

PERKINS

WITCHCRAFT

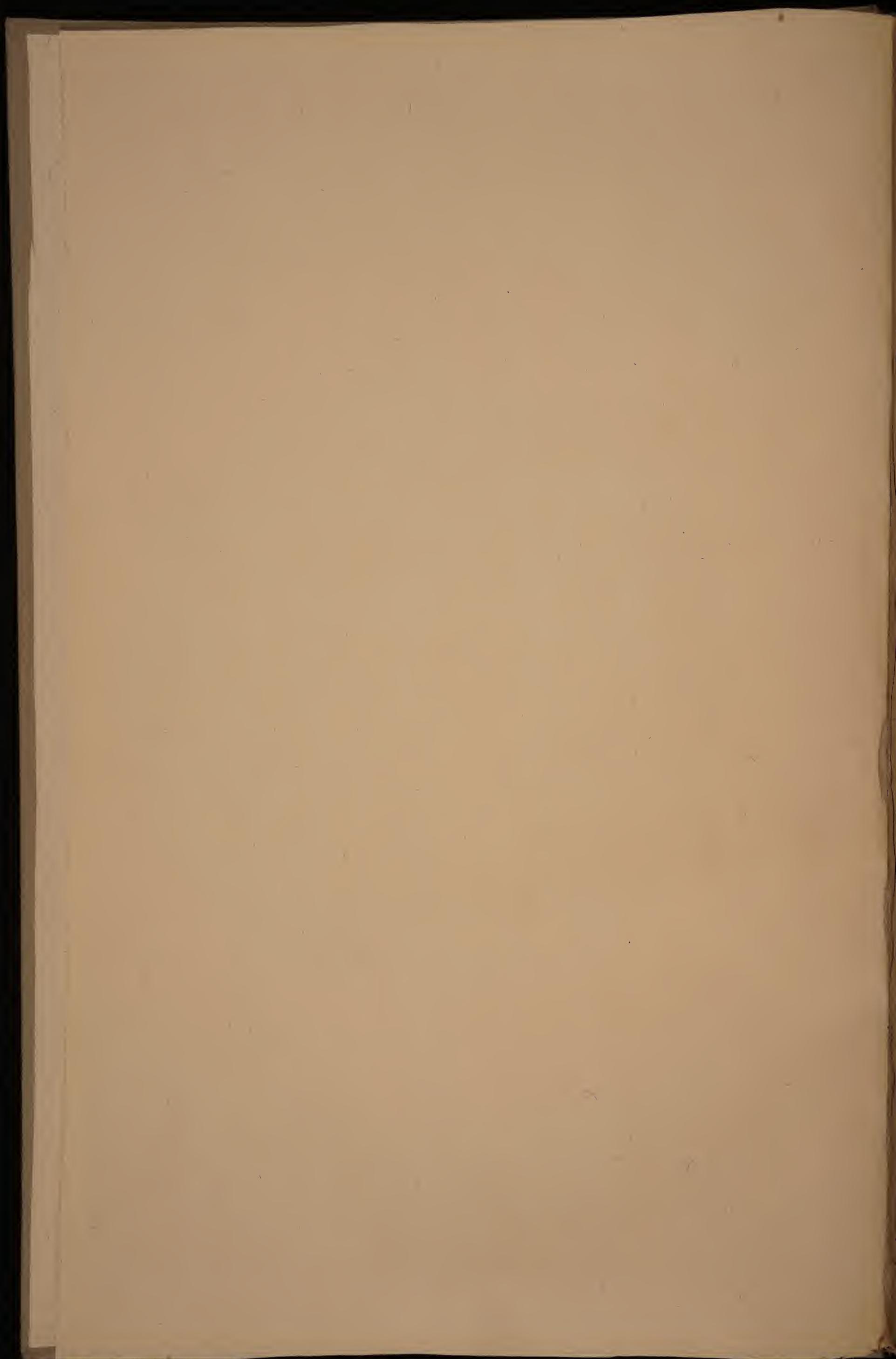
1631







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A
DISCOVERSE
OF THE
DAMNED ART
OF
Witchcraft.

SO FARRE FORTH AS IT IS
REVEALED IN THE SCRIPTVRES,
and manifest by true experience.

FRAMED AND DELIVERED BY
Master WILLIAM PERKINS, in his ordinary course
of Preaching, and published by THOMAS PICKERING
Batchelour of Divinitie, and Minister of
FINCHINGFIELD in ESSEX.



LONDON,
Printed for JAMES BOLER.
1631.

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FRAMED AND DELIVERED BY
Master WILLIAM PARRIS, in his ordinary course
of Preaching, and published by THOMAS HIGGINSON
Bachelor of Divinity, and Minister of
Purcell Church in London.



London
Printed for James Bower
1651



TO THE RIGHT

HONOURABLE, SIR EDWARD COKE

Knight, Lord chiefe Iustice of his Majesties

Court of Common Pleas;

Grace and Peace.



Right Honourable: The Word of God that onely Oracle of truth, hath pointed out the Enemy of mankinde, by his proper Characters, in sundry places: Our Saviour tearmes him, the ^a *Prince of this world*; and a ^b *murtherer from the beginning*. Peter compares him to ^c *a roaring Lion*, that rangeth abroad in the earth, *seeking whom he may devour*. His attempts in regard of their qualitie, are called ^d *πονηματα*, subtrill and deepe devices; yea, ^e *μεθοδωται*, plots exquisitely contrived, and orderly framed, as it were in Method.

^a Ioh. 12. 31.

^b Ioh. 8. 44.

^c 1 Pet. 5. 8.

^d 2 Cor. 2. 17.

^e Ephes. 6. 11.

The meaning of the holy Ghost in these and such like attributes, is, to expresse that measure of policy and power which Satan hath reserved unto himselfe even in the state of his Apostasie, improved by long experience, and instantly practised upon the sonnes of men, that he might set up in the world a spirituall regiment of sinne, as a meane to encounter the Kingdome of grace, and if it were possible, to bring the same to ruine. To forbear instances of open force made againit God and his Church by other courses, for the compassing of his desires; how skilfully he workes his owne advantage, by se-cret opposition, in the exercise of that cursed Art, which is the subject of the present Discourse, is a point not unworthy your honourable consideration.

The Power of this Prince of darknesse, being above the might of all sensible Creatures, and every way seconded by the greatnesse of his knowledge and experience, manifesteth it selfe herein, for the moit part, by workes of wonder, transcendent in regard of ordinary capacitie, and diversly dispensed by his chosen instruments of both sexes, sometime in matter of Divination, sometime by Inchantment, sometime by rare sleights and delusions; otherwhiles by hurting, by curing, by raising of Tempests, by speedy conueyance and transportation from place to place, &c. and all to purchase unto himselfe admiration, feare, and faith of the credulous world, which is usually carried away with affectation and applause of signes and wonders. His Policie appeareth in a wise and exquisite manner of framing and conceiving both his practices and grounds; the one to procure credit and entertainment, the other that he may not faile of his purpose, but proceed upon certainties.

Touching the manner of his practice. He stands resolved, that the world hath taken notice of him to be ^f *a liar, and the father thereof*; and therefore if he should offer to speake in his owne language, or informe an Art by rules of his owne devising; hee might haply incurre suspicion of falshood. Hereupon hee composeth his courses ^{μυσθισματα}, by way of counterfaiit and imitation, not of the actions and dealings of men, but of the order of Gods owne proceeding with his Church; holding it a sure principle in policie, That actions will be much more effectuall, when they be framed unto

^f Ioh. 8. 44.

the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the best Presidents, than when they are suted to the direction of meaner examples. To this purpose, as God hath made a Covenant with his Church, binding himselfe by promise to be their God, and requiring of them the condition of faith and obedience; so doth Satan indent with his subjects by mutuall confederacy, either solemnly or secretly; whereby they binde themselves on the one part to observe his rules, and he on the other to accomplish their desires. Againe, God gives his Word, the Interpreter of his will and his Sacraments, the seales of his promises, to which being rightly administered and received, he hath tied his owne presence, and the worke of his grace in them that beleeve. Answerably to this the Devill gives a word of direction to his Instruments, and addeth unto it, Charmes, Figures, Characters, and other outward Ceremonies, at the use whereof he hath bound himselfe to bee present, and to manifest his power in effecting the thing desired. Furthermore, God hath revealed his will to the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, by familiar^a conference, by^b dreames, by^c inspiration, by^d Trances: In the same manner, Satan hath his Divinors, and Soothsayers, his Pithonisses, his Cassandares, his Sibylles, to whom he maketh knowne things to come, by familiar presence, by dreames, &c. To conclude, God had in the Old Testament his Temple at Ierusalem, yea, his^e Oracle, from whence he spake, and gave the answer unto *Moses*: So of ancient times, the Devill erected his temple at * Dodona, and Delphos, whence he gave his answers, for the satisfaction of the superstitious Heathen. Yea, and at this day, as the Ministers of God doe give resolution to the conscience, in matters doubtfull and difficult, so the ministers of Satan, under the name of Wise-men, and Wise-women, are at hand by his appointment, to resolve, direct, and helpe ignorant and unsetled persons, in cases of distraction, losse, or other outward calamities.

Now the Grounds whereupon hee buildeth his proceedings for certainty, are cunningly gathered from the disposition of mans heart, by naturall corruption, and that in three speciall instances: First, he knowes that Man naturally out of the light of grace, hath but^f *a meere soule*, indued onely with some generall and confused notions; and as for matters of deeper apprehension touching God and heavenly things, there is a vaile of ignorance and blindness drawne over the eyes of his minde. Whereupon, though he be apt to know and worship a God, and learne his will, yet for want of information by the Word, he is prone to erre in the practice of his notion. Here Satan applies himselfe to mans measure, and at his owne will, drawes the minde into error by his delusions and impostures. This made the^g Samaritans in the Old Testament, and the superstitious^h Athenians in the New, to *worship an unknowne god*, that is, theⁱ Devill. Hence it was that the greatest Clerks of Greece, ^k *Thales*, *Plato*, and the rest, for want of a better light, sought unto the Wizzards of Ægypt, whom they called Prophets, men instructed by Satan in the grounds of Divination. And of this sort were *Iannes* and *Iambres*, mentioned in the^l Scriptures. Hence it was also that the ancient Heathen, having^m *no law and testimony from God*, inquiring at Sooth-sayers and murmuring Inchanters; others betooke themselves, in matters of doubt and difficultie, to the old Oracles ofⁿ *Iupiter Ammon* in Libya, of^o *Iupiter Dodonaus* at Dodona in Epirus; of^p *Apollo* at Delphos, of^q *Iupiter Trophonius* in Bœotia, and the rest; where the Devill gave the answer, sometimes one way, and sometimes another. Secondly, Satan by observation perceiveth that man upon a^r *weake and ignorant minde*, is prone superstitiously to dote upon the creatures, attributing some divine operation or vertue to them, without any ground of Gods Word, or common understanding; and consequently disposed to worship God in some worke of man, or to joyne to the same worship the inventions of man, which he hath not commanded. Vpon which ground he made the Heathen to dote upon their Wisemen, *to regard*^s *Soothsayers, and them that wrought with spirits*; The Chaldean^t Philosophers renowned for their superstitions and Magicall courses, to make the Heavens, *fat alium Legum Tabulam*, ascribing that to the vertue of the Stars, which was knowne and done by Satanicall operation; The Magicians of Persia, to admit of corruptions in their ancient good learning, and to give themselves, upon the reading of the fabulous writings of the Chaldean Sorcerers, to the study of unlawful

Arts

^a Gen. 18. 17.
^b Numb. 12. 6.
^c Amos 3. 7.
^d Act. 10. 10.

^e Exod. 25. 22.
Numb. 7. 39.

^f Herodot.
Euterpe.

^g 1 Cor. 1. 14.
Ἰδὲ καὶ.

^h 2 King. 17. 29.
Ioh. 4. 22.
ⁱ Act. 17. 23.

^j 1 Cor. 10. 20.

^k Diog. Laert. lib.
1. in Thaletis epist.
ad Pherecid. & 1. 3.
Strabo Geogr. l. 17.
^l 2 Tim. 3. 8.
^m Esa. 8. 19. 20.

ⁿ Diod. Sic. l. 17.
Plin. l. 5. c. 5.
^o Herodot.
Euterpe.

Strabo Geogr.
l. 16. ex Hom. Odyss. 2.

^p Pausan. in Phocicis.

Herodot. Euterpe.
Strabo Geogr. l. 9.
& li. 16.

^q Pausan. in Bœoticis.

Strabo Geogr. l. 9.

^r Omnis superstitio imbecilliamini

aque anilis est.

Cic. de Divin.

^s Levit. 19. 31.
^t Clem. Al. Strom. lib. 6.

Strabo Geogr. l. 15.

Dan. 2. 2.
Math. 2. 1.

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Arts invented by himselfe, both before and after the times of *Daniel* the Prophet: Lastly, the ancient Romans upon a superstitious dotage, never to undertake any businesse of weight, *nisi auspiciatō*, unless they had luckie consent and warrant from the Colleges of their Augurors erected by *Romulus*. Thirdly, there is a naturall distemper in the minde of man, shewing it selfe in these particulars; That hee cannot indure to stand in feare of imminent danger; That hee swels in an high conceit of his owne deserts, especially when hee is in lower estate than he would bee; That he will not beare a wrong done without revenge; That he rests not satisfied with the measure of knowledge received, but affecteth the searching of things secret and not revealed. When the minde is possessed with these troubled passions, with care to helpe it selfe; then comes the Devill, and ministreth occasion to use unlawfull meanes in the generall, and forceth the minde by continuall suggestion, to determine it selfe in particular upon his owne crafts. It was the case of ^b *Saul*, and of ¹ *Nebuchadnesar*. It caused many of the Heathen Philosophers, to goe from Athens to Memphis, from Grecia to Syria, from men on earth to wicked spirits in hell, to get more illumination at the hands of the Prince of darknesse. It moved fundry male-contented ^a Priests of Rome, to aspire unto the chaire of Supremacy, by Diabolicall assistance; yea, ^b to exercise Magicall Arts when they were Popes; and thereby to manifest indeed, that they were not the true Successors of *Simon Peter*, but heires of the vertues of *Simon* that *Magus*, who bewitched the people of Samaria, and professed to doe that by the great power of God, which he wrought by the aid and assistance of the Devill.

If any doe thinke it strange, that Satan should in this sort oppose himselfe to the Kingdome of God, and maintaine his owne principalitie, by such ungodly arts and exercises; They must know, that this and all other evils come to passe even by the will of God, who hath justly permitted the same; To punish the wicked for their horrible finnes; as *Saul* for his wickednesse; To avenge himselfe upon Man for his ingratitude; who having the truth revealed unto him, will not beleeve or obey it; To waken and rouze up the godly, who are sleepeing in any great finnes or infirmities: Lastly, to try and prove his people, whether they will cleave to him and his Word, or seeke unto Satan and wicked spirits.

Now from the consideration of the premises, wee conclude it a necessarie thing for the Church and people of God, to bee acquainted with the dealing of Satan in this kinde, that knowing his subtile devices, they may learne to avoid them. For which purpose this Treatise was first framed, and now exhibited to your Lordship. The just commendation whereof, above others formerly divulged touching this Argument, appeareth herein, that it serveth to the full opening and declaration of Satans method in the ground and practices of Witchcraft. Wherein among many other remarkable points, it may please you to take speciall notice of these particulars. I. That they doe grossly erre, who either in expresse termes deny that there bee Witches, or in effect, and by consequent, avouching that there is no league betweene them and the Devill; or affirming they can doe no such miraculois workes as are ascribed to them. The former issueth plainly out of the body of the Discourse. And for the latter; That there is a Covenant betweene them, either explicite in manner and forme, or implicite by degrees of superstitious proceeding in the use of meanes insufficient in themselves; is plainly taught and confirmed in the same. That Witches may and doe worke wonders, is evidently proved: howbeit not by an omnipotent power, (as the *gainfayer hath unlearnedly and improperly termed it) but by the assistance of Satan their prince, who is a powerfull spirit, but yet a creature as well as they. And the wonders wrought by them, are not properly and simply *miracles*, but *workes of wonder*, because they exceed the ordinary power and capacity of men, especially such as are ignorant of Satans habilitie, and the hidden causes in nature, whereby things are brought to passe. II. That the Witch truly convicted, is to be punished with death, the highest degree of punishment; and that by the Law of *Moses*, the equitie whereof is perpetuall. Yea, even the better Witch of the two in common reputation, because both are equally enemies to God and true Religion: and it is well knowne by true experience, that all professed Sorcerers are guilty of many most monstrous impieties. III. That the miracles

^k 1 Sam. 28.
^l Dan. 2. 1, 2.

^a Platina in Sylv.
2. &c.
Fascic. temporum.
^b Benno Cardinal.
de Sylvest. 3. &
Gregor. 6.
A. 8. 9.

August. Enchirid.
cap. 95, & 96.

1 Sam. 28.

2 Theff. 2. 10,
11, 12.

Deut. 13. 3.

* Reginald Scot,
epist. ad Lectores.

Mira vel miranda,
non Miracula.

of

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of the Popish Church at this day, are indeed either no miracles, or false and deceitfull workes. Touching corporall presence in the Sacrament, which they affirme to be by miracle: If it were true, then miracles were not yet ceased, but should still be as ordinary in the Church, as are the Sacraments. A point not onely confuted in the latter part of this Treatise, but also by the testimony of purer Antiquity. *Augustine* saith, *That miracles were once necessary to make the world beleeve the Gospell: but hee that now seekes a signe that he may beleeve, is a wonder, yea, a monster in nature.* *Chrysostome* concludeth upon the same grounds, that *there is now in the Church no necessity of working miracles; and calls him a false prophet, that now takes in hand to worke them.* Againe, if there be a miracle in the Sacrament, is it contrary to the nature of all those that were wrought, either by *Moses* and the Prophets, or by *Christ* and his Apostles. For they were apparant to the eye, but this is insensible: and therefore neither of force to move admiration, nor to convince the minde of man, and make him to beleeve: As for those which are pretended to be wrought by Saints in that Church; if wee make recourse to the Primitive times, wherein God gave the gift to breed faith in the Gentiles; wee shall finde that the power of producing such works, was never actually inherent in the Apostles, but dispensed by them *in the name of Christ*. Neither was it in their liberty to worke miracles when they would, but when it pleased God, upon speciall cause to call them thereunto. And if neither the power nor the will was in them, much lesse is it likely to be found in any of the Saints. And for their Reliques, of what name soever, so greatly magnified and resorted unto; we deny there is any such vertue in them. For they may not be thought to be more effectnall than the hem of *Christ's* garment, from which the power of healing the woman did not proceed, but *from himselfe*: Or than the Napkin of *Paul*, which did not cure the sicke, but *the power of God* onely, dispensed by *the hands of Paul*. Miracles therefore, avouched by them, to be wrought at the Tombs and Statues of Saints, and by their reliques and monuments, are but meere Satanicall wonders, serving to maintaine Idolatry and superstition: and are in truth no better than the wonders of the Donatists in *S. Augustines* time, *Aut signa mendacium hominum, aut portenta fallacium spirituum.* IV. That the light of the Gospell purely preached, is a soveraigne meane to discover and confound the power and policy of Satan in Witchcraft and Sorcery. The Word of God preached, is the *weapon* of the Christians warfare, and is mighty through God to cast downe strong holds. At the dispensation of it by the Disciples of *Christ*, *Satan* fell from Heaven as lightning. After the ascension of *Christ* into Heaven, in the times of *Claudius Cesar**, the Devill stirred up sundry persons, who in regard of the admirable works which they did, by the helpe of Magick and Sorcery, were accounted as gods, and their Statues erected and worshipped with great reverence. Amongst the rest one *Simon*, called by a kinde of eminency, *Magus*, practising his trade with successe, to the admiration of the multitude, was holden to be *the great power of God*. Whose dealing was first discovered by the light of the Word, shining in the Ministry of the Apostles, and himselfe convicted with such evidence of truth, to be an Instrument of Satan, that he was forced at length to flie out of *Samarita* into the Westerne parts, as *Eusebius* recordeth in his Ecclesiasticall Historie. By this, *Christ* the true Angell of the Covenant, locked and bound up *Satan* for a thousand yeares after his Ascension, that he might not be so generally powerfull in seducing the Gentiles, as he had beene before his incarnation. But toward the expiration of those yeares, when corruption began to creepe into the Papacy; when the Bishops affected that Sea, and aspired unto it by Diabolicall Arts: when the Canons, Decrees, Sentences, Synodals, Decretals, Clementines, Extravagants, with other Lawes and Constitutions, prevailed above the Scriptures; then began *Satan* againe to erect his kingdome, and these workes of iniquity to be set abroach.

These points together with the whole worke ensuing, I humbly commend to your Honourable patronage, that under your protection they may freely passe to the common view of the world. Wherein if I seeme over-bold, thus to presse upon your Lordship unknowne, my answer is at hand: That all by-respects set apart, I have beene hereunto induced many waies: First, upon a reverent opinion of those rare gifts of knowledge and piety, wherewith God hath beautified your person, and thereby advanced

Lib. de civ. Dei.
22. c. 3.

Homil. 19. oper.
imperfect.

Ag. 3. 12. 16.

Luk. 8. 46.
Ag. 19. 11, 12.

Aug. lib. de unitat.
eccl. cap. 16.
2 Cor. 4. 4.

2 Cor. 10. 4.

Luk. 10. 18.
* Iust. Mart. Apol.
ad Anton.

Ag. 8. 10.

Euseb. Eccl. hist.
lib. 2. cap. 12.
Revel. 20. 2.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

advanced you to high place, and estimation in this Common-wealth; Whereof those your grave & judicious speeches, even in the weightiest matters touching God and Cesar, as also those many learned Law-writings, have given large testimony. From which hath issued the greatnesse of your name, both in the present judgement of the world, and in future expectation. Next, out of a resolved perswasion of your Honorable disposition, as in generall to the whole house of Levi, so particularly to those, whose labours have fruitfully flowed out of the Schooles of the Prophets, amongst whom the Author of this Booke, in his time, was none of the meanest. Lastly, by the consideration of the Argument, arising out of a Law Iudiciall, agreeable to the calling and qualitic of a Iudge. A Law penall in regard of the offence, and therefore suitable to his proceedings, whose office is to heare with favour, and to determine with equity, to execute justice with moderation. A Law of the highest and greatest weight, immediately concerning God and his Honour, and therefore appertaining to him that *sits in the place of God*, to maintaine his right, *that he may be with him in the cause and judgement.*

Deut. 1. 15.
2 Chron. 19. 6.

By such Motives, I have encouraged my selfe, under assurance of your Lordships pardon, to present you with that wherein you are most deservedly interested; further intreating your favourable interpretation and acceptance, both of the qualitic of the Worke, and of the paines of the Publisher. And thus heartily wishing to your Lordship increase of grace and honour, with a daily influence of blessing and direction from Heaven upon your grave consultations and employments, I humbly take my leave, and commend you to the grace of God, *by whom doe rule all the Iudges of the earth.*
Finchingfield, Octob. 26. 1608.

Prov. 8. 15.

Your Lordships in all Christian duty

to bee commanded,

T H. P I C K E R I N G.





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2. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed examination of the law of property. It contains a full and complete treatise on the subject, and is divided into two volumes. The first volume contains a full and complete treatise on the law of real property, and the second volume contains a full and complete treatise on the law of personal property.

1

III

A

DISCOURSE

OF WITCHCRAFT.

EXOD. 22. 18.

Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.



His Text containeth one of the Judiciall Lawes of *Moses* touching the punishment of Witchcraft: which argument I have chosen to in-treat of for these causes:

First, because Witchcraft is a rife and common sinne in these our dayes, and very many are intangled with it, being either practitioners thereof in their owne persons, or at least, yeelding to seeke for helpe and counsell of such as practise it.

Againe, there be sundry men who receive it for a truth, that Witchcraft is nothing else but a meere illusion, and Witches nothing but persons deluded by the Devill: and this opinion takes place not onely with the ignorant, but is holden and maintained by such as are learned, who doe avouch it by word and writing, that there be no Witches, but as I said before.

Upon these and such like considerations, I have bin moved to undertake the Interpretation of this Judiciall Law, as a sufficient ground of the doctrine which shall be delivered. In handling wherof, two things are distinctly to be considered: The first, what is a Witch. The second, what is her due and deserved punishment. And both these being opened and handled, the whole meaning of the Law will the better appeare.

For the first, To give the true description of a Witch, is a matter of great difficulty, because there bee many differences and diversities of opinions touching this point; and therefore that we may properly, and truly define a Witch, we must first pause a while in opening the nature of Witchcraft, so farre forth as it is delivered in the bookes of the Old and New Testament, and may be gathered out of the true experience of learned and godly men.

Touching Witchcraft therefore I will consider three points:

A

- I. What Witchcraft is.
- II. What is the ground of the whole practice thereof.
- III. How many kinds and differences there be of it.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of Witchcraft.

TO begin with the first: According to the true meaning of all the places of holy Scripture which treat of this point, it may be thus described:

Witchcraft is a wicked Art, serving for the working of wonders by the assistance of the devill, so far forth as God shal in justice permit.

Sect. I.

I say it is an *Art*, because it is commonly so called and esteemed amongst men, and there is reason why it should be thus termed. For as in all good and lawfull Arts, the whole practise thereof is performed by certaine rules and precepts, and without them nothing can bee done: so Witchcraft hath certaine superstitious grounds and principles whereupon it standeth, and by which alone the feats and practices thereof are commonly performed.

If it be demanded what these rules bee, and whence they had their beginning, considering that every Art hath reference to some author, by whom it was originally taught and delivered? I answer, that they were devised first by Satan, and by him revealed to wicked and ungodly persons of ancient times, as occasion served: who receiving them from him, became afterward, in the just judgement of God, his instruments to report and convey them to others from hand to hand.

LIII 2

For

For manifestation whereof, it is to be considered, that God is not onely in generall a Sovereigne Lord and King over all his creatures, whether in Heaven or Earth, none excepted, no not the devils themselves; but that hee exerciseth also a speciall Kingdome, partly of grace in the Church militant upon earth, and partly of glory over the Saints and Angels, members of the Church triumphant in Heaven. Now in like manner the Devill hath a Kingdome called in Scripture the kingdome of darknes, whereof himselfe is the head and governour, for which cause he is tearmed ^a *the prince of darknesse*, ^b *the God of this world*, ruling and effectually working in the hearts of the children of disobedience.

^a Eph. 6.12.
^b 2 Cor. 4.4.

Againe, as God hath enacted Lawes, whereby his Kingdome is governed, so hath the Devill his ordinances, whereby he keepeth his subjects in awe and obedience, which generally and for substance are nothing else but transgressions of the very Law of God. And amongst them all, the precepts of Witchcraft are the very chiefe and most notorious. For by them especially hee holds up his kingdome, and therefore more esteemeth the obedience of them, than of other. Neither doth he deliver them indifferently to every man, but to his owne subjects, the wicked; and not to them all, but to some speciall and tried ones, whom hee most trusteth with his secrets, as being the fittest to serve his turne, both in respect of their willingnesse to learne and practise, as also for their ability to become instruments of the mischief which hee intendeth to others.

If it bee here asked, whence the Devill did fetch and conceive his rules? I answer, out of the corruption and depravation of that great measure of knowledge he once had of God, and of all the duties of his service. For that being quite depraved by his fall, hee turnes the same to the inventing and devising of what hee is possibly able against God and his honour. Hereupon, well perceiving that God hath expressly commanded to renounce and abhorre all practices of Witchcraft, he hath set abroad this art in the world, as a maine pillar of his Kingdome, which notwithstanding is flatly and directly opposed to one of the maine principall Lawes of the Kingdome of God, touching the service of himselfe in spirit and truth.

Ioh. 4.24.

Againe, the reason why hee conveyes these ungodly principles and practices from man to man is, because hee findes in experience, that things are far more welcome and agreeable to the common nature of mankinde, which are taught by man like unto themselves, than if the devill should personally deliver the same, to each man in speciall. Hereupon, hee takes the course at first to instruct some few onely, who being taught by him, are apt to convey that which they know to others. And hence in probability this devillish trade had his first originall and continuance.

Sect. II.

In the second place, I call it *a wicked art*, to distinguish it from all good and lawfull arts, taught in schooles of learning, which as they are warrantable by the Word of God, so are they no lesse profitable and necessarie in the Church. Againe, to shew the nature and quality of it, that it is a most ungracious and wicked art, as appeareth by the Scriptures. For when *Saul* had broken the expresse commandement of God, in sparing *Agag*, and the best things; *Samuel* tells him, that rebellion and disobedience is as the sinne of Witchcraft, that is, a most horrible and grievous crime, like unto that wicked, capitall, and mother sin, 1 Sam. 15.23.

Sect. III.

Thirdly, I adde, *tending to the working or producing of wonders*, wherein is noted the proper end of this art, whereby I put a further difference betweene it, and others that are godly and lawfull.

Now if question bee moved, why man should desire by Witchcraft to work wonders? I answer, the true and proper cause is this: The first temptation, whereby the Devill prevailed against our first parents, had inclosed within it many finnes: for the eating of the forbidden fruit, was no small or single offence, but as some have taught, contained in it the breach of every Commandement of the Morall Law. Amongst the rest, Satan laboured to bring them to the sinne of *discontentment*, whereby they sought to become as gods, that is, better than God had made them; not resting content with the condition of men. This sinne was then learned, and could never since bee forgotten, but continually is derived from them to all their posteritie, and now is become so common a corruption in the whole nature of flesh and blood, that there is scarce a man to bee found who is not originally tainted therewith as hee is a man.

This corruption shewes it selfe principally in two things, both which are the maine causes of the practices of Witchcraft.

First, in mans outward estate: for hee being naturally possessed with a love of himselfe, and an high conceit of his owne deserving, when he lives in base and low estate, whether in regard of poverty, or want of honour and reputation, which hee thinkes by right is due unto him: he then growes to some measure of griefe and sorrow within himselfe. Hereupon hee is moved to yeeld himselfe to the Devill, to bee his vassall and scholler in this wicked art, supposing that by the working of some wonders, he may be able in time to relieve his poverty, and to purchase to himselfe credit and countenance amongst men.

It were easie to shew the truth of this, by examples of some persons, who by these meanes have risen from nothing, to great places and preferments

Piscina de vit.
Pont. in vita Silv.
Baleus in Ad.
Rom. Pont. Ab. 5.
& lib. 6.

preferments in the world. In stead of all, it appeareth in certaine Popes of Rome, as *Sylvester* the second, *Benedict* the eighth, *Alexander* the sixth, *Iohn* the twenty and the twenty one, &c. who for the attaining of the Popedome (as Histories record) gave themselves to the Devill in the practice of witchcraft, that by the working of wonders, they might rise from one step of honour to another, untill they had seated themselves in the chaire of the Papacy. So great was their desire of eminency in the Church, that it caused them to dislike meaner conditions of life, and never to cease aspiring, though they incurred thereby the hazard of good conscience, and the losse of their soules.

The second degree of discontentment, is in the minde and inward man; and that is *curiositie*, when a man resteth not satisfied with the measure of inward gifts received, as of knowledge, wit, understanding, memorie, and such like, but aspires to search out such things as God would have kept secret: and hence hee is moved to attempt the cursed art of Magicke and Witchcraft, as a way to get further knowledge in matters secret and not revealed, that by working of wonders, hee may purchase fame in the world, and consequently reape more benefit by such unlawfull courses, than in likelihood he could have done by ordinary and lawfull means.

Seet. IV.

Fourthly, it is affirmed in the description, that Witchcraft is practised *by the assistance of the Devill*, yet the more fully to distinguish it from all good, lawfull, and commendable arts. For in their experience teacheth, that the Art-master is able by himselfe to practise his art, and to doe things belonging thereunto, without the helpe of another. But in this it is otherwise; for here the worke is done by the helpe of another; namely, the Devill, who is confederate with the Witch. The power of effecting such strange workes, is not in the art, neither doth it flow from the skill of the Sorcerer, man or woman, but is derived wholly from Satan, and is brought into execution by vertue of mutuall confederacy, betweene him and the Magician.

Now that this part of the description may be more clearly manifested, wee are to proceed to a further point, to shew what kinde of wonders they be which are ordinarily wrought by the ministry and power of the devill.

§ 1. Wonders therefore be of two sorts; either true and plaine, or lying and deceitfull.

A true wonder is a rare worke, done by the power of God simply, either above, or against the power of nature, and it is properly called a *miracle*. The Scripture is plentiful in examples of this kinde. Of this sort was the dividing of the red Sea, and making it dry land by a mightie East wind, that the children of Israel might passe thorow it, Exod. 14. 21. For though the East wind be naturally of great force to move

A the waters, and to dry the earth; yet to part the sea asunder, and to make the waters to stand as walls on each side, and the bottome of the sea as a pavement, this is a worke simply above the naturall power of any wind, and therefore is a miracle. Againe, such were the wonders done by *Moses & Aaron* before *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, one whereof, in stead of many, was the turning of *Aarons* rod into a serpent, a worke truly miraculous. For it is above the power of naturall generation, that the substance of one creature should be really turned into the substance of another, as the substance of a rod into the substance of a serpent. Of the like kinde were the standing of the Sunne in the Firmament without moving in his course for a whole day, Josh. 10. 13. the going backe of the Sunne in the firmament ten degrees, 2 Kings 20. 11. the preservation of the three men, *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego* in the midst of the hot fiery fornace, Dan. 3. 25. and of *Daniel* in the Lions den, Dan. 6. 22. the feeding of five thousand men, beside women and children, with five loaves and two fishes, Matth. 14. 20, 21. the curing of the eyes of the blinde man with spittle and clay tempered together, John 9. 6, 7, &c.

B Now the effecting of a miracle in this kinde, is a worke proper to God onely; and no creature, man, or Angell, can doe any thing either above or contrary to nature, but hee alone which is the Creator. For as God in the beginning made all things of nothing, so he hath reserved to himselfe, as a peculiar worke of his almightie power, to change or abolish the substance, property, motion, and use of any creature. The reason is, because he is the author and creator of nature, and therefore at his pleasure, is perfectly able to command, restraue, enlarge, or extend the power and strength thereof, without the helpe or assistance of the creature.

C Againe, the working of a miracle is a kinde of creation, for therein a thing is made to bee which was not before. And this must needs bee proper to God alone, by whose power things that are, were once produced out of things that did not appeare. The conclusion therefore must needs be this, which *David* confesseth in the Psalm: *God onely doth wondrous things*, Psal. 136. 4. that is, works simply wonderfull.

D But it is alleaged to the contrary, that the Prophets in the old Testament, and the Apostles in the new, did worke miracles. I answer, they did so, but how? not by their owne power, but by the power of God, being onely his instruments, whom he used for some speciall purpose in those workes; and such as did not themselves cause the miracle, but God in and by them. The same doth *Peter* and *Iohn* acknowledge, when they had restored the lame man to the perfect use of his limbs, *that by their power and godlinesse, they had not made the man to goe*, Act. 3. 12.

Againe, it is objected, that our Saviour Christ in his manhood wrought many miracles, as those before mentioned, and many more. *Ans.* Christ as he was man did something in the working of miracles, but not all. For in every miraculous worke there be two things; the worke it selfe, and the acting or dispensing of the worke: the worke it selfe being by nature and substance miraculous, considering it was above or against the order of naturall causes, did not proceed from Christ as man, but from him as God; but the dispensation of the same, in this or that visible manner, to the view of men, was done and performed by his manhood. For example; The raising up of *Lazarus* out of the grave, having bene dead foure daies, was a miracle; to the effecting whereof, both the God-head and manhood of Christ concurred; by their severall and distinct actions. The manhood only uttered the voice, and bade *Lazarus* come forth, but it was the God-head of Christ that fetched his soule from Heaven, and put it againe into his body, yea, which gave life and power to *Lazarus*, to heare the voice uttered, to rise and come forth, *Joh. 11. 43.* In like manner, when he gave sight to the blinde, *Mat. 20. 34.* he touched their eyes with the hands of his manhood; but the power of opening them, and making them to see, came from his God-head, whereby he was able to doe all things. And in all other miraculous workes which he did, the miracle was alwaies wrought by his divine power onely, the outward actions and circumstances that accompanied the same, proceeded from him as he was man.

Now, if Christ as he is man, cannot worke a true miracle, then no meere creature can doe it, no not the Angels themselves, and consequently not Satan, it being a meere supernaturall worke, performed onely by the omnipotent power of God.

§ 2 The second sort of wonders, are lying and deceitfull, which also are extraordinary workes in regard of man, because they proceed not from the usuall and ordinary course of nature: and yet they be no miracles, because they are done by the vertue of nature, and not above or against nature simply, but above and against the ordinary course thereof: and these are properly such wonders as are done by Satan and his instruments: examples whereof we shall see afterwards.

If any man in reason thinke it not likely that a creature should be able to worke extraordinarily by naturall meanes; he must remember that though God hath reserved to himselfe alone the power of abolishing and changing nature, the order whereof hee set and established in the creation, yet the alteration of the ordinarie course of nature, hee hath put in the power of his strongest creatures, Angels and Devils. That the Angels have received this power, and doe execute the same upon his command or permission, it is manifest by Scripture, and the

A proofe of it is not so necessary in this place. But that Satan is able to doe extraordinary workes by the helpe of nature (which is the question in hand) it shall appeare, if wee consider in him these things.

First, the Devill is by nature a spirit, and therefore of great understanding, knowledge, and capacity in all naturall things, of what sort, quality, and condition soever, whether they be causes or effects, whether of a simple or mixt nature. By reason whereof hee can search more deeply and narrowly into the grounds of things, than all creatures that are clothed with flesh and bloud.

Secondly, he is an ancient spirit, whose skill hath bene confirmed by experience of the course of nature, for the space almost of six thousand yeares. Hence hee hath attained to the knowldege of many secrets, and by long observation of the effects, is able to discern and judge of hidden causes in nature, which man in likelihood cannot come unto by ordinary meanes, for want of that opportunitie both of understanding and experience. Hereupon it is, that whereas in nature there be some properties, causes, and effects, which man never imagined to be; others, that men did once know, but are now forgot; some, which men knew not, but might know; and thousands which can hardly, or not at all be knowne: all these are most familiar unto him, because in themselves they bee no wonders, but only mysteries and secrets; the vertue and effect whereof he hath sometime observed since his creation.

Thirdly, he is a spirit of wonderfull power and might, able to shake the earth, and to confound the creatures inferiour unto him in nature and condition, if he were not restrained by the omnipotent power of God. And this power, as it was great by his creation, so it is not impaired by his fall, but rather increased and made more forcible by his irreconcilable malice hee beareth to mankind, specially the seed of the woman.

Fourthly, there is in the devill an admirable quicknesse and agility, proceeding from his spirituall nature, whereby he can very speedily and in a short space of time, conveigh himselfe and other creatures into places far distant one from another. By these foure helpes, Satan is enabled to doe strange works. *Strange* I say to man, whose knowledge since the fall is mingled with much ignorance, even in naturall things; whose experience is of short continuance, and much hindered by forgetfulnesse; whose agility by reason of his grosse nature is nothing, if he had not the helpe of other creatures; whose power is but weaknesse and infirmity in comparison of Satans.

Yet if there be any further doubt, how Satan can by these helpes worke wonders, we may be resolved of the truth thereof by considering three other things: First, that by reason of his great knowldege and skill in nature, he is able

to apply creature to creature, and the causes efficient to the matter, and thereby bring things to passe, that are in common conceit impossible.

Secondly, he hath power to move them, not only according to the ordinary course, but with much more speed and celerity.

Thirdly, as he can apply and move, so by his spirituall nature he is able, if God permit, to convey himselfe into the substance of the creature, without any penetration of dimensions, and being in the creature, although it be never so solid, he can worke therein, not onely according to the principles of the nature thereof, but as farre as the strength and ability of those principles will possibly reach and extend themselves. Thus it appeareth, that the devill can in generall worke wonders.

§ 3. Now more particularly, the Devils wonders are of two sorts: Illusions, or real actions.

An illusion is a worke of Satan, whereby he deludeth or deceiveth man. And it is twofold, either of the outward senses, or of the minde. An illusion of the outward senses, is a worke of the devill, whereby he makes a man to thinke that he heareth, seeth, feeleth or toucheth such things as indeed hee doth not. This the devill can easily doe divers wayes, even by the strength of nature. For example, by corrupting the instruments of sense, as the humor of the eye, &c. or by altering and changing the ayre, which is the meanes whereby we see, and such like.

Experience teacheth us, that the devill is a skilfull practitioner in this kinde; though the meanes whereby he worketh such feats, be unknowne unto us. In this manner *Paul* affirmeth that the Galatians were deluded, when he saith, *O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?* Gal. 3. 1. Where he useth a word * borrowed from the practice of Witches and forcerers, who use to cast a mist (as it were) before the eyes, to dazle them, and make things to appeare unto them, which indeed they doe not see; and the ground of *Pauls* comparison, is that which he takes for a granted truth, that there be such delusions, whereby mens senses are and may be corrupted by satanicall operation.

Thus againe the devill by the Witch of Endor, deceived *Saul* in the appearance of *Samuel*, 1 Sam. 28. making him beleve that it had bene *Samuel* indeed, whereas it was but a meere counterfeit of him, as shall appeare hereafter. Againe, the devill knowing the constitutions of men and the particular diseases whereunto they are inclined, takes the vantage of some, and secondeth the nature of the disease by the concurrence of his owne delusion, thereby corrupting the imagination, and working in the minde a strong perswasion, that they are become, that which in truth they are not. This is apparant in that disease which is termed *Lycanthropia*, where some having their brains possessed & distempered with melancholy, have verily thought themselves to be wolves, and so have

A behaved themselves. And the histories of men in former ages, have recorded strange testimonies of some that have been thus turned into wolves, Lyons, dogs, birds, and other creatures, which could not be really in substance, but onely in appearance, and phantasie corrupted, and so these records are true. For God in his just judgement may suffer some men so to bee bewitched by the devill, that to their conceit they may seeme to be like these brut beasts, though indeed they remaine true men still. For it is a worke surmounting the devils power, to charge the substance of any one creature, into the substance of another. By this kind of delusion the Church of Rome, in the times of blindness and ignorance, hath taken great advantage, and much encreased her riches and honour. For there be three points of the religion of that Church, to wit, *Purgatory*, *Invocation of Saints*, and *honouring of Reliques*, whereby she hath notably enriched herselfe, all which had their first foundation from these, and such like Satanicall impostures. For the onely way whereby they have brought the common sort to yeeld unto them, both for beleefe and practice, hath bene by deluding their outward senses with false apparitions of ghosts and soules of men, walking and ranging abroad after their departure, and such like; whereby simple persons, ignorant of their fetches and delusions, have bene much affrighted, and caused through extremity of feare and dread, to

B purchase their owne peace and security, by many and great expenses. And indeed these were the strongest arguments that ever they had, and which most prevailed with the common people, as is manifest in stories of all nations and ages, where such deceits have taken place; though oftentimes by the just judgement of God, they were taken in their craft, & their feats revealed.

C The second kinde of illusion, is *of the mind*, whereby the devill deceives the minde, and makes a man thinke that of himselfe which is not true. Thus experience teacheth, that he hath deluded men both in former and latter times, who have avouched and professed themselves to be Kings, or the sonnes of Kings. Yea, some have holden themselves to be Christ, some to be *Elias*, some to be *John the Baptist*, and some extraordinary Prophets. And the like conceits have entred into the minds of sundry Witches, by the suggestion and perswasion of the devill. To whom, when they have wholly resigned their soules and bodies, they have bene moved to beleve things impossible touching themselves, as that they have indeed bene changed into other creatures, as cats, birds, mice, &c. The inquisitions of Spaine and other countries, wherein these and such like things are recorded touching Witches really metamorphosed into such creatures, cannot be true; considering that it is not in the power of the devill, thus to change substances into other substances. And those conversions recorded by them, were

Aug. de civ. Dei.
l. 18. c. 18.

* *ελαφρον*.

were onely Satans illusions, wherewith the minds of Witches were possessed, and nothing else; which though they were extraordinary, (as the rest of this kind are) yet they went not beyond the power of nature.

The second sort of the devils wonders, are *reall workes*, that is, such as are indeed that which they seeme and appeare to be. These, howsoever to men that know not the natures of things, nor the secret and hidden causes thereof, they may seeme very strange and admirable, yet they are no true miracles, because they are not above and beyond the power of nature.

If it be here alleaged, that the devils workes are not reall and true actions, because the holy Ghost calleth them *Lying wonders*, 2 Thess. 2, 9. I answer, that they are called *Lying wonders*, not in respect of the workes themselves, for they were wonders truly done and effected; but in regard of the devils end and purpose in working them, which is to lie unto men, and by them to deceive. The truth of which point will appeare in the view of some particular examples.

First, wee reade in the history of *Iob*, that Satan brought downe fire from heaven, which burnt up *Iobs* sheepe and servants; and caused a mighty wind to blow downe the house upon his children, as they were feasting, to destroy them. Againe, hee smote the body of *Iob* with botches and byles. All these were true and reall workes, very strange and admirable, and yet no miracles, because they exceeded not the compasse of nature. For first, when hee cast downe the fire from heaven, he did not create the fire of nothing, for that is a worke proper to God alone, but applied creature to creature, and thereof produced such a matter as was fit to make fire of. If it be demanded, how he is able to doe this? wee must remember, that his knowledge in naturall causes is great, and therefore hee was not ignorant of the materiall cause of fire, which being thorowly knowne and found out, Satan brought fire unto it, and so putting fire to the matter of fire, hee brought it downe by his power and agility from heaven, upon the cattell and servants of *Iob*. Againe, the wind which blew downe the house, where his sonnes and daughters were eating and drinking, was not created by the devill, but hee knowing well the matter whereof winds are generated naturally, added matter to matter, and thence came the wind; whereunto hee joynes himselfe, being a spirit of a swift and speedy nature, and so makes it for his owne purpose, the more violent and forcible. Thirdly, hee smote *Iobs* body with sore byles, from the crowne of his head to the sole of his foot. Now this may seeme strange that hee should have such power over mans body, as to cause such diseases to breed in it. Therefore wee are further to understand, that his knowledge extendeth it selfe to the whole frame and disposition of mans body, whereby it cometh to passe, that the causes of all diseases are well knowne unto him, and hee is

A not ignorant how the humors in the body may bee putrified, and what corrupt humors will breed such and such diseases, and by what means the ayre it selfe may be infected: hereupon preparing his matter, and applying cause to cause, he practised upon the body of *Iob*, and filled him with grievous sores.

Another example of Satans reall workes is this. By reason of his great power and skill, he is able to appeare in the forme and shape of a man, and resemble any person or creature, and that not by deluding the senses, but by assuming to himselfe a true body. His power is not so large, as to create a bodie, or bring againe a soule into a body, yet by his dexterity and skill in naturall causes hee can worke wonderfully. B For hee is able, having gathered together fit matter, to joyne member to member, and to make a true body, either after the likenesse of man, or some other creature; and having so done, to enter into it, to move and stirre it up and downe, and therein visibly and sensibly to appeare unto man; which though it be a strange work, and besides the ordinary course of nature, yet it is not simply above the power thereof.

For a third instance. The devill is able to utter a voice in plaine words and speech, answerable to mans understanding in any language. Not that hee can take unto himselfe, being a spirit, an immediate power to speake or frame a voyce of nothing without meanes, but knowing the naturall and proper causes and meanes by which men doe speake, by them hee frames in himselfe the voyce of a man, and plainly utters the same in a knowne language. In this manner he abused the tongue and mouth of the serpent, when in plaine words he tempted Eve to eat the forbidden fruit. Now it is to be remembered here, that when the devill speakes in a creature, it must be such a creature, as hath the instruments of speech, or such whereby speech may be framed and uttered, not otherwise: for it was never heard that hee spake in a stocke or a stone, or any created entity, that had not the meanes and power of uttering a voyce, at least in some sort; it being a worke peculiar to the Creator, to give power of utterance where it is not by creation. Againe, when he frameth a voyce in a creature, he doth it not by giving an immediate power to speake, for that he cannot doe, and the creature abused by him, remaineth in that regard, as it was before. But it being naturally fitted and disposed to utter a voice, though not perfectly to speake as a man, hee furthereth and helpeth nature in it, and addeth to the facultie thereof a present use of words, by ordering and ruling the instruments to his intended purposes. And to conclude this point, looke what strange workes and wonders may be truly effected by the power of nature, (though they be not ordinarily brought to passe in the course of nature) those the devill can doe, and so farre forth as the power of nature will permit, he is able to work true wonders, though
for

Iob 1. 16.

Verf. 29.

for a false and evill end.

Here a question is moved by some, whether the devill can change one creature into another, as a man or a woman into a beast? for some, notwithstanding the doctrine already taught, are of opinion, that hee can turne the bodies of Witches into other creatures, as hares, cats, and such like. *Ans.* The transmutation of the substance of one creature into another, as of a man into a beast of what kind soever, is a worke simply above the power of nature, and therefore cannot be done by the devill, or any creature. For it is the proper worke of God alone, as I have said, to create, to change, or abolish nature.

It is objected, that such changes have beene made. For *Lots* wife was turned into a pillar of salt, *Gen. 19. 26.* *Ans.* It is true, but that was done by the mighty power of God, neither can it be proved that any creature, Angell, or other was ever able to doe the like.

But it is further said, that King *Nebuchadnezzar* was turned into a beast, and did eat grasse with the beasts of the field, *Dan. 4. 30.* *Ans.* There is no such matter: his substance was not changed, so as his body became the body of a beast indeed, but his conditions onely were altered by the judgement of God upon his mind, whereby he was so farre forth bereaved of humane sense and understanding. Againe, for his behaviour and kinde of life, he became altogether brutish for the time, and excepting onely his outward forme and shape, no part of humanity could appeare in him: but that he retained his humane body still, it is evident by his owne words, *vers. 31.* when he saith, *And mine understanding was restored to me:* which argueth plainly, that the hand of God was upon him in some kinde of madnesse and furie, and therefore that there was not a change of his body and substance, but a strange and fearefull alteration in his minde and outward behaviour. And though such a transmutation should be granted, yet it makes nothing for the purpose, considering it was the worke of God onely, and not of the devill. And thus we see what kinde of wonders the Devill can bring to passe. The meditation of which point may teach us two things:

First, that the working of wonders is not a thing that will commend man unto God, for the devill himselfe, a wicked spirit, can worke them: and many shall allége this in the day of judgement, that they have by the name of God cast out devils, and done many great workes, to whom notwithstanding the Lord will say, *I never knew you; depart from me ye workers of iniquity,* *Matth. 7. 22, 23.* It behoveth us rather to get unto our selves the precious gifts of faith, repentance, and the feare of God, yea, to goe before others in a godly life and upright conversation, than to excell in effecting of strange workes. When the seventy Disciples came to our Saviour Christ with joy, and told him, that *even the devils were subdued unto them through his name,* *Luk. 10. 17.* he counsels

A them, not to rejoyce in this, that wicked spirits were subdued unto them, but rather, because their names were written in heaven, *vers. 20.*

Indeed to be able to worke a wonder, is an excellent gift of God, and may minister matter of rejoycing, when it proceedeth from God: but seeing the devill received this power by the gift of creation, our speciall joy must not bee therein, but rather in this, that we are the adopted sonnes of God, in which privilege the devill hath no part with us. And therefore the Apostle, *1 Cor. 13.* making a comparison of the gifts of the Spirit, as of speaking divers tongues, of prophesying, and working miracles, with love: in the end, wisheth men to labour for the best gifts, which are faith, hope, and love, because by these wee are made partakers of Christ, on whom we ought to set our hearts, and in whom wee are commanded alwayes to rejoyce, *Phil. 4. 4.*

B Secondly, we learne from hence, not to beleeve or receive a doctrine now or at any time, because it is confirmed by wonders. For the devill himselfe is able to confirme his errors and Idolatrous services by strange and extraordinary signes, by which usually he laboureth to avouch and verifie the grossest points of fallshood in matter of religion. On the contrary, we must not reject or contemne a doctrine, because it is not thus confirmed. This was a maine fault in the Jewes, who would not receive the Word preached by Christ, unlesse hee shewed them a signe from heaven. Indeed in the primitive Church it pleased God to confirme that doctrine which the Apostles taught, by great signes and miracles, but now that gift is ceased, and the Church hath no warrant to expect any further evidence of the religion it professeth and enjoyeth by arguments of that kind; yea rather it hath cause to suspect a doctrine taught for the wonders sake, whereby men labor to avouch it.

Sect. V.

The last clause in the description, is this: *so farre forth as God in justice suffereth:* which I adde, for two causes: First, to shew that God, for just causes, permitteth the Arts of Magicke and Witchcraft, and the practices thereof. Now this he doth in his providence, either for the trial of his children, or for the punishment of the wicked.

D First therefore God permits these wicked arts in the Church, to prove whether his children will stedfastly beleeve in him, and seek unto his word, or cleave unto the devill, by seeking to his wicked instruments. This *Moses* plainly forwarned the Church of God, in his time. *Deu. 13. v. 1.* *If there arise among you a Prophet, or a dreamer of dreames, and give thee a signe or wonder; v. 2. and the signe and wonder which he hath told thee, come to passe: saying, Let us goe after other gods, which thou hast not known, and serve them; v. 3. thou shalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet, &c.*

August. de Trin.
1. 3. 6. 7.

Againe,

Againe, God suffereth them for the punishment of unbelievers and wicked men: for oftentimes God punisheth one sinne by another, as the antecedent finnes by the consequent. This Paul plainly sheweth (speaking of the dayes of Antichrist) that *because men received not the love of the truth, therefore God would send upon them strong illusions, that they should beleve lies.* And we may resolve our selves, that for this very cause, God suffereth the practices of Witchcraft, to be so rife in these our dayes, to punish the ingratitude of men, who have the truth revealed unto them, and yet will not beleve and obey the same, but tread it under their feet; *that all they might be condemned which beleev'd not the truth, but tooke pleasure in unrighteousnesse.*

Secondly, this last clause is added, to shew that in the practices of sorcery and Witchcraft, the Devill can doe so much onely as God permits him, and no more. Doubtlesse, his malice reacheth further, and consequently his will and desire; but God hath restrained his power, in the execution of his malicious purposes, whereupon he cannot goe a whit further, than God gives him leave and liberty to goe. The Magicians of Egypt did some wonders, in shew like unto the miracles wrought by *Moses* and *Aaron*, and that for a time, by changing a rod into a serpent, and water into bloud; and by bringing frogs through the sleight and power of the Devill; but when it pleased God to determine their practices, and give them no further liberty, they could not doe that, which in likelihood was the meane of all the rest, the turning of the dust of the land into lice; and themselves gave the true reason thereof, saying. *That this was the finger of God,* Exod. 8. 19. When the devill went out and became a false spirit in the mouth of all *Ababs* prophets, to intice him to goe to fall at Ramoth Gilead, he went not of his owne will, but by the authority of God, who commanded him to goe to intice *Abab*, and suffered him to prevaile, 1 King. 22. 22. and the act was not the act of Satan, but of God, whose instrument hee was; and therefore the holy Ghost said by *Micaiah*, *The Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy Prophets, and the Lord hath appointed evill against thee,* v. 23. Hence also it was, that the devils, being cast out of the man that had an uncleane spirit, asked leave of Christ to enter into the heard of swine, and could not enter in till hee had permitted them, Mark. 5. 12. 13. And we reade oftentimes in the Gospell, that our Saviour cast out many devils by his word onely; thereby shewing that he was absolute Lord over them, and that without his permission, they could doe nothing.

And thus much touching the generall nature of this Art.

CHAP. II.

The Ground of Witchcraft,
and of all the practices thereof.

THe Ground of all the practices of Witchcraft, is a league or covenant made betweene the Witch and the Devill: wherein they doe mutually binde themselves each to other. If any shall thinke it strange, that man or woman should enter league with Satan, their utter enemy; they are to know it for a most evident and certaine truth, that may not be called into question. And yet to cleare the judgement of any one in this point, I will set downe some reasons in way of prooffe.

First, the holy Scripture doth intimate so much unto us in the 58. Psal. v. 5. where, howsoever the common translation runneth in other tearmes, yet the words are properly to be read thus: *which heareth not the voice of the mutterer joyning societies cunningly.* And in them the Psalmist layeth downe two points: First, the effect or worke of a charme, muttered by the Inchanter; namely, that it is able to stay the Adder from stinging those which shall lay hold on him or touch him. Secondly, the maine foundation of the charme; societies or confederacies cunningly made, not betweene man and man, but (as the words import) betweene the Inchanter and the Devill. The like we reade, Deut. 18. 11. where the Lord chargeth his people when they come into the land of Canaan, that amongst other abominations of the Heathen, they should beware lest any were found amongst them that joynd society, that is, entred into league and compact with wicked spirits.

A second reason may be this: it is the practice of the Devill to offer to make a bargaine and covenant with man. Thus he dealt with our Saviour Christ in the third temptation where-with he assaulted him, promising to give unto him all the Kingdomes of the earth, and the glory of them, (which he shewed him in a vision) if Christ for his part would fall downe and worship him. The offer was passed on the behalfe of Satan, and now to make a perfect compact betweene them, there was nothing wanting but the free consent of our Saviour unto the condition propounded. Whereby it is manifest, that the Devill makes many covenants in the world, because he findeth men and women in the most places, fitted for his turne in this kinde, who will not let to worship him for a farre lesse matter than a Kingdome. And it is not to be doubted, that thousands in the world, had they beene offered so faire as Christ was, would have beene as willing to have yeelded upon such conditions, as the devill to have offered.

Thirdly, the common confession of all Witches and Sorcerers, both before and since the

2 Theff. 2. 10, 11.

Verf. 12.

Exod. 7. & 8.

1 King. 22. 22.

Math. 4. 9.

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comming of Christ, doth yet more fully confirm the same. For they have confessed with one consent, that the very ground-worke of all their practices in this wicked art, is their league with the devill. And hence it appeareth, how and whereupon it is, that Sorcerers and Witches can bring to passe strange things by the helpe of Satan, which other men ordinarily cannot doe; namely, because they have entred a league with him, whereby he hath bound himselfe to them, for the effecting of rare and extraordinary workes, which others, not joyned with him in the like confederacie, are not able either by his helpe, or any power or policy of their owne to bring to passe. Hereupon it was, that the Witch of Endor shewed unto *Saul* the appearance of *Samuel*, which neither *Saul* himselfe, nor any in all his Court could doe. There was no great vertue in the matter or frame of her words, for she was ignorant and had no learning. By power she could not effect it, being a weake woman; neither was it like that shee had more cunning and policy than any of the learned Jewes in those times had for such purposes. The maine reason was, her league made with Satan, by vertue whereof she commanded him to appeare in the likenesse of *Samuel*, which neither *Saul*, nor any of his company could doe, by vertue of such covenant, which they had not made.

The end why the Devill seeketh to make a league with men, may be this; It is a point of his policy, not to be ready at every mans command to doe for him what hee would, except he be sure of his reward; and no other meanes will serve his turne for taking assurance hereof, but this covenant. And why so? that hereby he may testifie both his hatred of God, and his malice against man. For since the time that he was cast down from heaven, he hath hated God and his kingdome, and greatly maligned the happy estate of man, especially since the covenant of grace made with our first parent in Paradise. For he thought to have brought upon them by their fall, eternall and finall confusion, but perceiving the contrary by vertue of the covenant of grace, then manifested, and seeing man by it to be in a better and surer estate than before, he much more maligned his estate, and beares the ranker hatred unto God for that his mercy bestowed upon him.

Now that hee might shew forth this hatred and malice, he takes upon him to imitate God, and to counterfeit his dealings with his Church. As God therefore hath made a covenant with his people, so Satan joynes in league with the world, labouring to binde some men unto him, that so, if it were possible, he might draw them from the covenant of God, and disgrace the same. Againe, as God hath Word and Sacraments, the scales of his covenant unto beleevers; so the devill hath his words and certaine outward signes to ratifie the same to his instruments, as namely, his figures, characters, gestures, and other Satanicall ceremonies, for the

confirmation of the truth of his league unto them. Yea further, as God in his covenant, requires faith of us to the beleaving of his promises: so the devill in his compact, requires faith of his vassals, to put their affiance in him, and rely on him for the doing of whatsoever he bindes himselfe to doe. Lastly, as God heares them that call upon him according to his will: so is Satan readie at hand upon the premisses, endeavouring to the utmost of his power, (when God permits him) to bring to passe whatsoever he hath promised. And so much of the league in generall.

More particularly, the league betwene the Devill and a Witch, is twofold: either expressed and open, or secret and close.

The expresse and manifest compact is so termed, because it is made by solemne words on both parties. And it is not so expressely set downe in Scriptures, as in the writings of learned men, which have recorded the confessions of Witches, and they expresse it in this manner. First, the Witch for his part, as a slave of the devill, bindes himselfe unto him by solemne vow and promise to renounce the true God, his holy word, the covenant he made in Baptisme, and his redemption by Christ; and withall to beleave in the Devill, to expect and receiue aid and helpe from him, and at the end of his life, to give him either body or soule, or both: and for the ratifying hereof, he gives to the devill for the present, either his owne hand writing, or some part of his blood, as a pledge and earnest penny to bind the bargaine. The devill on the other side, for his part promiseth to be ready at his vassals command, to appeare at any time in the likenesse of any creature, to consult with him, to aid and helpe him in any thing he shall take in hand, for the procuring of pleasures, honour, wealth or preferment, to goe for him, to carry him whether hee will; in a word, to doe for him, whatsoever hee shall command. Many sufficient testimonies might be alleaged for the prooffe hereof, but it is so manifest in daily experience, that it cannot well be called into question.

But yet if it seeme strange unto any, that there should be such persons in the world, that make such fearefull covenants with the devill, let them consider but this one thing, and it will put them out of doubt.

The nature of man is exceeding impatient in crosses, and outward afflictions are so tedious unto mortall mindes, and presse them with such a measure of griefe, that some could be contented with all their hearts to be out of the world, if thereby they might be released of such extremity, and hereupon they care not what meanes they use, what conditions they undertake to ease and helpe themselves. The devill finding men in these perplexities, is readie to take his advantage, and therefore perceiving them now fitted for his purpose to worke upon; he insinuates and offers himselfe to procure them ease
and

and deliverance, if they will use such meanes, as he shall prescribe for that purpose: and to a naturall man there is no greater meane than this to make him joyne society with the devill. Hee therefore without any further doubting or deliberation, condescends to Satan, so as he may be eased and releevd in these miseries.

Againe, we are to consider, that in these cases the devill getteth the greater hold of man, and moves him to yeeld unto his suggestions the rather, because that which he promiseth to doe for him is present and at his command, and therefore certaine; whereas the thing to be performed on the behalfe of the party himselfe, as the giving of body and soule, &c. is to come sundry yeares after, and therefore in regard of the particular time, uncertaine. Now the naturall man not regarding his future and finall estate, preferres the present commodity before the losse and punishment that is to come a farre off, and thereby is perswaded to yeeld himselfe unto Satan. And by these and such like antecedents are many brought to make open league with the devill.

The secret and close league betweene the Witch and Satan is that, wherein they mutually give consent each to other, but yet without a tworne covenant conceived in expresse words and conference. Of this they be two degrees: First, when a man useth superstitious formes of prayer, wherein hee expressly requesteth the helpe of the devill, without any mention of solemne words or covenant going before. That this is a kind of compact it is plaine, because herein there is a mutuall under-hand consent betweene the party and the devill, though it be not manifest. For when a man is content to use superstitious formes of invocation, for helpe in time of need; by the very using of them, his heart consenteth to Satan, and he would gladly have the thing effected. When therefore the devill hath notice of them, and endeavoureth to effect the thing prayed for, therein also he gives consent; so as though there be no expresse words of compact outwardly framed on both parts, yet the concurrence of a mutuall consent for the bringing to passe of the same things, makes the covenant authenticall. For according to the received rules of equity and reason, mutuall consent of party with party, is sufficient to make a bargaine, though there be no solemne course or forme of words to manifest the same to others.

The second degree is, when a man useth superstitious meanes to bring any thing to passe, which in his owne knowledge, have no such vertue in themselves to effect it, without the speciall operation of the devill.

Superstitious meanes I call all those, which neither by order of creation, nor by the speciall appointment and blessing of God since, have any vertue in them, to bring to passe that thing for which they are used. For example; A charme consisting of set words and syllables, both rude, barbarous, and unknowne, used for the curing

A) of some disease or paine, is a superstitious meanes; because it hath no vertue in it selfe to cure, either by the gift of God in the creation, or by any speciall appointment afterward in his word or otherwise. And therefore when this meane is used by man, which he knoweth hath no such vertue in it, for the effecting of that worke for which it was used, there is a secret league made with the devill.

Yet here I adde this clause, *in his owne knowledge*, to put a difference betweene men, which use superstitious meanes to bring some things to passe: for some there be which when they use them, know they be meere superstitious, yea, weake and impotent, having no vertue in themselves for the purpose whereto they are used; as the repeating of certaine formes of words; the using of signes, characters, and figures; which in effect are meere charmes, no whit effectuall in themselves, but so farre forth as they serve for watchwords unto Satan, without whose aid nothing is done by them. A plaine argument that the user hereof hath in his heart secretly indented with Satan, for the accomplishment of his intended workes. A second sort there is, which useth them for some speciall end, being perswaded that there is vertue in the meanes themselves to bring the thing to passe, and yet not knowing that either they be superstitious, or have their efficacy by the power and worke of the devill. Such persons have made as yet no league with Satan, but they are in the high way thereunto. And this course is a fit preparation to cause them to joyne with him in covenant. I shew it by an example. A man is fallen into some extremity, and findes himselfe bewitched; his paine is great, and hee desires with all his heart to be cured and delivered: Hereupon he sendeth for the suspected Witch; being come, hee offers to scratch him or her, thinking by this meanes to be cured of the Witchcraft. His reason is no other, than a strong perswasion, that there is simply vertue in his scratching to cure him, and discover the Witch, not once suspecting that the helpe cometh by the power of the Devill, but from the action it selfe. This doing, he may be healed: but the truth is, hee sinneth and breakes Gods commandement. For the using of these meanes is plaine Witchcraft, as afterward we shall see. And yet for all this, the party cannot be said in present to have made a league with Satan, because he thought, that though he yeelded to the use of superstitious meanes for his curing, yet there had bin in the said meanes a vertue of healing, without any helpe or worke of the devill.

CHAP. III.

Of the kinds of Witchcraft, and first of Divination.

Witchcraft is of two sorts; *Divining* or *Working*. For the whole nature of this art, consisteth either

either in matter of divination and conjecture, or in matter of practice. And in both these it is to be remembred, that nothing can be effected, unlesse the partie have made a league with the Devill, expresse or secret, or at the least, a preparation thereunto, by a false and erroneous opinion of the meanes.

Señ. 1.

Divination is a part of Witchcraft, whereby men reveale strange things, either past, present, or to come, by the assistance of the devill.

If it be here demanded, how the devill being a creature, should be able to manifest and bring to light things past, or to foretell things to come: I answer, first generally, that Satan in this particular worke, transformes himselfe into an Angel of light, and takes upon him the exercise of these things in an ambitious (though false) imitation of divine revelations and predictions, made and used by God in the times of the Prophets and Apostles. And this he doth (as much as in him lieth) to obscure the glory of God, and to make himselfe great in the opinion of ignorant and unbeleeving persons. Againe, though Satan be but a creature, yet there be sundry wayes whereby he is able to divine.

First, by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, wherein are set downe sundry prophesies concerning things to come. In the Old Testament are recorded many prophesies concerning the state of Gods Church, from the first age of the world, till the coming of Christ. In the new Testament likewise are recorded others, touching the selfe same thing, from the coming of Christ in the latter dayes, to the end of the world. Now the Devill being acquainted with the Historie of the Bible, and having attained unto a greater light of knowledge in the prophesies therein contained, than any man hath; by stealing divinations out of them, he is able to tell of many strange things, that may in time fall out in the world, and answerably may shew them ere they come to passe.

For example; *Alexander* the great before he made warre with *Darius* King of Persia, consulted with the Oracle, that is, with the devill, touching the event and issue of his enterprife. The Oracle answered him thus; *Alexander shall be a Conquerour*; upon the prediction of the Oracle, *Alexander* wages warre with *Darius*, and invades Asia, and having conquered him, translated the Empire from Persia to Greece, according as the Oracle had said. Now if question be made, how the devill knew the event of this warre, and consequently made it knowne to *Alexander*? The answer is, by the helpe of a prophesie in the old Testament; for this thing was particularly set downe before hand by the Prophet *Daniel*, *Daniel* II. 3. where he saith; *That a mightie King shall stand up, and shall rule with great dominion, and doe according to his pleasure, and this was Alexander the Great.* Satan therefore knowing the secret meaning of

A the Angels words unto *Daniel*, framed out of them a true and direct answer, whereas he was not able of himselfe to define certainly of the event of things to come in particular.

The second meanes, whereby the Devill is furnished for his purpose, is his owne exquisite knowledge of all naturall things; as of the influences of the starres, the constitutions of men, and other creatures, the kindes, vertues, and operations of plants, roots, herbs, stones, &c. which knowledge of his, goeth many degrees beyond the skill of all men, yea, even of those that are most excellent in this kinde, as Philosophers, and Physicians. No marvell therefore, though out of his experience in these and such like, he is able aforehand to give a likely ghesse at the issues and events of things, which are to him so manifestly apparent in their causes.

B A third helpe and furtherance in this point, is his presence in the most places: for some devills are present at all assemblies and meetings, and thereby are acquainted with the consultations and conferences both of Princes and people; whereby knowing the drift and purpose of mens mindes, when the same is manifested in their speeches and deliberations, they are the fitter to foretell many things, which men ordinarily cannot doe. And hence it is apparant, how Witches may know what is done in other Countries, and whether one Nation intends warre against another, namely, by Satans suggestion, who was present at the consultation, and so knew it, and revealed it unto them. C But how then comes it to passe, that the consultations and actions of Gods Church and children, are not disclosed to their enemies? even by the unspeakeable mercy and goodnesse of God, who though for speciall causes sometimes, he suffers Satan by this meanes to bring things to light, yet he hath restrained this his libertie, and subjected it unto his owne will, so as he keeps him out of such meetings, or compells him to conceale; whereas otherwise his malice is so great, that not a word could be spoken, but it should be carried abroad to the hurt and disturbance both of Churches and Common-wealths.

D The fourth way is by putting into mens mindes wicked purposes and counsels; for after the league once made he laboureth with them by suggestions, and where God gives him leave, he never ceases perswading, till he hath brought his enterprife to passe. Having therefore first brought into the minde of man, a resolution to doe some evill, he goes and reveales it to the Witch, and by force of perswasion upon the partie tempted, he frames the action intended to the time fore-told; and so finally deludes the Witch his owne instrument, fore-telling nothing, but what himselfe hath compassed and set about.

The fifth helpe is the agilitie of Satans nature whereby he is able speedily to convey himselfe from place to place, yea, to passe through the whole world in a short time. For God hath made

him by nature a *Spirit*, who by the gift of his creation, hath attained the benefit of swiftnesse, not onely in dispatching his affaires, but also in the carriage of his person with great expedition for the present accomplishment of his owne desires.

Lastly, God doth often use Satan as his instrument, for the effecting of his intended workes, and the executing of his judgements upon men; and in these cases manifesteth unto him, the place where, the time when, and the manner how such a thing should be done. Now all such things as God will have effected by the Devill, he may fore-tell before they come to passe, because he knowes them before hand by revelation and assignement from God. Thus by the Witch of Endor he fore-told to *Saul* the time of his death and of his sonnes, and the ruine of his kingdome, saying, *To morrow shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall give the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistims*: which particular event, and circumstances appertaining, he did truly define; not of himselfe, but because God had drawne away his good spirit from *Saul*, and had delivered him to be guided by the devill, whom he also appointed as a meanes, and used as an instrument to worke his overthrow. The Scripture indeed maketh not particular mention of the time of *Sauls* death, it onely recordeth the manner thereof, and that which followed upon his death, the translating of the Kingdome to his neighbour *David* after him; and yet because God used Satan as an instrument to bring this to passe, hereupon he was able to foretell the particular time, when the will of God should be wrought upon him. And these be the ordinarie meanes and helps whereby the devill may know and declare strange things, whether past, present, or to come.

Neither may this seeme strange, that Satan by such meanes should attaine unto such knowledge, for even men by their owne observations may give probable conjectures of the state and condition of sundry things to come. Thus we reade, that some by observation have found out probably, and fore-told the periods of families and kingdomes. For example, that the time and continuance of Kingdomes is ordinarily determined at 500. yeares, or not much above; and that great families have not gone beyond the sixth and seventh generation. And as for speciall and private things, the world so runnes (as it were) in a circle, that if a man should but ordinarily observe the course of things, either in the weather, or in the bodies of men, or otherwise, he might easily foretell before hand what would come after. And by these and such like instances of experiences, men have ghesse at the alterations and changes of estates and things in particular. Now if men which be but of short continuance, and of a shallow reach in comparison, are able to doe such things, how much more easily may the devill, having so great a measure of knowledge and experience, and being of so

long continuance, having also marked the course of all estates, be able to fore-tell many things which are to come to passe? specially considering what the wise man hath set downe to this purpose, that *that which hath beene, shall be; and that which hath beene done, shall be done; and there is no new thing under the Sunne*, Ecclesiastes 1.9.

If it be here alleaged, that divination is a prerogative of God himselfe, and a part of his glory incommunicable to any creature, *Isay* 41.23. I answer; Things to come must be considered two wayes; either in themselves, or in their causes and signes, which either goe with them, or before them. To fore-tell things to come, as they are in themselves, without respect unto their signes or causes, is a propertie belonging to God onely; and the Devill doth it not by any direct and immediate knowledge of things simply considered in themselves, but onely as they are present in their signes or causes. Again, God fore-telleth things to come certainly, without the helpe of any creature, or other meanes out of himselfe; but the predictions of Satan are onely probable and conjecturall; and when he fore-telleth any thing certainly, it is by some revelation from God, as the death of *Saul*; or by the Scripture, as *Alexanders* victory; or by some speciall charge committed unto him, for the execution of Gods will upon some particular places or persons, as before hath beene shewed.

Thus much for the causes of divination. Now follow the parts and branches thereof. Divination is of two sorts; either in and by meanes, or without meanes. Divination by meanes, is likewise of two sorts: either by such as are the true creatures of God; or those which are meere counterfeits and forged.

Sect. II.

Divination by the true creatures of God, is distinguished according to the number of the creatures, into five distinct kinds, whereof foure are mentioned in the Scriptures.

§ 1. The first, is by the flying and noise of birds. Sorcerers among the Heathen, used to observe fowles in their flight: For example; whether they did flie on the right hand, or on the left; above them, or below by them; whether crosse and overthwart, or directly against them. In like manner they observed the noise and sound of the fowle. And both these wayes, sometimes by the noise, and sometimes by the flight, they divined of things to come, both publike and private, of good and bad successe in mans affaires; of the state of kingdoms, townes, families, and particular persons. Now this kinde of divination is condemned by *Moses*, *Deut.* 18. 10. *Let none be found among you that is a -- diviner of divinations: that is, (as some interpret it) a marker of the flying of fowles: or a charmer, or a consulter with spirits, or a Sooth-sayer; that is, such a one as by observing the flying and noise*

Verse 11.

of

of fowles, takes upon him to fore-tell good or bad successe.

§ 2. The second kinde of creatures used for divination, are the *intralls of beasts*, of which mention is made; Ezekiel 21. 21. where *Nabuchadnezzar* being to make warre both with the Jewes and the Ammonites, and doubting in the way which enterprize to undertake first, hee offers a sacrifice to the Idole-gods, and opening the bellie of the sacrifice, lookes upon the liver, and by the signes therein found, hee judgeth what should be the issue of the warre. Which thing *Nabuchadnezzar* did according to the usuall practice of the Heathen, who when they were to make warre, or to attempt any businesse of importance, were wont to offer sacrifice to their gods, and to prie into the intralls of the beast sacrificed: for example, the heart, stomack, spleene, kidneies, but specially the liver: and by certaine signes appearing in those parts, the Devill was wont to reveale unto them, what should be the successe of their affaires they had in hand. It were easie to exemplifie both these sorts of Divination by sundrie particulars out of Heathen writers, but seeing the Scripture hath manifested that there are such, and experience shewes the same, I will forbear that labour, and proceed.

But here it is demanded, why both these kindes of Divination should be condemned in Scripture, considering they had great applaude among the Heathen? I answer, because the flying of birds, and the disposition of the inward parts of creatures, are no true signes either of good or bad successe. For that which is a true signe of a future event, must have the vertue and power whereby it signifieth, from God himselfe, either by creation in the beginning, or by his speciall ordinance and appointment afterward. Now it cannot be shewed, that God in the creation infused any such vertue into the natures and motions of these creatures, whereby they might signifie such things; neither is there any apparent testimonie in the whole Booke of the Scriptures, whereby it may be proved, that since the creation, they were appointed by God, to serve such uses and ends. And therefore howsoever they were esteemed of the Heathen, yet the word of God hath justly censured them, as no true and proper causes of Divination, sanctified by God, but merely diabolicall.

It is alleaged, that *Ioseph* divined by his cup, as may appeare both by his Stewards speech, as also by his owne, Genesis 44. 5. and 15. and yet that cup received no power from God, either the one way or the other, to be a cause or meane of Divination.

The answer anciently and commonly made is this, that *Iosephs* Steward spake not as the thing was indeed, but as the common received opinion was among the Egyptians, who esteemed *Ioseph* to be a man of great skill and wisdom, able by sundrie meanes to divine and prophesie. To this I adde a second answer, that the Steward

A spake not as he thought, but his purpose was in those words, to conceale the knowledge of *Ioseph* his master from his brethren, that thereby they might not discern who he was, but take him to bee an Egyptian. Thirdly, the words may not unfitly admit this interpretation, as if the Steward had said, Know ye not that this cup which I finde in the Sackes mouth of your youngest Brother, is that whereby my master will easily prove what manner of men you are? this answer is also ancient, and may well be received.

It is further objected, that our Saviour Christ by his speech unto the Pharisees seemeth to approve of divining by creatures, as by winds and by clouds; *When you see a cloud (saith he) rising out of the West, straightway you say, a showre commeth, and so it is: and when you see the South wind blow, ye say, that it will be hot, and it commeth to passe, Luke 12. 54, 55.*

B
C
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Answer. There be some kindes of predictions that are and may be lawfully used, because they are naturall, of which sort are those that are made by Physicians, Mariners, and husbandmen, touching the particular alterations and dispositions of the weather; and these being agreeable to that order which God hath set in nature from the beginning; by them a man may probably gather the state of the weather, whether it will be faire or foule; and of these naturall signes our Saviour Christ speaketh, not of diabolicall, which have no warrant, either from the common course of nature created, or by any speciall appointment from God. So that whatsoever can be said in their defence, this yet remaineth certaine, that the flying and noise of birds, and the state of the intralls of beasts, are no true signes ordained by God, but invented by the Devill and his instruments, and therefore all divination by them is justly condemned, as wicked and devillish.

Whence it appeareth, what judgement may be given of those common signes of Divination, which are observed in the world, specially of the more ignorant sort. For example: A man findes a peece of iron, he presently conceiveth a prediction of some good lucke unto himselfe that day. If he light on a peece of silver, then he stands contrarily affected, imagining some evill will befall him. Again, when a man is taking his journey, if a hare crosse him in the way, all is not well, his journey shall not be prosperous, it presageth some mischief towards him. Let his eares tingle or burne; hee is perswaded hee hath enemies abroad, and that some man either then doth, or presently will speake ill of him. If the salt fall towards a man at the Table, it portendeth (in common conceit) some ill newes. When a Raven stands upon some high place, looke what way he turnes himselfe and cryes, thence, as some thinke, shall shortly come a dead corps; albeit this sometime may be true by reason of the sharpe sense of smelling in the Raven. These & sundry other of the like sort, are

meerely superstitious. For the truth is, they have no vertue in themselves to foreshew any thing that is to come, either in nature, or by Gods ordinance. Therefore whatsoever divination is made by them, must needs be fetched from Satanicall illusion. And though we cannot say they be sooth-sayings, or tearme the users and favourers of them Sooth-sayers, yet we may safely referre them to this kinde of divining, being such as no Christian may warrantably use, though some of them be not so grosse and palpable, as those that are condemned in the Scriptures.

§ 3. The third kinde of creatures used to divine by, are the starres. Divination by starres, is commonly called *Indiciall Astrologie*; of which we may reade, Deut. 18. 10, 11. where the holy Ghost doth of purpose reckon up all those kinds of devillish arts, whereby men have dealings and societie with Satan, either in *divining* or *practising*: among which, this is the second.

The word there used * may carry a double sense. For it signifieth either him that observeth times, under which acceptation *Astrologie* is comprehended, or him that observeth the clouds. And howsoever the best learned Interpreters doe dissent about the notation of it, yet all agree in this, that this profession of divining by the starres is there condemned: and that it is to be numbred among the rest expressed in the prohibition, may further appeare by other places of Scripture, as in Isay 47. 13, 14. where the Lord threatneth the same judgements against diviners by the starres, that he doth against Sooth-sayers and Magicians: Again, in Daniel 2. 2. Inchanters, Astrologians, and Sorcerers are joynd together, as being all sent for about the same businesse, viz. to expound the Kings dreame. Now if the Lord himselfe have allotted the same punishment to the Astrologer, which he hath to the Sooth-sayer and Magician, and account them all one; it is manifest; that divining by the starres, ought to be held as a superstitious kinde of divination.

Here, if it be thought strange, that predictions by so excellent creatures as the starres be, should carrie both the name and nature of diabolicall practices, which can be done by none but such as are in league with Satan:

I answer, The reasons hereof are these:

First, it must be considered, that the drift and scope of this Art, is to fore-tell the particular events of things contingent, as the alteration of the states of Kingdomes, the deaths of Princes, good or bad successe of mens particular affaires, from the houre of their birth, to the day of their death. And from this all men may judge, what the art it selfe is. For the fore-telling of things to come, which in their owne nature are contingent, and in regard of us casuall (I say not in regard of God, to whom all things are certainly knowne) is a propertie peculiar to God alone, and not within the power of any creature, man, or Angel. A point that is plainly taught by

A the Prophet *Esay*, from the fourth Chapter of his prophetic, to the 48. The scope whereof is to prove, that it is a prerogative appropriated to the Deitie, and not communicable to the creature, to fore-shew the event of things to come, which in our understanding and reach, may either be, or not be; and which when they are, may be thus or otherwayes. It remains therefore, that divinations of this kinde, taking from God his right, and robbing him of his honour, are justly censured of impietic, and are in themselves wicked and abominable.

It is alleaged, that starres in the heavens, are the causes of many things happening in the world, and therefore to practise by them in this manner, deserveth no such imputation.

B *Answ.* It cannot be denied that they are causes of some things; but I demand, what causes? not particular of particular events; but generall and common, that worke alike upon all things: and no man can divine of a particular event, by a generall cause, unlesse he also know the particular causes subordinate to the generall, and the particular dispositions and operations of them. For example, let twentie or thirtie egges of sundry kindes of birds be taken, and set under one and the same Henne to be hatched; it is not possible for any man, onely upon the bare consideration of the heat of the Henne, which is the generall cause of hatching the egges, to set downe certainly what kinde of bird each egge will bring forth, unlesse he know what the egges were particularly. For a generall and common cause, doth not immediately produce a particular effect, but onely moveth and helpeth the particular, immediate, and subordinate causes. Therefore the heat of the Henne doth not make one egge to send forth a Henne-chicken, another egge a Ducke, a third a Swan, &c. but onely helpeth it forward by sitting and crouching upon them. In like manner the starres are generall causes of naturall things, as the heat of the Henne is of the hatching of the egges, and by them no man can rightly define of particular events, and therefore Divination by the starres, whereby are foretold particular contingent events, in kingdomes, families, or particular persons, is but a forged skill, that hath no ground in nature from the vertue of the starres, for any such purpose.

D A second reason may be this; all the rules and precepts of *Astrologie*, set downe by the most learned among the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and other Astrologers, are nothing else but meere dotages and fictions of the braine of man: for the rules and conclusions of all good and lawfull arts, have their ground in experience, and are framed by observation, whereupon they are called *Axiomes*, or *positions of Art*, so generallly and undoubtedly true, that they cannot deceive: But these rules are of a contrarie nature, having no foundation in experience at all; for if they had, this must needs follow, that the position of the heavens, and the course of all the starres, must

must needs continue one and the same; for the principles of art ought to be immutable: but neither the position of the heavens, nor the course of all the starres, is alway one and the same. Againe, he that would make sound rules of art by observation, must know the particular estate of all things he observeth: But no man knoweth the particular estate of all the starres, and consequently none can gather sound rules of art by them. Thirdly, no man knoweth or seeth all the starres, and though they might be all discerned, yet the particular vertues of those which are seene, cannot be knowne, because their influences in the aire, and upon the earth, are confused; and therefore by observation of them, no rules can be made, whereby to judge of particular events to come that be contingent.

But experience teacheth (may some say) that if a man addicted to this course shall practise the rules of Astrologie, it will fall out that the most things he fore-telleth shall be true, and come to passe accordingly: which being verified in experience, it should seeme, that these principles are not uncertaine: for how is it possible that upon false grounds, should proceed true predictions? To this objection, learned Divines have framed answer thus: That in this there is a secret Magicke at the least, if not an open league with Satan. For looke what is wanting to the effect of the starres, the devill maketh supply of it by his owne knowledge in things that are to come to passe. And this is the judgement of them that have knowne this art, which was also received for true in the dayes of the Apostles.

The third reason; The man that repaireth to the Astrologian upon the particular case for his helpe and counsell, must beleve that he can and will doe for him; otherwise if he come doubting of his abilitie, or in way of tempting him, he cannot helpe him. Now in common understanding, if the diviner bring the thing to passe, here must needs be more than Art. For he that is a master of a lawfull art, can worke by his rules, whether a man beleve that he can or no; yea, though all the men in the World should doubt, his rules would be effectuell. The art therefore it selfe is the old superstitious art of the Chaldeans, which they being Idolaters, first fetched from the devill, and his Oracles: yea, the practice thereof is nothing but superstitious forcerie, and the undertakers no better than Sorcerers. If any man doubt hereof, their writings are sufficient testimonies, and they themselves avouch it. For it is a rule and maxime among them in all kinde of forcerie, that the learner must come credulous, and not doubting, or to tempt; otherwise no answer can be given.

But notwithstanding all these reasons alleaged for the prooffe of this point, sundry things are opposed to the contrary.

For first, it is said that the Sunne, Moone, and Starres were created for signes, Genesis 1.14. and therefore that it is lawfull to divine by them, see-

A ing that in so doing, we doe but use them to the end for which God made them.

Ans. The reason is of no force. The starres indeed by this ordinance doe serve for signes, but of what? not of all things, but (as the text plainly sheweth) of dayes, weekes, moneths, and yeares; yea, of the seasons of the yeare; as of Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; yea, further, of the alterations of the weather in general: but all this maketh nothing to ratifie Divination of particular events in things contingent, which are to fall out in the state of kingdomes, families, and persons: for they are not causes, but signes; and that of some generall things onely, not of particular.

B Againe, it is said, that *Moses* and *Daniel*, two famous Prophets, are commended for their skill in this art: for of *Moses* it is said, Acts 7.22. that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians: and *Daniel* in all the wisdom of the Chaldeans, Daniel 1.17.20. and we know that the Egyptians and Chaldeans were the masters of divination, and eminent above all others in matters of Astrologie.

Ans. It cannot be proved out of those places, that *Moses* or *Daniel* were trained up in this art: and though it should be granted they were, yet it followes not, that they were practicers of it, at least continually. For albeit, being children and of tender yeares in the Courts of *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnetsar*, they had bene trained up by their governours in this knowledge, it may not thence be concluded, that they finally submitted themselves to the practice thereof; considering that a man may learne that when he is young, which after ward upon better judgement and consideration, hee may utterly disclaim. And so we are to thinke of them, that after God had called them, they did for ever lay aside all such wicked and devillish practices, forbidden by God, and yet in use among the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

C Thirdly, it is objected; the starres are admirable creatures of God, and the causes of many strange effects in the aire, in the waters, and upon the earth also, in the bodies of men and beasts: it may seeme therefore not unlawfull to divine by them.

D *Ans.* We grant that the Starres, and especially the Sunne and Moone, have great vertue and force upon the creatures that are below; partly by their light, and partly by their heat; but hence it will not follow, that they are, or may be lawfully used for divination: for whereas it hath bene shewed, that the grounds of all good arts are gathered by observation and experience, it is not possible for any man, truly, and certainly to observe all particular events brought forth by the starres, whereupon hee might ground his rules. And for prooffe hereof; Suppose there were a heape of all kinds of herbs growing upon the earth gathered together, which should be all strained into one vessell, and the liquor brought to the most skillfull

Physitian that is, or ever was; can we thinke him able by tasting or smelling thereof, to distinguish the vertues of the herbs, and to say which is which? To do this when all are severed each from other, is a hard matter, yet possible, considering they have their severall natures and operations; but in this confused mixture to discern the severalls, is a thing passing the skill of man.

The like may be said of the particular vertue of everie starre; for they all have their operation in the bodies of men, and other creatures; but their vertues being all mixed together in the subject whereon they worke, can no more be knowne distinctly, than the vertues of a masse of herbs of infinite sorts beaten together. For this is an undoubted truth in nature: that the vertues of Celestiall bodies in their operations, are mingled with the qualities of the elements in the inferiour bodies, and the vertues of them all doe so concurre, that neither the heat or light of the starres, nor the vertue of the elements, can be severed one from another. And therefore though there be notable vertue in the starres, yet in regard of the mixture thereof in their operation, no man is able to say by observation, that this is the vertue of this starre, and this of that. The seven planets being more notable, than the other lights of the heaven, specially the Sunne and Moone, have their operations and effects plainly and perfectly knowne; as for the other, there was never any man that could either feele their heat, or certainly determine of any thing by them.

There being then some starres, whose vertues are unknowne, how can their operations and effects be discerned in particular? Therefore no rules can be made by observation of the vertues of the starres in their operations, whereupon we may foretell particular events of things contingent, either concerning mens persons, families, or kingdomes.

A fourth reason. All starres have their worke in the qualities of heat, light, cold, moisture, and drinesse: as for the secret influences which men dreame of, comming from them besides the said qualities, they are but forged fancies. The Scripture never mentioneth any such, neither can it be proved that the Sunne hath any efficacie upon inferiour bodies, but by light and heat, which because they are mixt with other qualities, they affoord no matter of prediction touching particular events. For what though the celestiall bodies doe cause in the terrestriall, heat and cold, drought and moisture? Doth it therefore follow, that these effects doe declare before hand the constitution of mans bodie? the disposition of mens mindes? the affections of mens hearts? or finally, what successe they shall have in their affaires, touching wealth, honour, and religion? Hence I conclude, that divining by them in this sort, is meere superstition, and a kinde of Sorcerie: for which cause in Scripture Astrologians are

A justly numbred among Sorcerers.

Now that which hath beene said touching this point, may serve for speciall use.

And first, it gives a caveat to all Students, that they have care to spend their time and wits better, than in the studie of judiciall Astrologie; and rather imploy themselves in the searching out of such things, as may most serve for the glory of God, and the good of his Church. It is the subtiltie of Satan to draw men into such meditations, and to make this studie so pleasant, that it can hardly be left, when it is once begun: but let them take heed betime. For assuredly these vaine and superstitious practices, are not the builders and furtherers, but the hinderers and destroyers of religion, and the feare of God.

B Again, this must admonish them which suffer any losses, not to seeke for helpe or remedie at the hands of Astrologers, commonly called *Figure-casters*: for their directions in the recoverie of things lost or stollen, commeth not by the helpe of any lawfull art, but from the worke of the devill, revealing the same unto them. And better it were to lose a thing finally, and by faith to expect till God make supply another way, than in this manner to recover it againe: yea, the curse of God hangeth over the head of him, that to helpe himselfe useth diabolicall meanes. For put the case a thing lost of great value, be againe restored by the helpe of Satan; yet God in his justice, for the use of these unlawfull meanes, may take from the consulter twise as much; or at the least his grace, and so give him up to a reprobate sense, to beleve the devill to his utter perdition.

C Thirdly, it serveth to admonish us of some other vanities that accompany Astrologie; especially of two.

The first, is the *observation of the signe* in mans bodie wherein not onely the ignorant sort, but men of knowledge doe farre over-shoot themselves, superstitiously holding, that the signe is specially to be marked. An opinion in it selfe fantasticall and vaine, not grounded in nature, but borrowed from Astrologie. For the Astrologians for better expressing and establishing thereof, have devised new spheres in the heavens, more than indeed there be, to wit, the ninth and the tenth; and in the tenth, commonly called the *first moveable*, have placed an imaginarie sphere, which they tearme the Zodiacke, and in the Zodiacke twelve signes, *Aries, Taurus, Gemini*, and the rest, which they imagine to have power over the twelve parts of mans bodie; as *Aries*, the head and face, *Taurus* necke and throat, &c. But these are onely twelve imaginarie signes: for in the heavens there is no such matter as a Ramme, a Bull, &c. And how can it stand with reason, that in a firmament feigned by Poets and Philosophers, a forged signe, which indeed is nothing, should have any power or operation in the bodies of men?

Primum mobile.

Againe,

Againe, the very order of the government of these signes in mans bodie, is fond and without shew of reason. For according to this plat-forme, when the Moone commeth into the first signe, *Aries*, she ruleth in the head; and when she commeth into the second signe, *Taurus*, in the necke; and so descends dowie from part to part, in some part ruling two, in some three dayes, &c. Where observe, that the Moone is made, then to rule in the cold and moist parts, when she is in hot and drie signes: when as in reason, a more consonant order were this; that when the Moone were in hot and drie signes, as *Aries*, *Leo*, and *Sagittarius*; she should rule in hot and drie parts of the bodie; and when she is in cold and moist signes, she should rule in the cold and moist parts of the bodie; and so still governe those parts, which in temperature come neerest to the nature of the signes wherein the Moone is.

Besides this, some learned Physitians have upon experience confessed, that the observation of the signe, is nothing materiall, and that there is no danger in it, for gelding of cattell, or letting of blood. Indeed it prevailes oftentimes by an old conceit and strong imagination, of some unlettered persons, who thinke it to be of force and efficacie for restoring and curing; and yet the vanitie of this conceit, appears in the common practice of men, who commonly upon *S. Stevens* day use to let blood, be the signe where it will; though it be in the place where the veine is opened. But the truth is, the signe in it owne nature, is neither way available, being but a fancie, grounded upon supposed premisses, and therefore ought to be rejected, as a meere vanitie.

The second thing belonging to Astrologie, which ought to be eschewed, is the choice and observation of dayes. Curious diviners doe set apart certaine dayes, whereof some are (as they say) luckie, some unluckie. And these they appoint to be observed for the beginning of ordinarie workes and businesses; as to take a journey; to beginne to lay the foundation of a building, to plant a garden, to weane a childe, to put on new apparell, to flit into a new house, to trafficke into other Countries, to goe about a suit to a Prince, or some great man, to hunt and use exercises, to pare the nailes, to cut the haire, in a word to attempt any thing in purpose or action, which is not done everie day. The effect and force of these dayes, is not grounded either in art or in nature, but onely in superstitious conceit and diabolicall confidence, upon a wicked custome, borrowed from the practice of Diviners; and the danger of such confident conceits is this; that the devill by them takes the vantage of fantasticall persons, and brings them further into league and acquaintance with himselfe, unlesse they leave them. And all such persons as make difference of dayes for this or that purpose, are in expresse words plainly condemned, Deut. 18. 10, 11.

A § 4. The fourth kinde of Divination by true meanes, is the prediction of things to come by dreames.

In the old Testament we reade that Sorcerers and false Prophets used to foretell strange events, by revelations which they had in their dreames. Such Diviners were among the Jewes; and for that cause the people of God were expressly forbidden to hearken unto *dreamers of dreames*, Deut. 18. 3. And the Lord himselfe by the Prophet *Jeremie*, taxeth the false Prophets, who broached false doctrine in his name by this devillish meanes, saying, *I have dreamed, I have dreamed*, Jerem. 23. 25.

Yet here it is to be remembred, that foretelling of future things by dreames, is not simply to be condemned, but onely in part. For of dreames there be three sorts, *Divine*, *Naturall*, and *Diabolicall*. *Divine*, are those which come from God. *Naturall*, which proceed from a mans owne nature, and arise from the qualitie and constitution of the bodie. *Diabolicall*, which are caused by the suggestion of the devill.

Touching *Divine dreames*: that there are, or at least have beene such, it is evident. For these be the words of God, Numb. 12. 6. *If there be a Prophet of the Lord among you, I will be knowne unto him by a vision, and will speake unto him by a dreame.* And *Iob* saith, that *God speaketh in dreames and visions of the night, when sleepe filleth upon men, and they sleepe upon their beds*, Job 33. 15. Now these divine dreames were caused in men, either immediately by God himselfe, as the former places shew; or by meanes of some good Angell. In this latter kinde was *Ioseph* often admonished in dreames what to doe, by the ministerie of an Angel; as Matth. 1. 20. and Chap. 2. 13, 19. and divining by such dreames, is not condemned: for by them the most worthie Prophets of God have revealed Gods will in many things to his Church. Thus *Ioseph* by dreame had notice given him of his owne advancement, Genesis 37. 7, 9. and by Pharaohs dreames which were sent from God, hee also foretold the state of the Kingdome of Egypt, touching provision for seven yeares dearth, Genesis 41. 25. By the same meanes the Prophet *Daniel* prophesied of the flourishing and fading of the chiefe Monarchies of the World, from his time to the coming of Christ, Daniel 9. &c. These therefore being one of the extraordinarie meanes, whereby God hath manifested his will unto man in times past, more or lesse: divination by them is not to be censured as unlawfull, but rather to be honoured and esteemed, as the ordinance of God.

For the second sort which be *Naturall*, arising either from the thoughts of the minde, or the affections of the heart, or the constitution of the bodie: as they are ordinary in all men, in some more, in some lesse: so they vary according to the diversitie of mens thoughts, affections, and constitutions: and by them a man may probably

bably conjecture of sundry things concerning the state and disposition, partly of his bodie, and partly of his minde.

As first he may ghesse in likelihood, what is his constitution, as the learned in all ages do constantly avouch. For when his minde in dreaming runnes upon warres, and contentions, fire, and such like, it argueth his complexion is cholericke. When he dreames of waters and inundations, it betokeneth abundance of phlegme. When his phantasie conceiveth heavie and dolefull things, full of griefe, feare, and horror, it bewrayeth a melancholike constitution. When his dreames be joyfull and pleasant, as of mirth, pastimes, and delightfull newes, his complexion is judged to be sanguine.

Againe, by naturall dreames a man may ghesse at the corruption of his owne heart: and know to what sinnes hee is most naturally inclined. For looke what men doe ordinarily in the day time conceive and imagine in their corrupt hearts, of the same, for the most part, they doe corruptly dreame in the night. And this is the rather to be observed, because though the wicked man shut his eyes, and stop his cares, and harden his heart, and will not take notice of his enormities by the light of the Law; yet even by his owne dreames in the night, his wickednesse shall be in part discovered, and his conscience thereby convinced, and he himselfe left in the end inexcusable before God. Now albeit a man may probably conjecture of the premises by naturall dreames; yet no divination of things to come, whether publike or private, good or bad, can be made by them either concerning persons, families, or Kingdomes. Therefore the common observations of dreames in the world, whereby men imagine things that are to come to passe, and accordingly foretell them by those meanes, are vaine and superstitious, and justly so condemned in the places before named, Deut. 13. Jerem. 23.

Concerning the third kinde of dreames, which are caused by the Devill; It hath beene granted in all ages for a truth, that Satan can frame dreames in the braine of man, and by them reveale his divinations. And it is plainly manifested by the continuall observation of the Gentiles before the comming of Christ. For when Oracles, (that is, answers from the Devill) were in force, men that used to consult with them, and desired to bee resolved in matters of doubt, were to lay them downe and sleepe besides the Altar of *Apollo*, where they had offered their gift, and sleeping they received in a dreame the answer for which they came; and this dreame was framed in the braine of him that slept, by the Devill, and in it the answer was delivered by him speaking at or in the Oracle. So likewise in the Primitive Church, since the comming of Christ, though Oracles then ceased, which were the greatest and strongest delusions that ever Satan had; yet he hath by dreames and visions wrought in

A the heads of many men most strange and curious conceits for the raising up of heresies, to the great disturbance of the peace of the Church. For we reade in Ecclesiasticall stories, that the Maniches had their damnable opinions first inspired into them, and then confirmed by dreames. And in this age the first authors of the sect of the Anabaptists, had their curious conceits of revelation, partly in dreames, partly in visions. Likewise the Familie of Love have their revelations in dreames. For he that desires to become one of that sect, must ascend thereunto by degrees before he can come to perfection to bee an elder illuminate or a man deified; to which estate when he is once come, he hath for his confirmation strong illusions, both waking and sleeping in visions and dreames. Histories of latter times, and wofull experience sheweth this to be true, the Devill prevailing so strongly, that many have fallen away by this meanes, being corrupted by a doctrine meere carnall, howsoever maintained with great pretense of holinesse. Againe, as the good Angels may cause divine dreames from God; and therein reveale unto men his will and pleasure concerning things to come; so no doubt the evill spirits may cause in men diabolicall dreames, and therein reveale unto them many strange things; which they by meanes unknowne to men, may foresee and know. By all which it is evident, that there are and may be as well diabolicall dreames as divine dreames.

C The conclusion then is this: That as divining by the second sort is superstitious, having no ground from Gods Word; so fore-telling by this third sort is flat Witchcraft, directly condemned in the places afore-named, where men are forbidden to prophesie by them, or to regard them.

Yet forasmuch as dreames bee of sundrie kindes, as hath beene said, it shall not be amisse to set downe some notes of difference betweene them, whereby they may be knowne and distinguished each from other. Which point indeed hath long agoe beene handled in the Primitive Church, but hardly determined. For the learned of that age have avouched it a very hard matter, considering that the Devill in these, as well as in other things, can transforme himselfe into an Angel of light. But howsoever the case be hard, and the Devill politicke, yet by light of direction from the Word of God, there may some true differences bee set downe betweene them; as namely these:

D First of all; divine dreames have alwayes had their preeminence above others, that generally they have concerned the weightiest matters in the World; as the comming and exhibiting of the *Messias*, the changes and alterations of Kingdomes, the revealing of Antichrist, and the state of the Church of God. And this may plainly appeare by those which *Ioseph* expounded unto *Pharaoh*, and *Daniel* unto the Kings of Babel and Persia. But in the other sort it is otherwise.

otherwise. For if there be any thing represented more than ordinary in those that be naturall, it proceedeth meerely from fancy and imagination. And as for diabolicall they are not of so weightie matters, nor so hard to fore-tell. For though the Devill have great power and skill, yet it is above his reach to determine of such things as these are, or to fore-tell them without helpe from God.

Secondly, divine dreames be alwayes either plaine and manifest, or if they be obscure, yet they have a most evident interpretation annexed unto them. Of the plainer sort, were the dreames of *Ioseph* the husband of *Marie*, Matth. 1. Of the other sort were *Pharaohs* very darke and hidden, but God raised up *Ioseph* to give them an easie interpretation upon the instant, Gene. 41. *Nebuchadnetsars* dreames were full of obscuritie, and many matters were contained in them, so as his spirit was troubled, and hee forgot them; but God stirred up *Daniel* and revealed to him the secret, so as he remembered it to the King, and declared the true meaning thereof, Daniel 2. 1. 28. 36. Lastly, *Daniels* dreames of the foure beasts, &c. were of like difficultie; but the Angel *Gabriel* was presently sent to make him understand them, Daniel 8. 16. Now those that are caused by the Devill, as they be obscure and intricate, so the interpretation of them is ambiguous and uncertaine, because he himselfe cannot infallibly determine how things shall come to passe, and thereupon is constrained to give doubtfull answers by dreames. And such were not onely the ancient Oracles among the heathen, where he gave the resolution, but the moderne Prophecies given by him to some of his instruments in the latter time.

Thirdly, the dreame that comes from God, is alwayes agreeable to his revealed will, and representeth nothing contrary to the same, in whole or in part: whereas those that proceed from nature, doe favour of nature; and be agreeable to mans corruption, which is repugnant unto Gods will. And those that are suggested by Satan, are of the same nature; the generall scope whereof is, to crosse the will of God, and to withdraw the heart from obedience thereunto.

Fourthly, divine dreames aime at this end, to further religion and pietie, and to maintaine true doctrine: but the Devill, an enemy to God, worketh in his dreames the subversion of true religion, and the worship of God; that in the roome thereof he may set up Idolatrie and superstition. For so much we learne, Deut. 13. where the false Prophet brings his dreame, and utters it, yea, and confirmeth it by a wonder; but marke his end: It was to draw men to Apostasie; *Let us (saith he) goe after other Gods, which thou hast not knowne, and let us serve them*, verse 2. Answerable to which, was the practice of the false Prophets afterwards, who caused the people to erre by their lies and flatteries, Jerem. 23. 32.

A To conclude this point, it must be here remembered, that howsoever there are and have beene distinct sorts of dreames, yet those which are from God, were onely in ordinary use in the old Testament, and in the Church of the New are ceased, and take not place ordinarily. Whereas therefore men in their sleepes have dreames, they must take them commonly to be naturall, and withall know that they may be diabolicall, or mixt partly of the one kinde, and partly of the other. And howsoever there may be some use of the naturall, as hath beene said, yet commonly they are not to be regarded. And for the other which are from Satan, or mixt, they are not to be received, beleaved, or made meanes whereby to fore-tell things to come, lest by this use of them, we grow into familiaritie with the Devill, and before God be guiltie of the sinne of Witchcraft.

B §. 5. The fifth and last kinde of divination by true meanes, is by *Lots*, when men take upon them to search out fortune (as they use to speake) that is, good or bad successe in any businesse, by casting of Lots, whether it be by casting a Die, or opening of a Booke, or any such casuall meanes. I mention this the rather, because among the ignorant and superstitious sort, such practices are common and in great account: the Lot is an ordinance of God, appointed for speciall ends and purposes, but when it is thus applied, it ceaseth to be lawfull, because it is abused to other ends than God by his word and ordinance hath allowed.

C That we may the better know the abuse of a Lot in this kinde, we must remember there be three sorts of Lots; the Civill, the Sporting, and the Divining Lot.

The civill use of Lots, is when they be used for the ending of controversies; the dividing of lands and heritages: the disposition of offices amongst many that are equally fit, the trying of the right in doubtfull things, or lastly, the discovery of a malefactor hid amongst many suspected. By this use of the Lot was *Saul* chosen to be King over Israel, 1 Samuel 10. 21. the scape-goat separated from that which was to be sacrificed, Leviticus 16. 8. the land of Canaan divided among the children of Israel, Josuah 14. 2. &c. the trespass of *Achan* found out; Josuah 7. 15. and *Matthias* chosen to be one of the twelve, Acts 1. 26. and of this Lot *Salomon* saith, Proverbs 18. 18. *The Lot causeth contentions to cease, and maketh partitions among the mightie*. Hereupon the civill use of Lots hath his warrant in Gods Word, so it be lawfully used in case of necessitie, with invocation of the name of God, and with expectation of the event from God, by whose hand and immediate providence it is disposed. *For the Lot (saith Salomon) is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is from the Lord*, Prov. 16. 33.

The Sporting Lot is that which is commonly used for some vaine and unnecessarie end; as

to set up bancke-rupts, or such like. This hath no warrant in the Word of God whereupon men should use it, and therefore is no better than an abuse of Gods ordinance, to speake no more of it.

Now the divining Lot performed by the opening of a booke, or the casting of a Die, or such like, thereby to declare good or bad successe, cannot be done without confederacie with Satan either explicite, or implicite. For the plaine cast of a Die, or the opening of a Booke without beleaving, can doe nothing for the discovering of future contingents. And what is there in the nature of these actions to produce such effects? or where, or when did God give this vertue to them certainly to determine of things hidden from man, and knowne onely to himselfe? Divination therefore by them is to be holden as a practice, not onely favouring of superstition, but proceeding from the Art of Witchcraft and Sorcerie.

And thus much of Divination by meanes of the creatures; and the severall kindes thereof.

Sect. III.

The second kinde of Divination, is by counterfeit and forged meanes, which are none of the creatures of God: whereof one kinde onely is mentioned in Scripture, viz. when Satan is consulted with in the shape of a dead man. This is commonly called *Necromancie*, or the *blacke Art*, because the Devill being sought unto by Witches, appears unto them in the likenesse of a dead body. And it is expressly forbidden, Deut. 18. 11. yea, condemned by the Prophet, Esay 8. 19, 20. who saith in plaine termes, that Gods people ought not to goe from the living to the dead, but to the Law and to the testimonie. A memorable example hereof is recorded in 1. Samuel 28. the observation whereof will discover unto us the chiefe points of Necromancie. There *Saul* about to encounter the Philistims, being forsaken of God, who refused to answer him, either by dreames, or by Urin, or by the Prophets, inquired for one that had a familiar spirit: and hearing of the Pythonesse at Endor, went unto her by night, and caused her to raise up *Samuel*, to tell him the issue of the warre. Now the Witch at his request raised up the Devill, with whom she was confederate, in *Samuels* likenesse; who gave him answer, concerning his owne overthrow, and the death of his sonnes. Which example declareth plainly, that there is a kinde of divination, whereby Witches and Sorcerers reveale strange things, by meanes of the Devill appearing unto them in the shapes or shadowes of the dead.

Touching the truth of this example, two Questions may be moved.

The first is, whether that which appeared was true *Samuel* or not? Some say it was *Samuel* indeed: others (who hold that there are no

A Witches) denie that it was either *Samuel*, or the devill; and affirme it to be some other counterfeit comming in *Samuels* attire to deceive *Saul*: both which opinions are false, and here to be confuted.

And first, that their opinion which say that true *Samuel* appeared unto *Saul*, is a flat untruth, I prove by these reasons.

I. Before this time, God had withdrawne his Spirit from *Saul*, as himselfe confesseth, and denied to answer him any more by ordinarie meanes, in such sort as before he had done. Hereupon I gather, that it was not probable, that God would now vouchsafe him the favour to suffer *Samuel* to come unto him extraordinarily, and tell him what should be the end of his warre with the Philistims: and to this purpose it is affirmed twise in that Chapter, that God had taken his good Spirit from *Saul*.

II. The soules of the faithfull departed, are in the hands of God, and doe rest in glory with himselfe, and their bodies are in the earth, and there rest in peace. So saith the voyce from heaven, Revel. 14. 13. *Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: for they rest from their labours, and their workes*, that is, the reward of their workes, follow them immediately, or at the haeles, as the word signifieth. Now suppose the Devill had power over *Samuels* body, yet to make true *Samuel*, he must have his soule also. But it is not in the power of the Devill, to bring againe the soules that are in heaven unto their bodies, and so to cause them to appeare unto men upon earth, and to speake unto them. The Devills kingdome is in hell; and in the hearts of wicked men on earth; yea, whiles the children of God are in this World, he usurpeth some authoritie over them, by meanes of their owne corruption: But heaven is the kingdome of God and his Saints, where Satan hath nothing to doe, considering that there is no flesh or corruption, to make him entrance or yeeld him entertainment. Neither can it be proved by Scripture, that the Devill can disturbe either the bodies or soules of them that die in the Lord: and therefore the Witch with all her power and skill, could not bring *Samuels* rotten body (for so no doubt it was now) and soule together.

D III. This shape which appeared, suffered *Saul* to adore and worship it, whereas the true *Samuel* would never have received adoration from *Saul* the King, though it had bene in civill manner onely. Whom then did *Saul* adore? *Ans.* The Devill himselfe, who being an enemy to the glory of God, was content to take to himselfe that honour, which a king in dutie is to performe to God himselfe.

IV. If it had bene true *Samuel*, he would certainly have reproved *Saul* for seeking helpe at Witches, contrary to Gods Commandement, and that doctrine which hee had taught him from God in his life time. But this counterfeit reproved him not, and therefore it is not like to be the true Prophet of God, but Satan himselfe.

selfe, framing by his art and skill the person and shape of *Samuel*.

But it is alleaged to the contrarie, that *Samuel* after his sleepe, prophesied of the death of *Saul*, Ecclesiasticus 46. vers. 20. *After his sleepe also he told of the Kings death, &c.* *Ans.* That booke penned by *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* is a very worthie description of Christian Ethicks, containing more excellent precepts for manners, than all the writings of Heathen Philosophers or other men. But yet it is not Scripture, neither did the Church ever hold and receive it as Canonick; yea, the author himselfe insinuateth so much in the beginning thereof, for in the preface hee disableth himselfe to interpret hard things, and after a sort craves pardon for his weaknesse, which is not the manner of the men of God, that were penmen of Scripture. For they were so guided by Gods Spirit in their proceedings, that nothing could be hard unto them. This privilege no ordinary man hath assurance of: and therefore this author writing upon his owne private motion, was subject to error, and no doubt this speech of his, being contrary to that which is recorded in the Canonick Scriptures, is a flat untruth.

Secondly, it is objected, that the Scripture calleth him *Samuel*, that appeared unto *Saul*. *Ans.* The Scripture doth often speake of things, not as they are in themselves, but as they seeme to us. So it is affirmed, Genesis 1.16. that God made two great lights, the Sunne & the Moone; whereas the Moone is lesse than many Starres, yet because in regard of her nearenesse to the earth, she seemeth to us greater than the rest, therefore shee is called a *great light*. In like manner Idols in the Scripture are called Gods, not that they are so indeed, (for an Idol is nothing, 1 Cor. 8.4.) but because some men doe so conceive of them in their mindes. In a word; the Scripture oftentimes doth abase it selfe to our conceit, speaking of things not according as they are, but after the manner of men; and so in this place calleth counterfeit *Samuel*, by the name of the true *Samuel*, because it seemed so unto *Saul*.

The third objection; That body which appeared, prophesied of things that came to passe the day after, as the death of *Saul*, and of his sonnes; which indeed so fell out, and at the same time, therefore was like to bee *Samuel*. *Ans.* There is nothing there said or done, which the Devill might not doe. For when the Lord useth the devill as his instrument to bring some things to passe, he doth before hand reveale the same unto him: and looke what particulars the Devill learneth from God, those he can fore-tell. Now the truth is, Satan was appointed by God to worke *Sauls* overthrow, and it was made knowie unto him when the thing should bee done; by which means, and by none other, the Devill was enabled to fore-tell the death of *Saul*. Where (by the way) observe, that in this case the Devill can reveale things to

A. come certainly, to wit, if he be appointed Gods immediat instrument for the execution of them, or knowes them by light of former prophesies in Scripture.

Fourthly, dead men doe often appeare and walke after they are buried. *Ans.* It is indeed the opinion of the Church of Rome, and of many ignorant persons among us: but the truth is otherwise. Dead men doe neither walke nor appeare in body or soule after death: for all that die, are either righteous or wicked: The soules of the righteous goe straight to Heaven, and the soules of the wicked to Hell, and there remaine till the last judgement: and therefore of the just it is said, that they are *blessed when they die, because they rest from their labours*, Apoc. 14.13. But how doe they rest, if after they bee dead they wander up and downe in the earth?

If it be said, that *Moses* and *Elias* appeared when Christ was transfigured in the Mount; and that *Lazarus* rose againe, and at Christs resurrection many dead bodies rose againe and appeared;

I answer; there were two times when God suffered the dead to be raised up againe; either at the planting of his Church, or at the restoring and establishing of it, when it was rased to the foundation. Thus at the restoring of religion in *Elias* and *Elishas* times, the sonne of the Shunamitish woman, 2 Kings 4.34. and the widowes sonne at Sarephta, 1 Kings 17.21. were raised. C. Again, when God would restore his Church, which was fallen to Idolatrie about the death of *Elisha*, hee caused the like miracle to bee wrought in the reviving of a dead man by the touching of *Elishas* dead carcase in the grave; thereby to assure the people of their deliverance, and to cause them to embrace the doctrine of the Prophet after his death, which in his life they had contemned. In like manner at the establishing of the Gospel in the new Testament, it pleased Christ to raise up *Moses* and *Elias*, and to make them knowne to his Disciples by extraordinary revelation, that they might beleve that the doctrine which he preached was not new, but the same in substance with that which was recorded in the Law and the Prophets, both D. which were represented by *Moses* and *Elias*: So also he wrought the miracle upon *Lazarus*, the widowes sonne, and *Jairus* daughter, thereby to shew the power of his Godhead, the truth of his calling, the testimonie of his doctrine: Lastly, to make knowne the power of his resurrection, he caused some to rise and appeare to others, when he himselfe rose againe. But out of these two times wee have neither warrant nor example, that God suffered the dead to be raised up. Wherefore those instances will not any way confirme *Samuels* appearing, which indeed was not true, but counterfeit and forged by the Devill himselfe.

Now for the second opinion, of those which denie that there be any Witches, and thereupon hold

hold that this was a meere cofenage of the Witch, suborning some man or woman to counterfeit the forme, attire, and voyce of *Samuel*, thereby to delude *Saul*, that also is untrue. For he that spake fore-told the ruine of *Saul*, of his sonnes, and of his army, yea the time also wherein this was to come to passe: whereas in likelihood no man or woman in all Israel, could have fore-told such things before hand of themselves. It was not then any cofenage, as is affirmed, but a thing effected by the devill, framing to himselfe a body in the likenesse of *Samuel*, wherein he spake.

If therefore it be manifest, that by counterfeit apparitions of the dead, Witches and Sorcerers can fore-tell things to come: hence sundrie points of Witchcraft may be observed.

First, that there is a league betweene the Witch and the Devill. For this was the cause which moved *Saul* to seeke to Witches, because neither hee himselfe, nor any of his servants could raise up Satan in *Samuels* likenesse, as the Witch of Endor did. But *Saul* being a King, might have commanded helpe from all the wise and learned men in Israel, for the effecting of such a matter: why then would he rather seeke to a silly woman, than to them? The reason was, because she had made a compact with the devill, for the using of his helpe at her demand, by vertue whereof he was as ready to answer, as she to call him; whereas *Saul* and the learned Jewes, having made no such league, neither he by his power, nor they by their skill, could have performed such a worke.

Secondly, the devill will be readie at the call and command of Witches and Sorcerers, when they are intending any mischief. For here the Witch of Endor no sooner spake, but he appeared, and therefore the Text gives her a name that signifieth one having rule and command over *Pytho*, that is, the familiar spirit: yet when he is commanded, he yeelds not upon constraint, but voluntarily, because hee build's upon his owne greater advantage, the gaining of the soule of the Witch. Where by the way, let it be observed, what a pretious thing the soule of man is; the purchasing whereof, can make the proud spirit of Satan so farre to abase it selfe, as to be at the command of a silly woman. Againe, what an inveterate malice Satan beareth to man, which for the gaining of a soule, will doe that which is so contrary to his nature. It may teach man what to esteeme of his soule, and not to sell it for so base a price.

Thirdly, by this, the great power of the Devill in the behalfe of the Sorcerer, is made manifest. For hee was presently at hand to counterfeit *Samuel*; and did it so lively and cunningly, as well in forme of bodie, as in attire and voyce, that *Saul* thought verily it was the Prophet: which may be a caveat unto us, not easily to give credit to any such apparitions. For though they seeme never so true and evident, yet such is the power and skill of the

devill, that he can quite deceive us, as he did *Saul* in this place.

Seet. IV.

Hitherto I have shewed the first kinde of divination by meanes, both true and forged. Now followeth the second; practised without meanes.

Divination without meanes, is the foretelling and revealing of things to come, by the alone and immediat assistance of a familiar spirit. This kinde is mentioned and expressely forbidden, Levit. 19.31. Ye shall not regard them that worke with spirits. Againe, Levit. 20.6. If any turne after such as worke with spirits, to goe a whoring after them, I will set my face against that person, and will cut him off from among his people. So Deut. 18. 11. Let none be found among you, that consulteth with spirits. In which places the holy Ghost useth the word *Ob*, which more properly signifieth a spirit, or devill, in which sense it is taken in Leviticus 20.27. and in 1 Sam. 28.8. And by reason of the league which is betweene the Witch and the devill, the same is also given to the Witch, that worketh by the devill: and therefore the Pythonesse at Endor, is both called *Ob*, 1 Sam. 28.9. and she that ruleth *Ob*. vers. 7.8.

Now this kinde of divination is practised two wayes: either inwardly, when the spirit is within the Witch: or outwardly, when being forth of the Witch, hee doth onely inspire him or her.

An example of the former way, the Scripture affordeth, Act. 16. 16. of a woman at Philippi, that had a spirit of *Pytho*; which gat her master much vantage with divining. And this spirit whereby she divined was within her. For *Paul* being molested, said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ, that thou come out of her, and he came out of her the same hower. vers. 18. And because the devill is not wont in this kinde to speake out of the throat and brest, or bellie of the Witch possessed, hereupon learned men have thought that this name, (*Ob*) is given to the devill, because he speaketh out of the Witch as out of a bottle or hollow vessell; for so the word *Ob*, properly signifieth.

Secondly, this may be practised when the devill is forth of the Witch, and then he either inspireth her, or else casteth her into a trance, and therein revealeth unto her such things as shee would know.

Of this kinde, though we have no example in Scripture, yet the Histories of the Heathen doe afford unto us many instances of experience therein. One of the principall is the Historie of the ten Sibylles of Greece, who were most famous Witches, and did prophesie of many things to come, whereof some were true concerning Christ and his kingdome, which the devill stole out of the Bible, and some other were false: and all of them they received by revelation from the devill in trances.

But

But it will be said, if the devill reveileth unto his instruments strange things in trances, then how shall a man discern betweene diabolicall Revelations, and the true gift of Prophecie; which God in trances reveileth unto his Prophets.

Ans. In this point Satan is (as it were) Gods ape: for as hee in old time raised up holy Prophets to speak unto the fathers, for the building up of his Church; so hath Satan inspired his ministers, and furnished his instruments with propheticall inspirations from time to time, for the building up of his owne Kingdome: and hereupon hee hath notably counterfeited the true gift of prophecie received first from God himselfe. And yet, though in many things they be like, there is great difference betweene them.

First, divine trances may come upon Gods children, either when the soule remaineth united with the bodie, or else when it is severed for a time. So much Paul insinuateth, when he saith of himselfe, 2 Corinth. 12. 2. that hee was rapt up (as it were in a heavenly trance) into the third heaven, but whether in the body, or out of the body, hee knew not. But in all diabolicall extasies, though the body and senses of the Witch bee (as it were) bound or benumbed for the time; yet their soules still remaine united to their bodies, and not severed from them. For though the devill by Gods permission may kill the body, and so take the soule out of it for ever; yet to take it from the bodie for a time, and to reunite them againe, is miraculous, and therefore beyond the compasse of his power.

Secondly, in divine trances the servants of God have all their senses, yea, and all the powers of soule and body remaining sound and perfect, onely for a time the actions and operations are suspended and cease to doe their duty: but in extasies that bee from Satan, his instruments are cast into frenzies and madnesse: so as reason in them is darkened, understanding obscured, memory weakened, the braine disordered; yea, all the faculties are so blemished, that many of them never recover their former estate againe, and they that scape best, doe carry their blemishes, as the Devils skars, even to their grave. So kinde is Satan to his friends, that hee will leave his tokens behind him where ever he comes in this sort. The Servants of God receive no such blemish, but rather a further good, and a greater measure of illumination of all the powers of the soule.

Thirdly, divine extasies tend alway to the confirming of the truth of the Gospel, and the furtherance of true religion and piety. Such was Peters, Act. 10. 11. which served to assure him of his calling to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and to informe his judgement in this truth, that there was no exception of persons with God, and that to them of the new Testament, all things were cleane, and nothing

A polluted. But the scope of them that are from Satan, is principally the suppressing and hindrance of religion, the drawing of the weake into errors, the ratifying and confirming of them that are fallen therinto, and the generall upholding of the practices of ungodlinesse. And by these and such like particular differences, hath God pulled off the devils vizar, and made him better knowne and discerned of true Christians. And thus much concerning Divination, the first part of Witch-craft.

CHAP. IV.

Of operative or working Witch-craft.

B THE second part is that which consisteth in Operation, and is therefore called Operative or working Witch-craft:

Witch-craft in Operation, is that which is employed in the practice and reall working of strange things or wonders, and it hath two parts, Inchantment, and Jugling.

Sect. 1.

C Inchantment is the working of wonders by a Charme. This the Lord expressly forbiddeth, Deuter. 18. 11. *Let none bee found among you, that is a Charmer.* In this description, two points are to be considered: 1. What things may be done by inchantment, namely, wonders, for I say it is the practice of wonders: 2. by what meanes these wonders are wrought, that is, by a Charme.

Inchantment.

D For the first: The wonders done by Inchanters are, 1. The raising of stormes and tempests; windes and weather, by sea and by land: 2. The poysoning of the ayre: 3. Blasting of corne: 4. Killing of cattell, and annoying of men, women and children: 5. The procuring of strange passions and torments in mens bodies and other creatures, with the curing of the same: 6. Casting out of devils. These and such like things Inchanters can doe by their Charmes. And for prooffe hereof, we have the uniforme consent of all ages, with the records of Witches confessions to manifest the same; besides the testimony of experience in this age: so as the man that calls it into question, may as well doubt of the Sunne shining at noone day.

Yet for the further declaration thereof we will alleage what the Scripture saith in this point. Salomon saith, *If the Serpent bite where hee is not charmed, no better is a babler,* Eccles. 10. 11. thus the words are in our English translation: but they may better be thus read according to the original: *If the Serpent bite before he be charmed, what profit hath the master of the tongue thereby, that is, the Charmer.* And so they beate

bear this sense. If the inchanter bee bitten, before the serpent bee charmed, then hee hath no benefit by his charme. For Salomon in that place giveth us to understand, what power inchanters have, and what they may doe by their charmes, if they come in time, namely, stay the poison of the serpent, so as he cannot hurt, either by biting or stinging. When *Balac* intended evil against *Israel*, he hired *Balaam* to curse them, Num. 22. 6. Now this *Balaam* was an inchanting Witch; for though he be called a Prophet, yet this was only in the reputation of the world; for his practice was to inchat by charms of words; and to that purpose hee was hired to curse Gods people, that is, to bring mischief upon them by charming; which thing when he had often and many wayes assayed to doe, and could no way prevaile, but that it pleased God contrary to his endeavours, to blesse *Israel*, then hee breakes out into these words: *There is no Sorcery against Jacob, nor sooth-saying against Israel*, Numb. 23. 23. As if he should have said, I know well that sorcery is powerfull in many things, and of force to bring much mischief upon men, yet it can take no place against the people of God, because he hath blessed them; and whom hee blesseth, them no man can hurt by cursing. Inchanters therefore may upon Gods permission worke strange things, as appears by these places, to name no more.

The second point to bee observed, is the meanes whereby these wonders are practised; these are counterfeit and supposed meanes, not ordained and sanctified by God, which are commonly called Charms.

A Charme is a Spell or verse, consisting of strange words, used as a signe or watchword to the devill, to cause him to worke wonders.

First, I say it is a *Spell consisting of strange words*, because in these enchantments, certaine words or verses are secretly uttered; which in regard of the common formes of words are strange, and wherein there is thought to bee a miraculousefficacy to bring some extraordinary and unexpected thing to passe. A point of it selfe evident and needing no further prooffe, considering it is not unknowne to the more ignorant sort, who are better acquainted with these, than with the word of God. And these words are not all of one and the same kind; but some are rude and barbarous, neither knowne nor conceived or understood; of which the ancienter sort of Charms were wont to be made especially, and some later. Some againe are plaine and knowne tearmes, which may be understood; as the names of the Trinity, some words and sentences of Scripture, as *in principio erat verbum, &c.* Againe, charms that consist of words, are not all of one sort, but some be imprecations, wishing some evil: others in shew have the forme of praises and blessings, whereby the Witch either flatteringly commendeth, or favourably wisheth some good: others againe are made in forme of prayer

A and petition: and they all are sometimes plainly conceived, sometimes in ruder and more unknowne words; as those well know, who haue heard them, or read them where they are to be found.

Secondly, I adde, that the charme is used for a *signe and watch-word to the Devill, to cause him to worke wonders*, wherein standeth the nature and proper end of a charme. The nature, in that it is a diabolicall signe; the end, to cause the Devill to worke a wonder: whereby it is distinguished from all other speeches of men. For all they commonly carry the nature of the thing, whereof and whereabout they be made; but the Charme doth not alwayes follow the nature of the words, but hath another nature in regard of the immediate relation it hath to the devill, to whom it is a signe. Againe, the Charme pronounced doth not the wonder, but the devill admonished by it as by the watchword to doe the feat.

Now because some are of opinion, in regard of the ordinarie production of strange effects by these meanes, that the Spell hath in it selfe some vertue and power to such and such purposes whereunto it is used; I will stand a little in the prooffe of the contrary. That a Charme is only a Diabolicall watch-word, and hath in it selfe no such effectuall power or possibilitie to worke a wonder. My reasons are these.

C First, this must be taken for a maine ground; That as there is nothing in the world, that hath being but from God, so nothing hath in it any efficacie, but by his ordinance. Now whatsoever efficacy is in any creature from God, it received the same into it selfe, either by creation, or since the creation by some new and speciall institution, appointment, and gift of God. For example. The bread in the Sacrament, by a naturall power given unto it in the creation, serveth to nourish the body, and the same bread, by Gods speciall appointment in his Word, feeds the soule, in that by his ordinance it is made to us a signe and scale of the body of Christ broken for us: And so it is in every creature; if the effect bee ordinary and naturall, it hath it by creation: if extraordinary and supernaturall, it hath that by divine ordination: So that whatsoever comes to passe by any other meanes, is by Satanicall operation. Now Charms and Spels, standing of set words and fillables, have no power in them to work wonders, either by the gift of nature in the creation, or by Gods appointment since the creation: and therefore they have in them no power at all for any such purpose. This latter part of the reason, being the assumption or application of the ground to the present instance, consisteth of two parts, which I will prove in order. First, then I affirme, *That by the gift of Nature*, no words of Charms have power in them to worke wonders; and I prove it in this manner.

I. All words made and uttered by men, are in their owne nature but sounds framed by the tongue, of the breath that cometh from the lungs. And that which is onely a bare sound, in all reason can have no vertue in it to cause a reall worke, much lesse to produce a wonder. The sounds of bells and of many muscail instruments, and the voices of many bruit creatures, are farre more strong and powerfull than the voice of a man: yet who knoweth not, that none of all these is availeable to such purposes. Indeed they have power to affect the minde, by their sweetnesse or otherwise, but they are not able to bring to passe a reall worke, either by the inflicting of hurts and harmes, or by the procuring of good. I conclude therefore, that the voyce of man by nature hath no power to worke any wonders.

II. Againe, every thing which hurteth or affecteth another, must necessarily touch the thing which it hurteth or affecteth. For it is a granted rule in nature, that every agent worketh upon the patient by touching: but words uttered in Charms are commonly made of things absent, and therefore though it should be granted, that they had the power of touching a substance (which they cannot have) yet of themselves they are not availeable to bring upon things absent either good or evill.

III. Moreover, if words conceived in Charms and Spels have any such power as is pretended, why should not every word that any man speaketh have the same power, inasmuch as all words are of the same nature, being only sounds framed in the breast, and uttered of the tongue in letters and syllables? But experience teacheth, that the same word spoken by another, hath not the same vertue; For the Charme uttered by the Charmer himselfe, will take effect, but being spoken in the same manner by another man, that is no Inchanter, maketh to no purpose, for nothing is effected by it.

IV. That which is in nature nothing but a bare signification, cannot serve to worke a wonder, and this is the nature of all words; for as they be framed of mans breath, they are naturall, but yet in regard of forme and articulation they are artificiall and significant, and the use of them in every language is, to signifie that which the author thereof intended; for the first significations of words, depended upon the will and pleasure of man that framed and invented them. Being therefore invented onely to shew or signifie some thing, it remains that neither in nature nor proper use, they can be applied to the producing of wonderful and strange effects. Thus the former part of the assumption is cleared.

In the second place I affirme, that the words of Charmers have not this power in them, By any speciall gift, blessing, or appointment of God, since the creation, which is the other part of the assumption. And I shew it thus: whatsoever

A is powerfull and effectuall to any end or purpose, by Gods gift, blessing, or appointment, the same is commanded in his Word to be used; and hath also a promise of blessing annexed to the right use thereof. To use the instance before made for explanation sake. The bread in the Lords supper, hath this power and property given it by Christ, to seale and signifie unto every beleeving receiver the body of Christ; and by this property given it, it is availeable to this purpose; though it bee a thing above the common and naturall use of bread; and thereupon we have warrant from Christs owne commandement, ordinance, and example, so to use it. But in the whole body of the Scripture, there is not the like commandement to use the words of Charms for the effecting of wonders, much lesse the like promise of blessing upon the same so used: therefore the conclusion is, that God hath given no such power unto them in speciall.

B If it be asked then, what they are, and where-to they serve? I answer, they are no better than the devils sacraments and watchwords, to cause him to doe some strange worke. For the inchanter hath relation in his minde to the Devill, whose help he hath at hand by covenant either open or secret; or at least some superstitious opinion of the force of the words, which is a preparation to a covenant.

C The truth of this doctrine, howsoever it bee thus made manifest, yet it findes not generall entertainment at all mens hands. For there are and have beene some learned men; in all ages, who maintained the contrary, both by word and writing; and namely, that there is great vertue and power in words pronounced in time and place, to effect strange things. For prooffe whereof they alleage these reasons:

D First, that the bare conceit and imagination of man is of great force to doe strange things: and therefore words expressed much more. *An.* The ground of the reason is naught. Imagination is nothing else but a strong conceit of the minde touching any thing, whatsoever it bee; and by reason of the Communion that is betweene the body and soule being together, it is of great force to worke within the man that imagineth diversly, and to cause alteration in himselfe, which may tend either to the hurt or to the good of his owne body: but yet imagination hath no force out of a man to affect or hurt another. A man (conceiving desperately of his owne estate) by the strength of imagination may kill himselfe; but the same conceit, be it never so strong, cannot hurt his neighbour. For it is no more than *Cæsars* image upon his coyne, which serveth onely to represent *Cæsar*: so imagination is nothing but the representation of some thing in the minde by conceit, and therefore as the person of *Cæsar* is nothing hurt, though his image be defaced; so when we conceive of men in our mindes, though never so badly & maliciously, yet all is of no force to hurt

or annoy them, either in person or state.

Secondly, they allege that Witches by malicious and wry lookes, in anger and displeasure, may and doe hurt those upon whom they looke, whether they be men or other creatures. And it is an old received opinion, that in malicious and ill disposed persons, there proceed out of the eye with the beames, noysome and malignant spirits, which infect the aire, and doe poison or kill, not onely them with whom they are daily conversant, but others also whose company they frequent, of what age, strength, and complexion soever they be. *Answ.* But the opinion is as fond, as it is old: for it is as much against nature that such vertue should proceed out of the eye, or such spirits breake out of the nerves to the partie hated, as it is for the blood of the bodie, of it selfe, to gush out of the veines.

Yet for the ratifying of this opinion, they allege that which is writtē in Gen. 30. 37. where *Jacob* laid speckled rodde before the sheepe in their watery troughes, and that by Gods appointment, for this end, that they might bring forth partie-coloured lambs. I answer, that was not a worke of sight, but a speciall and extraordinary worke of Gods providence upon *Jacob* in his necessitie, as wee may plainly see in the Chapter next following, verſe 9. and 11. yea, it was taught *Jacob* by God himselfe; and if it had beene an ordinary worke, doubtlesse the gaine thereof being so good, *Jacob* would have done it againe afterward; but wee never reade that he did it againe. And be it granted it were a naturall worke, yet it cannot prove witching by sight, because the sheepe received into their eyes the *species* and resemblance of the rods, which is according to nature; whereas in fascination or bewitching by sight, malignant spirits should not bee received in, but sent forth of the eye, which is against nature.

Yea, but the Basiliske or Cockatrice doth kill man and beast with his breath and sight, yea, the wolfe takes away the voyce of such as hee suddenly meets withall and beholds, and why may not wicked men or women doe the like? *Answ.* Indeed it is a thing received by common errour, and held of some for a truth; but no experience of any man hath yet beene brought for the prooffe thereof, and therefore it is to bee reputed as fabulous. Thus much in probability may bee thought (if the allegation should be true) that the Basiliske being possessed of a thicke poison, may by his breath send forth some grosse venomous vapours, and thereby infect the ayre, and poison the thing that is nere unto him. Againe, that the suddaine and unexpected beholding of the venomous Cockatrice, or the ravenous wolfe, (being creatures in their kinde fearefull, especially to those that are not acquainted with the) may cause present astonishment, & consequently perill of death. But that this should be done by the eyes of these creatures only, in manner a-

A foreſaid, it is not credible; and therefore authors have upon good ground denied it, as being confirmed neither by reason, nor experience.

Thirdly, they reason thus; Inchanters by whispering of words in Charmes can stay the stinging and poisoning of serpents; for so *David* in effect speaketh; that the voice of the Charmer charmeth the serpent, Psalm. 58. 5. It may seeme therefore that there is no small force in words for the effecting of strange workes.

Answ. It must be granted that the Charmer may enchant the serpent; but how? Not by vertue of the words in the Charme, but by power of the Devill, who then is stirred up, when the charme is repeated, to doe the thing intended.

B The truth of this answer appeares by the words of the text, as they are read in the originall, that the Inchanter *joyneth societies very cunningly*, namely, with the devill. Now these societies betweene Satan and the Charmer, are the very ground of the worke upon the serpent: which worke, upon confederacy formerly made, is done by the Devill, and the words of the Charme are no more but the Inchanters *Item* or watchword, to occasion him thereunto. And let any other man repeat the same words a thousand times, that either is not thus confederate with Satan, or hath not a superstitious opinion of charmes, and all his labour will be in vaine.

C Fourthly, the word of God is of great force in the hearts of men to convert and change them, as it is uttered by the mouth of mortall man; and this force is not in the man by whom it is spoken; where then should it be, but in the words? And then if in the words, why may not other words bee of like efficacy, being uttered by man? *Answ.* 1. The power of Gods Word cometh not from this, that it is a word, and barely uttered out of the mouth of a man; for so it is a dead letter: but it proceedeth from the powerfull operation of the spirit annexed by Gods promise thereunto, when it is uttered, read, and conceived; which operation if it were taken away, the Word might be preached a thousand yeares together, without any fruit or effect, either to salvation or condemnation.

D 2. The word of God is powerfull by the concurrence of the worke of the spirit, not in all things; as for example, in raising windes and tempests, in infecting the ayre, in killing and annoying men or other creatures, but in the conversion of sinners, in gathering the elect, and in confirming those that be called; and this power it hath also by his speciall blessing and appointment.

3. Furthermore, the same word is not of power, when it is barely read, heard, or spoken, unlesse it be also conceived in the understanding, received with reverence, treasured up in the memorie, and mingled with faith in the heart: whereas the bare reading and muttering over the words of a charme by an Inchanter, though

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in an unknowne tongue, in rude and barbarous words, is sufficient to procure the working of wonders.

Now though the word of God bee in it selfe pure, and serve to excellent purpose, as hath beene said, yet by the way we may remember; That as it is with all things that are most precious, nothing is so excellent in it kinde which may not bee abused; so it is with this heavenly word: for it is and may be made a Charme two wayes. First, when some part of it is indeed used for a charme. Thus many Texts of Scripture both in Latine and other languages, have beene abused by Inchanters, as might easly be shewed. Secondly, when it is heard, read, recited, or made a matter of prayer without understanding. And thus the ignorant man, as much as in him lieth, makes it a Charme. For in his ordinarie use thereof, he neither conceiveth nor taketh care to understand it, as lamentable experience teacheth. Yet in neither of these is the very bare repeating of the Word effectual. For as when a man heares or reads it, unlesse the Spirit of God inlighteneth his heart, it is to no purpose; so when it is made the matter of a spel, nothing will bee effected, unlesse the devill either by confederacy, or superstitious conceit be drawne to conferre his helpe in the point, for his owne advantage.

Howbeit, of all inchantments these are the most dishonourable to God, most acceptable to Satan, and most hurtfull to the Charmer, which are made of the Scriptures. For beside the sinne of Witch-craft in the Charming, this inconvenience insueth, that Satan procureth more credit to one of these, than to twentie other, because the words are Scripture; hereby cloking his mischievous practices under the colour of holinesse, and so confirming the truth of that which the holy Ghost saith, that when hee worketh most deceitfully, hee *transformes himselfe into an Angel of light*, 2 Cor. 11. 14. He knoweth well, that ordinary words seeme nothing to some men, therefore hee teacheth and suggesteth phrases and sentences out of the Word, for such ungodly ends, that even the grace of them fetched from the Scriptures, may make them seeme powerfull. Wherefore let every one that is indued with grace and knowledge, duely consider this with himselfe. Can not Gods word be effectual, when it is used to edification, unlesse the worke of his owne spirit accompany the same? then surely it is impossible, that the same which is holy, being used to an evill end, should bee powerfull, except the Devill affordeth his helpe for the effecting thereof. To conclude therefore; let men say what they will, the truth is this, that words of inchantment, bee they never so holy or prophane, either by way of cursing or blessing, have no power of themselves to the producing of strange workes; but are (as hath beene said) onely diabolicall signes, admonishing the devill of some wickednesse intended and desired,

A which hee through his power must cause to be done.

And thus much of inchantment standing upon the practice of wonders by a Charme.

To this head of Inchantment, sundry other practices of Witches are to bee referred, the chiefe whereof are these.

First, the using and making of Characters, Images, or Figures, specially the framing of Circles, for this end to work wonders by them. As to draw the picture of a childe, or man, or other creature in clay or wax, and to bury the same in the ground; or to hide it in some secret place, or to burne it in the fire, thereby intending to hurt or kill the party resembled. Again, to make an impression into the said picture, by B pricking or gashing the heart or any other place with inteat to procure dangerous or deadly paines to the same parts. This is a meere practice of Inchantment, and the making of the image, and using of it to this end, is in vertue a charme, though no words bee used. For the bare picture hath no more power of it selfe to hurt the bodie represented, than bare words. All that is done cometh by the worke of the Devill, who alone by the using of the picture in that sort is occasioned so or so, to worke the parties destruction.

Secondly, hither we may referre the using of Amulets, that is, remedies and preservatives against inchantments, forceries, and bewitchings; made of herbes or some such things, and hanged about the necke for that end.

C Thirdly, the using of Exorcismes, that is, certaine set formes of words used in way of adjuration for some extraordinary end. A practice ushall in the Church of Rome, whereby the Priest conjures the salt, holy-water, cream, spittle, oyle, palmes, &c. all which are in truth meere inchantments. For howsoever the Council of Trent hath ratified them by their decrees, and so commended them to generall use within the compasse of the Popish Church; yet they have in them no power or ability of blessing or cursing, either by nature or Gods appointment.

D Fourthly, In this number wee reckon the using of the name *Iesus*, to drive away the devil or to prevent Witch-craft; a common practice among the ignorant. Wherein the wonderfull malice of Satan bewraies it selfe, in making the ignorant people think that Christ is a conjurer, and that there is vertue in the naming of his name, to doe some strange thing. Whereas the truth is, he careth neither for that name, nor for all the names of God, if a man goes no further than the bare repeating of them; but rather delighteth to see them so abused and disgraced.

And hereupon it is, that in all conjurations, when he is raised by the Sorcerer, he is willing to bee adjured by all the holy names of God that are in the Scripture, to the end that hee may the more deeply seduce his owne instruments, and make them to thinke that these ho-

ly names will bind him, and force him to yeeld unto their desires in the particular, when indeed there is no such matter. Which point thoroughly considered, may admonish us to take speciall heed of these cunning gloses and devilish insinuations, whereby he intendeth to delude us; alway remembering, that the Apostles themselves, to whom the power of working miracles was given, did never acknowledge the worke to be done by the name of *Iesus*, but as *S. Peter* affirmeth, *through faith in his name*, *Act. 3. 6. 16.*

Fifthly, the crossing of the bodie, to this end, that we may be blessed from the devil. A thing usuall even of latter times, specially in Poperie; wherein the crosse carrieth the very nature of a Charme, and the use of it in this manner, a practice of Inchantment. For God hath given no such vertue to a crosse, either by creation, or speciall privilege and appointment.

Sixthly, the scratching of a Witch to discover the Witch. For it is a meanes which hath no warrant or power thereunto, either by the word of God, or from nature, but onely from the devill; who if hee yeeldeth either at crossing, or scratching, he doth it willingly, and not by compulsion, that hee may feed his instrument with a false faith, and a superstitious conceit, to the dishonour of God, and their owne overthrow. In a word, looke whatsoever actions, gestures, signes, rites, and ceremonies are used by men or women to worke wonders, having no power to effect the same, either by creation and nature, or by speciall appointment from God, they must all bee referred to this head, and reckoned for Charmes.

The Use. Now considering that all kinds of Charmes are the Devils watchwords to cause him to worke the wonder, and have no vertue in them, be the words wherein they are conceived never so good: hereby wee must be admonished, to take heed of the use of them, and all other unlawfull ceremonies, both in respect of their formes, be they praises or prayers, or imprecations; as also in regard of their ends, bee they never so good in outward appearance. But alas! the more lamentable is the case, Charming is in as great request as Physicke, and Charmers more sought unto, than Physicians in time of need. There be Charmes for all conditions and ages of men, for divers kindes of creatures, yea, for every disease; as for head-ach, tooth-ach, stiches, and such like. Nevertheless, howsoever some have subjected themselves to such base and ungodly meanes, yet the use hereof by the mercy of God, hath not beene universall. And those that have sought for helpe, are to be advised in the feare of God, to repent of this their sinne, and to take a better course. Let them rightly consider, that they have hitherto depended upon Satan for helpe, and consequently have dishonoured God, and renounced lawfull meanes sanctified by him, which should not have beene done in

A case of the greatest worldly gaine. For no man may doe evill, that good may come of it.

But they that use the helpe of Charmers, and consult with Wise-men, are wont to alleage something in defence or excuse of their practice.

First, that they for their part, meane no hurt, they know no evill by the man whom they seeke to, they onely send to him, and hee does them good, how and in what manner they regard not. *Answ. 1.* Indeed many be ignorant of the Inchanters courses. But in cases of losse and hinderance, men ought not onely to inquire the meanes, but to weigh and consider the warrantableness thereof, otherwise they doe not that they doe of faith, and so are guilty of sinne before God, *Rom. 15. last ver. 2.* Put the case they themselves meane no hurt, yet in this action they doe hurt to themselves, by reposing trust in things, which upon better consideration they shall finde to bee dishonourable, and therefore hatefull to God.

Secondly, they alleage; we goe to the Physician for counsell, we take his *Recipe*. but wee know not what it meaneth; yet wee use it, and finde benefit by it; if this bee lawfull, why may wee not as well take benefit by the Wise-man, whose courses we be ignorant of? *Answ. 1.* Physicke used in time and place, is a worthie ordinance of God, and therefore being rightly used, God gives his blessing to it. But for inchantment it was never sanctified by God, and therefore cannot be used in any assurance of his blessing. *2.* The Physicians receipt being a composition and mixture of naturall things, though a man knowes it not, yet he takes it into his stomach, or applies it to his body, and sensibly perceives the vertue and efficacie thereof in the working; whereas the Charmers course consisteth of words, which neither are knowne in themselves, nor are manifest in their use to sense or understanding. And hereby it is plaine, there is not the same reason of Physicke and Charmes the one having a sensible operation by vertue given it of God; the other insensible, and wrought above ordinary meanes by the worke of Satan.

Thirdly, they alleage, God is mercifull, and hee hath provided a salve for every sore, they have used other meanes, but they have not succeeded, and what should they doe more, may they not in extremity repaire to the Inchanter, and see what he can doe for them, rather than their goods and cattell should be lost and spoiled? *Answ. 1.* It were better for you to bide by the losse, yea, to live and die in any sicknesse, than to tempt God by seeking helpe at Charmers hands: for their helpe is dangerous and cometh from the Devill, whereupon if yee rest your selves, yee joyne league with him, and so hazzard eternally the safety both of bodies and soules. *2.* Vie good meanes allowed of God, and when they have beene used often without successe, proceed not to other courses, but

but referre your selves to God, and say with *Iob*: *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord, Iob. 1. 21.* And thus much of enchanting, the first part of Operative Witch-craft.

Sect. II.

The second part is Jugling. *Jugling, is the deluding of the eye with some strange sleight done above the ordinary course of nature.* In this description there are two points necessarily required in the point of Jugling, *delusion of the eye, and extraordinary sleight.*

Delusion is then performed, when a man is made to thinke hee sees that which indeed hee sees not. And this is done by operation of the devill diversly, but especially three wayes. First by corrupting the humour of the eye, which is the next instrument of sight. Secondly, by altering the ayre, which is the meane by which the object or *species* is carried to the eye. Thirdly, by altering and changing the object, that is, the thing scene, or whereon a man looketh.

This deluding of the sense is noted by *Paul, Gal. 3. 1. O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you,* where the spirit of God useth a word borrowed from this kind of forcerers, which in full meaning signifieth thus much: who hath deluded your eyes, and caused you to thinke you see that which you see not. As if he should have said, Looke as the Jugler by his devillish art, deludeth the outward eye, and maketh men thinke they see that, which indeed they doe not: Even so the false Apostles, by their erroneous doctrine, have deluded the eyes of your mindes, and have caused you *Galatians* to judge that to bee the Word of God, which is not, and that to bee truth, which is error and falshood. *Paul* gives us to understand by the very phrase used, that there is such a kinde of Jugling, as is able to deceive the eye. For otherwise his comparison would not hold.

The second thing required in Jugling, is a *sleight done above the order and course of nature.* This is the point which maketh these conveiances to bee Witch-craft. For if they were within the compasse of nature, they could not be rightly tearmed and reputed Sorceries: considering that divers men by reason of the agilitie of their bodies, and sleight of their hands, are able to worke divers feats, which seeme strange to the beholders, and yet not meddle with Witchcraft. Againe, some by the lawfull art of Opticks, may shew strange and admirable things, by meanes of light and darknesse, and yet may be free from imputation of Magicall workes; because they keepe themselves wholly within the power & practice of nature. But sleights done in Jugling ouer and above delusion, must passe the ordinary bounds and precincts of nature, and so are made points of Witchcraft. One memorable example, for the clearer manifestation of this point, wee have in the Scripture, by name in the 7. 8. and 9. Chap-

ters of Exodus, where *Moses and Aaron,* wrought wonders before *Pharaoh,* turning the rod into a serpent, and water into bloud, with many other such like. Now *Iannes and Iambres* (for so *Paul* calleth them, 2 Tim. 3. 8.) the Magicians of *Aegypt,* did worke the same miracles which *Moses* and *Aaron* had done; But here was the difference; *Moses* made true creatures, and wrought true miracles, whereas they did all in appearance and outward shew. For theirs were not true reall actions, but onely Magicall illusions, wrought by the sleight and subtiltie of the Devill, in the practice of Jugling.

And because some thinke, that the Serpents and frogges caused by the Magicians, were true creatures, and all their other workes as really and truly done as those which *Moses* and *Aaron* did, I will here stand a little to shew and prove the contrary, that they were onely in shew and appearance, and not in deed and truth.

First then, if the frogs and Serpents caused by *Iannes* and *Iambres* were true creatures indeed, and their other sleights true and reall workes; then they were made and caused either by the devill, or by God himselfe; (for no man of himselfe can make a rodde to become a true serpent.) But this was done neither by the devill nor by God, as shall appeare in the sequel.

They there not done by the Devill; because the devill cannot make a true creature, either serpent or frog.

How doth that appeare? *Ans.* To make a true creature of any sort, by producing the same out of the causes, is a worke serving to continue the creation, and is indeed a kinde of creation. Now the Devill as hee cannot create a thing at the first, so hee is not able to continue the same by a new creation; that being a property belonging to God onely. For better conceiving hereof, wee must know, that God createth two wayes; either primarily in the beginning, when hee made all things of nothing Gen. 1. 1. or secondarily, in the government of the world, when hee produceth a true creature in a true miracle; yet not making it of nothing (as hee did in the beginning) but producing it by ministring and informing the matter immediately by himselfe, without the aid of ordinary meanes and instruments appointed after the creation. The former is creation properly called, the latter a continuance thereof. Both these God hath reserved to himselfe, as incommunicable to any creature. As for the succession and propagation of creatures in their kindes, as of men, beasts, birds, fishes, &c. it is onely a continuation of the creatures in their kindes, and is wrought by ordinary meanes of generation; but is no continuance of the worke of the creation. And the Devill by his power may make counterfeites of the true creatures of God, but neither by creating them, nor by continuing their creation; these two being workes pecu-

liar and proper to the Deity alone.

Againe, if the devill could turne a rodde into a true serpent, and water into bloud indeed, then his power should bee equall to the power of the Sonne of God himselfe. For the first miracle that hee wrought, was the turning of water into Wine, John 2. And that was no greater a worke, than the turning of water into bloud, or a rodde into a Serpent. But this were most horrible blasphemie, to match the Devill with the Sonne of God, and his finite power with the power of the God-head, by which miracles are wrought. And the truth is, Satan can worke no true miracles; neither doth the text import, that the Magicians did that which they did by miracle, but by inchantment and Sorcery, Exod. 7. 11. 22. and 8. 7.

In the second place, I affirme that God did not create these creatures, or cause the workes of the Magicians to bee effected. And this is proved by the words of *Paul*, 2 Tim. 3. 8. who saith that *Iannes* and *Iambres* (which did these workes) withstood *Moses* and *Aaron*, whom God had sent, and by whom he wrought. If then God had wrought with the Magicians also, he should have bene against himselfe, yea, he should have wrought both wayes, for himselfe, and against himselfe, and consequently should have impeached his owne glory, for the manifestation whereof hee wrought miracles by *Moses* and *Aaron*; which we may not once thinke of God. Seeing therefore that these Serpents, if they were true creatures, were not created either by Satan, because hee could not, or by God himselfe, because hee would not; it must needs remaine, that they, and all other the Magicians workes, were meere illusions, and not otherwise.

Yet for the further clearing of the matter in hand: the text it selfe yeeldeth sundry reasons, to prove that these acts of the forcerers were but appearances, and not things really produced.

First, they that cannot doe a lesser thing, cannot possibly doe a greater. Now *Moses* sheweth that the Egyptian Inchanters could not doe a lesser thing, than the turning of rods into true serpents, or waters into bloud. For they could not by all their power and skill, preserve themselves from the plagues of Egypt, as the botch, and other judgements, Exod. 9. 11. which was a more easie thing, than to make or change a creature. Nay, they were not able to bring forth lice by their Inchantment, which seemeth to bee the least miracle, but acknowledged that to bee the finger of God, Exod. 8. 18, 19.

Secondly, the text saith, that *Aarons* serpent devoured their serpents, Exod. 7. 12. hence it followes, that theirs could not be true creatures: For in all likelihood they were all of the same kind, and of like quantity, at least in shew. And it was never seene, that one creature should receive into it selfe another creature of equall

A bignesse, with preservation of it selfe. Neither hath it been observed ordinarily, that one creature should devoure another of the same kinde. It was therefore a worke of Gods secret power in the true serpent, wherby he would shew that the other were not true and reall, but formall and imaginari.

Thirdly, if the Magicians had bene able to have made true frogges and serpents, then by the same power they might have removed those which *Moses* brought; for the like ability is required in both: yet this they could not doe, but were faine to intreat *Moses*, to pray for their removall. So saith the text, *Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said, Pray, &c.* Exod. 8. 8.

B Lastly, the frogges which *Moses* caused when they were removed, being gathered on heapes, caused great corruption, and the whole land stanke of them, Exod. 8. 14. Againe, the water turned into bloud, made the fish in the river to die, and the water to stink, so that the Egyptians could not drinke of the water of the river, Exod. 7. 21. But we read of no such effect of the frogges and waters of the Inchanters, which doubtlesse would have followed as well as the other, if both had been true and reall creatures. It remaines therefore that these were but meere appearances and jugling tricks, and the forcerers themselves Juglers, yea, all their workes but sleights, caused by the power and subtilty of Satan, and no true workes, as hath bene said. Thus I have declared the whole nature, grounds and kindes of this damnable art.

CHAP. V.

What Witches be, and of how many sorts.

HAVING in the former part of this Treatise opened the nature of Witchcraft, and thereby made way for the better understanding of this Judiciall law of *Moses*, I come now to shew who is the practicer hereof, whom the Text principally aimeth at, namely, the Witch, whether man or woman.

D A Witch is a Magician, who either by open or secret league, wittingly and willingly, consenteth to use the aid and assistance of the Devill, in the working of wonders.

First, I call the Witch [a Magician] to shew what kind of person this is; to wit, such a one as doth professe and practise Witchcraft. For a Magician is a professor and a practicer of this art, as may appeare, Acts 8. 9. where *Simon* a Witch of Samaria is called *Magus*, or *Simon* the Magician.

Againe, in this generall tearme, I comprehend both sexes or kindes of persons, men and women, excluding neither from being Witches. A point the rather to be remembered, because

cause *Moses* in this place setting downe a Iudiciall Law against Witches, useth a word of the feminine gender [*measbepha*] which in English properly signifieth a woman-Witch: whereupon some might gather, that women onely were Witches. Howbeit *Moses* in this word exempteth not the Male, but onely useth a notion referring to the Female, for good causes; principally for these two.

First, to give us to understand, that the woman being the weaker sex, is sooner intrangled by the Devils illusions with this damnable art, than the man. And in all ages it is found true by experience, that the Devill hath more easily and ofner prevailed with women, than with men. Hence it was, that the Hebrewes of ancient times used it for a proverb, *The more women, the more Witches*. His first temptation in the beginning, was with *Eve* a woman, and since hee pursueth his practice accordingly, as making most for his advantage. For where hee findeth easiest entrance, and best entertainment, thither will he ofttest resort.

Secondly, to take away all exception of punishment from any party that shall practise this trade, and to shew that weaknesse cannot exempt the Witch from death. For in all reason, if any might alleage infirmitie, and plead for favour, it were the woman, who is weaker than the man. But the Lord saith, if any person of either sex among his people, be found to have entered covenant with Satan, and become a practicer of Sorcery, though it be a woman and the weaker vessell, she shall not escape, she shall not be suffered to live, she must die the death. And though weaknesse in other cases may lessen both the crime and the punishment, yet in this it shall take no place.

The second point in the description is *consenting to use the helpe of the devill, either by open or secret league, wittingly and willingly*: wherein standeth the very thing, that maketh a Witch to be a Witch: The yeelding of consent upon covenant. By which clause, two sorts of people are expressly excluded from being Witches. First, such as be tainted with phrenzy or madnesse, or are through weaknesse of the braine deluded by the devill. For these, though they may be said after a sort to have societie with Satan, or rather hee with them, yet they cannot give their consent to use his aid truly, but onely in imagination: with the true Witch it is farre other wise. Secondly, all such superstitious persons, men or women, as use Charmes and Inchantment for the effecting of any thing upon a superstitious and erroneous perswasion, that the Charmes have vertue in them to doe such things, not knowing that it is the action of the devill by those meanes; but thinking that God hath put vertue into them, as he hath done into herbes for Physicke. Of such persons wee have (no doubt) abundance in this our Land, who though they deale wickedly and singriously in using Charmes, yet because they in-

attend not to joyne league with the devill, either secretly, or formally, they are not to be counted Witches. Neverthelesse, they are to be advertised in the meane time, that their estate is fearefull. For their present ungodly practices have prepared them already to this cursed trade, and may bring them in time to be the rankest Witches that can be. Wherefore I advise all ignorant persons, that know not God nor the Scriptures, to take heed and beware of this dangerous evill, the use of Charmes. For if they be once convinced in their consciences, and know that God hath given no power to such meanes, and yet shall use them, assuredly they doe in effect consent to the devill to be helped by him, and thereupon are joined in confederacie with him in the confidence of their owne hearts, and so are become Witches.

The third and last thing in the description, is the end of Witchcraft; *The working of wonders*. Wonders are wrought three wayes (as hath bene shewed,) either by Divination, or by Inchantment, or by Jugling: and to one of these three heads, all feats and practices of Witchcraft are to be referred.

Now if any man doubt, whether there be such Witches indeed as have bene described, let him remember, that besides experience in all ages and countries, wee have also sundry examples of them even in the Scriptures.

In the old Testament wee read of *Balaam*, Num. 23. who though he be called a Prophet, because hee was so reputed of men, yet indeed hee was a notorious Witch, both by profession and practice, and would have shewed his cunning in that kinde upon the Israelites, if God had not hindred him against his will. Of the same kind were the inchanters of Egypt, Exod. 7. the Witches of Persia, Dan. 2. and the Pythonisse of Endor, knowne for a renowned Sorcerer over all Israel, and therefore *Sauls* servants being asked, could presently tell of her, as we read, 1 Sam. 28.

In the new Testament, mention is made of *Simon*, whose name declared his profession; his name was *Magus*; and the text saith, that hee used Witch-craft, and bewitched the people of Samaria, calling himselfe a great man, Acts 8. 9. Whence it was, that after his death there was a statue set up in Rome in honour of him in the daies of *Claudius Caesar*, with this inscription; *Simoni Deo sancto*. And it is not unlike, but *Bar-iesus* the false Prophet at Paphus, was a man addicted to the practices of Witch-craft, and for that cause was called by a kind of excellency, *Elymas the Magician*, Act. 13. 6. 8. that is, the great or famous Sorcerer. Lastly, the Pythonisse at Philippi, *That got her master much advantage by divining*, Act. 16. 16. And all these used the helpe of the devill, for the working of wonders.

Of Witches there be two sorts: *The bad Witch*, and *the good Witch*: for so they are commonly called.

The

The *bad Witch* is he or she that hath consented in league with the devil to use his helpe, for the doing of hurt only, as to strike & annoy the bodies of men, women, children, and cattell, with diseases, and with death it selfe: so likewise to raise tempests, by sea, and by land, &c. This is commonly called the *binding Witch*.

The *good Witch* is hee or shee that by consent in a league with the devil, doth use his help for the doing of good onely. This cannot hurt, torment, curse, or kill, but onely heale and cure the hurts inflicted upon men or cattell, by bad Witches. For as they can doe no good, but onely hurt: so this can doe no hurt, but good only. And this is that order which the devill hath set in his kingdome, appointing to severall persons their severall offices and charges. And the good Witch is commonly termed the *unbinding Witch*.

Now howsoever both these bee evill, yet of the two, the more horrible and detestable Monster is the good Witch: for looke in what place soever there bee bad Witches that hurt onely, there also the devill hath his good ones, who are better knowne than the bad, being commonly called *Wisemen* or *Wisewomen*. This wil appeare by experience in most places in this countrie. For let a mans childe, friend, or cattell bee taken with some sore sicknesse, or strangely tormented with some rare and unknowne disease, the first thing hee doth, is to bethinke himselfe and inquire after some Wise-man or Wisewoman, and thither he sends and goes for helpe. When hee comes, hee first tels him the state of the sicke man: the Witch then being certified of the disease, prescribeth either Charmes of words to bee used over him, or other such counterfeit meanes, wherein there is no vertue; being nothing else but the Devils Sacraments, to cause him to doe the cure, if it come by Witch-craft. Well, the meanes are received, applyed, and used, the sicke partie accordingly recovereth, and the conclusion of all is, the usuall acclamation; Oh, happie is the day that ever I met with such a man or woman to heipe me!

Here observe, that both have a stroke in this action: the bad Witch hurt him, the good healed him; but the truth is, the latter hath done him a thousand times more harme than the former. For the one did onely hurt the bodie, but the devill by meanes of the other, though hee have left the body in good plight, yet hee hath laid fast hold on the soule, and by curing the body, hath killed that. And the partie thus cured, cannot say with *David*; *The Lord is my helper*; but the devill is my helper; for by him he is cured. Of both these kindes of Witches the present law of *Moses* must be understood.

This point well considered, yeeldeth matter both of instruction and practice.

Of instruction, in that it shewes the cunning and crafty dealing of Satan, who afflicteth and tormenteth the body for the gaine of the soule.

A And for that purpose hath so ordered his instruments, that the bad Witch gives the occasion, by annoying the body or goods; and the good immediately accomplisheth his desire, by intangling the soule in the bands of error, ignorance, and false faith. Againe, this sheweth the blindness of naturall corruption, specially in ignorant and superstitious people. It is their nature to abhorre hurtfull persons, such as bad Witches be, and to count them execrable; but those that doe them good, they honour and reverence as wise men and women, yea seeke and sue unto them in times of extremitie, though of all persons in the world they be most odious: and Satan in them seemes the greatest friend, when hee is most like himselfe, and intendeth greatest mischief. Let all ignorant persons bee advised hereof in time, to take heed to themselves, and learne to know God and his Word, that by light from thence they may better discern of the subtile practices of Satan and his instruments.

B For matter of practice; Hence we learne our dutie, to abhorre the Wizzard, as the most pernicious enemy of our salvation, the most effectuall instrument of destroying our soules, and of building up the devils kingdome; yea, as the greatest enemy to Gods name, worship, and glory, that is in the world, next to Satan himselfe. Of this sort was *Simon Magus*, who by doing strange cures and workes, made the people of Samaria to take him for some great man, who wrought by the mighty power of God, whereas he did all by the devill. He therefore being a good Witch, did more hurt in seducing the people of God, than *Balaam* a bad one could with all his curses. And wee must remember that the Lord hath set a Law upon the Witches head, *he must not live*, and if death be due to any, then a thousand deaths of right belong to the good Witch.

C But the patrons of Witches endeavour to delude the true interpretation of that Law. For by a Witch (say they) we must understand a *poisoner*, and they alleage for that purpose the 70. Interpreters, who translate the originall word [*Mecashpetha*] by *επιμανδς*, which signifieth a *poisoner*.

D I answer: First, the word used by the 70. Interpreters signifieth indeed so much, yet not that onely, but also a Witch in generall, as may appeare in sundry places of Scripture. The Apostle, reckoning up Witch-craft among the workes of the flesh, useth the Greeke word *επιμανεια*, not for poisoning, but for all Magicall arts, as *Hierome* testifieth upon the place. And that it must necessarily bee so translated, it is evident, because in the next verse *murder* is termed another work of the flesh, under which, poisoning and all other kinds of killing are comprehended. And the same word is used in the like sense, *Rev. 21.8.* and *22.15.*

Againe, the word [*Mecashpetha*] which *Moses* useth, is ascribed to the Ichanters of *Egypt*,

gypt in the 7. 8. and 9. chapters of Exodus: and to the wisemen of Babel, Dan. 2. who are also called *casuists* in the translation of the Seventy: and both sorts of them were Witches and Sorcerers. The kings of Egypt and Babylon used these [*Mecashophim*] for sundry purposes, and made them of their counsell; and if they had bin according to this allegation, poisoners, it is not like they would have so fitted the humours of those two Princes, *Pharaoh*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, much lesse that they would have so ordinarily required their presence and assistance, in the businesse there mentioned.

Thirdly, there is a peremptory Law against the wilfull murthurer, Numb. 35: 31. that hee should be put to death, and that no recompence should be taken for his life. In which place all poisoners are condemned, because they are wilfull murthurers. Now if here in Exodus, by [*Mecashophim*] wee should understand a *poisoner*, then there should be one and the same law twice propounded for the same thing, which is not like: and therefore the word used by *Moses* in this text, signifieth not a *poisoner* properly, but a *Witch*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the punishment
of witches.

Hitherto I have treated of the nature of Witchcraft, both in generall, and particular, and have also shewed what Witches are, both good and bad. And now I proceed to the second point considered in this text, the punishment of a Witch, and that is Death.

In the Judiciall lawes of *Moses* (whereof this is one) the Lord appointed sundrie penalties, which in qualitie and degree differed one from another, so as according to the nature of the offence, was the proportion and measure of the punishment ordained. And of all finnes, as those were the most heinous in account, which tended directly to the dishonour of God, so to them was assigned death, the greatest and highest degree of punishment. He that despised the Law of *Moses*, died without mercy under two or three witnesses, Hebr. 10. 28. the punishment of the theefe, was restitution foure-fold, Exod. 22. 1. but the murthurer must be put to death, Numb. 35. 31. the Idolater and Seducer were commanded to be slaine, Exod. 22. 20. Deut. 13. 5. the Blasphemer must be stoned, Levit. 24. 15. And the Witch is numbered amongst these grievous offenders; therefore his punishment is as great as any other. For the text saith, hee might not be suffered to live, Exod. 22. 18.

But why should the Witch be so sharply censured? And what should move the Lord to allot so high a degree of punishment to that

sort of offenders? *Answe.* The cause was not the hurt, which they brought upon men in body, goods, or outward estate: For there be sundry that never did harme, but good only. We read not of any great hurt that was done by the Inchanters of Egypt, or by the Pythonisse of Endor, or by Simon Magus in Samaria. And those divining Witches, which have taken upon them to foretell things to come, hurt not any, but themselves, yet they must die the death. This therefore is not the cause. But what if these doe hurt, or kill, must they not then die? yes verily, but by another Law, the law of murthurer, and not by the law of Witch-craft: For in this case, he dieth as a murthurer, and not as a Witch, and so he should die, though he were no Witch.

B The cause then of this sharpe punishment is the very making of a league with the Devill, either secret, or open, whereby they covenant to use his helpe for the working of wonders. For by vertue of this alone it commeth to passe, that Witches can doe strange things, in Divining, Inchanting, and Jugling. Now let it bee observed, of what horrible impiety they stand guilty before God, who joyne in confederacy with Satan. Hereby they renounce the Lord that made them, they make no more account of his favour and protection, they doe quite cut themselves off from the covenant made with him in Baptisme, from the Communion of the Saints, from the true worship and service of God. And on the contrary they give themselves unto Satan, as their God, whom they continually feare and serve. Thus are they become the most detestable enemies to God, and his people, that can be. For this cause *Satan* told *Saul*, that rebellion was as the sin of Witchcraft; that is, a most heinous and detestable sinne in the sight of God. The traitour, that doth no hurt to his neighbour, but is willing and ready to doe him the best services that can be desired, is notwithstanding by the Law of Nations, no better than a dead man, because hee betraies his Sovereigne, and consequently can not be a friend unto the Common-wealth. In like manner, though the Witch were in many respects profitable, and did no hurt, but procured much good; yet because he hath renounced God his King and governour, and hath bound himselfe by other lawes to the service of the enemy of God, and his Church, death is his portion justly assigned him by God, hee may not live.

CHAP. VII.

The application of the doctrine
of Witchcraft to
our times.

THus having delivered the true sense and interpretation of this Judiciall Law, both concerning the sinne of Witch-craft, and the persons, by whom this sinne is practised; it remaineth

maineth now that I should make some use thereof, by way of application to the Witches of our times.

In doing whereof, foure particular Questions of moment, are to be handled.

I. Whether the Witches of our times, be the same with those, that are here condemned by the law of Moses: for some there be, and those men of learning, and members of Gods Church, that hold they are not.

II. If they be the same (as it shall appeare they are) then how we may in these daies be able to discern, and discover a Witch.

III. What remedy may be used against the hurt of Witch-craft.

IV. Whether our Witches are to be punished with death, and that by vertue of this law of Moses.

Sec. I.

I. Question. Whether the Witches of our times, be the same with those that are here condemned by Moses law.

Ans. If we doe well consider the qualitie, and condition of the Witches of our dayes, we shall easily see, that they be the same. For experience sheweth, that whether they be men or women, but especially aged women, they be such persons, as doe renounce God, and their Baptisme, and make a league with the Devill, either secretly or openly; in which the Devill bindeth himselfe to teach them certaine rites and ceremonies, whereby they may be able to worke wonders, as to stirre up tempests, to reveale secrets, to kill or hurt men, and cattell, or to cure and doe good, according to the tenour of their covenant.

The * confessions of Witches recorded in the Chronicles of Countreies through all Europe, doe with common consent declare and manifest this point. So that howsoever our Witches may differ in some circumstances from those in the time of Moses, as either in the instruments and means used, or in the manner and forme, or in some particular ends of their practices; yet in the substance and foundation of Witchcraft, they agree with them. For both of them have made a covenant with the devil one way or other, and by vertue thereof have wrought wonders above the order of nature. Agreeing therefore in the very foundation, and forme of Witchcraft, which is the league, and in the proper end, the working of wonders: they must needs be in substance and effect the same with the Witches mentioned by Moses. And yet this point is denied by some, and the Witches of these dayes have their patrons, who use reasons to prove that now wee have none such as we speak of. Their reasons are specially three.

First, they labour to take away the forme of Witch-craft, affirming that there can be no confederacy made betweene the Witch and the Devill, and that for foure causes.

A I. In every league and contract the parties must be mutually bound each to other: now betweene man or woman and the Devill, there can be no bond made, and though there could, yet man is bound in conscience to God, to renounce the bond of obedience to Satan, and to breake the covenant. *Ans.* There be two sorts of leagues; lawfull, and unlawfull: in all lawfull leagues it is true, that there must be a mutuall bond of both parties each to other, which may not be dissolved; but in unlawfull compacts it is otherwise. And no man can say, that this league betweene a Witch and the Devill is lawfull, but wicked and damnable, yet being once made, howsoever unlawfully; it is a league and compact. This therefore proveth not, that there can be no covenant at all, but that there can be no lawfull covenant betwixt them, which no man will deny.

B II. Satan and the witch are of divers natures: he is spirituall, they are corporall substances: therefore there can be no league made betweene them. *Ans.* The reason is not good. For even God himselfe, who is of nature most simple and spirituall, made a covenant with Adam, renewed the same unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: and continued it with his Church on earth, from age to age. Hence it appeareth, that diversitie of nature in the parties, cannot hinder the making of a covenant. And therefore if man may make covenant with God himselfe, who is most spirituall; then may hee likewise come in league with the Devill, whose substance is not so pure and spirituall. Again, we must remember, that in making of a covenant it is sufficient that the parties consent and agree in will and understanding, though other circumstances and rites, which are but signes of confirmation, be wanting. Be it then that Satan hath not a bodily substance, as man hath, yet considering that man is indued with understanding, to conceive of things, as the devill doth, and hath also will to yeeld consent, and approbation thereunto, though in a corrupt and wicked manner, there may passe a confederacy, and a covenant may be made, and stand in force betweene them.

C III. Whatsoever the Devill doth in his compact, he doth it in fraud and deceit, never meaning in his promises, as man doth, & when both parties meane not one and the same thing, how can they grow to agreement in any kinde. *Ans.* Suppose this be true, yet it onely proveth, that the covenant made betweene them, was deceitfull, and unlawfull. But what of that? still it remaineth a bargain howsoever: for it faileth onely in the circumstance, the substance, which is the consent of the parties, was not wanting.

D IV. Witches of our times (say they) are aged persons, of weake braines, and troubled with abundance of melancholy, and the devill taketh advantage of the humour, and so deludes them, perswading that they have made a league with him, when they have not, & consequently

* Ioan. Fr: Pic.
Mirand. de prano
l. 1. c. 2. Nicol.
Remigius, Damo-
nolur. c. 1. c. 5.

moving them to imagine that they doe, and may doe strange things, which indeed are done by himselve, and not by them.

Ans. This reason is a meere melancholike conceit, without ground. And the contrary is a manifest truth, that they are not so, as is affirmed, parties deceived by reaso of their humors. For first, our Witches are as wise and politike, yea, as crafty and cunning in all other matters, as other men bee; whereas brainicke persons troubled with melancholy, if their understanding be distemperd in one action, it will bee faultie likewise in others more or lesse. Againe, our Witches know that they sinne in the practices of Witchcraft, and therefore they use subtile meanes to cover them, and hee that would convict them, must have great dexterity to goe beyond them. Now if they were persons deluded, through corruption of any humors; looke what humor caused them to doe a thing, the same would urge them to disclose it. Thirdly, they are also of the same stamp; they take the same courses in all their practices; their consent in word and action is universall. Men of learning have observed, that all Witches thorow Europe, are of like carriage and behaviour in their examinations and convictions: they use the same answers, refuges, defences, protestations. In a word, looke what be the practices and courses of the Witches in England, in any of these particulars, the same be the practices of the Witches in Spaine, France, Italy, Germany, &c. Wherefore the case is cleare, they are not deluded by Sathan, through the force of humour, as is avouched; for such persons, according as they are diversly taken, would shew themselves diversly affected, and varie in their speeches, actions, and conceits, both publike and private. Fourthly, our Witches are wont to communicate their skill to others by tradition, to teach and instruct their children and posteritie, and to initiate them in the grounds and practices of their owne trade, while they live, as may appeare by the confessions, recorded in the Courts of all countries. But if they were persons troubled with melancholie, their conceits would die with them. For conceits, and imaginarie fancies, which rise of any humour, cannot be conveyed from partie to partie, no more than the humour it selfe. Lastly, if this sleight might serve to defend Witches under pretence of delusion through corrupted humors, then here were a cover for all manner of sinnes. For example: a felon is apprehended for robbrie or murther, and is brought before the Judge: Upon examination hee confesseth the fact; being convicted, the law proceeds to condemnation. The same mans friends come in and alleage before the Judge in this manner; This man hath a crazie braine, and is troubled with melancholy, and though he hath confessed the fact, yet the truth is, it was not he, but the Devill who himselve committed the murther, and made

him thinke hee did it, when he did it not, and hereupon he hath confessed. Would any man thinke, that this were a reasonable allegation, and a sufficient meane to move the Judge to acquit him? Assuredly if it were, upon the same ground might any sinne be laid upon the Devils backe, and all good lawes and judiciall proceedings be made void.

Therefore howsoever the patrons of Witches be learned men, yet they are greatly deceived in fathering the practices of Sorcerie upon a melancholike humour.

But for the further ratifying of their assertion, they proceed, and use this argument: They which confesse of themselves things false and impossible, must needs be parties deluded: but our Witches doe this, when they be examined or consulted with, as that they can raise tempests, that they are carried thorow the aire in a moment, from place to place, that they passe thorow key-holes, and clifts of doores, that they be sometimes turned into cats, hares, and other creatures; lastly, that they are brought into farre countries, to meet with *Herodias*, *Diana*, and the Devill, and such like; all which are meere fables, and things impossible.

Ans. We must make a difference of Witches in regard of time. There is a time, when they first begin to make a league with Satan, and a time also after the league is made and confirmed:

When they first beginne to grow in confederacie with the devill, they are sober, and their understanding sound, they make their match waking, and as they thinke wisely enough, knowing both what they promise the Devill, and upon what conditions; and therefore all this while it is no delusion. But after they bee once in the league, and have beene intangled in compact with the Devill (considerately as they thinke, for their owne good and advantage) the case may be otherwise. For then reason and understanding may be depraved, memorie weakened, and all the powers of their soule blemished. Thus becomming his vassals, they are deluded, and so intoxicated by him, that they will run into thousands of fantasticall imaginations, holding themselves to be transformed into the shapes of other creatures, to be transported in the ayre into other countries, yea, to doe many strange things, which in truth they doe not.

I come now to their second reason. The Witches of our age (say they) were not knowne in the dayes of *Moses*, nor of *Christ*, therefore that law concerneth them not.

To this I answer two wayes:

First, that their argument is naught: For by the same reason the Papists might avouch the lawfulnessse of the images of Saints, as of *Peter*, *Paul*, and others, yea, of *Christ* himselve, because they were not known in the daies of *Moses*, and therefore could not bee condemned in the second Commandement. Whereas contrarily, the Spirit of God hath so framed and penned the

lawes Morall, and Judiciall, which concerne man, as that they fetch within their compasse all finnes of all ages, and condemne them. And therefore whatsoever is against the Law of God written by *Moses*, though it were not known, nor heard of, either when the Law was made, or afterward, is yet condemned by the same Law.

Againe, I answer, that our Witches are the same that were in *Moses* time: and therefore by their owne reason must needs bee condemned by this Judiciall law. For by the records of ancient writers it is proved, that about 1200. yeares before Christs birth, shortly after the Trojan warre, which was 100. yeare and upward before the building of the Temple by *Salomon*, there were the same Witches that are now, as the *Circes* and *Syrènes*, and such like, mentioned in the narration of that warre; as is manifest to them that know the storie.

Againe, 500. yeares before Christ, when the Romans made their twelve Tables, which comprised all the lawes whereby that famous Commonwealth was governed, they made one expressly against Witches, even the same with these of our time, for practising the same things, as blasting of corne, hurting of cattell, men, women and children, &c. And for the time of Christ, though there be no particular mention made of any such Witches; yet thence it followeth not, that there were none: for all things that then happened, were not recorded: and I would faine know of the chiefe patrons of them, whether those parties possessed with the Devil and troubled with strange diseases, whom Christ healed, and out of whom he cast Devils, were not bewitched with some such people, as our Witches are? if they say no, let them if they can prove the contrarie.

The third and last reason is this: Christ at his coming abolished all sinne, and therefore miracles and Witchcraft then ceased also. The Apostle saith, *that hee spoiled principalities and powers, and triumphed over them upon the crosse*, Colof. 2. 15.

Ans. This argument is frivolous, serving as well to justify the traytor, the theefe, and the murderer, as the Witch. For whereas it is alleaged, that Christ abolished all sinne; we must understand how: not simply, so as sin should be no more, but onely in part, in this life, reserving the finall destruction thereof to the last judgement. Againe, sinne is not abolished, no not in part unto all, but only to the members of Christ. Whereupon the Apostle saith, *There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ*, Rom. 8. 1. because no sinne is imputed unto them. But unto Witches, and all the enemies of Christ, sinne is imputed, and not abolished.

To conclude, howsoever much is said in their defence, yet the first part is cleare affirmatively, that the Witches of our time are the same with the witches that were in *Moses* time, in truth & substance. And so much for the first Question.

Sec. II.

II. Quest. *How we may be able in these our daies to discern, and discover a Witch.*

Ans. The discoverie of a Witch is a matter Judiciall, as is also the discovery of a theefe and a murderer, and belongeth not to every man, but is to be done Judicially by the Magistrate, according to the forme and order of Law: who therefore is set apart for such ends, and hath authoritie both to discover and punish the enemies of God and his Church. Now for the Magistrates direction in this businesse, we are to know, that in the discovery of a Witch, two things are required, Examination, and Conviction.

§ 1. Examination is an action of the Magistrate, making speciall enquire of the crime of Witchcraft. This action must have the beginning from occasions, and presumptions. For the Magistrate though he be a publike person, and stand in the roome of God, for the execution of justice, yet he may not take upon him to examine whom and how himselfe willeth, of any crime; neither ought he to proceed upon sleight causes, as to shew his authoritie over others, or upon sinister respects, as to revenge his malice, or to bring parties into danger or suspicion; but he must proceed upon special presumptions.

Those I call presumptions, which doe at least probably, and conjecturally note one to be a Witch; and these are certaine signes, whereby the party may be discovered: I will touch some few of them.

The first in order is this: If any person, man, or woman, be notoriously defamed for such a partie. Notorious defamation, is a common report of the greater sort of people, with whom the partie suspected dwelleth, that he or she is a Witch. This yeeldeth a strong suspicion. Yet the Magistrate must be warie in receiving such a report. For it falls out oftentimes, that the innocent may be suspected, and some of the better sort notoriously defamed. Therefore the wise and prudent Judge ought carefully to looke, that the report be made by men of honestie and credit: which if it be, he may then proceed to make further inquire of the fact.

The second is, if a fellow-witch or Magician give testimonie of any person to be a Witch, either voluntarily, or at his or her examination, or at his or her death. This is not sufficient for conviction, or condemnation, but onely a fit presumption to cause strait examination of the partie to be made.

Thirdly, if after cursing there followeth death, or at least some mischief. For Witches are wont to practise their mischievous facts by cursing and banning. This also is a sufficient matter of Examination, not of Conviction.

Fourthly, if after enmitie, quarrelling, or threatning, a present mischief doth follow. For parties devillishly disposed, after cursings do use threat-

* Homer. Odyss. lib. 10. & 12.

* Sub. tit. de injur. aliisq; delict. c. 9. Senec. lib. Nat. Quest. 4. Qui fruges excaussit, &c.

threatnings; and that also is a great presumption.

Fifthly, if the partie suspected be the sonne or daughter, the man-servant, or maidservant, the familiar friend, neere neighbour, or old companion of a knowne and convicted Witch. This may be likewise a presumption. For Witchcraft is an art that may bee learned, and conveyed from man to man, and often it falleth out, that a Witch dying leaveth some of the forenamed, heires of her Witchcraft.

Sixthly, some do adde this for a presumption; If the partie suspected be found to have the devils marke: for it is commonly thought, when the Devill maketh his covenant with them, he alwaies leaveth his marke behind him, whereby hee knowes them for his owne. Now if by some casuall meanes, such a marke be descried on the bodie of the partie suspected, whereof no evident reason in nature can be given, the Magistrate in this case may cause such to be examined, or take the matter into his owne hand, that the truth may appeare.

Lastly, if the partie examined be unconstant, or contrarie to himselfe in his deliberate answers, it argueth a guiltie minde and conscience which stoppeth the freedome of speech and utterance, and may give just occasion to the Magistrate to make further enquirie. I say not if he or she be timorous and fearefull: for a good man may be fearefull in a good cause, sometimes by nature, sometimes in regard of the presence of the Judge, and the greatnesse of the audience. Againe, some may be suddenly taken, and others naturally want the liberty of speech, which other men have. And these are the causes of feare and astonishment, which may befall the good, as well as the bad.

Touching the manner of Examination, there be two kinds of proceeding; either by a single Question, or by some Torture. A single question is, when the Magistrate himselfe only maketh enquirie, what was done, or not done, by bare and naked interrogations. A torture is, when besides the enquirie in words, he useth also the racke, or some other violent meanes to urge confession. This course hath been taken in some countries, and may no doubt lawfully and with good conscience be used, howbeit not in every case, but onely upon strong and great presumptions going before, and when the partie is obstinate. And thus much for Examination: now followeth Conviction.

§ 2. Conviction, is an action of the Magistrate, after just examination, discovering the Witch. This action must proceed from just and sufficient proofes, and not from bare presumptions. For though presumptions give occasion to examine, yet they are no sufficient causes of conviction. Now in generall the proofes used for conviction are of two sorts, some be lesse sufficient, some be more sufficient.

The lesse sufficient proofes are these. First, in former ages, the partie suspected of Witchcraft, was brought before the Magistrate, who cau-

sed red hot iron and scalding water to bee brought, and commanded the partie to put his hand in the one, or to take up the other, or both; and if he took up the iron in his bare hand without burning, or endured the water without scalding, hereby hee was cleared, and judged free: but if he did burne or scald, hee was then convicted, and condemned for a Witch. But this manner of conviction, hath long agoe bene condemned for wicked and diabolicall, as in truth it is, considering that thereby many times, an innocent man may bee condemned, and a rancke Witch scape unpunished.

Againe, our owne times have afforded instances of such weake and insufficient proofes. As first, Scratching of the suspected partie, and present recoverie thereupon. Secondly, burning of the thing bewitched, if it be not a man, as a hogge, or ox, or such like creature, is imagined to be a forcible meanes to cause the Witch to discover her selfe. Thirdly, the burning of the thatch of the suspected parties house, which is thought to bee able to cure the partie bewitched, and to make the Witch to bewray her selfe.

Besides these, in other countries they have a further proofe justified by some that be learned. The partie is taken, and bound hand and foot, and cast crosse waies into the water: if she sinke, shee is counted innocent, and escapeth; if shee fleet on the water, and sinke not, shee is taken for a Witch, convicted, and accordingly punished.

All these proofes are so farre from being sufficient, that some of them, if not all, are after a sort practises of Witchcraft, having in them no power or vertue to detect a Sorcerer, either by Gods ordinance in the creation, or by any speciall appointment since. For what vertue can the Scratching of a Witch have to cure a hurt? where doe we finde it in any part of the word of God, that scratching should be used? or what promise of recoverie upon the use thereof?

But how then comes it to passe, that helpe is often procured by these and such like means? *Ans.* It is the sleight and subtiltie of the Devill, upon scratching the Witch to remove such hurts, as himselfe hath inflicted, that thereby he may inure men to the practice of wicked and superstitious meanes. And what I say of scratching, the same may be enlarged to all other proofes of this kinde before named; God hath imprinted no such vertue in their natures to these purposes, or added the same unto them by speciall and extraordinarie assignment. That therefore which is brought to passe by them when they are used, cometh from the Devill.

And yet to justify the casting of a Witch into the water, it is alleaged, that having made a covenant with the Devill, she hath renounced her Baptisme, and hereupon there growes an Antipathie betwene her and water. *Ans.* This allegation serves to no purpose: for

all water is not the water of Baptisme, but that onely which is used in the very act of baptisme, and not before nor after. The element out of the use of the Sacrament is no Sacrament, but returnes againe, to his common use.

To goe yet further, another sufficient prooffe is the testimonie of some wizzard. It hath beene the ordinarie custome of some men, when they have had any thing ill at ease, presently to goe or send to some wise man, or wise woman, by whom they have beene informed, that the thing is bewitched; and to winne credit to their answer, some of them have offered to shew the Witches face in a glasse: whereof the partie having taken notice, returnes home, and detecteth the man or woman of Witchcraft. This I grant may be a good presumption to cause strait examination: but a sufficient prooffe of conviction it cannot be. For put the case the grand-Jurie at the Assises, goeth on a partie suspected, and in their consultation the Devill comes in the likenesse of some knowne man, and tels them the person in question is indeed a Witch, and offers withall to confirme the same by oath: should the Inquest receive his oath or accusation to condemne the man? Assuredly no; and yet that is as much as the testimonie of another wizzard, who onely by the Devils helpe revealeth the Witch. If this should be taken for a sufficient prooffe, the Devill would not leave one good man alive in the world.

Againe, all other presumptions commonly used, are insufficient, though they may minister occasion of triall: for example; If a man in open court should affirme before the Judge; Such an one fell out with me, and cursed me, giving me threatening words, that I should smart for it, and some mischiefe should light upon my person or goods, ere it were long. Upon these curses and threats presently such and such evils befall me, and I suffered these and these losses. The magistrat thus informed may safely proceed to inquire into the matter, but hee hath not from hence any sure ground of conviction. For it pleaseth God many times to lay his hand upon mens persons and goods without the procurement of Witches. And yet experience shewes, that ignorant people who carrie a rage against them, will make strong prooffes of such presumptions, whereupon sometimes Jurers doe give their Verdict against parties innocent.

Lastly, if a man being dangerously sicke, and like to die, upon suspition will take it on his death, that such an one hath bewitched him, it is an allegation of the same nature, which may move the Judge to examine the partie, but it is of no moment for conviction. The reason is, because it was but the suspition of one man, and a mans owne word for himselfe, though in time of extremitie, when it is likely hee will speake nothing but the truth, is of no more force than another mans word against him.

And these are the prooffes, which men in

A place and time have ordinarily used, for the detecting of such ungodly persons: but the best that may be said of them, is that they be all either false or uncertaine signes, or unavailcable for the condemnation of any man whatsoever.

Now follow the true prooffes, and sufficient meanes of conviction, all which may be reduced to two heads.

The first, is the free and voluntarie confession of the crime, made by the partie suspected and accused after examination. This hath beene thought generally of all men both Divines and Lawyers a prooffe sufficient. For what needs more witness or further inquire, when a man from the touch of his owne conscience acknowledgeth the fault.

B And yet the patrons and advocates of Witches except against it, and object in this manner: that a man or woman may confesse against themselves an untruth, being urged thereto either by feare or threatening, or by a desire upon some griefe to bee out of the world; or at least, being in trouble, and perswaded it is the best course to save their lives, and obtaine libertie, they may upon simplicitie bee induced to confesse that which they never did, even against themselves. *Ans.* I say not that a bare confession is sufficient, but a confession after due examination taken upon pregnant presumptions. For if a man examined, without any ground or presumptions, should openly acknowledge the crime, his act may bee justly suspected, as grounded upon by-respects; but when proceeding is made against him at the first, upon good probabilities, and hereupon he be drawne to a free confession, that which hee hath manifested thereby, cannot but be a truth. Other points of exception urged by them, are of small moment, and may easily be answered out of the grounds before delivered, and therefore I omit them.

C Now if the partie held in suspition, bee examined, and will not confesse, but obstinately persist in deniall, as commonly it falleth out; then there is another course to be taken by a second sufficient meanes of conviction: which is, the testimonie of two witnesses, of good and honest report, avouching before the Magistrat upon their owne knowledge, these two things: Either that the partie accused hath made a league with the devill, or hath done some knowne practices of Witchcraft. And all arguments that doe necessarily prove either of these, being brought by two sufficient witnesses, are of force fully to convince the partie suspected. For example:

D First, if they can prove that the partie suspected hath invocated and called upon the Devill, or desired his helpe. For this is a branch of that worship, which Satan bindeth his instruments to give unto him. And it is a pregnant prooffe of a league formerly made between the

Secondly, if they can give evidence, that the partie hath entertained a familiar spirit, and had

had conference with it, in forme or likensse of a mouse, cat, or some other visible creature.

Thirdly, if they affirme upon oath, that the suspected person hath done any action or work, which necessarily inferreth a covenant made; as that hee hath shewed the face of a man suspected being absent, in a glasse; or used Inchantment, or such like feats. In a word, if they both can avouch upon their owne proper knowledge, that such a man or woman suspected, have put in practice any other actions of Witchcraft, as to have divined of things afore they came to passe, and that peremptorily; to have raised tempests, to have caused the form of a dead man to appeare, or the like, standing either in divination or operation, it proveth sufficiently that he or she is a Witch.

But some may say, if these bee the onely strong proofes for the conviction of a Sorcerer, it will bee then impossible to put any one to death, because the league with Satan is closely made, and the practices of Sorcerie are also verie secret, and hardly can a man bee brought which upon his owne knowledge can averie such things.

I answer, howsoever both the ground and practice be secret, and to many unknowne, yet there is a way to come to the knowledge thereof. For it is usuall with Satan to promise any thing, till the league be ratified: but when it is once made, and the partie intrangled in societie with him, then he endeavoureth nothing more, than his or her discoverie, and useth all meanes possible to disclose them. So that what end soever the Witch propoundeth, to her selfe in the league, he intendeth nothing else, but her utter confuson. Therefore in the just judgement of God, it often falleth out, that these which are true Witches indeed, shall either by confession discover themselves, or by true testimonie bee convinced. The causes which move the Devill not onely to effect, but to hasten this discoverie, are two principally.

The first is, his malice towards all men, in so high a degree, that he cannot indure they should enjoy the world, or the benefits of this life (if it were possible) so much as one hour. Though therefore by vertue of the precontract, he be cock-sure of his instrument, yet his malice is not herewith satisfied; till the partie be brought to light, and condemned to death. Which may be a caveat to all ill disposed persons, that they beware of yeelding themselves unto him.

The second, is his unsatiabie desire of the present and full possession of them, whom hee hath got within the bonds of the covenant. For though he have good hope of them, yet is he not certaine of their continuance. The reason is, because some united with him in confederacie, have through the great mercie of God, by carefull usage of holy meanes, and faith in Christ, beene reclaimed and delivered out of his bondage, and so at length freed from his

covenant, so as hee hath eternally left them. Hence it is, that hee labours by might and maine, to keepe them in ignorance, and to prevent the usage of meanes effectually to their conversion, by laying a plot for their discovery. But how then comes it to passe, that all such persons are not speedily detected, but some live long, and others die without any mans privitie? *Ans.* The reasons hereof may bee divers.

First, because some one or more of them may belong to Gods election: and therefore albeit for causes best knowne to himselfe, hee suffer them for a time to be holden in the snares of Satan, yet at length in mercie hee reclaimes them, and in the meane time suffereth not the devill to exercise the depth of his malice in discovering them to their confuson. Again, for others, the Lord may in justice and anger suffer them not to be disclosed, that living under the meanes, where they might be reclaimed, and wilfully contemning the same; they may live to fill up the measure of their iniquities, and thereby be made finally inexcusable, that they may receive their juster condemnation.

Secondly, the Devill suffereth some to live long undisclosed, that they may exercise the greater measure of his malice in the world; specially if they be parties maliciously bent to doe hurt to men, and other creatures.

Thirdly, some Witches do warily agree with the Devill, for a certaine terme of yeares, during which time hee bindeth himselfe, not to hurt them, but to be at their command. And Satan is carefull, specially in case of his owne advantage, to keepe touch with them, that they may the more strongly cleave unto him on their parts. But if the case so stand, that neither the partie suspected confesseth, nor yet sufficient witness can bee produced, which are able to convict him or her either of these two wayes; we have no warrant out of the word either in generall, or in speciall, to put such a one to death. For though presumption bee never so strong, yet they are not proofes sufficient for conviction, but onely for examination.

I would therefore wish and advise all Jurers, who give their Verdict upon life and death in courts of Assises, to take good heed, that as they be diligent in zeale of Gods glorie, and the good of his Church, in detecting of Witches, by all sufficient and lawfull means; so likewise they would be carefull what they doe, and not to condemne any partie suspected, upon bare presumptions, without sound and sufficient proofes, that they be not guiltie through their owne rashnesse of shedding innocent blood.

Sec. III.

Quest. III. whether a man may prevent the danger of witchcraft; and if hee may, then what remedies hee may lawfully and effectually use against it?

To this question wee answer affirmatively, that a man may. And for the manifestation of this point, the Remedies of Witch-craft are to be considered. In the handling whereof, I will proceed in this order. First, to set downe the true, lawfull, and effectuall Remedies allowed and prescribed in the word. Secondly, the unlawfull and superstitious meanes prescribed and practised in the Romish Church.

Lawfull Remedies of Witchcraft, be of two sorts; Preservative, and Restorative. Preservative are those, which keepe a man from the hurt of Witchcraft. And these be of two sorts; either such as keepe safe the persons of men, or such as preserve the places of mens aboad.

For the persons of men, there is one soveraigne preservative; And that is, to be within the covenant of grace, made and confirmed in the Gospel by the blood of Christ, and that not outwardly in profession onely, as all those be which are within the compasse of the Church, but truly and indeed, as all the Elect are. And a man is then in the covenant, when God of his grace in the use of the meanes, gives him a true knowledge of the nature of it, and of conditions required in the same on both parts: and withall gives him a true and lively faith, to apprehend and applic to himselfe the promise of God in Christ, touching remission of sinnes, and life everlasting: yea, further to shew forth his faith by the fruits of true repentance, and new obedience. When a man in this manner comes to be brought within the covenant, and is in Christ, he then receives assurance of Gods favour, and to him belong the promises depending thereupon, to wit, not onely of the comfortable presence of Gods Spirit, but of the presence and speciall protection of his holy Angels, to pitch their tents about him, to keepe him safe in soule and bodie, from the power and malicious practices of Satan and his members. The ground of this assurance is laid downe in the word, Psal. 91. 10. *Hee shall give his Angels charge over thee, &c.* And the speech of Balaam confirmeth the same, who when he was hired of Balac to curse Gods people, and had often times assayed to doe it, but could not, at last he breakes out into this confession, *There is no Witchcraft against Iacob, nor Sorcerie against Israel:* (for so the words are to be read, according to the true meaning and circumstances of the text.) As if he should have said, I was of thy opinion (O Balac) that Israel might be cursed, but after triall made, I found by good experience, that I could doe that people of God no hurt by mine Inchantments.

Howbeit we must here remember, that the promise of protection made unto Gods children is not absolute, but admitteth exception, as all other promises of temporall blessing doe, and that in this manner: Thou shalt be partaker of this or that blessing, and this or that curse shall bee removed, if it be expedient for thee: but if for speciall causes, to trie thy faith, and to

A exercise thy patience, I make deniall, thou must rest thy selfe contented in my good will and pleasure.

By warrant of this doctrine, a question commonly moved, may be resolved: Whether the servant and childe of God may be be witched or not?

Out of that which hath beene said, I answer, he may; and that is plaine by the Word. For by Gods permission, the holy bodie of Christ himselfe was by Satan transported from place to place, Matth. 4. Righteous *Iob* was miserably afflicted in his bodie by the power of the Devill; and his children, who no doubt were Gods servants, and brought up in his feare, as their father was, were slaine by the same power. Yea, Christ himselfe testifieth, Luk. 13. 16. *That a daughter of Abraham, that is, of the faith of Abraham, had beene troubled eightene yeares with a spirit of infirmitie, which the Devill caused by bowing her bodie together, so as shee could not lift her selfe up, v. 11.* And therefore whereas some men are of this minde, that their faith is so strong, that all the Witches in the world, and all the Devils in hell cannot hurt them; they are much deceived. This their faith is but a fond presumption, and no true faith. For no man in the earth can absolutely assure himselfe of safetie and protection from the Devill: and if any could, it were the child of God; but *Salomon* saith, *that all outward things may come alike both to the good and to the bad, Eccles. 9. 2.*

C Howbeit in this case there is great difference betweene the servant of God, and an unrepentant sinner. Though the godly man be not exempted from Witchcraft, yet hee is a thousand fold more free from the power thereof, than other men are. For there is onely one case, and no more, wherein the devill hath any way power to hurt him, and that is, when it pleaseth God by that kind of crosse, to make triall of his faith and patience, and out of this case, he is alwaies free from the annoyance of the vilest Witches in the world.

If then this be the onely soveraigne preservative to keepe a man safe and sure from the power of Witches, and of the Devill, to have part in the covenant of grace, to be made partaker of Christ, by a true faith, testified by dying unto all sinne, and living unto God in newnesse of life: wee must not content our selves with a formall profession, as many in the visible Church doe, which wanting the life of faith, doe not live in Christ; but strive to goe further and to adorne our profession, by framing our lives according to the word, that we may have our portion in this excellent privilege of preservation, from the power and malice of the enemies of God, and all ungodly persons.

Preservatives of the second sort, are such as concerne the places of mens aboad. For Satan contenteth not himselfe to have manifested his malice in afflicting mens persons, but hee also enlargeth the same to the molestation of the

the places where they dwell, by infecting the ayre, and such like. The onely effectuall means to remedie this evill, is the Sanctification of the places of our habitation. Looke as we are wont to sanctifie our meat and drink, by Gods word, and by prayer, and thereby procure his blessing upon his owne ordinance for our refreshing: so in like manner may wee sanctifie the places of our aboad, and thereby both procure the blessing which we want, and also avoid many curses and dangers, which otherwise would fall upon us.

If any shall thinke the Consecration of houses and places in this sort, to be a meere device of mans braine; let them remember, that in the Old Testament, besides the dedication of the Temple, allowed by all, there was a Law prescribed to the Jews, for the special dedication of every mans house: *If any hath built a new house (saith Moses) and hath not dedicate it, let him returne againe, &c.* Deut. 20. 5. As who should say, hee hath omitted a necessarie dutie. Now this dedication was nothing else, but the sanctification of them by word and prayer, wherein they made acknowledgment, that they became theirs by the free gift and blessing of God, and further desired a free and lawfull use of the same to his glorie and their mutuall good. A dutie which hath bene performed by the servants of God in ancient times.

The first thing that *Abraham* did, when he came from *Vr* of the Chaldeans, to the land of Canaan, which God gave him to possesse, was the building of an Altar for the worship of God, his sacrificing thereon, and calling upon the name of the Lord, Gen. 12. 8. The same did *Noah* before him at his first comming out of the Arke after the flood, Gen. 8. 20. and *Jacob* after him in Bethel. And they were all moved hereunto, because they knew their comfortable aboad in those places, came not by their owne endeavour, but from the blessing of God. When the good king *Hezekiah* kept the Passover in Jerusalem, his principall care was that the Priests and all the people might first be sanctified, and therefore he prayed unto God to be mercifull to them that were not sanctified, 2 Chron. 30. 18. And as he behaved himselfe in his kingdome, so should every master of a familie behave himselfe in his house where hee dwelleth, labouring to sanctifie the same that it may be comfortable to him and his; lest for neglect thereof, he pull upon himselfe and those that belong unto him, the heavie hand of God in plagues and punishments.

The second kind of Remedies are Restorative, which serve to deliver men from Witchcraft, by curing the hurts of Witches in the bodies of men, or other creatures. In the handling whereof, first, we will consider, how whole countries, and then how every private man may be cured and delivered. Whole Countries and Kingdomes are freed and cured specially by one meanes; The publishing and embracing of the

A Gospell. When our Saviour Christ had sent the severitie Disciples to preach in Jurie, at their returne he gave this testimonie of the effect of their ministerie, *That hee saw Satan fall downe from heaven like lightning,* Luk. 10. 18. his meaning was this; As lightning is suddenly and violently sent out of the cloud, and (as it were) cast downe to the earth by the cracke of the thunder: even so Satan the Prince of the world, that ruleth in the hearts of the disobedient, was cast downe, and his kingdome ruinated by the power of the Gospell preached. In the times of ignorance the devill triumpheth freely without controulement, but the mist and darknesse of his delusions cannot possibly abide the bright beams of Gods glorious will revealed by preaching. The Lord of ancient times commanded his people not to doe according to those nations, among whom they dwelt in Canaan, by practising Witchcraft, or following after Sorcerie, Deut. 18. 9. &c. And that they might be able to obey this commandement, *Moses* prescribed unto them this Restorative, *the reverent and obedient hearing of the Lords Prophets,* v. 18. In this our Church if wee would be healed of our wounds, and banish Satan from among us, who greatly annoyeth a great number of our people by his delusions and damnable practices of Sorcerie; the onely way to bring it to passe is the maintaining of a learned Ministerie, the advancing of Prophets, by whose labours the Gospell may flourish. For the faithfull dispensation thereof is the Lords owne arme and sceptor, wherby hee beareth downe the kingdome of darknesse, and confoundeth the workes and enterprises of the Devill.

The second sort of Restoratives, serve for the cure of particullar persons: for howsoever the gift and power of casting out Devils and curing witchcraft be ordinarily ceased, since the Apostles times, it being a gift peculiar to the Primitive Church, and given to it onely during the infancie of the Gospell; yet there may bee meanes used, and that effectually, for the casting of any person that is bewitched by Satans instruments. Those therefore that are in these daies tormented in this kinde, must doe three things.

First, they must enter into a serious examination of themselves, and consider the cause for which it pleaseth God to suffer Satan to exercise them with that kind of crosse. And here upon diligent enquirie, they shall finde that their owne sinnes are the true and proper causes of these evils. When *Saul* was disobedient to the commandement of God, the Lord sent upon him an evill spirit to vex him, 1. Sam. 15. *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* for their pestilent errors were both cast out of the Church, and given up also to Satan, that they might learne not to blaspheme, 1 Tim. 1. 20. in the same manner was the incestuous person dealt withall, 1 Cor. 5. 5.

Secondly,

Secondly, after this examination, the same parties must shew forth their faith, whereby they depend on the free favour and mercie of God for their deliverance. How may this be done? by heartie prayer unto God, joynd with fasting that the same may be more earnest. In which praier the maine desire of the heart must be absolutely for the pardon of their sinnes, and then for deliverance from the hurts and torments of diabolicall persons: yet not absolutely, as for the other, but with this condition, so far forth as it stands with Gods glorie, and their owne good. For these are the bounds and limits of all temporall good things; of them the Lord makes no absolute promise, but with these conditions and qualifications.

Thirdly, the parties bewitched must patiently beare the present annoyances, comforting themselves with this, that it is the Lords owne hand, by whose speciall providence it comes to passe, and who turneth all things to the good of his chosen. Againe, they are to remember, that he being a most wise God, and loving father in Christ; will not suffer them to be tried above that they be able to beare, but in his good time will grant a joyfull issue. Now when the bewitched shall thus submit themselves unto God, in the crosse, be it that hee (upon some causes) deferre their deliverance, yet they shall not finally be deceived of their hope. For either in this life, at the appointed time, or in the end of this life, by death they shall be eternally delivered, and put in present possession of everlasting ease and happinesse. Thus much of the true remedies against Witchcraft.

In the next place wee are a little to examine the false and superstitious Remedies, prescribed and used by them of the popish Church.

The most learned Papists of this age doe teach and avouch, that there is in Gods Church an ordinarie gift and power, whereby some men may cast out devils, and helpe annoyances that come by Witches. The Protestant is of a contrarie judgement, and holdeth according to truth, that there is now no such ordinarie gift left to the Church of God, since the daies of the Apostles.

Reasons of this opinion may be these.

First, casting out of Devils, and curing such annoyances, are extraordinarie and miraculous workes. For Christ accounteth handling of serpents without hurt, speaking with new tongues, curing of diseases by imposition of hands, (all which are things of lesse moment) to be miracles, Mark. 16. 18, 19. but all these lesser works, yea, the ordinarie power of working them, is ceased: for it was onely given to the Apostles in the Primitive Church, as a meane to confirme the doctrine of the Gospell to unbelievers, that never heard of Christ before. So *Paul* saith, *Strange tongues* (that is, the gift of speaking strange languages, without ordinarie teaching) *are for a signe, no: to them that beleeve, but to them that beleeve not,* 1 Cor. 14. 22.

A And for the same end were all extraordinarie gifts then given. Seeing therefore the doctrine of the Gospell hath bene already established, and the truth thereof sufficiently confirmed by miracles in the Primitive Church, the same gift must needs cease unto us. For if it should still continue, it would call into question the effect of the Apostolicall preaching, and imple thus much, that the Gospell was not well established, nor sufficiently confirmed by their extraordinarie Ministerie, and miracles accompanying the same. Againe, if the gift of working miracles should remaine, then the promise of God for his speciall and extraordinary assistance therein, should yet continue: for the gift and promise goe together; so long as the promise is in force, so long is the gift also: but the promise made by Christ, *In my name shall they cast out Devils, and speake with new tongues,* Mark. 16. was in force onely in the persons and Ministerie of the Apostles, and those that had extraordinarie and immediate calling from God, and it ceased when they and their calling ceased. Therefore if Ministers now should lay their hands on the sicke, they should not recover them: if they should annoynt them with Oyle, it should doe them no good, because they have no promise.

Howbeit the Papists stand stiffely in defending the continuance of these gifts.

First, they say, the Church of the New Testament is nothing inferiour to that of the Old. The Jewish Church before the comming of Christ, was the Church of the Old Testament, and had the power and gift of casting out Devils. So saith our Saviour himselfe, *Matth. 12. 27. If I through Beelzebub cast out Devils, then by whom doe your children cast them out?* In which words hee ascribeth this gift unto the Jewes, therefore it should seeme the same remaineth still in the Church.

Ans. That place of Scripture is diversly expounded. Some by *children* there mentioned, understand the Apostles, who were Jewes borne, and had received from Christ this gift and power to cast out Devils. Which if it be so, it maketh not for them, because they had it extraordinarily. But I rather thinke, that by *children*, are meant the Exorcising Jewes, before Christs time, who did cast out devils among the, pretending an abilitie to doe this worke in the name of God; whereas in truth they were call'd flat Sorcerers, and did it by vertue of a league & compact made with the Devill. Which practice hath bene of long continuance, and is at this day common and usual among the Popish sort. And that there were such Exorcists among the Jewes, it is evident. For such were those *Vagabonds* which came to Ephesus, and tooke upon them to cast out devils by the name of *Iesus*, and *Paul*, Act. 19. 13. but the man in whom the evill spirit was, (so soone as he had adjured the spirit) ranne upon them, and mightily prevailed against them, v. 16. Now if they had done

done this great worke by the power of God (as they pretended) the holy Ghost would not have called them Exorcists and Vagabonds, neither could the evill spirit possibly have overcome them as he did. Againe, in the Histories of the Jewes are recorded many practices of such as exercise this power among them. *Raphael* the Angell telleth *Tobias*, that a perfume made of the heart and liver of a fish, will helpe a man vexed with an evill spirit, *Tob. 6. 7.* which counsell is flat Magick, for there is no such vertue in the liver of a fish. And in other histories we read, that one *Eleazar* a Jew, by the smell of a certaine root put to the nose of a man possessed with a devill, caused the devill to come out of his nostrils, and forsake him; which thing was done in publike place before *Vespasian* and others. This also was effected by mere conjuration. For what vertue can there bee in any root or herb in the world; available to command and enforce Satan to depart from a man possessed? And yet such feats were played by sundry Magicians among the Jewes. Whereupon I conclude, that the meaning of our Saviour in the place alleaged, is in effect thus much; *If I by the power of Beelzebub, &c.* that is, you have among you sundrie Magicians and Exorcists, who pretend and exercise the gift of casting out Devils, and you thinke they doe it by the power of God, why then doe you not carrie the same opinion of me also?

Their second reason is grounded on the promise of Christ, *Mark. 16. 17. These tokens shall follow them that beleve, In my name they shall cast out Devils, &c.* whence they gather, that there shall be alwaies some in the Church, who shall have power to cast forth Devils; if they beleve.

Ans. That promise was made by Christ unto his Church, to be fulfilled immediately after his ascension. It did not extend to all times, and persons, so long as the world endureth, but onely to the times of the primitive Church, and to such as then lived. For to them onely the doctrine of the Gospell was to be confirmed by signes and miracles. And this lasted about 200. yeares next after Christ his ascension. During which time, not onely the Apostles and Ministers, but even private men and souldiers wrought many miracles.

The third reason is taken from experience, which (as they say) in all ages from the Apostles times to this day sheweth, that there have bin alwaies some in the Church, which have had this gift of casting out Devils; and curing the hurts of Witchcraft.

Ans. This gift continued not much above the space of 200. yeares after Christ. From which time many heresies beganne to spread themselves; and then shortly after Poperie that mysterie of iniquitie beginning to spring up, and to dilate it selfe in the Churches of Europe, the true gift of working Miracles then ceased; and instead thereof came in delusions, and lying

wonders, by the effectuall working of Satan, as it was foretold by the Apostle, *2 Thess. 2. 9.* Of which sort were and are all those miracles of the Romish Church, whereby simple people have bene notoriously deluded. These indeed have there continued from that time to this day. But this gift of the holy Ghost, whereof the Question is made, ceased long before.

To proceed yet further, we are here to consider the particular Remedies, which they of the Popish Church have prescribed against the hurts that have come by Witchcraft. And they are principally five.

I. The name *Iesus*.

II. The use of the Reliques of Saints.

III. The signe of the Crosse.

IV. Hallowed creatures.

V. Exorcismes.

I. First, for the name *Iesus*: Thus much we grant, that any Christian may lawfully call upon the name of *Iesu* in prayer, for the helpe and deliverance of those that are possessed and bewitched, but yet with the caveat and condition before specified, if it be the will of God; and if their recovery may make for his glory, the benefit of the Church, and the good of the parties diseased.

But the Papist by the use of this name, intendeth a further matter; to wit, that the very name uttered in so many letters and syllables, is powerfull to cast out Devils, and to helpe those that are bewitched. For when it is uttered, then (say they) the authoritie of Christ is present; that the worke may be done. A flat untruth, and a practice full of danger. For let this be well considered, whatsoever any man doth in this case, he must doe it by vertue of his calling, and have also his warrant for the doing thereof out of the word; which if hee want, and yet will undertake such a worke, he may justly feare the like event that befell the vagabond Jewes that were Exorcists, *Act. 19. 13.* Now the Church of Christ hath no warrant in the word, to use this name of Christ for any such purpose; neither hath any ordinary Christian a speciall calling from God so to doe. Therefore he may not doe it.

And whereas they would beare men in hand, that the said name, of all the names of Christ; and above all other things, is of most speciall vertue; though it be used even by a man that wanteth faith, because the Apostle saith, *At the name of Iesus every knee shall bow, both of things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth, Phil. 2. 10.* and by things under the earth are meant the Devils; we must know that their allegation is weake, and that they greatly abuse the place. For there the name *Iesu*, is not onely a title of Christ; but withall signifieth the power, majestie, and authoritie of Christ, sitting at the right hand of the father, to which all creatures in heaven, earth, and hel are made subject; and by that power indeed (if they had it at command) they might be able to cure the hurts of Witchcraft.

II. The

II. The second speciall Remedie is the Use of Saints Reliques; as their books, bones, apparel, staves, or such like, which being but touched of the parties vexed, are excellent meanes to recover them.

Ans. The use of these things, to the purposes aforesaid, is a meere superstitious practice. For first, they have not the true Reliques of the Saints, as would plainly appeare, if a true Inventory were taken of all such as they say are to be found in their Monasteries and Churches. Secondly, though they had them, yet have they no warrant or calling to use them to this end: for in all the Word of God, there is neither commandement to warrant the use, nor promise to assure any man of a blessing upon the use of them. Albeit they would seeme to have some warrant, and therefore they alleage that which is written, 2 King. 13. 21. of a dead man, who being for haste throwne into the sepulchre of *Elisha*, so soone as he touched the bones of *Elisha*, revived, and stood upon his feet. To this also they adde the examples of cures done by *Peters* shadow, Act. 5. 15. and sundrie diseases healed by *Pauls* handkerchieves, Act. 19. 12.

Ans. These things indeed are true, but they serve nothing to their purpose. For first, the quickning of the dead souldier, came not from any vertue in the corps of *Elisha*; but it was a miracle, which it pleased God then to worke, by meanes of the corps, that the Jewes at that time might bee confirmed in the truth of that doctrine, which *Elisha* had taught them from God, and which before his death they had neglected, as I have before shewed. And it was a thing onely then done, and never since. It cannot therefore be a ground for the ordinarie use of Reliques. Againe, touching the other examples: I answer, that both *Peter* and *Paul* had the gift of working miracles, and having the gift, they might use such meanes for the present to cure diseases. But the Papists are not able to shew, that God hath given them the like gift, whereby they might be warranted for the use of the like meanes: neither can they assuredly hope for successe, although they should undertake to use them.

III. The third Remedie, is the signe of the Crosse, made upon the bodie of the partie tormented. Behold to what a height of impietie they are growne, ascribing that to the creature, which is proper to the Creator. For the power of working miracles, is proper onely to the Godhead. The Prophets and Apostles in their times did not worke them of themselves, but were onely Gods passive instruments, in this manner: When the Lord intended by them to worke any miracle, they received from him at the same time an extraordinarie and speciall instinct, whereby they were moved to attempt the worke. They therefore yeilded themselves to the present motion of Gods Spirit, to be his instruments onely in the dispensation of the worke: but the sole author and producer of the

miracle, was God himselfe. And in this case the very manhood of our Saviour Christ, considered apart from his Godhead, had no power of it selfe, but was onely the instrument of his Godhead, whensoever it pleased him in that kind to manifest the same. Wherefore to ascribe this vertue to the Crosse, being a creature, or the worke of a creature, is to communicate the incommunicable power of the Creator to it, which is plaine blasphemie.

IV. The fourth Remedie, is the using of hallowed things; as hallowed graines, salt, water, bread, images; specially the image of *Agnus dei*.

Ans. Hallowed creatures are in truth unhallowed superstitions. For every creature is sanctified by the word and prayer, 1 Tim. 4. 4. by the word, when God in his word commands us to use it for some end; and by prayer, when we give him thanks for giving the creature, and withall desire his blessing in the use thereof. Now let any Papist shew me one letter or syllable in all the booke of God, commanding the use of a creature for any such end.

They affirme indeed, that *Elisha* wrought miracles by hallowed salt, for by it he cured the bitter waters, 2 King. 2. 21. But the Prophet used not hallowed, but common salt, and that not ordinarily, but only then, as a means whereby to worke a miracle. It was therefore powerfull in his hands, because for the doing thereof, he had power and warrant from God extraordinarily: and it cannot be so in any other, which have not the same gift.

V. The fifth and last Remedie, is Exorcisme, which is an adjuring and commanding the Devill in the name of God, to depart from the partie possessed, and cease to molest him any more. This meanes was used by our Saviour Christ himselfe, and after him by his Apostles and other beleivers in the time of the Primitive Church, when the gift of working miracles was in force: but in these daies (as I said before) that gift is ceased, and also the promise of power annexed to the use of adjuration: and therefore the meanes thereof must needs cease. And for an ordinarie man now to command the Devill in such sort, is meere presumption, and a practice of Sorcerie.

Sect. IV.

IV. Quest. Whether the Witches of our age are to be punished with death, and that by vertue of this Law of Moses?

I doubt not, but in this last age of the world, among us also, this sinne of Witchcraft ought as sharply to be punished as in the former times: and all Witches being thorowly convicted by the Magistrate, ought according to the Law of Moses to be put to death. For prooffe hereof, consider these reasons.

First, this Law of Moses flatly enjoyneth all men, in all ages, without limitation of circumstances, not to suffer the Witch to live: and hereupon I gather, that it must stand the same, both

both now and for ever to the worlds end.

Patrons of Witches except against this, holding that it was a Judiciall Law, which continued but for a time, and concerned onely the Nation of the Jewes; and is now ceased. But I take the contrary to be the truth, and that upon these grounds.

I. Those Judiciall Lawes; whose penaltie is death, because they have in them a perpetuall equitie, and doe serve to maintaine some morall precept, are perpetuall. The Jewes indeed had some Lawes of this kinde, whose punishments were temporall; and they lasted only for a certaine time: but the penaltie of Witchcraft, being Death by Gods appointment, and the inflicting of that punishment, serving to maintaine the equitie of the three first morall precepts of the first Table, which cannot be kept unlesse this Law be put in execution; it must necessarily follow, that it is in that regard morall, and binds us, and shall in like sort binde all men in all ages, as well as the Jewes themselves, to who it was at that time personally directed.

II. Every Judiciall Law, that hath in it the equitie of the Law of nature, is perpetuall; but this Law of punishing the Witch by death, is such. For it is a principle of the Law of nature, holden for a grounded truth in all countries and kingdomes, among all people in every age, that the traytor who is an enemy to the State, and rebelleth against his lawfull Prince, should be put to death: now the most notorious traytor and rebell that can be, is the Witch. For she renounceth God himselfe, the King of kings, she leaves the societie of his Church and people, she bindeth her selfe in league with the devill: and therefore if any offender among men, ought to suffer death for his fact, much more ought she, and that of due desert.

The second reason for the prooffe of the point in hand, is this; According to Moses law, every Idolater was to be stoned to death: Deuter. 17. v. 3, 4, 5. *If there bee found any among you, that hath gone and served other gods, as the Sunne, the Moone, or any of the host of heaven: if the thing upon enquire be found to be true and certaine, thou shalt bring them forth unto thy gates, whether it be man or woman, and shalt stone them with stones till they die.* Now this is the very case of a Witch, she renounceth the true God, and maketh choice to serve the devill, she is therefore a grosse Idolater, and her punishment must be sutable. It is alleaged by the favourers of the contrary part, that Peter denied Christ, and yet was not put to death: I answer, there is great difference between Peters deniall of Christ, and Witches denying of God. Peters deniall was upon infirmitie and in haste: the Witch denyeth God upon knowledge and deliberation, wittingly and willingly. Again, Peter did not upon the deniall betake himselfe to the devill, but turned unto Christ againe, which hee testified by his hearty and speedie repentance: but Witches

A deny God, and betake themselves to the Devil of their owne accord, as is manifest even by their owne confessions at their arraignment.

The third reason. Every seducer in the Church, whose practice was to draw men from the true God to the worship of Idols; though it were a mans owne sonne or daughter, wife or friend, by the peremptorie decree and commandement of God, was at no hand to be spared or pitied, but the hand of the witnesses, and then the hands of all the people must be upon him, to kill him, Deut. 13. 6, 9. If this bee so, no Witches convicted ought to escape the sword of the Magistrate: for they are the most notorious seducers of all other. When they bee once intangled in the Devils league, they labour to inure their dearest friends and posteritie in their cursed and abominable practices; that they may be the more easily drawne into the same confederacie, where with they themselves are united to Satan. I might here alleage that they deserve death, because many of them bee murderers; but I stand not upon that instance, because I hold in the generall that Witches are not to be suffered to live, though they doe no hurt either to man or other creatures, and that by vertue of Moses law, onely for their leagues sake, whereby they become rebels to God, Idolaters and seducers, as now hath beene shewed. Yet notwithstanding all that hath beene said, many things are brought in defence of them, by such as be their friends and well-willers.

C First, it is said, that the hurt that is done, comes not from the Witch, but from the devil: he deserves the blame because it is his worke, and she is not to die for his sinne. *Answe.* Let it be granted, that the Witch is not the author of the evill that is done, yet she is a confederate and partner with the devill in the fact, and so the law takes hold on her. See it in a familiar comparition. A companie of men conspire together in a robbrie, by common consent some stand in open place to espie out the bootie, and to give the watchword, others are set about the passage, privily to rush upon the man, and to spoyle him of his goods. In this case what saith the Law? The parties that gave the watchword, though they did nothing to the man, yet being accessories, and abettors to the robbrie by consent, they are theeves, and liable to condemnation and execution, as well as the principals. Even so stands the case with the Witch. In the working of wonders, and in all mischievous practices, he or she is partaker with the devill by consent of covenant: the Witch onely useth the watchword, in some charme or otherwise, and doth no more; the devill upon notice given by the Charme, takes his opportunitie, and works the mischief. He is the principall agent, but the other yeeldeth helpe, and is rightly liable to punishment. The reason is, because if the Devill were not stirred up, and provoked by the Witch, he would never do so much hurt

as he doth. He had never appeared in *Samuels* likenes, had he not been solicited by the Witch of Endor. He would not have caused counterfeit serpents and frogges to appeare in *Ægypt*, but for *Jannes* and *Jambres*, and other Inchanters. And in this age there would not in likelihood be so much hurt and hinderance procured unto men, and other creatures by his meanes, but for the instigation of ill disposed persons, that have fellowship and societie with him.

Againe, they object, that Witches convicted either repent, or repent not: If they repent, then God pardoneth their sin, and why should not the Magistrate as well save their bodies and let them live, as God doth their soules? If they doe not repent, then it is a dangerous thing for the Magistrate to put them to death: for by this meanes hee kills the bodie and casts the soule to hell.

Ans. All Witches judicially and lawfully convicted, ought to have space of repentance granted unto them, wherein they may be instructed and exhorted, and then afterward executed. For it is possible for them to be saved by Gods mercie, though they have denied him. Secondly, the Magistrate must execute justice upon malefactors lawfully convicted, whether they repent or not. For God approveth the just execution of judgement upon men, without respect to their repentance: neither must their impenitencie hinder the execution of Justice. When the people of Israel had committed Idolatrie in worshipping the golden calfe, *Moses* did not expect their repentance, and in the meane while forbore the punishment, but hee and the Levites presently tooke their swords and slew them, and the Lord approved their course of proceeding, *Exod. 32. 28.* When *Zimri* an Israelite had committed fornication with *Cozbi* a Midianitish woman, *Phineas* in zeale of Gods glorie executed judgement upon them both, without any respect unto their repentance, *Num. 25. 8.* and is therefore commended, *Psal. 106. 30.* Warres are a worthie ordinance of God, and yet no Prince could ever attempt the same lawfully, if every soldier in the field should stay the killing of his enemy, upon expectation

A of his repentance. And whereas they say, that by executing an impenitent Witch, the Magistrate casteth away the soule; we must know, that the end of execution by the Magistrate is not the damnation of the malefactors soule, but that sinne might be punished that others may beware of the like crimes and offences, and that the wicked might be taken away from among Gods people.

But some Witches there be that cannot be convicted of killing any: what shall become of them? *Ans.* As the killing Witch must die by another law, though he were no Witch: so the healing and harmelesse Witch must die by this Law, though he kill not, onely for covenant made with Satan. For this must alwaies be remembered as a conclusion, that by Witches we understand not those onely which kill and torment; but all Diviners, Charmers, Juglers, all Wizzards, commonly called wise men and wise women; yea whosoever doe any thing (knowing what they do) which cannot be effected by nature or art; and in the same number we reckon all good Witches, which doe no hurt but good, which do not spoile and destroy, but save and deliver. All these come under this sentence of *Moses*, because they denie God and are confederates with Satan. By the lawes of England the theefe is executed for stealing, and wee thinke it just and profitable; but it were a thousand times better for the land, if all Witches, but specially the blessing Witch might suffer death. For the theefe by his stealing, and the hurtfull Inchanter by charming, bring hindrance and hurt to the bodies & goods of men; but these are the right hand of the devill, by which hee taketh and destroyeth the soules of men. Men doe most commonly hate and spit at the damnifying Sorcerer, as unworthy to live among them: whereas the other is so deare unto them, that they hold themselves and their country blessed that have him among them, they flie unto him in necessity, they depend upon him as their God, and by this meanes, thousands are carried away to their finall confusion. Death therefore is the just and deserved portion of the good Witch.

FINIS.

