



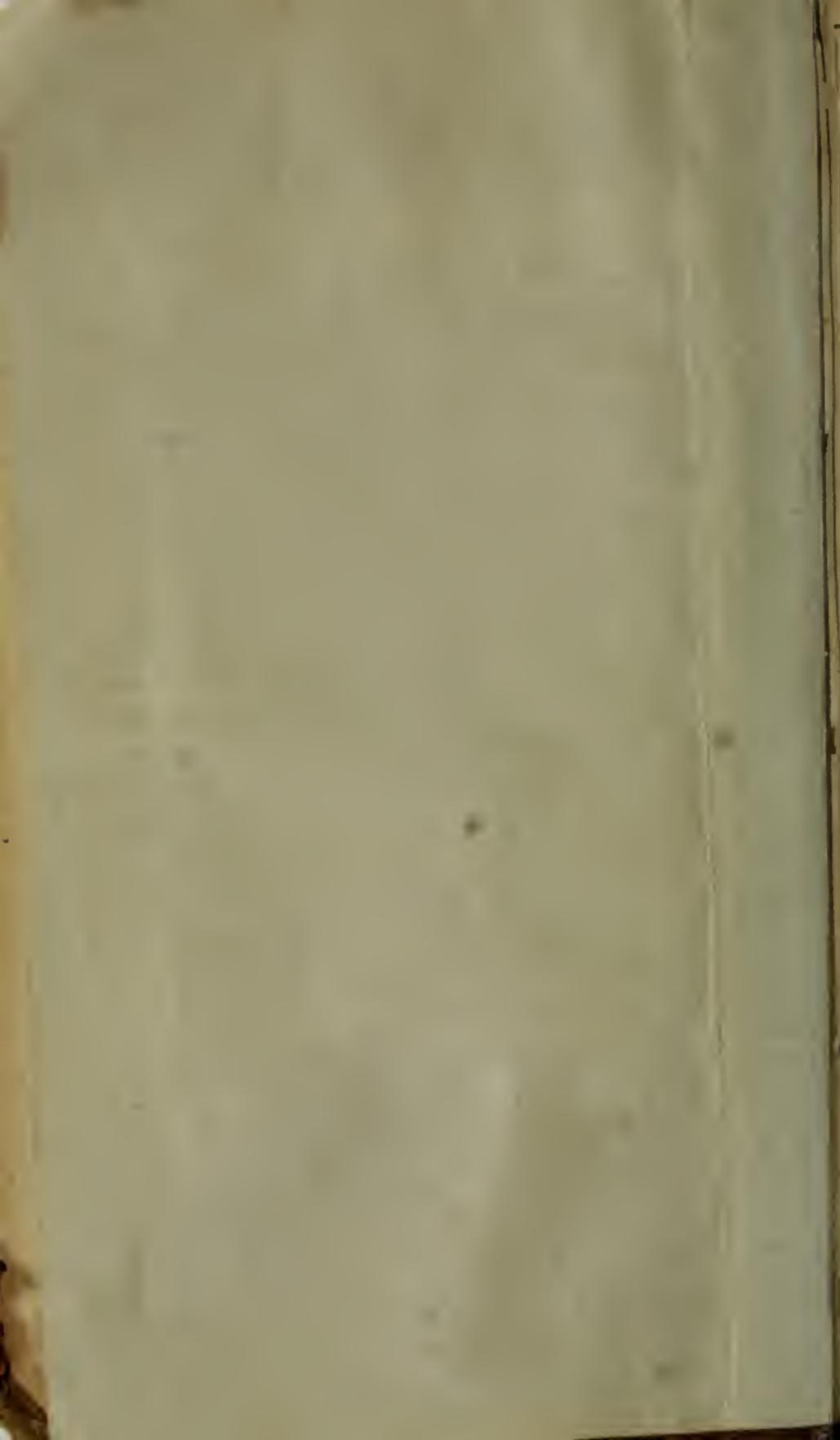
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*The Possibility and Reality of Magick,  
Sorcery, and Witchcraft, demonstrated.*

---

O R, A.

# VINDICATION

Of a COMPLETE

## History of *Magick*,

SORCERY, and WITCHCRAFT.

In Answer to

Dr. HUTCHINSON'S *Historical Essay*,  
Now Bishop of *Down and Connor*, in the  
Kingdom of *Ireland*.

I N T W O P A R T S.

PART I. Containing an Examination and Answer of the Positions laid down in that Book.

PART II. An Essay of the Nature of Material and Immaterial Substances. How Immaterial Substances may affect one another, and alter Matter, or work upon Human Bodies; proved by Reason, Philosophy, Moral Proof, and the Testimony of Scripture.

---

By *RICHARD BOULTON*,  
Sometime of *Brazen-Nose College* in *Oxford*.

---

Deut xviii. 10, 11. *There shall not be found amongst 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 Chamer, or Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.*

---

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# PREFACE

TO THE

# READER.



HAVING formerly wrote a  
Compleat History of *Ma-*  
*gick, Sorcery, and Witch-*  
*craft*; containing a Colle-

ction of the most Authentick, and none  
but well attested Relations; of the Pra-  
ctice of those Diabolical Arts; and ha-

A 2 .

ving.

ving given an Account in the *Preface* and *Introduction*, of the Design and Usefulness of that History, (to which I refer the *Reader*,) which was designed for the Service and Good of Mankind; not only by representing the Barbarity and pernicious Effects of such wicked Practices, but also to deter others, and breed in them an Abhorrence of such notorious Crimes, which are offensive, and contrary to both the Laws of God and Men, as well as destructive to the Souls and Bodies of the Guilty, and obnoxious to Mankind, who suffered in all Ages, by such evil Doers: I am not a little surprized, that one whose Business is, as a Shepherd of the Flock of Christ, to discourage Vice, and pronounce the Sentence of his Master against such wicked Practices, as might do such Damage to those who are, or ought to be his peculiar

liar Care: I say, I am not a little surprized, that he should write an Essay on that Subject, to discourage so good a Design; especially to misrepresent so useful a History, as if it might do some Mischief.

Having been some Time out of *England*, and not seeing this *Essay*, I was obliged to lye under the Doctor's too severe Censure: But coming to *London* this Spring, and meeting with that Book, I thought my self obliged to vindicate both my self and my Design, and to clear my self of such ungrounded Reflections. Upon which Thoughts, reading the Doctor's Book, I found, that he had avoided, both giving Reasons to justify his Charge, as well as offering any Arguments to maintain his Cause; opposing moral Proof, and the Testimony of Scripture, with his bare

*ipse dixit*, or positive Assertions to the contrary; using cunning Insinuations, and slight Evasions, instead of Arguments, to lessen the Credit of Authentick Relations, and to baffle the undoubted Testimony of Holy Writ.

Upon this View and Judgment made of his *Essay*, I began to write the following Vindication of my Compleat History of *Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft*; in which, I presume, I have made it appear, that his Charge was altogether Groundless, and without Reason; and that what I have offered, is grounded upon Reason, moral Proof, and the Testimony of Sacred Writings; and consequently, not likely to do Mischief, but Good. I need not say, that his *Essay* is consequently likely to do much Harm; because, if what is contained in my History,

story,

story, is confirmed by, and consentaneous to what is contained in Scripture, it will follow, that what he says in his *Essay*, is the contrary.

The Scripture, in sundry Places, mention and condemn the Practice of *Magick*, *Sorcery*, and *Witchcraft*, as also the Use of Charms and Enchantments, and tell us of the Appearance of *Samuel's* Ghost, and often mention the Apparition or Appearance of Spirits; as the Angel which rolled away the Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre; and the Devil, who tempted our Saviour, and carried him about; and what we have delivered in our History, are Relations of the same Nature, well attested.

The Scriptures likewise tell us of several possessed with Devils; to prove all  
which,

which, we have quoted the several Texts relating to these Diabolical Artifices and Practices; and as the Scripture tells us of Possessions, we have also cited several Histories of the like Nature in our Compleat History.

We shall further observe, in Vindication of what we have offered, that if the Scripture hath taken Notice of such Things, and condemns them; to terrify the Wicked, and to breed an Abhorrence of Evil Actions; and that the World may be aware of the Devil and all his Works, and guard themselves from being deluded and led aside from the Service of God: I say, if such Things may warn us to beware of the Devil, and fear and worship God, who is to protect us from such Evils; our History containing Relations of the same Nature, will  
be

be of the same Use, and will do no Mischief, but Good.

But, on the contrary, if the Doctor's *Essay* dissuades us from believing such Relations, will not the Disbelief of such Histories tend to breed a Disbelief of parallel Histories in Scripture? And if we disbelieve Sacred Writings, must not all Religion be slighted? And then, will not the Doctor's *Essay* be likely to do no Good, but Mischief?

Upon these Considerations, I leave the Reader to judge, how justly the Doctor hath laid his Charge; or, whether I might not apply the Censure more properly to his *Essay*; but this will be decided by the following Sheets; wherein I have quoted Texts of Scripture, to confirm

firm what Arguments I have made use of  
against the Doctor's Opinion.

But the Doctor complains of the pompous Title of that History, because I call it a *Compleat History*. The Reason why I call it Compleat, is, because it contains a full Account of all those Historical Relations, which are mentioned in the best Authors, and which are best attested, and most worthy Notice: And I hope, he will not take it amiss, if his Essay is incompleat, because it contains several Relations of no Value, trumped up with the Advantage of cunning Insinuations; as if Truth was of less Value, because some Stories or Relations may be Impositions: At that Rate, nothing must be Right, because some Things are Wrong; and my History must be Invalid, because

his

his Relations are of no Force ; or my Arguments must be insufficient, because his are contrary to the Testimony of Scripture.

Another Charge the Doctor lays against me is, that my History is writ partially ; because it contains only an Account of Historical Truths ; and to prove this Partiality, he hath collected some improbable and invaluable Stories ; as if the not taking Notice of such, made it imperfect. But I understand not how this can be counted Partiality ; for though God Almighty lets the Sun shine upon the Unjust, as well as the Just, yet in History, Truth is only to be regarded ; and my Design was only to take Notice of such Relations as carried the Face of Truth, throwing away the Rubbish, as Builders do in erecting new Houses ; which, since  
the

the Doctor hath been pleased to take up, he is welcome to retain it; and I shall think my Structure never the less compleat, for want of it; my Design not being to impose upon the World, but to write what was true and useful.

The Doctor, I see, throughout his Book, is for excusing and extenuating the Sin of *Witchcraft*; and to that Degree, that he would have us believe no such Thing, though the Holy Scripture mentions it in several Places. And though his Tenderness is so great, to bear these wretched Creatures harmless, I am sorry the Doctor should think, that to deny the Authority of the Scripture, is the best way to carry a good Conscience, void of Offence towards God and Man; which in Effect he must do, if he denies what God by his Prophets and Apostles affirms to be  
true;

true ; who often mention the Sin of *Witchcraft* as an abominable Crime, and pronounce the Punishment of Death against the Practisers of it ; tho' the Doctor would have them excused, and left to *the righteous Judge* (p. 65.) *at the last Day* : Of greater Tenderness and Clemency than God Almighty ! who expressly (*Deut. 18.*) says, *A Witch shall not live.*

And though (*Page 227.*) the Doctor would make Party-Business of believing what the Scripture declares for Truth, and says, “ One Side lays hold of them, “ as Arguments of greater Faith and Or- “ thodoxy, and closer Adherence to Scri- “ pture ;” yet I shall never blame any Party for their close Adherence to Scripture ; and wonder the Doctor, in Effect, should lessen its Authority to serve his Argument or Opinion, or endeavour

to alter the true Intent and Meaning of the exprefs Words. The Scripture fhall always be the Standard of my Faith, and the Foundation of my Belief.

But not to trouble the Reader with a long and tedious *Preface*; I muft refer him to the following Sheets, for a further Account and Answer to the Doctor's *Essay*, and Vindication of my *History*, which are divided into Two Parts.

In the First Part, I have examin'd and answer'd his Book, in Vindication of my own; in doing of which, I infift on nothing but Reason, Moral Proof, and the Testimony of the *Old* and *New Testament*; which I hope are fufficient to prove his Arguments invalid, and his Judgment erroneous. But if the Doctor will, as his Book feems to do, or really does,

does, call the Authority of Scripture in Question ;

In the Second Part, I have consider'd the Nature of *Material* and *Immaterial Substances* ; and the Power of *Immaterial Substances* in altering Matter, and affecting Human Bodies : The Design of which is to prove what the Scripture says, consonant to Reason and Natural Philosophy.

But here I would have it understood, that what I have said of the Nature of *Material* and *Immaterial Substances*, and the Power of the latter in altering, or affecting Matter, is only so far as relates to our present Purpose and Occasion ; reserving a more large Enquiry for another Subject, for which those Thoughts are chiefly design'd.

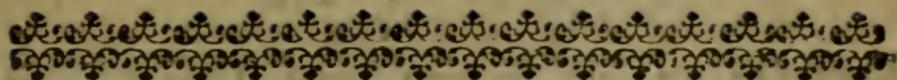
If what I have said is satisfactory to the Candid and Impartial Reader, and to convince the World of the Integrity and Usefulness of my Design in publishing that *History of Witchcraft* I write in Vindication of, I shall think my Time not ill spent, and shall be obliged to the World for their Candid Reception.

I am

*The* R E A D E R ' S

*Most Humble Servant,*

RICHARD BOULTON.



T H E

C O N T E N T S.

**T** H E *Introduction,* Pag. 1

P A R T I.

C H A P. I.

*Remarks on what the Doctor hath said in his Dedication ; shewing the Injustice of his Reflection on our Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft, and the Erroneousness of his Arguments,* 5

C H A P. II.

*Remarks on the First Chapter of his Historical Essay,* 18

C H A P.

# The C O N T E N T S.

## C H A P. III.

*Remarks on his Second and Third Chapters, which consist of a Chronological Table; and Observations on what is contained in that Table,* p. 31

## C H A P. IV.

*Remarks on what he hath said of the Witches in Suffolk, Salem, Boston and Andover in New-England, at Mohra in Sweden, and the Witches of Warbois,* 57

## C H A P. V.

*Remarks on what the Doctor hath said of the Tryal before my Lord Chief-Baron Hale, of Richard Dugdale, or the Surrey Dæmoniack; and the Case of Jane Wenham, in Hertfordshire,* 97.

## C H A P. VI.

*Remarks on what the Doctor hath said of Teats, Marks, Charms, Want of Tears, and Swimming Witches,* 119

C H A P.

# The CONTENTS.

## CHAP. VII.

*Remarks on the Doct̄or's Twelfth Chapter,  
of what Kind of Witchcrafts they are,  
that are spoken of in Holy Scripture,*  
p. 128.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Remarks on his Thirteenth Chapter, of the  
Laws of Nations,* 143.

---

## PART II.

### CHAP. I.

**M***r Thoughts of the Nature of Material  
and Immaterial Substances, conso-  
nant to Philosophy, Scripture, and the Ar-  
ticles of Faith, according to the Church  
of England,* 157.

### CHAP. II.

*Of the Power of Immaterial Substances  
in altering Material Substances and Hu-  
man Bodies; consonant to Reason, Phi-  
losophy,*

# The CONTENTS.

*Isophy, Scripture, the Creation of the Universe, and the Formation of Human Bodies: With a Conclusion of this Doctrine, apply'd to sustain the Belief of the Scripture, which affirms the Truth of the Doctrine of the Reality of the Arts of Magick, Sorcery, Witchcraft, &c. with a final Period of God Almighty's Judgment in such Cases,* p. 173

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## E R R A T A.

**P**Age 1. Line 12. for *as as was*, r. *as well as*. P. 8. l. 38. for *make*, r. *prove*. P. 53. l. 38. for *the Scripture otherwise*, r. *the Scripture testifies otherwise*. P. 85. l. 38. dele *which*. P. 93. l. 16. for *he*, r. *she*. P. 125. l. 12. for *Lafinal*, r. *Lachrymal*. P. 166. l. 16. for *discovered*, r. *disordered*. P. 166. l. 22. dele *not only*.



# THE INTRODUCTION.



THE Diabolical Practice of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft, hath been so long exercis'd in the World, through so many Ages and Countries, and their ill Effects been so prejudicial to Mankind, that no Body can reasonably question the Truth of such mischievous Arts, who contemn not the Evidence of moral Proof, the undeniable Testimony of Scripture, and the most evident Demonstration Reason can make use of.

To demonstrate their abominable ill Effects, as as was pernicious Practices, we, some Time ago, wrote a History of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft, in Two Volumes, consisting of well attested Matters of Fact, to detect and discourage these vile Abusers of Mankind. The Design of these Papers was for the Service of the Publick, and not only to lay open the Wickedness of some, and to discover by what unlawful Methods Mankind have been abused, but also to deter others from impious Crimes, and wicked Performances of the like Nature.

But this good Intention was not long put in Execution, before it met with some Opposition from a Man of Learning and Judgment, though in this Point very much mistaken, in a Book entitled, *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*.

The Author of this Essay having unjustly represented our History of Magick, &c. as if it were

likely to do some Mischief, we think our selves obliged, both in Justice to our good Intention, as well as the Service of the Publick, to look into, and examine how well this Author hath made his Charge good, and how strenuously he hath defended his contrary Opinion; which being done, we shall endeavour to make it appear, upon what reasonable Grounds we have proceeded in that Work, and upon what reasonable Foundations the Belief of the Reality of such Practices may be confirmed.

In pursuing of which Intentions, we shall take the following Method, dividing the whole into Two Parts.

In the first Part, we shall, in Answer to what the Author hath offered against what is delivered in our History, examine what he hath said in his Dedication, and shew, that what we have recited there, cannot be the Spring of the Corruptions of Religion, nor the Perversion of Justice, but the contrary, being the sober Belief of good and bad Spirits, which he owns to be an Essential Part of Christian Belief.

Secondly, We shall shew that imaginary Relations cannot corrupt or pervert either Religion or Justice, having too weak an Influence to gain Credit or Assent, since they may be easily distinguished from Realities well attested, of which our History consists.

Next, we shall make it appear, in answer to the false Conceptions of Melancholy Dispositions, that the Temper of the Humours and Disposition of the Spirits, may be altered by the Influence of evil Spirits; and that our learned Author hath brought only ridiculous Relations to lessen the Credit, and diminish the Validity of authentick Truths.

We shall further proceed to shew, that the Arguments he hath offered, are either invalid, or Suppositious, or against himself, not distinguishing betwixt

twixt Realities and Suppositions, and that afflicted Persons are incapable of Feigning and Counterfeiting.

We shall further take Notice, that in the progress of his Discourse, Arguments against himself are only slightly handled, or ridiculed, and incredible Suppositions insisted on to lessen the Belief of an Historical Account of Matters of Fact.

Next we shall consider, that his Chronological Table consisting of real Truths, as well as Impositions, those impositious Relations ought not to lessen the Belief of real Truths; since, as we noted before, Counterfeits and Realities ought, and may easily be distinguished.

We shall next shew the ill Consequences of the delays in putting legal Justice in Execution, by committing all Judgment to the Righteous Judge after Death, where we shall make it appear, that his own Positions are Arguments against himself.

We shall further take Notice, that the Reasons he offers for the Decrease of Witches, are erroneous; Punishment rather discouraging that vitious Practice; and though there are as many Devils now, yet either they are undiscovered, or act after different Methods; former Practices being discouraged and detested by Laws, and terrify'd by Prosecutions; nor is there any Reason the Devils should be supposed to have forsaken our Age, the Vices of this present exceeding the Crimes of former Ages.

Next we shall make it appear, that what he says of the Power of Spirits, and Transmutation, or Transformation, is confuted by the Testimony of Scripture, and our Saviour's Miracles, where Spirits acted in Human Bodies, and afterwards in a Herd of Swine; and then we shall farther make it appear, that he perverts the Sense of Scripture and Providence, and contradicts himself.

Next, tho' he endeavours to lessen the Credit and Belief of the Actions of Spirits, by charging them with often acting foolishly, we shall make it appear, that this ought not to gain the Advantage he proposes, but is an Argument on our Side, and answers for the Confirmation of the Truth of some Relations, that might otherwise seem ridiculous, since we find that the wisest of Spirits have acted foolishly, as in making War against Heaven, and tempting our Saviour, as well as in other Actions which we shall recite.

In the next Place, we shall consider his Negative Rules, which seem to be calculated in favour of those detestable Practices. We shall further consider the remaining Part of his Book, and represent the Weakness of his Arguments; and lastly, take a View of his Sermons.

Having thus finished the first Part, and examined what the Author hath said in respect of Witchcraft, we shall next proceed to the Second Part, where we shall further shew, that to determine the Power and Possibility of Witchcraft, we are to consider:

First, The Nature of Substance, Material and Immaterial.

Secondly, That Immaterial Substances may alter Matter, and affect Human Bodies.

The Possibility of which we shall prove by Observations in Natural Philosophy. We shall likewise consider the Testimony of Scripture in both Old and New Testament, to prove the Effects of evil Spirits, with Metaphysical Arguments.

And to shew further the Power of Immaterial Substances over Matter, and how the latter may be affected by the former, we shall consider the Works of the Macrocosm, and compare them with those of the Microcosm, in the Formation of the Universe, and Human Bodies, and Observations in both, contrary to the common Laws of Nature.

*A Vindication of a Compleat  
History of Magick, Sorcery,  
and Witchcraft, &c.*

In Answer to

Dr. *Hutchinson's* HISTORICAL ESSAY.

---

P A R T I.

---

C H A P. I.

*Containing Remarks on what he hath said  
in his Dedication.*



THE Author of this *Historical Essay*, in the beginning of his *Dedication*, tells us, that his *Collections* and *Observations* had lain by him several Years; and, it may be had still slept in *Obscurity*, if a new Book,

which very likely might do some *Mischief*, had not lately come forth in Two Volumes, under the *Pompous Title* of a *Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft*.

I am obliged to the Learned Doctor for the Pompous Representation he makes of so compleat a History, and am glad he esteemed it so powerful, as to wake his Collections and Observations out of their secure Obscurity; yet from what I shall offer, I do believe they might have as well slept on, since that new Book was very unlikely to do Mischief, but might rather be hindred from doing Good, by the Opposition of his roused Observations, and which to me seem of a more mischievous Kind. To determine this, we are to consider further what the Doctor hath said against our History, or in Favour of his own Essay.

Page the Second, he says, "I think it a Point very certain, that tho' the sober Belief of good and bad Spirits is an Essential Part of every good Christian's Faith, yet Imaginary Communications with them, have been the Spring both of the worst Corruptions of Religion, and the greatest Perversions of Justice." This is a very severe Reflection, especially since he says it is our History is likely to do some (which we take to be this) Mischief. In Vindication, therefore of what I have wrote against this Charge, I shall ask the Learned Doctor, whether, if a good Christian is to believe the Existence of good and bad Spirits, he is not also to believe, that good Spirits may do Good, and bad Spirits do Mischief; and whether, if they can produce good or evil Effects, they can do and execute their ill Designs, without a Communication with those Bodies they act upon? Now, since they cannot be good or bad without good or bad Actions, their Actions denominating them one or the other, they consequently must have a Communication; but these are not imaginary Communications, but real ones; and these real evil Communications may produce evil Effects; yet the Belief of their Existence and Communication cannot produce ill.

ill Effects, though their acting by Communication may; Instances of which our History consists of; yet we think such Instances unlikely to do Mischief, being, as our Author owns, the Belief of every good Christian.

Now if the Communications of evil Spirits may do Evil, they may corrupt Religion, by perverting the Actions of the Flock, or influencing the Shepherd, which is a certain way to corrupt Religion, and hath too often taken Place; but they cannot pervert Justice, without making an ill Judge or Jury; for Justice may take Place upon a Criminal, notwithstanding an evil Communication with the Person, which is an Evidence of the Person's Guilt; so that a Criminal may be influenced with an ill Spirit, and Justice only taking Place, cannot be said to be perverted; nor is Religion concerned, where Justice is only put in Execution.

But our Author says, Imaginary Communications corrupt Religion and pervert Justice; to which I answer, That since what is only in Imagination cannot be real Actions, they cannot produce real Effects, and consequently cannot affect either Religion or Justice, having no Effect at all. Besides, supposing we should believe Things to be true, which are not, this consisting with sober Belief of good and bad Spirits, must come under the essential Part of a good Christian, and consequently cannot corrupt Religion, tending to the same Effect with Realities, in respect of sober Belief, though the Judgment may be deceived, in distinguishing Realities from imaginary Communications; so that imaginary Communications having the same Effect upon the Mind, do not alter the Disposition of the Mind, but act upon it as Realities, having an equal and parallel Influence; nor can imaginary Communications pervert Justice, since they are too weak to byass Judgment, which every Judge, I hope, may be en-

dowed with : But if through the Weakness of Judgment, they cannot distinguish betwixt Realities and Imaginations, they must either be unfit for the Judgment Seat ; or imaginary Communications must be so like Realities, that they cannot be distinguished, and then the Judge is still supposed in the Right, because the Case carries moral Possibility along with it, which is sufficient to gain Assent, and justify that Judgment, which appearing to be morally Good, cannot be erroneous, or said to be perverted.

He further says, “ How many miserable Creatures have been hanged or burnt, as Witches and Wizards in other Countries, and former Ages? “ In our Nation, even since the Reformation, above “ a Hundred and Forty have been executed, very “ much upon the Account of one ill translated Text “ of Scripture.” To which I answer, that if they were executed upon moral Proof, that amounts to Certainty, and consequently that Judgment must carry Truth along with it, and the Criminals must receive just Condemnation ; which proves Witches and Wizards miserable Creatures, as the Author styles them.

But if they were executed upon the Account of an ill translated Text of Scripture, their fatal Ends were owing to the Neglect and Carelessness of those who ought to take Care of the Translations, and not suffer the World to be misled and misinformed through their Mistakes ; so that whatever Miscarriages happen upon that Account, are owing to such as suffer such Translations to be printed and published ; and Religion and Justice must be perverted by those Persons, not by the Communications of Spirits, or the Belief of them ; and then the Author brings his own Function in Guilty, and not the Righteous Judgment, nor the History of Historical Truths. But since the Author does not make that Assertion, or produce that ill Translation, this Accusation must turn

turn upon himself; which being wrongfully charged, must either tend to pervert Justice, or corrupt those settled Notions of Religion, which depend upon our Faith, grounded upon Texts of Scripture, as they are published to the World.

He further says, " If the same Notions were to prevail again, no Man's Life would be safe in his House; for the fantastick Doctrines, that support the vulgar Opinions of *Witchcraft*, rob us of all the Defences that God and Nature have placed, for our Security against false Accusations." To which I answer, that the Notions of *Witchcraft* can hurt no Man's Life, without moral Proof; nor do they rob us of the Defences for our Security; for the fantastick Doctrines, as I said before, are too weak to prove real Communications; and imaginary ones can do no Harm, being insufficient to raise Belief; nor can false Accusations easily take away our Security, since the Characters of good and bad Men, as well as their Actions, easily distinguish them, and shew whether they are influenced by good or evil Angels. If they are good, *their Light will so shine before Men, that they seeing their good Works, will not easily suspect them to be guilty of bad ones; and will take off the Force of such false Accusations; whereas evil Men, who do the Works of Darknes, must be misled by evil Angels, and their Works will discover what manner of Men they are. The Circumstances of Actions assist in the Judgment of moral Credit; and the Reputation of the Accused, as well as of the Accusers, goes a great way in laying the Foundations of firm Belief; so that a Judge and Jury cannot easily be mistaken, when Circumstances are well weighed and considered.*

He further says, that " In Prosecutions for *Witchcraft*, if any wicked Person affirms, or any crack'd-brained Girl imagines, or any lying Spirit makes her believe that she sees any old Woman,

“ or other Person, pursuing her in her Visions, the  
 “ Defenders of the vulgar *Witchcraft*, tack an ima-  
 “ ginary, unproved Compact to the Deposition.”  
 To which I answer, that the Reputation of Evi-  
 dences may easily be discovered by the Neighbourhood  
 they live in; and it may easily be distinguished  
 by a Judge, what Credit is to be given to their Te-  
 stimony, and by Circumstances, how far the Persons  
 accused, may deserve and merit the Accusation laid  
 to their Charges. As for Brainick Persons, those  
 are commonly known by Men of Judgment in Phy-  
 sick, who ought to be consulted in such Cases; and  
 they must be mad themselves, or senseless, that can-  
 not distinguish distracted Persons from such as are  
 possessed with Devils. But at the same Time the Do-  
 ctor supposes the Girl Brainick, he acknowledges a  
 lying Spirit may make her believe what she affirms,  
 which is an acknowledgment of Possessions, though  
 he pretends to argue against them; so that he is  
 obliged to allow, what he would argue impossible  
 and imaginary, to support his Assertion; a strange  
 way of arguing.

He says, “ Sickly Visions—are grounded upon  
 “ the Dregs of Pagan and Popish Superstitions.”  
 But if they are sickly Visions, I suppose them to be  
 grounded upon Distempered Brains, which are diffe-  
 rent from other kind of Visions; and which when  
 real, cannot be said to be grounded upon Pagan or  
 Popish Superstitions, except he will affirm that the  
 Bible is Paganism or Popish; since both the Old and  
 the New Testament witness what Matters of Import-  
 tance have often been discovered by Visions in  
 Dreams, as in *Ezek. 13. 16. The Prophets of Israel,*  
*which prophesy concerning Jerusalem, and which see*  
*Visions of Peace.* Likewise *Hosea 12. 10.* we find  
 the following Expressions, *I have also spoken by the*  
*Prophets, and I have multiplied Visions, and used Si-*  
*mitudes by the Ministry of the Prophets.* Again,  
A  
*Jack*

Joel 2. 28. *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall Prophecy; your old Men shall dream Dreams, and your young Men shall see Visions.* And 2 Cor. 12. 1. *I will come to Visions and Revelations.* Where we find that Visions have been frequent both in the Old and New Testament, which were neither the Effects of sickly and distracted Brains, nor are grounded upon Paganism, nor Popish Superstitions; Suggestions below the Dignity of one, who must be well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures.

He further adds, that “As the very Nature of the Subject carries both Horror and Difficulty, polite Men, and great Lovers of Ease, will turn away their Thoughts from it with Disdain.” Here the Doctor hath different Thoughts from any I ever retained; for I always thought that Men of polite Learning were seldom Lovers of Ease, or frighted with the Horror of a difficult Subject, but commonly employ the greatest Industry on such Occasions.

The next Page, speaking of the Prosecution of *Witches*, he says, “That though the common Prosecution of *Witches* was a sad Impiety, the greatest Part of the Clergy winked at it, and let it pass:” And soon after he adds, “Though Reverence to our Acts of Parliament, and the Influence of an ill translated Text, and fear of loose People carrying the Notion too far the other way, may have made some pious Men too fearful in opposing the vulgar Opinions, yet in the main, I believe our Church of *England*, and its Clergy, have as little to answer for as any.” How our learned Author can call the Prosecution of *Witches* a sad Impiety, I do not well understand; except the Works of that Diabolical Spirit, by whose Power they act, include Piety; then indeed it is impious to discourage vicious and evil Practices, and those Actions which

which we commonly call Good, must be impious. It will be necessary then to change the common Signification of those Two Words, Pious and Impious, and what we call Evil must be called Good, and Good Evil; and then it will be a Sin to do what is Good, and meritorious to commit Wickedness: But otherwise, if it be impious to punish ill Practices, it must be Piety to Sin, and by this Rule we must worship Satan, and despise our Maker. But I find the greatest Part of the Clergy were of a different Mind, and rather chose to encourage the Punishment of those evil Practices, and Works of abominable Transgressors.

And I am glad, that a due Reverence and Regard to an Act of Parliament, and the dangerous Consequence of carrying the Notion too far the other way, yet influences some pious Men from encouraging such Mistakes, as this contrary Opinion, which the Doctor espouses, might bring us into; for if such wicked Practices were once conniv'd at, the Consequences would be much more fatal, than the Punishment of Witchcraft can prove impious.

To determine then, whether the Punishment of Witchcraft, or the Connivance at it, would be of the worst Consequence, we shall consider briefly the Inconveniences on both sides.

And first, if that detestable Practice be punish'd, it must, as in all other criminal Cases, deter all Evil-doers from pursuing the like: Nor can it be any Crime to inflict such Punishments, where there is Legal and Moral Proof; and the Laws will restrain them from what their obdurate Consciences cannot be a sufficient Guard.

Whereas, on the contrary, if the World was let loose to perpetrate and commit all manner of Evil, as the Devil and their own Inclinations would suggest, it would soon be over-run with the worst of vicious Practices, and Witchcraft would soon be as  
rise

rife as ever. I have heard it reported, that it was, and perhaps is, a Scheme of the *Romans*, to debauch this Nation in their Principles, that they may be ready to receive any new Impressions, and change their Religion upon any offer'd Occasion; whereas, if their Consciences are tender, and their Principles unshaken, they will be apt to adhere to their first receiv'd Maxims and Tenets. This Project hath already too much taken place; and I wish the Church of *England*, and its Clergy, may have little to answer for in this Respect.

Now if the Sins of Witchcraft, and other such like Crimes, are discouraged, and their Practices expos'd and laid open, the Terror of such Crimes will make the Vulgar fear the Devil and his Works, and with more Earnestness implore the Divine Assistance to withstand them; so that we think our History may be less mischievous than our Author's *Historical Essay*.

Before we leave our Author's *Dedication*, we shall further observe, that he takes notice of a Canon, which "subjects to the Penalties of Imposition, any Clergyman who should undertake to use Prayers for Casting out of Devils." But we find in Scripture, that our Saviour neither discouraged his Disciples, nor any body else, from such Practices, if they did it in his Name. He cast out Devils himself, and suffer'd others to do the like; being accounted an Impostor himself, yet branding not others with that ignominious Title: Instances of which, we shall be sufficiently furnish'd with in Scripture. *Matth. 12. 22. There was brought unto him one possessed with a Devil, blind and dumb, and he healed him; insomuch that the blind and dumb both spake and saw.* --- *24. But when the Pharisees heard it, they said, This fellow doth not cast out Devils, but by Beelzebub, Prince of the Devils.* To which he answers, *v. 27. If I by Beelzebub cast out Devils, by whom do*  
*you*

your Children cast them out? Again, *Mark* 9. 38. When *John* told our Saviour, Master, we saw one casting out Devils in thy name; and we forbid him, because he followeth not us; *Jesus*, v. 39. said, Forbid him not: And further declares, v. 40. For he that is not against us, is on our Part; giving his Reasons why they should not be hinder'd from doing good.

There is one Thing more in his *Dedication*, which we shall take notice of, which is in Favour of his *Essay*, as he supposes, but I think very little to the Purpose: He says, that "any that shall be disposed to find Faults, may see, that the Notions in my Book are neither new, nor contrary to the Doctrines of our Church, but well agreeing with the Opinions of the greatest Men that have been of it. I will quote at large some Passages out of his Declaration of *Popish* Impostures.

How far his Notions are agreeable with Reason or Religion, may in a great measure appear from what we have already said, and will further appear from what follows in the ensuing Papers: And that it may appear, what little Service his Quotations will do him, we will, to conclude this Chapter, in the next place take notice of some of those Passages, and examine how agreeable they are with Reason or Scripture, which is the Foundation of our Church's Belief.

The first is as follows: "It is a Question mov'd by *Scaliger*, Why Men, of a melancholy Constitution be more subject to Fancies, Fears and Imaginations of Devils and Witches, than other Tempers be? His Answer is, Because from their black and sooty Blood, gloomy fuliginous Spirits fume into their Brain, which bring black, gloomy, and frightful Images, Representations and Similitudes in them." That the Disorders of the Blood will affect the Spirits, and produce melancholy Symptoms in the Spirits, no body can deny; it being

well known both to Physicians and others : But these Disorders are much different from those, that are occasioned by the Influence of evil Spirits ; which will appear both from the Relations contained in our *History of Witchcraft*, and the Testimony of Scripture, which we shall presently recite.

We shall take notice of one Passage more, which is, “ That Devils may transform themselves into any Shape, either of Beast, or Men, &c.

These Passages, which the Author esteems so much to his Advantage, are only ridiculous Relations, in some measure banter'd and ridicul'd, without any Reasons offer'd to the contrary ; so that the Doctor hath only endeavour'd to lessen the Value, and question the Truth of real Matters of Fact, and would represent innocent and well attested Relations odious, by slighting Impositions or Stories, not worthy to be taken notice of.

Yet to prove that evil Spirits may torture Bodies, and by acting in different manners, may even alter the Temper and Dispositions of them ; we shall produce the Testimony of Scripture, to confirm what we have related in our *History*.

That Spirits may alter, and after different manners torture human Bodies, and even Beasts, is evident from the Testimony of Scripture : *Mark 9. 17. One of the multitude answered and said, Master, I have brought unto thee my Son, who hath a dumb Spirit : And wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him ; and he foameth, and gnasheth with his teeth, and pineth away ; and I spake to thy Disciples, that they should cast him out, and they could not : But, v. 20. they brought him unto him ; and when he saw him, straightway the Spirit tare him, and he fell on the ground, and wallowed, foaming. And he asked his Father, how long is it ago since this came unto him ? And he said, Of a Child. And oftentimes it hath cast him into the fire, and into the water, to destroy him : But, v. 25.*

Jesus

*Jesus rebuked the foul Spirit, and said unto him, Thou deaf and dumb Spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him. And the Spirit cried, and rent him sore, and came out of him, and he was as one dead; insomuch that many said, he is dead. But Jesus lifted him up, and he arose. And a Verse or two after, he declares to his Disciples, that this Sort was cast out only by Prayer and Fasting.*

To this we may add the Seven Devils, which he cast out of *Mary Magdalen*, and especially that most remarkable Story, *Mark 5. v. 2, &c.* And when he was come out of the Ship, immediately there met him out of the Tombs, a man with an unclean Spirit; who had his dwelling amongst the Tombs, and no man could bind him, no not with chains: Because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame him. And always night and day he was in the Mountains, and in the Tombs, crying and cutting himself with stones. But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him; and cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the most High God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not. For he said unto him, Come out of the man, thou unclean Spirit. And he asked him, What is thy name? And he answered, saying, My name is Legion, for we are many: And he besought him much, that he would not send him away out of that Country. Now there was nigh unto the Mountains, a great herd of Swine feeding; and all the Devils besought him, saying, Send us into the Swine, that we may enter into them. And forthwith Jesus gave them leave; and the unclean Spirit went out, and enter'd into the Swine; and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the Sea; (they were

were about Two Thousand) and were choaked in the Sea.

From all which Relations it appears, that evil Spirits may not only torment and rack, and pine away human Bodies, but also possess even the Bodies of Brutes, and consequently appear in the Shape of different Creatures.

Now, however the Doctor may slight and contemn, or ridicule common Relations, or such as are proved by Moral Possibility, yet I hope Divine Testimony may be trusted to ; or we must destroy all the Foundations of Religion and Ecclesiastical Government, and reduce the World to its original Blindness, and its pristine State of Ignorance.

Having thus far taken notice of what the Learned Doctor hath said in his *Dedication* ; it may, from what we have offer'd, sufficiently appear, whether our *History*, or his *Essay*, is likely to do most Mischief ; what we have related being of a like kind, and tending to a Confirmation of the same Belief with these Divine Histories ; whereas, what he hath said, seems to have a contrary Tendency, lessening the Credit of such Things, the Belief of which helps to strengthen our Faith.

We shall, in the next place, proceed to examine his Book, and see what he hath offer'd in Favour of his invaluable Notions ; looking upon this specious Frontispice, as a Specimen of a great deal of Satisfaction within.

## C H A P. II.

*Containing some Remarks on the First Chapter of his Historical Essay.*

BEING some Years out of *England*, since I wrote Two Volumes, entituled, *A Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft*; I had not, till of late, the Opportunity of seeing a Book, wrote since that Time, call'd, *An Historical Essay of Witchcraft*, which seems to be chiefly levelled at that *History*. How far the Learned Author hath gain'd the Advantage, may, in a great measure, appear from what hath been said in the first Chapter, with respect to his *Dedication*; I shall next proceed to consider what appears in the Body of his *Essay*.

Upon viewing the first Chapter of this *Essay*, I perceive the Author hath laid his Scheme with a great deal of Art and Skill; being publish'd by way of Dialogue, betwixt Two of his Friends and himself; they have treated him with a great deal of Respect, and he hath return'd it with a great deal of Civility; they neither puzzling him with too strong Arguments, nor he confounding of them with too much Reason.

I am sorry I had not the Happiness to be at that Conference, since too much modest Civility on both Sides, seems to have handled the Cause with too much Indifferency. The Juryman was unskilled, the Advocate from Home, and oblig'd to be civil; so that they have given up the Cause without much Difficulty. Had I been there, I should have desired a little more Liberty, which might have occasion'd more satisfactory Answers; but since I was not there, I hope the Doctor will not take it amiss, if I let him

know

know what I have to say on that Subject, and wherein I think what he hath said insufficient. As for his Two Friends, I shall not say much to them; for since they have given up the Argument so easily, they are likely to do me little Service, and therefore I make bold to speak for my self.

After some Compliments, which we have no Occasion for here, the Doctor advises, "If the Case be not very plain, save Life." In this he is right; for except there be moral Proof, it would be Injustice and Murder to take any body's Life away. But I should have thought, that as a Divine is not concern'd in Common Law, he should have said, If they be guilty, save Life, that they may *repent and live*; God not willing *the Death of a Sinner, but rather that he should repent and live*: But if they will not repent, they are not fit to live; Life being, by God's Prescription, only granted, that Repentance might precede, and make 'em fit for it: Therefore, without Repentance, they are not fit to live, and consequently ought to dye, according to Law. *Deut. 30. v. 15, &c. See, this day I have set before thee life and good, and death and evil: But if thine heart turn away, so that thou wilt not hear, but shalt be drawn away, and worship other gods, and serve them; I denounce unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish, and that you shall not prolong your days upon the Land.*

○ We are of the same Opinion with the Doctor, the Innocent ought not to be punish'd, but the Guilty; and therefore we did not undertake to censure Impositions, but to relate True Histories; the Authors of which ought to be punish'd, as dealing with evil Spirits, and inhumanly with their Fellow-Creatures.

The next Thing we shall take notice of, is, *Pag. 3.* where the Doctor hath chose a Child with Fits to be the Subject debated on; and says, "That the afflicted Person falls into Fits, as soon as the Woman is brought into the Room where she is." To solve this,

this, he asks some Questions, which neither he nor any body else answers ; and upon that makes some Suppositions, upon which he grounds this Conclusion : “ That if some foolish young Women, by lying Stories, or otherwise, are made as fearful of this poor Creature, (*i. e.* a Witch,) as this Girl was (supposed to be) of a Spirit ; is it any wonder she falls into Fits when she sees her ?” To which I answer, that the Doctor loves suppositious Arguments better than imaginary Communications, which I take to be synonymous Terms in this Case : But supposing the Case to be real, the Fright must be with some Surprize and Suddenness, to occasion great Disorders, especially such as are occasioned by the Influence of evil Spirits : Nor hath the Doctor assign’d what Fits these are, and therefore suppositious both in respect of the Proposer and the Answerer : But taking them as proposed, the Symptoms differ much from such as evil Spirits occasion ; the former being Physical, having known Symptoms ; the latter contrary to what naturally attend Distempers.

But he says, (for I take the Advocate, the Jurymen, and the Clergyman, to be the same Person ; tho’ Clergymen are seldom upon a Jury, or plead at the Bar ; ) “ Many afflicted Persons fall into Fits, when the supposed Witch hath been brought in, so as the Party hath not seen her.” After some curious Suppositions, and a Question not belonging to the Subject, (as being foreign) he says, “ Some Scent, or secret Communication of Spirits, are the common Ground of all such Antipathies.” If Scents at such a Distance could have any great Effects, they must be so strong as to be perceived by the Standers-by, tho’ they could not produce such Effect upon them : If the Influence of Spirits, the Spirits must be evil, that cause such pernicious Symptoms ; which is what we contend for.

He further says; “ *Pliny*, and many others also suppose, these ill Scents may be to the Degree of Venom and Infection : And we need not wonder at it ; for every malignant Fever makes any of us venomous, for the Time it lasts.” To which I answer ; That when Scents amount to the Degree of Venom and Infection, that Infection extends to more than one single Person : And when malignant Fevers are venomous, the venomous Person who infects the rest, is always troubled with the like Symptoms before. Therefore these Arguments are but weak and trivial, and insufficient to destroy the received Opinion of Witches ; which act after different manners, according to the Natures of those evil Spirits ; as our Saviour said, *These Sort are only cast out by Fasting and Prayer* : Whereas Fits which depend only upon Physical Causes, have much like Symptoms in all ; those being their proper Diagnostics, or Marks, by which they are distinguished.

Pag. 5. He says, “ The bare Fits make the least Part of the Wonder ; they tell of strange Actions.” If any other or particular Symptoms attended the supposed Fits, (which he neither describes as a Physician, nor answers as a Philosopher) they ought to be made known, that the Reader might judge of the Nature of the Case ; but the Doctor, instead of enquiring into that, and stating the Case, fairly proceeds ;

“ And yet they may be natural Fits and Vapours for all that.” And they may be Dæmoniacal Fits, for ought any body can tell ; yet they seem to be imaginary Communications, being not describ'd.

But to proceed : He says, “ When some Sort of Fits (which are undoubtedly natural) continue, they alter the Habit of the Body ; whence many times there grows a lurking, intermitting Fever and *Delirium*, or particular Madness ; and then their Fancies and strange Symptoms are more surprizing.

“ prizing. There are marvellous Effects, both in  
 “ their Minds, Eyes, Ears, Voices, and the whole  
 “ Body.

That some Sort of Fits will, tho’ natural, by their Continuance, alter the Habit of the Body, is certain ; and so will any : But I would fain know, of what Sort of Fits we are talking ? If natural, they belong to Physical Discourses ; if from Witchcraft they take their Rise, or evil Spirits, they are such as I mention in my History of *Witchcraft*, of which there are several Kinds : But if we speak of natural Fits, we ought to distinguish what Kind of Fits we speak of, from whence the above-mention’d Symptoms may flow ; they being not well known amongst Physicians, nor published in any of their Writings.

He says, “ Their Minds will sometimes be so  
 “ clouded, and oppress’d, and dull, that they think  
 “ themselves dead.” This indeed is a new Observation, and the World is mightily oblig’d to the Doctor for communicating it. I have known Hysterick and Hypochondriack Persons fancy themselves a dying, or in Danger ; but when once they fancy themselves dead, they must fancy themselves past Thinking, or speaking their Thoughts.

The rest of the Fifth and Sixth Pages is fill’d with Hypochondriack Discourse about the Symptoms of that Dislemper ; but there is a great deal of Difference betwixt the Symptoms of Hysterick and Hypochondriack Persons, and those which attend the supernatural Effects of evil Spirits and Witchcraft ; the first denominating that Physical Case, the latter the Results of supernatural Powers.

P. 7. He says, “ Convulsive Motions turn their  
 “ Heads, as if their Necks were broken ; draw their  
 “ Mouths on one side, wring their Arms out of  
 “ Joint, turn their Eyes inward, and make them  
 “ lamentable Spectacles.” These are Observations so

uncommon, that they are impossible : For, first, if their Heads were turn'd as they are when their Necks are said to be broke, the same Consequences would follow, and Death must ensue ; the Circulation of the Spirits, as well as Respiration, being hinder'd by such Dislocations. When the Mouth is drawn aside by Convulsions, it commonly continues so, the opposite Muscles being relaxed, and is called a *Spasmus Cynicus* : Nor can Dislocations be occasioned by the most forcible Contraction of any Muscles.

He further says, “ If Blood be extravasated slowly, the Heat of the Stomach in a little Time may form it into odd Figures, that when they are vomited may seem very surprizing. Or if it hath received any Seed, or Spawn, the Heat and Nourishment may produce the Animal.” All these Things are strange, and appear much more like Impositions, than the most unlikely Relation in our *History of Witchcraft* ; and they that believe them, must have some of the Doctor's melancholy Symptoms above-mention'd, or be bewitch'd. I will not say, but Blood will be clotted by the Heat of the Stomach, and those Clots will be of an uncertain Figure ; and vomiting of Blood is surprizing at any rate ; but how Animals should be hatch'd in the Stomach, is most incredible, since the Heat and Ferment of the Stomach would dissolve them in pieces, if they were hatched. How strangely it would grieve a Man, to have his Stomach peck'd in pieces by a Chick, upon swallowing a new-laid Egg ; or to have his Body open'd after Death, to search for an Oyster-Bank !

He proceeds : “ Pins and Needles, that have been swallowed long before, will work their way to the outward Parts of the Body, and be taken out of the Person's Sides, or Thighs.” Such like Stories have indeed been told by ancient Physicians, who were

were credulous, and related what they only received by Hearsay. If such Stories were true, the Stomach and Guts, as well as other Parts, must be wounded, and occasion violent Symptoms and Death, before such Penetration could be made: And it is equally as likely, that a Man should vomit up his Toes, as that Pins should pass from the Stomach to the Thighs. If the Doctor can believe such Relations, which the Nature of Bodies, and the Anatomy of the Parts disproves, I wonder he has as much Aversion to the Belief of Witches as some have to their Actions, which may be confirmed by Moral Proof and Reason.

Yet to improve the Hypochondriack Stories before noted, he adds, *Page 8.* “ We have a great many other Matters to consider of. One is, the great Addition that will be made to the strangeness of such Cases, if the Persons themselves give their Minds to those Things, that will increase the Wonder, ——— too many go a great way further, even to a wicked Management of their own Distempers, and counterfeiting Symptoms that their Diseases did not occasion.” There are indeed too many, that upon slight Occasions dissemble themselves worse than they are; but those who have such Symptoms as the Doctor mentions, must be so bad, that they need not, if able, desire to make themselves seem worse, it being neither Pleasure nor Advantage; besides, in Hypochondriack Diseases, their Thoughts are so much depraved, and their Minds so much disordered, that they are very unfit for counterfeiting and making themselves ill; it would be much more Satisfaction and Pleasure, if they could counterfeit and dissemble themselves well; a disordered Brain is very unfit and incapable of Policy, and they can scarce deceive others, who cannot undeceive themselves. A Man in his right Senses, and who hath his Reason and Wit at Will,  
cannot

cannot act the Part of a Hypochondriack Person so naturally, but that he may be distinguished from one in a real Distemper; much less can we suppose, that he who hath his Mind so much discomposed and disordered, should act the Part of him that hath an Evil Spirit or a Devil in him. there being a great deal of Difference betwixt preternatural and supernatural Actions and Symptoms. So that all the Art the Doctor can use, will not make the Symptoms that perplex Hypochondriacal Persons, amount to the Degree in which People possessed or bewitched are tortured and tormented. There is a vast difference to distinguish them.

He adds, " Though a Distemper at first be surprizing, and puts the afflicted Persons beyond their Thoughts of Tricking, yet a little Time makes them familiar with their Calamity; and when they find themselves come safe out of strange Fits, and begin to have the Use of their Thoughts while they are in them, and hear what Judgments are made of their Case, they manage their Calamity to serve their own Interest." It is very unlikely, that when a Man hath been long out of his Senses, and almost at Death's Door, he should be capable of thinking cunningly at once, at a Time when he is capable of thinking nothing at all; besides in these violent Fits, having, for the Time, lost their Senses, how should they remember after what manner they were afflicted? And if the Fit hath deprived them of Memory, how should they be able to act the same over again, as in an Epilepsy, or Falling-Sickness, can any body well act the Symptoms of it? Can they make themselves insensible of Pain, when prick'd or cut? Can they counterfeit froathing, tough, viscid Plegm, when there is none in their Stomach? Or can they faint those preternatural Sweats, or violent Transpiration, which continue frequently in the Fit. In the Time of the Fit,

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violent

violent Convulsions resemble extraordinary Strength, the Muscles then forcibly contracting; but when a Man is well, how can he counterfeit that extraordinary Strength? He then can use no more than what naturally belongs to him.

But the Doctor says, *Page 9.* he will bring Instances to favour his Thoughts; such, says he, "As I have either read in sober Authors, or heard from very good Hands." If Reading is sufficient Proof to gain Assent, why does he not believe what is writ in our History of *Witchcraft*, which was collected from very sober Authors, one no less than a King, a wise Man, and a great Scholar, which every body allowed King *James* the First to be. If only by Hearsay, though from good Hands, why might not they be imposed upon first, and consequently himself? But I perceive the Doctor believes what may serve his Opinion very easily, and will take a Friend's Word for it; but hath no Faith upon moral Proof, the Testimony of Scripture, nor the troublesome Impertinence of Reason.

But let us view his Instances; "It is common then with such, that by long holding their Breath, they can throw themselves into Fits when they will." But this, I hope, the Doctor does not call dissembling; for when they are in real Fits, it is past Hypocrisy, or Counterfeiting. But the Possibility of this is not consistent with the Symptoms, for there must be that viscid Phlegm which twinges the Nerves in the Stomach, to cause its convulsive Motion, and to supply that frothy Stuff discharged at the Mouth, and the Blood must have its particular Indispositions to occasion those convulsive Motions of Muscles, and violent Cramps.

His next Instance is, "By often moving and stretching the Skin of their Heads; if the Hair be short, they can make it stand upright, like an angry Dog; and then they will bark and snarl," and

“ and run upon all Four, as if they were changed  
 “ into Mastives, ——— they can suck up their  
 “ Breath, and draw in their Guts, till the By-stand-  
 “ ders can feel the Back-bone.” If they can make  
 the Hair stand up like an angry Dog, it must be as  
 long as the angry Dog’s, or it cannot be like it, and  
 then Mens Hair is too weak commonly to stand an  
 End, except new Shaved; and though they may run  
 upon all Four, except they had Legs like Mastives,  
 they would look more like Monsters. As for him  
 that could suck up his Guts, so that the By-standers  
 might feel his Back-bone; this I take to be a piece  
 of Banter, and cannot think the Doctor would be so  
 imposed upon; yet a Man may feel his own Back-  
 bone so, or if he breaks Wind, and puts his Hand  
 behind him.

Page 10, 11, and 12, are filled with ridiculous  
 Stories of the Art of feigning Voices, and Jugglers  
 Tricks, which ought rather to have been printed by  
 themselves, for the use of Jugglers, and such as in-  
 tend to study that Art, but otherwise it is not worth  
 while to take Notice of them. Every body almost  
 can tell the pretty Things those Artists amuse them  
 with; but may be unacquainted with the Practice of  
*Witchcraft*. And though the Doctor may bring these  
 small Arts in Question, to lessen the Credit of Hi-  
 storical Truths, he will come short of that with  
 any judicious Persons, who can easily see through  
 the Fallacy of his Design; for though these Things  
 are Fallacious, and Imposition, yet it does not fol-  
 low that those Relations are false, which are evident  
 to Reason, morally Possible, and attested by the Au-  
 thority of Scripture. These trifling Stories, surely,  
 will not confound the Belief of our Saviour’s Mira-  
 cles, who not only cast out Devils, but hath told us  
 the manner of their Actions, and given us an Ac-  
 count of their Symptoms, which we have recited in  
 the first Chapter, and shall elsewhere in proper  
 Places.

But if the Doctor had thought fit to lessen the Validity of that Doctrine, so agreeable and consentaneous with Histories in Sacred Writings, it had been much more honourable and consistent with his Function and Character, to have opposed them with Dint of Argument, and given a Rational Demonstration of the Impossibility of Possessions, than to endeavour to gain a Cause, by slight Evasions, and artificial Insinuations.

Page the 13th, after a florid Acknowledgment to disguise and cover the Intention of the rest of his Writing; he says, "The Holy Scriptures, that are  
 " our only sure Rule, though they give us many  
 " Instances of the Employment both of the good  
 " and evil Spirits, they teach us none such as we  
 " commonly meet with in the modern Relations of  
*Witchcraft.*" Here the Doctor thinks it necessary to recant all his former Notions, with an artificial Evasion. He cannot deny the various Kinds of the Ministration of bad Spirits, only the Instances of their evil Practice in modern Writings, are not such as are mentioned in Scripture. To which we answer, that all the Relations of Possessions in Scripture are not alike, one differing much from the other in their Kind and Symptoms, according to the different Nature and Ministration of those evil Spirits; and if the Ministration of Spirits and Natures differ and produce different Effects, there is very good Reason why modern Relations vary from those, as well as from one another; the Devil and his Angels acting after various Manners, to disguise their evil Practices, that they may pass undiscovered to the World; as 2 Cor. xi. 14. *For such are false Apostles, deceitful Workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ; and no marvel, for Satan himself is often transform'd into an Angel of Light: And Matth. vii. 15. Beware of false Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps Cloathing, but inwardly they are*  
*ravening*

*ravening Wolves.* So that we see the Devil often works under the Cloak of Sanctity, that he may be better able to war against Sacred Things; and if he can at this rate transform himself, why may he not into any other Form? Carnal Things, which belong to this World, being more under his Power, than those of a Diviner Nature; and consequently, it will be easier for him to appear in the Form of a Brute, or a Fowl, or a Man, than that of an Angel; for which reason he is described like a Beast, with Tail, Horns, and a cloven Foot; and as he was able to possess human Bodies as well as Brutes, whilst our Saviour was upon Earth, why may he not communicate with Persons of a beastly Nature, who refuse the assistance of good Angels, and only make room for evil Spirits?

Page 13, and 14, he adds, "Some take Pains to join the Scripture Relations and these as close as they can together, — they are very different Things, and upon the Credit of very different Witnesses, — the Scripture Relations are witnessed by Prophets and Apostles, that are venerable for Divine Virtue and Goodness." As for joining of them together, the Doctor need not complain of that, since he does more in his Discourse, interlarding one with the other, so that it is difficult to find Coherency in the handling of the Subject, or to give direct Answers, without picking up Scraps at a Time, as People sort Goods in a Warehouse, confusedly jumbled together; but that's the knack of Dialogue, for when Three People are talking, it will be hard for a Fourth to put in a Word; for that Reason I have sorted the Expressions in this Page. But to the purpose: I think these not such different Things as the Doctor represents them; for though some are delivered in the Bible, and some out; if those out of it, and in another History, be well attested, and appear

to be Possessions, they are of the same Kind; and since those in the Bible are confirmed true Possessions, by the Testimony of such undoubted Evidence, it adds to the Credit of Relations of the same kind out of the Bible; and proving the Possibility, adds to the Credit of those Witnesses which might otherwise be suspected, and their Judgment questioned; which nevertheless amounts to moral Proof and Certainty: So that all the Difference betwixt these Relations is, that some are witnessed by the Prophets and Apostles, happening in their Time, and register'd amongst Sacred Histories; others happening after their Time, are witnessed by good People of those Times, and good Men, though not chosen Apostles.

But he says, "The Scripture Facts soberly interpreted, agree with the Notions we have of God and Providence, and the Laws of Nature; whereas these confound the Laws of Nature, and destroy the Testimony of our Senses, in some Cases." To which I answer, that in this Point too, the Doctor must be mistaken; for though they agree with the Notions we have of a God and Providence, since they shew the Power of supernatural Agents, yet they agree not with the Laws of Nature, all the Symptoms of Possessions being preternatural, and out of the common Course of Nature, occasion'd by the Interposition of a Spiritual and Supernatural Power, as the Devil and his Agents, which gives them the Name of Possessions, and distinguishes them from natural Diseases: And as for those mentioned in other Histories; they are equally consistent with the Notion of a God and Providence, since they equally acknowledge a Divine Power, and proceed alike from the same supernatural Agents; and they equally disagree with the Laws of Nature, proceeding from the like supernatural Causes; yet they destroy not the Testimony

mony of our Senses, because our Senses testify and distinguish them from what is natural, and acknowledge a supernatural Power.

Having thus far run through the First Chapter of his *Historical Essay*; from what we have said, it may appear, that the Arguments he hath offer'd against the Doctrine of Witchcraft are slight and trivial, consisting more of Fallacies, and slight Evasions and Insinuations, than real and substantial Reasons; and that he hath trump'd up some ridiculous Stories of cunning Artists and Jugglers, to lessen the Credit of authentick Truths; and that he might as well bring the same Arguments to diminish the Credit of Sacred Writ, if the Apostles did not stand in his way, the same Arguments being good against one, that stand good against the other.

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### C H A P. III.

*Containing Remarks on the Contents of his Second and Third Chapter, which consists of a Chronological Table, and Observations upon what is contained in that Table.*

AS for his Chronological Table, we find, upon taking a View of it, that it consists of real Truths, though there are a mixture of Impositions amongst them. This the Doctor himself owns to be true, and condemns himself out of his own Mouth; his Words are as follows. "That since there have been so many Condemnations by lawful Judges and Magistrates, though they do seem to be mistaken in

“ many, yet there must be many also, in which the  
 “ Facts were real.” And this he says, and acknow-  
 ledges to appear from “ The Time and Place, and  
 “ cited Authors for the Execution of many Thou-  
 “ sands, besides general Testimonies of great Num-  
 “ bers more: He hath reckoned up about One Hun-  
 “ dred Forty Six that have suffered in *England* since  
 “ the Reformation, by Protestant Judges and Juries.  
 “ In *New-England* One and Twenty, so very lately  
 “ as the Year 1692; and since these, Seven in *Scot-*  
 “ *land*, in the Year 1697. Now the Conclusion  
 “ I must make is, That they must be right in many  
 “ Cases, though I doubt they were often mistaken.”  
 The Author hath thus condemned, what he had  
 so long before been contending for, endeavouring to  
 prove the Doctrine of *Witchcraft* false and erroneous.  
 Now if any of these Cases be true, as they morally  
 appear to be, though there may be Impositions, these  
 impositious Relations ought not to lessen the Credit  
 and Belief of real Truths, and authentick Histories;  
 since, as we noted before, Counterfeits and Realities  
 ought, and may easily be distinguished.

But though the Doctor hath thus, by his own  
 Words, owned the Reality of *Witchcraft*, yet he  
 would still endeavour to lessen the Credit of what he  
 cannot contradict.

*Page 65.* “ If they were mistaken in one half of  
 “ these Tryals, it makes a very bad Case. And bet-  
 “ ter that they had all been committed to the Righ-  
 “ teous Judge, who does not neglect the other Causes,  
 “ that are too hard for Man’s Judgment. The  
 Doctor is in the right to think the Case bad, where  
 Mistakes are made. But to commit them to the  
 Righteous Judge, seems to be a Reflection upon the  
 Judges of this World, as if they were Unrighteous.  
 But not to insist upon that, believing the Doctor to  
 have a more favourable Opinion of them, I shall on-  
 ly observe, that if this Advice, was put in Execution,  
 what

what must become of our Courts of Judicature? There would be no occasion for Judges or Council, and the Judgment-Seat, and Justice, might be laid aside, and vanish into the other World: For Mistakes in common Law and Equity, as well as in capital Cases, may be made for want of good Evidence, and a true Representation of Circumstances, which not appearing before a Judge in a true Light, may pervert right Judgment; but because Cases and Circumstances may sometimes be misrepresented, must all Judgment be condemned? And because Injustice may be done, must no Justice take Place? At this Rate, lest a Mistake should be made, no Mistakes must be corrected, and consequently all must be Injustice, for want of Judgment. But to speak of Capital Crimes only: It sometimes happens, that a Man suffers upon Moral Probability, and Lawful Evidence, when Circumstances may misrepresent the Case; but it does not follow that all Crimes must go unpunished; and because one dies innocently, that the wicked should go unpunished. If it were not for the Terror of the Laws, nothing but Wickedness would abound, and the Devil and his Angels would act in every Shape, Murder, Theft, and Witchcraft; nay, all manner of Vice would put the World into Confusion. But if the Doctor can prevail with his Rhetorick, who can withstand him? Yet this great Clemency will scarce appear so consistent with Reason, as to take Place, no more than Men will leave off the Use of Swords or Pistols in their Defence, because sometimes they kill, and are made an ill Use of.

But the Doctor offers his Reasons for his Opinion, the first of which is, " That where the Times have  
 " not been so violent and superstitious, but that in-  
 " genious Men might venture to speak freely, and  
 " the Government hath put the Parties into their  
 " Hands, that they might make full Tryal; they  
 " have usually discovered Cheat and Imposture.

“ Here are a Matter of Fifteen famous Detections  
 “ of Fraud, many after Judges and Juries, and a  
 “ Multitude of Eye-witnesſes had been deceived.  
 “ Theſe give me a ſtrong Suſpicion, that if the reſt  
 “ had undergone as ſtrict an Enquiry, moſt of them  
 “ would have been diſcovered as well as theſe.” I  
 find I have a very ſtrict Reaſoner to deal with, and  
 therefore it concerns me to make a ſtrict Scrutiny to  
 find them out; they ſeeming to lye in as much Ob-  
 ſcurity, as before the Papers were published. How  
 violent the Times are, I leave the World to judge: I  
 can ſee nothing of Violence; and as for Superſtition,  
 I think there is ſo little, that Religion, now a Days,  
 is at ſo low an Ebb, that if there was leſs, there  
 would be none at all; moſt Men neither fearing God  
 nor the Devil, nor any of his Works, but perpetrate  
 and commit all manner of Crimes, and if Judgment  
 was left to the Righteous Judge, before that Time,  
 like a Horſe without a Bridle, they would go more  
 Aſtray.

As for the Government putting the Parties into  
 the Hands of ingenious Men, I think they are ſo,  
 when they are brought to Judgment, ſince Judges  
 ought to be ingenious Men. But becauſe ſome Im-  
 poſtors have been found out, the Doctor begins to  
 ſuſpect what the Page before he ſeemed not to que-  
 ſtion; he ſuſpects that thoſe that are real are falſe;  
 at this Rate, indeed, we are got into Superſtitious  
 Times.

The next Reaſon the Doctor offers is ſo full of  
 Weight, that it is ſunk quite out of Sight. It is as  
 follows: “ Though the Relations are wrote by thoſe  
 “ that believe the Facts, and told the Stories with  
 “ as much Advantage as they could well; yet as I  
 “ have in Part obſerved already, ſo I now add, that  
 “ there are few of them without ſome great Abſur-  
 “ dity or Folly, that looks like an Aſſes Ear out of  
 “ a Lion’s Skin. If any one ſhall think it worth his  
 “ while,

“ while, I believe he may collect out of the Books  
 “ of *Witchcraft*, as many incredible Tales, very  
 “ near, as there are in the *Golden Legend*.” Curious  
 Observations, and strong Arguments against  
*Witchcraft*; Stories like Asses Ears out of a Lions  
 Skin! and incredible Talès in the *Golden Legend*!  
 as for the first, I never saw the Sight, and cannot  
 tell how it would look; this is a Secret of the Do-  
 ctor’s, and perhaps may be in the Obscurity his Pa-  
 vers lay so long in. As for the *Golden Legend*, I ne-  
 per had it in my Study.

But to conclude his Reason, says he, “ Now when  
 “ Papists had swelled their lying Miracles into such  
 “ a Multitude, our Reformers ventur’d to reject both  
 “ the Stories and the Doctrines that they proved by  
 “ them, without troubling themselves to account for  
 “ every Particular Relation. And as we have reap’d  
 “ a very lasting and happy Benefit from their sound  
 “ Judgment, I do not see but we may apply their  
 “ Example to the Case before us.” This seems  
 to be a great and lucky Thought, to compare  
 the rejecting of a few Historical Accounts of  
 Possessions and *Witchcraft*, with the Reformation  
 of a whole Church; but though the Kingdom receiv-  
 ed a happy and lasting Benefit from the Reforma-  
 tion, what will it receive, if these should be thrown  
 aside, and what Principles may be built upon them?  
 To determine this, we are to consider what Princi-  
 ples may be built upon them. What Good or Harm  
 they may be likely to do, we have already noted in  
 the first Chapter; and as for what may be built upon  
 them, since Possessions now are of the same Kind  
 with those mentioned in Scripture, only differ in  
 some Circumstances, no Possessions being alike in  
 Circumstances; no other Principles can be built up-  
 on these, but what might be upon those, they both  
 tending to the same End and Intention, as they  
 make People afraid of the Devil and his Works, and  
 shew

shew the Necessity of imploring Divine Assistance : Only there is this Difference ; those happening in our Saviour's Time, tended to his Glory, as they gave him Opportunity to work Miracles, and shew his Power in casting them out ; whereas now he not being upon Earth, they cannot serve to that Purpose. Yet to reject the Belief of these, is to lessen the Belief of the others ; and if there were no Devils in those, none could be cast out ; which would shake our Faith as to the Number of Miracles : Therefore I think we had not best “ apply their Example to the “ Case before us.

But to proceed to his Third Observation, which is, “ An unpardonable Partiality, and perfect Humour in judging what are Acts of Sorcery, and “ what are not.” But the Doctor can excuse his own Partiality, in condemning that which he gives such slight Reasons against.

But to go on to the remaining Part of this Third Observation, or Reason, he observes, “ Tho' the “ Statute against Witchcraft forbids all Acts of Sorcery whatever, and all Charms for employing of “ Spirits ; yet for discovering a supposed Witch, “ they allow any that call themselves Accusers, to “ use barbarous and unnatural Charms, which must “ have their Force (if they have any at all) from “ the same Diabolical Power, because they are no “ natural Causes of such Effects. They allow them, “ for instance, to set the Bottle and Urine upon the “ Fire, well cork'd and ty'd down, and to burn “ Cakes made of the Parties Water. All these are “ seeking to, and consulting with the Devil, and “ employing of him, and using the *Vinculum Pacti*, “ and are within the Reach of the Statute against “ Witchcraft ; and yet all these they confess of “ themselves, and practise unpunished, and think it “ no Harm. But this is the utmost Partiality, or “ rather mere Wantonness in judging ; for whether “ such

" such Compacts are real, or only imaginary, they  
 " ought to be punished equally on both sides, with-  
 " out Respect of Persons." I am sorry the Doctor  
 should be so often mistaken, having such good Judgment ; for tho' he disclaims, and endeavours to extinguish the Belief of the Doctrine of Witchcraft, yet, tho' his Intention seems to be otherwise, he cannot (now and then) forbear in Words, and consequently in Thoughts, owning of it ; or else why should he call them barbarous and unnatural Charms, which the Accusers make use of ; and say, " they must have their Force from some Diabolical Power ;" which is owning such a Diabolical Power ? But he would have the Act to take place upon the Accusers ; he would have the Accusers punished, yet hath a great deal of Clemency for the Witches : Is not this Partiality ? What a great deal of Pains he hath taken, to refer the Accused to the *Righteous Judge* ; yet is mightily offended the Witnesses are not punished ! But to satisfy the Doctor of the Impartiality, we shall only put him in mind of an approved Saying, *Set a Thief to catch a Thief* : And we find in common Capital Cases, as Robbing on the Highway, if a Highway-Man (tho' equally concern'd with others) turns Evidence, he is pardon'd for his past Crimes ; because he detects those that might continue in their Wickedness, and persevere in their ill Practices : But if he is catch'd again in such a Fact, this former Accusation will not excuse that last Crime. But tho' the Accusers in Witchcraft make use of Charms, which are in themselves criminal, yet there is a great deal of Difference betwixt an old Offender and a constant Practiser, and one that only makes use of a single Trial, to discover and detect such Persons : And since one is done with an ill Intent, and the other with a good Design, the Facts not being equally pernicious, cannot deserve equal Punishment, tho' there were no Excuse to be made

made for the Accusers. But to put the Case further: The Doctor, being thoroughly acquainted with the Divine Attributes, it will not be amiss if I should ask him, Whether, tho' it is consistent with God Almighty's Justice, that all those who transgress the Divine Laws, tho' the Fact be greater or less, the Fact breaking of them, should suffer for the Breach of his Commandments; yet may not his Mercy prevail with the Rules of Justice, and pardon them? Otherwise he is not Omnipotent. He may punish, and he may pardon: By the Law they dye, but by his Mercy they may be saved. And so in Common Law, tho' by the Statute the Transgressor ought to suffer, yet Mercy may prevail; and there can be no Mercy without Pardon: For if Justice was always exactly executed, there could not, nor would be such a Thing as Mercy: The Word would be of no Use or Signification.

But to proceed to his Fourth Observation, or Reason: He says, "That the Number of Witches, and the supposed Dealing of Spirits with them, increase or decrease, according to the Laws, and Notions, and Principles of the several Times, Places, and Princes." That they might increase or decrease according to the Laws, there is no doubt; Executions lessening the Number, as well as deterring others from the like Practice: And no doubt, but Princes encouraging the Prosecution of such abominable Practices, might enforce those Laws. And no Question, but Notions and Principles might do much; for tho' some Men's Principles might be bad enough, yet the Notions they had of the Punishment, the Severity of the Laws, and the Resentment of Princes, might deter them, and discourage vicious Practices.

He says; "In the Times of the *Roman* Empire, some of the *Casars* condemned Witches, others would not." Which he might as well have expressed

pressed another way, and said, Some of them discouraged and punished Offenders ; others were vicious themselves, and encouraged Vice, or neglected the Punishment due by Law.

But he says, “ In *Lorrain*, where *Remigius*, by his Principles, could find Eighteen Hundred in Fifteen Years, I do not understand that there are more now than in other Places.” To which I answer, That the Execution of so many might well decrease the Number, as well as deter others. But he says, there are no more now than in other Places : And yet there may be as many now as ever ; for tho’ they act not after the same manner, and dare not discover themselves in such evident and violent ways, so easily discover’d ; they may do more Mischief by more cunning and clandestine ways. They then took a Pride in it, to shew their mischievous Power ; but now they dare not, but may act after manners more prejudicial, tho’ not easily perceived.

He says, “ In *Savoy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, since Philosophy and Learning have prevailed, they have but few, tho’ great Multitudes before.” I wish then that Philosophy and Learning might prevail in *England*, which would be better for the Doctor and me too, (tho’ not equally, because I cannot pretend to so much as the Minister of *St. James’s* in *Edmond’s-Bury* : ) Besides, we should have fewer Witches in *England* ; and I believe there are a great many now, for Half the Kingdom are bewitch’d, or worse. But to be serious : How Learning and Philosophy should decrease the Number of Witches, I cannot tell ; for tho’ I think I have a tolerable Share of either, I cannot well tell how to cast out a Devil : But perhaps such Learning as the Doctor means, hath cast out all the Devils, and banished all the Witches.

He

He goes on : “ Formerly *France* was as much  
 “ vexed with the Accufation of fupposed Witches ;  
 “ but fince they have difcouraged Profecutions, they  
 “ have been in much more Eafe and Freedom from  
 “ them.” The Doctor feems to own or acknow-  
 ledge, that they have been troubled with them ; but  
 if the difcouraging of Profecutions abates the nume-  
 rous Appearance of their ill Effects, perhaps it may  
 be convenient to do as the *Africans* do ; they wor-  
 fhip the Devil, that he may be good-humour’d ; for  
 they think God is good, and will do them no harm.  
 And they fay, Witches never do any Mifchief, but  
 when they are vexed. The Devil is good-humour’d,  
 when he is pleas’d ; but who would do evil, to  
 pleafe fuch a Master, as will punifh them that pleafe  
 him at the laft ? The beft way therefore is to con-  
 temn and defy him, and to punifh his Instruments,  
 and fo to deter them from doing his Drudgery.

The Author hath more of this Kind of Observa-  
 tions, *Page* the 69th ; telling us, how in fome  
 Times few or none were executed, but at other Times  
 great Numbers. But having faid enough already in  
 refpect of fuch trifling Accounts, I think it not  
 worth while to take notice any further of fuch ufe-  
 lefs Repetitions. And I muft ask the Doctor’s Ex-  
 cufe, if I have answer’d feveral of thefe evafive Re-  
 lations with a feeming Slight ; for as I found them  
 to contain little Reason, but only ferved to amufe  
 the Reader ; fo I thought, that where much Rea-  
 son or Argument was not required, or what was pro-  
 pofed did not admit of it, the beft way would be to  
 entertain the Reader with the moft pleafant Argu-  
 ment I could contrive, and leaft offensive to the  
 Learned Author.

But *Page* the 69th, he further fays, “ I make no  
 “ great Doubt, but that we have as many Devils  
 “ now amongst us, as they had in other Ages. For,  
 “ we

“ we have as many Temptations, and Lies, and  
 “ Thefts, and Adulteries, and Murthers, that are  
 “ the Devil’s Works. But our Witches, for the  
 “ present, are gone after the Poets Gods, and mo-  
 “ dern Fairies. For, I must add, that they are not  
 “ so far from us, but that if we should have a  
 “ Prince, and Judges, and Juries, and Witchfinders,  
 “ of the same Principles, that found out so many  
 “ before, in Two Years Time, in all Probability,  
 “ they would find out as many now.”

The Doctor, supposing we have as many Devils now as ever, wonders we have not as many Witches, since the rest of the Devils Works go on now as fast as ever. For which I answer, that for ought he knows we have, though the Severity of the Laws and Punishments, deters them from acting in so open a Manner, yet they may act; and I doubt not but they do so cunningly. that their ill Deeds are not so apparent, or so easily distinguished; the Scripture, which, I suppose, he allows to be true, tells us of People being possessed with the Devil, and gives us an Account of what strange Things were acted by them, yet we see no such violent Effects by Possessions, and must we conclude, therefore, that there is no Devil? Is he gone away with the Poets Gods, and modern Fairies? No; he is as busy now as ever, but not in the same kind of Actions, and though Witches act not now as they were used to do, must we conclude there are none? But I suppose the Devil and they have made a new Compact, and held a General Council, and settled Measures, how they may do Mankind most Mischief.

But he supposes Judges, Juries, and Witchfinders, can produce a Number when they please. As Thief-catchers commonly belong to that honourable Society, or else could not discover them, having no Correspondence with them; so I suppose Witchfinders must be some of that Sisterhood; and no doubt

doubt but if some of them had good Encouragement; they might make large Discoveries; but the Doctor will not allow the Accusers to be pardoned, and who would condemn themselves, by accusing another? As for Princes, Judges and Juries, I suppose they would not take away the Life of a Person, without lawful Proof, and moral Certainty; who would take away a Persons Life without Profit, and be guilty of Murther, without a Prospect of Gain and Advantage?

Page the 69th, to proceed, the Doctor hath started and contrived a new Method of talking, to puzzle himself and others; for instead of making use of Arguments, he tells us, " That the Discovery of  
 " *Witches* does follow Principles; for if Men be-  
 " lieve none, it is not likely they should find any :  
 " But then it may be their Unbelief, or wrong  
 " Principles, that are the Reason why they are nei-  
 " ther found out, nor looked for. To bring this  
 " Point to an Issue, he says, it is necessary to give  
 " a Catalogue of such Principles and Notions, as  
 " have prevailed where many *Witches* were found,  
 " or supposed to be found; and another of such as  
 " have prevailed, where Men have found out few ;  
 " that we may judge, whether kind of Principles  
 " are more Sound and Rational. For if the Princi-  
 " ples upon which Men went, when such great  
 " Numbers were convicted, be true and right,  
 " —they must not be mistaken in Matters of Fact,  
 " in so very many Cases." To which he adds, that  
 " it is " a very difficult Task to reduce these Two  
 " sorts of Principles into Order for a View. For  
 " both the Subject it self is difficult, and the Opini-  
 " ons of those that defend the vulgar Notions, are  
 " so confused and contradictory, that it is im-  
 " possible to bring them into any certain Rules.

But since this Task is so difficult and impossible,  
 I shall endeavour to do it for the Doctor, his other  
 Studies

Studies perhaps not allowing him Time. In order to this, it will be necessary to consider what the Doctor means by Principles, which by what he says, appears to be a Word used in the same Signification with Belief, since he uses this Expression, Unbelief, and wrong Principles, which is in Contradistinction to Belief, and right Principles; now since these Principles, he saith, are only of Two Kinds, the one must be Belief, and the other Unbelief. Now farther, the Reason of this Difficulty is, because People's Opinions are confused and contradictory; and since nothing can be more contradictory than Belief and Unbelief; these, according to his Expressions, must be the Two Sorts of Principles which he calls Opinions confused; since then he says Unbelief is the Reason why Witches are not found out, Belief must be the Principle that finds them out: So that when so many were found out, the Principle Belief must prevail, when they were not found out it must be Unbelief; so that I hope I have reduced these Two Principles in order for a View. And all that made the Matter-obscure, was the Use of this Word Principle, which might have still remained in Obscurity, had not the rest of his Expressions explained it; but I suppose, this Word was only made use of to entangle the Sense, so that it should not easily be understood.

But since the Meaning of this Term is understood, and it appears that the right was Belief, which Men went upon, when so many were convicted, it will follow, that they could not be mistaken in Matter of Fact, in so very many Cases. But supposing he will not stand to the Conviction of his own Words, Principles by which they are found must be good or bad, and let the way they are found be what it will, it must be nothing but moral Proof that could convict them, except any Body could think a Judge would condemn a Person wrongfully, whose Circumstances  
are

are so indifferent, that they must rather be Objects of Pity than Envy.

*Page* the 70th, he proceeds, "As some Ages have had the Appearance of many Witches, and others of few, so in some Ages Witches, and their Works, and Confessions, are quite different from others." It is no wonder that Witches and their Works should differ; for, as we have noted before, the Possessions in Scripture not only differed from one another, but our Saviour declared, that they proceeded from Spirits of a different Kind, *Mark ix. 29.* *This Kind can come forth by nothing but Prayer and Fasting.*

But he says, "A *Hebrew* Witch, a *Pagan* Witch, a *Lapland* Witch, an *Indian* Witch, a *Popish* Witch, and a *Protestant* Witch, differ from one another." Indeed the Place of their Nativity may distinguish them, as they belong to different Countries; but I never thought that Witches were of any Religion before, since they worship not the true God in any manner, but the Devil, whose Works they do.

His next Paragraph consists of some ridiculous Banter, which can relish with no body that can distinguish evasive and superficial Ridicule from sound Arguments, and therefore I think it not worth while to take Notice of it. But *Page 71,* he says, "We have been apt to wonder why the Devil had forsaken our Age, that we had no Possessions among us, when 'in ancient Times they had so many." He insinuates also, as if pious Persons may be bewitched who turn Accusers; and adds, "But if they that have been thought to have been betwitched, have really been Dæmoniacks, and the Devil by their Mouths hath carried on his great Work of false accusing and murdering of innocent People, then we must own he hath done by Craft, what he could not do by direct Temptation,

tion, and hath made those very Men his Tools, to carry on his Plots, who verily believed, they had been destroying his Works." As to the first, we have little Reason to think, that the Devil had forsaken our Age, because we have no such Possessions as formerly; for though he acts not so openly, we see too many of his Works daily, and the Doctor himself was of a different Opinion but Two or Three Pages before; for there he says, *Page 68, and 69.* "That we have as many Devils now amongst us, as they had in other Ages; for we have as many Temptations, &c." So that the Doctor makes use of the Devil, just as he will serve his Purpose; and as our Saviour turned him out of the possessed Person into the herd of Swine, so he would cast him out of Witches, and sometimes out of the Age, or fetch him in again, as Occasion serves; nay, he will not allow him Communication with Witches, but would insinuate him into pious Persons, and make him act as an Informer, or Accuser; at this Rate, why may we not suppose, that he hath entered into the Doctor, to make him defend Criminals and possessed Persons, and accuse pious Persons? Who knows but so pious a Person as himself, may be worked upon by Craft, though it could not be done by Temptation? This Suggestion seems as natural as what the Doctor says, who seems to favour his Plots, though he verily believes he is destroying his Works; and to use the Doctor's own Words, "I do not as-  
 fect this, but I will say, there are some Appear-  
 ances that look that way. For the Doctor makes use of very crafty Insinuations, though but very weak Arguments, if any at all; so that I have only the Opportunity of discovering his Suggestions, having very little Reason to oppose; but those were answered in the Two first Chapters.

But to proceed, *Page 71, and 72,* he says, "That we might judge when the Confessions of Witches  
 proceed

“ proceed from a sound Mind, and when from Ima-  
 “ gination and Vapours; (that is, whether they are  
 “ real or no) it would be necessary we should have  
 “ some fixed bounds of the Power of Spirits, that  
 “ we might know when they had passed the Degrees  
 “ of Possibility.” That there are fixed Bounds of  
 the Power of Spirits, is evident from Scripture; that  
 having shewn us what is in the Power of Spirits to do.  
 Satan tempted our Saviour, and carried him up upon  
 the Pinnacle of the Temple: Devils possessed several,  
 and produced Effects which could not be attributed  
 to natural Causes; and this is to be distinguished;  
 those Effects which proceed from natural Causes,  
 ranging themselves amongst the Number of known  
 Distempers, which appear by their Symptoms;  
 whereas the Effects of supernatural Causes own their  
 Cause, because they differ from what is Natural.

But farther, *Page 72*, he goes on, “ Concerning  
 “ the Nature and Will, and Designs of Spirits,  
 “ though we are sure of their Being, yet we are by  
 “ no means able to lay down safe Rules, by which  
 “ we may judge of their Actions and Intentions.”  
 That we cannot have adequate Idea's of what is im-  
 material is certain, yet as to the Will and Designs of  
 them, we know that they must be either good or  
 bad, which Rules are safe enough; besides their  
 Actions shew their Natures to be Good or Evil; and  
 if we guess right, their Wills and Intentions are ac-  
 cording to their Actions, which must be either good  
 or bad too.

He proceeds, “ Some think, and have written,  
 “ that there are harmless Spirits, that are in a kind  
 “ of middle State, betwixt Angels and Devils; and  
 “ if so, one would think it should be no Capital  
 “ Offence to have Communication with them.” I  
 would ask the Doctor, allowing such, if there be such  
 Spirits, whether any body was ever convicted for do-  
 ing no Harm? Whether ever any one was accused  
 for

for a Witch, without some ill Actions suspected or proved? If there is no ill Action, there can be no Proof of any; nor can any body tell what Spirits a Man hath Communication with, except his Actions discover what manner of a Spirit it is. The Tree is known by its Fruit, and a Man condemned or justified by his bad or good Deeds. *Matth. vii. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Ye shall know them by their Fruits: Do Men gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles? Even so every good Tree bringeth forth good Fruit; but a corrupt Tree bringeth forth evil Fruit. A good Tree cannot bring forth evil Fruit; neither can a corrupt Tree bring forth good Fruit. Every Tree that bringeth not forth good Fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the Fire. Wherefore by their Fruits ye shall know them.*

He next quotes *Dr. More*, and tells us of other Spirits, "That are very great Fools. That Spirits act variously, and in different Manners, is certain from their Actions; and that not only Spirits who act according to the Will and Direction of a foolish Creature, may do so, is very likely, but it is evident that the Devil himself hath acted very often more like a Fool, than a subtle crafty Spirit: It was not very prudent of the Devil to war against God, who not being satisfied with his great Share of Happiness, lost his first State, and cast himself out into everlasting Misery: Nor was it a much less foolish and vain Undertaking, to offer Temptations to the Son of God, who he knew was in Essence the same, and equal with his Father. Besides these, there are other Instances of the Folly of his Attempts, but these are sufficient for our present Purpose.

*Page 73*, he goes on, "Who dare venture to determine what God will suffer, and what he will not? Who knows whether he may not permit such Things, on purpose to prove Judges and Juries, how wise and valiant they will be, in defending the Lives of the Poor and Innocent." To  
which

which I answer, that what God will permit, as far as relates to the present Subject, appears from what he hath permitted; he hath permitted the Devil and his Angels to tempt his Creatures, to try whether they would resist Temptations; he hath laid before them Good and Evil, and a Power to chuse which they will; a Witch may chuse whether she will take upon her the Service of the Devil, and forsake the Service of God; and his Providence hath appointed Judges and Juries to examine into their wicked Deeds, and to punish evil Doers, as *Deut. xxx. 15, 17, 18.* *See, this Day I have set before thee Life and Good, and Death and Evil. But if thine Heart turn away, so that thou wilt not hear, but shalt be drawn away, and worship other Gods, and serve them: I denounce unto you this Day, that you shall surely perish, and that you shall not prolong your Days upon the Land.* But the Doctor says, these Things were permitted to try the Wisdom and Valour of Judges and Juries: I never heard before, that Judges and Juries were ever tempted in any other Shape, but that of current Coin; it would be very hard to hazard the Lives of the Innocent, to try Judges, when the Tryal must deceive them, and pervert Judgment, without any Crime in them, since by the Evidence it appeared to be true: Therefore the only way to try Judges and Juries, is by Bribery, to try whether they will accept it or not, which is at their Free-will and Choice, and a voluntary Action; but who would bribe to murder innocent, especially poor People?

He says further, "Who can say to what Degree God may permit him to use his natural Craft and Subtilty?" To which I answer, Why does the Doctor argue against his natural Craft and Subtilty? which God Almighty hath permitted, and hath told us in what Degrees; having sufficiently warn'd us of his Devices, and given us so many Instances in Sacred Writings.

Page 74, he says, "Wise Men have thought it necessary to be wonderfully cautious in Penal Laws—and, where their Neighbour's Blood or Reputation is at Stake, they think they are bound to keep to some few negative Rules." And in this they are in the Right; it would be hard the Innocent should suffer, and it would be as hard that the Wicked should go unpunished, when there is good Proof. We shall therefore take a View of his negative Rules.

The first is, "*Do not intrude into Things that you have not seen*, Col. 2. 18. If this is one of his negative Rules, it little concerns this Subject; and the Doctor hath cited it very partially, the Text being thus, *Let no Man beguile you of your Reward, in a voluntary Humility, and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those Things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly Mind*. St. Paul here is exhorting the People to Constancy, that they might reap the Fruits of it, but says not a Word of *Witchcraft*, nor that a Judge and Jury shall not examine the Evidence, because they themselves are not Witnesses.

The Second is, "Even good Spirits are no Legal Evidence in our Courts." In this he is right, for they would be neither acceptable to Judge nor Jury; besides, it would be difficult to summon them there; and as for the Devil, if he should appear, I believe neither the Jury would stay to give their Verdict, nor the Judge to receive it.

The Third is, "We must not make our Neighbours suffer for the Harms the Devil does. As the Serpent will bite without bidding, so the Devil will do Mischief without our Leave." But if our Neighbour acts by virtue of an evil Spirit, and consents to what the Devil does, and the Devil is employed by a Neighbour, the Neighbour is either Actor, or Accessary, and consequently makes it his

own Action, and ought to suffer for it, which is the Case of Witches.

The Fourth is, "We can no more convict a Witch upon the Tricks of Swimming, Scratching, Touching, or any other such Experiments, than we may convict a Thief upon the Tryal of the Sieve and Sheers." I thought a Thief was never convicted, except upon Legal Proof before a Judge and Jury; and if there be moral Proof before the same against one accused of *Witchcraft*, that is sufficient.

The Fifth negative Rule is, "Witches Confessions have so often been extorted, so often the Effects of Distraction, proceeding from long Watching and Tortures of Distempers, and have been so often found contrary to plain Truth, that they are not to be believed against the Probability of Things, and the natural Circumstances of Actions. We suppose no Confessions can be said to be extorted, which are voluntary, without Tortures and violent Means: and as for distracted People, Madness is easily discovered; and who would convict a Witch against Probability and Circumstances of Actions? These are the Things which moral Proof consists of, and which give Credit to Testimony, and as Belief is founded upon moral Proof, upon that Proof Judgment ought to be given.

The Sixth is, "Things odd and unaccountable ought to be respited, till we understand them." But to this I answer, that Probability and Circumstances make them accountable and understood. But this Rule contradicts his first Rule, for if you are not to intrude or examine into Things, how will you understand them:

The Seventh, "Where there is no known Rule to decide by, make no Judgment. In Law, I think Precedents make Rules; and Probability and moral Proof is another Rule.

But

But to proceed to his last negative Rule, he says, "It becomes us to shew our Faith in God, by leaving doubtful Cases to his Providence, which is powerfully present and active in the World." To which I answer, that his powerful Providence directs us to examine into doubtful Cases, and to remove those Doubts; and God Almighty, who is the only Providential Being, hath directed by his Prophets, that such as do Evil, shall suffer Punishment, as a just Reward of their evil Ways. Besides, this negative Rule leaves our Neighbours Reputation at Stake, as under Suspicion, which ought to be clear'd, so that here the Doctor makes his own Opinion contrary to Reason and himself.

But these are the Rules the Doctor supposes, where the World discovered few Witches; and indeed, where they were neither examin'd into, nor tried, but left to act at their own Discretion, without Notice, I cannot see how there should be any Appearance, none being taken Notice of.

But let us see what Rules brought Offenders to Justice, and suffered not such Vices to be practis'd without Punishment, and Discouragement.

The *First* is, "That the Devil cannot make a Person in Fits, think he should see the Shape or Appearance of another, unless that Person hath made a Compact." The Doctor does not approve this; he would think, I suppose, that the Devil may possess a Person, yet hath all along been declaiming against Possessions; but if the Devil may thus disturb the Brains of distempered People, why may he not act upon others, and disorder them as in Possessions mentioned in our History; and if he does, why may he not do it at the Request of those that have made a Contract with him? For it is not to be supposed, that a Witch can do any Thing without the Assistance of an evil Spirit, or one of the Devils Agents;

and if so, we may believe, that this Possession of the Person was at the request of that Person who had so contracted, who was the Agent that employed that Spirit.

The *Second* is, “ That therefore the Spectral Evidence, that is, the afflicted Parties thinking they see the Persons that torment them, may be given in Evidence.” Because the Devil always represents the Person that employs him, and makes the deluded Witch believe she does it, which is her great Satisfaction for her ill Bargain; which Fact she consenting to, makes it hers, she employing the Author of that Mischiefe.

The *Third* is, “ That it is lawful to try the supposed Witch, by observing how the afflicted Party is afflicted at the Touch of her.” For then it is supposed, that the evil Spirit is obliged by Contract to fall to Work. Besides, the Devil uses his Servants with so little Honour, that, as he designs to torment them at the last, he often betrays them to Justice, that he may the sooner have them in his Possession.

The *Fourth*, “ That it is lawful to use the *Lord's-Prayer*, for a Test to discover them. *Sadd. Debell. Page 54.*

*Fifth*, “ That Swimming is a fair Tryal of a Witch. *King James's Demon.*

*Sixth*, “ That want of Tears is another Mark. *Sadd. Debell.*

*Seventh*, “ That insensible Parts and Teats are Signs of *Witchcraft*. *Dalton's Country Justice.*

*Eighth*, “ That the Devil's Mark may be like a Flea-bite. *Dalton's Country-Justice.*

*Ninth*, “ That the Devil can do more, when he hath a Witches Commission, than he can do without it. *Mr. Baxter's Certainty of the World of Spirits.*

*Tenth*, " That *Persona inhabiles*, in other Cases, even infamous Persons, are lawful Evidence in the Case of Witchcraft. *Sadd. Debell.* p. 58.

*Eleventh*, " That Tortures may be made use of, to extort Confessions." With as much Reason in this Case, as in others.

*Twelfth*, " That the Witches may be kept long from Sleep, and then examined.

*Thirteenth*, " That the suspected Witches may be watched, till their Imps appear ; and then Imps may come in the Shape of Cats, Dogs, Rats, Mice, Spiders, Fleas, Nits, Birds, Flies, a Toad, a Frog, a Hen, a Crow, a Hornet, or a Mole.

This Rule he opposes thus : " This is a pernicious Way of Tryal ; because it would be strange, if no Creature should happen near them." To which I answer, That real Substances, or those which are material ones, may easily be distinguished from Apparitions of Spirits. But the Doctor proceeds : " If we know any Thing of Spirits, this is contradictory to the true Notion of them ; for if they are, or can make themselves invisible, what signifies watching ?" To which I answer ; That tho' they may be invisible if they please, or may make themselves otherwise if they will, yet they often chuse rather to be visible, that they may betray and discover the Bondslave that employs them. That Spirits as such are invisible is certain ; or else we might discover the Soul of a Man when it departs the Body ; but that they may assume a Body, or Corporeal Substance, and be visible, is as certain. To convince us of this, we have our Saviour's Words ; who when he appeared unto his Disciples after his Resurrection, bad them feel the Marks of the Nails in his Hands, to convince them that it was his Body ; whereas, if a Spirit could not be made visible, he might as easily have said, a Spirit is invisible, and cannot be seen : But the Scripture

otherwise ; witness the Visibility of Spirits, Angels having appeared upon several Occasions : But of this more in the Second Part of *Material* and *Immaterial Substances*.

The *Fourteenth* Rule is, “ When the Accused are upon their Tryal for bewitching any particular Person, it is lawful to give in Evidence Matters that are no ways relating to that Fact, and done many Years before, which consequently they cannot be prepared to answer to.” And this I think very reasonable ; for these concurring Circumstances tend either to clear, or represent more fully their Suspicion, and the Probability of their being ill Persons ; and whether they have been long guilty, or suspected to follow such ill Practices : As when a Man hath been try'd for his Life formerly, or hath been burnt in the Hand, the Continuance of such Vices adds to the Probability of his Guilt.

The *Fifteenth* is, “ That ill Fame of their Ancestors, is a reasonable Ground of Suspicion :” And not without Reason ; because it implies, that they were brought up in ill Principles.

The *Sixteenth* is, “ That Imps may be kept in Pots, or other Vessels ; and that the Pots and Places where they are kept, stink detestably ; and that therefore such stinking Places in their Houses, are Signs that they have Imps.” *Dalton's Country Just.*

The *Seventeenth* : “ That received Rules, that have been practised by Courts of Justice, are not to be examined by Reason.

The *Eighteenth* : “ That tho' these Arguments, single, are not concluding ; yet several of them, together, are sufficient : As Five little Candles, together, give one great one.” To which the Doctor suggests : “ Which, by the way, is a fallacious Comparison : For Forty bad Arguments prove no more than one ; that is, nothing at all :

“ But

“ But it can never be said so of lighted Candles in a Room.” And to the Doctor’s Answer I must reply, That it is more fallacious ; for all the Circumstances, or Rules, are supposed to concur to make Truth evident and plain, and strengthen one another ; as Five Candles make one good Light, or evident and moral Possibility.

Having thus taken a View of these Rules, we cannot but admire what strong Arguments the Doctor hath offer’d against them. He condemns them without any Tryal at all ; tho’ he would not have poor Witches try’d ; and at once pronounces them unscriptural, superstitious, and false.

The Doctor is endowed with a wonderful Stock of Clemency ; he had rather the World should suffer, than Justice should be done to the Children of the Devil : They ought to be used tenderly, lest, like Dogs in a Passion, they should bite. He hath taken a great deal of Pains in Favour of them, tho’ God Almighty condemns them. How great must that Mercy be, which exceeds infinite Mercy !

This puts me in mind of a Sermon I heard in the Country, about the Feast in the Gospel, some Years ago : For tho’ the Lord was angry, when his Guests were invited, and would not come ; yet this sweet-temper’d Gentleman, being more compassionate than the Lord, tho’ he likewise blamed some, excused others ; *the first* (Luk<sup>s</sup> 14. 18.) *said unto him, I have bought a Piece of Ground, and I must go and see it :* Now, says the Parson, could not this Man have gone and seen it another Day ? Another said, *I have bought Five Yoke of Oxen, and I go to prove them :* Says the Minister, Could not this Man prove his Oxen another Day ? Another said, *I have married a Wife, and therefore I cannot come :* Now, says our good-natur’d Gentleman, this Man I could

not blame : He was for excusing him , tho' the Lord blamed them all.

Thus the Doctor would not have Witches punish'd, no not so much as look'd after, tho' the Scripture condemns them. He will not easily admit of Possessions, tho' our Saviour and his Disciples found enough : But these, he says, are most frequently found out in superstitious Times ; and he would have the Witch-finders punish'd, as well as the Witches. What would he have done with our Saviour and his Disciples ? Were they superstitious ? Or were their Principles of an ill Kind, unscriptural and false ?

From what we have hitherto observed, I can find but little Reason the Doctor hath offer'd to blame our *History of Witchcraft*, and much less to favour his own *Essay*, which very likely may do much more Harm than some are aware of.

I should proceed to shew, that the Scripture could find out Magicians, Sorcerers, and Witchcraft, and several possessed with Devils, to enforce and confirm what we have said ; but I shall refer that to the *Second Part*, where we shall shew the Effects Spirits may have, in working upon, and altering Matter.

We shall therefore conclude this, and examine further in the next Chapter, what the Doctor hath said in the remaining Part of his *Essay*.

## C H A P. IV.

*Containing some Remarks on what he hath said of the Witches in Suffolk, Salem, Boston and Andover in New-England; at Mohra in Sueden, and the Witches at Warbois.*

FROM what we have said in the foregoing Chapters, it appears, That the Doctor hath said very little to favour his Opinion; but that, on the contrary, it is manifest, both from Reason and the Testimony of Scripture, that Possessions are not only possible, but have been frequent. Now if in some Cases there should be Mistakes, or some should endeavour to deceive the World, this does not detract from the Credit which ought to be given to those that are true; no more than Counterfeit Bonds, or forged Bills diminish the Value of those that are genuine. If there are Mistakes or Impositions, it behoves those, under whose Care it lies, to discover and distinguish what are real, and what are Impositions: And this is the Work of Judges and Juries, when such Cases come before them; which, no doubt, their Consciences will oblige them to take care of.

As for the Doctor, any body that takes notice of his Partiality in Managing this Subject, his cunning Insinuations and Evasions, and the Weakness of his Arguments, (tho' in Opposition to what is contained in Scripture) will suppose he will muster up all the Mistakes or Impositions he can, to favour his espoused Doctrine: But supposing them to be as he would represent them, it shews them false, perhaps;

but except all are false, his Opinion is bad. And in examining these Cases, no doubt but the Doctor will use all the Art he can, to represent them erroneous; therefore, tho' it alters not the Subject in general, whether true or false, we shall (as briefly as we can) take a View of them, and see with what Skill the Doctor hath endeavour'd to make particular Exceptions to universal Truths. If these Stories are false, it will follow, that our History in general is true, having the Authority of Scripture on our side; and that the Doctor's *Essay* contains a Collection of false Relations and Impositions.

As for the first Case, which is of the *Suffolk Witches*, he quotes an Account of them out of Mr. *Baxter's Certainty of the World of Spirits*, which is as follows: "The hanging a great Number of Witches in *Suffolk* and *Essex*, by the Discovery of one *Hopkins*, in 1645 and 1646, is famously known. Mr. *Calamy* went along with the Judges in the Circuit, to hear their Confessions, and see that there was no Fraud or wrong done them. I spake with many understanding, pious, and credible Persons, that lived in the Countries, and some that went to them to the Prisons. Amongst the rest, an old Reading Parson, called *Loves*, and not far from *Framlingham*, was one that was hanged; who confessed that he had Two Imps; That one of them was always putting him on doing Mischief, and (he being near the Sea) as he saw a Ship under Sail, it moved him to send him to sink the Ship, and he consented, and saw the Ship sink before him. One penitent Woman confessed; That her Mother lying sick, and she looking to her, somewhat like a Mole ran into the Bed to her; which she being startled at, her Mother bid her not fear it, but gave it her, saying, Keep this in a Pot by the Fire, &c. and

" thou

" thou shalt never want. She did as she was bid :  
 " Shortly after a poor Boy came (seemingly) in,  
 " and asked Leave to sit and warm him by the  
 " Fire ; and when he was gone, she found Money  
 " under the Stool ; and afterwards oft did so again ;  
 " and at last laid hold of her, and drew Blood  
 " of her : And she made no other Compact with  
 " the Devil, but that the Imps sucked her Blood ;  
 " and, as I heard, she was delivered. Abundance of  
 " sad Confessions were made by them : by which  
 " some testified, that there are certain Punishments  
 " which they were to undergo, if they did not some  
 " Hurt as was appointed them.

In Confutation of this *Historical Account*, writ by  
 so learned a Man, and one of so good Authority,  
 the Doctor makes some Reflections on Mr. *Baxter*,  
 neither becoming himself, nor due to the other ; and  
 produces a Letter writ by Mr. *Hopkins*, which is as  
 follows :

*M. N.*

" My Service to your Worship presented ; I have  
 " this Day received a Letter, &c. to come to a  
 " Town called *Great Stoughton*, to search for evil-  
 " disposed Persons, called Witches, (though I hear  
 " your Minister is far against us, thro' Ignorance : )  
 " I intend to come (God willing) the sooner, to  
 " hear his singular Judgment in the Behalf of such  
 " Parties. I have known a Minister in *Suffolk*  
 " preach as much against their Discovery in a Pul-  
 " pit, and forced to recant it (by the Committee)  
 " in the same Place. I much marvel, such evil Mem-  
 " bers should have any, (much more any of the  
 " Clergy, who should daily preach Terror, to con-  
 " vince such Offenders) stand up to take their Parts,  
 " against such as are Complainants for the King,  
 " and Sufferers themselves, with their Families and  
 " Estates." — — So much of this Letter as is neces-  
 sary ;

fary; the rest only enquiring what Sort of Entertainment they were likely to meet with, to refresh themselves.

To this Letter, the Doctor annexes a Quotation from Mr. *Gaul*; which 'tis necessary to transcribe, that we may see what great Conclusions the Doctor draws from the whole; it is as follows: " To all  
 " these, I cannot but add one at large, which I have  
 " lately learnt, partly from some Communication I  
 " had with one of the Witch-finders, (as they call  
 " them) partly from the Confession which I heard,  
 " of a suspected and a committed Witch, so handled  
 " as she said, and partly as the Country-People talk  
 " of it. Having taken the suspected Witch, she is  
 " placed in the Middle of a Room, upon a Stool or  
 " Table, cross-legg'd, or in some other uneasy Po-  
 " sture; to which, if she submits not, she is then  
 " bound with Cords. There is she watch'd, and  
 " kept without Meat, or Sleep, for the Space of  
 " Four and twenty Hours; for within that Time,  
 " they say, they shall see her Imp come and suck.  
 " A little Hole is likewise made in the Door, for  
 " the Imp to come in at; and lest it should come  
 " in some less discernible Shape, they that watch,  
 " are taught to be ever and anon sweeping the Room,  
 " and if they see any Spiders or Flies, to kill them;  
 " and if they cannot kill them, then to be sure they  
 " are her Imps.

Having thus related what the Doctor hath quoted, to his Advantage, let us see what Advantage he makes of it. The first Paragraph, (*Pag.* 83, 84.) he only complains of the Severity of the Tiyal of the Stool, and only supposes an extorted Confession; but Mr. *Baxter* hath told us of voluntary Confessions of Persons themselves, of which he was an Eye-witness.

In the next Paragraph, the Doctor tells us of a Woman that was kept fasting, and without Sleep, till she confessed, and called her *Imp Nan*; which when she had got Sleep, and refreshed her self, she deny'd again: But it does not therefore follow, that she was innocent, her first Confession making her guilty.

*Page* the 85th, he tells of walking them, and swimming of them, till they would confess; and of searching for Teats, and other Marks; and this he calls Barbarity: But is it not more Barbarity to suffer them to damnify and abuse their Neighbours, by their ill Practices? And as none but People of ill Characters, and whose Actions had given just Grounds of Suspicion, were used so; it seems to be no more Hardship, than it is to bring a suspected Highwayman before a Judge upon his Tryal: there being no way of Conviction without Tryal, nor any Punishment without Proof.

The next Paragraph, the Doctor is offended, that the Parliament being address'd, rather encouraged the Execution of Justice, than suffer'd the wicked to go on in their ways, and solicit evil Spirits to execute their ill Designs; as too many do now-a-days. But, *Page* the 86th, he brings a Text out of *Hudibras* to assist his Burlesque, and tells us, that *Hopkins* was at last abused for his good Service, being abused by one Party, because he was encouraged by the other.

In the next Paragraph, the Doctor is angry, because he called Mr. *Loves* a Reading Parson: But if he was so, where was the Injustice? Would he have him called a Bishop? But the Doctor will not believe Mr. *Loves* Confession, tho' Mr. *Baxter* witnesseth it. Is not Mr. *Baxter's* Affirmation as good Proof, as the Doctor's Supposition is to the contrary? He was a Man of great Learning, great Parts, and singular Piety; why should not his Word, in  
the

the Affirmative, be better than a Denial, without Evidence to the contrary? All that he says, he wants to know the Time, and the Ship's Name, and Witnesses; and spends the whole 88th Page, in Circumlocutions about Mr. *Baxter's* Relation. How should any body know the Ship's Name, and no body to enquire; the Ship being at Sea? But he asks, what Gain could be got by the Fact? Or what Gain could be got by his Accusation? The Doctor, I thought, had known very well, what Gain Mr. *Loves* might expect to get, for ruining so many Families: He confessed the Fact, and received *the Wages of Sin, which is Death*. We know, that *the Devil goes about like a roaring Lyon, seeking whom he may devour*; and if he can delude any poor Creatures to join and consent with him in Mischief, he brings them in guilty of the Fact, without Hopes of Reward or Provocation. I would ask the Doctor, what Harm Mankind have done to the Devil, that he should covet to betray them to Sin and Death? Is it to spite God Almighty, by destroying his Works; being capable of no other Mischief? And as he does Mischief without Hopes of Gain, or Provocation, so he takes delight to mislead Mankind, and draw them into the same Snare, to fight and war against Heaven.

But, Page the 89th, the Doctor gives Mr. *Loves* an extraordinary Character, and prints the following Letter to second it, from Mr. *Rivett*, a Gentleman of *Brandston*.

S I R,

“ In Answer to your Request concerning Mr. *Loves*,  
 “ my Father was always of the Opinion, that  
 “ Mr. *Loves* suffer'd wrongfully; and hath often  
 “ said, That he did believe he was no more a Wi-  
 “ zard than he was.

As

As to the first Character, he might be in other Actions esteemed a good Man, and yet be guilty of this Crime. You hear nothing alledged against a great many Offenders, but the Fact they are accused of; and if that be proved, or they confess it, the Law gives Judgment: And therefore we must suppose, that it was proved; or else the Judge and Jury would never have brought him in guilty, and condemned him. If his Accusers were in fault, the Witnesses and his Confession must stand against him, or a Judge would never be so wicked to condemn an innocent Person, without Hopes of Gain, no more than the Jury would bring him in guilty: So that if he committed the Crime, what signifies the rest of his Character? He was not hang'd for his good Character, but for the Crime he confessed, and was accused of. And as for Mr. *Rivett's* Character, that does not say he was not guilty; it only says, he could be no Witness against him: Nor can I, any further than as the Story is related: And for any Thing the Doctor offers to the contrary, the Case seems to carry the same Shew of Truth as it did before.

But to go on with the Letter: He writes, " I have heard it from them that watch'd with him, that they kept him awake several Nights together, and run him backwards and forwards about the Room, until he was out of Breath. Then they rested him a little, and then ran him again; and thus they did for several Days and Nights together, till he was weary of his Life, and was scarce sensible of what he did. They swam him at *Framlingham*; but that was no true Rule to try him by, for they put in honest People, and they swam as well as he.

This walking and running, the Doctor thinks barbarous; but I cannot think it true, for those that ran with him, must suffer themselves as well as he;

he; and they would scarce use themselves barbarously: Nor can I think, that running and walking could make a Man senseless. The Doctor mistrusts Reports on the other Side, but is willing to believe any Thing that favours his Cause; but supposing this true, could this make him guilty; would he confess himself guilty of Death, because he was weary of walking or running; this is more incredible than what is alledged against him.

But to proceed, our Witchfinder-General, Mr. *Hopkins*, owned, "that he had Twenty Shillings a Town for going to them." And if he had, does that lessen the Guilt of the Person? Must not the Doctor's Parishioners believe what he says in the Pulpit, because he is paid for his Pains? Could a Man live, and travel, without Reward or Payment?

He says further, "that they had swam many; that they had watched them for Four Nights running, and does not deny but they had kept them standing, or walking, till their Feet were blistered;" for which Mr. *Hopkins* gives this very good Reason. The Reason, says he, was to prevent their couching down; for indeed when they be suffered so to couch, immediately come their Familiars into the Room, and scare the Watchers, and hearten on the Witch, &c. So it is not the Barbarity of the watching, but the fearfulness of the Watchers, that may give the Doctor Reason to complain, if there be any.

As for the Story of the Old Woman, the Doctor does not deny but that it hath been confirmed; but notwithstanding he cannot contradict it, he would lessen the Credit by Insinuations; says he, "What signifies Confessions, after such Usage?" Yet I do not find the Old Woman was ill used, but that this was a voluntary Confession; but the Doctor goes on, "Old Women are apt to make such Fancies of themselves—and after hearing how familiar the Devil  
" was

“ was with others, and what Imps they had, she  
 “ might begin to think that a Beggar-boy had been  
 “ a Spirit, and Mice upon her Mother’s Bed, had  
 “ been her Imps.” A very likely Story! that an Old  
 Woman should falsely accuse her self to be hanged;  
 or how simple must the Daughter be, to think a Beg-  
 gar-boy a Spirit, and yet not be afraid; or why  
 should she think Mice Imps, when she said, what  
 ran into the Bed was like a Mole; or was a Mole  
 running into the Bed, like Mice playing upon it?  
 this is a weak Evasion of the Doctor’s; he would  
 impose this Suggestion, yet Mr. *Baxter’s* Testimony,  
 which he cannot deny neither, must not be be-  
 lieved.

Yet though the Doctor cannot disown the Con-  
 fession, he would further evade it, by representing  
 it in another Manner, hoping to make it appear of  
 less Credit, which rather confirms it.

He says, “ *Elizabeth Clark*, an old Beggar with  
 “ only one Leg, they said, had an Imp, called *Vine-*  
 “ *gar Tom*; another called *Sack and Sugar*; and  
 “ another that, she said, she would fight up to the  
 “ Knees in Blood, before she would lose it. She said  
 “ the Devil came to her Two or Three Times a  
 “ Week, and lay with her like a Man; and he was  
 “ so very likely a Man, that she was forced to rise  
 “ and let him in, when he knocked at the Door,  
 “ and she felt him Warm. *Goodwife Higtree*  
 “ kept her Imp a Year and half with Oatmeal, and  
 “ lost it.” This Confession the Doctor hath had con-  
 firmed, yet he is very hard to be persuaded to be-  
 lieve what is contrary to his Inclination; no Testi-  
 mony will prove any Thing, which suits not with  
 his Opinion; he will yet favour his espoused Cause,  
 and would make us believe they “ had kept these  
 poor People without Meat or Sleep, till they knew  
 not well what they said; yet the Daughter confess’d  
 they found Money; and he just before says, she had  
 Money

Money given every Day, almost, for telling the Story; now if she had Money given her every Day, what occasion had she to want Meat; or how can he suppose that she knew not what she said, when he owns she told the Story to get Money?

*Of the Witchcraft at Salem, Boston and Andover, in New-England.*

Having taken a View of what the Doctor hath said, to evade the Credit of the *Suffolk* Witches, we shall next take Notice how he manages his Cause, in respect of the *New-England* Witches.

As to the Case of *Goodwin's* Children, for the Bewitching of whom one *Glover* was hanged the Year before: Though the Truth of this was confirmed by Mr. *Mather*, and the Proof was so undeniable, as to gain the Credit of Mr. *Baxter*, and others; and though, *Page* the 98th, he himself owns, "Such Fits may be Diabolical, for though  
 " evil Spirits cannot be supposed in Reality to be  
 " differently affected, according to Popish or Inde-  
 " pendent Notions; yet the same Spirit may coun-  
 " terfeit a Torture, or a Delight at the very same  
 " Book, according as he can better make use of it  
 " for a Snare to those that are about him;" yet though the Doctor confesses the Possibility of the Truth, yet at the same Time he endeavours to baffle and lessen the Credit of it, by suggesting, "That  
 " the poor Old Woman being an *Irish* Papist, and  
 " not ready in the Signification of *English* Words,  
 " had entangled her self by superstitious Belief, and  
 " doubtful Answers about Saints and Charms." A very powerful Suggestion to baffle the Truth of an Historical Account of Matter of Fact. We must take the Doctor's Suppositions for Arguments against naked Truth; but how should this Woman come to believe

believe any Thing she did not understand, and how could she suppose her self to understand, not knowing the Signification of Words.

But the Doctor seems mightily offended at a seeming Reflection made upon the *Common-Prayer*, which yet may be really none; for who knows but the Devil may subtly shew a liking to a good Book, to put some Persons out of Conceit with it? Yet this does not answer the Doctor's Intention, in not proving the Person possessed, if other Circumstances make it evident; nor does the Fallibility of this Rule take away the Possibility of persons being possessed.

But the Doctor observes one Thing further in Mr. *Mather's* Book, "He took this young Woman Home, that he might the better make his Observations. She often used to say, that the Witches brought her an invisible Horse, and then she would skip into a Chair, and seat her self in a riding Posture; and after that she would be mov'd as if Ambling and Trotting, and Gallopping, she talked with invisible Company, that seem'd to go with her, and listened for their Answers. After Two or Three Minutes, she would seem to think her self at a Rendevouz with Witches a good way off, and soon after return back upon her imaginary Horse, and then come to her self; and once she told Mr. *Mather* of Three that she said had been there, and what they had said." To which he adds, "In many other Authors, there are Relations of Persons that have been seen to lye still intranced at Home, while they have said they have been at these Witches Meetings." From which he infers:

*First*, That those that have made no Compact, and are not Witches, may fancy they take these airy Journeys with Witches: But though Persons may be deceived, and imagine strange Things, it does not follow

follow that all must be thus deceived; the Innocence of some Persons does not take away the Crimes of the Guilty; there being a great deal of Difference betwixt Persons owning a Contract, and confessing real Matters of Fact, and consenting to be deluded, and only fantastical Imaginations.

But *Secondly*, the Doctor says, these Journeys and Rendezvouzes are not real, but fantastical Things; and that Mr. *Mather*, and a House-full of Witnesses stood by, and saw her at home in her Chair, when she thought her self at their Meetings. To which I answer, that even those that have made Compact with the Devil, and confess themselves Witches, are deluded by Spirits, and fancy they do what the Spirits act for them; but since what is done is by their Consent, and at their Request, this makes them guilty of those Actions, they being intentionally done and committed by them; and though others are possessed only with Imaginations, yet if those Imaginations proceed from the Suggestions of an evil Spirit, the Person may be said to be possessed, though no Compact were made; and these Persons are only to be distinguished, by the Consent they give to such Thoughts, and the Actions proceeding from them; and if they confess themselves guilty, the Doctor's Insinuations to the contrary cannot render them Guiltless.

But further, the Doctor says, these Journeys, &c. were like fantastick Things, or Dreams; but to this I answer, that we find in Scripture, that Dreams are not fantastick Things only, but often proceed from the Suggestions of good or bad Spirits; for *Joel* ii. 28. we find the Prophet declares, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall Prophecy, your old Men shall dream Dreams, your young Men shall see Visions*; and *Genesis* xxxi. 10. *Jacob* tells us, *It came to pass at the Time that the Cattle conceived, that I lifted up my Eyes, and saw in a Dream,*

*a Dream, and behold the Rams which leaped upon the Cattle were Ring-freaked, Speckled, and Grised. And the Angel of God spake unto me in a Dream.* Which not only shews, that Spirits can present to our Mind true Idea's of Matters of Fact, but that those Idea's are real, and not such imaginary Conceits as the Doctor would suppose them: And though the Person was in the Chair, yet the Representation of the Horse, and these Journeys might be real, depending on the Suggestions of an evil Spirit.

Again, *Matth. 27. 19.* When our Saviour was brought before *Pilate*, When he was set down on the *Judgment-Seat*, his Wife sent unto him, saying, *Have thou nothing to do with that just Man; for I have suffered many Things this Day in a Dream, because of him.* And if Spirits can thus affect Bodies, and which were real Sufferings because of him, why may not this Woman suffer by an evil Spirit, by Means of an evil Agent that employed that Spirit?

But the Doctor proceeds, "Courts of Justice may as well hang People upon their Confessions, for the Murthers they think they commit in their Dreams, as for what they fancy they do in these Trances." To which I answer, that Confessions are always esteemed equal to Proof; and if they confess themselves consenting, it implies them guilty of the Fact those Spirits did by their Consent, those Spirits being set at Work by them.

Page 101, the Doctor, after some slight Reflections upon Persons, who were Men of Note, and of good Characters in the World, tells us, "Here I will lay before you a brief State of the Facts of those *New-England Witchcrafts.* My Author, for the greatest Part of it, is *Mr. Calef*, a Merchant in that Plantation." The Doctor believes small Evidence great Arguments on his Side, but on ours will not believe Scripture, Reason, the Testimony of Witnesses,

nesses, nor Peoples own Confessions ; the Testimony of a single Person that favours his Cause is more prevalent.

But let us see how these Relations tend to his Advantage. “ In the latter end of *February, 1694,*  
 “ divers young Persons belonging to the Family of  
 “ Mr. *Parris*, Minister of *Salem*, and one or more of  
 “ the Neighbourhood, began to act after a strange  
 “ and unusual Manner. They crept into Holes, and  
 “ under Chairs and Stools. They used Antick Ge-  
 “ stures, and spoke ridiculous Speeches, and fell into  
 “ Fits. After some Time, and a Day of Prayer  
 “ kept, the afflicted Persons named several that they  
 “ said they saw in their Fits afflicting them ; and in  
 “ particular an *Indian* Woman, that lived in Mr.  
 “ *Parris*’s House, and had tried a Trick with Rye-  
 “ Meal, and the Childrens Water laid in Ashes,  
 “ &c. the being beaten, and threaten’d, confess’d  
 “ her self to be the Witch, and said the Devil urged  
 “ her to sign a Book. Others confessed their being  
 “ urged to sign the Book. One said it was a  
 “ Red Book of a considerable Thickness, and about  
 “ a Cubit long.

“ In a little Time the Number of the Afflicted  
 “ increased to Ten. One *Goodwin Cory* was examin-  
 “ ed ; the afflicted said, she bit, pinched, and  
 “ strangled them. They said, they saw her Likeness  
 “ bring a Book to them to sign. At the Time of  
 “ her Tryal, they said, a Black Man whispered in  
 “ her Ear, and that she had a Yellow Bird, that  
 “ even then sucked betwen her Fingers. Orders  
 “ were given to search the Place. The Girl that saw  
 “ it, said it was now too late, she had removed a  
 “ Pin, and put it on her Head ; upon Search it was  
 “ found, that a Pin was there sticking upright.

“ A Child about Four or Five Years Old, was ac-  
 “ cused and apprehended. The Accusers said this  
 “ Child

“ Child bit them, and would show the Marks of  
 “ small Teeth upon their Arm. As many as the  
 “ Child cast its Eyes upon, would complain that  
 “ they were in Torment.” Now in these Stories the  
 Particulars evidently make it appear, that some evil  
 Spirit must act at the Request or Consent of these  
 Persons; and if you disbelieve the Truth of Wit-  
 nesses and Confessions, and demonstrating Circum-  
 stances, we may disbelieve and reject any Histories as  
 Falshoods and Impositions.

The Doctor mentions some Cases where the Par-  
 ties did not confess, yet if the Proof is sufficient, a  
 stiff denial of Guilt is no Argument of Innocence,  
 when a Man's Safety depends upon it. Amongst the  
 rest, he mentions *Rebecca Nurse*, that was executed.  
 “ At first the Jury brought her in *Not Guilty*; im-  
 “ mediately all the Accusers in the Court, and sud-  
 “ denly after all the afflicted out of Court, made a  
 “ hideous Outcry, to the Amazement not only of  
 “ the Spectators, but of the Court. They were sent  
 “ out again, to consider better of one Expression of  
 “ hers, and returning again, they brought her in  
 “ *Guilty*.” Now if Witnesses, a Judge and Jury  
 could not judge of her Guilt, how should a single  
 Person pretend to think her innocent? Can a single  
 Evidence be of more Force than a Multitude?

To these he adds other Instances, which are against  
 his Purpose; “ one using solemn Expressions of his  
 “ Innocency, the Accusers witnessed, that the Black  
 “ Man dictated to him.” Another “ made his  
 “ Escape Forty Miles from *Salem*, yet it is said, that  
 “ the Accusers told the exact Time when he was ap-  
 “ prehended, saying, now *Millard* is taken.” And  
 though *Giles Cary* pleaded *Not Guilty*, and suffered  
 himself to be Pressed; this implied, that he was  
 guilty rather than innocent, and chose rather to dye  
 that way, than by a publick Execution. He says,  
 “ the Cart going to the Hill with others, was set  
 “ for

“ for a Time.” The afflicted said the Devil hindered it.

*Page* the 106th, he tells us of a Question started, Whether the Devil could afflict in a good Man's Shape? And upon a Belief of this, several were sorry for the Death of accused Persons; and *Page* 108, above Fifty that confessed themselves Witches were not executed; and further, *Page* 112, several who had been upon Juries, made the following Acknowledgment; “ we confess our selves were not capable to understand, nor able to withstand, the mysterious Delusions of the Powers of Darkness, and Prince of the Air.

Now if we consider what the Doctor hath offered in these few Pages, it appears, that he owns that the Devil can afflict in a good Man's Shape; and if so, why not in a bad one? This is granting what we contend for, and against what the Doctor hath all along been arguing for; and if the Devil can act in any Shape, he may afflict at the request of those who have made a Compact; and consequently there may be a Compact, and if so, a Witch; and if such, why should they not be examined into, and suffer according to Merit? Though in the beginning of his Essay, he would have them punished by the righteous Judge.

But he says, above Fifty confessed themselves Witches, and were not executed, which still might convince him that there were such Creatures, since they themselves ought to know whether they had made any Compact with the Devil, or nor. But he says, the Jurymen confessed they were not able to withstand the mysterious Delusions of the Prince of Darkness, which further is owning his Power; and if he hath such a Power, why might he not execute his Power upon those Witches, as well as upon them? But Mr. *Calef's* single Testimony is not sufficient Witness of what he relates, after so many Witnesses

nesses to the contrary. We have much more reason to question the Truth of what he relates, than of a great many more credible Testimonies; but this is an Author after the Doctor's own Heart; and being of his Mind, must needs be believed by him; though the unlikeliness of the Truth of what he says, will make others disbelieve him, since what he says amounts to no less than Contradiction, affirming Possessions not probable, yet owning them confessed.

But the Doctor quotes a further Relation of these Matters, published by Mr. *Cotton Mather*, at the 80th Page of his Sixth Book of the History of *New-England*, which is as follows: " But that which chiefly carried Matters on to such a Height, was the increasing of Confessions, until they amounted to near upon Fifty; and Four or Six of them upon their Tryals, owned their Guilt of the Crime, and were condemned for the same, but not executed. And many of the Confessors confirmed their Confessions with very strong Circumstances, as their exact Agreement with the Accusations of the Afflicted; their punctual Agreement with the Accusations of their fellow Confessors; their relating the Times when they covenanted with Satan, and the Reasons that moved them thereto. Their Witch-Meetings, and that they had their Mock Sacrament of Baptism, and the Supper, in some of them: Their signing the Devil's Book, and some shewed the Scars of the Wounds, which they said were made to fetch Blood with, to sign the Devil's Book: And some said, they had Imps to suck them, and shewed Sores raw, where they said they were sucked by them.

" The afflicted complained that the Spectres which vexed them, urged them to set their Hands to a Book, presented to them, ( as to them it seemed ) with Threatnings of great Torments, if they  
E " signed

“ signed not, and Promises of Ease, if they o-  
 “ beyed. Amongst these, *D. H.* as she said,  
 “ (which sundry others confessed afterwards) being  
 “ overcome by the Extremity of her Pains, did sign  
 “ the Book presented, and had the promised Ease;  
 “ and immediately upon it, a Spectre in her Shape  
 “ afflicted another Person, and said I have signed  
 “ the Book, and have Ease, and now do you sign,  
 “ and so shall you have Ease.

Now, though the Doctor thinks this Story to his  
 Purpose, I think it altogether against him; for  
 in the first Place it proves Compacts, and Consent to  
 be the Devil's Servant; and though another is  
 brought into the same Premunire by the Subtily of  
 the Devil, yet when they are brought into the same  
 Bargain, they are equally guilty, and give way to the  
 Devil's Delusions; and when they consent to be his  
 Vassals, they seem guilty of his Actions in their  
 Name, though he does these ill Deeds for them.  
 And though the Devil acts, their Consent to be his  
 Servants, and to those Actions, makes them guilty,  
 and liable to the Punishment due to those Deeds.  
 But to proceed to the Account, as the Doctor relates  
 it, he goes on.

“ And one Day the afflicted Person pointed at a  
 “ certain Place in the Room, and said there is  
 “ *D. H.* upon which a Man with his Ra-  
 “ pier struck at the Place, though he saw no  
 “ Shape, and the afflicted called out, you have given  
 “ her a small prick about the Eye. Soon after this,  
 “ the said *D. H.* confessed her self to be made a  
 “ Witch, by signing the Devil's Books, and declared  
 “ that she had afflicted the Maid that complained  
 “ of her, and in doing of it had received Two  
 “ Wounds, by a Sword or Rapier; a small one  
 “ about the Eye, which she shewed to the Magi-  
 “ strates, and a bigger on the Side, of which she was  
 “ searched by a discreet Woman, who reported that

“ *D. H.* had on her Side the sign of a Wound newly  
 “ healed, &c.

“ By these Things you may see how these Matters  
 “ were carried on, *viz.* chiefly by the Complaints  
 “ and Accusations of the afflicted, and then by the  
 “ Confessions of the accused, condemning themselves  
 “ and others; yet Experience shews, that the more  
 “ there were apprehended, the more they were af-  
 “ flicted by *Satan*; and the Number of the Confes-  
 “ sions increasing, did but increase the Number of  
 “ the accused: And the executing of some made  
 “ way for the apprehending of others.

Thus we see that those that were convicted, not  
 only by their Accusers and afflicted, but also by their  
 own Confessions, must very probably be punished up-  
 on moral Certainty; and if the Numbers apprehend-  
 ed made *Satan* the busyer, it appears that warring  
 against the Devil and his Angels makes them the  
 more enraged and active; and as the Legion cast out  
 of one, entered into a whole Herd of Swine, so this  
 Diabolical Army, upon some Defeats, were more vi-  
 gorous in their Temptations; which answers for  
 what is subjoined in this Quotation: “ For still the  
 “ afflicted complained of being tormented by new  
 “ Objects, as the former were removed.” But he  
 adds, “ Henceforth the Juries generally acquitted  
 “ such as were tried, fearing they had gone on too  
 “ far before. And Sir *William Phipps*, the Govern-  
 “ nor, reprieved all that were condemned, even the  
 “ Confessors as well as others.” So Princes leave off  
 War, when they find great loss of Subjects; and  
 sometimes it may be necessary to speak the Devil  
 fair.

But he adds the Reasons why he believed they  
 went too far. First, “ The Number greater than  
 “ could be imagined to be really guilty.” But I  
 should rather think, that the Number of Witnesses  
 would confirm the Truth of any Thing; but I find

the Doctor likes the least Evidence best, because he hath the fewest for his Opinion.

His Second Reason is, "The Quality: Religious Persons, that had taken great Pains to bring up their Children well." This is a peculiar Reason. But we seldom hear of Religious Persons accusing themselves of ill Deeds, or confessing the Practice of *Witchcraft*; their Religion must be strangely contrived, and only fit for the Worship of the Devil, in which way we find they have been too zealous.

His Third Reason is, "Nineteen denying the Crime to Death." But I suppose they were tried and condemned by sufficient Proof and Evidence against them, which in any Capital Crime, or of less Consequence, prevails against the denying of the Fact, or Thieves and Murderers would oftener escape than they do.

His Fourth Reason is, "Upon ceasing the Prosecution, all was well and quiet." Thus when Sin is unregarded, no Criminals are brought to Justice; yet severe Laws deter evil Practices, though not put in Execution: Nevertheless, several Crimes are committed, but so cunningly, as not to be discovered. And Witches seldom do much Mischief, but when their Malice and Envy is stirred up by Provocations. And very often the Devil excites his Servants to do Mischief, that they may discover and betray themselves, having not fully obtained his End, till he hath got them into his Kingdom; and, like a just Master, gives them an ill Reward for their evil Practices.

But let us see further what the Doctor offers upon this Subject. He says, *Page 117*, "There is nothing in this whole Case seems so strange to me, as what they say of evil Spirits appearing in the Shape of innocent Persons.

The Doctor, notwithstanding all Proof to the contrary, would still suggest these Persons fairly convicted innocent; yet evil Spirits appearing in the Shape of innocent Persons, does not prove such as are lawfully convicted innocent; because they are convicted for evil Actions, and consequently cannot be innocent Persons. But it needs not seem strange to the Doctor, that the Devil may appear in the Shape of innocent Persons, since the Scripture witnesses that he hath sometimes transformed himself into the Appearance of an Angel of Light, so that he may borrow a Vehicle to make him appear in that Shape; and so far I am of the Doctor's Opinion, that, to use his own Words, "I can never believe, but that  
 " Divine Providence would interpose, and lay their  
 " natural Powers under a Divine Restraint, rather  
 " than to suffer them to use them for such Mischief." But then I believe what the Doctor says, upon these Terms, that those Persons resist Temptations; and this is the Defence good Men have against him; but they lose the Name of good Men, when they give way to Temptations; and upon those Terms Providence hath suffered them to do Mischief; but though the Devil entered into *Judas*, yet the rest resisted such Temptations: Nor can I think Providence would suffer any to be possessed, if they had not in some Measure forsaken him.

But let us see further, what the Doctor hath offered upon this Occasion. He says, "if Magistrates  
 " do their Duty in true Judgment, and punish Offenders only for their own real acts of Wickedness,  
 " not for the Effects that Spirits work in other Mens  
 " Shapes without them, then his Appearances will  
 " hurt no body." To which I answer, that Magistrates do their Duty, if they punish Offenders upon moral Proof, which is legal Testimony; and as for the real Acts of Witches, they cannot be done by a Witch only, she being no more than another Wo-

man of her self; for it is her Compact with evil Spirits, and employing them, that makes her a Witch; and as they do Mischief by their Authority, they are answerable for their Crimes, and guilty of their Actions, and consequently liable to Punishment; and as for appearing in their Shapes, they being the Witches Servants, they ought to wear their Livery or Likeness, or what other Dress or Shape they are fittest to do their Work in. But he says his Appearances would do no Hurt, if Magistrates punished only Offenders for their own Acts: To which I reply, that the Mischief done on those tortured, is Hurt, I believe, though the Witch were to be supposed innocent; but since the Hurt is done by the Witches hired Servant by Compact, she is guilty of the Hurt.

But the Doctor goes on, " If contrary to the frequent Warnings in Scripture, those who are to judge those Cases, give evil Spirits the Advantage against them, hath God any where promised, that by a particular Act of Power, he will save credulous Men from being deceived, because otherwise the Blood of innocent Men will be in Danger? How Judges can give Spirits any Advantage in deceiving them, or be blamed for their Credulity, I cannot understand, when they act upon moral Proof, and downright Confessions; such Judgment cannot make them in danger of spilling innocent Blood, when they only condemn the Guilty according to Law, and which is warranted by Scripture; nor are there any Warnings in Scripture, not to punish evil Doers: This is consistent with the Laws of God and Man. See *Galatians* v. 18, 19, 20, 21. *But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are under the Law. Now the Works of the Flesh are manifest, which are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness; Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, &c. and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have also*  
told

to'd you in *Time past*, that they which do such Things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. Where Witchcraft is condemned by the Laws of God. And *Ezodus* xxii. 18. *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to Live.* And again, *Deuteronomy* xviii. 10. *There shall not be found amongst you, any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter to pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch. and Verse 11. Or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.* From all which it appears, that the Scripture both believes and condemns this detestable Sin; but the Doctor is more merciful, and exceeds infinite Mercy in Compassion.

But to proceed, after all this Scuffle, *Page 118*, the Doctor says, " I will add some Instances, where " evil Spirits have been said to have appeared in the " Shapes of those that have not been suspected to be " otherwise than very innocent and virtuous Persons." But soon after he says, growing modest in Vindication of his favourite Relations, " I dare " not assure you of my own Belief of the Instances " I shall give." To which we offer, that a great many evil Actions may be secretly committed; before Persons are suspected, especially having Art enough to deceive the World. But as for the Instances, since the Doctor says he does not believe them, I shall not think it worth while to take Notice of them. Only one Thing I cannot but observe, which is, that though *Page 66*, he condemns the *Golden Legend*, as containing incredible Stories, and lying Miracles, attributing Mistakes of this Kind to be built upon Popish Superstitions, yet to serve his Turn, he brings a Proof out of Popish Legends; so that any Thing to serve his Turn hath Two Handles, and yet neither of them to be taken hold of.

Page 121 and 122, he says, " Since I have collected and drawn up these Things, I see the Author of the *Compleat History of Witchcraft, &c.* hath printed the first Facts and Depositions, that deceived the People of *New England*; and hath stopt there, without giving notice of the Mistakes that followed.— And who can be able to give a rational Answer to such a Case, where the Fact is laid before him so partially?" The Doctor is disgusted, because I have only taken notice of Matters of Fact proved by Depositions; but, to satisfy the Doctor, the Reason why I stopt there, was, because I thought nothing worth Notice, but what appear'd to be Truth well attested: And it is no little Satisfaction, that the Doctor thinks a rational Answer cannot be given against them. But how Truths well attested should deceive the People, I cannot understand, since Truths and Falshoods ought to be distinguished: And if they made any Mistakes, they diminish not the Value of what was true, and consequently not of our *History*. But the Doctor charges me with Partiality, because I relate only Truths; which was the Intent of that *History*: And, to conclude this Discourse of the *New-England* Witches, I shall only ask the Doctor, whether he is not more partial in bringing Relations, which he would suppose false, to lessen the Credit of Truths? Tho' from what he hath said, it appears, that he hath rather endeavour'd to represent them so: and hath made use of more cunning Evasions and Insinuations, than strong Arguments, if any at all.

### *Of the Witchcrafts at Mohra, in Sweden.*

From what hath been said of the *Witchcrafts* in *New-England*, it appears what Pains the Doctor hath

hath taken to evade the Histories of Matters of Fact, well attested by the Authority of Men, the Testimony of Scripture, and their own Confessions; we shall next take a View of what he hath said in respect of the *Witchcrafts* at *Mohra*, in *Sweden*.

Page 123, he says, "The Narrative of their Case is said to be taken out of the Records of the Court, soon after the Time, and is since translated out of *High-Dutch* by Dr. *Horneck*, and is printed at the End of Mr. *Glanvil*, and Dr. *More's* Relations of *Witches* and *Spirits*. There were condemned at one Time of Judgment, no longer since than 1670, Fourscore and five Persons, Fifteen of whom were Children, and most, if not all of them, were burnt and executed." To this attested Truth upon Record, and credited by such worthy Persons, after some trivial Banter, he says, "Tho' it be a great Disadvantage to answer, where one hath little or no Account of the Fact— yet it confutes it self." So that tho' the Doctor hath little or no Account of the Fact, which is recorded as Truth, yet he will undertake to banter us out of our Belief, by his undeniable Method of Evasion and Suggestion. And, first, he calls the Records of Matters of Fact, *supposed Witchcrafts*; and brings in his canting Notion of Principles; as if no body had good Principles but himself, who contradicts the Testimony of Scripture and Moral Proof, yet blames others, who upon good Grounds pursue the direct Commands of Scripture, in discouraging and punishing such Vices. As for his Notion of Principles, that having been often answer'd to, to avoid as much as possible vain Tautologies, we shall only refer the Reader to what hath been said of the *New-England* Witches, the same Evasions being there proposed by this Learned Author.

Page 124, and 125, he observes, " There were  
 " Three Hundred Children said to be carried away  
 " every Night, out of one Town, to *Blockula*. The  
 " Children said, they were sure they were there in  
 " Body ; for the Devil fed them at the Door, while  
 " the Witches sat down with him at the Table." To prove this, the Doctor calls for Witnesses, after recorded and proved before Judge and Jury ; and, to lessen the Credit of recorded Truths, adds the supposed Testimony of a Clergyman, saying, " One Clergyman sat up and watch'd, and shew'd his Wife the Child in Bed all Night ; only about Twelve a-Clock, the Child groan'd and shiver'd." But who knows, whether this Clergyman sat up or not ? May he not be as fallacious as other Clergymen the Doctor accuses of Impositions ? Or might not Dr. *Hornock*, *Glanvil*, and Dr. *More's* Belief, be as prevailing, as Dr. *Hutchinson's* Unbelief of these Tales ? But about Twelve a-Clock, the Child groan'd and shiver'd : This the Doctor would needs attribute to dreaming of the Devil ; when " the poor Women of the Town confess what the Children said of them.

But the Doctor is further disturbed with "*Monstrous Absurdities* ;" what others believe upon real Proof, the Doctor's Genius, being beyond Faith, equal to his superabundant Clemency, would neither believe what is proved, nor punish the convicted. But must every Thing that is *monstrous* be absurd in respect of Belief, that is so in regard to the common Rule of Reason ? Or would he have the monstrous Actions of Witches and Devils, to be like those that are natural ? They are *monstrous Creatures* ; and therefore the Scripture deems them not fit to live, because their Actions are like themselves.

" These

“ These Women and Children, they say, rode  
 “ to *Blockula* upon Men; and those Men, when  
 “ they came there, were reared against the Wall  
 “ asleep. Then again they rode upon Posts, or up-  
 “ on Goats, with Spits stuck into their Backsides.  
 “ They flew thro’ Chimneys and Windows, with-  
 “ out breaking either Brick or Glass. When they  
 “ were there, they lay with the Devil, and had  
 “ Sons and Daughters; and those Children were  
 “ married, and brought forth Toads and Serpents.  
 “ Then they build Houses, and Walls fall upon  
 “ them, and make them black and blue.” These  
 Things the Doctor believes to be *monstrous*; and I  
 would ask the Doctor, Does any body think them  
 natural? Are the Devil’s Works like, or according  
 to the Laws of Nature? But as we said before, and  
 in our *History*, no doubt but in some Things the De-  
 vil deludes, and makes them believe that what he  
 does by their Consent, is done by them: But as long  
 as it is by their Consent, and upon Compact, they  
 may be said to do it, and are guilty of such Acti-  
 ons.

He adds; “ They are beaten, and abused, and  
 “ laugh’d at; and yet when they thought the De-  
 “ vil had been dead, they made great Lamenta-  
 “ tion.” I would ask the Doctor, when ever did  
 the Devil use his Servants so kindly? Does he not  
 torment them after Death, for serving him in their  
 Lifetime? And if they were sorry for the Loss of  
 so bad a Master, it might be, because they could  
 not pursue their malicious Intentions without his  
 Assistance; or were like to lose those Advantages,  
 that encourage People to follow such evil and abo-  
 minable ways.

But it is said, *Page 126*, “ That at that very Time,  
 “ while they were in Court before the Commission-  
 “ ers, the Devil appeared to them very terrible,  
 “ with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with  
 “ Horns

“Horns on his Head, and a long Tail behind ;  
 “and shewed them a Pit burning, with a Hand put  
 “out ; but the Devil did thrust the Person down  
 “again with an Iron Fork.” Here the Doctor asks,  
 Whether there was really then any Pit burning ?  
 To answer which, I ask, Whether representing such  
 a Thing to Appearance, was not an Argument of  
 the Devil’s Power in forming Apparitions ? And  
 then, why may he not make the People believe  
 they do what nothing but a Spirit can do ? But  
 their Consent and Compact makes ’em guilty of the  
 Fact : And if such Creatures forsake God, and serve  
 the Devil in Will only, is not *the Wages of Sin  
 Death* ?

Page 127, the Doctor goes on thus : “ They say  
 “ they have Two Spirits, called *Carriers*, the one  
 “ like a Cat, the other like a Raven ; and these fetch  
 “ them home Butter, and Cheese, and Bacon, and  
 “ all Sorts of Seeds, and Milk. Now, to pass by  
 “ the rest, pray tell me, how this Cat and Raven  
 “ brought home Milk ? A Cat or Raven could not  
 “ well carry a Pail, or Pitcher, for their Milk.”  
 The Question is not only ridiculous, but the Answer  
 much more : For, as to the Question ; If the Devil  
 can appear in any Shape, no doubt but he might in  
 those to human Sight, and yet be in his own Shape  
 unseen, and carry a greater Burthen than they had  
 Occasion for. Did not he carry our Saviour, and  
 set him upon a Pinnacle of the Temple ? Which  
 proves him capable of moving bodily Substances :  
*As Matth. 4. 5. Then the Devil taketh him up into  
 the holy City, and setteth him on a Pinnacle of the  
 Temple. And v. 8. Again the Devil taketh him up  
 into an exceeding high Mountain. And if the De-  
 vil was able to carry our Saviour thus about, why  
 may he not transport Witches about at his Pleasure,  
 or supply them with any Thing they want ? As for  
 the Answer ; what can be more ridiculous, than to*  
 sup

suppose or call the Devil a Cat or a Raven, when he only appears in those Shapes ?

The Doctor proceeds : “ I can devise no way, unless they drank it first, and then spewed it up again for the Witches to drink after them. And I think, the 15th *Page* intimates that it was this way ; for there it is said, That these *Carriers* sometimes fill themselves so full, that they open by the way ; which Spewing is found in several Gardens where the Colworts grow, and not far from the Houses of those Witches, and is called *Butter of Witches.*” The Doctor adds, “ I could be glad I could find a way of representing the Folly of this, without reflecting upon the *Swedish Commissioners* and *Dr. Horneck.*” But *Dr. Hutchinson* will find the Folly of this Argument much harder to be represented without reflecting upon his Character ; and I am sorry he should place such mean Banter in the Room of Arguments. The Word *devise* is indeed, I think, of his own Devisement ; but, without drinking it up, and spewing it again, I have just now made it appear, that the Devil can carry greater Burthens than a Pitcher of Milk, and in an unseen Shape, tho’ he may appear in another. And as for their spewing up Milk, that might be done at such Places mentioned, having fill’d themselves with it, besides what they otherwise carried : So that the Intimation of the Doctor’s Way, is Banter instead of Reason ; and I can scarce believe, that he truly thinks this way the intimated way of *Page* the 15th. And though he, in the next *Page*, would suppose this Milk the same with the Froth he mentions, and to come from the Grasshoppers ; yet the Quantity that would fill a Cat or a Raven, which intimates it not to be that which comes from Grasshoppers ; tho’ the latter might be called *Witches Butter*, from some Likeness with the former. Besides, this which comes from Grasshoppers, is called  
fo

so by the Rabble ; the other *Witches Butter*, by those the Doctor is too timorous in ridiculing with a suppositious Oversight, which appears to be none.

But *Page* 128, and 129, he takes notice, that “ they were not these Circumstances, but their own  
“ Confessions, which were the Grounds of their  
“ Condemnation.” But in Answer to this, he says,  
“ *Confessio rei impossibilis, non est Confessio sana*  
“ *mentis* : A Confession of a Thing impossible, is  
“ not the Confession of a sound Mind. That will  
“ always be an inviolable Rule with wise Judges.”

A very good Suggestion for the Doctor’s Purpose, but not proper in this Case. For tho’ it is not reasonable a sound Mind should confess Actions impossible for human Nature, or a Woman ; yet a Witch, who acts by virtue of an evil Spirit, tho’ in a sound Mind, may confess Things done by her Consent and Direction, which are supernatural, and impossible for her alone, yet possible to that evil Spirit she employs : So that those Things which are impossible for a Woman that is not a Witch, are possible for a Witch, who acts by supernatural Assistance or Concurrence. So that the Doctor’s Rule comes short of being an unavoidable Rule in the Case of *Witchcraft*.

But the Doctor would still insinuate, this Confession is extorted, or that they are persuaded : But what Persuasions of human Kind can oblige People to confess a Crime, which makes them liable to suffer Death ? Yet we see, in other Capital Crimes, Men often confess ; their guilty Consciences strongly accusing them, and making them conclude it an unavoidable Necessity, and that it is impossible for them to escape.

*Of the Witches of Warbois.*

It appearing, from what hath been said of the *Witchcraft of Sweden*, that what the Doctor hath offer'd in relation to that, cannot diminish the Credit which ought to be given to such undeniable Facts; we shall next see, what he hath to say in relation to the *Witches of Warbois*.

He begins: "The *Witches of Warbois* are well known; Old *Samuel* and his Wife, and *Agnes Samuel*, their Daughter, were condemn'd at *Huntingdon*, by Mr. Justice *Fenner*, April 4. 1573, for bewitching Five of Mr. *Throgmorton's* Children, Seven Servants, the Lady *Cromwell*, and the Gaoler's Man, &c. The Father and Daughter maintained their Innocence to the last; but the Old Woman confessed.

"That which makes the Execution more remarkable, is, That Sir *Samuel Cromwell*, Husband of the aforesaid Lady *Cromwell*, having the Goods of these People escheated to him, to the Value of Forty Pounds, as Lord of the Manor, gave the said Forty Pounds to the Mayor and Aldermen of *Huntingdon*, for a Rent-Charge of Forty Shillings yearly, to be paid out of their Town-Lands, for an annual Lecture on the Subject of *Witchcraft*, to be preach'd at their Town every *Lady-Day*, by a Doctor or Batchelor of Divinity of *Queen's-College* in *Cambridge*. This Lecture is continued to this Day.

To this the Doctor wisely, and with a good Meaning, answers: "I make no Question but that Learned Body hath taken care to have that Lecture preached by such grave, judicious Persons," (by which he seems to reflect upon his own Gown, as if some were neither grave nor judicious) "as  
" would

“ would teach the People safe Notions (so that we may suppose, according to his Suggestion, that some preach unsafe Notions) “ concerning *Witchcraft*, and discourage them from imitating any “ Thing that was amiss in that Prosecution.” So that those that are of the Doctor’s Opinion may hope for grave and judicious Characters, but those who are otherwise must expect the contrary. Here the Wisdom of a whole Learned Body is called in Question, lest his Notion of Principles should be brought into Suspicion. It is a wonder they should admit of a Lecture being founded in Memory of such a Prosecution, or Condemnation : This seems to deserve the Doctor’s Censure.

But he goes on, after his resolved Method of Argument : “ And as for the Donation, there is no “ doubt but that Superstition makes as large Offerings as true Religion ; and that many Gifts have “ been given, to support the Credit of doubtful “ Actions : And therefore I will pass over the Lecture, and consider the Fact.” In the foregoing Part of his *Essay*. the Doctor charged the *Papists* and *Dissenters* with Superstition ; but now the Church and all are guilty, and not only of Superstition, but Bribery to maintain a Cause : For he says, Many Offerings and Gifts have been given to support it ; which is directly charging the Ministers of the Gospel with that detestable Crime, because they preach against that Sin which the Scripture hath forbidden, and which this whole *Essay* seems to favour.

But as to the Fact, he says, “ It ought to be observed, that this Prosecution was not grounded “ upon any previous Acts of Sorcery, that these “ People had been taken in, but upon Experiments and Charms, which the Prosecutors compelled them to use, and tried upon them.” To which

which I answer, that there must be a previous Suspicion, before any Prosecution can be made; for no body can be said to be prosecuted for a Crime, without Accusation, which implies a previous Act, tho' it be not fully proved: Nor is there any full Proof till they come upon Trial, and if then the Fact be proved, it justifies the Prosecution, as in this Case; for if the Fact had not been proved, they would not have been condemned: Therefore the Doctor's Suggestion must be wrong. Besides, it is worth observing, that the Doctor makes use of his usual Art, to gain his Cause if possible, and gives Judgment of the Beginning, before the Beginning is stated; which is managed with some Cunning, for the Case being stated, would alter the Judgment.

But after Judgment made, he proceeds to the Beginning, and says; "Then the Beginning of it is such, as makes the whole Thing deservedly suspected. One of the Daughters had Fits, and was ill; but there were no Signs or Thoughts of Witchcraft, till this Mother *Samuel* (living near them) came in to see her, and sat in the Chimney-Corner, with a black Knit Cap upon her Head; and when the Child in her Fit saw her, she look'd like an old Witch; and from that Time she took a Fancy, that Mother *Samuel* had bewitch'd her." To which I answer, That this Prosecution was not without Grounds of Sorcery; for tho' she did not accuse her at first, yet her accusing her afterwards, was Ground to believe she was guilty of the first Act. Besides, how should an innocent Child think of her Distemper proceeding from *Witchcraft*; except she had some private Cause to think her a *Witch*? And further; her Physicians would have distinguished betwixt the Symptoms of real and natural Distempers, and Accidents that proceeded from supernatural Causes; and if they could have found those Fits the Effects of natural Causes, that would have

have cleared the old Woman from any Suspicion; but since upon this Suspicion she was accused, and upon further Proof was prosecuted, convicted, and likewise confessed, this was sufficient to prove her guilty the whole Time, and moral Proof was enough to confirm the Truth of the whole.

But the Doctor says, “ after that, the other Children had the same Fears and Fancies, and Fits like hers; and nothing is more common than for Children to take such Frights from one another.” The Doctor readily calls extraordinary Fits distinguishable from common Distempers, Fears and Fancies; a very artful way of softening the Case, after a full Proof and Conviction. But it is not a little surprizing to me, that Children should take such Fits from one another; for though the Doctor says nothing is more common, it is so seldom, that it never happens. I have read most Physick Books worth reading, but never heard any such Thing before; nor have I, for above Twenty Years, ever seen it; no Fits being catching, except *Epilepsies*; and when it seems to happen, it is rather imagined than real; besides, *Epilepsies* are Distempers that have a long Time been so well known, that they might have easily been discovered, and distinguished from extraordinary Fits of a supernatural Kind.

But, “ after this, the Lady *Cromwell*, to whose Husband these *Samuels* were Tenants, came to Mr. *Throgmorton's* House. She sent for the old Woman, and called her Witch, and abused her; and called her *Yercher*, and cut off some of her Hair, and gave to Mrs. *Throgmorton* to burn, for a Charm. At Night this Lady, as very likely she would, after such an ill Days Work, dream'd of Mother *Samuel*, and a Cat, and fell into Fits, and in about a Year and a Quarter died. And if her Death was really occasioned by the Fits that began then; I can only count it a just Consequence

“ of

“ of her Sin, and Folly, and Superstition.” The Doctor is very charitable to an old Witch, but very uncharitable and unmerciful to the unfortunate Lady; he would save and excuse the Witch, that ought not to Live, but would count it just for the Lady to suffer Death, for pulling off the old Woman’s Kircher, and a small Abuse that was deserving. He shews a mighty Friend to old Witches; surely he need not fear the Devil, who is so kind to his Works, and the Promoters of his Interest upon Earth.

After this mighty faint Stroke to discredit the Belief of the Witches of *Warbois*, the Doctor gives an Account of Mother *Samuel’s* Imps, and their Tricks; and that we may better judge of the Force of his Reflections, and especially because we think they confirm the Truth of the Prosecution, and shew the Weakness of his Judgment, or his Partiality in this Case; what he relates, is as follows:

“ It is said in that Narrative, that there were  
 “ Nine Spirits that belonged to these People and called Mother *Samuel* their old Dame. Two of  
 “ their Names I have forgot, but the other Seven  
 “ were *Pluck*, *Hardname*, *Catch*, *Three Smacks*  
 “ that were *Cousins*, and *Blow*. The Children seem-  
 “ ed to talk with these Spirits in their Fits. The  
 “ Standers by neither saw any Shape, nor heard any  
 “ Voice, only understood what the Spirits said, by  
 “ the Childrens Answers, and by what the Children  
 “ told them afterwards. I will give you a Specimen  
 “ of one, which you may find in the Narrative.  
 “ The Dialogue was between one of the *Smacks*,  
 “ and Mrs. *Joan*, the eldest Daughter of Mrs.  
 “ *Throgmorton*, about the Age of Sixteen or Seven-  
 “ teen Years; and as the Thoughts of young Wo-  
 “ men about that Age, were upon Love and Court-  
 “ ship, she thought *Smack* was in Love with her,  
 “ and sought to win her Favour, and taught her  
 “ Charms,

“ Charms, and fought for her, and promised to  
 “ bring his old Dame either to Confession or Confu-  
 “ sion. The Dialogue it self is as follows.

“ From whence come you, Mr. *Smack*, and what  
 “ News do you bring? The Spirit answered, that he  
 “ came from Fighting. From Fighting, said she,  
 “ with whom, I pray you? The Spirit answered,  
 “ with *Pluck*. Where did you Fight, I pray, said  
 “ she? The Spirit answered, in his old Dame’s Bake-  
 “ House, which is an old House standing in Mother  
 “ *Samuel’s* Yard, and they fought with great Cowl-  
 “ staves, last Night. And who got the Mastery, I  
 “ pray you, said she? He answered; That he broke  
 “ *Pluck’s* Head. Said she, I would that you had  
 “ broke your Neck also. Said the Spirit, is that all  
 “ the Thanks I have for my Labour? Why, says she,  
 “ Do you look for Thanks at my Hand? I would  
 “ you were all hang’d up one against another, and  
 “ Dame and all, for you are all naught; but it is no  
 “ Matter, said she, I do not well to Curse you, for  
 “ God, I hope, will defend me from you all. So he  
 “ departed, and bad her Farewell.

“ Soon after she sees *Pluck* coming in, with his  
 “ Head hanging down, and he told her again of  
 “ the Battel, and how his Head was broke. When  
 “ he was gone, *Catch*, she said, came in limping,  
 “ with a broken Leg. And after him, *Blew* brought  
 “ his Arm in a String; but they threatned, that  
 “ when they should be well, they would join toge-  
 “ ther, and be revenged of *Smack*. Next Time  
 “ that *Smack* came, she told him of their Design,  
 “ but she set them at light. He bragged that he  
 “ could beat Two of them himself, and his Cousin  
 “ *Smack* would be of his Side.” The Doctor says  
 nothing to these Relations, but that they are as ri-  
 diculous as the Popish Legends; so that he needs must  
 say

say something to intimate a Dislike, though he cannot contradict the Narrative.

Yet still, notwithstanding all this Evidence against her, and her own Confession, the Doctor would needs represent her Confession extorted. He says, "But by long ill Usage, her Husband on one Side swearing at her, and beating her, and on the other Side Mr. *Throgmorton*, and his Children, scratching of her, and trying unfair Tricks, and keeping her from Home, amongst his Children, I reckon that her Health was so impaired, that one Night she was vapoured to that Degree, that she thought the Devil was in her." A cunning way of arguing; the Doctor's Reckoning, or Supposition, that she was weak and vapoured, though he knows nothing of the Matter, must pass for Argument against her Confession. As for her Husband's beating her, that could not be much, since he was not much at Home, but was kept amongst the Children, to keep her in Awe, and fear of doing Mischief; nor could she want Victuals in a House, where, no doubt, she was much made of enough, to keep her lusty, and well in Health, as well as to please her, and make her good humoured.

But still he would have her Confession extorted; "The Children begg'd with Tears that she would confess, for then they said they should be well, if she confessed, and they would forgive her from the bottom of their Hearts; and besides, that they would intreat their Friends and Parents so much as in them lay, clearly to forgive, and forget all that was past,—but this would not do." Therefore this could not extort her Confession, she being too obstinate to yield to ease those she had exercised her Cruelty and Malice so long upon. But this shewed, that the Children had a great deal of Reason to think she was the Author of their Mischief, to pray so heartily for Relief from her.

"But

“ But Mr. *Throgmorton* prevailed with her to  
 “ charge the Spirit, in the Name of God, that they  
 “ might have no more Fits. She yielded to that,  
 “ and then the Children would grow well.” This  
 plainly seems to imp’y, that the Mischief was ma-  
 naged through her Occasion: But the Doctor, to  
 take off the Force of this Demonstration, would  
 suppose, “ this surprized the poor Woman, and  
 “ very likely made her believe, that all had pro-  
 “ ceeded from her ill Tongue.” The Doctor kindly  
 supposes a Surprize, yet this could never make her  
 believe such Things should proceed from her ill  
 Tongue, except she had Power, and knew that she  
 had an ill Tongue. But he further supposes, that  
 “ having been told so often, that if she would but  
 “ confess, all would be well, and they forgive her;  
 “ might make her confess;” but this Method before  
 was found ineffectual. Yet further it is urged,  
 “ That then Mr. *Throgmorton* was angry, and  
 “ threatned to carry her before the Bishop of  
 “ *Bugden*; but upon Condition that she might not  
 “ be carried there, she promised to confess again.”  
 Now would the Bishop of *Bugden*’s Presence oblige  
 her to confess, if she was innocent? She should ra-  
 ther have desired to be carried to prove her In-  
 nocency.

But let us see further, how the Devil contrives to  
 betray his Servants into his own Power, to make  
 them pay for the Service he has done them. “ About  
 “ this Time, the Spirits, as they said, taught them,  
 “ but, in Truth, their own Folly led them to use a  
 “ Charm to try them by; and though it was a des-  
 “ perate Snare to their own Lives, Mr. *Throgmorton*  
 “ had that Power, that they made the poor Woman  
 “ say it an Hundred Times over.” Here we may ob-  
 serve how well the Doctor manages the Cause to his  
 Advantage, by interlarding the Truth with his Sup-  
 positions; as, they said, and then suggests their own  
 Folly

Folly led them to it. But let us consider, whether Folly could make them wise; and so wise, as to know what Charm would make the Witches betray themselves; is it not more like, that the Subtilty of these Spirits should direct them to Charms?

The Charm the Spirits directed them to, was:  
 “ I charge thee, thou Devil, as I love thee, and  
 “ have Authority over thee, and am a Witch, and  
 “ guilty of this Matter, that thou suffer this Child  
 “ to be well at present. Upon saying of this, the  
 “ Children would come out of their Fits.” But the  
 Author of the Essay says, “ In Probability they could  
 “ either put themselves into their Fits, or out of  
 “ them, when they would. And therefore it is ob-  
 “ servable, that when any Times were set, that they  
 “ could be free from their Fits till that Day, it was  
 “ excepted, unless Strangers came. And if any  
 “ Strangers did happen to come, then they never  
 “ failed to have them.” A very likely Story! that Fits which were commanded off by a particular Charm, should be cast off, or brought on at Pleasure; and how strange is it to suppose, that a Gentleman should think it reasonable, or Pleasure, to torment his Children, to afford Strangers such ungrateful Entertainment? Or that Children should torment themselves, to please others?

But if nothing else will do, the Doctor would represent the Judge unskilful in these Matters; but this is contrary to his esteemed Character. The Doctor offers one Passage at the Tryal of the old Man. He made no Confession, but was obstinate in affirming his Innocence; yet the Judge told him, “ that if he would not speak the Words of  
 “ the Charm, the Court would hold him guilty of  
 “ the Crimes he was accused of, and so at length,  
 “ with much ado, the said *Samuel*, with a loud  
 “ Voice said, in the Hearing of all present; as I  
 “ am

“ am a Witch, and did consent to the Death of the  
 “ Lady *Cromwell*, so I charge thee, Devil, to suffer  
 “ Mrs. *Jane* to come out of her Fits at this present,  
 “ —upon this she came out of her Fit. Then the  
 “ Judge said, You see all, she is now well, but not  
 “ by the Musick of the Devil’s Harp, &c.” The  
 Daughter also was upon a like Discovery found  
 Guilty. Yet the Doctor would represent her a vir-  
 tuous Woman; and after some ridiculous Passages be-  
 twixt both, to excuse both after Conviction, the  
 Doctor closes his Remarks, with calling these Rela-  
 tions ridiculous; but from what he hath said, his  
 Remarks seem much more so; reflecting upon his  
 Brethren for commemorating this impious Piece of  
*Witchcraft*, and charging the Gown with little  
 less than Bribery to support the Credit of evil  
 Actions.

The Doctor closes this Case with a Reflection up-  
 on the ill Author of the *Compleat History of Witch-  
 craft*; but I am not very sensible upon what Grounds  
 he places that Reflection, having offered nothing but  
 what I have here proved consonant to Reason, moral  
 Proof, and the Testimony of Scripture; but from  
 what hath been said in his Essay, it’s manifest, that  
 he opposes those Things which are agreeable with  
 Scripture, and justified by the Laws both of God and  
 Man, as will appear from the several Texts of Scrip-  
 ture quoted in this Vindication; and instead of Ar-  
 guments, flies to artful Insinuations, and weak  
 Evasions.

## C H A P. V.

*Containing Remarks on what the Doctor hath said on the Tryal before my Lord Chief Baron Hale, of Richard Dugdale, or the Surrey Demoniac; and the Case of Jane Wenham, in Hertfordshire.*

HAVING in the foregoing Chapter made it appear, how weakly the Doctor hath opposed the Credit of our History of *Witchcraft*, and some Cases mentioned in it, and how little he hath said to favour his own Suggestions, I shall next proceed to consider what he hath to say, in Relation to the Persons tried and condemned by our late excellent Lord Chief Baron *Hale*.

Page 140, he says, " I have as true an Honour and Reverence for that great and good Man—but we must not so far forget the common Frailty of our human Nature, as to think it strange for a great Man to be once mistaken." Here the Doctor cannot deny the Goodness of this great Man, yet thinks it necessary to lessen the Esteem of what he designs to oppose, and obstruct the Lustre of his shining Character, lest it should be too bright for him to face; as *Moses*, *Exod. xxxiv. 33. had a Vail over his Face, whilst he spoke to the Children of Israel*, lest the shining of his Face, when he came out of *Mount Sinai*, should be too bright, and dazzle them. But methinks the Doctor, having so much Honour and Reverence for this great and good Man, should not vail him with the common Frailty of human Nature, much more to tell him he was mistaken. A Judge is not mistaken, if his Judgment is

F

upon

upon moral Proof; he is not to answer for the Mistakes of Evidence; but I find no body can be in the right, that is not of his Opinion.

He goes on, " In the first Place it seems to me, that there are several Signs of a great Zeal and Eagerness in the Prosecutions. They laid Thirteen several Indictments against him." The Doctor continues his Tenderness over these Creatures, and seems of a different Kidney from the Prophets and Apostles, since they oppose Vice, especially those of the worst Kind, with Zeal and Eagerness, denouncing heavy Judgments, Death, Hell, and everlasting Torments, against such Offenders: And if they had given Occasion for Thirteen several Indictments, such vile Offenders ought to be prosecuted with a Zeal equal to their abominable and notorious Crimes. So that to justify this Zeal, I need but make use of the Doctor's own Words subjoined, which aggravate what he would excuse, *viz.* " By this Means they gave in Evidence of Things that had been said long before, and at distant Times and Places; and when they were laid together, they supported one another, and made a greater Appearance of Guilt, than they had at the several Times when they were done." Thus it is in other Capital Crimes, or even common Cases, old Offenders are treated according to the Nature of the Circumstances; and when one hath been frequently guilty of Thefts, and a great many Indictments are brought in against one Man, they make a stronger Presumption of the evil Disposition of the Person accused, and consequently he is more deserving of the Rigor of the Law. And when an old Offender is accused but of a single Fact, if it appear that he hath formerly committed Crimes of the same Nature, though the last Fact be less considerable in itself, he is looked upon as an egregious Sinner; and according to the Custom of Courts of Judicature, is brought

brought to condign Punishment, and suffers the Extremity of the Law.

He goes on, "Notwithstanding this, consider how very few Things they could prove, that were real Facts of the supposed Witches doing." To which I answer, that if they proved but a few real Facts, as he owns, the Witches accused must be real, and not supposed Witches, as he calls them.

He proceeds, "One single Witness, *Dorothy Durent*, confessed of her self, that which was a more Criminal Act of Sorcery, than all they could prove against the accused Parties." Here the Doctor owns, that the Parties committed some, because he says the Witnesses acted more. So that by his Charge, both the Person accused, and the Witness, must be Witches. He would excuse the accused Witch, yet accuses the other of Sorcery himself; now since the Doctor is an Accuser as well as *Durent*, Who must excuse *Durent*, who is accused by him? And who must blame the Doctor, for accusing her? That which he blames *Durent* for, he is guilty of himself; and by the Law that he condemns other Accusers, he ought to be tried. But I find the Doctor hath as much Infallibility as the Pope; he is in the right, let the Case be what it will, and suits his Opinion, as Conveniency requires.

But further, he says, "For of Facts of their doing, I see little besides giving a Child an empty Breast Seven Years before, to quiet it, and giving another a little Water, which is usually done in Vapours." I never heard of a young Child being troubled with what Physicians call Vapours before, or that Water was a Medicinal Prescription; but I suppose the Doctor may have some unknown Physick-Book lodged in the profound Obscurity, where these Papers slept so many Years.

But to proceed, he says, “ The said *Dorothy Du-*  
 “ *rent* having been with a Witch Doctor, acknow-  
 “ ledges upon Oath, that by his Advice, she hanged  
 “ up the Child’s Blanket in the Chimney, found a  
 “ Toad in it at Night ; had put it into the Fire, and  
 “ held it there, though it made a great and horrible  
 “ Noise, and flashed like Gunpowder, and went off  
 “ like a Pistol, and then became invisible ; and that  
 “ by this the Prisoner was scorched, and burnt la-  
 “ mentably.

Now what can the Doctor say to this, which is an  
 evident Argument and Proof of a Diabolical Power?  
 Truly he uses his usual, powerful, and unresistable  
 Banter and Ridicule. “ I do not believe this  
 “ Witness ; for she must be a silly loose Woman, or  
 “ she would not have gone to the Witch Doctor.”  
 A good Reason to make her a silly loose Woman ;  
 for the Doctor believes there are Witch-Doctors,  
 though he will allow none to be Witches, but Accu-  
 sers of Witches. What then must Accusers of these  
 Accusers be? But,

“ She says, she believed her a Witch, yet left her  
 “ Child to be tended by her.” How could she be-  
 lieve her a Witch, before she knew her Actions? But  
 after the Child had been with her, then it was she  
 blamed her for what she did.

“ She says, the Prisoner was very much scorched  
 “ and burnt with Fire, and yet no Scars, or signs of  
 “ Burning, were shewn—and therefore I believe  
 “ she was a lying old Woman.” Strong Arguments  
 to invalidate a Witness! How does the Doctor know  
 but the Marks of Burning were shewn, and did ap-  
 pear? Nothing can be offer’d to the contrary, but  
 the Doctor’s good Word ; for by her Oath it should  
 be true, and in Defence of the old Woman’s Reputa-  
 tion I must needs say, it does not appear she was  
 a lying old Woman, for the Marks must be shewn, or  
 how could they tell she was burnt?

The rest of *Page* 141, and 142, the Doctor goes on to prove them both Witches, and turns Witch Accuser himself: And I believe, talking much longer upon the Subject, would alter his Opinion, and make him believe what he hath hitherto so cruelly discouraged, with Insinuations and Evasions; for he seems to pursue the Accuser *Durent*, with that Zeal and Eagerness he complained of the Page before; and I believe I may say to the Doctor, as *Paul* said to *Agrippa*, Acts xxvi. 27, 28. *King Agrippa, believest thou the Prophets? I know that thou believest. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.* But to shew how vigorously the Doctor accuses *Durent*, I shall quote his own Words.

“ But suppose it literally true, as she saith; and  
 “ what follows? Why, the only sure Conclusion is,  
 “ that she charg'd her self with real Sorcery in  
 “ all its Steps and Gradations. She first departed  
 “ from God, by forsaking his way of Prayer, and  
 “ natural Means, and leaving the Event to his Pro-  
 “ vidence. She employed the Devil, by the use of a  
 “ Charm, which she knew could have no Effect  
 “ without the Devil's Help. After she found a  
 “ Toad in the Child's Blanket, which could not get  
 “ into it in the Chimney, but by the same Power;  
 “ as Witches use to roast the Representation of the  
 “ Party to be afflicted, so she burnt the Toad; and,  
 “ if there be any Truth in her Words, afflicted this  
 “ *Rose Callender*, the Prisoner, by that Act of hers.  
 “ And what Judgment can be made of this Matter?  
 “ Why first, take it in the hardest Sense against the  
 “ Prisoner, and imagine, that by some Prior Acts  
 “ of Sorcery, she had made her self subject to this  
 “ Power of the Devil, yet both are guilty within the  
 “ Statute, and are but Two Witches trying to perse-  
 “ cute one another.

“ *Olaus Magnus*, and the Jesuit *Delrio* and *Shef-*  
 “ *ferius*, and others that are deep in the Belief of  
 “ these dark Notions, give us Relations of eminent  
 “ Magicians, that had great Contests with one ano-  
 “ ther; and used Charm against Charm, and Spirit  
 “ against Spirit, till the less potent Conjuror was  
 “ subdued or killed by the most powerful. And  
 “ therefore, if we believe Sorcery in this Case before  
 “ us, we have but Witch against Witch, both em-  
 “ ploying Spirits, and therefore both to be punish-  
 “ ed; for the Law is not partial, but punishes all  
 “ equal Facts wherever it finds them. Our Statute  
 “ forbids all manner of Use and Exercise of any  
 “ Sorcery or Charm for employing Spirits, and pu-  
 “ nishes the guilty Person with Death, if they do  
 “ harm to Man or Beast, and with Imprisonment  
 “ and Pillory, though their Charms have no Effect.  
 “ And therefore, upon this first Supposition, they  
 “ both stand guilty, they are both in Danger, ac-  
 “ cording as they shall meet with Judges and Juries  
 “ that will be Partial or Impartial in the Execution  
 “ of that Statute.

Here we see the Doctor is very severe in executing  
 Laws against this *Durent*; nay, both; but her espe-  
 cially. He tells you the Heinousness of the Crime,  
 the Guilt of the Persons, and the Severity of the  
 Law; and I am glad he is of my Opinion, or I of  
 his, he being the greater Man, as it happens; let it  
 be as he will, as to that Point; yet, as the Doctor is  
 Counsel for *Callender*, and I for *Durent*, upon the  
 last Clause of this Declaration, I must offer some-  
 thing in favour of *Durent*, as well as the Judges and  
 Juries. And first, in respect of *Durent*, though they  
 both stand guilty upon the first Supposition, as the  
 Doctor says, yet they ought not to be both equally  
 in danger; for what *Callender* did, was a long conti-  
 nued Practice, excited by the Malice of the Devil;

but what *Durent* did, was but an Experiment, or single Action, with no ill Design, nor with a Design to continue in it, and to be a Professor of that ill Practice. Besides, the Mischief of the Prisoners Actions fell upon innocent Persons, but the latter upon an old Sinner that deserved Punishment. And as to the Partiality or Impartiality of Judges and Juries, though the Letter of the Statute might require strict Execution of Justice, yet Circumstances alter the Case, and intercede for Mercy in *Durent's* Case, for the Reasons above-mentioned.

But *Page* 143, the Doctor says; "her being afflicted by this Witness's Sorcery, was no proof of her Guilt, even though the Fact was true; for we have a Thousand Stories which teach us, that innocent Persons may be afflicted, even sucking Children in their Mothers Arms." Here the Doctor owns what we contend for in our History of *Witchcraft*, and what he hath been contending against throughout his Essay; he hitherto deny'd Possessions, and the Effects of *Witchcraft*; but now owns, that Thousands have been afflicted, nay Children in their Mothers Arms. And as for the Sorcery being no Proof of her Guilt, this he contradicts himself, *Page* 141, and 142. "After she found a Toad in the Child's Blanket, which could not get into it in the Chimney, but by the same Power (the Devil's Help,) as Witches use to roast the Representation of the Party to be afflicted, so she roasted the Toad." Thus we see the Doctor contradicts himself backwards and forwards, as he thinks it will serve his Purpose. To excuse Witches all along, he hath deny'd Possessions, and the Power of *Witchcraft*; but he hath so much Aversion to Accusers of them, that to bring in *Durent* Guilty, he charges her with the Fact, and produces the Statute. And further, to take off her Evidence, and prove her Guilty, he owns what he said would not prove *Cal-*

*tender* Guilty; he says, " But how, and by whom,  
 " and by what did she try to make the Discovery?  
 " She tried to discover by a Charm and Sorcery; for  
 " the Blanket in the Chimney was not a common  
 " Act, but design'd for a Spell or Call to a Spirit.  
 " And therefore she try'd to discover the Witch, by  
 " employing the Devil to afflict another, and by that  
 " to let her know, whether that other was a Witch.  
 " And is not this a hopeful Evidence, and fit to be  
 " laid before a Christian Court of Justice? Where  
 he allows Spells and Charms, and uncommon  
 Acts, yet in the foregoing Part of his Discourse,  
 he would not allow any Thing like Possessions, but  
 would have all the Accidents of Possessions to pro-  
 ceed from Vapours, or other natural Causes; nay,  
 even in this Chapter. But this Evidence is not fit to  
 appear before a Christian Court of Justice. I won-  
 der where these Christian Courts of Justice are to be  
 found; for the Doctor hitherto talks of nothing but  
 partial Judges and Juries, and would have all such  
 Cases referr'd to the Righteous Judge, being not wil-  
 ling any of these innocent Creatures should come be-  
 fore the Judges upon Earth.

From *Page* 144, he hath spent about Six Pages in  
 trifling and ridiculous Banter, that would be tedious  
 to the Reader to hear repeated, and full of such  
 mean Reflections, and such weak Offers of defeating  
 and baffling Evidence, that it would both waste  
 Time and Paper to no Purpose, to use Words about  
 them. I shall only take Notice further, of what is  
 said *Page* the 151st, which is sufficient to answer all  
 the omitted Pages contain, without any further En-  
 quiry.

*Page* 151, the Doctor, to satisfy the World that  
 he can confute himself when he pleases, and save any  
 body else the labour, says, " Sir *Thomas Brown* of  
 " *Norwich*, the Famous Physician of his Time, was  
 " in Court, and was desired by my Lord Chief-  
 " Baron

“ Baron to give his Judgment in the Case; and he  
 “ declared, that he was clearly of Opinion, that  
 “ the Fits were natural, but heightened by the De-  
 “ vil, co-operating with the Malice of the Witches,  
 “ at whose Instance he did the Villanies; and he ad-  
 “ ded, that in *Denmark* there had been lately a  
 “ great Discovery of Witches, who used the very  
 “ same way of afflicting People, by conveying  
 “ Pins into them.

In answer to this, the Doctor flies to his usual way of Evasion; and a Bundle of insignificant Expressions. Says the Doctor, “ This Declaration of Sir  
 “ *Thomas Brown's* could not but much influence the  
 “ Jury; and I count it turned back the Scale, that  
 “ was otherwise inclining to the favour of the accu-  
 “ sed Persons.” I would ask the Doctor, why the  
 Opinion of so learned a Man, who could well distinguish betwixt the Symptoms of a natural Distemper, and the Effects of supernatural Causes, should influence a Jury; he could have no Design against these poor People; nor would any Man, without prospect of considerable Gain or Advantage, give his Opinion contrary to his Judgment. The Doctor goes on:

“ And in Submission, I think it should not have  
 “ been said. For this was a Case of Blood, and  
 “ surely the King's Subjects ought not to lose their  
 “ Lives upon the Credit of Books from *Denmark.*”

The Doctor puts the Compliment of Submission, yet contradicts *Dr. Brown's* Declaration, telling him it should not have been said; a good Token of Submission! by a new Method, when I submit, I must contradict; but this was a Case of Blood, and the King's Subjects ought not to lose their Lives upon the Credit of Books from *Denmark*; but just now it was the Doctor's Declaration turned the Scale. But since the Doctor is so tender of such wicked Sub-

jects, as only belong to the Kingdom of Darkness ; I must needs say, the Earthly King's Subjects ought not to be tormented and deprived of their Ease and Happiness, if not their Lives, by such miserable Offenders, who, moved by Malice and Revenge, forsake their God to serve the Devil ; they ought to depart from the Society of Men, and converse only with those Infernal Shades which they take most delight in.

But this he says was a very particular Case, and a very hard Question, “ Whether ever any one single Person was guilty of it, as it stood there charged? There were as many probable Signs of it in this Case, as had ever been in any, the Witnesses, the afflicted Persons, the supposed Witches, and very much of the Fact, were all before them.” Therefore there is the greater Probability that Judgment took Place according to Merit ; for they must have the Opportunity of a full Information of Matters of Fact on every Side, and both Judge and Juries must be well informed of the nature of the Case. And after so many Advantages, and before so many Spectators, and so great and good a Judge, Judgment could not well be perverted. After a great deal of such like Stuff as the Doctor hath offered, in Relation to this Case, the Doctor, *Page 152*, says, “ it seems to have been a very rash Prosecution, and an injudicious Sentence.” It is very strange that a Prosecution should be rash, when there were so many Advantages at the Tryal, that all Persons who could be concerned in Evidence, or otherwise, were present ; it rather looks as if they had full Time to provide themselves for their Defence. But it is much stranger the Doctor should be so rash in his Expressions, as to call my Lord Chief-Baron's Sentence injudicious ; a Person for whom he expressed, in the beginning of this Chapter, so much Honour and Respect, both as a great and good Man.

“ But,

“ But, says he, what did my Lord Chief-Baron  
 “ add, besides his Desire to Sir *Thomas Brown* to  
 “ give his Judgment? And how came he to be sa-  
 “ tisfy'd so far as to condemn them? There was  
 “ the Spectre Evidence, Pins and Nails; and, if  
 “ the Witness spoke Truth, there was a Diabolical  
 “ Interposition in some of the Facts.—This made  
 “ that great and good Man doubtful, that he was in  
 “ such Fears, and proceeded with such Caution,  
 “ that he would not so much as sum up the Evi-  
 “ dence, but left it to the Jury, with Prayers, *That*  
 “ *the Great God of Heaven would direct their*  
 “ *Hearts in that weighty Matter.*—And in Half  
 “ an Hour, they brought them in Guilty of all the  
 “ Thirteen Indictments.

“ After this, my Lord Chief-Baron gave the  
 “ Law its Place, and they were condemned, and  
 “ died.

Now it is so plain and clearly manifest, both  
 from the Circumstances of the Tryal, the Strength  
 and Validity of the Evidence, and the great Cauti-  
 on my Lord used in his Proceedings, that these Per-  
 sons must be guilty of the Fact, and were fairly con-  
 victed; that I cannot but wonder and admire, with  
 what Grounds, and for what Reasons, the Doctor  
 can suspect the Justice these Persons were treated  
 withal; or how he can charge my Lord with an  
 injudicious Sentence! The Jury, upon downright  
 Testimony, and moral Demonstration of the Merit  
 of their Case, brought them in guilty of Thirteen  
 Indictments; and it must be very strange, if they  
 could be mistaken in all: But when their Wicked-  
 ness appeared so conspicuously on every side, Truth  
 could never be in the dark: They must be true in  
 some at least; and since one was enough to justify  
 their Condemnation, so many meritorious Acts must  
 needs require the fatal Sentence that impartial Justice  
 called for.

But notwithstanding all this Proof and evident Demonstration, the Doctor will not admit of any Guilt on their side, tho' they were deemed guilty by the Law. The Doctor will not insist upon the Statute, as he did against *Durent*. He hath a great mind to save their Lives after their Death, and if he could raise them up again, as our Saviour did the Body of *Lazarus*, it would mightily redound to the Greatness of his Character. But tho' such Things are *impossible with Men*, yet he will not be put out of his Opinion of their Innocency: Judges, Juries, and all are in the wrong; only Serjeant *Keeling* he hath a great Respect for, because he was of the Opinion the Doctor is now; for which Reason the Doctor canonizes his Name thus, with the Alteration of a Word or two, (as he says) to his Advantage no doubt, as much as possible.

Said he, "Admitting that the Children were really bewitch'd, yet it could never be apply'd to the Prisoners, upon the Imagination only of the Parties afflicted; for if that might be allow'd, no Person whatsoever could be in Safety: For perhaps they might fancy another Person, who might be altogether innocent in such Matters." If this was all the Counsellor could say, he needed not to fear himself in Danger; for I believe, no body would take him for a Conjuror. But there is no such Thing as Fancy or Imagination of the Parties, since it is done by the Interposition of an evil Spirit: The Witnesses proved a Diabolical Interposition; and therefore the Opinion of this Serjeant will do little Service, in clearing the Guilt of the Persons; for if it were of any Force, it would have taken place in Court; but the Evidence was too strong, and the Circumstances too clear, or a Jury would not have brought them in Guilty. The Caution of my Lord Chief-Baron was sufficient to make them cautious.

But

But the Doctor is yet dissatisfied in his Mind about his pretty Notion of the Times, and questions the Integrity and Honesty of Judges and Juries. He says ; “ Immediately after the accused Persons “ were found guilty, the Three Children of “ Mr. *Pacy* were perfectly well of their Fits, and “ were restored to their Speech : And *Dorothy Du-* “ *rent*, who had gone Three Years upon Crutches, “ was restored to the Use of her Limbs, laid her “ Crutches aside, and went home without them. “ And as at that Time this satisfied many that “ both the Proceedings and Verdict had been just ; “ why may we not now make the same Conclu- “ sion ?

“ But, says the Doctor, if it be really true, that “ the Judgment of Law and Authority hath this “ supernatural Effect in this Case above all others ; “ what was the Reason why the Effect was partial, “ and only cured some of the afflicted, and not “ others ? Why did *Susan Chandler* still look very “ pale and wan, and felt a Pricking like Pins in her “ Stomach ?

The Doctor depending upon the Difficulty of this last Question, hath spent Two or Three Pages in Triumph, upon new-raised Notions ; and thinks he hath gained a mighty Conquest : But I would not have him place too much Security upon this Foundation ; for the Question is not so difficult, but that it may easily be answer'd. For the famous Sir *Thomas Brown* of *Norwich*, told my Lord Chief-Baron, (*Page 151.*) “ That he was clearly of Opi- “ nion, that the Fits were natural, but heightened “ by the Devil, co-operating with the Malice of the “ Witches, at whose Instance he did the Villanies.” Now tho' natural Fits might go off sooner, if not enforced by a Diabolick Power ; and consequently when that Diabolick Power ceases, they may disap-  
pear ;

pear ; the natural Cause that concurred being diminished, and not sufficient to continue these Fits, without the adjoined Force of Dæmoniack Assistance : Yet in some Bodies, the Proportion of the natural Cause may be greater, and tho' the Diabolick Force is taken away, it may be sufficient to continue natural ill Effects : And tho' it was not sufficient at the first without that concurring Diabolick Force, yet the Body being by long Continuance weaken'd, depraved Humours may grow more abundant in Quantity, and continue those ill Symptoms when the Devil hath lost his Power ; so that this Difference depends on the Difference of Constitutions, and Degrees of Weakness, as well as depraved Qualities of Humours.

And now I hope I have satisfied all those Scruples which lay upon the Doctor's Mind, and think it appears plainly, that the Persons accused were not wrongfully accused, convicted, nor condemned ; and consequently, that all the Pains and Trouble he hath taken to misrepresent the Case under Consideration, was only unnecessary Toil to him, and might as well have been spared.

### *Of the Surrey Dæmoniack.*

From what we have observ'd in the late Tryal it appears, that the Doctor hath said nothing to the Purpose, to lessen the Credit which ought to be given to a Case so plain and evident : Let us now see what he hath to say to the *Surrey Dæmoniack*, which is proved by Seventy Depositions of Persons, that were Eye and Ear-witnesses of the Possession of that Creature ; the Depositions proving that his Afflictions could not be occasion'd without a supernatural Power.

To disprove this Fact, the Doctor says ; “ Take this Case as the scandalous Author leaves it, with telling only one Side.” What the Doctor means by telling only one Side, I do not know ; except it be that I only tell the Truth, attested by Seventy Witnesses upon Oath ; *viz.* That the Person was possessed, committing Actions above the Power of natural Causes in human Bodies, unassisted by evil Spirits ; and that he was relieved by the effectual Prayers of pious good Men. As for scandalous Language, I cannot tell how to answer it ; being always desirous to shew what Respect I possibly can to the Gown, let him be what he thinks fit. But if he takes the Subject as I leave it, he will find it proved by such undeniable Testimony, that nobody can dispute the Truth, but those that will be Infidels, and convinc'd of nothing that is contrary to their Inclinations.

If the Doctor hath any Thing to say against the Depositions laid down in our *Compleat History*, &c. let him produce as many Testimonies to the contrary, and prove what he says either by Arguments or Witnesses. But instead of that, the Doctor just says what he thinks fit, without offering any Thing to confirm us in a Belief of any such trifling Assertions : But all the Opposition I find the Doctor makes, is, That *Dugdale* (upon Examination) declared, that he believed he never had any evil Spirit in him. But this we must take the Doctor's Word for ; his Affirmation being superior to Twenty evident Proofs to the contrary. He is of a happy Genius, to be always in the Right when he pleases ; both when he asserts one Thing, and when he contradicts himself, and affirms another. That we may make a better Judgment of his Work, we shall sum up the Number of Contradictions, Insinuations, Evasions, and strong Arguments contained in his *Essay*  
either

either in Defence of his own Opinion, or against ours :

Contradictions,	———— ————	about	100.
Insinuations,	———— ————	about	1000.
Evasions,	———— ————	about	900.
Strong Arguments for his Opinion,	————		000.
Against ours,	———— ———— ————		0000.
<i>Ipse dixit's,</i>	———— ———— ————		10000.

Whoever takes a View of what we have said strictly, will find this Account not much mistaken. But as to the present Case in Hand, having answered all the Doctor offers except Raillery, to shew how well this *Narrative* is attested, we shall here mention Two or Three Depositions, to prove the Truth of the *Surrey Damoniack*, and refer the Reader to that *History* for a full Account and Proof.

*Thomas Dugdale*, Father of the said *Richard Dugdale*, maketh Oath, That he consulted with *Crabtree* in Behalf of his said Son, then under a strange Distemper; and had his Answer, That if there was Money enough, he could effect the Cure. Whereupon this Deponent seeing his Son's Body much weaken'd with the said *Crabtree's* Physick, and his Fits more violent, applied himself to Mr. *Jolly*, a Neighbouring Minister, and others of his Brethren in the Ministry: And this Deponent saith, He hath seen his Son vomit up Stones, several Times, and other Things. Once he declar'd; He must either vomit up Gold, Silver, or Bras Rings, and Hair Buttons; and accordingly he did so. At other Times, he vomited great Stones, also blue Stones like Flints.

One Time he vomited a Stone an Inch and a half long, and an Inch and a half broad, having Blood upon the Edges; which this Deponent, and others stand-

standing by him, apprehended to be painful to him.

And further this Deponent maketh Oath, That one Day, a little before Night, walking by his said Son then in a Fit, it growing dark, a Candle was brought in; this Deponent looking upon him, there was a great Stone laid upon his Belly, weighing about Twelve or Thirteen Pounds: This Deponent not knowing how it came there, nor were there any such like Stones about the House. Besides, Stones have been thrown at the Barn-side, falling very thick upon the Door; yet this Deponent could never discover the Hand that threw them, nor any Person employ'd therein, altho' this Deponent's Wife was hit with one of them, but without any Hurt. At other Times, the said *Richard Dugdale* would cast Goose-Dung at this Deponent, and others standing by, which he seem'd to fetch out of the Barn-side; altho' neither this Deponent, nor those that were with him could find any there, nor discover any one that brought it; nor were there any Geese kept at the House, nor other Geese that came near it. And lastly, this Deponent saith, That his said Son would run upon his Hands and Feet together, as fast as most Men could run upon their Feet alone: And his Body would sometimes be so heavy, that Two or Three strong Men could hardly lift him up, and at other Times as light as a Bag of Feathers.

*John Walmsly*, of *Harwood* in the said County of *Lancaster*, Sadler, deposeth, That he hath seen the said *Richard Dugdale* in a Fit, and held in a Chair by Six Men: And whilst his Feet were off the Ground, he hath leaped up in the Chair for Two or Three Hours together, as fast as a Man can ordinarily count any Thing, and hath so sweated thro' his Cloaths, that it hath stood like a Dew upon them.

More;

Moreover, this Deponent hath taken the said *Richard Dugdale* by the Shoe, betwixt this Deponent's foremost Finger and his Thumb, another taking him at his Head, and so lifting him up: This Deponent thinks he could not weigh Six Pounds.

And further this Deponent saith, Mr. *Jolly* the Minister sending Word by him to the said *Richard's* Father, that the Ministers would be at his House called *Surrey* on such a Day; this Deponent going the same Day he was spoken to with his Errand, the said *Richard* declared it before this Deponent mention'd it, as likewise what Ministers would be there.

And further this Deponent upon his Oath saith, That the said *Richard Dugdale*, in some of his Fits opening his Hand, hath received written Papers into it, none of the By-standers knowing how they came thither; which the said *Richard Dugdale* hath given People that were about him. Also the said Deponent hath seen him shuffle Rushes like Cards, and play Games on them, as tho' he had been playing with some other Person, whom he had chid about the Casts, cursing and swearing about his Play, and then said, *Do not Gamesters thus?* He likewise play'd with Rushes as if they had been Dice, using exactly several Expressions belonging to that Play; saying, *People think this is laid upon me for my Sins, but I never was a Gamester in my Life; neither know I how to play at such Games, when out of my Fits.* And the said *Richard Dugdale* did likewise play at Bowls, making Bowls of Rushes: and when he had thrown the Jack, he said, *I must now throw my Gill:* Then running a good way, as if he had been running after a Bowl, swearing, *Run, run; flee, flee; Hold a Biass.* And sometimes he catch'd up Rushes, as if they had been Bowls, swearing, *Sirrah, stand out of the way, or I'll knock out*  
your

*your Brains : Adding, I never was a Bowler ; but don't Gentlemen do thus ?*

And this Deponent saith, That the said *Richard Dugdale* had several Fits, after his being threatned with his being brought before a Justice of Peace : And once being in his last Fit, when this Deponent was present, he declared his Fit was thro' Obsession, and in a Combination, which should never be discover'd whilst the World endured. And this Deponent hath seen him in a great Fit, as in a great Agony, with something he could not see ; and then hath been taken up, and been thrown backwards ; after that set upon his Head, and so stood till he was pulled down by one *John Fletcher*. As also this Deponent hath heard himself cursed and swears at by *Richard Dugdale* ; and his Gesture was so terrible, it would have frighted a Man to come near him ; and yet in a Moment's Time after, he was in such a Fear, that he sought to creep into any Hole, or behind any body, to have hid himself, as moved the Standers-by with much Compassion. He would at one Time have told when his Fits would begin, when he had Two or Three in one Day, or Three or Four Days asunder ; wherein he was never disproved that he knew of : Which Fits commonly began in the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upwards unto the Chest of his Body : And then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good while as dead, or breathless ; and then would have a strange Noise in his Mouth and Nose ; and there would, to his Apprehension, be something like Whelps in his Bosom before he rose, after which sometimes he would be very furious ; and sometimes more quiet.

*William Lound*, of *Harwood* in the County of *Lancaster*, Carrier, maketh Oath, That he hath heard the said *Richard Dugdale* curse and swear ; his Gesture

Gesture being so terrible, it would have frightened a Man to come near him ; and yet in a Moment of Time after, in such a Fear, that he hath sought to creep into any Hole, or behind any body, to have hid himself, and so lamented himself, as moved the Standers by with great Compassion. He would, at other Times, have told when his Fits would begin, when there were Two or Three in one Day, or Three or Four Days asunder ; wherein he was never disappointed that he knew of: Which Fits commonly began in the Calf of his Leg, and wrought upwards into the Chest of his Body ; and then he was thrown down, where he would lye for a good while as dead, or bewitch'd, and then would have a strange Noise in his Mouth or Nose ; and there would be in his Breast somewhat like Whelps before he rose, after which sometimes he would be very furious, sometimes more quiet.

*Willoughby.*  
*Ralph Egerton.*

We whose Names are subscribed, being Ministers of the Gospel, having read or heard the Affidavits and Depositions, taken before the Right Honourable *Hugh Lord Willoughby* and *Ralph Egerton*, Esq; Two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County *Palatine of Lancaster*, concerning one *Richard Dugdale* of *Surrey* in the Parish of *Whalley* ; do verily believe the Truth of the same, and that the strange Fits of the said *Dugdale* were by a Diabolical Power.

Given when we were at *Blackburn* in *Lancashire*, on *August* the 6th, 1695.

*Thomas Crompton.*  
*Peter Aspinwall.*  
*John Crompton.*  
*John Parr.*

*Samuel Angier.*  
*Nathaniel Heywood.*  
*Samuel Eaton.*  
*Nathaniel Scholes.*

I do hereby testify, (as many more will, if there be Occasion) from my own Observation, as an Eye and Ear Witness, at the meeting concerning *Richard Dugdale*, that I verily believe he was then under a Diabolical Possession, or Obsession. I do also testify, that he is now delivered from that supernatural Malady; and that no other probable Means of his Delivery may be assigned, but the Word of God and Prayer, with Fasting; which Spiritual Means was made use of by several Ministers of great Faithfulness and Diligence, for a considerable Time together.

Witness my Hand, the 10th Day of  
*June, 1695.*

*Robert Whiteaker, Physician.*

These Testimonies and Depositions are sufficient to prove the Truth of the *Surrey Demoniack*; but if any body hath a mind to be further satisfied, they may find both a fuller Account, as well as a great Number of Testimonies for the Confirmation of it, in my *Compleat History of Witchcraft, &c.*

But the Doctor is uneasy because the Dissenters had the Honour to cast out this Devil, and dispossess the poor Creature; would not the Doctor have done the Christian Part of assisting, if his Help had been required? Our Saviour, as I have in the beginning of this Vindication shewn, when his Disciples came and told him, *that others cast out Devils in his Name*, charged them not to forbid them, saying, *They that are not against us, are on our Part.* And if what our Saviour allowed be no Crime, what matters it, whether a Dissenter, or a Churchman, dispossessed a tormented Creature, if it can be done by either? But the Doctor, throughout his Essay, is rather for encouraging Sin and Wickedness of the highest Nature, and would have the Devil to work his

his Will, excusing Witches, and discouraging their Accusers.

But the Doctor finds fault with the Author of the *Compleat History*, for passing by these Things, though they lay plain before him. And I have passed by some Things in this Essay, for the same Reasons; *viz.* because they were not worth taking Notice of. In that History I have taken Notice of nothing but what is authentick, and founded upon moral Proof, or Probability at least; endeavouring to separate the Dirt, which was fit for nothing, but to be trod under the Foot, from those more valuable Jewels of Use and Worth. But since the Doctor finds fault with me, why did he not read over that *Compleat History*, and shew the Faults of the most material Parts, which shew the Reasonableness and Usefulness of that History? Why did he not answer the Preface and Introduction, as I have his Dedication, himself, and his Two Companions, the Advocate, and the poor silly Juryman. I have offered nothing but what is grounded upon, and proved by Scripture, against the material Part of his Essay, and have given Reasons for what I say; but the Doctor calls me ill and scandalous Author, without shewing any Reasons for it; and though he says my History may do Mischief, the Reasons I have offered against him, prove that his Essay is likely to do a great deal more, destroying and discouraging those Historical Truths, which are of the same Nature with those in Scripture, as to Possessions and *Witchcraft*; and though not attested by Divine Authority, yet they have equally moral Proof, and might be attested by the same Witnesses, had they happened at the same Time. Now if what I have offered is according to Scripture, as it appears, and his Notions are not, as I have proved: It will not be amiss, if I end this Discourse concerning *Dugdale* with the Doctor's own Words, "What he deserves  
" for

“ for poisoning the Minds of Men with false—  
 “ (Notions) in such a high and tender Point, I  
 “ leave the Reader to make Judgment.

As for the Case of *Jane Wenham*, if she was so innocent, that nothing could be proved against her, it must be barbarous Cruelty, either to torture her undeservedly, or to spill innocent Blood; but this Mistake does not make the guilty innocent; and as I said before, in the beginning of this Tract, because sometimes Mistakes may be made, this is no Rule that the Wicked should go unpunished; and as Judges and Juries ought to be cautious how they punish the innocent, so they ought to be as severe in discouraging Wickedness and Vice, of so heinous a Nature.

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## C H A P. VI.

*Containing some Remarks on what the Doctor hath said of Tears, Marks, Charms, want of Tears, and swimming Witches.*

THE Doctor, in the beginning of his Eleventh Chapter, after a short Harangue with a silly Juryman, takes Notice of King *James's* Reason why Witches Swim, and modestly excusing the Deficiency of that Reason, *Page 172*, tells us of the *Thibii* in *Pliny*, who says, *non posse mergi*, that they cannot be drowned; which if applicable to our Witches, is against him, who would not allow the Validity of the Experiment.

But speaking of our Nation, says the Doctor,  
 “ we find in our Nation, so late as the *Norman*  
 “ Conquest, that they tried their Robberies, Mur-  
 “ ders, Adulteries, and often their Claims to Land,  
 “ by Combat, (and so Highwaymen do now to Mo-  
 “ ney and Goods,) or the Decretory Morsel, or by  
 “ carrying hot Iron, or passing through hot Plow-  
 “ shares, or putting them into hot Water, or swim-  
 “ ming them in cold. And when a Prisoner in  
 “ Court is asked how he will be tried? I suppose it is  
 “ a Continuance of the Question put to them in  
 “ those Times, when they had the Choice of be-  
 “ ing tried by a Jury, or by one of those Ways.”  
 But this not relating to the Subject in Hand, I shall  
 not spend Time to enquire whether the Doctor’s  
 Supposition be right or not, yet probably it may.

We shall next proceed to consider, what may re-  
 late to the present Purpose, and the Subjects we go  
 upon. I find that, though the Doctor mentioned  
 Swimming last in the Title of his Chapter, yet it is  
 the first he begins with; and the Case being stated  
 betwixt a Jury-man and him, it puts me to the Stand  
 who I have to deal with; that is, Whether the Jury-  
 man is transformed into the Doctor’s Shape, or  
 not? For the Juryman talks more like a Doctor than  
 the Clergyman; but as I suppose they are both one,  
 and alter their Shapes as they think fit, I shall take  
 the whole as it is betwixt them both. Which is  
 thus: “ When our Country People do try old Wo-  
 “ men this way, and they Swim, doth it not shew a  
 “ supernatural Power, either of God or the Devil?  
 “ If it be allowed in some Cases to be so, as there  
 “ are strange Stories told, it would not follow that  
 “ we might therefore use it; for we may not tempt  
 “ God, and we may not trust the Devil.

From what we observe, it is plain and manifest,  
 that the Doctor owns it to be a supernatural Power,  
 either of God or the Devil, allowing that it may be

so in some Cases; but he only insists, that it would not follow, that we might therefore use it; and all the Reason he offers for that is, we may not tempt God, and we must not trust the Devil. Now in doing of this, the Question is, Whether we tempt God, or whether we trust the Devil?

As to the first, I believe, that in doing so, we tempt not God; for these Creatures having forsaken God, he not being in all their Ways, he hath cast them out of his Vineyard, and hath nothing to do with them; and therefore, as they cannot depend upon his Assistance, who never ask it, they seem to be wholly in the Devil's Hands, whom they Worship, and it is in him they put their Trust; and if any Thing saves them from the Common Laws of Nature, it must be thought his supernatural Power; and therefore if Witches Swim, it must be the Devil's Power that keeps them from sinking: And if so, the Experiment must be reasonable, and justifiable, and true.

But the Doctor says; " I take it to be usually owing to the manner of the Tryal; in which a Rope being tied about the supposed Witch, one End is held by some Man on one Side the River, and the other by others on the other, whereby a little pulling may keep her above Water." To which I answer, that a little pulling will not make a reverberatory Force, sufficient to make a body Swim: This hath been tried by People swimming after a Boat with a Tow, when they were timorous, or suspected their Art of Swimming; and it hath happened, that notwithstanding that Caution, the Person who thus relied upon his Safety, hath been drowned: For the People thinking the Man safe, because in Towe, neglected looking behind them; whilst the Person, who thought himself secure, suddenly failing of his Art, or Strength, hath towed under Water till drowned, before those in the Boat

looked back to take Care of their Friend : And in other common Experiments we find, that nothing, whose Specifick Gravity disposes it to sink, will swim above Water by being towed, except the Motion be swift and violent.

The Doctor goes on ; “ and sometimes it may be  
 “ owing to the Lightness of their Bodies and  
 “ Cloaths, and tying their Thumbs and Toes together, and then putting them into the Water, not  
 “ with the Feet downwards, but Lengthways, so as  
 “ that the Trunk of their Body that is light, may  
 “ bear up those Parts that are more Solid. And I  
 “ do not know, but that half of the old Women in  
 “ the Nation might Swim, if they were tried this  
 “ way in Woollen, and sweaty Petticoats.” How well the Doctor may know the Art of Swimming, I do not know ; but I have always heard, that People in their Cloaths are most unpat to Swim ; for those that can Swim the best own, that they cannot Swim so well in their Cloaths, as they can without them ; and as for tying their Thumbs and Toes, that cannot alter their Specifick Gravity ; for the Body hath the same Specifick Gravity, Quantity for Quantity, whether it be immersed Longitudinally, or Perpendicularly ; so that the manner of immersing, or putting them in the Water, can make no Difference, in respect of their swimming or sinking, except it alters the Rules of Staticks, and Hydrostaticks. Indeed, if a Body were to be thrown with Force, or to fall from Distance into the Water, the Resistance must be greater, according to the Quantity of Parts opposing one another ; and consequently the Longitudinal Posture having greater Resistance than the Perpendicular, according to the breadth of the *Buoyant* Superficies, the Body, upon the first Contact, will be less apt to sink ; but when that acquired Force which makes the Resistance is lost, the Specifick Gravity of the Body will accelerate and quicken the Depressure  
 of

of it, or its sinking, as the *Equilibrium* of that Body, and an equal Quantity of Water, shall vary. So that the more a Body differs from Water, and exceeds it in Specifick Gravity, the apter it is to sink; but a Body having the same Specifick Préponderance, whether the Thumbs are tied or not, it must have the same Tendency to sink, and consequently that cannot make a Body more apt to Swim. And as for Woollen Cloaths, they will not Swim upon Water, except the Air contained in the Pores helps to buoy them up; but as soon as the Water gets into those Pores, and presses the Air out, they sink presently. And if the Pores which might contain Air, are filled with Sweat, they are the less apt to Swim, and sink presently.

But *Page* 174, he says; "It is visible, that the Bodies of all Creatures are near to an equal Poise with the Water; their Swimming, while alive, and their floating after Death, are a constant Demonstration, that they are always near to an *Equilibrium*." That Bodies are near to an *Equilibrium* with Water, no body denies, but the drowning of so many is Demonstration that they are too heavy to Swim, without the Assistance of Art, or some supernatural Power; and whether that is likely to be good or bad, when ill Persons are supported, appears from what we said before; so that if Witches Swim, it must be by the Assistance of an evil Spirit. And when Bodies Swim after Death, that depends upon the Expansion of windy Vapours in the Stomach, Intestines and Lungs, which extending the Body, alter the Specifick Gravity of the whole. This acquired Expansion making the Quantity of Body equal, or to exceed the Levity of a proportionable extended Quantity of Water; which makes Bodies Swim, when the Thorax is extended with Air retained upon Inspiration, but that Body will Swim no longer than that Air is so re-

tained; for upon Expiration the Body sinks, except the Motion of the Parts makes a greater than natural Resistance of Water to support the Body; but when the Thumbs and Toes are tied, that Motion is disappointed, and consequently the Body must sink, except prevented by supernatural Assistance; which demonstrates that an evil Person must be supported by an evil Power; and consequently this Method of Tryal may be reasonable and justifiable; and though some good People may Swim a while, it must be because they hold their Breath, or have some Motion which assists them: So that we conclude, that Witches, who have not the Liberty of making such Motions, must sink, if not kept up by the Devil, or his Agents.

But the Doctor says; "That of all Things, this Tryal of Swimming is unfit for an Appeal to Providence." To which I answer, that Providence hath nothing to do with such Creatures, who have refused to submit to Providence, but fly to the Devil for Protection; but if Providence would overrule in such Cases, it would be to bring them to Justice; and for that Consideration, a good Angel may assist them, that they may not lye undiscovered.

Page the 175th, he says; "There is another vulgar Mark of *Witchcraft*, which helps to explain the Fallacy of this, and that is want of Tears. It is manifest by that, that the poor old Creatures have little Moisture in their Bodies. Old Age, Sorrow, and want of Sleep, under such Afflictions, dry it up, and fill them with Wind and Vapours, that both hinders them from shedding Tears, and makes them lye light upon the Water." But to this I answer, that they were not all old People that were accused for *Witchcraft*, therefore the Doctor's Objection is but particular; and though old People are not so full of Moisture as young ones, yet there

are none so dry, but that they have Moisture enough to supply the Lacrimal Glands with a few Drops of superfluous Moisture, which may be pressed out, when the Parts are constringed; but their want of Tears is rather to be attributed to their sturdy obstinate Temper, hardened in Wickedness, and guarded from Timorousness, by their supposed Safety, and the Confidence they place upon their Lord and Master the Devil; and though they may be troubled with Wind and Vapours, the Quantity of Wind is so small, that it is not sufficient to extend their Abdomen so much, as to bring the Body to an *Equilibrium* with Water; besides, their Bodies are so much shriveled and shrunk up with a loss of Fat, which was the lightest Substance of their Bodies, that the Bones retaining the same Proportion, add to the Gravity of their Bodies in Proportion: and make the Difference much greater from an *Equilibrium*, and consequently more apt to sink; so that, though we will not say, that want of Tears is a certain Mark, yet what the Doctor offers to the contrary, does not make it less a Mark than it was before.

But it is not Swimming, or Tears, that I take to be sufficient Testimonies of *Witchcraft*; it must be their Actions, and the Mischief they do, either legally proved by good Evidence, and the Sufferings of the tormented, or their own Confession, that imply their Guilt.

As for Teats, Magical Signs, and insensible Parts, the Doctor says; "No doubt but some of them are Scurvy Spots, or Mortified, or withered Parts, or hollowed Spaces betwixt the Muscles. Others are Piles, or *Verruca pensiles*, hanging Warts, which in old Age may grow large and Fistulous. Others may be Moles or Scars, or Marks in the Womb from the Mothers Imagination, &c.

As for Scurvey Spots, those are easily distinguished from any Thing of a Supernatural Kind, and so are withered and hollow Spaces, or the Interstices of the Muscles; the Doctor would not make all the World so ignorant, but that they can tell when any Person hath the Scurvey; or can see when Parts are withered; or tell the Interstices of the Muscles, when they see them; these are too natural and obvious to be mistaken; and so are Piles, Warts, Moles and Scars; and as for Mortifications, they soon discover themselves, never continuing long without a Cure; or increase so fast, as in a little Time to become Mortal; and Marks by Imagination, which are fixed in the Womb, these appearing at the Time of Birth, are soon discovered, and noted amongst the Gossips, before the Child can be of Age to be supposed a Witch, or to be supposed to commit such Actions, as may bring them under Suspicion of *Witchcraft*.

But to favour this Notion of his, he quotes *Episcopius's Theological Institutions*; who says, " It hath  
 " many a Time been found true, that Women, who  
 " by Reason of these impressed Marks, have been  
 " condemned to the Rack, either for fear of, or  
 " Force of Torments, have confessed, and been put  
 " to Death.

As for the Torments of the Rack, I think them too barbarous and inhuman to be made use of upon any Occasion, or on Suspicion only, especially; it being unjust to put Persons that may be innocent, upon such Tryals and Sufferings; but this is a Method that hath been made Use of in few Countries, and not without very strong Presumptions of the Persons Guilt; but on the contrary we find, that several have confessed the Use of Teats and Marks, without being put to Torture, or having their Confessions any other way extorted; and it hath been proved upon others by Eye-Witnesses; and such Marks appear  
 after

after a different Manner, and easily distinguishable from what are Natural.

As for Charms, the Doctor says, "It is both a great Sin, and a great Folly, to use them." Yet he endeavours to lessen the Credit and Belief of such Things, by telling Three or Four ridiculous Tricks of Men that imposed upon credulous Persons, with Charms that would make them Proof against venomous Creatures, and invulnerable; but the Reality of Charms hath been sufficiently attested, by condemning such Persons, and punishing them with Death; a Punishment too severe to be inflicted on a Person who only banters, and barely imposes upon Mens Credulity, without doing any Harm or Mischief by their small Deceits.

The Truth of these are not only attested by the Assertions of Men, and punished by human Laws, but censured by the Scripture in Sacred Writings, and threatened by Divine Laws. As *Deuteronomy* xviii. 10. *There shall not be found amongst you any one, that maketh his Son or his Daughter to pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch. And Verse 11. Or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer;* which are all threaten'd with Destruction. And though Divine Providence may interpose, and prevent their Effects; as *Jeremiah* viii. 17. Where the Prophet tells the People, in Defiance of their Skill, *Behold, I will send Serpents, Cockatrices, amongst you, which will not be charmed.* Yet this Defiance of their inferior Power, shews they had such Power, and practised it. And again, *Isaiah* xix. 3. *The Spirit of Egypt shall fall in the midst thereof, and I will destroy the Counsel thereof, and they shall seek to the Idols, and to the Charmers, and to them that have familiar Spirits.* And though the Doctor would make the Testimony of the Scripture of no Effect, by

relating Two or Three ridiculous Attempts about the Poison of Serpents: The Scripture forewarns us of the Insufficiency of Charms against such Poisons. *Psalms lvi. 4, 5. Their Poison is like the Poison of a Serpent, they are like the deaf Adder that stoppeth her Ear. Which will not hearken to the Voice of Charmers, charming never so wisely.* But though in all Cases Charms will not take Place, yet if there were not such Things to be done, why would Sacred Writings take Notice of them?

We might add a great deal more upon this Subject; but since what we have said may be sufficient to prove that there are such Things as Charms, we shall put a Conclusion to this Discourse, and proceed to consider of the Contents of his next Chapter.

## C H A P. VII.

*Containing Remarks on the Doctor's Twelfth Chapter, of what kind of Witchcrafts they are, that are spoken of in the Holy Scripture.*

THE Doctor begins this Chapter with the Consideration of Divine Laws, and says, " This is a  
 " Point of very great Difficulty amongst the Criticks, and I will not pretend to make my self  
 " Umpire; but I will offer some few Things, that  
 " I think are manifest, and may keep us from pressing them too hard against our Neighbour's Lives. By the Doctor's Introduction to this Discourse, we may easily perceive his main Drift and Intention,  
 and

and that he is for softening and mollifying of those Divine Laws, which were severely urged against Evil-doers by the Prophets and Apostles. He is of a more Godly and Christian Temper; and therefore thinks fit to explain these Laws as much in Favour of his Cause as possibly he can; nay, rather than fail, he recommends the Non-execution of them.

Page 182, he says; "Whatever the Meaning of these Laws were; they are of that Part of the Law which is usually called Judicial, and therefore they are not binding to us, further than we find them useful and agreeable to our Times." I thought that the Usefulness of Laws was to suppress Vice, and to punish Offenders; and that they were proportionably severe according to the Heinousness of the Crimes, and consequently are equally useful and agreeable in all Times. And as these Judicial Laws were laid down as just, according to the Merit of Offenders of that Kind, by God Almighty's Appointment, through the Mouths of his Prophets and Apostles, they were designed as a Pattern and Prescription for us to go by, and consequently must be as binding to us as they were to them. For as we ought to do Justice and discourage Wickedness as well as they, and these Laws are directed as a Rule of Justice for us to go by; so if we fulfil the Commands of God by his Prophets, we ought to pursue the Laws he hath ordained, and consequently they are as binding to us as they were to them; the Sins they punish being as heinous as ever, and equally deserving Death.

But the Doctor, more inclined to Mercy, (believing that God, who *spake by the Prophets*, would excuse Offenders of an insufferable Kind) says; "Our Government hath either increased, or moderated the Punishment of Theft, Sabbath-breaking, Perjury, and Adultery, as they found need-  
G 5 "ful;

“ful ; and they have the same Liberty with respect  
 “to this of Sorcery, if they see good Reason.” To  
 which I answer ; That tho’ we moderate, or exasperate the Degrees of Punishment of Crimes of a less heinous Nature, we have not the same Liberty with respect to this, where there is the express Command of God that *they shall not live*. But if we may indeed do his Will, or let it alone at our own Pleasure ; then we may grant *Indulgences* for the Breach of all his Commandments, and let the World abound in Sin, and flourish in Iniquity. But if Men shall think fit thus to suffer a Breach to be made of God’s Laws, it is a Question, how far God Almighty will approve of those that suffer his Commands to be broke and trampled upon ? Whether we are not Accessories, in consenting to such *Indulgences* ? For since not to discourage, is in Effect to encourage and approve of Wickedness ; we seem, if we should connive at such Offences, to be equally guilty ; and as far as those Laws are remitted, to be proportionably guilty of the same Facts.

But he goes on : “ The Laws of the *Old Testament*, in this Point, are mostly grounded upon Names without Definitions along with them ; and therefore, tho’ they might be sufficiently known then, they can hardly be determined now so certainly, as to be made the Rule by which we may take away our Neighbours Lives. Of all Kinds of Words, it is hardest to translate common Names of Persons, because Length of Time fixes perfectly different Characters to the very same Words. You know what a bad Man we mean by a Villain ; and yet anciently the very same Word signified only a Countryman, that lived in a Village, &c.

To which I answer ; That tho’ those Laws were writ in Words, or Names without Definitions, yet the Meaning of those Words was sufficiently known  
 with-

without Definitions ; and the Actions of those Persons they were designed against being manifest, it was certain such Persons were meant by such Names as commonly committed such Actions : And since from Age to Age, the Meaning of Words and Characters are transferr'd, and carry'd down by Tradition, we may be as certain now of their Meaning as then. And it is plain that we are, by the Doctor's own Words : For if we know that Words are apply'd or made use of to signify different Things at different Times ; our Knowledge of that Change in the Use of Words, makes their express Meaning as intelligible at one Time as at another. And we have as true and clear a Knowledge of Persons and Actions, tho' Names are apply'd to signify different Things ; for that Alteration of their Meaning being understood and known, we have as distinct Ideas of those new-meant Things by that Name, as we had of those formerly-meant Things by that same Word ; knowing that that Word is a Characteristick of such Ideas : For as formerly Villain signified a Villager, or one that lived in a Village, and now is apply'd to denote a vile and scandalous Man, that Word now carries along with it the Character of such a Man, and represents that Meaning without confounding or intermixing the Notion of what it formerly represented. And as for the Difficulty of translating Words or Names, that is so small, that it appears to be none at all in confounding our Knowledge of Things : For if a Creature called a Horse, hath a *Hebrew* Name to denote such a Creature, and that Creature in Translation into our Language is called a Horse, the word Horse being of the same Signification with the *Hebrew* word, is as intelligible as it ; and both Words with equal Certainty determine their Significations : And so the Words in the *Old Testament* having their original Meaning transferr'd by Tradition, and Words in

*English* having the same Signification ; the Drift and Design of those Laws are as well known now as then ; and the Actions of the Persons those Laws were enacted against, which Actions denominate such Persons they were properly designed to express.

The Doctor goes on : “ A Magician was one that  
 “ was a wise Man and a Philosopher ; and you  
 “ know how *Daniel* endeavour'd to save the Lives  
 “ of the Magicians in his Time. And Three Ma-  
 “ gicians came out of the *East*, to worship our Sa-  
 “ viour.” That Magicians were wise Men, no bo-  
 dy questions ; but they converted their Wit to an ill  
 Purpose : And tho' they gain'd the Admiration of  
 the People by the mighty Acts they did, (in some  
 Cases being serviceable to the People) yet in other  
 Cases, they were as pernicious and vicious, in mis-  
 leading the People from the due Regard they ought  
 to have to the Power of God, and his Works. Thus  
*Pharaoh's* wise Men, *Exod.* 5. 8. imitated a great  
 many of the Miracles wrought by *Moses*, which  
 harden'd that wicked Tyrant's Heart. And this  
 shews, that their Power depended on the Assistance  
 of a Diabolical Spirit, acting in Defiance of *Moses's*  
 Works, which were done by Divine Assistance. And  
 tho' Three Magicians came out of the *East* to wor-  
 ship our Saviour, this good Intention did not excuse  
 those former ill Acts which they did by a Diabolical  
 Assistance. Their Conversion to acknowledge the  
 Divinity of our Saviour, was to his Glory ; but ju-  
 stified not their wicked Practices, in dealing with fa-  
 miliar Spirits, by whose Assistance only they could  
 play their Pranks.

Page 183, he says, “ A Conjuror is a very literal  
 “ Translation of Exorcist ; and yet Time hath made  
 “ one Signification an Officer that is allowed in the  
 “ *Roman Church*, and the other an infamous Cri-  
 “ minal,

“ minal, both in their Church and ours.” He goes on : “ In the Time of *Tacitus*, and long after, such  
 “ ill People were call’d *Mathematici* ; and if a  
 “ bad Name be an Argument against them, such a  
 “ good one should be as strong in their Favour.”  
 To which I answer ; That the Name was no good  
 Name when it signified bad People ; but when it  
 is apply’d to signify that which is good, it becomes  
 a good Name : So that the Goodness or Badness  
 does not consist in the Name ; that, when written,  
 only consisting of Letters, and when spoke, of an  
 articulate Sound ; that is, to denote something it is  
 apply’d to signify. I say, the Quality of the Body  
 does not consist in its Name, but in the Nature  
 of the Thing named ; so that altering the Names  
 of Things, does not alter their Nature ; for they  
 retain that, let their Names be varied ever so much.  
 For if the Name of Virtue was given to ill Acti-  
 ons, and of Vice to good ones, that would not make  
 good bad, nor evil good ; only Virtue would be scan-  
 dalous, and Vice praise-worthy. So that this Jargon  
 about Words, will tend little to the Doctor’s Advan-  
 tage.

He further says ; “ Sorcery is one of the most  
 “ common Names in our Law-Books for Witch-  
 “ craft, and is made Felony by our Statute : But  
 “ to what little Purpose would they spend their  
 “ Time, who should go about to define the Crime  
 “ by the Name ; for, in Strictness, Sorcery signi-  
 “ fies Lottery, and no more ?” To which I an-  
 swer, That if Sorcery be one of the most common  
 Names of Witchcraft, and is Felony by the Sta-  
 tute ; Sorcery and Witchcraft are in our Law syno-  
 nymous Terms, and consequently their Meaning is  
 well understood ; and there is no Occasion to define  
 the Crime by the Name, since the Nature of the  
 Crime is well known, both by Fact, and the Names  
 that express that Fact ; And the Etymology of the  
 Word

Word is not concerned, if it is borrow'd to signify Witchcraft; and we know it is made use of as a Characteristick of such a Crime.

He proceeds: "It seems very likely, that there hath happen'd as great a Change to the Word *Witch*; for *Witch*, if *Dr. More* interprets it rightly, signifies a wise Woman; and we may be pretty sure that the Law was not, *Thou shalt not suffer a wise Woman to live.*" To which I answer, That the *Magi* were counted wise Men, because they knew and could do more than other People could do or know how to do; and so do Witches. But since all their Wisdom and Power proceeds from their Correspondence with evil Spirits, that Wisdom is what is condemned by the Law, and such wise Women are not fit to live.

The Doctor adds; "What the *Hebrew* Word does signify, I find Interpreters much at a Loss. In the *Papish* Bible it is translated *Inchanter*; and that does not imply a Person in Covenant with the Devil, but one that thought to work Wonders by singing powerful Verses." To which I answer; That singing of no Verses can be so powerful, as to effect such Things as are done by Witchcraft or Inchantment, without the Assistance of the Devil or his Angels; and those Verses only serve to blind the World as a Charm, whilst the Devil secretly does their Work for them. And as it is the Actions and the Person that does them that is punished by the Law, and not an empty Word or Sound; so it matters not whether that Person be denoted by the word *Witch* or *Inchanter*, as long as it means the Person guilty of such Actions.

The Doctor says further; "In the *Vulgar Latin* it is *Venefica*, or Poysoner: In the *Septuagint* it is φάρμακός, a Word that favours the same Sense. *Junius* and *Tremellius* translate it *Præstigiaticem*, a Juggler; and the *French* Church, a Sorcerer.

"The

“ The other Names in the 18th of *Deuteronomy* are  
 “ interpreted as variously. Dr. *More*, and they that  
 “ give great Credit to the Power of Magick, trans-  
 “ late them into *English* Names that imply a great  
 “ Power ; as, *Diviner, Inchanter, Charmer, Necro-*  
 “ *mancer, Witch, Wizard, and Consulter with fa-*  
 “ *miliar Spirits.* They that think all Magick to  
 “ be mere Juggle, without any real Power, trans-  
 “ late them *Astrologers, Fortunetellers, Soothsayers,*  
 “ *Impostors, Observers of the Flying of Birds, Con-*  
 “ *jecturers, Consulters with Oracles, Ventriloquists,*  
 “ *Gnosticks, and Jugglers.* The Translations of  
 “ the *Septuagint, Junius and Tremellius,* the old  
 “ Translation of our *English Bible,* with respect to  
 “ some of the Words, and very many Learned Men;  
 “ incline this way.

The Doctor highly approves any Thing that in-  
 clines the way that he is inclined, but I see not  
 which way what he offers can tend to his Ad-  
 vantage : For tho' there may be a great many Ap-  
 pellation, that signify Persons guilty of Actions of  
 a sinister Kind, yet the Difference of Words alters  
 not the Nature of Things ; and tho' these Words  
 may sometimes be used allegorically and reciprocally  
 one for another, by some particular Authors, con-  
 founding similar Cases one with another ; yet that  
 they have different Senses and Significations one  
 from another, is plain from the Translations we  
 ought to esteem most authentick, and that is our  
 present Translation of the Bible ; which as it is  
 published by the Authority of the Church, and  
 those whose Judgment ought to be prefer'd before  
 the Opinion of Two or Three private Men, we  
 think what the Doctor says not sufficient to call in  
 question the Authority of so many Learned Men,  
 well skill'd in Languages, and in the Sense of  
 Words.

That

That Sorcery, Divination, Inchantment and Witchcraft, are of similar Kind of Actions is certain ; since all these wicked Practices are put in Execution by Virtue of a Diabolical Power, and consequently equally sinful, and therefore equally condemned by the Scripture ; but that they differ'd in their Effects, and respect different Kinds of Actions, is as plain ; there being a great deal of Difference betwixt one that pretends to prophesy and foretel, and a wicked Spirit that tortures and torments, as in Witchcraft. And that there is a great deal of Difference in the Signification of these Words, is manifest from the Testimony of the Bible ; where, *Deut. 18. 10, 11.* they are all distinctly mention'd in one or two Verses, the Scripture expressly saying, *There shall not be found amongst you any one that maketh his Son or Daughter pass thro' the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, &c.* Now if these Words had not different Meanings, what Occasion would there be to mention them all distinctly ? But this Distinction implies a Difference.

But the Doctour, to favour his Cause, would needs confound the Meaning of these Words, and flies to particular Translations (not thinking it convenient to stand to that which the Church approves of) to gain his Point : He must have a Bible on Purpose ; and would rather say the Bible is false, than his Opinion should be rejected ; since one or the other must be erroneous. But I am still of Opinion, that the Bible, as now translated, is of greater Authority (being the Sense, and publish'd by the Consent of the whole Church) than his single Opinion, or the Concurrence of one or two that may say something to favour his Cause.

Page 185, He quotes the *Mirror of Justice*, to prove " that Sorcery is the Art of Divination : " But this does not prove that Divination is Witchcraft ;

craft ; the former only consulting the Devil and his Angels about what hath, or may happen ; and the latter employing an evil Spirit to torment and torture their Fellow-Creatures, to satisfy their malicious, revengeful Tempers.

But, *Page 186*, he goes on : “ And the Holy Scriptures teach us the same Doctrine ; *1 Sam.* 15. 22, 23. *And Samuel said, Hath the Lord as great delight in Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices, as in obeying the Voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than Sacrifice, and to hearken than the Fat of Rams. For Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft, and Stubbornness as Iniquity and Idolatry.* Over-against the word *Witchcraft* in the Margin, is put *Divination*, which leads us to this easy Sense of *Samuel's* pious Reproof.” By this the Doctor would cunningly insinuate, that *Witchcraft* is *Divination*, because the Margin refers to a Sin of the like Kind, tho’ different Practice : I say of the like Kind, because they both employ a Diabolical Spirit, tho’ employ’d in different Offices: The Doctor might as well say, that *Witchcraft* is *Rebellion*, because the Text says, *Rebellion is as Witchcraft.* And indeed it is so in respect of God and his Works, since the Compact with the Devil is forsaking God, and their Actions war against his Works. But tho’ the Doctor takes all this Pains to insinuate as if there was no such Thing as *Witchcraft*, or would endeavour to represent it so slightly, as by *Divination*, by *Birds*, &c. yet if we look further into the said Book of *Samuel*, we shall find that there is a Difference betwixt *Divination*, which is only a juggling Art, and *Witchcraft*: And tho’ a *Witch* may also divine, and both may proceed from the same Diabolical Power, yet they seem to be different Actions of that Power. And tho’ he Doctor makes so slight of such Creatures as *Witches* and *Diviners*, we may be fully satisfied of the

the Reality of such Actions, if we consult 1 *Sam.* 28. v. 3. Now *Samuel* was dead, and all *Israel* had lamented him, and buried him in *Ramah*, even in his own City: And *Saul* had put away those that had familiar Spirits, and the Wizards out of the Land. Where it appears, that there were those that were familiar with evil Spirits, and with Wizards and Witches.

And tho' the Doctor, Page 185, and 186, would represent *Witchcraft* by *Divination* only, and that as a slight *Divination* by *Augury*, &c. yet that the Scripture testifies to the contrary, is plain, not only from what we have frequently quoted from Scripture, but further from *Sau*'s Proceedings in this 28th Chapter of the first Book of *Samuel*, v. 6, to v. 15. And when *Saul* enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by *Urim*, nor by Prophets. Then said *Saul* unto his Servants, Seek me a Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his Servants said to him, Behold, there is a Woman that hath a familiar Spirit at *Endor*. And *Saul* disguised himself, and put on other Raiment; and he went, and two Men with him, and they came to the Woman by Night: And he said, I pray thee divine to me by the familiar Spirit, and bring me him up whom I shall name unto thee. And the Woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what *Saul* hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar Spirits, and the Wizards out of the Land; wherefore then layest thou a Snare for my Life, to cause me to dye? And *Saul* swore to her by the Lord, saying, As the Lord liveth, there shall no Punishment happen to thee for this Thing. Then said the Woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up *Samuel*. 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

for thou art Saul. 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. And he said unto her, What Form is he of? And she said, An old Man cometh up; and he is covered with a Mantle. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his Face to the Ground, and bowed himself. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up? From whence it fully appears, that there are not only Witches and Wizards which deal with Familiar Spirits, but that they have power to Act by those Spirits, which may appear in what Shapes or Form they please.

But the Doctor would endeavour further to persuade us to be of his Opinion, by quoting some Texts of Scripture, which he wrests as well as he can to his Advantage; but if we take a full View of them, they appear wholly against him. The first is, *Jeremiah xxvii. 9, 10. Therefore hearken not ye to your Prophets, nor to your Diviners, nor to your Dreamers, nor to your Enchanters, nor to your Sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the King of Babylon: For they Prophecy a Lie unto you, to remove you far from your Land.* Where he makes a Distinction betwixt Prophets and Diviners, Sorcerers and Enchanters, and warns the People of their wicked Practises. And again, *Isaiab xlvi. 12, 13. Stand near with thy Inchantments, and with the Multitude of thy Sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy Youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the Multitude of thy Counsels: Let now the Astrologers, the Star-gazers, the Monthly Prognosticators stand up, and save thee from those Things that shall come upon thee.* In which Text we see likewise, that Enchanters and Sorcerers are distinguished from Astrologers and Stargazers; and all of them are de-  
fied,

fied, when God Almighty is pleased to interpose his Superior Power, and to defeat their Works.

Thus it appears, that what the Doctor urges in favour of his Opinion, is against him; these Texts proving the Practice of Sorcery and Enchantments, though ineffectual, when opposed by that great Omnipotency, who can over-rule the Devices of Satan, and his evil Angels. And though he quotes a Text out of *Ezekiel* xxi. 21, 22. to prove, *That the King of Babylon stood at the parting of the Way, at the Head of the Two Ways, to use Divination; what he adds, viz. he made his Arrows bright, he consulted with Images, he looked into the Liver. At his Right Hand was the Divination for Jerusalem.* This does not weaken the Testimony of those other Texts, which positively acknowledge, and expressly mention *Witchcraft* and *Sorcery*; nor does this Method of Divining disprove that which proceeds from Correspondence with Familiar Spirits; nay, even in these Cases, what was done by these Divinations, might not be without the Assistance of evil Spirits, who might direct them in their Observations.

Nor does what he mentions in the Prophet *Nabum*, less disfavour his Opinion, *Nabum* iii. 4. *Because of the Multitude of the Whoredoms of the well-favoured Harlot, the Mistress of Witchcrafts, that selleth Nations through her Whoredoms, and Families through her Witchcrafts.* For in this Place, the Harlot is charged distinctly, both with Whoredom and Witchcraft; so that the Prophet does not say her Whoredoms were her Witchcrafts, as the Doctor would suggest. And the like we find in *Micah* v. 12. *And I will cut off Witchcrafts out of thine Hand, and thou shalt have no more Soothsayers.* Verse 13. *Thy Graven Images also will I cut off.* In which Place the Prophet threatens Destruction to *Witchcraft* and *Soothsayers*, the latter of which probably

bably making their Forms of Predictions only a Cloak for what they did by Familiar Spirits. But here we are further to observe, that he likewise makes a Distinction betwixt *Witchcraft*, and those Idolatries which the Doctor would suggest to be meant by their *Witchcrafts*.

Page the 191st, he says, " The Sorcerers in the New Testament; were their false Apostles and Seducers, and their *Witchcrafts* and *Sorceries* were their pretended Inspirations, Miracles and Visions, whereby they imitated, and tried to outdo the true Apostles, —they had their feigned Visions, Revelations, and counterfeit Inspirations. That is the Reason that St. *John*, 1 *Epist.* c. 4. *Verse* 1. exhorts the Christians he wrote to, *To try the Spirits whether they are of God, because many false Prophets are gone out into the World.*— The Sons of *Sceva* ventured to make a Tryal, whether they could not venture to cast out a Devil; and though at that Time he would not be ejected, at another Time he might pretend to be overcome, that he might give Credit to one of his own Instruments. Now if the Doctor allows that these Persons were the Devil's Instruments, and acted by virtue of his Power, so that they imitated what was done by the Apostles, why are not these properly *Witchcrafts*, since they are done by a supernatural Power, and by the Assistance of an evil Spirit, which was not of God? For, as we have observed, all the Actions of Witches are not alike; sometimes they torment and torture, sometimes they delude and deceive Men with strange Apparitions and Visions, and so did these in the New Testament. But he says, Page 192, " That St. *Paul*, when he speaks of *Witchcraft*, usually joins it with Idolatry and Heresy." And well he may, since they are all Acts of the Devil, though of different Kinds; by the same Power, though by different Agents, and after a different Man-

Manner ; yet this joining of these Words together, makes them no more signify the same Thing, than joining Idolatry and Heresy, makes those Two Words of a like Signification. But supposing the Word *Witchcraft* were used allegorically in that Sense, because both Crimes are alike of a heinous Nature, and all proceed from the Power and Delusions of the Devil, who withdraws Mankind from the Worship of the true God, to serve him ; yet this would not necessarily make it imply, that there is no such Thing as *Witchcrafts* ; nay, *Page 193*, he owns that there were such a sort of People called *Witches* ; and *Page 195*, that their Works were Supernatural, above the Power of Man or Matter. And *Page 194*, he says, “ Whosoever opposes  
 “ and corrupts God’s Truth, whosoever promotes  
 “ Principles that give Liberty to Sin, (*not meaning*  
 “ *himself*) whosoever disturbs the Happiness of  
 “ Mankind—every such Man Sacrifices to the De-  
 “ vil, and his Actions may very justly be called the  
 “ Works of the Devil.

From what we have observed, it may sufficiently appear, that both the Old and New Testament accused several of *Witchcraft* ; and that they, as well then as now, acted by the Assistance of a Diabolical Power ; which is the Notion we have, at this present, of *Witches* ; only the Restraint of the Laws, as they did the Witch of *Endor*, makes them afraid to act and follow their ill Practices openly ; but were it not for that Restraint, no doubt but the Devil would be as ready to shew himself in the same Shapes as he ever did, and commit as great Enormities ; but however cautiously these Creatures may now do the Devil’s Work, though they escape the Laws of Men, and their Notice, they cannot Disguise themselves from the all seeing Eye of God, whose Vengeance will soon overtake, and fall upon them. And though the Doctor would extenuate  
 their

their Crimes, and excuse them, it is the strict Law of God, and his exprefs Command, that they should not go unpunished. I shall conclude this Chapter with what the Doctor says himself, *Page 188*, after all his Puzzle to dissuade the same, *viz.* The Words of the Lord Chief-Baron *Hale*, which were part of his Direction to the Jury, at the Tryal of those Two that he condemned. Said he, "The Wisdom of all Nations hath provided Laws against such Persons, which is an Argument of their Confidence of such a Crime."

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## C H A P. VIII.

*Containing some Remarks on his Thirteenth Chapter, of the Laws of Nations.*

THE Doctor throughout his Books, hath espoused the Cause of *Witchcraft* with a great deal of Art, Zeal and Tenderneſs over them, complaining of the Severity of Proſecutions, and the Strictneſs of the Laws, which he would have mitigated or annulled, for the Encouragement and Safety of thoſe miſerable Creatures, though Divine Laws condemn them, as pernicious Abuſers of Mankind, and not fit to live.

And the better to diſpoſe the World to Moderation in ſuch Caſes, or a plenary Indulgence for the worſt of Crimes, in this Chapter he gives us an Account of the gradual Steps that were taken againſt ſuch Crimes, in different Times and Nations, which we ſhall take a brief View of, that we may the better determine how far they were in the right,  
and

and how far wrong, either to his Advantage, or against it.

Page the 199th, he thus begins; “ And first, “ *Lambertus Daneus* tells us, *Chap. VI.* that as “ long as the Nations were Idolaters, they used “ the Help of Magick and Sorcery without Scruple, “ and had those that were skilled in it in Honour; “ and that to this Day, it is much in Use amongst “ the barbarous Nations, both in the *North* and *East*, “ and amongst the *Tartars*, and the *West-Indians*. “ He proceeds, that in all the Empire of *Persia*, the “ Study and Arts of these Men are in Esteem “ now, as it was amongst the *Egyptians* formerly.

“ When *Joseph* asked his Brethren whether “ they thought such a Man as he could not Divine; he speaks not of Divination as a Fault, “ but as a necessary Qualification of a great “ Man.

“ In the Magick of *Kirami* and *Carpocratian*, it is said that it was a necessary Qualification, required in the Kings of *Persia*. And “ *Tully*, in his Book of Divination, says the “ same.

“ Most of the Ancient Philosophers, the *Chaldeans*, the *Magi*, *Druids*; *Brachmans*, and *Platonists*, allowed and used it.

But for this Practice of the Ancients, the Doctor gives a Reason himself. — “ Natural Reason “ could no ways guess, that those Spirits were fallen “ from their first Creation; or that they were Enemies to Mankind. Their first Thoughts would rather be, that all reasonable Creatures, though invisible, would be of a friendly Mind, and assisting “ to all with whom they had Communications, and “ either say nothing, or tell Truth to those that enquired of them. This the first Men would naturally hope; and without Revelation, nothing “ but

“ but Experience could teach them, that either there  
 “ was nothing but the Chance of Things, that seem-  
 “ ed to answer their Tryals; or else, that those Spi-  
 “ rits that dealt with them, were deceitful and mis-  
 “ chievous Things, that took a wicked Pleasure in  
 “ their Delusion and Destruction.

From whence it appears, that the Doctor allows and acknowledges these wicked Spirits, or Beings; and that it lay in their Power to deceive and delude Mankind. And that it was only for want of a Knowledge of God, and his Goodness, and the Devil and his Angels, that made them give ear to the Devil, and do his Works; and all that made it no Crime, was, for want of Revelations, and Laws to restrain that Practice: But the Doctor would abolish those Laws, or hinder their Execution, let the Wicked go unpunished, and leave the World at Liberty to use their Freedom; for in the beginning of this Essay, he is for leaving all to the Righteous Judge after Death, and will by no Means allow what he now expresses of the Communications of the Spirits; but it is a long way from the beginning of his Essay, and a Man may alter his Opinion in less Time than he was writing of it.

But now we are undeceived as to the Nature of those evil Spirits, and know both their ill Intentions and Designs, we are to stand upon our Guard, and oppose such Practices with all our Might, we ought to abandon the Devil, and forsake all his Works, and to have no such Communication with him. To which End, and to discourage such mistaken Notions, Divine Revelation having put us into a better Light, as the Doctor takes Notice, Laws were made to forbid the Dealing with such wicked Spirits; and, as the Doctor says,

“ The Laws in the Holy Scripture, are the first  
 “ that we know of: and it must ever be accounted to  
 “ the Honour of revealed Religion, that it was the  
 H “ first

“ first in forbidding such pretended, and very dan-  
 “ gerous Communications.” Here I cannot but  
 wonder, why the Doctor should call them pre-  
 tended Communications, if dangerous, since they  
 cannot be dangerous, except real; and if not real,  
 where would be the Honour of forbidding them?  
 And if it be an Honour to forbid them, Why would  
 the Doctor have Religion lose that Honour, in not  
 executing the Laws made against such Crimes? For  
 though there was no Sin till Laws were made, now  
 they are established, they ought to be put in Execu-  
 tion against such abominable Breaches of Laws pre-  
 scribed by God’s especial Command, by the Mouth  
 of the Prophets.

He goes on, and says; “ The next that I meet  
 “ with, and which is often quoted to prove the real  
 “ Power of Magick, are those of the Twelve Ta-  
 “ bles: That they should not bewitch the Fruits of  
 “ the Earth, nor use any Charms to draw their  
 “ Neighbours Corn into their own Fields;”— And  
 though the Doctor, by *Seneca’s* Authority, calls the  
 Truth of this in Question, yet, at that Time when  
 those Laws were made, they must be sensible of some  
 extraordinary Effects of such Charms, or they would  
 never have enacted Laws against them.

He goes on; “ About a Hundred and Fifty Years  
 “ after that, the *Lex Cornelia*, another *Roman* Law,  
 “ was made, and is usually quoted as a Law against  
 “ Sorcery. And indeed it was against Poisoning,  
 “ *ꝑ̄ mala Sacrificia*, (*i. e.* Sacrifices to Devils)  
 “ and was made when a Hundred and Seventy *Roman*  
 “ Women, of the better Quality, were condemned  
 “ for really poisoning those they had a mind to re-  
 “ move.” This Law the Doctor would have to sug-  
 gest, that Sorcery signify’d Poisoning; but that, not-  
 withstanding this Insinuation, must be equally de-  
 signed against what was called Sorcery, the Word  
 Sorcery referring to *mala Sacrificia*, which I call  
 Sacrifices

Sacrifices to Devils ; because those which they allowed of, according to their Form of Worship, could not be called ill Sacrifices, but good ; and we are told by Witches, that they often keep mock Sacrifices, or Sacraments to the Devil, in Contempt of the true Sacrament.

He proceeds, “ The next Law that I know of, was made by *Constantine*, the first *Roman* Emperor : His Law required, that they should be punished, if they used Charms to do Hurt ; but it should be lawful to use them for restoring Health, or preserving the Fruits of the Earth.” From which Law it appears, that they had a Power to do Hurt, by Virtue of their Charms, and did a great deal, otherwise they had not been so far taken Notice of, as to oblige the Government to make Laws to prevent their ill Effects ; and that they have a Power likewise to do Good, may reasonably be supposed, if we do but take Notice of the Wonders the Magicians performed, by Virtue of their Charms, in Imitation of the Miracles which *Moses* did, which were done to shew the Power of the true God, far exceeding the Efforts of the Devil and his Angels, who assisted those Magicians in their Performance. The Words of this Law, as the Doctor cites them, are as follows : “ Their Skill is to be condemned, and very deservedly punished in the severest Manner ; who being furnished with Knowledge of the Magick Art, shall have acted any Thing, either for the impairing of a Man’s Health, or drawing chaste Minds to unlawful Love. But no Vexations are to be brought against Remedies that are sought for the Bodies of Men, or Charms that are innocently used in Country Places, &c.

“ About a Hundred Years after that, the Emperor *Leo* the First, abrogated this Law, and forbid all Use of them.” He proceeds further, and

says; " Mr. Tyrrel, in his History of England, Vol. I. Book V. Page 340, says, that the Sixth Law of King Athelstan, was against Witchcrafts, Enchantments, and the like Deeds that procure Death. That if any of them be made away, and the Thing cannot be denied, such Practisers shall be put to Death." Now if we take a View of all these Laws, we shall find, that as Virtue and Religion gave the World a better Taste and Disgust to these vicious Practices, they still inflicted severer Punishments on Offenders; but now Religion is slighted and sunk to a low Ebb, and Vice flourishes without Controul, all manner of Wickedness going unpunished; we live almost as loose, as Mankind in their first Blindness, before the Will of God was revealed to us. All manner of Punishments of Vice are so much remitted and mitigated, that it is no wonder a Stickler should set up in Defence of these Criminals, lest they should not have their equal share of Indulgence with the rest of Sinners.

After human Laws, the Doctor mentions some Canons of the Church, which condemn these evil Practices; and says, Page 205, " These Canons teach us, that such Wizards deserve Punishment, as it is most certain they do." And the next Paragraph he subjoins, " There are some other Canons that censure them; without defining their Art." Which shews that the Church hath in all Ages censured and condemned such Vices, and consequently believed them to be true; yet notwithstanding, the Doctor endeavours to insinuate the contrary of what he allows in the same Paragraph, in these Words, " But by joining them with those known Cheats, I think, they intimate to us, that they thought them very like one another;" as if they could suppose what they thought true, like what they disapproved; yet in one Sense I am of his Opinion, that what is a Cheat, may be very like what is true.

or it would not be very likely to impose upon any body.

Here he goes on; “ But that which I reckon to  
 “ have set this Point of *Witchcraft* upon the Foot  
 “ that it stands on now, was something less than  
 “ Law or Canon; it was that Bull I mentioned, of  
 “ Pope *Innocent's* the Eighth.” This is but a weak  
 Argument to lessen the Belief of the Footing it is  
 now upon; but it cannot lessen the Credit of its  
 Footing, because the Pope believes *Witchcraft*; since  
 it is rather an additional Confirmation of what we  
 believe, since both we and they consent jointly to the  
 same Sense of the Scriptures, which confirms both our  
 Beliefs. But further, I do not understand why the  
 Doctor should build our Belief upon this Bull,  
 when, in the next Chapter, he says, it was from  
*Scotland*.

But, as I was saying before, this additional Con-  
 sent in Opinion may confirm ours. I shall take a  
 View of this Bull, as the Doctor gives it us. Which  
 is as followeth :

“ *Innocent*, Bishop, a Servant of the Servants of  
 “ God, in perpetual Memory of the Thing, &c.  
 “ It is come to our Ears, that great Numbers of  
 “ both Sexes, careless of their own Salvation, and  
 “ falling from the Catholick Faith, are not afraid to  
 “ abuse their own Bodies, with Devils that serve to  
 “ both Sexes. And with their Inchantments,  
 “ Charms and Sorceries, they vex and afflict Man  
 “ and Beast, both with inward and outward Pains  
 “ and Tortures. They render Men and Women im-  
 “ potent for Generation. They destroy the Births  
 “ of Women, and the Increase of Cattle. They  
 “ blast the Corn of the Ground, the Grapes of the  
 “ Vine, the Fruit of the Trees, and the Grass and  
 “ Herbs of the Fields.

“ We, therefore, according to our Duty, being  
 “ desirous to apply fit Remedies for so great an Evil,  
 “ do by our Apostolick Authority, appoint by these  
 “ Presents, &c. that the Persons aforesaid, shall  
 “ exercise the Office of *Inquisiti*, and correct, impri-  
 “ son, punish and fine, &c. all Persons that shall  
 “ be found guilty of the Crimes aforesaid, &c.  
 “ And whereas many, both of the Clergy and Laity,  
 “ seeking to be wise above what is fit, did not  
 “ blush to assert, that the Persons were not to be  
 “ prosecuted in those Points, we command all  
 “ Opposers, Contradictors, or hinderers of those  
 “ Prosecutions, of whatsoever State, Dignity, Ex-  
 “ cellence or Præminence they may be, to be ex-  
 “ communicated, or suspended, as Occasion shall re-  
 “ quire, or punished with greater or more formida-  
 “ ble Punishments; and, if there be Need, that the  
 “ secular Arm be called in to help. Given at *Rome*,  
 “ in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord,  
 “ 1484.

Upon this Occasion the Doctor builds, or at least  
 endeavours to force a way to gain his Point, and  
 make his Opinion more apt to be credited; he thinks  
 all will espouse his Cause against a Popish Bull,  
 though our own Church, and the Scripture believe  
 the same; therefore, after telling us that a great  
 many were executed upon this, and that great Terror  
 was spread about the Country, for fear of these  
 Witches, and that great Numbers were condemned  
 and executed; he says, “ The Writers of that Age  
 “ studied for Causes, which might be the Reason  
 “ why they had so many Witches above former  
 “ Times; the Reason they assign is, that their Age  
 “ was a Time of great Illumination, and therefore  
 “ God permitted the Devil the more Power, that  
 “ their Temptations might be proportionable to  
 “ their Talents.” But the Doctor not approving of  
 this,

this, as not being to his Purpose, says, " But the Reason I must give is, that it was an Age of Superstition and Ignorance, and their own Credulity and Folly, and joining *Witchcraft* with *Heresy*." But since the Doctor owns that *Witchcraft* was in the Case, he might as well have said so many Witches was the Reason; but Superstition and Ignorance always stand by the Doctor for Reasons: But I would ask the Doctor, whether the Times when Revealed Religion but just appeared, was not likely to be an Age of more Ignorance? And the Times of our Saviour were not also more Ignorant and Superstitious, before the Will of God, or the Light of the Gospel was well known, or shone through the World? Which I believe so plain and manifest, that I need no Arguments to prove the great Advantages we had of more Light, to disperse Ignorance and Superstition. And I suppose they were more brief in those Times, when God Almighty, by his Prophets, denounced such heavy Judgments, and severe Punishments. And this appears from what the Doctor himself hath observed; for before the Light of Revealed Religion, as he observes in the beginning of this Chapter we are considering, the Practice of Magick, and dealing with Familiar Spirits, was no Crime, they then not knowing the Devil to be their Enemy; and therefore so many being skilled in those Arts, it must be a long Time before so great an Evil could be rooted out; but a greater and clearer Light of Nature, and Severity of Laws, hath gradually cleared the World of those Practices in a great Measure; though I am apt to think, that the Devil hath a great many Agents yet of that Kind, though they work more cunningly, and do not act so open-faced.

But the Doctor adds, " Some Observations concerning the State of the Age, and the particular

“ Arguments, with which they maintained their  
“ Opinion.

“ First, he says, the Authority of these Inquisi-  
“ tions was not grounded upon any Canon of a  
“ Council, but a Pope’s Bull.” To which I answer,  
that the Pope’s Authority in his own Territories, is  
counted sufficient; and consequently the Inquisition  
legal in their Constitution; and if they found them  
guilty, the Law of God condemns them.

The Doctor’s Second Observation is, “ That their  
“ Heads were full of Romances, Legends and Spi-  
“ rits, and Melancholy Notions.” So that the  
Doctor will allow evil Spirits to be in the People,  
though not bewitched. And rather than want a  
bundle of Words, instead of an Argument, supposes  
the whole Country to be Hypochondriack, and the  
World a universal Mad-house, filled with a crazy  
Generation.

His Third Observation is, “ That the Council of  
“ *Aquileas* had determined, they could not really  
“ change a Man or a Woman into any other Shape;  
“ but the Confessions of the Witches proved to the  
“ contrary.” This is but a small Argument for the  
Doctor; for though they may not be transformed in  
Real Substance, yet they may in Appearance, as is  
manifest by what the Doctor adds against himself;  
or Satan may delude them, so that they think them-  
selves transformed, and may appear so, though they  
are not. Instances enough of which Delusions, we  
have given in our *Compleat History*.

After some Banter, not worth Notice, the Doctor  
observes; *Page 113*, that the casting Evidence in  
most Tryals, was the Confessions of the Parties,  
and these Confessions were drawn from them by Tor-  
tures. Thus they use the Rack upon the Wheel, in  
other Crimes less heinous; but I should scarce make  
use of such Means, without very strong Presumpti-  
ons of Reality; but that best appeared to those who  
were

were to try them, and by the Circumstances of their Accufation and Tryal. But methinks the Doctor ought not to fufpect thofe Confefſions, ſince *Page 210*, juſt before, he acknowledges himſelf, that *Hereſy* and *Witchcraft* joined, were the Occaſion of ſo many being executed.

The next Chapter is wholly ſpent in Remarks on our Statutes againſt *Witchcraft*, &c. but ſince that conſiſts either of Reflections on Religion, or Suppoſitions of the Doctor's, I ſee nothing that either wants, or is worth while to argue about; it is plain the Government thought fit to make Statutes againſt ſuch Practices; and that *Page 224*, *Agnes Sympſon*, and ſeveral others, confeſſed themſelves guilty of *Witchcraft*. “ And *Agnes Sympſon* told King *James*, ſhe had been at Church at Eleven a Clock at Night, with above a Hundred other Witches. They had black Candles, ſhe ſaid, ſet round the Pulpit, and the Devil, in a black Gown and Hat, preached to them, that they ſhould keep his Commandments, of doing all the Ill they could. Then they opened Three Graves, and took the Fingers and Toes, and Noſes of the Dead People, and ſhe had a Winding-sheet, and Two Joints, for her Share. After that they kiſſed the Devil's Backſide, and went away.” Upon which King *James* the Firſt, a Prince of great Learning, and as great natural Parts, took Care to provide a Statute againſt ſuch Proceedings. The Words to that Purpoſe being as follows: “ If any ſhall take up any dead Man, Woman, or Child, out of his or her, or their Graves, or any other Place where the Dead Body reſteth, or the Skin, Bones, or any other Part of any dead Perſon, to be employed or uſed in any manner of *Witchcraft*, *Inchantment*, *Charm* or *Sorcery*.” This the Doctor ſuppoſes was promoted by that good King; and if ſo, it is of greater Force, and an additional Argument on our

Side; for if so great a Prince, both in Parts, Learning, and Piety, thought Reason sufficient on his Side, to persuade him to such an Opinion, it ought to have the stronger Influence, since it was not either with design of Profit or Advantage, that moved him to that Faith, but the Evidence of Reason, Scripture, and moral Testimony.

The Doctor goes on, “ And I must add, that the Translation of our Bible being made soon after, by King *James's* particular Desire, hath received some Phrases that favour the vulgar Notions, more than the old Translation did:” I am glad we have so worthy a Patriot on our Side, who was a great Scholar, and unbiaſſed in his Actions, and understanding that Language, was able to see Justice done to the Original.

But the Doctor says, “ At that unhappy Time, there was brought in that gross Notion of a Familiar Spirit, though the *Hebrew* Word hath no Epithet at all; and should rather have been translated into some of those Words, that signify a cheating *Ventriloquist*.” To which I answer, that though there be no Epithet in the *Hebrew*, yet as those Spirits are made Familiar, by their Communication with such as employ them, the Epithet is just; but though the Doctor dislike the Epithet Familiar, yet he would gladly admit of the Epithet Cheating, because that would serve his Purpose; besides, the Word *Ventriloquist*, or some of those, would very well suit the Nature of his Discourse.

Page 227, the Doctor proceeds, “ Not that I would have our cheating Fortunetellers, Jugglers, pretended Conjurers, Witch-Doctors, Gypsies, Calculators of Nativities, or any that are guilty of cruel Curses, and Threatnings, or any real outward Acts of Sorcery, to be suffered unpunished. I am so far from that, that I heartily wish the Grand-Juries would present such Misdemeanors, and

“ and have them punished more severely than they  
 “ are.” Here the Doctor owns real Acts of Sorcery, and would have them punished worse than they are; though throughout his Essay, he was for excusing and mitigating both the Nature of their Crimes and Punishment. According to this, it is a hard Thing to know which Side the Doctor is on; for now he contradicts what he hath often said before, and just now in the same *Page*, where he would have Familiar Spirits called cheating *Ventriloquists*; the latter of which he explains elsewhere, a way of dissembling and feigning of Sounds. So that the Doctor represents Two Persons, but not like the Two *Sofias* in *Amphitryon*, which could not be distinguished, but so much opposite and unlikely, that they are quite contrary to one another.

We shall conclude this Chapter with this Observation, *viz.* That the Doctor, *Page 227*, says further, “ These Doctrines have often been made  
 “ Party Causes, both in our own and other Na-  
 “ tions. One Side lays hold of them as Arguments  
 “ of greater Faith and Orthodoxy, and closer Adhe-  
 “ rence to Scripture, and calls the other Atheists,  
 “ Sadducees and Infidels. The People easily fall in  
 “ with such popular Pretences.” That these Doctrines are made use of as Party Business, is plain, by the Doctor’s various Reflections; and I am not ashamed, that my Arguments and Opinion have this greater Truth, by their close Adherence to Scripture; and though I call the Doctor neither Atheist nor Infidel, because he thinks fit to vary his Opinions from such close Adherence to Scripture, yet I shall be glad to be one of those People always, that fall in with such popular Pretences. I take the Scripture to be the Rule and Standard of my Belief, as it is translated and published by the consent of the Church, and with their Approbation, who are the Heads of the Church, and have most Right and Probability of  
 lead.

leading me in the right Way; but if the Doctor pleases to quit his Adherence to the Scripture, and disallows the Validity of its Testimony, he may be his own Chuser, but shall not be my Director.

Hitherto we have considered and examined what the Doctor hath said of *Witchcraft*, either as he defends his own Opinion, or is against it, or ours; in the next Place, he proceeds to a Collection of Impostors detected, as he calls them; but my Intent being only to vindicate Truth, and not to concern myself on purpose with Impositions, I shall leave the Doctor to enjoy the Satisfaction he may have in his Collection of Impostures, having said what is sufficient to vindicate our compleat History of confirmed Truths. And though the Doctor says, *Page 286*, "That that Judge that hangs a Witch, will never be thought a Conjuror:" Yet he that does not hang a Witch upon fair Proof, and lawful Evidence, neither acts according to the Laws of God nor Man.

Having thus finished the first Part, and examin'd what the Doctor hath said of *Witchcraft*, we shall next proceed to the Second Part, where we shall further consider what is necessary to determine the Power and Possibility of *Witchcraft*.

*A Vindication of a Compleat  
History of Magick, Sorcery,  
and Witchcraft, &c.*

In Answer to

Dr. *Hutchinson's* HISTORICAL ESSAY.

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P A R T II.

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C H A P. I.

*Of the Nature of Material and Immaterial Substances.*



**T**HAT we may more clearly apprehend how human Bodies may be afflicted by the Power of *Witchcraft*, and how those Servants or Agents of the Devil may put their evil Practices in Execution, by the Mediation or Assistance of evil Spirits, we are to consider the Nature and Properties of human Bodies, and of Spirits, and how the former may be altered, and preternaturally indisposed by the Influence of the latter.

And first, that we may form the clearer and more intelligible Ideas, of the Nature and Properties of human

human Bodies, we are to consider, that a human Body consists of Material Parts, and an Immaterial Soul; which united to that Body, aptly organized, makes up the compleat Creature, called Man.

And as human Kind, which are chiefly the Subject the Devil and his Agents work upon, and affect in the Practice of *Witchcraft*, consist of a Material and Immaterial Substance united, both of which are affected by the Diabolical Power of *Witchcraft*; that we may the better understand how the former are or may be disordered by the latter, both as Material and Immaterial, we shall first consider the Nature of Material and Immaterial Substances, in Relation to human Bodies, and then of Spirits Good or Evil; especially Diabolical, as they act upon both the former.

And first, to form a clearer Notion or Idea of human Bodies, as material, we are to consider, that when that great Omnipotent Power, which was the first Cause of all Things, first created Matter, it consisted of Parts of an Homogeneous Nature; no one Part, as Matter, being different from another: So that material Substance in its Primitive State, and as the Substance of Accidents, was a similar Body, not diversified by different Qualities.

But when, by the Will of that eternal Power, who first created Matter, the Parts of it were put in Motion, they soon divided one another into Parts of different Sizes, Shapes and Magnitude; which again convening or being added together in various Manners or Modes, according to that different Contexture put on new Forms, and consequently Matter consisting of Parts in different Forms, became Heterogeneous, in respect of one another; being diversified from one another by those Forms.

Now when Matter had thus put on different Forms, by a new Convention or Coalition, and Contexture of Parts, they acquired different Qualities,

lities, and acted upon one another after different Manners, still adding to the Variety of new Forms, and consequently different Qualities, as they were united and joined together variously, and modified after a distinct Manner. Those Compositions of new Forms, which were in Motion, and continued so, made up and composed different Kinds of Liquids, or fluid Substances, but those which happened to cease from Motion, and to unite in a perfect Rest, formed solid Bodies, various according to their different united Parts, or the Variety of concerted Forms.

If then, primary Matter came thus to be diversified into different Substances, and Liquid Bodies consist of Parts in a constant and perpetual Motion, as long as they continue Fluid; it will follow that the Parts of Matter acting upon one another, by Virtue of their Motion, will still break the Parts of Matter so compounded, into Parts of different Size and Shape from what they were before; and those new modified Parts being again united, will make different Substances, or new Forms; and as these Parts are more or less Rarified and Subtle, they will insinuate themselves betwixt the Parts of other grosser Bodies, and subtilize and rarify them; but if they meet with Parts that resist their Force, they will be entangled betwixt those grosser Parts, and losing their acquired Motion, unite with that Solid, and altering its Form by their Concurrence, will alter its Qualities.

Thus Bodies, or material Substances, by constantly acting one upon another, are subject to successive Alterations, and to put on new Forms, and consequently to be endowed with new Qualities. So that material Substances being always liable to these Alterations, are not only said to be corruptible, since their Forms are always liable to be changed, and their Qualities to differ; but as they compose human  
Bodies,

Bodies, either in a Solid or Liquid Form, those Bodies are liable to Decay, and to be put out of their Natural State; for human Bodies consist not only of Solid Parts, which may alter their Qualities, as I just observed, by the addition of Parts in Motion, entangled in their Pores, and altering the Form of the whole; but Liquid Bodies also being made up, and composed of Parts of different and heterogeneous Qualities, they likewise become subject to Changes, and are liable to be depraved and perverted from their natural State, which renders human Bodies corruptible, and subject to Death, or those less pernicious Disorders, which occasion the various Symptoms both of internal and external Distempers; as Deliriums, Convulsive Motions of the Stomach, Intestines, and *Diaphragma*, and also of the Muscles; but when these appear, they are easily distinguished, and known as the proper Symptoms that attend particular Distempers.

But the Liquid, and consequently the Solid Parts of a human Body, are not only subject to Alterations, by the Influence and mutual Coaction of the Parts of the same Body, but also by the Concurrence of external Causes, which are Extrinsic, and Non-natural, in respect of those Humours that the Body consists of; as the Temperature of the Air, the Qualities of which are variously diversify'd, accordingly as it is impregnated with the addition of Particles exhaling from the Bowels, or the Superficies of the Earth.

Human Bodies receive different Alterations likewise, from the various Natures, or the Temper of those Things they receive their Nourishment from; whether Solids, as common Food of different Kinds, or Liquids of several Natures, either altered by Fermentation, Digestion, or Distillation.

The Temper of our Bodies also are very much altered, by the strong Impressions of Passions of the Mind;

Mind; for as the Mind is of a chearful or melancholy Disposition, so the Humours of human Bodies, are better or less digested; and consequently the Temper of the whole altered; thus we see those of a chearful Temper of Mind, of a hearty and wholesome Disposition of Body, brisk, lively, and vivacious; whereas those of melancholy Dispositions, linger and pine away; and accordingly, as Bodies are more or less inclined to either of these Two Tempers, so Constitutions vary, and are either healthful and strong, or infirm and disordered.

Nay, the Impressions of the Mind are so strong, and the Disposition of the Humours so easily altered by them, that daily Experience is sufficient to convince us, how the Temperature of the Body is to be discovered by the Influence of the Soul. Several Persons, through Grief and Sorrow, gradually decline, pine away, and die; and others, by the contrary Passions, having their Spirits raised and animated, recruit and recover from a lingering Condition, to a State of Health.

There is such a strict Union betwixt the Soul and Body, that they both Sympathize with their mutual, or each others Changes; if the Body be afflicted, the Soul suffers, and the Spirits are depressed, and consequently the whole languishes and decays.

Thus much being sufficient to our present Purpose, as to the Nature of Material Substances, which are subject to Changes, and are endowed with corruptible Qualities; we shall next, according to our present Intention, proceed to consider the Nature of immaterial Substances, as they relate to human Souls, or such immaterial Substances as may be united, and cohabit with them, and be of eternal Duration, and continue with them for ever.

What Changes Matter, in the State it is now in, must undergo, to become immaterial or immortal, we cannot so thoroughly understand, as to form adequate  
Notions

Notions of it; we can only affirm Negatively, that an immaterial Substance must have none of those Qualities it now hath in a Mortal State; an immaterial Substance must not consist of Parts in Motion, as Matter does, for then they would be apt and subject to Decay, Parts flying away, and making a loss of Substance; they must not want Supplies of additional Substance, none of their former being wanting; their Sight must be of another Kind, and a different manner of Vision, having no such Organs as are common to corruptible Creatures; nor must their other Qualities be like those of corruptible Bodies.

But tho' we cannot form adequate Notions of this Change, nor throughly comprehend how Matter may be so alter'd as to become immaterial, yet that it may and will be so, is plain from the Testimony of Scripture, and the Article of our Belief concerning the Resurrection. And first, 1 Cor. 15. 40. we are told, *There are also celestial Bodies, and Bodies terrestrial; but the Glory of the celestial is one, and the Glory of the terrestrial another.* And again, v. 51, 52. *We shall not all sleep, but we shall be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last Trump. For the Trumpet shall sound, and the Dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.* And to illustrate this Change; v. 53. the Apostle says, *For this Corruptible must put on Incorruption, and this Mortal must put on Immortality.* From whence it appears, that this Body must not only be incorruptible, but what now is subject to Corruption, must be so alter'd as to become immortal, and consequently an immaterial Substance; since what is not immaterial, must be mortal.

But to shew further that Matter must be so alter'd as to become immaterial, the Apostle (v. 44. of the same Chapter) tells us more intelligibly the Immateriality

teriality of this changed mortal Substance, in these Words ; *It is sown a natural Body, it is raised a spiritual Body* : So that it must needs follow, that if this Celestial, incorruptible, immortal Body becomes spiritual, it must consequently be immaterial ; since all spiritual Bodies are immaterial Substances.

And that Material Substances may and will be changed into immaterial ones, is further evident from what we find in the Third Chapter of *Philippians*, v. 21. the Verse before speaking of *our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious Body* ; where this vile terrestrial House we live in, made of Clay, is to be changed into an immaterial Substance.

From what we have said it appears, That Matter may be changed into an Immaterial Substance, which must be united to and cohabit with the Soul, and be of Eternal Duration, and continue with it for ever : And that this is the Sense and Meaning of the Scripture, not only appears from the Texts already mention'd, but from the Opinion of the Church deliver'd in the *Articles of our Faith* ; and first in that of

**ARTICLE II.** *Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from Everlasting of the Father, the very and Eternal God, of one Substance with the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the blessed Virgin, of her Substance : So that Two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in One Person, never to be divided——

And that Matter must be so changed as to become immaterial, and lose its corruptible mortal Qualities, (given to Change, and subject to accidental Alterations) and that it must put on such a Form as will make it capable of Eternal Duration, is not only evident from this *Article of our Faith*, but also from the *Fourth Article*.

#### ARTICLE IV. *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise from Death, and took again his Body, with Flesh, Bones, and all Things appertaining to the Perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth until he return to judge all Men at the last Day.

From both which *Articles of our Belief* it is not only manifest, that corruptible Matter must put on Incorruption, but also that Material Substance must become immaterial, otherwise it would not be of everlasting Duration: And that Matter must undergo this Change, and become immaterial, is not only plain from the Evidence of Scripture; as 1 *Cor.* 15. 49, 50. *And as we have born the Image of the Earthy, we shall also bear the Image of the Heavenly. Now this I say, Brethren, that Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; neither can Corruption inherit Incorruption:* I say, it is not only evident from Scripture, that Matter must undergo this Change, but Reason it self convinceth us of the Necessity of it: For as Material Bodies are constantly subject to Decay, and stand in need of fresh Supplies of Nourishment to support them, and are too of a perishing Kind; so it is necessary they should be transformed into Celestial, or Immaterial Spirituous Bodies, that stand in need of no such Sustenance, but may be durable and fit to continue,

tinue, without being subject to Alterations, to all Eternity.

And here we may take notice and observe by the by, that the Soul does not only want and stand in need of a fleshly and carnal Body in this World, to make it a fit Habitation on this Globe, and adapted with proper Organs of Sense, to convey Ideas of carnal Things to it whilst it remains here, that the Soul may have a true Sense and Taste of worldly Objects, to render this World in some measure satisfactory to it; but also we are to take notice, that Celestial Souls or Spirits have Celestial Bodies joined to them, as proper Habitations for those more refined Substances in those Mansions of Bliss, and aptly formed to make them serviceable in those Celestial Regions, and fit to convey Spiritual Ideas of Heavenly Objects to that more Intellectual Substance which is joined to these Celestial Bodies.

Having said thus much of Material and Immaterial Substances in their nearest Relation to one another, and as the one forms Terrestrial and the other Celestial Bodies; we shall next proceed to take a View, in some Measure, of those more refined Spirits which inhabit these Celestial Bodies, and which are more immediately concerned in the Actions of Immaterial Spirits; or which are Celestial Substances of a more refined Nature and Power, endowed with the Qualities of Thinking, Reasoning, and of Communicating their Ideas from one to the other.

The next Degree of Immaterial Substances (above that which consists of Matter, transmuted and changed into an Immaterial Substance, and which forms Celestial Bodies) is the Soul or Spirit of a Man, which hath the Power of Thinking, Reasoning, and receiving Ideas of External Objects, not only by the common Sensories which convey them  
from

from External Objects, but also of reciprocal Conveying and Receiving Ideas of Objects laid up in the common Repositories of the Mind from one to another.

This Power of communicating our Ideas from one to the other, is a strong Argument and Demonstration of the Sublimity and Excellency of a Rational Soul in Human Flesh subsisting: And tho' here *we see* but *thro' a Glass darkly*, being clouded by the Incumbrance of Terrestrial Vapours about our Understandings, which obstruct the brighter Operations of the Mind; yet when we come to *see Face to Face*, in a refined, Celestial, and Immaterial Body, our Thinking will be more sublime, our Conceptions clearer, and our Ideas brighter. Yet the Soul, even as it is, in its darksome Cell of fleshly Substance, is a glorious Specimen of Infinite Wisdom, and stupendous Power.

God Almighty hath not only endowed us with the Capacity of Thinking, and Reasoning, and Receiving as well as Communicating Ideas of Things about us, but hath enabled us to contemplate his Works of Superior Orders, and to know likewise that we are not much Inferior to some of them. *Psal. 8. 5. For thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels; and hast crowned him with Glory and Honour.*

And this Capacity God hath given us of discerning our State and Station, till we shall be translated to his Celestial Mansions, gives a certain and undeniable Proof of the Existence of human Souls or Spirits *little lower than Angels*, and consequently of the Existence of those Superior Orders betwixt us and his Infinite Eternal Spirit. It gives us an indisputable Confirmation of our Existence, because we know that we have the Power to know, and therefore are certain that we exist, because we are sensible of the Qualities of our existing Substance, that is

endowed with the Ability of Thinking, Reasoning, and Discerning : And as we discern those Qualifications of our Soul, so we are assured that there is a Soul which is the Spring from whence those Qualities rise.

And tho' we cannot form exactly adequate Ideas of that Immaterial Spirit, or Thinking Substance ; yet, as the great Mr. *Locke*, in his profound *Essay of Human Understanding*, observes ; “ If a Man  
 “ will examine himself concerning his Notion of  
 “ pure Substance in general, he will find he hath  
 “ no other Ideas of it, but by a Supposition of he  
 “ knows not what Support of such Qualities, which  
 “ are capable of producing simple Ideas in us ;  
 “ which Qualities are commonly called Accidents.  
 “ Thus if we talk or think of any Corporeal Substance, as Horse, Stone, &c. tho' the Idea we  
 “ have of either of them be but the Complication  
 “ or Collection of those several simple Ideas, or sensible Qualities, which we use to find united in  
 “ the Object called Horse or Stone ; yet because we  
 “ cannot conceive how they should subsist alone, nor  
 “ one in another, we suppose them to subsist in,  
 “ and to be supported by some common Subject ;  
 “ which Support we denote by the Name of Substance, tho' it be certain we have no clear or distinct  
 “ Idea of that Thing we suppose a Support.  
 “

“ The same Thing happens concerning the Operation of our Mind, *viz.* Thinking, Reasoning, Fearing, &c. which we, concluding not to subsist of themselves, and not apprehending how they can belong to Body, are apt to think these the Actions of some Substance we call Spirit : Whereby it is evident, that having no other Notion of Matter, but something wherein these many sensible Qualities which affect our Senses do subsist, by supposing a Substance wherein Think-  
 “ ing,

“ ing, Knowing, Doubting, and a Power of Mo-  
 “ ving do subsist, we have as clear a Notion of the  
 “ Nature or Substance of Spirit, as we have of Bo-  
 “ dy ; the one being supposed to be (without know-  
 “ ing what it is) the *Substratum* to those simple  
 “ Ideas which we have from without ; and the other  
 “ supposed (with a like Ignorance of what it is) to  
 “ be the *Substratum* of those Operations which we  
 “ experiment in our selves within. It is plain then,  
 “ that the Idea of Corporeal Substance in Matter  
 “ is as remote from our Conceptions and Appre-  
 “ hensions, as that of Spiritual Substance ; and there-  
 “ fore from our not having any Notion of the Sub-  
 “ stance of Spirit, we can no more conclude its not  
 “ Existing, than we can for the same Reason deny  
 “ the Existence of Body ; it being as rational to af-  
 “ firm there is no Body, because we cannot know  
 “ its Essence as it's called, or have the Idea of the  
 “ Substance of Matter, as to say there is no Spirit,  
 “ because we know not its Essence, or have no Idea  
 “ of Spiritual Substance.

And this may not only be sufficient to satisfy us  
 as to the Existence of a reasonable Soul, or the Im-  
 material Spirit of a Human Body, which must be  
 joined to an Immortal Substance, or Body, after  
 Death.

And as this Immaterial Substance hath the Power  
 and Capacity of thinking, reasoning, and retaining  
 Ideas of Things (adequate or inadequate) about us,  
 which are Objects of Sense, or Things without our  
 Sphere, which we cannot comprehend, but only con-  
 template, tho' we are sure of their Existence ; so  
 we are as certain that we have the Power of retain-  
 ing Ideas of those Things, and of communicating  
 them one to another : This we are convinced of,  
 by our frequent Conversation and Correspondence  
 with one another.

And

And by the same Rule and Manner of reasoning we are as certain of the Existence (as I said before) of a Superior Order of Spirits above us. Angels have often made their Appearance upon Earth as Messengers of God, and Ministering Spirits, which is the Signification of their Name *ἄγγελοι*; God Almighty employing those good Spirits more immediately under him, to execute those more sublime Offices which he hath thought necessary for his own Glory and the Good of Mankind; which is evident from several Places in Scripture, both in the Old and New Testament: As *Gen. 24. 7.* *The Lord God of Heaven, which took me from my Father's House, and from the Land of my Kindred, and which spake unto me, and which swore unto me, saying, Unto thy Seed will I give this Land: He shall send his Angel before thee.* And again, *Exod. 23. 23.* *For mine Angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites.* Again, *John 5. 4.* *For an Angel went down at a certain season into the Pool, and troubled the Water.* And an Angel not only appeared to the Centinel that guarded our Saviour's Body when laid in the Sepulchre, but to *Zacharias* before the Birth of *John*, to inform him that his Wife *Elizabeth* should bear a Son. *Luke 1. 11.* *And there appeared unto him an Angel of the Lord, standing on the right hand of the Altar of Incense.* And *v. 12 13.* *When Zacharias saw him, he was troubled, and Fear fell upon him. But the Angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias; for thy Prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a Son, and thou shalt call his name John.* From whence it appears, that Angels have openly demonstrated their Existence, by their publick way of executing the Commands and Will of God.

From what we have hitherto observed of the Nature of Immaterial Substances, it is evident, That the Souls of Men (which I reckon in the Second

Degree of Immaterial Substances) have not only the Power of communicating their Thoughts, and those acquired Ideas laid up in the Reservatory of their Minds; but that Angels, which may be reckon'd a Third Degree of Immaterial Substances, hold Correspondence with Men, and can convey the Will of their Creator to them, when they receive his Order and Commands. And this they do, not only by open and naked Conversation and personal Appearances, but sometimes by a more secret way of Communication, conveying such Ideas into the Minds of Men as may represent their Thoughts without Speaking, or Vocal Sounds, to affect the External Sensory. As when an Angel appeared to *Joseph* in a Dream, *Mat. 1. 18, 19, 20, 21.* before the Birth of our Saviour. *When as his Mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with Child of the Holy Ghost. Then Joseph her Husband, being a just Man, and not willing to make her a publick Example, was minded to put her away privately. But while he thought on these Things, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a Dream, saying, Joseph, thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy Wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost: And she shall bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; and he shall save the People from their Sins. And Jacob when he slept in his way to Haran, saw in a Vision what we must allow to be true, being testify'd by Holy Writ, Gen. 28. 12. And he dreamt, and behold a Ladder set upon the Earth, and the Top of it reached to Heaven: And behold, the Angels of God ascending and descending upon it.*

From what we have said, it appears, how Immaterial Substances of a Superior Order and Degree to the Spirits of Men, may communicate their Thoughts not only by Words to the Souls of Men, but even secretly may convey such Ideas as represent their Thoughts.

Thoughts, into the Minds of Men in Dreams, and whilst they sleep. We might add several other Texts of Scripture to the same Purpose; but these may be sufficient to our present Design, which is to shew how Spirits, or Immaterial Substances, may act upon one another, and communicate their Thoughts; which serve to illustrate the Nature of Immaterial Substances, and to make the Idea we have of them more clear and intelligible, as well as to give us a truer Representation of the Nature of them.

Thus much being said of the Nature of these Immaterial Substances as they relate to good Angels, we shall next see what we are to think of those evil Angels which are the Authors not only of their own Destruction, but of all the Miseries and Misfortunes of Mankind. These, in their first State, were of the same Degree of Glory with the rest; and notwithstanding their Fall thro' their Folly and Transgressions, yet they are still Immaterial Substances of the same Degree or Order as to the Nature of their Substance, tho' their Rebellion against the most High God (which is the Fourth, and most infinitely Superior Order of Immaterial Substances) hath made them Outcasts, or Devils: The word *Διάβολος*, which is derived from *Διάβαλλω*, *Transjicio*, signifying Outcasts, or Angels cast out of Heaven for their rebellious Transgressions against the God of Heaven and Earth. Thus 2 Pet. 2. 4. *God spared not the Angels that sinned, but cast them down to Hell, and deliver'd them into Chains of Darkness.* And again, Jude 6. *The Angels that kept not their first Estate, but left their Habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting Chains under Darkness.* And further, Mat. 25. 41. *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.*

These evil Angels had not long left their first State before they began to contrive the Fall of Mankind, and made use of their Art and Cunning to bring us into the same Condition with themselves: And as good Angels have their Power to act as Ministering Spirits to a good Purpose, so these having lost their Happiness by their Rebellion against their Maker, attempted to betray Mankind, and make us guilty of the like Transgression, in disobeying the Will and Commands of God. To this End, the Devil tempted *Eve* in the Shape of a Serpent to eat of forbidden Fruit; and break that first Commandment, which laid us open to the Wrath of God, which deprived us of the Bliss and Happiness we had otherwise enjoy'd in that delightful Paradise which our first Parents were placed in.

And as the Devil at the first made use of a Woman to betray us to Eternal Misery, so now and all Ages since, he hath made use of those Agents to execute his ill Designs; which is fully demonstrated by those Vassals of his, who concur with evil Angels to put in Practice the Diabolical Arts of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft. And that we may the better understand how the Devil is assisting to these deluded Creatures that enter themselves into his Service, and forsake their God to act under his Banner; having in this Chapter consider'd the Nature of Immaterial Substances, and shewn briefly how they may influence Material Bodies in some measure; we shall, in the next, proceed to observe more fully how Immaterial Substances may alter Matter, and affect Human Bodies.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the Power of Immaterial Substances in altering Material Substances, and affecting Human Bodies.*

FROM what hath been said in the foregoing Chapter, it sufficiently appears how Immaterial Substances may affect one another, by communicating Ideas, and transferring them, or secretly conveying them into the Minds of Men. Now since there are both good and evil Angels; accordingly, as the Mind is furnish'd with good or bad Representations of Things, and receives those different Impressions from Ministering Spirits of a Divine Nature, or from the Devil and his Angels, it will follow consequently, that the Disposition of the Soul will be alter'd, and differently inclined to good or bad Works: And when the Devil hath thus secretly gained the Advantage, he will pursue his Intention and Purpose in deluding those he hath prevail'd upon to put his evil Designs in Execution, and to transgress the Laws of God variously, as they are disposed to commit Crimes of several Kinds.

And since it is evident that evil Spirits may have a private Communication with the Souls of Men, and incline them to commit Wickedness, and to transgress the Laws of God and Men; no doubt but they will be willing and ready to assist them in those ill Actions, which they are not able to commit themselves without Help. And tho' Sins of a less Degree may be put in Execution not only by the Consent of, but by the immediate Act of Human Bodies; as Theft, Murther, &c. yet since the Diabolical

ical Arts of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft, require not only the Consent of the Person who is the Devil's Agent, but likewise his Assistance in putting their evil Intentions in Practice after a private and secret manner, it is evident he will be willing, upon all Occasions, and in all different ways, either their Envy and Malice or his cunning and crafty Devices can contrive, to execute their ill Intentions.

And forasmuch as those that are tormented and supernaturally affected with the Power of Witchcraft, are disorder'd both in Body and Mind, by the Mediation of an ill Spirit that puts the Intentions of such wicked Persons in Execution; we shall next consider how Immaterial Substances may alter the Forms of Matter, and consequently their Qualities, and affect human Bodies with Disorders and irregular Symptoms, contrary to the common Course of Nature.

How Immaterial Substances may affect one another, and alter the Disposition of the Mind, we have already observed; *viz.* by loading it with Ideas of an ill or irregular Kind, which may either incline it to wicked Practices, as those wretched Creatures are that practise Witchcraft; or by the Consent or the Request of those Witches, these evil Angels may convey such Ideas into the Mind of the Person who is disorder'd by the Devil and his Agents, as may occasion irregular Symptoms, and create unusual Pains and Tortures.

And that Immaterial Spirits may not only disorder the Mind, and thus disquiet the Soul, but disorder the Body also, will be further evident, if we seriously reflect upon the great Disorders that happen in human Bodies only by the Influence of our own Soul, when disquieted with irregular Passions of the Mind: Some with Grief and Sorrow pine away and dye; and others, tho' their Flesh is almost consumed and wasted away, yet when that uneasy Passion is removed

removed that before disorder'd the Soul, they presently recover their Strength, and grow strong and lusty again. And that the Soul of Man, which is an Immaterial Substance, hath so great an Influence as to alter the Disposition of human Bodies so much, not only the common Observation of the World testifies, but even the Scripture : As *Prov. 15. 13. A merry Heart makes a chearful Countenance ; but by Sorrow of the Heart, the Spirit is broken.* And again, *Prov. 17. 22. A merry Heart does good like a Medicine ; but a broken Spirit dries the Bones.* And further, *Prov. 18. 14. The Spirit of a Man will sustain his Infirmities ; but a wounded Spirit who can bear ?*

And if the Soul of Man, disquiet or disorder'd, occasions such great Enormities, and irregular Symptoms and Accidents, as often happen by the Passions of the Mind, and the Strength of Imagination, what strange Accidents may be produced by the forcible Power of an immaterial Substance, of a superior Degree, and endowed with far greater Strength and Capacity, as well as Disposition to do Mischief ; and if the Devil can disorder the Soul with a much greater Force than Passions of the Mind, as he is a more active and subtle Spirit, Why may he not occasion much greater Disorders in material Substances, and natural Humours, that fluctuate in human Bodies ; and as his Power is supernatural, it is but reasonable to suppose and allow, that this Power exerted, must produce supernatural Effects.

And since a supernatural Power can produce supernatural Effects, and this Diabolical Power goes about like a Lion, seeking whom he may devour, it is no wonder he puts his Power in Execution in deluding, and communicating with such deluded Creatures, who make that wicked Compact with him, to fulfil their wicked Desires, in tormenting and torturing other

People, whom Envy and Malice may move them to disturb.

And that the Devil and his Angels being immaterial Substances of more Power and Subtily than human Souls, can produce more dreadful Accidents in human Bodies, than what are natural, is evident from the great Force they have in acting upon Matter, so as to be able to move Bodies of considerable Weight and Bulk, to distant Places, without any visible Contact. The Scripture tells us of his moving our Saviour into a high Mountain, and carrying him up, and setting him upon the Pinnacle of the Temple: And it is recorded, and carry'd down to us by Tradition, how he hath moved Bodies more ponderous and heavy. There is a Church belonging to a Town, in *Oxford Road* from *London*, which stands upon a high Hill, remote from the Place, where no body would chuse to build such a Fabrick, it being both troublesome to the People to ascend such a Hill, as well as inconvenient in bad Weather; and if you ask the People who are Inhabitants thereabouts how it came to be built there, they will tell you, that the Stones which were prepared to build it in a more convenient Place, were carry'd away in the Night by a Diabolical Power, so that they were obliged to build it there, or not at all. There is another on a high Hill in *Devonshire*, that the Inhabitants give the same Account of, in the Road from *Exeter* to *Plymouth*. And in *Cheshire*, there is a Pavement some Miles long and broad, that was built or laid in one Night, without any human Knowledge or Assistance ever known. I might mention several other strange Actions of Diabolick Power of this Kind; but these are sufficient to shew what Power immaterial Substances have to move and act upon material Substances, or corporeal Bodies.

- But not to mention these Historical Accounts, which are carried down from our Ancestors to Posterity, we may be fully convinced of the Truth of this Diabolical Power, to act upon Matter, and consequently human Bodies, by Instances contained in Holy Writ; as the *Magi*, who by their Charms, imitated most of the Acts done by *Moses*, assisted by Divine Power.

And if those evil Spirits have so much Power upon Bodies of Bulk and solid Weight, how much easier may they act upon the Humours and Parts of a human Body; either as when they act in Possessions, or at the Request of a wicked Man or Woman, who hath made a Compact and Agreement with them, who hath forsaken her God, and given way to the Insinuations, and false Delusions of the Devil. And if these Spirits further can transport Solid Bodies of vast Weight, how much easier may they move violently the small Minute Parts of Fluid Humours, and occasion violent Convulsions of the Parts, and exquisite Pain, by twinging the sensible Parts, which receive the Impression of such Bodies, and occasion the Sense of Feeling.

And if these Spirits, or incorporeal Substances, can convey Idea's of Things secretly into the Mind, and thus insinuate themselves into the chief and principal Seat of the Soul, where she performs the noblest Operations of the Mind; why cannot they pursue all the fine Meanders of the Body, and accompany the Soul in her Operations there, and produce ill Effects preternatural, and above the Power of natural Force? That they do, is certain, from the Testimony of Scripture, and the different Actions mentioned in Holy Writ, of Diabolick Kinds, both in the Old and New Testament; a great many of which I have quoted and laid down, in the several Chapters of this Book, upon different Occasions, and therefore shall not have Occasion

to repeat them again; as when the Witch of *Endor* raised *Samuel*; Devils of different Kinds, possessing the Bodies of Men and Beast, &c.

Thus much may be sufficient to shew the Capacity immaterial Substances have to inflict Pains and Tortures, as well as evil Communications and Thoughts upon Mankind. But since we have taken Notice of the different ill Effects produced by these evil Angels, and what various Ways they take to do Mischief; we shall further observe, that as we have distinguished immaterial Substances, by Four principal Orders or Degrees; *Viz.* First, that immaterial Substance that composes the rising Body, and which is the eternal Habitation of the Soul. Secondly, That immaterial Spirit of Man, which is the Soul, and the Inhabiter of that Heavenly Celestial Body. Thirdly, That more exalted and refined immaterial Substance, which is given to form the Substance of Angels. And Fourthly, That eternal infinite Spirit, who, *Genesis xvii. 1.* declares of himself, and his Power, saying, *I am the Almighty God.* Of this last there is no Difference; he having no Rival, and none being greater, and no Part of the Godhead being greater or less than the other. But in the inferior Order, *viz.* that of Angels, they are different in Strength and Power; as *Psalms ciii. 20.* We are told of *Angels that excel in Strength*; and *2 Peter ii. 15.* we are told of Angels greater in Power; and elsewhere, of Angels and Archangels. And as good Angels differ in Glory and Honour, so evil Angels are of different Kinds, as our Saviour declares, *Mark ix. 29.* *And he said unto them, this Kind can come forth by nothing, but by Prayer and Fasting.*

And thus you find, by the different Histories, in our *History of Witchcraft*, that Witches made use of various Sorts of Spirits, which acted after a different Manner; and that Devils not only vary in their

their manner of acting, but also have different Names, is plain from what our Saviour said to the Devil, which enter'd into the Herd of Swine, asking him what his Name was, who answered, *Legion*; being of a different Kind from that Dumb Devil, *Mark ix.* which would be cast out by nothing but Prayer and Fasting.

Thus much might be sufficient to prove the Possibility of evil Angels acting upon human Bodies, and pursuing the ill Designs of those wicked Creatures, which are deluded by them, and are called Magicians, Sorcerers, and Witches; since we have not only Moral Proof, and their own Confessions, but also the Testimony of Scripture, and the Evidence of Reason, to confirm the Truth of what we assert.

But to demonstrate still more fully, the Possibility of those ill Practices, we shall consider further the Power of immaterial Substances over Matter, and how the latter may be affected by the former.

To demonstrate this, we may reflect on that grand Work of the Microcosm, or the Formation of the Universe. For as that omnipotent Cause of all Things, must needs precede the Creation, which was the Work of that Power, and the Cause of succeeding Effects, when Matter was first Created if immaterial Substance could not affect Matter, the Parts of Matter had never been put in Motion; and not convening into new Forms, could never have acquired new Qualities. Nor can we suppose that rude and senseless Matter of it self, could ever convene into Worlds formed after such a curious Manner, as we see they are; nor into different Bodies, framed with the greatest Contrivance and Skill: The Curiousness of the Works, shew the stupendious Wisdom of their Maker, and their Harmony and Usefulness, the vast Forecast of Providence.

But

But though the Universe was formed at the mighty *Fiat*, or Will of the Creator, out of primary created Matter, yet that *Fiat*, or Will, could not be put in Execution, without something to direct the Parts of Matter into the curious Order they are in; they must be directed by something that gave them Motion, and which was able to model and constitute the Form of the Universe; and since in the *Beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth*, it must be that immaterial Spirit of infinite Foresight and Knowledge, that impelled or directed Created Matter into different Worlds; and since that is the immaterial Substance of the highest Order, and the Cause of all other Things, it follows, that an immaterial Substance may act upon Matter, otherwise the World would have been without Form, and all the Creatures in it unfashioned.

And as an immaterial Substance, of the purest Kind, and highest Nature, as well as profoundest Knowledge, even infinite in all his Attributes, was the first Director of Matter in all its different Appearances or Shapes, so his Providence, to shew the Greatness of his Power, hath, upon some Occasions, altered the Course of Nature, and put a stop to the Eternal Laws he had prescribed to natural Bodies. Thus when Five Kings were at War against Gibeon, Joshua x. 12, 13. *Then spake Joshua to the Lord, in the Day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the Children of Israel, and he said in the Sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou Moon in the Valley of Ajalon. And the Sun stood still, and the Moon stayed, until the People had avenged themselves upon their Enemies. Is not this written in the Book of Jasher? So the Sun stood still in the midst of Heaven, and hastened not to go down about a whole Day.* Which makes it plain what mighty Power an immaterial Substance may have upon Matter, though in so rapid a Motion as  
the

the Sun; and which must give it Motion again, when it had lost its first prescribed Motion. And though this was done by an infinite Power, yet that infinite Power being an immaterial Substance, it proves what great Effects immaterial Substances may have upon material Bodies; and though it lies not in the Power of an immaterial Substance of an inferior Order, to equal God in his Works; yet, it is sufficient to prove that they have an inferior Power upon Matter, according to their Force and Strength; and this is evident, by the Power of good and bad Angels, shewn in their different Actions, and demonstrated by their several Works, which we have often mentioned in this Book.

But to shew the Power of immaterial Substances, and what Effects they can produce upon Matter, let us consider briefly their Effects on human Bodies, in the Formation of the Microcosm, or human Bodies in their first beginning of Increase in the Womb, upon Impregnation and Conception.

Upon this Occasion we shall not enter upon a Physical Discourse of the Reason of Impregnation and Conception, but only observe what is sufficient to our present Purpose, and to answer the Intention we here aim at.

Upon this Occasion, then, we are to consider, that human Creatures are composed of a Soul and Body; and that the Soul is the grand Agent in directing the Actions of the Body, as the immense immaterial God is of the Universe: I mean not in first forming Mankind, that being the Work of God in the Creation, as part of the Universe; but I mean the Soul, that immaterial Substance, added to human Nature, is the great Plastick Power which overrules the Actions within the Body, except a superior immaterial Substance interposes, and is chiefly concerned in directing the Parts of Matter in the Formation of a *Fetus* in the Womb; and that when  
upon

upon Conception, the *Ovum*, or first Seed of Mankind is conveyed from the *Ovaries* into the Womb, and hath increased to that Maturity, that it grows fast to the Mother, and receives Nourishment; then the Soul directs and influences the Disposition or orderly Structure of the Parts, and actuates them into a proper Form, or the first Shape of a Body; which makes the little World, our Body, an Emblem of the greater World, the Universe, and illustrates the Necessity of a Power superior to Matter, or an immaterial Substance to form the Universe.

Now that the immaterial Substance our Soul is concerned in the first Formation of our Bodies within the Womb, is evident from the irregular Accidents that happen upon Womens longing for particular Things, which they never attain; the Marks upon the Child being fixed by the Strength of Imagination, and the Energy of the Soul, of those particular Things they longed for. Now if the Soul hath Power by a strong Conveyance of the Idea's of such Things down to the Child, through such Mediums as properly belong to neither Mother nor Child, but are useful only to convey Nourishment, and return what is superfluous, and occasions an irregular Formation of a *Fetus*, or Child in the Womb it not only shews what a strong Influence immaterial Substances may have upon Matter; and that the Soul may be very reasonably the Cause of regular Formations; but it also gives us to conclude, that, since immaterial Substances of a higher Nature than human Spirits, *viz.* those of fallen Angels, can insinuate themselves into our Thoughts, and consequently penetrate into all the Recesses of the Soul: I say, it gives us just Reason to conclude, that such Substances can produce strange and supernatural Effects in human Bodies: not only when they enter into our Bodies, as in Possessions, but when they are employed

by Compact with those deluded Creatures called Witches.

From what we have said, considered and put together, I doubt not but it will sufficiently appear, that immaterial Substances have the Power to commit all those Actions which have been mentioned in this Book, and our *Compleat History of Witchcraft*; when those immaterial Substances are of that pernicious Kind, which lost Angels proved to be, when they were cast out of Heaven, and merited the Name of Devils; being cast out of Heaven by the Power of that superior infinite Spirit, who was the Maker and Governór of all Things.

And though some may say, that God Almighty would not suffer such Creatures to act jointly with the Devil, to inflict and torment innocent good Persons; yet the Scripture tells us, that the Devil, *like a roaring Lion, goes about, seeking whom he may betray*; and if he hath betray'd such, and they act by his Power, no doubt but they will pursue the Works of their new Master, whom they adhere to, having left their true God; and though they can do nothing without God's Permission, yet, we know, that he suffered himself to be tempted, to learn us how to resist Temptations; and none can suffer, that wholly confide in him, and follow his Example strictly, in resisting Temptations; yet the Frailty of human Nature hath made us too apt to give way to them, and few grown Persons can say they are without Sin, and consequently have in some Measure forsaken their God, which may render them liable to the Insults of the Devil and his Angels, or those other inferior Vassls, which act in Concert with them, and acquire that reproachful Denomination of Witches. And though some may say, that though grown Persons may be liable to suffer by such Persons under Contrast with the Devil, who assists them, yet Infants, and those of tender Years, can have committed

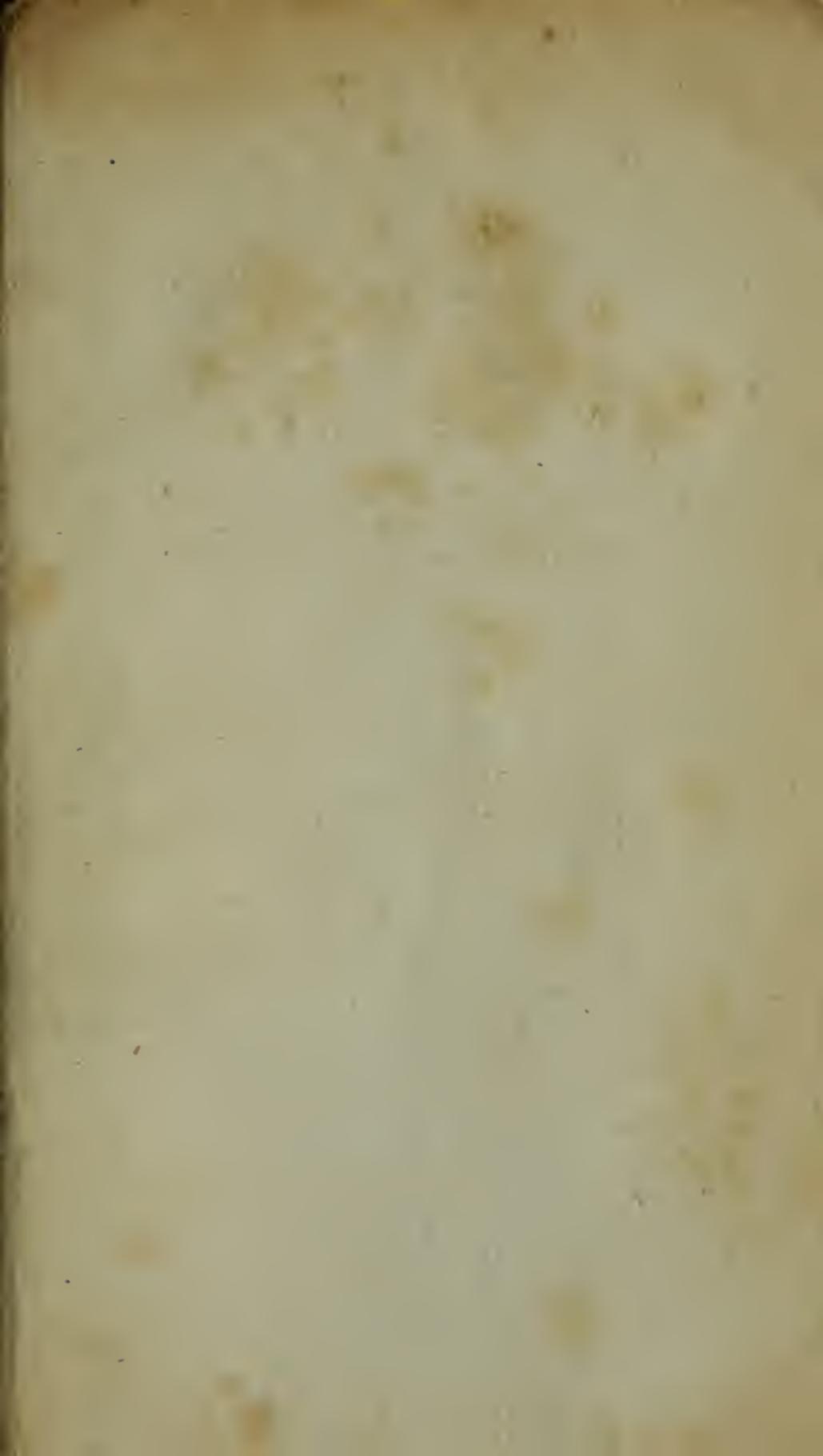
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ted no Offence, notwithstanding they likewise suffer by the same evil Agents; to which I answer, that since the fall of *Adam*, we are from our Birth guilty of Original Sin; and the Commandment tells us, *that the Sins of the Fathers shall be visited upon their Children, to the Third and Fourth Generation.*

I shall therefore conclude this Chapter, with this Observation further, of the Nature and Power of those Diabolical Spirits, who are the chief Actors of those Tragical Arts of *Witchcraft*, &c. *viz.* That as they can insinuate their ill Representations into the Minds of Men, and torture their Bodies, so they have Power to assume Bodies when they please, and appear in different Shapes; as when the Devil enter'd the Swine, and transformed himself into an Angel of Light. And Angels not only appeared upon several Occasions, but our Saviour told his Disciples to feel that he had Flesh and Bones; which he needed not to have distinguished himself by, if Spirits could not render themselves Visible; he would have said that Spirits could not appear.

Since then it appears, that the Art of *Witchcraft* is not impossible, but hath the Testimony of Reason, as well as other Proof; all I shall add is, that as God spared not Angels that sinned, nor *Adam* that transgressed, and hath strictly commanded that a Witch shall not live, the Laws against such Persons ought to be put in Execution, lest we disobey God, and in excusing horrible Crimes, suffer the World to be overrun with Wickedness.

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