AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE JURY-MEN OF *ENGLAND*, Touching *Witches*.

TOGETHER WITH

A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN

An { *ENGLISH* AND *HEBREW* } VVitch.

LONDON,
Printed by *I. G.* for *Richard Royston*, At the Angel in *Ivie-lane*, 1653.

Queen's University Libraries

PRESENTED BY

Special Coll

Professor J. A. W. Gunn,
2003

Kingston, Ontario, Canada

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE JURY-MEN OF ENGLAND TOUCHING WITCHES

by

SIR ROBERT FILMER

Published by *The Rota* at the University of Exeter
1975

AC911.1633.F34

© The Rota, 1975

IBSN : 0 904617 04 1

Printed in Great Britain by the
Printing Unit of the University of Exeter

PREFATORY NOTE

An advertisement to the jury-men of England, touching witches (London, 1653) was evidently occasioned by the trials at the Kent Summer Assizes in July 1652 at Maidstone of a number of men and women reputed witches. Some were acquitted, others imprisoned or pilloried, but six women were sentenced to death by hanging. They had been found guilty of bewitching to death adults and children, horses and cattle and of destroying by witchcraft a variety of goods and chattels. A Commons' reprieve for three of them arrived in time to save only one. (See *A prodigious and tragicall history of the arraignment, tryall, confession and condemnation of six witches at Maidstone* by 'E. G. Gent' (London, 1652) and C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Witch hunting and witch trials* (London, 1929), pp. 240-3.) During the past century Maidstone had seen a number of witch trials, one of which in 1582 had influenced Reginald Scot (c. 1538–1599), a Kentish J.P., in the compilation of his sceptical *The discoverie of witchcraft* (London, 1584).

Under the statute of 1604 (1. *Jac.* 1. *c.* 12.; *Statutes of the realm,* iv, pt. 2, p. 1028), repealing that of 1563, death was the penalty for covenanting with the Devil, which zealots like William Perkins (1558 – 1602), influenced by continental notions, ironically Catholic, even Jesuitical, took as an essential mark of the modern as of the biblical (or Hebrew) witch. Except during witchfinder-general Matthew Hopkins's 1640s 'campaign', see J. Stearne, *A confirmation and discovery of witchcraft* (London, 1648, reprinted Exeter: The Rota, 1973), the capital sentence was rarely imposed unless there was acceptable evidence of actual murder or serious damage to property (maleficium). (See K. Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic* (London, 1971) p. 532.) In England witchcraft was seen as a crime, something anti-social rather than as an alternative, heretical religion – devil worship. *An advertisement,* published anonymously but ascribed to Sir Robert Filmer in an anonymous preface to his *The power of kings,* first published in 1680, sees the lack of definition in the 1604 statute of 'what a conjuror, a witch, an enchanter, a sorcerer is' as putting both judge and jury in a difficult position. This leads to a critique of William Perkins's *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft, so farre forth as it is revealed in the scriptures and manifest by true experience* (published posthumously London, 1608 and reprinted several times), with its references to a pact with 'an unknown god, the devil'. Perkins's scholarship, logic and common-sense come under fire but the *Advertisement's* approach is general too: 'To have nothing but the publique faith of the

present age, is none of the best evidence, unlesse the universality of elder times doe concur with these doctrines, which ignorance in the times of darknesse brought forth, and credulity in these dayes of light hath continued' (A2 o. and r.). Filmer's readiness to accept new knowledge – 'for there be dayly many things found out and dayly many more may be which our fore-fathers never knew to be possible in nature' (p. 8) – and his obvious confidence here in the capacity and potentiality of the human intellect establish him among leading sceptics. (Dr. Christopher Hill, otherwise unsympathetic, notes also his 'shrewd scepticism in politics' in *Puritanism and revolution* (London, 1958), p. 113.) Peter Laslett suggests in the Introduction to his edition of Filmer's *Patriarcha and other political writings* (Oxford, 1949) that the *Advertisement* betokens a late conversion from a conventional acceptance of execution as an apt penalty for witchcraft. The brutal events at Maidstone, where according to E. G., some spectators demanded the burning of a witch so that 'her blood is prevented thereby from becoming hereditary in her progeny in the same evil, which by hanging is not', may well have clinched a growing unease.

Sir Robert Filmer was born in or about 1588 at East Sutton, near Maidstone, scion of a legal family recently established as country gentry. From Trinity College, Cambridge, he went to Lincoln's Inn, was knighted, put into the commission of the peace and became prominent in a circle of cultivated Kentish gentlemen, among them Sir Roger Twysden (1597–1672) and Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644), who interested themselves in manuscripts, history, current affairs, political and constitutional ideas. Filmer's *Patriarcha,* composed between 1635 and 1642, circulated among them long before it was printed at a critical time in 1680, to be assailed by John Locke and others nearly thirty years after his death in 1653. Despite his royalist political views, Filmer was curiously inactive on the King's behalf during the civil war. He took no part in the famous Kentish Petition of March 1642, nor it seems in the risings in Kent during 1643 and 1648. Nevertheless he was imprisoned in Leeds Castle, near Maidstone, from 1643 to 1647. Between 1647 and 1653 he published anonymously a number of pamphlets of which *An advertisement* was the last. It was reprinted in 1679 with *The freeholders grand inquest* (first published in 1648).

This edition of *An advertisement* is reprinted with the permission of the Board of the British Library from the copy in the Thomason Collection (shelf mark E. 690. (6), Wing F 909). Thomason dated his copy 'March 28'. The list of errata facing p. 1 is incomplete; e.g., p. 20, line 34 for 'Ronamists' read 'Romanists'.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE JURYMEN OF *ENGLAND*, Touching *Witches*.

TOGETHER WITH

A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN

An { *ENGLISH* / AND / *HEBREW* } Witch.

March 28.

LONDON,
Printed by *I. G.* for *Richard Royston*, At the Angel in *Ivie-lane*, 1653.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE *JURY-MEN*, OF ENGLAND.

He late Execution of Witches, at the Summer Aßiſes in Kent, *occaſioned this briefe Exercitation, which addreſſes it ſelfe to ſuch as have not deliberately thought upon the great difficulty in diſcovering*, what, *or* who *a Witch is. To have nothing but the publique faith of the preſent Age, is none of the beſt evidence, unleſſe the univerſality of Elder times doe concur with theſe Doctrines, which ignorance in the times*

of darknesse brought forth, and credulity in these dayes of light hath continued.

*Such as shall not bee pleased with this Tractate, are left to their liberty to consider, whether all those Proofs and Presumptions number'd up by Mr.*Perkins, *for the Conviction of a Witch, be not all condemned, or confessed by himselfe to be unsufficient, or uncertaine.*

He brings no lesse then eighteene signes, or proofes whereby a VVitch *may be discovered; Which are too many to be all true: His seven first he himself confesseth to be insufficient for conviction of a* VVitch; *His eight next proofes (which he saith, men in place have used) he acknowledgeth to be false or insufficient. Thus of his eighteen proofes, which made a great shew, fourteen of them are cast off by himselfe; there remaines then his sixteenth, which is*

the

the confeßion of a Witch, yet presently he is forced to yeild that a bare confeßion is not a sufficient proofe, and so he commeth to his seaventeenth proof, which is, two credible witnesses, and he here grants that the league between the Devill, and the Witch is closely made, and the practises of Witches be very secret, that hardly a Man can be brought, which upon his own knowledge can aver such things. Therefore at last when all other proofes faile, he is forced to fly to his eighteenth proofe, and tels us, that yet there is a way to come to the knowledge of a Witch, which is, that Satan *useth all meanes to discover a Witch; which how it can be well done, except the Devill be bound over to give in evidence against the Witch, cannot be understood.*

And as Mr. Perkins *weakens, and discredits all his own Proofes, so he*

doth the like for all thoſe of K. James, *who as I remember hath but 3. Arguments for the diſcovery of a* VVitch. *Firſt, The ſecret Marke of a* VVitch, *of which M.*Perkins *ſaith, it hath no power by Gods Ordinance. Secondly, The diſcovery by a fellow-*VVitch, *this Mr.* Perkins *by no means will allow to be a good proof. Thirdly, the ſwimming of a* VVitch, *who is to be flung croſſe wayes into the water, that is, as* VVierus *interprets it, when the Thumb of the right hand is bound to the great Toe of the left Foot, and the Thumb of the left Hand, to the great Toe of the right Foot: againſt this Triall by water, together with a diſability in a* VVitch *to ſhed Tears (which K.* James *mentions)* Delrio, *and Mr.* Perkins *both argue, for it ſeemes they both write after K.* Iames, *who put forth his Book of Dœmonologie in his Youth, being in* Scotland, *about his age of thirty years.*

It

It concernes the People of this Nation to be more diligently inſtructed, in the Doctrine of Witch-craft, then thoſe of forraigne Countries, becauſe here they are tyed to a ſtricter or exacter Rule in giving their ſentence, then others are; for all of them muſt agree in their Verdict, which in a caſe of extreame difficulty is very dangerous, and it is a ſad thing for Men to be reduced to that extremity, that they muſt hazard their Conſciences, or their lives.

Errata.

PAge 12.l.32. for they have, read it hath. p.3.l.5. for these, read those. p.5. l.3. for *egrimus* read *egimus*.

A DIFFERENCE BETVVEENE An ENGLISH AND HEBREW VVitch.

THe Point in Question is briefly this; whether such a Witch as is condemned by the Lawes, and Statutes of this Land, be one and the same with the Witch forbidden by the Law of *Moses*.

The Witch condemned by our Statute-law is,

1 JACOB. CAP. 12.

One that shall use, practise, or exercise any invocation or conjuration of any evill or wicked spirit, or consult, covenant with, entertaine or employ, feede or reward any evill or wicked spirit, to, or for any intent or purpose; or take up any dead man, woman, or child, out of his, her, or their grave, or any other place, where the dead body resteth, or the skin, bone, or other part of any dead person, to be employed or used in any manner of Witchcraft, Sorcery, Charme or Enchantment; or shall use, practise, or exercise any Witch-

 craft,

craft, Enchantment, Charme, or Sorcery, whereby any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, consumed, pined, or lamed in his, or her body, or any part thereof. Such offenders duly and lawfully convicted and attainted, shall suffer death.

If any person shall take upon him by Witchcraft, Inchantment, Charme, or Sorcery, to tell or declare in what place any treasure of Gold, or Silver, should or might be found, or had in the Earth, or other secret places, or where Goods, or things lost or stolne should be found or become: Or to the intent, to provoke any person to unlawfull love, or whereby any Cattell or Goods of any person shall be destroyed, wasted, or impaired, or to destroy or hurt any person, in his, or her body, though the same be not effected, &c. a yeares Imprisonment, and Pillory, &c. and the second conviction, death.

In this Statute these Points are Observable.

1. That this Statute was first framed in 5. *Eliz.* and onely the penalties here a little altered, and the last clause concerning provoking of persons to love, and destroying of Cattle, and Goods, &c. is so changed, that I cannot well make sense of it, except it be rectified according to the words of the former Statute which stands repealed.

2. Although the Statute runs altogether in the disjunctive *Or*, and so makes every single crime capitall, yet the Judges usually by a favourable interpretation take the disjunctive *Or* for the copulative *And*; and therefore ordinarily they condemne none for Witches, unlesse they be charged with the Murdering of some person.

3. This Statute presupposeth that every one knowes what a Conjurer, a Witch, an Inchanter, a Charmer, and Sorcerer is, as being to be learned best of Divines; and therefore they have not described, or distinguished betweene them: and yet the Law is very just in requiring *a due and lawfull conviction.*

The

The definition of Witch-craft.

FOr the better discovery of the qualities of these crimes, I shall spend some discourse upon the Definition of these arts by Divines, for both those of the reformed Churches, as well as these of the Roman in a manner, agree in their Definition of the sinne of Witch-craft. I shall instance in two late Writers, *viz.* Mr. *W. Perkins* in his Discourse of Witch-craft, and in *Martin Delrio* a Jesuit of *Loraine* in his booke of *Magicall Disquisitions.*

Our English word *Witch* is derived from the Dutch word, *Wiechelen,* or *Wijcheten,* which doth properly signifie *whinying* or *neying* like a Horse, and doth also signifie to foretell, or prophecy; and *Weicheler* signifies a *South sayer,* for that the *Germans* from whom our Ancestors the *Saxons* descended usually, and principally did as *Tacitus* tells us, *Divine and foretell things to come by the whinying, and neying of their horses, Hinitu & fremitu* are his words.

For the Definition Mr. *Perkins* saith, *Witch craft is an Art serving for the Working of Wonders, by the assistance of the Devill, so far as God shall permit.* Cap. 1.

Delrio defineth it to be *an Art which by the power of a contract, entred into with the Devill, some wonders are wrought which passe the common understanding of men. Ars qua vi pacti cum Dæmonibus initi mira quædam communem hominum captum superantia efficiuntur.* Lib. 1. c. 2.

In these two Definitions, some Points are worth the noting.

1. They both agree in the maine Foundation, which is a Contract with the Devill, and therefore Mr. *Perkins* thought it most necessary, that this maine point should be proved, to which purpose he promiseth to define a Witch, by *opening the nature of Witchcraft, as it is delivered in the Old and new Testament,* and Cap. 2. yet after hee confesseth a *manifest Covenant is not so fully set down in Scripture*; And out of the *New Testament* he offers no proofe at all, though he promised it, nevertheless he resolves us that a *Covenant is a most evident and certaine truth, that may not be called in question.* Cap. 2.

For proofe of a Covenant he produceth onely one Text

out of the old Teſtament, neither doth hee ſay, that the Text proveth a Contract with the Devill, but onely that it *intimateth* ſo much; Thus at the firſt hee falls from a proofe to an intimation onely. The Text is *Pſal.*58.*ver.*5. of which his words are theſe, *howſoever the common tranſlation runeth in other termes, yet the words are properly to be read thus; Which heareth not the voyce of the mutterer joyning Societies cunningly——the maine Foundation of the Charme Societies or Confederacies cunningly made not between man and man, but as the words import between the Enchanter and the Devil* Deut.18.11.

Anſwer. Though there be neither mention of Spirit, or Devill in this Pſalme, yet Mr. *Perkins* would have us believe that there can be no *conjoyning or conſociating* but with theDevill: But Mr. *Ainſworth* as great a *Rabby* as Mr. *Perkins*, finds other interpretations of this Text, and though hee mentions fellowſhip with the Devill, yet hee puts it in the third and laſt place as the neweſt and lateſt interpretation; for hee teacheth us that the *Enchanter had his title both in Pſalme* 58. *and in* Deut.18. *either becauſe he aſſociats Serpents, making them tame and familiar that they hurt not, or becauſe ſuch perſons uſe to bind and tye bonds, or things about the body to heale or hurt by Sorcery*; alſo he teacheth us that a *Charmer* doth joyne,or *ſpeake words of a ſtrange language,and without ſenſe, &c.*

Delrio, it ſeemes puts no confidence in this Text of Mr.*Perkins*, for hee doth not cite it to prove a Contract, yet
2 Qu 4. he hath alſo one Text of his own to that purpoſe, it is *Eſay* 28. 15. where it is ſaid, *wee have made a Covenant with Death, and with Hell We are at an agreement, percuſſimus fœdus cum morte, & cum inferno fecimus pactum.* and *Delrio* tells us that *Tho Aquinas* did apply this Text to Witches, *magis ſatis probabili interpretatione.*

Anſw. If this Text be conſidered, it proves nothing at all, for it doth not charge the proud and drunken *Ephramites*, of whom it is ſpoken that they had made any agreement with Hell, but it is onely a falſe brag of their own to juſtifie their wickedneſſe by a lie; for it is not poſſible to make a Covenant with Death, which in it ſelfe is nothing but a meere not being; and whereas it is called an agreement with Hell, it may be tranſla-

ted

ted as well, if not better in this place an *agreement With the Grave*, and ſo the interlineary Bible hath it, and *Tremelius* and *Junius* render it *pepigimus fœdus cum morte, & cum ſepulcro egrinus cautum*, which they terme a *thraſonicall hyperbole*, and *Diodatus his Italian Bible hath habbiamo fatto lega col ſepolcro*, ſo likewiſe the *Spaniſh Bible* tranſlates it, *concierto tenemos hecho con la muerte, è con la ſepultura hazimos acuerdo.*

It may be wondered that neither Mr. *Perkins* nor the Jeſuit have any other, or better Texts to prove this Contract betweene the Witch and the Devill. But the truth is it is very little that either of them ſay of this great point, but paſſe it over perfunctorily. Perhaps it may be thought that King *James* hath ſaid, or brought more and better proofes in this point; but I doe not finde that he doth medle with it at all, but takes it for granted that if there be Witches, there muſt needs be a Covenant, and ſo leaves it without further proofe.

A ſecond note is that the agreement betweene the Witch, and the Devill they call a Covenant, and yet neither of the parties are any way bound to performe their part, and the Devill without doubt notwithſtanding all his craft hath far the worſt part of the bargaine. The bargaine runs thus in Mr. *P.* Cap. 11. the *Witch as a ſlave binds himſelfe by Vow to believe in the Devill, and to give him either Body, or Soule, or both under his hand Writing, or ſome part of his Bloud. The Divell promiſeth to be ready at his vaſſals command to appeare in the likeneſſe of any Creature, to conſult, and to aid him for the procuring of Pleaſure, Honour, Wealth, or Preferment, to goe for him, to carry him any whither, and doe any command.* Whereby we ſee the Devill is not to have benefit of his bargaine till the Death of the Witch, in the meane time he is to appeare alwayes at the Witches command, to go for him, to carry him any whither, and to doe any command, which argues the Devill to be the Witches ſlave; and not the Witch the Divills.

Though it be true which *Delrio* affirmeth, *that the Devill is at liberty to perſorme or breake his compact, for that not man can compell him to keepe his promiſe*; yet on the other ſide it is as poſſible for the Witch to fruſtrate the Devills Contract, if hee or ſhee have ſo much grace as to repent, the which there may

be good cause to do, if the Devill be found not to performe his promise: Besides a Witch may many times require that to be done by the Devill, which God permits not the Devill to do; thus against his will the Devill may lose his credit, and give occasion of repentance though he endeavour to the utmost of his power to bring to passe whatsoever he hath promised, and so faile of the benefit of his bargaine, though he have the hand-writing, or some part of the bloud of the Witch for his security, or the solemnity before witnesses as *Delrio* imagineth.

I am certaine they will not say that Witch-craft is like the sinne against the Holy Ghost, unpardonable, for Mr. *Perkins* confesseth the contrary, and *Delrio* denies it not, for hee allowes the *Sacrament of the Eucharist* to be administred to a condemned Witch, with this limitation, that there may be about foure houres space betweene the Communion, and the Execution, in which time it may be probably thought that the *Sacramentall Species* (as they call it) may be consumed.

Lib. 5. Sect. 18.

3. *Delrio* in his second Booke, and fourth Question gives this rule, which he saith, *is common to all Contracts with the Devill, that first they must deny the Faith, and Christianisme, and Obedience to God, and reject the patronage of the Virgin* Mary, *and revile her* To the same purpose Mr. *Perkins* affirmes that *Witches renounce God and their Baptisme.* But if this be common to all Contracts with the Devill, it will follow that none can be Witches but such as have first beene Christians, nay and *Roman Catholiques, if Delrio* say true, for who else can renounce the patronage of the Virgin *Mary*? And what shall be said then of all those Idolatrous Nations of *Lapland, Finland,* and of divers parts of *Africa,* and many other Heathenish Nations which our Travailers report to be full of Witches? And indeed what neede or benefit can the Devill gaine by contracting with those Idolaters, who are surer his own, then any Covenant can make them?

4. Whereas it is said that *Witch craft is an Art working wonders,* it must be understood that the art must be the Witches Art, and not the Devills, otherwise it is no Witch-craft, but

Devils-

Devils-craft : It is confessed on all hands that the Witch doth not worke the wonder, but the Devill onely. It is a rare Art for a Witch by her Art to be able to do nothing her selfe, but to command an other to practise the Art. In other Arts Mr. *Perkins* confesseth, *that the Arts Master is able by himselfe to practise his Art, and to doe things belonging thereunto without the helpe of an other, but in this it is otherwise——the power of effecting strange workes doth not flow from the skill of the Witch, but is derived wholy from Satan.* To the same purpose he saith, that the *meanes of working wonders are Charmes used as a Watch-word to the Devill to cause him to worke wonders* : so that the Devill is the worker of the wonder, and the Witch but the Counsellor, Perswader, or Commander of it, and onely accessary before the Fact, and the Devill onely principall. Now the difficulty will be how the *accessary* can be *duely and lawfully convicted and attainted* according as our Statute requires, unlesse the Devill who is the Principall be first convicted, or at least outlawed, which cannot be, because the Devill can never be lawfully summoned according to the rules of our Common-law. For further proofe that the Devill is the principall in all such wonders, I shall shew it by the testimony of King *James*, in a case of Murther, which is the most capitall crime our Lawes looke upon. First he tells that *the Devill teaches Witches how to make Pictures of Wax and Clay, that by the resting thereof the persons that they beare the Name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continuall sicknesse——not that any of these meanes which he teacheth them (except poysons which are composed of things naturall) can of themselves helpe any thing to these turnes they are imployed in.* Secondly, King *James* affirmes that *Witches can bewitch, and take the life of Men, or Women by rosting of the Pictures, which is very possible to their Master to performe, for although that instrument of Wax have no vertue in the turne doing : yet may he not very well by that same measure that his conjured Slave melts that Wax at the fire, may he not I say at these same times subtilely as a spirit, so weaken and scatter the spirits of life of the patient, as may make him on the one part for faintnesse to sweate out the humours of his body ; and on the other part for the not concurring of these spirits which cause his digestion, so debilitate his stomack*

Cap. 1. Sect. 4.

Cap 4. Sect. 1.

Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

that

that his humour radicall continually ſweating out on the one part, and no new good Stuck being put in the place thereof, for lack of digeſtion on the other, he at laſt ſhall vaniſh away even as his Picture will doe at the Fire. Here we ſee the Picture of Wax roaſted by the Witch, hath no vertue in the Murdering, but the Devill only. It is neceſſary in the firſt place that it be duely proved that the party Murther'd be Murthered by the Devill, for it is a ſhame to bely the Devili, and it is not poſſible to be proved if it be *Subtilely done as a ſpirit.*

5. Our Definers of Witch-craft diſpute much, whether the Devill can worke a Miracle, they reſolve he can do a *wonder*, but not a *Miracle*, *Mirum* but not *Miraculum.* A Miracle ſaith Mr. *Perkins, is that which is above, or againſt nature ſimply; a wonder is that which proceeds not from the ordinary courſe of nature. Delrio* will have a Miracle to be *Præter*, or *ſupra naturæ creatæ vires*, both ſeeme to agree in this that he had neede be an admirable or profound Philoſopher, that can diſtinguiſh between a Wonder and a Miracle; it would poſe *Ariſtotle* himſelfe, to tell us every thing that can be done by the power of Nature; and what things cannot, for there be dayly many things found out, and dayly more may be which our Fore-fathers never knew to be poſſible in Nature. Thoſe that were converted by the Miracles of our Saviour, never ſtayed to enquire of their Philoſophers what the power of Nature was, it was ſufficient to them when they ſaw things done, the like whereof they had neither ſeene, nor heard of to believe them to be Miracles.

6. It is commonly believed, and affirmed by Mr. *Perkins*, that the cauſe which moves the Devill to bargaine with a Witch, is a deſire to obtaine thereby the Soule and Body of the Witch. But I cannot ſee how this can agree with another Doctrine of his, where hee ſaith, *the Precepts of Witch-craft are not delivered indifferently to every Man, but to his owne Subjects the Wicked; and not to them all, but to ſpeciall and tried ones, whom hee moſt betruſteth with his ſecrets, as being the fitteſt to ſerve his turne, both in reſpect of their Willingneſſe to learne and practice; as alſo for their ability to become Inſtruments of the miſchiefe he intendeth to others.* All this argues the end of the Devills rules of Witch-

craft

craft is not to gaine *Novices* for new Subjects, but to make use of old ones to serve his turne.

7. The last clause of Mr. *Perkins* definition is, that *Witchcraft doth worke wonders so far as God shall permit.* I should here desire to have known whether Mr. *Perkins* had thought that God doth permit farther power to the Devill upon his contracting with the Witch, then he had before the Contract; for if the Devill had the same permission before the Contract, then he doth no more mischiefe upon the Contract, then he would have gladly done before, seeing as Mr. *Perkins* saith, *The Devills malice towards all Men is of so high a degree, that he cannot endure they should enjoy the World, or the benefits of this life (if it were possible) so much as one houre.* But yet afterwards I finde Master *Perkins* is more favourable to the Devill, where he writes, *that if the Devill were not stirred up, and provoked by the Witch he would never do so much hurt as he doth.* Cap. 7.

Of the Discerning, and Discovery of a Witch.

A *Magistrate*, saith Mr. *Perkins*, *may not take upon him to examine whom, and how he willeth of any Crime, nor to proceede upon slight causes, or to shew his Authority, or upon sinister respects, or to revenge his malice, or to bring parties into danger, and suspition, but hee must proceede upon speciall presumptions.* Cap. 7. Sect. 1.

He calls those *presumptions which doe at least probably, and conjecturally note one to be a Witch, and are certaine signes whereby the Witch may be discovered.* I cannot but wonder that Mr. *Perkins* should say that presumptions do at least probably, and conjecturally note, and are certaine signes to discover a Witch; when he confesseth that though *presumptions give occasion to examine, yet they are no sufficient causes of conviction: and though presumptions be never so strong, yet they are not proofes sufficient for conviction, but onely for examination.* Therefore no credit is to be given to those presumptions hee reckons up. 1. For common fame, *it falls out many times*, saith he, *That the innocent may be suspected, and some of the better sort notoriously defamed.* 2. *The testimony of a fellow Witch*, hee confesseth, *doth not probably* Cap. 7. Sect. 2.

bably note one to be a Witch. The like may be ſaid of his third and fourth preſumption, *if after curſing or quarreling, or threatning there follow preſent miſchiefe*; And the fifth preſumption is more frivolous, which is, *if the party be the Son, or Daughter, or Servant, or Friend neer Neighbour, or old Companion of a VVitch.* The ſixt preſumption Mr. *Perkins* dares not, or is loath to owne, but ſaith, *ſome adde, if the party Suſpected have the Devills Marke, and yet he reſolves if ſuch a Marke be deſcried, whereof no evident reaſon in nature can be given, the Magiſtrate may cauſe ſuch to be examined, or take the matter into his owne hands, that the truth may appeare*, but hee doth not teach how the truth may be made to appeare. The laſt preſumption hee names is, *if the party examined be unconſtant, or contrary to himſelfe*, here hee confeſſeth, *a good Man may be fearefull in a good cauſe, ſometimes by Nature, ſometimes in regard of the preſence of the Judge, or the greatneſſe of the Audience, ſome may be ſuddenly taken; and others want that liberty of ſpeech, which other Men have.*

Touching Examination Mr. *Perkins* names two kindes of proceedings, either by *ſimple Queſtion*, or *by Torture. Torture, when beſides the enquiry by words, the Magiſtrate uſeth the Rack, or ſome other violent meanes to urge Confeſſion*; this he ſaith, *may be lawfully uſed, howbeit not in every caſe, but onely upon ſtrong, and great preſumptions, and when the party is obſtinate.* Here it may be noted that it is not lawfull for any perſon, but the Judge onely to allow Torture, ſuſpitious Neighbours may not of their own heads uſe either Threats, Terrors, or Tortures; I know not any one of thoſe preſumptions before cited to be ſufficient to warrant a Magiſtrate to uſe Torture, or whether when the party conſtantly denies the Fact, it muſt be counted obſtinacy. In caſe of Treaſon ſometimes, when the maine Fact hath beene either confeſſed, or by ſome infallible proofes manifeſted, the Magiſtrate for a farther diſcovery of ſome circumſtance of the Time, the Place, and the Perſons, or the like, have made uſe of the Rack, and yet that kinde of torture hath not beene of ancient uſage in this Kingdome, for if my memory fail not, I have read that the Rack hath been called *the Duke of Exceters Daughter, and was firſt uſed about* Hen. 6. *days.*

From

From presumptions, Mr. *Perkins* proceeds to proofes of a Witch, and here he hath a neat distinction of proofes, *lesse sufficient*, or *more sufficient*; by lesse sufficient he meaneth insufficient, but gives them this mild and strange phrase of lesse sufficient, that it may not displease such friends (as I conceive) allow those lesse sufficient proofes for sufficient, though he reckons them for no better then Witch-craft. Those unsufficient sufficient proofes are weaker, and worse then his presumptions which hee confesseth are no proofes at all; yet wee must reckon them up, his first lesse sufficient proofe is, *The ancient triall by taking red hot Irons, or putting the hand in hot scalding water* this hee saith, *hath been condemned for Diabolicall, and wicked, as in truth it is, for an innocent Man may thereby be condemned, and a ranke Witch scape unpunished.* A second insufficient proofe is, *Scratching of the suspected party, and the present recovery thereupon.* A third is *the burning the thing bewitched, as a Hog, an Ox, or other Creature, it is imagined a forcible meanes to cause the Witch to discover her selfe.* A fourth *is the burning the Thatch of the suspected parties House.* The fift lesse sufficient proofe is *the binding of the party hand and foote, and casting crosse wayes into the water, if shee sinkes shee is counted innocent, if shee floate on the water, and sinke not, she is taken for a Witch, convicted, and punished.* The *Germans* used this triall by cold water, and it was imagined that the Devill being most light, as participating more of Aire then of Water, would hold them up above the Water, either by putting himselfe under the Witch, and lifting her up, as it were with his backe, or by uniting himselfe, and possessing her whole body,

All these lesse sufficient proofes, saith Mr. *Perkins, are so far from being sufficient, that some of them, if not all are after a sort practises of witch-craft, having no power by Gods Ordinance.* Hereby hee condemnes point blanke King *James's* judgement as savouring of Witch-craft in allowing of the triall of a Witch by swimming as a principall proofe. And, as I take it, he condemnes himselfe also, except he can finde any ordinance of God, that the having of an incurable, and insensible marke, or sore, shall be a presumption, or certaine signe of a Witch.

A sixt lesse sufficient proofe is the *Testimony of a Wisard,*

Witch, or cunning Man, who is gone or sent unto, and informes that he can shew in a Glasse the Face of the Witch. This accusation of a Witch by an other Witch, Mr. *Perkins denies to be sufficient, and he puts this case. If the Devill appeare to a Grand Jury, in the likenesse of some known Man, and offer to take his Oath that the person in question is a Witch should the Enquest receive his Oath, or accusation to condemne the party? He answers, Surely No; and yet that is as much as the Testimony of an other Witch, who only by the helpe of the Devill revealeth the Witch: if this should be taken for a sufficient proofe, the Devill would not leave one good Man alive in the World.*

This discrediting of the Testimony of a Witch takes away the other (for hee hath but two) of King *James* maine proofs, for the discovery of a Witch, for hee saith, *Who but Witches can be provers, and so witnesses of the doings of Witches?* and to the same purpose Mr. *Perkins* himselfe confesseth, that the *Precepts of Witch-craft are not delivered, but to the Devills own subjects, the Wicked.*

A seventh lesse sufficient proofe is, *when a Man in open Court affirmes, such a one fell out with mee, and cursed me, threatning I should smart for it in my person or goods, upon these threats such Evills and Losses presently befell mee; This is no sure ground for conviction,* saith Mr. *Perkins, for it pleaseth God many times to lay his Hands upon Mens persons and goods, without the procurement of Witches;* and yet saith Mr. *Perkins, Experience shewes that ignorant people will make strong proofes of such presumptions, whereupon sometimes Jurors doe give their Verdict against parties innocent.*

The last lesse sufficient proofe is, *if a Man being sicke, upon suspition, will take it on his Death, that such a one hath bewitched him, it is of no moment,* saith Mr. *Perkins, it is but the suspition of one Man for himselfe, and is of no more force then an other Mans word against him.*

All these proofes, saith Mr. *Perkins, which Men in place have ordinarily used, be either false, or insufficient signes.*

At the last Mr. *Perkins* comes to his *more sufficient proofes,* which in all are but two. The confession of the Witch, or the proofe of two witnesses. Against the Confession of a Witch

Mr

Mr. *Perkins* confesseth, *it is objected that one may confesse against himselfe an untruth being urged by force, or threatning, or by desire upon some g ifse to be out of the World or at least being in trouble, and persuaded it is the best course to save their lives, and obtaine their liberty, they may upon simplicity be induced to confesse that they never did, even against themselves.* The truth of this allegation Mr. *Perkins* doth not deny, but grants it, in that his Answer is, *That he doth not say a bare Confession is sufficient, but a Confession after due Examination tak n upon pregnant presumptions.* But if a bare Confession be not a sufficient proofe, a pregnant presumption can never make it such; or if it could, then it would not be a sufficient proofe. For the farther weakning of the Confession of a suspected Witch, wee may remember what Mr. *Perkins* hath formerly answered, when it was alleaged that *upon a melancholy humor many confesse of themselves things false, and impossible; that they are carried through the Aire in a moment, that they passe through Keyholes, and clefts of Doores, that they be sometimes turn'd into Cats, Hares, and other Creatures, and such like, all which are meer Fables and things impossible.* Here Master *Perkins* answers, that *when Witches begin to make a league, they are sober and sound in understanding, but after they be once in the league, their reason, and understanding may be depraved, memory weakned, and all the powers of their soule blemished, they are deluded and so intoxicated that they will run into a thousand of fantastical imaginations, holding themselves to be transformed into the shapes of other Creatures, to be transported in the Aire, to do many strange things, which in truth they do not.*

Cap. 7. Sect. 2.

Cap. 7. Sect. 1.

Now Mr. *Perkins* will confesse that the Examination, and Confession of a suspected Witch is alwayes after such time as her Covenant is made; when shee is by his Confession deluded, and not fit to give testimony against her selfe.

His second *more sufficient proofe* (hee saith, *if the party will not confesse, as commonly it falleth out*) *is two witnesses avouching upon their own knowledge, either that the party accused hath made league with the Devill, or hath done some known practises of Witch craft, or hath invocated the Devill, or desired his helpe.* But if every Man that hath invocated the Devill, or desired his helpe must have formerly made a league with him, then whole Nations

 are

are every Man of them VVitches, which I thinke none will ſay.

As for the League, and Proofe of VVitch-craft, Mr. *Perkins* confeſſeth, *Some may ſay, if theſe be the only ſtrong proofes for the conviction of a Witch, it will be then impoſſible to put any one to Death; becauſe the League with Satan is cloſely made, and the Practiſes of Witch-craft are alſo very ſecret, and hardly can a Man be brought, which upon his own knowledge can aver ſuch things.* To this Mr. *Perkins* anſwer is a confeſſion, that *howſoever the ground and practiſe be ſecret, and be to many unknown, yet there is a Way to come to the knowledge thereof ——Satan endeavoreth the diſcovery, and uſeth all meanes to diſcloſe Witches.* This meanes he ſpeakes of ſhould be in the power of the Judge, or elſe it is no helpe for the Diſcovery of a Witch, but onely when the Devill pleaſeth. I do not finde hee proves that it is uſuall with Satan to endeavour any ſuch Diſcovery; neither doe I ſee how it is practicable by the Devill, for either hee muſt doe it by his own relation, or report, which as it cannot be proved he ever did, ſo it is vaine, and to no purpoſe if hee doe it, for Mr. *Perkins* hath diſcredited the teſtimony of the Devill as invalid, and of no force for conviction, or elſe the Devill muſt diſcover it by ſome ſecond meanes; and if there had beene any ſuch ſecond meanes uſuall, Mr. *Perkins* would have taught us what they are, and not have left us onely to his two more ſufficient proofes, which hee confeſſeth are not infallible.

L. 1. b. 2. Cap. 2. King *James* tells us, that the *Devills firſt diſcovering of himſelf for the gaining of a Witch, is either upon their walking ſolitarily in the Fields, or elſe lying pauſing in their Bed, but alWayes without the company of any other; and at the making of Circles and Conjurations, none of that craft will permit any others to behold*; when the Devill and his ſubjects are thus cloſe, and ſecret in their Actions, it cannot be imagined that hee will uſe all meanes to diſcover his moſt ſpeciall and truſtieſt ſubjects, and though Mr. *Perkins* tells us, that *by vertue of the precontract, the Devill* Cap. 7. Sect. 2. *is cock-ſure of his inſtruments*; yet within a few lines he changeth his note, and ſaith, *though he have good hope of them, yet he is not certaine of their continuance, becauſe ſome by the Mercy of God have bin reclaimed, and freed from his Covenant.* Beſides hee confeſſeth

fesseth, *the Devill suffereth some to live long undisclosed, that they may Exercise the greater measure of his Malice in the World.* It remaines that if the two true Proofes of Mr. *Perkins*, which are the Witches Confession, or sufficient witnesses faile, *we have not Warrant*, as hee saith, *in the Word to put such an one to Death.*

I conclude this Point in the words of Mr. *Perkins*; *I advise all Jurors that as they be diligent in the zeal of Gods Glory, so they would be carefull what they do, and not to condemne any party suspected upon bare presumptions, without sound and sufficient proofes, that they be not guilty through their own rashnes of shedding innocent Bloud.*

Of the Hebrew Witch.

IN *Deut.*18. The Witch is named with divers other sorts of such as used the like unlawfull Arts, as the Diviner, the Observer of times, an Inchanter, a Charmer, a Consulter with a familiar Spirit, a Wisard, or a Necromancer. The Text addeth, *all that doe these things are an abomination to the Lord, and because of these abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them* [the Nations] *out from before thee.* If wee desire to know what those abominations of the Nations were, wee are told in generall in the 14. Verse of the same Chapter. *These Nations harkned unto observers of times and unto Diviners*: There is no other crime in this Chapter laid to the charge of all, or any of these practisers of such unlawfull Arts, but of *lying Prophecies*; and therefore the Text addeth, *the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midest of thee of thy Brethren, like unto me, unto him shall ye harken, and not to the Diviners, Wisards, Charmers, &c.*

Setting aside the case of *Job* (wherein God gave a speciall and extraordinary Commission) I doe not finde in Scripture that the Devill, or Witch, or any other had power ordinarily permitted them, either to kill or hurt any Man, or to medle with the Goods of any: for though for the triall of the hearts of men, God doth permit the Devill ordinarily to tempt them; yet hee hath no Commission to destroy the Lives or Goods of Men, it is little lesse then blasphemy to say any such thing of the

the admirable Providence of God, whereby he preſerves all his Creatures.

It was crime ſufficient for all thoſe practicers of unlawfull Arts to delude the people, with falſe and lying Prophecies, thereby to make them forget to depend upon God, and *to have their Soules turne after ſuch as have Familiar Spirits, and after Wiſards, to go a whoring after them.* as the Lord ſaith, *Levit.* 20. 6. This ſpirituall whoredome is flat Idolatry in the common phraſe of the Old Teſtament; and thoſe that be entiſers to it, thereby endeavour to deſtroy the Soules of the People, and are by many degrees more worthy of death, then thoſe that only deſtroy the Bodies or Goods of Men.

If there were a Law that every one ſhould be put to Death, or puniſhed that ſhould adviſedly endeavour to perſwade Men that they are skilfull in thoſe forbidden Arts, or in foretelling of things to come, or that they have contracted with the Devill, and can thereby Murder or deſtroy Mens Goods, I ſhould never deny ſuch a Law to be moſt conſonant, and agreeing with the Law of *Moſes.*

But becauſe I may be thought by ſome a favourer of theſe forbidden Arts, through want of underſtanding the Scripture, about the quality of them; I have made choice of a Man who is no friend to Witches, and whoſe learning in this point will not be denied. In his own words I ſhall ſet downe, what either out of the Hebrew Names of thoſe prohibited Arts, or out of the expoſition of the Jewiſh Doctors can be gathered, for the underſtanding of them.

worth upon .18. *A Diviner in Hebrew*, a Foreſeer, or Preſager, a Foreteller of things to come, as doth a Prophet —— the Hebrews take a Diviner to be one that doth things whereby hee may foretell things to come, and ſay, ſuch a thing ſhall be, or not be, or ſay, It is good to doe Such a thing —— the meanes of Divining; ſome doing it with Sand, ſome with Stones, ſome by lying downe on the Ground, ſome with Iron, ſome with a Staffe---- he that asked of a Diviner, is chaſtiſed with ſtripes.

2. *An obſerver of times*, or Soothſayer, an Obſerver of the Clouds, a Planetary, or an obſerver of the flying of Foules, an Augur. As the Diviners were carried much by inward, and Spirituall

Spirituall Motions, ſo theſe by outward Obſervations in the Creatures. The Hebrews ſay, they were ſuch as did ſet times for the doing of things, ſaying, Such a day is good, and ſuch a day is naught.

3. *An Obſerver of Fortunes*, one that curiouſly ſearcheth ſignes of good or evill luck, which are learned by Experience: the *Hebrew* is to finde out by Experience; Whereupon the word here uſed is one that too curiouſly obſerveth, and abuſeth things that doe fall out as lucky, or unlucky. The Hebrews deſcribe it thus, as if one ſhould ſay, becauſe the morſell of Bread is fallen out of my mouth, or my Staffe out of my hand, I will not go to ſuch a place: becauſe a Fox paſſed by on my right hand, I will not go out of my Houſe this day Our new tranſlation renders this word an Inchanter

4. *A Witch*, a Sorcerer, ſuch as do bewitch the ſenſes, or minds of Men, by changing the formes of things to another hew. The *Hebrew* word for a Witch properly ſignifies a Jugler, and is derived from a word which ſignifies *changing or turning*. and *Moſes* teacheth *Exod.*7. that Witches wrought by Enchantments, that is, *by ſecret Sleights Juglings, Cloſe conveyance, or of Gliſtering like the flame of Fire, or a Sword wherewith Mens Eyes were dazled.*

5. *A Charmer*, or one that conjureth Conjurations, the *Hebrew* ſignifies *conjoyning or conſociating*----the Charmer is ſaid to be hee, that ſpeaketh words of a ſtrange Language, and without ſenſe; that if one ſay, ſo or ſo unto a Serpent, it cannot hurt him; hee that whiſpereth over a wound, or that readeth over an Infant, that it may not be frighted, or layeth the Bible upon a Child that it may ſleepe.

6. *A Wiſard*, or cunning Man in Hebrew named of his knowledge, or cunning----the *Hebrews* deſcribe him thus, that he put in his mouth a bone of a Bird, and burned incenſe, and did other things untill hee fell downe with ſhame, and ſpake with his mouth things that were to come to paſſe.

7. *A Necromancer*, one that ſeeketh unto the Dead: of him they ſay, he made himſelfe hungry, and went and lodged among the Graves, that the dead might come unto him in a Dreame, and make known unto him that which he asked of

him, and others there were that clad themſelves with Cloaths for that purpoſe, and ſpake certaine words, and burned Incenſe, and ſlept by themſelves, that ſuch a dead perſon might come and talke with them in a Dream.

8. Laſtly, *The Conſulter With Familiar Spirits*, in Hebrew a *Conſulter with Ob*, applied here to Magitians, who poſſeſſed with an evill Spirit, ſpake with a hollow voyce, as out of a Bottle.-----The Hebrews explaine it thus, that he which had a Familiar ſpirit ſtood and burned Incenſe, and held a rod of Mirtle-tree in his hand, and waved it, and ſpake certaine words in ſecret, untill he that enquired did heare one ſpeak unto him, and anſwer him touching that hee enquired with words from under the Earth, with a very low voyce, &c. Likewiſe one tooke a dead Mans Skull, and burnt Incenſe thereto, and inchanted thereby till hee heard a very low voyce, &c. This Text in our Engliſh tranſlation being expounded a Familiar Spirit, and ſeconded by the Hiſtory of the Woman of *Endor*, may ſeeme a ſtrong evidence that the Devill covenanted with Witches; But if all be granted that can be deſired, that this Familiar Spirit ſignifies a Devill, yet it comes not home to prove the maine point, for it is no proofe that the Familiar Spirit enter'd upon Covenant, or had or could give power to others to kill the perſons, or deſtroy the Goods of others. Kings *James* confeſſeth, *the Devill can make ſome to be poſſeſſed, and ſo become very Demoniaques, and that ſhe who had the ſpirit of* Python *in* Acts 16. *Whereby ſhe conqueſted ſuch gaine to her Maſter that ſpirit was not of her own raiſing, or commanding as ſhe pleaſed to appoint but ſpake by her Tongue as well privatly as publiquely.* Wee do not finde the *Pythoneſſe* condemned or reproved, but the uncleane Spirit commanded *in the name of Jeſus Chriſt to come out of her. The Child which was* too young to make a Covenant with the Devill was *poſſeſſed with a dumb and deafe Spirit, and the Devill charged to come out, and enter no more into him* Marke 9. *A Daughter of Abraham* (that is, of the Faith of Abraham) *was troubled with a ſpirit of infirmity* 18 *years, and bowed together, that ſhee could not lift her ſelfe up.* Luke 13. 10. 16

It is obſervable that in *Deut.* 18. where all the unlawfull Arts are

are reckoned up, and most fully prohibited, the crime of them is charged upon the practisers of those Arts, but the crime of having a Familiar Spirit is not there condemned, but the Consulter of a Familiar Spirit, so in *Levit.*19.31. the prohibition is, *Regard not them that have Familiar Spirits*, and so in *Levit.*20.6. *The Soule that turneth after such as have Familiar Spirits*, so that it was not the having, but the consulting was condemned.

If we draw neerer to the words of the Text, it will be found that these words a Consulter with a Familiar Spirit are no other then *a Consulter with Ob.* Where the question will be what *Ob* signifieth. Expositors agree that originally *Ob* signifieth a Bottle, and they say is applied here to one possessed with an evill Spirit, and speaketh with a hollow voyce as out of a Bottle; but for this I finde no proofe, they bring out of Scripture that saith, or expoundeth that *Ob* signifieth one possessed with a Familiar Spirit in the Belly; the onely proofe is that the Greeke Interpreters of the Bible Translate it *Engastromuthi*, which is, speaking in the Belly, and the word anciently, and long before the time of the Septuagint Translators was properly used for one that had the cunning or slight to shut his mouth, and seeme to speake with his Belly, which that it can be done without the helpe of a Familiar Spirit, experience of this Age sheweth in an Irish-man; We do not find it said that the Woman of *Endo* did foretell any thing to *Saul*, by the hollow voyce of a Familiar Spirit in her Belly; neither did *Saul* require, nor the Woman promise so to answer him, but hee required, *bring me him up who I shall name unto thee, and she undertooke to do it*; which argues a desire in *Saul* to consult with the dead, which is called *Necromancy*, or *consulting with the dead.*

But it hath beene said, shee raised the Devill in *Samuels* likenesse, yet there is no such thing said in the Text: when the Woman went about her worke, the first thing noted is, that *when she saw* Samuel, *she cried out with a loud voyce*: an Argument shee was frighted with seeing something shee did not expect to see; it is not said that when shee knew *Saul*, but when shee saw *Samuel*, *She cryed out with a loud voyce*: when shee knew *Saul* shee had no reason to be afraid, but rather comforted, for that shee had his Oath for her security.

It may well be that if either ſhee had a Familiar Spirit, or the Art of hollow-ſpeaking, her intention was to deceive *Saul* and by her ſecret voyce to have made him believe that *Samuel* in another roome had anſwered him ; for it appeares that *Saul* was not in the place where ſhe made a ſhew of raiſing *Samuel*, for when ſhee cried out with a loud voyce, *Saul* comforted her, and bid her not be afraid, and asked her *what ſhe ſaw ? and what forme is he of ?* which queſtions need not have beene if *Saul* had beene in the Chamber with the Witch. King *James* confeſſeth that *Saul was in another chalmer at the conjuration*, and it is likely the Woman had told *Saul* ſhee had ſeene ſome fearfull ſight, which made him aske her what ſhe ſaw? and her anſwer was, *She ſaw Gods aſcending out of the Earth*, and it may be underſtood that Angels waited upon *Samuel*, who was raiſed by God, and not any Puppets, or Divells that ſhee conjured up : otherwiſe the words may be tranſlated as *Diodat* in the Margent of his *Italian* Bible hath it, *She ſaw a Man of Majeſty, or Divine Authority aſcent, un' huomo di Majeſta è d' Authorita Divina*, which well anſwers the queſtion of what forme is he of? which is in the ſingular, not in the plurall number.

Wee finde it ſaid in *Eſay* 29.4. *thou ſhalt be brought downe, and ſhalt ſpeake out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voyce ſhall be as one that hath a Familiar Spirit out of the ground and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the Earth*; which argues the voyce of *Ob* was out of the Earth, rather then out of the Belly, and ſo the *Hebrew* Expoſition which I cited before affirmes; ſome learned have beene of Opinion that a naturall reaſon may be given why in ſome places certaine exhalations out of the earth may give to ſome a propheticall ſpirit. Adde hereunto that ſome of the Heathen Oracles were ſaid to ſpeake out of the Earth : and among thoſe five ſorts of *Necromancy*, mentioned by Doctor *Reynolds* in his 76 Lecture of his cenſure of the *Apocryphals*, not any of them is ſaid to have any Spirit in their Belly. The Ronaniſts who are all great affirmers of the power of Witches agree, that the ſoule of *Samuel* was ſent by God to the Woman of *Endor* : to this not onely *Delrio*, but *Bellarmin* before him agrees. That true *Samuel* did appear as ſent by God, as hee ſent *Elias* to *Ocheſias King of Iſrael*. who

being

being sick sent to consult with Belzebub the God of Ekron, may appeare, for that *Samuel* is so true, and certaine in his prediction to *Saul*, which no Witch, no Devill could ever have told; for though the Wisdome, and Experience of the Devill doe enable him to conjecture probably of many events, yet positively to say, *to morrow thou and thy Sonnes shall die*, is more then naturally the Devill could know.

Mr. *Perkins* confesseth the Devill could not foretell the exact time of *Sauls* death; and therefore hee answers that God revealed to the Devill as his instrument *Sauls* overthrow, by which meanes, and no other the Devill was inabled to foretell the death of *Saul*. Here Mr. *Perkins* proves not, that Satan was appointed by God to worke *Sauls* overthrow, or that it was made known to him, when it should be done.

As the rest of the Speech of *Samuel* is true, so these words of his, "*Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?* may be also true, which cannot be if it be spoken by the Devill; or why should the Devil tell truths in all other things else, and lie only in this, I know no reason. Doctor *Reynolds* presseth these words against the appearing of *Samuel* thus, *If Samuel had said to them he had lied, but Samuel could not lie, for Samuel could not be disquieted, nor raised by Saul.* It is true God only raised *Samuel effectually*, but *occasionally Saul* might raise him. But saith Doctor *Reynolds* though *Saul was the occasion, yet Samuel could not truely say that* Saul *had disquieted him, for blessed are they that die in the Lord saith the Spirit, because they rest from their labours; and* Samuel *was no more to be disquieted (if he were sent by God) then* Moses *and* Elias *were when they appeared to shew the Glory of Christ. Mat.*17. Answer, it did not displease *Samuel* to be imployed in the Office of an Angell, but hee obeyed God gladly; yet since the occasion of his appearing displeased God, it might for that cause displease also *Samuel*. Besides wee neede not understand the disquieting of *Samuels* mind, but of his body by not suffering it to rest in peace after death, according to the common, and usuall condition of Mankinde, this sense the Originall will well beare. Againe, it cannot be believed that the Devill would ever have preached so Divine and excellent a Sermon to *Saul*, which was able to have converted, and brought

him to Repentance, this was not the way for the Devill to bring either *Saul*, or the Woman to renounce God. Lastly, the Text doth not say that the Woman raised *Samuel*, yet it calls him *Samuel*, and saith that *Saul perceived, or understood that it was Samuel.*

Mr. *Perkins* and many others esteeme *Balam* to have beene a Witch, or Conjurer, but I finde no such thing in the Text; when hee was required to curse the people of *Israel*, his answer was, *I will bring you Word as the Lord shall speak unto me.* Numb 22. 8. and God came unto *Balaam* in *v.* 9. and in *v.*13. *Balaam* saith, *the Lord refuseth to give me leave*, and when *Balak* sent a second time, his answer was, if *Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold I cannot goe beyond the Word of the Lord my God to do lesse or more*, in *v.*the 20. God commeth to *Balaam*, and said, if *the Men come to call thee, go, but yet the Words which I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do.* And when *Balaam* came before *Balak* hee said, *v.*38. *Lo I am come unto thee, have I now any power at all to say any thing? the Word which God putteth into my mouth, that shall I speake:* and in the 23 *Chap.v.*18. *Balaam* saith, *how shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?* and in *v.*12. hee saith, *must I not take heed to speake that which the Lord hath put into my Mouth?* These places laid together prove *Balaam* to have beene a true Prophet of the Lord, and hee prophesied nothing contrary to the Lords command, therefore St. *Peter* calls him a Prophet.

Nevertheleſſe it is true that *Balaam* sinned notoriously, though not by being a Witch or Conjurer, or a false Prophet, his faults were, that when God had told him hee should not go to *Balak*, yet in his covetous heart hee desired to go, being tempted with the rewards of Divination, and promise of promotion; so that upon a second Message from *Balak* hee stayed the Messengers to see if God would suffer him to go, wherefore the Lord in his anger sent *Balam*. Also when God had told *Balam* that hee would blesse *Israel*, yet *Balam* did strive to tempt God, and by severall Altars and Sacrifices to change the mind of God. Againe when *Balam* saw God immutable in blessing *Israel*, hee taught *Balak to lay a stumbling block before the Sonnes of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to Idolls, and to commit*

Forni-

Fornication. Rev. 2. 14. Whereas it is said that *Balaam went not up as other times to seek for Enchantments. Num.* 24 2. the Originall is *to meete Divinations*, that is, he did not go seek the Lord by Sacrifices, as he did, *Numb.* 23. 3. 15.

An exact difference betweene all those Arts prohibited in *Deut.* no Man I thinke can give, that in some they did agree, and in others differed, seemes probable. That they were all lying and false Prophets, though in severall wayes, I thinke none can deny; That they differed in their degrees of punishments is possible, there are but three sorts that can be proved were to be put to death, *viz.* the Witch, the Familiar Spirit, the Wisard. As for the Witch there hath beene some doubt made of it. The *Hebrew* Doctors that were skild in the Lawes of *Moses*, observe that wheresoever one was to die by their Law, the Law alwayes did run in an *affirmative precept*; as, the the Man shall be stoned, shall die, shall be put to death, or the like; but in this Text, and no where else in Scripture the sentence is onely a *Prohibition negative, Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*, and not Thou shalt put her to death, or stone her or the like. Hence some have beene of Opinion that not to suffer a Witch to live, was meant not to relieve or maintaine her by running after her, and rewarding her. The *Hebrews* seeme to have two sorts of Witches, some that did hurt, others that did hold the Eyes, that is, by jugling and sleights deceived Mens senses. The first they say, was to be stoned, the other which according to the proper notation of the word, was the true Witch, was only to be beaten.

The Septuagent have translated a Witch, an Apothecary, a Druggister, one that compounds poysons, and so the Latin word for a Witch is *venefica*, a maker of poysons: if any such there ever were, or be that by the helpe of t e Devill do poyson, such a one is to be put to death, though there be no Covenant with the Devill, because shee is an Actor, and principall her selfe, not by any wonder wrought by the Devill, but by the naturall, or occult property of the Poyson.

For the time of Christ, saith Mr. *Perkins, though there be no particular mention made of any such Witch, yet thence it followeth not that there were none, for all things that then happened are not Recorded, and I would faine know of the chiefe Patrons of them, whether*

those

those persons possessed with the Devill, and troubled with strange Diseases, whom Christ healed, were not bewitched with some such people as our Witches are? if they say no, let them if they can prove the contrary.

Here it may be thought that Mr. *Perkins* puts his Adversaries to a great pinch; but it doth not prove so, for the Question being onely, whether those that were possessed in our Saviours Time were bewitched. The Opposers of Mr. *Perkins*, say they, were not bewitched, but if hee or any other say they were, the Proofe will rest wholy on him, or them to make good their *Affirmative*; it cannot in reason be expected that his Adversaries should prove the *Negative*, it is against the Rules of Disputation to require it.

FINIS.

IBSN : 0 904617 04 1