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Observations as Well Historical as
Theological, upon the Nature, the
Number, and the Operations of the
Devils (1693)

Cotton Mather*

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The Wonders of the Invisible World:
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Operations of the Devils

[1693]

by Cotton Mather



Edited, with an Introduction,
by Reiner Smolinski

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 *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (1700). Mather's most important publications on the supernatural are *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witch-*

craft 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 experimentations. 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 ambidextrous 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 Plutarchan 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 Frederician 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 *capsula* 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 (animalcu-

lae)—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 *Manuductio ad Ministerium* (1726), a book-length manual for the ministry. Short on sectarian ideology, *Manuductio* 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 millennialism 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 Pen-

tateuch, 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 prophetic 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.

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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.



Published by the Special
Command of His EX-
CELLENCY, the Go-
vernour of the Province of
the Massachusetts-Bay in
New-England.



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 unadvised 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 Emitt'd any *Essays* 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-*

ters Portion, which my *pursuit of Peace*, has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto *Unvaried Thoughts* are here Published; and I believe, they will be owned by *most*, of the Ministers of God in these Colonies: nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other sorts of *Representations*.

In fine, For the *Dogmatical* part of my Discourse, I want no Defence; for the *Historical* part of it, I have a very Great One. The Lievtenant Governour of *New-England*, having perused it, has done me the Honour of giving me a *Shield* under the Umbrage whereof I now dare to walk Abroad.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

YOU 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 *Providences* 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 Undeserved 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 *Sadducees* doubtless were with what was *Discours'd* in the Days of our Saviour. I only Demand the *Justice*, that others *Read* it, with the same Spirit wherewith I *writ it*.



Enchantments

Encountred.

SI. **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 Sæcula 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! Who-soever 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, Episcopalian*, 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

mentained in the Country, we are still so Happy, that, I suppose, there is no Land in the Universe more free from the Debauching, 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 *boast 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 Mores* 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 *Ebenexer* 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 Surprizing, 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, *Trodden under our Feet.* He has wanted his *Incarinate 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-

deavoured, and since in part Conquered, the terrible Plague, of, *Evil Angels*, hath made its progress into some other places, where other persons have been in like manner Diabolically handled. These our poor Afflicted Neighbours, quickly after they became *Infected* and *Infested* with these *Dæmons*, arrive to a Capacity of Discerning those which they conceive the *Shapes* of their Troublers; and notwithstanding the Great and Just Suspicion, that the *Dæmons* might Impose the *Shapes* of Innocent Persons in their *Spectral Exhibitions* upon the Sufferers, (which may perhaps prove no small part of the *Witch-Plot* in the issue) yet many of the persons thus Represented, being Examined, several of them have been Convicted of a very Damnable *Witchcraft*: yea, more than One *Twenty* have *Confessed*, that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil show'd them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching*, and *Ruining* our Land. *We* know not, at least *I* know not, how far the *Delusions* of Satan may be Interwoven into some Circumstances of the *Confessions*; but one would think, all the Rules of Understanding Humane Affayrs are at an end, if after so many most Voluntary Harmonious *Confessions*, made by Intelligent persons of all Ages, in sundry Towns, at several Times, we must not Believe the *main strokes* wherein those *Confessions* all agree: especially when we have a thousand preternatural Things every day before our eyes, wherein the *Confessors* do acknowledge their Concernment, and give Demonstration of their being so Concerned. If the Devils now can strike the minds of men, with any *Poisons* of so fine a Composition and Operation, that scores of Innocent People shall Unite, in *Confessions* of a Crime, which we see actually committed, it is a thing prodigious, beyond the Wonders of the former Ages, and it threatens no less than a sort of a Dissolution upon the World. Now, by these *Confessions* 'tis Agreed, *That* the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of *Witches* in the Country, and by the help of *Witches* has dreadfully Encreased

that Knot: *That* these *Witches* have driven a Trade of Commissioning their *Confederate Spirits*, to do all sorts of Mischiefs 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 were 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 Toyls 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 to come out of her, into himself; but the Devil answered him, *Quid mihi Opus est eum tentare, quem Novissimo Die, Fure Optimo sum Possessorus?* 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 Molestations: 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 *Naboth* to have his Life it self Sworn away, by two *Children of Belial*, and yet no Infringement hereby made on the Rectoral Righteousness of our Eternal Sovereign, whose *Judgments are a Great Deep*, and who *gives none Account of His matters*. Thus, although, the Appearance of Innocent Persons, in *Spectral Exhibitions* afflicting the Neighbourhood, be a thing *Rare and Extraordinary*; yet who can be sure, that the great *Belial* of Hell must needs be always *Yoked up*, from this Piece of Mischief? The best man that ever lived has been called a *Witch*: and why may not this too usual and unhappy Symptom of, A *Witch*, even a *Spectral Representation*, befall a person that shall be none of the worst? Is it not possible? the *Laplanders* will tell us 'tis possible for Persons to be unwittingly attended with officious *Demons*, bequeathed unto them, and impos'd upon them, by Relations that have been *Witches*. *Quare*, also, Whether at a Time, when the Devils with his *Witches* are engag'd in an actual *War* upon a people, some certain steps of ours, in such a *War*, may not be follow'd with our appearing so and so for a while among them in the Visions of our afflicted *Forlorns*! And, Who can certainly say, what other Degrees, & Methods of sinning, besides that of a *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 *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 *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 *Devils* to wait upon the Superstitious Users of them. A Witty Writer against *Sadducism*, has this Observation, That persons, who never made any Express Contract with *Apostate Spirits*, yet may Act strange Things by *Diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the use of those wicked *Forms*

and *Arts*, that the Devil first Imparted unto his Confederates. And he adds, *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 *Employing Evil Spirits* to Hurt our Land, have been known to be most bloody *Fortune-Tellers*; and some of them have Confessed, That when they told *Fortunes*, they would pretend the Rules of *Chiromancy* and the like Ignorant Sciences, but indeed, they had no Rule (they said) but this, *The Things were then Darted into their Minds. Darted!* Ye Wretches; By whom, I pray. Surely, by none but the *Devils*; who, tho' perhaps they did not exactly *Foreknow* all the thus Predicted Contingencies; yet having once *Foretold* them, they stood bound in Honour now, to use their Interest, which alas, in *This World*, is very great, for the Accomplishment of their own Predictions. There are others, that have used most wicked *Sorceries* to gratify their unlawful Curiosities, or to prevent Inconveniencies in Man and Beast; *Sorceries*; which I will not *Name*, lest I should by Naming, *Teach* them. Now, some *Devil* is evermore Invited into the Service of the Person that shall practise these *Witchcrafts*; and if they have gone on Impenitently in these Communion with any *Devil*, the *Devil* may perhaps become at last a *Familiar* to them, and so assume their *Livery*, that they cannot shake him off in any way, but that One, which *I* would most heartily prescribe unto them, Namely, That of a deep and long *Repentance*. Should these *Impieties*, have been committed in such a place as *New-England*, for my part I should not wonder, if when *Devils* are Exposing the *Großer* *Witches* among us, God permit them, to bring in these *Leßer* ones with the rest, for their perpetual Humiliation. In the Issue therefore, may it not be found, that *New-England* is not so Stock'd with *Rattle Snakes*, as was imagined?

S 4. But *I* do not believe, that the progress of *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 LIEVTENANT 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, applys 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 *Paroxysms*; 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 *Hundred*, 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 *Ferom* on his Contest with *Ruffin*, *O misera et miseranda Conditio!* 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 *Naxianzen*, 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.

§5. 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-*

lieves 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 *Bruitish*, 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 *Wisdom* 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 *Addressees* 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,

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 Worshippers of Baal. I may also add, That whereas, if once a *Witch* do ingeniously 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,

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-*

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 *Witches*, by *Saul* Exterminated. They would have all Due steps taken for the Extinction of *Witches*; 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! Alas, we are not Aware of the *Devil*, if we do not think, that he aims at Enflaming us one against another; & shall we suf-

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 Conjuror 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. *Quere*, 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*.

S₇. 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 strait 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*

Witch; 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 alwayes 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 befall 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 No. 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

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. XV. If it can be proved that the Party Suspected, hath called upon the Devil, or desired his Help; this is a pregnant proof of a League formerly made between them. 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. 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. This is the Substance of Mr. Perkins. Take, Next, The Summ of Mr. Gaules Judgment, about the Detection of Witches.

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. 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 Testimony of the Party Bewitched: The Supposed, Witches unusual Bodily Marks; The Witches usual Cursing and Banning: The Witches lewd and naughty kind of Life. 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 persons 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. *4thly*, 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

'heartily wish that the Juries were Empannelled of the most Eminent Physicians, Lawyers, and Divines, that a Country could afford. In the mean time, tis not to be called a *Toleration*, if Witches escape, where *Conviction* is wanting.

To this purpose our *Gaule*.

I will Transcribe a Little from one Author more. 'Tis the Judicious *Bernard* of *Batcombe*; who in his *Guide to Grand-Jury-men*, after he ha's mentioned several Things that are shrow'd *Presumptions* of a *Witch*, proceeds to such Things as are the *Convictions* of such an one. And he says,

A Witch, in League with the Devil, is Convicted by these Evidences; I. By a Witches Mark; which is upon the Baser sort of Witches; and this, by the Devils either Sucking or Touching of them. Tertullian says, It is the Devils custome to mark his. And note, That this mark is Insensible, and being prick'd, it will not Bleed. Sometimes, its like a Teate; sometimes but a Blewish Spot: sometimes a Red one; and sometimes the Flesh Sunk: but the Witches do sometimes cover them. II. By the Witches Words. As when they have been heard calling on, speaking to, or Talking of, their Familiars; or, when they have been heard Telling of Hurt they have done to man or beast: Or when they have been heard Threatning of such Hurt; Or if they have been heard Relating their Transportations. III. By the Witches Deeds. As when they have been seen with their Spirits, or seen secretly Feeding any of their Impr. Or, when there can be found their Pictures, Poppets, and other Hellish Compositions. IV. By the Witches Extasies: With the Delight whereof, Witches are so taken, that they will hardly conceal the same: Or, however at some time or other, they may be found in them. V. By one or more Fellow-Witches, Confessing their own

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 *Furies* are not the only Instruments to be employ'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 Importance, 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 *Dæmons* 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 Vassals 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 Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdoms 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

Revived *Paganism*, are in these Displays 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 Devils 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 Governour among the Nations.* The Chapter is (as an Excellent Person calls it) an *Extravasated Account*, of the Circumstances, which befel 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 Joyes, 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 Affairs, 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 *Legions* 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 Hellish 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 French *Dragoons*, 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 *Divels* are more peculiarly *Commission'd*, and perhaps *Qualify'd*, for some Countreys, 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 Divels* were more Able, to, *Do the Works of the Divel*, in such a Countrey, 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 *Experi-*

ence, or, if I may call it so, the *Education*, of all Divels, is not alike, and that there may be some Difference in their *Abilities*. If one might make an Inference from what the Divels *Do*, to what they *are*, One cannot forbear Dreaming, that there are *Degrees* of Divels. Who can allow that such Trifling *Dæmons*, as that of *Mascon*, or those that once infested our *New-berry*, are of so much Grandeur, as those *Dæmons*, whose Games are mighty Kingdomes? Yea, 'Tis Certain, that all Divels do not make a like Figure, in the *Invisible World*. Nor do's it look agreeably, That the *Dæmons*, which were the Familiars of such a Man as the Old *Apollonius*, differ not from those Baser Goblins, that chuse to Nest in the filthy and loathsome Rags, of a Beastly Sorceress. Accordingly, why may not some Divels, be more Accomplished for what is to be done in such and such places: when others must be *Detach'd* for other Territories? Each Divel, as he sees his advantage, Cries out, *Let me be in this Country, rather than another*. But *Enough*, if not *Too much*, of these Things.

Proposition II.

There is a Divellish *Wrath* against *Mankind*, with which the *Divel* is, for *Gods Sake* Inspired. The Divel is himself broiling under the intollerable and interminable *Wrath* of God; and a fiery *Wrath* at God, is that with which the Divel is for that cause Enflamed. Methinks I see the posture of the Divels in *Isa. 8. 21. They fret themselves, and Curse their God, and look upward*. The first and chief *Wrath* of the Divel, 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 Divel; 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 Divel 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 Divels *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 Divel. 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 Divel 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 Divel 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 prefer'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 gets 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 Troups*, 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*

'em! If our *Advocate* in the Heavens do not now take off his *Libels*, the Devil then with a Concession of God, *Comes down*, as a *Destroyer* upon us. Having first been an *Attorney*, to bespeak that the Judgments of Heaven may be Ordered for us, he then also pleads that he may be the *Executioner* of those Judgments; and the God of Heaven sometimes or after a sort signs a Warrant, for this *Destroying Angel*, to do what has bin desired to be done for the *Destroying of men*. But such a *Permission* from God, for the Divel to *Come down*, and *Break in* upon mankind, oftentimes must be Accompanied with a *Commission* from some wretches of mankind it self. Every man is, as tis hinted in *Gen.* 4. 9. *His Brothers Keeper*. We are to *keep* one another from the Inroads, of the Divel, by mutual and Cordial Wishes of prosperity to one another. When ungodly people, give their *Consents* in *witchcrafts* diabolically performed, for the Divel to annoy their Neighbours, he finds a Breach made in the Hedge about us, whereat he Rushes in upon us, with grievous molestations. Yea, when Impious people, that never saw the Divel, do but utter their *Curses* against their Neighbours, those are so many *Watch words* whereby the Mastives of Hell are animated presently to fall upon us. 'Tis thus, that 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 *Muzzel* 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, *Wō, Wō, Wō, 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: *Wō to the World, by reason of the Wrath of the Divel!* What a *Woful* plight, Mankind would by the Descent of the Divel, be brought into, may be gathered from the *Woful* pains, and wounds, and hideous desolations, which the Divel brings upon them, of whom he has with a *Bodily Possession* made a *Siezure*. You may both in Sacred and Profane History, read many a direful Account of the *Woes*, which they, that are possessed by the Divel, do undergo: And from thence conclude, *What must the Children of Men, hope from such a Divel!* Moreover the *Tyrannical Ceremonies*, whereto the Divel uses to subjugate such *Woful Nations* or Orders of men, as are more Entirely under his Dominion, do declare what *Woful Work*, the Divel would make where he comes. The very Devotions of those forlorn Pagans, to whom the Divel is a Leader, are most bloody *Penances*: and what *Woes* indeed must we expect from such a Divel 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, ejulated 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 dayes. 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 usually 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 *Facil*, 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, *Printing*, 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 Divel do's begrutch us all manner of *Good*, so he do's Annoy us with all manner of *Wō*, as often as he finds himself capable of doing it. But shall we mention some of the special *woes* with which the Divel do's usually infest the World! Breefly then; *Plagues* are some of those *woes*, with which the Divel 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 Divel, that scatters *Plagues* about the *World*: Pestilential and Contagious Diseases, 'tis the Divel, *who* do's oftentimes invade us with them. 'Tis no uneasy thing, for the Divel, 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 Divel 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 *Beesome 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 wroth, 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 *Dæmoniacks*, 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 *Thyestæan* 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 he sure he was before, That if much *Aluminous* matter, with *Salt-Peter* not throughly 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 *Hæresies*, 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*. And thus it may be said of those Woful Wretches, whom the *Devil* is a God unto, *The Devil so Muffles them; that they cannot see the things of their Peace*. And, *The Devil so Hardens them, that nothing will awaken their cares about their Souls*: How come so many to be *Seared* in their Sins? 'Tis the Devil, that with a Red Hot Iron fetch't from his Hell, does *cauterise* them. Thus tis, till perhaps at last they come to have a *Wounded Conscience* in them, and the Devil has often a share in their Torturing and Confounding Anguishes. The *Devil* who Terrify'd *Cain*, and *Saul*, and *Judas*, into Desperation, still becomes a *King of Terrors*, to many Sinners, and frights them from laying hold on the Mercy of God in the Lord Jesus Christ. In these regards, *Wo to us; when the Devil comes down upon us*.

Proposition V.

Toward the *End* of his *Time* the *Descent* of the *Devil* in *Wrath* upon the World, will produce more *woful Effects*, than what have been in *Former Ages*. The *Dying Dragon*, will bite more Cruelly, & sting more Bloodily than ever he did before: The *Death-pangs* of the Devil will make him to be more of a *Devil* than ever he was; and the Furnace of this *Nebuchadnezzar* will be heated *seven times* hotter, just before its putting out.

We are in the first place, to Apprehend, That there is a *Time* fixed and stated by God, for the Devil to enjoy a Dominion over our *sinful* and therefore *woful* World. The *Devil*

once Exclaimed, in *Mat. 8.29. Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come hither to Torment us before our Time?* It is plain, That until the *Second Coming* of our Lord, the *Devil* must have a *Time* of plaguing the World, which he was afraid, would have Expired at His *First*. 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 drawes 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, Hee'l 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 tis, that the Apostle has forewarned us, in *2. Tim. 3.1. this know, that in the last days, perillous times shall come.* Truly, when the *Divel knows*, that he is got into his *Last days*, he will make *Perillous Times* for us; the times will grow more full of *Divels*, 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 piling 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 *Son*, 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 *woes* 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 *woes*, as men had never seen before. The Infamous *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 *woes* 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.*

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 Divil in the *Earth*. The Divil 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 beforehand 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 causat*. 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 *Wo* 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'l 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.

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 Divels 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 shalt 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, Sorcer, 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 Briars* 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'l 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 *Disrest*, 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 peece 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 *Kilture* 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 *Death* will then soon set us where we cannot be Reach'd by the, *Fist of Wickedness*: and where the, *Perfect cannot be shotten at*. It is said, in Rev. 14. 13. *Blessed are the Dead, which Dy in the Lord, They Rest from their Labours*. But we may say, *Blessed are the Dead in the Lord, inasmuch they Rest from the Devils!* 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 *Atmosphere*, 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 Dayes!* 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 *Hundred*. 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 Anti-Christ*. 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

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 extremely 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 *Divels Wrath*, seems to be in a manner at an *end*: and this would make one hope that the *Divels Time* cannot be far from its *end*. It is in PERSECUTION, that the *wrath* of the *Divel* 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 Wo Passing away*, we have a fair signal given unto us, *That the Last Slaughter of our Lords Witnesses is over*: and then what QUICKLY followes? The

Next thing is, *The Kingdoms of this World, are become the Kingdoms 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 Wo 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 Disposition 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, *Whatsoever 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 *Vaudois.* 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 *Rgot* 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*. Herewithal, 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 Psal. 90. 7, 9. *We are consumed by thine Anger, and by thy Wrath we are Troubled: All our Dayes 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 Dayes.*

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 Dayes 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

World, equal in some Regards to all the Rest, should never be out of the *Devils* 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 *Rejoyce*, 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,

The Wonders of the

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, *Concurrere 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 *Hony* for our *Souls*.

That the Devil, is *Come down unto us with great Wrath*, we find, we feel, we now deplore. In many wayes, 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 Gallig of us: and such an one as is indeed Unparalleled. The Things Confessed by *Witches* and the Things Endured by *Others*, laid together, amount unto this account

Invisible World

of our Affliction. The *Devil*, Exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black man*, has decoy'd a fearful Knot of Proud, Forward, 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 Sieze 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 Languishing 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 wayes, have these Wretches propounded, the *Dragooning* of as many as they can, into their own Combination, and the *Destroying* of others, with Lingring, 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 Rendred 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 *Witchcraft*, 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

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 Trials, 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 Hagg, may not only have their Meetings with *Familiar Spirits*, but also by their Enchantments drag many scores of poor Children out of their Bed-

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* it self 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*

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*

the North, are found so many of this Damned Brood. Yea, and these of both Sexes, who have Professed much Knowledge, Holiness, and Devotion, are drawn into this Damnable Practice. I suppose the Doctor in the first of those Passages, may refer to what happened in the Year 1645. When so many Vassals of the Devil were Detected, that there were *Thirty* Try'd at one time, whereas about *Fourteen* were Hang'd, and an Hundred more Detained in the Prisons of *Suffolk* and *Essex*. Among other things which many of these Acknowledged, one was, That they were to undergo certain *Punishments*, if they did not such and such *Hurts*, as were appointed them. And, among the Rest that were then Executed, there was an Old Parson, called, *Lewis*, who Confessed, that he had a Couple of *Imps*, whereof *One* was alwayes putting him upon the doing of *Mischief*; Once particularly, that *Imp* calling for his Consent so to do, went immediately and Sunk a *Ship*, then under Sail. I pray, Let not *New-England* become of an *Unsavoury* and a *Sulphurous* Resentment in the Opinion of the World Abroad, for the *Doleful* things which are now fallen out among us, while there are such *Histories* of other places abroad in the World. Nevertheless, I am sure that *we*, the People of *New-England*, have cause enough to *Humble* our selves under our most *Humbling* Circumstances. We must no more, be, *Haughty*, because of the *Lords Holy Mountain* among us; No, it becomes us rather to be, *Humble*, because we have been such an *Habitation* of *Unholy Devils!*

II. Since the *Divel* 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 Divel.* The *Divel* 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 *Sufferers* on one hand, and the cause of the *Suspected* on t'other, we

carry things to such extreames 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 Divil in that *wrath* which now amazes us. Have not many of us been *Devils* one unto another for Slanderings, for Back-bitings, 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 Continue.*] *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 keenness, 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 *Tynder* to the Sparks. When the Emperour *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 Terroure 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, threatning 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 *Dæmon*, 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 *Dæmon* could go no further. I say, Let us be well aware lest such *Dæmons* 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 Mastiff 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 Awaken 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 *Laws* 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 Wayes*. '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*; lest you *Perish*; 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 ha's 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 *Curiositie*. 'Tis in the Devils Name, that such Things are done; and in Gods 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 venomous *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 pittty 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 *Losses* 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 perillous 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 *Cælestial 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-*

pents are so Stinging of us; We have been a most *Murmuring Generation*. It is not Irrational, to ascribe the late Stupendous Growth of *Witches* among us, partly to the Bitter *Discontents*, which Affliction and Poverty has fill'd us with: it is inconceivable, what Advantage the Devil gains over men, by *Discontent*. Moreover, The Sin of *Unbelief* may be reckoned as perhaps the chief *Crime* of our Land. We are told, *God Swears in Wrath, against them that believe not*; and what follows then but this, *That the Devil comes unto them in wrath?* Never were the Offers of the *Gospel*, more freely Tendered, or more basely Despised, among any people under the whole Cope of Heaven, then in This *New-England*. Seems it at all marvellous unto us, that the *Devil* should get such Footing in our Country? Why, 'tis because the *Saviour* has been slighted here, perhaps more than any where. The Blessed Lord Jesus Christ has been profering to us, *Grace, and Glory, and every good thing*, and been alluring of us to Accept of Him, with such Terms as these; *Undone Sinner, I am All; Art thou willing that I should be thy All?* But, as a proof of that Contempt which this Unbelief has cast upon these proffers, I would seriously ask of the so many Hundreds above a Thousand People within these Walls; Which of you all, O how few of you, can indeed say, *Christ is mine, and I am his, and He is the Beloved of my Soul?* I would only say thus much: When the precious and glorious Jesus, is Entreating of us to Receive *Him*, in all His *Offices*, with all His *Benefits*; the Devil minds what Respect we pay unto that Heavenly Lord; if we *Refuse Him that speaks from Heaven*, then he that, *Comes from Hell*, does with a sort of claim set in, and cry out, *Lord, since this Wretch is not willing that thou shouldst have him, I pray, let me have him.* And thus, by the just vengeance of Heaven, the Devil becomes a *Master*, a *Prince*, a *God*, unto the miserable Unbelievers: but O what are many of them then hurried unto! All of these Evil Things, do I now set before you, as *Branded* with the Mark of the Devil upon them.

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 pity on me, O ye my Friends, Have pity 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-

actly, that on the one side, there may be no Innocent Blood Shed, by too unseeing a *Zeal for the Children of Israel*; and that on the other side, there may be no Shelter given to those Diabolical *Works of Darkness*, without the Removal whereof we never shall have *Peace*; or to those *Furies* whereof several have kill'd *more people* perhaps than would serve to make a Village: *Hic Labor, Hoc Opus est!* O what need have we, to be concerned, that the Sins of our *Israel*, may not provoke the God of Heaven to leave his *Davids*, unto a wrong Step, in a matter of such Consequence, as is now before them! Our Disingenuous, Uncharitable, Unchristian Reproaching of such *Faithful Men*, after all, *The Prayers and Supplications, with strong Crying and Tears*, with which we are daily plying the Throne of Grace, that they may be kept, from what *They Fear*, is none of the way for our preventing of what *We Fear*. Nor all this while, ought our *Pitty* to forget such *Accused* ones, as call for indeed our most Compassionate *Pitty*, till there be fuller Evidences that they are less worthy of it. If *Satan* have any where maliciously brought upon the *Stage*, those that have hitherto had a just and good stock of Reputation, for their just and good Living, among us; If the *Evil One* have obtained a permission to *Appear*, in the Figure of such as we have cause to think, have hitherto *Abstained*, even from the *Appearance of Evil*: It is in Truth, such an Invasion upon *Mankind*, as may well Raise an Horror in us all: But, O what Compassions are due to such as may come under such Misrepresentations, of the *Great Accuser!* Who of us can say, what may be shown in the *Glasses* of the *Great Lying Spirit?* Altho' the *Usual Providence* of God [we praise Him!] keeps us from such a Mishap; yet where have we an *Absolute Promise*, that we shall every one alwayes be kept from it? As long as *Charity* is bound, to Think *no Evil*, it will not Hurt us that are *Private Persons*, to forbear the *Judgment* which belongs not unto us. Let it rather be our Wish: May the Lord help them to Learn the *Lessons*, for which they are now put unto so hard a School.

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, 1. *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 Clocqing 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 Entered 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 Pourtraiture of *Hell* it self, Expostulating with their execrable Parents, for *Devoting* them to the Devil in their Infancy, and so *Entailing* of Devilism 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

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 Prayer kept by some Good People for and with a Possessed Person, 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 Triumphant 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 rendred, *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 Wayes, 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.*

HAVING thus discoursed on the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, I shall now, with Gods Help, go on to relate some Remarkable and Memorable Instances of *Wonders* which that *World* ha's given to ourselves. And altho' the chief Entertainment which my Readers do Expect, and shall Receive, will be; a True History of what ha's occurred, respecting the WITCHCRAFTS wherewith we are at this day persecuted, yet I shall choose to Usher in the mention of those Things, with

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-

frighted *Joseph*. Brother! Answered the Apparition. Said *Joseph*, *What's the matter, Brother! How came you here!* The Apparition reply'd, *Brother, I have been most Barbarously and Injuriously Butchered, by a Debauch'd, Drunken Fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my life.* Whereupon he gave a particular Description of the Murderer; adding, *Brother, This Fellow, changing his Name, is attempting to come over unto New-England, in Foy or Wild; I would pray you, on the first Arrival of either of these, to get an Order from the Governour, to Seiz the person, whom I have now described; and then do you Indict him for the Murder of me your Brother. I'll Stand by you, and prove the Indictment.* And so he vanished. Mr. *Beacon* was extremely astonished at what he had seen and heard; and the People of the Family not only observed an extraordinary Alteration upon him, for the Week following, but have also given me under their Hands a full Testimony, that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition.

All this while, Mr. *Beacon* had no Advice of any thing amiss attending his Brother then in *England*; but about the latter end of *June* following, he understood by the common ways of communication, that the *April* before, his Brother going in hast by night to call a coach for a Lady, mett a fellow then in drink, with his *Doxy* in his hand. Some way or other the fellow thought himself affronted in the hasty passage of this *Beacon*, & immediately ran in to the Fire-side of a Neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-fork, wherewith he grievously wounded *Beacon* in the skull; even in that very part, where the Apparition show'd his wound. Of this Wound he Languished until he Dy'd, on the second of *May*, about five of the Clock in the morning at *London*. The murderer it seems, was endeavouring an escape, as the Apparition affirm'd, but the Friends of the Deceased *Beacon* siezed him: and prosecuting him at Law, he found the help of such Friends, as brought him off without the loss of his Life; since which, there has no more been heard of the Business.

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 occur'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*

those mysterious and mischievous wickednesses, may be perfected. If in the midst of the many Dissatisfactions among us, the publication of these Trials, may promote such a pious *Thankfulness* unto God, for Justice being *so far*, executed among us, I shall Rejoyce 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 saith, *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 they 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 Triall: 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 extreeme pain in her stomach, like the pricking of pins; and shrieking at a dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather than 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 Deponent added, that within two Days, the Fits of his Daughters 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 Cullender*, 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 extremely; 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 Cullender;* and they would afterwards relate, *That these Witches appearing before them, threatned 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 Vomited 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

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 Testified, 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, Threatning 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 Testified, 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-

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 threatned 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 Apparel.

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 *Poultrey* dy'd suddenly, upon *Amy Dunes* threatning of them; and that her Husbands Chimney fell, quickly after *Duny* had spoken of such a disaster. And a firkin of Fish could not be kept from falling into water, upon suspicious words of *Duny'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 *Confessed* 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*.

We will now proceed unto several of the like Trials among our selves.

I.

THE
TRIAL of G. B.

At a Court of

Over 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 Rendezvouzes, 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 *Suspitions*, 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 Mischiefs, 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 Rendezvouz. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, That *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he show'd her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, 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 refused 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 fitts, that made them uncapable 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 Diavel?* That Honourable person, then reply'd *How comes the Diavel 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 people, to be entertained with Apparitions of *Ghosts* of murdered people, at the same time, that the *Spectres* of the witches trouble 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 violences 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 Bewitched; & seldom have these been these *Apparitions* but when something 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. B.* 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.* threatening of the sufferers told them, he had killed (besides others) Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Ann.* And it was noted, That these were the virtuous 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 Attendants 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 Bewitched 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 Antipathy to *Prayer* and the other Ordinances of God, tho' by his profession singularly obliged thereunto; so, there now

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 Oathes 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 suppos'd 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 very Disadvantageous Postures, and Carrying of them through the Difficest 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 Muzzle 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 perswaded 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 Affairs 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 testified, 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 Halloo'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 *Tergiversations, 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 Countrey 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 Divil, Can send a Divil 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.

The Wonders of the

II.

The TRIAL of *Bridget Bishop*: alias, *Oliver*.

At the COURT of
Oyer and Terminer

Held at Salem. June 2. 1692.

I. **S**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 Testify'd, That the *Shape* of the Prisoner did oftentimes very grievously pinch them, choak 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, threatned 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 Testify'd, 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.

Invisible World

II. It was Testify'd, That at the Examination of the Prisoner, before the Magistrates, the Bewitched were extremely 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 cryed 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 Disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho' it were a very likely thriving Child, 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 Apparel, 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, Quarrell'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 Believe 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 offer'd 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 stirr, until at last, one of the people crying out, *what's the matter!* the spectres all vanished.

IX. *Samuel Shattock* 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

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 Inchantment 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 *Bishops* 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 threatned 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 extreemly 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 Disabled, 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-

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 threatned 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 *Bishops*, 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 *Dæmon* 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.*

I. **S** *Usanna 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 complained 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

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 Examinee.

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 displeas'd 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'll 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 seem'd 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 Marishes, 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

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 scrabbling 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* testified, 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 remembered, what *Susanna Martin*, had threatned 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*, testified, 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.

Being desirous to furnish himself with a Dog, he applyed 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 *Blezdels*. Having mark'd a puppy, which he lik'd at *Blezdels*, 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* replyed, *If I live, I'll give him Puppies enough!* Within a few dayes 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 affright-

ing 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 approach'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 incapable 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-

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 herself have been wet up to the knees, if she had then come 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, extreemly 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*, testified, 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 *Dæmons*, 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

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 witts. 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 her self to be such an one. Yet when she was asked, what she had to say for her self, her Chief 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 unperswadably, 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 replied, *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 or 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 Dayes; 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 befall 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-

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 Pearlies* 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. **M**ARTHA 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 Testified, that upon the men-

tion of some having their Necks twisted almost round, by the Shape of this *Carrier*, she replied, *Its 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 Prescott 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 Prescott*, 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 Prescott*. 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 Cattle, by strange Deaths, whereof no Natural Causes could be given.

V. *John Rogger* also testified, That upon the threatning words of this malicious *Carrier*, his Cattle 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

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 Higginson*, 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 *Vitzliputzli*, 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 Coffers 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

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 Affairs 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 Entring 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-

plying the *Plastic Spirit* of the World, unto some unlawful purposes, by means of a Confederacy with *Evil Spirits*. Yet one would wonder how the *Evil Spirits* themselves can do some things; especially at *Invisibilizing* of the Grossest Bodies. I can tell the Name of an Ancient Author, who pretends to show the *way*, how a man may come to walk about *Invisible*, and I can tell the Name of another Ancient Author, who pretends to Explode that way. But I will not speak too plainly, Lest I should unawares Poison some of my *Readers*, as the Pious *Hemingius* did one of his *Pupils*, when he only by way of Diversion recited a *Spell*, which, they had said, would cure *Agues*. Thus much I will say; The notion of procuring *Invisibility*, by any *Natural Expedient*, yet known, is, I Believe, a meer PLINYISM; How far it may be obtained by a *Magical Sacrament*, is best known to the Dangerous Knaves that have Try'd it. But our *Witches* do seem to have got the Knack: and this is one of the Things, that make me think, *Witchcraft* will not be fully understood, until the Day when there shall not be one *Witch* in the World.

There are certain people, very *Dogmatical* about these matters; but I'll give them only these Three Bones to Pick.

First, One of our Bewitched people, was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*; that, she said, ran at her with a *Spindle*: tho' no body else in the Room, could see either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*. At last, in her miseries, giving a Snatch at the *Spectre*, she pull'd the *Spindle* away; and it was no sooner got into her hand, but the other people then present, beheld, that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *Spindle*, belonging they knew, to whom; which when they Lock'd up very safe, it was nevertheless by *Dæmons* unaccountably stole away, to do further mischief.

Secondly. Another of our Bewitched People, was haunted with a most abusive *Spectre*, which came to her, she said, with a *Sheet* about her. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze,

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 Inconveniencies. 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 Siez'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

we! 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's*; 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 Infirmary*, have been marvelously Recovered upon the Death of the *Witches*.

One *Whetford* particularly ten years ago, challenging of *Bridget 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, Crazy sort of a Woman; a vexation to her self, and all about her; and many ways un-

reasonable. In this Distraction she lay, till those women were Apprehended, by the Authority; *then* she began to mend; and upon their Execution, was presently and perfectly Recovered, from the ten years madness that had been upon her.

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 *Press'd* 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 cladders of Blood about his Heart. The Jury, whereof several are yet alive, brought in the man Murdered; but as if some Enchantment had hindered 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 Governour, 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:

Upon Perusal thereof, We find the Matters of Fact and Evidence, Truly reported. And a Prospect given, of the, Methods of Conviction, used in the Proceedings of the Court at Salem

Boston Octob. 11.
1692.

William Stoughton
Samuel Sewall.

BUT is *New-England*, the only Christian Countrey, that hath undergone such Diabolical Molestations? No, there are other Good people, that have in this way been harassed; but none in Circumstances more like to *Ours*, than the people of God, in *Sweedland*. The story is a very Famous one; and it comes to Speak English by the Acute Pen of the Excellent and Renowned Dr. *Horneck*. I shall only Single out a few of

the more Memorable passages therein Occurring; and where it agrees with what happened among ourselves, my Reader shall understand, by my inserting a Word of every such thing in Black Letter.

I. It was in the Year 1669. and 1670. That at *Mobra* 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, *Block-ula*, where the Monsters that so Spirited them, Tempted them all manner of Ways to Associate with them. Yea, such was the perillous 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, *Loeyta*, 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 Transportations.

VI. The First Thing, they said, they were to do at *Block-ula*, 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 show'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 *Elfdale*, 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, threatning 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 *Fabluna*, 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 Kingdome, issued in the Deliverance of the Countrey.

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!*



THE

Devil Discovered

2. Cor. II. 11.

We are not Ignorant of His DEVICES.

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 yee 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

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 than 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 *Temptations* 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

C A S E

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 cuius 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 Barrenness, or Sluggishness 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

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 Perswasions 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 perswade 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 frighted 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'l Dy if you don't Sell your Birthright;* the Devil told *Aaron*, *You'l pull all the People about your ears, if you do not countenance their Superstitions;* and then they comply'd 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 pretence 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 Diavel 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 *Diavel* still! The *Diavel* flatters our Mother *Eve*, as if he was desirous to make her more Happy than her Maker did; but there was the *Devil* in that flattery. *Sub Amici fallere Nomen*;—to Salute men with profers 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 *Devil*; and the *Devil* 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 shouldst 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 *Devil*, *Pray, make thy self a Little Bread.* The *Devil* will frequently put men by, from the do-

ing 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. 5. *A Wise mans heart discerns both Time and Judgment.* The *Ill-Timing* of Good Things, is One of the chief Intregues, 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 *Devil* 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 *Devil* 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 *Devil* 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 Doubtless the *Devil* 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 Gods *Fatherly Care* Concerning them; they torture themselves with distracting and amazing Fears, that they shall come to want before they dy; Yea, they e'ven 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 Dayes 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 *Fiercy 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'ven 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 Chearfulness wherewith we should *Suffer the Will of God*.

VII. To Dispute the Divine Original and Authority of *Gods 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 *Pharaohs* 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 speakest falsely; the Lord our God hath not sent thee to speak what thou sayst 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 Pinnacle 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 Rendevouzing 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, croud 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 foul 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

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, *All*. We read in Col. 1. 19. *It has pleased the Father, that in Him there should all Fulness dwell*. But it is pleasing to the Devil, that we Deny something of the Immense *Fullness*, which is in our Lord. 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 will 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. *Feriant Summos Fulmina Montes*—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 *Goliath*; and when he finds a *Champion*, he'l be sure most fiercely to Combate 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 stinging 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 Fasting, 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 poyson men with false *Doctrines*, he'l 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'l quote Scriptures for them; he'l encourage men to go on in Sin, by showing them, where 'tis said, *The Lord is Ready to Pardon*. I say this, The One Story of *Davids Fall*, in the Scripture, has been made by the Devil, an Engine for the Damnation of many millions. The Devil will fright men from doing those things, that are, *The Things of their Peace*; but How? He'l turn a *Scripture* into a *Scare-crow* for them. The Devil will fright them from all constant Prayer to God, by quoting that Scripture, *The Sacrifice of the Wicked, is an Abomination to the Lord*; the Devil will fright them from the Holy Supper of God, by quoting that Scripture, *he that Eats and Drinks unworthily, Eats and Drinks Damnation to himself*. And thus the Devil will by some Abused Scripture, Terrify the Children of God; the Scripture is written, as we are told, *For our Comfort*; but it is quoted by the Devil, *For our Terror*. How many Godly Souls have been cast into sinful *Doubts* and *Fears*, by the Devils foolish glosses upon that Scripture, *He that Doubts is Damned*; and that, *The Fearful shall have their portion in the Burning Lake*: The Devil sometimes has play'd the *Preacher*, but I say, *Beware all silly Souls, when such a Fool is Preaching*.

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

his Bones, in the fall? The Devil is an *Old Murtherer*; and he loves to *Murder* men; but no *Murder* gives him so much satisfaction, 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 persons 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 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 Roys 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 Consummate 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

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, *Disclose 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'l *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 which the Devil *Tries*, 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 wayes; 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 *Dangers*, 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 *Threatning* of God; but how? By going on Impenitently 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.

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 1. Tim. 3. 6. A Pastor must not be *A Novice*; *Lest 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 not. 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 Diavel 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,*

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'll 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 Dayes 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'll make many a fine Comment upon it; he'll tell us, That if we'll 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 extreemly 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 Feavourish 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 counsel 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 Governour of the Nations.* The Devil do's extreamly dread the Approach of that Illustrious time when, *The Kingdome 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,

The Devil Discovered

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 hindred 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.

F I N I S.

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 Iginio Marini and made available online at <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 (ft, fi, ff, fh, and fl) have not been used, except for the double-s character in the italic (ß). 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.

Online Bibliography

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

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

<http://etext.virginia.edu/salem/witchcraft/speccol/cmather/table/>