she either could not or would not say them, using only these or the like words when these were repeated, *Ay Ay trespasses*, that's the words. And being oft pressed to utter the words as they were repeated to her, she did not. And being asked the reason, she said she was old and had a bad memory; and being asked how her memory served her so well for other parts of the Prayer, and only fail her for that, she said she knew not, neither could she help it.

John Pyne being likewise sworn and Examined, said that about *January* last the said *Mary Longdon* being his Servant was much troubled with little Stones that were thrown at her where ever she went, and that he hath seen them come as if they were thrown at her, others as if they dropped on her, and that he hath seen very great quantities of them, and that they would, after they had
hit

hit her, fall on the ground, and then vanish, so that none of them could be found. And further, that the Maid once caught one of them, and he himself another, and one of them with a hole in it, she tyed to her purse, but it vanished in a little time, but the knot of the Leather that tyed it remained unaltered. That after the stones had thus haunted her, she fell into most grievous fits, wherein she was so violently distracted, that four Men would have very much ado to hold her, and that in the highest extremity of her fits, she would cry out against *Gammer Newton* for hurting and tormenting of her. That sometimes the Maid would be reading in a Bible, and on a sudden he hath seen the Bible struck out of her Hand into the middle of the Room, and she immediately cast into a violent fit. That in the fits he hath seen two Bibles laid on her Breast, and in the twinkling of an Eye they would be cast betwixt the two Beds the Maid lay upon, sometime thrown into the middle of the Room, and that *Nicholas Pyne* held the Bible in the Maids Hand so fast, that it being suddainly snatcht away two of the leaves were Torn. That in many other fits the Maid was removed strangely, in the twinkling of an Eye, out of the bed, sometimes into the bottom of a Chest with Linnen, under all the Linnen, and the Linnen not

at all disordered, sometimes betwixt the two Beds she lay on, sometimes under a parcel of Wool; sometimes betwixt his Bed and the Mat of it in another Room, and once she was laid on a small deal Board, which lay on the top of the House betwixt two Sollar Beams, where he was forced to rear up Ladders to have her fetcht down. That in her fits she hath often Vomited up Wool, Pins, Horse-Nails, Stubs, Straw, Needles and Moss, with a kind of white Foam or Spittle, and hath had several Pins stuck into her Arms and Hands, that sometimes a Man must pull three or four times before he could pull one of them out, and some have been stuck between the flesh and the Skin, where they might be perfectly seen, but not taken out, nor any place seen where they were put in. That when the Witch was brought into the Room, where she was, she would be in more violent and longer lasting fits than at other times. That all the time the Witch was at liberty, the Maid was ill, and as soon as she was committed and bolted, she recovered and was well, and that when the Witch was removed to *Corke*, the Maid fell ill. And thereupon the Major of *Toughall* sent to see if she were bolted or no, and to acquaint them the Maid was ill, and desire them if the Witch were not bolted, they would bolt her. That she immediately mend-

ed and was as well as ever she was: and when the Messenger came from *Corke*, and told them when the Witch was bolted, it fell out to be the very time the Maid amended at *Toughall*.

Nicholas Pyne being sworn, saith, That the second night after that the Witch was in Prison, being 24 of *March* last, he and *Joseph Thompson*, *Roger Hawkins*, and some others went to speak with her concerning the Maid, and told her that it was the general Opinion of the Town that she had bewitched her, and desired her to deal freely with them, whether she had bewitched her or no. She said she had not *bewitched* her, but it may be she had *over-looked* her, and that there was a great difference betwixt *bewitching* and *over-looking*, and that she could not have done her any harm if she had not toucht her, and that therefore she had kist her. And she said that what mischief she thought of at that time she kist her, that would fall upon her, and that she would not but confess she had wronged the Maid, and there-upon fell down upon her Knees, and prayed God to forgive her for wronging the poor Wench. They wisht that she might not be wholly destroyed by her; to which she said, it must be another that must help her, and not they that did the harm. And then she said, there were others, as *Goody Half-penny*,

penny, and *Goody Dod* in Town, that could do these things as well as she, and that it might be one of them that had done the Maid wrong.

That towards Evening, the Door of the Prison shook, and she arose up hastily and said, What makest thou here this time a night? and there was a very great noise, as if some body with Bolts and Chains had been running up and down the Room, and they asked her what it was she spoke to, and what it was made the noise; and she said she saw nothing, neither did she speak, and if she did, it was she knew not what. But the next day she confest it was a *Spirit*, and her *Familiar* in the shape of a Grey-hound.

He saith further, That he and Mr. *Edward Perry* and others, for Trial of her took a Tyle off the Prison, next to the place where the Witch lay, and carried it to the House where the Maid lived, and put it into the fire till it was red hot, and then dropt some of the Maids Water upon it, and the Witch was then grievously tormented, and when the Water was consumed, she was well again.

And as to the stones falling on and cast at the Maid, as to the Maids fits, her removal into the Chest under the Wool, betwixt the Feather-beds, on the top of the deal Board betwixt two Sollar beams, con-

cerning the Bibles and their remove, his holding one of them in the Maids hands till two Leaves were torn, concerning the Maids Vomiting, and her calling out against the Witch, he agreeth perfectly throughout with *John Pyne* as before.

Edward Perry being likewise sworn deposeth, That he, *Mr. Greatrix* and *Mr. Blackwall* went to the maid, and *M. Greatrix* and he had read of a way to discover a Witch, which he would put in practice. And so they sent for the Witch, and set her on a Stool, and a Shoemaker with a strong Awl endeavored to stick it in the Stool, but could not till the third time. And then they bad her come off the Stool, but she said she was very weary and could not stir. Then two of them pulled her off, and the Man went to pull out his Awl, and it dropt into his hand with half an Inch broke off the blade of it, and they all looked to have found where it had been stuck, but could find no place where any entry had been made by it. Then they took another Awl and put it into the Maids hand, and one of them took the Maids hand, and ran violently at the Witches hand with it, but could not enter it, though the Awl was so bent that none of them could put it streight again. Then *Mr. Blackwall* took a Lance and launc't one of her hands an Inch and a half long, and a quarter of an Inch deep,

deep, but it bled not at all. Then he launc't the other hand, and then they bled.

He further saith, That after she was in Prison, he went with *Roger Hawkins* and others to discourse with the Witch about the Maid, and they askt what it was she spake to the day before, and after some denyal, she said it was a Greyhound which was her Familiar, and went out at the Window; and then she said if I have done the Maid hurt, I am sorry for it. And being then asked whether she had done her any hurt, she said she never did *bewitch* her, but confessed she had *overlooked* her that time she kist her, but that she could not now help her, for none could help that did the mischief, but others. And further the Deponent saith, That after at the Assize at *Casbal*, he meeting with one *William Lap*, and discoursing about these passages with him, the said *Lap* told the Deponent, that if he would but take a Tyle off the House near the place where the Witch lay, and heat it red hot in the fire, and then take some of the Maids Water and drop upon it, that so long as this was doing, he should find the Witch most grievously tormented: That afterwards he, *Edward Perry*, *Nicholas Pyne* and others put this in practice, and found that the Witch was extreemly tormented and vexed, and when the experiment was over, she came to her self, and

then they askt her how she came to hurt the Maid? and she said, that what evil she thought against the Maid that time she kist her, that would fall upon her, and that she could not have hurt her except she had toucht her, and then she fell on her knees and confest she had wronged the Maid, and desired God to forgive her. And then they put her upon saying the Lord Prayer, but she could not say the words, *and forgive us our trespasses.*

Mr. *Wood* a Minister being likewise sworn, and Examined deposeth, That having heard of the stones dropt and thrown at the Maid, and of her fits, and meeting with the Maids Brother, he went along with him to the Maid, and found her in her fit crying out against *Gammer Newton*, that she prickt her and hurt her. And when she came to herself he asked her what had troubled her, and she said *Gammer Newton*. And the Deponent said, why, she was not there. Yes, said she, I saw her by my bed side. The Deponent then asked her the original of all, which she related from the time of her begging the Beef, and after Kissing and so to that time. That then they caused the Maid to be got up and sent for *Florence Newton*, but she refused to come, pretending she was sick, though indeed it appeared she was well. Then the Major of *Youghall* came in
and

and spoke with the Maid, and then sent again and caused *Florence Newton* to be brought in, and immediately the Maid fell into her fit far more violent, and three times as long as at any other time, and all the time the Witch was in the Chamber the Maid cryed out continually of being hurt here and there, but never named the Witch; but as soon as she was removed, then she cryed out against her by the name of *Gammer Newton*, and this for several times. And still when the Witch was out of the Chamber the Maid would desire to go to Prayers, and he found good affections in her in time of Prayer. but when the Witch was brought in again, though never so privately, although she could not possibly, as the Deponent conceives, see her, she would be immediately senseless and like to be strangled, and so would continue till the Witch were taken out, and then though never so privately carried away she would come again to her senses. That afterwards *Mr. Greatrix*, *Mr. Blackwall* and some others, who would need satisfy themselves in the influence of the Witches presence, tried it and found it several times. Although he did it with all possible privacy, and so as none could think it possible for the Maid to know either of the Witches coming in or going out.

Richard Mayre Major of *Toughall*, being likewise sworn saith, That about the 24th of *March* last, he sent for *Florence Newton*, and Examined her about the Maid, and she at first denied it, and accused Goodwife *Halfpenny* and Goodwife *Dod*, but at length when he had caused a Boat to be provided, and had thought to have tried the Water Experiment on them all three, then *Florence Newton* confessed she had overlooked the Maid and done her wrong with a kiss. For which she was heartily sorry and desired God to forgive her. That then he likewise Examined the other two Women *Halfpenny* and *Dod*, but they utterly deny'd, it and were content to abide any Trial. Whereupon he caused both *Florence*, *Halfpenny*, and *Dod*, to be carried to the Maid. And he told her these two Women, or one of them were said by *Gammer Newton* to have done her hurt, but she answered No no, they are honest Women, but it is *Gammer Newton* that hurts me, and I believe she is not far off. That then they afterwards brought in *Newton* privately, and then she fell into a most violent fit, ready to be strangled, till the Witch was removed, and then she was well again, and this for three several times. He further deposeth, that there were three Aldermen in *Toughall*, whose Children she had

had kist as he had heard them affirm, and all the Children died presently after. And as to the sending to *Cork* to have the bolts put on, swears as is formerly deposed.

Joseph Thomson being likewise sworn said; That he went in *March* last with *Roger Hawkins*, *Nicholas Pyne*, and others to the Prison to confer with *Florence Newton* about the Maid. But she would confess nothing that time. But towards Night there was a noise at the Prison door as if something had shak't the door, and *Florence* started up and said, *What aileth thee to be here at this time of the Night?* and there was much noise. And they asked her what she spoke to, and what made the great noise? But she denied that she spake or that she knew of any noise, and said, if I spoke I said I knew not what. And they went their ways at that time and went to her again the next Night, and asked her very seriously about the last Nights passage and the noise. And then she confessed to them that it was a Grayhound that came to her, and that she had seen it formerly, and that it went out at the Window. And then she confest she had done the Maid wrong, for which she was sorry and desired God to forgive her.

Hicherto we have heard the most considerable Evidence touching *Florence Newton's* Witchcraft upon *Mary Longdon*, for which

which she was committed to *Toughall* Prison, *March 24. 1661.* But *April* following she bewicht one *David Jones* to death; by kissing his hand through the grate of the Prison, for which she was indicted at *Corke Assizes*, and the Evidence is as follows.

Elenor Jones Relict of the said *David Jones*, being sworn and Examined in open Court what she knew concerning any practice of Witchcraft by the said *Florence Newton* upon the said *David* her Husband? gave in the Evidence That in *April* last, the said *David* her late Husband having been out all the Night, came home early in the Morning, and said to the said *Elenor* his Wife, where dost thou think I have been all Night? To which she answered she knew not. Whereupon he replied, I and *Frank Beseley* have been standing Centinel over the Witch all Night. To which she the said *Elenor* said why what hurt is that? Hurt, quoth he? marry, I doubt it's never a jot the better for me. For she hath kist my hand through the grate, and ever since she kist my hand, I have had a great pain in that Arm, and I verily believe she hath bewitched me if ever she bewitched any Man. To which she answered, the Lord forbid. That all the Night and continually from that time he was restless and ill, complaining exceedingly of a great pain in his Arm for seven days together,

and

and at the seven days end he complained that the pain was come from his Arm to his Heart, and then kept his Bed Night and Day grievously afflicted and crying out against *Florence Newton*, and about fourteen Days after he dyed.

Francis Beseley, being sworn and Examined said, That about the time aforementioned meeting with the said *David Jones*, and discoursing with him of the several reports then stirring concerning this *Florence Newton* (who was then in Prison at *Youghall* for bewitching *Mary Longdon*) viz. that she had several Familiars resorting to her in sundry shapes, the said *David Jones* told him the said *Francis Beseley*, that he had a great mind to watch her the said *Florence Newton* one Night to see whether he could observe any Cats or other Creatures resort to her through the grate, as 'twas suspected they did, and desired the said *Francis* to go with him, which he did. And that when they came thither *David Jones* called to *Florence*, and told her that he heard she could not say the Lords Prayer: To which she answered she could. He then desired her to say it: But she excused her self by the decay of Memory through old Age. Then *David Jones* began to teach her, but she could not or would not say it, though often taught it.

Upon

Upon which the said *David Jones* and *Beseley* being withdrawn a little from her, and discoursing of her, not being able to learn this Prayer, she called out to *David Jones*, and said, *David! David!* come hither, I can say the Lords Prayer now. Upon which *David* went towards her, and the said Deponent would have pluckt him back, and perswaded him not to have gone to her. But he would not be perswaded, but went to the Grate to her, and she began to say the Lords Prayer, but could not say, [*Forgive us our Trespases*]. So that *David* again taught her. Which she seemed to take very thankfully, and told him she had a great mind to have kist him, but that the Grate hindred, but desired she might kifs his hand. Whereupon he gave her his hand through the Grate, and she kist it, and towards break of day, they went away and parted, and soon after the Deponent heard that *David Jones* was ill.

Whereupon he went to visit him, and found him about two or three days after very ill of a pain in the Arm. Which he exceedingly complained of, and told the Deponent that ever since he parted with him he had been seized on with that pain, and that the Old Hag had bewitched him when she kist his hand, and that she had him now by the hand, and was pulling off his Arm.

And

And he said, Do you not see the Old Hag how she pulls me? Well, I lay my Death on her, she has bewicht me. And several times after would complain, that she had tormented him, and had bewitched him, and that he laid his Death on her. And after fourteen days languishing, he the said *David Jones* dyed.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Relation is taken out of a Copy of an Authentick Record, as I conceive, every half sheet having W. Aston writ in the Margin, and then again W. Aston at the end of all, who in all likelihood must be some publick Notary or Record-Keeper. But this Witch of Youghall is so famous, that I have heard Mr. Greatrix speak of her at my Lord Conway's at Ragley, and remember very well he told the story of the Axl to me there. There is in this Relation an eximious example of the Magical venome of Witches (whence they are called Veneficæ) in that all the mischief this Witch did, was by kissing, or some way touching the party she bewitched, and she confest unless she touched her, she could do her no hurt. Which may be called a Magical venome or contagion. But how Over-looking and Bewitching are distinguished with those of this Hellish Fraternity, I know

know not. But that Mary Longdon was bewitch'd by her over-looking her is manifest. whether this Over-looking relates to ὀρδαλαῖς βᾶσκαυθ, and that the Magical venome came out at her Eyes when she kissed the Maid, and whether this ὀρδαλαῖς βᾶσκαυθ was the first kind of witchery distinct from that of bewitching people by Images made of Wax, and afterward any bewitching by meer looking or touching, was called Over-looking, we will leave to the Criticks of that black School to decide. As also what is that, which in the Witches shape, so haunts and torments the bewitched party. For that it is not the meer fancy of the bewitched seems reasonable to judge, because their meer fancy could not create such kinds of extream torments to them. And therefore it is either the Witches Familiar in her shape, or the Astral Spirit of the Witch, because the Witch is sometimes wounded by striking at her Appearance, as it happened in the appearance of Jane Brooks, and also in that of Julian Cox, as you shall find in the Relation following.

RELAT.

R E L A T. VIII.

The Narrative of Mr. Pool, a Servant and Officer in the Court to Judge Archer in his Circuits, concerning the Trial of Julian Cox for Witchcraft; who being himself then present an Officer in the Court, noted as follows, viz.

Julian Cox, aged about 70 years, was Indicted at Taunton in Somersetshire, about Summer Assizes 1663. before Judge Archer then Judge of Assize there, for Witchcraft, which she practised upon a young Maid, whereby her body languished, and was impaired of Health, by reason of strange fits upon account of the said Witchcraft.

The evidence against her was divided into two Branches; First, to prove her a Witch in general; Secondly, to prove her guilty of the Witchcraft contained in the Indictment.

For the proof of the first particular, The first Witness was an Huntsman, who swore that he went out with a pack of Hounds to hunt a Hare, and not far off from Julian Cox her house, he at last started a Hare. The Dogs hunted her very close, and the third
ring

ring hunted her in view, till at last the Huntsman perceiving the Hare almost spent, and making towards a great Bush, he ran on the other side of the Bush to take her up, and preserve her from the Dogs. But as soon as he laid hands on her, it proved to be *Julian Cox*, who had her head groveling on the ground, and her globes (as he expressed it) upward. He knowing her, was affrighted, that his Hair on his Head stood on end; and yet spake to her, and asked her what brought her there. But she was so far out of Breath, that she could not make him any answer. His Dogs also came up with full cry to recover the game, and smelt at her, and so left off hunting any further. And the Huntsman with his Dogs went home presently, sadly affrighted.

Secondly, Another Witness swore, that as he passed by *Cox* her Door, she was taking a Pipe of Tobacco upon the Threshold of her Door, and invited him to come in and take a Pipe, which he did. And as he was taking *Julian* said to him, Neighbour look what a pretty thing there is. He look't down, and there was a monstrous great Toad betwixt his Leggs, staring him in the face. He endeavoured to kill it by spurning it, but could not hit it. Whereupon *Julian* bad him forbear, and it would do him no hurt. But he threw down his Pipe
and

and went home, (which was about two Miles off of *Julian Cox* her house) and told his Family what had happened; and that he believed it was one of *Julian Cox* her Devils. After, he was taking a Pipe of Tobacco at home, and the same Toad appeared betwixt his Leggs. He took the Toad out to kill it, and to his thinking cut it in several pieces, but returning to his Pipe, the Toad still appeared. He endeavored to burn it, but could not. At length he took a Switch and beat it. The Toad ran several times about the Room to avoid him, he still pursuing it with correction. At length the Toad cryed and vanish't; and he was never after troubled with it.

Thirdly, Another swore that *Julian* past by his Yard while his Beasts were in Milking, and stooping down scored upon the ground for some small time. During which time his Cattle ran mad, and some ran their heads against the Trees, and most of them dyed speedily. Whereupon concluding they were bewitched, he was after advised to this Experiment, to find out the Witch; viz. to cut off the Ears of the bewitched Beasts and burn them, and that the Witch would be in misery and could not rest till they were plucked out. Which he tryed, and while they were burning, *Julian Cox* came into the House, raging and scolding

that they had abused her without cause, but she went presently to the fire and took out the Ears that were burning, and then she was quiet.

Fourthly, Another Witness swore that she had seen *Julian Cox* fly into her own Chamber Window in her full proportion, and that she very well knew her, and was sure it was she.

Fifthly, Another evidence was the confession of *Julian Cox* her self upon her Examination before a Justice of Peace, which was to this purpose, That she had been often tempted by the Devil to be a Witch, but never consented. That one evening she walkt out about a Mile from her own House, and there came riding towards her three persons upon three Broom-staves, born up about a yard and an half from the ground. Two of them she formerly knew, which was a Witch and a Wizzard that were hanged for Witchcraft several years before. The third person she knew not. He came in the shape of a black Man, and tempted her to give him her Soul, or to that effect, and to express it by pricking her finger, and giving her name in her Blood in token of it, and told her that she had revenge against several persons that had wronged her, but could not bring her purpose to pass without his help, and that up-
on

on the terms aforesaid he would assist her to be revenged against them. But she said, she did not consent to it. This was the sum of the general Evidence to prove her a Witch.

But now for the second particular, to prove her guilty of the Witchcraft upon the Maid whereof she was indicted, this Evidence was offered:

It was proved that *Julian Cox* came for an Alms to the house where this Maid was a Servant, and that the Maid told her, she should have none, and gave her a cross answer that displeased *Julian*. Whereupon *Julian* was angry and told the Maid she should repent it before Night, and so she did. For before Night she was taken with a Convulsion fit, and after that left her, she saw *Julian Cox* following her and cryed out to the People in the house to save her from *Julian*.

But none saw *Julian* but the Maid, and all did impute it to her imagination onely. And in the Night she cryed out of *Julian Cox*, and the black Man, that they came upon her bed and tempted her to drink something they offered her. But she cryed out, she defied the Devils Drenches. This also they imputed to her imagination, and bad her be quiet, because they in the same Chamber with her did not see or hear any thing,

and they thought it had been her conceit onely.

The Maid the next Night expecting the same conflict she had the Night before, brought up with her a Knife, and laid it at her beds head. About the same time of the Night as before, *Julian* and the black Man came again upon the Maids bed and tempted her to drink that which they brought, but she refused, crying in the audience of the rest of the Family, that she defied the Devils Drenches, and took the Knife and stabbed *Julian*; and, as she said, she wounded her in the Leg and was importunate with the Witness to ride to *Julian Cox*'s house presently to see if it were not so. The Witness went and took the Knife with him. *Julian Cox* would not let him in, but they forced the Door open and found a fresh wound in *Julian*'s Leg, as the Maid had said, which did suit with the Knife, and *Julian* had been just dressing it when the Witness came. There was blood also found upon the Maids bed.

The next Morning the Maid continued her out-cries that *Julian Cox* appeared to her in the house wall, and offered her great Pins which she was forced to swallow. And all the Day the Maid was observed to convey her hand to the house wall, and from the wall to her Mouth, and she seemed by

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the motion of her Mouth as if she did eat something. But none saw any thing but the Maid, and therefore thought still it might be her phansy, and did not much mind it. But towards Night this Maid began to be very ill and complained, that the Pins that *Julian* forced her to eat out of the wall, did torment her in all parts of her Body that she could not endure it, and made lamentable out-cries for pain. Whereupon several Persons being present the Maid was undressed, and in several parts of the Maids Body several great swellings appeared, and out of the head of the swellings several great Pins points appeared. Which the Witnesses took out, and upon the Trial there were about Thirty great Pins produced in Court (which I my self handled) all which were sworn by several Witnesses that they were taken out of the Maids Body in manner as is aforesaid.

Judge *Archer* who tryed the Prisoner, told the Jury that he had heard that a Witch could not repeat that petition in the Lords Prayer, *viz.* [*And lead us not into temptation*] and having this occasion he would try the Experiment, and told the Jury that whether she could or could not, they were not in the least measure to guide their Verdict according to it, because it was not legal Evidance, but that they must

be guided in their Verdict by the former Evidences given in upon Oath onely.

The Prisoner was called for up to the next Bar to the Court, and demanded if she could say the Lords Prayer? She said she could, and went over the Prayer readily till she came to that petition. Then she said [And lead us into temptation] or [And lead us not into no temptration] but could not say [*And lead us not into temptation*] though she was directed to say it after one that repeated it to her distinctly. But she could not repeat it otherwise than is expressed already, though tried to do it near half a score times in open Court. After all which the Jury found her guilty, and Judgment having been given within three or four days, she was Executed without any Confession of the Fact.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This is a Copy of the Narrative sent by Mr. Pool, Octob. 24. 1672. to Mr. Archer of Emanuel Colledge, Nephew to the Judge upon the desire of Dr. Bright. But I remember here at Cambridge, I heard the main passages of this Narrative when they first were spread abroad after the Assizes, and particularly by G. Rust after Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. Nor do I doubt but it is a true account of what was attested before

before Judge Archer at the Assizes. For it is a thing to me altogether incredible, that he that was an Officer or Servant of the Judge and present in the Court at the Examination and Trial, and there took Notes, should write a Narrative, when there were so many Ear-witnesses besides himself of the same things, that would be obnoxious to the disproof of those who were present as well as himself. It may not be amiss here to transcribe what Dr. M. did write to Mr. G. touching this story in a Letter dated Dec. 26. 1678.

This Narrative, says he, hath the most Authentick confirmation that human affairs are capable of, Sense and the sacredness of an Oath. But yet I confess I have heard that Judge Archer has been taxed by some of overmuch credulity, for sentencing Julian Cox to death upon those Evidences. But to deal freely I suspect by such as out of their ignorance misinterpreted several passages in the Evidence, or were of such a dull stupid Sadducean temper, that they believe there are no Spirits nor Witches. And truly I must confess that the Huntsman, though he deposed upon Oath, that when he came in to take up the Hare at the Bush, it proved to be Julian Cox with her face towards the ground, &c. his expressing of himself touching her Globes and the Doggs smelling, &c. looks something humourously and ludicrously on it. But I must further add, that I think it was onely that his fancie was tickled with the featness of the Phenomenon, not that

he would be so wicked as to tell a lye upon Oath and that for nothing. Sic vita hominum est, says Tully, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur sine spe atque emolumento accedere. But that those half-witted People thought he swore false, I suppose was because they imagined that what he told implied that Julian Cox was turned into an Hare. which she was not, nor did his report imply any such real Metamorphosis of her body, but that these ludicrous Demons exhibited to the sight of this Huntsman and his Doggs the shape of an Hare, one of them turning himself into such a form, and others hurrying on the body of Julian near the same place, and at the same swiftness, but interposing betwixt that Hare-like Spectre and her body, modifying the Air so that the scene there, to the beholders sight, was as if nothing but Air were there, and a shew of Earth perpetually suited to that where the Hare passed. As I have heard of some Painters that have drawn the Sky in an huge large Land-skip, so lively that the Birds have flown against it, thinking it free Air, and so have fallen down. And if Painters and Fuglers by the tricks of Legerdemain can do such strange feats to the deceiving of the sight, it is no wonder that these Airy invisible Spirits as far surpass them in all such prestigious doings as the Air surpasses the Earth for subtilty.

And the like Præstigiæ may be in the Toad. It might be a real Toad. (though actuated and
 21
 guided

guided by a Demon) which was cut in pieces, and that also which was whipt about, and at last snatcht out of sight (as if it had vanished) by these Aerial Hocus-Pocus's. And if some Juglers have tricks to take hot Coals into their Mouth without hurt, certainly it is no strange thing that some small attempt did not suffice to burn that Toad. That such a Toad, sent by a Witch and crawling up the Body of the Man of the house as he sate by the fire's side, was overmastered by him and his Wife together, and burnt in the fire; I have heard sometime ago credibly reported by one of the Isle of Ely. Of these Demoniack Vermin, I have heard other stories also, as of a Rat that followed a Man some score of Miles trudging through thick and thin along with him. So little difficulty is there in that of the Toad.

And that of Julian Cox's being seen to fly in at her own Chamber Window, there is no difficulty in it, if it be understood of her Familiar, the black Man, that had transformed himself into her shape. For this is no such unusual thing for Witches to appear either in their Astral Spirits or by their Familiars, as if it were their very bodily Persons. But when she appeared to the Maid together with the black Man and offered her to drink, it is likely it was her Astral Spirit, and Julians being wounded in her body by the wound on her Astral Spirit is just such another

another case, as that of Jane Brooks, which you your self note in your Book of Witchcraft.

The most incredible thing is her eating of Pins, she knowing them to be such. But they that are bewitched are not themselves, and being possessed are actuated in the parts of their body, and their mind driven by that ugly inmate in them, to what he will; which is notorious in the story of Mrs. Frogmorton's Children. And for the Pins thus swallowed, their coming out into the exterior parts of her body, Examples of this sort are infinite; and far more strange than these are recorded by Baptista Van Helmont, de Injectis.

These are the most incredible passages in this Narrative, and yet you see how credible they are, if rightly understood. But those that believe no spirits will believe nothing never so credible of this kind, and others that have some natural aversion from these things will presently interpret them in the vulgar sense, and then sweetly sneer at their own ignorance. But I must confess if this be a true Relation of what passed in the Court, I do not question but the things that were sworn did so appear to them that swore them. Or else there is nothing to be credited in human affairs. But concerning the truth of the Relation, besides what I hinted in my last to you, you would do well to write to some or other in Taunton, &c. Thus far
Dr. M.

And

And if any one be so curious as to desire an account of Mr. G. his further inquiry into this business, I can tell him that he wrote to Mr. Hunt who then busy in some Court; yet made shift to read the Narrative and wrote two or three lines to him back to this effect. That one principal Evidence was omitted in the Narrative, but that is nothing against the truth of the rest. But he adds also, that some things were false. which would stumble one and make him think that the credit of this Narrative is quite blasted thereby. But this Riddle is easily unriddled by him that considers, that Mr. Hunt may respect those things that are said to be confessed by her in her examination before a Justice of Peace. For he also having some time Examined her, and she making no such confession to him (as Mr. G. himself says in a Letter to Dr. M. that he perused that Examination in Mr. Hunts Book, and there was not any thing considerable therein) might speak this in reference to the Examination which he had taken, she then not confessing so freely as to some other Justice, whose Examination therefore was made use of in the Court. But this cannot concern at all the rest of the Narrative, which was given upon Oath in the Court in the hearing of all. This I thought fit not to omit as being desirous to deal with all faithfulness in concealing nothing, and not to impose upon the Reader, but that he may make his judgment upon the whole matter.

As

As for the Witches being hurried along with that Hare-like Spectre, her being out of breath (as the Huntsman testified) makes it most probable; or at least that she was hurried from some other place on the earth, or in the air (to meet there at length with the Hare-like Spectre) but this invisibly by that *μαγευικη*, or Prestigiatory art or faculty of these ludicrous Demons, whereby they can so modify the Air immediately next to the party they would conceal, that it looks there like the free skie, or what Landskip they please; as when they shew in a Shew-stone or Glass, the very Room in which the party is, the Demon by the power of his Imagination, so modifying at least his own Vehicle. Which power some of those of the Atheistick Brotherhood cannot with any face deny, supposing there are Demons, they giving a greater power to the Imagination of a Man, as if it were able to transform the Air into real Birds or Mice, or such like Creatures livingly such for the present. But any thing must be believed, rather than the Existence of Witches and Demons.

It will not be amiss here to take notice what an eminent example this Julian Cox is of Moles his Megnonenah or Mecassephah taken in the same sense, that is, of such a Witch as is thought by a *μαγευικη*, or prestigiatory power (though it is the Devil that does these feats, not she) to transform her self into strange shapes, and use other like deceptions of the sight.

As

As also it is a notable instance of the Astral Spirits of Witches, how strongly, though at a distance of place, they are tyed together in a fatal Sympathy with their Bodies, the Body of Julian being wounded by a stab at her Astral Spirit; as it fared also in Jane Brooks, and an Old woman in Cambridge-shire, whose Astral Spirit coming into a Mans house, (as he was sitting alone at the fire) in the shape of a huge Cat, and setting her self before the fire, not far from him, he stote a stroke at the back of it with a Fire-fork, and seemed to break the back of it, but it scambled from him, and vanisht he knew not how. But such an Old Woman, a reputed Witch, was found dead in her Bed that very night, with her Back broken, as I have heard some years ago credibly reported.

That also is a marvellous Magical Sympathy in this story of Julian Cox, that the burning of the Ears of the Beast bewitched by her, should put her into such rage and torment. Like the heating of the Tile red hot in the story of Florence Newton, and pouring some of the bewitched Maids water upon it. which puts me in mind of a very remarkable story of this kind, told me by Mr. Brearly, once Fellow of Christs Colledge in Cambridge, who boarded in an house in Suffolk, where his Landlady had been ill handled by witchcraft.

For an Old Man that Travelled up and down
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the Country, and had some acquaintance at that house, calling in and asking the Man of the house how he did and his Wife; He told him that himself was well, but his wife had been a long time in a languishing condition, and that she was haunted with a thing in the shape of a Bird, that would flurr near to her face, and that she could not enjoy her natural rest well. The Old Man bid him and his Wife be of good courage. It was but a dead Spright, he said, and he would put him in a course to rid his wife of this languishment and trouble. He therefore advised him to take a Bottle, and put his Wives Urine into it, together with Pins and Needles and Nails, and Cork them up, and set the Bottle to the fire, but be sure the Cork be fast in it, that it fly not out. The Man followed the prescription, and set the Bootle to the fire well corkt, which when it had felt a while the heat of the fire began to move and joggle a little; but he for sureness took the Fireshovel, and held it hard upon the Cork. And as he thought he felt something one while on this side, another while on that, shove the Fireshovel off, which he still quickly put on again, but at last at one shoving the Cork bounced out, and the Urine, Pins, Nails and Needles all flew up, and gave a report like a Pistol, and his Wife continued in the same trouble and languishment still.

Not long after, the Old Man came to the house again, and inquired of the Man of the house

house

house how his Wife did. Who answered as ill as ever, if not worse. He askt him if he had followed his direction. Yes, says he, and told him the event as is abovesaid. Ha, quoth he, it seems it was too nimble for you. But now I will put you in a way, that will make the business sure. Take your Wive's Urine as before, and Cork it in a Bottle with Nails, Pins and Needles, and bury it in the Earth; and that will do the feat. The Man did accordingly. And his Wife began to mend sensibly, and in a competent time was finely well recovered. But there came a Woman from a Town some miles off to their house, with a lamentable Out-cry, that they had killed her Husband. They askt her what she meant and thought her distracted, telling her they knew neither her nor her husband. Yes, saith she, you have killed my husband, he told me so on his Death-bed. But at last they understood by her, that her Husband was a Wizzard, and had bewitched this Mans wife, and that this Counter-practice prescribed by the Old Man, which saved the Mans Wife from languishment, was the death of that Wizzard that had bewicht her. This story did Mr. Brearly hear from the Man and womans own Mouth who were concerned, and at whose House he for a time Boarded, nor is there any doubt of the truth thereof.

But it will be more easie for any rational Man to believe stories of this kind, than to find out a satisfactory account of the operation and effect,

fect, or to assure the lawfulness of such counter-practice against Witchcraft; unless they can be resolved into the Sympathy and Synenergy of the Spiritus Mundanus, (which Plotinus calls τ μ ν ρ α , the grand Magician) such as the operation of the Weapon-salve, and other Magnetick Cures are resolved into. And forasmuch as the power of a truly Divine Magick, such as Prophets and Holy Law-givers are endued with, is too great and August to be found in ordinary good Men, that are to bring in no new Law or Religion into the World, the benignity of Providence is to be acknowledged in that the Villanies of Witchcraft lye obnoxious to such a natural or ratified way of Discoveries and Counter-practices as these. But how this obnoxiousness of Witches is complicated with their Familiars sucking their Bodies, is a point too nice and prolix to enter upon here. But it is most safe not to tamper at all with these things, and most happy to have no occasion for it.

Lastly, as for Julian Cox her not being able to say one of the Petitions in the Lords Prayer, the case is like that of Florence Newton the Irish Witch, but unlike in this, that it was not the same Petition Florence Newton stuck at. And I remember when I had the curiosity with a friend of mine, of examining certain Witches at Castle-hill in Cambridge, the most notorious of them, who also was hanged for a Witch, offered to say the Creed and Lords Prayer, - as an

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Argument she was no Witch, and so far as I remember, she said the Lords Prayer right, but was out at the Creed; nor do I think this any certain sign of their guilt or innocency, and therefore Judge Archer did well to lay no stress on it. But these things are of less moment, and therefore I pass to the next Relation, which looks not so much like Witchcraft, as the Apparition of the Ghost of one deceased.

R E L A T. IX.

Which is a Relation of Thomas Goddard of Marlborough, in the County of Wilts, Weaver, made the 23. Nov. 1674.

WHo saith, That on *Monday* the Ninth of this Instant, as he was going to *Ogborn* at a *Style* on the Highway near *Mr. Goddards* ground, about *Nine* in the Morning, he met the Apparition of his Father in Law, one *Edward Avon* of this Town Glover, who dyed in *May* last, having on, to his appearance, the same Clothes, Hat, Stockings and Shoes he did usually wear when he was living; standing by, and leaning over that *Style*. Which when he came near, the Apparition spake to him with an audible voice these words, *Are you*

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afraid &

afraid? To which he answered, I am, thinking on one who is dead and buried, whom you are like. To which the Apparition replied with the like voice, I am he that you were thinking on, I am *Edward Avon* your Father in Law, come near to me, I will do you no harm. To which *Goddard* answered, I trust in him who hath bought my Soul with his precious Blood, you shall do me no harm. Then the Apparition said, How stand cases at home? *Goddard* askt what cases? Then it askt him how do *William* and *Mary*, meaning as he conceived, his Son *William Avon* a Shoemaker here, and *Mary* his Daughter the said *Goddards* Wife. Then, it said, What! *Taylor* is dead, meaning, as he thought, one *Taylor* of *London*, who Married his Daughter *Sarah*, which *Taylor* dyed about *Michaelmas* last. Then the Apparition held out its hand, and in it, as *Goddard* conceived, twenty or thirty shillings in silver, and then spake with a loud voice: Take this Money and send it to *Sarah*, for I shut up my Bowels of compassion toward her in the time of my life, and now here is somewhat for her. And then said, *Mary* (meaning his the said *Goddards* Wife as he conceived) is troubled for me. But tell her, God hath shewed mercy to me contrary to my deserts. But the said *Goddard* answered, In the Name of Jesus Christ, I refuse all such Money.

Money. Then the *Apparition* said, I perceive you are afraid. I will meet you some other time. And immediately it went up the Lane to his appearance. So he went over the same Style, but saw it no more that day.

He saith, The next night about seven of the Clock, it came and opened his shop Window, and stood in the like Clothes, looked him in the face, but said nothing to him. And the next night after, as *Goddard* went forth into his Backside with a Candle light in his hand, it appeared to him again in the same shape, but he being in fear ran into his house, and saw it no more then.

But he saith, That on *Thursday* the twelfth instant, as he came from *Chilton*, riding down the Hill between the Mannor-house and *Axford-Farm-field*, he saw somewhat like a Hare crossed his way, at which his Horse frightened threw him in the dirt, and as soon as he could recover on his feet, the same Apparition there met him again in the same habit, and there standing about eight foot directly before him in the way, spake again to him with a loud voice, *Source* (a word he commonly used when living) you have stayed long, and then said to him, *Thomas*, bid *William Avon* take the Sword that he had of me, which is now in his house, and carry it to the Wood as we go to *Alton*, to the upper end of the Wood by the ways

side. For with that Sword I did wrong above Thirty years ago, and he never prospered since he had that Sword. And bid *William Avon* give his Sister *Sarah* twenty shillings of the money which he had of me. And do you talk with *Edward Lawrence*, for I borrowed twenty shillings of him several years ago, and did say I had paid him, but I did not pay it him, and I would desire you to pay him twenty shillings out of the money which you had from *James Elliot* at two payments. Which money the said *Goddard* now saith was five pounds, which *James Elliot* a Baker here owed the said *Avon* on Bond, and which he the said *Goddard* had received from the said *Elliot* since *Michaelmas* at two payments, viz. 35 s. at one, and 3 l. 5 s. at another payment. And it further said to him, Tell *Margaret* (meaning his own Wife as he conceived) that I would desire her to deliver up the little which I gave to little *Sarah Taylor* to the Child, or to any one she will trust for it. But if she will not, speak to *Edward Lawrence* to perswade her. But if she will not then, tell her that I will see her very suddenly. And see that this be done within a Twelve-moneth and a day after my decease, and peace be with you. And so it went away over the Rails into the Wood there in the like manner as any Man would go over a Style to his ap-
pre-

prehension, and so he saw it no more at that time. And he saith, that he paid the twenty shillings to *Edward Lawrence* of this Town, who being present now doth remember he lent the said *Avon* twenty shillings about twenty years ago, which none knew but himself and Wife, and *Avon* and his Wife, and was never paid it again before now by this *Goddard*.

And this said *Goddard* further saith, That this very day by Mr. Majors order, he with his Brother in Law *William Avon* went with the Sword, and about Nine a Clock this Morning, they laid down the Sword in the Copse near the place the *Apparition* had appointed *Goddard* to carry it, and then coming away thence, *Goddard* looking back, saw the same *Apparition* again in the like habit as before. Whereupon he called to his Brother in Law, and said, Here is the *Apparition* of our Father, Who said I see nothing. Then *Goddard* fell on his Knees and said, Lord open his Eyes that he may see it. But he replied, Lord grant I may not see it, if it be thy blessed Will. And then the *Apparition* to *Goddards* appearance, beckned with his hand to him to come to it. And then *Goddard* said, In the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, what would you have me to do? Then the *Apparition* said to him, *Thomas*, Take up the Sword and follow me. To which he

said, should both of us come, or but one of us? To which it answered, *Thomas*, do you take up the Sword. And so he took up the Sword and followed the Apparition about Ten Lugs (that is Poles) further into the Copse, and then turning back, he stood still about a Lug and a half from it, his Brother in Law staying behind at the place where they first laid down the Sword. Then *Goddard* laying down the Sword upon the ground, saw something stand by the Apparition like a Mastiff Dog of a brown colour. Then the Apparition coming towards *Goddard*, he stept back about two steps, and the Apparition said to him, I have a permission to you, and commission not to touch you, and then it took up the Sword, and went back to the place at which before it stood, with a Mastiff Dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the Sword into the ground and said, In this place lyes buried the Body of him which I murdered in the year 1635. which is now rotten and turned to dust. Whereupon *Goddard* said, I do adjure you in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, wherefore did you do this murder? And it said, I took money from the Man, and he contended with me, and so I murdered him. Then *Goddard* askt him, who was confederate with him in the said murder? and it said, none but my self. Then *Goddard* said,

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What would you have me to do in this thing? And the *Apparition* said, This is that the World, may know that I murdered a Man, and buried him in this place in the year 1635.

Then the *Apparition* laid down the Sword on the bare ground there, whereon grew nothing, but seemed to *Goddard* to be as a Grave sunk in. And then the *Apparition* rushing further into the Copse vanished, and he saw it no more. Whereupon *Goddard* and his Brother in Law *Avon*, leaving the Sword there and coming away together, *Avon* told *Goddard* he heard his voice, and understood what he said, and heard other words distinct from his, but could not understand a word of it, nor saw any *Apparition* at all. Which he now also present affirmeth, and all which the said *Goddard* then attested under his hand, and affirmed he will depose the same when he shall be thereto required.

In the presence of *Christ. Lypyatt* Major,
Rolf Bayly Town-Clerk, *Joshuah Sache-
verell* Rector of *St. Peters* in *Malebrough*,

Examined by me

Will. Bayly.

ADVERTISEMENT.

That Tho. Goddard saw this Apparition, seems to be a thing indubitable; but whether it was his Father in Law's Ghost, that is more questionable. The former is confirmed from an hand at least impartial, if not disfavoured to the story. The party in his Letter to Mr. G— writes briefly to this effect. 1. That he does verily think that this Tho. Goddard does believe the story most strongly himself. 2. That he cannot imagine what interest he should have in raising such a story, he bringing Infamy on his Wives Father, and obliging himself to pay twenty shillings debt, which his poverty could very ill spare. 3. That his Father in Law Edward Avon, was a resolute sturdy fellow in his young years, and many years a Bailiff to Arrest people. 4. That Tho. Goddard had the repute of an honest Man, knew as much in Religion as most of his rank and breeding, and was a constant frequenter of the Church, till about a year before this happened to him, he fell off wholly to the Non-Conformists.

All this hitherto, save this last of all, tends to the Confirmation of the story. Therefore this last shall be the first Allegation against the credibility thereof. 2. It is further alleged, that possibly the design of the story may be to
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make him to be accounted an extraordinary somebody amongst the dissenting party. 3. That he is sometimes troubled with Epileptical fits. 4. That the Major sent the next Morning to digg the place where the Spectre said the Murdered Man was Buried, and there was neither bones found nor any difference of the Earth in that place from the rest.

But we answer briefly to the first, That his falling off to the Non-Conformists though it may argue a vacillancy of his judgment, yet it does not any defect of his external senses, as if he were less able to discern when he saw or heard any thing than before: To the second, That it is a perfect contradiction to his strong belief of the truth of his own story, which plainly implies that he did not feign it to make himself an extraordinary somebody: To the third, That an Epileptical Person when he is out of his fits, hath his external senses as true and entire, as a Drunken Man has when his Drunken fit is over, or a Man awake after a night of sleep and dreams. So that this argument has not the least shew of force with it, unless you will take away the authority of all Mens senses, because at sometimes they have not a competent use of them, namely in sleep, drunkenness or the like. But now lastly for the fourth which is most considerable, it is yet of no greater force than to make it questionable whether this Spectre was the Ghost of his Father, or some ludicrous Goblin that would put a trick upon

upon Thomas Goddard, by personating his Father-in-Law, and by a false pointing at the pretended grave of the Murdered make him ridiculous. For what Porphyrius has noted, I doubt not but is true, That Dæmons sometimes personate the Souls of the deceased. But if an uncoffined body being laid in a ground exposed to wet and dry, the Earth may in 30 years space consume the very bones and assimilate all to to the rest of the mold, when some Earths will do it in less than the fifteenth part of that space: Or if the Ghost of Edward Avon might have forgot the certain place (it being no grateful object of his memory) where he buried the murdered Man, and only guessed that to be it because it was something sunk, as if the Earth yielded upon the wasting of the Buried body, the rest of the story will still naturally import that it was the very Ghost of Edward Avon. Besides, himself expressly declares, as that the body was Buried there, so that by this time it was all turn'd into dust.

But whether it was a ludicrous Dæmon or Edward Avons Ghost, concerns not our scope. It is sufficient that it is a certain instance of a real Apparition, and I thought fit as in the former story, so here to be so faithful as to conceal nothing that any might pretend to lessen the credibility thereof. Stories of the appearing of Souls departed are not for the tooth of the Non-conformists, who, as it is said, if they generally believe this, it must be from the undeniable evidence thereof,

nor could Thomas Goddard gratifie them by inventing of it. And that it was not a phansy the knowledge of the 20 Shillings debt imparted to Thomas Goddard ignorant thereof before, and his Brother Avon's hearing a voice distinct from his in his discourse with the Apparition, does plainly enough imply. Nor was it Goddard's own phansy, but that real Spectre that opened his shop-window. Nor his imagination, but something in the shape of an Hare that made his Horse start and cast him into the dirt; The Apparition of Avon being then accompanied with that Hare, as after with the Mastiff-Dog. And lastly the whole frame of the story, provided the Relator does verily think it true himself (as Mr. S. testifies for him in his Letter to Mr. Glanvil, and himself profest he was ready at any time to swear to it) is such, that it being not a voluntary invention, cannot be an imposing phansy.

 R E L A T. X.

The Apparition of the Ghost of Major George Sydenham, to Captain William Dyke, taken out of a Letter of Mr. James Douch of Mongton, to Mr. Jos. Glanvil.

CONCERNING the Apparition of the Ghost of Major George Sydenham (late of Dulverton in the County of Somerset,) to Captain
William

William Dyke (late of *Skilgate* in this County also, and now likewise deceased) be pleased to take the Relation of it as I have it from the Worthy and Learned *Dr. Tho. Dyke*, a near Kinsman of the Captains, Thus: Shortly after the Major's Death, the Doctor was desired to come to the House to take care of a Child that was there sick, and in his way thither he called on the Captain, who was very willing to wait on him to the place, because he must, as he said, have gone thither that Night, though he had not met with so encouraging an opportunity. After their arrival there at the House and the civility of the People shewn them in their Entertainment, they were seasonably conducted to their Lodging, which they desired might be together in the same bed, Where, after they had lain a while, the Captain knockt and bids the Servant bring him two of the largest and biggest Candles lighted that he could get. Whereupon the Doctor enquires what he meant by this? The Captain answers, you know Cousin what disputes my Major and I have had touching the being of a God, and the Immortality of the Soul. In which points we could never yet be resolved, though we so much sought for and desired it. And therefore it was at length fully agreed between us, That he of us that dyed
first

first should the third night after his Funeral ; between the hours of Twelve and One come to the little house that is here in the Garden and there give a full account to the survivor touching these matters , who should be sure to be present there at the set time and so receive a full satisfaction. And this, says the Captain , is the very Night, and I am come on purpose to fulfill my promise.

The Doctor dissuaded him, minding him of the danger of following those strange Counsels , for which we could have no warrant , and that the Devil might by some cunning device make such an advantage of this rash attempt , as might work his utter ruine. The Captain replies , that he had solemnly engaged , and that nothing should discourage him : and adds, That if the Doctor would wake a while with him , he would thank him , if not, he might compose himself to his rest ; but for his own part he was resolved to watch , that he might be sure to be present at the hour appointed. To that purpose he sets his Watch by him , and as soon as he perceived by it that it was half an hour past Eleven , he rises , and taking a Candle in each hand , goes out by a back Door of which he had before gotten the Key, and walks to the Garden-house, where he continued two hours and an half , and at his return declared that he neither saw nor
heard

heard any thing more than was usual. But I know, said he, that my Major would surely have come, had he been able.

About six weeks after the Captain rides to *Eaton* to place his Son a Scholar there, when the Doctor went thither with him.

They Lodged there at an Inn, the Sign was the *Christopher*, and tarried two or three Nights, not lying together now as before at *Dulverton*, but in two several Chambers.

The Morning before they went thence the Captain stayed in his Chamber longer than he was wont to do before he called upon the Doctor. At length he comes into the

Doctors Chamber, but in a visage and form much differing from himself, with his Hair and Eyes staring, and his whole body shaking and trembling. Whereat the

Doctor wondering, presently demanded,

What is the matter, Cousin Captain? The

Captain replies, I have seen my Major. At which the Doctor seeming to smile, the Captain immediately confirms it, saying, If ever I saw him in my life I saw him but now.

And then he related to the Doctor what had passed, Thus: This Morning after it was

light, some one comes to my beds side and suddainly drawing back the Curtains calls

Cap. Cap. (which was the term of familiarity that the Major used to call the Captain, by)

to whom I replied, What my Major? To

which

which

which he returns, I could not come at the time appointed, but I am now come to tell you, *That there is a God and a very just and terrible one, and if you do not turn over a new leaf* (the very expression as is by the Doctor punctually remembred) *you will find it so.* (the Captain proceeded) On the Table by, there lay a Sword which the Major had formerly given me. Now after the Apparition had walked a turn or two about the Chamber he took up the Sword, drew it out, and finding it not so clean and bright as it ought, *Cap. Cap.* says he, this Sword did not use to be kept after this manner when it was mine. After which words he suddainly disappeared.

The Captain was not only throughly perswaded of what he had thus seen and heard, but was from that time observed to be very much affected with it. And the humour that before in him was brisk and jovial; was then strangely altered. Insomuch as very little meat would pass down with him at Dinner, though at the taking leave of their Friends there was a very handsome Treat provided. Yea it was observed that what the Captain had thus seen and heard had a more lasting influence upon him, and it is judged by those who were well acquainted with his Conversation, that the remembrance of this passage stuck close to him, and that those words of his dead Friend
were

were frequently sounding fresh in his Ears; during the remainder of his Life, which was about two years.

ADVERTISEMENT.

For a further assurance of the truth of the story, it will not be amiss to take notice what Mr. Douch writes in his second Letter to Mr. Glanvil, touching the Character of the Major and the Captain. They were both, saith he, of my good acquaintance, Men well bred, and of a brisk humour and jolly conversation, of very quick and keen parts, having also been both of them University and Inns of Court Gentlemen. The Major I conceive was about forty five years old when he dyed, and I believe the Captain might then be fifty or somewhat more. I cannot understand that the Doctor and the Captain had any discourse concerning the former engagement to meet, after the disappointment at that time and place, or whether the Captain had after that any expectation of the performance of the promise which the Major had made him. Thus far Mr. Douch. And truly one would naturally think; that he failing the solemn appointed time, the Captain would consequently let go all hopes and expectation of his appearing afterward. Or if he did, that it would be at such a time of the night as was first determin'd of, and not at
the

the morning light. Which season yet is less obnoxious to the Impostures of Fancy and Melancholy, and therefore adds some weight to the assurance of the truth of the Apparition. I will only add one clause more out of that second Letter that makes to the point. This story, saith he, has and doth still obtain credit from all that knew the Captain, who it seems was not at all shie or scrupulous to relate it to any one that askt him concerning it, though it was observed he never mentioned it, but with great terrour and trepidation:

RELAT. XI.

Being a Postscript of the first Letter of Mr. Douch, concerning the appearing of the Ghost of Sir George Villiers, Father to the first Duke of Buckingham:

SIR,

Since the writing of the premisses, a passage concerning an Apparition of Sir George Villiers, giving warning of his Son's (the Duke of Buckingham's) Murther is come into my Mind, which hath been assured by a Servant of the Dukés to be a great truth. Thus: Some few days before the Dukes going to *Portsmouth* (where he was stabbed by

Qq

Felton)

Pelton) the Ghost of his Father Sir *George Villiers* appeared to one *Parker* (formerly his own Servant, but then Servant to the Duke) in his Morning Chamber Gown; charged *Parker* to tell his Son that he should decline that Employment and design he was going upon, or else he would certainly be murdered. *Parker* promised the Apparition to do it, but neglected it. The Duke making preparations for his Expedition, the Apparition came again to *Parker*, taxing him very severely for his breach of Promise, and required him not to delay the acquainting his Son of the danger he was in. Then *Parker* the next day tells the Duke, that his Fathers Ghost had twice appeared to him, and had commanded him to give him that warning. The Duke slighted it, and told him he was an old Doting Fool. That night the Apparition came to *Parker* a third time, saying, *Parker* thou hast done well in warning my Son of his danger, but though he will not yet believe thee, Go to him once more however, and tell him from me by such a Token (naming a private Token) which no body knows, but only he and I, that if he will not decline this voyage, such a Knife as this is (pulling a long Knife out from under his Gown) will be his death. This Message *Parker* also delivered the next day to the Duke, who when he heard the private Token

ken believed that he had it from his Fathers Ghost, yet said that his honour was now at stake; and he could not go back from what he had undertaken, come life come death: This passage *Parker* after the Duke's murther communicated to his fellow Servant one *Henry Ceeley*, who told it to a reverend Divine a Neighbour of mine, from whose mouth I have it. This *Henry Ceeley* has not been dead above Twenty years, and his habitation for several years before his death was at *North-Currey* but three Miles from this place. My Friend the Divine aforesaid was an intimate acquaintance of this *Henry Ceeley's*, and assures me he was a person of known truth and integrity.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This story I heard (but another name put for Parker) with great assurance and with larger circumstances from a Person of Honour, but I shall content my self to note onely what I find in a Letter of Mr. Timothy Locket of Mongton, to Mr. Glanvil, That this Apparition to Mr. Parker was all three times towards midnight when he was reading in some Book, and he mentions that the Dukes Expedition was for the relief of Rochel. The rest is much what as Mr. Douch has declared. But I will not omit

the close of Mr. Lockets Letter. I was confirmed in the truth of the premisses, saith he, by Mr. Henry Ceeley, who was then a Servant with this Mr. Parker, to the Duke, and who told me that he knew Mr. Parker to be a Religious and sober Person, and that every particular related was to his knowledge true.

R E L A T. XII.

Of the appearing of Mr. Watkinson's Ghost to his Daughter Toppam, contained in a Letter of Mrs. Taylor of the Ford by St. Neots, to Dr. Ezekias Burton.

SIR;

MY Service to you and your Lady. Now according to your desire I shall write what my Cousin told me: Her name was *Mary Watkinson*, her Father did live in *Smithfield*, but she was Married to one *Francis Toppam*, and she did live in *York*, with her Husband being an ill one, who did steal her away against her Parents consent, so that they could not abide him. But she came often to them, and when she was last with him upon their parting, she expressed that she feared she should never see him more. He answered her, if he should dye, if ever

God

God did permit the dead to see the living, he would see her again. Now after he had been Buried about half a year, on a Night, when she was in bed, but could not sleep, she heard Musick, and the Chamber grew lighter and lighter, and she being broad awake, saw her Father stand at her bedside: Who said, *Mal* did not I tell thee that I would see thee once again? She called him Father, and talked of many things; and he bad her be Patient and Dutiful to her Mother. And when she told him that she had a Child since he did dye, he said that would not trouble her long. He bad her speak what she would now to him, for he must go, and that he should never see her more till they met in the Kingdom of Heaven. So the Chamber grew darker and darker, and he was gone with Musick. And she said that she did never dream of him nor ever did see any Apparition of him after.

He was a very honest godly Man as far as I can tell.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This story G. Rust, who was after Bishop of Dromore, told me I remember with great assurance some Twenty years ago, who was not at all credulous in these things. And it was so

as Mrs. Taylor relates to Dr. Burton. The next Relation shall be of a Daughter appearing to her Father.

R E L A T. XIII.

The appearing of the Ghost of the Daughter of Dr. Farrar to him after her death, according to a brief Narrative sent from Mr. Edward Fowler to Dr. H. More, Anno 1678. May II.

THIS week Mr. Pearson who is a worthy good Minister of this City of London, told me, That his Wife's Grandfather a Man of great Piety and Physician to this present King, his name *Farrar*; nearly related (I think Brother.) to the famous Mr. *Farrar* of little *Giddon*, I say this Gentleman and his Daughter (Mrs. *Pearsons* Mother a very pious soul) made a compact at his intreaty that the first of them that dyed, if happy, should after death appear to the survivor, if it were possible; the Daughter with some difficulty consenting thereto.

Some time after, the Daughter who lived at *Gillingham-Lodge* two Miles from *Salisbury*, fell in labour, and by a mistake being given

a noxious potion instead of another prepared for her, suddainly dyed.

Her Father lived in *London*, and that very Night she dyed she opened his Curtains and looked upon him. He had before heard nothing of her illness, but upon this *Apparition* confidently told his Maid, that his Daughter was dead, and two days after received the news. Her Grandmother told Mrs. *Pearson* this, as also an Uncle of hers, and the abovesaid Maid, and this Mrs. *Pearson* I know, and she is a very prudent and good Woman.

R E L A T. XIV.

The appearing of the Ghost of one Mr. Bower of Guilford, to an Highway-man in Prison; as it is set down in a Letter of Dr. Ezekias Burton, to Dr. H. More.

ABout Ten years ago one Mr. *Bower* an antient Man living at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, was upon the Highway not far from that place found newly Murdered very barbarously, having one great Cut cross his Throat, and another down his Breast. Two Men were seized upon suspicion, and put into Gaol at *Guilford* to another, who had before been committed for Robbing as I

suppose. That Night this third Man was awakened about one of the Clock and greatly terrified with an Old Man, who had a great gash cross his Throat almost from Ear to Ear, and a wound down his Breast. He also came in stooping and holding his hand on his back. Thus he appeared but said nothing. The Thief calls to his two new Companions, they grumbled at him but made no answer.

In the Morning he retained so lively an impression of what he had seen, that he spoke to them to the same purpose again, and they told him it was nothing but his Phantasy. But he was so fully perswaded of the reality of this Apparition, that he told others of it, and it came to the Ears of my Friend Mr. *Reading* Justice of Peace in *Surrey*, and Cousin to the Gentleman that was Murdered.

He immediately sent for the Prisoner and asked him in the first place whether he was born or had lived about *Guilford*? To which he answered, No. Secondly, He enquired if he knew any of the Inhabitants of that Town or of the Neighbourhood? He replied that he was a stranger to all thereabout. Then he enquired, if he had ever heard of one Mr. *Bower*? He said No. After this he examined him for what cause those other two Men were imprisoned? To which he answered,

swered, he knew not, but supposed for some Robbery.

After these preliminary Interrogatories he desired him to tell him what he had seen in the Night? Which he immediately did, exactly according to the Relation he had heard, and I gave before. And withal described the Old Gentleman so by his picked beard, and that he was, as he called it, rough on his Cheeks, and that the Hairs of his Face were Black and White, that Mr. *Reading* saith he himself could not have given a more exact description of Mr. *Bower*, than this was. He told the Highway-man that he must give him his Oath (though that would signifie little from such a Rogue) to which the Man readily consented, and took Oath before the Justice of all this.

Mr. *Reading* being a very discreet Man concealed this story from the Jury at the Assizes, as knowing that this would be no evidence according to our Law. However the Friends of the Murdered Gentleman had been very inquisitive, and discovered several suspicious circumstances. One of which was, that those two Men had washed their Clothes, and that some stains of blood remained. Another, that one of them had denied he ever heard that Mr. *Bower* was dead, when as he had in another place confessed it two hours before. Upon these and
such

such like evidences those two were Condemned and Executed, but denied it to the last. But one of them said, the other could clear him if he would, which the By-standers understood not.

After some time a Tinker was hanged (where, the Gentleman has forgot) who at his death said, that the Murder of Mr. *Bower* of *Guilford* was his greatest trouble. For he had a hand in it; he confessed he struck him a blow on the back which fetcht him from his Horse, and when he was down, those other Men that were Arraigned and Executed for it cut his Throat and rifled him. This is the first story which I had from Mr. *Reading* himself, who is a very honest prudent person and not credulous.

I know you desire to have the Names of all the persons referred to in this Relation, and the exact time and place, but Mr. *Reading* cannot recollect them now, though he tells me he sent an exact and full Narrative of all to one Mr. *Onslow* a Justice of Peace in that Neighbourhood, with whom I have some acquaintance, and I will endeavour to retrieve it.

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The Names of all the Persons and exact time and place of all the actions, I find not amongst Mr. Glanvil's Papers, but the story is so perfect as it is, and so credible, that I thought it worthy of a place amongst the rest. And this appearing of Mr. Bower is just such another thing as the appearing of Anne Walker. We proceed to the second story which Mr. Reading imparted to the Doctor.

RELAT. XV.

Another appearing of a Ghost of a Man of Guilford, for the recovery of a Field for his Child unjustly detained by his Brother, out of the above-said Letter of Dr. Ezekias Burton to Dr. H. More.

AN Inhabitant of the before-named Town of Guilford, who was possesst of some Copy-hold Land, which was to descend to his Children, or in default of such issue to his Brother, dies having no Child born. And his Wife apprehending her self not to be with Child (which her Husbands Brother

Brother asked her immediately after his Brothers death) she told him she believed she was not, but afterward proved to be. Which when she knew she went, by the instigation of Neighbours, to her Brother, and told him how it was with her. He rated her, called her Whore, and told her that she had procured some body to get her with Child, knowing that such a Field must be inherited by the posterity of her Husband, but her Whoring should not fool him out of that Estate. The poor Woman went home troubled, that not only her Child should lose the Land, but which was worse, that she should be thought a Whore. However she quieted her self, and resolved to sit down with the loss.

When her time came she was delivered of a Son, he grew up and one Summers Night as she was undressing him in her yard; her Husband appeared, and bid her go to his Brother and demand the Field. Which she did, but was treated very ill by him. He told her that neither she nor her Devil (for she had told him her Husband appeared and bid her speak to him) should make him forgoe his land. Whereupon she went home again. But some time after as her Brother was going out of this Field homeward, the dead Man appears to him at the stile, and bids him give up the Land to
the

the Child, for it was his right. The Brother being greatly frightened at this, runs away, and not long after comes to her and tells her, she had lent the Devil to him, and bids her take the Land, and so gave it up, and her Son is now posselt of it. His Name is *Mat*, he lived in the Service of Mr. *Readings* Brother for some years, but he has forgot his Sir-name though he knows him very well.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Though the Sir-name of the party be wanting, yet he is determinated so by other circumstances, and the story so fresh, and told by so credible a person, that the Narrative is sufficiently considerable as it is. But of Recovery of Land to the right Owners, the story of Mrs. Brettons Ghost appearing is an eximious example, which is as follows.

RELAT.

RELAT. XVI.

The appearing of the Ghost of Mrs. Bretton, for the recovery of some Lands into the hands of the Poor, taken from them by some mistake in Law or Right, as it is in a Narrative sent to Dr. H. More from Mr. Edward Fowler, Prebendary of Gloucester.

DR. Bretton late Rector of *Ludgate* and *Dedford*, lived formerly in *Herefordshire*, and Married the Daughter of Dr. S— This Gentlewoman was a person of extraordinary piety, which she expressed as in her life, so at her death. She had a Maid that she had a great kindness for, who was Married to a near Neighbour, whose name, as I remember, was *Alice*. Not long after her death, as *Alice* was rocking her Infant in the night, she was called from the Cradle by a knocking at her door, which opening she was surpris'd at the sight of a Gentlewoman not to be distinguish'd from her late Mistress, neither in Person nor habit. She was in a Morning-Gown, the same in appearance with that she had often seen her Mistress wear. At first sight she expressed very great amazement, and said, Were not
my

my Mistress dead, I should not question but that you are she. She replied I am the same that was your Mistress, and took her by the hand. Which *Alice* affirmed was as cold as a Clod.

She added, That she had business of great importance to imploy her in, and that she must immediately go a little way with her. *Alice* trembled, and beseecht her to excuse her, and intreated her very importunately to go to her Master, who must needs be more fit to be imployed. She answered, that he who was her Husband was not at all concerned, but yet she had had a desire rather to make use of him, and in order thereunto had several times been in his Chamber, but he was still asleep, nor had she power to do more than once uncover his feet towards the awakening of him. And the Doctor said, that he had heard walking in his Chamber in the night, which till now he could give no account of. *Alice* next objected that her husband was gone a journey, and she had no one to look to her Child, that it was very apt to cry vehemently, and she feared if it awaked before her return, it would cry it self to death, or do it self mischief. The Spectre replied, The Child shall sleep till you return.

Alice seeing there was no avoiding it, sorely against her will, followed her over a stile into a large Field, who then said to her,

her, observe how much of this Field I measure with my Feet. And when she had taken a good large and leisurely compass, she said, all this belongs to the Poor, it being gotten from them by wrongful means, and charged her to go and tell her Brother, whose it was at that time, that he should give it up to the Poor again forthwith as he loved her and his deceased Mother. This Brother was not the Person who did this unjust act, but his Father. She added, that she was the more concerned, because her name was made use of in some writing that related to this Land.

Alice askt her how she should satisfy her Brother that this was no Cheat or delusion of her Phanſy. She replied, tell him this secret, which he knows that only himself and I are privy to, and he will believe you.

Alice having promised her to go on this Errand, she proceeded to give her good advice, and entertained her all the rest of the Night with most Heavenly and Divine discourse. When the Twilight appeared they heard the whistling of Carters and the noise of Horse-Bells. Whereupon the Spectre said, *Alice* I must be seen by none but your self, and so she disappeared.

Immediately *Alice* makes all haste home, being thoughtful for her Child, but found it as the Spectre had said, asleep as she left it.

When

When she had dressed it, and committed it to the care of a Neighbour, away she went to her Master the Doctor, who amazed at the account she gave him, sent her to his Brother in Law. He at first hearing *Alice's* story and message, laughed at it heartily. But she had no sooner told him the secret, but he changed his countenance, told her he would give the Poor their own, and accordingly he did it, and they now enjoy it.

This with more circumstances hath several times been related by *Dr. Bretton* himself, who was well known to be a person of great goodness and sincerity. He gave a large Narrative of this Appatition of his Wife to two of my Friends: First, to one *Mrs. Needham*, and afterward a little before his death to *Dr. Whichcot*.

Some years after I received the foregoing Narrative (viz. near four years since) I light into the company of three sober persons of good rank, who all lived in the City of *Hereford*, and I travelled in a Stage-Coach three days with them. To them I happened to tell this story, but told it was done at *Deptsford*, for so I presumed it was, because I knew that there *Dr. Bretton* lived. They told me as soon as I had concluded it, that the story was very true in the main, only I was out as to the place. For 'twas not *Deptsford*, but as I remember they told me

Pembridge near *Hereford*, where the Doctor was Minister before the Return of the King. And they assured me upon their own knowledge, that to that day the Poor enjoyed the piece of ground. They added; That *Mrs. Bretton's* Father could never endure to hear any thing mentioned of his Daughters appearing after her death, but would still reply in great anger, that it was not his Daughter, but it was the Devil. So that he acknowledged that something appeared in the likeness of his Daughter.

This is attested by me this 16th.
of Feb. 168^o.
Edward Fowler.

R E L A T. XVII.

Of a Dutch Man that could see Ghosts, and of the Ghost he saw in the Town of Woodbridge in Suffolk.

MR. *Broom* the Minister of *Woodbridge* in *Suffolk*; meeting one day, in a Barbers shop in that Town, a *Dutch* Lieutenant (who was blown up with *Obdam*, and taken alive out of the Water, and carried to that Town where he was a Prisoner at large) upon the

occa-

occasion of some discourse was told by him, that he could see Ghosts, and that he had seen divers. Mr. *Broom* rebuking him for talking so idly, he persisted in it very stiffly. Some days after lighting upon him again, he askt him whether he had seen any Ghost since his coming to that Town. To which he replied, No.

But not long after this, as they were walking together up the Town, he said to Mr. *Broom*, Yonder comes a Ghost. He seeing nothing, askt him whereabouts it was? The other said, it is over against such a house, and it walks looking upwards towards such a side, flinging one arm with a Glove in its hand. He said moreover, that when it came near them, they must give way to it. That he ever did so, and some that have not done so, have suffered for it. Anon he said, 'tis just upon us, let's out of the way. Mr. *Broom* believing all to be a fiction, as soon as he said those words, took hold of his Arm, and kept him by force in the way. But as he held him, there came such a force against them, that he was flung into the middle of the street, and one of the palms of his hands, and one knee bruised and broken by the fall, which put him for a while to excessive pain.

But spying the Lieutenant lye like a dead man, he got up as soon as he could, and ap-

plied himself to his relief. With the help of others he got him into the next shop, where they poured strong-water down his Throat, but for some time could discern no Life in him. At length, what with the strong-water, and what with well chafing him he began to stirr, and when he was come to himself, his first words were, I will shew you no more Ghosts. Then he desired a Pipe of Tobacco, but Mr. *Broom* told him, he should take it at his house; for he feared, should he take it so soon there, it would make him sick.

Thereupon they went together to Mr. *Broom*'s house, where they were no sooner entring in, but the Bell rang out. Mr. *Broom* presently sent his Maid to learn who was dead. She brought word that it was such an One, a Taylor, who dyed suddenly, though he had been in a Consumption a long time. And inquiring after the time of his death, they found it was as punctually as it could be guessed at the very time when the Ghost appeared. The Ghost had exactly this Taylors known Gate, who ordinarily went also with one Arm swinging, and a Glove in that hand, and looking on one side upwards.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Relation was sent to Dr. H. More from Mr. Edw. Fowler; at the end whereof he writes, that Dr. Burton as well as himself, heard it from Mr. Broom's own mouth. And I can add, that I also afterwards heard it from his own mouth at London.

RELAT. XVIII.

An Irish story of one that had like to have been carried away by Spirits, and of the Ghost of a Man who had been seven years dead, that brought a Medicine to the abovesaid parties Bed-side.

A Gentleman in Ireland near to the Earl of Ororie's, sending his Butler one afternoon to buy Cards; as he passed a Field, he, to his wonder, espied a company of people sitting round a Table, with a deal of good cheer before them in the midst of the Field. And he going up towards them, they all arose and saluted him, and desired him to sit down with them. But one of them whispered these words in his Ear; *Do nothing this company invites you to.* He thereupon refused

to sit down at the Table, and immediately Table and all that belonged to it were gone. And the company are now dancing and playing upon Musical Instruments. And the Butler being desired to joyn himself to them, but he refusing this also, they fall all to work, and he not being to be prevailed with to accompany them in working any more than in feasting or dancing, they all disappeared, and the Butler is now alone. But instead of going forwards, home he returns as fast as he could drive, in a great consternation of mind. And was no sooner entred his Masters door, but down he falls, and lay some time senseless, but coming to himself again, he related to his Master what had happened to him.

The night following, there comes one of this company to his Bed-side, and tells him, that if he offered to stir out of doors the next day, he would be carryed away. Hereupon he kept within; but towards the Evening, having need to make water, he adventured to put one foot over the threshold, several standing by. Which he had no sooner done, but they espied a Rope cast about his middle, and the poor Man was hurried away with great swiftness, they following after him as fast as they could, but could not overtake him. At length they espyed a Horseman coming towards them, and made signs to him

him to stop the Man, whom he saw coming near him, and both the ends of the Rope but no body drawing. When they met, he laid hold on one end of the Rope, and immediately had a smart blow given him over his Arm with the other end. But by this means the Man was stopt, and the Horseman brought him back with him.

The Earl of *Orovy* hearing of these strange passages, sent to the Master to desire him to send this Man to his House, which he accordingly did. And the morning following, or quickly after, he told the Earl that his Spectre had been with him again, and assured him that that day he should most certainly be carried away, and that no endeavours should avail to the saving of him. Upon this he was kept in a large room, with a considerable number of persons to guard him, among whom was the famous stroker Mr. *Greatrix*, who was a neighbor. There were besides other Persons of Quality, two Bishops in the house at the same time, who were consulted touching the making use of a Medicine the Spectre or Ghost prescribed, of which, mention will be made anon, but they determined on the Negative. But this by the By.

Till part of the Afternoon was spent all was quiet, but at length he was perceived to rise from the ground, whereupon

Mr. *Greatrix* and another lusty Man clapt their Arms over his shoulders, one of them before him, and the other behind, and weighed him down with all their strength. But he was forcibly taken up from them, and they were too weak to keep their hold, and for a considerable time he was carried in the Air to and fro over their heads, several of the Company still running under him to prevent his receiving hurt if he should fall. At length he fell and was caught before he came to ground, and had by that means no hurt.

All being quiet till bed-time, My Lord ordered two of his Servants to lye with him, and the next Morning he told his Lordship, that his Spectre was again with him, and brought a wooden dish with grey liquor in it, and bad him drink it off. At the first sight of the Spectre he said he endeavoured to awake his bedfellows, but it told him that that endeavour should be in vain, and that he had no cause to fear him, he being his Friend, and he that at first gave him the good advice in the Field, which had he not followed, he had been before now perfectly in the power of the Company he saw there. He added, that he concluded it was impossible but that he should have been carried away the day before, there being so strong a Combination against him. But now he could assure

assure him that there would be no more attempts of that nature, but he being troubled with two sorts of sad fits he had brought that liquor to cure him of them, and bad him drink it. He peremptorily refusing, the Spectre was angry, upbraided him with great disingenuity, but told him that however he had a kindness for him, and that if he would take Plantain juice he should be well of one sort of fits, but he should carry the other to his Grave. The poor Man having by this time somewhat recovered himself, ask't the Spectre whether by the juice of Plantain he meant that of the Leaves or Roots? It replied, the Roots.

Then it askt him whether he did not know him? He answered, No. He replied, I am such a one? The Man answered: He hath been long dead. I have been dead said the Spectre or Ghost seven years, and you know that I lived a loose life. And ever since have I been hurried up and down in a restless Condition with the Company you saw, and shall be to the day of Judgment. Then he proceeded to tell him, that had he acknowledged God in his ways, he had not suffered such severe things by their means. And further said, you never prayed to God that day before you met with this Company in the Field, and also was then going about an unlawful business, and so vanish.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This story was also sent from Mr. E. Fowler to Dr. H. More, concerning which he further adds by way of Postscript, that Mr. Greatrix told this story to Mrs. Foxcraft at Ragley, and at her request he told it a second time in her hearing at the Table. My Lady Roydon being then present, inquired afterwards concerning it of My Lord Orory, who confirmed the truth of it, acknowledging all the circumstances of this Narrative to My Lady Roydon to be true except that passage, That the spectre told the Man that he was that day going about an unlawful business. And Mr. Fowler further adds, that since an eminent Doctor in this City told me that My Lord told him, that he saw at his own house a Man taken up into the Air.

Lastly, I find Dr. H. More in a Letter to Mr. Glanvil, affirming that he also heard Mr. Greatrix tell the story at My Lord Conway's at Ragley, and that he particularly inquired of Mr. Greatrix about the Mans being carried up into the Air above Mens heads in the room, and that he did expressly affirm that he was an Eye-witness thereof.

RELAT.

R E L A T. XIX.

The miraculous Cure of Jesch Claes a Dutch Woman of Amsterdamb, accompanied with an Apparition.

THe Narrative taken by a Dutch Merchant from her own Mouth begins thus. A miraculous Cure upon *Jesch Claes*, a Woman about fifty years of Age: For this many years well known to my self and the Neighbours. This Woman for fourteen years had been lame of both Legs, one of them being dead and without feeling, so that she could not go but creep upon the ground, or was carried in Peoples Arms as a Child, but now through the power of God Almighty she hath walked again. Which came to pass after this manner, as I have taken it from her own Mouth.

In the year 1676. about the 13th or 14th of this Month *October*, in the Night between one and two of the Clock, this *Jesch Claes* being in bed with her Husband who was a Boatman, she was three times pulled by her Arm, with which she awaked and cryed out, O Lord! What may this be? Hereupon she heard an answer in plain words:

Be

Be not afraid, I come in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Your malady which hath for many years been upon you shall cease, and it shall be given you from God Almighty to walk again. But keep this to your self till further answer. Whereupon she cried aloud, O Lord! That I had a light, that I might know what this is. Then had she this answer, There needs no light, the light shall be given you from God. Then came light all over the room, and she saw a beautiful Youth about Ten years of Age, with Curled Yellow Hair Clothed in White to the Feet, who went from the Beds-head to the Chimney with a light which a little after vanished. Hereupon did there shoot something or gush from her Hip, or diffuse it self through her Leg as a Water into her great Toe, where she did find life rising up, felt it with her hand, crying out, Lord give me now again my feeling which I have not had in so many years. And further she continued crying and praying to the Lord according to her weak measure.

Yet she continued that day *wednesday*, and the next day *Thursday*, as before till Evening at six a Clock. At which time she sat at the fire dressing the food. Then came as like a rushing noise in both her Ears, with which it was said to her *Stand*. Your going

is given you again. Then did she immediately stand up that had so many years crept, and went to the door. Her Husband meeting her being exceedingly afraid drew back. In the mean while she cryed out, My dear Husband I can go again. The Man thinking it was a Spirit drew back, saying, you are not my Wife. His Wife taking hold of him said, My dear Husband I am the self same that hath been Married these Thirty years to you. The Almighty God hath given my going again. But her Husband being amazed drew back to the side of the room, till at last she claspt her hand about his neck, and yet he doubted and said to his Daughter, is this your Mother? She answered, yes Father, this we plainly see. I had seen her go also before you came in. This Person dwells upon *Princes Island in Amsterdam.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

This account was sent from a Dutch Merchant procured by a Friend for Dr. R. Cudworth, and contains the main Particulars that occur in the Dutch Printed Narrative, which Monsieur Van Helmont brought over with him to my Lady Conway at Ragley, who having inquired upon the Spot when he was there at Amsterdam,
though

though of a Genius not at all credulous of such Relations, found the thing to be really true. As also Philippus Limbergius in a Letter to Dr. H. More, sent this Testimony touching the party cured, That she was always reputed a very honest good Woman, and that he believed there was no fraud at all in the business.

R E L A T. XX.

An house haunted some Thirty years ago or more at or near Bow; not far from London, and strangely disturbed by Demons and Witches.

A Certain Gentleman about Thirty years ago or more, being to Travel from London into Essex, and to pass through Bow, at the request of a Friend he called at a house there, which began then to be a little disquieted. But not any thing much remarkable yet, unless of a young Girl who was pluckt by the Thigh by a cold hand in her bed who dyed within a few days after.

Some weeks after this his occasions calling him back he passed by the same house again, but had no design to give them a new visit, he having done that not long before. But it happening that the Woman of the house
stood

stood at the Door, he thought himself engaged to ride to her and ask how she did? To whom she answered with a sorrowful Countenance; That though she was in tolerable health, yet things went very ill with them, their house being extreamly haunted especially above stairs, so that they were forced to keep in the low rooms, there was such flinging of things up and down, of Stones and Bricks through the Windows and putting all in disorder. But he could scarce forbear laughing at her, giving so little credit to such stories himself, and thought it was the tricks onely of some unhappy Wags to make sport to themselves and trouble to their Neighbours.

Well says she, if you will but stay a while you may chance to see something with your own Eyes. And indeed he had not stayed any considerable time with her in the street, but a Window of an upper room opened of it self (for they of the Family took it for granted no body was above stairs) and out comes a piece of an old Wheel through it. Whereupon it presently clapt to again. A little while after it suddainly flew open again and out come a Brick-bat, which inflamed the Gentleman with a more eager desire to see what the matter was, and to discover the Knavery. And therefore he boldly resolved if any one would go up with him,

him, he would in to the Chamber. But none present durst accompany him. Yet the keen desire of discovering the cheat, made him adventure by himself alone into that Room. Into which when he was come, he saw the Bedding, Chairs and Stools, and Candlesticks, and Bedstaves, and all the furniture rudely scattered on the floor, but upon search found no mortal in the Room.

Well! he stays there a while to try conclusions, anon a Bedstaff begins to move, and turn it self round a good while together upon its Toe, and at last fairly to lay it self down again. The curious Spectator, when he had observed it to lye still a while, steps out to it, views it whether any small string or hair were tyed to it, or whether there were any hole or button to fasten any such string to, or any hole or string in the Ceiling above; but after search, he found not the least suspicion of any such thing.

He retires to the Window again, and observes a little longer what may fall out. Anon, another Bedstaff rises off from the ground of its own accord higher into the air, and seems to make towards him. He now begins to think there was something more than ordinary in the business, and presently makes to the door with all speed, and for better caution shuts it after him. Which was presently opened again, and such a
clatter

clatter of Chairs, and Stools, and Candlesticks, and Bedstaves, sent after him down Stairs; as if they intended to have maimed him, but their motion was so moderated, that he received no harm, but by this time he was abundantly assured, that it was not mere Womanish fear or superstition that so affrighted the Mistress of the house. And while in a low Room he was talking with the Family about these things, he saw a Tobacco-pipe rise from a side Table, no body being nigh, and fly to the other side of the Room, and break it self against the wall for his further confirmation, that it was neither the tricks of Waggs, nor the fancy of a Woman, but the mad frolicks of Witches and Dæmons. Which they of the house being fully perswaded of, roasted a Bedstaff, upon which an Old Woman a suspected Witch came to the House, and was apprehended, but escaped the Law. But the House was after so ill haunted in all the Rooms, upper and lower, that the house stood empty for a long time after.

ADVERTISEMENT.

This Story is found amongst Mr. Glanvil's Papers, written to him from Dr. H. More, who says, some three months before, he had received it from the parties own mouth, that was at the haunted house in Bow, and saw the motion of the Bedstaves and Tobacco-pipe, &c. And I very well remember, that about Thirty or Forty years ago, there was a great fame of an house haunted at Bow, and such like feats as this Spectator saw, was rumoured of it, and the time agrees with that of this Spectator or Eye-witnesss of the above recited Feats. And a Book was then said to be Printed, though I never saw any but one of late without any date of the year, the things then being in Fieri; when it was Printed. And they seem to refer to the same haunted place, though the Pamphlet names Plaisto for Bow. But the haunting of which the fame went so many years ago I very well remember was Bow. But whether Bow was talked of instead of Plaisto, it being a place near, and of more note, I know not. And Paul Fox a Weaver, was the Man whose house was haunted in Plaisto according to that Pamphlet.

If the Gentleman that so well remembers the strange things he saw, had not forgot the Mans name

name whose house was haunted (and the strangeness of those things would fix themselves in his memory, even whether he would or no, when the name of the Master of the house might easily in Thirty or Forty years time slide out of it) we might be sure whether it were Plaisto or Bow. But I am sure the same went of Bow, though the Pamphlet name Plaisto, and that might make the abovesaid Party, who told Dr. More the story, fix the Scene without all scruple in Bow.

But methinks I hear the Reader complain, that it was a great omission in Mr. Glanvil, that he did not inquire of Dr. More who this party was that told him the story, it seeming an headless piece without that part. wherefore I find in a Paper (whose Title is Doctor More's Particulars about the Stories) these words in answer to Mr. Glanvil: That it is Dr. Gibbs a Prebendary of Westminster, and a sober intelligent person. And some dozen lines after, Dr. More says, Dr. Gibbs told the story to my self, and to Dr. Outram, who brought me to him. And I have told you already, that he is a person of understanding and integrity. He has also some Sermons in Print as I take it.

But forasmuch as it was about three months after Dr. More had received this account of the story from Dr. Gibbs, that he wrote to Mr. Glanvil, it is not to be expected that he re-

lated it in the very same words, and in every punctilio as he heard it. But I dare undertake for him that for the main, and that which makes to the evincing of Witchcraft, and the ludicrous Feats of Demons, that he hath committed no errour therein, nor set down any thing whose substance was not related to him by the Reverend Dr. Gibbs.

R E L A T. XXI.

Mr. Jermin's story of an house haunted, and what disturbance himself was a Witness of there at a visit of his wife's Sister.

ONe Mr. Jermin Minister of Eigner in *Sussex*, going to see a Sister of his Wife's, found her very Melancholy, and asking her the reason, she replied, You shall know to morrow morning. When he went to Bed there were two Maids accompanied him in his Chamber, and the next day he understood that they durst not go into any Room in the house alone.

In the night, while he was in his Bed, he heard the trampling of many feet upon the Leads over his head, and after that the going off of a Gun, upon which followed

a great silence. Then they came swiftly down Stairs into his Chamber, where they fell a wrestling and tumbling each other down, and so continued a great while. After they were quiet, they fell a whispering and made a great buzz, of which he could understand nothing. Then one called at the door, and said, *Day is broke, come away.* Upon which they ran up Stairs as fast as they could drive, and so he heard no more of them.

In the morning his Brother and Sister came in to him, and she said, Now Brother you know why I am so melancholy, after she had askt him how he had slept, and he had answered, I never rested worse in my life, having been disturbed a great part of the night with tumblings and noises. She complained that her Husband would force her to live there, notwithstanding their being continually scared. Whereto the Husband answered, Their disturbers never did them any other mischief.

At Dinner they had a Physician with them, who was an acquaintance. Mr. *Jermin* discoursing about this disturbance, the Physician also answered that never any hurt was done, of which he gave this instance: That Dining there one day, there came a Man on Horseback into the yard in mourning. His Servant went to know what was

his business, and found him sitting very melancholy, nor could he get any answer from him. The Master of the House and the Physician went forth to see who it was. Upon which the Man clapt Spurs to his Horse, and rode into the house up Stairs into a long Gallery whither the Physician followed him, and saw him vanish in a fire at the upper end of the Gallery. But though none of the Family received hurt at any time; yet Mr. *Jermin* fell into a Fever with the disturbance he experienced that indangered his Life.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Mr. Scot and his Wife heard this Narrative from Mr. Jermin's own mouth. And I also have heard it from Mr. Scot, who is a Minister of London, and the Authour of a late excellent good Treatise, which is entitled, The Christian Life, &c.

RELAT.

R E L A T. XXII.

*Contained in a Letter of Mr. G. Clark, to
Mr. M. T. touching an house haunted in
Welton near Daventry.*

SIR,

I Send you here a Relation of a very memorable piece of Witchcraft as I suppose, which would fit Mr. *More* gallantly. I first heard the story related to Sir *Justinian Isham* by a Reverend Minister, of his own experience. Sir *Justinian* would have had me gone to the place, which I could not then do. But a little after going to visit a friend, and not thinking of this, my friend told me the story, the place being near him, and the principal man concerned in the story being a Relation of his, and one that I my self had some acquaintance with. He had occasion to go to this Mans house for some deeds of Land, and I went with him for satisfaction touching this story, which I had to the full, and in which I could not but acquiesce, though otherwise I

am very chary, and hard enough to believe passages of this nature.

The Story is this, At *welton* within a Mile of *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*, where live together *widdow Cowley*, the Grandmother, *widdow stiff* the Mother, and her two Daughters. At the next house but one, live another *widdow Cowley*, Sister to the former *widdow Cowley*, *Moses Cowley* my acquaintance her Son, and *Moses* his Wife, having a good Estate in Land of their own, and very civil and orderly people. These three told me, that the younger of the two Daughters, ten years of age, Vomited in less than three days, three Gallons of Water to their great Admiration. After this the elder Wench comes running, and tells them, that now her Sister begins to Vomit Stones and Coals. They went and were Eye-witnesses, told them till they came to Five hundred. Some weighed a quarter of a pound, and were so big, as they had enough to do to get them out of her mouth, and he professed to me, that he could scarce get the like into his mouth, and I do not know how any one should, if they were so big as he shewed the like to me. I have sent you one, but not a quarter so big as some of them were. It was one of the biggest of them that were left and kept in a bag. This Vomiting last-
ed

ed about a fortnight, and hath Witnesſes good ſtore.

In the mean time they threw hards of Flax upon the fire, which would not blaze though blown, but dwindled away. The Bed-clothes would be thrown off the Bed. *Moses Cowley* told me, that he laid them on again ſeveral times, they all coming out of the Room, and go but into the Parlour again, and they were off again. And a ſtrike of Wheat ſtanding at the Beds feet, ſet it how they would, it would be thrown down again. Once the Coffers and things were ſo tranſpoſed, as they could ſcarce ſtir about the Room. Once he laid the Bible upon the Bed, but the Clothes were thrown off again, and the Bible hid in another Bed. And when they were all gone into the Parlour, as they uſed to go together, then things would be tranſpoſed in the Hall, their Wheel taken in pieces, and part of it thrown under the Table. In their Buttery their Milk would be taken off the Table, and ſet on the ground, and once one Panchion was broken, and the Milk ſpilt. A ſeven pound weight with a ring was hung upon the Spigot, and the Beer mingled with Sand and all ſpoiled, their Salt mingled moſt perfectly with Bran.

Moses

Moses his Mother said that their Flax was thrown out of a Box, she put it in again, it was thrown out again; she put it in again and lockt the Box, trying by the hasp or lid (as they use to do) whether it was fast, it was so. But as soon as her back was turned the Box was unlocked, and the Flax was thrown out again. *Moses* said that when he was coming out of the Parlour, he saw a loaf of Bread tumbled off the form, and that was the first thing he saw. After a Womans Patten rose up in the house, and was thrown at them. He heard the Comb break in the Window, and presently it flew at them in two pieces. A Knife rose up in the Window, and flew at a Man, hitting him with the haft. An Ink-glass was thrown out of the Window into the floor, and by and by the stopple came after it. Then every day abundance of stones were thrown about the house which broke the Windows, and hat the People, but they were the less troubled, because all this while no hurt was done to their Persons, and a great many People being in the room the wheat was thrown about amongst them.

I was in the house where I saw the Windows which were still broken, and the
People

People themselves shewed me where the several particulars were done. The Grand-mother told me that she thought she had lost half a strike of Wheat, and the like happened to some Fitches in the Barn. One Mr. *Robert Clark* a Gentleman being hat with the stones, bad the Baker at the Door look to his Bread well, and by and by a handful of crums were thrown into his lap. They could see the things as they came, but no more.

At last some that had been long suspected for Witches were Examined, and one sent to the Gaol, where it is said she plays her pranks, but that is of doubtful credit. I asked the Old Woman whether they were free now. She said that one Night since, they heard great knockings and cruel noise, which scared them worse than all the rest, and once or twice that week her cheese was crumbled into pieces and spoiled. I was there about *May-day*, 1658. This is all that I remember at present. I have heard several other stories, and two or three notable ones lately from Mens own Experience, which in reason I was to believe as I did. But in my Judgment this outgoes all that I know of, it having so much of sense and of the day time, so many and so credible Witnesses beyond all cavil and exception.

exception. I will trouble you no further, but commending you to the protection of God Almighty, I take my leave and rest

Yours,

Loddington *May*
22th. 1658.

G. Clark.

RELAT. XXIII.

The Relation of James Sherring, taken concerning the matter at Old Gast's house of little Burton, June 23. 1677. as follows.

THe first Night that I was there with *Hugh Mellmore* and *Edward Smith*, they heard as it were the washing in water over their heads. Then taking a Candle and going up the stairs there was a wet Cloth thrown at them, but it fell on the stairs. They going up farther then, there was another thrown as before. And when they came up into the Chamber there stood

a bowl of water, some of it sprinkled over, and the water looked white as if there had been Sope used in it. The Bowl just before was in the Kitchin, and could not be carried up but through the room where they were. The next thing that they heard the same Night was a terrible noise as if it had been a flat of Thunder, and shortly after they heard great scratching about the Bedsted, and after that a great knocking with a Hammer against the Beds-head, so that the two Maids that were in the Bed cried out for help. Then they ran up the stairs, and there lay the Hammer on the Bed and on the Beds-head, there were near a Thousand prints of the Hammer which the violent strokes had made. The Maids said that they were scratched and pinched with a hand that was put into the Bed which had exceeding long Nails. They said that the Hammer was locked fast up in the Cupboard when they went to Bed. This was that which was done the first Night, with many other things of the like nature.

The second Night that *James Sherring* and *Tho. Hillary* were there, *James Sherring* sat down in the Chimney to fill a Pipe of Tobacco. He made use of the fire-tongs to take up a Coal to fire his Pipe, and by
and

and by the Tongs were drawn up the stairs, and after they were up in the Chamber, they were played withall as many times Men do, and then thrown down upon the Bed. Although the Tongs were so near him, he never perceived the going of them away. The same Night one of the Maids left her shoos by the fire, and they were carried up into the Chamber, and the Old Mans brought down and set in their places. The same Night there was a Knife carried up into the Chamber, and it did scratch and scrape the Beds-head all the Night, but when they went up into the Chamber the Knife was thrown into the Loft. As they were going up the stairs there were things thrown at them, which were just before in the low room, and when they went down the stairs the Old Mans Breeches were thrown down after them. These were the most remarkable things done that Night, onely there was continual knocking and pinching the Maids, which was usually done every Night.

The third Night, when *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillery* were there, as soon as the People were gone to bed, their Clothes were taken and thrown at the Candle and put it out, and immediately after they
cried

cried out with a very hideous cry and said, they should be all choaked if they were not presently helped. Then they ran up the stairs and there was abundance of Feathers plucked out of the Bolster that lay under their Heads, and some thrust into their Mouths that they were almost choaked. The Feathers were thrown all about the Bed and room. They were plucked out at a hole no bigger than the top of ones little finger. Some time after they were vexed with a very hideous knocking at their heads as they lay on the Bed. Then *James Sherring* and *Thomas Hillery* took the Candle and went up stairs and stood at the Beds feet, and the knocking continued. Then they saw a Hand with an Arm-wrist hold the Hammer which kept on knocking against the Bedsted. Then *James Sherring* going towards the Beds-head, the Hand and Hammer fell down behind the Bolster and could not be found. For they turned up the Bed-clothes to search for the Hammer. But as soon as they went down the stairs the Hammer was thrown out into the middle of the Chamber. These were the most remarkable things that were done that Night.

The fourth and fifth Nights, there was
but

but little done more than knocking and scratching as was usually.

The sixth and seventh Nights, there was nothing at all but as quiet as at other houses. These were all the Nights that they were there.

The things that do follow are what *James Sherring* heard the People of the house report.

There was a Saddle in the house of their Uncle *Warrens* of *Leigh*, (which it should seem they detained wrongfully from the right owner) that as it did hang upon a Pin in the entry would come off and come into the house, and as they termed it, hop about the house from one place to another, and upon the Table, and so to another, which stood on the other side of the house. *Fane Gast* and her Kinswoman took this Saddle and carried it to *Leigh*, and as they were going along in the broad Common, there would be sticks and stones thrown at them, which made them very much afraid, and going near together their Whittles which were on their shoulders were knit together. They carried the Saddle to the house which was Old *Warrens*, and there left it and returned home very quiet. But being gone to Bed
at

at Night the Saddle was brought back from *Leigh*, (which is a Mile and half at the least from Old *Gasts* House) and thrown upon the Bed where the Maids lay. After that, the Saddle was very troublesome to them, until they broke it in small pieces and threw it out into the Highway.

There was a Coat of the same Parties, who was owner of the Saddle; which did hang on the door in the Hall; and it came off from the place and flew into the fire and lay there some considerable time, before they could get it out. For it was as much as three of them could do to pluck it out of the fire, because of the ponderous weight that lay on it, as they thought. Nevertheless there was no impression on it of the fire.

Old *Gast* sat at Dinner with a Hat of this Old *Warrens* on his Head, and there was something came and struck it off into the Dish where his Meat was.

There was a Pole which stood in the back-side about Fourteen or Fifteen Foot in length, which was brought into the House, and carried up into the Cham-
ber,

ber, and thrown on the Bed; but all the Wit they had could not get it out of the Chamber, because of its length, until they took down a light of the Window. They report that the things in the House was thrown about and broken, to their great dammage.

One Night there were two of this Old *Gast* his Grand-daughters in Bed together, they were aged, One of them about Twelve or Thirteen years, and the other about Sixteen or Seventeen. They said, that they felt a Hand in Bed with them, which they bound up in the Sheet, and took Bed-staves and beat it until it were as soft as Wool, then they took a Stone which lay in the Chamber, about a quarter of an Hundred weight, and put on it, and were quiet all the Night. In the Morning, they found it as they left it the Night before. Then the eldest of the Maids sware that she would burn the Devil, and goes and fetches a Fuz Faggot to burn it, but when she came again, the Stone was thrown away, and the Cloth was found wet.

: There were many other things which is too long and tedious to write, it would take up a great deal of time.

This

This which follows is the Relation of *Jone Winsor* of long *Burton*, she being there Three Nights, taken the Third day of *July, 1677.*

She heard or saw nothing as long as the Candle did burn, but as soon as it was out, there was something which did seem to fall down by the Bed-side, and by and by it began to lay on the Bed-head vwith a Staffe, and did strike *Jone Winsor* on the Head. She put forth her Hand and caught it, but was not able to hold it fast. She got out of the Bed to light a Candle, and there was a great Stone thrown after her, but it missed her. When the Candle was lighted, they arose and went down to the Fire. One of them went up to fetch the Bed-clothes to make a Bed by the Fire, and there lay a heap of Stones on the Bed vwhereon they lay just before. As soon as the Bed vvas made, and they laid down to take their rest, there was a scratching on the Form that stood by them in an extreame manner. Then it came, and did heave up the Bolster whereon they laid their Heads, and did endeavour to throw them out. At last it got hold on one end of the Pillow,

and set it quite on end, and there it stood for some considerable time; at last falling down in its place, they fell fast asleep, and so continued all that Night.

The Staff that was spoken of before was *Jone Winsors*, and she says, she left it below in the Kitchen. She says, that vvhich troubled, did endeavour to kill the people, if it had power. She put them to it, to know the reason vvhich they vvere so troubled, and they said they knew nothing, unless it was about the business of *Old Warren*. She vvas there Three Nights, and the trouble was much after the same manner, nothing that was more remarkable.

This is the truth of what I heard them speak from their own Mouths, and they will attest it if called thereunto.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A very considerable Story this is, and sufficiently circumstantiated for time and place, saving that the County is not named. The reason whereof I conceive to be, that it was in the very County in which Mr. Glanvil lived, to whom the Information was sent, namely in Somersetshire. And there are Burtons more than one there, and also Leighs, but this Burton is determined by the space of something more than a Mile and an halfs distance from Leigh. So that the Topographical account is sufficiently exact. And the manner of the Narrative is so simple; plain and rural, that it prevents all suspicion of fraud or Imposture in the Relation.

The transporting of things out of one Room into another, and striking and the like by invisible Agents, minds me of Mr. Lloyd's story, as 'tis called in Mr. Glanvil's Papers, whom in a Letter he tells he may rely upon it for truth, as being sent from a Person of Quality and Integrity in those parts. It is of an House haunted of one Walter Meyrick of the Parish of Blethvaugh, in the County of Radnor, some Two and Twenty Years ago. Where besides strange kind of Tunable Whistlings in the Rooms, where none was seen to Whistle, there were stones flung down out of a loft of great weight, the Doors bolted or barred against them on the inside, when returned from the Church, no body being within. And at Prayers at home when some of the Women out of fear held one another by the Arms, some Invisible Power would pluck asunder their Arms, whether they would or no. By such an Invisible force, one as he was sitting at
Supper,

Supper, was struck flat to the ground, and a Trencher struck out of the Maids Hand that waited, and a smart Box on the Ear given to another, no Visible thing being near that d.d it. A Purse lost with Two Gold Rings, and Six and Four-pence in it, the party complaining thereof, the Purse dropt down from the top of the Room, which had no Room over it, and Four-pence only in it. That Men were struck down with Stones, and yet had no great hurt, shews plainly they were not flung but carried. But there was one beaten with Two Staves black and blue, but none to be seen that thus belaboured him, though in the Day.

We pass by the Frying-Pan, beaten with a little piece of Iron, and tinkling over a Mans Head in the Night, to his being struck down with a Stick by Day, while he tended the Goose roasting, which that Invisible Striker seemed to have a Plot upon, as also by his knocking a

Pick-Axe against the Lid of a Coffe^r, to have a Design upon a Bag of Money. These and the like Feats, that Narrative relates, which Mr. Glanvil calls Mr. Lloyd's Story, who assures him he may rely on the Truth thereof, he procuring it from a Justice of Peace, who took the parties Testimonies that dwelt in the House, or upon occasions were present there, and were Eye-Witnesses of the strange Pranks that were plaid in the place. And there being that Congeneracy betwixt James Sherrings Story and this, they mutually corroborate one another.

RELAT.

RELAT. XXIV.

Mr. Andrew Paschall once fellow of Queens Colledge in Cambridge, his Narrative of three Nights disturbance at his Fathers house in London in Soper-Lane; in August 1661.

THE first Nights disturbance; There was in Family my Father and Mother, my Eldest Brother, and one of my Sisters with a young Maiden Gentlewoman her Bedfellow (who seemed to be principally concerned) besides a Maid that lay in the same Chamber.

The Gentlewoman before mentioned; being in bed with my Sister in a Chamber within that where my Father and Mother lay, (the Maid lying in another bed alone by) there seemed to her then lying

lying awake, to be one walking in the Chamber, by a noise made as of a long Gown or some Trailing Garment brushing and sweeping up and down the Room.

By and by, there vvas a Noise of Clattering their Shoes under the Bed, with a scratching and tugging of the Mat under the bed likewise. This continued for some time, my Sister being awakened heard it, so did the Maid. After this my Mother being called out of the next Chamber where she was up (to prepare a Chymical water which required their being up all Night) came in, they being in a great fright. My Brother went up also, who not gone to bed sat below. A Candle was brought, and the noise ceased while they were in the Chamber. Presently after they were gone out again, and the light removed, the Chamber door (which shuts with difficulty) flew to with a great bounce, it being wide open before, it shook the Room where my Mother was busied about the aforesaid preparation. After this one of the shoes that was by the bed side was flung over the bed with a mighty force against a Press that stood
 on

on the other side. This put them to such a fright again that the Gentlewoman rise. My Brother went into the Room again and sat up with them all Night.

This I received from my Brother, who came to Bed to me, (who by reason of some illness had gone to bed first in the Family) early the next Morning. I was confirmed in it afterward by my Mother, upon whose bare assertion I dare confidently believe any thing that shall be related.

The second Nights disturbance; The next Evening as we sat at Supper, we all heard a great noise above in the Chamber, at the end of the house, as it were flinging of Chairs and Stools about the Room or removing of great Trunks. And going up to see, all was still till we came down again: However the Gentlewoman resolved to go to bed again that Night in the same Chamber. My Sister went to bed with her, and the rest to their Lodgings, onely my Brother and I resolved to sit up some time and expect the event. Within a while after we heard them knock earnestly above,
we

we went both up, they told us there had been the same disturbance as the Night before and something more. For besides the tugging of the Mat under the bed, the Bedclothes upon them were often tugged and pulled, insomuch as they were fain to hold them hard with their hands to keep them from being pulled off. All was quiet for a little time while we were in the Chamber with a light, but we were no sooner out of the Chamber with the Candle, but the noise under the bed, tugging of the Mat, pulling of the Bedclothes began again. Moreover something came into the bed, which the Gentlewoman said ran up on her by degrees, and seemed little and soft like a Mole. Upon this she skreekt out, and we came in again with the Candle, then all was still again.

We retired often with the Candle, and presently the same Disturbance returned, together with a low whispering Noise in many places about the Bed, but chiefly towards the beds head, which we all heard staying in the Chamber, and removing the Candle into the next Room. My Father and Mother rise, and there were none of us but heard all

or most part of this, but nothing appeared to us. The thing was continually moving and stirring in some part or other of the bed, and most commonly at the feet, where it usually came up first. At last it came to that boldness that it would make the same disturbance while the Candle was in the Chamber, if but a little shaded behind the door, so that we could sometimes see the Clothes pull'd and tugg'd, and we frequently saw it heave and lift up the Clothes upon the bed towards the feet, in a little hill or rising, which both my Brother and I often clapt our hands upon, perceiving it to move, and withall to make a little clacking noise, which cannot any more than the former whispering be express'd in Writing. We could not perceive any thing more than the Clothes, as often as we saw them so moved and heaved up. The shoos were laid up upon the beds: Tester, the second Night, to prevent the clattering which was made with them the Night before, and whilst we were standing talking in the Chamber, as I was some distance from the bed, one of the shoos flew off and hit me lightly on the head, my Hat being on. And another came presently tumbling down after it

it none stirring the bed. Afterwards the
 aforesaid little thing came upon the Gen-
 tlewoman so frequently, that if we were
 but the least removed, she could not lie
 quiet in her bed. Then she fate up in
 her bed with a Mantle about her, which
 when we were retired was pulled at as if
 it would have been plucked from her.
 Whereupon she cried out again, and I
 came into the Chamber again, and was
 desired to hold fast upon the Mantle
 about her, which notwithstanding upon
 removal of the Candle was tugged hard
 again, which I very sensibly perceived.
 Whereupon we perceiving no Cessati-
 on, my Brother and I continued in the
 Chamber all that Night till break of day,
 vvith a Candle in the Room. The tug-
 ging of the Matt under the Bed, the
 heaving of the Clothes about the Feet,
 and the other vvhispering noise continu-
 ing by fits, till Light appeared. There
 vvas scarcely any of us, especially she
 her self, that did not Conjure that
 Whisperer by the most Sacred Names to
 speak out and tell us its intent, but
 nothing was to be seen; nor any answer
 made.

The third Nights disturbance; The
 Gentle-

Gentlewoman resolved now to change her Chamber, to try if the disturbance would follow, she did so, my Sister still accompanying of her. My Brother and I sate up as before below expecting again what would follow. The same noise was heard this third Night as the Night before above in the Chamber. We had not sate long below before we were Summoned up with loud knockings again, they were in the same case as before, if not worse. A while after they were in bed in this other Chamber there was a clattering heard at the door; presently after the same noise under the bed, the same heaving of the Clothes, and the same whispering as before. But towards Midnight that thing which came into the bed before, came now so often with such ungrateful skippings up and down upon her, that she often skreekt and cried out. It seemed cold and very smooth as she related, and would commonly come in at her feet, and run all up on her by her side to her shoulder. Once she desired me to clap my hand upon her back near her shoulder blade, as feeling it just then come up thither. I did so on a suddain, and there seemed a cold blast or puff of Wind to blow upon my hand just as I clapt

clapt it on her. And one thing more remarkable was this, when the whispering was heard at her Beds-head, after we had many times in vain conjured it to speak and tell us the intent of its whisperings and disturbance, I spake to it very earnestly to speak out or whisper louder. Hereupon it hissed out much louder than before, but nothing intelligible to be heard. At last this disturbance with the thing in the bed being no longer tolerable to the Gentlewoman, my Mother rise (lying in the next Chamber and hearing their perplexity) came into her Chamber and prayed sometime at her Bedside just by her. Whereupon it pleased God within a very short time after to remove all those noises and that which disturbed her. After that Night I cannot tell certainly that there hath been any thing of that nature heard in the house.

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THIS Narrative though it was not among Mr. *Glanvil's* Papers, but I found it by chance in mine own Study, yet it being made by an Eye-witness whom I knew to be one of Judgement and Integrity, I thought fit to insert it. And the rather, because of that passage, that when he clapt his Hand upon the Shoulder of the Gentlewoman where the Ghost was, a cool blast or puff of Air seemed to bear or blow against his Hand. Which is like Mr. *Glanvil's* Experiment of pressing the Linnen Bag in which some Spirit was moving as a living Animal. Which are notable instances of their easie perpiration through porous Bodies. This troublesome Spirit I suspect to have been the Ghost of some party deceased who would have uttered something, but had not the knack of speaking so articulately as to be understood. And when they can speak intelligibly, it is ordinarily in a hoarse and low Voice, as is observable in many stories, and particularly in a very fresh story of the Ghost of one deceased that spoke to *Jacob Brent* some two years ago, an Apprentice then to one Mr. *Lawrence* in the *Little Minories*; of which to give some brief account, I think fitting for the very same reasons that I have inserted this of Mr. *Paschal*, namely, that it is from an Eye-

witness, and a discreet and well-disposed young man, as they that know him do testifie : and I will set down no more, nor so much as he himself declared or acknowledged, not onely to Dr. *Cudworth*, Mr. *Fowler*, and Mr. *Glanvil*, but very lately to my self also, viz.

That he had conference with the Ghost of some deceased party for about a quarter of an hour : That he had a glimpse of the shape thereof, being called into the Room where it was, by a Voice , saying , *Here , Here* ; but that he presently cried out, *Good God, let me see nothing*, he being so affrighted with the sight. But however, he entertained discourse with it for about the time above-mentioned, received several things in charge from it to be done, and was commanded secrecy in some special Matters ; but it gave such instructions , and made such discoveries, as right might be done to some that had been wronged by the party deceased. Upon which performance of *Jacob Brent*, the disturbance of the house ceased : But for about six Weeks before, Mr. *Lawrence* his house was miserably disturbed, they being most nights affrighted with Thumpings and loud Knockings at the Chamber-doors , sometimes with a strange whirling noise up and down the Rooms , and clapping upon the Stairs. And that night *Jacob Brent* sate up in the Kitchin expecting some conference with the Spirit for the quiet of the House, he heard the

the Door of the Room above him that was fast lockt, fly open, while he was reading in *Eusebius*, and immediately a swift running down the Stairs, and a great knock at the Kitchin-door which stood a jarr, and a chinking of Money on the Stairs, as he passed from the Kitchin towards the Dining-room over against it, whose Door was lockt when they went to bed, but now opened as the Door of the other Room above the Kitchin.

Into this Dining-room he was invited, as is abovesaid, by a Voice saying, *Here, Here*; and there he received, and after executed, such directions as gave quiet afterwards to the House; and he received thanks from the Ghost after he had made his Journey abroad to fulfil its desire, at his returning home, with a promise it would never trouble the house more. And of the troubles of the house before, the whole Family were Witnesses, as also of the Conference of *J. B.* and the Spirit, that they heard two speaking in the Dining-room, though they were not so near as to understand what they said; onely they heard *J. B.* pray to God that he might see nothing.

That the house was really Haunted, besides what has been said already, is further confirmed by Mr. *Bamfield*, who was desired to lie in the house some days before this Conference of *J. B.* with the Spirit; who though he heard no noises, yet felt his Clothes tuckt

about him, and his Hand kindly stroaked, he being awake all night. And that this could be no trick of *J. B.* is further evident from that great emotion of mind he was in after this for some two-hours, even almost to distraction, and was fain afterwards to be let Blood. But for his constant temper, he is observed to be; and I take him to be such, of a sober honest and sensible Genius; nor is he any Sectarian, but an orderly Son of the Church of *England*.

And if the Injunctions of the Ghost he conversed with, and common rules of Prudence, did not forbid the declaring of some particulars, this is an experiment that might convince the most incredulous touching such things. But *Mr. Glanvil* complains in a Letter of his to *Dr. H. More*, that this shyness and tender respect of persons has hindered him of many a considerable story; as I have also taken notice long since how mutilate the story of the Shoemaker of *Breslaw* is made, by reason of *Martinus Weinrichius* his concealing the Shoemaker's Name. But the mentioning of lockt Doors flying open of their own accord, reminds me of *Mr. Alcock's* story of a Chest with three Locks unlocking itself, and flying wide open, and then locking itself again. Which is as follows.

RELAT. XXV.

The Story of Mr. John Bourne of Durley in Ireland, about a mile from Bridgwater, Counsellor at Law.

MR. *John Bourne*, for his skill, care, and honesty, was made by his Neighbour *John Mallet Esq;* of *Enmore*, the chief of his Trustees for his Son *John Mallet*, (Father to *Elizabeth* now Countess Dowager of *Rocheſter*) and the rest of his Children in minority. He had the reputation of a worthy good man, and was commonly taken notice of for an habitual saying by way of Interjection almost to any thing, *viz. You ſay true, You ſay true, You are in the right.* This Mr. *Bourne* fell ſick at his houſe at *Durley* in the year 1654, and Dr. *Raymond* of *Oake* was ſent for to him, who after ſome time gave the ſaid Mr. *Bourne* over. And he had not now ſpake in Twenty four hours, when the ſaid Dr. *Raymond* and Mrs. *Carlisle* (Mr. *Bourne*'s Nephews Wife, whoſe Husband he made one of his Heirs) ſitting by his Bedſide, the Doctor opened the Curtains at the Bedſeet, to give him air; when on a ſuddain, to the hor- rour and amazement of Dr. *Raymond* and Mrs. *Carlisle*, the great Iron Cheſt by the Window at his Bedſeet with three Locks to it (in which

were all the Writings and Evidences of the said Mr. *Mallet's* Estate) began to open , first one Lock, then another , then the third. Afterwards the Lid of the said iron Chest lifted up itself, and stood wide open. Then the Patient Mr. *Bourne*, who had not spoke in Twenty four hours, lifted himself up also, and looking upon the Chest, cried, *You say true, You say true, You are in the right, I'll be with you by and by.* So the Patient lay down and spake no more. Then the Chest fell again of itself, and lockt itself one Lock after another, as the three Locks opened ; and they tried to knock it open and could not, and Mr. *Bourne* died within an hour after.

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THis Narrative was sent in a Letter to *J. C.* for Dr. *H. More*, from Mr. *Thomas Alcock* of *Shear Hampton*; of which in a Letter to the said Doctor he gives this account. I am, saith he, very confident of the truth of the story : For I had it from a very good Lady, the eldest Daughter of the said *John Mallet*, (whose Trustee Mr. *Bourne* was) and onely Aunt to the Countess of *Rochester*, who knew all the parties ; and have heard Dr. *Raymond* and Mr. *Carlisle* relate it often with amazement, being both persons of credit.

The curious may be inquisitive what the
mea-

meaning of the opening of the Chest may be, and of Mr. Bourne his say, *You say true, &c. I'll be with you by and by.* As for the former, it is noted by *Paracelsus* especially, and by others, that there are signs often given of the departure of sick men lying on their Deathbeds, of which this opening of the *Iron Coffin* or Chest and closing again, is more than ordinary significant, especially if we consider the nearness of sound and sence betwixt *Coffer* and *Coffin*, and recal to mind that of *Virgil*;

*Olli dura quies oculos & ferreus urget
Somnus* —

though this quaintness is more than is requisite in these Prodigies presaging the Sick man's death. As for the latter, it seems to be nothing else but the saying *Amen* to the presage, uttered in his accustomed form of speech: As if he should say, You of the invisible Kingdom of Spirits have given the token of my suddain departure: And *you say true*, I shall be with you by and by. Which he was enabled so assuredly to assent to, upon the advantage of the relaxation of his Soul now departing from the Body. Which *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 18. notes to be the opinion of *Pythagoras* and his followers, That it is the priviledge of the Soul near her departure to exercise a fatidical faculty, and to pronounce truely

touching things future, Περιγνώσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καθ' ὃν ἂν χωρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σώματος χωρισμὸν ποιῶνται, *That humane Souls prognostick things to come at what time they are separating from their Body.*

R E L A T. XXVI.

The Apparition of James Haddock to Francis Taverner near Drum-bridge in Ireland, comprized in a Letter of Thomas Alcock to Dr. H. More.

AT Michaelmas 1662. Francis Taverner, about Twenty five years old, a lusty, proper, stout fellow, then servant at large (afterwards Porter) to the Lord Chichester Earl of Donegal, at Belfast in the North of Ireland, County of Antrim, and Diocess of Connor, riding late in the Night from Hilbrough homeward, near Drum-bridge, his Horse, though of good metal, suddainly made a stand; and he supposing him to be taken with the Staggers, alighted to bloud him in the mouth, and presently mounted again. As he was setting forward, there seemed to pass by him two Horsemen, though he could not hear the treading of their feet, which amazed him. Presently there appeared a third in a white Coat, just

just at his Elbow in the likeness of *James Haddock* formerly an Inhabitant in *Malone*, where he died near five years before. Whereupon *Taverner* askt him in the Name of God who he was? He replied, *I am James Haddock, and you may call to mind by this token; That about five years ago I and two other Friends were at your Fathers House, and you by your Fathers appointment brought us some Nuts, and therefore be not afraid,* says the Apparition. Whereupon *Taverner*, remembering the circumstances, thought it might be *Haddock*; and those two who passed by before him, he thought to be his two Friends with him when he gave them Nuts, and courageously askt him why he appeared to him rather than any other. He answered, Because he was a man of more resolution than others; and if he would ride his way with him, he would acquaint him with a business he had to deliver him. Which *Taverner* refused to do, and would go his own way, (for they were now at a *Quadrivial*) and so rode on homewards. But immediately on the departure there arose a great wind, and withal he heard very hideous screeches and noises, to his great amazement; but riding forward as fast as he could, he at last heard the Cocks crow, to his comfort; he alighted off from his Horse, and falling to prayer, desired God's assistance, and so got safe home.

The night after there appeared again to
him

him the likeness of *James Haddock*, and bid him go to *Elenor Welsh*, (now the Wife of *Davis* living at *Malone*, but formerly the Wife of the said *James Haddock*, by whom she had an onely Son, to whom the said *James Haddock* had by his Will given a Lease which he held of the *Lord Chichester*, of which the Son was deprived by *Davis* who had married his Mother) and to ask her if her Maiden-name was not *Elenor Welsh*; and if it were, to tell her, that it was the Will of her former Husband *James Haddock* that their Son should be righted in the Lease. But *Taverner*, partly loath to gain the ill will of his Neighbours, and partly thinking he should not be credited but lookt on as deluded, long neglected to do his Message, till having been every night for about a Months space haunted with this Apparition in several forms every night more and more terrible, (which was usually preceded by an unusual trembling over his whole Body, and great change of countenance manifest to his Wife, in whose presence frequently the Apparition was, though not visible to her) at length he went to *Malone* to *Davis's* Wife, and askt whether her Maiden-name was not *Elenor Welsh*; if it was, he had something to say to her. She replied, There was another *Elenor Welsh* besides her. Hereupon *Taverner* returned without delivering his Message. The same night being fast asleep in his Bed, (for
the

the former Apparitions were as he fate by the Fire with his Wife) by something pressing upon him, he was awakened, and saw again the Apparition of *James Haddock* in a white Coat as at other times, who asked him if he had delivered his Message? He answered, he had been there with *Elenor Welsh*. Upon which the Apparition looking more pleasantly upon him, bid him not be afraid, and so vanished in a flash of brightness.

But some nights after (he having not delivered his Message) he came again, and appearing in many formidable shapes, threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it. This made him leave his house where he dwelt in the Mountains, and betake himself to the Town of *Belfast*, where he fate up all night at one *Pierce's* house a Shoemaker, accompanied with the said *Pierce* and a Servant or two of the Lord *Chichester*, who were desirous to see or hear the Spirit. About midnight as they were all by the Fire-side they beheld *Taverner's* Countenance to change, and a trembling to fall on him, who presently espied the Apparition in a Room opposite to him where he fate, and took up the Candle and went to it, and resolutely askt it in the Name of God wherefore it haunted him? It replied, because he had not delivered the Message, and withal threatned to tear him in pieces if he did not do it speedily; and so, changing itself into many

ny prodigious shapes, it vanisht in white like a Ghost. Whereupon *Francis Taverner* became much dejected and troubled, and next day went to the Lord *Chichester's* house, and with tears in his Eyes, related to some of the Family the sadness of his condition. They told it to my Lord's Chaplain Mr. *James South*, who came presently to *Taverner*, and being acquainted of his whole Story, advised him to go this present time to *Malone* to deliver punctually his Message, and promised to go along with him. But first they went to Dr. *Lewis Downs* then Minister of *Belfast*, who upon hearing the Relation of the whole matter, doubted at first of the truth of it, attributing it rather to Melancholy than any thing of reality. But being afterwards fully satisfied of it, the onely scruple remaining was, Whether it might be lawful to go on such a business, not knowing whose errand it was; Since, though it was a real Apparition of some Spirit, yet it was questionable whether of a good or a bad Spirit. Yet the justice of the Cause, (it being the common report the Youth was wronged) and other considerations prevailing, he went with them. So they three went to *Davis's* house, where the Woman being desired to come to them, *Taverner* did effectually do his Message, by telling her, that he could not be at quiet for the Ghost of her former Husband *James Haddock*, who threat-

ned

ned to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her she must right *John Haddock* her Son by him, in a Lease wherein she and *Davis* her now Husband had wronged him. This done, he presently found great quietness in his mind; and, thanking the Gentlemen for their Company, Advice, and Assistance, he departed thence to his Brother's House at *Drum-bridge*: Where, about two nights after, the aforesaid Apparition came to him again, and more pleasantly than formerly, askt if he had delivered his Message? He answered, he had done it fully. It replied, that he must do the same Message to the Executors also, that the business might be perfected. At this meeting *Taverner* asked the Spirit if *Davis* would do him any hurt; to which it answered at first somewhat doubtfully; but at length threatned *Davis* if he attempted any thing to the injury of *Taverner*, and so vanisht away in white.

The day following, *Dr. Jeremie Taylor* Bishop of *Down, Connor, and Dromore*, was to go to keep Court at *Dromore*, and commanded me, who was then Secretary to him, to write for *Taverner* to meet him there, which he did. And there in the presence of many people he examined *Taverner* strictly of this strange Scene of Providence, as my Lord styl'd it; and by the account given him both by *Taverner*, and others who knew *Taverner* and much of the former

former particulars, his Lordship was satisfied that the Apparition was true and real; but said no more there to him, because at *Hilbrough*, three miles from thence on his way home, my Lord was informed that my Lady *Conway* and other persons of Quality were come purposely to hear his Lordship examine the Matter. So *Tarverner* went with us to *Hilbrough*, and there, to satisfy the curiosity of the fresh company, after asking many things anew, and some over again, my Lord advised him the next time the Spirit appeared to ask him these Questions. Whence are you? Are you a good or a bad Spirit? Where is your abode? What station do you hold? How are you regimented in the other World? And what is the reason that you appear for the relief of your Son in so small a matter, when so many Widows and Orphans are oppressed in the World, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their Relations appear, as you do, to right them?

That night *Taverner* was sent for to *Lisburne* to my Lord *Conway's* three miles from *Hilbrough* on his way home to *Belfast*, where he was again strictly examined in the presence of many good men and women of the aforesaid matter, was ordered to lie at my Lord *Conway's* all night; and about Nine or Ten a clock at night, standing by the Fire-side with his Brother and many others, his Countenance changed,

changed, and he fell into a trembling, the usual prognostick of the Apparition ; and, being loath to make any disturbance in his Lordship's house, he and his Brother went out into the Court, where he saw the Spirit coming over the Wall ; which, approaching nearer, askt him if he had done his Message to the Executor also ? He replied, he had, and wondered it should still haunt him. It replied, he need not fear, for it would do him no hurt, nor trouble him any more, but the Executor if he did not see the Boy righted. Here his Brother put him in mind to ask the Spirit what the Bishop bid him, which he did presently. But it gave him no answer, but crawled on its Hands and Feet over the Wall again, and so vanisht in white, with a most melodious Harmony.

Note, (1) That *Pierce*, at whose house, and in whose presence the Apparition was, being askt whether he saw the Spirit, said, he did not, but thought at that time he had a Mist all over his eyes. (2) What was then spoke to *Taverner* was in so low and hollow a voice, that they could not understand what it said. (3) At *Pierce's* house it stood just in the entry of a Door ; and as a Maid passed by to go in at the Door, *Taverner* saw it go aside and give way to the Maid, though she saw it not. (4) That the Lease was hereupon disposed on to the Boys use. (5) The Spirit at the last

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apparition at my Lord *Conway's* house, revealed somewhat to *Taverner*, which he would not discover to any of us that askt him.

This *Taverner*, with all the Persons and Places mentioned in the Story, I knew very well, and all wise and good men did believe it, especially the Bishop, and Dean of *Connor* Dr. *Rust*:
Witness

Your humble Servant

Thomas Alcock.

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IT will not be amiss to set down here what Mr. *Alcock* addes by way of *Postscript* in his Letter. *There is an odd story, saith he, depending on this, which I cannot chuse but tell you. The Boys Friends put the Trustees and Executor on this Apparitions account into our Courts, where it was pleasant to hear my Lord talk to them on the whole matter. The Uncle and Trustee, one John Costlet, forswore the thing, railed on Taverner, and made strange imprecations, and wisht Judgments might fall on him if he knew of any such Lease; but the fear of the Apparitions menaces by Taverner scar'd him into a promise of justice at least. About four or five years after, when my Lord died, and the noise of the Apparition was over, Costlet began again to threaten the Boy with Law, &c. But being drunk at Hill-*
hall

hall by Lisburne, coming home he fell from his Horse, and never spake more. This is a sad truth to my knowledge.

R E L A T. XXVII.

The Story of David Hunter Neat-herd to the Bishop of Down and Connor, at Portmore in Ireland, 1663. from the same hand.

DAVID Hunter Neat-herd at the Bishop's house at Portmore, there appeared to him one night, carrying a Log of Wood into the Dairie, an Old Woman, which amazed him, for he knew her not: but the fright made him throw away his Log of Wood and run into the house. The next night she appeared again to him, and he could not chuse but follow her all night; and so almost every night for near three quarters of a Year. Whenever she came, he must go with her through the Woods at a good round rate; and the poor fellow lookt as if he was bewicht and travelled off his legs. And when in bed with his Wife, if she appeared, he must rise and go. And because his Wife could not hold him in his bed, she would go too, and walk after him till day, though she see nothing: But his little Dog was so well acquainted with the Apparition, that he would follow her as well as his

Master. If a Tree stood in her walk, he observed her always to go through it. In all this while she spake not.

But one day the said *David* going over a Hedge into the High-way, she came just against him, and he cried out, *Lord bless me, would I was dead; shall I never be delivered from this misery?* At which, *And the Lord bless me too*, says she: *It was very happy you spake first, for till then I had no power to speak, though I have followed you so long. My Name, says she, is Margaret — I lived here before the War, and had one Son by my Husband. When he died I married a Souldier, by whom I had several Children, which that former Son maintained, else we must have all starved. He lives beyond the Baun-water; pray go to him and bid him dig under such a Harth, and there he shall find 28 s. Let him pay what I owe in such a place, and the rest to the charge unpayed at my Funeral; and go to my Son that lives here, which I had by my latter Husband, and tell him that he lives a wicked and a dissolute life, and is very unnatural and ungrateful to his Brother that maintained him; and if he does not mend his life, God Almighty will destroy him.*

David Hunter told her he never knew her. *No*, says she, *I died Seven years before you came into the Countrey: But for all that, if he would do her Message, she would never hurt him. But he deferred doing as the Apparition bid him,*

him, and she appeared the night after as he lay in bed, and struck him on the shoulder very hard; at which he cried out, and askt her if she did not promise she would not hurt him? She said, that was if he did her Message; if not, she would kill him. He told her he could not go now by reason the Waters were out. She said she was content he should stay till they were abated; but charged him afterwards not to fail her. So he did her errand, and afterwards she appeared and gave him thanks. *For now, said she, I shall be at rest, therefore pray you lift me up from the ground, and I will trouble you no more.* So David Hunter lifted her up from the ground, and, as he said, she felt just like a bag of Feathers in his arms. So she vanisht, and he heard most delicate Musick as she went off, over his head; and he never was more troubled.

This account the poor fellow gave us every day as the Apparition spake to him, and my Lady Conway came to *Portmore*, where she askt the fellow the same questions and many more. This I know to be true, being all the while with my Lord of *Down*; and the fellow a poor Neat-herd there.

Thomas Alcock.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is no small confirmation to my self of the truth of these two last Stories, in both which my Lady Conway is mentioned, in that I received two Letters from that incomparable Lady out of *Ireland* touching them both. The former is dated, *Lisburne*, March 3. 1662. wherein she writes thus: *I have spoken lately with two simple Country-people who have been much perplexed with two several persons who have died lately. The stories are too long to relate; but the circumstances are such, as I know not how to misbelieve the stories. The persons cannot be suspected to have any design, and were altogether unacquainted in the Families of them that appeared, and wholly ignorant of those things in them that they now relate, and have charge to sollicite the amendment of some miscarriages by some persons intrusted, which they could never hear of, as is supposed, by any other means. There are many other probabilities, but all evaded by several persons here. And to give you a taste of their goodly Evasions, I will transcribe a passage out of the other Letter of the said excellent Lady, dated, Lisburne, April 29. 1663. wherein she writes thus: The Relation I sent you of two in this Country is certainly liable to as little exception (there was mention of the Drummer of Tedworth before) as any one shall*

meet

meet with ; As may appear by the diligent search some have made for a flaw and Objection against the parties , who, after all , they confess , must needs appear perfectly uninteressed, and impossible to have had from any concerned what they have delivered. But they believe that either Drunkenness or desperate Melancholy did by chance enable them to light upon greater truths than themselves thought of. Thus far that excellent person. And it was enough for this noble Lady onely to recite their solution of the Phænomenon into Melancholy and Drunkenness , it being so trifling and silly, that it wanted no further refutation than the mere recital.

That Drink may discover the *secrets* of him that is *drunk*, as the Poet observes , is reasonable enough: but that a man by being *drunk* is better capacitated to understand the *secrets* of another man, or of his Family, is so wilde a Paradox, that no *sober* man can admit it. And what is *Melancholy* but a *natural Drunkenness* when it ferments ? And moreover, it being but by chance that *Melancholy* or *Drunkenness* enables them to light upon such things, why may not *Sanguine* and *Sobriety* chance as well to do the same, and not rather better, if there be any betterness in things by chance ? But if there be any advantage in *fermenting Melancholy* or *strong Drink* , it is because the Soul is more excited, and made more ready to discover its own more inward furniture , as

men in drink reveal their own Secrets. But the Soul has no innate Idea's of *particular* things, and therefore the greatest effervescency of Drink or Melancholy will not a jot better dispose her to the knowledge of *Particulars*, but indispose her for the reception of them from without. So blindly do these Witlings Philosophize touching things of this nature.

And yet, I dare say, this was the very best of their Evasions: Which being no better against these two Stories, and the Stories so sifted and examined (to say nothing of others) by a person of so quick a Wit, impartial Judgment and Sagacity, as I know that excellent Lady to have been, I must confess, that to me it is a confirmation as strong as I can desire for the main strokes of the Stories, of which I retain some memory, having heard a more particular account of them from her Ladyship presently upon her return from *Ireland* some sixteen years ago. Nor do doubt but Mr. *Alcock* has approved himself a faithful Reciter of them as to the main; nor can there any one rightly be deemed more fit and able, he being present at the Examination of *Taverner*, and dwelling at *Portmore* with the Bishop of *Down*, whose Servant *Hunter* was.

RELAT.

RELAT. XXVIII.

The Confessions of certain Scotch Witches, taken out of an authentick Copy of their Trial at the Assizes held at Paisley in Scotland, Feb. 15. 1678. touching the bewitching of Sir George Maxwel.

THE Tenour of the Confessions taken before Justices : As first of *Annabil Stuart* of the age of Fourteen years, or thereby ; who declared that she was brought in the presence of the Justices for the crime of Witchcraft ; and declared, that on Harvest last, the Devil in the shape of a Black man came to her Mothers House , and required the Declarant to give her self up to him ; and that the Devil promised her that she should not want any thing that was good. Declares, that she being enticed by her Mother *Fannet Mathie* , and *Bessie Weir* , who was Officer to their several meetings, she put her Hand to the crown of her Head , and the other to the sole of her Foot , and did give herself up to the Devil. Declares, that her Mother promised her a new Coat for doing of it. Declares, that her Spirits name was *Enippa* , and that the Devil took her by the Hand and nipped her Arm , which continued to be sore for half an hour. Declares,

that the Devil in the shape of a black man lay with her in the Bed under the Clothes, and that she found him cold. Declares, that thereafter he placed her nearest himself. And declares, she was present in her Mothers house when the Effigies of Wax was made; and that it was made to represent Sir *George Maxwell*. Declares, that the black man, *Janet Mathie*, the Declarant's Mother (whose Spirit's name was *Landlady*;) *Bessie Weir*, whose Spirit's name is *Sopha*; *Margaret Craige*, whose Spirit's name is *Rigerum*; and *Margaret Jackson*, whose Spirit's name is *Locas*, were all present at the making of the said Effigies; and that they bound it on a Spit, and turned it before the Fire; and that it was turned by *Bessie Weir*, saying, as they turned it, *Sir George Maxwell, Sir George Maxwell*; and that this was expressed by all of them, and by the Declarant. Declares, that this Picture was made in *October* last. And further declares, that upon the third day of *January* Instant, *Bessie Weir* came to her Mother's house, and advertised her to come to her Brother *John Stuart's* upon the night following. And that accordingly she came to the place, where she found *Bessie Weir, Margery Craige, Margaret Jackson*, and her Brother *John Stuart*, and a man with black Clothes, a blue Band, and white Handcuffs with hogers, and that his Feet were cloven. And the Declarant sat down by the

Fire-

Fire-side with them, when they made a Picture of Clay, in which they placed Pins in the Breast and Sides: And declares, that they placed one in every Side, and one in the Breast. Declared, that the black man did put the Pins in the Picture of Wax; but is not sure who put in the Pins in the Picture of Clay. Declares, that the Effigies produced are the Effigies she saw made. Declares, that the black mans name is *Ejoall*. This Declaration was emitted before *James Dunlop* of *Husil*, *William Gremlaye*, &c. Jan. 27. 1677. *Ita est*. *Robertus Park Notarius Publicus*, &c.

The second Confession is of *John Stuart*, who being interrogate anent this crime of Witchcraft, declared, That upon Wednesday the third day of *January* Instant, *Bessie Weir* in *Pollockton* came to the Declarant late at night, who being without doors near his own house, the said *Bessie Weir* did intimate to him, that there was a meeting to be at his house the next day: And that the Devil under the shape of a black man, *Margaret Jackson*, *Margery Craige*, and the said *Bessie Weir*, were to be present. And that *Bessie Weir* required the Declarant to be there, which he promised. And that the next night; after the Declarant had gone to bed, the black man came in and called the Declarant quietly by his name. Upon which he arose from his Bed, and put on his Clothes, and lighted a Candle. Declares, that *Margaret Jackson*,

Jackson, Bessie Weir, and Margery Craige did enter in at a Window in the Gavil of the Declarant's house. And that the first thing that the black man required, was, that the Declarant should renounce his Baptism, and deliver himself up wholly to him : Which the Declarant did, by putting one hand on the crown of his Head, and the other on the sole of his Foot. And that he was tempted to it by the Devil's promising that he should not want any pleasure, and that he should get his heart filled on all that shall do him wrong. Declares, that he gave him the name of *Jonas* for his Spirits name. Declares, that thereafter the Devil required every one of their consents for the making of the Effigies of Clay for the taking away the life of *Sir George Maxwel of Pollock*, to revenge the taking of the Declarants Mother *Jannet Mathie*. Declares, that every one of the persons above named gave their consent to the making of the said Effigies, and that they wrought the Clay, and that the black man did make the figure of the Head and Face and two Arms to the said Effigies. Declares, that the Devil set three Pins in the same, one in each side, and one in the Breast : And that the Declarant did hold the Candle to them all the time the Picture was making. And that he observed one of the black man's Feet to be cloven : and that the black man's Apparel was black : and that he had a bluish
Band

Band and Handcuffs; and that he had Ho-
gers on his Legs without Shoes; and that the
black man's Voice was hough and goustie.
And further declares, that after they had be-
gun the forming of the Effigies, his Sister *An-
nihil Stuart*, a Childe of thirteen or fourteen
years of age, came knocking at the Door, and
being let in by the Declarant, she staid with
them a considerable time, but that she went
away before the rest, he having opened the
Door to her. Declares, that the rest went out
at the Window at which they entred. Declares,
that the Effigies was placed by *Bessie Weir* in
his Bedstraw. He further declares, he himself
did envy against *Sir George Maxwel* for appre-
hending *Fannet Mathie* his Mother: And that
Bessie Weir had great malice against this *Sir
George Maxwel*; and that her quarrel was, as
the Declarant conceived, because the said *Sir
George* had not entred her Husband to his Har-
vest-tervice; and also declares, that the said
Effigies was made upon the fourth day of *Fa-
nuary* Instant, and that the Devil's name was
Ejoall. Declares that his Spirits name was
Fonas, and *Bessie Weir's* Spirits name, who was
Officer, was *Sopha*; and that *Margaret Jack-
son's* Spirit's name was *Locas*; and that *Anna-
bil Stuart's*, the Declarant's Sister's was *Enippa*;
but does not remember what *Margery Craige's*
Spirit's name was. Declares, that he cannot
write. This Confession was emitted in the
pre-

presence of the Witnesses to the other Confession, and on the same day. *Ita est.* Robertus Park *Notarius Publicus, &c.*

The Confession of *Margaret Jackson* Relict of *Tho. Stuart* in *Shaws*, who being examined by the Justices anent her being guilty of Witchcraft, declares, That she was present at the making of the first Effigies and Picture that was made in *Fannet Mathie's* house in *October*, and that the Devil in the shape of a black man, *Fannet Mathie, Bessie Weir, Margery Craige,* and *Annabil Stuart*, was present at the making of the said Effigies, and that it was made to represent *Sir George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, for the taking away his life. Declares, that forty years ago, or thereabout, she was at *Pollock-shaw-croft*, with some few sticks on her back, and that the black man came to her, and that she did give up herself unto the black man from the top of her Head to the sole of her Foot; and that this was after the Declarants renouncing of her Baptism; and that the Spirit's name which he designed her was *Locas*. And that about the third or fourth of *January* Instant, or thereby, in the night-time when she awaked, she found a man to be in bed with her, whom she supposed to have been her Husband, though her Husband had been dead twenty years or thereby, and that the man immediately disappeared: and declares that this man who disappeared was the Devil.

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Declares, that upon Thursday the fourth of January Instant, she was present in the house of *John Stuart* at night when the Effigies of Clay was made, and that she saw the black man there, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing with *John Stuart*; and that the black man's Clothes were black, and that he had white Handcuffs. And that *Bessie Weir* in *Pollockton*, *Annabil Stuart* in *Shaws*, and *Margery Craige* were at the aforesaid time and place of making the said Effigies of Clay; and declares, that she gave her consent to the making of the same; and declares that the Devils name who compeired in the black man's shape was *Ejoall*. Sic subscribitur, Ita est. *Robertus Park Notarius Publicus, &c.*

Now follow the Depositions of certain persons agreeing with the Confessions of the abovesaid Witches.

Andr. Martin Servitour to the Lord of *Pollock*, of the age of Thirty years or thereby, Depones, That he was present in the house of *Jannet Mathie Pannal* when the Picture of Wax produced was found in a little hole in the Wall at the back of the Fire. Depones, that *Sir George* his Sickness did fall upon him about the eighteenth of *October* or thereby. Depones, that the Picture of Wax was found on the * * of *December*, and that *Sir George* his Sick-
ness

ness did abate and relent about the time the Picture of wax was found and discovered in *Jannet Mathie's* house. Depones, that the Pins were placed in the right and left sides, and that *Sir George Maxwell of Pollock* his pains, as he understood by *Sir George's* complaining of these pains, lay most in his right and left sides. And depones, that *Sir George* his pains did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax and taking out of the Pins as is said. And depones, that the Pannal *Jannet Mathie* has been by fame and bruite reputed a Witch these several years by past. And this is the truth as he shall answer to God. *Sic Subscrib.*
 Andr. Martin.

Laurence Pollock Secretary to the Lord of *Pollock*, sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones as follows, That on the ** day of *December* he was in the Pannal *Jannet Mathie's* house when the Picture was found ; and that he did not see it before it was brought to the Pannal's door. Depones, that *Sir George Maxwell of Pollock's* sickness did seize upon him about the fourteenth of *October* or thereby, and he did continue in his Sickness or Distemper for six Weeks or thereby. Depones, that *Sir George* his Sickness did abate and relent after the finding of the said Picture of Wax and taking out of the Pins that were in the Effigies. Depones, that by open bruit and common fame, *Jannet Mathie*, and *Bessie Weir*,
 and

and *Margery Craige*, are brandit to be Witches. Depones, that the truth is this as he shall answer it to God. *Sic Subscrib.* Laurence Pollock.

Lodovic Stuart of *Auchunhead* being sworn and purged of partial Counsel, depones, That *Sir George* his Sickness fell upon him the fourteenth or fifteenth of *October* or thereby. Depones, that he was not present at the finding of the Picture of Wax; but that he had seen *Sir George Maxwel* of *Pollock* after it was found; and having seen him in his Sickness oftentimes before, he did perceive that *Sir George* had sensibly recovered after the time that the said Picture was said to be found, which was upon the 11th or 12th of *December*. Depones, that *Fannet Mathie* and *Margery Craige* two of the Pannals are by report of the Country said to be Witches. Depones, that he having come to *Pollock* he did see *Sir George Maxwel*, whose pains did recur, and that his pains and torments were greatly encreased in respect of what they were before the finding of the Picture of Wax. Depones, that upon the 8th of *January* when they left the said *Sir George Maxwel* of *Pollock*, the Deponent *James Dunlop* of *Houfil*, *Allan Douglace*, and several others, did go to the house of *John Stuart* Warlock in *Pollock-shaw*, and there he found a Picture of Clay in the said *John Stuart's* Bedstraw. Depones, that there was three Pins in the said Picture of Clay,

Clay, and that there was one in each side, and one in the Breast. And depones, that being returned to Sir *George* his house, Sir *George* told the Deponent that he found great ease of his pains, and that it was before the Deponent *Housil* and the rest did reveal to him that they had found the said Picture of Clay; and further depones, that to his own observation he did perceive that Sir *George* had sensibly recovered. Depones, that they took the said *John Stuart* Pannal Prisoner with them at the finding of the said Effigies. And depones, that this is truth as he shall answer it to God. *Sic Subscrib.* Lodowick Stuart.

There follow more Depositions in the Copy, but these are the most for our purpose, and enough to discover that the Confession of those Witches are no Fables nor Dreams.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THESE Confessions and Depositions are transcribed out of the Copy in the same *Scottish* Dialect that I found them; and several words there are which I profess I understand not, as those for example concerning the black mans Voice, that it was *hough* and *goustie*: But if the voice of this black man be like that of his who appeared to the Witches whom Mr. *Hunt* examined, they may signify a *big* and *low* voice.

There

There is another *Scottish* Trial of Witches amongst Mr. *Glanvil's* Papers, with the same general subscription that this has, *viz. Robert Martin* Clerk to the Justice Court. But that is of too old a date, it being in the year 1590, to comply with the title of our Stories. But it being a true Copy of Record so Authentick, though not so fresh, it may haply not be amiss briefly to name some Effects, Kinds, or Circumstances of Witchcraft therein mentioned; such especially as have not occurred in the foregoing Stories; as the giving and taking away power from sundry mens Genital-members, For which *Fannet Clark* was accused.

That which is observable in *John Fiene* is, that the Devil appeared to him not in *black*, but in *white* raiment; but proposed as hellish a Covenant to him as those Fiends that appear in black. As also lying dead two or three hours, and his Spirit tane, (as the Phrase in the Record is) his being carried or transported to many Mountains, and, as he thought, through the world, according to his own Depositions. His hearing the Devil preach in a Kirk in the Pulpit in the night by candle-light, the Candle burning blue. That in a Conventicle of Witches, whose names are specified in the Record, he with the rest at parting kissed the Devil's Breech; the Record speaks more broadly. His skimming on the Sea in a Boat

with those of his gang, and his foretelling the leak in the *Queens Ship* by the help of the Devil. His raising Winds with the rest at the King's passage into *Denmark*, by casting a Cat into the Sea, which the Devil delivered to them, and taught them to cry *Hola* when they cast it in. His raising a Mist at the King's return from *Denmark*, by getting Satan to cast a thing like a Foot-ball (it appeared to *John* like a Wisp) into the Sea, which made a vapour or reek to arise, whereby the King's Majesty might be cast upon the Coast of *England*. His hearing the Devil again preach in a Pulpit in black, who after pointed them to Graves, to open and dismember the Corpse therein; which done, incontinently they were transported without words. His opening Locks by Sorcery, as one by mere blowing into a womans hand while he fate by the Fire. His raising four Candles on the Luggs of an Horse, and another on the top of the Staff of his Rider in the night, that he made it as light as day; and how the man fell down dead at the entring within his house at his return home. His imbarquing in a Boat with other Witches, and sailing over Sea, and entring within a ship, and drinking good Wine and Ale there, and sinking the Ship when they had done, with the persons in it. His kissing Satan's Breech again after another Conventicle. His being swiftly carried above in
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the chasing of a Cat to catch her to cast into the Sea, thereby to raise Winds, according to the prescription of Satan. His pretending to tell any man how long he should live if he told him but the day of his birth.

There are also several things in *Agnes Symphon's* Witchcraft, such as there scarce occur the like in the foregoing stories. As her skill in Diseases. That the sickness of *Will. Black* was an Elf-shot. Her healing also of them by Sorcery, and foretelling the party whether he should live or die, and others how long they should live. Her taking the sick parties pains and sickness upon herself for a time, and then translating it to a third person. Her use of long scriptural Prayers and Rhymes containing the main points of Christianity, so that she may seem to have been not so much a white Witch as an holy woman. And yet it is upon Record that she made a Covenant with the Devil in the shape of a man, and in suchlike hellish manner as other Witches do. But when she sought for answers from the Devil upon any occasion, he appeared to her in the shape of a Dog; but the *formula* of her dismissing of him, was, *The charging him to depart on the Law he lives on*, as she did when she dismissed him after her consulting him about the old Lady *Edmonston's* sickness; but her invocation was, *Elva, come and speak to me*, who came in the likeness of a Dog. Her sailing with her

fellow-Witches in a Boat to a Ship, where the Devil caused her to drink good Wine, she neither seeing the Mariners, nor the Mariners her. But after all, the Devil raised a Wind whereby the ship perished. Her baptizing, and using other Ceremonies upon a Cat, with other Witches, to hinder the Queen's coming into *Scotland*. Her raising of a Spirit to conjure a Picture of Wax for the destroying of Mr. *John Moscrope*.

Hitherto I have brought but small shreds out of this ancient Record, but I will conclude with a full Paragraph, it containing the Confession of *Agnes Sympson* to King *James* then King of the *Scots* : Which is this.

Item, Fyled and convict for sameckle as she confest before his Majesty, that the Devil in mans likeness met her going out in the Fields from her own house at *Keith* betwixt five and six at Even, being alone, and commadit her to be at *North-bervick-Kirk* the next night. And she past then on Horseback, conveyed by her good-son called *John Couper*, and lighted at the Kirk-yard, or a little before she came to it, about eleven hours at Even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, *Geilie Duncan* plaid to them on a Trump, *John Fien* mussiled led all the rest ; the said *Agnes* and her Daughter followed next. Besides, there were *Kate Grey*, *George Moilis* Wife, *Robert Greirson*, *Katharine Duncan*, *Bessie Right*, *Isabel Gilmore*, *John Graymaill*,

maill, Duncan Buchanan, Thomas Barnhil and his Wife, *Gilbert Macgil, John Macgil, Katharine Macgil*, with the rest of their Complices above an hundred persons, whereof there were six Men, and all the rest Women. The Women made first their homage, and then the Men. The Men were turned nine times widdershins about, and the Women six times. *John Fien* blew up the Doors and blew in the Lights, which were like mickle black Candles sticking round about the Pulpit. The Devil startit up himself in the Pulpit like a mickle black man, and every one answered *Here*. Mr. *Robert Greirson* being named, they ran all hirdie girdie, and were angry: for it was promised he should be called *Robert the Comptroller*, alias *Rob the Rowar*, for expriming of his name. The first thing he demandit was, if they kept all promise, and been good Servants, and what they had done since the last time they had conveined. At his command they opened up three Graves, two within and ane without the Kirk, and took off the joynts of their Fingers, Toes, and Neise, and parted them amongst them: and the said *Agnes Sympson* got for her part a Winding-sheet and two Joynts. The Devil commandit them to keep the Joynts upon them while they were dry, and then to make a powder of them to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his Commandments, which were to do

all the evil they could. Before they departed they kiss'd his Breech; the Record speaks more broad, as I noted before. He had on him ane Gown and ane Hat, which were both black: and they that were assembled part stood and part sate: *John Fien* was ever nearest the Devil at his left Elbock, *Graymaill* kepted the door.

I have retained the Scotch Dialect here also, for the more Authentickness of the matter, and have adjoyned this large Paragraph, the Confession therein contained being in all probability a more special occasion of King *James* his changing his opinion touching the Existence of Witches, which he was, as is reported, inclinable to think to be but a mere conceit before. For he was then but young, not passing five or six and Twenty years of age when this Examination was had before him. And part of the Third Chapter of his Second Book of his *Dæmonologie* seems to be a Transcript of this very Confession. Wherefore this being so considerable an occurrence touching a business of such moment, the bringing in here so old a Story amongst those of fresher memory, will, I hope, bring along with it its own excuse.

Thus have we contrived all the Relations in Mr. *Glanvil's* Papers which were thought considerable, into this second Part of his *Saducismus Triumphatus*. He once intended to sub-
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joyn thereto an Answer to *Webster, Wagstaff,* and the *Author of the Doctrine of Devils,* as you may observe from the first Section of his *Proof of Apparitions, &c. from holy Scripture* : but partly by bringing in already the chief things in that rude draught begun, into what is here published, and partly by stating the Question truly and with right judgement, he has prevented himself, and made that labour needless. As indeed in a manner it ever was, their Objections against Mr. *Glanvil's* Opinion on these points, being wondrous weak, sorry and sophistical, and such as it were pity that any man of parts who can bestow his time better should squander it away in confuting such trifles.

There is nothing that makes any least shew of strength, but that touching the palpability of the consistency of the Bodies of the Familiars of Witches, as if it weakened our Saviour's Argument to his Disciples for his Resurrection, where he bids them handle him and see, for a Spirit has not Flesh and Bones as they see him have. And he bids *Thomas* thrust his Hand into his Side, that they might be sure he was no Spectre or Spirit, but the very Christ with his Flesh, Bloud, and Bones as he had before his Crucifixion; and they were as well ascertained of this, as sense, nay the surest sense, that of Touch or Feeling, could make them, that he had really Flesh and Bones,

and such a temperament as humane Bodies have. Nor can any cavil avail against this from the Familiars of Witches, that will not as well weaken the assurance that we converse with such or such a Friend, but with some Spectre like him; So that the Allegation is as weak as peevish and malicious. And if he should doubt whether it was his real Friend, or some Spectre, if his Friend should offer himself, as our Saviour did, to be touched, searched and felt, would not any body think it were sufficient assurance? But for a perverse Caviller or crazy Sceptick, what is it that will satisfie them?

But it may be it will be said, that there be concomitant considerations that will assure the party it is his Friend and not a Spectre. And are there not concomitant considerations here also? The ancient Prophecies, and Christ's own Prediction that he should rise from the dead out of the Grave. And that God is a God of truth, and not of unfaithfulness and imposture: Which assurance is of a more high and divine Tenour than that of feeling his Body. And therefore our Saviour saith to *Thomas*; *T H O M A S, because thou hast seen me thou hast believed, Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed*: For it is a sign that a more noble and heavenly principle is awakened in them, that dispels that thick Mist of Sceptical stupor and dulness. It is a sign they

they are of a more holy, pure, and refined temper. And besides all this, What Spectre ever challenged any one to make such a Trial as this, to feel whether he was not very Flesh and Bone as real men are, when he would impose upon any? Or how is it proved, though Spirits can bring their Vehicle to a palpable consistency, that they can turn it into such as shall feel of the same articulate palpableness of Flesh and Bone and Temperament that are in living men? Till this appear by confest experience to be in the palpable consistency of Familiars or Spirits that transact with Witches, the Allegation is infinitely weak upon that account also, as weak as spiteful and perverse. But the Hag-Advocates will alledge any foolish thing, rather than seem to be able to say nothing.

In the mean time I think it here seasonable to declare, that though this intended Edition of *Saducismus Triumphatus* had not the happiness to be perfected by the ingenious Author's own hand before his death, yet such Materials he left behind him, and the work in such a forwardness, that things being put together in that order and distinctness which they are, the Discourse may prove as *useful* for the reclaiming men from *Saducism*, though perhaps not altogether so *delightful*, as if his own hand had had the last polishing of it. And the publishing of it will also do him that right in the eyes
of

of the world, that (whereas he was suspected haply for some complaisance towards some persons that were over-inclinable to *Hobbiarism*, to have shrunk from the sense of such noble Theories, with which his mind was enlightned in the morning of his days) it from hence may appear that these things stuck close to him, and that he entertained them with a sincere warmth all along, as is evident from these Papers then private within his own Study-walls. As the profession of them broke out from him most expressly when he lay on his Death-bed, as his intimate friend Mr. *Thomas Alcock* largely sets down in a Letter written to Dr. *H. More*. And I think that is the time, if ever that men will speak their thoughts freely, as the Poet hath observed in the like case,

*Nam vere voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res.*

To this Sense,

Then 'tis men from their Hearts their Mind
declare,

Cast off their Vizards, shew their faces bare.

A N
A C C O U N T
Of what happened in the
K I N G D O M
O F
S W E D E N

In the Years 1669, and 1670.

In Relation to the Persons that were accused
For

Witches:

A N D
T R I E D and E X E C U T E D
By the King's Command.

Printed at first in the *Swedish* Dialect by Authority, and then Translated into divers other Languages; and now, upon the request of some Friends, done into English.

By *Anthony Horneck* Preacher at the *Savoy*.

L O N D O N ; Printed, 1681.

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THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

Shewing, what Credit may be given to the
Matter of Fact related in the ensuing Nar-
rative.

Not to believe any thing we have not seen, is
a Rule so false, that we dare not own our
selves rational Creatures, and avow it; yet as irra-
tional as the Maxime is, it's become preposterous
to believe it: And though men are loth to de-
ny it in general terms, yet when it comes to par-
ticulars, let the reasons of the thing in contro-
versie be never so pregnant, they resolutely deny
it, and laugh at all those credulous Wretches
that are so easily chous'd into an Effeminate Con-
fidence; and this pitiful Stratagem we find pra-
ctised in no affair so much as that of Spirits and
Witches, and Apparitions, which must all be Fan-
cies,

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cies, and Hypochondriack Dreams, and the effects of distemp'ed Brains, because their own are so dull as not to be able to pierce into those Mysteries. I do not deny but the Imagination may be, and is sometime, deluded; and melancholy People may fancy they hear Voices, and see very strange things, which have no other foundation but their own weakness, and like Bubbles break into Air, and nothing, by their own vanity.

Yet as no man doth therefore take Diamonds to be Pebbles, because they do look like them, so neither must all passages of this nature we hear or read of, be traduced as self-conceit, or derided as Old Wives Fables, because some smell strong of Deceit and Sophistication. We believe men of Reason and Experience, and free from Fumes, when a person of ordinary Intellectuals finds no great credit with us; and if we think our selves wise for doing so, why should any man so much forget himself, as to be an Infidel in point of such Phænomena's, when even the most judicious men have had experience of such passages, seems to me no less than madness to contradict what both wise and unwise men do unanimously agree in; and how Jews, Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, both learned and unlearned, should come to conspire into this Cheat, as yet seems to me unaccountable. If some few melancholy Monks, or Old Women had seen such Ghosts and Apparitions, we might then suspect that what they pretend to have seen might be nothing, but the effect

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of a disordered Imagination; but when the whole World, as it were, and men of all Religions, men of all Ages too, have been forced, by strong evidences, to acknowledge the truth of such occurrences, I know not what strength there can be in the Argument drawn from the consent of Nations in things of a sublimer nature, if here it be of no efficacy. Men that have attempted to evade the places of Scripture which speak of Ghosts and Witches, we see how they are forced to turn and wind the Texts, and make, in a manner, Noses of Wax of them, and rather squeeze than gather the sence, as if the holy Writers had spoke like Sophisters, and not like men who made it their business to condescend to the capacity of the Common people. Let a man put no force at all on those passages of holy Writ, and then see what sence they are like to yield. It's strange to see how some men have endeavoured to elude the story of the Witch of Endor; and as far as I can judge, they play more Hocus-Pocus tricks in the explication of that passage, than the Witch herself did in raising the deceased Samuel. To those Straits is Falshood driven, while Truth loves Plains, and undisguised Expressions; and Errour will seek out Holes and Labyrinths to hide itself, while Truth plays above-board, and scorns the subterfuges of the Sceptick Interpreter. Men and Brethren, Why should it seem a thing incredible with you that God should permit Spirits to appear, and the Devil to exert his Power

among

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among men on Earth? Hath God ever engaged his word to the contrary; or is it against the nature of Spirits to assume airy Vehicles and Bodies of condensed Air, or to animate grosser substances to shew themselves to mortals upon certain occasions?

I am so much a Prophet as to foresee what will be the fate of the ensuing story, nor can I suppose that upon the reading of it, mens verdicts will be much changed from what they were, if they have set up this resolution, to believe nothing that looks like the shadow of an Apparition, though the things mentioned here cannot be unknown to any that have been conversant with forrain affairs of late years. And though there cannot be a greater evidence than the testimony of a whole Kingdom, yet your nicer men will think it a disparagement to them to believe it; nor will it ever extort Assent from any that build the reputation of their wit upon contradicting what hath been received by the vulgar.

The passages here related wrought so great a Consternation, not onely on the Natives, but Strangers too, that the Heer Christian Rumpf, then Resident for the States General at Stockholm, thought himself obliged to send away his little Son for Holland, lest he should be endangered by these villanous practices, which seem'd to threaten all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom. And a friend of mine in Town, being then in Holstein, remembers very well that the Duke of Holstein
sent

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sent an Express to the King of Sweden to know the truth of this famous Witchcraft : To whom the King modestly replied, That his Judges and Commissioners had caused divers Men, Women, and Children to be Burnt and Executed upon such pregnant Evidences as were brought before them ; but whether the Actions they confessed, and which were proved against them, were real, or onely effects of strong Imagination, he was not as yet able to determine.

Add to all this, that the Circumstances mentioned in the ensuing Narrative, are at this day to be seen in the Royal Chancery at Stockholm ; and a person of my acquaintance offered me to procure a Copy of them under the hands of publick Registers, if I desired it : Not to mention that in the year 72. Baron Sparr, who was sent Embassadour from the Crown of Sweden to the Court of England, did upon his word aver the matter of Fact recorded here to be undoubtedly true, to several persons of Note and Eminency, with other particulars, stranger than those set down in these Papers. And to this purpose divers Letters were sent from Sweden and Hamburgh to several persons here in London ; insomuch, that should a man born in, or acquainted with those parts, hear any person dispute the truth of it, he would wonder where people have lived, or what sullen humour doth possess them, to disbelieve that which so many thousands in that Kingdom have felt the sad effect of.

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That a Spirit can lift up Men and Women, and grosser Bodies, into the Air, I question no more, than I doubt that the Wind can overthrow Houses, or drive Stones upward from their Centre. And though I cannot comprehend the Philosophie of her committing Venereal acts, and having Children, and those Children bringing forth Toads and Serpents; yet I can very rationally conceive that he can animate dead Bodies, and by the help of them commit those villanies which modesty bids us to conceal; and he that was permitted, as we see in the Gospel, to possess and actuate living men, and do with them almost what he pleased, why may not he commit wickedness by such Instruments, and cast Mists before the Witches eyes, that they may not know who they are? And he that could in Ægypt produce Frogs, either real or counterfeit ones, Why may not he be supposed to be able to produce such Toads and Serpents out of any mishapen Creatures, and of his own making? Spirits that know the nature of things better than man, and understand better how things are joyned and compounded, and what the Ingredients of terrestrial Productions are, and see things in their first principles, and have power over the Air, and other Elements, and have a thousand ways of shaping things and representing them to the sensual minds of men, what may not they be supposed to be able to do, if they have but God's permission to exert their power? and that God doth sometimes permit such things,

we

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we have reason to believe, that see men sink into most sottish wickedness, which very often produces that fatal Sentence we read of in the Evangelist ; He that is filthy, let him be filthy still. And certainly there is such a Judgement, that men are given up to believe a Lye, and that God sends them strong Delusions as punishments for their wilful obstinacy and resisting of the Truth. Spirits by being Devils do not lose their nature ; and let any man in sober sadness consider what Spirits are said to be able to do in Scripture, and what they have done, and compare them with what is said in the following Relation, and he will not think those things the Witches confessed altogether impossible.

I could add a known passage that happen'd in the year 1659. at Crassen in Philesia, of an Apothecarie's Servant, one Christopher Manigh, who after his death returned to his Master's Shop, and seemed to be mighty busie there, walked about in the open Streets, but spoke to no creature but to a Maid-servant, and then vanished ; a thing which abundance of people, now living, will take their Oath upon, that they saw him after his decease, at least his shape, and which occasioned publick Disputations in the University of Wittemberg : but it's needless. If the Stories related in the foregoing Book are not sufficient to Convince men, I am sure an Example from beyond sea will gain no Credit. It's enough that I have shewn Reasons which

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may induce my Reader to believe, that he is not imposed upon by the following Narrative, and that it is not in the nature of those Pamphlets they cry about the Streets, containing very dreadful News from the Country of Armies fighting in the Air.

Farewel.

A Re-

A Relation of the strange Witchcraft discovered in the Village Mohra in Swedeland, taken out of the publick Register of the Lords Commissioners appointed by His Majesty the King of Sweden to examine the whole business, in the years of our Lord 1669. and 1670.

THE news of this Witchcraft coming to the Kings ear, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Commissioners; some of the Clergy, and some of the Laity, to make a Journey to the Town aforesaid, and to examine the whole business; and accordingly the Examination was ordered to be on the 13th of *August*; and the Commissioners met on the 12th instant, in the said Village, at the Parsons House, to whom both the Minister and several people of fashion complained with tears in their eyes, of the miserable condition they were in, and therefore begg'd of them to think of some way whereby they might be delivered from their Calamity. They gave the Commissioners very strange Instances of the Devils Tyranny among them; how by the help of Witches, he had drawn some Hundreds of Children to him, and made them subject to his power; how he hath been seen to go in a Visible shape through the Country, and ap-

peared daily to the people; how he had wrought upon the poorer sort, by presenting them with Meat and Drink, and this way allured them to himself, with other circumstances to be mentioned hereafter. The Inhabitants of the Village added, with very great lamentations, that though their Children had told all, and sought God very earnestly by Prayer, they were carried away by him; and therefore begg'd of the Lords Commissioners to root out these Witches; that they might regain their former rest and quietness; and the rather, because the Children which used to be carried away there in the County or District of *Elfdale*, since some Witches had been burnt there, remained unmolested.

That day being the last Humiliation-day Instituted by Authority for the removing of this judgment, the Commissioners went to Church, where there appeared a considerable Assembly both of young and old: the Children could read most of them, and sing Psalms, and so could the Women, though not with any great zeal or fervor. There were preached two Sermons that day, in which the miserable case of those people that suffered themselves to be deluded by the Devil, was laid open; and these Sermons were at last concluded with very fervent prayer.

The Publick Worship being over, all the people of the Town were called together to the
Parsons

Parsons House, near three thousand of them. Silence being commanded, the Kings Commission was read publickly in the hearing of them all, and they were charged under very great penalties to conceal nothing of the truth, and to say nothing but the truth; those especially who were guilty, that the Children might be delivered from the Clutches of the Devil. They all promised obedience; the guilty feignedly, but the guiltless weeping and crying bitterly.

On the 14th of *August* the Commissioners met again, consulting how they might withstand this dangerous flood; after long deliberation, an Order also coming from his Majesty, they did resolve to execute such, as the matter of fact could be proved upon, Examination being made; for there were discovered no less than Threescore and ten in the Village aforesaid, Three and twenty of which freely confessing their Crimes, were condemned to dye; the rest, one pretending that she was with Child, and the other denying and pleading not guilty, were sent to *Fahluna*, where most of them were afterwards Executed.

Fifteen Children which likewise confessed that they were engaged in this Witchery, died as the rest; six and thirty of them between nine and sixteen years of age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the gantlet; twenty more, who had no great inclination, yet had been seduced to those Hellish Enterprizes, because

they were very young, were condemned to be lash'd with Rods upon their hands, for three Sundays together at the Church-door; and the aforesaid six and thirty were also deem'd to be lashed this way once a week for a whole year together. The number of the Seduced Children was about three hundred.

On the twenty fifth of *August*, Execution was done upon the notoriously guilty, the day being bright and glorious, and the Sun shining, and some thousands of people being present at the spectacle. The Order and Method observed in the Examination was thus:

First, the Commissioners and the Neighbouring Justices went to prayer; this done, the Witches, who had most of them Children with them, which they either had Seduced, or attempted to Seduce, from four years of age to sixteen, were set before them. Some of the Children complained lamentably of the misery and mischief they were forced sometime to suffer of the Witches.

The Children being asked whether they were sure that they were at any time carried away by the Devil; they all declared they were, begging of the Commissioners that they might be freed from that intolerable yolk.

Hereupon the Witches themselves were asked, whether the Confessions of these Children were true, and admonished to confess the truth,

that

that they might turn away from the Devil unto the living God. At first, most of them did very stiffly, and without shedding the least tear, deny it, though much against their will and inclination.

After this, the Children were Examined every one by themselves, to see whether their Confessions did agree or no; and the Commissioners found that all of them, except some very little ones, who could not tell all the Circumstances, did punctually agree in the confession of particulars.

In the mean while the Commissioners that were of the Clergy examined the Witches, but could not bring them to any Confession, all continuing stedfast in their denials, till at last some of them burst out into tears, and their Confession agreed with what the Children had said. And these expressed their abhorrency of the fact, and begg'd pardon; adding, that the Devil, whom they call'd *Loeyta*, had stopt the Mouths of some of them, and stopt the Ears of others; and being now gone from them, they could no longer conceal it, for they now perceived his Treachery.

The Confession which the Witches made in *Elfdale*, to the Judges there, agreed with the Confession they made at *Mohra*: and the chief things they confessed, consisted in these three points.

I. Whi-

1. Whither they used to go.
2. What kind of place it was they went to, called by them *Blockula*, where the Witches and the Devil used to meet.
3. What evil or mischief they had either done or designed there.

I. *Of their Journey to Blockula. The Contents of their Confession.*

WE of the Province *Elfdale*, do confess that we used to go to a gravel-pit which lay hard by a cross-way, and there we put on a garment over our heads, and then danced round, and after this ran to the cross-way, and called the Devil thrice, first with a still voice, the second time somewhat louder, and the third time very loud, with these words, *Antecessor come and carry us to Blockula*. Whereupon, immediately he used to appear, but in different Habits; but for the most part we saw him in a gray Coat, and red and blue Stockings: he had a red Beard, a high-crown'd Hat, with Linnen of divers colours wrapt about it, and long Garters upon his Stockings.

Then he asked us whether we would serve him with Soul and Body. If we were content to do so, he set us on a Beast which he had there ready, and carried us over Churches and high walls; and after all, we came to a green Meadow where *Blockula* lies. We must procure

cure

cure some shavings of Altars, and Church-Clocks; and then he gives us a horn with a Salve in it, wherewith we do anoint our selves; and then he gives us a Saddle, with a Hammer and a wooden nail, thereby to fix the Saddle; whereupon we call upon the Devil, and away we go.

Those that were at the Town of *Mobra*, made in a manner the same Declaration: being asked whether they were sure of a real personal Transportation, and whether they were awake then when it was done; they all answered in the Affirmative, and that the Devil sometimes laid something down in the place that was very like them. But one of them confessed, that he did onely take away her strength, and her body lay still upon the ground; yet sometimes he took even her body with him.

Being asked how they could go with their Bodies through Chimneys and broken panes of Glass, they said, that the Devil did first remove all that might hinder them in their flight, and so they had room enough to go.

Others were asked how they were able to carry so many Children with them; and they answered, that when the Children were asleep they came into the Chamber, laid hold of the Children, which straightway did awake, and asked them whether they would go to a Feast with them; to which some answer'd, Yes, others

No;

No; yet they were all forced to go. They only gave the Children a Shirt, a Coat and a Doublet, which was either red or blue, and so they did set them upon a beast of the Devils providing, and then they rid away.

The Children confessed the same thing; and some added, that because they had very fine cloaths put upon them, they were very willing to go.

Some of the Children concealed it from their Parents, but others discover'd it to them presently.

The Witches declared moreover, that till of late they never had that power to carry away Children, but onely this year and the last, and the Devil did at this time force them to it; that heretofore it was sufficient to carry but one of their Children, or a strangers Child with them; which yet hapned seldom, but now he did plague them and whip them if they did not procure him Children, insomuch that they had no peace nor quiet for him; and whereas formerly one journey a week would serve turn, from their own Town to the place aforesaid, now they were forced to run to other Towns and places for Children, and that some of them did bring with them some fifteen, some sixteen Children every night.

For their journey they said they made use of all sorts of Instruments, of Beasts, of Men, of Spits and Posts, according as they had op-
por-

portunity: if they do ride upon greater, and have many Children with them, that all may have room, they stick a spit into the backside of the Goat, and then are anointed with the aforefaid ointment. What the manner of their Journey is, God alone knows. Thus much was made out, That if the Children did at any time name the Names of those that had carried them away, they were again carried by force either to *Blockula*, or to the Cross way, and there miserably beaten, insomuch that some of them died of it: and this four of the Witches confessed; and added, That now they were exceedingly troubled and tortured in their minds for it.

The Children thus used looked mighty black and wan. The marks of the Lashes the Judges could not perceive in them, except in one Boy, who had some wounds and holes in his Back that were given him with Thorns; but the Witches said they would quickly vanish.

After this usage the Children are exceeding weak; and if any be carried over-night, they cannot recover themselves the next day; and this happens to them by fits: And if a fit comes upon them, they lean on their Mothers Arms, who sit with them up sometimes all night; and when they observe the Paleness coming, they shake the Children, but to no purpose.

They observe further, that their Childrens Breasts grow cold at such times; and they
take

take sometimes a burning Candle and prick it in their Hair, which yet is not burnt by it. They swoun upon this paleness, which swoun lasteth sometimes half an hour, sometimes an hour, sometimes two hours; and when the Children come to themselves again, they mourn, and lament, and groan most miserably, and beg exceedingly to be eased: This two old men declared upon Oath before the Judges, and called all the Inhabitants of the Town to witness, as persons that had most of them experience of this strange Symptome of their Children.

A little girl of *Elfdale* confessed, That naming the name of *Jesus* as she was carried away, she fell suddenly upon the Ground, and got a great hole in her Side, which the Devil presently healed up again, and away he carried her; and to this day the girl confessed she had exceeding great pain in her side.

Another Boy confessed too, That one day he was carried away by his Mistriss, and to perform the Journey he took his own Father's Horse out of the Meadow where it was, and upon his return she let the Horse go in her own ground.

The next morning the Boys Father sought for his Horse, and not finding it, gave it over for lost; but the Boy told him the whole story, and so his Father fetcht the Horse back again; and this one of the Witches confessed.

2. Of the place where they used to assemble, called *Blockula*, and what they did there.

They unanimously confessed that *Blockula* is situated in a delicate large Meadow whereof you can see no end. The place or house they met at, had before it a Gate painted with divers colours; through this Gate they went into a little Meadow distinct from the other, where the Beasts went that they used to ride on: But the Men whom they made use of in their Journey, stood in the House by the Gate in a slumbering posture, sleeping against the wall.

In a huge large Room of this House, they said, there stood a very long Table, at which the Witches did sit down: And that hard by this Room was another Chamber where there were very lovely and delicate Beds.

The first thing they said they must do at *Blockula* was, That they must deny all, and devote themselves Body and Soul to the Devil, and promise to serve him faithfully, and confirm all this with an Oath. Hereupon they cut their Fingers, and with their blood writ their Name in his Book. They added, that he caused them to be Baptized too by such Priests as he had there, and made them confirm their Baptism with dreadful Oaths and Imprecations.

Hereupon

Hereupon the Devil gave them a Purse, wherein there were shavings of Clocks with a Stone tied to it, which they threw into the Water, and then were forced to speak these words; *As these Shavings of the Clock do never return to the Clock from which they are taken, so may my Soul never return to Heaven.* To which they add Blasphemy and other Oaths and Curses.

The mark of their cut Fingers is not found in all of them: But a Girl who had been flased over her Fingers, declared, That because she would not stretch out her Fingers, the Devil in anger had so cruelly wounded it.

After this they sate down to Table; and those that the Devil esteemed most, were placed nearest to him; but the Children must stand at the door, where he himself gives them meat and drink.

The diet they did use to have there, was, they said, Broth with Colworts and Bacon in it, Oatmeal, Bread spread with Butter, Milk and Cheese. And they added, that sometimes it tasted very well, and sometimes very ill. After meals they went to Dancing, and in the mean while Swear and Curse most dreadfully, and afterward they went to fighting one with another.

Those of *Elfdale* confessed, That the Devil used to play upon an Harp before them, and afterwards to go with them that he liked best
into

into a Chamber, where he committed venereous Acts with them; and this indeed all confessed, That he had carnal knowledge of them, and that the Devil had Sons and Daughters which he did marry together, and they did couple, and brought forth Toads and Serpents.

One day the Devil seemed to be dead, whereupon there was great lamentation at *Blockula*; but he soon awaked again. If he hath a mind to be merry with them, he lets them all ride upon Spits before him; takes afterwards the Spits and beats them black and blue, and then laughs at them. And he bids them believe that the day of Judgement will come speedily, and therefore sets them on work to build a great House of Stone, promising, that in that House he will preserve them from God's Fury, and cause them to enjoy the greatest delights and pleasures: but while they work exceeding hard at it, there falls a great part of the Wall down again, whereby some of the Witches are commonly hurt, which makes him laugh, but presently he cures them again.

They said they had seen sometimes a very great Devil like a Dragon with fire round about him, and bound with an Iron Chain; and the Devil that converses with them tells them, that if they confess any thing, he will let that Great Devil loose upon them, where-

by all *Swedeland* shall come into great danger.

They added, That the Devil had a Church there, such another as is in the Town of *Mobra*. When the Commissioners were coming, He told the Witches, they should not fear them; for he would certainly kill them all. And they confessed, that some of them had attempted to murder the Commissioners, but had not been able to effect it.

Some of the Children talked much of a white Angel which used to forbid them doing what the Devil had bid them do, and told them that those doings should not last long: what had been done, had been permitted because of the wickedness of the People, and the carrying away of the Children should be made manifest. And they added, that this white Angel would place himself sometimes at the Door betwixt the Witches and the Children; and when they came to *Blockula* he pulled the Children back, but the Witches they went in.

3. *Of the Mischief or Evil which the Witches promised to do to Men and Beasts.*

They confessed that they were to promise the Devil that they would do all that's Ill; and that the Devil taught them to milk, which was in this wise: They used to stick a Knife in the Wall, and hang a kind of a Label on it, which they drew and stroaked; and as long as this lasted, the persons that they have power over were miserably plagued, and the Beasts were milked that way, till sometimes they died of it.

A Woman confessed, That the Devil gave her a wooden Knife, wherewith, going into houses, she had power to kill any thing she touched with it; yet there were few that would confess that they had hurt any man or woman.

Being asked whether they had murdered any Children, they confessed, that they had indeed tormented them, but did not know whether any of them had died of those plagues. And added, That the Devil had shewed them several places where he had power to do mischief.

The Minister of *Elfdale* declared, That one night these Witches were, to his thinking, upon the crown of his Head, and that from thence he had had a long continued pain of the Head.

One of the Witches confessed too, that the Devil had sent her to torment that Minister; and that she was ordered to use a Nail and strike it into his head, but it would not enter very deep; and hence came that Head-ach.

The aforesaid Minister said also, That one night he felt a pain as if it were torn with an Instrument that they cleanse Flax with, or a Flax-comb; and when he waked he heard some-body scratching and scraping at the Window, but could see no-body. And one of the Witches confessed, that she was the person that did it, being sent by the Devil.

The Minister of *Mobra* declared also, that one night one of these Witches came into his house, and did so violently take him by the Throat, that he thought he should have been choaked; and waking, he saw the person that did it, but could not know her; and that for some Weeks he was not able to speak, or perform Divine Service.

An Old woman of *Elfdale* confessed, that the Devil had holpen her to make a Nail, which she struck into a boys Knee, of which stroke the Boy remained lame a long time. And she added, that before she burnt or was Executed by the hand of Justice, the boy would recover.

They confessed also, that the Devil gives them a Beast about the bigness and shape of a young Cat, which they call a *Carrier*; and that

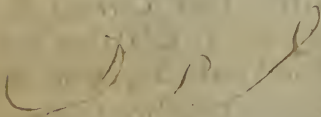
that he gives them a Bird too as big as a Raven, but white. And these two creatures they can send any where; and where-ever they come, they take away all sorts of Victuals they can get, Butter, Cheese, Milk, Bacon, and all sorts of Seeds whatever they find, and carry it to the Witch. What the Bird brings they may keep for themselves; but what the *Carrier* brings they must reserve for the Devil, and that's brought to *Blockula*, where he doth give them of it so much as he thinks fit.

They add likewise, that these *Carriers* fill themselves so full, sometimes, that they are forced to spew by the way, which spewing is found in several Gardens where Colworts grow, and not far from the houses of those Witches. It is of a yellow colour like Gold, and is called *Butter of Witches*.

The Lords Commissioners were indeed very earnest, and took great pains to perswade them to shew some of their Tricks, but to no purpose; for they did all unanimously confess, that since they had confessed all, they found that all their Witchcraft was gone, and that the Devil at this time appeared to them very terrible, with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with Horns on his Head, and a long Tail behind, and shewed to them a Pit burning, with a Hand put out; but the Devil did thrust the person down again with an Iron-fork; and suggested to the Witches, that if they
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continued in their Confession; he will deal with them in the same manner.

The abovesaid Relation is taken out of the Publick Register, where all this is related with more Circumstances. And at this time through all the Country there are Prayers weekly in all Churches, to the end that Almighty God would pull down the Devils Power, and deliver those poor Creatures which have hitherto groaned under it.



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