The Wonders of the Invisible World. Observations as Well Historical as Theological, upon the Nature, the Number, and the Operations of the Devils (1693)

Cotton Mather* Reiner Smolinski, Editor†

*Second Church (Congregational), Boston
†Georgia State University, rsmolinski@gsu.edu
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COTTON MATHER (1662/3–1727/8). The eldest son of New England’s leading divine, Increase Mather and grandson of the colony’s spiritual founders Richard Mather and John Cotton, Mather was born in Boston, educated at Harvard (B. A. 1678; M. A. 1681), and received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Glasgow University (1710). As pastor of Boston’s Second Church (Congregational), he came into the political limelight during America’s version of the Glorious Revolution, when Bostonians deposed their royal governor, Sir Edmund Andros (April 1689). During the witchcraft debacle (1692–93), Mather both warns the Salem judges against admitting “spectral evidence” as grounds for indictment and advocates prayer and fasting to cure the afflicted, but he also writes New England’s official defense of the court’s procedures on which his modern reputation largely depends: The Wonders of the Invisible World (1693).

As the Lord’s remembrancer and keeper of the Puritan conscience, he writes the grandest of American jeremiads, his epic church history Magnalia Christi Americana (1702). Like his father a staunch defender of Puritan orthodoxy, Mather persuades Elihu Yale, a London merchant and practicing Anglican, to endow Yale University (1703) as the new nursery of Puritanism, when Harvard seemed to become too liberal in its teaching and too independent in its thinking. If such endeavors bespeak Mather’s partisan politics on the one hand and his transcendent thinking on the other, it is his chiliastic credo that leads him to champion Pietist ecumenism, his effort to unite all Christian denominations in New England, nay all Christians, Jews, and Moslems in the Orient and Occident, under the umbrella of his “3 Maxims of Piety” to hasten the Second Coming of Christ. Likewise, his interest in the new sciences and in new medical theories distinguish Mather from his American contemporaries. He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of London (1713), de-
fended and popularized the new scientific theories of Henry More, William Derham, John Ray, Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, Sir Isaac Newton, and others, and staunchly advocates a new germ theory and inoculation against smallpox in the face of the united opposition of Boston’s physicians during the epidemic of 1721. Whereas Increase Mather never quite made the transition into the Enlightenment, his son Cotton had come full circle; he represents the best of early Enlightenment thinking in Colonial America. His contributions to the literature of the New England Errand are as diverse as his publications are prolific and inexhaustible. In all, he published more than four hundred works on all aspects of the contemporary debate: theological, historical, biographical, political, and scientific. It is therefore deplorable that Mather’s reputation is still largely overshadowed by the specter of Salem witchcraft.

No single work of Mather’s gargantuan publication record does justice to his long, productive career in New England’s foremost pulpit, but several representative types afford a glimpse at his overall achievement. The Diary of Cotton Mather (Vol. I, 1911; II, 1912; III, 1964) provides a more comprehensive insight into his volatile nature than his autobiography Paterna (1976). His Diary is a Puritan document par excellence. It focuses on him as an instrument of divine providence in the world. If his public persona in his sermons is overbearing and bombastic, his private persona in his Diary is modest and unostentatious: a doting son, loving father, affectionate husband, and caring Pastor evangelicus—fully aware of his own weaknesses.

Mather’s mythic image still rests on his involvement in the Salem witchcraft debacle (1692–93) and on Robert Calef’s libelling allegations in the Salem witchcraft trial. Mather’s most important publications on the supernatural are Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions (1689) and Wonders of the Invisible World (1693). The former mostly recounts the possessions and antics of the Goodwin children, the eldest of whom Mather observed in his own home and eventually cured through fasting, prayer, and patient reassurance. While to modern readers the narrative smacks of singular gullibility, Mather’s practical tests, careful observations, and—most important—sanative procedure in indemnifying the girl’s excesses bespeak his experimental treatment of the case. The latter work aims at several purposes. On the one hand, Wonders is New England’s official defense of the court’s verdict and testimony to the power of Satan and his minions; on the other, it is Mather’s contribution to pneumatology, with John Gaul, Matthew Hale, John Dee, William Perkins, Joseph Glanville, and Richard Baxter in the lead. Before Mather excerpts the six most notorious cases of Salem witchcraft, he buttresses his account with the official endorsement of Lt. Governor William Stoughton, with a Disquisition on the devil’s machinations described by the best authorities that the subject affords, with a previously delivered sermon at Andover, and with his own experiments. Mather’s Wonders, however, does not end without a due note of caution. While exposing Satan’s plot to overthrow New England’s churches, Mather also recommends his father’s caveat Cases of Conscience (1693), thus effectively rejecting the use of “spectral evidence” as grounds for conviction and condemning confessions extracted under torture. What ties the various parts together is Mather’s millenarian theme of Christ’s imminence, of which Satan’s plot is the best evidence. Robert Calef’s accusation that Mather and his ilk incited the hysteria is, perhaps, unfounded, but Calef’s charge of Mather’s ambidentious disposition seems warranted. For while Mather defends the court’s verdict and justifies the government’s position, he also voices his great discomfort with the court’s
procedure in the matter. *Wonders* appeared in print just when the trials were halting, but it remains, in his own words, “that reviled Book,” a bane to his name.

His most enduring and, at once, most famous legacy is his Puritan epic *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), an ecclesiastical history of New England in the contemporary tradition of providence literature. In seven books of uneven length, Mather commemorates on an epic scale virtually every aspect of New England’s formative period (1620-1698). From a literary point of view, Mather’s Plutarchian biographies of New England’s governors and ministers (book 2) are of greatest interest. Puritan heroes are juxtaposed with heroes of classical and biblical antiquity, with the former surpassing the latter by emulating their outstanding characteristics. Even though each life follows the pattern of medieval hagiography, he does not fail to mention some of his heroes’ shortcomings and how they overcame them. Since its appearance, *Magnalia Christi Americana* has been criticized for its lack of thematic unity, bombastic style, and undigested material. However flawed by modern standards, each of the seven books develops a specific theme, unified by Mather’s Virgilian theme of the mighty works of Christ in the Western hemisphere; Mather’s Baroque style—though outdated by contemporary standards—is entirely consistent with his own stylistic principles delineated in *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726): to entertain with stylistic flourishes while instructing with pearls of wisdom. Finally, Mather’s consistent narrative voice and rhetorical intent unifies his subject matter as the grandest of jeremiads that American Puritanism has brought forth.

Out of Mather’s Pietist impulse and scientific endeavor grow three strands of works, the best examples of which are his civic-minded *Bonifacius* (1710), his compendium of the new science *The Christian Philosopher* (1720/1), his medical handbook *The Angel of Bethesda* (wr. 1723/24, publ. 1972), his manual for the ministry *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), and his hermeneutical defense of eschatology *The Threefold Paradise: “Triparadisus”* (wr. 1712, 1720-27; publ. 1995). Mather’s *Bonifacius, An Essay... to Do Good* represents the most comprehensive expression of his life’s purpose: “Fructuosus,” to be serviceable to one’s fellow man. His lifelong interest in the German Pietist movement of his Frederickian colleague August Hermann Francke, of Halle (Saxony), convinced Mather that specific practical advice rather than pious exhortations could engender social reform. His subsequent essays (chapters) address all classes of society and their various occupations.

In typical Renaissance fashion, Mather was at home in virtually every discipline of human knowledge, ancient and modern. Though a theologian by vocation, he was a virtuoso of science by avocation, as his “Curiosa Americana” (1712, 1714) and his *Christian Philosopher* (1720/1) attest. In the former, he describes in more than 23 separate epistles his pseudo-scientific observations of the American flora and fauna, ornithology, birth defects, rattlesnakes, earthquakes, Indian customs, and many other American curiosities. Perfectly consistent with European standards of the time, “Curiosa” also pioneers theories of psychogenic causes of disease and of plant hybridization, the earliest known account, which became the basis for the Linnaean system of botany. The Royal Society of London bestowed upon Mather the prestigious title of F.R.S. (1713). He was only the eighth colonial American to become a Fellow. Like Increase Mather’s *Illustrious Providences* (1684), Cotton Mather’s *Christian Philosopher* provides a rational foundation for Christianity, attempting to reconcile Scripture revelation with the new science. But unlike his father’s earlier work, *Christian Philosopher* moves with ease between scientific explanations
and theological justifications. Above all else, Cotton Mather demonstrates the adaptability of Calvinism to a new philosophy in its progress toward the Transcendentalism of the nineteenth century.

As an experimenter of medicine, Mather was as qualified as any medical practitioner in the Old and New World, for he studied medicine at Harvard when his adolescent stammer seemed to render him unsuitable for the ministry. His lifelong interest and solid foundation is apparent in this single, most comprehensive medical handbook in colonial America, *The Angel of Bethesda* (wr. 1723/24, publ. 1972). Its threefold purpose—religious, medical, scientific—is an outgrowth of his practical Pietism: to provide the indigent with a medical handbook in the absence of a physician. In 66 chapters (or Capsulae, as he wittily calls them), Mather quotes from more than 250 of the best medical authorities, borrowing remedies from the Galenical, chemical, and occult schools of medicine. Here loom large such worthies as Hippocrates, Galen, Paracelsus, Zoroaster, Plato, but also van Helmont, Boyle, and Sydenham. Each capsule follows the same pattern: (1) Mather’s pious improvement on the disease, followed by (2) its clear description and interpretation, and (3) the best-known remedies and dosages for the possible cure of the ailment. Yet Mather’s *Angel* is remarkable not for its singular medical lore, but for its highly advanced theories that are of continuing interest to modern medicine. Among still valuable recommendations are his prophylactic rules of temperate diet, physical exercise, and discouragement of smoking. His most enduring legacy, however, is his method of overcoming stammer, his benevolent treatment of psychiatric cases, his discussion of psychosomatic causes of illness, his immunological recommendations on inoculation against smallpox (eighty years before Edward Jenner developed his vaccine), and his disquisition on germ theory (animalculae)—long before Lister and Pasteur discovered their bacteriological approaches to preventive medicine in the nineteenth century. The warm, comforting, and understanding tone of Mather’s *Angel*, its clear structure and consistent narrative voice, are characteristically embellished by his entertaining wit, nuggets of wisdom, and occasional metaphors and puns.

In light of his scientific achievements, one almost forgets that Cotton Mather was a pastor and minister first and foremost. Anticipating his imminent departure from this world, he hastened to write his *Manuducitio ad Ministerium* (1726), a book-length manual for the ministry. Short on sectarian ideology, *Manuducitio* embodies Mather’s educational principles for the gentleman minister: Next to the traditional classical languages, he recommends such modern languages as French and Spanish; he devalues the customary Aristotelian curriculum of rhetoric, logic, and metaphysics in favor of the new Cartesian logic implemented at Harvard, and advises students to spend their time on the study of the Bible, German Pietism, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, the new science, geography, ancient and modern history and biography, as well as music for refreshment and poetry for recreation. His revealing recommendations on style (not an end in itself but a means to an end), composition of sermons, and polished oratory, evince, just how far Mather had come in his old age: the minister of the future was to be above all a humane, liberal, erudite gentleman pastor, whose reformed Calvinism, humanistic scholarship, and polished grace did not neglect such practical matters as a balanced diet and physical exercise to offset the stress of his duties.

Cotton Mather’s lifelong preoccupation with millenialism and its significance to his thought and work have only recently attracted full-scale attention. Beginning with *Things to be Look’d for* (1691), he published more than fifty works in which eschatology played a major role. In fact, it is
hard to read any of his writings without finding some reference to the imminence of Christ’s Second Coming. Of his major works on that topic, three stand out: “Problema Theologicum” (wr. 1695-1703; publ. 1994), a 95-page manuscript reflecting the principal issues in Mather’s early millennialism; “Triparadisus,” his definitive treatment of his millenarian theories (387 ms. pages) in response to the hermeneutical debate in Europe; and his “Biblia Americana,” a gargantuan and unfinished critical commentary on the Bible in six folio volumes, fortified with synopses of the best hermeneutical scholarship of the day. Unlike his earlier “Problema Theologicum” in which Mather advances an inchoate system of pre and postmillennialist theories, his *Threefold Paradise* (“Tri-paradisus”) is his most comprehensive study of apocalypticism. As a hermeneutical defense of revealed religion, Mather’s discourse seeks to negotiate between orthodox exegesis of the prophecies and the new philological and historical-contextual challenges to the Scriptures by such European scholars as Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza, Richard Simon, Henry Hammond, Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, and Anthony Collins. *Threefold Paradise* marks Mather’s decisive break from the hermeneutical positions he had inherited from his intellectual forebears but also represents the culmination of his lifelong interest in eschatology, which lay at the core of his cosmology and which was the fundamental mainspring of his ministerial and theological office. From 1720 to 1726, Mather’s exegesis underwent a radical shift from a futurist interpretation of the prophecies to a preterit position—from arguing that several signs of Christ’s return were still to be fulfilled to asserting that all signs had been given several times over. Part I of Mather’s *Threefold Paradise* delineates the history and location of the Garden of Eden as evidenced in the Pentateuch, ancient histories, patristic literature, and contemporary travel accounts. Part II is largely a refutation of psychopannychism, that is, a rebuttal of the idea that the soul is dormant and a defense of the soul’s immortality. Part III is by far the longest and most valuable discussion and covers in twelve subsections a variety of topics affected by the hermeneutical revisionism then taking shape in Europe: the tradition of a literal conflagration of the Earth, his defense of a literal New Heaven and New Earth during the millennium, his allegorization of the conversion of the Jewish people, and his prophecetic timetables calculating the millennial reign of Christ. In this late work then, Mather emerges as colonial America’s greatest theologian before Jonathan Edwards.

Here reprinted in its entirety is his famous discussion of Salem Witchcraft, *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693)—courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society. It is particularly interesting here because it reveals Mather’s cosmological explanation of the inexplicable phenomena in the context of his millennialist expectations of the imminent Second Coming.

Reiner Smolinski

Georgia State University

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The Wonders of the Invisible World.

OBSERVATIONS

As well Historical as Theological, upon the NATURE, the NUMBER, and the OPERATIONS of the DEVILS.

Accompany'd with,

I. Some Accounts of the Grievous Molestations, by DÆMONS and WITCHCRAFTS, which have lately annoy'd the Countrey; and the Trials of some eminent Malefactors Executed upon occasion thereof; with several Remarkable Curiosities therein occurring.

II. Some Counsils, Directing a due Improvement of the terrible things, lately done, by the Unusual & Amazing Range of EVIL SPIRITS, in Our Neighbourhood: & the methods to prevent the Wrongs which those Evil Angels may intend against all sorts of people among us; especially in Accusations of the Innocent.

III. Some Conjectures upon the great EVENTS, likely to befall, the WORLD in General, and NEW-ENGLAND in Particular; as also upon the Advances of the TIME, when we shall see BETTER DAYES.

IV. A short Narrative of a late Outrage committed by a knot of WITCHES in Swedeland, very much Resembling, and so far Explaining, That under which our parts of America have laboured!

V. THE DEVIL DISCOVERED: In a Brief Discourse upon the TEMPTATIONS, which are the more Ordinary Devices of the Wicked One.

By Cotton Mather.

Boston Printed, and sold by Benjamin Harris. 1693.
The Authors Defence.

’Tis as I Remember, the Learned Scribonius, who reports, that One of his Acquaintance, devoutly making his Prayers on the behalf of a Person molested by Evil Spirits, received from those Evil Spirits an horrible blow over the Face: And I may my self Expect not few or small Buffetings from Evil Spirits, for the Endeavours wherewith I am now going to Encounter them. I am far from Insensible, That at this Extraordinary Time of the Devils coming down in Great Wrath upon us, there are too many Tongues and Hearts thereby Set on Fire of Hell; that the various Opinions about the Witchcrafts which of Later Time have Troubled us, are maintained by some with so much Cloudy Fury, as if they could never be sufficiently Stated, unless written in the Liquor wherewith Witches use to write their Covenants; and that he who becomes an Author at such a Time, had need be, Fenced with Iron, and the Staff of a Spear. The unaccountable Frowardness, Asperity, Untreatableness, and Inconsistency of many persons, every Day gives a Visible Exposition of that passage, An Evil Spirit from the Lord came upon Saul; and Illustration of that Story, There met him two Possessed with Devils, exceeding Fierce, so that no man might pass by that way. To send abroad a Book, among such Readers, were a very un-advised Thing if a man had not such Reasons to give as I can bring, for such a Undertaking. Briefly, I hope it cannot be said, They are all so: No, I hope the Body of this People, are
yet in such a Temper, as to be capable of Applying their Thoughts, to make a Right Use, of the Stupendous and prodigious Things that are happening among us: and because I was concern'd, when I saw that no Abler Hand Emitted any Essayes to Engage the Minds of this People in such Holy, Pious, Fruitful Improvements, as God would have to be made of His Amazing Dispensations now upon us, THEREFORE it is that One of the Least among the Children of New-England, has here done, what is done. None, but, The Father who sees in Secret, knows the Heart-breaking Exercises, wherewith I have Composed what is now going to be Exposed; Lest I should in any One Thing, miss of Doing my Designed Service for His Glory, and for His People; But I am now somewhat comfortably Assured of His favourable Acceptance; and, I will not Fear; what can a Satan do unto me!

Having Performed, Something of what God Required, in labouring to suit His Words unto his Works, at this Day among us, and therewithal handled a Theme that has been sometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, even of a King, it will easily be perceived, that some, subordinate Ends have been considered in these Endeavours.

I have indeed set my self to Countermine the whole PLOT of the Devil, against New-England, in every Branch of it, as far as one of my Darkness, can comprehend such a Work of Darkness. I may add, that I have herein also aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good men in another Country, a Thousand Leagues off, where I have, it may be, More, or however, more Considerable, Friends, than in My Own; And I do what I can to have that Countrey, now, as well as always, in the best Terms with, My Own. But while I am doing these things, I have been driven a little to do something likewise, for My self; I mean, by taking off the false Reports and hard Censures about my Opinion in these matters, the Par-
Reverend and Dear Sir,

‘Y'ou Very much Gratify’d me, as well as put a kind Respect upon me, when you put into my ‘hands Your Elaborate and most seasonable Discourse, entituled, The Wonders of the Invisible ‘World. And having now Perused so fruitful and happy a Composure, upon such a Subject, at this ‘Juncture of Time, and considering the Place that I Hold in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, still ‘Labouring and proceeding in the Trial of the persons Accused and Convicted for Witchcraft, I find ‘that I am more nearly and highly concerned than as a meer Ordinary Reader, to Express my ‘Obligation and Thankfulness to you for so great pains; and cannot but hold my self many ways ‘bound, even to the utmost of what is proper for me, in my present Publick Capacity to declare my ‘Singular Approbation thereof. Such is Your Design, most plainly expressed throughout the whole; ‘such Your Zeal for God; Your Enmity to Satan and his Kingdom; Your Faithfulness and ‘Compassion to this poor people; Such the Vigour, but yet great Temper of your Spirit; Such your Instruction and Counsel; your CARE OF TRUTH; Your Wisdom and Dexterity in allaying and ‘moderating, that among us, which needs it; Such Your clear Discerning of Divine Prov-idences and ‘Periods, now running on apace towards their Glorious Issues in the World; and finally, Such your ‘Good News of, The Shortness of the Devils Time; That all Good Men needs Desire the making ‘of this your Discourse, Publick to the World; and will greatly Rejoyce that the Spirit of the Lord has ‘thus Enabled you to Lift up a Standard against the Infernal Enemy, that hath been Coming in like a ‘Flood upon us. I do therefore make it my particular and Earnest Request unto you, that as soon as ‘may be, you will Commit the same unto the PRESS accordingly.

I am,
Your Assured Friend,

William Stoughton.

I Live by Neighbours, that force me to produce these Un-deserved Lines. But now, as when Mr. Wilson, beholding a great Muster of Souldiers, had it by a Gentleman then present, said unto him, Sir, I'll tell you a great Thing, Here is a mighty Body of People, and there is not SEVEN of them all but what Loves Mr. Wilson; that Gracious Man presently & pleasantly Reply’d, Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that; here is a mighty Body of People; and there is not so much as ONE among them all, but Mr. Wilson Loves him. Somewhat so; ‘Tis possible that among, this Body of People, there may be few, that Love the Writer of this Book; but, give me leave to boast so far, there is not one among all this Body of People, whom this Mather would not Study to Serve, as well as to Love. With such a Spirit of Love, is the Book now before us written; I appeal to all this World, and if this World, will deny me the Right of acknowledging so much, I Appeal to the Other, that it is, Not written with an Evil Spirit: for which cause, I shall not wonder if Evil Spirits, be Exasperated by what is Written, as the Saddu-ceses doubtless were with what was Discoursed in the Days of our Saviour. I only Demand the Justice, that others Read it, with the same Spirit wherewith I write it.
Enchantments

Encountred.

I T was as long ago, as the year 1637. that a Faithful Minister of the Church of England, whose Name was Mr. Edward Symons, did in a Sermon afterwards Printed, thus Express himselfe;

At New-England now the Sun of Comfort begins to appear, and the Glorious Day-Star to show it self,—Sed Venient Annis Sacula Seris, there will come Times, in after-ages when the Clouds will over-shadow and darken the Sky there. Many now promise to themselves nothing but successive Happiness there, which for a Time through Gods Mercy they may Enjoy; and I Pray God, they may a Long Time; but in this World there is no Happiness perpetual.

An Observation, Or, I had almost said, an Inspiration, very dismally now verify'd upon us! It has been affirm'd by some who best knew New-England, That the World will do New-England a great piece of Injustice, if it acknowledge not a measure of Religion, Loyalty, Honesty and Industry, in the people there: beyond what is to be found with any other people for the Number of them. When I did a few years ago, publish

a Book, which mentioned a few Memorable Witchcrafts, committed in this Country; the Excellent Baxter, graced the Second Edition of that Book, with a kind Preface, wherein he sees cause to say, If any are Scandalized, that New-England, a place of as serious Piety, as any I can hear of, under Heaven, should be Troubled so much with Witches, I think tis no Wonder: Where will the Devil show most Malice, but where he is Hated, and Hateth most; And I hope, the Country will still deserve and answer, the Charity so Expressed by that Reverend man of God! Whosoever travels over this Wilderness, will see it richly bespangled with Evangelical Churches, whose Pastors are Holy, Able, & Painful Overseers of their Flocks, Lively Preachers, and Virtuous Livers; and such as in their Several Neighbourly Associations, have had their Meetings whereat Ecclesiastical matters of common Concernment are Considered: Churches, whose Communicants have been seriously Examined about their Experiences of Regeneration, as well as about their Knowledge, and Beleef and Blameless Conversation, before their Admission to the Sacred Communion; although others of less but Hopeful Attainments in Christianity are not ordinarily deny'd Baptism for themselves and theirs; Churches, which are Shy of using any thing in the Worship of God, for which they cannot see a Warrant of God; but with whom yet the Names of Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopal, or, Antipædobaptist, are swallowed up in that of, Christian; Persons of all those Perswasions being actually taken into our Fellowship, when Visible Godliness has Recommended them: Churches, which usually do within themselves manage their own Discipline, under the Conduct of their Elders; but yet call in the help of Synods upon Emergencies, or Aggrievances: Churches, Lastly, wherein Multitudes are growing Ripe for Heaven every Day; and as fast as these are taken off, others are daily Rising up. And by the presence and power of the Divine Institutions thus
maintained in the Country, we are still so Happy, that, I suppose, there is no Land in the Universe more free from the Debaching, and the Debasing Vices of Ungodliness.

The Body of the People are hitherto so disposed, that Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Whoring, Drunkenness, and the like, do not make a Gentleman, but a Monster, or a Goblin, in the Vulgar Estimation. All this notwithstanding, we must humbly Confess to our God, that we are miserably Degenerated from the First Love, of our Predecessors; however we boasting our selves a little, when Men would go to trample upon us, and we venture to say, Whereinsoever any is bold (we speak foolishly) we are bold also. The first Planters of these Colonies were a Chosen Generation of men, who were first so Pure, as to disrelish many things which they thought wanted Reformation else where; and yet withal so Peaceable, that they Embraced a Voluntary Exile in a Squalid, horrid, American Desart, rather than to Live in Contentions with their Brethren. Those Good men imagined that they should Leave their Posterity, in a place, where they should never see the Inroads of Profanity, or Superstition; and a famous Person returning hence could in a Sermon before the Parliament, profess, I have now been seven years in a Country, where I never saw one man drunk, or heard one Oath sworn, or beheld one Beggar in the Streets, all the while. Such great persons as Budæus, and others, who mistook Sir. Thomas More's Utopia, for a Country really Existent, and stirr'd up some Divines Charitably to undertake a Voyage thither, might now have certainly found a Truth in their Mistake; New-England was a true Utopia. But alas, the Children, and Servants of those Old Planters, must needs afford many, Degenerate Plants, and there is now Risen up a Number of people, otherwise Inclined than our Joshua's and the Elders that outlived them. Those two things, our Holy Progenitors, and our Happy Advantages, make Omissions of Duty, and such Spiritual Disorders as the whole World abroad is overwhelmed with, to be as Provoking in us, as the most flagitious wickednesses Committed in other places; and the Ministers of God are accordingly severe in their Testimonies. But in Short, Those Interests of the Gospel, which were the Errand of our Fathers into these Ends of the Earth, have been too much Neglected and Postponed, and the Attainments of an hand-some Education, have been too much undervalued, by Multitudes, that have not fallen into Exorbitancies of Wickedness; and some, especially of our Young ones, when they have got abroad from under the Restraints here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicious. Hence tis, that the Happiness of New-England, has been, but for a Time, as it was foretold, and not for a Long Time, as ha's been desir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity ha's long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reason imaginable to ascribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our manifold Apostasies; we make no Right use of our Disasters, if we do not, Remember whence we are fallen, and Repent, and Do the first works. But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Consideration with us: there is a further cause of our Afflictions, whose Due must be Given him.

S II. The New-Englanders, are a People of God settled in those, which were once the Devils Territories; and it may easily be supposed that the Devil was Exceedingly disturbed, when he perceived such a people here accomplishing the Promise of old made unto our Blessed Jesus That He should have the Utmost parts of the Earth for His Possession. There was not a greater Uproar among the Ephesians, when the Gospel was first brought among them, then there was among, The Powers of the Air (after whom those Ephesians walked) when first the Silver Trumpets of the Gospel here made the Joyful Sound. The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all sorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and so much of the Church as was Fled into this Wilderness, immediately found, The Serpent...
cast out of his Mouth, a Flood for the carrying of it away. I believe, that never were more Satanical Devices used for the Unsettling of any People under the Sun, than what have been Employ’d for the Extirpation of the Vine which God has here Planted, Casting out the Heathen, and Preparing a Room before it, and causing it to take deep Root, and fill the Land; so that it sent its Boughs unto the Atlantic Sea Eastward, and its Branches unto the Connecticut River Westward, and the Hills were covered with the Shadows thereof. But, All those Attempts of Hell, have hitherto been Abortive, many an Ebenezer has been Erected unto the Praise of God, by His Poor People here; and, Having obtained Help from God, we continue to this Day. Wherefore the Devil is now making one Attempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprising, more snarl’d with unintelligible Circumstances than any that we have hitherto Encountred; an Attempt, so Critical, that if we get well through, we shall soon Enjoy Halcyon Days with all the Vultures of Hell, Trodlen under our Feet. He has wanted his Incarnate Legions, to Persecute us, as the People of God, have in the other Hemisphere been Persecuted: he has therefore drawn forth his more Spiritual ones to make an Attacque upon us. We have been advised, by some Credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of Witchcraft as well as Murder, and Executed in this place more than Forty Years ago, did then give Notice, of, An Horrible PLOT against the Country, by WITCHCRAFT, and a Foundation of WITCHCRAFT then Laid, which if it were not seasonably Discovered, would probably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country. And we have now with Horror seen the Discovery of such a WITCHCRAFT! An Army of Devils is horribly broke in, upon the place which is the Center and after a sort, the First-born of our English Settlements: and the Houses of the Good People there, are fill’d with the doleful Shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Invisible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After the Mischiefs there En-
that Knot: That these Witches have driven a Trade of Commissioning their Confederate Spirits, to do all sorts of Mischief to the Neighbours, whereupon there have Ensued such Mischievous consequences upon the Bodies, and Estates of the Neighbourhood, as could not otherwise be accounted for: yea, That at prodigious Witch-Meetings, the Wretches have proceeded so far, as to Concert and Consult the Methods of Rooting out the Christian Religion from this Country, and setting up instead of it, perhaps a more gross Diabolism, than ever the World saw before. And yet it will be a thing little short of Miracle, if in so spread a Business, as this, the Devil should not get in some of his Juggles, to confound the Discovery of all the rest.

S. 3. Doubtless, the Thoughts of many will receive a Great Scandal against New-England, from the Number of Persons that have been Accused, or Suspected, for Witchcrafts, in this Country: But it was easy to offer many things, that may Answer and Abate the Scandal. If the Holy God should any where permit the Devils to hook two or three wicked Scholars, into Witchcraft, and then by their Assistance to Range with their Poisonous Insinuations, among Ignorant, Envious, Discontented People, till they have cunningly decoy'd them into some sudden Act, whereby the Toys of Hell shall be perhaps inextricably cast over them: what Country in the World, would not afford Witches, numerous to a Prodigy? Accordingly, The Kingdoms of Sweeden, Denmark, Scotland, yea, and England it self, as well as the Province of New-England, have had their Storms of Witchcrafts breaking upon them, which have made most Lamentable Devastations: which also I wish, may be, The Last. And it is not uneasy to be imagined, That God ha's not brought out all the Witchcrafts in many other Lands, with such a speedy, dreadful, destroying Jealousy, as burns forth upon such High Treasons committed here in, A

Land of Uprightness: Transgressors, may more quickly here, than else where become a prey to the Vengeance of Him, Who ha's Eyes like a Flame of Fire, and, who walks in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks. Moreover, There are many parts of the World, who if they do upon this Occasion insult over this People of God, need only to be told the Story of what happened at Loim, in the Dutchy of Gulic, where, a Popish Curate, having ineffectually try'd many Charms, to Eject the Devil out of a Damsel there possessed, he Passionately bid the Devil come out of her, into himself; but the Devil answered him, Quid mihi Opus est eum tentare, quem Novissimo Die, Jure Optimo sum Possessor? that is, What need I meddle with one, whom I am sure to have and hold at the Last Day, as my own forever?

But besides all this, give me Leave to add; it is to be hoped, That among the persons represented by the Spectres which now afflict our Neighbours, there will be found some that never explicitly contracted with any of the Evil Angels. The Witches have not only intimated, but some of them acknowledge, That they have plotted the Representations of Innocent Persons, to cover and shelter themselves in their Witchcrafts; now, altho' our good God has hitherto generally preserved us, from the Abuse therein Design'd by the Devils for us, yet who of us can Exactly State, How far our God may for our Chastisement permit the Devil to proceed in such an Abuse? It was the Result of a Discourse, lately held at a Meeting of some very Pious, and Learned, Ministers among us, That the Devils may sometimes have a permission to Represent an Innocent Person, as Tormenting such as are under Diabolical Molestation: But that such Things are Rare and Extraordinary; especially, when such Matters come before Civil Judicature. The Opinion Expressed with so much Caution and Judgment, seems to be the prevailing Sense of many others, who are men Eminently Cautious and Judicious; and have both Argument and History to Countenance them in it. It is Rare and Extraordinary,
for an Honest \textit{Naboth} to have his Life it self Sworn away, by two \textit{Children of Belial}, and yet no Infringement hereby made on the Rectoral Righteousness of our Eternal Sovereign, whose \textit{Judgments are a Great Deep}, and who gives none \textit{Account of His matters}. Thus, although, the Appearance of Innocent Persons, in \textit{Spectral Exhibitions} afflicting the Neighbourhood, be a thing \textit{Rare and Extraordinary}, yet who can be sure, that the great \textit{Belial} of Hell must needs be always \textit{Yoked} up, from this Piece of Mischief? The best man that ever lived has been called a \textit{Witch}; and why may not this too usual and unhappy Symptom of, a \textit{Witch}, even a Spectral Representation, befall a person that shall be none of the worst? Is it not possible? the \textit{Laplanders} will tell us ‘tis possible for Persons to be unwittingly attended with officious \textit{Dæmons}, bequeathed unto them, and impositiond upon them, by Relations that have been \textit{Witches}. \textit{Quære}, also, Whether at a Time, when the Devils with his Witches are engag’d in an actual \textit{War} upon a people, some certain steps of ours, in such a \textit{War}, may not be follow’d with our appearing so and so for a while among them in the Visions of our afflicted \textit{Forlorn}! And, Who can certainly say, what other Degrees, & Methods of sinning, besides that of a \textit{Diabolical Compact}, may give the Devils advantage, to act in the Shape of them that have miscarried? Besides what may happen for a while, to try the \textit{Patience} of the Virtuous. May not some that have been ready upon feeble grounds uncharitably to Censure and Reproach other people, be punished for it by \textit{Spectres} for a while exposing them to Censure and Reproach? And furthermore, I pray, that it may be considered, Whether a World of Magical Tricks often used in the World, may not insensibly oblige \textit{Devils} to wait upon the Superstitious Users of them. A Witty Writer against \textit{Sadducism}, has this Observation, That persons, who never made any Express Contract with \textit{Apostate Spirits}, yet may Act strange Things by \textit{Diabolick Aids}, which they procure by the use of those wicked \textit{Forms} and \textit{Arts}, that the Devil first Imparted unto his Confederates. And he adds, \textit{We know not, but the Laws of the Dark Kingdom, may Enjoy a particular Attendance upon all those that practise their Mysteries, whether they know them to be theirs or no.} Some of them that have been Cry’d out upon, as \textit{Employing Evil Spirits} to Hurt our Land, have been known to be most bloody \textit{Fortune-Tellers}, and some of them have Confessed, That when they told \textit{Fortune}, they would pretend the Rules of \textit{Chiromancy} and the like Ignorant Sciences, but indeed, they had no Rule (they said) but this, \textit{The Things were then Darted into their Minds. Darter!} Ye Wretches; By whom, I pray. Surely, by none but the \textit{Devils}, who, tho’ perhaps they did not exactly \textit{Foreknow} all the thus Predicted Contingencies; yet having once \textit{Foretold} them, they stood bound in Honour now, to use their Interest, which alas, in \textit{This World}, is very great, for the Accomplishment of their own Predictions. There are others, that have used most wicked \textit{Sorceries} to gratify their unlawful Curiosities, or to prevent Inconveniencies in Man and Beast; \textit{Sorceries}, which I will not \textit{Name}, lest I should by Naming, \textit{Teach} them. Now, some \textit{Devil} is evermore Invited into the Service of the Person that shall practise these \textit{Witchcrafts}; and if they have gone on Impenitently in these Communion with any \textit{Devil}, the \textit{Devil} may perhaps become at last \textit{a Familiar} to them, and so assume their \textit{Livery}, that they cannot shake him off in any way, but that One, which \textit{I} would most heartily prescribe unto them, Namely, That of a deep and long \textit{Repentance}. Should these \textit{Impieties}, have been committed in such a place as \textit{New-England}, for my part I should not wonder, if when \textit{Devils} are Exposing the \textit{Großer Witches} among us, God permit them, to bring in these \textit{Leßer ones} with the rest, for their perpetual Humiliation. In the Issue therefore, may it not be found, that \textit{New-England} is not so Stock’d with \textit{Rattle Snakes}, as was imagined? 

\textit{S 4.} But \textit{I} do not believe, that the progress of \textit{Witchcraft} among us, is all the Plot, which the Devil is managing in the
Witchcraft now upon us. It is Judg’d, That the Devil Rais’d the Storm, whereof we read in the Eighth Chapter of Matthew, on purpose to oversett the little Vessel, wherein the Disciples of Our Lord, were Embarqued with Him. And it may be fear’d, that in the Horrible Tempest, which is now upon ourselves, the design of the Devil is to sink that Happy settlement of Government, wherewith Almighty, God, has graciously enclined their Majesties to favour us. We are blessed with a GOVERNOUR, than whom no man can be more willing to serve their Majesties or this their Province: He is continually venturing his All to do it: and were not the Interests of His Prince, dearer to him, than his own, he could not but soon be weary of the Helm, whereat he sits. We are under the Influence of a LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR, who not only by being admirably accomplished both with Natural and Acquired Endowments, is fitted for the Service of Their Majesties, but also with an unspotted Fidelity, applies himself to that Service. Our COUNCELLOURS, are some of our most Eminent persons, and as Loyal Subjects to the Crown, as hearty lovers of their Countrey. Our Constitution also is attended with singular Priviledges; All which Things are by the Devil exceedingly Envy’d unto us. And the Devil will doubtless take this occasion, for the Raising of such complaints and clamours, as may be of pernicious consequence, unto some part of our present Settlement, if he can so far Impose. But that which most of all Threatenes us, in our present Circumstances, is the Misunderstandings, and so the Animosity, whereinto the Witchcraft now Raging, has Enchanted us. The Embroiling, first, of our Spirits, and then of our Affayrs, is evidently, as considerable a Branch of the Hellish Intreague, which now vexes us, as any one Thing whatever. The Devil has made us like a Troubled Sea; and the Mire and Mud, begins now also to heave up apace. Even, Good and Wise Men, suffer themselves to fall into their Paroxysm, and the Shake which the Devil is now giving us, fetches up the Dirt which before lay still, at the Bottom of our sinful Hearts. If we allow the Mad Dogs of Hell to poison us by Biting us, we shall imagine that we see nothing but such Things about us, and like such Things fly upon all that we see. Were it not for what is IN US, for my part, I should not fear a Thousand Legions of Devils; ’tis by our Quarrels that we spoil our Prayers, and if our Humble, Zealous, and United, Prayers, are once Hinder’d, alas, the Philistines of Hell have cut our Locks for us; they will then blind us, mock us, ruine us. In Truth, I cannot altogether blame it, If people are a little Transported, when they conceive all the Secular Interests of Themselves and their Families, at the Stake; and yet, at the sight of these Heart-Burnings, I cannot forbear the Exclamation of the Sweet-spirited Austin, in his Pacificatory Epistle, to Jerom on his Contest with Ruffin, O miseræ et miserandæ Condition! O Condition, truly miserable! But what shall be done to cure these Distractions? It is wonderfully necessary, that some Healing Attempts, be made at this time; and I must needs confess, if I may speak so much, like Nazianzen, I am so desirous of a share in them, that if, Being thrown Over-board, were needful to allay the Storm, I should think, Dying a Trifle to be undergone, for so great a Blessedness.

S’t, I would most importunately in the first place, entreat every man to maintain an Holy Jealousy over his own Soul, at this Time, and think, May not the Devil make me, tho’ ignorantly, & unwillingly, to be an Instrument of doing something that he would have to be done? For my part, I freely own my Suspicion, Lest something of Enchantment, have reach’d mere Persons and Spirits among us, then we are well aware of. But then, let us more generally Agree to maintain a kind Opinion, one of another. That Charity without which, even our Giving our Bodies to be Burned, would Profit Nothing, uses to proceed by this Rule, It is kind, it is not easily provoked, it thinks no Evil, it be-
lies all things, hopes all things. But if we disregard this Rule, of Charity, we shall indeed give our Body Politic to be Burned. I have heard it affirmed, That in the Late Great Flood upon Connecticut, those Creatures which could not but have Quarrelled at another Time, yet now being driven together, very Agreeably stood by one another. I am sure we shall be worse than Brutes, if we fly upon one another, at a Time when the Floods of Belial make us afraid. On the one Side [alas, my Pen, must thou write the word, Side, in the Business?] there are very worthy men, who having been call'd by God, when and where this Witchcraft, first Appeared upon the Stage, to Encounter it, are earnestly desirous to have it Sifted unto the Bottom of it. And, I pray, which of us all, that should live under the continual Impressions, of the Tortures, Outcries, and Havocks, which Devils confessedly Commissioned, by Witches, make among their distressed Neighbours, would not have a Bias that way, beyond other men? Persons this way disposed, have been men eminent for Wisdome and Vertue, and men acted by a noble principle of Conscience: Had not Conscience of Duty to God, prevailed above other Considerations with them, they would not for all they are worth in the world, have meddled in this Thorny Business! Have there been any Disputed Methods used, in Discovering the Works of Darkness? It may be none, but what have had great Precedents in other parts of the world: which may, tho' not altogether Justify, yet much Alleviate a mistake in us, if there should happen to be found any such mistake, in so Dark a matter. They have done, what they have done, with multiply'd Addresses to God, for his guidance, and have not been Insensible how much they have exposed themselves in what they have done. Yea, they would gladly contrive, and receive, an expedient, how the Shedding of Blood, might be spared, by the Recovery of Witches, not gone beyond the reach of Pardon. And after all, They invite all Good men, in Terms to this purpose,

Enchantments

Being amazed, at the Number, and Quality of those Accused, of Late, we do not know, but Satan, by his Wiles, may have Enwrapped some Innocent persons, and therefore should Earnestly and Humbly desire, the most Critical Enquiry upon the place, to find out the Fallacy; that there may be none of the Servants of the Lord, with the Worshipers of Baal. I may also add, That whereas, if once a Witch do ingenuously confess among us, no more Spectres do in their Shapes after this, Trouble the Vicinage; if any Guilty Creatures will accordingly to so good purpose Confess their Crime to any Minister of God, and get out of the Snare of the Devil, as no Minister will discover such a Conscientious Confession, so I believe none in the Authority, will press him to Discover it; but Rejoyce in A Soul sav'd from Death. On the other Side [if I must again use the word, Side, which yet I hope, to Live, to blot out] there are very worthy men, who are not a Little Dissatisfy'd at the Proceedings in the Prosecution of this Witchcraft. And why? Not because they would have any such Abominable Thing Defended from the Strokes of Impartial Justice. No, those Reverend Persons who gave in this Advice unto the Honourable Council,

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That Presumptions, whereupon Persons may be Committed, and much more Convictions, whereupon Persons may be Condemned, as Guilty of Witchcraft, ought certainly to be more Considerable, than barely the Accused Persons being represented by a Spectre, unto the Afflicted; Nor are Alterations made in the Sufferers, by a Look or Touch of the Accused, to be esteemed an Infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently Liable to be Abused by the Devils Legerdemains:

I say, Those very men of God, most Conscientiously Subjoined this Article, to that Advice,—Nevertheless, we cannot but Humbly Recommend unto the Government, The speech and Vigorous Prosecution of such, as have rendred themselves Obnoxious, accord-
Enchantments

ing to the best Directions given in the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the English Nation, for the Detection of Witchcraft. Only, Tis a most Commendable Cautiousness, in those Gracious men, to be very Shye lest the Devil get so far into our Faith, as that for the sake of many Truths which we find he tells us, we came at length, to believe any Lies, wherewith he may abuse us: whereupon, what a Desolation of Names would soon ensue, besides a thousand other Pernicious Consequences? and lest there should be any such Principles taken up, as when put into Practice must unavoidably cause the Righteous to Perish with the Wicked; or procure the Bloodshed of any Persons, like the Gibeonites, whom some Learned men suppose to be under a false Notion of Witchcraft, by Saul Exterminated. They would have all Due steps taken for the Extinction of Witchcraft, but they would fain have them to be Sure ones: nor is it from any thing, but the Real and Hearty Goodness of such men, that they are Loth to surmise Ill of other men, till there be the fullest Evidence, for the surmises. As for the Honourable Judges, that have been hitherto in the Commission, they are Above my Consideration: wherefore, I will only say thus much of them, That such of them as I have the Honour of a Personal Acquaintance with, are Men of an Excellent Spirit; and as at first they went about the work for which they were Commission’d, with a very great Aversion, so they have still been under Heart-breaking Sollicitudes, how they might therein best serve, both God and Man. In fine, Have there been Faults on any Side fallen into? Surely, They have at worst been but the Faults of a well-meaning Ignorance. On every Side then, Why should not we Endeavour with Amicable Correspondencies, to help one another out of the Snares, wherein the Devil would Involve us? To Wrangle the Devil, out of the Country, will be truly a New Experiment!

Encountred

fer our selves to be Devil-Ridden? Or, by any Unadviseableness, contribute unto the Widening of our Breaches? To say no more, There is a Published and a Credible Relation, which affirms, That very lately, in a part of England, where some of the Neighbourhood were Quarrelling, a RAVEN, from the Top of a Tree very Articulately and Unaccountably cry’d out, Read the Third to the Colossians, and the Fifteenth! Were I may self to chuse what sort of Bird I would be transformed into, I would say, O that I had wings like a Dove! Nevertheless, I will for once do the Office, which as it seems, Heaven sent that Raven upon; even to beg, That the Peace of God may Rule in our Hearts.

S 6. ‘Tis necessary that we Unite in every Thing: but there are especially Two Things wherein our Union must carry us along together. We are to Unite in our Endeavours to Deliver our Distressed Neighbours, from the horrible Annoyances and Molestations with which a dreadful Witchcraft is now persecuting of them. To have an Hand in any thing, that may stifle or obstruct a Regular Detection of that Witchcraft, is what we may well with an Holy Fear, Avoid. Their Majesties good Subjects, must not every day be Torn to pieces, by Horrid Witches, and those bloody Felons, be wholly left Unprosecuted. The Witchcraft is a Business, that will not be Sham’d, without plunging us into sore plagues and of Long Continuance. But then, we are to Unite in such Methods, for this Deliverance, as may be unquestionably Safe; Lest, The Latter End be worse then the Beginning. And here, what I shall say? I will venture to say, thus much; That we are Safe, when we make just as much Use of all Advice from the Invisible World, as God sends it for. It is a Safe Principle, That when God Almighty permits any Spirits from the Unseen Regions, to visit us with Surprising Informations, there is then something to be Enquired after; we are then to Enquire of one another, What Cause there is for such Things? The peculiar Government of God, over the Unbodied Intelligences, is a sufficient Foundation
for this Principle. When there has been a Murder Committed, an Apparition of the slain Party Accusing of any man, altho’ such Apparitions have oftener spoke True than False, is not enough to Convict the man, as Guilty of that Murder; but yet it is a sufficient Occasion for Magistrates to make a particular Enquiry, whether such a man have afforded any ground for such an Accusation. Even so, a Spectre, exactly Resembling such or such a person when the Neighbourhood are Tormented by such Spectres, may reasonably make Magistrates Inquisitive, whether the person so Represented have done or said any thing that may Argue their Confederacy with Evil Spirits; altho’ it may be defective enough in point of Conviction; especially at a Time, when ’tis possible, some Over-powerful Conjurer may have got the skill of thus Exhibiting the Shapes of all sorts of persons, on purpose to stop the prosecution of the Wretches whom due Enquiries thus provoked, might have made obnoxious unto Justice. Quære, Whether if God would have us, to proceed any further than bare Enquiry, upon what Reports there may come against any man, from the World of Spirits, He will not by His Providence at the same time have brought into our Hands, these more Evident & Sensible Things, whereupon, a man is to be esteemed a Criminal. But I will venture to say this further; That it will be Safe, to account the Names as well as the Lives of our Neighbours, too considerable Things to be brought under a Judicial Process, until it be found by Humane Observations, that the peace of Mankind, is thereby disturbed. We are Humane Creatures, and we are Safe while we say, they must be Humane Witnesses, who also have in the particular Act of Seeing, or Hearing; which enables them to be Witnesses, had no more than Humane Assurances, that are to Turn the Scale, when Laws are to be Executed. And upon this Head, I will further add; A Wise and a Just Magistrate, may so far give way to a common Stream of Dissatisfaction as to forbear Acting up to the Heighth of his own perswasion, about, what may be judg’d Convictive, of a Crime, whose Nature shall be so abstruse and obscure, as to raise much Disputation. Tho’ he may not Do what he should Leave Undone, yet he may Leave Undone something that else he could Do, when the Publick Safety, makes an Exigency.

S.7. I was going to make one Venture more; that is, to offer some Safe Rules, for the finding out, of the Witches, which are at this Day our Accursed Troublers: but this were a Venture too Presumptuous and Icarian for Me to make; I leave that unto those Excellent and Judicious Persons; with whom I am not worthy to be Numbred: all that I shall do, shall be to lay before my Readers, a brief Synopsis of what has been Written on that Subject by a Triumvirate, of as Eminent Persons, as have even handled it. I will begin with,

An Abstract of Mr. Perkin’s way for the Discovery of Witches.

I. There are Presumptions, which do at least Probably and Conjecturally note one to be a Witch. These, give Occasion to Examine, yet they are no Sufficient Causes of Conviction:

II. If any man or woman, be notoriously defamed for a Witch; this yeelds a strong Suspition. Yet the Judge ought Carefully to Look, that the Report be made by men of Honesty and Credit.

III. If a Fellow Witch, or Magician, give Testimony of any Person to be a Witch; this indeed is not sufficient for Condemnation; but it is a fit Presumption, to cause a strict Examination.

IV. If after Cursing there follow Death, or at least, some mischief: for Witches are wont to practise their mischievous Facts, by Cursing and Banning: This also is a sufficient matter of Examination, tho’ not of Conviction.

V. If after Enmity, Quarrelling, or Threatening, a present mischief do’s follow; that also is a great Presumption.

VI. If the Party suspected be the Son or Daughter, the man-servant or maid-servant, the Familiar Friend, near Neighbour, or old Companion, of a known and Convicted
This may be likewise a presumption: for Witchcraft is an Art, that may be Learn’d, and Convey’d from man to man. VII. Some add this for a Presumption; If the party Suspected be found to have the Devils mark, for it is Commonly thought, when the Devil makes his Covenant with them, he always Leaves his mark behind them, whereby he knows them for his own:—a mark, whereof no Evident Reason, in Nature can be given. VIII. Lastly, If the party Examined be Unconstant, or Contrary to himself, in his Deliberate Answers, it argueth a Guilty Conscience, which stops the Freedom of Utterance. And yet, there are causes of Astonishment, which may befal the Good, as well as the Bad. IX. But then there is a Conviction, discovering the Witch; which must proceed from just and sufficient proofs, and not from bare Presumptions. X. Scratching of the Suspected Party, and Recovery thereupon; with several other such weak proofs; as also, the Fleeting of the Suspected Party, thrown upon the Water; These proofs are so far from being sufficient, that some of them, are after a sort, practices of Witchcraft. XI. The Testimony of some Wizzard, tho’ offering to show the Witches face in a Glass, This I grant, may be a good presumption, to cause a strait Examination; but a sufficient proof of Conviction, it cannot be. If the Devil tell the Grand-Jury, that the Person in Question, is a Witch, and offers withal, to confirm the same by Oath, should the Inquiry Receive his Oath or Accusation to Condemn the man? Assuredly Not. And yet, that is as much as the Testimony of another Wizzard, who only by the Devils Help, Reveals the Witch. XII. If a man being dangerously Sick, and like to Dy, upon Suspicion, will take it on his Death, that such an one hath Bewitched him, it is an Allegation of the same Nature, which may move the Judge to Examine the Party; but it is of no moment for Conviction. XIII. Among the sufficient means of Conviction, the first is, the Free and Voluntary Confession of the Crime, made by the Party Suspected, and Accused, after Examination. I say not, that a bare Confession is sufficient, but a Confession after due Examination, taken upon pregnant presumptions. What needs now more Witness, or further Enquiry? XIV. There is a second sufficient Conviction, by the Testimony of Two Witnesses, of

\[\text{Encounter} \]

\[\text{Good and Honest Report avouching before the Magistrate upon their own Knowledge, these two Things: either that the Party Accused, hath made a League with the Devil, or hath done some known practices of Witchcraft. And, all Arguments that do Necessarily prove either of these, being brought by two sufficient Witnesses, are of Force, fully to Convince the Party Suspected.} \]

\[\text{XV. If it can be proved that the Party Suspected, hath called upon the Devil, or desired his Help; it is a pregnant proof of a League formerly made between them.} \]

\[\text{XVI. If it can be proved, that the Party hath Entertained a Familiar Spirit, and had Conference with it, in the Likeness of some visible Creatures: here is Evidence of Witchcraft.} \]

\[\text{XVII. If the Witnesses affirm upon Oath, that the Suspected person, hath done any Action, or work, which necessarily infers a Covenant made: as that he hath used Enchantments, Divined of things before they come to pass, and that peremptorily, Raised Tempests; caused the Form of a Dead Man to appear, it proveth sufficiently that he or she is a Witch.} \]

\[\text{This is the Substance of Mr. Perkins. Take, Next, The Summ of Mr. Gaules Judgment, about the Detection of Witches.} \]

\[\text{I. Some Tokens for the Trial of Witches, are altogether Unwarrantable. Such are the old Paganish Sign, The Witches Long Eyes; The Tradition, of the Witches not weeping; The casting of the Witch into the Water, with Thumbs, and Toes, ty’d across. And many more such Marks, which if they are to know a witch by, certainly ‘tis no other witch, but the User of them.} \]

\[\text{II. There are some Tokens for the Trial of Witches, more probable: and yet not so certain as to afford Conviction. Such are, strong and long Suspicion: Suspected Ancestors: some Appearance of Fact: The Corpse bleeding upon the Witches Touch: The Supposed, Witches unusual Bodily Marks; The Witches usual Cursing and Banning: The Witches lewd and naughty kind of Life.} \]

\[\text{III. Some Signs there are of a Witch, more cer-} \]
tain and infallible. As, Firstly, Declining of Judicature, or Faltring, Faulty, Unconstant, and Contrary Answers, upon Judicial and Deliberate Examination. Secondly, when upon due Enquiry, into a person’s Faith and Manners, there are found all or most of the causes, which produce Witchcraft; namely, God Forsaking, Satan invading, particular Sins disposing, and Lastly a Compact compleating all. Thirdly, The Witches free Confession, together with Full Evidence of the Fact. Confession without Fact, may be a meer Delusion; and Fact without Confession may be a meer Accident. Fourthly, The Semblable Gestures & Actions of suspected Witches, with the comparable Expressions of Affections, which in all Witches have been observ’d and found very much alike. Fifthly, The Testimony of the Party Bewitched, whether Pining or Dying, together with the joint Oaths of sufficient persons, that have seen certain prodigious Pranks or Feats, wrought by the Party Accused. IV. Among the most unhappy Circumstances, to Convict a Witch. One is, A Maligning and Oppugning, the Word, Work, and worship of God: and by any Extraordinary Sign seeking to seduce any from it. See Deut. 13. 1-2. Math. 24:24. Act. 13. 8-10. 2 Tim. 3:8. Do but mark well the places; & for this very Property (of thus Opposing and perverting) they are all there concluded arrant and absolute Witches. V. It is not requisite, that so palpable Evidence of Conviction, should here come in, as in other more sensible matters. Tis enough, if there be but so much Circumstantial proof or Evidence; as the Substance, matter, and Nature of such an Abstruse Mystery of Iniquity will well admit. [I suppose he means, that whereas in other Crimes, we Look for more Direct Proofs, in this there is a greater use of Consequential ones.] But I could
Enchantments

Witchcraft, & bearing Witness against others; if they can make good the Truth of their Witness, and give sufficient proof of it. As, that they have seen them with their Spirits; or, that they have Received Spirits from them; or, that they can tell, when they used Witchery-Tricks to Do Harm; or, that they told them what Harm they had done; or that they can show the mark upon them; or, that they have been together in their Meetings; and such like. VI. By some Witness of God Himself, happening upon the Execrable Curses of Witches upon themselves, Praying of God to show some Token, if they be Guilty. VII. By the Witches own Confession, of Giving their Souls to the Devil. It is no Rare thing, for Witches to Confess.

They are Considerable Things, which I have thus Recited; and yet it must be with Open Eyes, kept upon Open Rules, that we are to follow these things.

S. 8. But Juries are not the only Instruments to be impoy’d in such a Work; all Christians are to be concerned with daily and fervent Prayers, for the assisting of it. In the Days of Athanasius, the Devils were found unable to stand before, that Prayer, however then used perhaps with too much of Ceremony, Let God Arise, Let his Enemies be Scattered, Let them also that Hate Him, flee before Him.

O that instead of letting our Hearts Rise against one another, our Prayers might Rise unto an high pitch of Importunity, for such a Rising of the Lord! Especially, Let them that are Suffering by Witchcraft, be sure to stay and pray, and Beseech the Lord thrice, even as much as ever they can, before they complain of any Neighbour for afflicting them. Let them also that are Accused of Witchcraft, set themselves to Fast and Pray, and so shake off the Daemons that would like Vipers fasten upon them; and get the Waters of Jealousie made profitable to them.

And Now, O Thou Hope of, New-England, and the Saviour thereof in the Time of Troubles, Do thou look mercifully down upon us, & Rescue us, out of the Trouble which at this time do’s threaten to swallow us up. Let Satan be shortly bruised under our Feet, and Let the Covenanted Vasals of Satan which have Traiterously brought him in upon us, be Gloriously Conquered, by thy Powerful and Gracious Presence in the midst of us. Abhor us not, O God, but cleanse us, but heal us, but save us, for the sake of thy Glory, Enwrapped in our Salvations. By thy Spirit, Lift up a Standard against our infernal adversaries; Let us quickly find thee making of us glad, according to the Days wherein we have been afflicted. Accept of all our Endeavours to glorify thee, in the Fires that are upon us, and among the rest, Let these my poor and weak essays, composed with what Tears, what Cares, what Prayers, thou only knowest, nor want the Acceptance of the Lord. Amen.
A Discourse:

ON

The Wonders of the Invisible World.

Uttered (in part) on Aug. 4, 1692.

Ecclesiastical History has Reported it unto us, That a Renowned Martyr at the Stake, seeing the Book of THE REVELATION thrown by his no less Profane than Bloody Persecutors, to be Burn’d in the same Fire with himself, he cry’d out, O Beata Apocalypsis, quam bene mecum agitur, qui tecum Comburar! BLESSED REVELATION! Said he; How blessed am I in this Fire, while I have Thee to bear me Company. As for our selves this Day, ‘tis a Fire of sore Affliction and Confusion, wherein we are Embroiled; but it is no Inconsiderable Advantage unto us, that we have the Company of this Glorious and Sacred Book, THE REVELATION, to assist us in our Exercises. From that Book, there is one Text, which I would single out, at this Time, to lay before you; ‘tis that in
Rev. XII. 12.

Wo to the Inhabitants of the Earth, and of the Sea; for the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath, because he knoweth, that he hath but a short time.

THE Text is like the Cloudy and Fiery Pillar, vouchsafed unto Israel, in the Wilderness of old; there is a very dark side of it, in the Intimation, that, The Devil is come down having great Wrath; but it has also a bright side, when it assures us, that, He has but a short time; Unto the Contemplation of both, I do this Day Invite you.

We have in our Hands a Letter from our Ascended Lord in Heaven, to Advise us of his being still alive, and of his Purpose e’re long, to give us a Visit, wherein we shall see our Living Redeemer, stand at the latter day upon the Earth. ‘Tis the last Advice that we have had from Heaven, for now sixteen Hundred years; and the scope of it, is, to represent how the Lord Jesus Christ, having begun to set up his Kingdom in the World, by the Preaching of the Gospel, he would from time to time utterly break to pieces all Powers that should make Head against it, until, The Kingdomes of this World are become the Kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall Reign for ever and ever. ‘Tis a Commentary on what had been written by Daniel, about, The Fourth Monarchy, with some Touches upon, The Fifth, wherein, The greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High: And altho’ it have, as ‘tis expressed by one of the Ancients, Tot Sacramenta, quot verba, a Mystery in every Syllable, yet it is not altogether to be neglected with such a Despair, as that, I cannot Read, for the Book is Sealed: it is a REVELATION, and

a singular, and notable Blessing is pronounc’d upon them that humbly study it.

The Divine Oracles, have with a most admirable Artifice and Carefulness, drawn, as the very pious Beverley, has laboriously Evinced, an exact LINE OF TIME, from the First Sabbath at the Creation of the World, unto the great Sabbatism at the Restitution of all Things. In that famous Line of Time, from the Decree for the Restoring of Jerusalem, after the Babylonish Captivity, there seem to remain a matter of Two Thousand and Three Hundred Years, unto that New Jerusalem, whereto the Church is to be advanced, when the Mystical Babylon shall be fallen. At the Resurrection of our Lord, there were seventeen or eighteen Hundred of those Years, yet upon the Line, to Run unto, The Rest which Remains for the People of God; and this Remnant in the Line of Time, is here in our Apocalypse, variously Embossed, Adorned, and Signalized with such Distinguished Events, if we mind them, will help us escape that Censure, Can ye not Discern the Signs of the Times?

The Apostle John, for the View of these Things, had laid before him, as I conceive, a Book, with leaves, or folds; which Volumn was written both on the Backside, & on the Inside, & Roll’d up in a Cylindriacal Form, under seven Labels, fastned with so many Seals. The First Seal being opened, and the First Label removed, under the first Label the Apostle saw what he saw, of a first Rider Pourtray’d, and so on, till the last Seal was broken up; each of the Sculptures being enlarged with Agreeable Visions and Voices, to Illustrate it. The Book being now Unrolled, there were Trumpets, with wonderful Concomitants, Exhibited successively on the Expanding Backside of it. Whereupon the Book was Eaten, as it were to be Hidden, from Interpretations; till afterwards, in the Inside of it, the Kingdom of Antichrist came to be Exposed. Thus, the Judgments of God on the Roman Empire, first unto the Downfal of Paganism; and then, unto the Downfal of Popery, which is but
The Wonders of the

Revived Paganism, are in these Displayes with Lively Colours and Features made sensible unto us.

Accordingly, in the Twelfth Chapter of this Book, we have an August Preface, to the Description of that Horrid Kingdom, which our Lord Christ refused, but Antichrist accepted, from the Devil's Hands; a Kingdom, which for Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years together, was to be a continual oppression upon the People of God, and apposition unto his Interests; until the Arrival of that Illustrious Day, wherein, The Kingdom shall be the Lords, and he shall be Governor among the Nations. The Chapter is (as an Excellent Person calls it) an Extravasated Account, of the Circumstances, which befell the Primitive Church, during the first Four or Five Hundred Years of Christianity: it shows us the Face of the Church, first in Rome Heathenish, and then in Rome Converted, before the Man of Sin was yet come to Mans Estate. Our Text contains the Acclamations made upon the most Glorious Revolution that ever yet happened upon the Roman Empire; namely, That wherein the Travailing Church brought forth a Christian Emperour. This was a most Eminent Victory over the Devil, and Resemblance of the State, wherein the World, ere long shall see, The Kingdom of our God, and the Power of His Christ. It is here noted.

First, As a matter of Triumph. 'Tis said, Rejoice, ye Heavens, and ye that dwell in them. The Saints in both Worlds, took the Comfort of this Revolution; the Devout Ones that had outlived the late Persecutions; were filled with Transporting Joies, when they saw the Christian become the Imperial/Religion, and when they saw Good Men come to give Law unto the rest of Mankind; the Deceas'd Ones also, whose Blood had been Sacrificed in the Ten Persecutions, doubtless made the Light Regions to ring with Hallelujahs unto God, when there were brought unto them, the Tidings of the Advances now given to the Christian Religion, for which they had suffered Martyrdom.

Secondly, As a matter of Horror. 'Tis said, Wo to the Inhabiters of the Earth and of the Sea. The Earth still means the False Church, the Sea means the Wide World, in Prophetical Phrasæology. There was yet left a vast party of men that were Enemies to the Christian Religion, in the power of it; a vast party left for the Devil to work upon: unto these is, a Wo denounced; and why so? 'tis added, For the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath, because he knows, that he has but a short time. These were it seems to have some desperate and peculiar Attempts of the Devil, made upon them. In the mean time, we may Entertain this for our

DOCTRINE.

Great Wo proceeds from the Great WRATH, with which the DEVIL, towards the End of his TIME, will make a DESCENT upon a miserable World.

I have now Published a most awful and solemn Warning for our selves at this day; which has fair Propositions, comprehended in it

Proposition I.

That there is a Devil, is a Thing Doubted by none but such as are under the Influence of the Devil. For any to Deny the Being of a Devil must be from an Ignorance or Profaneness, worse than Diabolical. A Devil! What is that? We have a Definition of the Monster, in Eph. 6:12. A Spiritual Wickedness, that is, A wicked Spirit. A Devil is a Fallen Angel, an Angel Fallen from the Fear and Love of God, and from all Celestial Glories; but Fallen to all manner of Wretchedness and Cursedness. He was once in that Order of Heavenly Creatures, which God in the Beginning made Ministring Spirits, for his own peculiar
Service and Honour, in the management of the Universe; but we may now write that Epitaph upon him, How art thou fallen from Heaven thou hast said in thine Heart, I will Exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; but thou art brought down to Hell! A Devil is a Spiritual and a Rational Substance, by his Apostasy from God, Inclined unto all that is Vicious, and for that Apostasy confin'd unto the Atmosphere of this Earth, in Chains under Darkness, unto the Judgment of the Great Day. This is a Devil; and the Experience of Mankind as well as the Testimony of Scripture, does abundantly prove the Existence of such a Devil.

About this Devil, there are many Things, whereof we may reasonably and profitably be Inquisitive; such things, I mean, as are in our Bibles Reveal'd unto us; according to which if we do not speak, on so Dark a Subject, but according to our own uncertain, and perhaps humoursome Conjectures, There is no Light in us. I will carry you with me, but unto one Paragraph of the Bible to be informed of three Things, relating to the Devil; 'tis the Story of the Gadaren Energumen, in the fifth Chapter of Mark.

First, then; 'Tis to be granted; The Devils are so many, that some Thousands, can sometimes at once apply themselves to vex one Child of Man. It is said, in Marc. 5. 15. He that was Possessed with the Devil, had the Legion. Dreadful to be spoken! A Legion consisted of Twelve Thousand Five Hundred people: and we see that in one man or two, so many Devils can be spared for a Garrison. As the Prophet cry'd out, Multitudes, Multitudes, in the Valley of Decision! So I say, There are multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of Destruction, where the Devils are! When we speak of, The Devil, 'tis, A Name of Multitude; it means not One Individual Devil, so Potent and Scient, as perhaps a Manichee would imagine; but it means a Kind, which a Multitude belongs unto. Alas, The Devils, they swarm about us, like the Frogs of Egypt, in the most Retired of our Chambers. Are we at our Boards? There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Sen-

suality: Are we in our Beds? There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Carnality; Are we in our Shops? There will be Devils to Tempt us unto Dishonesty. Yea, Tho' we get into the Church of God, there will be Devils to Haunt us in the very Temple it self, and there Tempt us to manifold Misbehaviours. I am verily perswaded, That there are very few Humane Affays, whereinto some Devils are not Insinuated; There is not so much as a Journey intended, but Satan will have an Hand in Hindering or Furthering of it.

Secondly, 'Tis to be supposed, That there is a sort of Arbitrary, even Military Government, among the Devils. This is intimated, when in Mar. 5. 9. The Unclean Spirit said, My Name is Legion: they are under such a Discipline as Legion use to be. Hence we read about, The Prince of the Power of the Air: Our Air has a Power! or an Army, of Devils in the High Places of it; and these Devils have a Prince over them, who is, King over the Children of Pride. 'Tis probable, That the Devil, who was the Ring-leader of that mutinous and rebellious Crew, which first shook off the Authority of God, is now the General of those Hell-ish Armies; Our Lord, that Conquer'd him, has told us the Name of him; 'tis Belzebub, 'tis he that is, the Devil, and the rest are, his Angels, or his Souldiers. Think on, vast Regiments, of cruel, and bloody FrenchDragoons, with an Intendant over them, over-running a pillaged Neighbourhood, and you will think a little, what the Constitution among the Devils is.

Thirdly, 'Tis to be supposed, That some Devils are more peculiarly Commission'd, and perhaps Qualify'd, for some Countrys, while others are for others. This is intimated when in Mar. 5.10. The Devils besought Our Lord, Much, that he would not send them away out of the Countrey. Why was that? But in all probability, Because These Devils were more Able, to, Do the Works of the Devil, in such a Country, than in another. It is not likely that every Divel do's know every Language; or that ever Divel can do every Mischief. 'Tis possible that the Expe-
The Wonders of the Invisible World

The Wonders of the Invisible World

There is a Divellish Wrath against Mankind, with which the Dvel is, for Gods Sake Inspired. The Dvel is himself broiling under the intollerable and interminable Wrath of God; and a fiery Wrath at God, is that with which the Dvel is for that cause Enflamed. Methinks I see the posture of the Dvils in Isa. 8. 21. They fret themselves, and Curse their God, and look upward. The first and chief Wrath of the Dvel, is at the Almighty God Himself; He knows, The God that made him, will not have mercy on him, and the God that formed him, will shew him no favour, and so he can have no Kindness for that God, who has no Mercy, nor Favour for him. Hence tis; that he cannot bear the Name of God should be Acknowledged in the World; Every Acknowledgment paid unto God, is a fresh Drop of Burning Brimstone falling upon the Dvel; He do’s make his Insolent, tho’ Impotent Batteries, even upon the Throne of God Himself; and foolishly affects to have himself exalted unto that Glorious High Throne, by all people, as he sometimes is, by Execreable Witches. This horrible Dragon do’s not only with his Tayl strike at the Stars of God, but at the God Himself, who made the Stars, being desirous to out-shine them all. God and the Dvel are sworn Enemies to each other; the Terms between them, are those in Zech. 11. 18. My Soul Loathed them, and their Soul also Abhorred me. And from this Furious Wrath, or Displeasure and Prejudice at God, proceeds the Dvels Wrath at us, the poor Children of Men. Our doing the Service of God, is one thing that Exposes us to the Wrath of the Dvel. We are the High-Priests of the World; when all Creatures are call’d upon, Praise ye the Lord, they bring to us those demanded Praises of God, saying, Do you Offer them for us. Hence ‘tis, that the Dvel has a Quarrel with us, as he had with the High-Priest in the Vision of Old. Our bearing the Image of God, is another thing that brings the Wrath of the Dvel upon us. As a Tygre thro’ his Hatred at a man, will tear the very Picture of him, if it come in his way; such a Tygre the Devil is; because God said of old, Let us make Men in our Image, the Devil is ever saying, Let us pull this man to pieces. But the envious Pride of the Devil, is one thing more that gives an Edge unto his Furious Wrath against us. The Apostle has given us an hint, as if Pride had been the Condemnation of the Devil. ‘Tis not unlikely, that the Devils Affection to be above that Condition which he might learn that Mankind was to be preferr’d unto, might be the occasion of his taking up Arms against the Immortal King. However, the Devil now sees Man lying in the Bosome of God, but Himself damned in the Bottom of Hell; and this Enrages him exceedingly; O, says he, I cannot bear it, that man should not be as miserable as myself.
Proposition III.

The Devil, in the prosecution, & for the execution, of His wrath upon them, often getts a Liberty to make a Descent upon the Children of men. When the Devil does Hurt unto us, he Comes Down unto us; for the Randezvouze of the Infernal Troops, is indeed in the Supernal Parts of our Air. But as tis said, A sparrow of the Air does not fall down without the will of God; so I may say, Not a Devil in the Air, can come down without the leave of God. Of this we have a famous Instance in that Arabian Prince, of whom the Devil was unable so much as to Touch any thing, till the most High God gave him a permission, to go down. The Divel stands with all the Instruments of Death, aiming at us, and begging of the Lord, as that King ask'd for the Hood-winck'd Syrians of old, Shall I Smite 'em, shall I Smite 'em? He cannot strike a Blow, till the Lord say, Go down and smite, but sometimes He does obtain from the High Possessor of Heaven and Earth, a License for the doing of it. The Divel sometimes does make most rueful Havock among us; but still we may say to him, as our Lord said unto a great servant of his, Thou couldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above. The Divel is called in 1 Pet. 5. 8. Your Adversary. Tis a Law-term; and it notes, An Adversary at Law. The Divel cannot come at us, except in some sence according to Law, but sometimes he does procure sad things to be inflicted, according to that Law of the eternal King, upon us. The Divel First Goes up as an Accuser against us: He is therefore styled The Accuser; and it is on this account, that his proper Name, does belong unto him. There is a Court somewhere kept; a Court of Spirits, where the Divel enters all sorts of Complaints against us all; he charges us with manifold sins against the Lord our God: There he loads us with heavy Imputations, of Hypocrisy, Iniquity, Disobedience; whereupon he urges, Lord, let 'em now have the Death, which is their Wages, paid unto the Devil gets Leave to worry us.

Proposition IV.

Most Horrible Woes come to be inflicted upon Mankind, when the Divel do's in Great Wrath, make a Descent upon them. The Divel, is a Do-Evil, and wholly set upon mischief. When Our Lord once was going to Muzzle him, that he might not mischief others, he cry'd out, Art thou come to Torment me? He is, it seems, himself Tormented, if he be but Restrained from the Tormenting of Men. If upon the Sounding of the Three last Apocalyptical Angels, it was an outcry made in Heaven, Woe, Woe, Woe, to the inhabitants of the Earth by reason of the voice of the Trum-
pet. I am sure, a Descent made by the Angel of Death, would give cause for the like Exclamation: Wo to the World, by reason of the Wrath of the Devil! What a Woful Plight, Mankind would by the Descent of the Devil be brought into, may be gathered from the Woful Pains, and wounds, and hideous desolations, which the Devil brings upon them, of whom he has with a Bodily Possession made a Seizure. You may both in Sacred and Profane History, read many a direful Account of the Woes, which they, that are possessed by the Devil, do undergo: And from thence conclude, What must the Children of Men, hope from such a Devil? Moreover the Tyrannical Ceremonies, whereto the Devil uses to subjugate such Woful Nations or Orders of men, as are more Entirely under his Dominion, do declare what Woful Work, the Devil would make where he comes. The very Devotions of those forlorn Pagans, to whom the Devil is a Leader, are most bloody Penances: and what Woes indeed must we expect from such a Devil of a Moloch, as relishes no Sacrifices like those of Humane Heart-Blood, and unto whom there is no musick like the bitter, dying, doleful Groans, ejaculated by the Roasting Children of men.

Furthermore, the Servile, Abject, Needy Circumstances wherein the Devil keeps the Slaves, that are under his more sensible Vassallage, do suggest unto us, How Woful the Devil would render all of our Lives. We that live in a Province, which affords unto us, all that may be Necessary or Comfortable for us, found the Province fill’d with vast Herds of Salvages, that never saw so much as a Knife, or a Nail, or a Board, or a Grain of Salt, in all their days. No better would the Devil have the World provided for! Nor should we, or any else, have one convenient Thing about us; but be as Indigent as our most Ragg’d Witches are; if the Devils Malice were not over-ruled by a Compassionate God, Who Preserves Man and Beast. Hence tis, That the Devil, even like a Dragon, keeping a Guard upon such Fruits as would Refresh a Lan-
guishing World, has hindred Mankind for many Ages, from hitting upon those useful Inventions, which yet were so Obvious and Easie, that it is every bodies wonder, they were no sooner hit upon. The Bemisted World, must jog on for Thousands of Years, without true knowledge of the Loadstone, till a Neapolitan stumbled upon it, about Three Hundred years ago. Nor must the world be blest with such a matchless Engine of Learning and Vertue, as that of Print, till about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. Nor could one Old Man all over the Face of the whole Earth, have the benefit of such a Little, tho’ most Needful, Thing, as a pair of Spectacles, till a Dutch-Man, a little while ago accommodated us.

Indeed, as the Devil do’s begrutch us all manner of Good, so he do’s Annoy us with all manner of Woe, as often as he finds himself capable of doing it. But shall we mention some of the special Woes with which the Devil do’s usually infest the World! Briefly then; Plagues are some of those Woes, with which the Devil troubles us. It is said of the Israelites, in 1. Cor. 10. 10. They were destroyed of the destroyer. That is, they had the Plague among them. ‘Tis the Destroyer, or the Devil, that scatters Plagues about the World; Pestential and Contagious Diseases, ‘tis the Devil, who do’s oftentimes invade us with them. ‘Tis no uneasy thing, for the Devil, to impregnate the Air about us, with such Malignant Salts, as meeting with the Salt of our Microcosm, shall immediately cast us into that Fermentation and Putrefaction, which will utterly dissolve all the Vital Tyes within us; Ev’n as an Aqua-Fortis, made with a conjunction of Nitre and Vitriol, Corrodes what it Siezes upon. And when the Devil has raised those Arsenical Fumes, which become Venemous Quivers full of Terrible Arrows, how easily can he shoot the deleterious Miasms into those Juices or Bowels of Mens Bodies, which will soon Enflame them with a Mortal Fire! Hence come such Plagues, as that Beosome of Destruction which within our memory swept away such a Throng of
people from One English City in one Visitation: and hence those Infectious Feavers, which are but so many Disguised Plagues among us, Causing Epidemical Desolations. Again, Wars are also some of those Woes, with which the Divil causes our Trouble. It is said in Rev. 12. 17. The Dragon was wrath, and went to make war. And there is in Truth, scarce any War, but what is of the Dragons kindling. The Divil is that Vulcan, out of whose Forge come the instruments of our Wars, and it is he that finds us Employments for those Instruments. We read concerning Demoniacks, or people in whom the Devil was, that they would cut and wound themselves; and so, when the Devil is in Men, he puts 'em upon dealing in that barbarous fashion with one another. Wars do often furnish him with some Thousands of Souls in one Morning from one Acre of Ground; and for the sake of such Thyestean Banquets, he will push us upon as many Wars as he can.

Once more, why may not Storms be reckoned among those Woes, with which the Devil do’s disturb us? It is not improbable, that Natural Storms, on the World, are often of the Devils raising. We are told in Job. 1. 11.12, 19. That the Devil made a Storm, which Hurricano’d the House of Job, upon the Heads of them that were feasting in it. Paracelsus could have informed the Devil, if he had not been informed, as be sure he was before, That if much Aluminous matter, with Salt-Peter not thoroughly prepared, be mixed, they will send up a cloud of Smoke, which will come down in Rain. But undoubtedly the Devil understands as well the way to make a Tempest, as to turn the Winds at the Solicitation of a Laplander; Whence perhaps it is, that Thunders are observed oftener to break upon Churches, than upon any other Buildings and besides many a Man, yea many a Ship, yea many a Town has miscarried, when the Devil ha’s been permitted from above to make an Horrible tempest. However that the Divil has raised many Metaphorical Storms upon the Church, is a thing, than which there is nothing more notorious. It was said unto Believers, in Rev. 2. 10. The Devil shall cast some of you into Prison. The Devil was he that at first set Cain upon Abel, to butcher him, as the Apostle seems to suggest, for his Faith in God, as a Rewarder. And, in how many Persecutions, as well as Heresies, has the Devil been ever since Engaging all the Children of Cain! That Serpent the Devil ha’s acted his cursed Seed, in unwearied Endeavours to have them, Of whom the World is not worthy, treated as those who are, Not Worthy to live in the World. By the Impulse of the Devil, tis that first the old Heathens, and then the mad Arians, were Pricking Briars, to the true Servants of God; and that the Papists that came after them, have out-done them all, for Slaughters, upon those that have been Accounted as the sheep for the Slaughters. The late French Persecution, is perhaps the Horriblest that ever was in the World: and as the Devil of Mascon seems before to have meant it, in his outcries, upon The miseries preparing for the poor Hugonots! Thus it ha’s been all acted, by a singular Fury of the old Dragon inspiring of his Emissaries.

But in reality, Spiritual Woes, are the Principal Woes, among all those that the Devil would have us undone withal. Sins are the worst of Woes, and the Devil seeks nothing so much, as to plunge us into Sins. When men do commit a Crime for which they are to be Indicted, they are usually Mov’d by the Instigation of the Devil. The Devil will put Ill Men upon being worse. Was it not he, that said in 1 King 22. 22. I will go forth, and be a Lying Spirit in the Mouth of all the Prophets? Even so, the Devil becomes an Unclean Spirit, a Drinking Spirit, a Swearing Spirit, a Worldly Spirit, a Passionate Spirit, a Revengeful Spirit, and the like, in the Hearts of those that are already too much of such a Spirit; and thus, they become Improv’d in Sinfulness. Yea, the Devil will put Good Men upon doing Ill. Thus we read, in 1 Chron. 21. 1. Satan provoked David to Number Israel. And so, the Devil provokes men that are Eminent in Holiness, unto such Things as
may become eminently pernicious; he provokes them especially unto Pride, and unto many unsuitable Emulations. There are likewise most lamentable Impressions, which the Devil makes upon the Souls of men, by way of punishment upon them for their Sins. 'Tis thus, when an Offended God, puts the Souls of men over into the Hands of that Officer, Who has the Power of Death, that is, the Devil. It is the woful misery of Unbelievers, in 2 Cor. 4. 4. The God of this World has blinded their minds. The Devil is, by the wrath of God, the Prince of this World; and the Time of his Reign, is to continue until the Time, when our Lord Himself, shall, Take to Himself, his great Power and Reign. Then 'tis that the Devil shall hear the Son of God, swearing with loud Thunders against him, Thy Time shall now be no more! Then shall the Devil with his Angels, receive their Doom, which will be, Depart into the Everlasting Fire prepared for you.

We are also to Apprehend, that in the mean time, the Devil can give shrowd guess, when he draws near to the End of his Time. When he saw Christianity enthron'd among the Romans, it is here said, in our Rev. 12. 12, He knows he hath but a short time. And how does he know it? Why, Reason will make the Devil to know that God won't suffer him to have, the Everlasting Dominion; & that when God has once begun to rescue the world out of his hands, He'll go through with it, until The Captives of the mighty shall be taken away and the prey of the Terrible shall be delivered. But the Devil will have Scripture also, to make him Know that when his Antichristian Vicar the seven-headed Beast on the seven-hilled City, shall have spent his determined years, he with his Vicar must unavoidably go down into the Bottomless Pitt. It is not Improbable, that the Devil often hears the Scripture expounded in our congregations; yea that we never Assemble without a Satan among us. As there are some Divines, who do with more uncertainty conjecture, from a certain Place in the Epistle to the Ephesians, That the Angels do some times come into our Churches, to gain some Advantage from our Ministry. But be sure our Demonstrable Interpretations, may give Repeated Notices to the Devil, That his time is almost out: and what the preacher says unto the Young
Man, Know thou, that God will bring thee into Judgment! THAT may our Sermons tell unto that Old Wretch, Know thou, that the time of thy Judgment is at hand.

But we must now, likewise, Apprehend, that in such a time, the Woes of the world, will be heightened, beyond what they were at any time yet from the foundation of the world. Hence ti's, that the Apostle has forewarned us, in 2. Tim. 3.1. this know, that in the last days, perilous times shall come. Truly, when the Divel knows, that he is got into his Last days, he will make Perilous Times for us; the times will grow more full of Dives, and therefore more full of Perils, than ever they were before. Of this if we would Know, what cause is to be assigned; It is not only, because the Divel growes more Able and more Eager to Vex the world; but also, and chiefly, Because the world is more worthy to be Vexed by the Divel, than ever heretofore. The Sins of men in this Generation, will be more mighty Sins, than those of the Former Ages; men will be more Accurate & Exquisite, & Refined in the Arts of Sinning, than they use to be. And besides, their own sins, the sins of all the Former Ages will also lie upon the sinners of this generation. Do we ask why the mischievous powers of darkness are to prevail more in our days, than they did in those that are past & gone! Tis because that men by sinning over again the sins of the Former days, have a Fellowship with all those unfruitful works of darkness. As 'twas said in Math. 23. 36. All these things shall come upon this generation, so, the men of the Last generation, will find themselves involved in the guilt of all that went before them. Of Sinners tis said, They Heap up Wrath, and the sinners of the Last generations do not only add unto the Heap of sin that has been pileing up, ever since the Fall of man, but they Interest themselves in every sin of that enormous Heap. There has been a Cry of sin in all Former Ages going up to God, That the Divel may come down! And the sinners of the Last generations, do sharpen and louden that cry, till the thing do come to pass, as Destructively as Irremediably. From whence it follows, that the Thrice Holy God, with His Holy Angels, will now after a sort more Abandon the World, than in the former Ages. The Roaring Impieties of the Old World, at last gave Mankind such a Distast in the Heart of the Just God, that he came to say, It Repents me, that I have made such a Creature! And however, it may be but a witty Fancy, in a Late Learned Writer, that the Earth before the Flood was nearer to the Sun, that it is at this Day; and that Gods Hurling down the Earth to a further Distance from the Sun, were the cause of that Flood; yet we may fitly enough say, that men perished by a Rejection from the God of Heaven. Thus, the Enhanc'd Impieties of this our World, will Exasperate the Displeasure of God, at such a rate, as that he will more Cast us off, than heretofore; until at last, He do with a more than ordinary Indignation say, Go Devils; do you take them, and make them beyond all former measure, miserable!

If Lastly, We are inquisitive after Instances of those Aggravated Woes, with which the Devil will towards the End of his Time assault us; Let it be Remembred, That all the Extremities which were foretold by the Trumpets and the Vials in the Apocalyptic Schemes of these things, to come upon the world, were the woer to come from the wrath of the Divel, upon the shortning of his Time. The horrendous desolations that have come upon mankind, by the Irruptions of the old Barbarians upon the Roman World, and then of the Saracens, and since, of the Turks, were such woers, as men had never seen before. The Infandous Blindness and Vileness which then came upon mankind, and the Monstrous Croisadoes which thereupon carried the Roman world by the Millions together unto the shambles, were also such woers as had never yet had a Parallel. And yet these were some of the things here intended, when it was said, wo! For the Divel is come down in Great wrath, having but a short Time.
The Wonders of the Invisible World

But besides all these things, and besides the Increase of Plagues & Wars, and Storms, and Internal Maladies now in our days, there are especially two most extraordinary Woes, one would fear, will in these days become very ordinary. One Woe that may be look’d for is, A frequent Repetition of Earthquakes, and this perhaps by the energy of the Divel in the Earth. The Divel will be clap’t up, as a Prisoner in or near the Bowels of the earth, when once that Conflagration shall be dispatch’d, which will make, The New Earth wherein shall dwell Righteousness; and that Conflagration will doubtless be much promoted, by the Subterraneous Fires, which are a cause of the Earthquakes in our Dayes. Accordingly, we read, Great Earthquakes in divers places, enumerated among the Tokens of the Time approaching, when the Devil shall have no longer Time. I suspect, That we shall now be visited with more Usual, and yet more Fatal Earthquakes, than were our Ancestors; inasmuch as the Fires that are shortly to, Burn unto the Lowest Hell, and set on Fire the Foundations of the Mountains, will now get more Head than they use to do; and it is not impossible, that the Devil, who is e’re long to be punished in those Fires, may aforehand augment his Desert of it, by having an hand in using some of those Fires, for our Detriment. Learned Men have made no scruple to charge the Devil with it; Deo permittente, Terræ motus causar. The Devil surely, was a party in the Earthquake, whereby the Vengeance of God, in one black Night sunk Twelve considerable Cities of Asia, in the Reign of Tiberius. But there will be more such Catastrophe’s in our Dayes! Italy has lately been Shaking, till its Earthquakes have brought Ruines at once upon more than thirty Towns; but it will within a little while, shake again, and shake till the Fire of God have made an Entire Etna of it. And behold, This very Morning, when I was intending to utter among you such Things as these, we are cast into an Heartquake by Tidings of an Earthquake that has lately happened at Jamaica: an horrible Earthquake, whereby the Tyrus of the English America, was at once pull’d into the Jawes of the Gaping and Groaning Earth, and many Hundreds of the Inhabitants buried alive. The Lord sanctifie so dismal a Dispensation of his Providence, unto all the American Plantations! But be assured, my Neighbours, the Earthquakes are not over yet! We have not yet seen the Last. And then, Another Woe that may be Look’d for is, The Devils being now let Loose in preternatural Operations more than formerly; & perhaps in Possessions & Obsessions that shall be very marvellous. You are not Ignorant, That just before our Lords First Coming, there were most observable Outrages committed by the Devil upon the Children of Men: And I am suspicious, That there will again be an unusual Range of the Devil among us, a little before the Second Coming of our Lord, which will be, to give the last stroke in, Destroying the Works of the Devil. The Evening Wolves will be much abroad, when we are near the Evening of the World. The Devil is going to be Dislodged of the Air, where his present Quarters are; God will with flashes of hot Lightning upon him, cause him to fall as Lightning from his Ancient Habitations: And the Raised Saints will there have a New Heaven, which, We expect according to the Promise of God. Now, a little before this thing, you’ll be like to see the Devil, more sensibly and visibly Busy upon Earth perhaps, than ever he was before: You shall oftner hear about Apparitions of the Devil, and about poor people strangely Bewitched, Possessed and Obsessed, by Infernal Fiends. When our Lord is going to set up His Kingdom, in the most sensible and visible manner that ever was, and in a manner answering the Transfiguration in the Mount, it is a thousand to one, but the Devil will in sundry parts of the World, assay the like for Himself, with a most Apish Imitation: and Men, at least in some Corners of the World, and perhaps in such as God may have some special Designs upon, will to their Cost, be more Familiarized with the World of Spirits than they had been formerly.
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So that, in fine, if just before the End when the Times of the Jews were to be finished, a man then ran about every where, crying, Wo to the Nation! Wo to the City! Wo to the Temple! Wo! Wo! Wo! Much more may the descent of the Devil, just before his End, when also the Times of the Gentiles will be finished, cause us to cry out, Wo! Wo! Wo! because of the Black things that Threaten us!

But it is now Time to make our Improvement of what has been said. And, first, we shall entertain ourselves with a few Corollaries: deduced from what has been thus asserted.

Corollary. I.

What cause have we to bless God, for our preservation from the Devils wrath, in this which may too reasonably be call’d the Devils World! While we are in, this present evil world, We are continually surrounded with swarms of those Devils, who make this present world, become so evil. What a wonder of Mercy is it, that no Devil could ever yet make a prey of us! We can set our foot no where but we shall tread in the midst of most Hellish Rattle-Snakes; and one of those Rattle-Snakes once thro’ the mouth of a Man on whom he had Siezed, hissed out such a Truth as this, If God would let me loose upon you, I should find enough in the Best of you all, to make you all mine. What shall I say? The Wilderness thro’ which we are passing to the Promised Land, is all over fill’d with, Fiery flying serpents. But blessed be God; None of them have hitherto so fastned upon us, as to confound us utterly! All our way to Heaven, lies by the Dens of Lions, and the Mounts of Leopards; there are incredible Drovers of Devils in our way. But have we safely got on our way thus far? O let us be thankful to our Eternal preserver for it. It is said in, Psal. 76. 10. Surely the wrath of Man shall praise thee, and the Remainder of wrath shall thou restrain; But surely It becomes us to praise God, in that we have yet sustain’d no more Damage by the wrath of the Devil, and in that he has restrain’d that Overwhelming wrath. We are poor Travelers in a World, which is as well the Devils Field, as the Devils Gaol; a World, in every Nook whereof, the Devil is encamped, with Bands of Robbers, to pester all that have their Face looking Zion-ward. And are we all this while preserved from the undoing Snares of the Devil it is, Thou, O keeper of Israel, that hast hitherto been our Keeper! And therefore, Bless the Lord, O my soul, Bless his Holy Name, who has redeemed thy Life from the Destroyer!

Corollary. II.

We may see the rise of those multiply’d, magnify’d, and Singularly-stinged Afflictions, with which aged, or dying Saints frequently have their Death Prefaced, & their Age embittered. When the Saints of God are going to leave the World, it is usually a more Stormy World with them, than ever it was; and they find more Vanity, and more Vexation in the world than ever they did before. It is true, That many are the afflictions of the Righteous but a little before they bid adieu to all those many Afflictions, they often have greater, harder, Sorer, Loads thereof laid upon them, than they had yet endured. It is true, That thro’ much Tribulation we must enter in the Kingdom of God; but a little before our Entrance thereinto, our Tribulation may have some sharper accents of Sorrow, than ever were yet upon it. And what is the cause of this! It is indeed the Faithfulness of our God unto us, that we should find the Earth more full of Thorns and Briars, than ever, just before he fetches us from Earth to Heaven; that so we may go away the more willingly, the more easily, and with less Convulsion, at his calling for us. O there are ugly Ties, by which we are fastned unto this world; but God will by Thorns and Brian tear those Ties asunder. But, Is not the Hand of Joab here? Sure, There is the wrath of the Devil also in it. A little before we step into Heaven, the
Devil thinks with himself, My time to abuse that Saint is now but short; what Mischief I am to do that Saint, must be done quickly, if at all; he'll shortly be out of my Reach for ever. And for this cause he will now fly upon us with the Fiercest Efforts and Furies of his Wrath. It was allowed unto the Serpent, in Gen. 2. 15. To Bruise the Heel. Why, at the Heel, or at the Close, of our Lives, the Serpent will be nibbling, more than ever in our Lives before: and it is, Because now he has but a short time. He knows, That we shall very shortly be, Where the Wicked cease from Troubling, and where the Weary are at Rest; wherefore that Wicked one will now Trouble us, more than ever he did, and we shall have so much Distress, as will make us more weary than ever we were, of things here below.

Corollary. III.

What a Reasonable Thing then is it, that they whose Time is but short, should make as great Use of their Time, as ever they can! I pray, let us learn some good, even from the Wicked One himself. It has been advised, Be Wise as Serpents: why, there is a piece of Wisdom, whereto that old Serpent, the Divel himself may be our Monitor. When the Divel perceives his Time is but short, it puts him upon Great Wrath. But how should it be with us, when we perceive that our Time is but short? why, it should put us upon Great Work. The motive which makes the Divel to be more full of wrath, should make us more full of warmth, more full of watch, and more full of All Diligence to make our Vocation, and Election sure. Our Pace in our Journey Heaven-ward, must be Quickened, if our space for that Journey be shortened: even as Israel went further the two last years of their Journey Canaan-ward, than they did in Thirty eight years before. The Apostle brings this, as a spur to the Devotions of Christians, in 1. Cor. 7. 29. This I say, Bretheren, the time is short. Even so, I say this day; some things I lay before you, which I
do only think, or guess, but here is a thing which I venture to say with all the freedom Imaginable. You have now a Time to Get good; even a Time to make sure of Grace and Glory, and every good thing, by true Repentance; But, This I say, the time is but short. You have now Time to Do good; even to serve out your generation, as by the Will, so for the Praise of God; But, This I say the time is but short. And what I say thus to All People, I say to Old People, with a Peculiar Vehemency: Syrs, It Cannot be long, before your Time is out; there are but a few Sands Left in the glass of your Time: And it is of all things the saddest, for a man to say, My Time is done but my work undone! O then, To work as fast as you can; and of Soul-Work, and Church-Work, Dispatch as much as ever you can. Say to all Hindrances, as the Gracious Jeremiah Burrows would sometimes to Visitants; You'l excuse me if I ask you to be short with me, for my work is great, and my Time is but short. Methinks every Time, we hear a clock, or see a watch, we have an Admonition given us, That our Time is upon the wing, and it will all be gone within a little while. I Remember I have read of a famous man, who having a Clock-Watch long Lying by him, out of Kulture in his Trunk, it unaccountably Struck Eleven just before he Dy'd. Why, there are many of you, for whom I am to do that office this day: I am to tell you, You are come to your Eleventh Hour; there is no more than a Twelfth Part at most, or your life yet behind. But if we neglect our business, till our short Time shall be reduced into None, then, wo to us, for the great wrath of God will send us down from whence there is no Redemption.

Corollary. IV.

How wellcome should a Death in the Lord, be unto them, that belong not unto the Divel, but unto the Lord! While We are sojourning in this world, we are in what may upon too many accounts be called The Devils Country: we are where the
Divel may *come down* upon us in *Great Wrath* continually. The day when God shall take us out of this world, will be, *The Day when the Lord will deliver us from the Hand of all our enemies,* and *from the Hand of Satan:* In such a day, why should not our Song be that of the Psalmist, *Blessed be my Rock,* and *let the God of my Salvation be Exalted!* While we are here, we are in the *Valley of the shadow of Death,* and what is it that makes it so! *Tis because the *Wild Beasts of Hell* are lurking on every side of us, & every minute ready to *Salley forth* upon us. But our *Death* will fetch us out of that *Valley,* and carry us where we shall be, *For ever with the Lord.* We are now under the daily *Buffetings* of the Divel, and he does molest us with such *Fiery Darts,* as cause us even to cry out, *I am weary of my Life.* Yea, but are we as *Willing to Dy,* as, *Weary of Life?* Our *Dying* will be but our *Taking Wing:* When, attended with a Convoy of Winged Angels, we shall be convey’d into that Heaven, from whence the Devil having been thrown, he shall never more come thither after us. What if God should now say to us, as to *Moses, Go up and Dy!* As long as we *Go up,* when we *Dy,* Let us receive the Message with a *Joyful Soul,* we shall soon be there, where the Devil can’t *Come Down* upon us. If the, *God of our Life,* should now send that Order to us, which he gave to *Hezekiah,* *Set thy House in Order,* for thou shalt *Dy,* and not *Live,* We need not be cast into such deadly Agonies thereupon, as *Hezekiah* was: We are but going to that *House,* the Golden Doors whereof, cannot be Entred by the Devil that here did use to Persecute us. Methinks, I see the Departed *Spirit* of a Believer, *Triumphantly carried thro’* the Devils *Territories,* in such a Stately and Fiery, Chariot, as the *Spiritualizing Body of Elias* had; me-thinks, I see the Devil, with whole Flocks of *Harpies,* grinning at this Child of God, but unable to fasten any of their Gripping Talons upon him: And then, upon the utmost Edge of our *Atmosphære,* methinks I over-hear the Holy Soul, with a most Heavenly Gallantry deriding the Defeated Fiend, and saying, *Ah! Satan! Return to thy Dungeons again; I am going where thou canst not come for ever! O ‘tis a Brave Thing so to Dy! And especially so to Dy, in *Our Time.* For, tho’ when we call to mind, *That The Devils Time is now but short,* it may almost make us wish to *Live unto the End of it,* and to say with the Psalmist, *Because the Lord will shortly appear in His Glory, to Build up Zion.* O my God, *Take me not away in the midst of my Days:* Yet when we bear in mind, *That the Devils Wrath is now most Great,* it would make one willing to be, *Out of the Way.* Inasmuch as now is the Time for the doing of those things in the prospect whereof *Balaam* long ago cry’d out, *Who shall live when such Things are done!* We should not be inordinately loth to *Dy at such a Time.* In a word, *The Times are so bad,* that we may well count it, as *Good a Time* to Dy in, as ever we saw.

**Corollary. V.**

Good News for the *Israel* of God, and particularly for His *New-English Israel!* If the Devils *Time* were above a *Thousand Years* ago, pronounced, *Short,* What may we suppose it now in *Our Time?* Surely *We* are not a *Thousand Years* distant from those Happy *Thousand Years* of rest and peace, and [which is better] *Holiness,* reserved for the people of God in the latter days; and if we are not a *Thousand Years* yet short of that Golden Age, there is cause to think, that we are not an *Hun-dred.* That the blessed *Thousand Years* are not yet begun, is abundantly clear from this, *We do not see the Devil bound; No,
the Devil was never more let Loose than in our Days; and it is very much that any should imagine otherwise: But the same thing that proves the Thousand Years of Prosperity for the Church of God, UNDER THE WHOLE HEAVEN, to be not yet Begun, do's also prove, that it is not very Far Off, and that is the prodigious Wrath with which the Devil do's in our Days Prosecute, yea, Desolate the World. Let us cast our Eyes almost where we will, and we shall see the Devils Domineering at such a rate as may justly fill us with astonishment; it is Questionable whether Iniquity ever were so Rampant, or whether Calamity were ever so Pungent, as in this Lamentable Time; We may truly say, 'Tis the Hour and the Power of Darkness. But, tho' the Wrath be so Great, the Time is but Short: when we are perplexed with the Wrath of the Devil, the Word of our God at the same time unto us, is that, in Rom. 16. 20. The God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet SHORTLY: SHORTLY, didst thou say, Dearest Lord! O! Gladsome word! Amen, Even so, Come, Lord! Lord Jesus, Come Quickly! We shall never be rid of this Troublesome Devil, till, Thou do come to Chain him up! But because the people of God, would willingly be told Whereabouts we are with reference to the Wrath and the Time, of the Devil, you shall give me leave humbly to set before you a few, Conjectures.

The first Conjecture.

The Devils Eldest Son seems to be towards the End of his last Half-time; and if it be so, the Devils Whole-time, cannot but be very near it's End. It is a very scandalous thing that any Protestant, should be at a loss where to find, The Antichrist. But, we have sufficient Assurance, that the Duration of Antichrist, is to be but for a Time, and for Times, and for Half a time, that is for Twelve-hundred and Sixty Years. And indeed, those Twelve Hundred Sixty years, were the very Spott of

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Time left for the Devil, and meant when 'tis here said, He has but a short time. Now, I should have an Easy Time of it, if I were never put upon an Harder Task, than to produce what might render it extremly probable, That Antichrist entred his last Half-time, or the Last Hundred and Fourscore years of his Reign, at or soon after the Celebrated Reformation which began at the year 1517 in the former Century. Indeed, it is very agreeable to see how Antichrist then Lost Half of his Empire; and how that Half which then became Reformed, have been upon many accounts little more than Half-Reformed. But by this Computation, we must needs bee within a very few years of such a Mortification to befall the See of Rome, as that Antichrist who ha's lately been planting (what proves no more lasting than) a Tabernacle in the Glorious Holy Mountain between the Seas, must quickly, Come to his End and none shall help him. So then, within a very little while, we shall see the Devil stript of the Grand, yea, the Last, Vehicle, wherein he will be capable to abuse our World. The Fires, with which, That Beast, is to be consumed, will so singe the Wings of the Devil too, that he shall no more set the Affairs of this world on Fire. Yea, they shall both go into the same Fire, to be tormented for ever and ever.

The Second Conjecture.

That which is, perhaps, the greatest Effect of the Devils Wrath, seems to be in a manner at an end: and this would make one hope that the Devils Time cannot be far from its end. It is in PERSECUTION, that the wrath of the Devil uses to break forth, with its greatest Fury. Now there want not Probabilities, that the Last Persecution intended for the Church of God, before the Advent of Our Lord, has been upon it. When we see the, Second Woes Passing away, we have a fair signal given unto us, That the Last Slaughter of our Lords Witnesses is ever: and then what QUICKLY followes? The
Next thing is, *The Kingdomes of this World, are become the Kingdomes of Our Lord, and of His Christ*; and then *Down goes the Kingdom of the Devil*, so that he cannot any more *come down upon us*. Now, the Irrecoverable & Irretrievable Humiliations that have Lately befallen the *Turkish Power*, are but so many Declarations of the, *Second Woe Passing away*. And the dealings of God with the *European* parts of the world, at this day, do further strengthen this our Expectation. We *do see, at this Hour a great Earth-Quake all Europe over*, and we *shall see*, that this *Great Earth-quake*, and these great Commotions, will but Contribute unto the Advancement of Our Lords Hitherto-Depressed Interests. Tis also to be Remark’d that, A Dis-position to Recognize the *Empire of God over the Conscience* of man; does now prevail more in the world than formerly; & God from on High more touches the Hearts of Princes & Rulers with an Averseness to Persecution. Tis Particularly the unspeakable Happiness of the English Nation, to be under the Influences of that Excellent Queen, who could say, *Inasmuch as a man cannot make himself Believe what he will, why should we Persecute men for not Believing as we do? I wish I could see all good men of one mind; but in the mean time I pray, let them however love one another.* Words Worthy to be written in Letters of Gold! And by us the more to be considered, because to one of *Ours* did that Royal Person express Her Self so Excellently, so Obligingly. When the late King *James* published his Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, a Worthy Divine in the Church of *England*, then studying the *Revelation*, saw cause upon *Revelational Grounds*, to Declare Himself in such words as these, *Whosoever others may intend or design by this Liberty of Conscience, I cannot believe, that it will ever be recalled in England, as long as the World stands*. And you know how Miraculously the *Earth-quake* which then immediately came upon the Kingdom, has established that *Liberty*! But that which exceeds all the tendencies this way, is, *The Dispensation of God at this Day*; towards the Blessed *Vaugeois*. Those Renowned *Waldenses*, which were a sort of *Root* unto all the Protestant Churches, were never dissipated, by all the Persecutions of many Ages, till within these few years, the *French King* and the Duke of *Savoy Leagued* for their Dissipation. But just *Three years and half after the scattering of that Holy people, to the Surprise of all the world, a Spirit of life from God is come into them*; and having with a Thousand Miracles Repossessed themselves of their antient Seats, their Hot *Persecutor* is become their great *Protector*. Whereupon the Reflection of the Worthy person, that writes the story is, *The Churches of Piemont, being the Root of the Protestant Churches, They have been the first Established*; *the Churches of other places, being but the Branches, shall be Established in due time, God will deliver them speedily, He has already delivered the Mother, and He will not long leave the Daughter behind. He will Finish what he has Gloriously begun!*

The Third Conjecture.

There is a *Little Room* for Hope, that the *Great Wrath* of the Devil, will not prove the Present Ruin of our poor *New-England* in particular. I believe, there never was a poor Plantation, more Pursued by the *Wrath* of the *Devil*, than our poor *New-England*; and that which makes our Condition very much the more deplorable is, That the *Wrath of the Great God Himself*, at the same Time also presses hard upon us. It was a Rowsing *Alarm* to the Devil, when a great Company of English *Protestants* and *Puritans*, came to Erect Evangelical Churches, in a corner of the World, where he had Reign’d without any Controll for many Ages; and it is a vexing *Eye-sore*, to the Devil, that our Lord Christ should be known, and own’d, and preached in this *Howling Wilderness*. Wherefore he has left no *Stone Unturned*, that so he might undermine his Plantation, and force us out of our Country.
First, The Indian Powawes, used all their Sorceries to molest the First Planters here; but God said unto them, Touch them not. Then, Seducing Spirits, came to Root in this Vineyard, but God so Rated them off, that they have not prevail'd much further than the Edges of our Land. After this, we have had a continual Blast upon some of our principal Grain, Annually diminishing a vast part of our Ordinary Food. Hereewithal, Wasting Sicknesses, especially Burning, and Mortal Agues, have Shot the Arrows of Death in at our Windows. Next, We have had many Adversaries of our own Language, who have been perpetually assaying to deprive us of those English Liberties, in the Encouragement whereof these Territories have been Settled. As if this had not been enough; The Tawnies among whom we came, have Watered our Soyl, with the Blood, of many Hundreds of our Inhabitants. Desolating Fires also have many times laid the chief Treasure of the whole Province in Ashes. As for Losses by Sea, they have been multiply'd upon us: and particularly in the present French War, the whole English Nation have observed, That no part of the Nation has proportionally had so many Vessels taken, as our poor New-England. Besides all which, now at last the Devils are (if I may so speak) in Persons come down upon us, with such a Wrath, as is justly much, and will quickly be more, the Astonishment of the World. Alas, I may Sigh over this Wilderness, as Moses did over his, in Psalm. 90. 7, 9. We are consumed by thine Anger, and by thy Wrath we are Troubled: All our Days are passed away in thy Wrath. And I may add this unto it, The Wrath of the Devil too has been Troubling and Spending of us, all our Days.

But what will become of this poor New-England after all? Shall we Sink, Expire, Perish, before the Short Time of the Devil shall be finished? I must confess, That when I consider the lamentable Unfruitfulness of men, among us, under as powerful and perspicuous Dispensations of the Gospel, as are in the World; and when I consider the Declining State of the Power of Godliness in our Churches, with the most horrible Indisposition that perhaps ever was, to Recover out of this Declension; I cannot but Fear lest it comes to this, and lest an Asiatic Removal of Candlesticks come upon us. But upon some other Accounts, I would fain Hope otherwise; and I will give you therefore the opportunity to Try what Inferences may be drawn from these probable Prognostications.

I say, First, That surely, America's Fate, must at the long run, include New-Englands in it. What was the Design of our God, in bringing over so many Europæans hither of later years? Of what Use or State will America be, when the Kingdom of God shall come? If it must all be the Devils propriety, while the Saved Nations of the other Hæmisphere, shall be, Walking in the Light of the New Jerusalem, Our New-England has then, 'tis likely, done all that it was Erected for. But if God have a Purpose to make here a Seat for any of, Those Glorious Things, which are spoken of Thee, O thou City of God; then even Thou, O New-England, art within a very little while of Better Days than ever yet have Dawn'd upon thee.

I say, Secondly, That tho' there be very Threatning Symptoms on America, yet there are some Hopeful ones. I confess, when one thinks upon the crying Barbarities with which the most of those Europæans that have Peopled this New world, became the Masters of it; it looks but Ominously. When one also thinks, How much the way of Living in many parts of America, is utterly Inconsistent with the very Essentials of Christianity, yea, how much Injury and Violence is therein done to Humanity it self; it is enough to Damp the Hopes of the most Sanguine Complexion. And the Frown of Heaven which has hitherto been upon Attempts of better Gospellizing the Plantations, considered, will but increase the Damp. Nevertheless, on the other side, what shall be said of all the Promises, That our Lord Jesus Christ shall have the uttermost parts of the Earth for his Possession? and of all the Prophecies, That All the ends of the Earth shall Remember and Turn unto the Lord? Or does it look Agreeably, That such a Rich Quarter of the The Wonders of the Invisible World
The Wonders of the Invisible World

World, equal in some Regards to all the Rest, should never be out of the Devil’s Hands, from the first Inhabitation unto the Last Dissolution of it? No sure; why may not the last be the first? and the Sun of Righteousness come to shine Brightest, in Climates which it Rose Latest upon!

I say, Thirdly, That as it fares with Old England, so it will be most like us to fare with New-England. For which cause, by the way, there may be more of the Divine Favour in the present Circumstances of our Dependence on England, than we are well aware of: This is very sure, if matters Go Ill with our Mother, her poor American Daughter here, must feel it; nor could our former Happy Settlement have hindred our Sympathy in that Unhappiness. But if matters Go Well in the Three Kingdoms; as along as God shall Bless the English Nation, with Rulers that shall Encourage Piety, Honesty, Industry, in their Subjects, and that shall cast a Benign Aspect upon the Interests of our Glorious Gospel, Abroad as well as at Home, so long, New-England will at least keep its Head above Water: and so much the more, for our Comfortable Settlement in such a Form as we are now cast into. Unless, there should be any Singular, Destroying, Topical Plagues, whereby an offended God should at last make us Rise. But, Alas, O Lord, what other Hive hast Thou Provided for us!

I say, Fourthly, that the Elder England will certainly & speedily be Visited with the Ancient Loving kindness of God. When one sees, how strangely the Curse of our Joshua, has fallen upon the Persons & Houses of them, that have attempted the Rebuilding of the Old Romish Jericho, which has there been so far demolished, they cannot but say, That the Reformation there, shall not only be maintained, but also pursued, proceeded, perfected; and that God will shortly there have a New Jerusalem. Or, Let a Man in his Thoughts run over; but the Series of amazing Providences towards the English Nation for the last Thirty Years, Let him Reflect, How many Plots for the Ruine of the Nation, have been strangely discovered? yea, How very unaccountably, those very Persons, yea, I may also say, and those very Methods which were intended for the tools of that Ruine, have become the Instruments, or Occasions of Deliverances? A man cannot but say upon these Reflections, as the Wife of Manoah once prudently expressed her self, If the Lord were pleased to have Destroyed us, He would not have show’d us, all these things. Indeed, It is not unlikely, that the Enemies of the English Nation, may yet provoke such a Shake unto it, as may perhaps exceed any that has hitherto been undergone: the Lord prevent the Machinations of his Adversaries! But, that Shake will usher in the most Glorious Times, that ever arose upon the English Horizon. As for the French Cloud which hangs over England, tho’ it be like to Rain Showers of Blood upon a Nation, where the Blood of the Blessed Jesus, has been too much treated, as an Unholy Thing; yet I believe, God will shortly scatter it: and my Belief is grounded upon a Bottom, that will bear it. If that overgrown French Leviathan, should accomplish any thing like a Conquest of England, what could there be to hinder him from the Universal Empire of the West? But the Visions of the Western World, in the Views both of Daniel and of John, do assure us, that whatever Monarch, shall while the Papacy continues, go to swallow up the Ten Kings which received Their Power upon the Fall of the Western Empire, he must miscarry in the Attempt. The French Phaetons Epitaph seems written in that, Sure Word of Prophecy!

[Since the making of this Conjecture, there are Arriv’d unto us, the News of a Victory obtained by the English over the French, which further confirms our Conjecture; and causes us to sing, Pharaohs Chariots, and his Host, has the Lord cast down into the Sea, Thy Right-hand has dashed in pieces the Enemy!] Now, In the Salvation of England, the Plantations cannot but Rejoice, and New-England also will be Glad.

But so much for our Corollaries, I hasten to the main Thing designed for your Entertainment. And that is,
An Hortatory and Necessary
ADDRESS.
To a Country now Extraordinarily Alarum’d
by the Wrath of the Devil. Tis this,

Let us now make a Good and a Right use, of the Prodigious Descent, which the Devil, in Great Wrath, is at this day making upon our Land. Upon the Death of a Great Man once, an Orator call’d the Town together, crying out, Concurrite Cives, Dilapsa sunt vestra Moenia! that is, Come together, Neighbours, your Town-Walls, are fallen down! But such is the Descent of the Devil at this day upon ourselves, that I may truly tell you, The Walls of the whole World are broken down! The usual Walls of Defence about mankind have such a Gap made in them, that the very Devils are broke in upon us, to Seduce the Souls, Torment the Bodies, Sully the Credits, and consume the Estates of our Neighbours, with Impressions both as Real and as Furious, as if the Invisible World were becoming Incarnate, on purpose for the vexing of us. And what use ought now to be made of so Tremendous a dispensation? We are engaged in a Fast this day; but shall we try to fetch, Meat out of the Eater, and make the Lion to afford some Honey for our Souls.

That the Devil, is Come down unto us with great Wrath, we find, we feel, we now deplore. In many ways, for many years, hath the Devil been assaying to Extirpate the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus here. New-England may complain of the Devil, as in Psal. 129. 1, 2. Many a time have they Afflicted me, from my Youth, may, New-England now say, many a time have they Afflicted me from my Youth, yet they have not prevailed against me. But now there is a more than Ordinary Affliction, with which the Devil is Gallung of us: and such an one as is indeed Unparallelable. The Things Confessed by Witches and the Things Endured by Others, laid together, amount unto this account of our Affliction. The Devil, Exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small Black man, has decoy’d a fearful Knot of Proud, Froward, Ignorant, Envious, and Malicious Creatures, to List themselves in his Horrid Service, by Entring their Names in a Book by him Tendred unto them. These Witches, whereof above a Score have now Confessed, and shown their Deeds, and some are now Tormented by the Devils, for Confessing, have met in Hellish Rendezvouses, wherein the Confessors do say, they have had their Diabolical Sacraments, imitating the Baptism and the Supper of our Lord. In these Hellish Meetings, these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a Thing than, To Destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in these parts of the World; and in order hereunto, First, they each of them have their Spectres, or Devils, Commission’d by them, and Representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked Spectres, they Siege poor people about the Country, with Various and bloody Torments, and of those Evidently Preternatural Torments there are some have Dy’d. They have bewitched some, even so far as to make them Self-Destroyers: and others are in many Towns here and there Langushing under their Evil Hands. The People thus Afflicted, are miserably Scratched and Bitten, so that the Marks are most Visible to all the World, but the causes utterly Invisible, and the same Invisible Furies do most Visibly stick Pins into the Bodies of the Afflicted, and Scald them, & hideously Distort, and Disjoint all their members, besides a thousand other sorts of Plagues beyond these of any Natural Diseases which they give unto them. Yea, they sometimes drag the poor People out of their Chambers, and Carry them over Trees and Hills, so divers Miles together. A large part of the Persons tortured by these Diabolical Spectres, are horribly Tempted by them, sometimes with fair Promises, and sometimes with hard Threatenings, but alwayes with felt Miseries, to sign the Devils Laws, in a Spectral Book laid before them; which
two or three of these poor Sufferers, being by their Tiresome Sufferings overcome to do, they have immediately been released from all their Miseries, & they appear'd in Spectre then to Torture those that were before their Fellow Sufferers. The Witches which by their Covenant with the Devil, are become Owners of Spectres, are oftentimes by their own Spectres Required and Compelled to give their Consent, for the Molestation of some, which they had no mind otherwise to fall upon; and Cruel Depredations are then made upon the Vicinage. In the Prosecution of these Witchcrafts, among a thousand other unaccountable Things, the Spectres have an odd Faculty of Cloathing the most Substantial and Corporeal Instruments of Torture, with Invisibility, while the Wounds thereby given have been the most palpable Things in the World; so that the Sufferers assaulted with Instruments of Iron wholly unseen to the Standersby, tho' to their cost seen by themselves, have upon snatching, wrested the Instruments out of the Spectres Hands, and every one has then immediately not only beheld, but handled, an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbour. These wicked Spectres have proceeded so far, as to Steal several Quantities of Mony from divers people, part of which Money has before sufficient Spectators been dropt out of the Air into the Hands of the Sufferers, while the Spectres have been urging them to Subscribe their Covenant with Death. In such extravagant ways, have these Wretches pronounced, the Dragooning of as many as they can, into their own Combination, and the Destroying of others, with Lingering, Spreading, Deadly Diseases; till our Country should at last become too hot for us. Among the Ghastly Instances of the Success which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own Children, so Dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy, it is found, the Imps have Sucked them, and Render'd them Venemous to a Prodigy. We have also seen the Devils First Batteries, upon the Town, where the First Church of our Lord in this Colony was Gathered, producing those Distractions, which have almost Ruined the Town. We have seen likewise the Plague reaching afterwards into other Towns far and near, where the Houses of Good Men have the Devils filling of them with terrible Vexations!

This is the Descent which, it seems, the Devil has now made upon us. But that which makes this Descent the more formidable is; The Multitude and Quality of Persons Accused of an Interest in this Witchcrafts, by the Efficacy of the Spectres which take their Name and Shape upon them; causing very many Good and Wise, men to fear, That many Innocent, yea, and some Vertuous Persons, are by the Devils in this matter Imposed upon; That the Devils have obtain'd the power, to take on them the Likeness of Harmless People, and in that Likeness to Afflict other People, and be so abused by Præstigious Dæmons, that upon their Look or Touch, the Afflicted shall be oddly Affected. Arguments from the Providence of God, on the one side, and from our Charity towards Man, on the other side, have made This now to become a most Agitated Controversy among us. There is an Agony produced in the minds of men, Lest the Devil should sham us with Devices, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practised upon the World. The whole Business is become hereupon so Snarled, and the Determination of the Question one way or another, so Dismal, that our Honourable Judges, have a Room for Jehoshaphats Exclamation, We know not what to do! They have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the Spectral Evidences, to introduce their further Enquiries into the Lives of the Persons Accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with Other Evidences, that some of the Witch Gang have been fairly Executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the Evidence is chiefly founded in the Dark World? Here they do solemnly demand our Addresses to the, Father of Lights, on
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Chambers, to be spoiled at those meetings; This, were not altogether a matter of so much wonder! But that New-England should this way be harassed! They are not Chaldeans, that Bitter, and Hasty Nation, but they are, Bitter and Burning Devils; They are not Swarthy Indians, but they are Sooty Devils; that are let loose upon us. Ah, Poor New-England! Must the plague of Old Egypt come upon thee? Whereof we read in Psal. 78. 49. He cast upon them, the fierceness of his Anger, Wrath, and Indignation, and Trouble, by sending Evil Angels among them. What? O what must next be looked for. Must that which is there next mentioned, be next encountered? He spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the Pestilence. For my part, when I consider what Melancthon saies, in one of his Epistles, That these Diabolical Spectacles are often Prodigies; and when I consider; how often people have been by Spectres called upon, just before their Deaths; I am verily afraid, Lest some wasting Mortality, be among the things, which this plague is the Forerunner of. I pray God, prevent it!

But now, What shall we do?

I. Let the Devils coming down in great wrath upon us, cause us to come down in great grief before the Lord. We may truly and sadly say, We are brought very low! Low, indeed when the Serpents of the dust, are crawling and coyling about us, and Insulting over us. May we not say, We are in the very belly of Hell, when Hell itself is feeding upon us? But how Low is that! O let us then most Penitently lay ourselves very Low, before the God of Heaven, who has thus Abased us. When a Truculent Nero, a Devil of a man, was turned in upon the World, it was said in, 1. Pet. 5. 6, Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God. How much more now ought we to Humble ourselves, under that Mighty Hand of that God who indeed has the Devil in a Chain, but has horribly lengthened out the Chain! When the Old People of God, heard any Blasphemies, tearing of his Ever-Blessed Name to pieces, they were to Rend out their Behalf: But in the mean time, the Devil improves the Darkness of this Affair, to push us into a Blind Mans Buffet, and we are even ready to be Sinfully, yea, Hotly, and Madly, Mauling one another, in the Dark.

The Consequence of these things, every Considerate man trembles at; and the more because the frequent Cheats of Passion, and Rumour, do precipitate so many, that I wish I could say, The most were Considerate.

But that which carries on the Formidableness of our Tri-alls, unto that which may be called, A wrath unto the uttermost, is this: It is not without the wrath of the Almighty God Himself, that the Devil is permitted thus to come down upon us in wrath. It was said, in Isa. 9. 19. Thro the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, the Land is Darkned. Our Land is Darkned indeed; since the Powers of Darkness are turned in upon us: tis a Dark Time, yea, a Black Night indeed, now the Ty-Dogs of the Pitt, are abroad among us: but, It is thro the wrath of the Lord of Hosts! Inasmuch as the Fire-brands of Hell it self are used for the Scorching of us, with cause Enough may we cry out, What means the Heat of this Anger? Blessed Lord! Are all the other Instruments of thy Vengeance, too Good for the chastisement of such transgressors as we are? Must the very Devils be sent out of Their own place, to be our Troublers? Must we be lash’d with Scorpions, fetch’d from the Place of Torment? Must this Wilderness be made a Receptacle for the Dragons of the Wilderness? If a Lapland should nourish in it vast numbers, the Successors of the old Biarmi, who can with looks or words bewitch other people, or Sell Winds to Marriners, and have their Familiar Spirits which they bequeath to their Children when they dy, and by their Enchanted Kettle-Drums can learn things done a Thousand Leagues off; If a Swedeland should afford a Village, where some scores of Haggs, may not only have their Meetings with Familiar Spirits, but also by their Enchantments drag many scores of poor Children out of their Bed-
their Cloaths at what they heard. I am sure, that we have cause to Rend our Hearts this Day, when we see what an High Treason has been committed against the most High God, by the Witchcrafts in our Neighbourhood. We may say; and shall we not be Humbled when we say it? We have seen an horrible thing done in our Land! O 'tis a most humbling thing, to think, that ever there should be such an abomination among us, as for a Crue of Humane Race, to renounce their Maker, and to unite with the Devil, for the Troubling of Mankind, and for people to be, (as is by some confess'd) Baptized by a Fiend using this form upon them, Thou art mine, and I have a full power over thee! afterwards communicating in a Hellish Bread and Wine, by that Fiend Administred unto them. It was said in Deut. 18. 10, 11, 12. There shall not be found among you an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer; For all that do these things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of the Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee. That New-England now should have these Abominations in it, yea, that some of no mean Profession, should be found guilty of them: Alas, what Humiliations are we all thereby oblig'd unto? O 'tis a Defiled Land, wherein we Live; Let us be Humbled for these Defiling Abominations, Lest we be driven out of our Land. It's a very Humbling Thing to think, what Reproaches will be cast upon us, for this Matter, among, The Daughters of the Philistines. Indeed, enough might easily be said for the Vindication of this Country from the Singularity of this Matter, by Ripping up, what has been discovered in others. Great Britain alone, and this also in our Dayes of Greatest Light, has had that in it, which may divert the Calumnies of an Ill-natured World, from Centring here. They are the words of the Devout Bishop Hall, Satans Prevalency in this Age, is most clear in the marvellous Number of Witches abounding in all places. Now Hundreds are discovered in one Shire; and, if Fame Deceive us not, in a Village of Fourteen Houses in

II. Since the Divil is come down in great wrath upon us, let not us in our great wrath against one another provide a Lodging for him. It was a most wholesome caution, in Eph. 4. 26. 27. Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath: Neither give place to the Devil. The Divil is come down to see what Quarter he shall find among us: and, if his coming down, do now fill us with wrath against one another; and if between the cause of the Suffers on one hand, and the cause of the Suspected on the other, we
carry things to such extremes of Passion as are now gaining upon us, the Devil will Bless himself to find such a convenient Lodging as we shall therein afford unto him. And it may be that the Wrath which we have had against one another has had more then a little Influence upon the coming down of the Devil in that Wrath which now amazes us. Have not many of us been Devils one unto another for Slanderings, for Backbitings, for Animosities? For this, among other causes, perhaps, God has permitted the Devils to be Worrying, as they now are, among us. But it is high time to leave off all Devilism, when the Devil himself is falling upon us: and it is no time for us to be Censuring and Reviling one another, with a Devilish Wrath, when the Wrath of the Devil is annoying of us. The way for us to out-wit the Devil, in the Wiles with which he now Vexes us, would be for us, to join as one man in our cries to God, for the Directing, and Issuing of this Thorny Business; but if we do not Lift up our Hands to Heaven, Without Wrath, we cannot then do it without Doubt, of speeding in it. I am ashamed when I read French Authors giving this Character of Englishmen [Ils se haissent Les uns les autres, et sont en Division Continuelle.] They hate one another, and are always Quarrelling one with another. And I shall be much more ashamed, if it become the Character of New-Englanders; which is indeed, what the Devil would have. Satan would make us Bruise one another, by breaking of the Peace among us; but O let us disappoint him. We read of a thing that sometimes happens to the Devil, when he is foaming with his Wrath, in Mat. 12. 43. The unclean Spirit seeks rest, and finds none. But we give Rest unto the Devil, by Wrath one against another. If we would lay aside all fierceness, and keeness, in the disputes which the Devil has raised among us; and if we would use to one another but the, Soft Answers, which Turn away Wrath: I should hope that we might light upon such Counsels, as would quickly Extricate us out of our Labyrinths. But the Old Incendiary of the world, is come from Hell, with Sparks of Hell-Fire flashing on every side of him; and we make ourselves Tynerd to the Sparks. When the Emperor Henry III. kept the Feast of Pentecost, at the City Mentz, there arose a Dissension among some of the People there, which came from words to Blows, and at last it passed on to the Shedding of Blood. After the Tumult was over, when they came to that clause in their Devotions, Thou hast made this day Glorious; the Devil to the unexpressible Terrouer of that vast Assembly, made the Temple Ring with that Outcry But I have made this Day Quarrelsome! We are truly come into a day, which by being well managed might be very Glorious, for the exterminating of those, Accursed Things, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Prosperity; but if we make this day Quarrelsome, thro' any Raging Confidences, Alas, O Lord, my Flesh Trembles for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments. Erasmus, among other Historians, tells us, that at a Town in Germany, a Witch or Devil, appear'd on the Top of a Chimney, Threatning to set the Town on Fire: and at length, Scattering a Pot of Ashes abroad, the Town was presently and Horribly Burn't unto the Ground. Methinks, I see the Spectres, from the Tops of the Chimneys to the Northward, threatening to Scatter Fire, about the Countrey; but let us Quench that Fire by the most amicable Correspondencies: Lest, as the Spectres, have, they say, already most Literally Burn't some of our Dwellings, there do come forth a further Fire from the Brambles of Hell, which may more terribly Devour us. Let us not be like a Troubled House, altho we are so much haunted by the Devils. Let our Long Suffering be a Well-placed piece of Armour, about us, against the Fiery Darts of the wicked ones. History informs us, That so long ago, as the year, 858. a certain Pestilent and Malignant sort of a Daemon, molested Caumont in Germany with all sorts of methods to stir up Strife among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detected Villanies, he branded people with all kind of In-
families. He incensed the Neighbourhood against one Man particularly, as the cause of all the mischiefs: who yet proved himself innocent. He threw stones at the Inhabitants, and at length burn't their Habitations, till the Commission of the Daemon could go no further. I say, Let us be well aware lest such Demons do, Come hither also!

III. Inasmuch as the Devil is come down in Great Wrath, we had need Labour, with all the Care and Speed we can to Divert the Great Wrath of Heaven from coming at the same Time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions, been calling us to, A Reformation of our Provoking Evils, as the only way to avoid that Wrath of His, which does not only Threaten, but Consume us. 'Tis because we have been Deaf to those Calls, that we are now by a provoked God, laid open to the Wrath of the Devil himself. It is said in Prov. 16. 7. When a mans ways please the Lord, He maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him. The Devil is our Grand Enemy: and tho' we would not be at peace with him, yet we would be at peace from him; that is, we would have him unable to Disquiet our Peace. But inasmuch as the Wrath which we Endure from this Enemy, will allow us no Peace, we may be sure, Our Ways have not pleased the Lord. It is because we have Broken the Hedge of Gods Precepts, that the Hedge of Gods Providence is not so Entire as it uses to be about us; but Serpents are Biting of us. O let us then set our selves to make our Peace with our God, whom we have Displeased by our Iniquities: and Let us not imagine that we can Encounter the Wrath of the Devil, while there is the Wrath of God Almighty to set that Mastrostiff upon us. REFORMATION! REFORMATION! Has been the Repeated Cry of all the Judgments, that have hitherto been upon us: because we have been as Deaf Adders thereunto, the Adders of the Infernal Pit are now hissing about us. At length, as it was of old said in Luc. 16. 30. If one went unto them, from the Dead, they will Repent; Even so, There are some come unto us from the Damned. The Great God has Loosed the Bars of the Pit, so that many Damned Spirits are come in among us, to make us Repent of our Misdemeanours. The means which the Lord had formerly Employ'd for our Awakening, were such, that he might well have said, What could I have done more? And yet after all, He has done more, in some regards, than was ever done for the Awakening of any People in the World. The Things now done to Awake our Enquiries after our Provoking Evils, and our Endeavours to Reform those Evils; are most EXTRAORDINARY Things; For which cause I would freely speak it, If we now do not some EXTRAORDINARY Things in Returning to God, we are the most Incurable, and I wish it be not quickly said, the most Miserable, People under the Sun. Believe me, 'tis a Time for all people to do something EXTRAORDINARY. In Searching and in Trying of their Ways, and in Turning to the Lord. It is at an EXTRAORDINARY Rate of Circumspection and Spiritual Mindedness, that we should all now maintain a Walk with God. At such a Time as This, ought Magistrates to Do something EXTRAORDINARY in promoting of what is Laudable, and in Restraining and Chastising of Evil Doers. At such a Time as This, ought Ministers to Do something EXTRAORDINARY in pulling the Souls of men out of the Snares of the Devil, not only by publick Preaching, but by personal Visits and Counsels, from House to House. At such a Time as this, ought Churches to Do something EXTRAORDINARY, in Renewing of their Covenants, and in Remembering, and Reviving the Obligations of what they have Renewed. Some Admirable Designs about the Reformation of Manners, have lately been on foot in the English Nation, in pursuance of the most Excellent Admonitions, which have been given for it, by the Letters of Their Majesties. Besides the vigorous Agreements of the Justices here and there in the
Kingdom; assisted by Godly Gentlemen and Informers, to Execute the Law upon Profane Offenders: there has been started, A PROPOSAL, for the well-affected people in every Parish, to enter into orderly Societies, whereof every Member shall Bind himself, not only to Avoid Profaneness in himself, but also according unto their Place, to do their utmost in first Reproving, and, if it must be so, then Exposing, and so Punishing as the Law directs, for, others that shall be guilty. It has been observed, That the English Nation has had some of its greatest Successes, upon some special, and signal Actions this way; and a Discouragement given unto Legal Proceedings of this Kind, must needs be very exercising to the Wise that observe these Things. But, O why should not New-England be the most forward part of the English Nation in such Reformations? Methinks, I hear the Lord from Heaven saying over us, O that my People had hearkened unto me; Then I should soon have subdued the Devils, as well as their other Enemies! There have been some feeble Essays towards Reformation, of late in our Churches; but, I pray, what comes of them? Do we stay till the Storm of his Wrath be over? Nay, let us be Doing what we can as fast as we can, to divert the Storm. The Devil, having broke in upon our World, there is great Asking, Who is it that have brought them in? and many do by Spectral Exhibitions come to be cry'd out upon. I hope in Gods Time, it will be found, that among those that are thus Cry'd out upon, there are persons yet Clear from the Great Transgression; but indeed, all the Unreformed among us, may justly be Cry'd out upon, as having too much of an Hand in letting of the Devils in to our Borders; 'tis our Worldliness, our Formality, our Sensuality, and our Iniquity, that has help'd this Letting of the Devils in. O Let us then at last, Consider our Ways. 'Tis a strange passage recorded by Mr. Clark, in the Life of his Father, That the People of his Parish refusing to be Reclaimed from their Sabbath Breaking, by all the zealous Testimonies which that Good man bore against it: at last, on a Night after the people had Retired Home from a Revelling Profanation of the Lords Day, there was heard a Great Noise, with Rattling of Chains, up and down the Town, and an horrid Scent of Brimstone fill'd the Neighbourhood. Upon which the Guilty Consciences of the Wretches, told them, the Devil was come to fetch them away: and it so terrify'd them, that an Eminent Reformation follow'd the Sermons which that man of God Preached thereupon. Behold, Sinners, Behold, and Wonder; the very Devils are Walking about our Streets, with Lengthened Chains, making a dreadful Noise in our Ears, and Brimstone, even without a Metaphor, is making an Hellish and Horrid Stench in our Nostrils. I Pray, leave off all those things, whereof your Guilty Consciences may now accuse you, lest these Devils do yet more direfully fall upon you. Reformation is at this Time, our only Preservation.

IV. When the Devil is come down in Great Wrath, Let every Great Vice which may have a more Particular Tendency to make us a Prey unto that Wrath, come into a due Discredit with us. It is the General Concession of all men, who are not become too Unreasonable for Common Conversation, That the Invitation of Witchcrafts is the Thing that has now Introduced the Devil into the midst of us. I say then, Let not only all Witchcrafts be duely abominated with us, but also Let us be duely Watchful against all the Steps Leading thereunto. There are Lesser Sorceries which, they say, are too frequent in our Land. As it was said in 2 King. 17. 9. The Children of Israel did secretly those things that were not Right against the Lord their God. So tis to be feared, The Children of New-England have Secretly done many things that have been pleasing to the Devil. They say, That in some Towns, it ha's been an usual Thing for People to Cure Hurts with Spells, or to use Detestable Conjurations, with Sieves, & Keyes, and Pease, and Nails, and Horse-Shooes, and I know not what other Implements, to
Learn the Things, for which they have a Forbidden, and an Impious Curiosity. 'Tis in the Devil's Name, that such Things are done; and in God's Name I do this Day Charge them, as vile Impieties. By these Courses 'tis, that people play upon The Hole of the Asp; till that cruelly venemous Asp has pull'd many of them, into the Deep Hole, of Witchcraft it self. It has been acknowledged by some who have sunk the deepest into this Horrible Pit, that they began, at these Little Witchcrafts; on which 'tis pitty but the Laws of the English Nation, whereby the Incorrigible Repetition of those Tricks, is made Felony, were severally Executed. From the like Sinful Curiosity it is, that the Prognostications of Judicial Astrology, are so Injudiciously Regarded by multitudes among us; and although the Jugling Astrologers do scarce ever hit Right, except it be in such Weighty Judgments, forsooth, as that many Old Men will Dy such a year, and that there will be many Loses felt by some that Venture to Sea, and that there will be much Lying and Cheating in the World; yet their Foolish Admirers, will not be perswaded, but that the Innocent Stars have been concern'd in these Events. It is a Disgrace to the English Nation that the Pamphlets of such Idle, Futil, Trifling Star-gazers are so much Considered; and the Countenance hereby given to a Study, wherein at Last, all is done by Impulse, if any thing be done to any purpose at all, is not a little perilous to the Souls of men. It is, (a Science I dare not call it, but) a Juggle, whereof the Learned Hall, well says, It is presumptuous and unwarrantable, & cry'd ever down by Councils and Fathers, as unlawful, as that which Lies in the mid-way between Magick, and Imposture, and partakes not a little of both. Men Consult the Aspects of Planets, whose Northern or Southern Motions receive Denominations from a Celestial Dragon, till the Infernal Dragon at length insinuate into them, with a Poyson of Witchcraft that can't be cured. Has there not also been a world of Discontent in our Borders? 'Tis no wonder, that the Fiery Ser-
V. With Great Regard, with Great Pitty, should we Lay to Heart the Condition of those, who are cast into Affliction, by the Great Wrath of the Devil. There is a Number of our Good Neighbours, and some of them very particularly noted for Goodness and Vertue, of whom we may say, Lord, They are vexed with Devils. Their Tortures being primarily Inflicted on their Spirits, may indeed cause the Impressions thereof upon their Bodies to be the less Durable, tho' rather the more Sensible: but they Endure Horrible Things, and many have been actually Murdered. Hard Censures now bestow'd upon these poor Sufferers, cannot but be very Displeasing unto our Lord, who, as He said, about some that had been Butchered by a Pilate, in Luc. 13. 2, 3. Think ye that these were Sinners above others, because they suffered such Things? I tell you No, But except ye Repent, ye shall all likewise Perish: Even so, he now says, Think ye that they who now suffer by the Devil, have been greater Sinners than their Neighbours. No, Do you Repent of your own Sins, Lest the Devil come to fall foul of you, as he has done to them. And if this be so, How Rash a thing would it be, if such of the poor Sufferers, as carry it with a Becoming Piety, Seriousness, and Humiliation under their present Suffering, should be unjustly Censured; or have their very Calamity imputed unto them as a Crime? It is an easy thing, for us to fall into, the Fault of, Adding Affliction to the Afflicted, and of, Talking to the Grief of those that are already Wounded: Nor can it be Wisdom to slight the Dangers of such a Fault. In the mean time, We have no Bowels in us, if we do not Compassionate the Distressed County of Essex, now crying to all these Colonies, Have pitty on me, O ye my Friends, Have pitty on me, for the Hand of the Lord has Touched me, and the Wrath of the Devil has been therewithal turned upon me. But indeed, if an hearty pitty be due to any, I am sure, the Difficulties which attend our Honourable Judges, doe demand no Inconsiderable share in that Pitty. What a Difficult, what an Arduous Task, have those Worthy Personages now upon their Hands? To carry the Knife so ex-
VI. With a Great Zeal, we should lay hold on the Covenant of God, that we may Secure Us and Ours, from the Great Wrath, with which the Devil Rages. Let us come into the Covenant of Grace, and then we shall not be hook’d into a Covenant with the Devil, nor be altogether unfurnished with armour, against the Wretches that are in that Covenant. The way to come under the Saving Influences of the New Covenant, is, to close with the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Allsufficient Mediator of it: Let us therefore do that, by Resigning up ourselves unto the Saving, Teaching, and Ruling, Hands of this Blessed Mediator. Then we shall be, what we read in Jude, i. Preserved in Christ Jesus: That is, as the Destroying Angel, could not meddle with such as had been distinguished, by the Blood of the Passeover on their Houses, Thus the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, Sprinkled on our Souls, will Preserve us from the Devil. The Birds of prey (and indeed the Devils most literally in the shape of great Birds!) are flying about: Would we find a Covert from these Vultures: Let us then Hear Our Lord Jesus from Heaven Clocq in unto us, O that you would be gathered under my Wings. Well; When this is done, Then let us own the Covenant, which we are now come into, by joining ourselves to a Particular Church, walking in the Order of the Gospel; at the doing whereof, according to that Covenant of God, We give up Ourselves unto the Lord, and in Him unto One Another. While others have had their Names En-tred in the Devils Book; let our Names be found in the Church Book, and let us be, Written among the Living in Jerusalem. By no means let, Church-Work sink and fail in the midst of us; but let the Tragical Accidents which now happen, exceedingly Quicken that Work. So many of the Rising Generation, utterly forgetting the Errand of our Fathers to build Churches in this Wilderness, and so many of Our Cottages being allow’d to Live, where they do not, and perhaps cannot, wait upon God with the Churches of His People! tis as likely as any one thing to procure the swarmings of Witch-crafts among us. But it becomes us, with a like Ardour, to bring our poor Children with us, as we shall do, when we come ourselves, into the Covenant of God. It would break an heart of Stone, to have seen, what I have lately seen; Even poor Children of several Ages, even from seven to twenty more or less, Confessing their Familiarity with Devils; but at the same time, in Doleful bitter Lamentations, that made a Little Pourtraiutre of Hell it self, Expostulating with their execrable Parents, for Devoting them to the Devil in their Infancy, and so Entailing of Devil-lism upon them! Now, as the Psalmist could say, My Zeal hath Consumed me, because my Enemies have forgotten thy Words: Even so, let the nefarious wickedness of those that have Explicitly dedicated their Children to the Devil, even with Devilish Symbols, of such a Dedication, Provoke our Zeal to have our Children, Sincerely, Signally, and openly Consecrated unto God; with an Education afterwards assuring and confirming that Consecration.

VII. Let our Prayer Go up with Great Faith, against the Devil, that comes down in Great Wrath. Such is the Antipathy of the Devil to our Prayer, that he cannot bear to stay long where much of it is: indeed it is Diaboli Flagellum, as well as, Miseriæ Remedium; the Devil will soon be Scourg’d out of the Lords Temple, by a Whip, made and used, with the, Effectual Fervent Prayer of Righteous Men. When the Devil by Afflicting of us, drives us to our Prayers, he is, the Fool making a Whip for his own Back. Our Lord said of the Devil, in Mat. 17. 21. This Kind goes not out, but by Prayer and Fasting. But, Prayer and Fasting will soon make the Devil be gone. Here are Charms indeed! Sacred and Blessed Charms, which the Devil cannot stand before. A Promise of God, being well managed in the Hands of them, that are much upon their Knees, will so, Resist the Devil, that he will Flee from us. At every other Weapon, the
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The Devils will be too hard for us; the Spiritual Wickednesses in High Places, have manifestly the Upper Hand of us; that Old Serpent will be too Old for us, too cunning, too subtil; they will soon out-wit us, if we think to Encounter them with any Wit of our own. But when we come to Prayers, Incessant and Vehement Prayers before the Lord, there we shall be too hard for them. When well-directed Prayers, that great Artillery of Heaven, are brought into the Field, There, methinks I see, There are these Works of Iniquity fallen, all of them! And who can tell, how much the most Obscure Christian among you all, may do towards the Deliverance of our Land from the Molestations which the Devil is now giving unto us. I have Read, That on a Day of P... the Devil at last flew out of the Window, and referring to a Devout, plain, mean Woman then in the Room, he cry'd out, O the Woman behind the Door! 'Tis that Woman that forces me away! Thus, the Devil that now Troubles us, maybe forced within a while to Forsake us: and it shall be said, He was driven away by the prayers of some Obscure and Retired Souls, which the world has taken but little notice of! The Great God, is about a Great Work at this Day among us; now there is extream Hazzard lest the Devil who by Compulsion must submit unto that Great Work, may also by Permission come to Confound that Work: both in the Detections of some, and in the Confessions of others, whose Ungodly Deeds may be brought forth, by a Great Work of God, there is Hazzard lest the Devil intertwist some of his Delusions. 'Tis PRAYER, I say, 'tis PRAYER, that must carry us well thro' the Strange Things that are now upon us. Only that Prayer, must then be, The Prayer of Faith: O where is our Faith in Him, Who hath Spoiled these Principalities and Powers, on His Cross Triumphing over them!

VIII. Lastly, Shake off, every Soul, Shake off the Hard Yoke of the Devil, if you would not perish under the Great Wrath of the Devil. Where 'tis said, The whole World lies in Wickedness, 'tis by some of the Ancients render'd, The whole world lies in the Devil. The Devil is a Prince, yea, the Devil is a God unto all the Unregenerate; and alas, there is, A whole world of them. Desolate Sinners, Consider what an Horrid Lord it is that you are Enslav'd unto; and Oh shake off your Slavery to such a Lord. Instead of him, now make your Choice of the Eternal God in Jesus Christ; Choose Him with a most unalterable Resolution; and unto Him say, with Thomas, My Lord, and my God! Say with the Church, Lord, other Lords have had the Dominion over us, but now thou alone shall be our Lord for ever. Then instead of your perishing under the wrath of the Devils, God will fetch you to a place among those that fill up the Room of the Devils, Left by their Fall from the Ethereal Regions. It was a most awful Speech made by the Devil, Possessing a young Woman, at a Village in Germany, By the Command of God, I am come to Torment the Body of this young Woman, though I cannot hurt her Soul; and it is that I may warn men, to take heed of Sinning against God. Indeed (said he) 'tis very sore against my will that I do it, but the command of God forces me to declare what I do. However I know that at the Last Day, I shall have more Souls than God Himself. So spoke that horrible Devil! But O that none of our Souls may be found among the Prizes of the Devil, in the Day of God! O that what the Devil has been forc'd to Declare, of his Kingdom among us, may prejudice our Hearts against him for ever!

My Text saies, The Devil is come down in Great Wrath, for he has but a Short Time. Yea, but if you do not by a Speedy and Thorough Conversion to God, Escape the Wrath of the Devil, you will yourselves Go down, where the Devil is to be, and you will there be sweltring under the Devils Wrath, not for a Short Time, but, World without End; not for a Short Time, but for, Infinite Millions of Ages. The smoke of your Torment under that Wrath, will Ascend for ever and ever! Indeed the Devils Time for his Wrath upon you in this World, can
be but short, but his *Time* for you to do his *Work*, or, which is all one, to delay your turning to God, that is a *Long Time*. When the Devil was going to be Dispossessed of a Man, he Roar’d out, *Am I to be Tormented before my Time.* You will *Torment* the Devil, if you Rescue your Souls out of his hands, by true Repentance: if once you begin to look that way, hee’ll Cry out, *O This is before my Time, I must have more Time, yet in the service of such a guilty Soul.* But, I beseech you, let us join thus to *Torment* the Devil, in an Holy Revenge upon him, for all the Injuries which he has done unto us; let us tell him, *Satan, Thy Time with me is but short, Nay, thy Time with me shall be no more; I am unutterably sorry that it has been so much; Depart from me thou Evil-Doer, that would’st have me to be an Evil-Doer Like thy self; I will now for ever keep the Commandments of that God, in whom I Live, and Move, and have my Being!* The Devil has plaid a fine Game for himself indeed, if by his Troubling of our Land, the souls of many People should come to, *Think upon their Ways, till even they turn their Feet into the Testimonies of the Lord.* Now that the Devil may be thus outshot in his own Bow, is the Desire of all that *Love the Salvation of God* among us, as well as of him, who has thus Addressed You. Amen.

**A Narrative of an APPARITION**

Which a Gentleman in *Boston*, had of his Brother, just then Murdered in *London*.

*It* was, on the Second of *May* in the Year 1687 that a most ingenious, accomplished and well-disposed young Gentleman, Mr. *Joseph Beacon*, by Name, about Five a clock in the Morning, as he lay, whether Sleeping or Waking he could not say, (but judged the latter of them,) had a View of his Brother then at *London*, altho’ he was now himself at Our *Boston*, distanced from him a Thousand Leagues. This his Brother appear’d unto him, in the Morning, about five a Clock at *Boston*, having on him a *Bengale Gown*, which he usually wore, with a Napkin Ty’d about his Head; His Countenance was very Pale, Ghastly, Deadly, and he had a Bloody Wound On one Side of his Forehead! Brother! saies the Af-
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This History I received of Mr. Joseph Beacon himself; who, a little before his own Pious & Hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story written and signed with his own Hand; and Attested with the Circumstances I have already mentioned.

But I shall no longer detain my Reader, from His expected entertainment; in a Brief Account of the Trials, which have passed upon some of the Malefactors, Lately Executed at Salem, for the Witchcrafts, whereof they stood Convicted. For my own part, I was not Present at any of Them; nor ever Had I any personal prejudice at the persons thus brought upon the Stage; much less, at the Surviving Relations of those persons, with and for whom I would be as Hearty a mourner as any man Living in the World: The Lord Comfort them! But having Received a Command, so to do, I can do no other than shortly Relate the Chief Matters of fact which accur'd in the Trials of some that were Executed; in an Abridgment collected out of the Court-Papers, on this occasion put into my Hands. You are to take the Truth, just as it was; and the Truth will hurt no good man. There might have been more of these, if my Book would not thereby have been swollen too big; and if some other worthy hands did not perhaps intend something further in these Collections; for which cause I have only singled out Four or Five which may serve to Illustrate the way of dealing, wherein Witchcrafts use to be concerned; and I Report matters not as an Advocate but as an Historian.

They were some of the Gracious Words, inserted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Ministers, did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, We cannot but with all thankfulness, acknowledge the success which the Merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Assiduous endeavours of Our Honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; Humbly Praying that the discovery of
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those mysterious and mischievous wickednesses, may be perfected. If in the midst of the many Dissatisfactions among us, the publication of these Trials, may produce such a pious Thankfulness unto God, for Justice being so far, executed among us, I shall Rejoice that God is Glorified; and pray that no wrong steps of ours may ever sully any of his Glorious Works.

But we will begin with,

A Modern Instance of Witches Discovered and Condemned, in a Trial, before that Celebrated Judge, Sir. Matthew Hale.

IT may cast some Light upon the Dark Things now in America, if we just give a glance upon the Like Things lately happening in Europe. We may see the Witchcrafts here, most exactly resemble the Witchcrafts there; and we may learn what sort of Devils do trouble the World.

The Venerable Baxter very truly sais, Judge Hale was a Person, than whom no Man, was more backward, to Condemn a Witch without full Evidence.

Now, One of the Latest Printed Accounts, about a, Trial of Witches, is of what was before him; and it ran on this wise. [Printed in the Year 1682] And it is here the rather mentioned, because it was a Trial, much considered by the Judges of New-England.

I. Rose Cullender, and Amy Duny, were severally Indicted, for Bewitching Elizabeth Durent, Ann Durent, Jane Bocking, Susan Chandler, William Durent, Elizabeth and Deborah Pacy. And the evidence, whereon they were Convicted, stood upon diverse particular Circumstances.

II. Ann Durent, Susan Chandler, and Elizabeth Pacy, when the came into the Hall, to give Instructions for the drawing the Bills of Indictments, they fell into strange and violent Fitts, so that they were unable to give in their Depositions, not only then but also During the whole Assizes. William Durent being an Infant, his Mother Swore, That Amy Duny looking after her Child one Day in her absence, did at her return confess, that she had given suck to the Child: (tho' she were an Old Woman:) Whereat, when Durent expressed her displeasure, Duny went away with Discontents and Menaces.

The Night after, the Child fell into strange and sad Fitts, wherein it continued for Diverse Weeks. One Doctor Jacob advised her to hang up the Childs Blanket, in the Chimney Corner all Day, and at Night, when she went to put the Child into it, if she found any Thing in it then to throw it without fear into the Fire. Accordingly, at Night, there fell a great Toad out of the Blanket, which ran up & down the Hearth. A Boy, catch't it, & held it in the Fire with the Tongs: where it made an horrible Noise, and Flash'd like to Gun-Powder, with a report like that of a Pistol: Whereupon the Toad was no more to be seen. The next Day, a kinswoman of Duny's, told the Deponent, that her Aunt was all grievously scorch'd with the Fire, and the Deponent going to her House, found her in such a Condition. Duny told her, she might thank her for it: but she should live to see some of her Children Dead, and herself upon Crutches. But after the Burning of the Toad, this Child Recovered.

This Deponent further Testify'd, That Her Daughter Elizabeth, being about the Age of Ten Years, was taken in like manner, as her first Child was, and in her Fitts complained much of Amy Duny, and said, that she did appear to Her, and afflict her in such manner as the former. One Day she found Amy Duny in her House, and thrusting her out of Doors, Duny said, You need not be so Angry, your Child won't live long. And within three Days the Child Dyed. The Deponent added, that she was Her self, not long after taken with such a Lameness, in both her Leggs, that she was forced to go upon
Crutches; and she was now in Court upon them. [It was Remarkable, that immediately upon the Juries bringing in Duny Guilty, Durent was restored unto the use of her Limbs, and went Home without Her Crutches.]

III. As for Elizabeth and Deborah Pacy, one Aged Eleven years, the other Nine; the elder, being in Court, was made utterly senseless, during all the time of the Trial: or at least speechless. By the direction of the Judge, Duny was privately brought to Elizabeth Pacy, and she touched her Hand: whereupon the child, without, so much as seeing her, suddenly leap’d up and flew upon the prisoner; the younger was too ill, to be brought unto the Assizes. But Samuel Pacy, their Father, testify’d, that his Daughter Deborah, was taken with a sudden lameness; and upon the grumbling of Amy Duny, for being denyed something, where this child was then sitting, the child was taken with an extreme pain in her stomach, like the pricking of pins; and shrieking at a dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather then a Rational creature. The Physicians could not conjecture the cause of the Distemper; but Amy Duny being a woman of Ill Fame, and the child in fitts crying out of Amy Duny, as affrighting her with the Apparition of her person, the deponent suspected her, and procured her to be set in the stocks. While she was there, she said in the hearing of two Witnesses, Mr. Pacy keeps a great stir about his child, but let him stay till he has done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine: and being asked, What she had done to her Children, she answered, She had been fain to open her Childs mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals. The Depo- nent added, that within two Days, the Fits of his Daugh- ters were such, that they could not preserve either Life or Breath, without the help of a Tap. And that the Children cry’d out of Amy Duny, and of Rose Callender, as afflicting them, with their Apparitions.

IV. The Fits of the Children, were various. They would sometimes be Lame on one side; sometimes on t’other. Sometimes very sore; sometimes restored unto their Limbs, and then Deaf, or Blind, or Dumb, for a long while together. Upon the Recovery of their Speech, they would Cough extremey; and with much Flegm, they would bring up Crooked Pins; & one time, a Two-penny Nail, with a very broad Head. Commonly at the end of every Fit, they would cast up a Pin. When the Children Read, they could not pronounce the Name of, Lord, or Jesus or Christ, but would fall into Fitts; and say, Amy Duny says, I must not use that Name. When they came to the Name of Satan, or Devil, they would clap their Fingers on the Book, crying out, This bites, but it make me speak right well! The Children in their Fitts, would often cry out, There stands Amy Duny, or, Rose Callender, and they would afterwards relate, That these Witches appearing before them, threatened them, that if they told what they saw or heard, they would Torment them ten times more than ever they did before.

V. Margaret Arnold, the Sister of Mr. Pacy, testify’d unto the like Sufferings being upon the Children, at her House, whither her Brother had Removed them. And that sometimes, the Children (only) would see things like Mice, run about the House; and one of them suddenly snap’t one with the Tongs, and threw it into the Fire, where it screeched out like a Rat. At another time, a thing like a Bee, flew at the Face of the younger Child; the Child fell into a Fitt; and at last Vom-ited up a, Two-penny Nail, with a Broad Head; affirming, That the Bee brought this Nail, and forced it into her mouth. The Child would in like manner be assaulted with Flies, which brought Crooked Pins, unto her, and made her first swallow them, and then Vomit them. She one Day caught, an Invisible Mouse, and throwing it into the Fire, it Flash’d like to Gun-Powder. None besides the Child saw the Mouse, but every one saw the
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Flash. She also declared, out of her Fitts, that in them, Amy Duny, much tempted her to Destroy Her self.

VI. As for Ann Durent, her Father Testifyed, That upon a Discontent of Rose Cullender, His Daughter was taken with much Illness in her Stomach and great and sore Pains, like the pricking of pins: and then Swooning Fitts, from which Recovering she declared, She had seen the Apparition of Rose Cullender, Threatening to Torment her. She likewise Vomited up diverse Pins. The Maid was Present at Court, but when Cullender look’d upon her, she fell into such Fitts, as made her utterly unable to declare any thing.

Ann Baldwin, deposed the same.

VII. Jane Bocking was too weak, to be at the Assizes. But her Mother Testify’d, that Her Daughter having formerly been Afflicted with Swooning Fitts, and Recovered of them; was now taken with a great Pain in her Stomach; and New Swooning Fitts. That she took little Food, but every Day Vomited Crooked Pins. In her first Fitts, she would Extend her Arms, and use Postures, as if she caught at something, and when her Clutched Hands were forced open, they would find several Pins diversely Crooked, unaccountably lodged there. She would also maintain a Discourse with some that were Invisibly present, when casting abroad her Arms, she would often say, I will not have it! but at last say, Then I will have it and closing her Hand, which when they presently after opened, a Lath-Nail was found in it. But Her great complaints were of being Visited by the shapes of Amy Duny, and Rose Cullender.

VIII. As for Susan Chandler, Her Mother Testifyed, That being at the search of Rose Cullender, they found on her Belly a thing like a Teat, of an Inch long; which the said Rose ascribed to a strain. But near her Privy parts, they found Three more, that were smaller than the former. At the end of the long Teat, there was a little Hole, which appeared, as if newly Sucked; and upon straining it, a white milky matter issued out. The Deponent further said, That her Daughter being one day concerned at Rose Cullenders taking her by the Hand, she fell very sick, and at Night cry’d out, That Rose Cullender would come to Bed unto her. Her Fitts grew violent, and in the Intervals of them, she declared, That she saw Rose Cullender in them, and once having of a great Dog with her. She also vomited up crooked Pins; and when she was brought into Court, she fell into her Fitts. She Recovered her self in some Time, and was asked by the Court, whether she was in a Condition to take an Oath, and give Evidence. She said, she could; but having been Sworn, she fell into her Fitts again, and, Burn her! Burn her! were all the words that she could obtain power to speak. Her Father likewise gave the same Testimony with her Mother; as to all but the Search.

IX. Here was the Sum of the Evidence: which Mr. Serjeant Keeling, thought not sufficient to Convict the Prisoners. For admitting the Children were Bewitched, yet, said he, it can never be Apply’d unto the Prisoners, upon the Imagination only of the Parties Afflicted; inasmuch as no person whatsoever could then be in Safety.

Dr. Brown, a very Learned Person then present, gave his Opinion, that these persons were Bewitched. He added, That in Denmark, there had been lately a great Discovery of Witches; who used the very same way of Afflicting people, by Conveying Pins and Nails into them. His Opinion was, that the Devil in Witchcrafts, did Work upon the Bodies of Men and Women, upon a Natural Foundation; and that he did Extraordinarily afflict them, with such Distempers as their Bodies were most subject unto.

X. The Experiment about the Usefulness, yea, or Lawfulness whereof Good Men have sometimes disputed, was div-
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ers Times made, That though the Afflicted were utterly deprived of all sense in their Fitts, yet upon the Touch of the Accused, they would so screech out, and Fly up, as not upon any other persons. And yet it was also found that once upon the touch of an innocent person, the like effect follow'd, which put the whole Court unto a stand: altho' a small Reason was at length attempted to be given for it.

XI. However, to strengthen the Credit of what had been already produced against the Prisoners. One John Soam testify'd, That bringing home his Hay in three Carts, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of Rose Cullenders House, whereupon she flew out, with violent Threatenings against the Deponent. The other two Carts, passed by twice, Loaded, that Day afterwards; but the Cart which touched Cullenders House, was twice or thrice that Day overturned. Having again Loaded it, as they brought it thro' the Gate which Leads out of the Field, the Cart stuck so fast in the Gates Head, that they could not possibly get it thro', but were forced to cut down the Post of the Gate, to make the Cart pass thro', altho' they could not perceive that the Cart did of either side touch the Gate-Post. They afterwards, did with much Difficulty get it home to the yard; but could not for their Lives get the Cart near the place, where they should unload. They were fain to unload at a great Distance; and when they were Tired, the Noses of them that came to Assist them, would burst forth a Bleeding; so they were fain to give over till next morning; and then they unloaded without any Difficulty.

XII. Robert Sherringham also testify'd, That the Axle-Tree of his Cart, happening in passing, to break some part of Rose Cullenders House, in her Anger at it, she vehemently threatened him, His Horses should suffer for it. And within a short time, all his Four Horses dy'd; after which he sustained many other losses in the sudden Dying of his Cattle. He was also taken with a Lameness in his limbs; and so vexed with lice of an extraordinary Number and Bigness, that no Art could hinder the Swarming of them, till he burnt up, two suits of Apparrel.

XIII. As for Amy Duny, t'was testify'd by one Richard Spencer that he heard her say, The Devil would not lett her Rest, until she were Revenged on the wife of Cornelius Sandswel. And that Sandswel testify'd, that her Poultries dy'd suddenly, upon Amy Dunny threatening of them; and that her Husbands Chimney fell, quickly after Dunny had spoken of such a disaster. And a firkin of Fish could not be kept from falling into water, upon suspicious words of Dunny's.

XIV. The Judge, told the Jury, they were to inquire now, first, whether these Children were Bewitched; and secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were guilty of it. He made no doubt, there were such Creatures as Witches; for the Scriptures affirmed it; and the Wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such persons. He pray'd the God of Heaven, to direct their Hearts in the weighty thing they had in hand; for, To Condemn the innocent, and let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.

The Jury in half an Hour, brought them in Guilty, upon their several Indictments, which were Nineteen in Number.

The next morning, the Children with their Parents, came to the Lodgings of the Lord Chief Justice, and were in as good Health, as ever in their Lives; being Restored within half an Hour after the Witches were Convicted.

The Witches were Executed; and Confess'd nothing; which indeed will not be wondred by them, who Consider and Entertain the Judgment of a Judicious Writer, That the Unpardonable Sin, is most usually Committed by Professors of the Christian Religion, falling into Witchcraft.
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We will now proceed unto several of the like Trials among our selves.

I. THE TRYAL of G.B.

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer,

Held in Salem. 1692.

Glad should I have been, if I had never known the Name of this man; or never had this occasion to mention so much as the first Letters of his Name. But the Government requiring some Account, of his Trial, to be Inserted in this Book, it becomes me with all Obedience, to submit unto the Order.

I. This G. B. was Indicted for Witchcraft; and in the Prosecution of the Charge against him, he was Accused by five or six of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miseries; he was Accused by eight of the Confessing Witches, as being an Head Actor at some of their Hellish Rendezvous; and one who had the promise of being a King in Satans Kingdom, now going to be erected; he was Accused by nine persons, for extraordinary Lifting, and such Feats of Strength, could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such Things he was Accused, until about Thirty Testimonies were brought in against him; nor were these, judg’d the half of what might have been considered, for his Conviction: however they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reasoning, by the Judicious Gaule, in that Case directed.

II. The Court being sensible, that the Testimonies of the Parties Bewitched, use to have a Room among the Suspicions, or Presumptions, brought in against one Indicted for Witchcraft, there were now heard the Testimonies of several Persons, who were most notoriously Bewitched, and every day Tortured by Invisible Hands, and these now all charged the Spectres of G. B. to have a share in their Torments. At the Examination of this G. B. the Bewitched People were grievously harassed, with Preternatural Mischief, which could not possibly be Dissembled; and they still ascribed it unto the Endeavours of G. B. to kill them. And now upon his Trial, one of the Bewitched Persons testify’d, That in her Agonies, a little Black-hair’d man came to her, saying his Name was B. and bidding her set her hand unto a Book which he show’d unto her; and bragging that he was a Conjurer, above the ordinary Rank of Witches; That he often persecuted her, with the offer of that Book, saying, She should be well, and need fear no body, if she would but Sign it; but he inflicted cruel Pains and Hurts upon her, because of her Denying so to do. The Testimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with these; and it was Remarkable, that whereas Biting was one of the ways which the Witches used, for the vexing of the Sufferers, when they cry’d out of G. B. biting them, the print of the Teeth, would be seen on the Flesh of the Complainers; and just such a sett of Teeth as G. B’s would then appear upon them, which could be distinguished from those of some other Mens. Others of them testify’d, That in their Torments, G. B. tempted them, to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a sound of Trumpet Summoning of other Witches; who quickly
after the Sound would come from all Quarters unto the Ren-
dezvouz. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, after-
wards affirmed, That G. B. had carried her into a very high
Mountain, where he show'd her mighty and glorious King-
doms, and said, He would give them all to her, if she would write in
his Book; but she told him, They were none of his to give; and re-
fused the motions; enduring of much misery for that Refusal.

It cost the Court a wonderful deal of Trouble, to hear the
Testimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give
in their Depositions, they would for a long while be taken
with fits, that made them incapable of saying any thing. The
Chief Judge asked the prisoner, who he thought hindred these
witnesses from giving their testimonies? and he answered,
He supposed, it was the Divel? That Honourable person, then
reply’d How comes the Divel so loathe to have any Testimony born
against you? Which cast him into very great confusion.

III. It has been a frequent thing for the Bewitched peo-
ples, to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghosts of murdered
people, at the same time, that the Spectres of the witches trou-
ble them. These Ghosts do always affright the Beholders,
more than all the other spectral Representations; and when
they exhibit themselves, they cry out, of being Murdered
by the witchcrafts or other violence of the persons who are
then in spectre present. It is further considerable, that once
or twice, these Apparitions have been seen by others at the
very same time that they have shown them selves to the Be-
witched; & seldom have these been these Apparitions but when
somthing unusual & suspected had attended the Death of the
party thus Appearing. Some that have bin accused by these
Apparitions, accosting of the Bewitched People, who had never
heard a word of any such persons, ever being in the world,
have upon a fair examination freely, and fully, confessed the
murders of those very persons, altho’ these also did not know
how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly

several of the Bewitched, had given in their Testimony, that
they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two women,
who said, that they were G. Bs. two wives; and that he had
been the Death of them; and that the Magistrates must be
told of it, before whom if B. upon his trial deny’d it, they did
not know but that they should appear again in the Court.
Now, G. B. had been infamous for the Barbarous usage of
his two successive wives, all the Country over. Moreover; It
was testify’d, the spectre of G. B. threatning of the sufferers
told them, he had killed (besides others) Mrs. Lawson and her
Daughter Ann. And it was noted, That these were the vertu-
ous wife and Daughter, of one at whom this G. B. might have
a prejudice for his being serviceable at Salem-village, from
whence himself had in Ill Terms removed some years before:
& that when they dy’d, which was long since, there were some
odd circumstances about them, which made some of the At-
tendents there suspect something of witchcraft, tho’ none
Imagined from what Quarter it should come.

Well, G. B. being now upon his Triall, one of the Be-
witched persons was cast into Horror at the Ghosts of B’s. two
deceased wives, then appearing before him, and crying for,
Vengeance, against him. Hereupon several of the Bewitched
persons were successively called in, who all not knowing what
the former had seen and said, concurred in their Horror, of
the Apparition, which they affirmed, that he had before him.
But he, tho’ much appalled, utterly deny’d that he discerned
any thing of it; nor was it any part of his Conviction.

IV. Judicious Writers, have assigned it a great place, in
the Conviction of witches, when persons are Impeached by other
Notorious witches, to be as Ill as themselves; especially, if the persons
have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God. Now, as
there might have been Testimonies Enough of G. B’s. An-
tipathy to Prayer and the other Ordinances of God, tho’ by
his profession singularly obliged thereunto; so, there now
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came in against the prisoner, the Testimonies of several persons, who confessed their own having been Horrible Witches, and ever since their confessions had been themselves terribly Tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the pains of many Deaths for their Confessions.

These now Testify’d, that G. B. had been at Witch-Meetings with them; and that he was the Person who had Seduced, and Compelled them into the snares of Witchcraft: That he promised them Fine Cloaths, for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and thorns to stick into those Poppets, for the afflicting of other People: And that he exhorted them, with the rest of the Crue, to bewitch all Salem-Village, but be sure to do it Gradually, if they would prevail in what they did.

When the Lancashire Witches were condemn’d, I don’t Remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the Bewitched, and then that of some that confessed. We see so much already against G. B. But this being indeed not Enough, there were, other things to render what had been already produced credible.

V. A famous Divine, recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; The Testimony of the Party Bewitched, whether Pining or Dying, together with the Joint Oaths of Sufficient Persons, that have seen certain Prodigious Pranks or Feats, wrought by the party Accused. Now God had been pleased so to leave this G. B. that he had ensnared himself, by several Instances which he had formerly given of a Preternatural strength, and which were now produced against him. He was a very Puny man; yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a Giant. A Gun of about seven foot barrel, and so Heavy that strong men could not steadily hold it out, with both hands; there were several Testimonies, given in by Persons of Credit and Honour, that he made nothing of taking up such a Gun behind the Lock, with but one hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arms-end. G. B. in his Vindication was so foolish as to say, That an Indian was there, and held it out at the same time. Whereas, none of the Spectators ever saw any such Indian; but they supposed the Black man (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an Indian) might give him that Assistance. There was Evidence, likewise, brought in, that he made nothing of Taking up whole Barrels fill’d with Malasses, or Cider, in every Disadvantagious Postures, and Carrying of them through the Difficultest Places, out of a Canoo to the Shore.

[Yea, there were Two Testimonies, that G. B. with only putting the Fore-Finger of his Right hand, into the Muzzel of an heavy Gun, a Fowling-piece, of about six or seven foot Barrel, did Lift up the gun, and hold it out at Arms end; a Gun which the Deponents, though strong men, could not with both hands Lift up, and hold out, at the Butt end, as is usual. Indeed one of these Witnesses, was over persuaded by some persons, to be out of the way, upon G. B.’s Trial; but he came afterwards, with sorrow for his withdraw, and gave in his Testimony: Nor were either of these Witnesses made use of as evidences in the Trial.]

VI. There came in several Testimonies, relating to the Domestick Affayrs of G. B. which had a very hard Aspect upon him; and not only prov’d him a very ill man; but also confirmed the Belief of the Character, which had been already fastned on him. e. g.

T’was testify’d, That keeping his two Successive Wives in a strange kind of Slavery, he would when he came home from abroad, pretend to tell the Talk which any had with them: That he ha’s brought them to the point of Death, by his Harsh Dealings with his Wives, and then made the People about him to promise that in Case Death should happen,
they would say nothing of it. That he used all means to make his Wives, Write, Sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant, never to Reveal any of his Secrets. That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightful Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested; and that many such things have been Whispered among the Neighbourhood. There were also some other Testimonies, relating to the Death of People, whereby the Consciences of an Impartial Jury, were convinced, that G. B. had Bewitched the persons mentioned in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit several such passages, in this, as well as in all the succeeding Trials, because the Scribes who took Notice of them, have not Supplied me.

VII. One Mr. Ruck, Brother-in-Law to this G. B. Testify’d, that G. B. and he himself, and his Sister, who was G. B.’s Wife, going out for Two or three Miles, to gather Straw-Berries, Ruck, with his Sister the Wife of G. B. Rode home very Softly, with G. B. on Foot in their Company, G. B. stept aside a little into the Bushes; Whereupon they Halted and Hallow’d for him. He not answering, they went away homewards, with a Quickened pace; without any expectation of seeing him in a considerable while: and yet when they were got near home, to their Astonishment they found him on foot, with them, having a Basket of Straw-Berries. G. B. immediately, then fell to chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her Brother, of him, on the Road: which when they wondred at, he said, He knew their thoughts. Ruck being startled at that, made some Reply, intimating that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, My God, makes known your Thoughts unto me. The prisoner now at the Barr had nothing to answer, unto what was thus Witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, Ruck, and his Wife left a man with him, when they left him. Which Ruck now affirm’d to be false; and when the Court asked G. B. What the Man’s Name was? his countenance was much altered; nor could he say, who ‘twas. But the Court began to think, that he then step’d aside, only that by the assistance of the Black Man, he might put on his Invisibility, and in that Fascinating Mist, gratify his own Jealous humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendring themselves Invisible, our Witches do in their confessions pretend that they sometimes are Masters of; and it is the more credible, because there is Demonstration that they often render many other things utterly Invisible.

VIII. Faltring, Faulty, unconstant, and contrary Answers upon Judicial and deliberate examination, are counted some unlucky symptoms of guilt, in all crimes; Especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a prisoner more Eminent for them, than G. B. both at his Examination and on his Trial. His Tergivations, Contradictions, and Falsehoods, were very sensible: he had little to say, but that he had heard some things that he could not prove, Respecting upon the Reputation of some of the witnesses. Only he gave in a paper, to the Jury; wherein, altho’ he had many times before, granted, not only that there are Witches, but also that the present suffering of the Country are the Effect of horrible Witchcrafts, yet he now goes to, evince it, That there neither are, nor ever were, Witches that having made a compact with the Devil, Can send a Devil to Torment other people at a distance. This paper was Transcribed out of Ady; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which his evasion afterwards was, that a Gentleman gave him the discourse, in a manuscript, from whence he Transcribed it.

IX. The Jury brought him in guilty; But when he came to Dy, he utterly deny’d the Fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.
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II. The Trial of Bridget Bishop: alias, Oliver.

At the Court of Oyer and Terminer

Held at Salem. June 2. 1692.

I. He was Indicted for Bewitching of several persons in the Neighbourhood, the Indictment being drawn up, according to the Form in such Cases Usual. And pleading, Not Guilty, there were brought in several persons, who had long undergone many kinds of Miseries, which were preternaturally Inflicted, and generally ascribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little Occasion to prove the Witchcraft; it being Evident and Notorious to all Beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first thing used was, the Testimony of the Bewitched; whereof, several Testified, That the Shape of the Prisoner did oftentimes very grievously pinch them, choke them, bite them, & Afflict them; urging them to write their Names in a Book, which the said Spectre called, Ours. One of them did further Testify, that it was the Shape of this Prisoner, with another, which one Day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River-side, threatened there to Drown her, if she did not Sign to the Book mentioned: which yet she refused. Others of them did also Testify, that the said Shape, did in her Threats, brag to them, that she had been the Death of sundry persons, then by her Named; that she had Ridden a man, then likewise Named. Another Testified, the Apparition of Ghosts unto the Spectre of Bishop, crying out, You Murdered us! About the Truth whereof, there was in the matter of Fact, but too much Suspicion.

II. It was Testify’d, That at the Examination of the Prisoner, before the Magistrates, the Bewitched were extremly Tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as there could be no Collusion in the Business. But upon the Touch of her Hand upon them, when they lay in their Swoons, they would immediately Revive; and not upon the Touch of any ones else. Moreover, upon some Special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her Head, or the Turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like postures. And many of the like Accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, That she said, She could not be Troubled to see the Afflicted thus Tormented.

III. There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a man striking once at the place, where a Bewitched person said, the Shape of this Bishop stood, the Bewitched cried out, that he had Tore her Coat, in the place then particularly specify’d; and the Womans Coat, was found to be Torn in that very place.

IV. One Deliverance Hobbs, who had Confessed her being a Witch, was now Tormented by the Spectres, for her Confession. And she now Testify’d, That this Bishop, tempted her to Sign the Book again, and to Deny what she had Confess’d. She affirmed, that it was the Shape of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this Bishop was at a General Meeting of the Witches, in a Field at Salem-Village and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament, in Bread and Wine then Administred!

V. To render it further Unquestionable, that the prisoner at the Bar, was the Person truly charged in THIS Witchcraft, there were produced many Evidences of OTHER Witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For Instance, John Cook testify’d, that
about five or six years ago, One morning, about Sun-Rise, he was in his Chamber, assaulted by the Shape of this prisoner: which Look'd on him, grin'd at him, and very much hurt him, with a Blow on the side of the Head: and that on the same day, about Noon, the same Shape walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his Hand, into the Lap of his mother, six or eight foot from him.

VI. Samuel Gray, testify'd, That about fourteen years ago, he wak'd on a Night, & saw the Room where he lay, full of Light; & that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle, and the Bed-side, which look'd upon him. He Rose, and it vanished; tho' he found the Doors all fast. Looking out at the Entry-Door, he saw the same Woman, in the same Garb again; and said, In Gods Name, what do you come for? He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great screech, and the Woman & the Child swoln, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers months dy'd in a sad Condition. He knew not Bishop, nor her Name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her Countenance, and Apparrel, and all Circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this Bishop, which had thus troubled him.

VII. John Bly and his wife, testify'd, that he bought a sow of Edward Bishop, the Husband of the prisoner; and was to pay the price agreed, unto another person. This Prisoner being Angry that she was thus hindred from fingring the money, Quarrel'd with Bly. Soon after which the Sow, was taken with strange Fits; Jumping, Leaping, and knocking her head against the Fence, she seem'd Blind and Deaf, and would neither eat nor be suck'd. Whereupon a neighbour said, she believed the Creature was Over-Looked, & sundry other circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents Belive that Bishop had Bewitched it.

VIII. Richard Coman testify'd, that eight years ago, as he lay Awake in his Bed, with a Light Burning in the Room, he was annoy'd with the Apparition of this Bishop, and of two more that were strangers to him; who came and oppressed him so that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else: and that he was the night after, molested again in the like manner; the said Bishop taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His kinsman offered for this cause to lodge with him; and that Night, as they were Awake, Discoursing together: this Coman was once more visited, by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome; his kinsman being at the same time strook speechless and unable to move Hand or Foot. He had laid his sword by him; which these unhappy spectres, did strive much to wrest from him; only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his house; but altho' they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir, until at last, one of the people crying out, what's the matter! the spectres all vanished.

IX. Samuel Shattuck testify'd, That in the Year 1680. this Bridget Bishop, often came to his house upon such frivolous and foolish errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of mischief. Presently whereupon his eldest child, which was of as promising Health & Sense, as any child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; & the oftener that Bishop came to the House, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an Invisible Hand, and in like sort knock his Face against the sides of the House, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards, this Bishop would bring him things to Dy, whereof he could not Imagine any use; and when she paid him a piece of Money, the Purse and Money were unaccountably conveyed out of a Lock'd box, and never seen more. The Child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible fits, whereof his Friends thought he would
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have dyed: indeed he did almost nothing but cry and Sleep for several Months together: and at length his understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchant-ment upon him, one was, that there was a Board in the Garden, whereon he would walk; and all the invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About Seventeen or Eighteen years after, there came a Stranger to Shattocks House, who seeing the Child, said, This poor Child is Bewitched, and you have a Neighbour living not far off, who is a Witch. He added, Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her Heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her Pride in this Child: He then Remembred, that Bishop had parted from his Wife in muttering and menacing Terms, a little before the Child was taken Ill. The above-said Stranger would needs carry the Bewitched Boy with him, to Bishop House, on pretence of buying a pot of Cyder. The Woman Entertained him in furious manner; and flew also upon the Boy, scratching his Face till the Blood came, and saying, Thou Rogue, what? Dost thou bring this Fellow here to plague me? Now it seems the man had said before he went, that he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was follow’d with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed unto Witchcraft, and wherein he would be thrown still into the Fire or the Water, if he were not constantly look’d after; and it was verily believed that Bishop was the cause of it.

X. John Louder testify’d, that upon some little controversy with Bishop about her fowles, going well to Bed, he did awake in the Night by moonlight, and did see clearly the likeness of this woman grievously oppressing him; in which miserable condition she held him unable to help him self, till near Day. He told Bishop of this; but she deny’d it, and threatened him, very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lords Day, with the doors shutt about him, he saw a Black Pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vanished away. Im-mediately after, sitting down, he saw a Black thing Jump in at the Window, & come & stand before him. The Body, was like that of a Monkey, the Feet like a Cocks; but the Face much like a mans. He being so extremely affrighted, that he could not speak; this Monster spoke to him, and said, I am a Messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some Trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this world. Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no substance, and it jumped out of the window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, though the Doors were shut, and said, You had better take my Counsel! He then struck at it with a stick, but struck only the Ground-sel, and broke the Stick. The Arm with which he struck was presently Disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the Back-Door, and spyed, this Bishop, in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had not power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon returning into the House, he was immediately accosted by the Monster he had seen before; which Goblin was now going to Fly at him: whereat he cry’d out, The whole Armour of God, be between me and you! So it sprang back, and flew over the Apple-Tree; shaking many Apples off the Tree, in its flying over. At its Leap, it flung Dirt with its Feet, against the Stomach of the man; whereon he was then struck Dumb, and so continued for three Days together. Upon the producing of this Testimony, Bishop deny’d that she knew this DepONENT: yet their two Orchards joined, and they had often had their Little Quarrels for some years together.

XI. William Stacy, Testify’d, That receiving Money of this Bishop, for work done by him, he was gone but a matter of Three Rods from her, and looking for his money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, Bishop asked him whether his Father would grind her grist for her? He de-
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manded why? she Reply'd, Because Folks count me a witch. He answered, No Question, but he will grind it for you. Being then gone about six Rods from her, with a small Load in his Cart; suddenly the Off-wheel slump't and sunk down into an Hole upon plain ground, so that the Deponent, was forced to get help for the Recovering of the wheel. But stepping Back to look for the Hole which might give him this disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after, he was waked in the Night; but it seem'd as Light as Day, and he perfectly saw the shape of this Bishop, in the Room, troubling of him; but upon her going out, all was Dark again. He charg'd Bishop afterwards with it: and she deny'd it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatened by Bishop, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the ground, and thrown against a stone wall; After that, he was again hoisted up and thrown down a Bank, at the end of his House. After this again, passing by this Bishop, his Horse with a small load, striving to Draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this deponent going then to lift a Bag of corn, of about two Bushels; could not budge it, with all his might. Many other pranks, of this Bishop, this deponent was Ready to testify. He also testify'd, that he verily Believed, the said Bishop, was the Instrument of his Daughter, Priscilla's Death; of which suspicion, pregnant Reasons were assigned.

XII. To Crown all, John Bly, and William Bly, Testify'd, That being Employ'd by Bridget Bishop, to help take down the Cellar-wall, of the old House, wherein she formerly Lived, they did in Holes of the said old Wall, find several Poppets, made up of Rags, and Hogs Brussels, with Headless Pins in them, the points being outward. Whereof she could now give no Account unto the Court, that was Reasonable or Tolerable.

XIII. One thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of Gross Lying, in the Court, several Times, while she was making her Plea. But besides this, a Jury of Women, found a preternatural Teat upon her Body; but upon a second search, within Three or four Hours, there was no such thing to be seen. There was also an account of other people whom this woman had afflicted. And there might have been many more, if they had been, enquired for. But there was no need of them.

XIV. There was one very strange thing more, with which the Court was newly Entertained. As this Woman was under a Guard, passing by the Great and Spacious Meeting-House of Salem, she gave a Look towards the House. And immediately a Daemon Invisibly Entring the Meeting-house, Tore down a part of it; so that tho' there were no person to be seen there, yet the people at the Noise running in, found a Board, which was strongly fastned with several Nails, transported unto another quarter of the House.

III.

The Tryal of Susanna Martin: At the Court of Oyer and Terminer: Held by Adjournment at Salem. June 29, 1692.

Susanna Martin, pleading, Not Guilty, to the Indictment of Witchcrafts brought in against her, there were produced the evidences of many persons very sensibly and grievously Bewitched; who all complain'd of the prisoner at the Bar, as the person whom they believed the cause of their Miseries. And now, as well as in the other Trials, there was an
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extraordinary endeavour by witchcrafts, with Cruel and Frequent Fits, to hinder the poor sufferers, from giving in their complaints; which the Court was forced with much patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

II. There was now also an Account given, of what passed at her first examination before the Magistrates. The cast of her eye, then striking the Afflicted People to the ground, whether they saw that Cast or no; there were these among other passages, between the Magistrates, and the Examinate.

Magistrate. Pray, what ails these People?
Martin. I don’t know.
Magistrate. But, what do you think ails them?
Martin. I don’t desire to spend my Judgment upon it.
Magistrate. Don’t you think they are Bewitch’d?
Martin. No, I do not think they are.
Magistrate. Tell us your thoughts about them then.
Martin. No, my thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out, they are anothers. Their Master.—
Magistrate. Their Master? Who do you think, is their Master;
Martin. If they be dealing in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.
Magistrate. Well, what have you done towards this?
Martin. Nothing at all.
Magistrate. Why, ‘tis you or your Appearance.
Martin. I cannot help it.
Magistrate. Is it nor Your Master? How comes your Appearance to hurt these?
Martin. How do I know? He that appear’d in the shape of Samuel, a Glorify’d Saint, may Appear in any ones shape.

It was then also noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the Ground. And, when she was asked the Reason of it, she said, I cannot tell; it may be, the Devil bears me more Malice than another.

III. The Court accounted themselves Alarum’d by these things, to Enquire further into the Conversation of the Prisoner; and see what there might occur, to render these Accusations further credible. Whereupon, John Allen, of Salisbury, testify’d, that he refusing, because of the weakness of his Oxen, to cart some Staves, at the request of this Martin, she was displeased at it, and said, It had been as good that he had, for his Oxen should never do him much more Service. Whereupon, this Deponent said, Dost thou threaten me, thou old Witch: I’l throw thee into the Brook: Which to avoid, she flew over the Bridge, and escaped. But, as he was going home, one of his Oxen Tired, so that he was forced to Unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen, with many more, upon Salisbury Beach, where Cattle did use to get Flesh. In a few days, all the Oxen upon the Beach were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the mouth of Merrimack-River, and not returned; but the next day they were found come ashore upon Plum-Island. They that sought them, used all imaginable gentleness, but they would still run away with a violence that seemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near the mouth of Merrimack-River; when they ran right into the Sea, swimming as far as they could be seen. One of them then swam back again, with a swiftness, amazing to the Beholders, who stood ready to receive him, and help up his Tired Carcase: but the beast ran furiously up into the Island, and from thence, thorough the Marshes, up into Newbury Town, and so up into the Woods; and there after a while found near Amesbury. So that, of Fourteen good Oxen, there was only this saved: the Rest were all cast up, some in one place, and some in another, Drowned.

IV. John Atkinson Testify’d, That he Exchanged a Cow, with a Son of Susanna Martins, whereat she muttered, and was
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unwilling he should have it. Going to Receive this Cow, tho’ he Hamstring’d her, and Halter’d her, she of a Tame Creature grew so mad, that they could scarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were fastned unto her, and though she were Ty’d fast unto a Tree, yet she made her Escape, and gave them such further Trouble, as they could ascribe to no cause but Witchcraft.

V. Bernard Peache testify’d, That being in Bed, on a Lords day Night, he heard a scrambling at the Window, whereat he then saw, Susanna Martin come in, and jump down upon the Floor. She took hold of this Deponents Feet, and drawing his Body up into an Heap, she lay upon him, near Two Hours; in all which time he could neither speak nor stirr. At length, when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her Hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit three of her Fingers, as he judged, unto the Bone. Whereupon she went from the Chamber, down the Stairs, out at the Door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the people of the House, to advise them, of what passed; and he himself did follow her. The people saw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left-hand of the Door, there was a drop of Blood found on it; and several more drops of Blood upon the Snow newly fallen abroad. There was likewise the print of her two Feet just without the Threshold; but no more sign of any Footing further off.

At another time this Deponent was desired by the Prisoner, to come unto an Husking of Corn, at her House; and she said, If he did not come, it were better that he did! He went not; but the Night following, Susanna Martin, as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them said, Here he is! but he having a Quarter-staff, made a Blow at them. The Roof of the Barn broke his Blow; but following them to the Window, he made another Blow at them, and struck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he saw no more of them.

About this time, there was a Rumour about the Town, that Martin had a Broken Head; but the Deponent could say nothing to that.

The said Peache also testify’d, the Bewitching of Cattle to Death, upon Martins Discontents.

VI. Robert Downer testifyed, That this Prisoner being some years ago prosecuted at Court for a Witch, he then said unto her, He believed she was a Witch. Whereat she being Dissatisfied, Said, That some Shee-Devil would Shortly fetch him away! Which words were heard by others, as well as himself. The Night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeness of a Cat, which Flew upon him, took fast hold of his Throat, lay on him a considerable while, and almost killed him. At length he remembred, what Susanna Martin, had threatened the Day before; and with much striving he cryed out, Avoid, thou Shee-Devil! In the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Avoid! Whereupon it left him, leap’d on the Floor, and Flew out at the Window.

And there also came in several Testimonies, that before ever Downer spoke a word of this Accident, Susanna Martin and her Family, had related, How this Downer had been Handled!

VII. John Kembal, testifyed, that Susanna Martin, upon a Causeless Disgust, had threatened him, about a certain Cow of his, That she should never do him any more Good: and it came to pass accordingly. For soon after the Cow was found stark Dead on the dry Ground; without any Distemper to be discerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a strange Death upon more of his Cattle, whereof he lost in One Spring to the value of Thirty Pounds. But the said John Kembal had a further Testimony to give in against the Prisoner which was truly admirable.
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Being desirous to furnish himself with a Dog, he applied himself to buy one of this Martin, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her House. But she not letting him have his Choice, he said, he would supply himself then at one Blezdel. Having mark’d a puppy, which he lik’d at Blezdel, he met George Martin, the Husband of the prisoner, going by, who asked him, Whether he would not have one of his Wives Puppies; and he answered, No. The same Day, one Edmund Eliot, being at Martins House, heard George Martin relate, where this Kembal had been, and what he had said. Whereupon Susanna Martin replied, If I live, I’ll give him Puppies enough! Within a few days after, this Kembal coming out of the Woods, there arose a little Black Cloud, in the N. W. and Kembal immediately felt a Force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the stumps of Trees, that were before him, albeit, he had a broad, plain Cart-way, before him; but tho’ he had his Ax also on his Shoulder to endanger him in his Falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-House, there appeared unto him, a little thing like a Puppy, of a Darkish Colour; and it shot Backwards and forwards between his Leggs. He had the Courage to use all possible Endeavours of Cutting it, with his Ax; but he could not Hit it; the Puppy gave a jump from him, and went, as to him, it seem’d into the Ground. Going a little further, there appeared unto him a Black Puppy, somewhat bigger than the first; but as Black as a Cole. Its motions were quicker than those of his Ax; it Flew at his Belly and away; then at his Throat; so, over his Shoulder one way, and then over his Shoulder another way. His heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have Tore his Throat out. But he recovered himself, and called upon God in his Distress; and Naming the Name of JESUS CHRIST, it Vanished away at once. The Deponent Spoke not one Word of these Accidents, for fear of affrighting his wife. But the next Morning, Edmund Eliot, going into Martins house, this woman asked him were Kembal was? He Replyed, At home, a bed, for ought he knew. She returned, They say, he was frighted last Night. Eliot asked With what? She answered, With Puppies. Eliot asked, where she heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it! She rejoined, About the Town. Altho’ Kembal had mentioned the Matter to no Creature Living.

VIII. William Brown testify’d, that Heaven haveing blessed him with a most Pious and prudent wife, this wife of his, one day mett with Susanna Martin; but when she approch’d just unto her Martin, vanished out of sight, and left her extremely affrighted. After which time, the said Martin, often appear’d unto her, giving her no little trouble; & when she did come, she was visited with Birds that sorely peck’t and Prick’d her; and sometimes, a Bunch, like a pullets egg would Rise in her throat, ready to Choak her, till she cry’d out, Witch, you shan’t Choak me! While this good Woman was in this Extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer, on her behalf; whereupon her Trouble ceas’d, she saw not Martin as formerly; and the Church, instead of their Fast, gave Thanks for her Deliverance. But a considerable while after, she being Summoned to give in some Evidence at the Court, against this Martin, quickly thereupon, this Martin came behind her, while she was milking her Cow, and said unto her, For thy defaming me at Court, I’l make thee the miserablest Creature in the World. Soon after which, she fell into a strange kind of Distemper, and became horribly Frantick, and uncapable of any Reasonable Action; the Physicians declaring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly Bewitched her; and in that Condition she now remained.

IX. Sarah Atkinson testify’d, That Susanna Martin came from Amesbury, to their House at Newbury, in an extraordi-
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nary Season, when it was not fit for any one to Travel. She came (as she said, unto Atkinson,) all that long way on Foot. She brag'd, and show'd, how dry she was; nor could it be perceived that so much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. Atkinson was amazed at it; and professed, that she should her self have been wet up to the knees, if she had then came so far; but Martin reply'd, She scorn'd to be Drabbled! It was noted, that this Testimony upon her Trial, cast her into a very singular Confusion.

X. John Pressy, testify'd, That being one Evening very unaccountably Bewildred, near a field of Martins, and several times, as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he saw a marvellous Light, about the Bigness of an Half-Bushel, near two Rod, out of the way. He went, and struck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near forty blows; and felt it a palpable substance. But going from it, his Heels were struck up, and he was laid with his Back on the Ground: Sliding as he thought, into a Pit; from whence he recover'd, by taking hold on the Bush; altho' afterwards he could find no such Pit in the place. Having after his Recovery, gone five or six Rod, he saw Susanna Martin standing on his Left-hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his Return; but at length he got home, extreamly affrighted. The next day, it was upon Enquiry understood, that Martin was in a miserable condition by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testify'd by this Deponent, That after he had given in some Evidence against Susanna Martin, many years ago, she gave him foul words about it; and said, He should never prosper more; particularly, That he should never have more than two Cows; that tho' he were never so likely to have more, yet he should never have them. And that from that very Day to this; namely for Twenty Years together, he could never exceed that Number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having of any more.

XI. Jarvis Ring, testify'd, that about seven years ago, he was oftentimes and grievously Oppressed in the Night; but saw not who troubled him, until at last he lying perfectly Awake, plainly saw Susanna Martin approach him. She came to him, and forceably Bit him by the Finger; so that the Print of the Bite is now so long after to be seen upon him.

XII. But besides all of these Evidences, there was a most wonderful Account of one Joseph Ring, produced on this Occasion.

This man has been strangely carried about by Daemons, from one Witch-Meeting to another, for near two years together; and for one Quarter of this Time, they have made him, and kept him Dumb, tho' he is now again able to speak. There was one T. H. who having as tis judged, a Design of engaging this Joseph Ring, in a Snare of Devillism, contrived a wile, to bring this Ring two Shillings in Debt unto him.

Afterwards, this poor man would be visited with unknown shapes, and this T. H. sometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown Places, where he saw meetings, Feastings, Dancings; and after his Return, wherein they hurried him along thro' the Air, he gave Demonstrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been so transported. When he was brought unto these Hellish meetings, one of the First things they still did unto him, was to give him a knock on the Back, whereupon he was ever as if Bound with Chains, uncapable of Stirring out of the place, till they should Release him. He related, that there often came to him a man, who presented him a Book, whereunto he would have him set his Hand; promising to him, that
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he should then have even what he would; and presenting him with all the delectable Things, persons, and places, that he could imagine. But he refusing to subscribe, the business would end with dreadful Shapes, Noises and Screeches, which almost scared him out of his wits. Once with the Book, there was a Pen offered him, and an Inkhorn, with Liquor in it, that seemed like Blood: but he never toucht it.

This man did now affirm, that he saw the Prisoner, at several of those Hellish Randezvouzes.

Note, This Woman was one of the most Impudent, Scurrilous, wicked creatures in the world; & she did now throughout her whole Trial, discover herself to be such an one. Yet when she was asked, what she had to say for her self, her Cheef Plea, was, That she had Led a most virtuous and Holy Life.

IV.
The TRIAL of

ELIZABETH HOW,
at the Court of
Oyer and Terminer,
Held by Adjournment at Salem,
June, 30. 1692.

I. E LIZABETH HOW, pleading, Not Guilty to the Indictment of Witchcrafts, then charged upon her; the Court, according to the usual proceeding of the Courts in England, in such Cases, began with hearing the Depositions of Several Afflicted People, who were grievously Tortured by sensible and evident Witchcrafts, and all complained of the

Prisoner, as the cause of their Trouble. It was also found that the Sufferers were not able to bear her Look, as likewise, that in their greatest Swoons, they distinguished her Touch from other peoples, being thereby raised out of them.

And there was other Testimony of people to whom the shape of this How, gave trouble Nine or Ten years ago.

II. It has been a most usual thing for the Bewitched persons, at the same time that the Spectres representing the Witches Troubled them, to be visited with Apparitions of Ghosts, pretending to have bin Murdered by the Witches then represented. And sometimes the confessions of the witches afterwards acknowledged those very Murders, which these Apparitions, charged upon them; altho' they had never heard what Informations had been given by the Sufferers.

There were such Apparitions of Ghosts testified by some of the present sufferers, & the Ghosts affirmed that this How had Murdered them: which things were Fear'd but not prov'd.

III. This How, had made some Attempts of Joyning to the Church, at Ipswich, several years ago; but she was deny'd an Admission into that Holy Society, partly, thro' a suspicion of witchcraft, then urged against her. And there now came in Testimony, of Preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some that had been Instrumental to Debar her from the Communion, whereupon she was Intruding.

IV. There was a particular Deposition of JOSEPH SAFFORD, That his Wife had conceived an extream Aversion, to this How, on the Reports of her Witchcrafts: but How, one day taking her by the hand, and saying, I believe you are not Ignorant of the great Scandal, that I ly under, by an evil Report Raised upon me. She immediately, unreasonably, and unpersuadably, even like one Enchanted, began to take this Womans
part. How being soon after propounded, as desiring an Admission to the Table of the Lord, some of the pious Brethren were unsatisfy’d about her. The Elders appointed, a Meeting to hear Matters objected against her; and no Arguments in the world could hinder this Goodwife Safford, from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promise with much ado, that she would not go to the Church-Meeting, yet she could not refrain going thither also. How’s Affairs there were so Canvased, that she came off rather Guilty, then Cleared; nevertheless Goodwife Safford could not forbear taking her by the hand, and saying, Tho’ you are Condemned before men, you are Justify’d before God. She was quickly taken in a very strange manner; Frantick, Raving, Raging and Crying out, Goody How must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint, and tho’ she be Condemned before Men, she is Justify’d before God. So she continued for the space of two or three Hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to her self, she cry’d out, Ha! I was mistaken, and afterwards again repeated, Ha! I was mistaken! Being asked by a stander-by, Wherein? She reply’d, I thought Goody How, had been a Precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch. She has Bewitched me, and my Child, and we shall never be well, till there be Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church. And How said afterwards, that she was very Sorry to see Safford at the Church-Meeting mentioned. Safford after this, declared herself to be afflicted by the Shape, of How; and from that Shape she endured many Miseries.

V. John How, Brother to the Husband of the prisoner testified, that he refusing to accompany the prisoner unto her Examination as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle, were Bewitched to Death, Leaping three of four foot high, turning about, Squeaking, Falling, and Dying, at once; and going to cut off an Ear, for an use, that might as well perhaps have been Omitted, the Hand wherein he held his knife, was taken very Numb; and so it remained, and full of Pain for several Days; being not well at this very Time. And he suspected this prisoner, for the Author of it.

VI. Nehemiah Abbot testify’d, that unusual and mischievous Accidents would befal his cattle, whenever he had any Difference with this Prisoner. Once, Particularly, she wished his Oxe Choaked; and within a Little while, that Oxe was Choaked with a Turnip in his Throat. At another time, refusing to lend his horse, at the Request of her Daughter, the horse was in a Preternatural manner abused. And several other Odd Things, of that kind were testify’d.

VII. There came in Testimony, that one goodwife Sherwin, upon some Difference with How, was Bewitched, and, that she Dy’d, Charging this How of having an Hand in her Death. And that other People, had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischief’d, spoilt, and spilt, upon their Displeasing of her.

The things in themselves, were Trivial; but there being such a Course of them, it made them the more to be considered. Among others, Martha Wood gave her Testimony, that a Little after, her Father had been employ’d in gathering an Account of this Howes Conversation, they once and again Lost Great Quantities of Drink, out of their Vessels in such a manner, as they could ascribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As also, that How giving her some Apples, when she had eaten of them, she was taken with a very strange kind of a maze, inso-much that she knew not what she said or did.

VIII. There was Likewise a cluster of Depositions, that one Isaac Cummings, refusing to lend his Mare, unto the Husband of this How, the mare was within a Day or two, taken in a strange condition. The Beast seemed much Abused; being Bruised, as if she had been Running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a Red hot Bri-
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dle. Moreover, one using a Pipe of Tobacco for the Cure of the Beast, a blew Flame issued out of her, took hold of her Hair, and not only Spread and Burnt on her, but it also flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have set the Barn on Fire. And the Mare dy'd very suddenly.

IX. Timothy Perley and his Wife, Testify'd, not only that unaccountable Mischiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of Differences, with this Prisoner: but also, that they had a Daughter destroy'd by Witchcrafts; which Daughter still charged How, as the cause of her Affliction: and it was noted, that she would be struck down, whenever How were spoken of. She was often endeavoured to be Thrown into the Fire, and into the Water, in her strange Fits; tho' her Father had Corrected her, for Charging How with Bewitching her, yet (as was testify'd by others also) she said, she was sure of it, and must dy standing to it. Accordingly she Charged How to the very Death; and said, 'Tho' How could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet she could not Hurt her Soul: and, That the Truth of this matter would appear, when she should be Dead and Gone.'

X. Francis Lane, testify'd, That being hired by the Husband of this How, to get him a parcel of Posts and Rails, this Lane hired John Pearly to assist him. This Prisoner then told Lane, that she believed the Posts and Rails would not do, because John Perley helped him; but that if he had got them alone, without John Pearlie help, they might have done well enough. When James How came to receive his Posts and Rails of Lane, How taking them up by the ends, they, tho' good and sound, yet unaccountably broke off, so that Lane was forced to get Thirty or Forty more. And this Prisoner being informed of it, she said, she told him so before; because Pearly help'd about them.

XI. Afterwards, there came in the Confessions of several other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this How, to be one of those, who with them had been baptized by the Devil, in the River, at Newbery-Falls: before which, he made them there kneel down by the Brink of the River, and Worship him.

V

The TRIAL of MARTHA CARRIER, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer

Held by Adjournment at, Salem.

August 2. 1692.

I. MARTHA CARRIER, was Indicted for the Bewitching of certain Persons, according to the Form usual in such Cases. Pleading Not Guilty, to her Indictment, there were First brought in a considerable number of the Bewitched Persons; who not only made the Court sensible of an horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but also deposed, That it was Martha Carrier, or her Shape, that Grievously Tormented them, by Biting, Pricking, Pinching, and Choaking of them. It was further deposed, that while this Carrier was on her Examination, before the Magistrates, the Poor People were so Tortured that every one Expected their Death upon the very Spott; but that upon the binding of Carrier, they were eased. Moreover the Look of Carrier, then laid the Afflicted people for Dead; and her Touch, if her Eye at the same Time were off them, raised them again. Which things were also now seen upon her Trial. And it was Testifyed, that upon the men-
tion of some having their Necks twisted almost round, by the Shape of this Carrier, she replyed, It's no matter, tho' their Necks had been twisted quite off.

II. Before the Trial of this prisoner, several of her own Children, had frankly and fully confessed, not only that they were Witches themselves, but that this their Mother had made them so. This Confession they made with great shows of Repentance, and with much Demonstration of Truth. They Related Place, Time, Occasion; they gave an account of Journ-eyes, Meetings, and Mischiefs by them performed; and were very credible in what they said. Nevertheless, this Evidence was not produced against the Prisoner at the Bar, inasmuch as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.

III. Benjamin Abbot, gave in his Testimony, that last March was a twelve month, this Carrier was very Angry with him, upon laying out some Land, near her Husbands: Her Expressions in this Anger, were, That she would stick as close to Abbot, as the Bark stuck to the Tree, and that he should Repent of it, afore seven years came to an end, so as Doctor Prescot should never cure him. These words were heard by others, besides Abbot himself; who also heard her say, She would hold his Nose as close to the Grindstone, as ever it was held since his Name was Abbot. Presently after this, he was taken with a swelling in his Foot, and then with a pain in his side: and exceedingly Tormented. It bred unto a sore, which was Lanced by Doctor Prescot, and several Gallons of Corruption ran out of it. For six weeks it continued very bad; and then another sore bred in his Groin, which was also Lanc'd by Doctor Prescot. Another Sore then bred in his Groin, which was likewise Cut, and put him to very great Misery. He was brought unto Deaths Door, and so remained until Carrier was taken, and carried away by the Constable; from which very day, he began to mend, and so grew better every day, and is well ever since.

Sarah Abbot also his Wife testify'd, that her Husband was not only all this while Afflicted in his Body, but also that strange, extraordinary and unaccountable Calamities befel his Cattel, their Death being such as they could guess at no Natural Reason for.

IV. Allin Toothaker testify'd, That Richard, the Son of Martha Carrier, having some Difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head. When he Rose again, he was going to strike at Richard Carrier; but fell down flat on his Back to the ground, and had not power to stir hand or foot, until he told Carrier he yielded; and then he saw the Shape of Martha Carrier, go off his Breast.

This Toothaker, had Received a Wound in the Wars; and he now testify'd, that Martha Carrier told him, He should never be Cured. Just afore the Apprehending of Carrier, he could thrust a knitting Needle into his Wound, four Inches Deep; but presently after her being Siezed, he was throughly Healed.

He further testify'd, That when Carrier and he sometimes were at variance, she would clap her hands at him, and say, He should get nothing by it; Whereupon he several times lost his Cattel, by strange Deaths, whereof no Natural Causes could be given.

V. John Rogger also testifyed, That upon the threatening words of this malicious Carrier, his Cattel would be strangely Bewitched; as was more particularly then described.

VI. Samuel Preston testify'd, that about two years ago, having some Difference with Martha Carrier, he lost a Cow in a strange Preternatural unusual manner; and about a month
after this, the said Carrier, having again some Difference with him, she told him; *He had Lately lost a Cow, and it should not be long before he Lost another* which accordingly came to Pass; for he had a Thriving and well-kept Cow, which without any known cause quickly fell down and Dy'd.

VII. *Phebe Chandler* testify'd, that about a Fortnight before the apprehension of *Martha Carrier*, on a Lords-Day, while the Psalm was singing, in the Church, this Carrier then took her by the shoulder and shaking her, asked her, *where she Lived?* she made her no Answer, although as Carrier, who lived next door to her Fathers House, could not in reason but know who she was. Quickly after this, as she was at several times crossing the Fields, she heard a voice, that she took to be *Martha Carriers*, and it seem'd as if it was over her Head. The voice told her, *she should within two or three dayes be Poisoned.* Accordingly, within such a Little time, One Half of her Right Hand, became greatly swollen, and very painful; as also part of her Face; whereof she can give no account how it came. It continued very Bad for some dayes; and several times since, she has had a great pain in her Breast; and been so siezed on her Legs, that she has hardly been able to go. She added, that lately, going well to the House of God, *Richard*, the Son of *Martha Carrier*, Look'd very earnestly upon her, and immediately her hand, which had formerly been poisoned, as is abovesaid, began to pain her greatly; and she had a strange Burning at her stomach; but was then struck deaf, so that she could not hear any of the prayer, or singing, till the two or three last words of the Psalme.

VIII. One *Foster*, who confessed her own Share in the Witchcraft for which the Prisoner stood indicted, affirm'd, That she had seen the Prisoner at some of their *Witch-Meetings*, and that it was this *Carrier*, who perswaded her to be a Witch. She confessed, That the Devil carry'd them on a Pole, to a Witch-Meeting; but the Pole broke, and she hanging about *Carriers* Neck, they both fell down, and she then Received an Hurt by the Fall, whereof she was not at this very time Recovered.

IX. One *Lacy*, who likewise confessed her Share in this Witchcraft, now Testify'd, That she and the Prisoner were once Bodily present at a *Witch-meeting in Salem-Village*, and that she knew the Prisoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament, and that the Prisoner was the undoing of her, and her Children, by Enticing them into the Snare of the Devil.

X. Another *Lacy*, who also Confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now Testify'd, That the Prisoner was at the *Witch-Meeting in Salem-Village*, Where they had Bread and Wine Administred unto them.

XI. In the Time of this Prisoners Trial, one *Susanna Sheldon*, in open Court had her Hands Unaccountably Ty'd together with a Wheel-band, so fast that without Cutting, it could not be Loosed: It was done by a *Spectre*; and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the *Prisoners*.

Memorandum. This Rampant Hag, *Martha Carrier*, was the Person, of whom the Confessions of the Witches, and of her own Children among the rest, agreed, That the Devil had promised her, she should be *Queen of Hell*.

_Having thus far done the Service imposed upon me; I will further pursue it, by relating a few of those Matchless, CURIOSITIES, with which the Witchcraft now upon_
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us, has entertained us. And I shall Report nothing but with Good Authority, and what I would Invite all my Readers to examine, while tis yet Fresh and New, that if there be found any mistake, it may be as willingly Retracted, as it was unwillingly Committed.

The First CURIOSITIE.

I. Tis very Remarkable to see what an Impious & Impudent Imitation of Divine Things, is Apishly affected by the Devil, in several of those matters, whereof the Confessions of our Witches, and the Afflictions of our Sufferers have informed us.

That Reverend and Excellent Person, Mr. John Higgins, in My Conversation with him, Once invited me to this Reflection; That the Indians which came from far to settle about Mexico, were in their Progress to that Settlement, under a Conduct of the Devil, very strangely Emulating what the Blessed God gave to Israel in the Wilderness. Acosta, is our Author for it,

That the Devil in their Idol Vitzlipultzi, governed that mighty Nation. He commanded them to leave their Country, promising to make them Lords over all the Provinces possessed by Six other Nations of Indians, and give them a Land abounding with all precious things. They went forth, carrying their Idol with them, in a Coffin of Reeds, supported by Four of their Principal Priests, with whom he still Discoursed, in secret; Revealing to them the Successes, and Accidents of their way. He advised them, when to March, and where to Stay, and without his Commandment they moved not. The first thing they did, wherever they came, was to Erect a Tabernacle, for their False God; which they set always in the midst of their Camp, and

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there placed the Ark upon an Altar. When they, Tired with pains; talked of, proceeding no further in their Journey, than a certain pleasant Stage, whereto they were arrived, this Devil in one Night, horribly kill’d them that had started this Talk, by pulling out their Hearts. And so they passed on, till they came to Mexico.

The Devil which then thus imitated what was in the Church of the Old Testament, now among Us, would Imitate the Affayrs of the Church in the New. The Witches do say, that they form themselves much after the manner of Congregational Churches; and that they have a Baptism and a Supper, and Officers among them, abominably Resembling those of our Lord.

But there are many more of these Bloody Imitations, if the Confessions of the Witches are to be Received; which I confess, ought to be but with very much of Caution.

What is their striking down with a fierce Look? What is their making of the Afflicted Rise, with a touch of their Hand? What is their Transportation thro’ the Air? What is their Travelling in Spirit, while their Body is cast into a Trance? What is their causing of Cattle to run mad and perish? What is their Entering their Names in a Book? What is their coming together from all parts, at the Sound of a Trumpet? What is their Appearing sometimes Cloathed with Light or Fire upon them? What is their Covering of themselves and their Instruments with Invisibility? But a Blasphemous Imitation of certain Things recorded about our Saviour, or His Prophets, or the Saints in the Kingdom of God.

A Second CURIOSITIE.

II. In all the Witchcraft which now Grievously Vexes us, I know not whether any thing be more Unaccountable, than the Trick which the Witches have to render themselves, and their Tools Invisible. Witchcraft seems to be the Skill of Ap-
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from the Annoyances of the Spectre, she gave a Violent Snatch at the Sheet that was upon it; wherefrom she tore a Corner, which in her Hand immediately became Visible to a Roomful of Spectators: a Palpable Corner of a Sheet. Her Father, who was now holding her, Catch’d that he might Keep what his Daughter had so strangely Siezed, but the unseen Spectre had like to have pull’d his Hand off, by Endeavouring to wrest it from him; however he still held it, and I suppose has it, still to show: it being but a few Hours ago, namely about the Beginning of this October, that this Accident happened; in the family of one Pitman, at Manchester.

Thirdly, A young man, delaying to procure Testimonials for his Parents, who being under confinement on Suspicion of Witchcraft, required him to do that Service for them, was quickly pursued with odd Inconveniences. But once above the Rest, an Officer going to put his Brand on the Horns of some Cows, belonging to these people, which tho’ he had Seiz’d for some of their Debts, yet he was willing to leave in their Possession, for the Subsistence, of the poor Family; this young man help’d in holding the Cows to be thus Branded. The three first Cows he held well enough; but when the hot Brand was clap’t upon the Fourth, he winc’d and shrunk at such a rate, as that he could hold the Cow no longer. Being afterwards Examined about it, he Confessed, That at that very Instant when the Brand entred the Cows Horn, exactly the like Burning Brand was clap’d upon his own Thigh, where he has Exposed the Lasting Marks of it, unto such as asked to see them.

Unriddle these Things.—Et Eris mihi magnus Apollo.

A Third CURIOSITIE.

III. If a Drop of Innocent Blood should be shed, in the Prosecution of the Witchcrafts among us, how unhappy are
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For which cause, I cannot express my self in better terms, than those of a most Worthy Person, who lives near the present Center of these things. The Mind of God in these matters, is to be carefully look'd into, with due Circumspection, that Satan deceive us not with his Devices, who transforms himself into an Angel of Light, and may pretend Justice, and yet intend Mischief. But on the other side, if the Storm of Justice do now fall only on the Heads of those Guilty Witches and Wretches which have defiled our Land, How Happy!

The Execution of some that have lately Dyed, has been immediately attended, with a strange Deliverance of some, that had lain for many years, in a most sad Condition, under, they knew not whose Evil Hands. As I am abundantly satisfy'd, That many of the Self-Murders committed here, have been the effects of a Cruel, and Bloody, Witchcraft letting fly Demons upon the miserable Seneca; thus, it has been admirable unto me to see, how a Devillish Witchcraft sending Devils upon them, has, driven many poor people to Despair, and persecuted their minds, with such Buzzes of Atheism and Blasphemy, as has made them even run Distracted with Terrors: and some long Bow'd down under such a Spirit of Infirmity, have been marvelously Recovered upon the Death of the Witches.

One Whetford particularly ten years ago, challenging of Bridger Bishop (whose Trial you have had) with Stealing of a Spoon, Bishop treatned her very direfully: presently after this, was Whetford in the Night, and in her Bed, visited by Bishop, with one Parker, who making the Room Light at their coming in, there discoursed of several mischiefs they would inflict upon her. At last, they pull'd her out, and carried her unto the Sea-side, there to drown her; but she calling upon God, they left her, tho' not without Expressions of their Fury. From that very Time, this poor Whetford was utterly spoilt, and grew, a Tempted, Froward, Crazed sort of a Woman; a vexation to her self, and all about her; and many ways un-

A Fourth CURIOSITIE.

IV. 'Tis a thousand pitties, that we should permit our Eyes, to be so Blood-shot with passions, as to loose the sight of many wonderful Things, wherein the Wisdom and Justice of God, would be Glorify'd. Some of those Things, are the frequent Apparitions of Ghosts, whereby many Old Murders among us, come to be considered. And, among many Instances of this kind, I will single out one, which concerned a poor man, lately Prest unto Death, because of his Refusing to Plead for his Life. I shall make an Extract of a Letter, which was written to my Honourable Friend, Samuel Sewal, Esq; by Mr. Putman, to this purpose;

The Last Night my Daughter Ann, was grievously Tormented by Witches, Threatning that she should be Pressed to Death, before Giles Cory. But thro' the Goodness of a Gracious God, she had at last a little Respite. Whereupon there appeared unto her (she said) a man in a Winding Sheet; who told her that Giles Cory had Murdered him, by Pressing him to Death with his Feet; but that the Devil there appeared unto him, and Covenanted with him, and promised him, He should not be Hanged. The Apparition said, God Hardened his Heart; that he should not hearken to the Advice of the Court, and so Dy an easy Death; because as it said, It must be done to him as he has done to me. The Apparition also said, That Giles Cory was carry'd to the Court for this, and that the Jury had found the Murder, and that her Father knew the man, and the thing was done before she was born. Now Sir,
This is not a little strange to us; that no body should Remember these things, all the while that Giles Cory was in Prison, and so often before the Court. For all people now Remember very well, (and the Records of the Court also mention it,) That about Seventeen Years ago, Giles Cory kept a man in his House, that was almost a Natural Fool; which Man Dy’d suddenly. A Jury was Impannel’d upon him, among whom was Dr. Zorobabel Endicot; who found the man bruised to Death, and having clodders of Blood about his Heart. The Jury, whereof several are yet alive, brought in the man Murdered; but as if some Enchantment had hindred the Prosecution of the Matter, the Court Proceeded not against Giles Cory, tho’ it cost him a great deal of Mony to get off. Thus the Story.

THE Reverend and Worthy Author, having at the Direction of His EXCELLENCY the Governor, so far Obliged the Publick, as to give some Account of the Sufferings brought upon the Countrey by Witchcraft; and of the Trials which have passed upon several Executed for the Same:

I. It was in the Year 1669. and 1670. That at Mohra in Sweedland, the Devils by the help of Witches, committed a most horrible outrage. Among other Instances of Hellish Tyranny there exercised, One was, That Hundreds of their Children, were usually in the Night fetcht from their Lodging, to a Diabolical Rendezvouz, at a place they called, Blockula, where the Monsters that so Spirited them, Tempted them all manner of Ways to Associate with them. Yea, such was the perilous Growth of this Witchcraft, that Persons of Quality began to send their Children into other Countries to avoid it.

II. The Inhabitants had earnestly sought God by Prayer; and Yet their Affliction Continued. Whereupon Judges had a Special Commission; to find and root out the Hellish Crew; and the rather, because another County in the Kingdom, which had been so molested, was Delivered upon the Execution of the Witches.

III. The Examination, was begun with a Day of Humiliation, appointed by Authority. Whereupon the Commissioners Consulting, how they might resist such a Dangerous Flood, the Suffering Children, were first Examined; and tho’ they were Questioned One by One apart, yet their Declarations All Agreed. The Witches Accus’d in these Declarations, were then Examined; and tho’ at first they obstinately Denied, yet at length many of them Ingenuously Confessed the Truth of what the Children had said; owning with Tears, that the Devil, whom they call’d, Loverty, had Stopt their Mouths; but he being now Gone from them, they could No Longer Conceal the Business. The things by them Acknowledged, most wonderfully Agreed with what other Witches in other places had Confessed.
IV. They Confessed, That they did use to Call upon the Devil, who thereupon would Carry them away, over the Tops of Houses, to a Green Meddow, where they gave themselves unto him. Only one of them said, That sometimes the Devil only took away her Strength, Leaving her Body on the Ground; but she went at other times in Body too.

V. Their manner was to come into the Chambers of people, and fetch away their Children upon Beasts, of the Devils providing: promising Fine Clothes and other Fine Things unto them, to Inveagle them. They said, They never had power to do thus, till of Late; but now the Devil did Plague and Beat them, if they did not gratifie him, in this piece of Mischief. They said, They made use of all sorts of Instruments in their Journeys! Of Men, of Beasts, of Posts; the Men they commonly laid asleep at the place, whereto they Rode them; & if the Children mentioned the Names of them that Stole them away, they were miserably Scourged for it, until some of them were killed. The Judges found the Marks of the Lashes on some of them; but the Witches said, They would Quickly vanish. Moreover the Children would be in strange Fits, after they were brought home, from these Transports.

VI. The First Thing, they said, they were to do at Blockula, was to Give Themselves unto the Devil, and Vow that they would serve him. Hereupon, they Cut their Fingers, and with Blood, writ their Names in his Book. And he also caused them to be Baptised by such Priests, as he had, in this Horrid Company. In some of them, the Mark of the Cut Finger was to be found. They said, That the Devil gave Meat and Drink, as to Them, so the Children they brought with them: that afterwards their Custome was to Dance before him; and Swear and Curse most horribly. They said, That the Devil shou’d them a great, Frightful, Cruel Dragon, telling them, If they Confessed any Thing, he would let loose that Great Devil upon them. They added, That the Devil had a Church; and that when the Judges were coming, he told them, he would kill them all; and that some of them had Attempted to Murder the Judges, but Could Not.

VII. Some of the Children, talked much of a White Angel, which did use to Forbid them, what the Devil had Bid them to do; and Assure them that these Doings would Not Last Long; but that what had been done was permitted for the wickedness of the People. This White Angel, would sometimes rescue the Children, from Going in, with the Witches.

VIII. The Witches confessed many mischiefs done by them; declaring with what kind of Enchanted Tools, they did their Mischiefs. They sought especially to kill the Minister, of Elfidale, but could not. But some of them said, That such as they wounded, would Be recovered, upon or before their Execution.

IX. The Judges would fain have seen them show some of their Tricks; but they Unanimously Declared, That Since they had Confessed, all, they found all their Witchcraft gone; and the Devil then Appeared very Terrible unto them, threatening with an Iron Fork, to thrust them into a Burning Pit, if they persisted in their Confession.

X. There were discovered no less than Threescore and ten Witches: in One Village, Three and Twenty of which Freely Confessing their Crimes, were condemned to Dy. The rest, (One pretending she was with Child) were sent to Fahluna, where most of them were afterwards executed. Fifteen Children, which confessed themselves engaged in this Witchery, Dyed as the Rest. Six and Thirty of them, between Nine and Sixteen years of Age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet, and be lashed on their hands, once a Week, for a year together. Twenty more who had less inclination to these Infernal enterprises, were lashed with Rods upon their Hands for three Sundays together, at the Church-Door. The
number of the seduced Children, was about Three Hundred. This course, together with Weekly Prayers, in all the Churches thro' the Kingdom, issued in the Deliverance of the Country.

XI. The most Accomplished Dr. Horneck inserts a most wise caution, in his preface to this Narrative; saies he, There is no Publick Calamity, but some Ill people, will serve themselves of the sad providence, and make use of it for their own Ends, as Thieves, when an House or Town is on Fire, will steal what they can. And he mentions a Remarkable Story of a Young Woman, at Stockholm, in the year, 1676. Who accused her own Mother of being a Witch; and swore positively, that she had carried her away in the Night. The poor Woman was burnt upon it: professing her Innocency to the last. But tho' she had been an Ill Woman, yet it afterwards prov'd, that she was not such an one; for her Daughter came to the Judges, with hideous Lamentations, Confessing, That she had wronged her Mother, out of a wicked spite against her; whereupon the Judges gave order for her Execution too.

But, so much of these things; And, now, Lord, make these Labours of thy Servant, Profitable to thy People!

Our Blessed Saviour has blessed us, with a counsel, as Wholsome and as Needful, as any that can be given us, in Math. 26. 41. Watch and Pray, that ye Enter not into Temptation. As there is a Tempting Flesh, and a Tempting World, which would seduce us from Our Obedience to the Laws of God, so there is a Busy Devil, who is by way of Eminency called, The Tempter; because by him, the Temptations of the Flesh and the World are managed.

It is not One Devil alone, that has Cunning or Power enough to apply the Multitudes of Temptations, whereby Mankind is daily diverted from the Service of God; No, the High Places of Our Air, are Swarming full of those Wicked Spirits, whose Temptations trouble us; they are so many, that it seems, no less than a Legion, or more than Twelve Thousands may be spared, for the Vexation of one miserable man. But because those Apostate Angels, are all United, under one Infernal Monarch, in the Designs of Mischief, 'tis in the
The Devil

Singular Number, that they are spoken of. Now, the Devil, whose Malice and Envy, prompts him to do what he can, that We may be as Unhappy as himself, do's ordinarily use more Fraud, than Force, in his assaulting of us; he that assail'd our First Parents, in a Serpent, will still Act Like a Serpent, rather then a Lion, in prosecuting of his wicked purposes upon us, and for us to guard against the Wiles of the Wicked One, is one of the greatest cares, with which our God ha's charged us.

We are all of us liable to various Temptation every day, whereby if we are carried aside from the strait Paths of Righteousness, we get all sorts of wounds unto ourselves. Of Temptation, I may say, as the Wise Man said, of Mortality; There is no discharge from that War. The Devil fell hard upon both Adams, nor may any among the Children of both, imagine to be excused. The Son of God Himself, had this Dog of Hell, barking at Him; and much more may the Children of Men, look to be thus Visited; indeed, there is hardly any Temptation, but what is, Common to Man. When I was considering, how to spend one Hour in Raising a most Effectual & Profitable Breast-Work, against the Inroads of this Enemy, I perceived it would be done, by a short answer to this

CASE

What are those Usual Methods of Temptation, with which the Powers of Darkness do assault the Children of Men?

The Corinthians, having upon the Apostles Direction, Excommunicated one of their Society, who had married his Mother-in-law, and this, as it is thought, while his own Father was Living too; the Apostle encourages them to Re-admit that man, upon his very deep and sharp Repentance. He gives divers Reasons of his propounding this unto them; whereof one is, Lest Satan should get advantage of them; for, had the man miscarried, under any Rigour of the Sentence continued upon him, after his Repentance, 'tis well if the Church it self had not quickly fallen to pieces thereupon; be sure, the Success of the Gospel had been more than a little Incommoded. The Apostle upon this Occasion, intimates, That Satan has his Devices; by which word are meant, Artifices or Contrivances used for the Deceiving of those that are Treated with them Well, But what shall we do that we may come to this Corinthian Attainment, We are not Ignorant of Satans Devices? [Non cuivis homini Contingit!]

Truly, The Devil has Mille Nocendi Artes; and it will be impossible for us, to run over all the Stratagems and Policies of our Adversary. I shall only attempt a few Observations upon the Temptations of our Lord Jesus Christ: who was Tempted in all things like unto us, except in our Sins. When we read the Temptations of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Fourth Chapter of Matthew, There, Thence, you will understand, what was once counted so difficult; Even, The way of a Serpent upon the Rock. There are certain Ancient and Famous Methods which the Devil in his Temptations, does mostly accustome himself unto; which is not so much from any Barreness, or Sluggish-ness in the Devil, but because he has had the Encouragement of a, probatum est, upon those horrid Methods. How did the Devil assault the First Adam? It was with Temptations drawn from Pleasure, and Profit, and Honour, which, as the Apostle notes, in 1 Joh 2. 16. Are, All that is in the World. With the very same Temptations it was, that he fell upon the Second Adam too. Now, in those Temptations, you will see the more Usual Methods, whereby the Devil would be Ensnaring of us; and I beseech you to attend unto the following Admonitions, as those Warnings of God; which the Lives of your Souls depend upon your taking of.

There were especially Three Remarkable Assaults of Temptations, which the Devil it seems, visibly made upon our Lord; after he had been more Invisibly for Forty Dayes together
The Devil

Tempting of that Holy One; and we may make a few Distinct Remarks upon them all.

§. The first of our Lords three Temptations is thus related, in Mat. 4. 3. He was an Hungry, and when the Tempter came to Him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, Command that these Stones be made Bread.

From whence, take these Remarks.

I. The Devil will ordinarily make our Conditions, to be the Advantages of his Temptations. When our Lord was Hungry, then, Bread! Bread! Shall be all the Cry of his Temptation; the Devil puts him upon a wrong step, for the getting of Bread. There is no Condition, but what has indeed some Hunger accompanying of it; and the Devil marks what it is, that we are Hungry for. One mans Condition makes him Hunger for Preferments, or Employments; another mans makes him Hunger for Cash, or Land, or Trade; another mans makes him Hunger for Merriments, or Diversions: And the Condition of every Afflicted Man, makes him Hunger with Impatience for Deliverance. Now the Devil will be sure to suit his Persuasions with our Conditions. When he has our Condition to speak with him, and for him, then thinks he, I am sure this man will now hearken to my Proposals! Hence, if men are in Prosperity, the Devil will Tempt them to Forgetfulness of God; if they are in Adversity, he will Tempt them to Murmuring at God; in all the Expressions of those Impieties. Wise Agur was aware of this; in Prov. 30. 9. says he, If a man be Full, he shall be Tempted, To Deny God and say, Who is the Lord? If a man be Poor, he shall be Tempted, To Steal, and take the Name of God in vain. The Devil will Talk suitably. If you ponder your Conditions, you may expect you shall be Tempted agreeably thereunto.

II. The Devil does often manage his Temptations, by urging of our Necessities. Our Lord, was thus by the Devil bawl'd upon; You want Bread, and you'l Starve, if in my way you get it not. The Devil will show some Forbidden Thing unto us, and plead concerning it, as of Bread we use to say, It must be had. Necessity has a wonderful Compulsion in it. You may see what Necessity will do, if you read in Deut. 28. 56. The Tender and the Delicate Woman among you, her eye shall be evil towards the Children that she shall Bear, for she shall eat them for want of all Things. The Devil will persuade us that there is a Necessity of our doing what he does propound unto us; and then tho’ the Laws of God, about us were so many Walls of Stone, yet we shall break through them all. That little Inconvenience, of our coming to Beg our Bread, O what a fearful Representation does the Devil make of it! and when once the Devil scares us to think of a sinful thing, It must be done, we soon come to think, It may be done. When the Devil has frightened us, into an Apprehension, that it is a Needful thing which we are prompted unto, he presently Engages all the Faculties of our Souls, to prove, that it may be a Lawful one. The Devil told Esau, You’d Dy if you don’t Sell your Birthright; the Devil told Aaron, You’d pull all the People about your ears, if you do not countenance their Superstitions; and then they complyd immediately. Yea, sometimes, if the Devil do but Feign a Necessity, he does thereby Gain the Hearts of Men; he did but Feign a Need, when he told Saul, The Cattel must be Spared, and the Sacrifice must be precipitated; and he does but Feign a Need, when he tells many a man, If you do no Servile work on the Sabbath-day, and if you don’t Rob God of His Evening, you’l never subsist in the World. All the Denials of God, in the world, use to be from this Fallacy Impos’d upon us. It never can be Necessary for us to violate any Negative Commandment in the Law of our God; where God says, Thou shalt not, we cannot upon any pretend Reply, I must. But the Devil will put a most formidable and astonishing face of Necessity upon many of those, Abominable Things which are hateful to the Soul of God. He’ll say nothing to us about The One Thing Needful; but the petite and the sorry
Need-nots of this world, he'll set off with most bloody Colours of Necessity. He will not say, 'Tis necessary for you to maintain the Favour of your God, and secure your Welfare of your Soul; but he'll say, 'Tis Necessary for you to keep in with your Neighbours, and that you and yours may have a Good Living among them.

III. The Divil does insinuate his most Horrible Temptations, with pretence, of much Friendship and Kindness for us. He seemed very unwilling that our Lord should want any thing that might be comfortable for him; but, he was a Divil still! The Divil flatters our Mother Eve, as if he was desirous to make her more Happy than her Maker did; but there was the Divil in that flattery. Sub Amici fallere Nomen;—to Salute men with promises to do all manner of Service for them; and at the same time to Stab them as Joab did Abner of old; this is just like the Divil; and the Divil truly has many Children that Imitate him in it. Some very Affectionate Things were spoken once unto our Lord; Lord, be it far from thee, that thou shouldest suffer any Trouble! But our Lords Answer was, in Math. 16. 23. Get thee behind me, Satan. The Devil will say to a man, I would have thee to Consult thy own Interest, and I would have Trouble to be far from thee. He speaks these Fair Things, by the Mouths of our professed Friends unto us, as he did by the Tongue of a Speckled Snake unto our Deluded Parents at the first. But all this while, tis a Direction that ha's been wisely given us; When he speaks fair, Believe him not; for there are Seven Abominations in his Heart.

IV. Things in themselves Allowable and Convenient, are oftentimes turned into sore Temptations by the Devil. He press'd our Lord unto the making of Bread; Why, that very thing was afterwards done by our Lord, in the Miracles of the Loaves, and yet it is now a motion of the Divil, Pray, make thy self a Little Bread. The Devil will frequently put men by, from the doing of a Seasonable Duty; but how? truly by putting us upon another Duty, which may be at that juncture a most Unseasonable Thing. It is said in Eccl. 8. 9. A Wise mans heart discerns both Time and Judgment. The Ill-Timing of Good Things, is One of the chief Intrigues, which the Devil has to Prosecute. The Devil himself, will Egg us on to many a Duty; and why so? but because at that very Time a more proper and Useful Duty, will have a Supersedeas given thereunto. And, thus there are many Things, whereof we can say, though no more than this, yet so much as this, They are Lawful ones; by which Lawful Things—Perimus Omnes. Where shall we find that the Devil ha's Laid our most fatal Snares? Truly, our Snares are on the Bed, where it is Lawful for us to Sleep; at the Board, where it is Lawful for us to Sit; in the Cups, where 'tis Lawful to Drink; and in the Shops, where we have Lawful Business to do. The Divil will decoye us, unto the utmost Edge of the Liberty that is Lawful for us; and then one Little push, hurries us into a Transgression against the Lord. And the Divil by Inviting us to a Lawful Thing, at a wrong Time for it, Layes us under further Entanglement of Guilt before God. 'Tis Lawful for people to use Recreations; but in the Evening of the Lords Day, or the Morning of any Day, how Ensnaring are they! the Divil then too commonly bears part in the Sport. If Promiscuous Dancing were Lawful; though almost all the Christian Churches in the World, have made a Scandal of it; yet for persons to go presently from a Sermon to a Dance, is to do a thing, which Doubless the Divil makes good Earnings of.

V. To Distrust Gods Providence and Protection, is one of the worst Things, into which the Devil by his Temptations would be hurrying of us. He would fain have driven our Lord unto a Suspicion of Gods care about Him; said the Devil, You may Dy for Lack of Bread, if you do not Look better after your self, than God is like to do for you. It is an usual Thing for Per-
sons to despair of God’s Fatherly Care Concerning them; they torture themselves with distracting and amazing Fears, that they shall come to want before they dy; Yea, they even say with Jonas, in Chap. 2. 4. I am cast out of the Sight of God; He won’t look after me!

But it is the Devil that is the Author of all such Melancholly Suggestions in the minds of men. It is a Thought that often raises a Fever in the Hearts of Married Persons, when Charges grow upon them; God will never be able in the way of my Calling, to feed and cloath all my Little Folks. It is a Thought with which Aged Persons are often tormented, Tho’ God has all my Days hitherto supplied me, yet I shall be pinch’d with Straits before I come to my Journeys end. ‘Tis a malicious Devil that raises these Evil Surmisings in the Hearts of men. And sometimes a Distemper of Body affords a Lodging for the Devil, from whence he shoots the cruel Bombs of such Fiery Thoughts into the minds of many other persons. With such Thoughts does the Devil choose to persecute us; because thereby we come to Forfeit what we Question. We Question the Care of God, and so we Forfeit it, until perhaps the Devil do utterly Drown us in Perdition. Our God says, Trust in the Lord, and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed. But the Devil says, Don’t you Trust in God; Be afraid that you shall not be fed; and thus he hinders men from the Doing of Good.

VI. There is nothing more Frequent in the Temptations of the Devil, then for our Adoption to be doubted, because of our Affliction. When our Lord was in his Penury, then says the Devil, If thou be the Son of God, he now makes an If; of it; What? The Son of God, and yet not be able to Command a Bit of Bread! Thus, when we are in very Afflictive Circumstances, this will be the Devils Inference, Thou art not a Child of God. The Bible says in Heb. 12. 7. If you are Chastened, it is a shrow’d sign that you can’t be Children. Since he can’t Rob us of our Grace, he would Rob us of our Joy; and therefore having Accused us unto God, he then Accuses God unto us. When Israel was weak and faint in the Wilderness, then did Amalek set upon them; just so, does the Devil set upon the People of God, when their Losses, their Crosses, their Exercises have Enfeebled their Souls within them; and what says the Devil? E’en the same that was mutter’d in the Ear of the Afflicted Job, Is not this the Uprightness of thy Ways? Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished, being Innocent? If thou wer’t a Child of God, He would never follow thee, with such Testimonies of his Indignation. This is the Logic of the Devil; and he thus interrupts that patience, and that Cheerfulness wherewith we should Suffer the Will of God.

VII. To Dispute the Divine Original and Authority of God’s Word, is not the least of those Temptations with which the Devil Troubles us. God from Heaven, had newly said unto our Lord, This is my Beloved Son; but now the Devil would have him to make a Dispute of it, If thou be the Son of God. The Devil durst not be so Impudent, and Brasen-faced, as to bid men use Pharaoh’s Language, Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice? But he will whisper into our Ears, what he did unto our Mother Eve of old, It is not the Lord, that hath spoken, what you call his Word. The Devil would have men say unto the Scripture, what they said unto the Prophet, in Jer. 43. 2. Thou speak’st falsely; the Lord our God hath not sent thee to speak what thou say’st unto us; and he would fain have secret and cursed Misgivings in our Hearts, That things are not altogether so as the Scripture has represented them. The Devil would with all his Heart, make one huge Bonefire of all the Bibles in the World; and he has got millions of Persecutors to assist him in the Suppression of that Miraculous Book. It was the Devil once in the Tongue of a Papist that cry’d out, A Plague on this Bible; this ‘tis that does all our mischief. But because he can’t Suppress this Book, he sets himself, to Disgrace it all that he can. Altho’ the Scripture
carries its own Evidence with it, and be all over, so pure, so great, so true, and so powerful, that it is impossible it should proceed from any but God alone; yet the Devil would gladly bring some Discredit upon it, as if it were but some Humane Contrivance; Of nothing, is the Devil more desirous, than this; That we should not count, Christ so precious, Heaven so Glorious, Hell so Dreadful, and Sin so odious, as the Scripture has declared it.

§. The Second of our Lords Three Temptations, is related after this manner, in Mat. 4. 5, 6. Then the Devil taketh him up, into the Holy City, and setteth him upon a Pinacle of the Temple; and saith unto him, if thou be the Son of God, cast thy self down; For it is written, He shall give his Angels charge concerning thee, and in thy Hands, they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy Foot against a Stone.

From whence take these Remarks.

I. The places of the greatest Holiness will not secure us from Annoyance by the Temptations of the Devil, to the greatest wickedness. When our Lord was in the Holy City, the Devil fell upon him there. Indeed, there is now no proper Holiness of Places in our Dayes; the Signs and Means of Gods more special Presence are not under the Gospel, ty’d unto any certain places: Nevertheless there are places, where we use to enjoy much of God; and where, altho’ God visit not the Persons for the sake of the Places, yet he visits the Places for the sake of the Persons. But, I am to tell you, that the Devil will visit those Places and the best Persons there. No Place, that I know of, has got such a Spell upon it, as will always keep the Devil out. The Meeting-House wherein we Assemble for the Worship of God, is filled with many Holy People, and many Holy Concerns continually; but if our Eyes were so refined as the Servant of the Prophet had his of old, I suppose we should now see a Throng of Devils in this very place. The Apostle has intimated, that Angels come in among us; there are Angels it seems, that hark, how I Preach, and how you Hear, at this Hour. And our own sad Experience is enough to intimate, That the Devils are likewise Rendezouzing here. It is Reported, in Job. 1. 5. When the Sons of God, came to present themselves before the Lord, Satan came also among them. When we are in our Church-Assemblies, O how many Devils, do you imagine, crowd in among us! There is a Devil that roques one to Sleep; there is a Devil that makes another to be thinking of, he scarce knows what himself; and there is a Devil, that makes another, to be pleasing himself with wanton and wicked Speculations. It is also possible, that we have our Closets, or our Studies, gloriously perfumed with Devotions every day; but alas, can we shut the Devil out of them? No, Let us go where we will, we shall still find a Devil nigh unto us. Onely, when we come to Heaven, we shall be out of his Reach for ever; O thou foule Devil, we are going where thou canst not come! He was hissed out of Paradise, and shall never enter it any more. Yea, more than so, when the New Jerusalem comes down into the High Places of our Air, from whence the Devil shall then be Banished, there shall be no Devil within the Walls of that Holy City. Amen, Even so, Lord Jesus, Come quickly!

II. Any other Acknowledgments of the Lord Jesus Christ, will be permitted by the Temptations of the Devil, provided those Acknowledgments of Him, which are True and Full, may be thereby prevented. What was it, that the Devil hurried our Lord Jesus Christ unto the Top of the Temple for? Surely it could not meerly be to find Precipices; any part of the Wilderness would have afforded Them. No, it was rather to have Spectators. And why so? Why, the carnal Jews had an Expectation among them; that Elias was to fly from Heaven to the Temple; and the Devil seems willing, that our Lord
The Devil

should be cry’d up for Elias, among the giddy multitude; or any thing in the World, tho’ never so considerable otherwise, rather than to be Received as, The Christ of God. The Devil will allow his Followers to think very highly of the Lord Jesus Christ; O but he is very lothe to have them think, The Christ of God.

The Devil would confess to our Lord, Thou art the Holy One of God! but then he claps in, Thou art Jesus of Nazareth, which was to conceal our Lords being, Jesus of Bethlehem, and so, his being, The True Messiah. All the Heresies, and all the Persecutions, that ever plagued the Church of God, have still been, to strike at some Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. A CHRIST Entirely Acknowledged, will save the Souls of them that so Acknowledge Him; but, says the Devil, Whatever I do, I must not give way to that. As they say, the Devil makes Witches unable to utter all the Lords Prayer, or some such System of Religion, without some Depravations of it; thus the Devil will consent that we may make a very large Confession of the Lord Jesus Christ; only he will have us to deprave it, at least in some one Important Article. Some one Honour, some one Office, and some one Ordinance of the Lord Jesus Christ, must be always left unacknowledged, by those that do as the Devil would have them.

III. High Stations in the Church of God, lay men open to violent and peculiar Temptations of the Devil. When Our Lord was upon the Pinacle, that is, not the Fane, or Spire, but the Battlements of the Temple, there did the Devil pester him, with singular Molestations, and he therein, seems to intend an Entanglement for the Jews, as well as for Our Lord. Believe me, they that Stand High, cannot Stand safe. The Devil is a Nimrod, a mighty Hunter; and common or little Game, will not serve his Turn: he is a Leviathan, of whom we may say, as in Job. 41. 34. He beholds all high Things. Men of High Attainments, and Men of High Employments, in the Church of God, must look, like Peter to be more Sifted, and like Paul, to be more Buffeted than other Men. Feriunt Summos Fulmina Monte—The Devil can raise a Storm, when God permitteth it, but as for those Men that stand near Heaven, the Devil will attack them with his most cruel storms of Thunder and Lightning. It was said, Let him that stands take heed; but we may say, They that stand most high, have cause to take most Heed. The Devil is a Goliab, and when he finds a Champion, he’ll be sure most fiercely to Combat such a man. He is for, Killing many Birds with one Stone; and he knows that he shall hinder a world of Good, and produce a world of Ill, if once he can bring a man Eminently Stationed into his Toyls. Hence ‘tis that the Ministers of God, are more dogg’d by the Devil, than other persons are. Especially such Ministers, as move in the highest Orb of Serviceableness; and most of all such Ministers as have spent many years in Laudable Endeavours to be Serviceable; Those Ministers are the Stars of Heaven, at which the Tail of the Dragon, will give the most sweeping and most sting- ing strokes; the Devil will find that for them, that shall make them Walk softly all their Dayes. These are the men, that have creeped, and vexed the Devil more than other men; for which the Devil has an old Quarrel with them. O Neighbours, Little do you think, what black Dayes of Mourning, and Fast- ing, and Praying before the Lord, a Raging Devil do’s fill the lives of such Men of God withal.

IV. The devil will make a deceitful and unfaithful use of the Scriptures to make his Temptations forceable. When the Devil Sollicited our Lord, unto an evil thing, he quoted the Ninety first Psalm unto him, tho’ indeed he fallaciously clip’d it, and maim’d it, of one clause very material in it. O never
do’s the Devil make such dangerous Passes at us, as when he
does wrest our own Sword out of our Hands, and push That
upon us. We have to defend us, that Weapon in Eph. 6. 16. The
Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; but when the Devil
has that very Weapon to fight us with, he makes terrible work
of it. When the Devil would payson men with false Doctrines,
he’ll quote Scripture for them; a Quaker himself, will have the
First Chapter of John always in his mouth. When the Devil
would perswade men to vile Actions, he’ll quote Scriptures for
them; he’ll encourage men to go on in Sin, by showing them,
where ‘tis said, The Lord is Ready to Pardon. When people are going to Harm
themselves, we call upon them, like those to the Jailor, in Acts. 16. 28. Do thy self no harm! And we have this Argument
for it, It is the Devil that is dragging of you to this mischief;
but will you believe, will you obey such an one as the Devil is? What was it
that made Judas to Strangle himself? We read it was when
the Devil was in him. I suppose there are few Self-Murderers,
but what are first very strangely fallen into the Devils hands;
and possibly, ‘tis by some Extraordinary Discontent, against
God, or Backsliding from Him, that the Devil first entred
into those disturbed Souls. Indeed, some very great Saints of
God, have sometimes had hideous Royls raised by the Devil
in their minds; until they have e’en cry’d out with Job, I choose
Strangling rather than life; and sometimes the Ill Humours or
Vapours in the Bodies of such Good Men, do so harbour the Devil that they have this woful motion every day thence
made unto them; You must kill your self! you must! you must!
But it is rarely any other than a Saul, an Abimelek, and Achitophel,
or a Judas; rarely any other, than a very Reprobate, whom
the Devil can drive, while the man is, Compos Mentis, to Con-
summate such a Villany. Yea, no Child of God, in his Right Senses can go so far in this Impiety, as to be left without all
Time and Room, for true Repentance of the Crime; ‘tis thus
done, by none but those that go to the Devil. A Self-Murder,
acted by one that is upon other accounts, a Reasonable Man,
is but such an Attempt or Revenge upon the God that made

his Bones, in the fall? The Devil is an Old Murtherer; and he
loves to Murder men; but no Murder gives him so much satis-
faction, as that which at his Instigation, Men perpetrate upon
themselves. We see that such as are Bewitched and Possessed by
the devil, do quickly lay violent hands upon themselves, if
they be not watched continually, and we see that when per-
sons have begun that Unnatural business of killing themselves,
there is a Preternatural Stupendous Prodigious Assistance, by
the devil given thereunto. When people are going to Harm
themselves, we call upon them, like those to the Jailor, in
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acted by one that is upon other accounts, a Reasonable Man,
is but such an Attempt or Revenge upon the God that made

V. Grievous and Pulling Hurries to Self-Murder are none
of the smallest outrages, which the Devil in his Temptations
commits upon us. Why, did the Devil say to Our Lord, Cast
thy self down, but in hopes that Our Lord would have broke
The Devil

him, as none but one full of the Devil can be guilty of. If any of you are Dragoon’d by the Devil, unto the Murdering of your selves, my Advice to you is, Di sclose it, Reveal it, make it known immediately. One that Cut his own Throat among us, Expired crying our, O that I had told! O that I had told! You may Spoil the Devil, if you’ll Tell what he is a doing of.

VI. Presumptuous and Unwarrantable Trials of the Blessed God, are some of those things whereinto the Devil would fain hook us with his Temptations. This was that which the Devil would have brought our Lord unto, even, A Tempting of the Lord our God. It is the charge of our God upon us, in Deut. 6.16. Thou shalt not Tempt the Lord thy God. But that the Devil T ries, is, to put us upon Trying in a sinful way, whether God be such a God as indeed He is. ‘Tis true, as to the Ways of Obedience, our God says unto us, Prove me, in these ways; Try, Whether I won’t be as Good as my Word. But then, there are ways of Presumption, wherein the Devil would have us to Try, what a God it is, With whom we have to do. The Devil would have us to Try the Purpose of God, about our selves or others; but how? By going to the Devil himself; by Consulting Astrologers, or Fortune-tellers; or perhaps, by letting the Bible fall open, to see what is the first Sentence we light upon. The Devil would have us Try the Mercy of God; But how? By running into Dan gers, which we have no call unto. He would have us Try the Power of God; But how? By Looking for Good Things, without the use of Means for the getting of them. He would have us Try the Justice of God; but how? By venturing upon Sin, in a Corner, with an Imagination that God will never bring us out. He would have us Try the Promise of God; but how? By Limiting the Lord, unto such or such a way of Manifesting Himself, or else believing of nothing at all. He would have us Try the Threatening of God; but how? By going on Impe nitently in those things, for which the Wrath of God comes upon the Children of Disobedience. Thus would the Devil have us, to affront the Majesty of Heaven every day.

Discovered

VII. The Temptations of the Devil, aim at puffing and Bloating of us up, with Pride; as much perhaps as any one iniquity. The Devil would have had Our Lord make a Vain-glorious Discovery of himself unto the world, by Flying in the air, so as no mortal can. Hoc Ithacus velit—the Devil would have us to soar aloft, and not only to be above other men, but also to know that we are so. Pride is the Devils own sin; and he affects especially to be, The King over the Children of Pride, It is a caution, in i. Tim. 3. 6. A Pastor must not be A Novice; Let being lifted up with Pride, He fall into the condemnation of the Devil. [Summo ac Pio cum Tremore Hunc Textum Legamus nos Ministri Juvenes!] Accordingly, the Devil would have us to be inordinately taken and moved with what Excellencies our God ha’s bestowed upon us. If our Estates rise, he would have us rise in our Spirits too. If we have been blessed with beauty, with breeding, with Honour, with Success, with Attire, with spiritual Priviledges, or with Praise-worthy Performances; Now saies the Devil, Think thy self better than other Men. Yea, the Devil, would have us arrogate unto ourselves, those Excellencies, which really we never were owners of; and, Boast of a false gift. He would have us moreover to Thirst after Applause among others that may see Our Excellencies; and be impatient if we are not accounted some-body. He would have us furthermore, to aspire after such a Figure, as God ha’s never yet seen fitting for us; & croud into some High Chair that becomes us nor. Thus would the Devil Elevate us into the Air, above our Neighbours; and why so! Tis that we may be punished with such Falls, as may make us cry out with David, O my Bones are broken with my Falls! The Devil can’t endure to see men lying in the Dust; because there is no falling thence. He is a Fallen Spirit himself, and it pleases him to see the Falls of men.

§. The Third of Our Lords Three Temptations, is related in such Terms as these. Math. 4. 8, 9. Again the Devil taketh him up, into an exceeding High Mountain, and sheweth him all the Kingdomes of the world, and the glory of them: and saith unto him,
The Devil

all these things will I give thee, if Thou wilt fall down and Worship me. From whence take these Remarks.

I. The Devil in his Temptations will set the Delights of this world before us; but he'1l set a fair, and a false Varnish upon those Delights. They were some unknown Perspectives, which the Devil had, both for the Refracting of the Medium, and for the Magnifying of the Object, whereby he gave our Lord at once a prospect of the whole Roman Empire; but what was it? It was the World, and the Glory of it; he says not a word of the World, and the Trouble of it. No sure; not a word of that; the Devil will not have his Hook so barely expos'd unto us. The Devil sets off the Delights of Sin, which he offers unto us, with a stretched and a raised Rhetoric; but he will not own, That in the midst of our Laughter, our Heart shall be sorrowful; and, That the end of our Mirth shall be Heaviness. There is but one Glass in the Spectacles, with which the Devil would have us to Read, those passages in Eccl. 11. 9. Rejoice, O young man in thy youth, and let thy Heart cheer thee in the Days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy Heart, and in the sight of thine Eyes. Thus far the Devil would have us to Read; and he'1l make many a fine Comment upon it; he'1l tell us, That if we'1ll follow the Courses of the World, we shall swim in all the Delights of the World. But he is not willing you should Read out the next words; But know thou, that for all these things, God shall bring thee into Judgment. O he's loth we should be aware of the dreadful Issues, and Reckonings that our Worldly Delights will be attended with. He sets before us, The Pleasures of Sin; but he will not say, These are but for a Season. He sets before us, The sweet Waters of Stealth; but he will not say, There is Death in the Pot. He is a Mountebank, that will bestow nothing but Romantic Praises upon all that he makes us the Offers of.

II. There are most Hellish Blasphemies often buzz'd by the Temptations of the Devil, into the minds of the best men alive. What a most Execrable Thing was here laid before our Lord Himself: Even To own the Devil as God! a thing that cannot be uttered, without unutterable Horror of Soul. The best man on earth, may have such Fiery Darts from Hell shot into his mind. One that was acted by the Devil, had the impudence to propound this, unto such a good man as Job, Curse God. And the Devil pleases himself, by chafing the Hearts of good men, with his base Injections, That there is no God, or, That God is not a Righteous God; and a thousand more such things, too Devillish to be mentioned. A good man is extremly griev'd at it, when he hears a Blasphemy from the mouth of another man; said the Psalmist, in Psal. 44. 15, 16. My Confusion is continually before me, for the voice of him that Blasphemeth. But much more, when a good man finds a Blasphemy in his own Heart; O it throws him into most Fervish Agonies of Soul. For this cause, a mischievous Devil, will Fly-blow the Heart of such a man, with such Blasphemous Thoughts, as make him cry out, Lord, I am e'n weary of my life. Yea, the Devil serves the man just as the Mistress of Joseph dealt with him; he importunes the man to Think wickedly from Day to Day; and if the man refuse, he cries out at last, Behold, what wicked Thoughts this man has lodging in him. Sayst thou so? Satan! No, they are Brats of thy own; and at thy Door alone shall they be laid for ever.

III. There is a sort of Witchcraft in those things, whereto the Temptations of the Devil would Inveigle us. To worship the Devil is Witchcraft, and under that notion was Our Lord urged unto sin. We are told in, 1 Sam. 15. 23. Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft: When the Devil would have us to sin, he would have us to do the things which the forlorn Witches use to do. Perhaps there are few persons, ever allured by the Devil unto an Explicit Covenant with himself. If any among ourselves be so, my counsil is, that you hunt the Devil from you, with such words as the Psalmist had, Be gone: Depart from me, ye evil Doers, for I will keep the Commandments of my God. But alas, the most of men, are by the Devil, put upon doing the Things that are
Analogous to the worst usages of Witches. The Devil saies to the sinner, _Despise thy Baptism, and all the Bond of it, and all the Good of it._ The Devil saies to the sinner, _Come, cast off the Authority of God, and refuse the Salvation of Christ, for ever._ Yea the Devil who is called, The God of this World, would have us to take Him for Our God; and rather hear Him, Trust Him, Serve Him, than the God that formed us.

IV. The _Temptations_ of the Devil do Tug and Pull for nothing more, than that the _Rulers_ of the World may yield Homage unto him. Our Lord has had this by His Father Engag’d unto him, _That He shall one day be Governor of the Nations._ The Devil do’s extreamly dread the Approach of that Illustrious time when, _The Kingdom of God shall come and His Will be done, is in Heaven, and on Earth._ For this cause it was that he was desirous, Our Lord should rather have Accepted of him, that Kingdom, which _Antichrist_ afterwards accepted of him, for the Establishment of Devil-worship, in the World. I may tell you, The Devil is mighty unwilling, that there should be one _Godly Magistrate_ upon the face of the Earth. Such is the influence of Government, that the Devil will every where stickle mightily, to have _That_ siding with him. What _Rulers_ would the Devil have, to command all mankind, if he might have his will? Even, such as are called, in Psal. 94. 20. _The Throne of Iniquity, which frames mischief by a Law;_ such as will promise _Vice_ by both Connivance, and Example; and such as will Oppress all that shall be _Holy, and Just and Good._ All men have cause therefore, to be jealous, what Use the Devil may make of them, with reference to the Affairs of Government; but _Rulers_ may most of all think, that the Lord Jesus from Heaven calls upon them, _Satan has desired that he might Sift you, and have you; O Look to it, what side you Take._

Thus have you in the _Temptations_ of our Lord, seen the principal of those _Devices_, which the Devil has to Entrap our Souls. But what shall we now do, that we may be fortify’d against those _Devices_? O that we might be well furnished with the _whole Armour of God!_ But, methinks, there were some things attending the _Temptations_ of our Lord, which would especially Recommend those few Hints unto us for our Guard.

First, If you are not fond of _Temptation_, be not fond of _Needless, or Too much Retirement._ Where was it, that the Devil fell upon our Lord? it was when he was _Alone_ in the Wilderness. We should all have our Times to be _Alone_ every Day; and if the _Devil_ go to scare us out of our Chambers, with such a Bugbear, as _That hee’ll appear to us_, yet stay in spite of his teeth, stay to finish your Devotions; he _Lyes_, he dare not show his head. But on the other-side by being too solitary, we may lay ourselves too much open to the Devil; You know who saies, _Wo to him that is alone._

Secondly, Let an _Oracle_ of God be your defence against a _Temptation_ of Hell. How did our Lord Silence the Devil? It was with an, _It is Written!_ And all his Three Citations were from that one Book of _Deuteronomy._ What a full armoury then have we, in all the sacred Pages that ly before us? Whatever the Words of the _Devil_ are, drown them with the words of the _Great God._ Say, _It is Written._ The _Belshazzar_ of Hell will Tremble and Withdraw, if you show these _Hand-writings_ of the Lord.

Lastly, Since the Lord Jesus Christ, has Conquered all the _Temptations_ of the Devil, Fly to that Lord, Cry to that Lord, that He would give _you_ a share in his Happy Victory. It was for _Us_ that our Lord overcame the Devil: and when he did but say, _Satan, Get hence_, away presently the Tygre flew. Does the Devil Molest _Us?_ Then Let us Repair to our Lord,
who says, *I know how to Succour the Tempted*: Said the Psalmist, in Psal. 61. 2. *Lead me to the Rock that is higher than I.* A Woman in this Land being under the Possession of Devils, the Devils within her, audibly spoke of diverse Harms, they would inflict upon her; but still they made this answer, *Ah, She Runs to the Rock! She Runs to the Rock!* And that hindered all. O this *Running to the Rock,* 'tis the best Preservation in the World; the *Vultures* of Hell cannot prey upon the *Doves* in the Clefts of that *Rock.* May our God now Lead us thereunto.

FINIS.

**Textual Note**

The original 1693 edition of *The Wonders of the Invisible World* was an octavo volume measuring approximately 10 × 16 cm (4 × 6.25 inches). The first 32 pages, comprising the frontmatter, “The Authors Defence,” William Stoughton’s letter, and “Enchantments Encountered,” were unpaginated; “A Discourse on the Wonders of the Invisible World” (including a page of “Errata”) occupied pages 1–152; and “The Devil Discovered” restarted page numbering at 1, and occupied 24 pages, (but skipped page numbers 9–16, ending on page “32”)—making a total, in all, of 218 pages.

The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and use of italics and blackletter in Mather’s 1693 original have been preserved in this online electronic edition. The text has been set in IM Fell English, a typeface originally cut in the late sixteenth century, probably by Christoffel van Dijck (roman & small caps) and Robert Granjon (italic). Electronic versions of the face were digitized and furnished by Igin Marini and made available online at [http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html](http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html). The Fell Great Primer is also used occasionally for the display type. The blackletter typeface is Old English Text MT, from the Monotype Corporation plc. A few adjustments have been made in the text to accommodate modern users. The long s (’s) and its ligatures (št, šť, šff, šň, and šl) have not been used, except for the double-s character in the italic (‘s). Block quotations have been presented as indented paragraphs, without the line of quotes along the left margin traditionally used in the seventeenth-century. The ornaments are reproductions or reconstructions of those used by Benjamin Harris in 1693. Adaptation of the original design, as well as composition and layout, were done by Paul Royster.
An xml version of *The Wonders ...,* prepared from George Lincoln Burr's annotated edition published in *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648–1706* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914) is online at


A jpg image-based reproduction of the 1693 British edition, which was titled *The Wonders of the Invisible World: Being an Account of the Trials of Several Witches Lately Executed in New-England and of Several Remarkable Curiosities Therein Occurring* (London: John Dunton, 1693), is online at

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