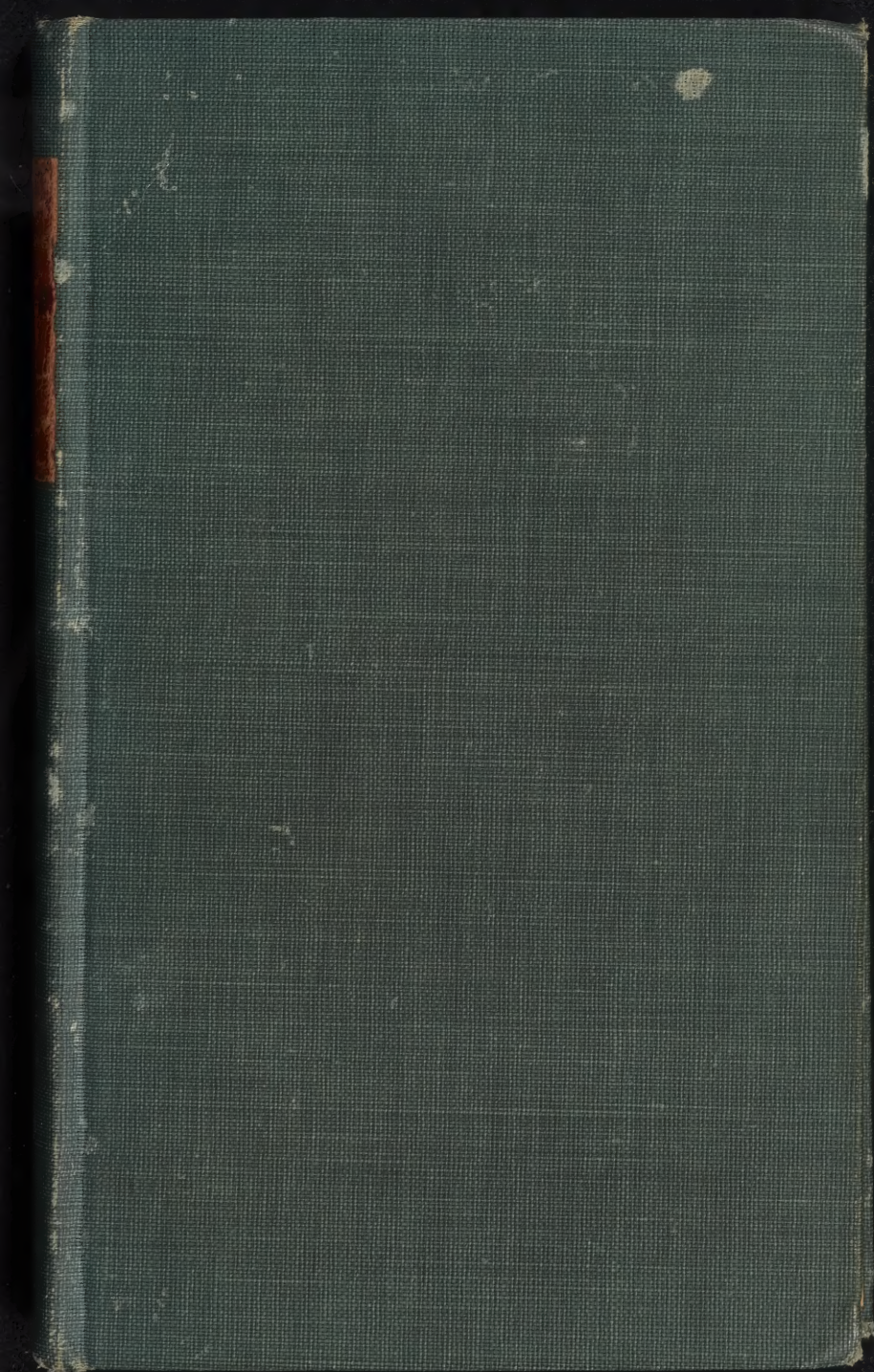




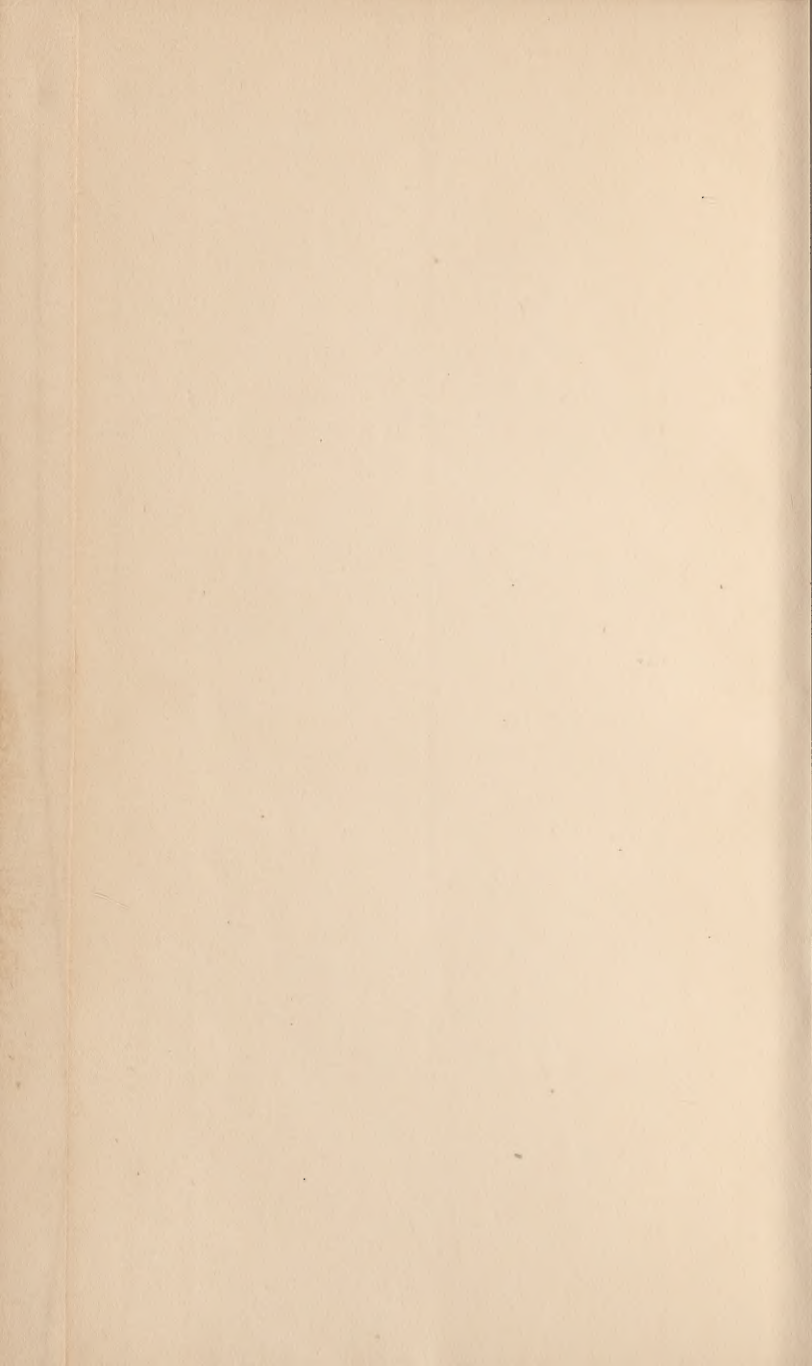
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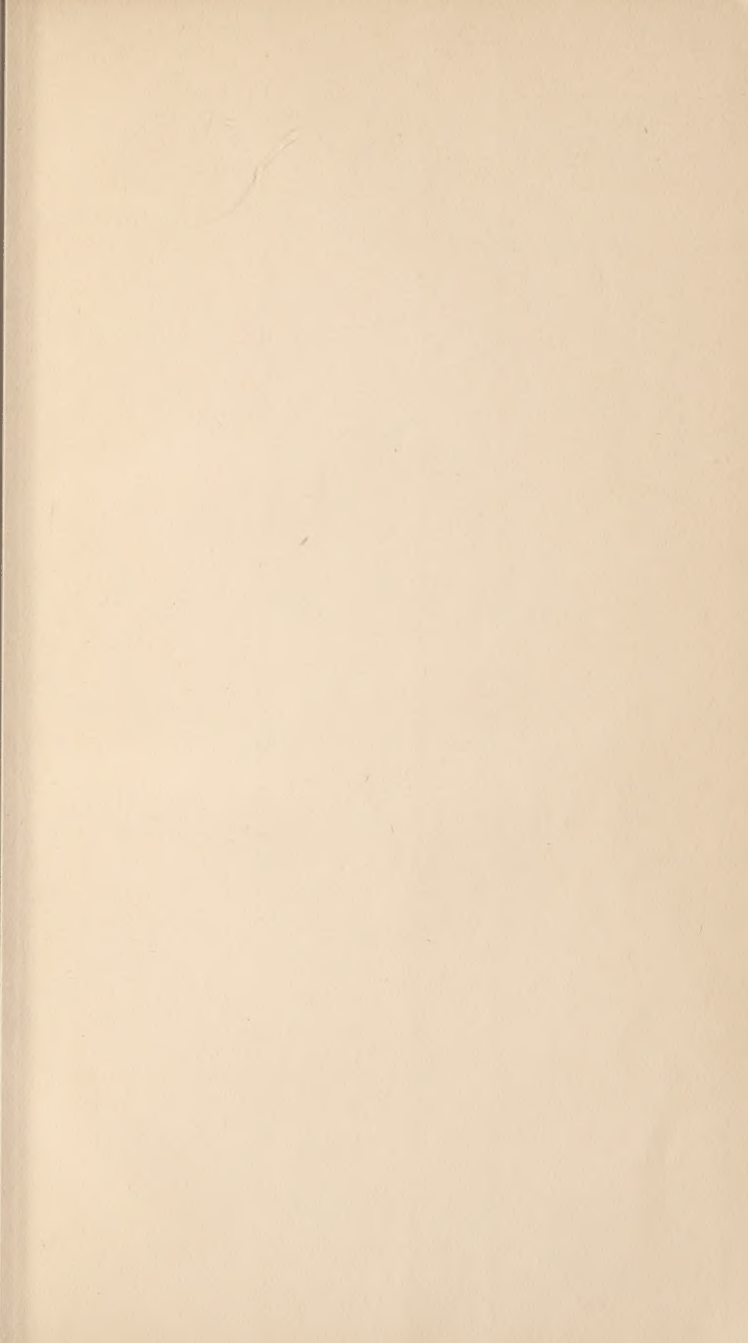
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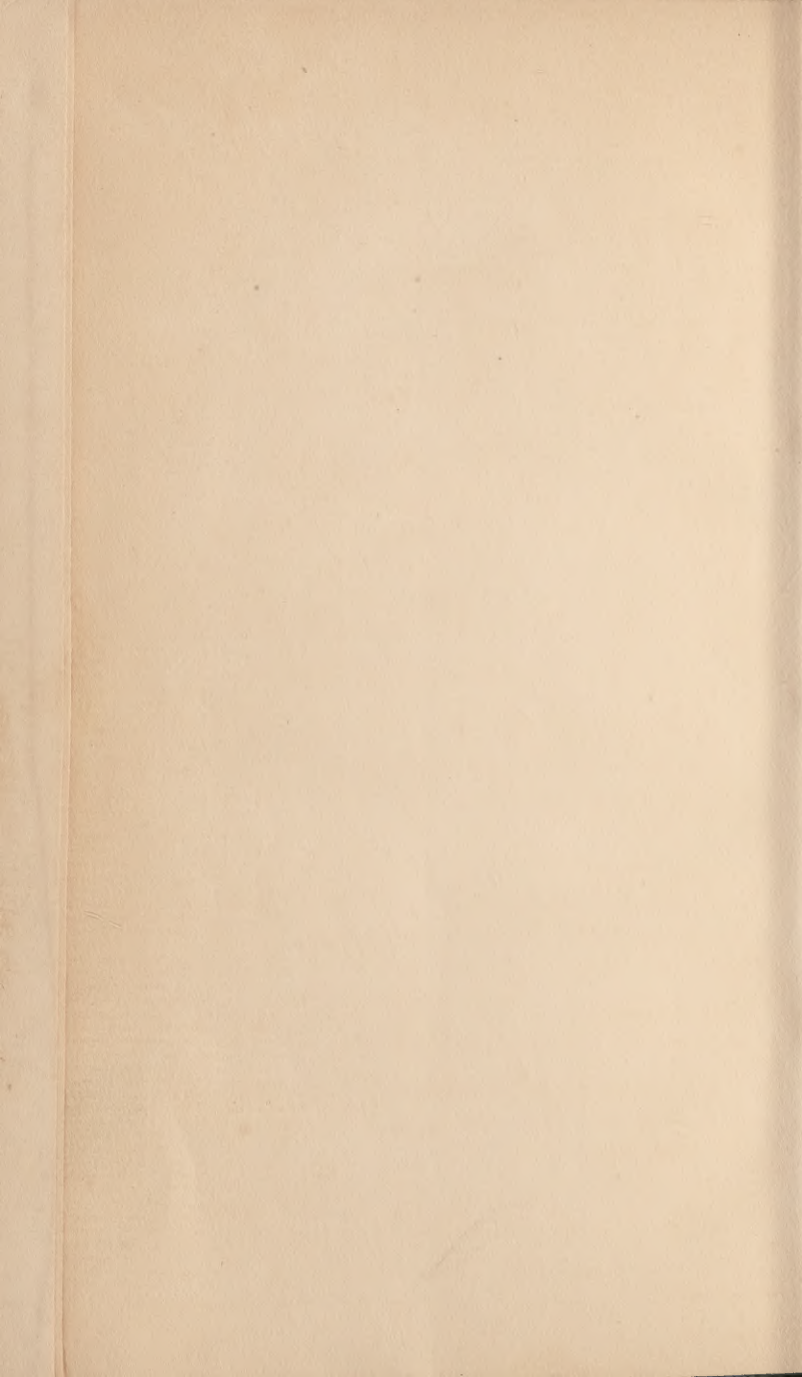
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Saducismus Triumphatus :

OR,

Full and Plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

WITCHES

AND

APPARITIONS.

In Two P A R T S.

The First treating of their

POSSIBILITY,

The Second of their Real

EXISTENCE.

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

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

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

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

fm

TO THE
Right Reverend Father in God

S E T H

Lord Bishop of

SARUM,
Chancellor of the GARTER.

This New and Compleated EDITION
O F

Saducismus Triumphatus

Is most humbly Dedicated to your Lordship,

By,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Obliged and
Humble Servant

(The PUBLISHER)

James Collins.

THE

YEARLY

REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN

ASSOCIATION

FOR THE

PROGRESS OF

SCIENCE

AND ART

1871

THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

Reader,

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

Indeed it had been desirable that it might have had the polishing of his last hand, as the peruser of his Papers signifies in his last Advertisement. But to compensate this loss, the said Peruser, a friend as well to his Design as to his Person, has digested those Materials he left, into that order and distinctness, and has so tied things together, and supplied them in his Advertisements, that, to the judicious Reader, nothing

The Publisher to the Reader.

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

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

And

The Publisher to the Reader.

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

The Publisher to the Reader.

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

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

Your humble Servant

J. C.

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

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

S I R,



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

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

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

The Letter of Dr. H. M. &c. 3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Will. Lumley.

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

Out

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hay ho! the Devil is dead, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your affectionate Friend
to serve you,

H. M.

T H E

T H E

Postscript.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Third word in the Text, is מִנַּחֵשׁ [*Me-nachesh*]

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

But

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

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

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

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

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

The Sixth word is, שואל אוב [*Shael Obb*] which

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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peep

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

miraculous things by the assistance or confociation of evil Spirits.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

was

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

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

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

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

mean time standing on one side amongst the *Deceivers* and *Impostours*, his Book, as to the main design he drives at, being a mere *Cheat* and *Impostour*.

C. C. C. May 25.
1678.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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

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

Sadu-

Saducismus Triumphatus :

O R,

Full and plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

WITCHES

A N D

APPARITIONS.

The First P A R T thereof conteining

Philosophical Considerations

Which defend their

POSSIBILITY.

Whereunto is added,

The true and genuine NOTION, and

consistent Explication of the Nature

O F A

S P I R I T,

For the more full Confirmation of the

POSSIBILITY of their EXISTENCE.

L O N D O N: Printed, 1681.

WITCHES

ALL THE WITCHES

of the County of Essex

are hereby notified

that the

WITCHES

are hereby notified

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are hereby notified

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To the Illustrious
CHARLES

D U K E of
Richmond and Lenox.

My LORD,

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

The Epistle Dedicatory.

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

For my part, my Lord, I am very little concerned for the small pedlaries that some mens fondness calls Religion, by which that sacred thing hath been exposed to a great deal of contempt and dishonour. But yet I think it my duty to have a zeal for those great and certain matters upon which our hopes in another world are grounded: And that our expectations of a future Being, are not imaginary and fantastick, we have reasonable evidence enough from the Attributes of God, the Phænomena of Providence, and the nature of our Souls, to convince any, but those who will stupidly believe that they shall dye like Beasts, that they may live like them. I confess the Philosophick Arguments that are produced for the desirable Article, though very cogent, are many of them speculative and deep, requiring so great an attention and sagacity, that they take no hold upon the whiffling spirits.
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that are not used to consider ; nor upon the common sort, that cannot reach such heights of Argument : But they are both best convinced by the proofs that come nearest the sense, which indeed strike our minds fullest, and leave the most lasting impressions ; whereas high Speculations being more thin and subtile, easily slide off even from understandings that are most capable to receive them. For this reason, among some others, I appear thus much concerned for the justification of the belief of Witches, it suggesting palpable and current evidence of our Immortality, which I am exceedingly solicitous to have made good.

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

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

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

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

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

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most obedient Servant,

Jos. Glanvil.

F

PRE-

THE END

1875

Preface.

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

Preface.

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

Preface.

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

F 3 Religion)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Preface.

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

Bath June 8.
1668.

F. G.

SOME

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SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
ABOUT

Witchcraft.

In a LETTER to
ROBERT HUNT, Esq;

S E C T. I.

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Murderers,

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

S E C T. I I.

I.

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

TO WHICH OBJECTION I answer,

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

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

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

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

S E C T. I I I.

II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. I V.

III.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. V.

IV.

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

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

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

pticks than ever yet were extant. The *miseries* of the *present life*, the *unequal distributions* of *good and evil*, the *ignorance and barbarity* of the greatest part of Mankind, the *fatal disadvantages* we are all under, and the *hazard* we run of being eternally miserable and undone; these, I say, are things that can hardly be made *consistent* with that *Wisdom and Goodness* that we are sure hath *made and mingled it self* with all things. And yet we believe there is a *beauty and harmony*, and *goodness* in that *Providence*, though we cannot *unriddle* it in *particular instances*; nor, by reason of our ignorance and imperfection, clear it from *contradicting appearances*; and consequently, we ought not to deny the being of *Witches and Apparitions*, because they will create us some difficulties in our *notions* of *Providence*. But to come more close,

(2) Those that believe that *Infants* are *Heirs of Hell*, and *Children of the Devil* as soon as they are *disclosed* to the world, cannot certainly offer such an *Objection*; for what is a little *trifling pain* of a moment, to those *eternal Tortures*, to which, if they *die as soon as they are born*, according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, they are *everlastingly exposed*? But however the case stands as to *that*, 'tis certain, (3) That *Providence* hath not secured them from *other violences* they are obnoxious to, from *cruelty and accident*; and yet we accuse *It* not when a whole Townful of *Innocents* fall a *Victim* to the

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

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

S E C T. V I.

V.

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

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

our Bodies also; yet a reason may be given why they are less frequent in this kind of mischief, *viz.* because their main designs are le- vell'd against the interest and happiness of our Souls; which they can best promote, when their actions are most *sly* and *secret*; whereas did they ordinarily persecute men in their Bodies, their *agency* and *wicked influence* would be discover'd, and make a mighty noise in the world, whereby men would be awaken'd to a suitable and vigorous opposition, by the use of such means as would engage *Providence* to rescue them from their *rage* and *cruelties*; and at last defeat them in their great purposes of *undoing us eternally*. Thus we may conceive that the *security* we enjoy may well enough consist with the *power* and *malice* of those *evil Spirits*; and upon this account we may suppose that *Laws* of their own may prohibit their *unlicens'd injuries*, not from any *goodness* there is in their *Constitutions*, but in order to the more *successful* carrying on the *projects* of the *dark Kingdom*; as *Generals* forbid *Plunder*, not out of *love* to their *Enemies*, but in order to their own *Success*. And hence (3) we may suppose a *Law* of *permission* to hurt us at the instance of the *Sorcereß*, may well stand with the *polity* of *Hell*, since by gratifying the wicked person, they encourage her in *malice* and *revenge*, and promote thereby the main ends of their *black confederacy*, which are to propa-
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gate wickedness, and to ruine us in our *eternal interests*. And yet (4) 'tis clear to those that believe the *History* of the *Gospel*, that *wicked spirits* have vexed the bodies of men, without any *instigation* that we read of; and at this day 'tis very likely that many of the *strange accidents* and *diseases* that befall us, may be the *infliction* of *evil spirits*, prompted to hurt us onely by the delight they take in *mischiefe*. So that we cannot argue the improbability of their hurting *Children* and others by *Witches*, from our own *security* and *freedom* from the effects of their *malice*, which perhaps we feel in more instances than we are aware of.

S E C T. V I I.

VI.

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

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

SECT. VIII.

VII.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. I X.

VIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. X.

IX.

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

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

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

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

'tis

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

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

S E C T. X I.

X.

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

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

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

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

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

At this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made uſe of the *Platonick Hypotheſis, That Spirits are embodied*, upon which indeed a great part of my Diſcourſe is grounded: And therefore I hold my ſelf obliged to a ſhort account of that ſuppoſal. *It ſeems* then to me very *probable*, from the nature of *Senſe*, and *Analogy of Nature*. For (1) we perceive in our ſelves, that all *Senſe* is cauſed and excited by *motion* made in *matter*; and when thoſe *motions* which convey *ſenſible impreſſions* to the *Brain*, the *Seat of Senſe*, are intercepted, *Senſe* is loſt: So that, if we ſuppoſe *Spirits* perfectly to be *disjoyn'd* from all *matter*, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the ſenſe of any thing; For how *material Objects* ſhould any way be perceived, or felt, without *vital union* with *matter*, 'tis not poſſible to imagine. Nor doth it (2) ſeem ſuitable to the *Analogy of Nature*, which uſeth not to make *precipitious leaps* from one thing to another, but uſually proceeds by *orderly ſteps* and *gradations*: whereas were there no *order of Beings* between *Us*, who are ſo deeply plunged into the groſſeſt matter, and *pure unbodied Spirits*, 'twere a mighty *jump* in Nature. Since
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then the greatest part of the world consists of the *finer* portions of matter, and our own Souls are *immediately united* unto *these*, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer Orders of Spirits are *vitally joyned* to such *Bodies*; and so *Nature* by *degrees* ascending still by the more *refin'd* and *subtile matter*, gets at last to the pure *Noes* or *immaterial minds*, which the *Platonists* made the *highest Order of created Beings*. But of this I have discoursed elsewhere, and have said thus much of it at present, because it will enable me to add another Reason of the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions* and *Compacts*, *viz.*

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

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

S E C T. XII.

XI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION XIII.

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

I confess the *proud* and *phantastick pretences* of many of the *conceited Melancholists* in this age, to *Divine Communion*, have prejudiced divers intelligent persons against the *belief* of any such *happy vouchsafement*; so that they conclude the *Doctrine of immediate Communion* with the *Deity* in this *Life* to be but an *high-flown notion* of *warm imagination*, and *over-luscious self-flattery*; and I acknowledge I have my self had thoughts of this nature, sup-
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posing *Communion* with *God* to be nothing else but the *exercise* of *virtue*, and *that peace*, and *those Comforts* which naturally result from it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECT. XIV.

XII.

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

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

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

suspicion upon the undoubted *Miracles* that were wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if *they* were performed by *Diabolical Compact*, since their *Spirit*, *Endeavours*, and *Designs*, were notoriously contrary to all the *Tendencies*, *Aims*, and *Interests* of the *Kingdom of Darkneß*. For, as to the Life and Temper of the blessed and adorable *JESUS*, we know there was an incomparable *sweetneß* in his *Nature*, *Humility* in his *Manners*, *Calmneß* in his *Temper*, *Compassion* in his *Miracles*, *Modesty* in his *Expressions*, *Holineß* in all his *Actions*, *Hatred* of *Vice* and *Baseneß*, and *Love* to all the World; all which are *essentially contrary* to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of *Apostate Spirits*, who abound in *Pride* and *Rancour*, *Insolence* and *Rudeneß*, *Tyranny* and *Baseneß*, universal *Malice*, and *Hatred* of *Men*. And their *Designs* are as opposite, as their *Spirit* and their *Genius*. And now, Can the *Sun* borrow its *Light* from the *bottomleß Abyss*? Can *Heat* and *Warmth* flow in upon the World from the *Regions of Snow* and *Ice*? Can *Fire* freeze, and *Water* burn? Can *Natures*, so infinitely contrary, *communicate*, and jump in *projects* that are *destructive* to each others *known Interests*? Is there any *Balsom* in the *Cockatrices Egg*? or, Can the *Spirit of Life* flow from the *Venome* of the *Asp*? Will the *Prince of Darkneß* strengthen the *Arm* that is *stretcht* out to pluck his *Usurpt Scepter*, and his *Spoils* from him? And will he
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lend his *Legions*, to assist the *Armies* of his *Enemy* against him ? No, these are impossible *Supposals* ; No intelligent Being will industriously and knowingly contribute to the *Contradiction* of its own *Principles*, the *Defeat* of its *Purposes*, and the *Ruine* of its own dearest *Interests*. There is no fear then, that our Faith should receive prejudice from the *acknowledgement* of the *Being* of *Witches*, and *power* of *evil Spirits*, since 'tis not the *doing wonderful things* that is the onely *Evidence* that the *Holy JESUS* was from God, and his *Doctrine* true ; but the *conjunction* of other circumstances, the *holiness* of his *Life*, the *reasonableness* of his *Religion*, and the *excellency* of his *Designs*, added credit to his Works, and strengthened the great *Conclusion*, *That he could be no other than the Son of God, and Saviour of the world*. But besides, I say,

(2) That since *infinite Wisdom* and *Goodness* rules the World, it cannot be conceived, that they should give up the greatest part of men to *unavoidable deception*. And if *evil Angels* by their *Confederates* are permitted to perform such *astonishing* things, as seem so evidently to carry *God's Seal* and *Power* with them, for the confirmation of *Falshoods*, and gaining credit to *Impostors*, without any *counter-evidence* to disabuse the World ; Mankind is exposed to *sad* and *fatal delusion*. And to say that *Providence* will suffer us to be deceived in things of
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the greatest concernment, when we use the best of our care and endeavours to prevent it, is to speak hard things of *God*; and in effect to affirm, That He hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himself in the affairs of poor forlorn men. And if the *Providence* and *Goodness* of God be not a security unto us against such *Deceptions*, we cannot be assured, but that we are always abused by those *mischievous Agents*, in the *Objects* of *plain sense*, and in all the matters of our daily Converses. If *ONE* that pretends he is *immediately* sent from *God*, to overthrow the ancient *Fabrick* of *Established Worship*, and to erect a *New Religion* in *His* Name, shall be *born* of a *Virgin*, and honour'd by a *miraculous Star*; proclaimed by a *Song* of seeming *Angels* of *Light*, and *worshipped* by the *wise Sages* of the World; Revered by those of the greatest *austerity*, and *admired* by all for a *miraculous Wisdom*, beyond his *Education* and his *Tears*: If He shall feed *multitudes* with almost *nothing*, and *fast himself* beyond all the *possibilities* of Nature: If He shall be *transformed* into the appearance of *extraordinary Glory*, and converse with departed *Prophets* in their *visible Forms*: If He shall Cure all *Diseases* without *Physick* or *Endeavour*, and raise the *Dead* to *Life* after they have *stunk* in their *Graves*: If He shall be honoured by *Voices* from *Heaven*, and attract the universal wonder

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. X V.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. X V I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Daniel

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECT. XVIII.

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

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

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

(2) To this purpose; “That the *profligate* persons who are *obnoxious* to those *gross temptations*, are fast enough *before*; and therefore such a *Covenant* were *needless*, and of no *avail* to the *Tempters projects*.”

This *Objection* I have answered already, in
my

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

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

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

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

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

Thus,

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

S E C T. X I X.

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

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

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

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

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

but

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-imagina-

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

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

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

S E C T. X X.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And

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

SIR,

Your Affectionate and Obliged

Honourer and Servant,

J. G.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

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

AN

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

Witchcraft.

Containing

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

O F A

S P I R I T,

Whereby

The POSSIBILITY of the EXISTENCE of
SPIRITS, APPARITIONS, and WITCH-
CRAFT is further confirmed.

L O N D O N: Printed, 1681.

THE HISTORY OF THE
LAW

OF THE

WITCHAMPTON

WITCHAMPTON

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OF THE
WITCHAMPTON
OF THE
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WITCHAMPTON

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

S E C T. I.

*The Opinions of the NULLIBISTS and
HOLENMERIANS proposed.*

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

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

100 *The true Notion of a Spirit.*

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

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

Sect.

S E C T. I I.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. I I I.

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

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

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

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mean

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

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

Whence

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

S E C T. I V.

The true Method that ought to be taken for the proving that M A T T E R cannot think.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. V.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. V I.

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

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

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

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

the Matter) I do not deny but that also by his *Essence* or *Substance* he is present to them: For all those things in God are one and the same.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. V I I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. V I I I

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

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

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

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

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

From whence it appears how foully *Cartesius* has imposed, if not upon himself, at least upon others, when from this mental precision
of

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

S E C T. I X.

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

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

we

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

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

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

SECT.

S E C T. X.

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

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

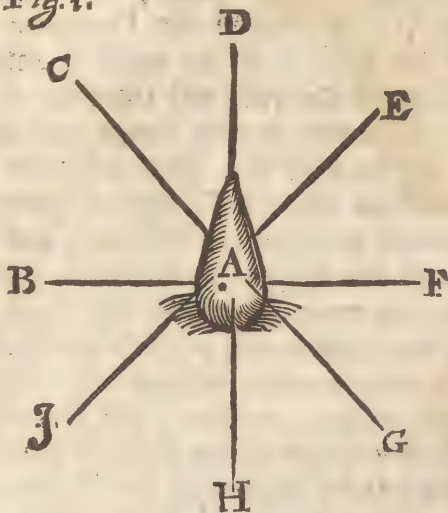
most clearly deprehend, not to have been drawn in by the outward sense, but to be innate and essentially inherent in the Mind itself; and so to be the genuine *object* not of *Imagination*, but of *Intellect*; and that it is but perversly and without all judgment determined by the *Nullibists*, or *Cartesians*,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

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

mon

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

Fig. 1.



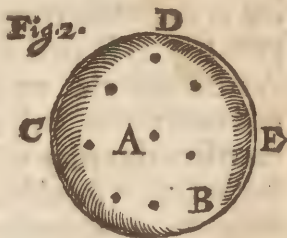
And whenas it is supposed to be surrounded with Eight Trumpeters, let there be Eight Lines drawn from them, namely, from B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I; I say that the clangour or sound of every Trumpet is carried from the Ring of the Trumpeters to the extream part

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

SECTION XI.

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

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



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

O 4

Soul

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

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

S E C T. XII.

The Examination of the Opinion of the Hellenic-merians.

BUT now, according to our custome, let us weigh and examine all these things in a free and just Balance. In this therefore that they assert, that the whole Soul is in the whole Body, and is all of it penetrated of the Soul by her *Essence*, and therefore seem willingly to acknowledge a certain *essential amplitude* of the Soul; in this, I say, they come near to us, who contend there is a certain *Metaphysical* and *Essential Extension* in all *Spirits*, but such as is ἀμεγέδης καὶ ἀμερὴς, *devoid of bulk or parts*, as *Aristotle* defines of his *separate substances*: For there is no magnitude or bulk which may not be *physically* divided, nor any *parts* properly where there is no such division. Whence the *Metaphysical Extension* of *Spirits*, is rightly understood not to be capable of either *bulk* or *parts*. And in that sense it has *no parts*, it cannot justly be said to be a *Whole*. In that therefore we plainly agree with the *Hellenic-merians*, that a Soul or Spirit may be said by its *Essence* to penetrate and possess the *whole Body* C, D, E; but in this again we differ from them, that we dare not affirm that the *whole Spirit*
or

or *whole Soul* does penetrate and possess the said Body, because that which has not *parts* cannot properly be called a *Whole*; though I will not over-stiffly contend, but that we may use that word for a more easie explication of our mind, according to that old trite Proverb, *Ἀγαθέτερόν πως εἰπεῖν καὶ σαφέτερόν λέγειν*, *Speak a little more unlearnedly that thou mayest speak more intelligibly or plainly*. But then we are to remember that we do not speak *properly*, though more *accommodately* to the vulgar apprehension, but *improperly*.

But now when the *Holenmerians* add further, That the whole Soul is in every part or
 See Figure 2. Sect. 11. Physical point of the Body D, C, E, in the point A and B, and all the rest of the points of which the Body D, C, E, does consist, that seems an harsh expression to me, and such as may justly be deemed next door to an open Repugnancy and Contradiction: For when they say the whole Soul is in the whole Body D, C, E, if they understand the Essence of the Soul to be commensurate, and as it were equal to the Body D, C, E, and yet at the same time, the whole Soul to be contained within the point A or B, it is manifest that they make one and the same thing many thousand times greater or less than itself at the same time; which is impossible. But if they will affirm, that the *essential Amplitude* of the Soul is no bigger than what is
 con-

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

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

and utterly impossible to apprehend touching that Spirit which perpetually exhibits his *Essential Presence* to the whole world, and whatever is beyond the world ?

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

S E C T. X I I I.

A Confutation of the first Reason of the Holenmerians.

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

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

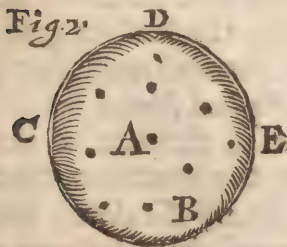
Therefore it will be divided, if I may so speak, into so many *Totalities*. But what Logical ear can bear a saying so absurd and abhorrent from all reason, that a *Whole* should not be divided into *parts* but into *Wholes*? But you will say at least we shall have this granted us, that an *Essential Presence* may be distributed or divided according to so many distinctly cited *Totalities* which occupy at once the whole Body C, D, E. Yes verily, this shall be granted you, after you have demonstrated that a *Spirit* not bigger than a *Physical Monad* can occupy in the same instant all the parts of the Body C, D, E; but upon this condition, that you acknowledge not sundry *Totalities*, but one onely *total Essence*; though the least that can
be

be imagined, can occupy that whole space, and when there is need, occupy, in an instant, an infinite one : Which the *Holenmerians* must of necessity hold touching the Divine Essence, because according to their Opinion taken in the second sence, (which pinches the whole Essence of a Spirit into the smallest point) the Divine Essence itself is not bigger than any *Physical Monad*. From whence it is apparent the three Objections which we brought in the beginning do again recur here, and utterly overwhelm the first reason of the *Holenmerians* : So that the remedy is far more intolerable than the disease.

S E C T. XIV.

A Confutation of the second Reason of the Holenmerians.

ANd truly the other reason which from this *Holenmerism* of Spirits pretends a more



easie way of conceiving how it comes to pass that the Soul, suppose in A, can perceive what happens to it in C, or B, and altogether in the same circumstances as if it-
self

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

And from hence the falsity of that common saying is detected , That *if the Eye was in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot* ; whenas it does not so much as see in those Eyes which
it

it already hath, but somewhere within the Brain. Nor would the Soul by an Eye in the Foot see, unless by fitting Nerves, not unlike the Optick ones, continued from the Foot to the Head and Brain, where the Soul so far as *perceptive*, inhabiteth. In the other parts of the Body the Functions thereof are onely *vital*.

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

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

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

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

S E C T. X V.

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

BUT verily, I am ashamed to waste so much time in refuting such mere trifles and dotages which indeed are such, (that I mean of the *Nullibists*, as well as this other of the *Hologenmerians*) that we may very well wonder how such distorted and strained conceits could ever enter into the minds of men, or by what artifice they have so spread themselves in the World; but that the prejudices and enchantments of Superstition and stupid admiration of mens Persons are so strong, that they may utterly blind the minds of men, and charm them into dotage. But if any one, all prejudice and parts-taking being laid aside, will attentively consider the thing as it is, he shall clearly perceive and acknowledge, unless all belief is to be denied to the humane faculties, that the Opinions of the *Nullibists* and *Hologenmerians*, touching *Incorporeal Beings*, are miserably false; and not that onely, but as to any Philosophical purpose altogether *useless*. Forasmuch as out of neither Hypothesis there does appear any greater facility of
con-

conceiving how the *Mind* of man, or any other *Spirit*, performs those Functions of *Perception* and of *Moving* of *Bodies*, from their being supposed *nowhere*, than from their being supposed *somewhere*; or from supposing them *wholly in every part* of a *Body*, than from supposing them onely, to occupie the whole *Body* by an *Essential* or *Metaphysical Extension*; but on the contrary, that both the Hypotheses do entangle and involve the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Beings* with greater Difficulties and Repugnancies.

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

S E C T. X V I.

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

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

138 *The true Notion of a Spirit.*

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

But as for those that deny their *Existence*, whoever professes this skill to them, verily he cannot but appear a man above all measure
vain

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

S E C T. X V I I.

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

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

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

I doubt not but they will readily answer, that they understand all this (as to the terms) clearly and perfectly; nor would they doubt of the truth thereof, but that we deprive *Body* of all *Motion from itself*, as also of *Union, Life, and Perception.* But that it is *Substance*, that is, a Being subsistent by itself, not a *mode* of some Being, they cannot but very willingly admit, and that also it is a *material Substance* compounded of *physical Monads*, or at least of most *minute particles* of Matter, into which it is divisible; and because of their *Impenetrability*, impenetrable by any other Body. So that the Essential and Positive difference of a *Body* is, that it be *impenetrable*, and *Physically divisible* into parts: But that it is *extended*, that immediately belongs to it as it is a *Being*. Nor is there any reason why they should doubt of the other part of the *Differentia*, whenas it is solidly and fully proved in Philosophie, That *Matter* of its own nature, or in itself, is
endued

endued with no *Perception*, *Life*, nor *Motion*. And besides, we are to remember that we here do not treat of the *Existence* of things, but of their intelligible *Notion* and *Essence*.

S E C T. X V I I I.

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

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

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

Go to therefore, let us take notice through all the degrees of the *Definitum*, or *Thing defined*, what precise and immediate properties each of them contain, from whence at length a most distinct and perfect knowledge of the whole *Definitum* will discover itself. Let us begin then from the top of all, and first let us take notice that a Spirit is *Ens*, or a *Being*, and from this very same that it is a *Being*; that it is also *One*, that it is *True*, and that it is *Good*; which are the three acknowledged Properties of *Ens* in Metaphysics, that it exists *some-time*, and *somewhere*, and is in some sort *extended*, as is shewn *Enchirid. Metaphys. cap. 2. sect. 10.* which three latter terms are plain of themselves. And as for the three former, that *One* signifies undistinguished or undivided in and from itself, but divided or distinguished from all other, and that *True* denotes the answerableness of the *thing* to its own proper *Idea*, and implies right *Matter* and *Form* duly conjoined, and that lastly *Good* respects the fitness for the end in a large sense, so that it will take in that saying of Theologers, That God is his own End, are things vulgarly known to *Logicians* and *Metaphysicians*. That these Six are the immediate affections of Being, as Being is made apparent in the above-cited *Enchiridion*

chiridion Metaphysicum ; nor is it requisite to repeat the same things here. Now every *Being* is either *Substance*, or the *Mode* of *Substance*, which some call *Accident* : But that a *Spirit* is not an *Accident* or *Mode* of *Substance*, all in a manner profess ; and it is demonstrable from manifold Arguments, that there are *Spirits* which are no such *Accidents* or *Modes* ; Which is made good in the said *Enchiridion* and other Treatises of Dr. H. M.

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

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

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

S E C T. X I X.

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

WHerefore I dare here appeal to the Judgment and Conscience of any one that is not altogether illiterate and of a dull and obtuse Wit, whether this *Notion* or Definition of a *Spirit* in general, is not as intelligible and perspicuous, is not as clear and every way distinct as the *Idea* or *Notion* of a *Body*, or of any thing else whatsoever which the mind of man can contemplate in the whole compass of

of Nature. And whether he cannot as easily or rather with the same pains apprehend the nature of a *Spirit* as of *Body*, forasmuch as they both agree in the immediate Genus to them, to wit *Substance*. And the *Differentiæ* do illustrate one another by their mutual opposition; insomuch that it is impossible that one should understand what is *Material Substance*, but he must therewith presently understand what *Immaterial Substance* is, or what it is *not* to have *Life* and *Motion* of itself, but he must straitway perceive what it is *to have both in itself*, or to be able to communicate them to others.

S E C T. X X.

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

NOR can I divine what may be here opposed, unless haply they may alledge such things as these, That although they cannot deny but that all the *terms* of the *Definition* and *Explication* of them, are sufficiently intelligible, if they be considered single, yet if they be compared one with another they will mutually destroy one another. For this *Extension* which is mingled with, or inserted into
the

the nature of a *Spirit*, seems to take away the *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility* thereof, as also its faculty of *thinking*, as its *Penetrability* likewise takes away its power of moving any *Bodies*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. X X I.

An Answer to the first of the Four Objections.

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

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

From which Fountain have sprung all those difficulties whereby they endeavour to overwhelm this our *Notion* of a *Spirit*; as we shall manifestly demonstrate by going through them all, and carefully perpending each of them. For it is to be imputed to their gross Imagination, That from hence that two equal Amplitudes penetrate one another throughout, they conclude that either one of them must therewith perish, or that they being both conjoyned together, are no bigger than either one of them taken single. For this comes from hence that their mind is so illaqueated or lime-twigged, as it were, with the Idea's and Properties of corporeal things, that they cannot but infect those things also which have nothing corporeal in them with this material Tincture and Contagion, and so altogether confound this *Metaphysical* Extension with that Extension which is *Physical*. I say, from this disease it is that the sight of their mind is become so dull
and

and obtuse, that they are not able to divide that common Attribute of a Being, I mean *Extension Metaphysical* from *Special Extension* and *Material*, and assign to *Spirits* their proper Extension, and leave to *Matter* hers. Nor according to that known method, whether Logical or Metaphysical, by intellectual Abstraction prescind the *Generical* nature of *Extension* from the abovesaid *Species* or kinds thereof. Nor lastly, (which is another sign of their obtuseness and dulness) is their mind able to *penetrate* with that *Spiritual Extension* into the *Extension Material*; but like a stupid Beast stands lowing without, as if the mind itself were become wholly corporeal; and if any thing enter they believe it perishes rather and is annihilated, than that two things can at the same time coexist together in the same *Ubi*. Which are Symptomes of a mind desperately sick of this Corporeal Malady of *Imagination*, and not sufficiently accustomed or exercised in the free Operations of the Intellectual Powers.

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

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

SECT.

S E C T. XXII.

That besides those THREE Dimensions which belong to all extended things, a FOURTH also is to be admitted, which belongs properly to SPIRITS.

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

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

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

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

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

Nor

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

S E C T. XXIII.

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

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

Q²

Now

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

But that all *perception* of *Extension* is such *Imagination*, that I confidently deny. Forasmuch as there is an Idea of *infinite Extension* drawn or taken in from no external sense, but is natural and Essential to the very faculty of perceiving; Which the mind can by no means pluck out of herself, nor cast it away from her; but if she will rouse herself up, and by earnest and attentive thinking, fix her animadversion thereon, she will be constrained, whether she will or no, to acknowledge, that
 although

although the whole matter of the world were exterminated out of the Universe, there would notwithstanding remain a certain subtle and *immaterial Extension* which has no agreement with that other *Material* one, in any thing, saving that it is extended, as being such that it neither falls under sense, nor is impenetrable, nor can be moved, nor discerned into parts; and that this Idea is not onely *possible*, but *necessary*, and such as we do not at our pleasure feign and invent, but do find it to be so innate and ingrafted in our mind, that we cannot by any force or artifice remove it thence. Which is a most certain demonstration that all *Perception of Extension* is not *Imagination* properly so called.

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

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

S E C T. XXIV.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XXV.

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

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

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

S E C T. XXVI.

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XXVII.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XXVIII.

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

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

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

S E C T. XXIX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XXX.

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

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

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

S E C T. XXXI.

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

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

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

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

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

Wherefore I appeal here to the Mind and judgment of any one, whether he can truly conceive any thing more *Subtile* or more *One* than the *Essence* or Notion of a *Spirit* as it is immediately distinguished from *Matter*, and opposed thereto. For can there be any thing
more

more *One* than what has no parts, into which it may be discerped? or more *Subtile* than what does not onely penetrate *Matter*, but *itself*, or at least other Substances of its own kind? For a Spirit can penetrate a Spirit, though Matter cannot penetrate Matter.

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

S E C T. XXXII.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XXXIII.

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

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

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

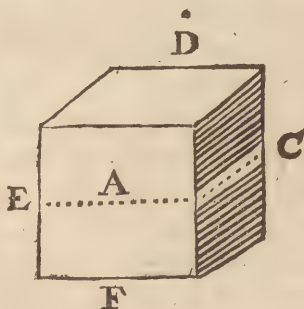
Now that it is not repugnant, I hope I shall clearly demonstrate from hence, that the *union* of *Spirit* with *Matter*, is as intelligible as the *union* of one *part* of *Matter* with *another*. For that ought in reason to be held an Axiome firm and sure, *That that is possible to be, in which there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

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

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

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

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



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

176 *The true Notion of a Spirit.*

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

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

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

S E C T. XXXIV.

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

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

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

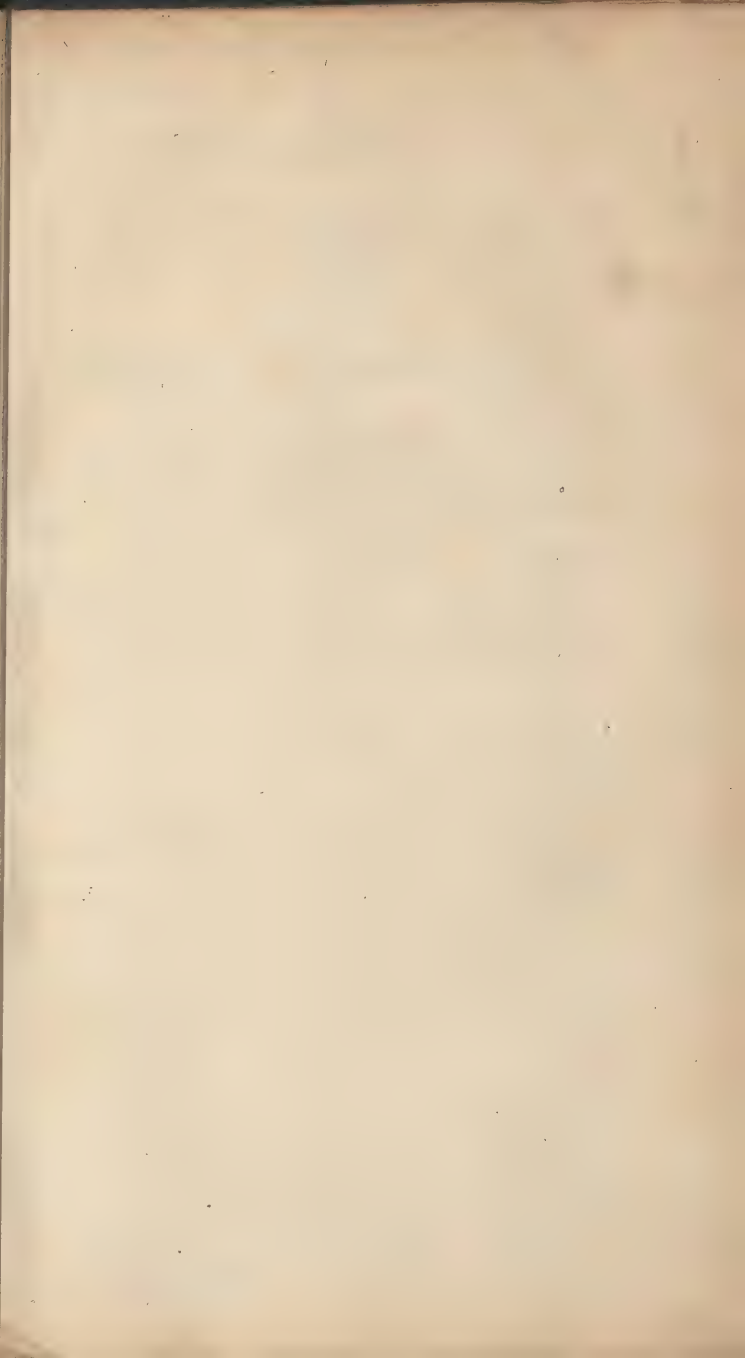
over grant, that by its *Operation* it is present to or in the Matter, and that the *Essence* of a *Spirit* is not *separated* from its *Operations*.

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

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

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

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



Saducismus Triumphatus;

Or Full and Plain

EVIDENCE

CONCERNING

Witches and Apparitions.

The Second Part.

PROVING

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

The real EXISTENCE
of APPARITIONS, SPIRITS
and WITCHES.

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

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. Collins, and S. Lownds.

1681.

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1891

THE PREFACE.

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

The Preface.

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

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

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

on

The Preface.

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

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

The Preface.

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

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

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

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

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

The Preface.

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

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

The Preface.

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

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

ADVERTISEMENT.

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

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

Mr. Mompeffon's LETTER to Mr. Glanvil, Dated Nov. 8. Anno 1672.

Worthy Sir,

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

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

S I R,

Nova. 8.

Your Obliged Servant,

72.

Jo. Mompesson.

A D-

The Preface.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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

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

Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Preface.

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

Your Loving Friend,

Tedworth
Aug. 8. 1674.

Jo. Mompeston.

An

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

S E C T. I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. II.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. IV.

What things the Author concedes in this controversy about Witches and Witchcraft.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fifthly,

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. V.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Proof

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

S E C T. I.

The Authours purpose of proving Apparitions and Witchcraft, to such as believe Scripture, as first from the Apparition of Angels.

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

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

14 Proof of Apparitions, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

SECT.

S E C T. II.

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. III.

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

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

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

These

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

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

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

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

S E C T. IV.

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

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

S E C T. V.

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

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

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

S E C T. VI.

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

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

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

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

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

Third-

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. VII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. VIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. IX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. X.

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

BUT what doth this Writer mean, when he tells us Δαιμόνιον can scarce signify any thing else properly, but an unusual affliction

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

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

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

S E C T. XI.

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

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

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

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

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

Mark

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

ADVERTISEMENT.

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

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

S E C T. XII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XIV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XVI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XVII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XVIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XIX.

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

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

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

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

Which

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

S E C T. XXI.

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

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

Ff person

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

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

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

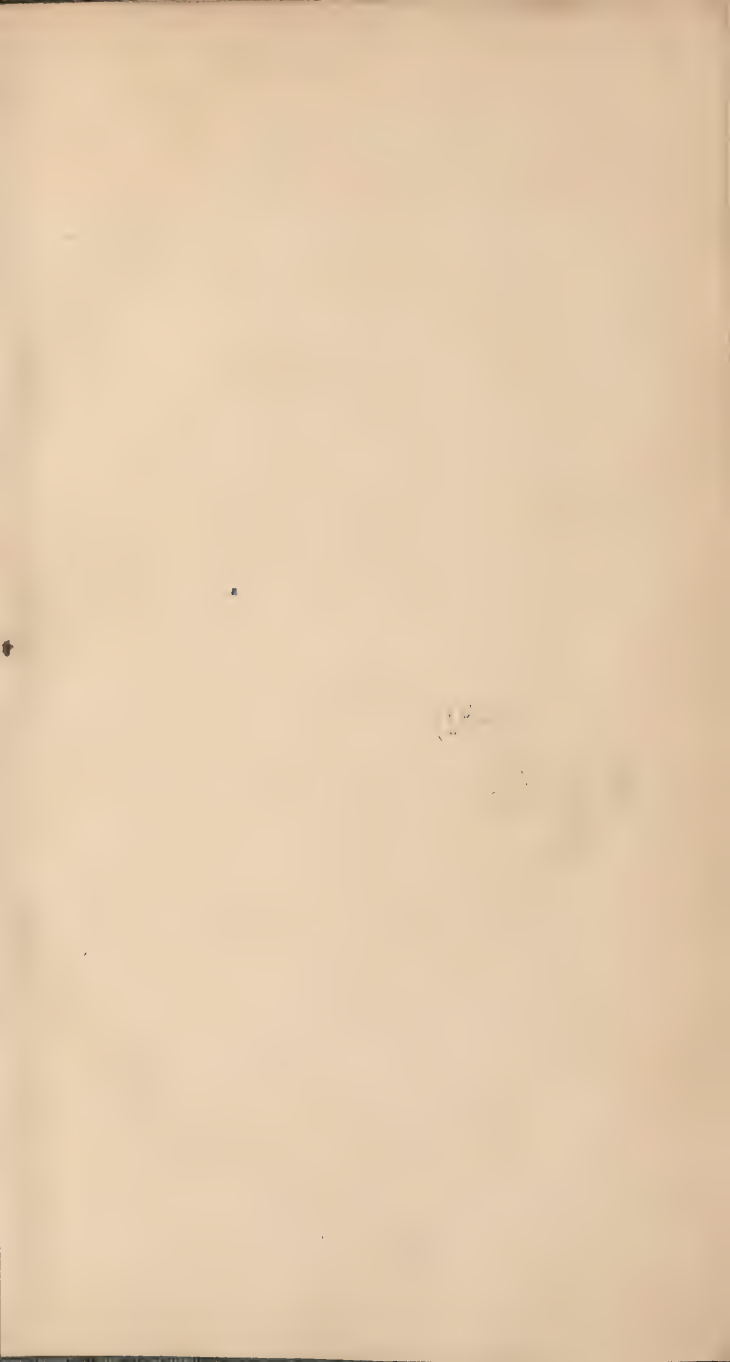
S E C T. XXII.

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

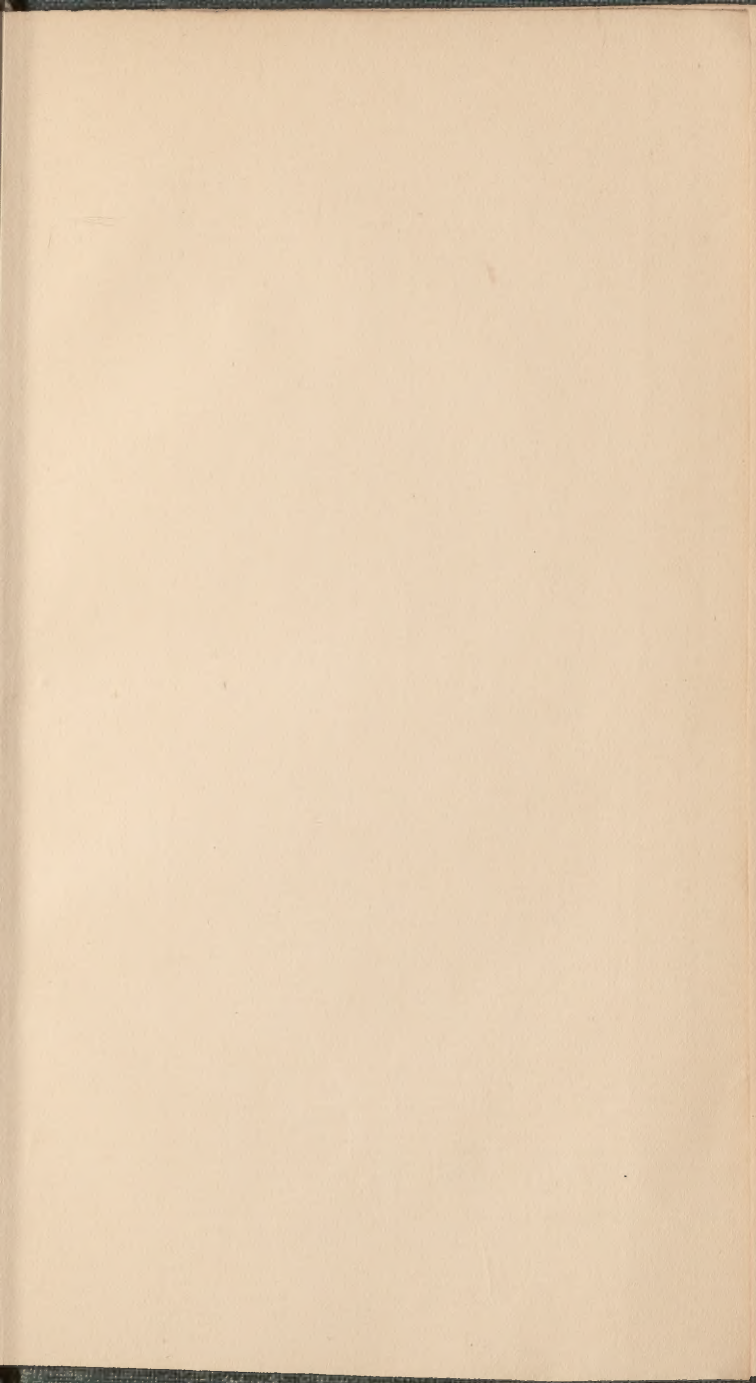
NOW there are several evasions, whereby some endeavour to shift off this evidence. But if we will deal plainly and sincerely, we must, I think, acknowledge the force of the Arguments, which I have briefly and nakedly proposed.

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

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







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