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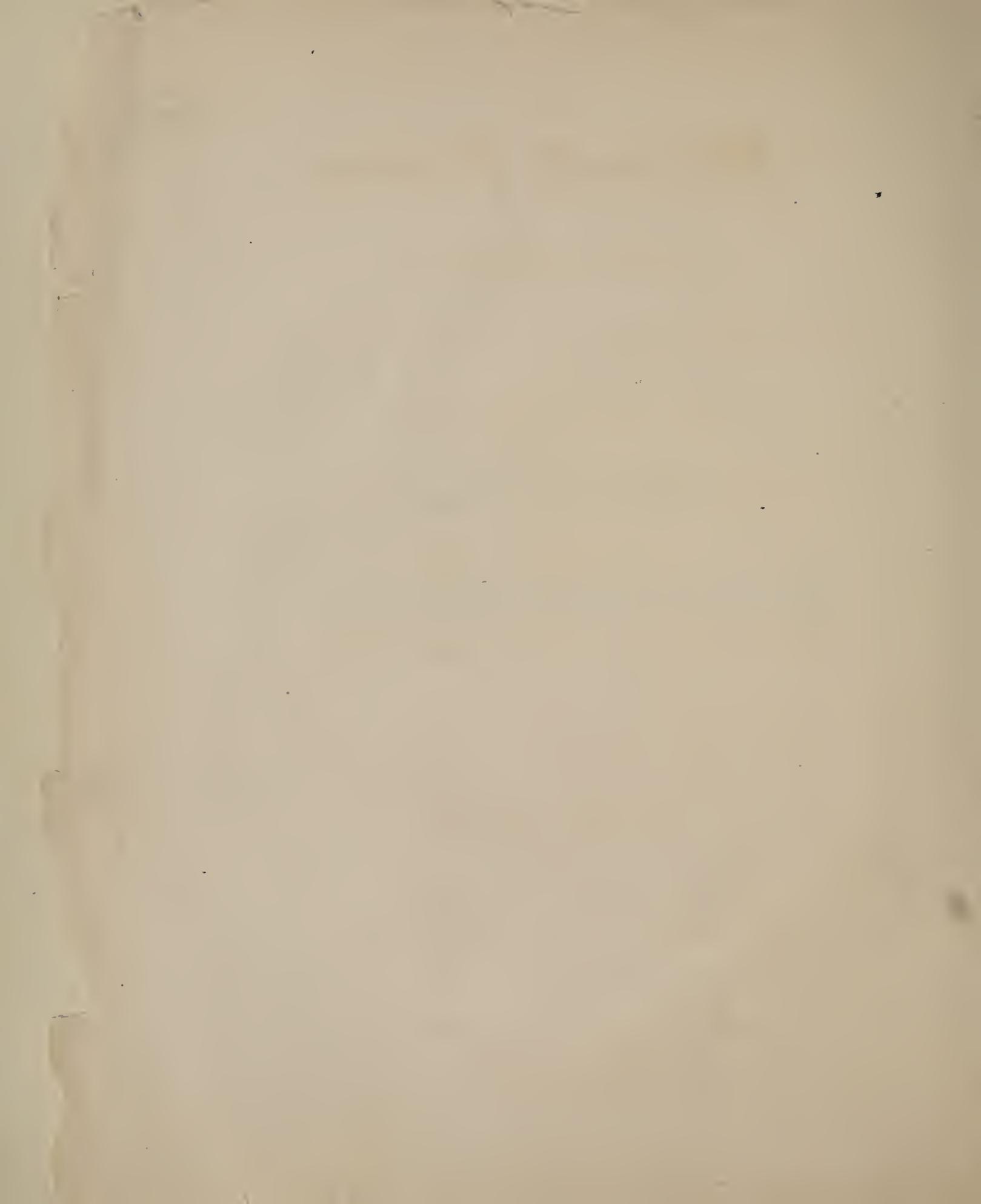
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Woodward's
Historical Series.

No. V.



THE
Witchcraft Delusion

IN
NEW ENGLAND:

ITS
RISE, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION,

AS EXHIBITED BY

DR. COTTON MATHER,

IN

THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD;

AND BY

MR. ROBERT CALEF,

IN HIS

MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.

WITH A

Preface, Introduction, and Notes,
BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

More Wonders of the Invisible World.

PRINTED FOR W. ELLIOT WOODWARD,
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[90] MORE WONDERS

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD.

PART V.

An Impartial Account of the most Memorable Matters of Fact, touching the supposed Witchcraft in New-England.

MR. PARRIS¹ had been some years a Minister in *Salem-Village*, when this sad Calamity (as a deluge) overflowed them, spreading

¹ The following Entry is in the Hand-writing of Mr. Parris on his *Church Records*: "It is well known that when these Calamities first began, which was in my own Family, the Affliction was several Weeks before such hellish Operations as Witchcraft was suspected; Nay, it never broke forth to any considerable Light, until diabolical Means was used, by the making of a Cake by my Indian Man [John], who had

his Directions from this our Sister Mary Sibly. Since which Apparitions have been plenty, and exceeding much Mischief hath followed. But by this Means (it seems) the Devil hath been raised amongst us, and his Rage is vehement and terrible; and when he shall be silenced, the Lord only knows."—*Hanson's Hist. Danvers*, 289. As will be seen, Mr. Parris was made Scribe at the Examination.

itself far and near : He was a Gentleman of Liberal Education, and not meeting with any great Encouragement, or Advantage in Merchandizing, to which for some time he apply'd himself, betook himself to the work of the Ministry ; this Village being then vacant, he met with so much Encouragement, as to settle in that Capacity among them.

After he had been there about two years, he obtained a Grant from a part of the Town, that the House and Land he Occupied, and which had been Alotted by the whole People to the Ministry, should be and remain to him, &c. as his own Estate in Fee Simple. This occasioned great *Divisions* both between the Inhabitants themselves, and between a considerable part of them and their said Minister, which Divisions were but as a beginning or *Prælude* to what immediately followed.

It was the latter end of *February* 1691,² when divers young Persons belonging to Mr. *Parris's* Family, and one or more of the Neighbourhood, began to [91] Act, after a strange & unusual manner, *viz.* as by getting into Holes, and creeping under Chairs and Stools, and to use sundry odd Postures and Antick Gestures, uttering foolish, ridiculous Speeches, which neither they

² It is remarkable that this Case should not be noticed in the *Wonders of the Invisible World*. It is told in Lawon's *Narrative*, Page

3. See also *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 49, where by Parris's Deposition, his Age is stated at "Thirty and nine."

themselves nor any others could make sense of; the Physicians³ that were called could assign no reason for this; but it seems one of them, having recourse to the old shift, told them he was afraid they were Bewitched; upon such suggestions, they that were concerned, applied themselves to Fasting and Prayer, which was attended not only in their own private Families, but with calling in the help of others.

March the 11th. Mr. *Parris* invited several Neighbouring Ministers to join with him in keeping a Solemn day of Prayer at his own House; the time of the exercise those Persons were for the most part silent, but after any one Prayer was ended, they would Act and Speak strangely and Ridiculously, yet were such as had been well Educated and of good Behaviour, the one a Girl of 11 or 12 years old, would sometimes seem to be in a *Convulsion* Fit, her Limbs being twisted several ways, and very stiff, but presently her Fit would be over.

A few days before this Solemn day of Prayer, Mr. *Parris's* Indian Man and Woman made a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Childrens Water, and Baked it in the Ashes, and as is said, gave it to the Dog; this was done as a means to Discover Witchcraft; soon after which those ill

³ None of the Accounts give the Names of the "Physicians." "One or two of the First that were Afflicted, Complaining of unusual Ill-

ness their Relations used Physic for their Cure, but it was altogether in vain."—*Lawson, Second Edition, 97-8.*

affected or afflicted Persons named several that they said they saw, when in their Fits, afflicting of them.

The first complain'd of, was the said *Indian* Woman, named *Tituba*,⁴ she confessed that the *Devil* urged her to sign a Book, which he presented to her, and also to work Mischief to the Children, &c. She was afterwards Committed to Prison, and lay there till Sold for her Fees. The account she since gives of it is, that her Master did beat her and otherways abuse her, to make her confess and accuse (such as he call'd) her Sister-Witches, and that whatsoever she said by way of confessing or accusing others, was the effect of such usage; her Master refused to pay her Fees, unless she would stand to what she had said.

The Children complained likewise of two other Women, to be the Authors of their Hurt, *Viz. Sarah Good*, who had long been counted a *Melancholy* or *Distracted* Woman, and one *Osburn*, an Old *Bed-rid* Women, which two were Persons so ill thought of, that the accusation was the more readily believed; and after Examination before two *Salem* Magistrates were committed:⁵

⁴ She is said to have been a Slave, formerly in New Spain. When arrested and searched, the Marks on her Body produced by the Sting of the Spaniard's Whip, were said to be made by the Devil.—*Hanson, Hist. Danvers*, 273. Her first Examination was on the 1st of March,

1691-2. It occupies four full Pages of Foolscap, and is in the Editor's possession, and has never been published. There is no copy at Salem, probably, as it does not appear in Mr. Woodward's Publication.

⁵ The two Magistrates were John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin.

March the 19th, Mr. *Lawson* (who had been formerly a Preacher at the said Village) came thither, and hath since set forth in Print an account of what then passed, about which time, as he saith, they complained of Goodwife *Cory*, and Goodwife *Nurse*, Members of Churches at the Village, and at *Salem*, many others being by that time Accused.

March the 21st, Goodwife *Cory*⁶ was examined before the Magistrates of *Salem*, at the Meeting House in the Village, a throng of Spectators being present to see the Novelty. Mr. *Noyes*,⁷ one of the Ministers of *Salem* began with Prayer, after which the Prisoner being call'd, in order to answer to what [92] should be Alledged against

William Allen, John Hughes, William Good and Samuel Braybrook were Witnesses against Sarah Good. Allen swore, that on the 1st of March, in the Night, he saw a strange and unusual Beast lying on the Ground, which, when he came up to it, it vanished away; and in the Place thereof, started up two or three Women, who fled, though not as other Women, and soon vanished out of Sight. It was about an Hour within Night, and he took the Women to be Sarah Good, Sarah Osborn, and Tittabe. John Hughes was with him and swore likewise. See *Records S. W.*, i, 38, where much more of the same Tenor may be seen.

⁶ Martha Cory was witnessed against by Edward Putnam and Henry Keney, at the Commence-

ment; and the Mittimus sets forth that she is the Wife of Giles Cory, of Salem Farms. At the same Time were committed Rebecka Nurse, Wife of Francis Nurse, of Salem Village, Husbandman; Dorothy Good, Daughter of William Good; Sarah Cloyce, the Wife of Peter Cloyce, of Salem Village; John Proctor, of Salem Farms, and Elizabeth his Wife. They were charged with afflicting Ann Putnam, Daughter of Thomas Putnam, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard, and others.

⁷ Nicholas Noyes was Son of Nicholas Noyes, of Newbury, a Graduate of H. C., 1667, and died in 1717. He was one of the severest Instigators of the Proceedings against the accused Persons. He was settled in Salem in 1683.

her, she desired that she might go to Prayer, and was answered by the Magistrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.

The number of the Afflicted were at that time about Ten, *Viz.* Mrs. *Pope*, Mrs. *Putman*, goodwife *Bibber*,⁸ and Goodwife *Goodall*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewes* (at *Thomas Putmans*) and Dr. *Griggs* Maid, and three Girls, *Viz.* *Elizabeth Parris*, Daughter to the Minister, *Abigail Williams* his Neice, and *Ann Putman*, which last three, were not only the beginners, but were also the chief in these Accusations.⁹ These Ten were

⁸ Indifferently written in the Records *Bibber* and *Vibber*. The true Name appears to be *Bibber*. Sarah *Bibber*, in her Testimony against Sarah Good, gives her Age as 36. She gave Evidence against nine Persons at different Times. Not much has been found about her beyond her own Testimony. She appears to have had a Husband, who had the Prefix Goodman. At one Time she and her Husband lived at the House of Joseph Fowler. Fowler gave her a bad Character; as given to Tattling and Mischief-making; would call her Husband bad Names, was "of a very turbulent, unruly Spirit." Also Thomas Jacobs and his Wife Mary, said that "Good *Bibbor* did for a Time surgine [sojourn] in their House;" that she "very often speaking against one and nother very obfanely, and wichshing [wishing] very bad wichchis, and very often. She wichs that when hor chill [child]

fell into the Reuer that she had neuer pull hor child out." That she made ill Wisshes against everybody and herself too. "The nayborhud were she liueued amonkes astor she bered hor fust housbon hes tolld us that this John *Bibber* Wife coud fall into fitts as she plesed."—*Records S. W.*, ii, 204-5.

Neither Felt nor Savage appear to have met with either the Name of *Bibber* or *Vibber*.

⁹ "It was several Times observed, that when they were discourfed with about GOD or CHRIST, or the Things of *Salvation*, they were presently afflicted at a dreadful Rate, and hence were oftentimes *Outragious*, if they were permitted to be in the Congregation, in the Time of the Publick Worship."—*Lawson*, *Second Edit.*, 98.

"On Lord's Day, the 20th of *March* were sundry of the afflicted Persons at Meeting, as Mrs. *Pope* [Wife of Mr. Joseph P.], Good-

most of them present at the Examination, and did vehemently accuse her of Afflicting them, by Biting, Pinching, Strangling, &c. And they said, they did in their Fits see her likeness coming to them, and bringing a Book for them to Sign; Mr. *Hatborn*, a Magistrate of *Salem*, asked her, why she Afflicted those Children? she said, she did not Afflict them, he asked her who did then? she said, I do not know, how should I know? she said, they were Poor Distracted Creatures, and no heed to be given to what they said; Mr. *Hatborn* and Mr. *Noyes* replied that it was the Judgment of all that were there present, that they were bewitched, and only she (the Accused) said they were Distracted: She was Accused by them, that the *Black Man* Whispered to her in her Ear now

wife *Bibber*, *Abigail Williams*, *Mary Walcut*, *Mary Lewes*, and *Docter Grigg's* Maid. 'There was also at Meeting Goodwife C. [*Corry*] (who was afterward Examined on Suspicion of being a *Witch*;) They had several sore Fits, in the Time of Publick Worship, which did something interrupt me in my first Prayer; being so unusual. After Psalm was Sung *Abigail Williams* said to me, *Now stand up*, and *Name your Text!* And after it was read, she said, *It is a long Text.* In the beginning of Sermon, Mrs. *Pope*, a Woman afflicted, said to me, *Now there is enough of that.* And in the Afternoon, *Abigail*

Williams, upon my referring to my *Doctrine*, said to me, *I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one, I have forgot it.* In Sermon Time when Goodwife C. was present *Ab. W.* called out, *Look where Goodwife C. sits on the Beam suck [l]ing her Yellow Bird betwixt her Fingers!* *Anne Putman*, another Girl afflicted, said there was a *Yellow Bird* sat on my Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit! But those that were by restrained her from speaking loud about it." —*Lawson, First Edition, Pages 3 and 4.*

This, as will have been noticed, is the Account of an Eye Witness.

(while she was upon Examination) and that she had a Yellow Bird, that did use to Suck between her Fingers, and that the said Bird did Suck now in the Assembly; order being given to look in that place to see if there were any sign, the Girl that pretended to see it said, that it was too late now, for she had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head, it was upon search found, that a Pin was there sticking upright. When the Accused had any motion of their Body, Hands or Mouth, the Accusers would cry out, as when she bit a Lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if she grasped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being Pinched by her, and would produce marks, so of the other motions of her Body, as complaining of being Prest, when she lean'd to the seat next her, if she stirred her Feet, they would stamp and cry out of Pain there. After the hearing the said *Cory* was committed to *Salem* Prison, and then their crying out of her abated.

March the 24th, Goodwife *Nurse* was brought before Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Curwin* (Magistrates) in the Meeting House, Mr. *Hale*—Minister of *Beverly*, began with Prayer, after which she being Accus'd of much the same Crimes made the like answers, asserting her own Innocence with earnestness. The Accusers were mostly the same, *Tho Putmans* Wife, &c. complaining much. The dreadful Shreiking from her and others, was very

amazing, which was heard at a great distance; she was also Committed to Prison.¹⁰

A Child of *Sarah Goods*, was likewise apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years Old, the Accusers said this Child bit them, and would shew such like marks, as those of a small Sett of Teeth upon their Arms, as many of the Afflicted

¹⁰ The Warrant for the Apprehension of Rebecca Nurse is dated 23 March, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$. The Day following, the Marshal, George Herrick, made his Return, that he had brought her to the house of *Nath. Ingersal*, where she was in Custody. The Witnesses were Ann Putnam, Jr., Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, and Elizabeth Hubbard. Mary Walcott's Age was about 17; Elizabeth Hubbard's also about 17. Nothing could be too abominable for these Miscreants to make up and swear to. Mary Walcott said, among other things, that besides being "most grievously afflicted by" being bitten, pinched, and almost choked by the Prisoner, because she would not write in her Book, Goody N. said she would kill her if she did not; and on the 3d of May, in the Evening the Apparition of the Prisoner told her "she had an Hand in the Deaths of Benjamin Holton, John Harrod, Rebekah Sheppard and severall others."

Abigail Williams's Testimony is much the same. She heard the Accused confess (by her Apparition) the committing of several Murders, together with her Sister Cloyse; as upon old Goody: Hanwood, Benj.

Porter and Rebek: Shepard. . . . "Sarah Vibber, Mr. Sam: Parris, N. Ingersoll and T. Putnam also testified against the poor aged Woman. Putnam's Age was about 40; Parris's, as before mentioned, about 39. John Putnam, Sen. (another Wit.) aged about 63. Edwd. Putnam, another, aged about 30. Another, Sarah Holton, relict of Benj. Holton. Another, Ann Putnam, Wife of Thomas, swore to the choking by the Accused, and to her declaring she would kill her, and said she had killed Benj. Holton, John Fuller and Rebekah Shepard; also that she and her Sister Cloyse and Ed: Bishop had killed young John Putnam's Child. . . . "Immediately there did appear to me six Children in Winding-sheets, which called me Aunt. . . . Told me they were my Sister Baker's Children of Boston; and that Goody Nurs, and Mistris Cary of Charlestown, and an old deaf Woman at Boston had murdered them. . . . Also there appeared to me my own Sister Bayley and three of her Children in Winding-sheets, and told me Goody Nurse had murdered them." This was all taken as good and sufficient Testimony!

as the Child cast its Eye upon, would complain they were in Torment; which Child they also Committed.

Concerning these that had been hitherto Examined and Committed, it is [93] among other things observed, by Mr. *Lawson* (in Print¹¹) that they were by the Accusers charged, to belong to a Company that did muster in Arms, and were reported by them to keep Days of Fast, Thanksgiving and Sacraments; and that those Afflicted (or Accusers) did in the Assembly, Cure each other, even with a touch of their hand, when strangled and otherways tortured, and would endeavour to get to the Afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not used the Experiment of bringing the Accused to touch the Afflicted, in order to their Cure) and could foretell one anothers Fits to be coming, and would say, look to such a one, she will have a Fit presently and so it happened, and that at the same time when the Accused person was present, the Afflicted said they saw her *Spectre* or likeness in other places of the Meeting House Sucking [suckling] their Familiars.

The said Mr. *Lawson* being to Preach at the Village, after the Psalm was Sung, *Abigail Williams* said, *Now stand up and name your Text*; after it was read, she said, *It is a long Text*. Mrs. *Pope* in the beginning of Sermon said to him, *Now there is*

¹¹ This Reference is to the first *and True Narrative, &c.* His Edition of *Lawson's Work, A Brief Account* is given in Note 9.

enough of that. In Sermon, he referring to his Doctrine, *Abigail Williams* said to him, *I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forgot it.* *Ann Putman* an afflicted Girl, said, *There was a Yellow Bird sate on his Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit.*¹²

March 31, 1692. Was set apart as a day of Solemn Humiliation at *Salem*, upon the Account of this Business, on which day *Abigail Williams* said, *That she saw a great number of Persons in the Village at the Administration of a Mock Sacrament, where they had Bread as read as raw Flesh, and red Drink.*¹³

April 1. *Mercy Lewis* affirmed, *That she saw a man in White, with whom she went into a Glorious Place, viz. in her fits, where was no Light of the Sun, much less of Candles, yet was full of Light and Brightness, with a great Multitude in White Glittering Robes, who Sang the Song in Rev. v. 9. and the cx. and cxlix. Psalms; And was given that she might tarry no longer in this place.* This White Man is said to have appeared several times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it should be before they should have another Fit.¹⁴

April the 3d. Being Sacrament Day at the Village, *Sarah Cloys*, Sister to *Goodwife Nurse*, a

¹² Lawson, *First Edition*, Page 4.

¹³ Lawson, Page 8. The Words "at a House in the Village," are in the Original, which shows that the Witch-meeting was in that part of

Salem since Danvers.

¹⁴ This Affair of the 1st of April, is an Abridgement of Lawson, Page 8, but nothing important to the present Purpose is omitted.

Member of one of the Churches, was (tho' it seems with difficulty prevailed with to be) present; but being entred the place, and Mr. *Parris* naming his Text, *John* vi. 70. *Have not I chosen you Twelve, and one of you is a Devil* (for what cause may rest as a doubt whether upon the account of her Sisters being committed, or because of the choice of that Text) she rose up and went out, the wind shutting the Door forcibly, gave occasion to some to suppose she went out in Anger, and might occasion a suspicion of her; However she was soon after complain'd of, examin'd and committed.¹⁵

April the 11th. By this time the number of the Accused and Accusers being much increased, was a Public Examination at *Salem*, Six of the Magistrates with several Ministers being present, there appeared several who complain'd against others with hidious clamors and Screechings. Goodwife *Proctor*¹⁶ was brought thither, being

¹⁵ The following is the Relation by *Lawson*, given in his own Words, that the Reader may judge of his accuracy: "The 3^d of *April*, the Lord's Day, being Sacrament Day, at the Village, *Good. C.*, upon Mr. *Parris's* naming his Text, *John*, 6, 70. *One of them is a Devil*, the said *Good. C.* went immediately out of the Meetinghouse, and flung the door after her violently, to the amazement of the Congregation: She was afterwards seen by some in their Fits, who said, O *Goodw.*

C. I did not think to see you here! (and being at their *red bread and drink*) said to her, *Is this a Time to receive the Sacrament. You ran away on the Lord's Day, and scorned to receive it in the Meetinghouse, and Is this a Time to receive it? I wonder at you!* This is the Summ of what I either saw myself, or did receive Information from Persons of undoubted Reputation and Credit." —Page 8.

¹⁶ "On the 11th of *April*, 1692, a Council was convened at *Salem*;

Accused or cryed out against; her Hus[94]band coming to attend and assist her, as there might be need, the Accusers cryed out of him also, and that with so much earnestness, that he was Committed with his Wife. About this time besides the Experiment of the Afflicted falling at the sight, &c. they put the Accused upon saying the Lord's Prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from Evil*] she exprest it thus (*Deliver us from all Evil*) this was lookt upon as if she Prayed against what she was now justly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating those words [*Hallowed be thy name*] she exprest it [*Hollowed be thy Name*] this was counted a depraving the words, as signifying to make void, and so a Curse rather than a Prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that she also could not say it, &c. Proceeding in this work of examination and Commitment many were

at which there were present DEP. GOV. THOMAS DANFORTH, JAMES RUSSELL, JOHN HATHORNE, ISAAC ADDINGTON, MAJ. SAMUEL APPLETON, CAPT. SAMUEL SEWALL and JONATHAN CORWIN. To them Complaint was exhibited by Capt. Jonathan Wallcott and Lieut. Nathaniel Ingerfall, both of Salem Village, on the behalf of several Neighbors, as well as on their own; against Sarah Cloyce, wife of Peter Cloyce of Salem Village, and Elizabeth Proctor, wife of John Proctor of Salem Farms [on the Road towards Boston] for high suspicion of sundry

Acts of Witchcraft, committed on the Bodies of Abigail Williams and John Indian, both of Mr. Samuel Parris his Family, Mary Walcot, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis, &c." When the Accused were brought before the Council, Mr. Parris "was desired and appointed to wright y^e Examination," which he accepted, and the Record is still extant in his Hand-writing. Accordingly Elizabeth Proctor, and her Husband, John Proctor, and Sarah Cloyce were all committed to Prison, "per advise of y^e Councill."—*Witchcraft Records*, i. 101-2.

sent to Prison. As an Instance, see the following Mittimus :

To their Majesties Goal-keeper in *Salem*.

YOU are in Their Majesties Names hereby required to take into your care, and safe custody, the Bodies of William Hobs, and Deborah his Wife, Mary Easty, the Wife of Isaac Easty, and Sarah Wild, the Wife of John Wild, all of Topsfield; and Edward Bishop, of Salem-Village; Husbandman, and Sarah his Wife, and Mary Black, a negro of Lieutenant Nathaniel Putmans, of Salem-Village; also Mary English the Wife of Philip English,¹⁷ Merchant in Salem; who stand charged with High Suspicion of Sundry Acts of Witchcraft,

¹⁷ The Testimony and Indictment against Philip English may be seen in the *Hist. and Antiq's Boston*, 497, printed from the Originals in the Author's Possession. With the same are the two Indictments (in the Hand-writing of Edward Rawson), charging him with bewitching Elizabeth Booth, of Salem, Singlewoman, and Mary Wallcott. These Indictments are both dated May 31st, 1692. The Monsters who carried on the Charges, were much like a Pack of hungry Wolves. One would set up the Howl of Witch, and immediately others would follow. So in the Case of Philip English, a large number of Persons joined those Girls in their "Crying out on" him. This encouraged them to keep up their De-

ceptions. Mrs. English was accused before her Husband. One Mary Warren, Servant to Mr. Procter, outwent all others, except perhaps Elizabeth Booth, in the Invention of Stories. Rebutting Testimony was brought against her, but it had no Effect with the Court. Edward Bishop, aged 44; Sarah, 41, and Mary Estey, 56; all said that they heard Mary Warren say, when in Jail together in Salem, that the Magistrates might as well examine Keyfar's Daughter that had been distracted many Years, and believe what she said, as well as what any of the Afflicted said. Mary English, aged 39, said, being at Salem about a Month before, she heard Mary Warren speak the same Words.

done or committed by them lately upon the Bodies of Ann Putman, Mary Lewis and Abigail Williams, of Salem-Village; whereby great Hurt and Damage hath been done to the Bodies of the said Persons, according to the complaint of Thomas Putnam and John Buxton of Salem-Village, Exhibited. Salem, Apr 21, 1692, appears, whom you are to secure in order to their further Examination. Fail not.

John Hathorn, }
Jona. Curwin, } *Assistants.*

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692.

*To Marshall George Her- }
rick of Salem Essex. }*

YOU are in their Majesties Names hereby required to convey the above-named to the Goal at Salem. Fail not.

John Hathorn, }
Jona. Curwin, } *Assistants,*

Dated Salem, Apr 22, 1692.

The occasion of *Bishops* being cry'd out of, was he being at an Examination in *Salem*, when at the Inn an afflicted *Indian* was very unruly, whom he undertook, and so managed him, that he was very orderly, after which in riding home, in company of him and other Accusers, the *Indian* fell into a fit, and clapping hold with his Teeth on the back of the Man that rode before him, thereby held

himself upon the Horse, but said, *Bishop* striking him with his stick, the *Indian* soon recovered, and promised he would do so no more; to which *Bishop* replied, that he [95] doubted not, but he could cure them all, with more to the same effect; immediately after he was parted from them, he was cried out of, &c.

May 14, 1692. Sir *William Phips* arrived with Commission from their Majesties to be Governor, pursuant to the New Charter; which he now brought with him; the Ancient Charter having been vacated by King *Charles*, and King *James* (by which they had a power not only to make their own Laws; but also to chuse their own Governor and Officers;) and the Countrey for some years was put under an absolute Commission-Government, till the Revolution, at which time, tho more than two thirds of the People were for reassuming their ancient Government, (to which they had encouragement by his then Royal Highness's Proclamation) yet some that might have been better employed¹⁸ (in another Station) made

¹⁸ Dr. Mather affirms that "the *Old Government* was *Reassumed*, and the *Old Charter* too was *Re-assumed*, as far as it was possible to be done; Every thing in the World was done, but only declaring that the *Judgment* passed in the King's Court of Chancery (however it might be thought a Grievance) did the *Charter* no *Damage*; which if some were wiser then to say, who can help it? Well, did I oppose

this *Reassumption!* They that were acquainted with me, I am sure, did not think so; and they that sent their *Tory Pamphlets* about the Countrey against me, as an *Impudent Youth* [then aged 26] for my assisting the *Reassumed Government*, I am sure did not think so. Let the things Published for the supporting of the *Reassumed Government*; and particularly the very first *Passage* in the *first Sermon*, at the

it their business (by printing, as well as speaking) to their utmost to divert them from such a settlement; and so far prevailed, that for about seven Weeks after the Revolution, here was not so much as a face of any Government; but some few Men upon their own Nomination would be called a Committee of Safety; but at length the Assembly prevailed with those that had been of the Government, to promise that they would re-assume; and accordingly a Proclamation was drawn, but before publishing it, it was under-written, that they would not have it understood that they did re-assume Charter-Government; so that between Government and no Government, this Countrey remained till Sir *William* arrived: Agents being in this time impowered in *England*, which no doubt did not all of them act according to the Minds or Interests of those that impowered them, which is manifest by their not acting jointly in what was done; so that this place is perhaps a single Instance (even in the best of Reigns) of a Charter not restored after so happy a Revolution.¹⁹

Anniversary Election, which the Deputies of the *General-Court* called me to *Preach* and *Print*, (which by the way, would they have done, if the *Young Man* had been such an one as this Man would render him?) be my Everlasting Apology; and let *Calves* never Bleat, nor *Bulls* (of *Bashan*) Roar against me, on that Point any more."—*Remarks upon a Scandalous Book, &c.*,

Pages 46-7. The "Passage" he refers to in his Election Sermon is too long to be extracted here.

¹⁹ Our Author is not the only one who thought Dr. I. Mather had some selfish Ends to answer in his Management of Affairs in *England*. See Quincy, *Hist. H. Col.*, i, 60. But Quincy is entirely too one-sided, ardent and dogmatical to be implicitly relied upon.

This settlement by Sir *William Phips* his being come Governour put an end to all disputes of these things,²⁰ and being arrived, and having read his Commission, the first thing he exerted his Power in, was said to be his giving Orders that Irons should be put upon those in Prison; for tho for sometime after these were Committed, the Accusers ceased to cry out of them; yet now the cry against them was renewed, which occasioned such Order; and tho there was partiality in the executing it (some having taken them off almost as soon as put on) yet the cry of these Accusers against such ceased after this Order.²¹

May 24. Mrs. *Cary* of *Charlestown*, was Examined and Committed. Her Husband Mr. *Nathaniel Cary* has given account thereof, as also of her Escape, to this Effect,

I having heard some days, that my Wife was accused of Witchcraft, being much disturbed at it, by advice, we went to Salem-Village, to see if the afflicted knew her; we arrived there, 24. May, it happened to be a day appointed for Examination;

²⁰ That is the Disputes respecting the Form of Government.

²¹ It appears that some Irons had been prepared before the Arrival of Gov. Phips, though he may have ordered a further Supply, as Prisoners greatly increased about that Time. Mr. Felt, the Annalist of Salem, furnished Mr. J. W. Hanson with a Copy of an Account of the Prison-keeper (John Arnold),

of Boston, for various Items used in the Prison. Said Account begins about the 7th of March, 1691-2. On "May 9th, To Chains for Sarah Good and Sarah Osborn, 14 s. May 23d, To Shackles for 10 Prisoners. May 29th, to 1 pr. Irons for Mary Cox," &c. See *Hist. Danvers*, 290. For other Items of this Sort, see *Records of S. W.*, ii, 212, *et seq.*

accordingly soon after our arrival, Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Curwin, &c. went to the Meeting-house, which was the place appointed for that Work, the Minister began with Prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I observed, that the afflicted were two Girls of about Ten Years old, and about two or three other, of about eighteen, one of the girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The Prisoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of, &c. The Prisoner was placed about 7 or 8 foot from the Justices, and the Accusers between the Justices and them; the Prisoner was ordered to stand right before the Justices, with an Officer appointed to hold each hand, lest they should therewith afflict them, and the Prisoner's Eyes must be constantly on the Justices; for if they look'd on the afflicted, they would either fall into their Fits, or cry out of being hurt by them; after Examination of the Prisoners, who it was afflicted these Girls, &c. they were put upon saying the Lord's Prayer, as a tryal of their guilt; after the afflicted seem'd to be out of their Fits, they would look steadfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak; and then the Justices said they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again; then the Justices said to the Accusers, which of you will go and touch the Prisoner at the Bar? then the most courageous would adventure, but before they had made three steps would ordinarily fall down as in a Fit; the Justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the Prisoner, that she might

touch them; and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the Justices would say, they are well, before I could discern any alteration; by which I observed that the Justices understood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a Spectator, my Wife also was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and asked her name.

But I having an opportunity to Discourse Mr. Hale (with whom I had formerly acquaintance) I took his advice, what I had best to do, and desired of him that I might have an opportunity to speak with her that accused my Wife; which he promised should be, I acquainting him that I reposed my trust in him.

Accordingly he came to me after the Examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to speak with the said Accuser, viz. Abigail Williams, a Girl of 11 or 12 Years old; but that we could not be in private at Mr. Parris's House, as he had promised me; we went therefore into the Alehouse, where an Indian man attended us, who it seems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave some Cyder, he shewed several Scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and shewed them as done by Witchcraft, and acquainted us that his Wife, who also was a Slave, was imprison'd for Witchcraft.²² And now

²² This was *Tituba*, of whom Mention has been before made. See *Note 4*. Her first Examination is a surprising Document, not only for its Length, but for its Matter; and the Editor cannot but candidly

confess that the Questions were more ridiculous than the Answers of the simple Indian Woman, if possible. Her Husband was known as *John Indian*. The original Minutes are in the Editor's Possession.

instead of one Accuser, they all came in, who began to tumble down like Swine, and then three Women were called in to attend them. We in the Room were all at a stand, to see who they would cry out of; but in a short time they cried [97] out, Cary: and immediately after a Warrant was sent from the Justices to bring my Wife before them, who were sitting in a Chamber near by, waiting for this.

Being brought before the Justices, her chief accusers were two Girls: my Wife declared to the Justices, that she never had any knowledge of them before that day; she was forced to stand with her Arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and the Sweat from her Face, which I did; then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying, she should faint.

Justice Hathorn replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the Room. The Indian before mentioned, was also brought in to be one of her Accusers: being come in, he now (when before the Justices) fell down and tumbled about like a Hog, but said nothing. The Justices asked the Girls, who afflicted the Indian? they answered she (meaning my wife) and now lay upon him; the Justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest instead of curing, she should make him worse, by her looking on

him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold on her hand, and pulled her down on the Floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extremely troubled at their Inhumane dealings, uttered a hasty Speech [That God would take vengeance on them, and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.] Then her *Mittimus* was writ; I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a Room, but no beds in it; if there had, could have taken but little rest that Night, she was committed to Boston Prison; but I obtained a *Habeas Corpus* to remove her to Cambridge Prison, which is in our County of Middlesex. Having been there one Night, next Morning the Jaylor²³ put Irons on her legs (having received such a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds; these with her other Afflictions, soon brought her into Convulsion Fits, so that I thought she would have died that Night, I sent to intreat that the Irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have saved her Life, so that in this condition she must continue. The Tryals at Salem coming on, I went thither, to see how things were managed; and finding that the Spectre-Evidence was there received, together with Idle, if not Malicious stories, against Peoples Lives, I did easily see which way it would go; for the same Evidence that served for one, would

²³ This application of Irons was Governor. The Name of the Jaylor of course after the Arrival of the has already been given.

serve for all the rest; I acquainted her with her danger; and that if she were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared she would never return. I did my utmost that she might have her Tryal in our own County, I with several others Petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it; [98] but I soon saw so much, that I understood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon consulting the means of her escape; which thro the goodness of God was effected, and she got to Road Island, but soon found herself not safe when there, by reason of the pursuit after her; from thence she went to New-York, along with some others that had escaped their cruel hands; where we found his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Esq: Governour, who was very courteous to us. After this some of my Goods were seized in a Friends hands, with whom I had left them, and myself imprisoned by the Sberiff, and kept in Custody half a day, and then dismiss; but to speak of their usage of the Prisoners, and their Inhumanity shewn to them, at the time of their Execution, no sober Christian could bear; they had also tryals of cruel mockings; which is the more, considering what a People for Religion, I mean the profession of it, we have been; those that suffered being many of them Church-Members, and most of them unspotted in their Conversation, till their Adversary the Devil took up this Method for accusing them.

Per Jonathan Cary.²⁴

²⁴ It would seem from the Records, (as published by Mr. Wood-

ward) that Cary's name was Nathaniel. In Savage, we find that

May 31. Captain *John Aldin* was Examined at *Salem*, and Committed to *Boston* Prison, the Prison-Keeper seeing such a Man Committed, of whom he had a good esteem, was after this the more Compassionate to those that were in Prison on the like account; and did refrain from such hard things to the Prisoners, as before he had used. Mr. *Aldin* himself has given account of his Examination, in these Words.

An Account how John Aldin,²⁵ Senior, was dealt with at Salem-Village.

JOHN ALDIN Senior, of *Boston*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Marriner, on the 28th Day of *May*, 1692, was sent for by the Magistrates of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex*, upon the Accusation of a company of poor distracted, or possessed Creatures or Witches; and being sent by Mr. *Stoughton*, arrived there the 31st of *May*, and appeared at *Salem-Village*, before Mr. *Gidney*, Mr. *Hathorn*, and Mr. *Curwin*.

Jonathan Cary of *Charlestown* had Wife *Hannah Winsor*; that *Nathaniel* was Brother to *Jonathan*, and that they were Sons to *James Cary*, who came to *Charlestown* in or before 1639. Complaint was made against Mrs. Cary by Mr. *Thomas Putnam* and *Benjamin Hatchinson*, both of *Salem Village*. The Complaint was that she had bewitched the miscreant Girls before-mentioned, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigail Willyams* and *Mercy Lewis*. Mrs. Cary's Husband is styled "Capt. *Nathaniell Cary* of *Charls*

Towne, *Marener*."—*Records*, ii., 196.

²⁵ He was the Son of the *Pilgrim John* of the *Mayflower*. See an Account of him and his Persecution in *Hist. and Antiqs. Boston*, 499. Also *Records S. W.*, ii., 196. His Accusers were the same Wretches—*Mary Lewis*, *Abigail Williams*, *Elizabeth Booth*, *Mary Walcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Ann Putnam* and *Mary Warren*. The Warrant for his Commitment was dated *May 31st*, 1692, as will be seen immediately onward.

Those Wenches being present, who plaid their jugling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in Peoples Faces; the Magistrates demanded of them several times, who it was of all the People in the Room that hurt them? one of these Accusers pointed several times at one Captain Hill,²⁶ there present, but spake nothing; the same Accuser, had a Man standing at her back to hold her up; he stooped down to her Ear, then she cried out, Aldin, Aldin afflicted her; one of the Magistrates asked her if she had ever seen Aldin, she answered no, he asked how she knew it was Aldin? She said, the Man told her so.

Then all were ordered to go down into the Street, where a Ring was made; and the same Accuser cried out, there stands Aldin, a bold fellow with his Hat on before the Judges, he sells Powder and Shot to the Indians and French, [99] and lies with the Indian Squaes, and has Indian Papooses. Then was Aldin committed to the Marshal's Custody, and his Sword taken from him; for they said he afflicted them with his Sword. After some hours Aldin was sent for to the Meeting-house in the Village before the Magistrates; who required Aldin to stand upon a Chair, to the open view of all the People.

The Accusers cried out that Aldin did pinch them, then, when he stood upon the Chair, in the sight of all the People, a good way distant from them, one of the Magistrates bid the Marshal to hold open Aldin's hands, that he might not pinch those Creatures. Aldin asked them why they should think, that he should come

²⁶ The same, probably, mentioned before. See Vol. ii, Page 75.

to that Village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before? Mr. Gidney bid Aldin confess, and give glory to God: Aldin said he hoped he should give glory to God, and hoped he should never gratifie the Devil; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever suspected him to be such a person, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give suspicion of his being such an one. Mr. Gidney said he had known Aldin many Years, and had been at Sea with him, and always look'd upon him to be an honest Man, but now he did see cause to alter his judgment: Aldin answered, he was sorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his Innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he should with Job maintain his Integrity till he died. They bid Aldin look upon the Accusers, which he did, and then they fell down. Aldin asked Mr. Gidney, what reason there could be given, why Aldin's looking upon him did not strike him down as well? but no reason was given that I heard. But the Accusers were brought to Aldin to touch them, and this touch they said made them well. Aldin began to speak of the Providence of God, in suffering these Creatures to accuse Innocent persons; Mr. Noyes asked Aldin why he would offer to speak of the Providence of God, God by his Providence (said Mr. Noyes) governs the World, and keeps it in peace; and so went on with Discourse, and stopt Aldin's mouth, as to that. Aldin told Mr. Gidney, that he could assure him that there was a

lying Spirit in them, for I can assure you that there is not a word of truth in all these say of me. But Aldin was again committed to the Marshal, and his Mittimus written, which was as follows.

To Mr. John Arnold, Keeper of the Prison in Boston, in the County of Suffolk.²⁷

WHEREAS Captain John Aldin of Boston, Mariner, and Sarah Rice, Wife of Nicholas Rice of Reding, Husbandman, have been this day brought before us, John Hathorn and Jonathan Curwin, Esquires; being accused and suspected of perpetrating divers acts of Witchcraft, contrary to the form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided: These are therefore [100] in Their Majesties, King William and Queen Marys Names, to Will and require you, to take into your Custody, the bodies of the said John Aldin, and Sarah Rice, and them safely keep, until they shall thence be delivered by due course of Law; as you will answer the contrary at your peril; and this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given under our hands at Salem-Village, the 31st of May, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, now King and Queen over England, &c, Anno Dom. 1692.

John Hathorn, }
Jonathan Curwin, } *Assistants.*

²⁷ The original Mittimus does not appear among the Records preserved at Salem. If preserved, it has not been discovered.

To Boston Aldin was carried by a Constable, no Bail would be taken for him; but was delivered to the Prison-keeper, where he remained Fifteen Weeks; and then observing the manner of Tryals, and Evidence then taken, was at length prevailed with to make his Escape, and being returned, was bound over to Answer at the Superior Court at Boston, the last Tuesday in April, Anno, 1693. And was there cleared by Proclamation, none appearing against him.

Per. John Aldin.

At Examination, and at other times, 'twas usual for the Accusers to tell of the black Man, or of a Spectre, as being then on the Table, &c. The People about would strike with Swords, or sticks at those places. One Justice broke his cane at this Exercise, and sometimes the Accusers would say, they struck the Spectre, and it is reported several of the accused were hurt and wounded thereby, though at home at the same time.

The Justices proceeding in these works of Examination, and Commitment, to the end of May, there was by that time about a Hundred persons Imprisoned upon that Account.²⁸

June 2. A special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, having been Issued out, to Mr. Stoughton, the New Lieutenant Governour, Major Saltonstall, Major Richards, Major Gidny, Mr. Wait Winthrop,

²⁸ Their Names may, probably, Records. Interest should prompt nearly all be collected from the some one to make the Attempt.

Captain *Sewall*, and Mr. *Sergeant*; ²⁹ These (a *Quorum* of them) sat at *Salem* this day; where the most that was done this Week, was the Tryal of one *Bishop* alias *Oliver*, of *Salem*; who having long undergone the repute of a Witch, occasioned by the Accusations of one *Samuel Gray*: he about 20 Years since, having charged her with such Crimes, and though upon his Death-bed, he testified his sorrow and repentance for such Accusations, as being wholly groundless; yet the report taken up by his means continued, and she being accused by those afflicted, and upon search a Tet, as they call it, being found, she was brought in guilty by the Jury; she [101] received her Sentence of Death, and was Executed, *June* 10. but made not the least Confession of any thing relating to Witchcraft. ³⁰

June 15. Several Ministers in and near *Boston*, having been to that end consulted by his Excellency, expressed their minds to this effect, *viz.*

That they were affected with the deplorable state of the afflicted; That they were thankful for the diligent care of the Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country, praying for a perfect discovery thereof. But advised to a cautious proceeding, lest many Evils ensue, &c. And that

²⁹ Their Names have already appeared. Capt. Sewall was the well known Judge Sewall.

³⁰ See the long and tedious Testimonies against her in Vol. I, Pages

163-174, and of the same ridiculous Character as others; yet not so ridiculous there as in the original *Records*, which see. Ezekiel Cheever took down the Examination.

tendernefs be used towards those accused, relating to matters prefumptive and convictive, and alfo to privacy in Examinations, and to confult Mr. *Perkins* and Mr. *Bernard*, what tests to make ufe of in the Scrutiny: That Prefumptions and Convictions ought to have better grounds, than the Accufers affirming that they fee fuch perfons Spectres afflicting them; and that the Devil may afflict in the fhape of good Men; and that falling at the fight, and rifing at the touch of the Accufed, is no infallible proof of guilt; That feeing the Devils ftrength confifts in fuch Accufations, our difbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful Calamities; Nevertheless they humbly recommend to the Government, the fpeedy and vigorous profecution of fuch as have rendered themfelves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholefome Statutes of the *English* Nation, for the Detection of Witchcraft.³¹

³¹ Of this Abstract Dr. Mather fays: "His firft and main Defign is to render me odious unto the Countrey, as being one chief *Abettor* of that Opinion, That the Devils cannot afflict in the Shape of an Innocent Perfon; and as being an *Inciter* of the Judges, to the Conviction of *Witchcrafts* upon that Opinion. It is very certain that his Confcience muft needs tell him, this is a moft *Lying Accufation*. For in my Book of *Memorable Providences*, which I writ before the Troubles at *Salem*, and even

before I was fo fully acquainted with the Wiles of Satan, (for my faying of which, on a certain Occafion, he flouts at me) I have a whole Paragraph to caution againft *accounting a bewitched Perfons pretending to fee an Apparition of fuch or fuch an one, an Argument of their being Naughty People*. And fome of the Chief Minifters in this Land favoured that Book with their Atteftation, however my Friend Calef now Derides it." This was the Work recommended by Mr. Baxter.

This is briefly the substance of what may be seen more at large in *Cases of Conscience*, (ult.) And one of them since taking occasion to repeat some part of this advice, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 83. declares, (notwithstanding the Dissatisfaction of others) that if his said Book may conduce to promote thankfulness to God for such Executions, he shall rejoice, &c.

The 30th of June, the Court according to Adjournment again sat; five more were tried, viz. *Sarah Good* and *Rebecca Nurse*, of *Salem-Village*; *Sufanna Martin* of *Amsbury*; *Elizabeth How* of *Ipswich*; and *Sarah Wildes* of *Topsfield*: these were all condemned that Sessions, and were all Executed on the 19th of July.³²

At the Tryal of *Sarah Good*, one of the afflicted fell in a Fit, and after coming out of it, she cried out of the Prisoner, for stabbing her in the breast with a Knife, and that she had broken the Knife in stabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a Knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young Man was called, who produced a Haft and part of the Blade, which the Court having viewed and compared, saw it to be the same. And upon inquiry the young Man affirmed, that

³² The Trial of *Sufanna Martin* is given in the *Wonders* (Vol. i.) Pages 175-187; that of *Elizabeth How*, Pages 188-194; that of *Rebecca Nurse* in *Records of S. W.* i. 76-99; Vol. ii. 215; of *Sarah Wildes* of *Topsfield*, *Ibid*, ii, 180-182, 215; *Sarah Good*; *Ibid*, 11-24; ii, 214-15. The Partiality in the *Wonders* is elsewhere noticed.

yesterday he happened to brake that Knife, and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being then [102] present, the young Man was dismiss, and she was bidden by the Court not to tell lyes;³³ and was improved (after as she had been before) to give Evidence against the Prisoners.

At Execution, Mr. *Noyes* urged *Sarah Good* to Confess, and told her she was a Witch, and she knew she was a Witch, to which she replied, you are a lyer; I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizard, and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink.

At the Tryal of *Rebecca Nurse*, this was remarkable that the Jury brought in their Verdict not Guilty, immediately all the accusers in the Court, and, suddenly after all the afflicted out of Court, made an hideous out-cry, to the amazement, not only of the Spectators, but the Court also seemed strangely surprized: one of the Judges

³³ The Trial of Sarah Good was one of a singularly revolting Character. Her own Daughter, named Dorothy, was one of the Witnesses against her. Said her Mother "had three Birds, one black, one yellow, and that these Birds hurt the Children and afflicted Persons."—*Records S. W.* i, 23. Her own Husband gave her a very bad Character, but said he knew nothing of her being a Witch. The Story of the broken Knife, I do not remember seeing in the *Records*. It was probably suppressed. Samuel Abbey

and Mary his Wife, aged about 45 and 38, respectively, testified that William Good and his Wife Sarah, being destitute of a House to dwell in, they took them in out of Charity; but about two years and a half before, were obliged to turn them out "for quietness sake, the said Sarah was of so turbulent a Spirit, spitefull and maliciously bent." Whereupon the said Abbey in about two years lost 17 head of Cattle, besides Sheep and "Hoggs."—*Records, ib.* 24-5. See also Mr. Upham's *Lectures on Witchcraft*.

expressed himself not satisfied, another of them as he was going off the Bench, said they would have her Indicted anew. The chief Judge said he would not Impose upon the Jury; but intimated, as if they had not well considered one Expression of the Prisoners when she was upon Tryal, *viz.* That when one *Hobbs*, who had confessed herself to be a Witch, was brought into the Court to witness against her, the Prisoner turning her head to her, said, [*What, do you bring her? She is one of us*] or to that effect, this together with the Clamours of the Accusers, induced the Jury to go out again, after their Verdict, not Guilty. But not agreeing, they came into the Court, and she being then at the Bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have had her explanation of them, and she making no Reply to them, they found the Bill, and brought her in Guilty; these words being the Inducement to it, as the Foreman has signified in writing, as follows.

July 4, 1692. I Thomas Fisk,³⁴ the Subscriber hereof, being one of them that were of the Jury last week at Salem-court, upon the Tryal of Rebecca Nurse, &c. being desired by some of the Relations to give a Reason why the Jury brought her in Guilty, after her Verdict not Guilty; I do hereby give my Reasons to be as follows, viz.

When the Verdict not Guilty was, the honored Court was pleased to object against it, saying to them, that

³⁴ The Names of the Jurors are Foreman, Brother-in-law, I suppose not recorded. John Ruck was the of Mr. Burroughs.

they think they let slip the words, which the Prisoner at the Bar spake against herself, which were spoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbs and her Daughter, who had been faulty in setting their hands to the Devils Book, as they have confessed formerly; the words were [What do these persons give in Evidence against me now, they used to come among us.] After the honored Court had manifested their dissatisfaction of the Verdict, several of the Jury declared themselves desirous to go out again, and thereupon the Honoured Court gave leave; but when we came to consider of the Case, I could not tell how to take her words, as an Evidence against her, till she had a further opportunity to put her Sense upon them, if she would take it; and then going into Court, I mentioned the words aforesaid, which by one of the [103] Court were affirmed to have been spoken by her, she being then at the Bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon these words were to me a principal Evidence against her.

Thomas Fisk.

When goodwife *Nurse* was informed what use was made of these words, she put in this following Declaration into the Court.

THESE presents do humbly shew to the honoured Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in Guilty, upon my saying that Goodwife Hobbs and her Daughter were of our Company; but I intended no otherways, than as they were

Prisoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal Evidence against their fellow Prisoners. And I being something hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the Court took up my words, and therefore had no opportunity to declare what I intended, when I said they were of our Company.

Rebecka Nurse.

After her Condemnation she was by one of the Ministers of *Salem* excommunicated; yet the Governour saw cause to grant a Reprieve, which when known (and some say immediately upon granting) the Accusers renewed their dismal outcries against her, infomuch that the Governour was by some *Salem* Gentleman prevailed with to recall the Reprieve, and she was Executed with the rest.

The Testimonials of her Christian behaviour, both in the course of her Life, and at her Death, and her extraordinary care in educating her Children, and setting them good Examples, &c. under the hands of so many, are so numerous, that for brevity they are here omitted.³⁵

It was at the Tryal of these that one of the Accusers cried out publickly of Mr. *Willard* Minister in *Boston*, as afflicting of her, she was sent out of the Court, and it was told about she was mistaken in the person.

³⁵ It is much to be regretted that the Author found it necessary to exclude such Documents. The Paper referred is of special regret.

August 5. The Court again fitting, six more were tried on the same Account, viz. Mr. *George Burroughs*, sometime minister of *Wells*, *John Procter*, and *Elizabeth Procter* his Wife, with *John Willard* of *Salem-Village*, *George Jacobs Senior*, of *Salem*, and *Martha Carryer* of *Andover*; these were all brought in Guilty and Condemned; and were all Executed *August 19*, except *Procter's* Wife, who pleaded Pregnancy.³⁶

Mr. *Burroughs* was carried in a Cart with the others, through the streets of *Salem* to Execution; when he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with such Solemn and Serious Expressions, as were to the Admiration of all present; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer,) was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness, and such (at least seeming) fervency of [104] Spirit, as was very affecting, and drew Tears from many (so that it seemed to some, that the Spectators would hinder the Execution) the accusers said the black Man stood and dictated to him; as soon as he was turned off, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being mounted upon a Horse, addressed himself to the People, partly to declare, that he was no ordained Minister, and partly to possess the People of his guilt; saying That the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of

³⁶ What has been preserved of found in Vol. i, and in the *Records* the Trials of these Persons, will be before cited.

Light;³⁷ and this did somewhat appease the People, and the Executions went on; when he was cut down, he was dragged by the Halter to a Hole, or Grave, between the Rocks, about two foot deep, his Shirt and Breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of Trousers of one Executed, put on his lower parts, he was so put in, together with *Willard* and *Carryer*, one of his Hands and his Chin, and a Foot of one of them being left uncovered.

John Willard, had been employed to fetch in several that were accused; but taking dissatisfaction from his being sent, to fetch up some that he had better thoughts of, he declined the Service, and presently after he himself was accused of the same Crime, and that with such vehemency, that they sent after him to apprehend him; he had

³⁷ "I was present when these things were testified against him, and observed that he could not make any Plea for himself (*in these Things*) that had any Weight: He had the Liberty of Challenging his *Jurors*, before empannelling, according to the *Statue* in that Case, and used his Liberty in Challenging many; yet the Jury that were *Sworn* brought him in Guilty."—Lawson, *Second Edition*, 115.

Mr. Burroughs' Trial is fully given in Vo. 1 i, 152-63. It is not among the Records, for the Reason, probably, that it had been given to Mr. Mather to use, and was never returned. His Examination was

before Stoughton, Hathorne, Sewall and Corwin. The following are the Names of the Men appointed to search him for Teats: Edward Welch, William Gill, Zeb. Hill, Thomas Flint, Thomas West, Samuel Morgan and John Bare, as Printed in the *Records*, ii, 112. They reported no "Tetts" upon Mr. Burroughs.

Ann Putnam's Testimony was ingenious, and as damning as any *Infernal Spirit* could have desired. See *Records*, *ib.* 113-116. Mather does not give it, but says such things were evidenced; as that he had murdered sundry People. See Remarks of Mr. Upham, *Lectures*, 55.

made his Escape as far as Nashawag,³⁸ about 40 Miles from *Salem*; yet 'tis said those Accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying, now *Willard* is taken.

John Procter and his Wife being in Prison, the Sheriff came to his House and seized all the Goods, Provisions, and Cattle that he could come at, and sold some of the Cattle at half price, and killed others, and put them up for the *West-Indies*; threw out the Beer out of a Barrel, and carried away the Barrel; emptied a Pot of Broath, and took away the Pot, and left nothing in the House for the support of the Children: No part of the said Goods are known to be returned. *Procter* earnestly requested Mr. *Noyes* to pray with and for him, but it was wholly denied, because he would not own himself to be a Witch.

During his Imprisonment he sent the following Letter, in behalf of himself and others.

Salem-Prison, July 23, 1692.

Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen,
Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, and
Mr. Bailey.³⁹

Reverend Gentlemen.

THE *innocency of our Case with the Enmity of our Accusers and our Judges, and Fury, whom nothing but our Innocent Blood will serve their*

³⁸ A misprint, probably, for *Nashaway*.

³⁹ Dr. Increase Mather, Mr. James Allen of the Old South, Mr.

turns, having Condemned us already before our Tryals, being so much incensed and engaged against us by the Devil, makes us bold to Beg and Implore your [105] Favourable Assistance of this our Humble Petition to his Excellency, that if it be possible our Innocent Blood may be spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will be shed, if the Lord doth not mercifully step in. The Magistrates, Ministers, Jewries, and all the People in general, being so much intraged and incensed against us by the Delusion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reason we know in our own Consciences, we are all Innocent Persons. Here are five Persons who have lately confessed themselves to be Witches, and do accuse some of us, of being along with them at a Sacrament, since we were committed into close Prison, which we know to be Lies. Two of the 5 are (Carrier's Sons) Young men, who would not confess any thing till they tyed them Neck and Heels, till the Blood was ready to come out of their Noses, and 'tis credibly believed and reported this was the occasion of making them confess that they never did, by reason they said one had been a Witch a Month, and another five Weeks, and that their Mother had made them so, who has been confined here this nine Weeks. My son William Procter, when he was examin'd, because he would not confess that he was Guilty, when he was Innocent, they tyed him Neck and Heels till the Blood

Joshua Moody, Mr. Samuel Wil- John Bailey of the First Church,
lard of the Old South, and Mr. Boston.

gushed out at his Nose, and would have kept him so 24 Hours, if one more Merciful than the rest, had not taken pity on him, and caused him to be unbound. These actions are very like the Popish Cruelties.⁴⁰ They have already undone us in our Estates, and that will not serve their turns, without our Innocent Bloods. If it cannot be granted that we can have our Trials at Boston, we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have these Magistrates changed, and others in their rooms, begging also and beseeching you would be pleased to be here, if not all, some of you at our Trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding our Innocent Bloods, desiring your Prayers to the Lord in our behalf, we rest your Poor Afflicted Servants,

John Procter, &c.

He pleaded very hard at Execution, for a little respite of time, saying that he was not fit to die; but it was not granted.

Old *Jacobs* being Condemned, the Sheriff and Officers came and seized all he had, his Wife had her Wedding Ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy Provisions of the Sheriff, such as he had taken, towards her own support, which not being sufficient, the Neighbours of Charity relieved her.

⁴⁰ My friend Savage calls this an "Infernal Business." I hope he will never get further out of the Way.

It would seem that the Officials of that Day must have taken lessons of Roman Inquisitors.

Margaret Jacobs being one that had confessed her own Guilt, and testified against her Grand-Father *Jacobs*, Mr. *Burroughs*, and *John Willard*. She the day before Executions, came to Mr. *Burroughs*, acknowledging that she had belied them, and begged Mr. *Burroughs* Forgiveness, who not only forgave her, but also Prayed with and for her. She wrote the following Letter to her Father.

From the Dungeon in Salem Prison,
August 20, 1692.

Honoured Father,

AFTER my Humble Duty Remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good Health, as Blessed be God I enjoy, tho in abundance of Affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome Dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to Death, by means of the Afflicted Persons; my Grand-Father having Suffered already, and all his Estate Seized for the King. The reason of my Confinement is this, I having, through the Magistrates Threatnings, and my own Vile and Wretched [106] heart, confessed several things contrary to my Conscience and Knowledge, tho to the Wounding of my own Soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but Oh! the terrors of a wounded Conscience who can bear. But blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my Sins, but in mercy I hope so my Soul would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the

Magistrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear Fathers, let me beg your Prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a Joyful and Happy Meeting in Heaven. My Mother poor Woman is very Crazy, and remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle, viz. D. A.⁴¹ So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your Dutiful Daughter,

Margaret Jacobs.

At the time appointed for her Tryal, she had an Imposthume in her head, which was her Escape.

September 9. Six more were tried, and received Sentence of Death, viz. *Martha Cory* of Salem-Village, *Mary Easty* of Topsfield, *Alice Parker* and *Ann Pudeater* of Salem, *Dorcas Hoar* of Beverly, and *Mary Bradberry* of Salisbury. September 16, *Giles Cory* was prest to Death.⁴²

September 17. Nine more received Sentence of Death, viz. *Margaret Scot* of Rowley, Goodwife

⁴¹ Daniel Andrew of Salem, as I conjecture.

⁴² Nineteen Years after these Executions, the General Court of the Province passed an Act declaring null and void all the Attainders and Judgments against those who had suffered for Witchcraft. This Act was passed "upon the Humble Petition of the said Persons and of the Children of others of them whose Parents were Executed." The General Assembly also appointed a Com-

mittee "to consider of y^e Damages sustained by sundry Persons prosecuted for Witchcraft in y^e Year 1692." The Committee computed the Damage to those above named as follows: Mr. and Mrs. Cory £21; Mary Easty £20; Alice Parker got nothing, but, Mary Parker got £8; Nothing appears for Ann Pudeater; Dorcas Hoar £21; Mary Bradberry £20; some that suffered had no Representative to receive the Award.

*Redd of Marblehead, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker of Andover, also Abigail Falkner of Andover, who pleaded Pregnancy, Rebecca Eames of Boxford, Mary Lacy, and Ann Foster of Andover, and Abigail Hobbs of Topsfield. Of these Eight were Executed, September 22, viz. Martha Cory, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, Margaret Scot, Willmet Redd, Samuel Wardwell, and Mary Parker.*⁴³

Giles Cory pleaded not Guilty to his Indictment, but would not put himself upon Tryal by the Jury (they having cleared none upon Tryal) and knowing there would be the same Witneffes against him, rather chose to undergo what Death they would put him to. In preffing his Tongue being preft out of his Mouth, the Sheriff with his Cane forced it in again, when he was dying. He was the first in *New-England* that was ever preft to Death.

The Cart going to the Hill with these Eight to Execution, was for some time at a sett; the afflicted and others said, that the Devil hindered it,⁴⁴ &c.

Martha Cory, Wife to *Giles Cory*, protesting her Innocency, concluded her Life with an Eminent Prayer upon the Ladder.

⁴³ Allowances were made to the most of those or their Children, as may be seen in the Records before cited.

⁴⁴ "The Hill" has ever since been pointed out as *Witch Hill*,

or more generally *Gallows Hill*; whence is had a fine view of the City of Salem. Some Account of this noted Hill might reasonably be expected in a History of Salem. The *Institute* should look to the Matter.

Wardwell having formerly confessed himself Guilty, and after denied it, was soon brought upon his Tryal; his former Confession and Spectre Testimony was all that appeared against him. At Execution while he was speaking to the People, protesting his Innocency, the Executioner being at the same time smoaking Tobacco, the smoak coming in his Face, interrupted his Discourse, those Accusers said, the Devil hindered him with smoak.

[107] *Mary Easty*, Sister also to *Rebecca Nurse*, when she took her last farewell of her Husband, Children and Friends, was, as is reported by them present, as Serious, Religious, Distinct, and Affectionate as could well be expressed, drawing Tears from the Eyes of almost all present. It seems besides the Testimony of the Accusers and Confessors, another proof, as it was counted, appeared against her, it having been usual to search the Accused for Tets; upon some parts of her Body, not here to be named, was found an Excrescence, which they called a Tet. Before her Death she put up the following Petition:

To the Honorable Judge and Bench now sitting in Judicature in Salem and the Reverend Ministers, humbly sheweth, That whereas your humble poor Petitioner being Condemned to die, doth humbly beg of you, to take it into your Judicious and Pious Consideration, that your poor and humble Petitioner knowing my own Innocency (blessed be the Lord for it) and seeing plainly the Wiles and Subtilty of my

Accusers, by myself, cannot but judge charitably of others, that are going the same way with myself, if the Lord step not mightily in. I was confined a whole Month on the same account that I am now condemned for, an then cleared by the Afflicted persons, as some of your Honour know, and in two days time I was cried out upon by them, and have been confined and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my Innocency then, and likewise doth now, as at the great day will be known to Men and Angels. I Petition to your Honours not for my own Life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set; but the Lord he knows it is, if it be possible, that no more Innocent Blood be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go in. I question not, but your Honours do the utmost of your powers, in the discovery and detection of Witchcraft and Witches, and would not be guilty of Innocent Blood for the World; but by my own Innocency I know you are in the wrong way, the Lord in his infinite Mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his blessed will, that Innocent Blood be not shed; I would humbly beg of you, that your Honours would be pleased to Examine some of those confessing Witches, I being confident there are several of them have belyed themselves and others, as will appear, if not in this World, I am sure in the World to come, whither I am going; and I question not, but yourselves will see an alteration in these things: They say, myself and others have made a league with the Devil, we cannot con-

ness, I know and the Lord he knows (as will shortly appear) they belye me, and so I question not but they do others; the Lord alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows that as I shall answer it at the Tribunal Seat, that I know not the least thing of Witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durst not belye my own Soul. I beg your Honours not to deny this my humble Petition, from a poor dying Innocent person, and I question not but the Lord will give a blessing to your Endeavours.

Mary Efty.

[108] After Execution Mr. *Noyes* turning him to the Bodies, said, what a sad thing it is to see Eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there.⁴⁵

In *October* 1692, One of *Wenham* complained of Mrs. *Hale*, whose Husband, the Minister of *Beverly*, had been very forward in these Prosecutions, but being fully satisfied of his Wifes sincere Christianity, caused him to alter his Judgment; for it was come to a stated Controversie, among the *New-England* Divines, whether the Devil could Afflict in a good Mans shape; it seems nothing else could convince him: yet when it came so near to himself, he was soon convinc'd that the Devil might so Afflict. Which same reason did afterwards prevail with many others; and much influenced to the succeeding change at Tryals.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Surely Cotton Mather never uttered anything more inhuman. Mr. *Noyes* has already been noticed.

⁴⁶ Mr. *John Hale* had testified

against some of the Accused; but I do not find that when his own Wife was accused any Record was made of it.

October 7. ^a(Edward Bishop and his Wife having made their Escape out of Prison) this day Mr. Corwin the Sheriff, came and Seiz'd his Goods, and Cattle, and had it not been for his second Son (who borrowed Ten Pound and gave it him) they had been wholly lost, the Receipt follows; but it seems they must be content with such a Receipt as he would give them.

Received this 7th day of October 1692, of Samuel Bishop of the Town of Salem, of the County of Essex, in New-England, Cordwainer, in full satisfaction, a valuable Sum of Money, for the Goods and Chattels of Edward Bishop, Senior, of the Town and County aforesaid, Husbandman; which Goods and Chattels being seized, for that the said Edward Bishop, and Sarah his Wife, having been committed for Witchcraft and Felony, have made their Escape; and their Goods and Chattels were forfeited unto their Magesties, and now being in Possession of the said Samuel Bishop; and in behalf of their Majesties, I do hereby discharge the said Goods and Chattels the day and year above written, as witness my hand,

George Corwin, Sheriff.

But before this the said *Bishops* Eldest Son, having Married into that Family of the *Putmans*, who were chief Prosecutors in this business; he holding a Cow to be branded lest it should be seiz'd, and having a Push or Boyl upon his Thigh, with his straining it broke; this is that that was

pretended to be burnt with the said Brand; and is one of the bones thrown to the Dogmatical to pick, in *Wonders of the Invisible World*, P. 143. the other, of a Corner of a Sheet, pretended to be taken from a Spectre, it is known that it was provided the day before, by that Afflicted person, and the third bone of a Spindle is almost as easily provided, as the piece of the Knife; so that *Apollo* needs not herein be consulted, &c.

Mr. *Philip English*,⁴⁷ and his Wife having made their Escape out of Prison, Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff seiz'd his Estate, to the value of about Fifteen Hundred Pound, which was wholly lost to him, except about Three Hundred Pound value, (which was afterward restored.)

[109] After Goodwife *Hoar* was Condemned, her Estate was seiz'd, and was also bought again for Eight Pound.

George Jacobs, Son to old *Jacobs* being accused, he fled, then the Officers came to his House, his Wife was a Woman Crazy in her Senses and had been so several Years. She it seems had been also accused, there were in the House with her only four small Children, and one of them suck'd her Eldest Daughter, being in Prison; the Officer perswaded her out of the House, to go along with him, telling her she should speedily return, the Children ran a great way after her crying.

When she came where the Afflicted were, being

⁴⁷ The Case of Mr. English has been before referred to. See Note 17.

asked, they said they did not know her, at length one said, don't you know *Jacobs* the old Witch, and then they cry'd out of her, and fell down in their Fits; she was sent to Prison, and lay there Ten Months, the Neighbours of pity took care of the Children to preserve them from perishing.

About this time a New Scene was begun, one *Joseph Ballard*⁴⁸ of *Andover*, whose Wife was ill (and after died of a Fever) sent to *Salem* for some of those Accusers, to tell him who afflicted his Wife; others did the like: Horse and Man were sent from several places to fetch those Accusers who had the Spectral sight, that they might thereby tell who afflicted those that were any ways ill.

When these came into any place where such were, usually they fell into a Fit; after which being asked who it was that afflicted the person, they would, for the most part, name one whom they said sat on the head, and another that sat on the lower parts of the afflicted. Soon after *Ballard's* sending (as above) more than Fifty of the People of *Andover* were complained of, for afflicting their Neighbours. Here it was that many accused themselves, of Riding upon Poles through the Air; many Parents believing their Children to be Witches, and many Husbands their Wives, &c. When these Accusers came to the House of

⁴⁸ Ballard's Testimony against Samuel Wardwell may be seen in the *Records of S. W.*, ii, 152. Ballard gave his Age as about 41 Years, and mentions his Brother John. See onward.

any upon such account, it was ordinary for other young People to be taken in Fits, and to have the same Spectral sight.⁴⁹

Mr. *Dudley Bradstreet*,⁵⁰ a Justice of Peace in *Andover*, having granted out Warrants against, and Committed Thirty or Forty to Prisons, for the supposed Witchcrafts, at length saw cause to forbear granting out any more Warrants. Soon after which he and his Wife were cried out of, himself was (by them) said to have killed Nine persons by Witchcraft, and found it his safest course to make his Escape.

A Dog being afflicted at *Salem-Village*, those that had the Spectral sight being sent for, they accused Mr. *John Bradstreet* (Brother to the Jus-

⁴⁹ This was not the First of the Troubles by supposed Witchcraft at *Andover*, as appears by the following Record, the Original of which is in the Editor's Collection: "The Deposition of Job Tyler, aged about 40 Yeares, Mary his Wife and Moses Tyl^r his Son aged betwixt 17 and 18 Yeares, and Mary Tyler about 15 Yeares olde.—These Deponents witness that they saw a thing like a Bird to come in at the Dore of there House with John Godfery in the Night about the bigness of a Black Bird or rather bigger, to wit, as big as a Pigion, and did fly about; John Godfery labouring to catch it, and the Bird vanished, as they conceived, through the Chinck of a joynted Bord; and being asked by the Man of the House where-

fore it came, he answered, It came to suck your Wife. This was (as they remember) about 5 or 6 Yeares since.—Taken vpon Oath of the 4 above menconed Pties, this 27. 4. 59. Before mee

"SIMON BRADSTREETE.

"Owned in Court Mth, 65, by Job Tyler and Moses Tyler.

"E. R. Sec

"Owned in Court 13 March, 65, by Mary Tyler on hir former Oath. E. R. Sec"

The Above is in the Autograph of Gov. Bradstreet and Edward Rawson.

⁵⁰ Son of Governor Simon Bradstreet. In 1698, when the Indians attacked *Andover*, Bradstreet and his Family were captured; but they were set at Liberty the same Day.

tice) that he afflicted the said Dog, and now rid upon him : He made his Escape into *Pescattequa*-Government, and the Dog was put to death, and was all of the Afflicted that suffered death.

[110] At *Andover*, the Afflicted complained of a Dog, as afflicting of them, and would fall into their Fits at the Dogs looking upon them ; the Dog was put to death.

A worthy Gentleman of *Boston*,⁵¹ being about this time accused by those at *Andover*, he sent by some particular Friends a Writ to Arrest those Accusers in a Thousand Pound Action for Defamation, with instructions to them, to inform themselves of the certainty of the proof, in doing which their business was perceived, and from thence forward the Accusations at *Andover* generally ceased.

In *October* some of these Accusers were sent for to *Gloucester*, and occasioned four Women to be sent to Prison, but *Salem* Prison being so full it could receive no more ; two were sent to *Ipswich* Prison.⁵² In *November* they were sent for again by Lieutenant *Stephens*, who was told that a Sister of his was bewitched ; in their way passing over *Ipswich*-bridge, they met with an old Woman, and instantly fell into their Fits : But by

⁵¹ I am unable to ascertain the Name of the "worthy Gentleman." He was doubtless one of those, like Mr. Calef, not afraid "to take the Bull by the Horns."

⁵² Sarah, the Wife of Peter Cloyce

and Mary Green were probably the two Persons. The Latter seems to have made her Escape by the Assistance of John Shepard of Rowley. See Felt, *History of Ipswich and Hamilton*, 207.

this time the validity of such Accusations being much questioned, they found not that Encouragement they had done elsewhere, and soon withdrew.

These Accusers swore that they saw three persons sitting upon Lieutenant *Stephens's* Sister till she died; yet Bond was accepted for those Three.

And now Nineteen persons having been hang'd, and one prest to death, and Eight more condemned, in all Twenty and eight, of which above a third part were Members of some of the Churches in *N. England*, and more than half of them of a good Conversation in general, and not one clear'd. About Fifty having confess'd themselves to be Witches, of which not one Executed; above an Hundred and Fifty in Prison, and above Two Hundred more accused. The Special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the Governours Commission, and had proceeded in the manner of swearing Witnesses, *viz.* By holding up the hand, (and by receiving Evidences in writing) according to the Ancient Usage of this Countrey; as also having their Indictments in *English*. In the Tryals, when any were Indicted for Afflicting, Pining, and wasting the Bodies of particular persons by Witchcraft; it was usual to hear Evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps Twenty or Thirty years standing, about over-setting Carts, the death of Cattle, unkindness to Relations, or unexpected Accidents befalling after some quar-

rel.⁵³ Whether this was admitted by the Law of *England*, or by what other Law, wants to be determined; the Executions seemed mixt, in pressing to death for not pleading, which most agrees with the Laws of *England*, and Sentencing Women to be hanged for Witchcraft, according to the former practice of this Country, and not by burning, as is said to have been the Law of *England*. And though the confessing Witches were many; yet not one of them that confessed their own guilt, and abode by their Confession were put to Death.

[III] Here followeth what account some of those miserable Creatures give of their Confession under their own hands.

We whose Names are under written, Inhabitants of Andover, when as that horrible and tremendous Judgment beginning at Salem-Village, in the Year 1692, (by some) call'd Witchcraft, first breaking forth at Mr. Parris's House, several Young persons being seemingly afflicted, did accuse several persons for afflicting them, and many there believing it so to be; we being informed that if a person were sick, that the afflicted persons could tell, what or who was the cause of that sickness. Joseph Ballard of Andover (his Wife being sick at the same time) he either from himself, or by the advice of others, fetch'd two of the persons call'd the afflicted persons, from Salem-Village to Andover: Which was the

⁵³ See the Evidence against Susanna Martin, i, Pages 177, *et seq.* See, also, Woodward's *Rec. of Salem Witchcraft*, i, 193-206, ii, 215.

beginning of that dreadful Calamity that befel us in Andover. And the Authority in Andover, believing the said Accusations to be true, sent for the said persons to come together to the Meeting-house in Andover (the afflicted persons being there.) After Mr. Bernard⁵⁴ had been at Prayer, we were blind-folded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted persons, they being in their Fits, and falling into their Fits at our coming into their presence (as they said) and some led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they said they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them; whereupon we were all seized as Prisoners, by a Warrant from the Justice of the Peace, and forthwith carried to Salem. And by reason of that suddain surprizal, we knowing ourselves altogether Innocent of that Crime, we were all exceedingly astonished and amazed, and consternated and affrighted even out of our Reason; and our nearest and dearest Relations, seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to save our lives, as the case was then circumstantiated but by our confessing ourselves to be such and such persons, as the afflicted represented us to be, they out of tender love and pitty perswaded us to confess what we did confess. And indeed that Confession, that it is said we made, was no other than what was suggested to us by some Gentlemen; they telling us, that we were Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and

⁵⁴ Mr. John Barnard, who is in the *Amer. Biog. Dictionary*. He
duly commemorated by Dr. Allen was Author of several Works.

they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was so; and our understanding, our reason, and our faculties almost gone; we were not capable of judging our condition; as also the hard measures they used with us, rendered us uncapable of making our Defence; but said any thing and every thing which they desired, and most of what we said, was but in effect a consenting to what they said. Sometime after when we were better composed, they telling of us what we had confessed, we did profess that we were Innocent, and Ignorant of such things. And we hearing that Samuel Wardwell had renounced his Confession, and quickly after Condemned and Executed, some of us were told that we were going after Wardwell.

Mary Ofgood, Mary Tiler, Deliv. Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilson, Hannah Tiler.⁵⁵

[112] It may here be further added concerning those that did Confess, that besides that powerful Argument, of Life (and freedom from hardships, and Irons not only promised, but also performed to all that owned their guilt.) There are numerous Instances, too many to be here inserted, of the tedious Examinations before private persons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to Confess (and taking turns to persuade them) till the accused were wearied out by being

⁵⁵ Slight Notices of the Families to which these Persons belonged may be seen in Abbot's *History of Andover*.

forced to stand so long, or for want of Sleep, &c. and so brought to give an Assent to what they said; they then asking them, Were you at such a Witch-meeting, or have you signed the Devil's Book, &c. upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form as their Confession.

But that which did mightily further such Confessions, was their nearest and dearest Relations urging them to it. These seeing no other way of escape for them, thought it the best advice that could be given; hence it was that the Husbands of some, by counsel often urging, and utmost earnestness, and Children upon their Knees intreating, have at length prevailed with them, to say they were guilty.

AS to the manner of Tryals, and the Evidence taken for Convictions at *Salem*, it is already set forth in Print, by the Reverend Mr. *Cotton Mather* in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, at the Command of his Excellency Sir *William Phips*;⁵⁶ with not only the Recommendation, but thanks of the Lieutenant Governour; and with the Approbation of the Reverend Mr. *J. M.* in his Postscript to his *Cases of Conscience*; which last Book was set forth by the consent of the Ministers in and near *Boston*.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ It is a Wonder that Mr. *Caleb* did not tell his Readers how shockingly Mr. *Mather* reported those Trials; and it is accounted for only by presuming that the

Originals were not accessible to him, having been put into the Hands of Mr. *Mather*.

⁵⁷ Their Names were not printed according to the original MS. in the

Two of the Judges have also given their Sentiments in these words, *p.* 147.

The Reverend and worthy Author, having at the direction of his Excellency the Governour, so far obliged the Publick, as to give some account of the sufferings, brought upon the Countrey by Witchcrafts, and of the Tryals which have passed upon several executed for the same.

Upon perusal thereof, We find the matters of Fact and Evidence truly reported, and a prospect given of the Methods of Conviction, used in the proceedings of the Court at Salem.

William Stoughton,
Samuel Sewall.

Boston, October 11; 1692.

And considering that this may fall into the hands of such as never saw those Wonders, it may be needful to transcribe the whole account he has given thereof, without any variation (but with one of the Indictments annexed to the Tryal of each) which is thus prefaced, P. 81, 82, 83.

[113] BUT I shall no longer detain my Reader from his expected entertainment, in a brief account of the Tryals, which have passed upon some of the Malefactors, lately Executed at *Salem*, for the Witchcrafts whereof they stood

Cases of Conscience. They are correctly printed from that MS., however, by the Editor, with some Remarks, in his Edition of Mather's *Relation*, xxii. The Order of Subscription is entirely changed.

convicted. For my own part I was not present at any of them; nor ever had I any personal prejudice at the persons thus brought upon the Stage; much less, at the surviving Relations of those persons, with and for whom, I would be as hearty a mourner, as any Man living in the World: *The Lord comfort them!* But having received a command so to do, I can do no other than shortly relate the chief Matters of Fact, which occur'd in the Tryals of some that were Executed; in an Abridgment collected out of the Court-Papers, on this occasion put into my hands. You are to take the truth, just as it was; and the truth will hurt no good Man. There might have been more of these, if my Book would not thereby have been swelled too big; and if some other Worthy hands did not perhaps intend something further in these Collections; for which cause I have only singled out four or five, which may serve to Illustrate the way of dealing, wherein Witchcrafts use to be concerned; and I report matters not as an Advocate, but as an Historian.

They were some of the Gracious words inserted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Ministers did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, We cannot but with all thankfulness, acknowledge the success, which the merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Assiduous Endeavours of our Honourable Rulers, to detect the Abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Coun-

try; Humbly praying that the discovery of those Myſterious, and Miſchievous wickedneſſes, may be perfected. If in the miſt of the many Diſſatisfactions among us, the publication of theſe Tryals, may promote ſuch a Pious thankfulneſs unto God, for Juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall rejoice that God is glorified; and pray that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever fully any of his glorious works.

*The Indiſtment of George Burroughs.*⁵⁸

Effex ff. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginae Williemi & Mariae, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen preſent, That *George Burroughs*, late of *Falmouth*, in the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, in *New-England*, Clerk.

The 9th Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady *William and Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, King and Queen Defenders of the [114] Faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Feloniouſly hath uſed, practiſed, and exerciſed, at and within the Townſhip of *Salem*, in the County of *Effex* aforeſaid,

⁵⁸ As this Indiſtment does not appear to be among the Records, its abſence is accounted for as has been remarked of other ſimilar Documents before noticed; being taken from the Files and never returned.

in upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem-Village*, in the County of *Essex*, Single-woman, by which said wicked Arts the said *Mary Wolcott*, the Ninth Day of *May*, in the fourth Year above said, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the Form of the Statute in that Case made and provided.

Witnessees, *Mary Wolcott*, *Sarah Vibber*,⁵⁹ *Mercy Lewis*, *Ann Putnam*, *Eliz. Hubbard*.

Endorsed by the Grand Jury, *Billa Vera*.

There was also a second Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, the Witnessees to the said Indictment were *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, and *Ann Putnam*.

The third Indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis*: the Witnessees, the said *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Ann Putnam*.

The fourth for acts of Witchcraft on *Ann Putnam*, the Witnessees, the said *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Mary Warren*.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ This Name as has been mentioned already, is doubtless *Bibber*.

⁶⁰ Of these abandoned Witnessees, we have already had sufficient.

*The Tryal of G. B. as Printed in Wonders of the
Invisible World, from P. 94 to 104.*

GLAD should I have been, if I had never known the name of this Man; or never had this occasion to mention so much as the first Letters of his name. But the Government requiring some Account of his trial, to be inserted in this Book, it becomes me with all obedience to submit unto the Order.

1. This *G. B.* was Indicted for Witchcrafts; and in the Prosecution of the Charge against him, he was Accused by five or six of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miseries; he was accused by Eight of the confessing Witches, as being an head Actor at some of their Hellish Rendezvouzes, and who had the promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be erected; he was accused by Nine persons, for extraordinary lifting, and such feats of strength as could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such things he was accused, until about Thirty Testimonies⁶¹ were brought

⁶¹ About twenty appear in the Records, which see, Vol. II, Pages 109, *et seq.* Respecting Mr. Burrough's great Strength, Samuel Webber, aged about 36, swore, that "aboute ceauen or eight Yeares agoe I liued at Calco Bay, and George Burroughs was then Minister there, and haueing heard much of the great Strength of him sd. Burroughs; he coming to our House

wec ware in discourse aboute the same and he then told mee yt he had put his fingers into the Bung of a Barrell of Malafes and listed it vp and carryed it round him." Salem, Augt. 2d, 1692.

Ann Putnam swore, that on the 20th of April, 1692, she saw the *Apperisbtion* of Mr. Burroughs who tortured her in a terrible Manner; told her he had had three Wives,

in againſt him; nor were theſe judg'd the half of what might have been conſider'd for his Conviction: however they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reasoning, by the judicious *Gaule*, in that caſe directed.

[115] The Court being ſenſible, that the Teſtimonies of the Parties Bewitched, uſe to have a Room among the Suſpicions, or Prefumptions, brought in againſt one Indicted for Witchcraft, there were now heard the Teſtimonies of ſeveral Perſons who were moſt notoriously bewitched, and every day tortured by Inviſible hands, and theſe now all charged the Spectres of *G. B.* to

and had bewitched two of them to death; had killed Miſtreſs Lawſon becauſe ſhe was ſo unwilling to go from the Village; had killed Mr. Lawſon's Children becauſe he went to the Eaſtward with Sir Edmond [Andros] and preached ſo to the Soldiers; had bewitched a great many Soldiers to death when Sir *Edmon* was there, &c. At another time ſhe ſwore that the two Wives of Mr. Burroughs appeared to her in their Winding-ſheets, and told her how they were murdered. Alſo Mrs. Lawſon and her Daughter Ann appeared in the ſame Manner; alſo another Woman who told her ſhe was Goodman Fuller's firſt Wife, and that Mr. Burroughs killed her, becauſe of a Difference between her Huſband and him.

Simon Willard, aged about 42 Years, was at the Houſe of Mr.

Robert Lawrence, of Caſco Bay, in Sept., 1689; ſaw Mr. Burroughs ſhow where he took hold of the Gun of about ſeven foot Barrel, which was behind the Lock; and Mr. B. ſaid he held it out with one Hand by ſo taking it, but the Deponent did not ſee him do it. Willard commanded the Fort at Caſco.

Thomas Greenslett, aged about 40 Years, ſaid he was at Capt. Joſhua Scottow's at Black Point, about the breaking out of the late Indian War, where he ſaw Mr. B. liſt a Gun of ſix foot Barrel or thereabout, by putting the Forefinger of his right Hand into the Muzzle; holding it out at Arm's Length. Lieut. Richard Hunnewell and John *Greinslett* being preſent. The above are a few Specimens of the Evidence on which Mr. Burroughs was condemned and executed.

have a share in their Torments. At the Examination of this *G. B.* the bewitched People were grievously harrassed with preternatural Mischiefs, which could not possibly be dissembled; and they still ascribed it unto the Endeavours of *G. B.* to kill them. And now upon his Trial, one of the bewitched persons testified, That in her *Agonies* a little Black-haired Man came to her, saying his name was *B.* and bidding her set her hand unto a Book, which he shewed unto her; and bragging that he was a Conjuror above the ordinary Rank of Witches; that he often persecuted her, with the offer of that Book, saying, she should be well, and need fear nobody, if she would but sign it: but he inflicted cruel pains and hurts upon her, because of her denying so to do.⁶² The Testimonies of the other Sufferers, concurred with these; and it was remarkable, that whereas Biting, was one of the ways, which the Witches used, for the vexing of the Sufferers, when they cry'd out of *G. B.* biting them, the print of his Teeth would be seen on the Flesh of the Complainers; and just such a set of Teeth as *G. B.*'s. would then appear upon them, which could be distinguished from those of some other Mens.

Others of them testified, that in their Torments *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him

⁶² Several of those Girls before mentioned, swore to about the same thing.

with a found of Trumpet summoning of other Witches; who quickly after the found would come from all quarters unto the Randezvous. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he shewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and said he would give them all to her, if she would write in his Book; but she told him, They were none of his to give; and refused the Motions; enduring of much misery for that refusal.⁶³

It cost the Court a wonderful deal of trouble to hear the Testimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depositions, they would for a long while be taken with Fits, that made them incapable of saying any thing. The chief Judge asked the Prisoner, who he thought hindered these Witnesses from giving their Testimonies? and he answered, He supposed it was the Devil. That Honourable person then replied, How comes the Devil so loth to have any Testimony borne against you? Which cast him into very great confusion.⁶⁴

⁶³ The Girl who made oath to this was Mercy Lewis. It took place on the 9th of May, 1692, as she said: "Mr. Burroughs carried me up to an exceeding high Mountain and shewed me all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and told me he would give them all to me if I would writ in his Book, and if I would not, he would thro me down and

break my Neck: but I told him they were none of his to give, and would not writ if he throd me down on a hundred pitchforks."—*Records S. W.* ii, 118.

⁶⁴ This is only Dr. Mather's Abridgment of the Record, it will be remembered. "Sus. Sheldon testified that Burroughs two Wives appeared in their Winding-sheets,

3. It hath been a frequent thing for the bewitched People, to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghosts of murdered People, at the same time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always [116] affright the beholders, more than all the other Spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out of being murdered by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considerable, that once or twice these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the very same time they have shown themselves to the bewitched; and seldom have there been these Apparitions, but when something unusual and suspected hath attended the death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accused by these Apparitions, accosting of the bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murders of those very persons, although these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the bewitched had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said they were *G. B's* two Wives; and that he had been the death of them; and that the

and said that Man killed them. knockt down all (or most) of the
 He was bid to look upon Sus. afflicted who stood behind him."—
 Sheldon. He looked back and *Ibid.* ii, 109.

Magistrates must be told of it, before whom, if *B.* upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they should appear again in the Court. Now *G. B.* had been infamous, for the barbarous usage of his two successive Wives, all the Countrey over. Moreover, it was testified, the Spectre of *G. B.* threatning of the Sufferers told them he had killed (besides others) Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Ann*. And it was noted, that these were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one, at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for being serviceable at *Salem-Village*, from whence himself had in ill terms removed some Years before, and that when they dy'd, which was long since, there were some odd circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendants there suspect something of Witchcraft, though none imagined from what quarter it should come.

Well *G. B.* being now upon his Tryal, one of the bewitched persons was cast into horror at the Ghosts of *B's*. two deceased Wives, then appearing before him, and crying for vengeance against him. Hereupon several of the bewitched persons were successively called in, who all, not knowing what the former had seen and said, concurred in their horror of the Apparition, which they affirmed, that he had before him. But he, though much appalled, utterly denied that he discerned any thing of it, nor was it any part of his Conviction.

4. Judicious writers have assigned it a great

place, in the Conviction of Witches, when persons are Impeached by other notorious Witches to be as ill as themselves, especially if the persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God. Now as there might have been Testimonies enough of *G. B.*'s Antipathy to Prayer, and the other Ordinances of God, though by his Profession singularly obliged thereunto; so there now came in against the Prisoner, the Testimonies of several persons, who [117] confessed their own having been horrible Witches, and ever since their Confessions, had been themselves terribly tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the pains of many deaths for their Confessions.

These now testified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the person who had seduced and compelled them into the Snares of Witchcraft: that he promised them fine Cloaths for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and thorns to stick into those Poppets, for the afflicting of other People: And that he exhorted them, with the rest of the Crue to bewitch all *Salem-Village*; but be sure to do it gradually; if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancashire* Witches were Condemned, I do'nt remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the bewitched, and than that of some that had confessed. We see so much already against *G. B.*

But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced credible.

5. A famous Divine, recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; the Testimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying; together with the Joint Oaths of sufficient persons, that have seen certain prodigious pranks or feats, wrought by the party accused. Now God had been pleased so to leave this *G. B.* that he had ensnared himself, by several instances which he had formerly given of a preternatural strength; and which were now produced against him. He was a very puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a Giant.⁶⁵ A Gun of about 7 Foot barrel, and so heavy that strong Men could not steadily hold it out, with both hands; there were several Testimonies given in by persons of Credit and Honor, that he made nothing of taking up such a Gun behind the Lock with but one hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arms-end. *G. B.* in his vindication was so foolish, as to say, that an *Indian* was there, and held it out, at the same time: whereas, none of the Spectators ever saw any such *Indian*; but they supposed the black Man (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an *Indian*) might give him that Assistance.

⁶⁵ By the Testimony extracted in the Record. He may have, and Note 61, it will be seen that the doubtless had more than is now Doctor's Statement is rather beyond extant.

There was Evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole Barrels fill'd with Mellaffes, or Cyder, in very disadvantageous Postures, and carrying of them thro' the difficultest places, out of a Canoa to the Shore.

Yea, there were two Testimonies, that *G. B.* with only putting the Fore-finger of his right hand into the Muzzel of an heavy Gun, a fowling piece of about six or seven foot Barrel did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms-end; a Gun which the Deponents, though strong men, could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the Butt-end, as is usual. Indeed one of these Witnesses, was over-perfwaded by some persons to [118] be out of way upon *G. B.*'s Tryal; but he came afterwards with sorrow for his withdraw, and gave in his Testimony. Nor were either of these Witnesses made use of as Evidence in the Tryal.

6. There came in several Testimonies, relating to the Domestick affairs of *G. B.* which had a very hard Aspect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill Man, but also confirmed the belief of the Character, which had been already fastned on him.

'Twas Testified, that keeping his two successive Wives in a strange kind of slavery, he would when he came home from abroad pretend to tell the talk which any had with them. That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harsh dealings with his Wives, and then made the

People about him to promise that in case Death should happen they would say nothing of it. That he used all means to make his Wives Write, Sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant never to reveal any of his Secrets. That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightly Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested; and that many such things have been whispered among the Neighbourhood. There were also some other Testimonies, relating to the death of People, whereby the Consciences of an impartial Jury were convinced, that *G. B.* had bewitched the persons mention'd in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit several such Passages in this as well as in all the succeeding Tryals, because the Scribes who took notice of them, have not supplied me.

7. One Mr. *Ruck*, Brother in Law to this *G. B.* testified that *G. B.* and he himself, and his Sister, who was *G. B.*'s Wife, going out for two or three Miles, to gather Strawberries, *Ruck* with his Sister, the Wife of *G. B.* rode home very softly, with *G. B.* on foot, in their company, *G. B.* stept aside a little into the Bushes, whereupon they halted and hollow'd for him. He not answering, they went away homewards, with a quickened pace; without any expectation of seeing him in a considerable while: and yet when they were got near home, to their astonishment they found him on foot, with them, having a Basket of Strawberries. *G. B.* immediately then

fell to chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her Brother of him on the Road: which when they wondered at, he said, He knew their thoughts. *Ruck* being startled at that, made some reply, intimating that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, my god, makes known your thoughts unto me. The Prisoner now at the Bar had nothing to answer unto what was thus witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, *Ruck* and his Wife left a man with him, when they left him. Which *Ruck* now affirm'd to be false; and when the Court asked G. B. What the mans name was? His countenance was much altered; nor [119] could he say who it was. But the Court began to think that he then stept aside, only that by the Assistance of the black Man, he might put on his invisibility, and in that fascinating Mist, gratify his own jealous humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendering themselves invisible, our Witches do in their Confessions pretend that they sometimes are masters of; and it is the more credible, because there is demonstration that they often render many other things utterly invisible.

8. Faultering, Faulty, Unconstant, and contrary Answers upon Judicial and deliberate Examination, are counted some unlucky symptoms of Guilt in all Crimes, especially in Witchcrafts. Now there never was a Prisoner more Eminent for them, than G. B. both at his Examination

and on his Tryal. His Tergiversations, Contradictions, and Falsehoods, were very sensible: he had little to say, but that he had heard some things that he could not prove, Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the Witnesses. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho' he had many times before granted, not only that there are Witches, but also that the present Sufferings of the Countrey are the Effects of Horrible Witchcrafts, yet he now goes to evince it, that there neither are nor ever were, Witches, that having made a compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to torment other People at a distance. This Paper was transcribed out of *Ady*; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which his evasion afterwards was, that a Gentleman gave him the Discourse in a Manuscript, from whence he transcribed it.

9. The Jury brought him in Guilty; but when he came to dye, he utterly deny'd the Fact, whereof he had been thus Convicted.⁶⁶

The Indictment of Bridget Bishop.

*Anno Regni Regis & Reginae Willielmi & Mariae, nunc
Anglicae, &c. quarto.*

Essex ff. **T**HE jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen present, That *Bridget Bishop*, alias *Oliver*, the Wife of

⁶⁶ See Note 153, Page 163, Vol. I.

Edward Bishop in *Salem*, in the County of *Essex*, Sawyer, the Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practiced, and exercised at, and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex*, aforesaid, in, upon, and against one [120] *Mercy Lewis*, of *Salem-Village*, in the County aforesaid, single Woman; by which said wicked Arts, the said *Mercy Lewis*, the said Nineteenth day of *April*, in the Fourth Year above said, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Hurt, Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the form of the Statute, in that case made and provided.

Endorsed Billa Vera.

Witnesses—*Mary Lewis*, *Nathaniel Ingersoll*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Thomas Putnam*, Junior, *Mary Walcott*, Junior, *Ann Putnam*, Junior, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.

There was also a Second Indictment, on the said *Bishop*, for afflicting and practising Witchcraft on *Abigail Williams*. Witnesses to the said In-

dictment, were the said *Abigail Williams*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingersoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.⁶⁷

The Third Indictment was for afflicting *Mary Walcott*, Witnesses to which said Indictment, were *Mary Walcott*, *Mercy Lewis*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingersoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Abigail Williams*.⁶⁸

The Fourth Indictment was for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, Witnesses to which said Indictment, were the said *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis*, Mr. *Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingersoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigail Williams*.

The Fifth Indictment was for afflicting *Ann Putnam*, Witnesses to which said Indictment, were the said *Ann Putnam*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Nathaniel Ingersoll*, *Thomas Putnam*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigail Williams*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ There are four Indictments recorded. The Witnesses to the first correspond with the Records. Those to the second differ by the Omission of "John Bligh, and Rebeckah, his Wife; Samuell Shattuck, and Sarah, his Wife; William Bligh, William Stacey; John Loader."

⁶⁸ These correspond with the

Original, with some very slight Difference in the Orthography; and so of those to the fourth Indictment.

⁶⁹ It will be seen that much the same Set of Witnesses figure in most of the Cases; and it is surprising that such *stereotype* Testimony should have been so long imposed upon the Judges.

The Tryal of Bridget Bishop, as printed, in Wonders of Invisible World, June 2, 1692. P. 104 to 114.

1. **S**HE was Indicted for bewitching several persons in the Neighbourhood. The Indictment being drawn up, according to the form in such cases usual, and pleading not guilty, there were brought in several persons, who had long undergone many kinds of miseries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally ascribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little occasion to prove the Witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first thing used was, the testimony of the bewitched; whereof several testified, that the shape of the [121] Prisoner did oftentimes very grievously pinch them, choak them, bite them, and afflict them; urging them to write their names in a Book, which the said Spectre call'd Ours. One of them did further testify, that it was the shape of this Prisoner, with another, which one day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River side, threatned there to drown her, if she did not sign the Book mention'd, which yet she refused. Others of them did also testify, that the said shape, did in her threats, brag to them, that she had been the death of sundry persons, then by her named. Another testified, the Apparition of Ghosts unto the Spectre of Bishop, crying out, You mur-

dered us. *About the truth whereof, there was in the matter of Fact, but too much suspicion.*⁷⁰

2. *It was testified, that at the Examination of the Prisoner, before the Magistrates, the bewitched were extreemly tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as there could be no collusion in the business. But upon the touch of her hand upon them, when they lay in their swoons, they would immediately revive; and not upon the touch of any ones else. Moreover upon some special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like postures. And many of the like accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, that she said, She could not be troubled to see the Afflicted thus tormented.*⁷¹

⁷⁰ The Answers of Bridget at her Examination were Common-sense-like, and carried with them such honest Simplicity, that it is Matter of Astonishment the Judges could not distinguish between the most puerile Absurdities and Truth. It appears that she had had a Husband, named Oliver; hence she is often called Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver. During her Examination, the Afflicted apparently suffered excessive Torture. One "Sam. Gold" afterwards asked her if she was not troubled to see them so tormented. He reported that her Answer was "No. She was not troubled for them." This was viewed as strong Evidence against her.

⁷¹ Among all the hard swearing, that of "Suf. Sheldon" was perhaps equal to any. She was about 18 Years old. At one Time, June 2d, 1692, she saw the "Apperishment" of Bridget Bishop, and immediately came two little Children, Twins, which told her (Bridget) to her Face that she had murdered them by setting them into Fits, whereof they dyed. One John Cooke, aged 18, swore about an Apple which jumped out of his Hand. John Blye and his Wife, about a Sow of theirs being bewitched, and they "Judged Bishop bewitched said Sow." Elizabeth Balch of Beverly, aged about 38, Wife of Benj. B. Jur, "being at

3. *There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a Man striking once at the place, where a bewitched person said, the shape of this Bishop stood, the bewitched cryed out that he had tore her Coat, in the place then particularly specified; and the Womans Coat was found to be torn in the very place.*⁷²

Salem y^e very Day that Capt George Corwin was buried, and in y^e Euening of said Day coming from sd. Salem vnto sd. Beuerly, on Horseback, with her Sister, then known by the Name of Abigail Woodburie, now Abigail Waldron lieuing in Wenham, Wife vnto Nathaniell Waldron, riding behinde her; and were come so far as Crane Riuer Common foe called, Edward Bishop and his Wife ouertook vs (on horseback) who are both now in Prison vnder Suspition of Witchcraft." Bridget complained of her Husband for riding into the Water, and of riding too fast. Whereupon an Altercation arose, and hard Words were bandied between them. "And then sd. Bishop directed his Speech vnto vs as we rode along, and sd. that she had been a bad Wife vnto him euer since they were marryed, and reckoned vp many of her Miscarriages towards him; but now of late she was worse than euer before (and that the she Deuill did come bodyly vnto her, and that she was familiar with the Deuil, and that she fate vp all ye Night long with y^c Deuill) or Words to that Purpose. Said Bishop's Wife made very little Reply."—*Records S. W.*, i, 167-8.

⁷² "Suf. Sheldon," in additional Testimony said, that "on the fourth Day, at Night, came Goody Olliuier, Mrs. English, Goodman Corie, and a black Man with a hi crowned hatt, with Books in their Hands. Goody Olliuier bid me touch her Book. I would not;" told me she had been a Witch twenty Years. "Then there came a streacked Snake, creeping ouer her Shoulder, and creep into her Bosom. Mrs. English had a Yello Bird in her Bosom, and Goodman Corie had two Turcles hang to his Coat, and he opened his Bosom and put his Turcles to his Brest and gave them suck. Then Goodm. Core and Goody Oliuier kneeled downe before the Black Man and went to prayer. The Black Man told me Goody Olliver had been a Witch 20 years and an half. Then they all set to biting mee, and so went away. Goodwife Core told me she lived in [B]oston Prison. Then she pulled out her brest and the Black Man gave her a thing like a blake Pig. It had no Hairs on it. Shee put it to her brest and gave it suck. Goody Olliver told mee shee had killed four Women. Two of them were the Fosters Wives and John Traskes Wife, and did not

4. One Deliverance Hobbs, who had confessed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres for her Confession. And she now testified that this Bishop tempted her to sign the Book again, and to deny what she had confess'd. She affirmed, that it was the shape of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this Bishop was at a General meeting of the Witches in a field, at Salem-Village; and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament, in Bread and Wine then administered.⁷³

5. To render it further unquestionable, that the Prisoner at the Bar was the Person truly charged in this Witchcraft; there was produced many Evidences of other Witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For instance, John Cook testified, that about five or six Years ago, one morning about Sun-Rise, he was in his Chamber, assaulted by the shape of this Prisoner: which look'd on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him, with a blow on the side of the head; and that on the same day about Noon, the same shape walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his hand, into the lap of his Mother, six or eight foot from him.⁷⁴

name the other. Then they did all bite mee."—*Records S. W.* ii, 169-170. Then follows the "Death Warrant" of Bridget Bishop, dated at Boston, June the 8th, 1692, signed by Lieutenant Governour Stoughton.

⁷³ Her Testimony, as recorded, may be read in the Records as above

cited, i, 148-9. It is a Tissue of Contradictory Nonsense; and if at all relied upon would excite no Wonder, in view of what had gone before.

⁷⁴ John Cooke was a young Man of some 18 years of Age. It should be remembered that these accounts of Evidence are Dr. Mather's Ver-

[122] 6. Samuel Gray, *testify'd, that about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of light; and that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle and the Bedside, which looked upon him. He rose, and it vanished; tho he found the Doors all fast: Looking out at the Entry door, he saw the same Woman in the same garb again, and said, In God's name, what do you come for? He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Screech, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers Months died in a sad condition. He knew not Bishop, nor her name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her countenance, and apparel, and all circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this Bishop, which had thus troubled him.*⁷⁵

7. John Bly and his Wife, *testified, that he bought a Sow of Edward Bishop, the Husband of the Prisoner, and was to pay the price agreed unto another person. This Prisoner being angry that she was thus hindred from singring the Money, quarrel'd with Bly, soon after which the Sow was taken with strange*

fion. He has omitted the most important Item in Cook's Testimony. He swore, that after Goodwife Bishop had struck him on the side of the Head, he saw her go out under the end Window at a little Crevice about as large as one

could thrust his hand into. See *Records S. W.* i, 165.

⁷⁵ Gray gave his age as about 42 Years. His Testimony is pretty fully and fairly given above. See *Records, Ibid.* 152-3. He is noticed in *Savage's Dictionary*, ii, 299.

*Fitts, jumping, leaping, and knocking her head against the Fence, she seemed blind and deaf, and would neither eat nor be sucked. Whereupon a Neighbour said, she believed the creature was over-looked; and sundry other circumstances concurred, which made the Depo- nents believe that Bishop had bewitched it.*⁷⁶

8. Richard Coman testified that Eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a light burning in the Room, he was annoyed with the Apparition of this Bishop, and of two more that were strangers to him; who came and oppressed him so that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else: and that he was the Night after molested again in the like man- ner; the said Bishop taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His Kinsman offered for this cause to lodge with him; and that night, as they were awake discoursing together, this Coman was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome, his Kinsman being at the same time struck speechless, and unable to move hand or foot. He had laid his Sword by him; which those unhappy Spectres, did strive much to wrest from him, only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his house; but altho they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir, until at last, one of the People crying out, *What's the matter! the Spectres all vanished.*⁷⁷

⁷⁶ This Testimony was given June 2d, 1692. The Blighs gave other Testimony, also, on the same Day. John Blye, Senior, aged about 57, and William Blye, aged about 15

Years. These testified concerning the finding of *Poppitts*, as given in Volume i, Page 173-4.

⁷⁷ Coman gave his Age as about 32 years. His Nightmare Story

9. *Samuel Shattuck* testified, that in the Year, 1680. This *Bridget Bishop*, often came to his house upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of Mischief. Presently whereupon his Eldest Child, which was of as promising health and sense, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the [123] oftener that *Bishop* came to the house, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an Invisible hand, and in like sort knock his face against the sides of the house, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards this *Bishop* would bring him things to Dye, whereof he could not Imagine any use; and when she paid him a piece of Money, the Purse and Money were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never seen more. The Child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible Fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did almost nothing but cry and sleep, for several Months together; and at length his understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him one was, that there was a Board in the garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About seventeen or eighteen Years after, there came a stran-

is here a good deal abridged. The curious Reader must go to the Records, as published by Woodward, Vol. i, 163-4.

ger to *Shattocks* house, who seeing the Child, said, *This poor Child is bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off who is a Witch.* He added, *Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her pride in this Child:* He then remembered, that *Bishop* had parted from his Wife in muttering, and menacing terms, a little before the Child was taken ill. The abovesaid stranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him to *Bishops* House, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew also upon the Boy, scratching his face till the Blood came, and saying, *Thou Rogue, what? dost thou bring this fellow here to plague me?* Now it seems the Man had said before he went, that he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was followed with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed unto Witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown still into the Fire or Water, if he were not constantly looked after; and it was verily believed that *Bishop* was the cause of it.⁷⁸

10. *John Louder* testified, that upon some little controverſie with *Bishop* about her Fowls, going

⁷⁸ *Shattuck's* Testimony occupies three and an half of *Mr. Woodward's* quarto Pages. His Age was 41. A part of his Story reminds one of the Man who appeared among his friends with an awfully

bruised Face. On being asked how it happened, replied that the Stones in the Road flew up and struck him as he was walking along. Poor *Shattuck* was unquestionably injured in the same way.

well to bed, he did awake in the Night by Moonlight, and did clearly see the likeness of this Woman grievously oppressing him. In which miserable condition she held him unable to help himself, till near day. He told *Bishop* of this; but she utterly denied it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's Day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black Pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after sitting down he saw a black thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The body was like that of a Monkey, the feet like a Cocks, but the face much like a Mans. He being so extremely afrighted, that he could not speak; this Monster spoke to him and said, *I am a Messenger [124] sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no substance, and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, though the doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my counsel!* He then struck at it with a stick, but struck only the Groundsel, and broke the stick. The Arm with which he struck was presently disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the back door, and spied this *Bishop*, in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had not power to set one foot

forward unto her. Whereupon returning into the Houfe, he was immediately accofted by the Monfter he had feen before; which Goblin was now going to fly at him: whereat he cried out, *The whole Armour of God be between me and you!* fo it fprang back, and flew over the Apple-tree; fhaking many Apples off the Tree in its flying over. At its leap, it flung dirt with its Feet, againft the Stomach of the Man; whereon he was then ftruck dumb, and fo continued for three Days together. Upon the producing of this Testimony, *Bifhop* denied that fhe knew this Deponent. Yet their two Orchards joined, and they had often had their little quarrels for fome Years together.⁷⁹

11. *William Stacy* testified, that receiving Money of this *Bifhop*, for work done by him, he was gone but a matter of three Rods from her, and looking for his Money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Bifhop* asked him whether his Father would grind her Grift for her? He demanded why? fhe replied, becaufe folks count me a Witch. He answered, no queftion, but he will grind it for you; being then gone about fix Rods from her, with a fmall load in his Cart, fuddainly the off Wheel flumpt, and funk

⁷⁹ John Louder gave his Age “about thirty two.” He faid he lived with Mr. John Gedney in Salem about feven or eight Years fince. He was doubtlefs afflicted by the fame Agents as Samuel Shat-tuck was, and faw quite as much if not hurt as much. A black Pig feemed determined to keep him Company; but there were fome other Things equally nondefcript. See *Records*, i, 160-1.

down into an hole, upon plain ground, so that the Deponent, was forced to get help for the recovering of the Wheel. But stepping back to look for the hole which might give him this disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after he was waked in the Night; but it seemed as light as day, and he perfectly saw the shape of this *Bishop*, in the Room troubling of him, but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charg'd *Bishop* afterwards with it, and she denied it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatned by *Bishop*, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the ground and thrown against a Stone-wall; after that he was again hoisted up, and thrown down a bank, at the end of his House. After this, again passing by this *Bishop*, his Horse with a small load, striving to draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a bag of Corn, of about two Bushels, could not budge it with all his might.⁸⁰

[125] Many other pranks of this *Bishops*, this Deponent was ready to testify. He also testified, that he verily believed, the said *Bishop* was the

⁸⁰ *Stacy* was of Salem, aged thirty six, or thereabouts. He goes back fourteen Years, which was the time of the Money Transaction. So that Dr. Mather's version of the Affair, as though it had just happened, is not a fair one. *Stacy* was often in the same Predicament of

Shattuck and *Louder*, only Stone Fences, Stumps and other odd things knocked him about in a manner, which if it surpris'd the Magistrates, it probably surpris'd nobody who might be better acquainted with him. See *Wonders*, Vol. i, 172.

Instrument of his Daughter *Priscilla's* death; of which suspicion, pregnant reasons were assigned.

12. To crown all *John Bly* and *William Bly* testified, that being employ'd by *Bridget Bishop*, to help take down the Cellar-wall of the old House, wherein she formerly lived, they did in holes of the said old Wall, find several Poppets made up of Rags, and Hogs Bristles, with headless Pins in them, the points being outward. Whereof she could now give no Account unto the Court, that was reasonable or tolerable.⁸¹

13. One thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of Gross lying in the Court, several times, while she was making her Plea. But besides this, a Jury of Women, found a preternatural Tet upon her Body; but upon a second search, within three or four hours, there was no such thing to be seen. There was also an Account of other People whom this Woman had Afflicted. And there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for. But there was no need of them.⁸²

14. There was one very strange thing more, with which the Court was newly entertained. As this Woman was under a guard, passing by the

⁸¹ This Evidence has been referred to in a previous Note.

⁸² It was no difficult matter, during a long and tedious Examination, so to bewilder and confound Persons of firmer nerves than an aged Matron, and thus make them

contradict themselves, not knowing what to say and hardly what was said to them. Respecting the Jury of Women, who searched her, the Reader may consult the Records, if his Patience is equal to his Curiosity.

great and spacious Meeting House of *Salem*, she gave a look towards the House; and immediately a *Dæmon* invisibly entring the Meeting House, Tore down a part of it; so that tho there were no person to be seen there, yet the People at the Noise running in, found a board which was strongly fastened with several Nails, transported unto another quarter of the House.⁸³

The Indictment of Sufanna Martin.

Effex ff. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginae Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, present, That *Sufanna Martin* of *Amesbury* in the County of *Effex*, Widow, The second Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practised, and exercised, at and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Effex* afore said,

⁸³ It would be much more satisfactory if the matter of the *Dæmon* had been well attested. If a Noise, and the Transportation of *that Board* is all the Evidence that could be adduced that the Devil

was at work there, it can hardly be said to amount to much. Besides, if the Devil had had any ill will towards the Meeting House, he could easily have set fire to it. His Enmity to M. Houses is generally admitted.

in, upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem-Village*, in the County of *Essex*, Single-Woman, by which said wicked Arts the said *Mary Wolcott*, the Second Day [126] of *May*, in the fourth Year aforesaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented; as also for sundry other Acts of Witchcraft, by said *Sufanna Martin*, committed and done before and since that time, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*; Their Crown and Dignity, and against the Form of the Statute, in that Case made and provided.

Return'd by the Grand-Jury, *Billa Vera*.

Witneffes—*Sarah Vibber*, *Mary Wolcott*, Mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mercy Lewis*.

The Second Indictment⁸⁴ was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis*. Witneffes—*Samuel Parris*, *Ann Putnam*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Mercy Lewis*.

⁸⁴ This second Indictment is given in full in the Records, for which see *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, Vol. i, 195-6.

The Trial of *Sufanna Martin*, June 29, 1692. As is Printed, in *Wonders of the Invisible World*, from p. 114 to p. 116.

1. **S**USANNA *Martin*, pleading not Guilty, to the Indictment of Witchcrafts brought in against her; there were produced the Evidences of many persons very sensibly and grievously bewitched; who all complained of the Prisoner at the Bar, as the person whom they believed the cause of their Miseries. And now as well as in the other Trials, there was an extraordinary endeavour by Witchcrafts, with cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers, from giving in their Complaints; which the Court was forced with much patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

There was now also an Account given, of what had passed at her first Examination before the Magistrates. The cast of her Eye then striking the Afflicted People to the Ground, whether they saw that cast or no: There were these among other Passages between the Magistrates and the Examinee.

Magistrate. Pray, what ails these People?

Martin. I don't know.

Magist. But, What do you think ails them?

Martin. I don't desire to spend my Judgment upon it.

Magist. Don't you think they are bewitched?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magist. Tell us your thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out, they are anothers. Their Master—

Magist. Their Master; Who do you think is their Master?

Martin. If they be dealing in the black Art, you may know as well as I.

[127] *Magist*. Well, what have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magist. Why, 'tis you or your appearance.

Martin. I can't help it.

Magist. Is it not your Master? How comes your appearance to hurt these?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the shape of *Samuel*, a Glorified Saint may appear in any ones shape.

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

The Court accounted themselves Alarm'd by these things, to inquire further into the Conversation of the Prisoner; and see what there might occur, to render these Accusations further credi-

ble.^a Whereupon *John Allen*, of *Salisbury* testified, that he refusing, because of the weakness of his Oxen, to Cart some Staves at the request of this *Martin*, she was displeas'd at it, and said, *It had been as good that he had; for his Oxen should never do him much more service.* Whereupon this Deponent said, *Dost thou threaten me, thou old Witch? I'll throw thee into the Brook:* which to avoid, she flew over the Bridge and escap'd. But as he was going home, one of his Oxen tired, so that he was forced to unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen with many more, upon *Salisbury-Beach*, where Cattle did use to get Flesh. In a few Days, all the Oxen upon the *Beach* were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the mouth of *Merrimack-River* and not returned; but the next day they were found come ashore upon *Plum-Island*. They that sought them, used all imaginable gentleness, but they would still run away with a violence, that seem'd wholly Diabolical, till they came near the mouth of *Merrimack-River*; when they ran right into the Sea, swimming as far as they could be seen. One of them then swam back again, with a swiftness amazing to the beholders, who stood ready to receive them, and help up his tired Carcass: but the Beast ran furiously up into the Island, and from thence thorough the Marishes, up into *Newbury Town*, and so up

^a The Above is but a very small Part of the Examination, as appears by the Records. See *Wonders of the Invisible World*, Vol. I, P. 175.

into the Woods; and there after a while found near *Amesbury*. So that of Fourteen good Oxen, there was only this saved: the rest were all cast up, some in one place, and some in another, Drowned.⁸⁵

4. *John Atkinson* testified, that he exchanged a Cow, with a Son of *Sufanna Martins*, whereat she muttered, and was unwilling he should have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho he Hamstring'd her, and halter'd her, she of a tame Creature grew so mad, that they could scarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were fastened unto her, and tho she was tied [128] fast unto a Tree, yet she made her escape, and gave them such further trouble, as they could ascribe to no cause but Witchcraft.⁸⁶

5. *Bernard Peache* testified that being in Bed, on a Lords Day Night, he heard a scrabbling at the Window, whereat he then saw *Sufanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the floor. She took hold of this Deponents Feet, and drawing his body up into an heap, she lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither speak nor stir. At length when he could begin to move he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit three of her Fingers as he judged to the Bone. Whereupon she went

⁸⁵ Lieut. John Allen was of Salisbury; and his Age 45. The Accused troubled him at some previous Period, but the Time he does not state.

⁸⁶ The Witness, John Atkinson, was aged about 56 Years. His Evidence related to Matters of some five Years past. See *Wonders of Invisible World*, Vol. I, Page 178.

from the Chamber down the Stairs, out at the door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the people of the House to advise them of what passed; and he himself did follow her. The People saw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left hand of the door, there was a drop of Blood on it; and several more drops of Blood upon the Snow, newly fallen abroad. There was likewise the print of her two Feet, just without the Threshold; but no more sign of any footing further off.⁸⁷

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

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

The said *Peache* also testified, the bewitching of Cattle to Death, upon *Martin's* discontents.

⁸⁷ *Peache's* Evidence was of at the Time of the Witchcraft Troubles of about ten Years before. He said his Age was about 42; and complained of, he lived with William Osgood, of Salisbury.

6. *Robert Downer* testified, that this Prisoner being some years ago prosecuted at Court for a Witch, he then said unto her, *He believed she was a Witch*. Whereat she being dissatisfied, said, *That some she Devil would shortly fetch him away*; which words were heard by others, as well as himself; the night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeness of a Cat, which flew upon him, and took fast hold of his Throat, lay on him a considerable while, and almost killed him; at length he remembered what *Sufanna Martin* had threatened the Day before, and with much striving, he cried out, *Avoid thou the Devil, In the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, avoid*: Whereupon it left him, leaped on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

And there also came in several Testimonies that before ever *Downer* spoke a word of this Accident, *Sufanna Martin* and her Family had related how this *Downer* had been handled.⁸⁸

[129] 7. *John Kembal* testified, that *Sufanna Martin*, upon a causeless disgust had threatned him about a certain Cow of his, that she should never do him any more good, and it came to pass accordingly; for soon after the Cow was found stark dead on the dry ground, without any Distemper to be discerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a strange death upon

⁸⁸ Downer's Age was 52, and he swore to was of Events which happened to Salisbury. What he swore to was of Events which happened "several Years ago."

more of his Cattle. Whereof he lost in one Spring, to the value of 30 *l*. But the said *John Kembal*, had a further Testimony to give in against the Prisoner, which was truly admirable. Being desirous to furnish himself with a Dog, he applied himself to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her House, but she not letting him have his choice; he said, *He would supply himself then at one Blezdels*. Having mark'd a Puppy which he liked at *Blezdels*, he met George Martin, the Husband of the Prisoner going by, who asked whether he would not have one of his Wives Puppy's; and he answered, No. The same Day one *Edmund Eliot*,⁸⁹ being at *Martins* House heard *George Martin* relate where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had said; whereupon *Sufanna Martin* reply'd, *If I live I'll give him Puppies enough*. Within a few days after this, *Kembal* coming out of the Woods, there arose a little black Cloud in the *N. W.* and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the stumps of Trees that were before him, albeit he had a broad plain cart way before him; but tho he had his Axe also on his Shoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-House, there appeared unto him

⁸⁹ Three Persons of the Name of *Eliot* are implicated in the Witch Court Proceedings — Andrew, Daniel, and this Edmund, who was of Amefbury. The Boston *Eliots* were of this Lineage.

a little thing like a Puppy of a darkish Colour, and it shot backwards and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to use all possible endeavours of cutting it with his Axe, but he could not hit it; the Puppy gave a jump from him and went, as to him it seem'd into the Ground. Going a little further there appeared unto him a black Puppy, somewhat bigger than the First, but as black as a Coal. It's motions were quicker than those of his Axe. It flew at his Belly, and away at his Throat, so over his Shoulders one way, and then over his Shoulders another way, his heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himself, and called upon God in his distress, and naming the name of Jesus Christ it vanished away at once. The Deponent spoke not one word of these Accidents, for fear of affrighting his Wife. But the next morning, *Edmund Eliot* going into *Martins* house, this Woman asked him, where *Kembal* was? He replied, at home a Bed, for ought he knew. She returned; they say he was frighted last night. *Eliot* asked with what? She answered with Puppies. *Eliot* asked, where she heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it! She rejoined, about the Town. Altho' *Kembal* had mentioned the matter to no creature living.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ John Kimball was of Amefbury, and was "aged 45 or upward." His swearing was to Occurrences of twenty-three Years standing; that about that Time he removed from Newbury to Amef-

bury, having bought Piece of Land of Geo. Martin. The Testimony of Kimball occupies three and an half Pages of the *Records*, i, 218-21. He probably married Mary Hobbs, in Newbury.

[130] 8. *William Brown* testified, that Heaven having bleff'd him with a most Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Sufanna Martin*: but when she approached just unto her, *Martin* vanished out of sight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time the said *Martin* often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when she did come, she was visited with Birds that sorely peck'd and prick'd her; and sometimes a bunch like a Pullets Egg would rise on her Throat, ready to choak her, till she cry'd out, *Witch, you shan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this Extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer on her behalf; whereupon the trouble ceas'd; she saw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church instead of their Fast, gave thanks for her deliverance. But a considerable while after, she being summoned to give in some Evidence at the Court, against this *Martin*, quickly this *Martin* came behind her, while she was Milking her Cow, and said unto her, *For thy defaming me at Court, I'll make thee the miserablest Creature in the World.* Soon after which she fell into a strange kind of Distemper, and became horribly Frantick, and incapable of any Reasonable Action, the Physicians declaring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition she now remained.⁹¹

⁹¹ This Testimony was by *William Browne*, of *Amesbury*, whose Age was 70 Years, or "ther about." What he swore to happened, he

9. *Sarah Atkinson* testified, that *Sufanna Martin* came from *Amesbury*, to their House at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Season, when it was not fit for any one to Travel. She came (as she said unto *Atkinson*) all that long way on foot. She bragg'd and show'd how dry she was; nor could it be perceived that so much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinson* was amazed at it, and professed, that she should herself have been wet up to the Knees, if she had then come so far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She scorned to be drabbled!* It was noted that this Testimony upon her Tryal, cast her into a very singular confusion.⁹²

10. *John Pressy* testified, that being one Evening very unaccountably bewildred near a Field of *Martin*, and several times as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he saw a Marvellous light, about the bigness of an half Bushel, near two Rood out of the way. He went and struck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near Forty blows; and felt it a palpable substance.

said "about on or to and thirty Years ago." The Trouble seems to have been between Mrs. Martin, and Browne's Wife, who was afflicted with hysteric Fits: infomuch that she was insane. He had applied to Doctors Fuller and Crosby, but they said her Complaint was supernatural, and that some evil Person had bewitched her. When in this State she would not own him for her Husband, and "asked

him whether he did not mett with one Mr. Bent of Abey in England by whom he was divorced."—*Records S. W.*, i, 206-8.

⁹² Sarah Atkinson was probably the Wife of John Atkinson, mentioned at Note 86. The "singular Confusion" appears to have been gratuitously thrown in by Dr. Mather. It is not in the Record. Her Age is given as 48 Years, or thereabouts.

But going from it, his heels were struck up, and he was laid with his back on the ground; sliding as he thought into a Pit: from whence he recovered, by taking hold on the Bush; altho afterwards he could find no such Pit in the place. Having after his recovery, gone five or six Rood, he saw *Sufanna Martin* standing on his Left hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his return; but at length he got home, extremely af[131]frighted. The next Day it was upon enquiry understood, that *Martin* was in a miserable condition by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testified by this Deponent, that after he had given in some Evidence against *Sufanna Martin* many Years ago, she gave him foul words about it, and said, *He should never prosper, more particularly, that he should never have more than two Cows: that tho he were never so likely to have more, yet he should never have them.* And that from that very day to this; namely for Twenty Years together, he could never exceed that number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having of any more.⁹³

11. *Jarvis Ring* testified that about Seven Years ago he was oftentimes grievously oppressed in the

⁹³ John Pressy, aged 53, and "Marah his Wif aged 46 or therabouts." It comes out in this Evidence, but is not mentioned by Mather, that at some 20 Years previous, this John Pressy and Wife had testified against Mrs. Martin, and that she had accused them of taking a false Oath. Such was the Origin of much of the Testimony.

Night; but saw not who troubled him, until at last he lying perfectly awake, plainly saw *Sufanna Martin* approach him. She came to him and forcibly bit him by the Finger; so that the print of the bite is now so long after to be seen upon him.

12. But besides all these Evidences, there was a most wonderful Account of one *Joseph Ring* produced on this occasion. This Man has been strangely carried about by *Dæmons*. From one Witch-meeting to another, for near two Years together; and for one quarter of this time they made him and kept him Dumb, though he is now again able to speak. There was one *T. H.*⁹⁴ who having, as 'tis judged, a design of Engaging this *Joseph Ring* in a snare of Devilism, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in Debt unto him. Afterwards this poor Man would be visited with unknown shapes, and this *T. H.* sometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown places, where he saw Meetings, Feastings, Dancings; and after his return wherein they hurried him along thro the Air, he gave demonstrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been so transported. When he was brought unto these hellish meetings, one of the first things they still did unto him, was to give him a knock on the back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, incapable of

⁹⁴ Thomas Hardy of Great Island, ceals his Name, except by the Initials, is not known. Why Mather con-

stirring out of the place, till they should release him. He related, that there often came to him a Man, who presented him a Book, whereto he would have him set his hand; promising to him that he should then have even what he would; and presenting him with all the delectable things, persons, and places, that he could imagine. But he refusing to subscribe, the business would end with dreadful shapes, noises and screeches, which almost scared him out of his wits. Once with a Book, there was a Pen offer'd him, and an Ink-horn, with liquor in it, that seem'd like Blood: but he never touched it.⁹⁵

This Man did now affirm, that he saw the Prisoner at several of those hellish Rendezvous.

[132] *Note*—This Woman was one of the most Impudent, Scurrilous, wicked Creature in the World; and she did now throughout her whole Tryal, discover herself to be such an one. Yet when she was asked what she had to say for herself, her chief plea was, that she had led a most vertuous and holy life.

⁹⁵ Jarvis Ring's Case could have been nothing but one of Nightmare. Girls and other Miscreants, foregone. The Testimonies of the Amefbury Accusers were taken before "Robert Pike, *Affist.*"

The Indictment of *Elizabeth How.*

Essex ff. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginae Williemi & Mariæ, nunc
Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen present, That *Elizabeth How*, Wife of *James How* of *Ipswich*, the Thirty first Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts and Sorceries, wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practiced, and exercised at, and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in, upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott*, of *Salem-Village*, in the County aforesaid, single Woman; by which said wicked Arts, the said *Mary Wolcott*, the said Thirty first Day of *May*, in the Fourth Year as aforesaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented; and also for sundry other Acts of Witchcrafts, by said *Elizabeth How*; committed and done before and since that time, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the form of the Statue, in that case made and provided.

Witneffes — *Mary Wolcott, Ann Putnam, Abigail Williams, Samuel Pearly, and his Wife Ruth, Joseph Andrews, and Wife Sarah, John Sherrin, Joseph Safford, Francis Lane, Lydia Foster, Isaac Cummins, Junior.*

There was also a second Indictment for afflicting of *Mercy Lewis*.

Witneffes — *Mercy Lewis, Mary Wolcott, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam, Samuel Pearly and Wife, Joseph Andrews and Wife, John Sherrin, Joseph Safford, Francis Lane, Lydia Foster.*

[133] The *Tryal of Elizabeth How*,⁹⁶ June 30, 1692. As is Printed In *Wonders of the Invisible World*, from P. 126 to P. 132, inclusively.

I. **E**LIZABETH *How*, pleading, not Guilty to the Indictment of Witchcrafts, then charged upon her; the Court, according to the usual proceeding of the Courts in *England*; in such Cases, began with hearing the Deposition of several Afflicted People, who were grievously tormented by sensible and evident Witchcrafts,

⁹⁶ The Indictment does not appear in the Records, probably for the Reason that it had been given to or taken by Dr. Mather, and never returned. Mrs. How was of Topsfield, Wife of James How of

that Town. Ephraim Wildes was the Constable who apprehended her. Her Examination was on the 30th of May, 1692, occupies two Pages, and was taken down by Mr. "Sam. Parris."

and all complained of the Prisoner, as the cause of their trouble. It was also found that the Suffers were not able to bear her look, as likewise, that in their greatest swoons, they distinguished her touch from other Peoples, being thereby raised out of them.

And there was other Testimony of People to whom the shape of this *How*, gave trouble Nine or Ten Years ago.⁹⁷

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

There was such Apparitions of Ghosts testified by some of the present Sufferers, and the Ghosts affirmed that this *How* had murdered them: which things were fear'd, but not proved.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The Author has not taken up the respective Parties who gave Evidence. Among others, no Notice is taken of that of two Ministers, namely, Mr. Samuel Phillips and Mr. Edward Payson, both of Rowley. Mr. Phillips gave his Age as about 67. Mr. *Paifon* did not state his. Their Testimonies were passed over undoubtedly because

they did not in the least criminate Mrs. How; nor did they pretend that they had seen any Thing like Witchcraft.

⁹⁸ They were not only not proved, but there are no Testimonies recorded containing these Ghost Stories. The following Witnesses are not noticed by Dr. Mather, viz.: Samuel Perley, aged about 52, and

3. This *How* had made some attempts of Joining to the Church at *Ipswich*, several Years ago; but she was denied an Admission into that holy Society, partly thro a suspicion of Witchcraft, then urged against her. And there now came in Testimony of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some that had been Instrumental to debar her from the Communion whereupon she was intruding.⁹⁹

his Wife about 46. Deborah Hadley, aged about 70 Years; had lived near Elizabeth How ("ye Wife of James How, Jr. of Ipswich 24 year.") She gave her a good Character. Mrs. Hadley testified on the 24th of June. The next Day Daniel Warner, Sen. gave in his Testimony. It was of the same tenor of Mrs. Hadley's. John Warner, Sen^r. also signed the same Evidence. They had been well acquainted with Mrs. How "about 20 years." So Simon Chapman and his Wife testified. Simon gave his Age as about 48 — "hath ben acquainted with the Wiuef of James How, iun^r. as a Naybar for this 9 or 10 Yers;" never knew any harm of her, and "found hur joust in hur delling, faythfooll," &c.

⁹⁹ Against such gratuitous, and to say the least, hearsay Testimony, the Doctor should, in fairness, have noticed such Evidence as that referred to in the last Note. A few others must not be overlooked. Joseph Knowlton stated that he had been acquainted with Mrs. How, as a Neighbor, and sometimes

boarded in the House at his first coming to live in these Parts, which was about ten Years ago. He and his Wife Mary both gave her a good Character. His Age was "forty tu," and his Wife's "thirtytu."

James How, Sen., aged about 94, testified that he had lived by Elizabeth, the Wife of James How, Jun^r, for about thirty Years; and, "setting a side humain Infurmity," she always behaved well, becoming her Place as a Daughter and Wife in all Relations.

Respecting the Church Difficulty, referred to in the Text, one Jacob Foster, aged about 29, swore, that "some Years agoe," as Goodwife How was about to join the Church, his Father was a Means of preventing it. Whereupon his Mare was lost for several Days. When found she looked as if she had been miserably beaten and abused. Sworn June 30th, 1692. Thomas Andrews of Boxford, aged about 50, told a more ridiculous Story about a Mare, belonging to Josiah Comings, Sen^r of Topsfield.

4. There was a particular Deposition of *Joseph Safford*, that his Wife had conceived an extream Aversion, to this *How*, on the reports of her Witchcrafts; but *How* one day taking her by the hand, and saying, *I believe you are not Ignorant of the great scandal, that I lye under, by an Evil report raised upon me.* She immediately, unreasonably, and unperfwadeably, even like one In-chanted, began to take this Womans part. *How* being soon after propounded, as desiring an Admission to the Table of the Lord, some of the Pious Brethren were unsatisfied about her. The Elders appointed a meeting to hear matters objected against her; and no arguments in the World could hinder this Goodwife *Safford* from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promise with much ado that she would not go to the Church-meeting; yet she could not refrain going thither also. [134] *How's* affairs there were so canvassed, that she came off rather Guilty, than cleared; nevertheless Goodwife *Safford* could not forbear taking her by the Hand, and saying, *Tho you are condemned before Men, you are justified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very strange manner; Frantick, Raving, Raging, and crying out, *Goody How must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint, and tho' she be condemned before Men, she is justified before God.* So she continued for the space of two or three hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to herself, she cried out, *Ha! I was mistaken!* afterwards again repeated,

Ha! I was mistaken! being asked by a stander by, Wherein? she replied, *I thought Goody How had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch: she has bewitched me and my Child, and we shall never be well, till there be Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church.*¹⁰⁰

And How said afterwards, *That she was very sorry to see Safford at the Church-meeting mentioned. Safford after this, declared herself to be Afflicted by the shape of How, and from that shape she endured many miseries.*

5. *John How*, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner testified that he refusing to accompany the Prisoner unto her Examination as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle, were bewitched to Death, leaping Three or four Foot high, turning about, squeaking, falling and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear, for an use, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife was taken very Numb; and so it remained, and full of pain for several Days; being not well at this very time. And he suspected this Prisoner, for the Author of it.¹⁰¹

6. *Nebemiah Abbot* testified, that unusual and mischievous accidents would befall his Cattle, whenever he had any difference with this Prisoner.

¹⁰⁰ Joseph Safford gave his Age about 60.

¹⁰¹ John How gave his Age as about 50. The Doctor has made some wretched Mistakes in his Ab-

stract of this Testimony. It was his Sow that "leaped up about three or foure foot hie," and fell down dead. The *squeaking* belonged to the Swine, and not to the Cattle.

Once particularly she wished his Ox choaked, and within a little while, that Ox was choaked with a Turnip in his Throat. At another time, refusing to lend his Horse, at the request of her Daughter, the Horse was in a preternatural manner abused. And several other odd things of that kind were testified.¹⁰²

7. There came in Testimony that one Goodwife *Sherwin*, upon some difference with *How* was bewitched, and, that she died, charging this *How* of having an hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischiev'd, spoiled, and spilt upon their displeasing her.¹⁰³

The things in themselves were trivial; but there being such a course of them, it made them the more to be considered. Among others, *Martha Wood* gave her testimony, that a little after, her Father had been employed in gathering an account of this *How's* Conversation, they once and again lost great quantities of Drink, out of their Vessels, in such a [135] manner, as they could ascribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As also that *How* giving her some Apples, when she had eaten of them, she was taken with a very strange kind of a maze, insomuch that she knew not what she said or did.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² I do not find any Note of Nehemiah Abbot's Evidence in the Records.

¹⁰³ This has reference, perhaps, to the Ghost Stories darkly hinted at by the Dr. Mather in a previous Page.

¹⁰⁴ I have not noticed Martha Wood's Evidence among the Records. The "great Quantities of Drink" reported lost, was probably found by some of the Witnesses already noticed.

8. There was likewise a Cluster of Depositions, that one *Isaac Cummings*, refusing to lend his Mare, unto the Husband of this *How*; the Mare was within a Day or two taken in a strange condition. The beast seemed much abused; being bruised, as if she had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover one using a Pipe of Tobacco for the cure of the Beast, a blew flame issued out of her, took hold of her hair, and not only spread and burnt on her, but it also flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have set the Barn on fire. And the Mare dy'd very suddenly.¹⁰⁵

9. *Timothy Perly* and his Wife, testified, not only that unaccountable Mischiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of differences with this Prisoner; but also that they had a Daughter destroyed by Witchcrafts; which Daughter still charged *How*, as the cause of her Affliction; and it was noted that she would be struck down, whenever *How* were spoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water, in her strange Fitts; tho her Father had corrected, for charging *How* with bewitching her, yet (as was testified by others also) she said she was sure of it, and must dye standing to it. Accordingly she charged *How* to the very death;

¹⁰⁵ Cummin's Testimony occupies above two solid Pages. His Age was about sixty Years. His Christian Name was mistaken by Mather, being Isaac instead of Joshua, as appears by the Records.

and said, *Tho How could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet she could not hurt her Soul, and that the truth of this matter would appear when she should be dead and gone.*¹⁰⁶

10. *Francis Lane* testified, that being hired by the Husband of this *How* to get him a parcel of Posts and Rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearly* to assist him. This Prisoner then told *Lane* that she believed the Posts and Rails would not do, because *John Pearly* helped him; but that if he had got them alone without *John Pearly's* help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Posts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the Ends, they, tho good and found yet unaccountably broke off, so that *Lane* was forced to get Thirty or Forty more. And this Prisoner being informed of it, she said, *She told him so before: because Pearly helped about them.*¹⁰⁷

11. Afterwards there came in the Confessions of several other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of those who with them had been baptized by the Devil in the River, at *Newberry-Falls*: before which he made them there

¹⁰⁶ Timothy *Perley* and his Wife *Deborah* testified, June 1st, 1692, that he was about 39 Years of Age, and his Wife about 33. The Abstract above is exceedingly defective. See the *Records*, ii, 73-4.

¹⁰⁷ Francis *Lane* gave his Age as

about 27, and said that the Time the Witches afflicted the Rails was about "seauen" Years ago, and makes a long Story out of it; but it is of a Piece with most of the Evidence. *Lane's* Parentage has not been traced.

[136] Martha Carryer's *Indictment*. 113

kneel down by the Brink of the River, and Worship him.¹⁰⁸

[136] *The Indictment of Martha Carryer*.¹⁰⁹

Effex ff. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginae Wilielmi & Mariae, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.—*

THE Jurors for our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, present, That *Martha Carryer*, Wife of *Thomas Carryer* of *Andover*, in the County of *Effex*, Husbandman, The Thirty first Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Felloniously hath used, practised, and exercised, at and within the Township of *Salem*, in

¹⁰⁸ They affirmed that many of those wretched Souls had been Baptized at Newberry Falls; and at several other Rivers and Ponds; and as to the Manner of Administration, the Great Officer of *Hell* took them up by the Body, and putting their Heads into the Water, said over them, *Thou art mine, and I have full Power over thee*: And thereupon they engaged and covenanted to renounce GOD, CHRIST, their *sacred Baptism*, and the whole Way of *Gospel Sal-*

vation; and to use their utmost Endeavours to oppose the Kingdom of CHRIST, and to set up and *advocate* the Kingdom of *Satan*.—*Lawson, Second Edition*, 118. See, also, Vol. I, Page 102-3.

¹⁰⁹ Complaint was made against Martha Carrier on the 28th of May, by Joseph Houlton and John Wallcott, both of Salem. John Ballard, Constable, arrested her. John *Bayley*, Assistant Constable of Andover, summoned the Witnesses. See *Records S. W.* ii, 54, 55, &c.

the County of *Essex* aforefaid, in, upon, and againft one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem-Village*, Single Woman, in the County of *Essex* aforefaid; by which faid wicked Arts the faid *Mary Wolcott*, the Thirty firft Day of *May*, in the fourth Year aforefaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Confumed, Wafed and Tormented; againft the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*; their Crown and Dignity, and againft the Form of the Statute, in that Cafe made and provided.

Witneffes—*Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Ann Putnam*.

There was alfo a Second Indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, by Witchcraft. Witneffes—*Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Ann Putnam*, *Mary Warrin*.

The Trial of *Martha Carryer*, Auguft 2, 1692. As may be feen in *Wonders of the Invisible World*, from P. 132, to 138.

1. **M***Artha Carryer* was indicted for the bewitching of certain perfons according to the form ufual in fuch Cafes: Pleading not Guilty to her Indictment; there were firft brought in a confiderable number of the Bewitched perfons;

who not only made the Court sensible of an horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but also deposed, That it was *Martha Carryer*, or her shape, that grievously tormented them by biting, pricking, pinching and choaking them. It was further deposed that while this *Carryer* was on her Examination before the Magistrates, the poor People were so tortured, that every one expected their Death upon the very spot; but that upon the binding of *Carryer* they were eased. [137] Moreover the looks of *Carryer* then laid the Afflicted People for dead, and her Touch, if her Eyes at the same time were off them, raised them again. Which things were also now seen upon her Tryal. And it was testified, that upon the mention of some having their Necks twisted almost round by the shape of this *Carryer*, she replied, *Its no matter, tho their Necks had been twisted quite off.*¹¹⁰

2. Before the Tryal of this Prisoner, several of her own Children had frankly and fully confessed not only that they were Witches themselves, but that this their Mother had made them so. This confession they made with great shows of Repentance, and with much Demonstration of Truth. They related Place, Time, Occasion; they gave an Account of Journeys, Meetings, and Mischiefs by them performed; and were very credi-

¹¹⁰ Martha Carrier underwent the usual Examination, which occupies two Pages, and the Original is in the Hand of Mr. Samuel Parris. The above is but a very unsatisfactory Abridgement of it.

ble in what they said. Nevertheless, this Evidence was not produced against the Prisoner at the Bar, in as much as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.¹¹¹

3. *Benj. Abbot* gave in his Testimony, That last *March* was a Twelve month, this *Carryer* was very angry with him, upon laying out some Land near her Husbands. Her expressions in this Anger were, *That she would stick as close to Abbot, as the Bark stuck to the Tree; and that he should repent of it afore seven Years came to an end, so as Doctor Prescot should never cure him.* These words were heard by others, besides *Abbot* himself, who also heard her say, *She would hold his Nose as close to the Grind-stone as ever it was held since his name was Abbot.* Presently after this he was taken with a swelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred unto a Sore, which was lanced by *Dr. Prescot*, and several Gallons of Corruption ran out of it. For six Weeks it continued very bad; and then another Sore bred in his Groin, which was also lanced by *Dr. Prescot*. Another Sore bred in his Groin which was likewise Cut, and put him to very great misery. He

¹¹¹ It appears from Lawson's Account that such Accusations were much heeded. He says—"Several have confessed against their own Mothers, that they were Instruments to bring them into the *Devil's Covenant*, to the undoing of their

Body and Soul. And some Girls of Eight or Nine Years of Age did declare that after they were so betrayed by their Mothers, to the Power of *Satan*, they saw the *Devil* go in their own shapes to afflict others."—Page 118-19.

was brought unto Death's door, and so remained until *Carryer* was taken and carried away by the Constable. From which very day he began to mend, and so grew better every day, and is well ever since.¹¹²

Sarah Abbot also his Wife testified, that her Husband was not only all this while Afflicted in his Body; but also that strange, extraordinary and unaccountable calamities befel his Cattle; their Death being such as they could guess at no Natural Reason for.¹¹³

4. *Allin Toothaker* testified, that *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, having some difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head, when he rose again, he was going to strike at *Richard Carryer*, but fell down flat on his back to the ground, and had not power to stir Hand or foot, until he told *Carryer* he yielded; and then he saw the shape of *Martha Carryer*, go off his Breast.

[138] This *Toothaker* had received a wound in the Wars, and he now testified, that *Martha Carryer* told him, *He shall never be cured*. Just afore the apprehending of *Carryer*, he could thrust a Knitting-Needle into his wound four Inches deep, but presently after her being seized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further testified, that when *Carryer* and he sometimes were at variance, she would clap her

¹¹² Benjamin Abbot was of Andover, and his Age was about 31.

¹¹³ Sarah Abbot gave her Age as about 32 Years.

Hands at him and say, *He should get nothing by it*. Whereupon he several times lost his Cattle, by strange Deaths, whereof no natural causes could be given.¹¹⁴

5. *John Roger* also testified, that upon the threatening words of this malicious *Carryer*, his Cattle would be strangely bewitched; as was more particularly then described.¹¹⁵

6. *Samuel Preston* testified, that about two Years ago, having some difference with *Martha Carryer*, he lost a Cow in a strange, preternatural, unusual manner; and about a Month after this, the said *Carryer*, having again some difference with him, she told him, *He had lately lost a Cow, and it should not be long before he lost another!* which accordingly came to pass; for he had a thriving and well kept Cow, which without any known cause quickly fell down and died.¹¹⁶

7. *Phebe Chandler* testified, that about a Fortnight before the Apprehension of *Martha Carryer*, on a Lords Day, while the Psalm was singing in the Church, this *Carryer* then took her by the

¹¹⁴ Allen Toothaker was a young Man, aged about 22 Years. He may have received his Wound when the Indians attacked Andover, as mentioned in an earlier Note.

¹¹⁵ *John Rogers* was of Billerica. He gave his Age as about 50. His Testimony takes up a quarto Page in the Records. Three Years later, viz., August 5th, 1695, he, with

several others, was killed at Billerica by the Indians.

¹¹⁶ Samuel Preston gave his Age as about 41 Years. He swore he "lost a Cow in a strange Manner." That *strange Manner*, it is evident from his Story, referred to the Way in which she was cast, and not being able to free herself, died. The *preternatural* and *unusual* being thrown in by the Doctor.

Shoulder, and shaking her, asked her, *Where she lived?* she made her no Answer, altho as *Carryer*, who lived next door to her Father's House, could not in Reason but know who she was. Quickly after this, as she was at several times crossing the Fields she heard a Voice that she took to be *Martha Carryers*, and it seem'd as if it were over her head. The Voice told her, *She should within two or three Days be Poison'd*: Accordingly within such a little time, one half of her Right Hand became greatly swollen and very painful; as also part of her Face; whereof she can give no Account how it came. It continued very bad for some days; and several times since she has had a great pain in her Breast; and been so seized on her Legs that she has hardly been able to go. She added that lately, going well to the House of God, *Richard* the Son of *Martha Carryer*, look'd very earnestly upon her, and immediately her Hand which had formerly been Poisoned, as is above said, began to pain her greatly, and she had a strange burning at her Stomach; but was then struck deaf, so that she could not hear any of the Prayer, or Singing, till the two or three last words of the Psalm.¹¹⁷

8. One *Foster*, who confessed her own share in the Witchcraft, for which the Prisoner stood In-

¹¹⁷ It is only necessary to state that Phebe Chandler was but about 12 Years old, as a Reason that no Notice should be taken of her Evidence; and notwithstanding near two solid Pages of her Testimony are in the Records. However, Bridget Chandler, her Mother, aged 40 Years, corroborated the Daughter's Story.

dicted, affirmed, that she had seen the Prisoner at some of their Witch-meetings, and that it was this *Carryer*, who perswaded her to be a Witch. She confessed that the Devil carried them on [139] a Pole to a Witch-meeting, but the Pole broke, and she hanging about *Carryer's* Neck, they both fell down, and she then received an hurt by the fall, whereof she was not at this very time recovered.¹¹⁸

9. One *Lacy*, who likewise confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified that she and the Prisoner, were once bodily present, at a Witch-meeting in *Salem-Village*, and that she knew the Prisoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament, and that the Prisoner was the undoing of her and her Children, by enticing them into the Snare of the Devil.¹¹⁹

10. Another *Lacy*, who also confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified that the Prisoner was at the Witch meeting in *Salem-Village*, where they had Bread and Wine administered unto them.

11. In the time of this Prisoners Tryal, one *Sufanna Shelden*¹²⁰ in open Court, had her Hands unaccountably tied together, with a Wheel-band, so fast, that without cutting, it could not be loosed. It was done by a Spectre; and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the Prisoners.

¹¹⁸ This has reference to Ann Foster, of Salem Village. See *Records S. W.*, ii, 136-7.

¹¹⁹ Mary Lacy was Wife of Lawrence Lacy, of Andover, and Daughter of Ann Foster. See *Ibid.*,

ii, 139-40. This "other Lacy" was also named "Mary." *Ibid.*, 142.

¹²⁰ Sufanna Sheldon was a ready Witness in a large Number of Cafes, as has already been noticed.

Memorandum. This *Rampant Hag*, Martha Carryer, was the person of whom the Confessions of the Witches and of her own Children, among the rest, agreed, that the Devil had promised her, she should be Queen of Hell.¹²¹

Thus far the Account given in *Wonders of the Invisible World*; in which setting aside such words as these, in the Tryal of G. B. viz. [*They* (i. e.) *the Witnesses were enough to fix the character of a Witch upon him.*]

In the Tryal of *Bishop*, these words, [*but there was no need of them*] i. e. of further Testimony.

In the Tryal of *How*, where it is said, [and there came in Testimony of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some that had been instrumental to debar her from the Communion,

¹²¹ No Testimony appears to have been omitted that could be tortured by any Construction against "this rampant Hag," by the Author, while all that went to clear her was rejected. Fortunately the Case is changed, and the whole is spread before disinterested Inquirers, or enough upon which to form a correct Judgment. Mr. Francis Dane, the second Minister of Andover, dared to give his Thoughts upon the Witchcraft Cases. These he communicated to the Court, and the Scribe recorded them among the Evidence. He said he had lived above forty Years in Andover, and in his "healthfull Yeares had been frequent among y^e Inhabitants

in their Habitations," and never heard of anything of the Nature of Witchcraft until the Arrests the last Summer (1692). If there were any Suspicions that Martha Carrier was a Witch, before she was apprehended, he said he had never heard of it; and "as for any other Persons, I had no Suspicion of them, and had Charity been put on, the Diuel would not have had such an Advantage against us, and I beleve many innocent Persons have been accused." This Testimony of an aged and worthy Gentleman (then 77), well acquainted with all the Circumstances, and with the Accused, should accompany that against "the rampant Hag."

whereupon she was *intruding*.] *Martin* is call'd [one of the most impudent, scurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World.] In his Account of *Martha Carryer*, he is pleas'd to call her [a *Rampant Hag*,] &c.

These Expressions as they manifest, that he wrote more like an Advocate than an Historian; so also that those that were his Employers were not mistaken in their choice of him for that work, however he may have mist it in other things.

As in his owning (in the Tryal of *G. B.*) That the *Testimony of the bewitched, and confessors was not enough against the Accused*, for it is known that not only in *New-England*, such Evidence has been taken for sufficient, but also in *England*, as himself there owns, and will also hold true of *Scotland*, &c. they having proceeded upon such Evidence, to the taking away of the Lives of many, to assert that this is not enough, is to tell the World that such Executions were but so many Bloody Murders; which surely was not his intent to say.¹²²

[140] His telling that the Court began to think

¹²² This Passage caus'd Dr. Mather to utter some very wrathful Expressions against the Author. He says, or rather, his Defenders for him: "What was done in the dark Time of our Troubles from the *Invisible World*, all honest Men believe, they did in Conscience of the *Oath* of God upon them, and

they followed unto the best of their Understanding, as we are inform'd, the Precedents of *England* and *Scotland*, and *other Nations* on such a dark and doleful Occasion. When they found the Matter carried beyond the Reach of Mortals, they stopt."—*Some Few Remarks*, 6; *Magnalia*, B. ii, 64.

that *Burroughs* stept aside to put on Invisibilty, is a rendring them so mean Philosophers, and such weak Christians, as to be fit to be imposed upon by any silly pretender.

His calling the Evidence against *How* trivial, and others against *Burroughs*, he accounts no part of his Conviction; and that of lifting a Gun with one Finger, its being not made use of as Evidence, renders the whole but the more perplext. (Not to mention the many mistakes therein contain'd.)

Yet all this (and more that might have been hinted at) does not hinder, but that his Account of the manner of Trials of those for Witchcraft is as faithfully related as any Tryals of that kind, that was ever yet made publick; and it may also be reasonably thought that there was as careful a Scrutiny, and as unquestion'd Evidences improved, as had been formerly used in the Tryals of others, for such crimes in other places.¹²³ Tho indeed a second part might be very useful to set forth which was the Evidence Convictive in these Tryals, for it is not supposed, that Romantick or Ridiculous stories should have any influence, such as biting a Spectres Finger so that the Blood flowed out, or such as *Shattock's* Story of 12 Years standing, which yet was presently 18 Years or more, and yet a Man of that excellent Memory, as to be able to recall a small difference

¹²³ See Volume I, Pages 35, 86.

his Wife had with another Woman when Eighteen Years were past.

As it is not to be supposed that such as these could Influence any Judge or Jury, so not unkindness to relations, or God's having given to one Man more strength than to some others, the over-setting of Carts, or the death of Cattle, nor yet Excrescencies (call'd Tets) nor little bits of Rags tied together (call'd Poppets.) Much less any persons illness, or having their Cloaths rent when a Spectre has been well hanged, much less the burning the Mares Fart, mentioned in the Tryal of *How*.

None of these being in the least capable of proving the Indictment; The supposed Criminals were Indicted for Afflicting, &c. such and such particular persons by Witchcraft, to which none of these Evidences have one word to say, and the Afflicted and Confessors being declared not enough, the matter needs yet further explaining.

But to proceed, the General Court having sat and enacted Laws, particularly one against Witchcraft, assigning the Penalty of Death to any that shall feed, reward or employ, &c. Evil Spirits, though it has not yet been explained what is intended thereby, or what it is to feed, reward or employ Devils, &c. yet some of the Legislators have given this instead of an Explanation, that

they had therein but Copied the Law of another Country.¹²⁴

January 3. By vertue of an Act of the General Court, the first Superior Court was held at *Salem*, for the County of *Essex*, the Judges appointed were Mr. *William Stoughton* (the Lieutenant Governor) *Thomas* [141] *Danforth*, *John Richards*, *Wait Winthrop*, and *Samuel Sewall*, Esquires. Where Ignoramus was found upon the several Bills of Indictment against Thirty, and *Billa-Vera* against Twenty six more; of all these Three only were found Guilty by the Jewry upon Trial, two of which were (as appears by their Behaviour) the most senseless and Ignorant Creatures that could be found; besides which it does not appear what came in against those more than against the rest that were acquitted.¹²⁵

The Third was the Wife of *Wardwell*, who was one of the Twenty Executed, and it seems they had both confessed themselves Guilty; but he retracting his said Confession, was tried and Executed; it is supposed that this Woman fearing her Husbands fate, was not so stiff in her denials of her former Confession, such as it was. These Three received Sentence of Death.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ What the Laws of England were on the Subject of Witchcraft has been exhibited in the Introduction to the first Volume. Their Abrogation by Parliament, through the exertions of Lord Talbot, took place in 1736. See *Douglafs' Summary*, i, 451.

¹²⁵ I do not find the Court Proceedings at this Period.

¹²⁶ The Indictments and Examination of Samuel Wardwell may be seen in the Records, in the usual Form. He was of Andover, and is styled Carpenter. His first Indictment was for afflicting one

At these Tryals some of the Jewry made Inquiry of the Court, what Account they ought to make of the Spectre Evidence? and received for Answer [as much as of Chips in Wort]¹²⁷

January 31, 1692. The Superior Court began at *Charlestown*, for the County of *Middlesex*, Mr. *Stoughton*, M. *Danforth*, M. *Winthrop*, and Mr. *Sewall* Judges, where several had Ignoramus returned upon their Bills of Indictment, and *Billa Vera* upon others.¹²⁸

Martha Sprague of Boxford, in August last (1692). The second charges, that "about 20 Yeares agoe, in the Towne of Andivor, he the said Samuel Wardell, with the Evill Speritt the Devill [did feloniously make] a Couenant wherein he promised to honor, worship and believe the Devill Contrary to the Stattute." His Examination was before John Higginson, Esq. on Sept. 1st, 1692. He was then about 46 Years old. His strange Answers clearly indicate a state of Infanity. Martha Sprague, aged 16, swore to being bewitched by him. Ephraim Foster of Andover, aged about 34, swore that he foretold Events by looking in people's Hands; "would cast his Eyes down upon y^e ground allways before he told enything." Thomas Chandler, aged about 65, often heard said Wardwell tell young Persons their Fortunes. Joseph Ballard, aged about 41, swore that his Brother John Ballard told him that Samuel Wardwell told

him, that he (Wardwell) had bewitched his (Joseph Ballard's) Wife. Abigail Martin of Andover, aged 16, said that some time last Winter S. Wardwell and John *Farnam* were at her Fathers. W. told F.'s Fortune. He also told Jeams Bridge's Fortune. See *Records S. W.* ii, 146-153.

¹²⁷ *Q. D. of no Account whatsoever.* I do not find that the Expounders of Proverbs have fallen upon this.

¹²⁸ One of the Original *Billa veras* is now before me, and runs thus: "The Deposition of Mercy Lewis Aged [19.] This Deponent testifieth and saith that last Night Philip English and his Wife came to mee, also Goodwife Daften, Eliza Johnson, and Old Pharoh of Linn: sd. Mrs. English vrged mee to set my Hand to a Booke, and told mee she would afflict me dreadfully and kill me if I did not: Said also if I would but touch the Booke I should bee well, or else I should never. Mrs. English said she might bring the Book

In the time the Court sat, word was brought in, that a Reprieve was sent to *Salem*, and had prevented the Execution of Seven of those that were there Condemned, which so moved the chief Judge, that he said to this effect, *We were in a way to have cleared the Land of these, &c. who it is obstructs the course of Justice I know not; the Lord be merciful to the Countrey*, and so went off the Bench, and came no more that Court:¹²⁹ The most remarkable of the Tryals, was of *Sarah Dasfton*, she was a Woman of about 70 or 80 Years of Age, To usher in her Tryal, a report went before, that if there were a Witch in the World she was one, as having been so accounted of, for 20 or 30 Years; which drew many People from *Boston, &c.* to hear her Tryal. There were a multitude of Witnesses produced against her; but what Testimony they gave in seemed wholly foreign, as of accidents, illness, &c. befalling them, or theirs after some Quarrel; what these testified was much of it of Actions said to be done 20 Years before that time. The Spectre-Evidence was not made use of in these Tryals, so that the Jewry soon brought her in not Guilty,

now she thought everie one of them would bee cleared, and now at this present Time before the Grandiuryfd Philip English, his Wife, and old Pharoh, come into the Roome, or their Shape and stroke mee on the Brest, and almost choaked mee, and said they would strangle me if they could. *Owed before the Grand-*

iury upon the Oath she had taken, Janr 12th, 1693. Attests Robert Payne, Foreman." All in the Autograph of Mr. Saml. Parris, except the Signature of Payne. See APPENDIX, NUMBER III.

¹²⁹ The "Chief Judge," it will be remembered, was Lieut. Gov. Stoughton.

her Daughter and Grand-daughter, and the rest that were then tried, were also acquitted. After she was cleared Judge *Danforth* Admonished her in these words, *Woman, Woman, repent, there are shrewd things come in against you*; she was remanded to Prison for her Fees, and there in a short time expired.¹³⁰ One of *Boston* that had been at the Tryal of *Daston*, being the same Evening in company with one of the Judges [142] in a publick place, acquainted him that some that had been both at the Tryals at *Salem* and at this at *Charlestown*, had asserted that there was more Evidence against the said *Daston* than against any at *Salem*, to which the said Judge conceded, saying, *That it was so*. It was replied by that person, *that he dare give it under his hand, that there was not enough come in against her to bear a just reproof*.

April 25, 1693. The first Superior Court was held at *Boston*, for the County of *Suffolk*, the Judges were the Lieutenant Governour, Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Richards*, and Mr. *Sewall*, Esquires.

Where (besides the acquitting Mr. *John Aldin* by Proclamation) the most remarkable was, what related to *Mary Watkins*, who had been a Servant,

¹³⁰ The Complainants were "Mr. Thomas Putnam, and Mr. John Putnam, Jr., of Salem Village." She is styled single Woman, "of Redding," and her Name is spelt Duffing, Dastin, and Dasting, in the Records. It would be interesting to know if she was a Relative of

the noted Heroine, Hannah Dustin, of Haverhill, who slew her Indian Captors, and escaped out of Captivity in 1697. Mr. Chase, the able Historian of Haverhill, does not seem to have consulted the Records at Salem, as we find nothing of this Case in his History.

and lived about Seven Miles from *Boston*, having formerly Accused her Mistrefs of Witchcraft, and was supposed to be distracted, she was threatned if she persisted in such Accusations to be punished, this with the necessary care to recover her Health, had that good effect, that she not only had her Health restored, but also wholly acquitted her Mistrefs of any such Crimes, and continued in Health till the return of the Year, and then again falling into Melancholy humours she was found strangling herself; her Life being hereby prolonged, she immediately accused herself of being a Witch; was carried before a Magistrate and committed. At this Court a Bill of Indictment was brought to the Grand Jury against her, and her confession upon her Examination given in as Evidence, but these not wholly satisfied herewith, sent for her, who gave such account of herself, that they (after they had returned into the Court to ask some Questions) Twelve of them agreed to find Ignoramus, but the Court was pleased to send them out again, who again at coming in returned it as before.

She was continued for some time in Prison, &c. and at length was sold to *Virginia*. About this time the Prisoners in all the Prisons were released.

To omit here the mentioning of several Wenches in *Boston*, &c. who pretended to be Afflicted, and accused several, the Ministers often visiting them, and praying with them, concerning whose Afflic-

tion Narratives are in being. In Manuscript not only these, but the generality of those Accusers may have since convinc'd the Ministers by their vicious courses that they might err in extending too much Charity to them.

The conclusion of the whole in the *Massachusetts* Colony was Sir *William Phips*, Governour, being call'd home, before he went he pardon'd such as had been condemned, for which they gave about 30 Shillings each to the Kings Attorney.¹³¹

In *August* 1697. The Superior Court sat at *Hartford*, in the Colony of *Connecticut*, where one *Mistress Benom* was tried for Witchcraft, she [143] had been accused by some Children that pretended to the Spectral sight; they searched her several times for Tets; they tried the Experiment of casting her into the Water, and after this she was Excommunicated by the Minister of *Wallinsford*. Upon her Tryal nothing material appeared against her, save Spectre Evidence, she was acquitted, as also her Daughter, a Girl of Twelve or Thirteen Years old, who had been likewise Accused; but upon renewed Complaints against them, they both flew into *New-York* Government.¹³²

¹³¹ If this was supposed to be dealing justly by the Accused, the Government Officers of that Day must have had a very *angular* Idea of Justice, as understood by upright Men of the present Day. Such a Course reminds one of "Lidford Law," and of those sen-

tenced "to be hanged and to pay 40 shillings."

¹³² "One that many Years since was Executed at Hartford, in Connecticut Colony, on the Account of Witchcraft, confessed, that she had employed Evil Spirits to be revenged on several; but that when

Before this the Government Issued forth the following Proclamation.

By the Honourable the Lieutenant Governour, Council and Assembly of his Majesties¹³³ Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in General Court Assembled.

Whereas the Anger of God is not yet turned away, but his Hand is still stretched out against his People in manifold Judgments, particularly in drawing out to such a length the troubles of *Europe*,¹³⁴ by a perplexing War; and more especially, respecting ourselves in this Province, in that God is pleased still to go on in diminishing our Substance, cutting short our Harvest, blasting our most promising undertakings more ways than one, unsettling of us, and by his more Immediate hand, snatching away many out

she would have had them do the Like to Mr. Stone (the Eminent Teacher of the Church there) they told her, they had not leave to do it: Nor is this to be Evaded by saying some Persons (as of late in New England) have falsely accused themselves, for this Person was upon Rational Grounds, thought to be a true Penitent, before her Death. We cannot argue, that because some have failed in their cursed Attempts, that therefore never any Succeeded.

But the known Success of many was that which emboldened others to Endeavour the Like."—I. Mather, in *Angelographia, To the Reader*. See, also, *Remarkable Providences* (by the same), Chap. V.

¹³³ William III, Mary being dead. She died on the 28th Dec., 1694. Was Dau. of James II, by A. Hyde.

¹³⁴ The "perplexing war" of this Period is sketched with a Master's Hand by Macaulay in his *History of England*.

of our Embraces, by sudden and violent Deaths, even at this time when the Sword is devouring so many both at home and abroad, and that after many days of publick and Solemn addressing of him. And altho considering the many Sins prevailing in the midst of us, we cannot but wonder at the Patience and Mercy moderating these Rebukes; yet we cannot but also fear that there is something still wanting to accompany our Supplications. And doubtless there are some particular Sins, which God is Angry with our *Israel* for, that have not been duly seen and repented by us; about which God expects to be sought if ever he turn again our Captivity.

Wherefore it is Comanded and Appointed, that *Thursday* the Fourteenth of *January* next, be observed as a Day of Prayer, with Fasting throughout this Province, strictly forbidding all Servile labour thereon; that so all Gods People may offer up fervent Supplications unto him, for the Preservation, and Prosperity of his Majesty's Royal Person and Government, and Success to attend his Affairs both at home and abroad; that all iniquity may be put away which hath stirred God's Holy jealousy against this Land; that he would shew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiss to do so no more; and especially that whatever mistakes on either hand have been fallen into, either by the body of this People, or any orders of men, referring to the late Tragedy, raised among us by Satan and

his Instruments, thro the awful Judgment of God, he [144] would humble us therefor and pardon all the Errors of his Servants and People, that desire to love his Name and be attoned to his Land; that he would remove the Rod of the wicked from off the Lot of the Righteous, that he would bring the *American* Heathen, and cause them to hear and obey his Voice.

Given at Boston, Decemb 17, 1696, in the 8th Year of his Majesties Reign.

Isaac Addington, *Secretary.*

Upon the Day of the Fast in the full Assembly at the South Meeting-House in *Boston* one of the Honourable Judges,¹³⁵ who had sat in Judicature in *Salem*, delivered in a Paper, and while it was in reading stood up, But the Copy being not to be obtained at present, It can only be reported by Memory to this effect, *viz. It was to desire the Prayers of God's People for him and his, and that God having visited his Family, &c. he was apprehensive that he might have fallen into some Errors in the Matters at Salem, and pray that the Guilt of such Miscarriages may not be imputed either to the Country in general, or to him or his family in particular.*

¹³⁵ The Honorable Samuel Sewall. He worshipped at the *Old South Church*. His Name will be found inscribed upon the Plan of

the House in Mr. Wisner's *History*, Page 102, denoting the Pew which he occupied. Its internal Arrangement is much the same now.

Some that had been of several Jewries, have given forth a Paper, Sign'd with their own hands in these words.

WE whose names are under written, being in the Year 1692, called to serve as Jurors in Court at Salem on Tryal of many; who where by some suspected Guilty of doing Acts of Witchcraft upon the Bodies of sundry Persons:

We confess that we ourselves were not capable to understand, nor able to withstand the mysterious delusions of the Powers of Darknes, and Prince of the Air; but were for want of Knowledge in ourselves, and better Information from others, prevailed with to take up with such Evidence against the Accused, as on further consideration, and better Information, we justly fear was insufficient for the touching the Lives of any, Deut. xvii. 6. whereby we fear we have been instrumental with others, tho Ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon ourselves, and this People of the Lord, the Guilt of Innocent Blood; which Sin the Lord saith in Scripture, he would not pardon, 2 Kings xxiv. 4. that is we suppose in regard of his temporal Judgments. We do therefore hereby signifie to all in general (and to the surviving Sufferers in especial) our deep sense of, and sorrow for our Errors, in acting on such Evidence to the condemning of any person.

And do hereby declare that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds; and do

[145] *Jury-men's Acknowledgment.* 135

therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God for Christ's sake for this our Error; And pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourselves, nor [145] others; and we also pray that we may be considered candidly, and aright by the living Sufferers as being then under the power of a strong and general Delusion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in matters of that Nature.

We do heartily ask forgiveness of you all, whom we have justly offended, and do declare according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again on such grounds for the whole World; praying you to accept of this in way of Satisfaction for our Offence; and that you would bless the Inheritance of the Lord, that he may be entreated for the Land.

*Foreman, Thomas Fisk,
William Fisk,
John Bacheler,
Thomas Fisk, Junior
John Dane,
Joseph Evelith,
Thomas Perly, Senior
John Pebody,
Thomas Perkins,
Samuel Sayer,
Andrew Elliott,
Henry Herrick, Senior,¹³⁶*

¹³⁶ Both Mather and Calef have avoided giving Lists of the Trial Jurors, doubtless to avoid increasing the number of their Pages. The

Records (that remain) are very imperfect in this, as well as in many other Respects, already noticed. On this Period much remains to be done.

P O S T S C R I P T .

Since making the foregoing Collections of Letters, to the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, and others, &c. (which as yet remain unanswered) a Book is come to hand Intituled,

THE *Life of Sir William Phips, printed in London, 1697.* Which Book, tho it bears not the Authors name, yet the Stile, manner and matter is such, that were there no other demonstration or token to know him by, it were no Witchcraft to determine that the said Mr. C. M. is the Author of it. But that he that has encountered Enchantments, and gone through the Wonders of the Invisible World, and discovered the Devil, that he should step aside into a Remote Country to put on Invisibilty! Tho the reason of this be not so manifest, yet it may be thought to be to gratifie some peculiar fancies; and why may not this be one, that he might with the better grace extol the Actions of Mr. Mather, as Agent in England, or as President of Harvard College, not forgetting his own.¹³⁷

As to Sir *William*, it will be generally acknow-

¹³⁷ This Infimuation is quite well i, 60. The Life of Phips is substantiated, as will appear by an Ex-stantially included in the Magnalia. tract from Mr. Mather's Diary, As originally published, it is of considerable rarity. printed in Quincy's *Hist. H. C.*

ledged that notwithstanding the meanness of his Parentage and Education, he attain'd to be Master of a Ship, and that he had the good hap to find a *Spanish* Wreck, not only sufficient to repair his Fortunes, but to raise him to a considerable Figure; which King *James* did so far accommodate as to make *him a Knight*.

[146] And that after this, in the Reign of his Present Majesty, *he took up with those of the Agents, that were for accepting the New Charter, whereby himself became Governour.*¹³⁸

It is not doubted, but that he aimed at the good of the People, and great Pitty it is that his Government was so fullied (for want of better Information and Advice, from those whose duty it was to have given it) by that Hobgoblin Monster, Witchcraft, whereby this Countrey was Night-Mar'd, and harrast, at such a rate, as is not easily imagined.¹³⁹

After which some complaints going to *England* about Male-Administation, in the least matters comparatively; yet were such, that he was call'd home to give account thereof, where he soon after expired, so finishing his Life and Government together.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ See Vol. I, Page 25-6.

¹³⁹ This Judgment has been sustained by Posterity. Phips's Hands were tied. He could not have done differently, had he had the Knowledge and Disposition, without giving offence to President Mather, who had secured his Advancement.

¹⁴⁰ To this rather mild and inoffensive remark of the Author, Mr. Mather replies: "The last Effort of his [Calef's] Malice is a Postscript against the Life of Sir William Phips, against whose Memory, why any whose *Throats are an open Sepulchre*, should be so

Death having thus drawn the Curtain, forbidding any further Scene, it might have been prudence, to let his dust remain without disturbance.

But the said Book -endeavouring to raise a Statue to him (*i. e.*) to ascribe to him such Achievements as either were never performed by him, or else unduly aggravated, this has opened the Mouth, both of Friends and Enemies to recount the mistakes in the said Book; as also those miscarriages, wherewith Sir *William* was chargeable; such as, had it not been for this Book, had been buried with him.¹⁴¹

In P. 3, search is made over the World, to whom to compare him in his Advancement; and most unhappily *Pizarro* is pitched upon as a match for him, who was a Bastard, dropt in a Church-Porch, put to Suck of a Sow, and being grown, ran away, and Shipt himself for *America*; there so prospered, as to Command an Army; and therewith did mighty things, particularly took *Attaballipa*, one of the Kings of *Peru* Prisoner, and having received for his Ransom, in Gold and Silver to the value of Ten Millions, perfidiously

monstrously envious, that like Jackalls, they can't let him rest quietly in his Sepulchre, good Men can't imagine any Reason but the third Chapter of Genesis."—*Some Few Remarks*, &c. 47.

¹⁴¹ "I have endured more than a little from some sort of Men, for my writing the Life of Sir William

Phips, and speaking well of him, without either doing or speaking ill against any one good Man under the whole Heavens, in the whole Composition. It seems that I must now write an Apology, for that Book: for which I have no Confession to make, but, *That I don't wish one Line of it unwritten.*"—*Ibid*, 47-8.

put him to Death; and was the Death of no Man knows how many Thousands of Innocents, and is certainly one of the worst that could have been pitched upon for such comparifon.¹⁴²

Tho this together with the Rhetorical flourishes, and affected strains therein, are instances of the Author's variety of Learning; for which he is recommended by these Three *Venerable* Person¹⁴³ in the entrance to the said Book. Yet the *Integrity, Prudence, and Veracity* thereof, is not so manifestly to be feen. Passing over a multitude of Misrepresentations. that are therein relating to the Acts of Sir *William*, as not designing to rake in the Grave of the Dead, Who is it can see the Veracity of those words? P. 40. [He lay within *Pistol-Shot* of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and much batter'd the town, having his Ship shot thro in an hundred places, with *Four and twenty Ponders,*] When in the Judgment of those present, they were not nearer to the Enemy, than about *half or three quarters of a Mile*; that there might be in all about *Seven Shot* that [147] struck the Hull of the Vessel, none of them known to be bigger than 18 Ponders, the Enemy having but

¹⁴² It must be allowed that the Doctor was a little unfortunate in his Choice of a Hero by which to measure his own.

¹⁴³ The "three venerable Persons" were "Nath. Mather, John

Howe and Matthew Mead." The first was the Uncle to Dr. Cotton Mather, then a Minister in Dublin, where he died a few Months later. Howe and Mead are too well known to require a notice here.

one Gun that could carry so big as an 18 pound Ball.¹⁴⁴

It were a fondness after such assertions, to take any notice of this bedeck'd Statue, when there was so much the less need of erecting one (as is asserted P. 108) having already been done so well, that even this Author himself despairs of doing it better;¹⁴⁵ and that by one, a Man of such diffused and Embalm'd a Reputation, *as that his Commendations* are asserted to be enough to *Immortalize* the Reputation of Sir *William*, or whomsoever else *he should* please to bestow them upon, *viz.* That Reverend person *who was* the President of the only University then in the *English America*, P. 109. Which by the way is a much fairer Statue, in honour of the President of the University, than that erected for Sir *William*.

For notwithstanding all this noise of Erecting

¹⁴⁴ To this Dr. Mather answers: "When mine Adversaries had, with a concocted Malice, done all they could, they thought at least they had found one Passage wherein they might impeach my Veracity. I had said, that before Quebeck, Sir William lay *within Pistol Shot of the Enemies Cannon*, and that his Ship was shot through, in *an hundred Places*, and that it was shot through with *Four and Twenty Pounders*. (Tis a gross Hardship for any to make my Meaning as if all the shot had been so.) And now they fall to Tragical Exclamations; they think *Four and Twenty Pounders*

to be too small Dimensions for the Clamors they must batter me withal. . . . I wrote no more than the very Words which I find in a Journal of the Expedition to Quebec. . . . *Calef* himself has lately owned, that he verily believes I did so."—*Some Few Remarks, &c.* 51-2.

¹⁴⁵ After the Doctor had spoken of being "battered with Clamors," he triumphantly Exclaims—"But hold *Robin*, [Mr. Calef's Christian Name being Robert] I am not so soon *shot through*; and the *Statue*, as I told thee, has *knock'd out thy Brains!*"—*Ibid*, Page 52. His Life of Phips he calls a *Statue*.

Statues, and the great danger in plucking them down, &c. yet in P. 89, 'tis said that even Sir *William* shewed Choler enough, leaving it open for others, thereby to understand, that he was wholly given over to Passion and Choler.¹⁴⁶ And in P. 92, 'tis said he did not affect any mighty shew of Devotion; these expressions with others may prevail with the unbiafed Reader to think that these builders of Statues, had some further design in it, than to blazen the Achievements of Sir *William Phips*, viz. To set forth Mr. *J. Mathers* Negotiation in *England*, his procuring the New-Charter for Sir *William* to be Governour, and himself Establish'd President of the College, are the things principally driven at in the Book.¹⁴⁷

Another principal thing is to set forth the supposed Witchcrafts in *New-England*, and how well Mr. *Mather* the Younger therein acquitted himself.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ The harsh and ungovernable Temper of the Governor was a Matter of Notoriety in his Time. See *Life of Phips in the Magnalia*, B. ii, Page 72, &c.

¹⁴⁷ "It is not worth our while to take Notice of every thing this *Calf* says, 'tis often so impertinent; however, we will lay open one thing more. He says that Mr. *Mather* procured a Charter for Sir *William* to be Governor, and himself established President of the Colledge. Can there be greater Non-sense mixed with Malice! How

could that be, when Mr. *Mather* had been President of the Colledge ten Years before Sir *William* came to be Governor?" This is a very shallow Attempt to impeach, by Hypercriticism, the Truth of Mr. *Calef's* Statement. Everybody knew the fact that Dr. *I. Mather* was President of the College. Mr. *Calef's* Meaning is plain enough, namely, that Mr. *Mather's* Solitude was about keeping his Office of President.

¹⁴⁸ "It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many Inhabitants of

As to the New Charter for the right understanding that Affair, it will be needful to say, that the People that afterwards settled in *New England*, being about to leave their Native Soil, and to seek (as the Providence of God should direct them) a settlement in remote Regions, wherein they might best secure their Civil and Religious Interests, before they enter'd upon this, considering it might be needful on many accounts for their future well being, they obtain'd a Charter to be in the nature of a prime agreement, setting forth the Sovereigns Prerogative, and the People's Priviledges; in the enjoyment whereof they long continued, after having purchas'd the Title to their Lands, of the Natives of the Country, and settled themselves therein, without any charge to the Crown.

That Clause in their Charter for this Country, *viz.* (Provided that no other Christian Prince be prepossess'd of it) being a tacit acknowledgment, that before settlement no one Christian Prince had any right thereto more than another. During this time of *New-England's* Prosperity, the

New England, and young People especially, had been led away with little *Sorceries*, wherein they *did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God*; they would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practice detestable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keyes*, and *Pease*, and *Nails*, and *Horse-shoes*, and other Implements to learn the Things for

which they had a forbidden and impious Curiosity. Wretched Books had stolen into the Land, wherein Fools were instructed how to become able Fortune-tellers."—*Life of Sir W. Phips*. See *Magnalia*, B. ii, 60. Some twenty Years later the Author's Ideas had undergone a slight Change. See *Remarkables*, 161, *et seq.*

Government here were very sparing of Granting Freedoms, except to such as [148] were so and so qualified. Whereby the number of *Non-Freemen*¹⁴⁹ being much increas'd, they were very uneasie, by their being shut out from having any share in the Government, or having any Votes for their Representatives, &c. it rendred many of them ready to join with such as were undermining the Government, not duly considering that it had been far more safe to have endeavoured to prevail with the Legislators for an enlargement.

So that it will not be wonder'd at that in the latter end of the Reign of King *Charles* the II. and of King *James*, (when most of the Charters in *England* were vacated) that this was *quo warranto'd* and finally Judgment entered up against it, and the Country was put into such a form of Government as was most agreeable to those times, *viz.* A Legislative pow'r was lodg'd in the Governour (or President) and some few appointed to be of his Counsel, without any regard therein, either to the Laws of *England*, or those formerly of this Colony: Thus rendering the Circumstances of this Country beyond comparison worse than those of any Corporation in *England*. The People of those Corporations being acknowledged still to have a right to *Magna Charta*, when their particular Charters were made void. But here

¹⁴⁹ Complete Lists of all the Freemen in Massachusetts, and the Qualifications necessary to become such, will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, Vols. III, IV and VII.

when *Magna Charta* has been pleaded, the People have been answered, that they must not expect that *Magna Charta* would follow them to the end of the World: not only their Estates, but their Lives being thereby rendered wholly precarious. And Judge *Palmer*¹⁵⁰ has set forth in Print, that the King has power to grant such a Commission over this People.

It is not hard to imagine that under such a Commission, not only the People were liable to be oppressed by Taxes, but also by Confiscations, and Seizing of Lands, unless Patents were purchased at Excessive prizes, with many other Exorbitant Innovations.

The first that accepted this Commission was Mr. *Dudley*, a Gentleman born in this Country, who did but prepare the way for Sir *Edm. Andros*. In whose time things being grown to such Extremities, not only here, but in *England*, as render'd the succeeding Revolution absolutely necessary; the Revolution here being no other than an acting according to the Precedent given by *England*.

During the time of Sir *Edmonds'* Government,

¹⁵⁰ Palmer's Book is thus entitled: "An Impartial Account of the State of New England: or, the Late Government there, Vindicated. In Answer to the Declaration which the Faction set forth, when they Overturned that Government. With a Relation of the Horrible Usage they treated the

Governour with, and his Council; and all that had His Majesty's Commission. *In a Letter to the Clergy there.* By *John Palmer*. London: Printed for *Edward Poole*, at the *Ship* over against the *Royal Exchange*, in *Cornhill*, 1690." 4to, 40 Pages. This Work is about to be republished by the PRINCE SOCIETY.

Mr. *Increase Mather*, Teacher of the North Church in *Boston*, having undergone some trouble by Fobb-Actions¹⁵¹ laid upon him, &c. (tho with some difficulty) he made his Escape, and got passage for *England*, being therein assisted by some particular Friends; where being arrived, he applied himself to King *James* for redress of those Evils the Country then groaned under; and meeting with a seeming kind reception, and some promises, it was as much as might at that time be reasonably expected.¹⁵²

[149] Upon the Day of the Revolution here, tho the greatest part of the People were for re-assuming their Ancient Government, pursuant to his Royal Highness' Proclamation; yet matters were so clog'd, that the People were dismiss'd without it, who did not in the least mistrust but that those who were put out of the Government by Mr. *Dudley*, would re-assume: Mr. *Broadstreet*, who had been then Governour, being heard to say that Evening, when returned home, *That had not he thought they would have re-assum'd, he would*

¹⁵¹ Actions brought without Foundation.

¹⁵² "The Superior Gentlemen in the Oppressed Country, thought, that a Well-qualified Person going over with the Addressees of the Churches to the King, might, by the Help of such Protestant Dissenters as the King began upon Political Views to cast a fair Aspect

upon, obtain some Relief to the growing Distresses of the Country; and Mr. Mather was the Person that was pitch'd upon. . . . To his Wonderment, they that at another Time would have almost as soon parted with their Eyes as have parted with him now were willing to it."—*Remarkables of Dr. I. Mather*, 103.

*not have stirr'd out of his House that Day.*¹⁵³ But after this, some that were driving at other matters, had opportunities by Threats and other ways not only to prevail with that good Old Gentleman, but with the rest of the Government wholly to decline it; which some few observing, they took the opportunity to call themselves a Committee of Safety, and so undertook to Govern such as would be govern'd by them.¹⁵⁴

It has been an Observation of long continuance *that matters of State seldom prosper, when managed by the Clergy.* Among the opposers of the re-
 suming few were so strenuous as some of the Ministers, and among the Ministers none more vehement than Mr. *Cotton Mather*, Pastor of the *North Church* in *Boston*, who has charged them as they would answer it another day to reassume. Among his Arguments against it, one was that it would be to put a slight upon his Father, who, he said, was in *England*, labouring for a compleat Restoration of Charter Privileges, not doubting, but they would be speedily obtain'd. Any Man that knows *New England* cannot but be sensible, that such Discourses from such Men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was that even

¹⁵³ Mr. Bradstreet was then about 86 Years of Age. A pretty full Account of the Transactions of this Period may be read in Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i, *sub. An.* 1689: "The Representatives of 54 Towns met at Boston, on the 22d of May.

They soon discovered a Desire to reassume the Charter. The major Part of the Council were against it." *Ibid.*, i, 386, first Edition.

¹⁵⁴ I do not find this animadverted upon in the *Some Few Remarks*.

those that would think themselves wronged, if they were not numbred among the best Friends to *New-England*, and to its Charter, would not so much as stoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the Enjoyment thereof.¹⁵⁵

After the Committee of Safety had continued about seven Weeks, or rather after Anarchy had been so long Triumphant, an Assembly having been call'd came to this resolve and laid it before those Gentlemen that had been of the Government, that if they would not act upon the Foundation of the Charter, that pursuant to it, the Assembly would appoint some others in that Station. The Answer to which was, that they would accept, &c. And when a Declaration signifying such a reassuming, was prepared with the good liking of the Deputies, in order to be published, some that were opposers, so terrified those Gentlemen, that before publishing it was underwritten [that they would not have it understood that they did reassume Charter-Government] to the no small amazement of the People, and disappointment of the Deputies, who if these had not promised so to act, had taken other care, and put in those that would.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ See Neal's *Hist. N. England*, where will be found the "Declaration" in full, in which it is said: "Having fully and deliberately examined the Minds and Instructions of the several Towns, do find it to be the general Consent and Con-

currence of our several Towns to reassume the Government according to Charter-Rights," &c. Vol. II, 55.

¹⁵⁶ The *underwritten* Recantation does not appertain to the printed Declaration. Neal says: "'Tis certain the Massachuset-

[150] The next principal thing done was, they chose two of their Members, *viz.* one of the upper House, the other of the lower, both of them Gentlemen of known Integrity, as well as ability to go to *England*, in order to obtain their Refettlement;¹⁵⁷ and in regard Mr. *I. Mather* was already there, they joined him, as also a certain Gentleman in *London*¹⁵⁸ with these other two: Those from hence being arrived in *London*, they all united for the common Interest of the Country, though without the desired effect. They were in doubt, whether it were best to Improve their Utmost for a reversal of the Judgment in a Course of Law, or to obtain it in a Parliamentary way, or to Petition his Majesty for a New Grant of former Priviledges; And considering that the two first might prove Dilatory and Expensive, as well as for other reasons, they resolved upon the latter, and Petition'd his Majesty for the Countries Refettlement, with former Privileges, and what further additional his Majesty in his Princely Wisdom should think fit. Accordingly it pleased his Majesty to declare in Counsel his Determination, *viz.* That there should be a Charter granted to *New-England*. But the Minutes then taken thereof, and a Draught of the *New-Charter* being seen, it was the Opinion of the two Gentlemen

Provinces had hard Measure in the Loss of their Charter, and harder yet, in not having it restored at the Revolution," &c. Vol. II, 59.

¹⁵⁷ Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, both of them Assistants. See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i, 393.

¹⁵⁸ Sir Henry Ashurst.

sent from hence, that it were best to tarry his Majesties return from *Flanders*; in hopes then to obtain ease in such things as might be any ways deemed to be grievous. And this was the result of the Advice of such as were best able to give it, that they could meet with, and accordingly they wholly desisted taking it out of the Offices.¹⁵⁹

But Mr. *Mather* and that other Gentleman had, as it is said, other advice given them, which they strenuously pursued, and his Majesty having left it as is asserted in this of the Life of Sir *William*, P. 57, to them to nominate a Governour, they pitcht upon Sir *William Phips*, who was then in *England*, [As the most likely and able to serve the King's Interests among the People there; under the changes in some things unacceptable now brought upon them, P. 62.] and

¹⁵⁹ Dr. I Mather's Narrative of this Affair runs thus: "When the King was pleased to give a positive Command that the Charter of New England should be dispatched, it was not for the Agents to say, It shall not be so. True it is, that all the Agents, when they saw what Minutes would be inserted in the Charter, were desirous of a Delay, until the Kings happy Return to England. And I may without Vanity say, no Man laboured to have it so, more than myself. I prayed Arch-Bishop Tillotson to intercede

with the Queen for this Favour to us, who at my Request did so. Moreover, I drew up several Reasons against that which in the Minutes of the New Charter is most grievous to us; which were by Sir Henry Ashurst, and my self, delivered to His Majesties Attourney General, on July 24. 1691, and which I did also send to my Lord Sidney, one of His Majesties principal Secretaries of State, then with the King in *Flanders*."—*Some Few Remarks*, 22-3. Lord Henry Sydney was afterwards Earl of Romney.

without tarrying for the concurrence of those other Agents, the Charter was taken out, &c.¹⁶⁰

But Mr. *Mather* perhaps fearing he should have but small thanks here, for his having so far an hand in bringing upon them those unacceptable Changes, wrote, and caused to be Printed, an Account of his Negotiation, but surely by some Error in the Conception, it proved only an *Embryo*, and was stifled as soon as born. One indeed, designed to be as it were a *Posthumous* was left with Mr. *Bailey*, formerly of *Boston*, and a Member of the *North-Church*, with a charge not to suffer it to be seen till he were gone to *New-England*; yet it seems some other person got a sight of it, which was the occasion of Mr. *Mather's* sending him that Minatory Epistle, by some call'd a Bull. But besides this, for fear of the worst, Mr. *Mather* got several *Non-con* Ministers to give him a Testimonial, or Letters of Commendations for his great Service herein.¹⁶¹

[151] In the mean time Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being in some doubt of the same thing, handed

¹⁶⁰ Thinking there would be no further Proceedings about the Charter before the Return of the King, Mr. *Mather* says he went into the Country for the Recovery of his impaired Health, where, before he had been three Weeks, he was surprised by being sent for to London, "with Information that the King had signified His Royal Pleasure to the Earl of Nottingham, that there should be a Procedure with a Char-

ter for the Massachusetts Colony, according to the Minutes that the Lords of the Committee for Plantations had agreed to, notwithstanding the Objections of the Agents."—*Some Few Remarks*, 23.

¹⁶¹ This Document is printed in the Work just cited, Pages 14 to 18; and also by the Son in his *Remarkables* of his Father, Pages 157-60. The rebutting of the "Bull" has been noticed in an earlier Page.

about a Paper of Fables; wherein his Father under the Name of *Mercurius*, and himself under the Name of *Orpheus*, are extoll'd, and the great Actions of *Mercurius* magnified; the present Charter exalted, by trampling on the former, as being very defective, and all those call'd unreasonable that did not readily agree with the New one: And indeed the whole Country are compared to no better than Beasts, except *Mercurius* and *Orpheus*, the Governour himself must not Escape being termed an Elephant, tho as good as he was great, and the Inferiours told by *Orpheus* that for the quiet Enjoyment of their Lands, &c. they were beholding to *Mercurius*. Tho this Paper was judged not convenient to be Printed, yet some Copies were taken, the Author having shown variety of *Heathen Learning* in it.¹⁶²

This is in short that eminent Service for which the said Mr. *I. M.* is in the present Book so highly extol'd. In so many Pages, that to repeat them were to transcribe a considerable part of the said Book.

And no doubt he deserves as much thanks as Dr. *Sharp*¹⁶³ did, when he was sent by the Pres-

¹⁶² Whether this Paper, containing the *variety of Heathen Learning*, was ever printed, the Editor is unable to say.

¹⁶³ The Defenders of Dr. Mather say, that, by what they have heard about that Story of Dr. Sharp, attempting "to get himself made Bishop, did what he could

to undermine the Presbyterian Government:" and continue,—“Certainly, Satan *himself* could not but blush to say, that ever Mr. Mather went to destroy the Government of New England, either as to their Civil or Ecclesiastical Constitution.” —*Some Few Remarks*, 29, 30. Mr. Calef is very far from bringing any

bytery of *Scotland*, to procure the settlement of their Kirk by King *Charles II.* at his Restauration.

Not but that the present Charter of *New-England* is indeed truly valuable, as containing in it peculiar Priviledges, which abundantly Engages this People to pay the tribute of thankfulness to his Majesty,¹⁶⁴ and all due subjection to whom it shall please him to substitute as Governour over us; and to pray that the King of Kings would pour out of his richest blessings upon him, giving him a long and prosperous Reign over the Nations, under the benign Influences whereof, Oppression and Tyranny may flee away.

And if his Majesty hath put this People into the present form of Government, to the end they might be in the better condition of Defence in a time of War; or that they might the better understand the Priviledge of choosing their own Governour by the want of it, and should be graciously pleased (the War being over) to restore to these, as has been already granted to the rest of his Majesties Subjects, the full employment of their Ancient Priviledges, it would be such an obligation upon them to thankfulness and Duty

such Charge. Some later Authors are far more severe on Dr. Mather than he. See Baylies, *N. Plymouth*, iv, 134.

¹⁶⁴ After extracting this Acknowledgement of our Author, his Reviewers say: "With what Face then

can he insinuate that no Thanks are due to the Instruments of obtaining such a valuable Charter, and so many peculiar Priviledges? Surely he was beside himself, when he wrote such Things as these.—*Ibid.*, Page 30.

as could never be forgotten, nor sufficiently expressed, and would rather abate than increase charge to the Crown.

As to the supposed Witchcrafts in *New-England*, having already said so much thereof, there is the less remains to be added.

In the times of Sir *Ed. Andros* his Government, *Goody Glover*, a despised, crazy, ill-conditioned old Woman, an *Irish Roman* Catholick, was tried for Afflicting *Goodwins* Children; by the Account of which Tryal, taken in Short-hand, for the use of the Jury, it may appear that the generality of her Answers, were Nonsense, and her behaviour like that of one distracted. Yet the Drs. finding her as she had been for many Years, brought her in *Compos Mentis*; and setting aside her crazy Answers to some insnaring questions, the proof against her was wholly deficient: The Jury brought her Guilty.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ The Authors of the *Some Few Remarks*, print a Letter from Mr. John Goodwin, as a triumphant Vindication of what Dr. Cotton Mather published respecting the bewitchment of Goodwin's Children. The Letter is too long and too unimportant to occupy Space here. It may be seen on Pages 62 and 63 of that Work. It is, of course, an attempt to sustain Dr. Mather's Account, the substance of which Account is in the *Magnalia*. They then go on: "Now behold how active and forward Mr. Mather was, in transacting the Affairs relating to this Woman; and be

astonished, that ever any *One* should go to insinuate things to the World, as are known by most that ever heard of those afflicted Children, to be so far different from *Truth*, as to do what in you lies to lessen the Esteem of those Servants of Christ, (which you make your chiefest *Butts*) among the Lord's People. . . . We pray God *Pardon* your Sin, and give you the Grace to Repent."—*Ibid*, 65. See also *Magnalia*, B. ii, 61, where it appears that Mr. Joseph Dudley was Chief Judge when the poor old crazy Woman was tried and Executed.

Mr. *Cotton Mather* was the most active and forward of any Minister in the Country in those matters, taking home one of the Children, and managing such intreaques with that Child, and after printing such an Account of the whole, in his Memorable Providences, as conduced much to the kindling those Flames, that in Sir *Williams* time threatned the devouring this Country.¹⁶⁶

King *Saul* in his destroying the Witches out of *Israel*, is thought by many to have exceeded, and in his Zeal to have slain the *Gibeonites* wrongfully under that notion: Yet went after this to a Witch to know his Fortune. For his wrongful destroying the *Gibeonites* (besides the Judgments of God upon the Land) his Sons were hanged; and for his going to the Witch, himself was cut off. Our fir *William Phips* did not do this, but as appears by this Book had first his Fortune told him, (by such as the Author counts no better) and

¹⁶⁶ Dr. Mather answers: "After the Storm was raised at Salem, I did myself offer to provide Meat, Drink, and Lodging, for no less than *Six* of the Afflicted, that so an Experiment might be made, whether *Prayer* with *Fasting*, upon the Removal of those Miserables, one from another, might not put a Period unto the Trouble then arising, without giving the Civil Authority the Trouble of Prosecuting the Methods of the Law on that Occasion. You'll say, How came it then to pass that many People took up another Notion of

me? Truly, *Satan knocos*. Perhaps 'twas because I thought it my Duty alwayes to speak of the Honourable Judges with as much Honour as I could; (a Crime which I am generally taxed for, and *for which I have been finely requited!*) This made People, who judge of Things *at a Distance*, to dream that I *approved* of all that was done."—*Ibid*, 39-40. Certainly, if Words mean any thing, what he published fully justifies that Conclusion, notwithstanding his rare *Ambidexterity*. See Vol. I, *Ubique loci*.

though he put it off (to his Pastor, who he new approved not thereof) as if it were brought to him in writing, without his seeking, &c. Yet by his bringing it so far, and safe keeping it so many Years, it appears he made some Account of it; for which he gave the Writer, after he had found the Wreck, as a reward, more than Two hundred pounds. His telling his Wife (P. 6.) that he should be a Commander, should have a Brick-House in *Greenlane*,¹⁶⁷ &c. might be in confidence of some such Prediction, and that he could foretel to him (P. 90.) that he should be Governour of *New-England*, was probably such an one, (the Scriptures not having revealed it.) Such Predictions would have been counted at *Salem*, pregnant proofs of Witchcraft, and much better than what were against several that suffered there. But Sir *William*, when the Witchcrafts at *Salem* began (in his Esteem) to look formidable, that he might Act safely in this Affair, he asked the Advice of the Ministers in and near *Boston*; the whole of their Advice and Answer is Printed in *Cases of Conscience*, the last Pages. But lest the World should be Ignorant who it was that drew the said Advice, in this Book of the Life of Sir *William Phips*, P. 77. are these words, *the Ministers made unto his Excellency and the Counsel a return, drawn up at their desire,*

¹⁶⁷ Salem Street was in those Times, called *Green-Lane*; at the Corner made by that *Lane* and Charter Street, the Governor actually resided. See *History and Antiquities of Reason*, 816.

by Mr. Mather the Younger, as I have been informed. Mr. C. M. therein intending to beguile the World, and make them think that another, and not himself had taken that notice of his (supposed) good Service done therein, which otherwise would have been ascribed to those Ministers in General, though indeed the Advice then given, looks most like a thing of his Composing, as carrying both Fire [153] to increase, and Water to quench the Conflagration.¹⁶⁸ Particularly after the Devils Testimony, by the supposed Afflicted had so prevailed, as to take away the Life of one, and the Liberty of an Hundred, and the whole Country set into a most dreadful consternation, then this Advice is given, ushered in with thanks for what was already done, and in conclusion, putting the Government upon a speedy and vigorous prosecution according to the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the *English* Nation, so adding Oil, rather than Water to the Flame; for who so little acquainted with proceedings of *England*, as not to know that they have taken some methods, with those here used to discover who were Witches. The rest of the

¹⁶⁸ Dr. Mather says in Reply: "Moreover, when the Ministers presented unto the Governour and Council, their Advice against making the *Spectral Exhibitions* to be so much as a *Presumption of Witchcraft*, it was my poor Hand which drew up that Advice, and my Heart was always in it."—*Some Few Re-*

marks, 38-9. But the Doctor does not explain how, in speaking of this *Address* in the *Life of Phips*, he came to make use of the Words—*as I have been informed*—while in the *Some Few Remarks* he owns that it was drawn by his *poor Hand*. See *Life of Phips in Magnalia*, Book II, 63.

Advice, consisting of cautions and directions, are inserted in this of the Life of Sir *William*. So that if Sir *William*, looking upon the thanks for what was past, and Exhortation to proceed, went on to take away the Lives of Nineteen more, this is according to the Advice said to be given him by the Ministers, and if the Devil after those Executions be affronted, by disbelieving his testimony, and by clearing and Pardoning all the rest of the Accused; yet this also is according to that Advice, but to cast the Scale; the same that drew this Advice, saith, in *Wonders of the Invisible World, Enchantments Encountered*; [that to have a hand in any thing that may stifle or obstruct a regular detection of that Witchcraft, is what we may well with a Holy fear avoid: Their Majesties good Subjects must not every day be torn to pieces by horrid Witchcraft, and those bloody Felons be wholly left unprosecuted; The Witchcraft is a business that will not be sham'd.]¹⁶⁹ The Pastor of that Church, of which Sir *William* was a Member, being of this Principle, and thus declaring it, after the former advice; no wonder tho it cast the Scale against those Cautions. It is rather a Wonder that no more Blood was shed, for if that Advice of his Pastors could still have prevail'd with the Governour, Witchcraft had not been so sham'd off as it was. Yet now in this Book of the Life of Sir *William*, the pardoning the Prisoners when

¹⁶⁹ See Volume I, Page 34.

Condemn'd, and clearing the Goals, is call'd (P. 82) a Vanquishing the Devil, adding this Conquest to the rest of the Noble Atchievements of Sir *William*, tho Performed not only without, but directly against his Pastors Advice. But this is not all, tho this Book pretends to raise a Statue in Honour of Sir *William*, yet it appears it was the least part of the design of the Author to Honour him, but it was rather to Honour himself, and the Ministers; It being so unjust to Sir *William*, as to give a full Account of the cautions given him, but designedly hiding from the Reader the Incentivements and Exhortations to proceed, that were laid before him (under the name of the Ministers Advice) in effect, telling the World that those Executions at *Salem*, were without, and against the Advice of the Ministers, exprest in those Cautions, purposely hiding their giving thanks for what was already done, and exhorting to proceed; thereby rendering Sir *William* of so sanguin a Complexion, that the Ministers had such cause to fear his going on with the Tragedy, tho against their Advice; that they desired the President to write his *Cases of Conscience, &c.* To plead misinformation will not salve here, however it may seem to palliate other things, but is a manifest, designed travesty, or misrepresentation of the Ministers Advice to Sir *William*, a hiding the truth, and a wronging the dead, whom the Author so much pretends to honour; for which the Acknowledgments ought to be as Universal as the offence. But tho the Ministers

Advice, or rather Mr. *C. Mather's* was perfectly Ambidexter, giving as great or greater Encouragement to proceed in those dark methods, than cautions against [154] them; yet many Eminent persons being accused, there was a necessity of a stop to be put to it. If it be true what was said at the Counsel-board in answer to the commendations of Sir *William*, for his stopping the proceedings about Witchcraft, *viz.* That it was high time for him to stop it, his own Lady being accused; if that Assertion were a truth, then *New-England* may seem to be more beholden to the accusers for accusing of her, and thereby necessitating a stop, than to Sir *William*, or to the Advice that was given him by his Pastor.¹⁷⁰

Mr. *C. M.* having been very forward to write Books of Witchcraft, has not been so forward either to explain or defend the Doctrinal part thereof, and his belief (which he had a Years time to compose) he durst not venture so as to be copied.¹⁷¹ Yet in this of the Life of Sir *William* he sufficiently testifies his retaining that Heterodox belief, seeking by frightfull stories of the sufferings of some, and the refined sight of others, &c. P. 69 to obtrude upon the World, and con-

¹⁷⁰ Dr. Douglass goes further in this Matter. He says that "some of the Confessing Witches, by over-acting their Parts in accusing some of Gov. Phips's, and the Rev. Mr. Mather's Relations; as also some of the Accused good Christians, and of good Estates, those arrested the

Accusers in high Actions for Defamation; this put a stop to Accusations."—*Summary*, i, 450.

¹⁷¹ Referring to certain Answers in writing put into Mr. Calef's Hands, with an Injunction against his printing them. See *ante*, Vol. II, Page 86.

firm it in such a belief, as hitherto he either cannot or will not defend, as if the Blood already shed thereby were not sufficient.¹⁷²

Mr. *I. Mather*, in his *Cases of Conscience*, P. 25, tells of a Bewitched Eye, and that such can see more than others. They were certainly bewitched Eyes that could see as well shut as open, and that could see what never was, that could see the Prisoners upon the Afflicted, harming of them, when those whose Eyes were not bewitched could have sworn that they did not stir from the Bar. The Accusers are said to have suffered much by biting, P. 73. And the prints of just such a set of Teeth, as those they Accused, had, but such as had not such bewitch'd Eyes have seen the Accusers bite themselves, and then complain of the Accused. It has also been seen when the Accused, instead of having just such a set of Teeth, has not had

¹⁷² This Statement is fully borne out, as will be seen on referring to the Life of Phips, as directed above, or to the same in the *Magnalia*, B. ii, 60, *et seq.*; one Extract here must suffice: "But of all the *Preternatural* things which befel these People, there were none more unaccountable than those, wherein the prestigious *Dæmons* would ever now and then cover the most *Corporeal* Things in the World with a *Fascinating Mist* of Invisibilty. As now; a Person was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no Body else in the Room could see either

the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*: At last, in her Agonies, giving a Snatch at the *Spectre*, she pulled the *Spindle* away; and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then present beheld that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *Spindle*; which, when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by the *Dæmons* taken away to do farther Mischief." In the *Wonders of the Invisible World* (Vol. I, 205), this Story of the *Spindle* will be seen among the *Curiosities*, and is given, as the Author there tells the Reader, as "a Bone to pick" for the *Dogmatical*. See also Lawson, 102.

one in his head.¹⁷³ They were such bewitched Eyes that could see the Poisonous Powder (brought by Spectres P. 70.) And that could see in the Ashes the print of the Brand, there invisibly heate to torment the pretended Sufferers with, &c.¹⁷⁴

These with the rest of such Legends have this direct tendency, *viz.* To tell the World that the Devil is more ready to serve his Votaries, by his doing for them things above or against the course of Nature, shewing himself to them, and making explicit contract with them, &c. than the Divine Being is to his faithful Servants, and that as he is

¹⁷³ It is highly interesting to hear the Doctor's Account of this: "It was also found, that the Flesh of the Afflicted was often *Bitten* at such a Rate, that not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Flesh*, but the very *Slaver* of *Spittle* too: As there would appear just such a *set of Teeth* as was in the *Accused*, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other People's. And usually the *Afflicted* went through a terrible Deal of seeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and must be long waited on before they could get a Breathing Space from their Tormentors to give in their Testimonies."—*Life of Phips, in Magnalia*, B. ii, 61-2.

¹⁷⁴ The Doctor must once again be heard, otherwise the Reader can have but a faint Idea of what our Author is exposing: "The Misera-

ble exclaimed extreamly of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire on the Hearth to mark them; now, though the Standers by could see no *Irons*, yet they could see distinctly the Print of them in the Ashes, and *smell* them too as they were carried by the *not-seen Furies*, unto the poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and those poor Creatures were thereupon *Stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the Marks of them to their Dying Day. Nor are these the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the Inhabitants of New England."—*Ibid.*, Page 61. If any one, after reading these strongly expressed Opinions of the learned Doctor, will entertain Doubts, as to his extreme Credulity and Faith in Witchcraft, it is not likely to be in human Power to remove them.

willing, so also able to perform their desires.¹⁷⁵ The way whereby these People are believed to arrive at a power to Afflict their Neighbours, is by a compact with the Devil, and that they have a power to *Commissionate* him to those Evils, P. 72. However Irrational, or inscriptural such Assertions are, yet they seem a necessary part of the *Faith* of such as maintain the belief of such a sort of *Witches*.

As the Scriptures know nothing of a covenanting or commissioning Witch, so Reason cannot conceive how Mortals should by their Wickedness arrive at a power to Commissionate Angels, Fallen Angels, against their Innocent Neighbours. But the Scriptures are full in it, and the Instances numerous, that the Almighty, Divine Being has this prerogative to make use of what Instrument he pleaseth, in Afflicting any, and consequently to commissionate Devils: And tho' this word commissioning, in the Authors former Books, might be thought to be by inadvertency, yet now after he hath been caution'd of it, still to persist in it seems highly Criminal. And therefore in the name of God, I here charge such belief as guilty of Sacrilege in the highest Nature, and so much worse than stealing Church Plate, &c. As it is

¹⁷⁵ The Cry of "Blasphemer, Sadducee, Infidel, Liar, Slanderer," &c., &c., could not then, nor at any other Time, alter the Facts so truly and so succinctly stated here. Against the above is found: "He

insinuates, that our Reverend Ministers make the Devil an *Independent Being*, and (as he says) *consequently a God*. An abominable Charge!" —*Some Few Remarks*, 8, 9. See, also, Vol. I, Page 72-3.

a higher Offence to steal any of the glorious Attributes of the Al[155]mighty, to bestow them upon Mortals, than it is to steal the Utensils appropriated to his Service. And whether to ascribe such power of commissioning Devils to the worst of Men, be not direct Blasphemy, I leave to others better able to determine. When the *Pharisees* were so wicked as to ascribe to *Beelzebub*, the mighty works of Christ (whereby he did manifestly shew forth his Power and Godhead) than it was that our Saviour declar'd the Sin against the Holy Ghost to be unpardonable.

When the Righteous God is contending with Apostate Sinners, for their departures from him, by his Judgments, as Plagues, Earthquakes, Storms and Tempests, Sickneses and Diseases, Wars, loss of Cattle, &c. Then not only to ascribe this to the Devil, but to charge one another with sending or commissionating those Devils to these things, is so abominable and so wicked, that it requires a better Judgment than mine to give it its just denomination.¹⁷⁶

But that Christians so called should not only charge their fellow Christians therewith, but pro-

¹⁷⁶ And yet, as inconsistent with Reason as this absurd Stuff is, it was the generally prevailing Belief, and is thus *defended* in the *Some Few Remarks*, P. 8: "The whole Body of the Ministers in the Country are charged, as Guilty of Sacrilege in the highest Degree, if not direct Blasphemy, and Diabolical Wick-

edness." It will at once be seen that this is as unjust a Charge as Malignity in its Blindness could invent. Well did our Quaker Poet write, some 17 Years ago:

"When the Thought of Man is free,
Error fears its lightest Tones;
So the Priest cried 'Sadducee!'
And the People took up Stones."

ceed to Trials and Executions; crediting that Enemy to all Goodness, and Accuser of the Brethren, rather than believe their Neighbours in their own Defence; this is so Diabolical a Wickedness as cannot proceed, but from a Doctrine of Devils; how far damnable it is let others discuss. Though such things were acting in this Country in Sir *Williams* time, yet P. 65. There is a Discourse of a Guardian Angel, as then over-seeing it, which notion, however it may suit the Faith of *Ethnicks*, or the fancies of *Tritheimius*; it is certain that the Omnipresent Being, stands not in need as Earthly Potentates do, of governing the World by Vicegerents. And if Sir *William* had such an Invisible pattern to imitate, no wonder though some of his Actions were unaccountable, especially those relating to Witchcraft: For if there was in those Actions an Angel superintending, there is little reason to think it was *Gabriel* or the Spirit of *Mercury*, nor *Hanael* the Angel or Spirit of *Venus*, nor yet *Samuel* the Angel or Spirit of *Mars*; Names feigned by the said *Tritheimius*, &c. It may rather be thought to be *Apollyon*, or *Abaddon*.

Obj. But here it will be said, What are there no Witches? Do's not the Law of God command that they should be extirpated? Is the Command vain and Unintelligible? *Sol.* For any to say that a Witch is one that makes a compact with, and Commissions Devils, &c. is indeed to render the Law of God vain and Unintelligible,

as having provided no way whereby they might be detected, and proved to be such; And how the *Jews* waded thro this difficulty for so many Ages, without the Supplement of Mr. *Perkins* and *Bernard* thereto, would be very mysterious. But to him that can read the Scriptures without prejudice from Education, &c. it will manifestly appear that the Scripture is full and Intelligible, both as to the Crime and means to detect the culpable. He that shall hereafter see any person, who to confirm People in a false belief, about the power of Witches and Devils, pretending to a sign to confirm it; such as knocking off of invisible Chains with the hand, driving away Devils by brushing, striking with a Sword or Stick, to wound a person at a great distance, &c. may (according to that head of Mr. *Gauls*, quoted by Mr. *C. M.* and so often herein before recited, and so well proved by Scripture) conclude that he has *seen Witchcraft performed*.

[156] If *Baalam* became a Sorcerer by Sacrificing and Praying to the true God against his visible people; Then he that shall pray that the afflicted (by their *Spectral* Sight) may accuse some other Person (whereby their reputations and lives may be indangered) such will justly deserve the Name of a *Sorcerer*. If any Person pretends to know more than can be known by humane means, and professeth at the same time that they have it from the *Black-Man*, *i. e. the Devil*, and shall from hence give Testimony against the Lives of

others, they are manifestly such as have a familiar Spirit; and if any, knowing them to have their Information from the *Black-man*, shall be inquisitive of them for their Testimony against others, they therein are dealing with such as have a *Familiar-Spirit*.

And if these shall pretend to *see the dead* by their *Spectral Sight*, and others shall be inquisitive of them, and receive their Answers what it is the *dead say*, and who it is they accuse, both the one and the other are by Scripture *Guilty of Necromancy*.

These are all of them crimes as easily proved as any whatsoever, and that by such proof as the Law of God requires, so that it is *no Unintelligible Law*.

But if the Iniquity of the times be such that these Criminals not only Escape Indemnified, but are Encouraged in their wickedness, and made use of to take away the Lives of others, this is worse than a making the Law of God *Vain*, it being a rendring of it *dangerous*, against the Lives of Innocents, and without all hopes of better, so long as these Bloody Principles remain.

As long as Christians do Esteem the *Law of God to be Imperfect*, as not describing that crime that it requires to be Punish'd by Death.

As long as men suffer themselves to be Poison'd in their Education, and be grounded in a *False Belief by the Books of the Heathen*.

As long as the *Devil* shall be believed to have a *Natural Power, to Act above and against a course of Nature*.

As long as the *Witches* shall be believed to have a Power to *Commission him*.

As long as the *Devil's Testimony*, by the pretended afflicted, shall be received as *more valid to Condemn*, than their Plea of *Not Guilty* to acquit.

As long as the *Accused* shall have their *Lives and Liberties* confirmed and restored to them, upon their *Confessing themselves Guilty*.

As long as the *Accused* shall be forc't to *undergo Hardships and Torments* for their not *Confessing*.

As long as *Tets* for the *Devil to Suck* are searched for upon the Bodies of the accused, as a token of guilt.

As long as the *Lord's Prayer* shall be profaned, by being made a *Test*, who are culpable.

As long as *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Familiar Spirits, and Necromancy*, shall be improved to discover who are *Witches, &c.*

So long it may be expected that innocents will suffer as *Witches*.

So long God will be *Daily dishonoured, And so long his Judgments, must be expected to be continued.*¹⁷⁷

F I N I S .

¹⁷⁷ These Notes may fittingly be closed by another Extract from our amiable Quaker Poet, who seems attentively to have examined the Characters of both the *Wonders* and the *More Wonders* :

“ In the solemn Days of Old,
Two Men met in Boston Town—
One a Merchant Frank and bold,

One a Preacher of renown.

Cried the last, in bitter Tone—
‘ Prisoner of the Wells of Truth,
Satan's Hireling thou hast sown
With his Tares the Heart of Youth!’

Spake the honest Merchant then—
God be Judge 'twixt Thee and I;
All thou knowst of Truth hath been
Unto Men like thee a lie.”



A P P E N D I X .

NUMBER I.

Examination of Giles Cory.

WHY this Examination was not given by Dr. Mather, in his Account of the Witchcraft, cannot be certainly stated; while it may be conjectured that it was omitted for one of the two following Reasons: 1st, it may have been thought not sufficiently damning to the Accused; or, 2dly, it may have been rejected, as a great Part of the Proceedings was, for want of Room. It seems not now to be among the Copies of those Proceedings recently made, or Mr. Woodward would not have omitted it in his Work. It is given here, as transcribed by Mr. David Pulfifer, for the Edition of the *More Wonders*, &c., published in Salem by Cushing & Appleton, in 1823. The previous Edition, of course, does not contain it.¹

The Examination of Giles Cory, at a Court at Salem Village, held by John Hathorn and Jonathan Curwin, Esqrs., April 19, 1692.

Giles Cory, you are brought before Authority upon

¹As will be seen, Mr. Pulfifer modernized the Orthography, while we have corrected the Punctuation, in a few Instances, and capitalized it agreeable to our previous uniform Old Style.

high Suspicion of fundry Acts of Witchcraft. Now tell us the Truth in this Matter.

I hope, through the Goodness of God, I shall; for that Matter I never had no Hand in, in my Life.

Which of you have seen this Man hurt you?

Mary Wolcott, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putman, Jr., and Abigail Williams affirmed he had hurt them.

Hath he hurt you too? speaking to Elizabeth Hubbard. She going to answer was prevented by a Fit.

Benjamin Gold, Hath he hurt you?

I have seen him several Times, and been hurt after it, but cannot affirm that it was he.

Hath he brought the Book to any of you?

Mary Wolcott and Abigail Williams and others affirmed he had brought the Book to them.

Giles Cory, they accuse you, or your Appearance, of hurting them, and bringing the Book to them. What do you say? Why do you hurt them? Tell us the Truth.

I never did hurt them.

It is your Appearance hurts them, they charge you; tell us. What have you done?

I have done nothing to damage them.

Have you never entered into Contract with the Devil?

I never did.

What Temptations have you had?

I never had Temptations in my Life.

What! have you done it without Temptations?

What was the Reason (said Goodwife Bibber) that you were frighted in the Cow-house? And then the Questionist was suddenly seized with a violent Fit.

Samuel Braybrook, Goodman Bibber, and his Daughter, testified that he had told them this Morning that he was frighted in the Cow-house.

Cory denied it.

This was not your Appearance but your Person, and you told them so this Morning. Why do you deny it?

What did you see me in the Cow-house?

I never saw nothing but my Cattle.

Divers witnessed that he told them he was frightened.

Well, what do you say to these Witnesses?

What was it frightened you?

I do not know that ever I spoke the Word in my Life.

Tell the Truth. What was it frightened you?

I do not know any Thing that frightened me.

All the Afflicted were seized now with Fits, and troubled with Pinches. Then the Court ordered his Hands to be tied.

What! Is it not enough to act Witchcraft at other Times, but must you do it now in Face of Authority?

I am a poor Creature and cannot help it.

Upon the Motion of his Head again, they had their Heads and Necks afflicted.

Why do you tell such wicked Lies against Witnesses, that heard you speak after this Manner, this very Morning?

I never saw anything but a black Hog.

You said that you were stopped once in Prayer; what stopt you?

I cannot tell. My Wife came towards me and found Fault with me for saying living to God and dying to Sin.

What was it frightened you in the Barn?

I know nothing frightened me there.

Why there are three Witnesses that heard you say so to-day.

I do not remember it.

Thomas Gold testified that he heard him say, that he knew enough against his Wife, that would do her Business.

What was that you knew against your Wife?

Why, that of living to God, and dying to Sin.

The Marshal and Bibber's Daughter confirmed the same; that he said he could say that that would do his Wife's Business.

I have said what I can say to that.

What was that about your Ox?

I thought he was hipt.

What Ointment was that your Wife had when she was seized? You said it was Ointment she made by Major Gidney's Direction.

He denied it, and said she had it of Goody Bibber, or from her Direction.

Goody Bibber said it is not like that Ointment.

You said you knew upon your own Knowledge, that she had it of Major Gidney.

He denied it.

Did you not say, when you went to the Ferry with your Wife, you would not go over to Boston now, for you should come yourself next Week?

I would not go over because I had not Money.

The Marshal testified he said as before.

One of his Hands was let go, and several were afflicted. He held his Head on one Side, and then the Heads of several of the Afflicted were held on one Side. He drew in his Cheeks, and the Cheeks of some of the Afflicted were sucked in.

John Bibber and his Wife gave in Testimony concerning some Temptations he had to make away with himself.

How doth this agree with what you said, that you had no Temptations?

I meant Temptations to Witchcraft.

If you can give way to self-murder, that will make way to Temptation to Witchcraft.

Note.—There was Witness by several, that he said he would make away with himself, and charge his Death upon his Son.

Goody Bibber testified that the said Cory called said Bibber's Husband, Damned Devilish Rogue.

Other vile Expressions testified [to] in open Court by several others.

Salem Village, April 19, 1692. Mr. Samuel Paris being desired to take in Writing the Examination of Giles Cory, delivered it in; and upon hearing the same, and seeing what we did see at the Time of his Examination, together with the Charge of the afflicted Persons against him, we committed him to their Majesty's Gaol.²

JOHN HATHORN.

NUMBER II.

THE following Ballad, in the Chevy Chase Style, was cut from a Newspaper sixteen years ago. No one at this Day will probably require to be informed who was the Author of it, as but *one* Person probably *could* have written it. I have not looked over the Poems of Mr. Whittier to see if it be there. Any one having an inclination may do so. The Introduction accompanied it, on its first appearance:

² It does not appear that these Minutes of Examination were read to the Accused; or that any Opportunity was afforded him to correct any Misstatements which the biased Scribe might have made, carelessly or purposely; while, viewing the Case as it stands, it seems incredible that the Accused could have been thought deserving of even a lenient Reprimand. Too humiliating for Contemplation!

The following Ballad is handed in for Preservation as illustrative of that dark Period in our local History. Giles Corey and his Wife lived in what is now Danvers, and the Spot is now pointed out on the Estate of Hon. Daniel P. King where their House formerly stood. The Localities are fast fading out from Remembrance, and I venture the Suggestion that it may be in the Province of the Historical Department of our Essex Institute to mark them by some permanent Monumental Erection.—*Salem Observer.*

GILES COREY AND GOODWYFE COREY.

A BALLAD OF 1692.

Come all New-England Men
And hearken unto me,
And I will tell what did befall
Upon ye Gallows Tree.

In Salem Village was the Place
As I did heare them saye,
And Goodwyfe Corey was her Name
Upon that paynfull Daye:

This Goody Corey was a Witch
The People did believe,
Afflicting of the Godly Ones
Did make them sadlie Greave.

There were two pyous Matron Dames
And goodly Maidens Three,
That cryed upon this heynous Witch
As you shall quicklie see.

Goodwyfe Bibber, she was one,
And Goodwyfe Goodall two,

These were ye fore afflicted ones
By Fyts and Pynchings too :

And those Three Damsels fair
She worried them full fore,
As all could see upon their Arms
The divers Marks they bore.

And when before the Magistrates
For Tryall she did stand,
This Wicked Witch did lye to them
While holding up her Hand;

“ I pray you all Good Gentlemen
Come listen unto me,
I never harmed those two Goodwyfes
Nor yet these Children Three :”

“ I call upon my Saviour Lord ”
(Blasphemously she sayed)
“ As Witnes of my Innocence
In this my hour of Need.”

The Godly Ministers were shockt
This Witch-prayer for to hear,
And some did see ye Black Man* there
A whispering in her Eare.

The Magistrates did saye to her
Most surely thou doth lye,
Confess thou here thy hellish Deeds
Or ill Death thou must dye.

She rent her Cloaths, she tore her Haire,
And lowdly she did crye,

* Satan.

“ May Chrifte forgive mine Enimies
When I am called to dye.”

This Goodwyfe had a Goodman too,
Giles Corey was his Name,
In Salem Gaol they shut him in
With his blasphemous Dame.

Giles Corey was a Wizzard strong,
A stubborn Wretch was he,
And fitt was he to hang on high
Upon ye Locust Tree :

So when before ye Magistrates
For tryall he did come,
He would no true Confession make
But was compleatlie dumbe.

“ Giles Corey,” said ye Magistrate,
“ What hast thou heare to pleade
To these who now accuse thy soule
Of Crymes and horrid Deed ?”

Giles Corey—he sayde not a Word,
No single Word spake he :
“ Giles Corey,” sayth ye Magistrate,
“ We’ll prest it out of thee.”

They got them then a *heavy Beam*,
They layde it on his Breast,
They loaded it with heavy Stones,
And hard upon him prest.

“ More weight,” now sayd this wretched Man,
“ More weight,” again he cryed,
And he did no Confession make
But wickedlie he Dyed.

Dame Corey lived but six Dayes more,
But six Day's more lived she,
For She was hung at Gallows Hill
Upon ye Locust Tree.

Rejoyce all true New-England Men,
Let Grace still more abounde,
Go search ye Land with myght and maine
Till all these Imps be founde:

And that will be a glorious Daye,
A goodlie Sight to see,
When you shall hang these Brands of Fyre
Upon ye Gallows Tree.

NUMBER III.

Testimony of William Beale, of Marblehead, against Mr. Philip English of Salem, Given August 2d, 1692. Taken from the Original.

AS Philip English was a Man of a large Estate for those Days, and carried on an extensive Business, it may be thought singular that Mr. Calef should make no Mention of his Case in his Work. It may be that he had not sufficient Data for the Purpose; or, more probably, it may have been, that for certain Reasons he chose to leave the Matter in the Hands of the two Ministers of the Old South, who, or one of whom, had not the Independence to work openly with Mr. Calef, but who, clandestinely, took the Part of the Accused, and helped him to escape. However this may have been, so far as Mr. Willard was con-

cerned, enough will have been seen in Mr. Calef's Work to cause an Agitation of the Question. And yet, it will appear, from what is to follow, that Mr. Moody (then with Mr. Willard in the Old South) was the principal Instrument in the Protection and final Escape of Mr. English and his Wife from the Jaws of a "blind Ferocity."

The Testimony of William Beale, which follows was probably contrived by certain Parties to recover Property owned or claimed by Mr. English. At the Time of his Arrest, he owned a Ship of 170 Tons, named the Porcupine, which was commanded by Robert Bartel, whose Son, William Bartel, was living in 1739, at the Age of 45.

Mr. English, it is said, was an Episcopalian. Whether his Sentiments had anything to do with his being proceeded against, does not appear. He stated that by the Prosecution he was damaged £1,500. A Petition of his to the Committee appointed by the General Court to compensate Sufferers may be seen in Mr. Woodward's *Collections*, ii, 233. It is curious to see now the Awards made to the Survivors of those whose Mothers and Fathers had been judicially murdered! A few Pounds seems to have settled the Account.

What follows, previous to William Beale's Testimony, although once printed, will be quite new, probably, to the Majority of Readers; and it is due to the Memory of a persecuted Family to perpetuate it in Connection with the wicked Attempt at their Ruin.

About the Year 1810, the Rev. Timothy Alden was engaged in preparing a Catalogue of Books for the Massachusetts Historical Society. While in this Employment he procured from the Rev. William Bentley, D.D., of Salem, the ensuing Account of

Mr. English. What led to this Result was Mr. Alden's Endeavors to obtain Information concerning a Portsmouth Gentleman. Mr. Alden was then much interested in Portsmouth Affairs. Dr. Bently proceeds: "In the Times of the Witchcraft in Salem Village, no Person distinguished for Property, and known in the commercial World, was accused but Philip English.³ He came young into America, from the Island of Jersey, lived in the Family of Mr. Hollingworth, a rich Inhabitant of Salem, and afterwards married his only Daughter and Child, Susanna. The Wife had received a better Education than is common even at this Day [1809], as Proofs I hold sufficiently discover.

"From some Prejudices, as early as April 21st, 1692, she was accused of Witchcraft, examined, and committed to Prison in Salem. Her Firmness is memorable. Six Weeks she was confined; but, being visited by a fond Husband, her Husband was also accused, and confined in the same Prison. By the Intercession of Friends, and by a Plea that the Prison was crowded, they were removed to Arnold's Jail in Boston, till the Time of Trial.

"In Boston, upon giving Bail, they had the Liberty of the Town, only lodging in Prison. Upon their Arrival, Messrs. Willard and Moodey visited them, and discovered every Disposition to console them in their Distress. On the Day before they were to return to Salem for Trial, Mr. Moodey waited upon them in the Prison, and invited them to publick Worship. On the Occasion he chose for the Text, IF THEY PERSECUTE YOU IN ONE CITY, FLEE TO ANO-

³ This Opinion of the Doctor do not know by what Standard he may be questioned, so long as we measured Wealth at that Time.

THEY. In the Discourse, with a manly Freedom, he justified every Attempt to escape from the Forms of Justice, when Justice was violated in them. After Service Mr. Moodey visited the Prisoners in the Gaol, and asked Mr. English whether he took Notice of his Discourse? Mr. English said he did not know whether he had applied it as he ought, and wished some Conversation upon the Subject. Mr. Moodey then frankly told him that his Life was in Danger, and he ought by all means to provide for an Escape. Many, said he, have suffered. Mr. English then replied, God will not suffer them to hurt me. Upon this, Mrs. English said to her Husband, Do you not think that they, who have suffered already, are innocent? He said, Yes. Why then may not we suffer also? Take Mr. Moody's Advice. Mr. Moody then told Mr. English, that, if he would not carry his Wife away, he would. He then informed him, that he had persuaded several worthy Persons in Boston, to make Provision for their Conveyance out of the Colony; and, that a Conveyance had been obtained, encouraged by the Governour, Gaoler, &c., which would come at Midnight, and that proper Recommendations had been obtained to Gov. Fletcher of New-York; so that he might give himself no concern about any one Circumstance of the Journey; that all Things were amply provided. The Governour also gave Letters to Gov. Fletcher, and, at the Time appointed, Mr. English, his Wife, and Daughter were taken and conveyed to New York. He found that, before his Arrival, Mr. Moodey had dispatched Letters, and the Governour, with many private Gentlemen came out to meet him; and the Governour entertained him at his own House, and paid him

every Attention, while he remained in the City. On the next Year he returned.⁴

“In all this Business, Mr. Moody openly justified Mr. English, and, in defiance of all the Prejudices which prevailed, expressed his Abhorrence of the Measures which had obliged a useful Citizen to flee from the Executioners. Mr. Moodey was commended by all discerning Men; but he felt the angry Repentment of the deluded Multitude of his own Times; among whom, some of high Rank were included. He soon after left Boston and returned to Portsmouth.

“Mrs. English died in 1694, at 42 Years of Age, in Consequence of the ungenerous Treatment she had received. Her Husband died at 84 Years of Age, in 1734.

“This is the Substance of Communications made to me at different Times from Madam Sufanna Hathorne, his great-grand-Daughter, who died in Salem, 28 August, 1802, at the Age of 80 Years, who received the Account from the Descendants of Mr. English, who dwelt upon his Obligations to Mr. Moodey with great Pleasure.”

William Beales of Marble Head, aged upward of Sixty Yeares, testifieth and saith, that last March past was twelve Moenth, towards the latter end of the Moenth; then myself beeing in the House of George

⁴ Mr. English was arrested by Jacob Manning, the Deputy Marshal, 31 May, 1692. Mrs. English was committed on April 22d, preceding. The Time of their Transfer to Boston, I do not find; but Mr. English was in Prison about nine Weeks. Hence it is inferred that their Escape was about the first

of August following. See Felt, *Annals of Salem*, ii, 479.

⁵ Of this Person, I have not attempted to add anything to what is contained in Lewis's *Lynn* and Savage's *Dictionary*. Perhaps he was wise enough to keep out of the Way of Philip English after his Return.

Bonfeilds, of Marbllee Head, whither I repaired, that I might haue helpe to nurse, or Looke after mee, because of a very greate and wracking Paine had seized upp on my Body, and the Distemper of the Small Pox then beeing in my House, and my Son Jamis at the same Time then in my House, lying sick; then towards the latter End of that Moenth, Aforesayed, in that House, as I lay in my Bed, in the Morneinge, presently after it was faire light abroad in the Roome where I lay in my Bed, which was layed lowe and neere unto the Fire, towards the norward part of the Roome; I beeing broade Awake, I then saw upon the south Iaume [Jamb] of that Chimny, A darke Shade which couered the Iaume of that Chimney aforesayed, from the under Floore to the upper Flloore, and alsoe A dar[k]ness more then it was beefore, in the southerne Part of the House, and alsoe in the Middllee of the Darknes, in the Shade upp on the Iaume of the Chimny aforesayed, I beeheld somethinge of the Forme or Shape of A Man. I tooke most notice of his Legs, because they weere of A very greate Statute, or Bigness. I wondred at the Sichte, and therefore I turned my Head as I lay in my Bed, and cast my Eyes towards the south Side of the House, to see if the Sun weere risen, or whether there weere any Person or anythinge in the House, which by the help of the Sun might cause such A Shade or Shape, but I saw non, nor any Lighte of the Sun in that Room then. I then turned my Head upp on the Pillow, where it was before, I saw in the darknes aforesayed the plaine Shape or els the Person of Phillip English of Salem, the which, Reports say, married with William Hollingworths⁶ Daughter of

⁶ Mr. Savage says that Mr. Hollingworth's Name was *Richard*. Beale, though apparently much wanting in Sense, may be supposed to have known the given Name of a prominent Man like Hollingworth,

Salem, ackcordinge to my best Iudgement, Knoledg and Understandinge of him, as I had formerly Knoledg and Ackyuaintance with him, my Coniecktures of him and these Passages aforefayed were as followeth : what is this Mans buifness heere now ? I remember not that euer I bought or sold with him, either more or les, or which way came hee hither, so soone this Morneinge, by Land or by Water ; or hath he been at Marbllee Head all Nighte ? And then laboreing to correckt my [Thoughts] not to thinke that hee was A Wich, and flyinge to our Omnipotent Jehouah for his Blessing and Protecktion, by secret Eiaculations, instantly the Roome, aforefayed, became cleare, and the Shape, Shade, or Person vanished ; and this was about the Time News was brought to mee in the Morning, that my Son James was very like to recover of the Small Pox, which I left at Home sick ; and the same Day, in the After noone, came News that hee was suddenly strooke with A Paine on his Side, and did not expect to liue three Houres ; and according to my Iudgment, before three Houres weere ended, Newes came that he was departed this Life, at which Docktor Iackson, which was his Docktor, and William Dagget, which was his Nurse, both of Marbllee Head, told mee that they Admired and Wondred ; and it was not many Moenths before, that my Son George Beale, departed this Life in the same House, and complained of A stoping in his Throate, after he was recouered of the Small Pox.

with whom he was probably well acquainted. It seems however, that Beale confounded the Name of the Son with that of the Father. The

Hollingworth Family came to Salem in 1635. The Name is often since spelt *Hollingsworth*. See *Founders of N. Eng.* P. 40.

Hee deceased Ianuary the 23 before my Son Eames
decease aforefayde.

Marbllee Head
Agust the 2^{cond}
1692

Attested to this Truth by
mee WILLIAM BEALE.

Far[ther] this Deponent testifieth that in the Springe
of the Yeare before the New England Forces went for
Cannady, Phillip English aforefayed, came into a
Neighbors House where this Deponent then was pre-
sent, and then in a fawning and flattering Manner,
fayed to me: You are him which can give mee A good
Evidence in shewing mee the Bounds of my Land.
This Deponent replied, and fayed, I know not of any
you have; Phillip English replied yes you doe, and
If you will I[le pay] you well. I have a Peice of
eighte in my Pocket for you, and named A Peice of
Land ly[ing] a certaine Distance from my House,
which I think Mr. Richard Reede⁷ of Marblle [Head]
was then and is now in Possession of it; this Deponent
replied, doe not tell mee of your Peice of eight, for
If I bee called, I must give Evidence against you, and
told him what I must say; at which hee seemed to
bee moued, and told me that I lyed, with more Dif-
course aboute [it,] and so then wee departed. Then the
next [Feb?] ensuing, which was about the Time that
the Forces began to com from Cannady, I then haueing
heard that Phillip English aforefayd, had arrested Mr.
Reade aforefayde, about the Land aforefayde, I then,
as I thought it my Duty in Conciencie, acquainted
Mr. Reeds Son with what I could say concerninge the
Titllee of the Lande aforefayed, and withall told him of

⁷ For some Account of him, con- by J. W. Reed, Esq. published
sult the *History of the Reed Family*, 1861, Page 42.

Witness, as namely Thomas Farrar Senr,⁸ of Linn; then afterward upon their Request I rode to Lin and at Lin Mill there I found Thomas Farare, aforefayed, and as wee rode alonge Lin Commons there beetwixt the Reuerende Mr. Sheapards House and Mr. Leytons, then beinge in discourse aboute the Tittlee of the Lande aforefayed, my Nose gushed out bleedeinge in a most extrordinary manner; so that I bllodyed a Hankershiff of an considerablle biggness, and allsoe ran downe upon my Cloaths and upon my Horse Mane. I lighted of my Hors thinking the iodginge [jogging] of my Horse mighte cause it; but it kept on, Allthough not alltog[eth]er so bad, till I came to Mr. Reades at Marbllee head, and it hath not blead as I can remember neuèr since I was a Boy, exept about that time, nor since that time, exept by Ackcident that it was hurt.

Thiese Things that are fet downe last were before the former Euidence.

WILLIAM

Owned the aboue written before the Grand Iury vpon the Oath hee had taken in Covrt

BEALE

Jen^{ry} 12th, 1692.

Robert Payne
Foreman.

NUMBER IV.

ON a first and cursory Perusal of the Examination of the Indian Woman belonging to Mr. Parris's Family, it was concluded not to Print it, and only refer to it; that is, only refer to the Extract from it

⁸ In the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* Vol. VI, Page 316, some Account of this Individual will be found.

contained in the HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BOSTON. But when the Editorial labor upon these Volumes was nearly completed, a reperusal of that Examination was made, and the result determined the Editor to give it a place in this Appendix. His opinion of it, and of those who procured it of the simple Indian, has been expressed in a previous Page.

The Examination is valuable on several accounts, the Chief of which is the Light it throws on the Commencement of the Delusion. It does not appear that either Dr. Mather or Mr. Calef ever saw it, or their Accounts of the Beginning of the Transactions would have been more explicitly stated. The Original (now for the first time Printed,⁹) came into the Editor's Hands some five and twenty Year's since. It is more extensive than any of the Examinations yet brought to light. This is accounted for by its being the First of that cruel and senseless Series of illegal Proceedings which ended in so much Agony, Distress, Wretchedness and Blood.

This Examination, more, perhaps, than any of the rest, exhibits the atrocious Method employed by the Examinant of causing the poor, ignorant Accused to own and acknowledge Things put into their Mouths by a manner of questioning as much to be condemned as Perjury itself; inasmuch as it was sure to produce that Crime. In this Case the Examined was taken from Jail and placed upon the Stand, and was soon so confused that she could scarcely know what to say; while it is evident that all of her Answers were at first true, because direct, straightforward, and reasonable. The Strangeness of the Questions and the long Per-

⁹ A brief and garbled Extract is placed after the "29th of March, among the Records, not dated, but 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ "!

sistence of the Questioners could lead to no other result but the confounding of what little Understanding the Accused was at best possessed of. Hence this Record of incoherent Nonsense here submitted; and of the same tenor was nearly all the Evidence used, which took away the Lives of numbers of innocent People.

The Examination was before Messrs. Hathorne and Corwin. The Former took down the result, which is all in his peculiar Chirography. The first Proceeding printed in Mr. Woodward's Collection, having relation to the Witchcraft affair, is a Warrant for the Apprehension of Sarah Good, and is dated Feb. 29th, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.¹⁰ On the next Day, March 1st, the Constable, George Locker, made Return, that he had brought the said "Saragh Good," &c. Whether she were present at Tituba's Examination, does not appear; while the Documents show that the Apprehension of Sarah Good, and the Examination of Tituba were on the same Day.

Tittube the Indian Woman Examined, March. 1. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Q. Why doe you hurt these poor Children? What harme haue thay done unto you? A. They doe noe harme to mee. I noe hurt them att all. Q. Why have you done itt? A. I haue done nothing. I cant tell when the Devill works. Q. What, doth the Devill tell you that he hurts them? A. Noe. He tells me nothing. Q. Doe you never see something appeare in some Shape? A. Noe, never see any thing. Q. What Familiarity have you with the Devill, or what is itt that

¹⁰ The Papers inserted in the a later Date. A Rearrangement, Records previous to this are, of or Recompilation of the Witchcraft course, out of place, as they are of Papers must at sometime be made.

you converse withall? Tell the Truth, whoe itt is that hurts them? A. The Devill, for ought I know. Q. What Appearance, or how doth he appeare when he hurts them with what Shape, or what is he like, that hurts them A. Like a Man, I think. Yesterday, I being in the Leantoe Chamber, I saw a Thing like a Man, that tould me fearve him, and I tould him Noe, I would nott doe fuch Thing. She charges Goody Ofburne and Sarah Good, as those that hurt them Children, and would have had hir done itt; she sayth she hath seen foure, two of which she knew nott; she saw them last Night, as she was washing the Roome. They tould me hurt the Children, and would haue had me gone to Boston. Ther was 5 of them with the Man. They tould me if I would nott goe and hurt them they would doe soe to mee. Att first I did agree with them, but afterward I tould them I doe soe noe more. Q. Would they have had you hurt the Children the last Night? A. Yes, butt I was sorry, and I sayd I would doe soe noe more, but tould I would Feare God. Q. Butt why did nott you doe soe before? A. Why they tell me I had done soe before, and therefore, I must goe on. These were the 4 woemen, and the Man, but she knew none but Ofburne and Good, only; the other were of Boston. Q. Att first beginning with them, what then appeared to you; what was itt like, that gott you to doe itt? A. One like a Man, Just as I was going to sleep, came to me. This was when the Children was first hurt. He sayd he would kill the Children, and she would never be well; and he sayd, If I would nott serue him he would doe soe to mee. Q. Is that the same Man that appeared before to you? that appeared the last Night and tould you this? A. Yes. Q. what other Likenesses besides a Man hath appeared to you? A. Sometimes

like a Hogge, fometimes like a great black Dogge, foure tymes. Q. But what did they fay unto you? A. They tould me serve him, and that was a good way; that was the black Dogge. I tould him I was afraid. He tould me he would be worse then to me. Q. What did you say to him then, after that? A. I answer, I will serve you noe Longer. He tould me he would doe me hurt then. Q. What other Creatures have you seen? A. A Bird. Q. What Bird? A. A little yellow Bird. Q. Where doth itt keep? A. With the Man whoe hath pretty Things more besides. Q. What other pretty Things? A. He hath nott showed them unto me, but he said he would showe them me to morrow, and tould me if I would serve him, I should have the Bird. Q. What other Creatures did you see? A. I saw 2 Catts, one Red, another Black, as bigge as a little Dogge. Q. What did these Catts doe? A. I dont know. I have seen them two tymes. Q. What did they Say? A. They Say, Serve them. Q. When did you see them? A. I saw them last Night. Q. Did they do any hurt to you or threaten you? A. They did Scratch me. Q. When? A. After prayer; and Scratched me because I would not serve hir. And when they went away I could nott see, but thay stood before the Fire. Q. What Service doe thay expect from you? A. They say more hurt to the Children. Q. How did you pinch them when you hurt them? A. The other pull mee and hall me to pinch the Childe, and I am very forry For itt? Q. Whatt made you hould your Arme when you were searched? What had you there? A. I had nothing. Q. Do nott those Catts suck you? A. Noe, never yett. I would nott lett them. But they had almost thrust me into the Fire. Q. How doe you hurt those that you pinch? Doe you gett those Catts,

or other Things to doe itt for you? Tell us, how is itt done? A. The Man sends the Catts to me, and bids me pinch them; and I think I went once to Mr. Griggs's, and have pinched hir this Day in the Morning. The Man brought Mr. Griggs's Mayd to me, and made me pinch hir. Q. Did you ever goe with these Woemen? A. They are very strong, and pull me, and make me goe with them. Q. Where did you goe? A. Up to Mr. Putnams, and make me hurt the Child. Q. Whoe did make you goe? A. A Man that is very strong, and these two woemen, Good, and Osburne, but I am sorry. Q. How did you goe? Whatt doe you Ride upon? A. I Ride upon a Stick, or Poale, and Good, and Osburne behind me; we Ride takeing hold of one another; don't know how we goe, for I saw noe Trees, nor Path, but was presently there, when wee were up. Q. How long since you began to pinch Mr. Parris's Children? A. I did nott pinch them att the Firft, but thay made me afterward. Q. Have you seen Good, and Osburne Ride upon a Poule? A. Yes, and have held Fast by mee: I was nott att Mr. Griggs's but once, butt it may be send something like mee; neither would I have gone, butt that they tell me, they will hurt me. Last Night they Tell me I must kill some body with the Knife. Q. Who were they that Told you Soe? A. Sarah Good, and Osburne, and they would have had me killed Thomas Putnam's Child last Night. The Child alsoe affirmed, that att the same Tyme, thay would have had hir Cutt of hir own Head; for if she would nott, they Tould hir Tittubee would Cutt itt off; and then she Complayned att the same Time of a Knife Cutting of hir. When hir Master hath asked hir about these Things, She Sayth thay will nott lett hir Tell, but Tell hir if she Tells, hir Head shall be Cutt off. Q. Who Tells

you foe? A. The Man, Good, and Osburnes Wife. Goody Good Came to hir last Night, when her Master was att Prayer, and would nōtt lett hir hear, and she Could nōtt hear a good whyle. Good hath one of those Birds, the yellow Bird, and would have given mee itt, but I would not have itt: and in Prayer Tyme she stoped my Eares and would nōtt lett me hear. Q. What should you have done with itt. A. Give itt to the Children, which yellow Bird hath bin severall Tymes seen by the Children. I saw Sarah Good have itt on hir Hand, when she Came to hir, when Mr. Parris was att prayer: I saw the Bird suck Good betweene the fore Finger and Long Finger, upon the Right Hand. Q. Did you never practise Witchcraft in your owne Country? A. Noe. Never before now. Q. Did you see them doe itt now? A. Yes. To Day; but twas in the Morning. Q. Butt did you see them doe itt now, while you are Examininge? A. Noe, I did nōtt See them, but I Saw them hurt att other Tymes. I saw Good have a Catt beside the yellow Bird, which was with hir. Q. What hath Osburne gott to goe with hir? A. Some thing I don't know what itt is. I can't name itt. I don't know how itt looks. She hath two of them. One of them hath Wings, and two Leggs, and a Head like a Woeman. The Children Saw the Same butt Yesterday, which afterward Turned into a Woeman. Q. What is the Other Thing that Goody Osburne hath? A. A Thing all over hairy; all the Face hayry, and a long Nose, and I don't know how to tell how the Face looks; with Two Leggs, itt goeth uprighte, and is about Two or three Foot high, and goeth upright like a Man; and last Night itt Stood before the Fire, in Mr. Parris's Hall. Q. Whoe was that appeared like a Wolfe to Hubbard, as she was goeing from Proctures? A. Itt was Sarah Good, and I saw hir send the Wolfe

to hir. Q. What Cloathes doth the Man appeare unto you in? A. Black Cloaths, sometimes, sometimes Searge Coat of other Couler; a Tall Man with white hayr, I think. Q. What Aparrell doe the Woemen ware? A. I don't know what Couller. Q. What kind of Cloathes hath She? A. A black filk Hood, with a white Silk Hood under itt, with Sopknotts, which Woe-man I know not, but have seen hir in Boston, when I lived there. Q. What Cloathes the little Woman? A. a Searge Coat with a white Cap, as I think. The Children having Fitts at this very Time, She was asked, whoe hurt them? She Answers Goody Good; and the Children affirmed the same; butt Hubbard being taken in an Extreame Fitt; after, she was asked, whoe hurt hir? and she sayd she Could nott tell, butt Sayd they blinded hir, and would not lett hir see, and after that, was once or twice taken dumb hir self.

Second Examination. March. 2. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Q. What Covenant did you make with that Man that came to you? What did he tell you. A. He tell me he God, and I must beleive him, and serve him six Yeares, and he would give me many fine Things. Q. How longe a goue was this? A. About six Weeks, and a little more; Fryday Night before Abigail was Ill. Q. What did he say you must doe more? Did he say you must write any Thing? Did he offer you any Paper? A. Yes, the next Time he come to me, and showed me some fine Things; some Thing like Creatures; a little Bird, some Thing like green and white. Q. Did you promise him this when he spake to you? Then what did you answer him. A. I then Sayd this, I tould him I Could nott beleive him God; I tould him I ask my Maister, and would have gone up, but he stopt mee, and would nott lett

me. Q. Whatt did you promifs him? A. The first Tyme I beleive him God, and then he was Glad. Q. What did he say to you then? What did he say you must doe? A. Then he tell me they must meet together. Q. When did he say you must meet together? A. He tell me Weddnesday next, att my masters House, and then they all meet together, and thatt Night I saw them all stand in the Corner, all four of them, and the Man stand behind mee, and take hold of mee, to make mee stand still in the Hall. Q. Whare was your Master then? A. In the other Roome. Q. What Time of Night? A. A little before prayer Time. Q. What did this Man say to you when he took hold of you? A. He say goe into the other Room and see the Children, and doe hurt to them, and Pinch them; and then I went in, and would nott hurt them a good while; I would nott hurt Betty, I loved Betty, but they hall me and make me pinch Betty, and the next Abigall, and then quickly went away altogether a[fter] I had pinch them. Q. Did you goe into that Room in your own Person, and all the rest? A. Yes, and my Master did nott see us, for they would nott lett my Master see. Q. Did you goe with the Company? A. Noe, I stayd and the Man stayd with mee. Q. What did he then to you? A. He tell me my Master goe to Prayer, and he read in Book, and he ask me what I remember, but don't you remember any thing? Q. Did he ask you noe more but the first Time to serve him, or the second time? A. Yes, he ask me againe, and if I serve him six yeares and he Come the Next Time, and show mee a Book. Q. And when would he come then? A. The next Fyday, and showed me a Book in the Day Time, betimes in the Morning. Q. And what Booke did he bring, a great or little Booke? A. He did nott show itt

me, nor would nott, but had itt in his Pockett. Q. Did he nott make you write your Name? A. Noe, nott yett, for my Miftris Called me into the other Roome. Q. Whatt did he fay you must do in that Book? A. He sayd, Write, and sett my name to itt. Q. Did you Write? A. Yes, once I made a Marke in the Book, and made itt with red like Bloud. Q. Did he gett itt out of your Body? A. He said he must gett itt out. The Next Time he Come againe he give me a Pin, tyed in a Stick, to doe itt with, butt he noe lett me Bloud with itt as yett, butt Intended another Time, when he came again. Q. Did you see any other Marks in his Book? A. Yes, a great many, some Marks Red, some Yellow, he opened his Book, and a great many Marks in itt. Q. Did he tell you the Names of them? A. Yes, of two, noe more; Good, and Osburne, and he say they make them Marks in that Book, and he shewed them mee. Q. How many Marks doe you think there was? A. Nine. Q. Did thay write there Names? A. They made Marks, Goody Good sayd she made hir Mark, but Goody Osburne would nott tell; she was Crofs to mee. Q. When did Good tell you she sett hir Hand to the Book? The same Day I came hither to Prifon? Q. Did you see the Man thatt Morning? A. Yes, a litle in the Morning, and he tell me the Magistrates Come up to examine me. Q. What did he say you must say? A. He tell me, tell nothing, if I did he would cutt my Head off. Q. Tell us true how many Woemen doe use to come when you Rid abroad? A. Foure of them, these two, Osburne, and Good, and those two Strangers. Q. You say that there was Nine. Did he tell you whoe they were? A. Noe, he noe lett me see, but he tell me I should see them the next Tyme. Q. What Sights did you see? A.

I see a Man, a Dogge, a Hogge, and two Catts, a Black and Red; and the strange Monster was Osburnes, that I mentioed before; this was the Hayry Imp: the Man would give itt to mee, but I would nott have itt. Q. Did he show you in the Book which was Osburns and which was Goods Mark? A. Yes, I see there Marks. Q. Butt did he tell the Names of the other? A. Noe fir. Q. And what did he say to you when you made your Mark? A. He sayed Serve mee, and always serve mee. The Man with the two Woemen Came from Boston. Q. How many times did you goe to Boston? A. I was goeing and then Came back againe. I was never att Boston. Q. Whoe Came back with you againe? A. The Man came back with mee, and the Woemen goe away; I was nott willing to goe. Q. How farr did you goe, to what Towne? A. I never went to any Towne. I see noe Trees, noe Towne. Q. Did he tell you where the Nine Lived? A. Yes, some in Boston, and some here in this Towne, but he would nott tell mee whoe thay were.

NUMBER V.

The Examination of Mary Clark¹¹ of Haverhill. Taken before Jno. Hautborn, Esq. and otheir their Majesties Justices of the Peace, August 4th, 1692.

THE Accused, Mary Clark, being called, it was enquired of Mary Walcot, if ever Clark had afflicted her? She answered Yes, that is the very

¹¹ There was a large Family of Family this injured Woman belonged to what longed, my Materials do not disclose.

woman. And, upon Mary Clarks looking upon Walcott. and others of the afflicted, they were struck into Fitts.

The Justices having used severall Arguments (for the Good of her Soul) to confess, if she knew herself guilty. She absolutely denied. And then the Constable¹² of Haverhill was called; and being asked of what Fame and Reputation Mary Clark was off? He answered they had heard she was or had been guilty of such Things, but, as to any Thing in Particular, he could not say. The Justices asked Mary Walcot if she were not mistaken in this Woman? Walcot answered, This is the very Woman I saw afflict Timothy Swan,¹³ and she has afflicted me severall Times. And after a Fitt she was then immediately in, she said she saw the above Mary Clark afflict Betty Hubbard, and Ann Putnam.

The said Mary Clark looking upon Walcott, Hubbard, Putnam, Warrin, they were in Fitts.

Mary Walcott haveing a Pinn runn into her Arme suddenly, said that Mary Clark did it.

At the same Tyme Mary Warrin had a Pinn run into her Throat, under her Chin, which Mr. Noice took out.

Sufanna Sheldon, upon said Examination, had four Pinns taken out of her Hand; saying that said Clark put in two of them, and Mr. Usher¹⁴ the other two.

¹² In 1687, Joseph Peafely was chosen Constable, but there is no certainty that he exercised the Office in 1692. John Ayer, Jr., shared the Duties. See Chase, *Hist. Haverhill*, 145.

¹³ Like the Clarks, the *Swan*

Family was extensive at Haverhill; but Mr. Chase did not find a Timothy.

¹⁴ Perhaps Mr. Hezekiah, of Boston. It may be he to whom Mr. Calef refers in his *Postscript*. See Page 154, *original paging*.

Mary Post¹⁵ said she saw the said Clark afflict Timothy Swan.

Richard Carryer, a former Confessor said he beleaved he saw the said Mary Clark with some others and himself baptised at Newburry Falls.

Betty Hubbard¹⁶ was struck down, by her looking upon her.

It was asked, if she could say the Lords Prayer, perfectly.

She erred much.

Ann Putnam said that said Clark had afflicted her by pinching, choakeing, and striking her in the Face, and told her, that her Name was Mistriss Mary Clark, but that People used to call her Goody Clark.

Ann Putnam said further, that she saw the said Clark stab Timothy Swan with a square ragged Speare, as long as her Hand. And, being asked why she called it a *ragged* Speare, she said because it was ragged like a File.

Mary Post said she saw this Mary Clarks Spirit at the Village Witch-meeting, and that she did eat and drink there as the rest did. And further, she has seen the said Mary Clark afflict Timothy Swan.

I, underwritten, being appoynted by Authority, to take the within Examination, in Wryting, Doe testify upon Oath, taken in Court, that this is a true Coppy of the Substance of it, to the best of my Knowledge.

[*All of the Above is in the Hand of Edward Rawson. There is no Signature attached.*]

¹⁵ I do not find the Name of Post in Mr. Chafe's *Haverhill*. There was a Family at Woburn; and, according to Mr. Savage, John Post, of that Town, had by Wife Mary Tyler, a Daughter Mary,

born 1664, who may have been this Witness.

¹⁶ The same who has been so often mentioned as Elizabeth Hubbard. In the next Article of this Appendix she is particularly noticed.

NUMBER VI.

*An Account of the Life and Character of
the Rev. Samuel Parris, of Salem Vil-
lage, and of his Connection with the
Witchcraft Delusion of 1692.*BY SAMUEL P. FOWLER, ESQUIRE.¹⁷

MR. Parris, whose History is so intimately connected with the Salem Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, was a Son of Thomas Parris of London, and was born in 1653. He was a Member of Harvard College, but did not graduate at that Institution. He was at first a Merchant in Boston, but not succeeding in Business he left it, and offered himself as a Candidate for the Ministry.

The People at Salem Village being without a Pastor, on the 15th of November, 1688, sent a Committee, consisting of three Persons, viz: Captain John Putnam, Mr. Joshua Rea, Sen., and Francis Nurse, "to treat with Mr. Parris about taking ministerial Office." Nothing was done however at this Meeting towards effecting a Settlement, and on the 25th of November, after the Services in the Afternoon, the Audience was stayed, and by a general Vote, requested Mr. Parris to take Office. On the 10th of December, 1688, the Brethren of the Church, sent Lieut. Nath'l Putnam, Sergeant Fuller, Mr. Joshua Rea, Sen., and Sergeant Ingerfoll, who came, they said, "as Messengers to

¹⁷ Mr. Fowler has very kindly placed this highly valuable Article at the Editor's Disposal. It was originally read before the *Essex Inst.*

know whether Mr. Parris would accept of Office." He replied, "y^e Work was weighty, they should know in due Time." After this, several came on like Errands, but as yet, no Proposals of Maintenance were tendered.

On the 29th of April, 1689, Deacons Nath'l Ingersoll and Edward Putnam, Daniel Rea, Thomas Fuller, Jr., and John Tarbell, came to Mr. Parris, from the meeting House, where there had been a general Meeting of the Inhabitants, and said, "being the aged Men had had the Matter of Mr. Parris's Settlement so long in Hand, and effected nothing, they were desirous to try what the Younger could do." Upon Mr. Parris's asking them what their Will was, they answered "they were sent, by y^e People to desire him to take Office, and had concluded to offer him sixty Pounds for his Salary." Twenty Pounds of which, was to be in Money, and the Remainder as follows: Wheat at 4 Shillings per Bushel, Indian Corn at 2 Shillings per Bushel, Barley, Rye and Malt at 3 Shillings per Bushel, Pork at 2 Pence per. Pound, Beef at 1½ Pence per. Pound.

The Committee being desirous of a speedy Answer, Mr. Parris informed them, that he would accept of their Proposals, provided they would comply with the following Provisions for his Maintenance: 1st, "When Money shall be more plenteous, the Money Part to be paid me, shall accordingly be increased. 2d, Tho' Corn or like Provisions should arise to a higher Price than you have set, yet for my own Family Use, I shall have what is needful, at ye Price now stated; and so if it fall lower. 3d, The whole sixty Pounds to be only from our Inhabitants, that are dwelling in our Bounds, or proportionable to what Lands they have, within y^e same. 4th, No Provision to be

brought in, without just asking whether needed, and myself to make choice of what, unless ye Person is unable to pay in any Sort but one. 5th, Fire Wood to be given in yearly freely. 6th, Two Men to be chosen yearly to see that due Payments be made. 7th, Contributions each Sabbath in Papers, and only such as are in Papers, and dwelling within in our Bounds, to be accounted as Part of the sixty Pounds. 8th, As God shall please to bless y^e Place, so as to be able to rise higher, than y^e said sixty Pounds, that then a proportionable Increase be made. If God shall please for our Sins to diminish the Substance of said Place, I will endeavour accordingly to bear such Losses, by proportionable Abatements of such as shall reasonably desire it."

These Proposals of Mr. Parris to the Committee were read to them and accepted, and they expressed their Belief, that the Inhabitants would approve of them. But it would seem that at a Meeting of the People of the Village, May 17th, 1689, Mr. Parris was sent for, when Objections were made against the 5th and 7th Provisions of his Settlement. "Touching the 5th it was objected, they had no Commons, and therefore could not conveniently give in Fire Wood, because some must bring in half Cord, others more, others less, &c. Therefore they would allow six Pounds per annum, one third Money, which would buy 30 Cords, as they had dealt by former Ministers. Parris replied, he was willing to ease them, but then he desired, that one of them would take the six Pounds annually, and furnish him with 30 Cords of Wood, to which Proposal he found none of them willing to consent. He then told them, if he did accept the six Pounds, it might in Time be insufficient to purchase 30 Cords of Wood. In reply to the Fears of Parris

in regard to the Rise of the Price of Wood, he says, I had a general Answer from many that at four Shillings per Cord, I should be supplied during my Life among them. He continues, after much urging, I replied I would try them for one Year. Mr. Parris says: "touching his 7th Provision, nothing at the Time was said or objected against Contributions by Papers, for it had been their former usual Way, but only against those, that dwelled within their Bounds, they urging that some did not live within their Bounds, yet they were constant Hearers, and therefore it was meet to have their Help.

"In fine, after much Agitation here, it was agreed on my Part and theirs, that such out Persons had Liberty to please themselves, in paying to the Minister or the meeting House. And so I left them, fully acquiescing with my aforesaid Conditions, not doubting but that they had truly entered it on the Records, as I took for granted, nor heard any Thing otherwise, till after my Ordination a good while, in another public Meeting of the Village; when another Vote, recorded and read, vastly different from the Agreement, as above said—which I then openly did, and still must deny, to be any Contract of mine."

We have now presented Mr. Parris's Account, of the Transactions between himself and the People of Salem Village, in regard to his Settlement. This was drawn up by him, and used upon his Trial before the Court of Common Pleas at Ipswich in 1696-7. We have been thus particular in Relation to the Settlement of Mr. Parris at Salem Village, it being one of the Causes, which led to the most bitter parochial Quarrel, that ever existed in New-England, and in the Opinion of some Persons, was the chief or primary Cause of that world-wide famous Delusion, the Salem Witchcraft.

Salem Village, since embraced in the Parish of Rev. Dr. Milton P. Braman, in Danvers, Massachusetts, was, on the 19th of November, 1689 (when the Rev. Samuel Parris entered upon his Duties there as a Pastor and Teacher,) a small Hamlet or Village, inhabited principally by Farmers, but embracing within its Limits, much adjoining Territory, extending its Lines to Wills Hill, now Middleton, there being many Families who attended Worship at Salem Village. The number of rateable Polls in the Parish was 100. It appears, from the Records, that Mr. Parris presented to his Church, upon his Settlement, a new Covenant and Form of Admission for its Members, together with the Question, who were the proper Subjects of Baptism? These caused some Debate in the Church, but none opposed the final Action upon them. Some singular and unusual Cases of Discipline came before them, but they appeared to have been disposed of peaceably. It was not until the 8th of October, 1691, that we discover any unfriendly feeling, existing between Mr. Parris and his People. It was on that Day, he says in his Church Records,—“ Being my Lecture Day after public Service was ended, I was so bare of Fire Wood, that I was forced publicly to desire the Inhabitants to take Care that I might be provided for, telling them, had it not been for Mr. Corwin (who had brought Wood, being here at my House), I should hardly have had any to burn.” Upon the Pastor’s informing the Church of his Destitution of Fire Wood, the Brethren raised a Committee, who were instructed to see the Town Committee, and desire them to make a Rate for the Minister. The Committee on Rates met November 10th, 1691, and reported that they did not see good Cause to take Notice of the Church

Committee, without they had a Letter to show, under the Church and Pastor's Hand. Upon this, Mr. Parris complained of the Treatment of the Committee towards him, but more especially the Church, whom he said manifested an indifference in this Affair. The Committee, whose Business it was to raise a Tax to procure the Pastor's Wood, still continuing to refuse to do it, on the 27th of December, 1691, a Petition was sent to the Quarter Sessions, wherein the Petitioners complain, that "no Reparations of the Village Meeting House has been for a great while regarded, so that broken Windows, stopt up some of them by Boards or otherwise, and others wide open, and is sometimes so dark, that it is almost *unuseful*." The Court, upon this Petition, appointed a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Village, to choose a new Committee to meet on the 25th of January, 1692, for the Purpose of assessing Rates to repair the meeting House, and procure the Pastor's Wood. The Inhabitants of the Village met on that Day, and made choice of Joseph Pope, Joseph Holten, Jr., John Tarbell, Thomas Preston, and James Smith, as their Committee.

This is the last we hear about this Affair of procuring Wood, &c., probably all further Consideration of it was absorbed in the great Witchcraft Delusion, which was now close at Hand, and about to break forth.

We are now brought to the Period of the Commencement of Salem Witchcraft, as it first developed itself in the Family of Samuel Parris, Minister at Salem Village in 1692.

Mr. Parris's Household consisted, at this Time, of himself and Wife, his age being 39 Years, that of his Wife 44 Years, a Daughter Elizabeth, aged nine

Years, a Niece of eleven Years by the Name of Abigail Williams, and two Servants named John Indian, and Tituba his Wife, both Natives of South America, then called New Spain. These were held as Slaves, and Parris probably came into possession of them in some of his Commercial Transactions. By some Persons, these Indians have been supposed to belong to the Aborigines of our Country and to have obtained their knowledge of Witchcraft from the Indian Powows; but this appears to have been a mistake. Mr. Parris's nearest Neighbors were Capt. Jona. Walcut, who had a Daughter called Mary, 17 years of Age, and his Parish Clerk. Thomas Putnam, who had a Daughter named Ann, aged 12 Years, and a servant Girl, living with him, named Mercey Lewis aged 17 Years, Mary Warren, aged 20 Years, lived with John Proctor, Elizabeth Booth, aged 18 Years, lived near to John Proctor, Sarah Churchill, aged 20 Years, lived in the Family of Geo. Jacobs, Sen., Sufannah Sheldon, aged 18 Years, lived in the Village. These Girls, together with Abigail Williams, a Niece of Mr. Parris, aged 11 Years, were in the Habit of meeting in a Circle in the Village, to practice Palmistry, Fortune Telling, &c. It appears by Evidence, given at the Courts, that some of their Parents and Guardians did not approve of these Meetings. Mary Warren, one of the most Violent of the accusing Girls, lived as we have before said, with John Proctor, and at last became his principal Accuser, upon his examination for Witchcraft. Proctor, out of all Patience with the Meetings of the Girls, composing this Circle, one Day said he "was a going to the Village to bring Mary Warren, the Jade, Home; for, if let alone, these Girls would make us all *Devils and Witches together quickly*. They should rather be had to the Whipping Post; but he

would fetch his Jade Home, and thrash the Devil out of her." Proctor said, when Mary Warren was first taken with Fits, he kept her close to the Wheel, and threatened to thrash her, and then she had no more Fits; but the next Day, he being gone from Home, she had her Fits again. If the accusing Girls had been dealt with as John Proctor would have had them, we probably should have had a short Story to tell, about Salem Witchcraft. It is at the Meeting of this Circle of eight Girls, for the purpose of practising Palmistry and Fortune Telling, that we discover the Germ, or the first Origin of the Delusion. We have endeavored to follow them after the Excitement had subsided, for the Purpose of ascertaining their Character in after Life. One only of this Circle, Ann Putnam, confessed her Folly, and sought Forgiveness. Some of them grew up Licentious in their Habits, and all of them appear to have sought Obscurity. Their whole Course, as seen in their Depositions, discloses much Malignancy, and their Ignorance was so great, that of the Eight accusing Girls, Six of them signed their Names with a Cross. ✕

It was in the latter End of February, 1692, that the Daughter of Mr. Parris, named Elizabeth, aged 9 Years, together with his Niece, Abigail Williams, aged 12 Years, were taken Sick and received such attention from Mrs. Parris as their Case seemed to require. But growing worse under her Treatment, and not being able to ascertain what their Disease was, application was made to their Family Physician, Dr. Gregg, living in the Village. He visited them, and observed that they were afflicted with a sad Distemper, the Name of which he could not tell. Other Physicians were called in, in Consultation, when one of them gave it as his Opinion, that the Children were under

an evil Hand. It is probable that it was Dr. Gregg that supposed the Girls bewitched, for he had expressed the same Opinion of many of his Patients when he could not understand their Disease, many times before. It is highly probable that the Opinion of these Physicians went far to form the Belief of not only Parris, but also of his ministerial Friends, in the Existence of Witchcraft in the Village. Mr. Parris appears to have been much astonished, when the Physicians informed him, that his Daughter and Niece were, no doubt, under an evil Hand. There is Evidence that Mr. Parris endeavored to keep the Opinion of the Physicians a Secret, at least, till he could determine what Course to pursue. At this Time, Mary Sibley, a Member of his Church, gave directions to John Indian how to find out, who bewitched Betsy Parris and Nabby Williams. This was done without the Knowledge of Parris. The Means used to make this Discovery, was to make a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Urine of the Children, and Bake it in the Ashes, and give it to a Dog to eat. Similar disgusting Practices appear to have been used to discover and kill Witches, during the whole Period of the Delusion.

On the 27th of March, 1692, Mr. Parris called together his Church, when he presented Testimony against the Error of sister Mary Sibley, in giving direction to John Indian in an unwarrantable Way, to find out Witches. Upon Mary Sibley's manifesting Sorrow and Grief for her Conduct, the Brethren of the Church received Satisfaction. By the diabolical Means thus used by Mary Sibley, Mr. Parris supposed the Devil had been raised, and seeing the apparent distressed Condition of his Family, and not knowing what Course to pursue, requested some worthy Gentlemen of

Salem, and some neighboring Ministers to consult together at his House; who when they came, and had inquired diligently into the Sufferings of the Afflicted, concluded they were Preternatural, and feared the Hand of Satan was in them. The Advice given to Parris by them was, that he should sit still and wait upon the Providence of God, to see what Time might discover; and to be much in Prayer for the Discovery of what was yet secret. They also examined Tituba, who confessed the making a Cake, and said her Mistress in her own Country was a Witch, and had taught her some Means to be used for the Discovery of a Witch, and for the Prevention of being bewitched, &c. But said she herself, was not a Witch. Soon after this, there were two or three private Fasts at Parris's House, one of which was kept by the neighboring Ministers, and another in Public at the Village. And one general Fast, by Order of the General Court, observed throughout the Colony, to seek the Lord, that he would rebuke Satan, and be a Light unto his People in this Day of Darkness.

It is evident from the Account given by Rev. John Hale, who was an Eye Witness to many of the Transactions at Salem Village, and one of the Ministers called for Consultation, that Mr. Parris proceeded with Caution at the Commencement of the Troubles, and was anxious to seek Council and Advice. He likewise wished to inform himself on the Subject of Witchcraft, and for that Purpose received as a Loan from Dea. Robert Sanderson, of Boston, a Copy of Perkins' Works, which treated upon that Subject.

We are among those who believe Mr. Parris was honest in his Belief in Witchcraft, and that he was not moved in this Affair by personal Malice, or the Desire to promote the Cause of Religion in his Parish, as has

been supposed by the Author of the History of Danvers. We have not as yet, found a Particle of Evidence, that he entertained ill Will against those who were accused and executed.

Mr. Parris, in common with his ministerial Brethren, appears to have come, after the Confession of Tituba, to the full Conclusion, that Witchcraft had broken out in his Parish, and that the Devil had commenced his Operations in his own Family; and as a faithful Pastor, he should not hesitate, for a Moment, to grapple with the Enemy.

It was in this Point of View, that we discover the Courage of the People of Salem Village, who were engaged in opposing what they considered the Machinations of the Devil—they supposing that he was the Cause, operating through the Agency of Witches, of all the Torture and Misery they beheld, and that, by their Opposition, they were liable also to suffer from his Malignancy. They believed, also, that the Devil was about to establish an Agency, or Kingdom in New England; and had actually commenced Operations in Salem Village. This, Cotton Mather, Parris, and others, were determined should not be done, at least if they could help it. There was some very singular Evidence given at the Courts on this Point. Ann Foster, of Andover, a confessing Witch, testified at her Examination, July 21, 1692, “that she was at a Witch Meeting at the Village, where there was a large Number of Witches present, and that the principal Discourse at this Gathering, was in regard to the setting up of the Devil’s Kingdom at the Village, and making it their Rendezvous!” And another confessing Witch testified, at a subsequent Meeting, that they had, by an unanimous Vote, concluded to set up the Devil’s Kingdom at Salem Village—it being

thought, all Things considered, the most suitable Place to begin the Enterprize, and, by so doing, they were in Hopes it would spread over New England. This was solemnly and religiously believed by many, and it required Courage and Pluck to stand up and resist the Designs of a powerful, malicious Being, capable, as they supposed, of tormenting them in various Ways, destroying their Cattle, &c.

Parris appears to have been very desirous of preventing his Daughter, Elizabeth, from participating in the Excitement at the Village. She was sent by her Father, at the Commencement of the Delusion, to reside at Salem with Capt. Stephen Sewall. While there, the Captain and his Wife were much discouraged in effecting a Cure, as she continued to have sore Fits. Elizabeth said that the great *black Man*, came to her, and told her, if she would be ruled by him, she should have whatsoever she desired, and go to a *Golden City*. She related this to Mrs. Sewall, who immediately told the Child it was the Devil, and he was a Liar, and bid her tell him so if he came to her again; which she did accordingly the next Time the black Man came to her. The Devil, it would seem, unaccustomed, in those Days, to experience such Resistance, and utterly astonished at the cool Impudence of Betsy Parris, never troubled her afterwards; and,—although this Girl was one of the first Originators of the Witchcraft Delusion, in connection with her Cousin Abigail Williams,—she appears to have had, afterwards, but little to do with Witchcraft. This arose in Consequence of following the sage Advice of Mrs. Sewall, in getting rid of the Devil; or, what was more probable, in her Father taking her from the weekly Circle of accusing

and bewitching Girls, and placing her in a very respectable Family in Salem.

It has been said that Parris had a Rival in Rev. George Burroughs, who had Friends in Salem Village, desirous of his Settlement; and that that was a sufficient Reason why Parris should appear at the Courts against him. We have never seen any Proof of this Rivalship between these Clergymen. It is difficult now to ascertain the Cause of the Arrest of Burroughs who was preaching at Wells, at the Time, in his Pulpit. The Girl who accused him of bewitching her, was Mercy Lewis, who was then living with Thomas Putnam. She formerly lived with Burroughs, when he preached at the Village; and, upon one or more Occasions, he whipped her severely. This we suspect was the true Cause of her crying out against him.

It had been said that Rebecca Nurse was an Object of special Hatred to Parris; but this we have failed to discover. We cannot imagine the Cause of the alleged Complaint of Witchcraft against Rebecca Nurse. She appears to have been an amiable and exemplary Woman, and well educated for the Times in which she lived. We suspect, from an Examination of the Charges brought against her at the Courts, that she had several Times severely rebuked the accusing Girls for their Folly and Wickedness, when meeting in their Circles. In this Way, she probably incurred the Displeasure of Ann Putnam and her Mother—her principal Accusers. Mr. Parris has often been accused of being over Officious, and a swift Witness against the Accused at the Courts. Parris could not be said to have been a chief Witness in the Prosecutions, although he may be said to have been a frequent corroborating Witness with his Neighbors. The chief Witnesses were the accusing Girls, as they were called. At the

preliminary Examinations before the Magistrates, Parris and others were required to be present when the Depositions were taken down, as related by the Girls, and afterwards made use of at the Trials before the Courts.

These being given in and related by Children, and young Persons, the Court required an Endorsement from some older Persons, who witnessed their supposed Afflictions, and could attest to their Depositions. It is in this Way Mr. Parris's Name, as well as his Neighbors, frequently appear in the Court Documents. Parris appears to have been frequently at the Examinations of those accused of Witchcraft, and put Questions to those on Trial. He also acted as a Recorder to the Magistrates more frequently than others. The Reason for his being often employed by the Courts was simply because he was requested to do so, and was discovered to be well qualified for that Purpose. We have seen the Records of several Persons thus employed, and should say Parris's was the Best. It was his Practice to take down the Examinations in short Hand,—he being a good Stenographer,—and then write them out in full, in a plain, legible Hand.

We have not been able to discover the Cause of the alleged Complaint of Witchcraft, against those three excellent Women, viz: Rebecca Nurse, Mary Easty, and Sarah Cloyce. They were Sisters, of a good Education, and fair Reputation. It is not to be denied, that the Part Parris took in the Trials of these Women, was the chief Cause of the Opposition towards him, and led at last to his Dismission from the People at the Village. His principal Opposers were the Relatives of these three unfortunate Sisters. Samuel Nurse, a Son of Rebecca Nurse, John Tarbell, who had married her Daughter, and Peter Cloyce, who had

married Sarah Cloyce. These three Persons, together with one Thomas Williams, after the Execution of Rebecca Nurse and Mary Easty, and the Imprisonment of Sarah Cloyce, became much dissatisfied with Parris, and sought Advice of the Elders in some of the neighboring Churches, as to the best Mode of bringing him before a Council to answer for his Conduct in the Witchcraft Delusion. They were Members of the Village Church, and had for some Time neglected Public Worship on the Sabbath, and absented themselves from the Communion. While these discontented Brethren were considering what Course to pursue against their Pastor, Parris, either in order to divert their Proceedings from himself, or to administer Discipline, on the 14th of August, 1692, caused the Church to be stayed, and entered a Complaint against Samuel Nurse and Wife, John Tarbell and Wife, and Peter Cloyce, for absenting themselves from the Communion. This Complaint was entered by the Church, and Brother Nathaniel Putnam, and the two Deacons were chosen to be joined with the Pastor to discourse with the Absentees. Much Time was spent by this Committee, in endeavoring to obtain Satisfaction from the offending Brethren;—while on the other Hand, they were striving by all the Means in their Power, to bring Parris before a Council. At last, on the 16th of February, 1693, at a Meeting of the Committee of the Church, the Dissenting Brethren gave their Reasons for withdrawing from the Communion.

“Whereas we, Thomas Williams, and John Tarbell, and Samuel Nurse, having a long Time gone under the Burden of great Grievances, by Reason of some unwarrantable Actings of Mr. Parris, as we esteem them, and were proceeding in an orderly Way, to obtain Satisfaction from him, and had taken some

Steps thereunto, according to the Advice of some neighboring Elders. But obstructive to our Proceedings therein, Mr. Parris and some Brethren of the Church, were appointed by the Church, to demand a Reason of us, of our withdrawing from Communion. The Regularity of which Proceeding, we do not understand, because in this Case, we esteem ourselves to be Plaintiffs and Parties offended, and in an orderly Way, seeking Satisfaction, tho' hitherto denied. Our Answer to the Church is, that we esteem ourselves hereby prevented in our Duty, which we account a Grievance, seeing we were first in Prosecution of the Rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, laid down in Mathew 18 C., 15, 16 vs. Wherefore, if the Church give us the Liberty and Freedom of attending our Duty, as according to Rule bound, possibly then further Trouble may be prevented, or otherwise, the Case will necessarily and regularly come before them. But if they deny us the Request, we shall, as in Duty bound, give the Reasons of our Proceedings to the Church, or any others, when orderly demanded."

Parris says, in the Records of the Church, "that these displeased Brethren were told in Reply to their Communication, that they did ill to reflect on the Church, who, as also the Pastor, were ignorant of their Methods, and that they should have spoken with the Pastor himself, before they went to consult neighboring Elders. But to this Last they pleaded Ignorance. So we gave Way to their Request of proceeding orderly."

On the 27th of March, 1693, the dissenting Brethren handed to the Pastor the following Document:—

"To our Pastor and Minister, Mr. Samuel Parris, of Salem Village, and to some others of the Plantation. We, whose Names are underwritten, being deeply sensible, that those uncomfortable Differences

that are amongst us, are very dishonorable to God, and a Scandal to Religion, and very uncomfortable to ourselves, and an ill Example to those, who may come after us. And by our maintaining and upholding Differences, that are amongst us, we do but gratify the Devil, the great Adversary to our Souls. For the Removal of which we have thought meet to proffer our present Thoughts to your serious Consideration, hoping, that there may be such Methods propounded, as may be for the settling and confirming Peace and Unity amongst us, both at the Present and for the Future. And our Desires are, that such a Foundation may be laid for Peace and Truth, that the Gates of Hell may not prevail against it. And in Order thereunto, Solomon adviseth Counsel; and our Desires are, that a Council of Elders may be chosen, to hear all our Grievances between Mr. Parris and us, and determine where the blameable Cause is. And we hope, that their Wisdom and Prudence may direct us to such a Method, as may be for our Comfort for both Present and Future."

Much Time was spent by the Committee of the Church, in endeavoring to obtain Satisfaction from the dissenting Brethren, while the Latter were striving by all the Means in their Power, to bring Parris before a Council. At last, on the 16th of February, 1693, at a Meeting of the Committee, the dissenting Brethren gave their Reasons for withdrawing from the Ministry at the Village. They are the following.¹⁸

After the Pastor had read the Charges against him, he brought forward his "Meditations for Peace." This Paper, having been considered at the Time as

¹⁸ Being the Same contained in Mr. Calef's Part Third, are omitted here. See Vol. II, P. 140-3; or Pages 55-7, original Edition.

an Acknowledgment of his Mistakes in the Witchcraft Delusion, we have given it entire. It is as follows.¹⁹

Notwithstanding the discontented Brethren continued to press the Acceptance of their Petition, for a mutual Council. Parris refused to notice it, and says, "I put it up in my Pocket, and told them I would consider it." It appears, by the Records, that the Acknowledgment of Mr. Parris was first read before the Church, November, 18, 1694, in the Presence of the dissenting Brethren, when Tarbell remarked, that if the Pastor had formerly made but *half the Acknowledgment he now had*, it had never come to this. It would seem that the Acknowledgment of the Pastor was not satisfactory to the Brethren, and they continued to persist in the calling of a Council. In the Meantime, Parris brought sundry Objections, as he called them, against Tarbell and his Friends, which were read before the Church, November 13th. These Objections, were as follows:—"Their precipitant, schismatical and total withdrawing from the Church; Their bringing forward a factious Libel to the Pastor, consisting of Calumnies, or Reflections on said Minister, and others of the Plantation; their impetuous Pursuit of the Minister at his House, for Answer to said Libel to his great Disquietude; there restless Pursuit of the Minister, on the 14th of April, 1693, for an Answer to said Libel; their persisting with great Heat, that their Charge might be read, yea loudly and fiercely before the whole Brotherhood, clamouring against the Church, and their publishing under their own Hands, in divers Places of the Country, sundry Obloquies against the Church; their ensnaring several to join them in a Petition to his

¹⁹ See Vol. II, P. 143-8, where this Paper is given entire.

Excellency and General Court, scandalizing the Church and Minister, as unpeaceable with their Neighbors; their withdrawing their Purfes, as well as their Persons from upholding the Lord's Table, and the Ministry; their grofs Mistake in their Letter to the Church at Malden, wherein they profess so much Dissatisfaction with the Doctrine, Practice and Administration of their Pastor, for above a Year, before the Date of said Letter, as that they were forced to withdraw from all public Worship; whereas it is most notorious, that they were not wanting as to a Profession of much Respect to their Pastor, all along before, yea, and a considerable while after the breaking out of the late horrid Witchcraft." These are some of the Charges brought against the three Brethren by Parris, and he informs us, "as soon as the public Reading of these Articles was ended, Brother Thomas Wilkins, in a scoffing and contemptuous Way, said openly, 'this is a large Epistle.'" It would seem by the Records, that the dissenting Brethren continued to make strenuous Efforts to bring Parris before a Council, which was at last recommended by the Pastors of the Churches in the Neighborhood, when Parris in his last Attempt to evade it, proposed to give the discontented Brethren, a Dismission to some other orthodox Church, to which Tarbell replied, "Aye, if we could find a Way to remove our Living too." After a Delay of more than two Years, the Church consented to call a Council, who met at the Village, April 3d, 1695. Dr. Increase Mather was chosen Moderator, and offered the following Report, which was accepted by the Council, and presented to the Church:—1st, They unanimously declared that "we judge that altho' in the late and dark Time of the Confusions, wherein Satan had obtained a more than ordinary Liberty to sift this Plant-

ation, there were fundry unwarrantable and uncomfortable Steps taken, by Mr. Samuel Parris, the Pastor of the Church in Salem Village, then under the hurrying Distractions of amazing Afflictions; yet the said Mr. Parris, by the good Hand of God, brought unto a better Sense of Things, hath so fully expressed it, that a Christian Charity may, and should, receive Satisfaction therewith. 2, They advised the dissenting Brethren to accept the Satisfaction, which he had tendered in his Christian Acknowledgment of the Errors therein committed, and in case Mr. Parris finds after all, that he can not with any Comfort and Service, continue in his present Station, his Removal from thence, will not expose him to any hard Character with us. Having observed that there is, in Salem Village, a Spirit full of Contention and Animosity, too sadly verifying the Blemish, which hath heretofore lain upon them; and that some Complaints against Mr. Parris have been either causeless or groundless, or unduly aggravated, we do, in the Name and Fear of the Lord, solemnly warn them to consider whether, if they continue to devoure one another, it will not be Bitterness in the latter End."

The Recommendation of the Council appears to have been satisfactory to the Friends of Mr. Parris and the Pastor was resolved to continue in the Ministry. At the same Time, the Report of the Council was unsatisfactory to those Persons opposed to Mr. Parris, as it did not recommend his Dismission; accordingly, on the 3d Day of May, 1695, a Paper, signed by 16 young Men, 52 Householders and 18 Church Members, was handed to the Rev. Elders, composing the late Council at the Village, requesting them to give Parris's Case a rehearing, and more plainly advise the Pastor to cease his Labors, and seek

to dispose himself elsewhere, &c. On the 6th of May, 1695, in Answer to the Opponents of Mr. Parris, the Council sent a Letter to the Pastor, informing him of the Extent of the Opposition to his Ministry, and advising him to come away from his present Station, and unite in calling another Minister, and forgiving and forgetting all former Grievances.

Mr. Parris appears to have been nettled with the last Recommendation of the Council for him to leave his Parish, and says, in the Church Records, under his own Hand, that the Paper (in Answer to the Instrument and *classical* Letter from Cambridge) was brought by Deacon Putnam to the Elders, assembled at Boston, at Mr. Willard's, May 29th, 1695, being the Day of Election after Dinner, when was assembled the Body of Elders, belonging to this Province. This Paper was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather and others of the Rev. Elders, which lately met at Cambridge, under Date of May 20th, 1695, and signed by 53 Householders and 52 Church members, all belonging to Salem Village. In this Letter, they say, that the Removing of Mr. Parris from his present Station will not unite us in calling another Minister. That they justly fear, should he be removed, they would be left, as a Sheep, without a Shepherd. Therefore they desire, that Mr. Parris may continue in his present Station.

The Council appear to have been at last fully satisfied that Mr. Parris should leave Salem Village, and they therefore procured a Parish for him in Sufield, and sent two Messengers from that Church, to persuade the Church at Salem Village to dismiss their Pastor. Parris informs us, in his Church Records, that at a Meeting of the Church, held at his House, June 3d, 1695, he acquainted the Brethren, that here

were two Messengers from Suffield, who were looking out for a Minister, and by the Desire of some Elders in Boston, made application to him, and was willing to go with them, if the Brethren pleased, and in his Absence for a few Months, they might try if they could (with others who now dissented,) unite in some other Minister. But, after several Hours debate, both with the Brethren, and some other Christian Neighbors, they all declared an Averseness to his Motion. Thereupon thanking them for their professed Love to him, he told them, he was not free to go, without their Consent, and seeing they would not let him go, he prayed for them *to keep him, and make much of him.* The same Day, June 3d, 1695, the Church sent the following decisive Letter to Rev. Increase and Cotton Mather, saying, “we cannot fault ye Intendment of our Brethren Sergeant David Winchell, and Corporal Victory Sikes, Messengers from Suffield, sent by yourselves to obtain the Ministry of our Pastor if we were so minded, as to part with him. But upon maturing together, this Day both of Church and others, to consult that Affair, do hereby signify at the Desire of the above Suffield Messengers, with unanimous Agreement, not one excepted—(save the Four known Dissenters) we are resolved—*God helping against such a Separation during our ability to prevent it.* And our Pastor tho’ otherwise inclined, yet as unwilling to leave so many of his Flock, as testify so strong Affections towards him. So earnestly requesting the constant Helps of your Prayers, and as much otherwise as you can, we rest, worthy and much esteemed Sirs, your needy Brethren.

SAMUEL PARRIS, Pastor,

in the Name of the Church and other Christian
Neighbors.

To the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather and }
Mr. Cotton Mather, Jun., Boston. }

It does not appear that there were any more Efforts made by the Boston Elders, to bring about a Reconciliation; and it seems that there was always a Majority of the Parish in Favor of Mr. Parris, remaining with them; and there appears to have been a very general Mistake, with many Authors, in Regard to his Dismission from his People, they, supposing that he was hastily driven away from the Village. Whereas he continued and maintained himself through a ministerial Quarrel of five Years, until he saw fit to discontinue it, when he informed his Church of his Intentions.

There were three distinct Matters of Dispute between Parris and his People at Salem Village. The First arose previous to the Breaking out of the Witchcraft Delusion, in Consequence of the Neglect of his Parish to furnish him with the stipulated Supply of 30 Cords of Wood per Annum. The second Dispute with the four Dissenting Brethren of the Church, arose in Consequence of the Course pursued by Parris in Regard to Witchcraft. The Third, was in Consequence of his claiming the Parsonage and Lands, under a vote of the Inhabitants of the Village, and their Refusing to pay him his Arrears due him, on his old Lists of Rates. These three Disputes, caused a long and continued Quarrel, which at last attracted the People far and near—was a grave Matter for learned Councils, was brought before the County Courts, and was a Subject for Petition before the great and General Court at Boston. After it was understood that Parris was to leave the People at the Village, and that he claimed the Parsonage, a fierce Quarrel arose between him and the Inhabitants, which was carried before the Court at Ipswich.

The Matter, without being settled, was taken from

the Courts, and given to Wait Winthrop, Elisha Cook, and Samuel Sewall, Esqrs., and they decided "that Mr. Parris should have some of his Arrears paid him, also a sum of Money for his Repairs of the ministerial House, and be dismissed from Salem Village."

It was during his greatest Difficulties with his People, that he lost his Wife by Death. This occurred on the 14th of July, 1696. She was buried in the Wadsworth burial Ground, in Danvers, where can be seen a gray Slate Stone,—a fine Specimen of the lapidary Art,—with its Lines as sharp as on the Day when they were first cut, erected over her Grave, on which is the following Inscription, with the Initials of Samuel Parris at the Bottom:—

“ Sleep precious Dust, no stranger now to Rest,
Thou hast thy longed wish, within Abraham's Brest—
Farwell Best Wife, Choice Mother, Neighbor, Friend,
We'll wail the less, for hopes of the in the end.” s. p.

After his Dismission from Salem Village he removed to Concord, Massachusetts, where he lived in 1705; and 1711, preached six Months in Dunstable. He died at Sudbury, February 27th, 1720; Mrs. Dorothy Parris, his second Wife, died there on the 6th of September, 1719. The following are the Children of Mr. Parris:— Elizabeth, who was married to Benj. Barnes, at Concord, January 13th, 1710; Dorothy, married Hopestill Brown, of Sudbury, 1718, and died March 4th, 1725; Samuel, who was a Deacon of a Church in Sudbury, died November 22d, 1792, aged 91 Years; Noyes, graduated at Harvard College, 1721, was deranged, and supported by the Town; Mary, married Peter Bent, of Sudbury, April 18th, 1727.

[Eleven Years after the Death of Mr. Parris, the following Advertisment appeared. Whether his Descendants acted upon the Suggestion contained in it, the Editor is not informed.]

“Any Person, who knew Mr. Samuel Parris, formerly of Barbadoes, afterwards of Boston, in New-England, Merchant, and after that, Minister at Salem Village, &c., deceas'd, to be a Son of Thomas Parris, of the Island afore said, Esqr, — who deceas'd 1673, or sole Heir by Will to his Estate in said Island, — are desired to give or send Notice thereof to the Printer of this Paper; and it shall be for their Advantage.”

[*Boston News-Letter*, No. 1433, July 15th, 1731.]



NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

WHEN this Edition of the *More Wonders* had passed through the Press, the Publisher brought in the following ERRATA, which, it seems, had been inserted in some Copies of the original Edition; and, although several of the Errors are quite immaterial, and others have been corrected in the Process of Revision, yet it was thought best to insert it here entire.

Mr. Woodward informs the Editor, that he copied it from a Copy of Mr. Calef's Work in the Library of the Massachusetts Hist. Society, which once belonged to Dr. COTTON MATHER, and afterwards to Dr. Jeremy Belknap. Hence it is very probable that this Copy was presented to Dr. Mather by the Author. However this may have been, the following Extract, written in Dr. Mather's own Hand in the same Volume, seems odd indeed:

"Job, xxxi, 35, 36. My Desire is, *that* mine Adversary had written a Book. Surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a Crown to me."

"CO. MATHER."

ERRATA.

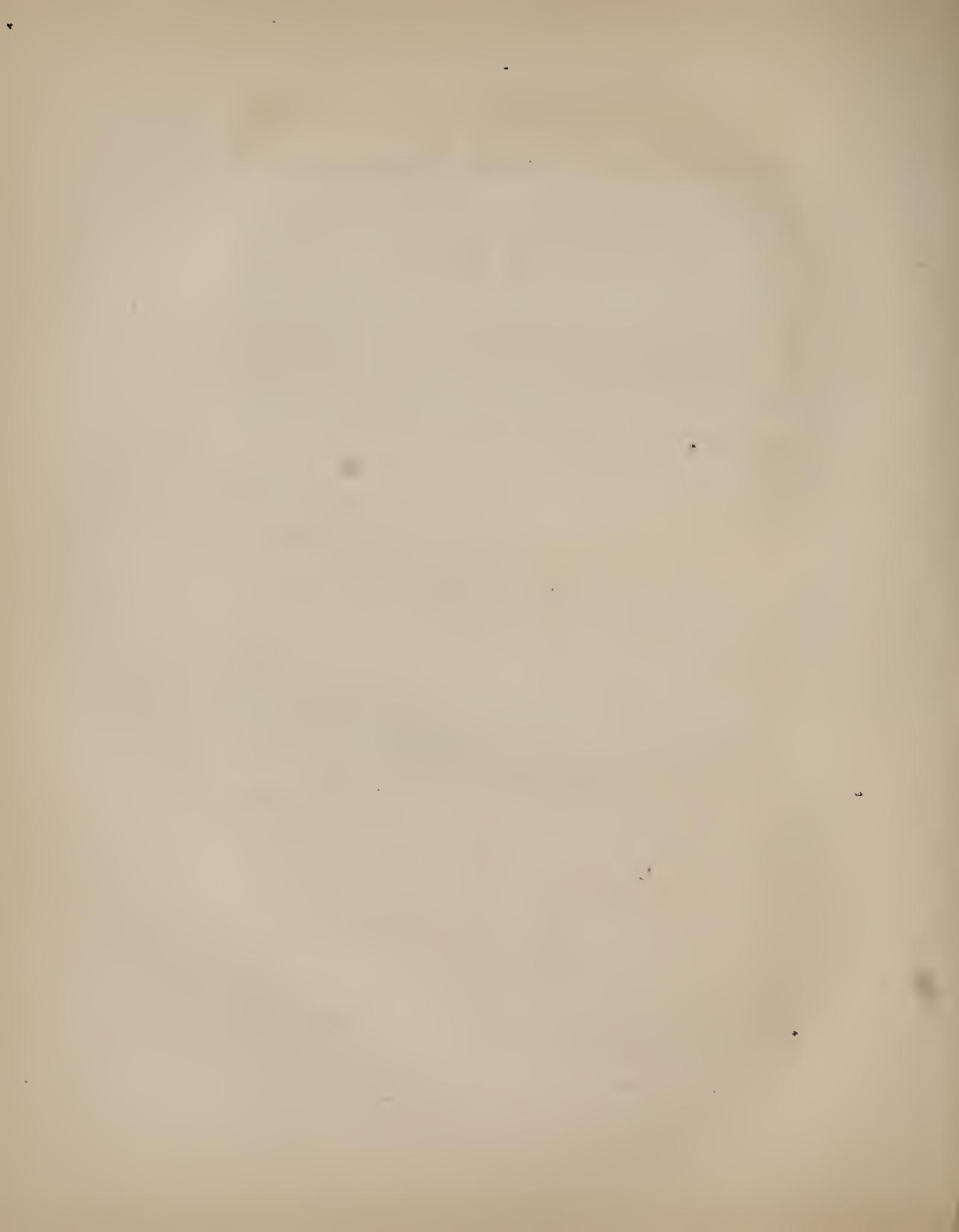
[The Reference is to the Pages of the original Edition; being those of the inner Margin of this Edition.]

THE Pages from 48 to 57 may be corrected with the Pen as also in the Preface 7 Lines from the End instead of use read me. P. 3. L. 17. f. furiously r. seriously P. 13. L. 2. f. fruitful r. faithful. P. 16 L. 3 from the Bottom f. me r. Mr. P. 18. L. 6. f. drawing r. chaining. P. 28. L. 13. the Word More to be left out. P. 49. L. 12. r. the Ancients did worship. P. 52. L. 9. r. the more nearly. P. 55. L. 14. f. unaccountable r. uncomfortable. P. 61. L. 26. after the Word propose r.

I. That if yourselves please to take the Trouble with Patience once more to hear the Case and give full Liberty of proving, &c. to the Word Place.

P. 63. L. 3. f. proved r. procured P. 65. L. 25. f. dear. r. clear.
P. 85. L. 20. r. best learn. P. 93. L. 12. f. sucking r. suckling.
P. 94. L. 22. r. Mercy Lewis. P. 98. L. 16. Nathaniel Cary.
P. 106. L. 31. r. up the Hill. P. 143. L. 8. f. flew r. fled.
P. 152 L. 26. f. that he r. he that.

ERRATA, in the present Edition.—Vol. i, P. 102, Note 114, f. credulous, r. incredulous. P. 110, L. 11, for on r. out. P. 189, N. 174, r. Dr. Felt. Vol. iii, P. 184, L. 1, r. James.





I N D E X .

NOTE.—As the small Roman Numerals in this Index denote both the Volumes and the Pages of the Introductions, those who consult it may observe, that when the Introductory Pages are referred to, the Reference to the Volume is in large or Roman Capitals :—For Example, I, xx, refer to the first Volume, and to Page 20 of the Introduction to the same Volume ; II, xxii, refer to Volume second, and Page 22 of that Volume.

- ABBOT, Benjamin, 195, iii, 116, 117.
Abbot, Nehemiah, 191.
Abbot, Sarah, 196, iii, 117.
Acofta, Joseph, 201.
Addington, Ifaac, 26, iii, 15, 133.
Aby, —, a Writer againft Witchcraft, iii, 74.
Alcot, Job, appointed Counsellor, 26.
Alden, John, Jr., II, xxiv ; tried and imprifoned, iii, 26 ; his Narrative, 26-8 ; Bail refufed, 30 ; ef- capes, *ib.* ; cleared by Proclama- tion, 128.
Alden, Timothy, iii, 177, 178.
Allen, James, 108, 151, iii, 40.
Allen, John, fees one of the Accufed fly in the Air, i, 177 ; his Oxen bewitched, iii, 93.
Allen, William, cited, 7.
Ambrofe, Ifaac, on the Devil, 56.
America, a fquallid, horid Defart, 13 ; of what Ufe is it, 46 ; fome hopeful Symptoms of, 97 ; ever to be in the Devil's Hands ? *ib.* ; Spirits common to be feen Day and Night in, ii, 116.
Andover, People of, bewitched, iii, 117, 120, 121, 125, 126.
Andrew, Daniel, ii, 159, iii, 44 ; Joseph, 105 ; Sarah, *ib.*
Andrews, Thomas, iii, 107.
Andros, Edmund, Sir, I, lxxxii.
Andrus, Silas, I, xcii.
Angels, evil ones, ii, 32, 43, 75 ; Notions concerning, 187-8.
Apparition, of thofe Murdered, 34 ; of the Devil, 79 ; of Mr. Beacon, 136-7 ; Accufers at Trials, 155 ; their Charges confefled, 188-9 ; Witneffes, iii, 106.
Appleton, Samuel, 26, iii, 15.
Arnold, John, Jailor of Bofton, iii, 20, 179.
Arnold, Margaret, 145.
Afhurst, Henry, Sir, I, vi ; Agent for Maffachufetts, iii, 148-9.
Aftrology, injudiciously regarded, 122, 238.
Atkinson, John, Witnefs againft Martin, 178 ; Sarah, 184 ; John's Cow bewitched, iii, 94 ; Sarah, is amazed, *at nothing*, 100.
Attaballipa, his Fate, iii, 138-9.
Auftin, fweet fpirited, 27.
Aves, Samuel, ii, 68.
Ayer, John, Jr., iii, 196.

- BACHELOR**, John, Apology of, iii, 135.
- Bailey, John, iii, 40; Constable, 113.
- Bailey, N., his Definition of Witchcraft, I, xiii.
- Baker, —, Sister to Ann Putnam, iii, 11.
- Balch, Benj. Jr., Wife Elizabeth, swears against Mrs. Bishop, iii, 78.
- Ballantine, John, II, xxii.
- Ballard, Joseph, iii, 51; Brother John, *ib.*, 113; Operations to discover Witches, 55; Witnesses, 126.
- Baptism by the Devil, Ceremony of, iii, 113.
- Bare, John, Searcher for Witches, iii, 39.
- Barker, Abigail, signed a Recantation, iii, 57.
- Barnard, John, II, xxi; prays at Witch Examinations, iii, 56.
- Barnes, Benjamin, iii, 221.
- Bartel, Robert, Capt., iii, 178.
- Barton, James, II, xxiii.
- Bates, William, Extract from, ii, 113-14.
- Baxter, Richard, I, xx; on Memorable Providences, 10, 141; thanks C. Mather, ii, 43; quoted, 45; his ungainfayable Book, 86; cure of Church Divisions, 111; commends I. Mather, 113; his Ideas of a Devil and Witch, &c., 113-119; his Work the Effect of aged Imbecility, 119.
- Bayley, Mrs., Sister to Ann Putnam, iii, 11.
- Beacon, Joseph, 136, 137.
- Beale, William, swears against Mr. English, iii, 177-86; Son dies, 182, 183.
- Belknap, Jeremy, referred to, ii, 85.
- Belzebub, Works ascribed to, iii, 163.
- Bent, Peter, of Sudbury, iii, 221.
- Benom, Mistrefs, accused, iii, 130.
- Bent, Mr., —, iii, 100.
- Bentley, William, D. D., on P. English, iii, 179-81.
- Bereans, reference to, ii, 3.
- Bernard, Richard, on detecting Witches, 45-6; Remarks on, ii, 12; Calef on, 56; how did the Jews manage without him, iii, 165.
- Bibber, John, Witness against Giles Cory, iii, 172.
- Bibber, Sarah, iii, 8; swears against Mrs. Nurse, 11; against Mr. Burroughs, 62; against Cory, 170.
- Billerica, People of, bewitched, iii, 118.
- Bishop, Bridget, Trial of, 163; what her Shape did, 164; her Coat torn while Invisible, 165; her Poppets discovered, 173; Teats found upon her, 174; accused ten Years before, 208; long reputed a Witch, iii, 31; Executed, *ib.*; Copy of her Indictment, 74; others, 75-6; Trial of, 77-80; why called Oliver, 78; has a preternatural Teat, which vanished, 88.
- Bishop, Edward, iii, 11; and Wife Sarah, committed, 16; why cried out on, 17; escape from Prison, 49; his Sow bewitched, 81-2.
- Bishop, Samuel, iii, 49; had married a Putnam, *ib.*
- Black-art taught by the Devil, I, xii.
- Black, Mary, arrested, iii, 16.
- Blackmore, Richard, Sir, I, lxxvi.

- Black Pig, one appears to John
Louder, iii, 85-6.
Blazdel, [Henry?] 181, iii, 97.
Bligh, (Bly,) John, swears against
Mrs. Bishop, 167, iii, 81-2, 88.
Bligh, William, 173, iii, 76, 78,
82, 88.
Blount, Thomas, Definition of
Witchcraft, I, xii-xiii.
Bocking, Jane, 142.
Bodin, John, Writer on Demonology,
ii, 6, 117.
Bohun, Edmund, Licencer, I, cii.
Booth, Elizabeth, iii, 16, 204.
Boxford, Witchcraft in, iii, 126.
Boynton, Joseph, ii, 151.
Bradbury, Mary, condemned, iii,
44.
Bradford, William, 26.
Bradley, Samuel, II, xxvii.
Bradstreet, John, accused, iii, 52;
makes his escape, 53.
Bradstreet, Simon, 26, ii, 85, iii,
52, 145-6; Dudley commits ac-
cused, iii, 52.
Brattle, Thomas, Letter to, ii, 85-
92; William, 108.
Braybrook, Samuel, iii, 7; accuses
Giles Cory, 170.
Bridges, James, iii, 126.
Bridgham, Joseph, ii, 151.
Bridgman, Orlando, Sir, 141.
Brimstone, horrid Scent of, 121;
without a Metaphor, 122; a
Flood of, ii, 4; used in torment-
ing, ii, 33; scalded with, 47;
smelt in Margaret Rule's Case,
53.
Brinley, George, I, viii.
Brown, Hopefull, iii, 221.
Brown, William, Witness, 182; his
Wife sees Sufannah Martin van-
ish, iii, 99; some Devil bewitches
her, *ib.*
Bunyan, John, I, xxi.
Burder, George, I, lxxix.
Burnet, Bishop, 140.
Burroughs, George, 151; Charges
against, 153; childish Accusations
against, 154; alleged Confusion,
155; accused of Murders, 156;
Ghosts of his Wives, 157; his
Promises to induce People to
become Witches, 158; had the
Strength of a Giant, 159; Treat-
ment of his Wives, 160; puts
on Invisibilty, 161-2; denies
the Existence of Witches, 162;
Executed, 163; his great Strength
from the Devil, ii, 9; further
Account of his Execution, iii, 38-
9; Confession of one of his Ac-
cusers, 43; Indictment, 61; Trial,
63; Brother-in-Law to Mr. Ruck,
72-3; denies that there are Witch-
es, 74; about his putting on In-
visibilty, 123; Cause of his
being prosecuted, 210.
Burrows, [Burroughs] Jeremiah, 84.
Burton, Robert, I, xxxviii.
Buxton, John, afflicted, iii, 17.
- C**ALEF, Robert, I, xxix, lxxv;
his *More Wonders*, &c., lxxvi;
a singular Judgment upon, lxxxvii;
little known of him, II, xii; a
Sir John, xiii; his *More Won-
ders* burnt, xxi; Will of, xxiii;
before Authority to defend him-
self, ii, 8; Visit to Margaret
Rule, 49; threatened with Arrest
for Slander, 54; proposes an In-
terview with Mr. C. Mather, 55;
Letter to Mr. C. M., 56-59;
prosecuted, 55; explains his Be-
lief of Witchcraft, 56; on the
Power of the Devil, 58; com-
plains of Mr. M.'s bad Faith,

- 60; not appeared against at Court, *ib.*; another Letter to C. M., 70-74; the Case of Rule further examined, 72, &c.; another Letter to C. M., 79-85; his Endeavors to clear the Accused, 78; expects Enemies, 84; will do his Duty, 85; Letter to Mr. B., 85-92; Letter to the Ministers, 92-102; charges C. M. with being a Cause of the Witch Troubles, 92; his Answer, 93; his *More Wonders* denounced, 96; Letter to S. Willard, 102-105; another to C. M., 113; describes the Perils to an Opposer of Witchcraft, 122; Letter to the Ministers, 124-34; rebukes the Ministers, 132-3; Letter to Wadsworth, 134-40; Exposure of C. M.'s bad Logic, 136; Answer to Stuart, 186-198; on Angels, 187; accused of Blasphemy, 202; another in Answer to Stuart, 207-212; Strictures on I. Mather's Agency, iii, 18 or 19.
- Camerarius, living Library, ii, 6.
- Carlton, William, II, vii.
- Carrier, Martha, Indictment and Trial of, 194, iii, 113-121; horribly tortures poor People, 115; her Children swear against her, *ib.*; causes Sores, 116; pulls one by his Hair, 117; kills Cattle, 118; shakes Phebe Chandler, 119; makes Noises in the Air, *ib.*; seen at Witch-meetings, 120; goes through the Air on a Pole, *ib.*; at a diabolical Sacrament, *ib.*; a rampant Hag, 121; to be Queen of Hell, *ib.*
- Carrier, Richard, 197, 199, iii, 117; afflicts one, 118.
- Carrier, Thomas, 194.
- Cary, Mrs., accused, iii, 11; sent to Prison, 20; Barbarity towards, 20-25; escapes to New York, *ib.*
- Cary, Jonathan, [Nathaniel,] iii, 25.
- Cat-rope, described, ii, 7.
- Chamberlain, Edward, I, lxxvi.
- Chandler, Bridget, swears against Mrs. Carrier, iii, 119.
- Chandler, Phebe, 198; shaken by a Witch, iii, 118; her Legs seized on, 119.
- Chandler, Susan, 142.
- Chandler, Thomas, Evidence, iii, 126.
- Chapman, Simon, and Wife, iii, 107.
- Charity, recommended, 28.
- Charles, Second, iii, 143.
- Charlestown, Witchcraft Trials at, iii, 126.
- Charms, by whom practiced, ii, 28.
- Chase, G. W., *History of Haverhill*, iii, 128, 196-7.
- Checkley, Samuel, ii, 151.
- Cheever, Ezekiel, Scribe, iii, 31.
- Chester, Bishop of, I, ix.
- Chips in Wort, defined, iii, 126.
- Choate, Thomas, II, xxvi.
- Christian, Philosopher, I, lxxii-iii.
- Churches, why often struck by Thunder, 68-9; prevent Witchcraft, 130-1.
- Churchill, Sarah, iii, 204.
- Circles.—See WITCH-CIRCLES.
- Clark, Mary, Examination of, iii, 195-7.
- Clark, Samuel, his Story of the Devil's Appearance, 121.
- Clavigero, [Francis Xavier,] 202.
- Cloyce, Peter, protests against Mr. Parris, ii, 143.
- Cloyce, Sarah, iii, 7, 53; Sister Nurse, 11, 13; goes out of

- Meeting, 14; an excellent Woman, 211.
- Colman, Benjamin, I, xci, xcvi.
- Coman, Richard, 167; swears against Mrs. Bishop, iii, 82.
- Comings.—See CUMMINGS.
- Connecticut, Witchcraft in, iii, 130, 131.
- Cook, Elisha, Judge, ii, 157; Agent to England, iii, 148, 221.
- Cook, John, a Witness, i, 166, iii, 78, 80-1.
- Cooper, Thomas, on Witchcraft, xxxv.
- Corwin, Jonathan, I, vii, 26, iii, 6, 10, 15; examines Giles Cory, 169.
- Corwin, George, Sheriff, iii, 49, 50; buried, 79, 187, 202.
- Cory, Giles, pressed to Death, 209, II, vii, iii, 7, 44-5, 79; his Examination, 169-173; Site of his Residence, 174.
- Cory, Martha, accused, ii, 7, 9; sent to Prison, 10; sentenced to Death, iii, 44; executed, 45; Ballad on her and her Husband's Fate, 174-77.
- Cotton, John, I, xxv, lxvi.
- Cox, Mary, Irons for, iii, 20.
- Crosby, [Anthony?] a Doctor, declares Hysterics a Case of Witchcraft, iii, 100.
- Cullender, Rose, 142.
- Cumbey, Robert, II, xxi.
- Cummings, Josiah, iii, 107.
- Cummings, Isaac, Witness, 192, iii, 105; his Mare dies, 111.
- Curiosities, matchless, 201-210.
- Cushing, John D., II, vii.
- D**AGGET, William, iii, 183.
- Dane, Deliverance, signs a Recantation, iii, 57.
- Dane, Francis, iii, 121; John, his Apology, 135.
- Danforth, Samuel, I, xcvi; Thomas, ii, 109; iii, 15; Judge, 125; Services, 126; admonishes Mrs. Dafton, 128.
- Daniel, Samuel, 26.
- Daftin, Goodwife, iii, 126; cleared, 127; but dies in Prison, 128.
- Davis, Silvanus, 26.
- Dean, John Ward, 13.
- Dee, John, Astrologer, 124.
- Defoe, D., on the Devil, 102.
- Delrio, on Witchcraft, I, xiii, xx.
- Demonology, by King James, I, xx; its Character, xxi, xli-iii.
- Demons, prestigious ones, iii, 160.
- Denmark, great Discovery of Witches in, 148.
- Defaguliers, J. T., I, lxxvi.
- Devil, I, xi; teaches the Black Art, xii; how he creates Witches, xv; Nature of his Covenant with, xviii-xix; exists by God's Permission, xx; the Principal in Witchcraft, but cannot be tried, xxvi; assents to good Offices, xxxvii; appears personally to Witches, liv; what he requires of them, lv; coming down in great Wrath, 1, 50, 54, 76, 95, 101, 117, 122, 135; owned N. England, 15; an Army of Devils, 17; many sign his Book, 18; has made a dreadful Knot of Witches, *ib.*; his Juggles feared, 19; bid come out of a Damsel, 20; Speech of, 20-1; may represent an innocent Person, 21; darting Operations, 24; raises Storms and Tempests, 25; envies the Prospects of the Country, 26; made us a troubled Sea, 27; gives us Shakes, *ib.*; com-

missioned by Witches, 29; tells many Truths, 31; Devil-ridden, 33; always leaves the Mark of his Covenant, 40; League with, 41; his Existence not doubted, 55-6; Government among, 57; swarm about us like the Frogs of Egypt, *ib.*; Prince of the Power of the Air, *ib.*; Belzebub, 58; knows every Language, *ib.*; Degrees of Devils, 59; horrible Dragon, 60; a Tyger, 61; gets Liberty to make a Descent upon Men, *ib.*; Rendezvous of his Troops, *ib.*; his long Journey, 62; a Do-evil, 64; a Moloch, 65; prevents Discoveries and Inventions, 66; sends Plagues, and Pestilence, and Wars, 67; a Vulcan, 68; makes a horrible Tempest, 69; uses a hot Iron, 71; his Wrath increases, is Prince of this World, 72; God swears at, 73; his Time almost out, 74; God's Command to, 76; makes Earthquakes, 77; his present Quarters, 79; his World, 80; incredible Doves of, 81; nibbles at the Heels of Saints, 83; the World his Country, 85; his Time nearly out, 88-91; his eldest Son, 89; alarmed at the Settlement of N. England, 94; an Eyefore to, *ib.*; an antagonistic Force, 96; appears as a black Man, 102; his Law Book, 104; takes on the Likeness of harmless People, 106; permitted by God, 107; burning and footy, 109; in God's Chain, 110; baptises, 111; administers the Sacrament, *ib.*; how influenced to come down, 114; the Way to out-wit him, *ib.*; we give Rest to, 115;

Sparks of Hell Fire flashing from every Side of, 115; on a Chimney in Germany, 116; throwing Stones there, and other Mischief, 117; fet on by the Wrath of God, 118; rattling of his Chains heard, 121; an Asp, 122; infernal Dragon, 124; flies about as a Bird, 130; Children dedicated to, 131; a Whip for his Back, 132; forced to fly by a Woman behind the Door, 133; a Prince, a God, 134; afflicts with Distempers, 148-9; a black Man, 159; described, 171; one in a Meeting-house, 174; performs Baptisms at Newbury Falls, 194; carries some to a Witch-meeting on a Pole, 199; appoints a Queen of Hell, 200; apishly affects divine Things, 201; his Proceedings among the Swedes, 216; discovered by the Author, 217; his Power, 218; Dog of Hell, 219; Serpent upon a Rock, 220; tempts with Friendship, 224; a speckled Snake when he tempted Eve, 225; shoots cruel Bombs, 227; would burn all the Bibles, 229; a Throng of in the Author's Meeting-house, 230; he rocks Persons to sleep there, 231; hurried Jesus to the Top of the Temple, 232; prevents Witches from uttering all the Lord's Prayer, *ib.*; a Nimrod, 233; can attack with Thunder and Lightning; raise Storms, *ib.*; a Goliah; dogs Ministers, bad at quoting Scripture, 234; quotes it for our Terror, 235; plays the Preacher, 236; consulting Astrologers is going to the Devil, 238; a Mountebank, 241;

- to worship him is Witchcraft, 243; with lengthened Chains, ii, 4; commissioned by Witches questioned, 7; further discussed, *ib.*; 8; his Power to create Strength? 9; origin of the Belief in such a Character, 11; a damnable Doctrine, 12; appears to an Indian, 25; prodigious Descent of, 26; his Size, Complexion and Voice, 29-30; his Power, 41; very uncertain, 42; "horrendous Operations," 46; got a Scourge for his Back, 47; not commissioned by a Witch, 58; denied, 76; can work Miracles, 74; his Bounds set, 76; causes Plagues, 79; does not know every Language, 80; his Testimony not to be regarded, 82; the oldest Sinner, 90; more about his Powers, 94-5; vast Numbers of, *ib.*; a Free-willer, 118; commissioned by Contract, 128; only commissioned by God, 130-1; no Father of Bastards, 196; an independent Power, 201; resembles an Indian, iii, 70; described, 85; flies over an Apple-tree, 86; Depredation in a Meeting-house, 89; performs Baptism, 112; his Manner of Baptising, 113; vanquished by Sir W. Phips, 158; commissioned by Witches, 162; meets with Astonishment, 209.
- Douglafs, William, I, lxix, lxx, iii, 125, 159.
- Downer, Robert, Witness against Mrs. Martin, 180; tormented by her in the Shape of a Cat, iii, 96.
- Dragon, makes Wars, 67; insinuates Witchcraft, 124; a great Devil, 216; hard after Ministers, 234; keeping Guard, ii, 79.
- Drake, Nathan, Extracts from, I, xxxiii.
- Dudley, Joseph, iii, 145; presides at the Trial of Glover, 153.
- Dummer, Jeremiah, ii, 151.
- Dunton, John, I, vi, viii, 217, ii, 109.
- Durent, Ann, 142; William, *ib.*
- Dustin, Hannah.—See DASTIN.
- E**AMES, Rebecca, condemned and executed, iii, 45.
- Earl, Robert, on Margaret Rule, ii, 69.
- Earth, recedes from the Sun, 75; filled with fire-flying Serpents, 81.
- Earthquakes, the Work of the Devil, 77, 78; happening all over Europe, 91, 92.
- Easty, Isaac, committed for Witchcraft, iii, 16.
- Easty, Mary, sentenced, iii, 44; her Execution, 46; dies protesting her Innocence, 46-48; an excellent Woman, 211.
- Elimas, Sorceries of, ii, 171.
- Eliot, Edmund, 181, 182, iii, 97-8.
- Eliot, John I, lxvi.
- Elizabeth, Queen, Witchcraft in her Time, I, xxxix.
- Elliott, Andrew, Apology of, iii, 135.
- Ember-weeks, what they are, ii, 116.
- Enchantments encountered, 9-48.
- Endicott, Zerobabel, 210.
- English, Mary, committed, iii, 16; escapes, 50, 79; Testimony against, 126-7.
- English, Philip, indicted, iii, 16; escapes from Prison, 50; Account of, 177; an Episcopalian, 178; dies, 181.

- Ethnics, Gentiles, ii, 119, iii, 164.
 Evelith, Joseph, Apology of, iii, 135.
- FALKNER**, condemned to Death, iii, 45.
 Familiar Spirit, who hath it, iii, 166.
 Farnam, John, iii, 126.
 Farnum, [Varnum?] Ralph, 195.
 Farrare, Thomas, iii, 185.
 Fast, appointed in Reference to Witchcraft, iii, 132.
 Felt, Joseph B., cited, ii, 109, iii, 20, 181.
 Filmer, Robert, Sir, on Witchcraft, I, xvii-xx, xxv.
 Firmin, Giles, 13.
 Fisk, Thomas, Apology of, iii, 36, 135.
 Fisk, William, iii, 135.
 Fletcher, Benjamin, Gov., iii, 25; his Kindness to Fugitives from Witchcraft Prosecutions, 180.
 Flint, Thomas, a Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
 Flood, a great one in the Connecticut, 29.
 Fogg, John S. H., ii, 75.
 Fools, made able Fortune-tellers, iii, 142.
 Foster, Ann, executed, iii, 45; her Confession, 119-20; Remark upon, 208.
 Foster, Ephraim, Evidence in Wardwell's Case, iii, 126.
 Foster, Hannah, confesses being carried on a Pole to a Witch-meeting, 199.
 Foster, Jacob, iii, 107.
 Foster, John, first Printer in Boston, 26.
 Fowler, Joseph, iii, 8.
 Fowler, Samuel P., ii, 6; his Life of Parris, iii, 198.
 Foy, [John?] Captain, 137.
 Franckius, [Peter?] I, lxxvi.
 Franklin, Benjamin, I, lxxvi-vii.
 Freeman, and Non-freemen, iii, 143.
 Fuller, Goodman, is killed by Witchcraft, iii, 64.
 Fuller, [Jacob?] a Doctor, decides a Case of Hyterics to be Witchcraft, iii, 100.
 Fuller, John, iii, 11.
 Fuller, Thomas, D. D., I, lxxvi-vii, II, 196.
 Fuller, Thomas, iii, 199.
- GALLOWS-Hill**, where reputed Witches were executed, iii, 45.
 Gallows-Tree, iii, 177.
 Gaul, John, on Detection of Witches, 42-4; his Rules observed, 153; Remarks upon, ii, 12; Calef on, 56, 70, 178, 197; Mather on, iii, 64.
 Gedney, Bartholomew, I, vii, 26; Judge, iii, 26; Conduct at Capt. Alden's Trial, 28, 30, 172.
 Gee, Joshua, I, xcvi.
 Germany, the Devil on a Chimney there, 116, 117; Witchcraft in, ii, 197.
 Ghosts of murdered People appear, 155, 156-7, 209, iii, 106.
 Gibbs, Barnabas, II, xxv.
 Gidney, Bartholomew.—See GEDNEY.
 Gill, Obadiah, II, xxi; William, a Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
 Glanville, Joseph, describes Unbelievers in Witchcraft, I, lxi.
 Glover, *Goody*, executed, iii, 153.
 Goblin, one described, iii, 85-6.—See HOBGOBLIN.

- God, swears in loud Thunders at the Devil, 73; more abandons the World than formerly, 75; bids the Devil make all miserable, 76; permits the Devil to come upon us, 107; has the Devil in a Chain, 110; his Wrath sets on the Devil, 118; would have subdued the Devil if called upon, 120; swears in Wrath, 125; clucks to us, 130; a Dog of Hell barking at him, 219; the Devil superior to, ii, 9; whether he commissions the Devil, 70; the Mother of, 82; leaves the Devil at free-will, 118; commissions the Devil, 130-1.
- Godfrey, John, iii, 52.
- Gold, Sam., at Mrs. Bishop's Trial, iii, 78; at Giles Cory's, 170.
- Good, Sarah, accused of being a Witch, iii, 6, 7; her Child also, 11; Chains for, 20; executed, 33; Horrors attending, 34, 187.
- Good, William, iii, 7.
- Goodall, Goodwife, iii, 8.
- Goodwin, John, Children bewitched, I, lxxxviii; testifies to a Miracle, II, xxi; Baxter on the Story, 45; farther Note on, iii, 153.
- Gould, William, II, xxiii.
- Gowans, William, I, xciii.
- Gray, Samuel, swears against Mrs. Bishop, 166; iii, 31.
- Green Lane, iii, 115.
- Green, Mary, imprisoned and escaped, iii, 53.
- Green, Thomas, II, xxv.
- Greenslett, John, iii, 64.
- Greenslett, Thomas, swears against Mr. Burroughs, iii, 64.
- Griggs, Dr., iii, 8, 190; 205-6.
- H**ADLEY, Deborah, iii, 107.
- Hale, John, prays at Witch Trials, iii, 10; attends Examinations, 22; his Wife accused, 48; on Mr. Parris's Conduct, 207.
- Hall, Bishop, on the Devil's Prevalency, 112; on Astrology and Magic, 124.
- Hanvoord, Goodman, iii, 11.
- Happy Family, Origin of, 29.
- Hardy, Thomas, his Snare of Devilism, iii, 102.
- Harris, Benjamin, I, vii, II, 55.
- Harrod, John, iii, 11.
- Hathorne, John, I, vii, 26, iii, 6, 9, 15; Inhumanity of, 23; Examinant of Giles Cory, 169; of Tituba, 187; of Mary Clark, 195.
- Hathorne, Sufanna, iii, 195.
- Haverhill, Witchcraft in, iii, 128, 195, 197.
- Hell, Toys of, 19; Belial of, 22; Mad Dogs of, 27; Philistines of, 27; Mastives of, 64; lowest Depths of, 77; hellish Rattlesnakes, 80; wild Beasts of, 86; Ty-dogs of, 108; Adders of, 118; a little Portraiture of, 131; a Queen appointed for, 200; the Pilate of, ii, 27; Lions and Bears of, 43; lively Demonstrations of, 47; Covenant with, 136; great Officers of, iii, 113.
- Hemmingius, Nicholas, 204.
- Herrick, George, ii, 109; Marshal, iii, 11, 17; testifies against Giles Cory, 172.
- Herrick, Henry, iii, 135.
- Heyman, Samuel, 26.
- Hiacoomes, a Christian Indian, ii, 23.
- Higginson, John, I, vii, 201, 207; Examiner, iii, 126.

- Hill, John, Capt., ii, 75; at Salem, iii, 27.
- Hill, Zeb., a Searcher for Witches, iii, 39.
- Hinckley, Thomas, 26.
- Hoar, Dorcas, condemned, iii, 44; Estate seized, 50.
- Hobs, William, committed, iii, 16.
- Hobbes, Thomas, ii, 201.
- Hobbs, Abigail, condemned and executed, iii, 45.
- Hobbs, Deliverance, Witness against Bishop, 165; committed as a Witch, iii, 16; tormented, 80.
- Hobgoblin, Witchcraft, iii, 127.— See GOBLIN.
- Holland, Joseph, II, xxii.
- Hollingworth, Richard, iii, 179, 182; William, *ib.*
- Holton, Benjamin, iii, 11; Sarah, Witness against Mrs. Nurse, *ib.*— See HOULTON.
- Hopkins, Matthew, 30.
- Horneck, Anthony, 19, 69, 221.
- Horse-shoes, used by Conjurors, iii, 142.
- Houlton, Joseph, iii, 113, 203.— See HOLTON.
- How, Elizabeth, 188; iii, 33; Indictment of, 104; Trial of, 105-113; Wife of James, *ib.*, 107; baptised by the Devil, 112.
- How, John, 190; Witness against his Sister, iii, 109.
- Howe, John, Mr., iii, 139.
- Howell, James, on Witchcraft, ii, 127.
- Hubbard, Elizabeth, iii, 7, 62; swears against Mrs. Bishop, 75-6; against Carrier, 114; against Giles Cory, 170; has Fits, 192.
- Hudibras, on A. Rofs, ii, 126.
- Hudson, William, sees Margaret Rule go up without Hands, ii, 70.
- Hughes, John, iii, 7.
- Huguenots, Note on the, 70.
- Hunnewell, Richard, Lt., iii, 64.
- Hunt, Ephraim, ii, 151.
- Hutchinson, Benj., Complainant, iii, 26.
- Hutchinson, Elisha, 26.
- I**MPS, Employment of, 112; one sinks a Ship, *ib.*; one appears like a Rat, ii, 35.
- Indians, vast Herds of, 65; Efforts of Powawes against the Settlers, 94-5; one of great Strength, 159; under Conduct of the Devil, 207; Christian, ii, 23; one tempted by the Devil, 25; Witches among, 75; Reason for, 117-18; Notions of Religion, 125; Covenant to adore the Devil, 136; practice Witchcraft, iii, 5; resemble the Devil, 70; in Witchcraft, 185-95; two at Salem, 204.
- Ingersol, John, 163; Nathaniel, ii, 143, iii, 11; Witness, 15, 17, 199.
- Inventions, hindered by the Devil, 66.
- Invisibility of Witches, 204; Mist of, iii, 160.
- J**ACOBS, George, Executed, iii, 38; further noticed, 43, 50, 204.
- Jacobs, Margaret, confesses, iii, 43-4; escapes Death, *ib.*
- Jacobs, Mary, one of the Afflicted, iii, 8.
- Jacobs, Thomas, Evidence against Bibber, iii, 8.
- Jackson, Doctor, iii, 183.

- Jamaica, Earthquake at, 78.
 James First, his Demonology, I, xx; his Royal Nonsense, xxii; his Rules for detecting Witches, *ib.*; followed by Cooper, xxxvii; Effect of James's Book, xli; describes what Witches can do, lii, liii.
 James Second, 10, 92, iii, 131; Knights Sir William Phips, 137, 143.
 Jennings, David, I, lxvii.
 Jesus, on the Top of the Temple, 232; on the Battlements, 233.
 Jewel, Bishop, [John,] I, xxxix.
 Jewett, Nehemiah, ii, 151.
 John, Indian, iii, 3; bewitched, 15; accuses E. Bishop, 17; his Wife Tituba, 22.
 Johnson, Eliza, iii, 126.
 Johnson, Samuel, defines Witchcraft, xiv.
 Jolliffe, John, Counsellor, 26.
 Judges, remarkably blind, 107; pitiable, 127; defer to Hale's Decisions, 141; their Reason departed, 174.
 Jurin, James, I, lxxvi.
 Jurors, some acknowledge their Errors, iii, 134-5.
 Justin, Martyr, ii, 10.
- K**EELING, Judge, a wise Decision of, disregarded, 148.
 Kembal, John, Witness against Martin, 180; she bewitches his Cattle, iii, 96-7; sees a black Cloud, and runs upon Stumps, *ib.*; Puppies appear to him, 98.
 Keney, Henry, testifies against Mrs. Cory, iii, 7.
 Kersey, John, his Definition of Witchcraft, I, xii.
- Keys, used by Conjurors, iii, 142.
 Keyfar, —, Daughter distracted, iii, 16.
 Kimball.—See KEMBLE.
 King, D. P., owned the Site of Giles Cory's House, iii, 74.
 Knowlton, Joseph, and Wife, iii, 107.
- L**ACY, Lawrence, Wife bewitched, iii, 120.
 Lacy, Mary, 199; another, 200; Condemned and Executed, iii, 45; her Confession, 120.
 Lancashire Witches, 158.
 Lane, Francis, Witnesses, 193, iii, 105; his Rails bewitched, 112.
 Laplanders, Witchcraft among, 22, 108.
 Lawrence, Robert, of Casco, iii, 64.
 Laws, against Witchcraft, remark on, iii, 125; repealed, *ib.*
 Lawson, Dedot, his History, I, iv, vii, 156, 186; endorses the Story of the Iron Spindle, 205; defends the Proceedings against Witchcraft, ii, 154-5; at Salem, iii, 7, 12; on Mr. Burroughs, 39; his Wife and Children killed, 64; Chaplain to Andros's Expedition, *ib.*; more about the Murder of his Family, 68; on the Devil's Baptism, 113.
 Le Clerc, [Jean,] cited, ii, 212.
 Legion, definition of, 56; of Devils, 218, ii, 95.
 Leverett, John, Gov., ii, 108.
 Lewis, Mary, [Mercy,] iii, 26, 75.
 Lewis, Mercy, iii, 8; sees a Man in White, 13; Witness against Mr. Burroughs, 62, 64; against Mrs. Bishop, 75; against Philip English, 126; against Giles Cory,

170; Account of, 204; why she accused Mr. Burroughs, 210.
 Leyton, [Thomas,] Mr., of Lynn, iii, 185.
 Loader, [Louder?] John, Evidence against Mrs. Bishop, iii, 76.
 Locker, George, Constable, iii, 187.
 Lothrop, Barnabas, Counsellor, 26.
 Louder, John, 170; sees the Devil, 171; sees a Black Pig, iii, 85.
 Louis, Fourteenth, 93.
 Lynd, Joseph, Counsellor, 26.

MANCHESTER, a Spectre worsted there, 206.

Maniche, an Arabian God, ii, 125, 128.
 Manning, Jacob, Dep. Marshal, arrests Mr. English, iii, 181.
 Marshall, John, II, xxviii.
 Martin, George, iii, 97.
 Martin, Susanna, Trial of, 175; Execution, iii, 33; Indictment against, 89-103; cast into a very singular Confusion, 100; appears to John Pressy, 101.
 Martyr, Justin, ii, 10.
 Mary, Queen of William Third, 92: Death of, iii, 131.
 Mascon, the Devil of, 59, 70.
 Mason, Stephen, Counsellor, 26.
 Mather, Cotton, why charged with an undue Share of the Persecutions, I, iii; lxxiv, lxxxv; his Faith in Witchcraft, v; his unfortunate Book, xxxiv; Memoirs of, lxxv-xcviii; his Defence, 1-4; further Defence of the Prosecutions, iii, 59-61; Countermines the Plot of the Devil, i, 3; be-deviled, 80; condemns Astrology, 123-4; Pity for the Judges, 127-8; not present at the Witch

Trials, 139; Rejoices at the Justice of the Work against Witches, 140; Horror at the Name of Mr. Burroughs, 152; believes in the Ability of Witches to put on Invisibilty, 162, 204; gives Unbelievers three Bones to pick, 205; some Misgivings about shedding Blood, 207; Argument against Calef, II, xiii-xviii; Story of Margaret Rule, ii, 21-36; read many Books of Physic, 34; relieves M. Rule by three Fasts, 39; pains to rescue the Miserable from Lions and Bears of Hell, 42; thanked by Venerable Baxter, 43; tries to prevent excessive Credit of spectral Evidence, 44; his own Estimate of of his Labors, 46-7; Complaints, 48; Letters to, 48-62; threatens Calef, 54; has him arrested, 55; fails to meet him, 60; Whittier on, 61; Letter to Calef, 62-8: brings heavy Charges against him, 64; People believe smutty Things of him, 65; Defends his Father, 66; offers Mr. Calef the Use of his Books, 67; Charges of Hellish Witchcraft, 80; does not understand the Wiles of the Devil, 83; Thunder breaks into his House, 86; defines a Witch, 90; a Cause of the Convictions, 92; his Answer, 93; Denial of Statements made by Calef, 96; does not distinguish between Miracles and Works of the Devil, 97; Arraigned by R. C. in Argument, 135-6; Messenger, 151; heavy Charges against Calef, iii, 32; Acquainted with the Wiles of the Devil, *ib.*;

- Conduct at Mr. Burroughs's Execution, 38; Defence of the Prosecutions, 59-61; Omissions, iii, 106, 109, 111; an Advocate, 122; his Account of Trials as faithful as others, 123; his Life of Phips anonymous, and why, 136; Defends it, 137-8, 140; strenuous for a Reassumption of the Charter, 146; compares Mr. Calef to Satan, 151; the most Active of any in prosecuting Witches, 154; his contradictory Statements pointed out, 157-8; his Ambidexterity, 154, 159; his Relatives accused, *ib.*; sincere and credulous, 161.
- Mather, Increase, I, vi, xxx; ii, 12; prays with Margaret Rule, 51; Proceedings against Mr. Calef, 55; cited, 60; defended by his Son, C., 66; on the Devil, 90, 95; *Remarkable Providences*, 106-7; Messenger, 151; Defence about the Charter, iii, 18; Proctor's Appeal to, 40; Cases of Conscience, 58; Angelographia, 131; his Acts retold by his Son, 136, 141; his Ideas undergo a Change, 142; troubled by Fobbactions, appears to King James, 145; his Reason for accepting a new Charter, 149; the bewitched *Eye*, 160; Moderator of Mr. Parris's Council, 216.
- Mather, Nathaniel, iii, 139.
- Mather, Samuel, Life of his Father, I, lxxvii; Funeral Sermon on, xcvi.
- Mead, Matthew, Mr., iii, 139.
- Meeting House, the Devil in one, iii, 89.
- Memorable Providences, approved by Baxter, 10; a Work by I. Mather, ii, 12, 106-7.
- Merlin, Ambrose, ii, 196.
- Mexico, Indians of, 201-2.
- Middlecot, Richard, 26, ii, 151.
- Millenium, near at Hand, 90-1.
- Milton, John, I, xi.
- Ministers, why dogged more by the Devil than others, 234; Stars of Heaven, in danger of the Dragon's Tail, *ib.*
- Miracles, one witnessed, ii, 74; wrought by Men, 128.
- Mist of Invisibilty, iii, 160.
- Moody, Joshua, iii, 40; aids Philip English to escape from Jail, 179-180.
- More Wonders*, a vile Book, 96.
- Morgan, Samuel, Searcher for Witch teats, iii, 39.
- Mormons, reference to, ii, 81.
- Morton, Charles, ii, 108.
- N**AZIANZEN, the Author like a, 28.
- Newbury-Falls, Baptisms there by the Devil, 194, iii, 112, 197.
- New England, Loyalty and Religion in, 10; no Land so free from Vices, 12; once the Devil's Territory, 15, 120; broken in upon by an Army of Devils, 17; a Scandal feared from Witchcraft, 19; Province of, 20; stocked with Rattle-snakes, 25; little Hope of, from the Wrath of the Devil, 93-4; a howling Wilderness, 94; its Losses by Indians and by Sea, 95; Decline of Godliness in, 96; poor N. England, 109; People in the Belly of Hell, 110; pleases the Devil, 122; no People so basely

- despise the Gospel, 125; hath destroyed thyself, ii, 6; a Charter obtained, iii, 142; why Quo Warrantoed, 143; worse circumstanced than any Corporation in England, *ib.*; Revolution in, 144-153; Prodigies in, not a tenth Part related, 161.
- Necromancy, who are guilty of it, iii, 166.
- Noyes, Nicholas, I, vii, iii, 7, 9; at Alden's Trial, 28; Conduct at Executions, 34; his Firebrands of Hell, 48; at the Examination of Mary Clark, 196.
- Nurse, Francis, iii, 7, 198.
- Nurse, Rebecca, iii, 7, 10; Sister Cloyce, 13; executed, 33; her Explanation, 36, 37; Sister Easty, 46; why accused, 210.
- Nurse, Samuel, ii, 143, 159, 211.
- OAKES**, Thomas, Agent to England, iii, 148.
- Ogilvie, John, Definition of Witchcraft, I, xiv-xvi.
- Old South Church, Boston, iii, 133; Ministers of, in Witchcraft Times, 177.
- Oliver, alias Bishop.—See BISHOP, BRIDGET.
- Orton, Job, on W. Perkins, 38.
- Osborn, Sarah, accused, iii, 6, 7; Iron Chains prepared for, 20; accused by Tituba, 188.
- Osgood, Mary, Recantation of, iii, 57.
- PACY**, Deborah, afflicted, 142.
Pacy, Elizabeth, afflicted, 142.
- Paganism, Popery, 52.
- Palmer, John, his Book on N. England, iii, 144.
- Paracelsus, [Auroleus,] I, xxxviii, 68.
- Parker, Alice, a Witch, 208; Sentence to die, iii, 44.
- Parker, Mary, condemned and executed, iii, 45.
- Parris, Elizabeth, iii, 8, 209.
- Parris, Noyes, iii, 221.
- Parris, Samuel, Protest against, ii, 141-3; long and humble Acknowledgment, 143-8; Ministers and Elders of the Churches recommend his Acknowledgment be accepted, 149-51; further Protest against, 152-3; the Elders' Plea for, 155-6; accused of swearing falsely, 158; his Account of the Beginning of the Troubles, iii, 3-4; swears against Rebecca Nurse, 11; preaches, 14 appointed Scribe at the Examinations, 15; Examinations at his House, 22; swears against Mrs. Bishop, 75; Scribe at How's Trial, 105; at other Times, 127; at Cory's Examination, 173; Account of, 198-222; Family of, 203-4; 209; not an Enemy to Mr. Burroughs, 210; not a swift Witness, *ib.*; how his Name comes to be frequent in the Trials, 211; cleared by a Council, 217; but dismissed, 218; Epitaph on his Wife, 221; his Death, *ib.*
- Parris, Samuel, Deacon, iii, 221.
- Parris, Thomas, iii, 198, 222.
- Payne, Robert, Juror, iii, 127, 185.
- Payson, Edward, ii, 151; pleads for Mrs. How, iii, 106.
- Peabody, John, Apology of, iii, 135.
- Peach, Bernard, a Witness against

- Mrs. Martin, 178-9; bites a Witch, iii, 94, 95.
- Peasley, Joseph, Constable, iii, 196.
- Pemberton, Ebenezer, ii, 15.
- Pennington, Thomas, I, ix.
- Perd, Margaret, ii, 50, 51; smells Brimstone, 53.
- Perkins, Thomas, Apology of, iii, 135.
- Perkins, William, defines Witchcraft, I, xiii; his Rules questioned, xxxiii; Notice of, 37; his Doctrine of Witchcraft, ii, 12; Mr. Calef on, 56, iii, 165.
- Perley, John, 193-4; Fence Rails bewitched by, iii, 111; Apology of, 135; Samuel and Wife, 105, 106.
- Perley, Timothy, Witnesses, 192.
- Pharaoh, Old, accused of Witchcraft, iii, 126-7.
- Philistines of Hell, 27.
- Phillips, Edward, I, xi; John, 26; Samuel, ii, 151; Evidence for Mrs. How, iii, 106.
- Phips, William, arrives, 25; iii, 18; orders Irons for the Accused, 20; orders the Trials for Witchcraft published, 58; called Home, 130; how became Governor, 137; finished his Life and Government together, *ib.*; a Pizarro, 138; harsh Temper, 141; had his Fortune told, 154; vanquishes the Devil, 158; his Relatives accused, 159.
- Pike, Robert, 26, iii, 103.
- Pithagoras, Doctrine of, ii, 118.
- Pitman, Thomas, 206.
- Pizarro, Sir W. Phips compared to, iii, 138.
- Plagues, {caused by} the Devil, ii, 79.
- Plastic Spirit of Witches, 204, ii, 88; a Nonentity hooked in, 90; Mischief to the Devil, 96.
- Plynyism, what it is, 204.
- Pope, Joseph, and Wife, iii, 8, 203.
- Popery, revived Paganism, 52.
- Poppets, used by Spectres, ii, 40, iii, 82; some found and described, 88; Remark upon, 124.
- Porter, Benjamin, iii, 11.
- Post, Mary, Evidence against Mary Clark, iii, 197.
- Prayers, the great Artillery of Heaven, 132; a Whip for the Devil's Back, *ib.*
- Prescot, Peter, Dr., 196, iii, 116.
- Pressy, John, Witnesses against Martin, 184; sees a great Light, iii, 100; his Heels are struck up, 101; Loss of Cows, *ib.*
- Preston, Samuel, 198; his Cow bewitched, iii, 118.
- Preston, Thomas, iii, 203.
- Prince, Thomas, I, xc, xci, xcv.
- Printing, not sooner discovered owing to the Devil, 66.
- Procter, Elizabeth, iii, 7; John, *ib.*; Mrs., cried out on, 15; John, executed, 38; Barbarity to his Family, 40; his Letter to Ministers, 40-2; his Course to prevent Witchcraft, 204.
- Procter, William, made to confess by Torture, iii, 41.
- Prodigies, in N. England, not a tenth Part related, iii, 161.
- Pudeater, Ann, sentenced to be executed, iii, 44.
- Pulifer, David, 13, II, vii, III, 169.
- Putnam, Ann, iii, 7, 8, 9; Witnesses against Mrs. Nurse, 11; against Mr. Burroughs, 39, 62, 63; against Mrs. Bishop, 75; against Giles Cory, 170; against

- Mary Clark, 197; why she became an Accuser, 210.
- Putnam, Edward, ii, 143, iii, 7.
- Putnam, John, Witness against Mrs. Nurfe, iii, 11; Mrs. Dastin, 128; of Parris's Society, 198.
- Putnam, Joseph, ii, 159.
- Putnam, Thomas, iii, 7; swears against Mrs. Nurfe, 11; Mrs. Bishop, 75; Mrs. Daston, 128.
- QUINCY**, Josiah, on "Certain Proposals," ii, 106; one-sided and dogmatical, iii, 19; on I. Mather's Diary, 136.
- RAVEN**, Story of one speaking, 33.
- Rawson, Edward, iii, 16, 52, 197.
- Rea, Joshua, iii, 198.
- Redd, Willmet, condemned to die, iii, 45.
- Reed, Richard, iii, 184.
- Rice, Nicholas, iii, 29.
- * Rice, Sarah, sent to Prison, iii, 29.
- Richards, John, 26, iii, 30; Judge, 125, 128.
- Ring, Jervis, 185; suffers from Nightmare, iii, 103.
- Ring, Joseph, 186; carried about by Demons, iii, 102; in a Snare of Devilism, *ib.*; hurried through the Air, *ib.*; taken to Hellish Meetings, 102-3.
- Ring, Robert, an Error, 186.
- Robie, William, II, xxi.
- Robinson, George, II, xxvii.
- Roggers, John, Witnesses against Martha Carrier, 197; of Billerica, iil, 118; killed by Indians, *ib.*
- Rofs, Alexander, Hudibras on, ii, 126.
- Ruck, John, Foreman of Jury, 161, iii, 35, 72-3.
- Ruffell, James, 26, iii, 15.
- Rule, Margaret, Story of, ii, 21; seized by evil Angels, 26; fell into odd Fits, 28; assaulted by eight cruel Spectres, *ib.*; bring her a red Book to sign, 29; her Tortures described, 30; fasts nine Days, 31; stuck full of Pins, 32; Liquor poured down her Throat "as of scalding Brimstone," 33; her Hurts soon cured, 34; taken up to the Ceiling and held there, 35; her Minister interferes, 38; gets the better of the Devil, 40; visited by Mr. Calef, 49; his Report of her Case, 49-54; a Sweetheart in it, 51-2; Aves's Testimony concerning, 68; others, 69-70.
- Rum, used in a Case of Witchcraft, ii, 51.
- SABBATH**, begins at Sunset, Saturday, 223.
- Sadducees, unbelievers in Witchcraft, 32; Baxter on, ii, 45; Mischievous, 46; Witlings, 60, 61; Atheists, 108; Infidels, iii, 162, 163.
- Safford, Joseph, Witness, 189, iii, 105, 108-9.
- Salem Village, Church Difficulties, ii, 140-3.
- Saltonstall, Nathaniel, 26, ii, 109, iii, 30.
- Sanderfon, Robert, Deacon, iii, 207.
- Sargent, Peter, 26.
- Satan.—See DEVIL.
- Sayer, Samuel, Apology of, iii, 135.
- Scotland, Witchcraft in, ii, 7, 197.
- Scott, Margaret, condemned to Death, iii, 44.

- Scott, Reginald, writes against Witchcraft, I, xxxix; Extracts from, xlv-vii; has taken great Pains, lix.
- Scottow, Joshua, iii, 64.
- Scribonius, Note upon, 1.
- Sergeant, Mr. [Peter,] iii, 31.
- Sewall, Samuel, 26, 209; subscribes to the Truth and Accuracy of Mather's *Wonders*, 211, iii, 59; Judge, II, xxiv, 157, iii, 15, 31; Appointment of Judge, 125; Services, 126, 128; in Sorrow for the Part he took those accused of Witchcraft, 133; a Referee in Mr. Parris's Case, 221.
- Sewall, Stephen, Captain, iii, 209.
- Sharp, [James,] D. D., iii, 151.
- Shattock, Samuel, 168; swore against Mrs. Bishop, iii, 76; Wife Sarah, also, *ib.*, 83-4; Remarks on his Evidence, 123.
- Sheldon, Susanna, 200; swears against Mr. Burroughs, iii, 66-7; against Mrs. Bishop, 78; against Mrs. Carrier, 120; against Mary Clark, 196; Account of, 204.
- Shepard, John, iii, 53; Rev. Mr., 185.
- Sheppard, Rebekah, iii, 11.
- Sherrin, John, iii, 105.
- Sherringham, Robert, 150.
- Sherwin, *Goodwife*, 191.
- Short, Mercy, ii, 27, 37, 51.
- Sibley, John L., I, viii; Mary, iii, 3, 206.
- Sieves, used to conjure with, iii, 142.
- Sikes, Victory, Corporal, iii, 219.
- Simpkins, Thomas, II, xxv.
- Slavery, a Divine Institution, xvi; Effect of its Denunciation, 12-13.
- Smith, James, II, xxiii, III, 203.
- Snow, falls as Wool, I, lxxiii; some red, lxxiv.
- Soam, John, his Cart bewitched, 149.
- Sobieski, John, King, 91.
- Some Few Remarks*, an Answer to Calef, II, xxi.
- Sorceries, 122, 123; little ones, iii, 142; how known, 165.
- Sow, one bewitched, iii, 109.
- Spectacles invented, 66.
- Spectral Sight, Pretenders to, iii, 166.
- Spectres, how allayed, 30, 31, 35, 103-4; take the Name and Shape of Accused, 106; call upon People before Death, 109; pranks with an Iron Spindle, 205; severe Scuffle with one, 206; "Eight Cruel ones" assault Margaret Rule, ii, 28; "Curfed ones" bring a Book to sign, 29; Threats of, 34; they steal a Will, *ib.*; heard to clap their Hands, 35; Caution about, 44; one cruelly assaults a Person, [Margaret Rule,] iii, 160.
- Spencer, Edmund, a Witch described by, I, xlix.
- Spencer, Richard, Witnesses, 150.
- Spindle, Story of one, 205, iii, 160.
- Spirits, white ones, ii, 37; one appears to Margaret Rule, 39.
- Sprague, Martha, bewitched, iii, 126.
- Stacy, William, 172, iii, 86-7, 76, 86-7.
- Star, Margaret, II, xxv.
- Stephens, Lieutenant, iii, 53; Sister of, 54.
- Stoughton, William, commends the *Wonders*, &c., 5-6; of unspotted Fidelity, 26; declares Mather's

- Wonders* true, 211; commissions Judges, iii, 30; attests to the Truth of Mather's *Wonders*, 59; signs the Death Warrant of Mrs. Bishop, 80; his Appointment, 125; Services, 126.
- Stuart, one, Letter in Defence of Witchcraft, ii, 160-186; another, 198-207; on Blasphemy, 202.
- Swan, Timothy, afflicted, iii, 196.
- Swedeland, Witchcraft in, 108, 211.
- Swinnerten, John, II, xxv.
- Sydney, Henry, Lord, iii, 149.
- Symons, Edward, 9.
- TALBOT**, Lord, causes the Repeal of Witchcraft Laws, iii, 125.
- Tarbell, John, ii, 143, 159, iii, 199, 211, 215.
- Taylor, Zachary, A. M., I, ix.
- Teats, on Witches, ii, 57.—See **WITCHTEATS**.
- Thacher, Peter, I, xcvi.
- Thompson, Agnes, Confession of, I, xli-ii.
- Thornton, Thomas, testifies to the Performances of Margaret Rule, ii, 69-70.
- Thyaneus, Appolonius, ii, 70.
- Tillotson, Archbishop, 56; aids Dr. Mather, iii, 149.
- Tituba, practices Witchcraft, iii, 6; Note on her Examination, 22; Examination in full, 178-95; a South American Indian, 200.
- Tockinosh, John, ii, 23.
- Tompson, Benjamin, I, xcvi.
- Toothaker, Allin, 196; Family of, 197; abused by a Witch, iii, 117.
- Torry, Samuel, ii, 151; William, *ib.*
- Transubstantiation, as old as the Devil, ii, 200-1.
- Trask, John, his Wife killed by Witchcraft, iii, 79.
- Trithemius, Fancies of, iii, 164.
- Tupper, Samuel, ii, 26; Thomas, *ib.*
- Tyler, Hannah, Recantation of, iii, 57.
- Tyler, Jobe, Deposition concerning Witchcraft, iii, 52.
- Tyler, John, II, xxiv.
- Tyler, Mary, signs a Recantation, iii, 57, 197.
- Tyng, Eleazer, II, xxvii.
- USHER**, Hezekiah, accused, iii, 196.
- VAN** Helmont, Jean, Baptist, ii, 41.
- Varnum, [Farnum,] Ralph, 195.
- Vibber.—See **BIBBER**.
- Virgin Mary, Mother of God, ii, 82.
- Vitzlipultili, an Indian Idol, 201.
- WADSWORTH**, Benjamin, Letter to, ii, 134, 135; Timothy, xxi.
- Walcutt, John, Witness, iii, 113.
- Walcutt, Jonathan, iii, 15; Mary, ii, 158, iii, 8, 26, 62, 170, 195, 205.
- Waldron, Abigail, iii, 79.
- Waldron, Nathaniel, iii, 79.
- Waldron, William, I, xcvi.
- Waller, Edmund, I, lxxxi.
- Walley, John, i, 26, ii, 151.
- Walter, Nehemiah, ii, 108.
- Ward, Nathaniel, i, 13.
- Wardwell, Samuel, condemned, iii, 45; Scene at his Execution, 46,

- 57; his Wife executed, 125; he covenants with the Devil, 126.
- Warner, Daniel, testifies in Favor of Mrs. How, iii, 107.
- Warren, Mercy, an Accuser, iii, 16, 26, 62, 204.
- Watkins, Mary, had been a Servant, iii, 128; sold into Slavery, 129.
- Watts, Isaac, I, lxxvii, lxxvi.
- Way, Aaron, ii, 143; William, *ib.*
- Webber, Samuel, swears in Mr. Burroughs's Case, ii, 9, iii, 63.
- Webster, Noah, Definition of Witchcraft, I, xiv.
- Welch, Edward, a Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
- Wendell, Edward, II, xxvii.
- Wentworth, Samuel, II, xxiv.
- West, Abigail, II, xxv.
- West, Thomas, Searcher for Witchteats, iii, 39.
- Wheeler, Thomas, II, xxiii.
- Whetford, —, 208.
- Whiston, William, I, lxxvi.
- Whittier, J. G., on C. Mather, ii, 61, 160, iii, 163, 167, 174.
- Wigglesworth, M., his Day of Doom, ii, 4.
- Wild, John, iii, 16; his Wife Sarah, *ib.*; executed, iii, 33.
- Wild, —, Captain, i, 137.
- Wilds, Ephraim, Constable, iii, 105.
- Wilkins, John, on Margaret Rule, ii, 69.
- Wilkins, Richard, ii, 55, 56.
- Wilkins, Thomas, ii, 143, iii, 216.
- Willard, John, executed, iii, 38, 39; Escape and Capture, 40.
- Willard, Samuel, Letter to, ii, 102, 151; cried out of, iii, 37; appeal to by Procter, 40; his Agency in the Escape of Mr. English, 177-8.
- Willard, Simon, testifies in Mr. Burroughs's Case, iii, 64.
- William and Mary, I, lxxxiv, 25; Death of Mary, iii, 131.
- Williams, Abigail, ii, 156, 158, iii, 7, 8, 9; at the Devil's Sacrament, 13; cries out on Capt. Alden, 26; of Mrs. Bishop, 75; Mr. Cory, 170, 179; Account of, 204; one of the Originators of the Witchcraft Delusion, 209.
- Williams, Daniel, on Margaret Rule, ii, 69.
- Williams, Nathaniel, a Committee on Salem Affairs, ii, 151.
- Williams, Thomas, opposes Mr. Parris, iii, 212.
- Wilson, John, of Boston, 7.
- Wilson, Sarah, accused, iii, 57.
- Winchell, David, Sergeant, iii, 219.
- Winfor, Hannah, iii, 26.
- Winthrop, Adam, Counsellor, 26.
- Winthrop, Wait, 26, ii, 157, iii, 30; Judge, 125, 221.
- Witchcraft, Cause of its Decline, I, iv; Works upon, v-x; Definitions of, xi-xvi; taught in the Bible, xvi; how People's Eyes were opened, xvii; how carried on, xxii; Practiced through Images or Pictures, *ib.*; Laws respecting, xxiv-v; the Bible upon, xvi, xxvii; Ideas respecting, xxviii; opposed only by Infidels, xxix; Origin of, xxxi; the Question which stayed its Progress, xxxii; Works upon, xxxiv-viii; Law against, xxxix, xliii; not Spiritualism, lx; at the present Day, lxxv; came near blowing up all the Churches, 17; Storms of, 20; thorny Business, 29; will not be shammed, 34; dif-

- posed of, 42; in Lapland, 68-9; flourishes where are no Churches, 130-1; to worship the Devil, 243; a Relict of Heathen Learning, ii, 11; a principal ecclesiastical Engine, 12; further defined, 56-7; how Prosecutions were eventually checked, 110-11; sensible and evident, 105; Laws made against, iii, 124; repealed in England, 125; a Hobgoblin Monster, 137.
- Witchteats, for the Devil to suck, ii, 57, 100; a horrid Barbarity to search for, 132; Excrescences, iii, 124.
- Witches, how made, I, xv; Nature of their Covenant with the Devil, xxiii; the Devil a Slave to, xix; exist by God's Permission, xx; how to detect, xxiii; vast Numbers executed, xv; xxvii; Punishment impossible,, xxxi; good Witches, xxxvii; one described by Spencer, xlix; different Kinds, I, lii; how they contract with the Devil, liv-v; Manner of living, lvi-viii; the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of, 18; prodigious Meetings of, 19; commission the Devil, 29; Way of discovering, 37; Confessions and Practices, 103; fairly executed, 107; Executions of, in Suffolk and Essex, 112; thorny Business, 114; firey Serpents, 124; in Denmark, 148; Witches impeach Witches, 157; Symptoms of Guilt, 162; Conduct after the Manner of Congregational Churches, 202-3; by applying the *Plastic Spirit*, render themselves and Tools invisible, 204; Cause of Suicides, 207; nineteen executed, 217; can't say the Lord's Prayer, 232; their Power to commission Devils Questioned, ii, 7; Scriptures do not describe it, *ib.*, 8; commission Devils? 76; drive a Trade of commissioning, 80-1; let fly Demons, 81; turn into Cats, Dogs, and Cattle, 127; a Witch not known to Reason, 138; can commission Devils, 139; of Lancashire, reference to, iii, 69; steal Liquor, 110; some goe on a Pole to a Witch-meeting, 120.
- Witch-Circles, held by young Girls, iii, 208; Origin of the Salem Troubles, *ib.*, 209-10.
- Witch-Hill, where the Execution of those accused of Witchcraft were executed, iii, 45.
- Wizard, a Witch, I, xii, xxxviii; reveals the Witch by the Devil's Help, 40; the Soul that goeth a whoring after, ii, 154.
- Wood, Martha, Witness, 192, iii, 110.
- Woodbury, Abigail, iii, 79.
- Woodward, John, I, lxxvi.
- Woodward, W. E., I, viii, x-xvi.
- Wolcott.—See WALCUTT.
- Wool, Pall of, as Snow, I, lxxiii.
- Wyllys, Edward, II, xii.

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