

THE
INFALLIBLE
TRUE AND ASSV-
RED VVITCH:

O R,
THE SECOND EDITION,
OF THE TRYALL OF
WITCH-CRAFT.

SHEVVING THE RIGHT
AND TRUE METHODE OF
THE DISCOVERIE:

WITH A CONFVTATION OF
ERRONEOVS WAIES, CARE-
FULLY REVIEWED AND
more fully cleared and
Augmented.

By Iohn Cotta, Doctor in Physicke.



LONDON,

Printed by J. E. for R. H. and are to be sold at the signe of
the Greyhound in Pauls Church-yard.

1625.

Page 1

THE INFALLIBLE TRUE AND ASSV RED VVITCH: OR, THE SECOND EDITION, OF THE TRYALL OF WIT CH-CRAFT. SHE WING THE RIGHT AND TRUE METHODE OF THE DISCOVERIE: WITH A CONFUTATION OF ERRONEOUS WAIES, CARE FULLY REVIEWED AND more fully cleared and Augmented By JOHN COTTA, Doctor in Physicke. LONDON, Printed by I.L. for R.H. and are to be sold at the signe of the Grey-hound in Pauls Church-yard. 1625.

Dedication

Page 2

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, SIR JAMES LEY KNIGHT and BARONET, Lord chiese Justice of ENGLAND, and to the rest of the Honourable, Right Reverend and worthy Judges. RIGHT Honourable Lords; I formerly Dedicated a small Treatise unto the Honourable Societie of the reverend Judges, who then filled the awfull seates of Law and Justice. I adventure the second time to present it, reviewed, augmented, and cleared from some part of that darknesse which haply hath hitherto clouded it from bright acceptance. Information tending unto truths discoverie, though from the meanest wit or person unto your Lordships, cannot be unacceptable, whom Law doth make the Sentensers of Trueth; which is the Soule and Sentense of the Law. The matter and subject propounded is not trifling or unworthy, nor can be any disdaine unto Noble greatnesse;

Page 3

nor is unto any Honourable order more proper then to your Lordships. Indeede the difficultie of the matter presseth a studious consideration, an orderly continuall linking and holding together of all materiall circumstances unto the maine scope, a faithfull and strong memorie, quicknesse of apprehension and solide judgement, but in the end unto such as are industrious and desirous of Trueth, will yeeld a delightfull and thanke-worthy compensation thereof. I presume not to direct or prescribe, nor doe purposely oppose any other different opinion, but inoffensively tender my owne unto the publique good, and having meerely devoted it unto truth; doe humbly submit it unto your Lordships, the vowed Patrons of right and truth: Your Lordships in all humble dutie and desire, JOHN COTTA. TO

Table of Contents

The Printer to the Reader. THE Author perceiving his former Tractate or first edition thereof, either not diligently read, or not truly by many men understood, he hath now by a second edition thereof offered more ease and light unto such as are willing to search after truth, both by the addition of many things before omitted, as also by this plaine direction unto all the most speciall points in the whole Treatise, as followeth, The contents of the first Chapter. 1. How Knowledge doth come unto man. 2. How mans Knowledge is confined and limited. CHAP. II. 1. That many things are hidden from the Knowledge of all men indifferently by the decree of God and Nature. 2. That many things are revealed unto the industrious learned, which are hidden from the slothfull and unlearned. CHAP. III. That Witchcraft cannot bee discovered or knowne, but by the common waies and meanes of all other Knowledge and discovery. CHAP. IIII. 1. The Knowledge and power of Spirits, how exceeding the Knowledge and power of man. 2. Good Spirits and evill Spirits how discerned. CHAP. V. That the divell doth and can worke alone without the association of a Witch.

CHAP. VI. 1. The Divell associating With a Witch. 2. A Witch apparently discovered by the Conduct of the outward sense, and testimony thereof. 3. That the Divell playeth the Jugler in many things, seeming to raise the dead, to transforme into Cats or Dogs or other Creatures, to present the same body in two distant places at the same time. 4. The difference betweene things meerely imagined or fancied, and things really offered unto the out ward sense truly discerned. 5. That which is supernaturall or spirituall, may be discovered by the outward sense. 6. How the counterfeit miracles of the divell may be discerned from the true miracles of God. CHAP. VII. 1. An assured Witch by evidence of reason convinced. 2. All Spirits that are enquired at, are Divels. 3. Witches may be detected by professedly undertaking, and upon promise or covenant performing revelations and discoveries about the power and knowledge of man. 4. All men in whom the Divell doth exercise supernaturall workes or miracles, or by whom he doth utter supernaturall revelations, are not simply therefore by necessary consequent of reason to be esteemed. Witches but with some few considerations which therewith conioyned and dewly weighed may infallibly proove their guilt thus: He that undertaketh revelations or workes which are truly found supernaturall, and cannot either proove them to be of God, nor to be imposture, nor to be imposed upon him by the Divell

without his will, allowance, and liking thereof, that man by certaine Demonstration is a Witch or Sorcerer. What witchcraft is, manifestly described. CHAP. VIII. 1. The divers kinds and manners wherein Witches receive knowledge from spirits, as Astrologers, as Wizards, as Phisitions.

Page 6

That the Divell can both inflict diseases, and cure where God permitteth. CHAP. IX. That since Imposters doe counterfeit Witches, and under colour of imposture, Witches may hide their discovery, it is fit that diligently the Magistrate inquire into Imposters. CHAP. X. 1. Whether the diseased are bewitched, when and how it is certainly to be knowne, when not, and when men ought to rest satisfied in desiring satisfaction therein. 2. The markes of Witches vulgarly reported, and by oath deposed to be found in their bodies, how to be tried and knowne from all naturall diseases, among which many are very like unto them. 3. The necessitie of consulting with the Physition not only therein, but in all diseases supposed to be inflicted by the Divell. 4. How farre the vulgarly esteemed confession of a supposed Witch is of validitie to proove her a Witch. CHAP. XI. That Witches maybe produced unto the barre of Justice two waies, first for manifest workes of Sorcery witnessed by the sense: secondly, for revelations about the possibility and power of man. CHAP. XII. 1. Presumption and probabilities against suspected Witches. 2. That Witchcraft is a sinne or crime which ought to be detected by testimony and by manifestation thereof to sense or reason. CHAP. XIII. That men ought not to seeke the discovery of Witches by unwarranted meanes voide of reason, or superstitious. CHAP. XIV. Casting Witches into the water, scratching, beating, whether any allowed triall of a Witch. CHAP. XV. 1. That revelations by the bewitched in their fits or traunces are no sufficient proove against a Witch. 2. That the declaration by the bewitched of secret markes in the bodies of suspected Witches are not instifiable to be admitted as any true or allowable convictions. 3. That the healing of the bewitched by the compelled touch or

Page 7

action of the supposed witch is no reasonable accusation again any man, as therefore a Witch. 4. That there is no more necessitie of a miraculous detection of Witchcraft, then of any other as hideous and abominable sinnes. 5. That the miracles and detections of crying and bideous sinnes but visions and apparitions cannot certainly or assuredly be manifested to be of God, and therefore simply in themselues, though revealing truth

they are not to be trusted or credited alone, but so farre forth as they doe point unto, or occasion just and reasonable inquisition. The conclusion of the Whole Treatise inferring the two sorts of manifest Witches generally thorow the whole worke intended and by Demonstration made evident, to be the same, against whom the Law of God was directed, as also that there is no other triall of those Witches, but the meanes and waies in this Treatise before mentioned.

Foreword

Page 8

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE Sr. EDWARD COKE Knight, Lord chiefe Justice of ENGLAND, one of the Lords of His Maiesties most Honourable Privie Councill, and to the rest of the Honourable right Reverend and worthy Judges. RRight Honourable Lords, where according unto the direction of good lawes, gracious Soveraignes nobly rule, and loyall Subjects freely obey, there the Common-weale, which is the common good of both, produceth the most royall, happy and stable Monarchy. If ever any Kingdome hath beene fortunate, to give a true mirror and example of this happinesse, this famous Island hath beene therein incomparable, wherein so many puissant Monarchs, successively swaying this Emperiall Diademe, according unto the ancient Lawes and Customes of

Page 9

this Nation, have so many hundreths of yeares governed this mighty people in peace and honour at home, and victoriously led them in triumphant warre abroad, as by the glorious trumpe offerreine and domesticke fame and Historie is not obscure. The splendor of this truth, the iniurious aspersion of insufficiencie in our English lawes, cannot without shame or blushing guilt behold. Notwithstanding, since in some few things to bee wanting, was never as yet wanting in the most exquisite lawes, Policie and State that ever hath beene, and since the Law of God it selfe (though perfect in it selfe) through humane imperfection in the true perfection was never yet seene, give mee leave through all lawes and Countries in one particular to wonder at their generall defect. What Law or Nation in the detection of Witches, and Witchcraft, hath as yet ever appeared competent, or from just exception exempt? How uncertaine are among all people differing judgements? Some judge no Witches at all, others more then too many, others too few by many, in so opposite extreames, so extreame opposite: I doe not presume to prescribe how a law may become more absolute or perfect, I

onely labour and enquire to learne. Among many generall directions by different Authors, diversly published, concerning the perfecting of particular lawes, (as farre as perfection is possible unto humane frailty) Demosthenes in his second Oration against Aristogiton, in my thought doth seeme to equall (if not exceede) the most exquisite. Three

Page 10

things saith he (as may be plainely out of the forenamed place collected) doe concurre unto the upright constitution of every complete law, whereby it may be held sacred and inviolate. The first is, that it be [Greek omitted], that is, that it be the ordinance and gift of God. Secondly, that it be [Greek omitted], that is, the sage and judicious decree and counsell of the most wise and prudent. The third is, that it be [Greek omitted], that is, the universall consent of the whole state, Citie or countrey. Certainly, the true cause of the forementioned generall lamenesse, and confusion of Lawes in the proposed case of Witch-craft consisteth herein. First, for that men have not as yet sufficiently searched the holy Scriptures to finde out that [Greek omitted], that is, what is the ordinance of God therein. Secondly, for that men have not seriously consulted with that wisdom and prudence, which by the light of nature and reason Almighty God hath left discoverable and allowed to be justly and truly deemed, [Greek omitted] that is, the sage counsell, determination and decree of the most judicious, prudent and wise men. When these two are met and are agreed; namely, the ordinance of God, and the upright and sincere counsell of the most holy, prudent and wise men, purposely studied, and without superstition exercised therein: then will the happy harmony of all mens hearts become easily tunable thereto, which is, [Greek omitted], that is, the common consent of Prince, People, and Countrey. Unto this faire

Page 11

worke and building of God: let it not seeme presumption, that I offer this my Moytie of desire, and good will. I know that in this subject, many ages of learned Authors, have endlesly varied, many famous Writers have bin branded with infamous errors, many excellent wits have run themselues almost out of their wits, and those who have best deserved, their trembling pens have niggardly dropped, and timorously pointed out any fully, or firmly avouched certainty. It is notwithstanding no breach of rule of modesty, but my bounden duty, unto the accomplishment and honour of truth, to adde whatsoever in my utmost endeavour may be conducible. Neither would my many conflicts,

with difficulties in this kinde, hold me excused, if so oft spurred, or rather galled, by so frequent exercise, practise and conversation, with persons in so divers extraordinary manners afflicted, and supposed bewitched, it should awake no answerable dispatch or display therein. Let it then seeme no wonder, that a man (though lesse then the least among men) who hath not onely as studiously as others laboured the same particular, and as diligently therein observed, but hath farre more happily bin fortun'd then others, with frequent matter, and occurrents worthy observation, and hath also beene more plentifully gratified with opportunitie, to enrich his understanding with variety and worth of objects, instructing his reason, and confirming his experience: Let it seeme no wonder (I say) that a meane wit, thus beyond others furnished thereto, may adventure amidst

Page 12

so many doubts and ambiguities, where with so many worthies have been formerly intangled and perplexed, to avouch and proove certainty, and demonstration. In this subject of Witch-craft, by better meanes advantaged, if beyond former times or Writers, I have haply proposed a more direct and certaine Module and Methode of judging therein, I doe not thereby arrogate unto my selfe, but attribute unto the meanes, nor derogate from others, whom if the like contingence of the same helpe, had as freely and friendly affronted, and the like facilitie had opened as ready accesse, I acknowledge in the guilty sense of my owne exiguitie (whether in the outward beauty of words, or inward substance of understanding) it had beene easie for any man to exceed with so good meanes this so evill meanenesse of my performance. Since then (Right Honourable Lords) the subject it selfe, and a pertinent and peculiar use therein, doe point unto your Honours the propertie of this Dedication, unto whose tribunall the Lawes of God and men appeale against that foule abominable sinne, let it not be censured pride or presumption, humbly to present unto your Lordship that consideration and resolution which beyond my merit or desert, Occurrents have freely administred unto long-distracted meditation. If there may appeare therein ought advancing truth, or serviceable unto the Common-weale, vouchsafe for those good respects, it may be gracious in your eyes, acceptable and worthy your noble favours and protection,

Page 13

against the injuries of adverse obdurate custome, ignorance, envy, and the vulgar indignation of common received and

deceived opinion. In the meane season, my devoted heart shall devoutly pray unto Almighty God for your Lordships long life, the multiplication of many happy daies, redoubled honour in your service of God, your King and Countrey, and after this life, that life which ever lasteth. Your Lordships, in the most humble desire, and tender of, his devotious service and observance.
JOHN COTTA.

Preface

Page 14

To the Reader. Ngenious Reader, in this subject of Witch-craft which I here present unto thee, thou art not ignorant, what obscuritie, difficultie, difference, contrarietie and contradiction hath among Authors and learned men in all ages arisen. From the offusion of generall ignorance, or superstitious blindnesse herein, willing to withdraw the vulgar illusion; I have endeavoured Demonstratively to declare what portion of some more certainty in such uncertainties, God and Nature hath destined and allowed. It is not any worth either arrogated unto my selfe, or derogated from others, but my studious desire and vehement affection in this particular, together with some speciall experience and paines upon divers occurrents, and occasions extraordinarily hapning, that hath drawne me forth to offer my opinion as the widdowes mite, more haply in good will, and hearty affection, then in true value or deserved esteeme. If it may only give occasion unto a more exquisite pensell, it is the heighth of my intention, and a complete recompence of my endeavour. For this cause, and for common easie reading and apprehension, I have purposely avoided, and discontinued the smooth thrid of a continued laboured stile, and have for the most part preferred and inserted a plaine texture, of a more vulgar and carelesse phrase and word. The envious haply may cavill,

Page 15

that a Physition out of his owne supposed precincts, should rush into sacred lists, or enter upon so high points of Divinitie, as by an unavoidable intercurrance, doe necessarily insert themselves in this proposed subject. Divinitie it selfe doth herein answer them. In the theory of Theologie, it is the dutie and praise of every man, to be without curiositie fruitfully exercised. For as touching matter of Divinitie, as it falleth out, or is incident in the discourse of this small Treatise, I onely propound such reasons and considerations therein, as in common are allowable and commendable in every Christian man, and therein I doe neither usurpingly controule others, nor controulingly conclude my selfe,

but willingly submit unto the grave censure and dictature of the learned and reverend Divine. If therefore (good Reader,) I have here published or communicated unto thee ought thankes-worthy, as it is by me freely intended unto thee; so let it not from me be unfriendly extended by thee. If I haue in ought erred, let it be thy praise and goodnesse to make thy use thereof without abuse. If thou hast formerly thought amisse, and doest herereade that is more right, be not ashamed to acknowledge thy better knowledge. If thou list not to know, then know, that truth shall judge thee, and justifie her selfe without thee. Thy well-willing friend. JOHN COTTA.

Chapter 1

Page 16

THE TRIALL OF WITCH CRAFT: Shewing, the true and right Methode of the Discoverie. Of naturall knowledge, and how it is solely acquired, either by Sense, or Reason, or by artificiall and prudent coniectation. AS there is one onely Infinite, which hath created all things finite: so is there one onely finite, most neerely like unto that Infinite, which is wisdom and knowledge in men and Angels. The knowledge which is given to Angels, is only known to God and Angels. The knowledge which is given to man, is knowne by man, limited, measured and confined. It is therefore by the most wise Philosophers and fathers of former times, and the Sages' of later times and ages agreed, by a generall consent and harmony of the same truth, that all things which are allotted man to know or understand, are by two waies, or instruments solely to be atchived G1 or hoped. The first of these is the inward understanding: the second is the outward sense. The understanding hath knowledge divers waies. First immediatly, by an inbred Idea and understanding of certaine generall notions common unto all -notes- G1 Scalig. de Subtil. Exercit. 307. sect. 22.

Page 17

men, and in them, and with them borne. This, though intellectuall, may bee in some sort assimulated unto that naturall instinct in bruit creatures; by which, when they come first into the world, yet immediatly by the direction of Nature, they refuse, and flie from that which is evill and harmefull, and seeke and know that which is needfull unto their life and preservation. Secondly, the understanding hath knowledge by ratiociation, by the discourse and use of reason. By this ratiocination, we doe in many things gaine a G1 certainty of knowledge; in other some a probability and likelihood onely of certainty, yet oft-times in a

very great neerenesse G2 and affinitie with certaintie. Knowledge likewise commeth by the outward senses, which doe certainly and undoubtedly informe the understanding concerning their severall proper objects, where the facultie is sound, and the instruments of sense, and the outward meanes of conveyance are rightly disposed. Among these five senses, the sight and hearing, the eye and eare, are the most excellent and chiefe wayes of multiplication and increase of naturall knowledge. Besides these wayes of knowledge; namely, the inward and the outward sense, there never was, nor ever can be enumeration of any other. For this cause the Philosophers have divided all things that are incident unto mankind, to know or understand; either unto such things as immediatly G3 in their very first thought or mention do prove themselves, and at the first consideration or sight are evident unto all men; or such as are directly inferred and necessarily proved by other propositions, or such as by prudent ghesse onely and likely conjecture give a faire probability of truth and certaintie. Such things as immediatly prove themselves, and are undoubted, in their first view, are subject either to the sense onely, or unto the understanding onely. Such things as are only proper to the sense, and thereto immediatly and properly subject, are things seene, heard, touched, tasted, smelt; as colours, figures, lineaments, sounds, musike, hardnesse, softnes, drines, moisture, roughnesse, smoothnesse, sowre, sweete, diversity of -notes- G1 Omnis syllogismus, vel regulatis, and recta ratiocination est vel demonstrativa, vel dialectica, Aristot. lib. Analyt. G2 Dialecticus syllogismus, vel ratiocinatio ex. propositionibus Dialecticis, vel probabilibus, hęc non certant demonstrativas, syllogismus, tamen vera indicia constituit, ideoq; est verarum opinionum fons, Aristot. ibid. G3 Hinc Syllogismi perfecti and imperfecti ratio ex Aristot.

Page 18

odours and the like: in which, without the use of the five senses, men cannot be sensible or know any thing in this inferiour world under the heavens. Such things as are subject unto the understanding onely, and not unto the sense, and immediatly prove themselves, are generall notions and receptions, inseparably fixed in the understanding of all men. Of this kind are these positions in Philosophie. All things that are made, have their matter, G1 out of which they were made, have their speciall formes and difference, by which they are a part that they are: and lastly to that being, which they are, are risen from that which they were not. Likewise, these positions in Logicke: Every proposition is true or false, affirmative or negative, and

extendeth generally unto all under the same kinde, or to some particulars, or to a singular, or is indefinite. Likewise, in Arithmaticke these: One is no number, one cannot be divided, or is indivisible; foure is more then two. Likewise, in Physike these: Euery man is sicke or healthfull, or a neuter: Contraries are cured by contraries, as heat by cooling, cold by heating, moysture by drying, drynesse by moysting. As in these named Sciences, so in all other; there are the like generall notions, immediatly at the first view proving themselves unto the understanding, and every man in common sense and reason, immediatly consenteth unto their truth; and he that denieth it, or seeketh prove therof, is esteemed justly madde, or voyd of reason. There are other things also subject unto the understanding onely, which do not immediatly upon the first view on consideration (as the former) prove themselves, but are proved by others more cleere and evident then themselves; as this proposition. The motion of the heavens is not infinite. This is not manifest unto every man at first view, but requireth another more manifest then it selfe, to make it manifest thus: That which hath a certaine limited course, circumuolution and motion, cannot be infinite; but Astronomie for many thousands of years hath discovered the courses, periods, revolutions, and set perambulations of the heavens, and therefore the motions of the heavens cannot be infinite. It -notes- G1 Materiam, Formam, Privationem.

Page 19

may here easily be observed, how the first position being unable to prove it selfe, another more manifest doth give it light, and doth deduce it unto that, which doth so immediately prove it selfe unto common sense, and reason, and observation of all ages and times, that no idiot can be ignorant, or will deny it. Thus hath bin manifested, how some things are immediatly understood in the very first consideration and view: some are proved by themselves, some not proved by themselves, but made evident by others. As many things are in the former kinds and severall maners manifested, and evidently proved unto reason, sense, or understanding: so are there many things neither by themselves nor by other evident, neither to the understanding and reason, or to the outward sense at the first apparent, but remaine ambiguous and doubtfull. In these things certainty of knowledge by manifest prooffe sailing, there remaineth no other refuge, but prudent and artificial conjecture, narrowly looking and searching thorow probabilities, unto the nearest possibilitie of truth and certainty. Fom hence doe arise excellent uses and benefits unto understanding, though not so

farre forth oftentimes gained, as is desired unto all private ends, yet so farre forth, as maketh wise and understanding men excell and shine before others. Hence it commeth to passe that in doubtfull cases, counsels and attempts, one man is seene and knowne to overshine an other, as much as the glorious Sunne doth his eclipsed sister, the Moone. Hence have issued so many noble and heroike Vertues; Sagacitie, exquisitnesse of judgement, Prudence, Art, in the administration of high affaires. For, although in probabilities are no evident certainties, yet doe they so farre forth oft-times advantage and advance unto the knowledge of certainty, that it is almost equall unto certainty, and doth perswade and settle discrete resolution and disposition in all affaires. In this consisteth the height, the tope, the som of Art, and the perfection of all humane knowledge, above or beyond which, no man could ever soar or levell. By this light onely the former mentioned meanes

Page 20

failing, is oft times gained much excellence of natural knowledge to man, beyond and without which the eye and sight of knowledge in man is sealed up, his understanding darkned, and cannot know many hidden things. And thus to him that rightly doth meditate and consider, it is undoubtedly cleere and certaine, how the Creator and infinite Prince of all principles hath sounded the beginning and end, the power and posse of all knowledge, upon one of the former waies of investigation, beside which there is no naturall knowledge to be expected, Philosophie as yet never found other G1 Waies unto that infinite number of all Arts and Sciences, so admirably flourishing thorow so many ages of the world. For this cause the most excellent and prime Philosopher, Aristotle, reiecteth whatsoever cánnot be found by Sense, or proved by reason, as spurious. Likewise Ptolomie hath bounded the true Art of Astronomie within fatum Physicum, within a necesiltie in Nature, and to distinguish it from superstition(wherwith curiositie usually defileth or intangleth it) doth limit it intraconvenientem naturæ modum, that is, within proportion and measure answerable to Reason and Nature. For this cause also, all true Philosophers have determind the two onely instruments of all true Arts, to bee Reason and experience, which Galen doth call the two legges whereupon the Art of Physike doth consist. And therefore in the second chapter of his Finitiones medicæ, he saith, Optimus is eft Medicus, qui omnis in Medicina recta agitatione, that is, hee who doth all things in his subject of Phy sike, according to right rule of reason, is the most excellent Physicion. From hence also all true Artists have defined Art to bee, Habitus cumratione factivus, that is, a settled

habilitie, and promptnesse of action, and operation according to reason. Upon this ground others have built other true rules and observations, concerning true and lawfull Arts. Therefore (saith Galen) ars non est exijs quorum neutiquam eft potestas, Isagog. chap. 5. that is, Art is not of such things as cannot be accomplished. Which is worthy noting, to distinguish prestigious and supposed Arts from true Art. To this others -notes- G1 Quod non est secundum naturam, non contineut a Scientia, Arist., Anal., pester.

Page 21

likewise have added another observation, that is; that Art is imployed about such things as are in reason profitable and not vaine. So saith Scaliger, exercit. 37 Sect. 31. Ars non est de rebus inutilibus. It is yet further observed upon the same ground, that true Art doeth not confound or cloud it selfe in mists, but reduceth unto order, light and reason, things dissipate, confused, and out of order and reason (as Cicero affirmeth) Ars res diuisas dissolutasque conglutinat, and ratione quadam constringit. Upon the same grounds diuers renowned common weales have expelled all false and forged Arts: as, Necromancy, Aeromancy, Geomancy, with other sortiligious Divinations. Upon the same reasons, diuers Emperours, Kings, Kingdomes and Lawes, have exploded, censured, and condemned all such as under pretext of the wholesome Arts of Astronomy, Mathematikes, and the like, have runne into foolish curiosities, impostures, and deceitfull practises. Iustinian the Roman Law-giver and Emperour, his lawes are extant to this purpose. Likewise Tiberius his Decrees for the expulsion of counterfeit Mathematicians and Magicians. And Vlpian in his booke de Mathematicis and Maleficis, testifieth the publication of their goods, and their inhibition by the Emperours from communion with other Citizens so much as in fire or water. And as Reason, good Lawes, Kingdomes, Nations, and Commonweales have distinguished ingenuous, liberall, true and profitable Artes, and Sciences builded upon reason, trueth and understanding; from base, ignoble, vnprofitable, needlesse, curious, and erroneous Artes: so hath the holy Scripture both justified, sanctified, and commended the one, and condemned, and nominated with rebuke and shame the other. The first is evident, Exod. 3. verse 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. where Almighty God doeth testifie concerning the knowledge and skill of workmanship in gold, silver, and stone, that hee gave it by his Spirit unto Bezaleel, and Aholiab, who were workmen according to knowledge and understanding in that lawfull Art, profitable unto the building of Gods house. The second

Chapter 2

Page 22

is manifest, Actes 19. verse 19. where it is in their due commendations recorded, that those who before used and practised vaine and curious Arts, when they were by the preaching of the Apostles truly converted, in token of their undissembled repentance, they absolutely renounced and disclaimed their vaine learning, and openly burnt their bookes, though valued at an high rate and rich price. CHAP. II. That no knowledge can come unto man in any Art or Science, but by Sense or Reason, or likely and artificiall conjecture; is proved by the Science and Knowledge of Physike in stead of all other Arts and Sciences. NOW for the better impression of that which hath beene before said: that is, that nothing is or can bee detected, or is liable unto mans knowledge, which commeth not unto him by the helpe of Reason, the inward or the outward Sense, Demonstration, Ratiocination, or judicious and prudent Conjectation in reasonable likelihood: let us examine any one particular, ingenuous, liberall or lawfull Art or Science, in stead of many, and therein view, how by the former mentioned keyes, doores and entrances solely, are opened the wayes unto their contemplations, study, and perfect apprehension. And if one Art or Science may bee sufficient herein, I thinke it most fit to choose my owne, because as to my selfe most prompt; so unto any other not unprofitable. All diseases that happen unto the body of man are either outward or inward, and therefore either seene by the eye, and deprehended by the outward Sense, or conceived onely by Reason and the inward understanding. Inward diseases, and subject onely unto reason and understanding doe sometimes appeare clearely and certainly to reason and understanding; sometimes they doe not appeare certaine, or by certaine notes or signes, but by likely markes onely, which are the grounds of artificiall conjecture.

Page 23

And as some diseases are apparent to outward sense, some evident to inward reason, some by artificiall conjecture onely in learned, exact search and perquisition pursued unto their discovery: so also are many diseases hidden from all these wayes of investigation, and therefore remaine as remembrances of mans manifold ignorance in this life, and of the secret reservation of Gods decree and prohibition. As then in those diseases which are apparent unto sight, it is blindnesse in a Physicion to make question; in those which are evident to reason, to make doubt, is reasonlesse fatuitie; in those which

may be attained by artificiall conjectation, search or perquisition, either to be stacke, is sloth, or to bee unable, is insufficiencie: so in those diseases, which neither outward sense, nor inward reason, nor Art, nor artificiall conjecture can possibly discover; to hope or seeke beyond Sense and Reason, and reasonable likelihood, is reasonlesse and senselesse striving, and impatience of those bounds which God hath set to limit the curiositie of man. For better prooffe and illustration, it will not bee impertinent to nominate some particuler diseases in all these kinds. First for outward diseases, and such as are evident to outward sense, they are infinite. Who that is the least practised in Physicke, doeth not assuredly know, when, with his eyes hee doeth behold an inflammation, a Schirrus, a Gangrene, Cancer, Callus, Fistula, Ulcer, Leprofic, Psora, Struma, Petechia, Vatiola, Jaundes, Gout, Tabescence, Extenuation, and the like. Secondly, for inward diseases evident to reason; he that is least learned, doth know that all diseases which may be defined, must necessarily be evident to reason; as also, that it is not difficult to define innumerable diseases to him that is able to G1 conjoine with the part affected, the true immediate kinde of the affection. The stomacke ceasing her proper function of concoction, or deprived of appetite, doth it not thereby manifestly proove unto reason some inward ill affection therein? If with that ill affection bee joyned a manifest inward heate about the region of the stomacke, accompanied with -notes- G1 Genus morbi provimum, cum parte affecta coniunctum consttuit morbi speciem.

Page 24

an Ague, drinesse, thirst and other accidents, and consequences of heate, is not as plainely detected the kinde of the affection to be hot? Thus both the part affected, which is the stomacke apparently (because there the former accidents are found originally moving and first seated,) and also the ill affection (which by the manifest burning heate doth proove her kinde) being both conjoyned, doe truely define the disease to bee an inflammation of the stomacke. The like may bee saide of the inflammations of all other inward parts of Plurisies, Phrensies, inflammation of the Liver, Spleene, Wombe, Reines, Guts and other parts, the certaine testimonies of excessive heate giving demonstration of an inflammation, and the paine (or at least, some defect) or defection in the proper offices of the parts manifesting the parts themselves. As concerning inward inflammations of divers parts, so likewise of inward Ulcers, and other maladies may be instanced. The disease of the bladder is oft certainly knowne, by paine in the part, or by cessation of his proper functions, or defection therein, and the kinde of disease

therein by the excretions oft-times proceeding from it. And thus an Ulcer is oft discovered in the bladder, by paine, with purulent and sanguinolent miction. Diseases likewise of the head are certainly discovered and detected unto reason, by defects growing; sometimes in the understanding, sometimes in all those together, and sometimes in the general motion of the whole body. Diseases of the heart likewise, appeare by the evill and faulty motions of the pulse, by soundings and defections in livelihood of the spirits and vitall faculty. Diseases of the Wombe or Mother likewise doe oft demonstrate themselves by deprived or depraved motions. It were tedious to make a particular enumeration of all diseases of this kinde, which are in the same manner evident and apparent unto reason. Now let us briefly also consider some diseases, which are neither evident to Reason, nor manifest to Sense; but are gained, detected, and hunted out of their deepe and hidden

Page 25

coverts, by the quicke and exquisite sent of probable and artificiall conjecture; the necessity or use where of, either in an ambiguous complication of, doubtfull diseases, or in the extrication of any intricate single affection or malady, there is no man in Physicke exercised, who doth not dayly finde. Many examples of diseases of this kinde would cause the small body of this little worke voluminously to swell: we will therefore onely propose one. Let us suppose a sicke man, doubtfully and diversly with these accidents afflicted: namely, a contiouall fever, a cough, spitting of blood, shortnesse of winde, headache, deliration, want of sleepe, drinesse, thirst, paines in divers parts, sides, ribbes, backe and belly: What disease or diseases here are, can neither be manifest to sense, distracted in this confusion, multitude and concurrence of accidents; nor yet be evident to reason at the first view, because it requireth so different consideration, and devided contemplation of so many severals apart. Here then it remaineth, that learned, judicious, prudent, and disereete artificiall conjecture proceed exactly to distinguish and analise, as followeth. All the forenamed paines, distempers and accidents may indifferently arise, eyther from the Lungs inflamed, or the Liver, or the Midriff, or the Pleura; because any one of these by it selfe doth usually bring forth all, or most part of them. Heere then prudent, artificiall, and exquisite perpension doth exactly valew and esteeme all the different manners, quantities, qualities, positions and situations of paines; likewise accidents, motions, tines, manners of notion, characters, orders, and all other both substantiall and circumstantiall considerations. And first, as touching the fever,

head-ache, thirst, idleness of braine (because they are common to many other diseases besides these, and require no curious, but a more careless and common respect,) prudent and circumspect conjectation doth leave their needless confusion of more usefull and needfull persension, and doth more narrowly search about those accidents, which are more inseparable, proper and peculiar unto the diseases named, and by exact

Page 26

disquisition in their differences, doth notwithstanding fist out their hidden and secretly couched differences, by which, in exact view they are found and distinguished sufficiently differing. The inseparable accidents which doe peculiarly, or for the most part accompany the diseases before named, that is, the inflammation of the Lungs, the Liver, the Midriffe and the Pleura, are cough, shortnesse of winde, spitting of blood, paines about the ribbes, sides, belly, which in all these named diseases, more or lesse are present, either primarily, or by consent of one part with another. These, though seldome absent from most of the foure former diseases, and therefore not easily distinguished, when they proceede from th'one or th'other; yet rightly weighed, and accurately considered in their severall manners, measures, and right positions in every one, when apart and single, they doe likewise in their confused mixture one with another, yeeld distinct and severall difference to him, that in a judicious and discerning thought, doth beare their just distinctions apart. For illustration, spitting of blood is usually a companion to all, or most of the foure named diseases; but in one in lesse quantity, in another more; in one after one manner, in another after another; in one by vomiting, in another by expectoration, and in another by coughing; in one with much expuition, in another with little; in one with danger of strangulation and suffocation, in another without; in one with thicknesse, blacknesse, and small quantity of bloud, in another with thinnesse, brightnesse of colour, and more quantity; and in one of these also with lesse, and in another with more difficulty and labour. Shortnesse of winde, or difficulty of breathing, is a common companion to all the named diseases; but in one with frequent expuition, in another without, and where, with expuition, in one with more facility, in another with difficulty, in one with one manner of distension of the instruments of respiration, in another with another, in one kinde of difficulty of respiration more frequent, in another lesse, in one more grievous, in another tolerable.

Page 27

The like may be said of coughing, and paines. Coughing in one of the forenamed diseases is with much, in another with little, and in another with no expuition at all; in one continuall, in another with intermission; in one with intension, in another with remission; in one loud, in another still; and where, with expectoration, in one of one colour and quantity, in another of another, and in another of none at all; in one easie, gentle, free and without paine, in another, grievous and painfull; yea suffocatory, and neere to strangle. Paine likewise is a common companion to all the mentioned diseases; but distinguished in the one and the other, by the manner, nature, and situation of the severall parts, which apart is every one it possiseth, and also by the different oddes, fashions, and kindes of paine; some being sharp, some dull, some quicke, some slowe, some with distension, some with punction, some with heavinesse and sensible weight, some more grievous to the Patient lying, some to him sitting or standing, some more calme in one position of the body, and some in another. And thus prudent and skilfull conjecture, by due and diligent perpension, comparing together oddes, and exactly referring unto true discerning the severall properties and differences of accidents, their manner proportions, and other due circumstances, doth in the end reduce every accident to his right disease, and every disease to his right cause; whereby the prudent, and judicious Physician doth cleerly understand directly and timely to apply proper and pertinent remedies. And thus in doubtfull cases, which are neither evident to Reason, nor manifest to Sense in the Art and exercise of Physike, it is manifest how solert and accurate conjectation, through the clouds and mists of ambiguities, doth in the end so cleerly send forth and give so faire a light, that doubt it selfe doth become out of doubt, and is little inferiour unto certaine and plaine demonstration. As a short summe of all that hath been said, whatsoever hath beene declared of diseases, the same may bee propounded concerning their issues very briefly.

Page 28

The issues of all diseases are either informed from Sense, or evident by reason, or scrutible by artificiall conjecture. Examples of the first kinde are manifest, when with our eyes we behold the motion and Sense externall and other outward functions of the body, either abolished, or in an high degree deprived of their power and naturall use. This certaine testimony of our sight doth certainly informe the understanding, concerning the dangerous issue. Examples of the second kinde are manifest likewise, we finde either the causes of diseases vnremouably fixed, or the

disease it selfe rooted in the substance of any of the principall parts, or accidents in malignitie, vehemence, and fury irresistable. In these cases a doubtfull and hard issue is evident to Reason by just consequent. Examples of the latter kind are also apparent, when in diseases, good and evill signes are so doubtfully mixed, that some promise Life, others as much threaten Death: some in number discourage, other some in worth as much as incourage. We doe oft see and know in the midst of this mist and darknes, where there appeareth not to a common sense so much as the least shew of any indication of certaine issue; yet through the exquisitenesse of prudent and artificiall perpension, and due exact distir ction in the forementioned seeming inscrutable oddes; the learned Physicion even in the first scarce sensible budding of indication, and in the first most imperfect and scarce-being there of doth oft discover that true event, which usually and for the most part is seene and observed to come to passe. If any man not rightly apprehending reason, make a doubt or question of any such possible exquisitnes, let him consider and behold it by an easie example. In an inequality of one and the same Vermiculant pulse, where the beginning of the same distension is quicker, the next continuation or middle part isst ower, and the beginning of the end mereof, ending almost before it begin: it must needes be very difficult, nay, almost impossible unto the first view of Sense or Reason, or to a common judgement or learning,

Page 29

to divide really, and distinguish this one short small motion into two or three distinct times and parts of motion, the space so very short, the faculty of moving so low and weake, and the moving it selfe almost altogether in an insensible exiguitie, and an indivisible degree of lownesse. Wee see oft-times a common vulgar cannot in his reason conceive it, much lesse by his sense at all perceive it. Neither is it found easie to every man, though learned therein, yea, or educate thereto, either perfectly to apprehend the generall Idea of such a motion, or at all in the first proofes and tryals of his sense or hand to deprehend any particular. Notwithstanding, the Physicion that exquisitely discerneth and judgeth, doth both in reason see, that every single smallest motion, hath his divers distinct division of parts, and also by his discerning, wary, judicious and exercised touch, doth apartyly detect and discover it: And thus hath been proved by several instances taken in the art of Physicke, in steade of al other Arts and Sciences, for avoiding tediousnesse and confusion, that all knowledge, all Art, all Science whatsoever given unto man, hath no other entrance, meanes, or wayes

thereto, but thorow Sense or Reason, or prudent and artificiall conjecture, sagacitie and exquisitenesse of judging and discerning thereby. And that it may the better appeare, that beyond these waies and lights, the Physicion cannot finde any knowledge or discovery of Diseases: let us view some particular examples of some Diseases for this cause undiscoverable and not to be detected: and there with consider the impossibilitie of discovery to consist solely herein; namely, for that they are removed from any capacitie of Sense or Reason, and from the reach of all artificiall search, scrutiny and accurate insight derived from both, which is the highest straine of humane Understanding In the gene all it cannot be denied (except of such whose understanding are extremely blinde) that it is impossible, that those diseases should or can bee at all so much as suspected (and therefore much lesse knowne) which yeeld no shew, no signe, no indication of themselves. There

Page 30

needeth hereof no other, not better prooffe, then the enumeration of some particular diseases of this kinde. Are not divers secret and hidden Apostemations, and other inward collections of vicious matter in the body, dayly Seminaries of unexpected and wondred shapes of corruption and putrifaction, which lying long bidden in the body, and by an insensible growth taking deepe roote, in the end sodainely breake forth beyond all possible expectation, or thought of the most excellent, exquisite and subtill circumspection and disquisition? For a briefe confirmation hereof, Hollerius doth mention a man, the cause of whose disease while he lived, being unknowne to Physicions, and Art, aster his decease his guts were found gangrened and perished, and therein things viewed like unto Water-snakes, and his Liver full ofschirrose knots. There happened unto my selfe this yeare last past, a Patient, a very worthy Gentleman, who being extremely vexed with the Strangury, Disurie, and Ischurie together with pissing of blood in great abundance, and the stone, by the use and accomodation of remedies, found much ease, mitigation of paines, and qualification of the extremitie of all the former accidents. Notwithstanding, for that there were certaine indications of an Ulcer in the body or capacitie of the Bladder, his recoverie was not expected, but after his decease, in the dissection of his body, his Bladder was found rotten, broken and black, without any manifest matter therein as cause thereof, or so much as one stone, although hee had for merly and immediately before avoided many stones at severall times. This I produce, being fresh in memory, as an instance of impossibilitie of knowledge unto a Physicion in many and frequent cases. For

how could the fracture or colour of his Bladder, while the Patient was living, by any exquisitenesse of Art or understanding, be knowne in any possibilitie, meanes, or power of man, although all the other accidents above mentioned, were undoubtedly, by certaine indications and signes discovered? I might here deliver many other like Examples

Page 31

out of mine owne knowledge; I will onely call to remembrance one more. I was of late yeares Physicion unto a right Noble Lady; the cause of whose apparent dangerous estate, divers learned and famous Physicions conioyned with my selfe, could never discover. In the dissection of her body after her decease, her heart was found inclosed with a shining rotten gelly, and the very substance of the heart of the same colour. In the same Lady, an intolerable paine about the bottome of her stomack, by fits deprived her of all ease by day, and of rest by night, and could never be either knowne in the cause, or remooved in the accident by any meane or remedy: but after death, in the dissection of her body before mentioned, a black round gelly as bigge as a Tenice ball, did manifest it selfe in that place, where, in her life, the intolerable paine was seated and fixed. Of this evill discoloration of her heart, of the matter and evill colour of that matter wherewith her heart was invironed; as also of that collected gelly in her stomacke, what possible knowledge (thinke you) or exquisite understanding, or art of man could ever in her life time give any notice or information? Like unto this is that which Hollerius in the 21. of his rare observations doth mention. In a sicke man perplexed in an strange manner from an unknowne cause in his life, after his death his liver and epiploon did appeare corrupted and putrified, his stomacke toward the bottome bruised and full of blacke juice or humour. Christophorus Schillinous, opening the body of a childe after death, reporteth, that hee saw in the small veines, running thorow the substance of the liver, many small scrawling wormes then living. Benivenius doth make mention of a woman tormented grievously by a needle in her stomack, which was impossible by any art or exquisitnesse of understanding to bee conceived or suspected, if nature it selfe working it out thorow the body and substance of the stomacke, unto the outward view and Sense, had not so discovered

Page 32

it. I will not here mention the generation of wormes, stones, and the like in the guts, gall, heart, longs and other parts, of which no Art, or excellence of knowledge can possibly take notice, untill

they haue proved themselves unto the fight. Many diseases of these kindes being fearefull and terrible accidents, and afflictions unto the body, yet for the most part are never detected; because they have not onely no proper true certaine likely, but no possible meanes or way of indication or notice at all, in any reason or understanding of humane Art or Science; without which the most exquisite and Scientificall Clarkes are altogether disabled, and must necessatily bee ignorant. Thus hath beene at large manifested, that nothing can bee unto the Physician in his Art and Science knowne, which either by outward Sense or inward is not apparent, or by likely and artificiall conjecture from both, is not detected or discerned. The like might bee urged concerning the trials of Lawe and Justice, and inquisitions of offences and errors against the Law, which are the diseases of a Common-weale, as the former of the body of man. Many offences against the Lawe are apparent unto the outward Sense, as sight or hearing: and therefore being witnessed by hearers or beholders, are without doubt or difficultie immediately dispatched, sentensed, and adjudged. Many also are evident to reason, which therefore are held and reputed invincibly and infallibly to convince. Many offences also there are, neither manifest to Sense, nor evident to reason, against which only likelihood and presumptions doe arise in judgement; whereby notwithstanding, through narrow search and fisting, strict examination, circumspect and curious view of every circumstance, together with every materiall moment and oddes thorowly, and unto the depth and bottome by subtill disquisition fadomed, the learned, prudent, and discerning judge doeth ost detect and bring unto light many hidden, intestine, and secret mischiefes, which unsensibly and unobservedly would otherwise oppresse and subvert the Common-weale. When

Chapter 3

Page 33

by none of these wayes of extrication the trueth can possibly be gained, the wise and upright judge unto necessitie in want of due warrant unto just proceeding, doeth with patience and sobrietie submit. For this cause (as may be seene upon records) many cases justly necessarily and unauoidably stand perpetually inscrutable, undecided and never determined, as certaine proofes and evidences of the limitation and annihilation of mans knowledge in many things of this life: Almightye God oft-times decreeing to hide some trueth from the sight of man, and detaining it in his owne secret will and pleasure. CHAP. III. Whether Witch-craft have any other wayes or meanes of investigation, then these before mentioned, and what is the true

investigation. IT hath beene at large before declared, how God and Nature have limited and confined all knowledge of man, within certaine wayes and bounds, out of which, and beyond which it cannot passe; as also for that cause, that no justifiable Art or true Science whatsoever, doeth or can exceed those restraints. There have bin also divers examples produced of the necessitie of mans ignorance, in the impossibilitie of much knowledge, and discovery of things hidden and inhibited by the just and unsearchable decrees of God and Nature. It remaineth now to enquire concerning our particular subject of Witch-craft, whether in the common way of all other detections of trueths, it ought likewise consist; or whether by it selfe it have other privileges beyond all other trials. If reason be the sole eye and light of naturall understanding which God hath given unto reasonable man (as is before proofed.) If without it can be no naturall knowledge, no Art, no Science, no discovery. If Law among all people and nations be so just in all things, as to doe or allow nothing against true reason (in

Page 34

which consisteth right.) If God himselfe, and all flourishing Common-weales have tyed men and Lawes, and the decision by them of all doubts, questions and controversies, either unto right prooffe, evidence and allegation, according unto reason, or at least, faire likelihood, presumption, and probabilitie; and beyond these there never was, is, or can bee any just iudgement or triall: How is it possible that man can attaine any knowledge of Witch-craft, if not by those meanes, by which onely his nature is capable of whatsoever is allotted to bee knowne thereto? If this bee infallibly true, man must either by the former common wayes of knowledge and detection, know likewise and detect Witch-craft, or else bee altogether ignorant thereof; whereof the contrary by dayly experience is manifest. It may bee and is objected, that it is a hard and difficult matter to detect Witch-craft, by the former and ordinary coutses, as is oft seene and found apparent. So is it likewise equally difficult, and as hard by the same meanes oft times, for many a just man to proove and cleere his opposed innocency, and for many an iniuriously wronged wretch to proove his right, to defend his goods, yea, life it selfe from violence; notwithstanding, this is no allowance unto another way, no reason or justification of any unwarranted way, or way out of the way of Reason, Justice, and Law, bee his burden never so importable, or his injury exceeding crueltie. For, if God had allowed unto men alwayes smooth, assured, certaine and infallible wayes unto the satisfaction of their wants, and the accomplishment of their intentions and desires without failing;

what would become of Religion, Vertue, and Wisedome? Then should every man be alike wise, and men would bee so confident in their owne strength and power, and so proud, that they would forget God and never thinke of the Almighty. If the meanes and wayes unto all knowledge, and the information of our desires and affections, did meete with no impediment, no opposition, no contradiction, no casualty to intercept, and

Page 35

all things should prosperously succeed unto our meanes and endeavours, there would never bee any use of Patience, Temperance, or dependance upon the divine providence; and consequently, little acknowledgement, and lesse worship and adoration of our Creator, who according to his wisdome, good will and pleasure, doth otherwise governe, guide, order and dispose all things. For if unto our supposed needfull ends, uses and necessary desires were certaine and uncontroled wayes, nothing impossible, nothing denied; then were our lust a Lawe, and man in no power but in his owne, in no awe, in no Law, in no rule. Therefore Almighty God in his great and unspeakeable Wisdome hath subjected vaine man, and made his pride subject to infinite creatures, limits, restraints, coertions, thereby to teach him true wisdome, pietie, trust, dependance, worship, and adoration of his all-restraining and allimiting unlined power. Man therefore must thereby learne to be contented so to know, as therewith to learne to know himselfe; that is, with his large portion, his lot, his manifold indowments, his excellencie of Sense, Reason, Understanding, Prudence, Art, not to forget or spurne at their interdictiones, prohibitions, and injoynd lifts, beyond which to desire to know, is curiositie, is solly: Sapientia, vera nolle nimis sapere, saith the Poet. It is true Wisdome, not to bee too wise: that is, not to know, nor desire to know more then is allowed or needfull: needfull, not in our desires, but Gods Decree. Here then let me intreat reasonable men, not too much (as is usuall) to swell with indignation, or to be puffed with impatience, where God doth not apertly reveale and plainely (as they desire and thinke needfull) the subtill engines, and mysticall craft of the Divell in the Machinations of Witches and Sorcerers; but soberly, modestly, and discretely, so farre forth be contented to pursue the tryall and just way of their discovery, as with sense, with reason, with Religion is just and righteous, knowing that whatsoever is beyond these lists, is reasonlesse, senselesse, and impious.

Page 36

For since God and Nature (as is before said) hath limited the scrutinie of all true Arts, and Sciences, all naturall knowledge for discoverie of controversies and resolutions unto the lights of Reason and Sense, and artificiall conjecture, prudence, Art, Sagacitie, and subtiltie of understanding derived from thence; unto what other barre or seate of Justice can Witch-craft appeale or be brought? It may be objected, the Art of Witch-craft, being supernaturall, and the practice thereof sustained by an extraordinary power; that therefore the meanes and wayes of discoverie must bee likewise more then ordinary and supernaturall. Hereto is truely answered, that since the nature and power of Spirits is unknowne unto man (as all things supernaturall) and can bee, and is no otherwise knowne, but by examining the workes issuing from thence, and comparing them aright with that which is naturall (because man in his Reason and understanding cannot discern that which is truely transcending his Nature, otherwise, then observing how farre it exceedeth that which is according to Nature:) therefore (I say) the workes of the Divell, or Witches, though sustained and produced by a supernaturall power, yet can have no other way for their detection by man, but that which is ordinary unto man, and naturall and possible unto man; for that which is above or beyond his power, or Nature, is not his owne. From hence must necessarily be concluded, that there is no other ordinary way unto man (who knoweth or can know nothing but that is naturall) unto the discoverie of that is supernaturall, but that way which is likewise naturall. Although therefore the subject of Witch-craft require a greater measure of knowledge to discern that which is therein really, and truely supernaturall, from that which in nature oft times hath a very great likeness, and a deceiveable similitude therewith: yet is the way unto that knowledge, the common high way which conducteth unto all other knowledge whatsoever. And that this also is the same way and direction,

Page 37

which the holy Scripture it selfe doeth intend, for the discovery of witches, and their sentensing is manifest. Num. 39.30. Deut. 17 6. and 19. 15. Matth. 18. 16. Iohn 8. 17. 2. Corinth. 13. I. Hebr. 10. 28. In these named places it is required, that no man bee judged in matter of weight, or death, but by the testimony of two witnesses, at the least. Witch-craft therefore being a matter, both of weight, and death, cannot according unto Gods word, bee judged but by testimony of witnesses: whatsoever is witnessed, must necessarily bee subject to sense, since no man can witnesse ought, whereof there is not sense. From hence then it is inevitably concluded, that the workes of Witches, are no

other way to bee discerned, or judged, but by the common way of discovery, by deedes, and workes apparent to sense, and the testimony thereof. Let men then bee perswaded and contented (since God hath allotted, and allowed unto the nature and power of man no other way) in this onely warranted true way to seeke the discovery, to finde the footing, path, and steppings of Witch-craft, as of all other things, which by the Decree of God are revealed unto man, and subject unto the knowledge of man. It may bee here demanded, whether Almighty God doth not extraordinarily, and miraculously at some time discover this so abominable sinne of Witch-craft, as well as by ordinary meanes leave it unto discoverie? This doubt shall more fitly in more due place be hereafter at large discoursed. It hath now beene here manifested, that there is or can bee no other ordinary tryall of Witch-craft, then that which is common unto all other detections of trueth: and also that all detections subject unto the discoverie of man (as hath beene before cleared) are drawne and derived either from Sense or Reason, or likely probability raised from both. Before I doe proceed farther, for his more facill understanding, I doe admonish the Reader, that hee distinguish, what is meant by the supernaturall workes; namely, whatsoever is effected, in, upon, or by any corporall substances,

Chapter 4

Page 38

or sublunarie bodies, which is above the nature, and power of those bodies, or sublunarie substances. They are not supernaturall, in regard of those spirituall substances, which are the proper agents, and unto whom such workes, are no more then naturall; but in regard of those bodily substances, upon which, in which, or by which, those spirituall substances doe worke, as meereley their patients, and being in themselves, or owne nature deprived of any such possibilitie. CHAP. IIII. Of the workes of Witches and Divels. BEfore wee proceed further to treat concerning mater of Witch-craft, according to the former waies of discovery and investigation: it will be needfull to distinguish who is the true Author, cause, and immediate workman of the supernaturall workes which by Sorcery and Witch-craft are compassed or brought to passe. All created substances indowed with powers and vertue from God their Creator, are either bodily, or corporall substances, or spirituall, or mixt and betweene both. Bodily and corporall substances are the heavens, the celestiall bodies of the Starres, of the Sunne, of the Moone; the bodies of the elements, and all elementarie substances from them derived and composed. Spirituall substances are either Angels, or Divels, or soules of men after

death, separated from their bodies. Mixed substances, partly Spirituall, partly bodily, are mankinde compounded of a naturall body, and understanding soule. Hence it commeth to passe, that man by his understanding Spirit, doth together with Angels, Spirits, and Divels, participate and understand many things; as the Scripture revealed; the History and Creation of the whole world; many truths of God; the grounds of Reason; the principles

Page 39

of Nature; many generall rules and observations, and infinite particular objects of many things past, present, and to come. But for that this understanding Soule is depressed, and imprisoned in this life by the body, by the passions, diseases, and manifold incumbrances thereof, and cannot extend or inlarge it selfe further unto any portion of knowledge, then thorow the narrow windowes, closures, parts and organs of the body: therefore must necessarily the knowledge of man be much inferiour unto that measure of knowledge, which Spirits, being of a more subtile essence, and free from the burden and incumbrance of an earthly tabernacle or prison, doe in a more large extent enjoy. As is said of the difference of knowledge in Spirits, beyond the power and nature of man: so may be said from the same reason of the difference of the workes of spirits, farre inlarging and extending their vertue and power, beyond the power and force of men. The workes of men, are confined within the power and nature of these sublunarie bodies, unto which they are annexed, and tyed. The workes of Spirits are limited to no corporall substance or body, but spaciouly compasse the whole and uniuersall body of the sublunary or inferiour world (as the Diuell doth witness of himselfe, Iob 1. verse 7.) and are not tied unto any particular place, but rule generally therein, and in all places by the permission of God, as is evident, Eph. 2. ver. 2. where the Diuell is called the Prince that ruleth in the ayre, even the Spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience: and likewise, Ephes. 6. verse. 12. where he is called the Prince of darknesse of this world. From these undoubted grounds, it is necessarily inferred, that both all knowledge exceeding the knowledge of man, must needs issue from the knowledge of Spirits, and also that all workes exceeding and transcendent, above the power and nature of corporall substances, must necessarily

Page 40

be the force of Spirits. It may now be demanded, how the workes of good Spirits shall be knowne and distinguished from the workes of evill Spirits and divels, since both their workes proceede from the same nature, substance, and spirituall

essence common unto them both. This shall appeare by the consideration of the orders and sorts of good Spittits, expressed in holy Scripture, and their properties, besides which, all other are necessarily evill, and therefore divels; like unto whom likewise, by inst consequent must be their workes, the one reciprocally G1 discovering the other. All good Spirits are either Angels and Messengers of God, specially sent with his holy embassage, to speciall holy men, for speciall holy ends; as was the Seraphin sent unto Isaiah, the 6. Chapter, verse 6. and as were the Angels unto the Shepherds, when our Saviour was borne, or as were the Angels which were sent unto the Patriarches of olde, or els tutelar Angels, ordinarily commanded to guide, protect, and defend the Elect and chosen children of God, as is manifest both by the testimony of our Saviour, Math. 18. verse. 10. See that you despise not (saith our blessed Saviour) one of these little ones: For I say unto you, that in heaven their Angels alway behold the face of my Father, which is in heaven. And by that Text also, Heb. 1. vers. 14. Are they not all ministring Spirits (saith the Apostle, speaking of Angels) sent forth to minister for their sakes, who shall be heires of salvation? Beside these orders of good and holy Spirits, neither hath the holy Scripture, neither hath the light of reason, or nature, or observation, knowne or discovered any other. All the workes like wise and employments of these good Spirits, are all and ever observed to be like themselves, holy, good, freely serving and ministring unto the expresse will, knowne and undoubted pleasure of Almighty God, as is certainly confirmed, Psal. 103. verse 20. Praise ye the Lord (saith the Psalmist) ye his Angels that excell in power, that doe his commandements in obeying the voyce of his word. -notes- G1 Angeli boni non possunt peccare, confirmati per gratiam. Angeli mali, per malitiam obstinati non possunt bene velle Magist, Sent, dist. 7. lib. 2.

Page 41

All workes therefore or effects issuing from Spirits, that cannot bee proved and manifested to be first commanded by G1 God; secondly, tending solely to the execution of his will; and thirdly, are not contained in one of the foure first mentioned offices and administrations of Spirits, they are all certainly and assuredly to be suspected as workes of divels and evill spirits, whom God doth permit (as saith S. Augustine in his 3. Booke de Trinitate) to bring to passe such workes of theirs, partly to deceive those wicked, which God in judgement hath given over to be deceived of divels; partly, to quicken and stirre up the godly and holy man, and to trie and prove him thereby, as hee did his faith-full servant Iob. Now for a more distinct cleerenesse and light unto

the prooffe of these suspected workes of divels, it is very profitable, necessary and pertinent, that we consider their kinds, which are two. The first kinde is of such supernaturall workes as are done by the divell solely and simply to his owne ends or use, without any reference or respect to any contract or covenant with man. The second kinde is of such transcendent workes, as are done with a respect or reference unto some contract or covenant with man. In the first, the divell is solely G2 an Agent for himselfe, without the consent or knowledge of man. In the second, the supernaturall and transcendent workes are truly, essentially, and immediatly from the divels; also (because out of the reach or power of any command of man simply) yet therein man hath a property and interest by covenant and contract, and derivation thereof from the divell, which is truly and solely Sorcerie, and Witch-craft: for since supernaturall workes are onely proper to a Spirit, and above the nature and power of man, they cannot truly and properly bee esteemed his; and therefore it is not the supernaturall work it selfe, but mans contract and combination therein with the divell, his consent and allowance thereof, that doth make it his, and him a Witch, a Sorcerer, which is a G3 contracter -notes- G1 Boni Angeli difficile cóparent, nec nisi summi Dei jussa copessunt Fernel, de Abd Rer. Caus.lib.1.ca. 11. G2 Inter maleficium and merum Diaboli opus distinguitur. Binsfeldius Explicat, in prælud. 5. Vt fiat maleficium hæc tria concurrunt, nempe Deus permittens, Diaboli potestas, hominis malefici voluntas libere consentiens Binsfeldius de confess, Sagar. G3 Tacite invocatur Dæmon quoties quis contendit illud facere per causas naturales quæ nec vittute sua naturali neque ex divina aut ecclesi stic a possunt id facere. Binsfeldius.

Chapter 5

Page 42

with the divell. Now let us proceed to consider how these supernaturall workes in the former severall kinds are or may be detected, some by Reason, some by Sense; wherein I intreat he Reader to understand supernaturall workes or acts not as absolutely or simply above nature in generall (since nothing created can so be) but respectively above nature or in respect of this or that particular nature. CHAP. V. The workes of the Divell by himselfe, solely wrought without the association of man. IT is not destitute of easie prooffe, that there are many supernaturall workes of the divell manifest to sense, wherein man doth not participate in knowledge, contract or consent with him. Did not the Divell in the body of a Serpent miraculously G1 reason, dispute, speake and conferre with Eua, Gen. 3? Was not his

speech and voice undoubtedly, manifestly, perceptibly, and truly heard, and sounding in her eares? There then was no man as yet borne that could combine with the divell in this supernaturall worke, or that could then be found a Witch, Likewise, was not the Divels carriage of the body of our Saviour, and setting it upon a pinnacle of the Temple, manifest to the eye? Was not the fire which the divell G2 brought down from heaven in so miraculous manner, and in so extraordinary power to deucure so many thousands of Jobs sheepe, truly visible? The Messenger escaping to bring the tydings doth witness it. Was not the power of the divell seene at such time, as in the Gospell he carried whole herds of swine headlong into the Sea? Was not the Divell seene to rend and teare the bodies of men by him possessed, in an extraordinary and supernaturall manner and sort, Marke the first, Luke 4. Mith. 17. Marke the ninth? Was not the very voice of a Spirit heard and distinguished, when the divell in so fearefull and merveilous manner cryed out in the possessed, Math. 8. Mark. 5. Luke 8? Did not the people behold the miraculous force of the -notes- G1 Instrumentum diaboli Serpens. Tremelius. Iunius The Serpent did verily speake. It was a true Serpent not a shadow. The divell spake in the serpent as the Angel in the Asse. Dr. Willet. G2 Job. 1. ver. 16.

Page 43

divell casting the possessed into the midst of them, Luk. 4. 33. 34, 35? Did not the people heare and behold a soule Spirit crying aloud, and in an admittable power and manner coming out of the possessed, Marke 1. 24, 25, 26, 26? All these were workes supernaturall of the divell, and manifest to outward sense; yet no mention, no suspicion, no reason of mention, or suspicion of a Witch or Sorcerer: wherein therefore the divell alone was sole Agent. But it may be objected, that these examples out of the holy Scriptures are recorded as things specially seene, or noted in some speciall ages and times, which after-times and other ages doe not, or cannot afford. The contrary is manifest by the faithfull histories and true reports of Ethnicke writers, who living in distant ages, do not differ in the true consent and harmony of the same report, concerning the same things, as they have succeeded in their severall ages. It is not incredible, but certaine unto any common Reader, what divers authors of approved faith and credit, in severall ages have written: how the divell not onely out of the bodies and severall parts, G1 a part of the bodies of men have uttered words, and spoken with the voice of men, even as in the Gospell he did out of the possessed; but also out of trees, caues of earth, images and statues. The first is evident by the generall report from one succeeding age unto

another, concerning the Pythons Pythonici [Greek omitted] Ventriloqui, and the like. The second was never hid many hundreth of yeares, for many ages long before the birth of our blessed Saviour, as is apparent by the famous Oracle of Delphes, the Oake of Dodona, the Statue of Memnon. Petriss Gregorius Tholosanus, in his Syntagma Juris, reciteth this history concerning certaine statues at Alexandria, that they did fall unto the ground sudainly, and with an audible voice declared the death of Mauricius the Emperour, even at the same moment and point of time when he was then slaine at Rome. As the Divell doth shew himselfe by voices and sounds in trees, caues, statues, and the like: so doth he in divers other outward shapes and formes of other creatures. -notes- G1 Oracula edita sunt per pudenda puellæ. Mornæus de verit, Rel cap. 23. Ex Diodoro.

Page 44

Thus he appeared unto Eva, and spake unto her in the shape of a Serpent aforesaid. Of his appearance in divers other formes likewise are many Testimonies. Neither doe Philosophers differ or doubt herein. Aritstotle in his Metaphysickes hath these words. [Greek omitted]. That is, substances are called simple bodies, as water, earth, fire and the like, and things compounded thereof, as living creatures and spirits: which is so farre forth to be understood of spirits, as they were in assumed shapes visible. Orpheus doth number fixe kinds of these visible divels or spirits. [Greek omitted], That is, Spirits inhabiting the heavenly regions, Spirits ruling in the ayre, in the water, in the fire, in the earth, and under the earth. The Spirits in the Aire Plate saith, are presidents of divination, of miracles, and of Chaldaike Magicke. The Spirits in the earth, and under the earth are such as appeare in the shape of Dogges, and Goates, and the like, mooving men unto soule and unlaw full lusts as Janus Jacobus Boissardus in his tractate de Magia and genijs doth testifie. The same Authour unto this purpose citeth Saint August. lib. 2. Super Genesim ad literam, confirming that Spirits doe use the helpe of Aerie bodies or substances that they may appeare unto men. Unto this opinion of the apparitions of Spirits variety of story likewise doth bring forth faith and credit. I will not mention the apparition which happened unto Athenodorus the Philosopher reported by Pliny, nor Brutus his Genius after the death of Iulius Casar, appearing and speaking unto him, nor those representations, which in the shape of men appeared unto Lucius Domitius, returning toward Rome as Suetonius reporteth, adding for confirmation of truth in the Historie, that the apparition touching his beard, it instantly changed from the former perfect blacke unto a lively yellow, and thereupon he was afterward sirnamed

Oenobarbus. I will not farther cite ancient times herein. Let us come unto later daies and writers. It is reported

Page 45

by Iohn de Scres the French Chronicler, that the late renowned K. of France, Henry the 4. being in his hunting sports, a Divell or Spirit presented unto the Kings eares and his whole company, a great cry of hounds, and winding of hornes. The King commanded Count Soissons to goe see who it was, wondering who durst interrupt his game. The Earle still issuing forward toward the noise, still heard it, but seemed nothing neerer unto it, though desiring to come neere unto it. At length a bigge blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, and speaking unto the Earle some few words, sudainly vanished. There could be no deceit in so many eares and witnesses, nor can the objection of a meere imagination stand uncontroled of the just reproofe of want of wit and good manners, in doubt or deniall of so faire and so well advised due testimonies. Master Fox, in the life of Martin Luther, doth relate the apparition and conference of the Divell with a yong man; who upon contracts agreed betweene the Divell and himselfe, delivered unto the Divell his bond for conditioned performances. Speede in his Chronicle, and relation of the passage of many affaires, within the time of Henry the 4. doth make mention of the apparition of the Divell in the habite of a Minorite Fryer at Danbury Church in Essex, with such thundring, lightning, tempests, and fire-balls, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away. I will not further recite infinite Histories and Reports, which may seeme to depend upon the obscure or doubted credit of superstitious factions, or partiall Authors, but of such onely as by the common consent of times, and generall voice of all Writers, exact credit and esteeme. In this kinde what a multitude of Examples doth the whole current and streame of all Writers of all ages afford? Who almost that readeth any ancient classically Author, can

Page 46

avoyde the common mention of fained gods, G1 and goddesses of the field, of the woods, of the mountaines, of houses, of desarts, of Rivers, of springs, and the like, offering themselves unto men and people, sometimes in one shape, sometimes in another; requiring worship, ceremonies and rites; some in one manner, some in another; doing strange and admired workes oft-times, sometimes pleasantly encountring people, sometimes menacing? Hereupon grew the multitude and varietie of names given unto them, according to the severall manners, shapes, gestures, and

places which they used; as G2 Fauni, Satyri, Nymphæ Empusa, Lemares. All Christians, who know God, his word, and truth, and thereby beleve one onely true God, must needs assure themselves that all these were evill Spirits, and Divels. G3 That such were, all times, ages, histories, and records of times with one uniuersall consent confirme. That they were manifestly seene, knowen, and familiarly by the outward senses discerned and distinguished, cannot bee denied, by the severall descriptions of their manners, assumed shapes and gestures. And thus briefly avoiding the tediousnesse of the multitude of uncertaine particular examples given by private men, I have by undoubted and uncontrolled references unto ages and successions of continued histories from one unto another manifested, how among the heathen, the Divell hath apparently offered himself unto the outward sense, without the association of a Witch or Sorcerer: Which was likewise before proofed by instances out of the holy Scripture. In all these the Divell hath affected to G4 counterfeit the apparitions of the blessed Angels of God unto his holy servants, thereby to make himselfe like or equal unto God in ignorant and unbeleeuing hearts. -notes- G1 Vide Platonem in Epinomide de viribus and potestatibus Heroum, quos Latini Lemures dixerunt. De Geniis item diis and dæmonibus promiscue in c lo, terra, and singulis mundi regionibus distributis vide in Politico. Vide Platonem 4. De legibus. Quos ibi Plato promiscue Dæmones appellat, Latini his nominibus, and quibusdam officiis distinxerunt. G2 Fauni Sylvani Incubi Dusii Dæmones fuere. August De Civit Dei. Diabolus, Dei æmulus quo se fallaci similitudine insinuet in animos simplicium. G3 Clavin. Lib I. G4 Instit. Cap. 8. Sect. 2

Page 47

Workes dene by the Divell, with respect unto Covenant with Man. IT now followeth to give examples of such supernaturall workes as are offered by the Divell, wherein man hath an interest and propertie by contract with the Divel; as also to shew that these workes are manifest in like manner unto the outward sense. Unto this prooffe out of holy Scripture, behold the Witch of Endor. Did not Saul contract with her, and she promise unto Saul to bring up Samuel unto him? Did not Saul see the vision raised by her, or at least speake thereto, and receive answer there-from, I. Sam-28.8? were not then his eyes and eares (those two outward senses) certaine witnesses of her Sorcerie? Behold also the Sorcerers of Egypt. Did not Pharaob see and view with his eyes those great and mighty Sorceries, water turned into blood, rods into Serpents, Frogges caused to issue out upon the face of the earth? And as the holy Scripture doth afford us these

examples, so are the histories of all ages, people, and countries, fraught with the like as manifest to sense as these, and as apparently detecting and pointing out the Sorcerer and Sorcery. Liuy reporteth, in those ancient dayes of Rome, that the Romane Claudia, a vestall Virgin, did shew her selfe in act, able alone with ease and facilitie to draw a mighty ship by a small line or girdle, which was in the weight and greatnesse unmovable, against the force and power of many strong men, assisted by the strength of cattell accustomed to draw mighty and heavy burdens. That this was an act supernaturall, and above, and beyond any naturall vertue or force in her Nature, is madnesse to doubt. That in this supernaturall act also, she had a propertie by her allowance and likeing

Page 48

thereof, expressed by her voluntarie action of undertaking and drawing; who can make doubt? The act was supernaturall, and about her power and nature: her good will, allowance, and voluntary putting the act in practice, did prove her consent, if not contract, with that power and nature superiour unto her owne, which is undoubtedly, Sorcery, and Witch-craft. To this purpose, saith Binsfieldius, Explicat. in prælud. 5. *Requiritar in maleficio hominis libera voluntas quam Diabolus non potest cogere, sed persuadere tantum aut terrere.* That is, in Witch-craft necessarily the will, or consent of man, must concur with the Divels worke, for the Divell cannot force, or compell the will of man, but perswadeth it onely, or affrighteth it. And againe hee faith, that whosoever doeth pretend to doe those things, which are above the power, and reach of man, by any naturall causes, which causes are allowed no such effects, either in nature, or in Gods word, or by any ordinance of his Church, that man doeth closely, or tacitly invoke the Divell. Quoties (inquit) quis contendit illud facere, per causas naturales, quæ nec virtute sua naturali, neque ex divina aut Ecclesiastica possunt illud facere, Tacitè in vocatur Dæmon. Tuccia also a vestall Virgin, is reported by mumbling of a certaine prayer, to keepe water within a sive, or a riddle, as witnesseth not onely Pliny, but even Tertullian. G1 Camerarius maketh mention of a man, who armed onely with certaine charmes, would undertake to receive upon his body, without harme, bullets, or shot out of the fiery Cannon. He maketh also mention of another, who would undertake to lay his hand upon the mouth of the like instrument, even when the fire was alreadie given, and thereby cause the flame appearing in the mouth thereof, together with the shot there, to stay. The like is reported by Janus, Jacobus, Boissardus, concerning a Germane Count in his booke de Divinatione. It is related upon good record,

that Decius Actius the Augur, was able to report unto Tarquinius the Romane King, the -notes- G1 De divinal generibus. pag. 118.

Page 49

very particular which he intended, and prepared in his most secret designes. It is written of the Euthusiastes, or Prophetesses of Diana in Castabala, a towne of Cilvia, that they would walke usually, and voluntarily, with naked and bare feet, upon hot burning coales, without any hurt, or alteration by the fire. It is recorded concerning Pythagoras, that hee would by certaine secret words, compell a seeding Oxe, Bullocke, or the like, immediately to stand still, and forbear his meat. Others report of him, that he would command wild beasts, and Birds, Beares, and Eagles, to come unto him, to grow tame, to follow him. It is credibly reported of the same Pythagoras, that hee was at once by severall parties scene, in the very same point of time, both in the Citie of Thurium, and the towne of Metapontum. Apollonius likewise was translated, as it were, in the twinkling of an eye, or in the space of a word speaking from Smyrna, unto Ephesus, as some Histories report. That the power by which these things were done, was more then humane, no Reason can doubt. That also the voluntary accession of these mens disposing, or apting themselves unto these workes, doeth proove their consent, and by consent in consequence of reason, societie with a Spirit, who can doubt? And for this cause, Binsfieldius termeth it a tacit contract, as is aforesaid. But here by the way, is just occasion offered unto a question; namely, whether a Spirit or Divell can cause or bring to passe, that the same true body at once may bee really in two distant places, as it seemeth by this history of Pythagoras. The answer hereto must needes in reason bee negative; because it is impossible in nature, and in the ordinary unchangeable course of all things by God created, that one individuall and continued substance, or entire thing should be wholly divided from it selfe, and yet be it selfe, or possibly be twice, or bee in two places, and yet bee but one and the selfe same thing. We must therefore rather here thinke that the divell is a

Page 50

Juggler, presenting the lively shape and portraiture of Pythagoras in one place, and thereto haply by his supernaturall power, adding a counterfeit livelihood of speech and gesture, while the true substance is certainly and truly seen in another place. That these like practises are usuall with the divell, is apparent in many other kinds beside. Did hee not undertake, Math, 4. verse 8. unto wisdom it selfe our blessed Saviour, to

shew unto him all the Kingdomes of the earth, a thing so farre out of his reach and compasse, but only by a lying and juggling vision? If this he doeth unto the Sonne of God, how shall the silly sonnes of sinfull men escape? It is written by some Authers, that the divell hath perswaded some foolish Sorcerers and Witches, that hee hath changed their bodies and substances, into Cattes, Asses, Birds, and other creatures, which G1 really and indeed without illusion (if it be not presumption to reason with the Diuell) is impossible unto him to doe. For there can bee no reall or true matamorphosing of one substance or nature into another, but either by creation or generation. The one is the sole immediate hand of God, communicable to no creature (because there cannot be two Creators) the other is naturall, the fingerworke and power of God in nature, and proper to the nature of living animate creatures, not to Angels or Spirits. Againe, creation is the worke of an infinite power, and therefore of God alone, because there can be but one Infinite, whose nature containing all things, and contained of nothing, can admit no equall, no second, no other. The Divell then cannot create. That likewise he cannot cause these transmutations by generation, is as plaine and evident, because a true and reall generation hath many precedent G2 alterations, and by little and little in space of time groweth unto the perfection of that kinde, unto which it doth tend or is begotten; but these seeming transmutations by the Divell of the substances of Men into Cattes, and the like, are swift and sodaine, in a moment, and without preparation: - notes- G1 Transformationes in cattos aut lapos phantastice et per præstigias et non realiter fiunt. August. de Civit. Dei cap, 18. G2 Generatio non est nisi in tempore idg; apparata materia per antecessionem mutat onis, quam Græci [Greek omitted] recen tiotes Ciceroniá malverunt cómutationem. Scal. de sobr. exercit, 6, sect. 14.

Page 51

and therefore are no true, but seeming and juggling transmutations. Here may be againe objected, that the Divell is able to worke above the power of Nature; and therefore beside and above the naturall course of generation, bee is able to make these reall transmutations. It is answered, though the divell indeed, as a Spirit, may doe, and doth many things above and beyond the course of some particular natures: yet doth bee not, nor is able to rule or command over generall Nature, or infringe or alter her inviolable decrees in the perpetuall and never-interrupted order of all generations; neither is he generally Master of universall Nature, but Nature Master and Commaunder of him. For Nature is nothing els but the ordinary G1 power of

God in all things created, among which the Divell being a creature, is contained, and therefore subject to that universall power. For this cause, although above the power of our particular nature, the Divell as a Spirit doth many things, which in respect of our nature, are supernaturall; yet in respect of the power of Nature in universal, they are but naturall unto himselfe and other Spirits, who also are a kinde of creature contained within the generall nature of things created: Opposite therefore, contrarie, against or above the generall G2 power of Nature, he can doe nothing. Therefore, to conclude this point, he cannot be able to commaund or compasse any generation above the power of Nature, whose power is more universall and greater then his. We will then hence conclude, that above and beyond the universall Nature and course of all generation, bee cannot make a true transmutation of the substance of any one creature into another. It was before proofed, that it is impossible for him to doe it by creation. It is here manifest, that he cannot doe it by any course of true generation. There can be no real transmutation of one substance into another, without either a creation or generation. Wee will therefore conclude with -notes- G1 Natura est ordinaria Dei potestas. Scalig. G2 Natura est universalis, est particularis.

Page 52

the saying of Saint Augustine de Civitate Dei, lib. 18 cap. 18 Nic sane Dæmones naturas creant, sed Specie tonus, quæ à Dco creat a sunt, scmmusant, vt videantur esse quæ nonsuns: that is, divells cannot create any nature of subltance, but in juggling shew or seen ingonely, whereby with false. shaddowes and outward induced shapes covering those things which are created of God, by these commutations they cause them to seeme that which they are not indeed. Concerning other manifest jugglings and illusions of the Divell, divers authors have given divers examples, but hat which above all the rest doth most palpably detect him herein, is a history related by Joannes Baptisla Porta in his second booke De Magia naturals. He there witnesseth, that upon the Divels suggestion, a Witch beleevved firmly, and perswaded her selfe, that all the night she had rid in the ayre, over divers great Mountaines, and met inconventicles of other Sorceresses; when the same night the mentioned Authour himselfe, with others, had watched and seene her, all that imagined time of her transuection in the ayre, to be within her chamber profoundly sleeping; yea, had smitten her, made her flesh blue with strokes, and could not a wake her, nor perswade her afterward, when shee was a waked that they had so used her, or at all had either seene or beheld her. Thus prevalent was the juggling power of the Divell. S. Austine de Civitate Dei, lib.

18. doth deliver an History concerning the father of one Præstantius, who lying in a deep traunce so profoundly that no meanes could awake him, did dreame (as when he awaked he did report) that hee was transformed into an Asse, and carried bagges or burdens of corne into a campe of Souldiers. At the same time, in the same manner, such a like Asse as hee in dreame imagined himselfe did bring such burdens into the same campe. From these examples may bee justly drawne a plaine demonstration of the Divels palpable juggling and illusion, which also may serve for confirmation, together with the

Page 53

reasons before annexed unto my former answer, concerning the Divels seeming, or deceitfull presentation of the reall body of Pythagoras in two distant places at once, in the same point of time. And from all these conjoined and conferred, may be truely inferred and collected, that the Divell as hee doth many supernaturall workes really, so he doth many other by illusion and beguiling the imagination. These his jugglings notwithstanding are things also supernaturall, and tricks onely possible to Spirits and impossible to man. For it is impossible to man to frame so lively a seeming presence of man in one place, that it shall not bee discerned otherwise then the very same true presence and real substance which is really in another place, as also to fasten such dreames as were before mentioned, upon men, and according to those dreames to cause the things dreamed, by the witnesse and testimony of other beholders, to bee brought to passe in so lively likenesse and similitude, as cannot bee discerned and discovered otherwise then the very same that they were in dreame likewise beleevd. From hence it doth also follow very necessarily, that what man soever shall undertake these supernaturall juglings, which are onely possible in the power of Spirits, and of the Divell alone, is thereby as truely convinced to bee a Witch or Sorcerer, as he that undertaketh any of the former reall supernaturall workes, or any other of the like kinde, because they are both and all alike proper onely to the divell, and wherein man can have no property or power but by and through him. Let us now then againe returne unto the Divels reall supernaturall performances and workes, unto Sorcerers, from whence by the way of answer unto the former doubt, concerning Pythagoras his supposed realty of being at once in two places, we have hitherto onely digressed. It is written as a thing usuall unto many famous Magicians, Sorcerers and Witches, unto the view and sight of some admitted spectators, to raise resemblances of the dead, which seemeth a thing undoubted by the Witch of Eudor,

raising Samuel the Prophet unto Saul the King before mentioned. In this kinde those famous and renowned Witches Medea and Circe in old and ancient times are reported to excell. Hence among the Heathen had Necromancie the reason of the name and expovamics which is divination by calling up, or raising the dead. Later times have not been behinde former times in the record of the like: but to adde reason to inforce the truth of report herein; I will answer an objection which may bee made. Whether in these apparitions there be onely illusion and imagination; or some thing truely and really visible unto the outward sense. As touching the reall raising of the dead, it is impossible unto the limited power of the Divell, either in the substance of body or soule, to reduce or bring the dead back into this world, or life, or sense againe; because in death, by the unchangeable, and unalterable decree of God in his holy Writ, the body returneth into dust from whence it came, and the Soule to God who gave it. Notwithstanding, since the outward shape and figure, and proportion of any substance, and not the substance it selfe, or creature, is the true and naturall object of the eye, according to the Philosopher, who truely saith, *Res non videntur, sed rerum species*; that is, the substances or things themselves are not offered, nor come unto the sight, but only their shape, and outward figure, as also for that common sense and experience doe teach us, that it is a thing absurd, and impossible, that all those bodies and substances, which in infinite number wee dayly see, and behold really and materially in their corporall substances, and dimensions, should be contained in the small body of the eye: for these causes (I say) it is possible according to reason, that the Divell in these supposed apparitions of the bodies and substances of dead men, may present true, reall, and naturall objects, certaine and assured unto the eye and sight, if hee can onely present thereto the outward lively portraitures,

and shapes of the substances or bodies, though the bodies themselves be away. That the Divell can doe this, is no doubt. For if man by Art can usually divide the outward shapes, and figures of creatures and substances, from the substances and creatures themselves (as is apparent by the looking glasse) and the cunning Painter can in another borrowed substance, separated from their true, right and proper substance, represent perfectly the true and lively shape of men, and other creatures, even when they are not onely absent, and removed in farre

distant places, but when oft-times they have many yeares beene swallowed of the grave; why should it be thought impossible unto the Divell (who certainly is more then exquisite Apelles excellent) to offer and present unto the eye likewise any true shape whatsoever? If he can offer the true shape (as is not to be doubted) he doth offer a true and perfect object; and therefore that which is truely and certainly manifest to sense, although speech and the motion thereof, without another visible bodie to sustaine it (being impossible unto shapes and portraitures drawne by men) be things supernaturall, and truely spirituall, which doe therefore make it a worke proper unto the Divell. And thus it is apparent, that the supposed apparitions which the Diuell doth offer of dead men, may be esteemed and reckoned among such supernatural workes of divels and Sorcerers, as manifestly are brought to out ward sense. Now let us turne to view some other kinds of the same workes of the same Authors. It is reported by some Writers of worthy credit, that the bodies of Sorcerers and Witches have bin really carried, and locally remooved from on place into another by the divell. And of later times (as Barthelomæus de Spina doth witnesse) the inquisitions have condemned unto perpetuall prison, and their detained Witches, who by their owne confession, and others prooffe, have by the Divell been transported into so farre distant places, in few houres, that afterward

Page 56

it hath bin a travel of many dayes, by their owne naturall power to returne againe from whence they were manifestly by the divell carried. It is a thing likewise written and vulgarly received, that Witches are oft-times seene bodily to haunt places, fields, houses, graves, and sepulchers, in an unusuall and miraculous manner and wondred fashion. These things, and infinite more, whether true or no, cannot be knowne, but to him that doth himselfe behold, and can from his owne sight avouch them really true, and not imaginarie. To performe some manner of asportation, and locall translation of the bodies of Witches and Sorcerers, it seemeth in reason a thing whereunto the Divell is not unable. First, for that it appeareth within the power of a Spirit, by the history of the Prophet Habacue, whom the Angel carried by the hayre of the head, out of Judea into Babylon. The naturall faculties and properties of a Spirit, given in their creation, and by their essentiall formes united unto them, the Divell doth participate with all other Spirits whatsoever, though in his fall from heaven, he lost their true happinesse and perfect fruition in the face and fanout of God his Creator. Secondly, for that there are undoubted examples in holy Scripture, of the

divers power in the locall translation, not onely of bodies inanimate: as fire, windes, tempests, houses (as is apparent in the history of Iob) and of animate bodies also, or bodies of brute creatures (as is evident in the heards of swine which he carried headlong into the Sea) but likewise of the bodies of men, as is cleere in the Gospel, where it is said, that the Divell did cast the bodies of the poffessed into the midst of the people. If the Divel could cast, or carry their bodies the distance there expressed (whatsoever or how little so ever it was) it doth manifestly proove his power, in the locall motion of mens bodies, although the full extent of his power therein be not necessarily thence collected. Concerning the taking the body of our Savior, and setting

Page 57

it upon a pinnacle of the Temple, I will not urge, but do conclude upon my former reasons sufficiently and necessarily, that the Devill, where God himselfe doth not countermand, or prohibite him, hath power to dispose and transport our naturall bodies. I will not cite a multitude of Authors herein, and from them borrow needlesse examples. As some may bee true, so I doe not beleve all, and very few I wish trusted, where the proove doth not manifestly exceede all exception. I conclude, that it is possible, that sometimes the supernaturall power of the Divell in this kinde, as in other before mentioned, may appeare unto outward sense manifest, and the Witch or Sorcerer be found a voluntarie with him. And as is said of this kinde, so may besaid of many more besides those before mentioned. Concerning the manifest supernaturall workes done by G1 Charmers, who is ignorant? To omit the histories of Medea and Circe those old famous Hags, who were seene by charmes immediately to cause graine to wither upon the ground; the current of waters to stand still; the streame to runne backe against the course, tempests, raine, thunder, windes to rise and fall at their word and command, for an assured testimonie of the true and reall harmes, which Charmers manifestly unto outward view and sense did unto the ancient world, is as yet extant so many hundreths of yeares, the Law of the twelve Romane Tables, wherein was a Decree and Statute made to prevent and restraine the manifest wrongs and injuries of Charmers. *Ali nas Segetes ne incanyato, saith the Law, Alitnas Segetes in-cantandone pellexeris*, that is, Let no man charme his neighbours graine. Let no man by charmes and incantations carry away or transport anothers graine. There are many other true reports and records of other wonderfull works and supernaturall seates, all alike offered unto the outward sense: There inumeration or citation is

not further needfull. It is sufficient whatsoever or how many soever they be, that they are workes supernaturall, that they are manifest to sense, that they are of -notes- G1 Charmers.

Page 58

the Divell, and that the Witch or Sorcerer doth manifest his guilt therein, by voluntary presenting himselfe therein, by manifest undertaking any part or office in the performance or by promising, and according to promise causing to come to passe. The reason is infallible. He that doth undertake voluntarily, doth present himselfe and doth promise and according to promise, cause to be performed that which is in anothers power, and impossible unto himselfe, doth thereby necessarily and unanswerably proove himselfe to have an interest, a power, a contract with that other, which for any may to have with the Divell, is society with Divels, which is Witch-craft and Sorcerie. And thus hath beene declared, how the supernaturall workes of the Divell and Sorcerers may be manifest to the outward sense, and the true testimony thereof. An objection here may be made, that many of the former workes may seeme manifest to the sense, which indeed and truth are deceits of the imagination and illusion, and therefore there can be no such certainty unto the outward sense. It is truely G1 answered, He that wanteth so much true judgement, as to distinguish when he dothsee a certaine true object offered unto his sight from without, and when he is incountred onely with a resemblance there of from within his fancie and imagination, is diseased in body or minde, or both, and therefore is no competent Judge or witsse in these or any other weighty affaires. For that is in health of body, and in the outward organes and instruments of sense, and sound in his reason, judgement, and understanding, though sometime the fogge and mist of deceived sense, or fancy, overshadow the brightnesse of true and undeceived reason for a short time in him yet it cannot so perpetually eclipse it, but it will recover his light and true splendor againe, and truth will shine more excellently in the end out of that darknesse. This is very lively seene in the example of S. Peter. Acts 12. verse 10. 12. who at first did thinke he had onely seene the Angell which God sent unto him to deliver him out of bonds, in a dreame or vision: but - notes- G1 Things imagined and fancied, easily discerned from those things which are reall and true objects of the sense.

Page 59

when afterward he was come to himselfe, and histrue sense and reason, hee then perfectly discerned and knew that he was really delivered out of prison by an Angel of God. If men could not

certainly discern between that which they do really see, and that they falsely imagine in visions, dreames and fancie, then were the life of man most miserable, there could be no certainty of truth, no excelling in knowledge or understanding. All men should be alike unable to distinguish, whether we live in dreames onely, or in wakeful deed. But the certaine knowledge which God hath given unto mankinde in so infinite kindes and measures, doth prove the eminence of reason and understanding above the intanglements and depression of sense and fancie. There remaineth as yet another doubt, which is, how those things which before were mentioned to be spirituall and supernaturall can be subject in reason unto outward sense or be knowne thereby, howsoever by the former examples, it doth so seeme. It is true that a Spirit and a Spirituall worke simply in it selfe in the owne nature and substance, cannot be seene by any bodily eyes, or be deprehended by any outward sense. Notwithstanding, as they doe mixe themselues with bodily substances, which are subject to sense, by accident Spirits, and spirituall operations, are certainly tryed and discovered even unto sense. For how is it possible that a Spirit should mixe it selfe in corporall things, but the discrepant nature thereof, and mighty difference, must produce and beget some great apparent alteration, which alteration being beyond the wonted nature of the one, doth prove another superiour nature in the other? For illustration hereof, let us borrow an instance from one of the forenamed manifest Sorceries. Water is turned into blood by a Spirituall power. The eye doth manifestly see the water, and as apparently after see the blood, and is a true and undeceived witness of both. Reason and common sense doe know the transmutation to proceede from an invisible power, which appearing in visible bodies, is by them -notes- *G1 Spiritus incorpori and à sensibus nostris remoti operibus conspicui.* Fernel I. I. de Ab.Rer. caus. cap. II.

Page 60

apart seene, and doth detect an invisible Author, because an immediate effect manifested to sense, doth necessarily in nature prove the immediate cause, though hidden and unknowne to sense. That invisible and spirituall things may, by those things which are visible and bodily, be conceived and discerned, the holy Scripture doth wnesse in these words of Saint Paul, Rom. 1. 20 The invisible things of God (saith he) are seene by the visible things, or by his workes in the creation of the world, which are visible. It may be here demanded, since it is the propertie of the Divell, in his seeming miraculous contrivements and actions (though a limited and finite Object creature of God)

yet to endeavour to counterfeit and imitate the most high and mightiest workers of wonder of the infinite Creator, thereby to magnifie, deisie, and equall himselfe unto God in unbeleeuing and seduced hearts: Since, I say, this is his property, how shall the fraile understanding and capacitie of man distinguish the marvels of the divell, so lively resembled thereto, from the true miracles, and truly miraculous workes of God, that thereby with more facility, and, lesse confusion, industrious mindes may discover the proper workes and acts of the Divell, and his associates, Enchaunters, Witches, and Sorcerers? First, the true miracles of God being transcendent above all created power, and the immediate effects only of a creating vertue, Almighty God for his sole good will and pleasure doth usually and ever dispense by the hands and through the administration of holy men, Prophets and Aposties manifestly called of God. Secondly, the end and scope of Gods miracles, directly and mainely ayme and are bent at the glory of God, and the benefit of his people, not unto any private end, any particular vaine end, tending to satisfaction of private lusts and curiositie. For this cause the holy Apostles used the gift of miracles not unto any other ends, then unto the confirmation of that holy Gospel, which they preached and published from God, neither did they therein ascribe ought unto their own

Page 61

praise or glory, but solely unto the praise and glory of God, and the good of his Church. That this was their true end, and ought to be the scope and end of all that receive the power of miracles from God, Saint Paul doth witnesse and teach, 1. Cor. chap. 12. verse 4, 5, 6, 7. Now there are (saith he) diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit: and there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord: and there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withall. It is from hence manifest, that if any miracles proceede from God as Author, they are dispensed by men, sanctified by God, and who can and are able to proove and justifie their warrant from God: as also that these men of God doe solely professe and bend them unto the glory of God, and the weale of his Church. This then is the square and infallible rule by which all miracles doe stand or fall, and are approved either to be of God, or convinced to be of Divels. Let us then conclude this point, with that excellent and divine saying of Theophilact, upon the 9. chap. of S. Luke. Pradicatio miraulis and miracula prædicatione sanciantur. Multi enim sæpe miracula ediderunt per Dæmones, sedecrum doctrina noner at sana, quamobrem eorum miracula non extiterunt a Deo.

That is, the word of God doth establish and confirme the truth of miracles, and miracles ratifie and confirme the authoritie and truth of the word. For many have done miracles by the power of the Devill, but their doctrine was corrupt and not sound; and therefore their miracles were not of God. Wheresoever therefore miracles or supernaturall workes shall dare to shew their heads, not contained within those limits or compasse, that is neither proofed immediatly from God himselfe, nor mediately by him revealed in his writ and word of truth, they are justly to be suspected to issue from the enemies of God; the Divell, and evill Spirits, and therefore their Authors ought

Chapter 7 (no Chapter 6)

Page 62

to be accomptant therein unto Justice, and all religious Ministers and servants of God and Justice, in the most strict and severe extent of Law. And thus much concerning the manifestation of the supernaturall workes of Witches and Sorcerers, unto or through the outward Sense. CHAP. VII. The workes of the Devill or Witches manifest to Reason, or consequence of Reason, and how detected. ALL doubts being cleared, it hath undoubtedly appeared how supernaturall and spirituall workes are apparent to sense. It now followeth to declare, how likewise they are evident to Reason, or necessary to consequence of Reason. Those things are said to be proper objects of Reason and understanding: which, being remote from the immediate view or notice of the outward senses, are grounded upon universall and intellectuall knowne positions, propositions, and certaine undoubted generall notions, by necessary collections, or ratiocinations. That we may build the foundation of this our Reason or Ratiocination upon the infallible truth of Gods holy Word which shall never be shaken: let us for the detection of Witches and Sorcerers, by reason, and consequence of reason, syllogise directly and immediatly from God himselfe. Thus saith Almighty God, Isaiah chap. 8. verse. 19. And when they shall say unto you, Enquite of those that have a Spirit of Divination, and at the South-sayers, which murmure and whisper, should not a people enquire of their God? Under this interrogative (should not a people inquire of their God?) is understood this affirmative; A people should enquire of no other Spirit, but of their God alone. From this holy text and writ, reason doth assume and collect necessarily, and truly.

Page 63

First, that many things are hidden from the knowledge of man, which are reuealed unto the science and knowledge of Spirits.

Otherwise neither would man aske or enquire of Spirits (as bath beene usuall in all ages) neither should God have occasion here to forbid the enquiring at Spirits. That the ignorance also of man in things knowne to Spirits, is the true, first and originall motive or reason for enquiring at Spirits, is very plaine by the words of King Saul, 1. Sam.28.15. God is departed from me (saith he) unto the vision of Samuel, raised by the Devil, and answereth me no more, neither by Prophets, neither by dreames: therefore have I called thee, that thou must tell mee what I should doe. Here is a manifest grant of knowledge in Spirits above men. Secondly, reason doth hence collect, that all Spirits that doe suffer themselves to be enquired at, are evil Spirits, and therefore Devils; because Almighty God hath here expressly forbidden the enquiring at any other Spirit beside himselfe: and therefore good and holy Spirits, will not, nor G1 can not disobey the commandement of God, nor countenance or assist men in so doing. Thirdly, reason doeth necessarily hence conclude, that such men as are enquired at for revelations of things hidden from the skill and possibilitie of knowledge in man, are Sorcerers, Witches, and South-sayers, if promising and performing according thereto really, and yet not warranted by God his word, nor assisted by nature. The consequence and inference of this reason is just; for that to promise those things, or to undertake those things which are out of their own knowledge, and solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits and Divels, doeth manifestly prove in the performance, their interest, societie, and contract with Spirits and Devils, which is Sorcery and Witch-craft. It may bee here objected, that there are some men who affect to bee resorted unto, and to bee enquired at in things supposed hidden from the knowledge of man, and to be reputed -notes- G1 Angeli boni non possunt peccare, Pet. Lomb. d. 7. l. 2. This doth cõdemne that white Magick or Theourgia which is supposed or pretended conference with good Spirits.

Page 64

able unto such Revelations, though haply they practise to deceive, under the colour of pretence, of such abilitie. It is justly hereto answered, that this their presumption ought to be severely enquired into, whether it doe taste of ought that is diabolically, of the Devil, or supernaturall: and if nothing so doe, yet in this Grand cause of God himselfe, the religious jealousie of the prudent Magistrate, ought to punish their presumption, which dare affect to undertake the name or note of a sinne, so odious and abominable unto Almighty God. Let us for better impression, againe repeate and iterate those things which were collected out

of the propounded text. First, that there is knowledge in Spirits of things hidden, and separated from the knowledge of man. Secondly, that such Spirits as are enquired at, and doe reveale such knowledge unto man, are Devils. Thirdly, that men which doe practise to be enquired at for such supposed Revelations, ought not onely to be justly suspected, and inquired into, but that if they be found therewithall, to know and reveale those things, which are indeed and really above and beyond the knowledge of man, and are properly and onely in the power of Spirits; that then this doth infallibly proove their interest power, and societie with Devils, which is certaine and assured Sorcery and Witch-craft. And thus hath reason drawne a demonstration out of the booke of God, of a certaine Witch, and manifest Sorcerer. Let us now exercise our selves in the consideration, examination, and try all of some particulars herein. It is said of Apollonius, that he foretold the day, the houre of the day, the moment of the houre; wherein Coccius Nerra the Emperour should die, long before the time and being in farre distant places remooved from him. It is reported of the same Apollonius, that being consulted by one who for that purpose came unto him, how he might grow rich, Apollonius appointed him to buy a certaine

Page 65

field or ground, and to be carefull in tilling and plowing thereof, which after he had done a while, he found in the end a great treasure and so became rich. It is written of the same Apollonius also, He made knowne unto Titus Vespasian, the time and manner of his death, enquiring it at his hands. These things with many other the like Ianus Iacobus Boissardus, relateth in the life of Apollonius. Who hath not heard of the name and mention of that famous and renowned British Wizard Merlin, and of his high and great esteeme among Princes for his prophesies? Unto his fore-sight and predictions, from many foregoing ages, the successes and events of divers Princes affaires, in their severall raignes, have beene usually by diuers times and histories referred. For this cause Master Camden, in the description of Caermarden-shire, doth terme him the Tages of the Britans. Speede in his tractate of the ancient Inhabitants of great Britane; as also of the lise of Aurelius, Ambrosius, and of the raigne of King John, and of Henry the fourth, doth out of Malmesbury, and others, recite divers accidents and events, in severall succeeding ages, unto his oraculous and miraculous illuminations, ascribed to have beene foreseene, foretold, and knowne. If there be truth in those Oracles, and ancient foreseeing Revelations, they doe necessarily inferre the assistance of a power, farre superiour

unto all the power of man. Therefore whosoever doth finde them true, must conclude their Author a Witch or Sorcerer. Neither hath the generall reception, or opinion of Authors, beene here from different, who have published him the sonne of an Incubus, or the sonne of a Witch, begotten by the Devil. As it is said of this ancient time-noted, and age-viewed Sorcerer; so may be testified of many other. What shall we judge of that infamous woman, among the French, called Joane of Arc, by others Joane Pucell de Dieu? John de Serres, the French Historian, doth report that she had many miraculous Revelations, whereof the

Page 66

King (then Charles the seaventh) and all his Armie and men of warre, were open wondering witnesses, and in those revelations for the most part, there was found no lesse wondrous truth, then true wonder, as saith Serres, although some others have judged her an Imposteresse only. By her sole encouragement, and stout assurance of success, built upon miraculous revelations, the French prosperously incountred the victorious English in France, at severall times, and against all humane reason, recovered their in reason unrecoverable, and most desperate standing, even neere unto the pit of utter downfall, with more then unspeakeable amazement and terrour, unto the sodainely confounded English. Notwithstanding, at length shee was taken prisoner by the English, executed and burnt for her Witch-craft. What shall wee say or judge of other the like Authors, and broachers of supernaturall revelations, and predictions in other times? The fore-mentioned Historian reporteth, that a Wizard foretold Duke Biron of his death, and that hee should dye by the backe blow of a Burguignen, who afterward proofed his Executioner, beeing that Countrey man. Melancton out of Carion doeth recite the mention of a woman, of the order of the Druides among the Tungri, who foretold Dioclesian that hee should bee Emperour of Rome, when he had first killed a Boare, which proofed afterward one Aper, then an Usurper, which in the Latine tongue signifieth a Boare. Suetonius writeth of a Divinour, who long before was able to make knowne the death, and the manner of the death, and murder of Julius Cæsar. Philippe de Commynes, in his 8. booke, chap. 19. doeth make mention of one Frier Hierome, and of his many admirable revelations and predictions, concerning the affaires of the King of France, which as from Friers owne mouth, hee himselfe did oft heare, so with his owne eyes hee did wnesse and behold their issue true. It was disputed,

Page 67

whether in these transcendent revelations the Frier were a G1 man of God or no, and it is doubtfully there concluded. In these like revelations and prophecies, reason cannot deny, but must acknowledge the manifest impression and stampe, of more then humane Science or demonstration. If wee desire or affect more specially to viewe what our owne Histories at home afford: who can deny him a Wizard, or Witch, who as Master Speede and others testifie, in the reigne of Richard the Usurper foretold, that upon the same stone where hee dash his spurre, riding toward Bosworth field, hee should dash his head in his returne: which proofed accordingly true, when being slaine in battell, hee was carryed naked out of the field, and his head hanging low by the horse fide behinde his beater, did smite upon the same stone in repassage, where before in passage hee had strooken his heele and spurre. What can be deemed lesse of the Author of that prophecie in Edward the fourth; that is, that G2 G. should murder King Edwards heires, which G. understood of the Duke of Glocester, was too true. How can he likewise escape the just suspition of the same sole crime, from whom originally or first was derided that prophecie or prediction in Honry the fist, concerning his sonne, as yet then unborne, videlicet, that what Henry of Monmouth should winne (which was Henry the fist) Henry of Windsor should lose (which was Henry the fixt and his sonne) as it after came truely to passe? These things as I said before, doe necessarily inferre a power farre superiour, unto the power of man, and therefore prove their voluntarie undertakers Witches, or Sorcerers. This doeth Binsfeldius in his Tract, de Malef. confessionis, confidently affirme in these words, Reserrinon possunt ad causas naturales, sed ad Dæmonas hi effectus, nempe response dare de occultis ferri, per vorem, per locaremotissima. That is, these things can have no relation unto naturall causes, namely, to give answeere unto things hidden from man, to flie in the ayre, -notes- G1 Some Authors doe write, that this man was an holy man, and a man of God. If it may be proved, that he received those his revelations fró God. I doe subscribe. If it cannot be proved, that hee did receive them from God, it is most certaine, that they were of the Divell, since in supernaturall revelations there can be no other medium. G2 Speede.

Page 68

and the like, but are to be attributed unto the power of the Devil, or Devils. But here may bee objected, that since it is said by God himselfe, that no man ought to aske of any other Spirit, but of God alone, things hidden and unrevealed to men, Isn. 8. verse 19. before alleadged; and since for that cause it is not to be

doubted, that many things may be revealed by God unto men, for this cause and reason (I say) it may be deemed and objected, that some of the former revelations and prophecies may bee free from the imputation of Witch-craft, and Sorcery. It is unanswerably answered to this objection: First, that all the revelations and prophecies which are of God, are ever published by Prophets, and men of God, immediately called by God himselfe, unto those functions and places. Secondly, those vessels, and servants of God, which are the publishers of Gods revelations or prophecies, doe ever avouch, and openly professe God himselfe, to bee Author thereof, from whom they onely claime, and openly proclaime their immediate, and expresse warrant and commission, as appeareth by all the prefixions of their prophecies: Thus saith the Lord, The Word of the Lord, The burden of the Lord. The revelation of Jesus Christ, and the like. Thirdly, the revelations and prophecies, which are thus derived and sent from God, carry in themselves some manifest stampe of their authority, and power from God, in some fruites or effects correspondent, and answerable to the nature, will, and pleasure of God, and are directly and originally bent, and intended unto the glory of God, and the publike weale, and good of his Church, and people. By these notes, and infallible markes of Gods holy prophecies and revelations, may bee evidently discerned a cleere difference, and distinction thereof from Devilish predictions, and Sorcerous Prognostications, which therefore cannot shrowde, or hide themselves under colour or pretense thereof, being duly and rightly expended. It may bee yet further objected, that some learned and

Page 69

truely religious servants of God (though no publike Ministers, of Propheticall functions or callings) have had sometimes their speciall revelations of some particular things, in which it were not onely manifestly injurious, but plainly and extremely ridiculous to accompt them Witches. It is true, and cannot be denied, that Almighty God sometimes, by dreames, sometimes by secret prodigies, doeth admonish some his private servants, good and holy men, of some things to come, for their owne private and retired reformation, information or better preparation; not for prophane or trifling ends, or uses, but that any prophecies or revelations, can be of God, that are obscurely whispred, or cast abroad for such uses, by any unwarranted or prophane Authors, without any manifest warrant, Commission or authoritie from God, in the upright judgement of all men, that truely worship and feare the true God, the God of hostes, is much irreligion, and prophane credulitie to avouch, or affirme. Nay, it is altogether

contrary and contradictory, and therefore impossible to God his miraculous revelations, visions and prophecies, ordinarily, or commonly to serve, or waite upon the ordinary ends, or uses of private men, since all true miracles, and miraculous revelations are ever in their proper nature, and true end, solely attendant upon God his immediate command and Word, unto his extraordinary workes. To make it therefore ordinary, or a thing common, or of customary practice, to foretell or give prediction of things to come, must necessarily proceede from the Devil, since the gist of true prophesie, and the Spirit of true revelation, is not subjected to the common or usuall intentions of men; neither can profit or commodity, or sale bee made thereof by men at their pleasure, as is not unwonted with all the disciples of Simon Magus, Sorcerers and Witches, in their markets and fayres made of their prophecies and revelations. If then these whispered reuelations cannot bee of God, then are they necessarily of the Devil. If they proceed from the Devil, then by an inevitable conclusion, those

Page 70

men are his instruments or organs, by whom or through whom they originally flowe, or are derived unto men and published. It may be yet further objected, that in men possessed by the Devil, as were those men in the Gospel, whose bodies the Devil did really rend and teare (in whom hee did roare and crie out) whom hee cast into the midst of the people. It may be (I say) objected, that in those possessed and the like, there may be revealed many things hidden from men, without the imputation or just opinion of Witch-craft or Sorcerie in them. That this may bee, is manifest in the Gospel, where the Devil in the possessed uttered words of knowledge then hidden from men, but by extraordinary revelation, when hee acknowledged our Saviour to bee Jesus the Sonne of the living God. This could not in any possibilitie of mans reason bee knowne unto the possessed, because it was then but in part revealed unto the Disciples themselves, who were as yet but learners themselves and Scholers of that Divinitie; neither had the naturall man, or the world as yet so much as tasted, or savoured any notice thereof. The like may bee objected concerning those that are obsessed. I call them obsessed, in whose bodies outwardly appearing no extraordinarie signes or tokens of the Devil corporall residence, or G1 residence in them (as was in the possessed manifest) yet are their mindes, understanding, wils, and reason palpably observed to bee besieged, captived and enchanted, by an extraordinary and more then naturall, or rather an infernall invasion of the Diuels illusions, for the magnifying and advancing

whereof, the Devill doth oft-times mixe and temper them with some rare and wonderfull revelations, by or through the obsessed delivered. From these objections both concerning the possessed, and also the obsessed, doeth issue a necessary sequel, that prophecies and revelations are not alwayes inseparable testimonies of a Witch. -notes- G1 Master Perkins in his discourse of Witch craft chap. 3. pag. 122. doth divide likewise Witches unto such within whom the Divell is not inwardly, but from without doeth inspire them and within whom hee is, as was the Pythonisse at Phillippi, Actes 16.16.

Page 71

It is truely hereto answered, that solely and simply revelations are not sufficient evidences, or convictions of a Witch, or Sorcerer, but with difference and distinction. Supernaturall revelations unrequiredly transfused and transferred by the Devil, doe not prove the persons in whom they are found, to bee their owne free or desirous Agents in consent therein, but rather properly and truely the Devils Patients, and therefore it cannot be their guilt, but his intrusion, usurpation, and insidiation: but supernaturall revelations, in which any man shall knowingly, and deliberately consult with, or inquire at a knowne Spirit, and injoying the free libertie of his will, not depraved or corrupted by illusions or diseases, shall with consent or allowance thereof entertaine, commerce conference or assistance of Spirits unto that purpose: such revelations (I say) wheresoever truely and duly detected, doe demonstratively and infallibly point on a Witch or Sorcerer, by what way soever hee doe practise with the Devil, whether by conjutation, spels, or other Magicke rites, or by vulgar trading with him, by familiar speech and expresle contract, as is most usuall with vulgar and unlearned Witches. It is not the different manner of contracting, or covenanting with the Devil, that maketh a new or a different species of a Witch, for by what name soever, in what manner soever, any man doeth contract with the Devil, hee is a Witch or Sorcerer, saith Binsfeldius, and invocateth the Devil. Although therefore the possessed, or obsessed, are justly acquite in their revelations and prophecies, because transmitted or sent unrequired, and unknowingly unto them, yet cannot the Witch or Sorcerer bee any thing at all advantaged, or cleared in his revelations, which are ever detected to bee both by him affected (as is proofed by his mercinarie sale thereof) and also are fore-thought and premeditate, as is evident by his promised and covenanted undertaking thereof, according to conditions or agreement.

Page 72

That we may make this point yet more cleere, let us yet farther examine, and consider what Witch-craft is. These are the expresse wordes of Binsfeldius a Papist Divine, in his tract de Confessionibus Sagarum and Veneficorum. Vt faie maleficium hac tria concurrant necesse est inquit, Deus permittens, secundo Diaboli potestas, tertio hominis malefici veluntas libere consentiens. That is, unto Witch-craft three things necessarily concur: first God permitting: secondly the Devil working: thirdly, man thereto consenting or yeelding his free-will. Unto the very same purpose, saith a learned Protestant Divine our countriman, Perkins in his description of Witch-craft, including the worke or assistance of the Devill, the permission of God, and a wicked art freely practised by man, and chap. 5. of his discourse of Witch-craft, hee pronounceth also him a witch, whosoever wittingly or willingly consenteth to use the aide or assistance of the Devil, in the working of wonders above the ordinary course of nature. I name these two Divines onely, because in this particular they seeme to mee to have best satisfied, and by the common consent both of Papist, and Protestant Divines, the trueth doeth more uncontroversedly appeare Catholike and firme, most other learned men that I have seene on both parts, having generally or for the most part comparatiuely beene defective. Scaliger in his booke de Sabtilitate, consenteth with them both, exercit, 347, where speaking of the impossibilitie, of one man hurting another meerely by-bare wordes, hee hath these wordes. There is a greater power then wordes saith hee, namely, the Devill doeth the mischief upon the uttering of such words; and the foolish sottish man, that pronounceth or uttereth them, supposeth that by vertue of his words it is done. Ipse igitur agit Dæmon (inguit) stultiu and vecors pmtat suis se verbis agere; unto the same effect are the words of S. Augustine, by Magicke Art saith hee, miracles and things above nature are brought to passe, Miracula Magicis artibus fiunt. lib. 3. de Trinitate. The word Magicke

Page 73

doeth insinuate, or imploy, or include both a Devil, and a supernaturall effect or miracle, as in the former words of Scaliger, also the supernaturall effect and consequent of mumbling, argued a power in them above the power of a meere voyce, or speech, which therefore saith Scaliger, was the Devill. In both likewise, the will and consent of man was apparent. In the first, where S. Augustine calleth Magicke an Art, that imployeth a mans consent, for that Artes are willingly, and wittingly studied by man. In the second, where Scaliger in the mumbling of words of supernaturall effect, affirmeth that the foolish man who

uttered them, supposed those effects to proceed from his words; his uttering therefore such words, with that expectance, proofed his liking and consent unto such effects. And thus it is undoubtedly apparent, by these Authors in their descriptions of Magicke, and Witch-craft, that necessarily by consent of reason, though not alwayes in expresse wordes, is understood and included, both something supernaturall, and the will and consent of man thereto. And this may yet bee made apparent, by the words of the same Scaliger, Exercit. 327. Magi (inquit) suas effectiones violentias appellant: propterea quod vires suas sapraeas, quæ naturæ ordine fieri videntur exercent. That is, Magitians tearme their workes violencies, because they exercise violent force, or power, above the comse or order of humane nature. The Magitians giving names unto their workes, above humane power or nature, and boasting them as their owne, doth proove their free will and consent. Those their workes being supernaturall, doe proove them to bee of the Devil, as the very usuall understanding of the word Magitian, whereby they are ordinarily tearmed, doeth testifie. And thus it is manifest. First, that in Witch-craft the effect or worke done is supernaturall, above the reach and power of man. Secondly, that in that worke the Magitian, or Witch, hath a willing interest. And hence now is manifest also, what Witch-craft is, namely, a worke or effect, above the nature or power of

Page 74

man, wherein notwithstanding is the will, consent, and assent of man. This no man can deny, the demonstration being so evident. It now followeth to enquire, how this Witch-craft shall bee detected, or discovered; Secondly, how shall mans free will, or consent therein be discovered. Unto the first, is easily answered, videlicet, the supernaturall worke or effect doeth appeare by it selfe, when it is manifest and apparent above the nature, reach, and power of man, such as are divers effects and workes formerly mentioned. Unto the second I answere, that mans free will, good will, consent, assent, or allowance therein is discovered by the same true actes or meanes, whereby any man his consent or assent is usually discovered, indicted, and arraigned in the case of Treason, Murder, Fellonie. In case of Treason, Murder, Fellonie, consent is discovered in usuall course and practise of the Law, either by some manifest act promoting or furthering those wicked intents, or by connivance therein: by wilfully not seeing, or by silence, or not revealing, As therefore in those hainous crimes justly; so in this high Treason against God, and adherence unto his enemie the Devil, in like manner any man his wicked assent, content, or good liking, is to be traced

and discovered by any act tending unto the promoting thereof, by his conniving, willingly concealing, or silence: For as in case of Treason, Murther, Fellonie, whosoever permitteth or admitteth any of those crimes, whosoever only consenteth thereto, conniveth, keepeth counsell, or concealeth, is justly by the law held, judged, and condemned as a Traytor, Murderer, or Fellon himselfe; So by the same equitie and reason in high Treason against God (such as is Witch-craft and adhering unto the Devil his enemie) whosoever shall consent thereto, connive, or give allowance is certainly a Witch himselfe, and guilty of Witchcraft. This is the reason why all Writers, with one consent doe as well hold and condemne for Witchcraft the tacit contract as the expresse.

Page 75

Wherein in expresse tearmes vocally any man covenanteth with the Devil, or contracteth. A tacit contract is, when any man taketh upon him to doe, that by naturall causes, which causes are allowed no such effects in course of nature, nor yet are allowed unto any such effects beside the course of nature; Either by God, his Word, or by the Ordinances of his Church. To this effect expressely saith Binsfeldius lib. de Confess. Malefic: and Sagarum: Tacitè (inquit) invocator Dæmon quoties quis contendit illud, facere per causas naturales, quæ nec virtute sua naturali, neque ex Divina, aut Ecclesiastica possunt illud facere. To the same purpose saith Perkins cap. 5. of his discourse of Witch craft, giving allowance, saith he, unto meanes not allowed by God maketh a Witch. That there are such effects, the same Author doth instance in another place, in these words, Referrri(inquit) non possunt ad causas naturales sed ad Dæmonas hieffectus, ferri per aerem dare responsa de occultis; That is, these effects cannot be referred unto any naturall causes, but unto the power of Devils, namely, to flye in the ayre, to reveale things hidden from man. For this cause also saith Perkins, Divining of things to come peremptotily, convinceth the Author a Witch. To conclude therefore, whosoever taketh upon him to doe these things, or the like, and cannot justifie them done according unto the vertue or power of naturall causes, or (if besides course of nature) cannot proove or warrant them to be of God, neither by his Word, nor Ordinance of his Church, that man is a Magitian, a Witch, or Sorcerer. But here it is requisite, and fit that men doe distinguish betweene things unwarrantably done beside course of nature; and therefore necessarily to be tryed and judged by those rules of Gods Word, and Church. And betweene those things, which are likewise unwarrantably done, but are above the course of nature, yet are likewise to be tried

by the same rules, and limits of Gods Word, and Church. For as besides course of nature are many things, as Sacraments

Page 76

tites, Ceremonies. Which are to have allowance of their being from the same limitations, or else are to be condemned. So there are things above nature as miracles, which also are to have their allowance, and approbation by the former rules. It followeth therefore necessarily from hence, that whatsoever supernaturall effect, or above the power, or nature of man doth happen, and is not warranted or allowed by God, his Word, or Church, that certainly is of the Devil. If it be of the Devil, then whosoever doth allow, yeeld his good will, consent, or by any way or meanes, or art doth promote or further, it is a Witch, as he who in Treason, or Murther, conniveth or consenteth, is a Traytor or Murderer as is aforesaid. That a supernaturall worke, or an effect above nature, is to be held Diabolicall, is not only proved by examination and triall of God, his Word, and Church, but reason it selfe doth also demonstrate it. Every supernaturall effect, hath a supernaturall cause. Every supernaturall cause is God, or the Devil, there being no meane betweene, but one or the other. Good Angels or spirits doe worke their supernaturall effects also or above nature, but those their supernaturall workes are alwaies directed and commanded by God, and therefore are of God, and carrie with them evidence immediate from God. All supernaturall workes that are of God, are warranted from God. Therefore whatsoever supernaturall worke cannot be warranted of God, is of the Devil. Whether it may be warranted to be of God, will appeare easily by the former limitations and rules. If therefore a supernaturall worke appeare not to be of God, by the former limitations, and examination; then is it certainly of the Devill. By necessary consequence, therefore of reason it followeth, that whosoever unto any such effect or worke, thus demonstratively discovered to be of the Devil, doth give any allowance or consent, though never so tacitly, or closely, yea though ignorant of the qualitie or degree of the sin, yet in his rash and unadvised and inconsiderate yeelding or

Page 77

conniving therein, he is guiltie, accessory, and a very Witch himselfe, as is aforesaid in case of Treason, and the like grievous offences against a Prince or State. For the ignorance of the law excuseth no man, yea and in this particular, So many faire directions by learned Writers given, doth leave men inexcusable, and maketh ignorance wilfull, and resolute, and excludeth easie pardon. Neither can the most simple ignorance justifie any man,

although it may qualifie the degree or grievousnesse of punishment. If this law seeme strict and hard. Let men consider the greatnesse, and grievousnesse of the sinne, and the pernicious consequence thereof. Which justly doth urge, and impose the necessary; fearefull rigour, and strictnesse of the law. The necessitie and equitie hereof is apparent in case of high Treason aforesaid against a Prince, or State, wherein usually they who are simply, or ignorantly drawne, or used, or are instruments in any sort, to further or promote the mischief, are as well lyable unto the severe inquisition, and terrible censure of the law, as are they who were the maine plotters and contrivers. Witchcraft is high Treason against God himselfe, a combining, and adhering unto his enemie the Devil, a desperate renouncing of God and all goodnesse, and a worship of Devils. In this abominable sinne therefore, in any kinde or sort, in any manner or action, to befriend, aide or convince is no lesse then high Treason against God also, wherein as well the accessarie as the principall are both guiltie. Whosoever therefore shall in matter of this high nature or danger, dare or hazard to doe any thing that may be questioned or justly suspected in that kinde, or to tend thereto, cannot be by his ignorance excused. Thus I objections doubts and impediments remooved, let us build a never-deceiving, and inviolate conclusion concerning Witches, upon this never-failing nor shaken foundation: that is, all supernaturall workes revelations or prophecies whatsoever, that issue not either immediatly, and manifestly from God himselfe, or from his Word

Chapter 8

Page 78

or Church allowed (the prooffe and touchstone whereof hath beene before touched, and briefly declared) or from the Devil in the ignorant possessed or obsessed, or are not counterfeit and imposturous (which is likewise else-where in the due place considered) all other revelations or works (I say) whatsoever, not excepted nor included in one of these, are undoubtedly issuing from Witches and Sorcerers, and are certaine and demonstrative proofes and evidences of Witch-craft and Sorcery, in whom they are originally first detected. And thus how Reason doth cull and draw forth a Witch or Sorcerer, hath evidently beene cleared and declared. CHAP. VIII. Of divers kindes and manners, wherein Sorcerers and Witches, receive knowledge from Spirits. AS Almighty God hath out of the Text before mentioned, Isaiah 8. in generall made evident, who is infallibly a Witch or Sorcerer: so hath he in other places of Scripture manifested some of their severall kinds, according to the

different shapes and formes, in which they doe enquire at Spirits for their knowledge and revelations. This is apparent out of the 18. chap. of Deuteronomie, verse 10. Let none bee sound amongst you that useth Witch-craft. What Witch-craft is, was before out of the Prophet Isaiah declared. Now in this place doth sollow the enumeration of some of the speciall or particular shapes in which they shroud themselves. Let none be found among you (saith the Prophet) that useth Witch-craft: and immediatly after doth adde those particular formes in which they enquire: A regarder of times: a marker of the flying of fowles: a Charmer: a Sooth-sayer, or that asketh counsell of the dead. As therefore before we proved, that the infallible true note of a Witch in generall, and in common unto'all Witches,

Page 79

and Sorcerers, of what kinde so ever, is to be enquired at in things hidden from men (as is likewise by those words of Saul apparent, Sam. I. chap. 28. verse 7. Seeke mee a woman that hath a familiar Spirit, that I may goe to her and aske of her:) so here in this text are reckoned up some of their severall shapes, by which in true and sound reason, and the due consequent thereof, we may consider and collect many other, though not here numbred, or mentioned. For since the common and inseparable signe or marke of Witches is certainly made knowne to bee, the practise of revealing unto men that enquire those things which are hidden from men, and onely revealed by Spirits: it followeth by necessarie consequent, that not onely those which are here specially nominated, in that shape of marking of the flying of fowles, or of charming, or of raising the dead, but all other whatsoever, in what other shape so ever that is, hath, or can be devised, that shall be found to practise or undertake to be enquired at, and to give answer and revelation of things separated from the knowledge of man, and which God hath hidden from men, and there fore hath forbidden by Spirits to be made knowne to men; all such (I say) in what shape so ever, as well in these kinds here named, are, according to the generall note of a Witch, to be judged Witches and Sorcerers. For as the holy Scripture hath nominated and pointed out unto us some few kinds, as a light onely unto all the rest: so may common experience by these bring others unto our view, and all ages have upon the records of time and Historie, lest unto succeeding posteritie, many shapes more of memorable and famous Witches, not onely in these shapes and formes shrowded, which are here mentioned but in many other. Besides those kinds therefore, which here the holy Scripture hath nominated, let us take a short view of some other, which are in other shapes found

(since all are in their common kinde and nature the same.) It is no strange thing,

Page 80

that in the shape, and under the pretense of Astrologie, G1 some men have hidden sorcerous practise, and performing under the colour thereof such things as were onely in the power of Spirits, have thereby cleerely manifested, that they derived and borrowed them of Spirits. Saxe Grammaticus, in his historie de rebus Danicis, doth make mention of a sort of Wizards, who would undertake for gaine, to foretell the certaine state and constitution of weather to come so assuredly, that they would usually sell unto Marchants prosperous and fortunate windes, when by adverse and opposite gales they were deteyned from their intended voyage. This kinde of Sorcerer may very rightly be referred unto that which in Deuter. 18. verse 10. is noted by a regarder of times, which parhaps may also not unaptly be understood a Magicall Astrologer. His performance above the nature and power of his Art, of that which is onely in the power of a Spirit, doth both detect the Devil to be chiefe Author of the workes, and the other to be also guilty to the worke. That the professors of Astrologie have in former ages unto Astrologie joyned this Devilish skill and custome; as also other kinds of Diabolically Divinations, plainely doth appeare. First, by the word of God, Daniel 2. verse 2. wherewith the Actrologers, the Caldeans, Magicians, Sorcerers and Enchanters are conjoyned. Secondly, it doth appeare by the Lawes, which by the Romane Emperours were provided against them joyntly together, with Caldeans, Magicians, and Southsayers. The words of one ancient Law are, Nemo Aruspicem consulat, aut Mathematicum, nemo Ariolum, Caldeum, Magum; that is, let it be enacted or ordered that no man aske counsell of a South-sayer, a Mathematician, an Astrologet, a Caldean, a Magician. Dion on the 27. booke of Historie, doth make mention of Astrologers, who by Devilish skill practised and used to -notes- G1 Astrologers

Page 81

send the Devil to present G1 dreames unto men in their sleepe; for which cause Tiberious the Emperour revenged himselfe upon such Astrologers, though otherwise himselfe a great friend and lover of Astrologie. Sir Christopher Heydon in his desence of judicial Astrologie, doth out of Osiander recite this distinction of Astrologie: G2 Astrologie pura que nihil habet de Magia, that is, Astrologie that is not mixed, nor invermedleth with Magicke. Whereby is necessarily concluded, that Astrology may be, and sometimes is impure and defiled with Magicke and Sorcerie. In

other places of the same worke, he maketh a difference betweene Astrologers G3 simply, and such as with Astrologie joyned Magicke. And out of Brentius he reciteth these words, Non negat Hierimias eam partem Astrologie, que sequitur manifestas nature rationes; that is, the Prophet Ierem doth not deny or condemne that part of Astrologie, which is guided by manifest reason or cause in nature. Hereby then is unavoidably concluded, that the Prophet of God condemneth that part of Astrologie, which exceedeth causes and reason in nature, and that necessarily must needs be by Sorcery and Magicke. As it is not obscure, that some men under the colour of Astrologie have practised Magicke and Sorcery; so is it no lesse evident, that many others, under the pretense of advising and counselling in Physicke. For curation or Prognostication of diseases, have likewise exercised the same Devilish practise. That this hath beene no new upstart custome, the multitude of diseases, which ancient times doe register to have beene cured by enchanted Spels, and words, and Magicke skill, doeth plentifully witness. The most ancient father of all Physicke and Physicians, the incomparable worthy founder of Method and Art, G4 Hippocrates G5 Dioscorides, G6 Theophrastus, with other succeeding Ancients, doe generally all acknowledge the force and power of Magicall curation. Galen in his younger time gave no credit thereto, but in the more aged G7 experience of right observation he doeth acknowledge it. I will not stuffe this small Treatise - notes- G1 This kinde of Devil is called, [Greek omitted] G2 Page 27. G3 Page 29. G4 Hipp. libro de Sacro morbo de Magis. G5 Dioscor. li. 2 cap. 102. G6 Theophrastus de hist. Plant. Trallianus, lib. 9. cap. 4. G7 Galenus li, de Medica Homeri tractatione.

Page 82

with the particular citation of every Another. Later Physicians also of the best and most choise note, doe herein, with former ages consent and concur, and experience doeth confirme trueth in both. Whosoever is acquainted with bookes and reading, shall every where meete a world of the wonders of cures, by wordes, by lookes, by signes, by figures, by characters, and ceremonious rites. As what the practise of former ages hath beene is manifest; so what our age and later time doeth herein afford, is almost no where in this kingdome obscure. The neerest unto that impudence, which herein this our time doeth produce and set forth, is that history of a Gormane Witch, reported in the Malleus Maleficarum. There was(as the Author of that worke saith) sometime a Sorceresse in Germany, who usually cured not onely all that were bewitched, but all kinde of diseased people,

so farre beyond all power or course of Art and Nature, and with such facility, that all use of the Art of Physicke, or of Physicians was altogether (for a time) neglected and forsaken; while people from all Countries, both neere and remote, in such numbers and frequence resorted unto her, that the Governour of that Countrey imposing upon every man one penny that resorted unto her, thereby raised himselfe a mighty treasure. What others among the most ancient Author, that are not Physicians doe publish, concerning the power of incantations in the curing of diseases is needlesse to write. Hee that hath read any few lines of old Homer, or of divers other aged Poets, shall finde plentiful record hereof. Herodotus is not silent herein. But to omit all their needlesse testimonies, Physicians of these last times, of the most eminent note and worth (whose pennes are yet scarce drie) doe witnesse the trueth hereof from their owne knowledge, fight and experience. Aboue the rest, Fernelius de Abditis rerum causis, is worthy any mans paines or view. Let us now lastly see what may bee collected out of the

Page 83

booke of God, concerning the power of the Devil in curing diseases, from whom all these inferiour Agents, Witches and Sorcerers doe derive their power and skill. If it bee in his power, where God doeth permit, to induce diseases, it must needes bee in his power to cease or calme diseases; because both causing and curing, consist in the vertue and force of the same meanes. Hee therefore that knoweth how and by what cause the disease is induced, doeth necessarily understand, that by the removall of that cause it is cured, and according to that rule can equally, as well by removall of that cause, cure, as by the induction of the cause bring sicknesse. For this reason it is a maxime in Physicke infallible, that he is the most excellent Physician, who knoweth best the causes of diseases, and who upon the knowledge of their true causes doeth found the right method of their curation. That the Devil doeth both know the causes of diseases, and also how by them to procure and produce diseases, is manifest by the History of Iob, v upon whom he brought that grievous generall botch and byle, over all his body, Iob chap. 2. verse 7. That hee did this by the force of causes in nature, must needes bee evident. First, because hee is a creature, and subject and limited by nature unto and within her lists; and therefore is not able absolutely and simply without causes and meanes in nature, to produce any effects in nature, although our ignorance of his power and knowledge (because it so farre excelleth our power or nature) doeth call all his workes justly supernaturall. Secondly, for that byles and botches are

knowne naturall diseases; and therefore had naturall causes, although haply unknowne to any man, and beyond the nature of knowledge or skill in man. These reasons of the Devil impossibilitie, to worke those effects without nature, are thus yet more briefly and cleerely made infallible. Of G1 nothing simply to produce any thing unto a true being and existence, is the sole and proper worke of any infinite Creator, and impossible unto - notes- G1 Creatio est constitutio substantiæ ex nihilo, Scali. de Subt, Exercit. vi. Sect. 13

Page 84

any creature. Therefore the Devil being a creature, could not bring those diseases upon Job, but by created meanes preexisting in created nature, in which he is contained and limited. And thus much concerning that kinde of Witch and Sorcerer, which is enquired at concerning the curing and issue of diseases, which we will conclude with this note, that all learned men of the best experience have observed; that in those cures by Witches and Sorcerers, the Devil hath never perfectly healed, but for a time; or else where hee hath seemed most perfectly to cure, it hath beene for a reservation of the body by him cured, unto a greater and further mischiefe in time to succede. Besides, this kinde of Witch, by meanes unknowne to man, or by a supernaturall vertue in knowne meanes, above and beyond their nature, undertaking to cure the sicke, or to foretell the event and issues of diseases, there is also another kind which doeth undertake to bee enquired at for extraordinary revelation of such diseased persons, as are bewitched or possessed by the Devil. This kinde is not obscure, at this day swarming G1 in the Kingdome, whereof no man can bee ignorant, who lusteth to observe the uncontroled libertie and license of open and ordinary resort in all places unto wise-men, and wise-women, so vulgarly termed for their reputed knowledge concerning such diseased persons as are supposed to be bewitched. But it may bee objected, that many of these two last mentioned sorts are rather deceivers, and Impostors onely, who by an opinion of this power, and not by any reall power herein, doe deceive, seduce, and beguile the people. This cannot in some be denied: notwithstanding least impious imposture bee still tolerated to bee a covert to hide the manifest Devilish practise of Witches, under pretense thereof (whereby it shall ever continue in this shape neglected or unspied) I will both briefly give satisfaction how the one may bee distinguished from the other, and also declare how men ceasing to enquire at Devil and Witches, or Impostors, may learne to enquire of their -notes- G1 Wisemen and Wisewomen.

Chapter 9

Page 85

God alone, and by the light of nature and reason (which hee hath given unto them) in his feare, with his allowance and approbation, more truely and certainly informe themselves. CHAP. IX. Of Wizards and Impostors, how they differ from Witches. HOW Witch craft in divers kinds may, according to evidence of reason, be detected, hath beene before made manifest. How imposture may be discovered (sense there is so good use and neceslitie of the distinction thereof, for the more perfect separating and setting a part of Witch craft by it selfe) wee will likewise briefly make manifest. G1 The Impostor is he who pretendeth truth, but intendeth falshood. For this cause sometimes under an holy pretense, he maketh God the G2 Author of his unholy prestigiation, and slandereth God unto his face, sometimes to be reputed an G3 Angell of light, he maketh himselfe a license to counterfeit the Devil. He proposeth it his trade to seduce, and liveth by lying. Sometimes in shew and pollicitation be is a Witch but in the performance of the greater sinne hee is lesse just, and in the personate resemblance solely a Jugler. For as the Witch persormeth that which in true, and infallible reason is transcendent and above nature; so the Impostor performeth that which in false and fallible reason and opinion, onely seemeth parallel. Hence as Witches doe strange and supernaturall workes, and truely unto reason worthy of wonder; so the Impostor doth things voide of accomptable reason, in shadow, shew, and seeming onely supernaturall, wondred and admired. And hence it commeth to passe, that with undiscerning mindes, they are sometimes mistaken and confounded G4 on for another. -notes- G1 Qui oculos fallent, alia pro aliis subditia oftentantes, ii præstigiatores ab antiquis dictisunt. Scaliger. Impostura ab co dicto quod adulterinas merces, pro veris supponit, Ulpian. Impostores dicuntur versuti and fallaces homines, qui merces adulterinas pro veris supponunt, Accursius. G2 Ephes 4. 14. G3 Col 2.23. G4 See Reginald Scot in his discoverie of Witch-craft, where in regard of the seeming likenesse of Impostures and Witch-craft, erroneously ho confoundeth them as one and the selfe same sinne.

Page 86

From hence it is also necessarily concluded, that as Witchcraft is discovered by a supernaturall worke above reason, whereto the Witches consent is accessary; so an Impostor is detected by a worke voide of accomptable reason, but in a deceiving false Visar

or shew, wherewith the purpose and intention of the Deceiver or Impostor doth concur. As therefore the suspected Witch is tyed to answer unto any just doubt, which may be directly urged against his or her manifest voluntary action, that is proved supernaturall: so is a truly doubted Impostor bound to give satisfaction, for such his ambiguous actions, as doe in likely reason appeare fraudulent, vaine, prestigious, juggling, couzening, or deceiving. And thus shall each appeare in his owne true shape apart. Of divers kinds of Witchcraft, I have before produced examples. G1 I may here likewise very pertinently, for further illustration, propose some examples of Imposture in generall, that the odiousnesse of this soule sinne may appeare more soule, and the ougly face thereof may be more fully discovered. Among multitude of examples, I will recite onely some few, whereof some consist in lewd and guilefull contrivement of action, other in the bewitching power of false prophecies, revelations, predictions, and prognostications. G2 Concerning the first, who can be ignorant of the impious and infamous Impostures of Mahomet, who by guilefull counterfeit miracles, and pretended angelicall illuminated workes, first magnified and set up that heathenish G3 Empire, and Religion of the blasphemous Turkes? The History of Sebastian, the pretended Portugall King, as it is set forth by John de Serres, according to Master Grimsiones translation thereof (if he were a true Impostor indeede, and were not injuriously traduced, and blurred with undeserued reproch) is an incomparable example, above and beyond many other. I will referre my Reader to the Author himselfe. If we desire more neere or domesticall examples herein, behold, in the raigne of Henry the seventh, G4 a boy of -notes- G1 Examples of Imposture in generall. G2 Example 1. G3 2. Polidorus Virgil lib. 7. cap. ult. G4 Speede.

Page 87

meane parentage, through imposturous machinations opposed, set up and crowned King in Ireland, against that famous and renowned Prince Henry the seventh, putting him in great danger of his life and crowne of England. 4. In the late raigne of Queene Mary, there arose an Impostor, stiling himselfe Edward the sixth. The danger of the progresse of that Impostor (if it had prevailed) who knoweth not? The manifest wrongs, injuries, and impeachments also from counterfeit prophecies, revelations, and predictions, issuing not only unto private men and families, but unto Kingdomes, Empires, and Common-weales, are infinite. 5. Julian, an Emperour of Rome, though otherwise a mightie and learned Prince, and valiant souldier, by a prophecie of an Impostresse or seeming Pythonisse, promising his conquest, and

triumph over the Kingdome of Persia, was thither hastened unto his deserved death, and the vengeance of God upon his infamous Apostasie. 6. It is reported by John de Serres, the French Cronicler, that the power and sorce of some pretended revelations, and visions of a young Shepheard, in the raigne of Charles the seventh King of France, was so prevalent, that it perswaded Pothon that great and famous French Captaine, with the Marshall of France, to arme and incounter the then victorious English in the bowels of that Kingdome; by which unadvised attempt, the French were surprisid and taken by the English. 7. It is recorded by the same Author, that one Martha Brosier, counterfeiting the fits and passions of such as were possessed, in short time became so powerfull in illusion, that she ministred much matter of wonder and amazement, not onely unto private men, but unto the Kings Counsell, to Preachers in pulpits, yea unto the whole Parliament, untill the counterfeit Devil induring some punishment and restraint, forsooke his pretended possession. 8. If wee require examples in our owne cuntry, behold, in the raigne of Edward the fourth, his brother George

Page 88

G1 Duke of Clarence, was hastened unto his untimely death, even by the allowance of his brother King, upon the feare of a vaine and flying prophecie, that G. of King Edwards heires should be the murtherer. 9. In the time of Henry the eight, the holy Maide of Kent by her seeming miraculous revelations, deceiving not onely the common sort, but even divers learned and some men of the best ranke, and prime note, stirred up in the King great icalousie, and feare of his Crowne and safety, as by the records of her attaindour doeth appeare, wherein doeth stand proved and sentenced her treason-some imposture of most dangerous consequent, if it had obtained equall issue. 10. In the same kings raigne, the bewitching esteeme, credit, and hope of force and vertue in counterfeit predictions, and pretended revelations, whet the ambitious heart of Edward G2 Lord Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, first into high Treason, and to reach at the Crowne, and after from thence thrust him headlong or headlesse into his grave. 11. In the raigne of Edward the sixt, there was a prophecie divulged from the mouth of some pretended Wizard; by which the conjuration of Kett, and those Norfolke Rebels, was hartned and encouraged to proceede in their rebellion and outrage, unto the great danger and damage of the Kingdome, and in the end unto their owne destruction: That blind pretended prophecie, in the insidiation of vaine and credulous mindes, was somewhat like unto that ambiguous Oracle in the Post. Aio, te Æacida Romanos vincere posse: I say,

the sonne of Æacus the Romane power shall quell This Oracle may on either side indifferently, either actively or passively bee understood. Like unto it was that prestigious prophecie, which the rebellious Norfolcians with their Kett trusted: -notes- G1 Speede. G2 Speede.

Page 89

Hob, Dic, and Hic with clubbes and clouted shoone, Shall fill up Dussin-dale with slaughtered bodies soons The Rebels understanding this blinde revelation, or prediction, concerning the victory wherein they themselves should bee Agents and not Patients, (as afterward their owne ruine did truely interpret it) and dreaming the silling up of the Dussin dale to be intended of other mens dead bodies, and not their owne, where thereby incited with furious courage, unto the hazard of the kingdome and their native Country, untill their owne mangled and slaughtered carcasses became butchered spectacles, and bloody monuments of such illusion and imposture. 12. How many other fearefull and horrid treasons have bin built and grounded upon other the like prodigious impostures? To recite the damages and wrongs done unto private men by imposture in manifold kinds, were infinite. What should wee mention Prior G1 Bolton of St. Barthelmewes in London, who in the raigne of Henry the eight, upon the impression of an universall World sloud, grounded upon pretended miraculous predictions, ridiculously buildeth himself an house or near on the top of Harrow hill, to save himselfe from drowning? What mighty terrors did the wicked imposters predictions of strange events in the admirable yeere 88. strike into the common people or vulgars of England? from whence, what different distractions in many private men did bring foorth, to relate, were just matter of profound laughter. What translations of dwellings, peregrinations into other Countries, exchange of inheritances for monies, and other ridiculous extravagant molitions did the approach of that yeere diversly prepare? I will not waste paper in any more G2 particular recitals: Our later age and time hath not beene barren of many wicked and harmefull fruites of imposturous prophecies, neither have they altogether escaped the eye of Justice, nor the blurre of infamy -notes- G1 Speede. G2 Philippe de Commines, booke 4. cha. 10. taxeth our English Nation for the multitude and vanity of flying Prophecies in this kinde.

Page 90

written in their names and chronicled memory. And although many impostures (because practised upon private and more obscure personages) are lesse knowne and published, then such

as are committed against Princes and States, and therefore are more remarkable in the eyes of all men, yet are they both equally in their natures pernicious. It were not now impertinent from the declaration of the mischiefs of imposture in generall, to descend unto some such in particular, as are practised under the lying pretense and false color of a transcendent and Magicke vertue. In examples G1 of this kinde, Reignald Scott doeth over-abound in his discovery. I have my selfe noted and knowne some men (I could say some men of the Clergie) who to draw wonder and custome unto their practise in Physicke (wherein Sacriligiously they spend their best and chiefe time and howers, with open neglect of God and his service.) I know some I say, who are not ashamed prophanely and most irreligiously, to affect among vulgars, to gaine the opinion of skill in Conjurat[i]on, Magicke, and Divell-charming. By this imposturous Art or device many yeeres together (not among men Religious, Orthodoxe, or judiciously learned) but among vulgars, and sometimes also among some great and mighty men) they have become unworthily magnified Physitions, above other farre more worthy, and performing sometimes, somethings praise worthy (as is oft-times contingent unto the meanest practisers) they still gaine countenance, and time to robbe God of the first fruites of their time, strength, and labours, and the Church of their more requisite maine study and imployment. It is not unknowns how common it is among these men, to prosesse the erecting of figures, the giving of answeres as Wizards, the revealing of things hidden, as Magitians, unto the great dishonour of God, the shame of the Church, the Lawes and Kingdome. How usuall it is with many other Juglers and Mountibankes, by the reputation of Witches impostuously to promise, and undertake -notes- G1 Examples of imposture under colour of Magicke skill or Witch craft.

Page 91

miraculous curations, and Prognostications of diseases and their issues, is not unknowne unto any common observer: wherein, for brevitie sake, and to avoide confusion, and the crambe or iteration of the same things. I will referre the Reader to a former manuell, called The discovery of Erroneous practises in Phisicke, where although, by reason of my absence beyond and beside the Errata, many errorrs both in some words and sense, doe still remaine; yet there are many things in this kinde worthy notice. Read page 71. the Treatise of Wizards; likewise, in the second marginall note of the page 53. an History of a Chirurgion, famous in curing such as were bewitched: Likewise page 109. 110. 111. an History of imposture, under the colour and pretense

of the inspection and judging of Urines: and likewise, page 60. and from thence unto the end of that whole Chapter. There is a very rare, but true, description of a Gentlewoman, about six yeeres past cured of divers kindes of convulsions, and other Apoplektike, Epileptike, Cataleptike, and Paraly tike fits, and other kindes of accidents of affinitie therewith. After shee was almost cured of those diseases, but the cure not fully accomplished, it was by a reputed Wizard whispered, and thereupon beleevd, that the Gentlewoman was meerely bewitched, supposed Witches were accused. The Gentlewoman hath beene free from all those accidents there mentioned, the space of sixe yeeres now past. In this last past seventh yeere, since the writing of that history, some of the former fits are G1 critically againe returned: the same Wizard or Deceiuer resorted unto and enquired at, doeth now againe avouch her to bee bewitched; upon opinon whereof and trust in his illusion, the timely use and benefit of due counsell hath beene much omitted and neglected. Her diseases which formerly, farre exceeded these which now are, in number, frequence and vehemence, were in shorter space cured, and so continued the space of sixe yeeres together. These few which now doe returne, due counsell and time neglected, though -notes- G1 *Plurimæ autem passiones puerulis judicantur in septem mensibus nonnullæ in 7. anno Hipp. Aphor. 28 lib. 3. Morbi Diutini ad septenarii rationem habent Crisim, non septenarii quoad menses modo, sed quoad annos. Galen, in dictum Aphorism.*

Page 92

being in number fewer, lesse intricate, and farre lesse violent, have notwithstanding a farre larger space of time continued. If that Counsellor or undertaker to counsell, be a Wizzard in name and reputation only (as I doe gesse and deeme him) then is this History an incomparable example and instance of the wickednesse, impietie and crueltie of imposture and Impostours. If he be found a Witch, then is it an unanswerable evidence and instance of the Devils juggling, lying, illusion and deceiving, whereof we made mention and proove before in the question or doubt concerning Pythagoras realty in two places. For, in true reason and judicious discerning, it is as cleere as the brightest day, that no accident befalling the Gentlewoman mentioned, can be other then naturall, or farther supernaturall, then either the Devils credit with a Witch, or an Impostors credit with deceined and seduced men is able to inchaunt perswasion unto vaine affiance in them. I referre the Reader to the consideration of the History at large, with that which here is added: I will only exhort all men not to be in those doubtfull cases, too violent, nor rash in

asking or beleiving unworthy or worthlesse counsell, but to aske it of such as are truly and godly learned and prudent, and not of Impostours or Seducers, considering that the consequence of rashnesse, mistaking error and ignorance; are no lesse then the life or death of the sicke, a putting out of the eyes and light of reason, which God and Nature hath given man to walke withall in the darke pilgrimage of this life; a deprivation of due remedies which God hath allowed (while beguiled with vaine and foolish opinion, with wilfull blindnesse, they worthily esteeme not, nor will expect his grace and favour therein. Assuredly, he that doth give up himselfe to become a prey to folly and illusion, and led by deceivers headlong into confused, unjustifiable, unwarranted and inhibited explorations and trials, doth forsake the guidance and use of right reason, and in stead thereof, is intemperately distracted

Page 93

with impatience of expectation of due respect and esteeme of Gods ordinance and allowance in his ordinary meanes, may justly feare that God hath decreed and determined, not onely to dispoile him of that common blessing which he hath promised to all that duely seeke, and rightly use his allowed meanes; but also that he leaveth him unto the cursed path and way of perpetuall blindnesse and hardnesse of heart therein, except his speciall and extraordinary divine grace in time reduce his dangerous steps. For certainly he unto whose blinded eyes God doth offer so great mercy and favour, as is plainly evident in all his ordained ordinary meanes, unto every good that be falleth man in this life, and with thankfulness cannot or will not behold it, when it is laid at his unthaukfull feete, is in a desperate way of a lethargicall disposition, or senselesse memory and oblivion, both of his reason, and of himselfe, and of Gods mercifull goodnesse towards him. And thus the uglinesse of imposture both by the description thereof, and also by example doth appeare, wherein may be first seene, how they that trust thereto, doe for sake God, themselves and their owne common sense and reason, and give themselves to be swallowed up of lying and illusion. Secondly, in the whole course of imposture it selfe, is seene the continuall practise of mercillesse impietie, the usuall wrong of the afflicted, the belying of truth, the deceiving the miserable, the deprivation of the sicke, of the use of due remedies and meanes which God hath made and blessed unto men, that with praise unto his name, patience and due dependance upon his providence therein, can be contented to seeke and expect the likely and hopefull issue thereof, in usuall course of nature. Lastly, may be collected, and observed, the use and necessitie of

distinction between Imposture and Witch-craft; namely, that the odious and abominable sinne of Witch-craft be not suffered to continue, unregarded or neglected, under the colour of vaine Imposture, and that the Devil be not suffered to live amongst us, too commonly, and too openly, in the coate

Chapter 10

Page 94

and habite of a foolish Impostor, or Iuggler. For certainly nothing doth more hoodwinke the through discovery of Sorcerers, then remissnesse and omission of inquisition, and castigation of Impostors, out of whose leaven (no doubt) but diligent animadversion, might oftentimes bolt out many a subtile and concealed Witch. CHAP. X. How men may by reason and nature be satisfied, concerning such sicke persons as are indeede and truly bewitched. IT followeth now, according to promise, briefly to point unto direction, how men leaving to inquire at Witches and Sorcerers, and Impostors, concerning the sick, supposed to be bewitched, may inquire and be better satisfied by the light of Reason; which God hath given unto them. Reason doth detect the sicke to be assisted by the immediate supernaturall power of the Devil, two wayes: The first way is, by such things as are subject and manifest unto the learned Physicion onely: the second is, by such things as are subject and manifest unto a vulgar view. Those things which are manifest unto the Physicion alone are of two sorts. The first is, when in the likenesse and similitude of a disease, the secret working of a supernaturall power doth hide it selfe, having no cause or possibilitie of being in that kinde or nature. The second is, when naturall remedies or meanes according unto Art and due discretion applyed, doe extraordinarily or miraculously either lose their manifest inevitable nature, use, and operation, or else produce effects and consequences, against or about their nature, the impossibilitie of either of these in usuall or ordinarie course of nature, doth certainly proove an infallibilitie of a superiour nature, which assuredly therefore must needs be either Divine or Diabolicall. This conclusion concerning the infallibilitie of a supernaturall mover, from the like assumption, the learned and

Page 95

worthy preserver of reverent antiquitie, Master Camden, in his description of Cheshire, hath truly inferred upon the miraculous prelusions, and presages, ever and perpetually forerunning the death of the heyres of the house or family of the Briertons. These and such like things (saith he) are done either by the holy

tuteler Angels of men, or else by Devils who by Gods permission mightily shew their power in this inferiour world. Whensoever therefore the Physicion shall truly discover a manifest transcending power, manner, or motion in any supposed disease, there is an undoubted conclusion of the Author. Where likewise remedies finde concomitances, or consequences contrary to their nature, or such as never were, nor ever can be contingent in course of nature: this assumption truly granted, doth invincibly inferre a transcendent force and vertue therein never to be denied. The Demonstration hereof is evident. A proper cause is certainly knowne where is detected his proper effect. Ergo, where is effected ought supernaturall, there is infallibly discovered a supernaturall cause. Thus how diseases, and the wonderfull accidents which oft happen in diseases, may be by the Physicion detected, according unto the rule of reason, whether induced by the Devil or no, is briefly pointed at. How the guilt of any man therein with the Devil (which doth onely convince a Witch) may and ought appeare, hath beene before declared, and shall likewise hereafter be further made cleare. It will not now be immateriall or unprositabell, for confirmation, illustration, and better prooffe of those two waies, which are distinguished to be onely subject, and manifest unto the Physicion, in the detection of the secret workes of Devils and Witches in diseases, to produce one or two examples of both. Concerning the first, Fernelius in his 2. booke De Abd. Rer. causis, chap. 16, delivereth a history of a yong man of a noble family, who was by a violent convulsion in an extraordinary

Page 96

manner long time tormented. Divers learned Physicions remained long time doubting and unsatisfied, both in the cause of this disease, as also of the seate or place where the cause, with any sufficient reason, might be judged settled. Behold very pregnant inducements of the finger of the Devil, mooving in the disease. One was the incredible velocitie of motion in the diseased, impossible unto the force of man: the other was, for that in all the fits and convulsions, though very strong and vehement, his sense and understanding remained in the diseased, perfect and nothing obscured, or interrupted, which in convulsions according unto naturall causes was never seene, and is impossible. The force of these reasons to evince the presidence of the Devil, in the manner and motion of the fore-named disease, the Devil himselfe did shortly after justifie, declaring and professing himselfe the Author thereof in plainly expressed words. In the fore-named booke and chapter, there is another report or relation of a man sudainly surprised, with an

extraordinarie fashion, or shape of madnesse or phrensie, wherein he uttered and revealed things hidden, and of profound Science and revelation, not onely above the pitch and power of naturall capacitie, and the stimulation thereof in diseases contingent, and the forgerie of fained extasie, but really in true and upright judgement, and unpartiall discerning of a Physition beyond all question and exception supernatuall. The sequele after made it good. These examples are sufficient unto men that are wise, and with whom reason hath authoritie. I doe not affect unadvised multiplication herein, suspecting many histories, and reports of divers Authors. The possibilitie of those which are here produced, beside the unstained credit of the Author, is apertly confirmed by the holy Scripture, where, in the Lunatike the Devil manifested himselfe by actions, onely proper and appropriate

Page 97

unto the power of a Spirit: such was his casting the Lunatike into the site, and into the water, his violent rending and tearing him, which were things by the Physition judiciously distinguished, in most part impossible unto the power and nature of the Lunatike himselfe, or of his disease alone, though not all. The man possessed among the Gadareus, Mattb. 8. Mark. 5. Lake 8. likewise doth establish the same, who was knowne and seene evidently by the Physition, how farre simply or solely diseased, and how farre possessed beyond diseased extasies by those undoubted workes, and that finger of the Devil, when he easily brake in peeces those yron chaines wherewith the Lunatike was bound: so that no force thereof whatsoever could hold or binde him; as also when he uttered and spake that more then humane understanding and revelation of Jesus Christ to be the Sonne of God: a knowledge as yet uncommunicated unto mankinde, and unto reason impossible. Concerning the second way of detection, subject unto the Physition alone, namely, when naturall remedies aptly applyed, are attended with supernaturall consequences, contrary to their nature, or above the same, out of the former Author, and fore-named place. there is an example also without farther stragging of unquestioned estimation. A certaine man there mentioned, vehemently burning and thirsting, and by intolerable heate compelled to seeke any mitigation, or extinction of his heate and thirst, in want of drinke or other fitting liquor, happened to finde an Apple, in the moisture and naturall juice whereof, hoping the usuall short refreshing of the tongue, he, after the first tasting thereof, immediatly found (not onely that which was contrary to the nature of an Apple, greater burning and thirst then before) but had instantly his mouth and jawes so fast closed and sealed up thereby, that he hardly escaped

strangling. The reasonable doubt of the latitation of the Devil, in this faire, harmelesse, and usuall remedie of the tongues,

Page 98

thirst and drines, was afterward made more evident and manifest by the sudaine and swift obsession of his minde, with frightfull visions, whereof as in the disposition, temper, substance or qualitie of his braine or body, there was no ground or cause, so in the Apple it selfe, was no other pernicious mixture, but that the Devil, as with Judas Sop, though wholesome and saying in it selfe, so in this medicinall fruit, entred and possessed, where God permitted. The like may be said of other both outward and inward remedies, which by a Magicke power are and may be oft interrupted, turned and bent unto a use contrary to their nature. For this cause Hippocrates himselfe in his booke de Sacro morbo, and de Natura muliebri, doeth acknowledge many accidents, as also diseases and remedies themselves to be divine, as having their cause and being above the course of nature. When therefore fitting unto any cause, matter, or humour in the body, according to true Art and Reason discovered, apt and fit remedies, are aptly and fitly by the judicious Physition applyed, notwithstanding, contrary to the nature and custome of such remedies, they have unusuall and instly wondered effects, is there not just matter of doubt concerning an unusuall and extraordinary cause answerable thereto? The deepe and mysticall contengents in this kinde, and their hidden reason and cause, the unlearned man, or he that is not exercised in difficult discoveries, cannot discern, nor can the intricate and perplexed implications therein, of doubts and ambiguices, possibly become intelligible in every ordinary apprehension; yet by the former easie and familiar example, every man may gesse and conjecture at the most abstruse. The subtiltie of the Devil doeth easily deceive a vulgar thought, and in the clouds and mists of doubts and difficulties beguileth usually the dimme sight and disquisition. The learned Physition, notwithstanding possessing true judgement and learning; who doeth and can warily observe, and distinguish first the wonders of nature unknowne unto every mediocrity of knowing: secondly, the true wonders above nature in due collation with nature to be knowne, doth

Page 99

not easily or rashly with vulgars, erre or runne mad in the confusion of vaine and idle scruples. The wonders of nature, are such naturall diseases as are seene in their wondred and admired shapes or mixture, to have a great likenesse or deceiving

identitie with such maladies, as are inflicted by the Devil. The wonders above nature, are such diseases, as are truely and undoubtedly knowne and proved to have no consistence, or power of consistence, or cause in sublunary nature. For illustation hereof, I will give one materiall instance fitting our present time, that shall apertly without exception manifest the distinction of both these kinds, therewith declaring the great oddes and difference betweene true knowledge and understanding in the learned Physition, and the amazed wonderments of vulgars and ignorant men. There are vulgarly reported among our English vulgers to bee in the bodies of many Witches, certaine markes or excrescences which are usually deemed the randevowe of the Devil, where by covenant hee doeth sucke the blood of Witches. These excrescencies are usually described to beare sometimes the shape of Wartes and Teates, or some other such like tumours. They are most commonly found in the privie parts. They are found sudainely after their appearance, sometimes to vanish. They doe oft bleed, and therefore are vulgarly deemed, the remaining dropping of the Devil sucking. There are diseases likewise, like unto these by Physitions many hundreth of yeeres published, and both by ancient Physitions and Chirurgions, as also by those of later times oft cured. That this be not esteemed as a wonder, or a fable, I will produce some of their severall shapes; described by severall Authors, and will cite them according to their usually names which are these, Thymion, Nymphæ, Cleitoris, Cercosus, Morum, Alhasce, Ficus, Mariscæ. Of the first thus saith Paulus Ægineta in his sixth booke, and 71. chapter. It is an excrescence or eminence, standing out from the rest of the slesh, sometimes red, sometimes

Page 100

white, for the most part without paine, the bignesse of an Ægyptian beane and of the colours of the flowers of Thyme. They are found, saith he, in the privie part of women, and are cured by cutting them away. Joannes Hucherus of the Citie of Beuois in France, sometimes one of the Kings counsell and Physition unto his person, in his second booke concerning barrennesse doth testifie, that the former excrescence doth sometimes grow in some length, sometimes in the hands, sometimes in the feete, sometimes in the thighes, sometimes in the thighes, sometimes in the face, but saith that they are most troublesome in the privie parts both of man and woman. Celsus saith in his first booke chap. 28. that these excrescencies doe sometimes open and bleed, and send out blood. Thymion (inquit) facile finditur and cruentatur, nonnunquam aliquantum sanguinis fundit.

Antonius Musa upon the 26. Aph. of Hippocrates the third booke testifieth by his observation in divers particulars, that the former disease or excrescence doth oft-times weare and vanish away without helpe or remedie. The second disease or excrescence called Nymphe, Paulus Ægineta, in his 6. booke 8. chap. doeth describe to be a swelling or growing out of a peece of flesh in the secret part of a woman rising oft-times unto undecent fashion and a great bignesse. Auicenne delivereth the same description. Tom. 1. Fen. 21. Tract. 4. and Albucasis Chirurg. Part. 2. Chap. 72, 73, 74. The third excrescence called Cleitoris is little different from the former by the description of the same Authors. Auicen lib. 3. Fen. 28. Paulus Ægineta in the fore-mentioned place. The fourth excrescence called Cerrosis the same Author in the same place compareth unto a long taile and saith, that it hangeth downe, and issueth out of the part before mentioned in women, and is cured by being cut away. The fift excrescence called Morum hath that name from his likenesse unto a Mulberrie.

Page 101

The sixth, called Alhasce, from his likenesse unto a Bramble leafe. Auicenne Tom. 1. lib. 3. Fen. 21. Tract. 4 cap. 20. As for the seventh and eight Excrescences, growing likewise as the rest about the secret parts, they have beene so commonly in ancient times knowne, that Martiall the Poet out of his owne acquaintance with them, hath made sport thereof in wittie verse. Dicemus ficus quas scimus in arbore nasci, Dicemus ficus Cæciliane tuos. Of the Mariscæ, thus also writeth Javenal. C duntur tumidæ medice ridente, Mariscæ. Of these Mariscæ thus saith Antonius Musa upon the Apb. 30. lib. 3. Wee call them, saith hee, crests or combes, from their likenesse unto the combe of a Cocke, which saith he, if they bee not in time cut away, and cuted by actuall cauteries, they are never cured at all. Thus much concerning these diseases, out of learned Authors. Let us now consider these naturall diseases, which are called wonders in nature, (because not ordinarily or vulgarly seene) with those markes of Witches or diseases, and excrescencies effected and caused by the Devil in Witches, which (therefore must needes be wonders aboue nature.) Let us (I say) compare them together, the one with the other. Their exceeding neere neighbour-hood and likenesse, no common understanding, as they are described truely and lively, can chuse but acknowledge. To confound or mistake the one for the other, is very easie, but yet dangerous and pernicious. I will not denie against due testimonies, and the free confessions of the Witches themselves, that such markes may bee by the Devil upon covenant made, in way of an hellish sacrament, betweene the Devill and the Witch: but where the

confession of the Witch her selfe, being free from just exception doeth not appeare, not the Devil to any spectatours, doeth shew himselfe in the act

Page 102

of sucking, which hee never doeth (as my incredulous thoughts perswade my selfe) where I say, these appeare not to be manifest without fraude, there it is requisite, and necessary, that either wee discharge the Devil, and acquit him of the slander, or else discover it by some other signe or note, which may justly be appropriated unto the Devil, that his finger or guilt hath beene therein. This is reason, without which ought bee no perswasion. Every tree is to be knowen by his owne fruit, saith our Saviour. Therefore the Devil, is to be knowne by the workes, and fruites of a Devil, proper and belonging unto him. Trie and discern the Spirits, (saith the Scripture) whether they be of God, or no. And how can they bee discerned, if there were not some notes, or properties knowne unto holy discerning mindes, whereby they may be discerned. It is madnesse therefore, to suppose it possible to know that which is done by a Spirit, wherein is no evidence, impression, signe, shew, or propertie of a Spirit. For as a naturall cause cannot bee knowne, but by his naturall effect; so is it impossible, that a spirituall cause should be knowne, but by some supernaturall effect. For this cause, in all places of Scripture, where are set forth the outward workes, or actions of the Devil, they doe there likewise all appeare to be his, in some extraordinary and supernaturall note or maner. The casting the bodies of the possessed in the Gospel, into the midst of the people, was a thing extraordinary, impossible, and unusuall unto the voluntary motion of men alone. The bringing of fire from Heaven to devoure so many of lobs sheepe, was in the manner beyond the nature usuall, and ordinary force, or custome of fire. The carriage of the heards of Swine headlong into the Sea, was manifestly beyond the nature of their naturall motion, yea, against their nature. Here may be objected, that the Devil doeth ordinarily worke, and produce things of seeming wonder, and strange consequence, wherein notwithstanding, doeth not appeare any signe or impression, of any supernaturall cause or authour,

Page 103

as is seene in many things produced in men, and issuing from his usuall tentations of men. The answer is, that the Devil doeth worke upon man, two wayes. The first is, immediatly by the temptings, and solliciting only of man unto workes, which properly are affected by man himselfe, in the usuall course and

power of mans nature. The second is, immediately by his owne proper action, as hee is a Spirit, and immediately worketh in himselfe, the worke of a Spirit. In the first, the Devil is not properly said to worke in himselfe, but rather to give and offer occasion unto the disposition and affections of man, thereby exciting, and tempting man unto that worke, which therefore onely carrieth the stampe of a worke, proper unto a man. In the second, the Devil worketh immediately himselfe, as he is a Spirit, and in that worke therefore must necessarily likewise bee seene, and appeare the stampe of a Spirit, since in the course and order of all things created whatsoever, the true and immediate cause, his immediate true and proper effect, is the sole true infallible stampe, evidence, and prooffe thereof. The workes therefore, which are called or esteemed the Devils, in regard of his tentations, and incitations of man, unto foolish, wicked, and oft wondered mischievous actions, are onely and truely called devilish, as proceeding from the Devil instigation onely, but are not truely or properly, or immediately any workes of the Devil, and therefore it is not requisite, that in such workes of the Devil, unpropetly called his, there should appeare any signes, proper unto the workes of a Spirit or Devill. Since then it is infallible, that there can bee no possible discovery of any cause whatsoever, naturall, or supernaturall, but by such accidents, effects, or properties as properly belong, or issue from that cause, and since proper effects appearing, doe onely discover their causes more

Page 104

cleerely, where they appeare more cleere, and more obscurely, where they doe appeare more obscure, and nothing at all, where they appeare not all: Since I say this is true, and never to be infringed, those supposed Witches markes, before they can justly and truely bee judged to bee by the Devil effected or used, must by some stampe or signe proper to himselfe, or to his workes, or to his use or propertie therein, be so determined and convinced to be. The wonder indeed of their strange shapes, forme and manner, is sufficient to amaze such as are not judiciously read, or are unlearned: but the Phisition who knoweth such diseases to bee in nature, by that knowledge of their nature, knowing likewise that they doe not exceede nature, doeth instly stand apart, and divide himselfe from the vulgar error and opinion, that they are any markes to be appropriate unto the Devil. And hence appeareth the necessitie of convincing the forementioned Witches markes to bee supernaturall, before upon their shape or appearance onely, it can bee esteemed just, either to impute unto the Devil, or to call any man into question. Before they can

bee truely judged or determined, whether supernaturall or no, the necessitie of consulting with the learned Phisition, is likewise demonstrated. Of which wee may yet againe, give another demonstration within the same instance. It hath beene sometimes by oath confirmed and deposed, that these forementioned markes of Witches, have (immediately after they have beene seene) sudainely vanished to bee no more seene. The question may bee, whether their sudaine disparence after their manifest appearance, bee in nature possible unto such like diseases or no. It is knowne unto the Phisition, that many diseases doe insensibly grow, and insensibly also weare and vanish away, without any knowledge or notice there of taken by the diseased. This therefore solely can bee no note of a supernaturall marke, whatsoever passionate ignorants fondly dispute, to maintaine their owne wils and prejudicate resolutions. I doe grant, if

Page 105

those materiall excrescencies, doe in a moment vanish away, without any precedent preparation, or alteration tending thereto, or doe in an instant appeare, and in the same moment, without any mutation or proportion of time instantly vanish, then must this bee granted supernaturall: Quia nihil fit in momento, that is, no naturall being hath desinence or being, without proportined time, beyond which nothing can bee really or indeed in sublunarie nature, whether there bee in the vanishing of the former markes, proportion of time or no, and the due antecedent mutations, and alterations in nature requisite, who can truely judge, but hee who doeth both know the generall course of nature in all things, and also the particular course, in the nature of diseases, which is the learned Phisition alone. It may bee objected, that many common men in the former markes, may as easily see and discern that which is supernaturall oft-times, as the greatest Clarkes. For example, it hath beene published by Authors of great note, that Oracles have beene uttered, and atticulate sounds heard distinctly issuing from the privie parts of a Pythonisse. Any man that doeth know, or heare such sounds out of that place, can as directly and as truely as the Phisition avouch this to be supernaturall. It was sometime openly objected, against a Witch in Northampton-shire at the publike Assise, that a Rat was oft observed to resort unto her privie part, and with her liking and sufferance there to sucke. This was by oath and testimony urged against her, and she her selfe confessed it to bee true. If the oath and testimony of sufficient witnesses, confirme the Historie to bee true, there is no man unto whom this is not apparent, as well as unto the Phisition to

bee more then naturall. Hereto wee doe answere, that although it cannot bee denied, that many things may evidently declare themselves unto every vulgar, as unto the learned Phisition to bee supernaturall; yet doeth not this trueth in some cases, evince it true in all cases. Because some things are not denied unto a vulgar eye or judgment,

Page 106

it doeth not thence follow necessarily, that all things are thereto evident. It is further objected, that in those cases, Phisitions are oft found deceived, as well as other men. It is answered, that among Phisitions, as among all sorts of other men, there are many vulgars, who are, and may bee ordinarily, and easily deceived, yea amongst the judicious and learned also, who cannot so ordinarily or easily bee deceived, yet there must be some wants and imperfections, since no man in this mortall life can bee in all particuler points perfect. Notwithstanding, this doeth not excuse those who are unlearned, and have many more grosse wants and imperfections, for not consulting with those that have lesse, since unperfect perfection of knowledge, is farre better guide then imperfection, grosse ignorance, and privation of Art and knowledge. It may bee yet demanded, what if the Phisition or learned man, cannot detect the Devil in these named markes, since the devil is able to have a finger haply in them, where no note or signe there of shall at all appeare? Answere hereto is, where God doeth give unto men no meanes, no way or possibilitie unto their desired satisfaction, there they ought to rest contented, since the contrary is precipitation, and impatience with God his good will and pleasure, and unbridled curiositie. For as in other cases, namely, Fellony, Murder, all Lawe both Divine and Humane, doeth forbid to accuse the Murderer, or Felon, where God hath not discovered his guilt by any signe, evidence, or prooffe thereof; so in case of Witch-craft, where God hath not revealed it by any reasonable profe, unto the learned and judicious, there hath no man warrant to accuse, or challenge upon superstitious grounds, or surmises onely. And though this moderation be just and fit to be held, where God hath inhibited the contrary; yet it is no Apologie or excuse for negligence, contempt, and want of diligent inquisition at any other time, whensoever God doeth permit or offer meanes, hope or possibilitie thereto.

Page 107

There may here a question be pertinently mooved, namely, Whether these markes before mentioned, where proved supernaturall, doe therefore necessarily convince the party upon

whom they are found, a Witch, yea or no. Answer hereto is, that simply and alone, such markes doe not proove a Witch at all, but with some limitations and considerations, they doe absolutely and infallibly demonstrate a Witch. Those limitations are these; First, that those markes certainly detected to be supernaturall, bee by circumstances, presumptions on necessary inference, of reason proved to be knowne, by the party in whom they are found, that they are of the Devil, or by the Devil there placed. Secondly, that they are there continued, maintained, or preserved with the liking and allowance of that partie. The reason of these limitations is manifest, for that the Devil is able to impose divers diseases, as also such like supernaturall markes or excrescencies, as are before mentioned, upon men without their liking or consent, where God doth so permit him. This is evident by the Historie of Iob, upon whom the Devil brought extraordinary, and more then usuall botches, biles, and sores, beyond the common course and nature of those diseases, and this he did full sore against the will, and liking of righteous Iob. No man can justly be accused or suspected in that act wherein hee is no agent, but an unwilling Patient, nor can hee be accessory unto concurrence, or consent with any author in his act, if that author bee not knowne unto him, or not conceived by him to be author. Indeed, if any man be found with such markes, who may be convinced to know them to bee of the Devil, and then to like or to be contented with them, assuredly by manifest demonstration, that man is a Witch, if not by an expresse and open, yet by an occult allowance of the Devils possession and power, of that part or portion in him. Whosoever giveth any possession of himselfe unto the Devil, either in part or in whole, doeth thereby renounce his Creator, and by this combination with the Devil, is a Witch, or Sorcerer.

Page 108

There remaineth as yet a doubt or question, Whether simply the affirmation of a supposed Witch (which is vulgarly but not properly called and deemed her confession) that the Devil doth sucke him or her, as also whether the affirmation of a supposed Witch, affirming her selfe to be a Witch, do infallibly convince that supposed Witch, to be a Witch indeede; and whether that affirmation be sufficient (as commonly deemed her owne confession) to condemne her. The answer is negative. The reason is, for that many affirmations in themselves, and at first view doe seeme true serious and sufficient; which better and more considerably examined, are oft times even senselesse and ridiculous; and therefore justly are denied credit. And for this cause no accusations, whether against any man himselfe, or

against another, wherein is no probabilitie or likelihood, no colour or possibilitie of being; either are or ought to be admitted or heard in justice in any Courts of Justice. And for this cause the testimonies, accusations, or confessions which by fooles, or madmen are avouched, are by all nations through the world in law not valued, and rejected. The same regard is had of the affirmations and testimonies of children and of melancholy people, and likewise of men with yeeres and age doting, or by diseases or cares manifestly decrepite in their wittes and senses. That such decrepits there are usually walking among men not noted nor knowne unto most, or many, except sometimes upon especiall occasion or triall of them made, is no wonder. I did my selfe know some lately living, who formerly have beene very understanding, yet divers yeeres before their end, were with age in their inward senses so worne and wasted; that although as reasonable creatures unto the common view, they talked, conversed, conferred, spake many times, and in many things with very good reason, and sensibly; yet oft-times by sodaine enterchanges, they

Page 109

neither knew reason nor themselves, nor their owne names nor children. I now know a man neere an hundreth yeere old, who having in my late remembrance beene an excellent penman, doth neither now know a word, nor can write nor name so much as one letter among the foure and twentie; yet hath he his sight good, as by his discerning and upon his view thereof, giving right name and title unto other as small formes and characters is apparent. His memory sometimes even of the same things is altogether gone by fits; and by fits sometimes returneth in many things, but not in all, nor in any alway or certainly. Other some I have knowne in their memory and phansie by age so worne, that they could not hold or retaine in the one so much as that which very lately was in their eye; in the other so much as that which was in the same instant almost conceived; affirming things in this confusion which never were nor ever could be; and denying their sight of those things which from their sight thereof they had truely before named of their owne accord; one while constantly beleeving and avouching whatsoever was said or informed them, though never so dissonant from sense or reason; another while as confidently denying whatsoever truth was said or urged, though never so manifest unto their sight or sense. This is not strange in age, since in diseases it is usuall for men sometimes for a time to lose their memory alone, some-times their reason alone, sometimes imagination: sometimes part of one; and part of another; sometimes all; sometimes perfectly none; and yet

imperfect in every one. It sometimes also is seene (as Galen saith) that a man injoying absolutely and accurately all his inward senses of right reason, memory and imagination in all other things beside; yet in some one particular alone and in no other whatsoever is ever constantly and without change void of sense or reason, and as a very mad man or foole. Thus much is also written by others of many wise and

Page 110

learned men; who notwithstanding in some one particular alone have discovered themselves to be very fooles or mad men: constantly affirming themselves to be doggs, horses, glasses, and for that one follie never reclaimed, in all other things being judicious, learned, discrete and solid. Neither is every vulgar man, nor every man vulgarly learned not accurately judging able to discern these defects, at first, or alwaies; much lesse where they are hardly and difficultly espied, or by fits onely doe shew themselves. How possible is it for these sorts of people either to be perswaded by others, or from their owne guide and unstable conceiteto affirme any thing whatsoever concerning themselves or others? and for that cause how necessary is it in matter of weight and judgments, especially of life, to take heede of their rash admittance unto accusations or testimonies concerning themselves or any others. Unto a confession so properly and truly called, doe necessarily concurre three things. First, in a confession is properly implied and understood the partie confessing to be capable of reason, because without reason he can neither know nor judge of himselfe nor of his guilt. Secondly, in a confession is requisite and necessary that a partie confessing himself doth truly know what the Law doth take and define that offence to be which he doth assume unto himselfe. For by ignorance of the law sometimes silly men suppose themselves and others to have incurred the danger of the Law, where he that truly understandeth the Law is able to informe him the contrary: and for this cause the law it selfe doth give leave to consult with the Lawyer, and with such as professe and are skilfull in the Law. Divines likewise generally acknowledge and grant, that there is a mistaking, an ignorantly and a falsely accusing conscience or guilt, as well as a conscience justly judging and accusing. And for this cause many a man may take himselfe to be a Theefe, a Witch or other offender, who doth not truly or rightly know what Theft in his owne case or some other

Page 111

points is, or what Witch-craft or some other offences either truly in themselves are, or by the Law are understood; bring in some

cases not known or agreed, among Lawyers themselves. It is therefore senselesse that a man can accuse himselfe justly of an offence which he doth not know; and therefore also is it as unjust to admit such an accusation against himselfe. Thirdly, in a confession is implied and presupposed a precedent manifest offence or guilt either by faire evidence likely to be proved, or at least by due circumstances and presumptions justly suspected or questioned. I doe hence conclude demonstratively, that if a supposed Witch be not first found capable of reason, and free from dotage with age or yeeres or sicknesse; and doe not also know what Witch-craft or a Witch is, and thirdly if the Witch-craft or sinne it selfe bee not upon sufficient grounds either proved, or at least questioned; the meere accusation of such a supposed Witch against her selfe without the former considerations, is not simply or alone sufficient to convince or condemne her; neither is such an accusation, truly or properly to be tearmed a confession. And thus we have made evident by this instance of the supposed Witches markes, how the learned Physition possessing true Art and learning, is not so commonly as the vulgar sort transported into the maze of vaine wonder and ignorant admiration, but duely and truly weighing reason doth apart distinguish and put true difference betweene the wonders in nature, and the wonders above nature. The wonders in nature are such diseases, as in their strange shape and likenesse, doe counterfeit such maladies, as are induced by the Devil or by Witch-craft. Wonders above nature, are such diseases, wherein the finger of the Devil is indeede and really discovered. Concerning the first kinde (as here) so formerly in a former Manuell, I have briefly delivered, both some of their generall G1 descriptions, denyed by no man that in ancient time was, or at this time is a judicious and learned -notes- G1 Page. 58 59 60

Page 112

Physician, as also divers of their G1 particular Histories in the persons of some sicke men knowne unto my selfe. Of the second it is here needlesse to propound any more particulars then those above mentioned, which I esteeme for the generall illustration sufficient. In true and right decision and distinction of the one from the other, multiplicitie of consideration and circumspection ought diligently attend the intricate maze and labyrinth of error, and illusion in their deceiveable likenesses, whereby the Devil, for his owne advantage, and the perdition of seduced and beguiled men, doth sometimes cunningly hide his owne workes, and the Devilish practises of Witches and Sorcerers, from their due detection and punishment; sometimes to insnare the guiltlesse and innocent, doth juggingly seeme to doe those

things which Nature doth justly challenge, not as his, but as her owne, in just ballance weighed. It is most certaine, that the Devil cannot possibly mixe himselfe, or his power, with any inferiour nature, substance or body, but the alteration, by the conjunction of so farre discrepant natures, in the unchangeable decree of the uniuersall nature of all things, necessarily and unavoidably produced, must needs withnesse and manifestly detect it in the great and mighty oddes. This is very evident and apparent in all the supernaturall workes of the Devil, before mentioned in the generall discourse of this small Treatise or worke, whether such as were declared manifest to sense, or such as were evident to reason; whether such as were effected by the Devil himselfe, with the consent or contract of a Sorcerer or Witch, or such as were without their knowledge, societie, or contract performed by himselfe. All those supernaturall workes of both these kinds were therefore knowne to be supernaturall, because they were above and beyond any cause in sublunary nature. The like the learned Physician may certainly conclude, concerning diseases inflicted or mooved by the Devil. For it is impossible that the finger or power of the Devil should be in any maladie, but such a cause must -
notes- G1 Page 61 62 63 64

Page 113

needs produce some effect like it selfe, where true and judicious discerning is able to finde the infallible, certaine, and undeceived stampe of difference. Thus farre hath bin briefly declared, how the Physician properly and by himselfe doth alone enter into the due consideration and examination of diseases (where is inst occasion of question) whether naturally or supernaturally inferred. How unfit it is here to admit every idiot for a Physician or Counsellor (as is too common both in these and all other affaires of health) let wise men judge. Certainly from hence it commeth to-passe, that most men for ever line in perpetuall confusion of their thoughts in these cases, and as a just judgement of God against their carelesse search and neglect of learned and warranted true counsel, all certainty and truth herein doth still fly farre from them. For as in these ambiguities is requisite and necessary, a learned, judicious, and prudent Physician, so is it as necessary that he finde those that neede herein advice, truely and constantly obedient unto good reason, temperate and discrete, not mutable upon every vaine and idle project to start away, and to bee transported from a reasonable, just and discrete proceeding, unto uncertaine, vaine, and Empiricall tryals, since wisdom, knowledge and truth are never truely found, but onely of those, that with diligence, patience, and perseverance search and seeke them out. It remaineth now

to come unto the second way of detection of the bewitched sicke, which was before said to consist in such things as were subject and manifest unto a vulgar viewe, as the first unto the learned Physician alone. As of the first, some few examples have been propounded, so of the latter let us also viewe other some. In the time of their puxoxismes or fits some diseased persons have beene seene to vomit crooked iron, coales, brimstone, nailes, needles, pinnes, lumps of lead, waxe, hayre, strawe, and the like, in such quantity, figure, fashion and proportion, as could never possibly passe downe, or arise up thorow the naturall narrownesse of the throat, or be

Page 114

contained in the unproportionable small capacity, naturall susceptibility and position of the stomake. These things at any time happening, are palpable and not obscure to any eye without difficulty, offering themselves to plaine and open viewe. These like accidents Beninenius, Wierus, Codronchins and others also, even in our time and countrey, have published to have been seene by themselves. Some other sicke persons have, in the time of the exacerbations of their fits, spoken languages knowingly and understandingly, which in former time they did never knowe, nor could afterward know againe: as Fernelius a learned Physicion, and beyond exception worthy credit, doth witnesse concerning a Sicke man knowne to himselfe. Some Sicke men also have revealed and declared words, gestures, actions done in farre distant places, even in the very time and moment of their acting, doing, and uttering, as I have knowne my selfe in some, and as is testified likewise to have beene heard, knowne, and seene by divers witnesses worthy credit in our G1 country, in divers bewitched Sicke people. As these examples are manifest to any beholder, which shall at any time happen to view them: so are the examples of the first and second kinde evident to the reason and judgement of the learned and judicious Physicion, and all doe therefore certainly detect and prove a supernatural Author, cause, or Verte, because they are manifest supernatural effects. Thus have we pointed out briefly, the detection of the bewitched Sicke, both by learned Reason proper unto the judicious Physicion, and also by common sense and reason in all men. If men more at large please to exercise themselves in due consideration and prooffe hereof, they shall finde more certaine and sound satisfaction and fruit, with the blessing and allowance of God, then can issue out of the mouthes of Sorcerers and Witches, which God hath cursed, and disallowed, -notes- G1 See a Treatise of the Witches of Warbozyes.

and in whose hearts and mouthes, the Devill is oft a lying Spirit. It hath been briefly, and yet sufficiently herein proved, that Almighty God hath given unto Reason light, whereby reasonable, temperate and sober minds, through circumspect care and diligence, may see and behold what soever is truly possible, or just for man to know, with the favour and allowance of Gods grace, in the detection and discovery of the bewitched Sicke. Whosoever therefore shall contemne, or neglect this light, and shall aske counsell of Devil and Witches, the open and proclaimed enemies of God, doe certainly relinquish their faith, and trust in God their Creator, and their patience and dependance upon his providence. And although it may sometimes fall out, that prosperous issue doth seeme to follow the counsell of the Devil, yet doth it behoove men to be wary, and not presume, lest it prove onely a sweete baite, that by a sensible good, the Devil may draw their bewitched desirous vaine minds unto an insensible damnable hurt. For certainly, he who will rather be beholding unto the Devil, for his life or health, then chuse to die in the gracious and mercifull hand of God his Creator, can never expect to participate any portion of salvation in him, without extraordinary repentance. Thus much concerning the reasonable discovery of the bewitched Sicke, wherein leaving to enquire at Witches, Sorcerers, or impostors, upright men, that love or feare God, or embrace Religion or common reason, may and ought confine and satisfie their just desires.

The production of the works of Witches and Sorcerers, unto the publique seate and censure of Justice. WE have hitherto considered, how the workes of Devils and Witches, may be both manifest to Sense, and evident to Reason. They have in their divers kinds and different performances and manners distinctly beene instanced. Besides those kinds which have beene mentioned, there may bee innumerable more, among which are those who undertake and are enquired at, to reveale treasures hid, goods lost or conveighed away, the workes and guilt of other Witches, good fortunes, and evill fortunes in divers affaires, disseignes and attempts: as also those who undertake by inchantment, to leade captive the wils and minds of men, unto extraordinarie and unreasonable desires or lusts, hatred or love unto, or against this or that person, or this or that particular thing, above or beyond the naturall power of resistence, and the force and usuall guidance of naturall reason, in the ordinary course of mans will and nature: but they are all included in the

same generall kinde, and common prooffe of their Devillish impieties, deriued from the word of God before alleadged vnanswerably, and the true consequence of Reason from thence. The difference that is in their diuers kinds, doth onely arise from their seuerall subiects, manners, ceremonies, and rites, according to their seuerall differing contracts with the Devill: some using in their workes, reuelations or oraculous answeres, of the demand of resotting people in one manner, fashion, ceremonie, gesture, and rite; some in another, and some in none at all, certaine, or vnchangeable. Concerning these ceremonies; with their senerall contracts,

Page 117

and the manners thereof, I will not write, partly, because in this place not much materiall; partly, because they are difficult to detect, except by the Witches owne free confession, which happeneth very rare and seldome; partly, because they tend more to the satisfaction of curiositie then of use, and therefore are not without some danger published. It hath now beene manifest by the word and mouth of God, unto the reason of man, how a Witch or Sorcerer may evidently appeare unto right Reason; namely by his voluntary undertaking to bee enquired at, for knowledge and revelation of such things as are hidden by God from all knowledge of men, and are solely and properly in the knowledge of Spirits, as hath beene by learned Authors and by reason declared. The revelation being found supernaturall, doth discover the supernaturall Agent or Author the Devil, whose proper act whatsoever man doeth undertake in part, or in whole, must necessarily buy or borrow from him, and thereby be convinced undoubtedly of contract with him. We have produced divers sorts of noted Practisers likewise of this inhibited contract, both in the holy Scripture expressly nominated, and also by their ordinarie common custome herein observed in severall kindes. Concerning them all, we will conclude as a corollary unto all that went before, with the testimonie and confirmation of Lucius Apuleius, that famous, expert, and learned Magician, in his booke de Aureo Asino, from his long prooffe and acquaintance with the Devill: Dæmones (saith he) præsidet Auguriis, Aruspiciis, oraculis, Magorum miraculis, that is, the Devils are chiefe presidents, have chiefe power or authoritie, are chiefe Maisters, Guides, or Rulers over Divination, or revelation by the signes taken in flying of fowles, of divination by inspection of the entralls of beasts, of Oracles, and of all the miracles or miraculous workes of Magicians. They that will not beleieve the holy Scripture, nor the testimony of so many men and ages,

that the Devil is the sole Author of vaine miraculous revelations, divinations and workes, let them credit the Magician his owne mouth. As we have hitherto viewed, how Witch-craft and Witches may bee, first, by sense manifestly detected: secondly, by reason evidently convicted: so let us now consider, how they may bee both produced unto the barre of Justice, and bee arraigned and condemned of manifest high Treason against Almighty God, and of combination with his open and professed enemy the Devil. Concerning the first, since it chiefly consisteth in that which is manifest unto the outward sense, if the witnesses of the manifest magicall and supernaturall act, be substantiall, sufficient, able to judge, free from exception of malice, partialitie, distraction, folly; and if by conference and counsell with learned men, religiously and industriously exercised, in judging in those affaires, there bee justly deemed no deception of sense, mistaking of reason or imagination, I see no true cause, why it should deserve an G1 Ignoramus, or not bee reputed a true Bill, worthy to bee inquired, as a case fit and mature for the same due triall, which Justice, Law, and equitie haue ordained in common unto all other rightfull hearings and proceedings by wnesse and testimonie, although it is likely to proove a rare plea or cause, because in reason not too frequently to bee found, and farre lesse G2 in it selfe common or usuall, then is vulgarly reputed. It might notwithstanding, haply bee more oft detected, if more diligently according to reason inquired. The second kinde of Witch by evidence of reason discovered, is farre more frequent then the first, as appeareth by the varietie and multitude of names, which it hath branded upon it, and the diversitie of kindes and fashions which it hath put on. It is likewise more easily detected and prooved. A supernaturall revelation being first made truely manifest (lest preposterously wee haply call a surmised, or falsely suspected offender into question, before any offence -notes- G1 Crimina Meleficorum sunt communis fori, Pertinent ad forum Ecclesiasticum quatenus sunt Hæretici pertinent ad forum seculare quatenus cædes perpetrant in hominibus aut aliis animalibus, Binsfeldius prælud 3. G2 Quidam plus æquo tribuunt operationi Dæmonum, Binsfeldius.

be apparent or knowne; which is an unjust injury, and worthy of rebuke and shame with God and just men) a supernaturall revelation (I say) being manifest, any mans guilty contract therein is proofed, by his undertaking to bee enquired at therein.

That undertaking likewise is easily knowne and discovered by those that have inquired. The foundation of this way of investigation of this Witch or Sorcerer, is the Word of God it selfe before recited, and just and true reason built thereupon, cannot fall or be shaken. Thus having brought these prisoners to the Barre, I there arrest any farther progresse, and leave them to Justice, to the decree and sentence of the reverend, grave, and learned Judge, and so proceede the third promised way of investigation, and inquisition of Witches and Sorcerers, according to likely presumption, probable and artificiall conjecture. But before wee arrive upon that point, it is necessarie, that first a materiall objection bee satisfied. That is, in the forementioned Judgement of supernaturall workes of Sorcery manifest to sense, how can any true testimony or witness be required or expected, since doubt is made whether really or truly, or delusorily and in seeming onely, many or most things of that kinde, are seene or heard? Hereto is answered: As a true substance is seene not of it selfe simply, but in and by the outward true signe, shape, proportion, colours, and dimension inherent therein, and inseparable there-from; so the true likenesse, resemblance and portraiture of that substance, when separated from that substance, is as truly and as really seene. Therefore, experience doeth shew us, that the same eye which saw the shape, proportion, and figure, together with the true substance, doeth as perfectly both see and know it, when it is separated from the substance by the Art of the Painter. As in the true miracles of God, wrought by the hand of his servant Moses, the true and undoubted substance of a truly created Serpent, was seene when it was changed

Page 120

from a rodde, by the outward proper and inherent shape: so as truly was an outward portraiture and likenesse of Serpents seene, in the false miracle of the seeming transmutation of the Sorcerers roddes. For how could religion or reason condemne those miracles of the Devil for illusions, if the lively resemblance of miracles appearing manifestly unto the eye, had not thereby made them knowne? For an example, or illustration, how is a juggling deceit knowne but by the eye? The sight is said to bee deceived therein. Therefore it doeth see that which doeth deceive. Reason likewise comparing that which was seene, with that which is not seene; that is, the counterfeit with the true substance, doeth proove the counterfeit the present object of the sight. The same eyes therefore that saw, in the true miracles of Moses, the substance of a Serpent by the true inseparable inherent shape, saw likewise the true image and picture of a

Serpent, in the false and seeming miracles of the Enchanters of Egypt. The testimony of the presentation of both unto the eye, is as true as trueth it selfe; because the Word of trueth hath said it. That the Devil is as powerfull as the most excellent Painter, to represent any the most true and lively likenesse of any creature, is in reason cleare, and hath beene also before proofed. Therefore a true testimonie may bee truely given, and justly accepted or taken of a lively shape, figure, likenesse, or proportion, really presented (by the Art of the Devil) unto the eye. All the doubt then remaining, is, to put a true difference betweene that which our imagination doeth represent unto us, from within the braine, and that which wee see without by the outward sense. This difference will best appeare by an example. Fernelius in his first booke, cap. 11. de Abd. rer. oaus. doeth make mention of a man, who by the force of charmes, would conjure into a looking glasse certaine shapes or visions, which there would either by writing, or by lively presentations so perfectly expresse and satisfie, whatsoever bee did demaund or commaund

Page 121

unto them, that easily and readily it might bee distinguished, and knowne by standers by. This Fernelius doeth report that bee saw himselfe. What shall wee say herein? Was this Devilish practise a thing doubtfull? Was it not manifest to many eyes, diversitie of beholders, and the judicious view of a learned and discerning sight. The like Franciscus Picus Miraudula reporteth, videlicet, that a famous Magician of Italy in his time, did keepe the skull of a dead man, out of which the Devil did deliver answeres unto men enquiring, when the Wizard had first uttered certaine words, and had turned the skull toward the Sunne. These things being palpably seene, could not bee meere imagination. Those things which are meere in imagination (with those men whom diseases deprive not of their sense or reason) are by right reason and true sense, after a short time of their prevalence, easily detected to be imaginary; but those things which are truely, really, and certainly seene, remaine the same for ever after in their due reception of sense; with undoubted and unchanged allowance of reason. Hence it is, that a man in a sleepe or dreame, though for a short space, bee doeth oft times verily, really, and very feelingly (as it were) thinke himselfe in many actions and employments; yet when bee awaked from sleepe, his sense and reason doe tell him bee was but in a dreame. Many sicke persons likewise usually, though waking, dreame of things falsely imagined, but the disease being gone, and their sense and reason there-from recovered, they then know and laugh at

the fallacies of their imaginations. By these short instances it is apparent, that it is not a thing impossible, but usuall and familiar unto all kinde of men that want not their common wits, to distinguish betweene those things which are onely in imagination, and those which are reall and indeede. From hence we may then truely conclude, that against the acts of Sorcerie and Witch-craft manifest to sense, the due testimonies of understanding, discreete, and just men,

Chapter 12 (no Chapter 11)

Page 122

ought to bee no lesse equivalent then against another open acts, or crime whatsoever, whereof the Witch of Endor may serve to shut up and conclude all doubt for ever herein, for an unanswerable instance and prooffe. Shee acknowledgeth her guilt and crime might bee made manifest unto Saul in these wordes, 1. Sam. 28. 9. Wherefore seekest thou to take mee in a snare, to cause mee to die? Saul likewise himselfe doeth grant unto her, the sufficiency of his testimony to cause her to die, verse 9. in these wordes, As the Lord liveth, no harme shall come unto thee, for this thing: meaning, by his testimony of her fact, no harme should come unto her. But here may bee objected, that it was not his testimony of her fact of raising the vision of Saul, which the Witch did feare, but his testimony of her confession of her selfe to be a Witch, by promising to undertake it. The contrary is manifest by the Text, verse 21. See, thy handmaide hath obeyed thy voyce, and I have put my soule in thy hand, and have obeyed the word which thou saidst unto me. And thus is the doubt concerning the sufficiencie of testimonies, and witness in case of Witch-craft satisfied. It now remaineth as was promised and intended, that we next view that light unto the discovery of Witch-craft, which artificiall conjecture, probable reason and likely presumption doe afford, since what sense and reason have made manifest is already declared. CHAP. XII. That Witches and Witch-craft may be discourd by probable reason and presumption. AS from things evident to sense, and manifest to reason, there islueth a certaintie of undoubted knowledge: so in things that carry onely probabilitie, diligence doth beget and produce verity and G1 truth of opinion. Hence it commeth to passe, that he who truely knoweth, and knowingly can distinguish and discern the validitie, -notes- G1 *Opinio vera est habitus circa conclusiones ex Dialecticis pronunciatis*, Arist. in lib. Analyt.

Page 123

nature, difference, and right use of probabilities, doth most seldome in his opinions mistake or erre. Hence also it commeth to passe, that according to severall measures, and degrees of diligence, study, practice, and exercise of judging in probabilities, mendoe diversly differ, some excelling other in the merited stiles and attributes of subtiltie, Policy, Sagacity, Exquisitenes. It is true, that in probabilitie, is no perpetuall G1 certainty: notwithstanding he that warily and wisely weigheth it, cannot in the vncertainty thereof but finde more certainty, then in blinde and vnlikely casuallie; then in rash attempts and prosecutions, voide of counsell, or likely reason. For although sometimes those things which seeme most likely and probable, doe happen to prooue false, yet doth nature and reason teach and injoyne us rather to give credit thereto; and experience doth manifest that the cause of deception therein, for the most part, doth consist in the weakenesse of mans judging thereof aright. For in judging of probabilities, are great oddes, some things onely seeme probable to such as are G2 wise, learned, expert, subtill: some unto the most exquisite Judges alone: some to every vulgar; some to the choise and best sort of Vulgars, and not unto all; and in these differences, doth necessarily breede much error and mistaking. Notwithstanding, the vertue and force of probabilitie it selfe, simply doth not deceive, or usually faile, but as it is diversly and differently conceived by men, that oft prooveth false, which seemed likely. Vatem hunc perhibimus optimum, faith Cicero, quibene conijciet, that is, we avouch and affirme that man to be the best Prophet, or prognosticator of issues to come or happen, who hath the power and skill of right and true conjecture, which ever consisteth in the exquisite perpension of probable inducements. What is among men more admired, or more worthy to be admired, then this art, this skill, this power? Who doth not know what use, also what benefit doth arise thereby, both unto the true warrant and allowance of action, and also - notes- G1 Cerium est, quod nunquam aliter fiat, probabile, quod plerunque ita fiat, Cicero. G2 Probabilia sunt, quæ probantur aut omnibus, aut plurimis, aut certe sapientibus, and iis si non plurimis, at maxime probatis, quorum est spectata Sapientia, Aristot.

Page 124

unto the maintenance, and justification of right opinion, in counsels and deliberation? As in all other faculties and sciences, the excellencie and necessitie thereof doth brightly shine: so most apertly unto common observation, it doth proove and manifest it selfe in the two severall professions of the Logician and the Oratour. The Logician in his discrepations and questions,

concerning doubts and ambiguities, by the diligence of subtil dispute, from the light of probabilitie, rectifieth the unstable fluctuation of unconstant opinion, and produceth through mature disquisition, and raciocination, what is most safe, most consonant with truth, to hold, affirme, or be perswaded. The Oratour in his conjecturall state or questions, in his pleas of doubtfull and controverted facts, or rights, wherein oft-times probabilitie and likelihood, seeme to stand equall and unpartiall unto both parts: notwithstanding by mature, acute, and seasonable pressing, and urging that which is most like, most reasonable, and consonant with right, with law and equitie, in the end doth bring into light, and discover, what is most equall, upright, and worthy to be credited, or respected. What evictions of truth and right, what convictions of guilt and errour doe dayly issue from hence, common experience, doth proove and demonstrate. Thus much briefly prefixed in generall, concerning the necessitie, light and truth of probabilities; it now remaineth to consider the use and power thereof likewise, in our particular proposed subject of Witch-craft, which common sense doth not onely justifie (as in all other subjects) but the word of undoubted truth. Almighty God, in case of Idolatrie, doth not onely publish and proclaime his detestation of that great sinne it selfe, but there with doth include whatsoever hath any probabilitie of respect, or reference thereto; whether in affection and inclination, or in ceremonie or superstitious shew. This is evident, Deut. 18. verse 9. where he first forbiddeth

Page 125

his people so much as to imitate, or doe after the manners of the Gentiles; and afterward particulariseth their making their sonnes and daughters to passe thorow the fire. Likewise Leuit. 19. 27, 28. where he forbiddeth as much as the cutting of his peoples heads, or the corners of their heads round, or marring the tufts of their beards, or marking or cutting of their flesh, as was the manner of Infidels and Gentiles, in their mourning and lamenting of the dead. Likewise Deut. 16. 21. where he forbiddeth so much as the planting of any groves of trees neere his Altar, because it was the custome, invention, manner, and resemblance of Idolaters. As in case of Idolatrie, so in case of Witch-craft, which is likewise a kinde of Idolatry, because the worship of Devils, Almighty God in those places of holy Writ, where he publisheth and proclaimeth his high displeasure against Witches and Sorcerers, with that abominable sinne it selfe, doth also condemne as abominable; First, in generall all kinde of shew, of affection, liking, inclination, or respect thereof; Secondly, any customes, fashions, rites, ceremonies, superstitions, or gestures

from thence derived, or belonging thereto. The first is manifest, Leuit. 19. verse 31. There the Prophet, from their God Iehouah, doth charge his people, that they doe not so much as turne toward, or decline toward Sorcerers or South-sayers, vouchsafe to aske any question, or to respect them: and Leuit. 20. verse 6. he giveth judgement and sentence of death, against that soule that doth but turne or looke toward them. The second is likewise manifest, Isaiahs 8. verse 19. where Almightye God noteth the superstitious peepings, whisperings, and mutterings of Sorcerers, and according to those gestures, doth with reproch terme them whisperers, mutterers and peepers: and Deut. 18. verse 10, 11. he rehearseth their mumblings, and charmings, and their superstitious marking the flying of fowles; and Leuit. 19. verse 26. he noteth their vaine and ceremonious observing of times.

Page 126

If then Almightye God be so strict, that he will not endure or tolerate so much as a friendly looking toward Sorcerers: the least respect given unto them, or so much as a demand of a question at their hands, any inclination toward them, any their ceremonies, rites or superstitions, yea, so small a matter as their very outward gestures; how can religious zeale, or the duty of man toward God his Creator, esteeme any of these, or the like, or the least of them, lesse then sufficient matter of probable doubt, presumption, religious jealousie, and suspicion against such men, as doe, or dare presume to imitate, to practise or use them? As the holy Scripture hath pointed out some few gestures, manners, and rites of Sorcerers, for an example and light unto all other of the same kinde: so hath the daily observations of succeeding times added infinite more, which have, doe, and still may encrease, multiply, and be added, and newly invented, and put on new different shapes and fashions, according to the fancie of the contractors therein, which are the Devil, and man possessed by him, in whose powers and will, according to the nature, qualitie and conditions of their contract, dependeth and consisteth the variation, or innovation of ceremonious rites. For this cause, among Authors and records both of elder and later times, wee reade of such diversities and numbers of superstitious litations, dedications, performances, and a diabolically solemnities. As therefore we have manifested such superstitious rites, ceremonies and gestures of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture hath noted and deciphered; so let us propound some other by after-times, and other Authors observed. Some have used in their intention or execution of their Diabolically workes, or in the way of preclusion one kinde of G1 ceremonious

homage, and some another. Some doe never attempt nor enterprise a Diabolicall execution, but with mumblings, whisperings, and secret sounds, and words -notes- G1 See Master Perkins discovery of Witch-craft, chap. 2. pag. 48.

Page 127

heard grumbling in their mouthes: as Theophrastus in his 9, booke of herbes and plants doth witsse, concerning certaine Magicians in gathering Helleborus, and Mandragora: and as is likewise undoubtedly discovered, by the great attributes that are by many famous Writers ascribed unto the Caball of the Iewes, and unto letters, characters, words, sillables and sentences superstitiously pronounced. Galen writeth, that a certaine Sorcerer by uttering and muttering but one word, immediately killed, or caused to dye a Serpent or Scorpion, Beniuenius in his booke de Abd. morb. caus. affirmeth, That some kinde of people have beene observed to doe hurt and to surprise others, by using only certaine sacred and holy words. It is apparent likewise, that others have accomplished their diuinish ends, by apparitions, shapes, or figures, raised or conjured into glasses; as Fernelius, an eye-witsse, in his booke de Abdit, rer. caus. doth publish. Some receive power and vertue from the Devil unto their Diabolicall preparations, by certaine enchanted hearbes, or medicines which they mixe and gather, sometimes with brasse hookes, sometimes by Mooneshine in the night, sometimes with their feete bare and naked, and their bodies clothed with white shirts, as Plinie reporteth. Some are reported, to obtaine of the Devil their desired ends or workes, by delivering unto the Devil bonds or covenants, written with their owne hands. This Serres the French Chronicler doth report, confessed by certaine Witches, in the raigne of Henry the fourth. And Mr. Fox, in the life of Martin Luther, doth make mention of a yong man, who delivered a bond unto the Devil, upon certaine conditions, which bond was written with the yong mans owne blood, and upon his repentance, and the earnest zealous prayer of the people unto God in his behalfe, was redelivered, and cast into the Church in the view and sight of the whole assembly there and then being. Some derive an effectuall vertue unto their decreed Devilish workes, by hanging characters or papers about the necke, as Plinie reporteth. Some practise to bring their

Page 128

Devilish ends unto issue, by conjured images and pictures of waxe, golde, earth, or other matter, as Thomas Aquinas in his booke de occultis Nature witnesseth. Holing shed, page 534. doth chronicle the execution of certaine Traitours, for conspiring

the king of Englands death by Sorcerous and Magicall pictures of waxe. The same author, page 1271. doth report, that in the twentieth yeere of Queene E L I Z A B E T H, a figure-flinger (as hee termeth him) being suspected as a Conjuror or Witch, sudainely dying, there was found about him (besides bookes of conjuration, and other Sorcerous papers or Characters) the picture of a man wrought out of Tynne. Some late writers have observed, that divers Witches by such pictures, have caused the persons thereby represented secretly to languish and consume, as was lately proofed against some late famous Witches of Yorke-shire and Lancaster, by the testimonies beyond exception of witnesses, not onely present, but presidents in their tryall and arraignment. Some execute their hellish intentions by infernall compositions, drawne out of the bowels of dead and murdered Infants; as Ioannes Baptist Porta in his booke de Magia naturali, doth from his owne knowledge affirme, and thereto the Malleus Maleficarum with others doe assent. Some practise also Sorcery by tying knots, as Sant Ierome restifieth in vita Hilary, concerning a priest of Æsculapius at Memphis. Some practise Witch-craft by touching with the hand or finger onely, as Biniuenius saith. Some in their Sorcerous acts or conjurations, use parchment made of the skinn of Infants, or children borne before their time: as Serres reporteth from the confession of Witches, in the time and raigne of Henry the fourth detected. Some for the promoting of their Devilish devices, use the ministry of living creatures, or of Devils and spirits in their G1 likenesse as histories report, and Theocritus in his Pharmaceutria, seemeth to credit, inducing there a Sorceresse, who by the power of her bird, did drawe and force her Lover to come unto her. -notes- G1 Perkins discourse of Witch-craft, chap. 2. page, 48.

Page 129

This seemeth not impossible unto a Witch, by the multitude of living shapes, which the Devil in former ages hath usually assumed, termed Faunes, Satyres, Nymphes, and the like, familiarly conversing with men. Some bring their cursed Sorcery unto their wished end, by sacrificing unto the Devil some living creatures, as Serres likewise witnesseth, from the confession of Witches in Henry the fourth of France deprehended; among whom, one confessed to have offered unto his Devil or Spirit a Beetle. This seemeth not improbable, by the Diabolicall litations and bloody sacrifices, not onely of other creatures, but even of men, wherewith in ancient time the heathen pleased their gods, which were no other then Devils. And rather then the Devil will altogether want worship, he is sometimes contented to accept

the parings of nailes; as Serres from the confession of certaine French Witches doth report. Some Authors write, that some forts of Sorcerers are observed to fasten upon men their Magicall mischievous effects, and workes, by conveying or delivering unto the persons, whom they meane to assault, meats, or drinkes, or other such like; as is evident by the generall knowne power of the Magicke cups of the inchaunted Filtra or love draughts: and as seemeth justified by S. Augustine, in his 18. booke de Ciuitate Dei, making mention of a woman who be witched others, by delivering only a piece of cheese. Some of our late Countrie-men have observed, some Witches to mischiefe or surprise such as they intend maliciously to destroy, by obtaining some part or parcell of their garments, or any excrements belonging unto them, as their hayre, or the like. It is not to be doubted that the Devil, that old Proteus, is able to change and metamorphise his rites, ceremonies, and superstitions, into what new shapes or formes are best sutable to his pleasure and his fellow-contractors most commodious uses and purposes. Concerning all the former mentioned, although it be exceeding difficult; nay, an impossible thing for any man to avouch every of them

Page 130

true in his owne knowledge or experience; yet for that some kindes of them wee may assuredly know and beleewe from God himselfe, who hath in his sacred word nominated both G1 apparitions of the Devil, as also, incantations, charmes, G2 spels and familiarity with Spirits; as also for G3 that reason doth demonstrate, that there may be many more kinds, besides those named of the same likenesse, nature abused, and devilish use; and for that unto other some, the credit, worth and merit of those Writers by whom they have been observed and published, doth give weight and estimation, it may be approved as an infallible conclusion, that wheresoever any of them or the like, being diligently enquired after, are either really found, or in apparence or shew resembling, that there (with the concurrence of circumstances, and approved precedence of a manifest worke of Sorcery consenting) that there, I say, it ought to be sufficient and uncontroled matter, or occasion of just suspicion and presumption against the particular, in whom they are by just witnesses free from exception, detected and palpably knowne, practised and exercised. As we have now briefly recited and called to minds some sorts of such ceremonies, tites, superstitions, manners, instruments and gestures as are annexed unto that kinde of Sorcery or Witch-craft which consisteth in action: So let us also recite some other sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitions, which belong unto that

kinde of Sorcery which is conversant in divinations, revelations of things hidden, predictions, and prophecies. Divinations according to nature or art, as Cicero distinguisheth in his first booke de Divinatione, we doe not intend or purpose, but that divination which the same Author in the same place doth refer into a power above man, which he there termeth the power of the gods, betweene whom and divination, the Stoickes make this reciprocation, Si fit Divinatio, Dy sunt, si Dy sine est Divinatio; that is, if there be right divination or prediction of things to come not contained in Art or Nature, certainly that divination is of the gods, as reciprocally -notes- G1 Isaiah 8.19. G2 Sam. 1.29. G3 8. Exod. Leuit, Deuteron.

Page 131

where there are Gods, there is divination. Here wee see plainely, not onely the antiquity, but the direct originall of divinations, and that they do manifestly derive themselves from Idol-gods, from Infidels, from Idolaters. This is further evident likewise, by the generall current and report of all Histories, even from the first beginning and foundation of Rome by Romulus, as through all ancient writings and writers, the frequent mention of Augury, Aruspicy, Extispicy, 2nd the like, doth plentifully witsnesse. The holy Scripture also and Word of God doth testifie the same, 'Deut. 18. verse 9, 10, 11. where divination by the flying of fowles, by the observation of times, and the like, are reckoned among the abominations of the Nations, or Gentiles. The originall then of Divinations issuing from Devils (because from false gods, the gods of the heathen and Idolaters) let us for the better noting of the abomination it selfe, observe and point out some of their ceremonies, manners, and superstitions also. Some in olde time used to divine, as by the flying of fowles, so by viewing of lightning, by monsters, by lots, by inspection of the Starres, by dreames, per monstra, and portenta, fulgura, sortes, Insomnia, per Astra, as Cicero testifieth at large in his bookes de Divinatione. Some did use to draw their Divinations out of tubs, or vessels of water, whereinto were cast certaine thin plates of siluer and gold, and other precious lewels, by which the Devils (which Infidels ignorantly called their gods) were allured to answere unto demands, doubts, and questions, as is by Psellus described, and was usuall among the Assyrian conjectors. Some derived their Divinations from looking-glasses, wherein the Devil satisfied unto demands and questions, by figures and shapes there appearing. This kinde of Divination was called [Greek omitted] whereunto came very neere and was like [Greek omitted] Some fetch their Divinations by lots, taken from points,

letters, characters, figures, words, syllables, sentences, which kinde of

Page 132

divination is distinguished by the name of [Greek omitted] If we should number up every particular kinde of shape, wherein Divination doeth shrowde it selfe, it would proove a long and tedious voyage, not onely through fire, water, ayre, earth, and other farre distant and divided parts of the wide and spacious world, but through fives, riddles, the guts and bowels of the dead, and many other secret haunts and holes, wherein as the invincible Labyrinths of intricate illusions, the Devil doeth shadow and hide his subtill insidiation of silly deceived man. He that desireth more curiously to reade other particulars herein, I referre him unto S. Augustine, de natura Dæmonum, and to Camerarius, de Divinationum generibus. It is sufficient that the trueth and possibilitie of these kindes of Divinations and the like, with their ceremonies, rites, customes, and superstitions; as also their detested originall, end, use, and abomination, is esteemed Devilish by the Word of God, and his most sacred voyce, wherein under those kindes of Divination, by the flying of fowles, observation of times, Deut. 18. verse 10, 11. and vaine gazing and beholding the Starres, Isaiah 47. 19. he displayeth and judgeth the nature and qualitie of all other the like, covered by what stiles or names soever. The enumeration of any more sorts, might increase in number, and advance curiositie, but can adde nothing in substance or materiall use. The reason that the Devil requireth these rites and ceremonies, S. Augustine doeth declare lib. 21. cap. 6. de Ciuit. 'Dei, Alliciuntur Damones (saith he) per varia genera lapidum, herbarum, lignorum, animalium, carminum, rituum, non vt animalia cibis sed vt spiritus signis, in quantum scilicet hæc iis adhibentur in signum diuini honoris cuius ipsi sunt cupidi. That is, Devils are drawne or Conjured, by divers kindes of stones, hearbes, woodes, creatures, words, times, rites, or ceremonies, not as living creatures desire food, but as spirits rejoyce or delight in signes, because those signes argue respect, worship, and honour, whereof they are very ambitious and desirous, as affecting Divine worshippe in

Page 133

malice of God himselfe and his Divine worship. To the same purpose saith Binsfeldius Comment. vel Explicat. in pralud. 9. Delectantur Damones signis cum imitari Deum studeant in Sacramentis suis. That is, Devils delight in signes, rites, and ceremonies, as desiring to imitate, or to be like God in his Sacraments. Wee have summarily (wherein for our information is

sufficient competence) produced some few sorts of ceremonies, rites, and superstitious gestures in both kindes, that is, both such as belong to that kinde of Sorcery, which consisteth in act, and working, as also that which is exercised in Divination, prediction, and revelation. The generall rule and reason is the same, and extendeth it selfe equally against both. Let us then in the conclusion thus conioyne them both together. What map is he among men so blind, who beholding in any man the former ceremonies, rites, prelusions, or gestures, being suspicious notes, markes, cognizances, and badges of Sorcerers and Witches, in either kinde, and doeth not thinke that he may with good reason doubt the ordinary correspondence of fruits, and workes answerable thereto? Unto the former presumption, if circumstances of time, place, instruments and meanes, fitting such Devilish Actes, opportunitie, and the like doe adde their force, doeth not just occasion of doubt increase? For illustration and example, let us suppose a person of a curious and G1 inquisitive disposition in things hidden or inhibited, a man voide of the feare and knowledge of God, a searcher after Sorcerers, and their Devilish Artes, educate among them by kindred, affinitie, or neighbour-hood, with them having generall opportunitie unto inchoation into that Diabolicall mysterie, a man likely and prone to become a receptacle of Devils, expressed by his long observed, or knowne flying from, or hating all occasions or places, where the name, mention, worshippe, or adoration of Almighty God is in any kinde used; a man out of whose cursed lips hath at any time beene heard, -notes- G1 Mast. Perkins in his discourse of Witch-craft, chap.I. pag.11.

Page 134

the G1 renouncing of God, or voluntary profession of love and friendship unto the Devil (all which with horror sometimes my owne eares did heare, in a G2 woman at an open assise, being there indited upon suspicion of Witch-craft.) Let us yet further consider in the same man, an extraordinary alienation of himselfe, from all societie and company with men (for that familiar conversation with Devils, begetteth an hatred and detestation, both of the remembrance of God or sight of men) likewise a frequentation or solemne haunting of desarte G3 places, forsaken and unaccustomed of men, the habitations of Zym and Iym, graces and sepulchres. This seemeth, Math. 8. Luke 8. Make 5. in the possessed true. The possessed and the Witch, are both the habitacles of Divels; with this onely difference, that the Witch doth willingly entertaine him. His custome of haunting tombes and sepulchres, in the one doth make it probable, and credible in the other. Likewise a solitary

solacing himselfe, or accustoming abroad oft, and usually alone, and vnaccompanied at times and houres unusuall and uncouth to men, as the most darke seasons of the night, fitting the darke workes, and the workemen of the Prince of Darkenes. Let us yet more particularly observe this man branded with the former note, seeming or professing to practise workes above the power and possibilitie of man, to threaten or promise to performe, beyond the custome of men, whether in generall, or toward any particular. In a Devilish intended action bent against any particular, likewise wee may diligently examine any manifest speciall provocation, first given: secondly, an apparent apprehension there of expressed by words, gestures, or deedes: thirdly intention, or expectation, succeeding the provocation, starting out oft-times, or intimated by any rash, unadvised, or sudaine project of headie and unbridled passion: fourthly, the opportunitie sutable unto such an intended desseigne, as time and place competent for accesse, speech, -notes- G1 Perkins chap 2 pag. 48. discourse of Witchcraft. G2 She was easie and ready to professe, that she renounced God and all his workes, but being required to say that shee renounced the Devill and all his works, she did refuse it with this addition of the reason, (videlicet) for that the Divell had never done her any hurt. G3 Serres, from the confession of Witches detected and censured in the raigne of Henry 4, of France.

Page 135

fight, or receiving from, or giving unto the particular, against whom such Devilish thoughts are set, any thing, wherein any enchanted power or vertue is usually hid and conveighed. After a Sorcerous deede is thus certainly observed to proceede, we may then further with vigilant circumspection view, whether ought may be detected, justly arguing his rejoycing pride, or boasting therein, that standeth justly suspected, or ought that may proove or expresse his doubt, or feare of discovery, his guilty lookes, cunning evasions, shifting, lying, or contradictory answeres, and apologies unto particulars urged. These circumstances and the like, though each alone and single may seeme of no moment or weight, yet concurring together, or aptly conferred, they oft produce a worth from whence doth issue full and complete satisfaction. Verisimilia singula suo pondere movent, coaceruata muliùm proficiunt (saith Cicero) that is, every single circumstance hath his weight and use, but consenting and concurring together, they doe much advantage. Since then what vertue or power soever, circumstances and presumptions, doe usually and generally unsold in all other subjects or matters whatsoever, the same equally and as largely,

reason doeth here display and offer in this of Witch-craft: why should not the like practise thereof herein also bee urged and found, as likely and succesfull? I doe not commend or allow the usuall rash, foolish and fantasticall abuse of circumstances, nor their wresting and forging, nor the conjuration or raising up of their likenesse, and shadowes, without any substance or trueth (as is too common and vulgar) out of meere fancy or defect of true judgement, without the due manifestation of a certaine crime first in this kinde assured. But where all the former circumstances doe truely and really occurre, or most of them, or the most materiall amongst them with an apparant uncontroled precedent evidence of an undoubted-act of Sorcery, and are not indirectly

Page 136

wrested or guilefully extorted, but directly proved, and fairely produced and urged; what man injoying his common sense or reason, can be ignorant, what a large scope and faire field they doe yeeld to sent, to trace and chace the most hidden and secret guilt of Witches whatsoever, out of their utmost shifting most close coverts and subtill concealements? I doe not affirme circumstances and presumptions, simply in themselves sufficient to proove or condemne a Witch: but what reasonable man will or can doubt or deny, where first a manifest worke of Sorcery is with true judgement discerned, and knowne certainly perpetrate: that the former circumstances and presumptions pointing unto a particular, doe give sufficient warrant, reason, and matter of calling that particular into question, and of injoyning and urging him unto his purgation and justification from those evill apparances, whereby through the differencies, iarres, contrarities, and contradictions of the false faces and vizards of seeming truth (because identity and vnity is properly and solely found with truth it selfe inuiolable and the same) guiltinesse is oft unable to finde a covert to hid it selfe, but rubbed or galled unto the quicke, doth breake out and issue forth in his owne perfect and undeceiving liknesse. It may be objected, that it doth commonly fall out, and is so oft seene, that the hearts of Witches are by the Devil so possessed, so hardned and sealed up against all touch, either of any conscience, or the least sparke of the affections of men lest in them, that there is no possibility, or hope of any prevalence, by the pressing of any presumptions or circumstances, which they for the most part will answer with wilfull and perverse silence. This is and may be sometimes true, yet is no sufficient reason, why due prooffe and tryall should not alwayes diligently be made herein, since first experience it selfe doth wnesse a manifest benefite thereby:

secondly, the like reasonable course and practice is knowne both usuall, fruitfull and effectuall in all other disquisitions, and inquisitions whatsoever: and thirdly, the Devil himselfe, the Witches

Page 137

and Sorecerers great and graund Mister, though of farre fewer words then Witches, (as seldome speaking at all) and abounding with farre more subtiltie and cunning; yet is he not able by all his art or cunning, alwayes to hide his owne workes, but by presumptions and circumstances, wife and understanding hearts doe oft discerne and discover them, as is by dayly experience seene and testified, and is confirmed by the prooffe which all holy and godly men have ever had thereof. And to this purpose, and for this cause the holy Scripture doth require Gods chosen children, to sift and try the Spirits, whether they be of God or no; that is, whether they be of his holy spirit, or of the evill spirit which is the Devill. Although therefore God for his owne secret decree, or purpose, doe permit the Devil sometimes to hide and shadow the guilt of his associates, Witches and Sorcerers, from the sight or depreheusion of man, and thereby, sometimes, frustrate mans just endeavour and duty of their discovery; yet doth he not totally or altogether herein subject, or captivate, or abridge mans power or possibility of prevalence, even against all the power and force of Devils, as oft-times our dullest senses cannot choose but witnesse. Could the Devil, or their owne craft whatsoever, deliver the Sorcerers from destruction out of the hands of Saul, who justly destroyed them all out of the land of Israel, I. Sam. 18. verse 9. or out of the hands of Iosias, who according to lawe, tooke away or abolished all that had familiar Spirits, and Southsayers. 2. Kings chap. 23. verse 24? The extirpation of these Sout hsayers, by those Princes, was commended of God, and by his Lawe commanded, Leuit. 20. 27. The same Lawe of God commaundeth, that no man be judged or put to death, but by the mouth of two witnesses, from whence it is necessarily collected, that the workes of Sorcery are not alwayes hidden, but oft-times so open, that they may be manifestly noted; other wise, how could they be testified, which unto their condemnation the Lawe doth ever presuppose and necessarily commaund?

Page 138

Neither is this Lawe of God anything discrepant from the commom equity of all lawes, or from reason it selfe: first, for that many workes of Sorcery doe immediately in their first view, manifest themselves to the sense, as is evident, by the

miraculous workes of the Enchaunters of Egypt, practised in the sight of Pharaoh King of Egypt. Secondly, for that many workes are apparent manifestly to Reason, in which, though the sense cannot immediatly discern, or take notice of their quality and author; yet by necessary inference and evidence of reason, they are certainly and demonstratively proofed to issue from the power and force of Spirits and Devils, as hath beene formerly declared, concerning both workes and also divinations, prophecies, and revelations hidden from all curiosity and possibility of man. Thirdly, for that circumstances and presumptions doe with good and likely reason call into question, and justly charge with suspicion (as hath beene instanced) concerning the performers and practisers of ceremonious rites, superstitious gestures, actions and manners usuall unto Witches and Sorcerers. Since then, as is before proofed, Almighty God doth injoyne a necessity of testimonies, unto all condemnations and judgments of death whatsoever, and testimony doth alwaies necessarily include a manifestation of whatsoever is testified, either to sense, or reason, or both; it followeth as a necessary conclusion unto all that hath bin said: that from things either manifest to sense, or evident to reason, issueth wholly and solely, not onely the reasonable and likely way of detection of Witches, but the very true way by God himselfe, in all true reason intended and commanded. And from this way it is, both by multitudes of examples, by experience and reason manifest, that neither Witches, nor the Devil himselfe is altogether able to hide or defend their guilt. Diligence therefore herein duely and carefully exercising it selfe certainly shall not, nor can prove the Lawe of God vaine, nor the owne endeueur frustrate or void, although haply difficulties and impediments may sometimes interrupt, as in

Page 139

all other cases and affaires is usuall. Thus hath beene made manifest how Witch-craft is discoverable by sense, and evident by reason; likewise, that it is no more inscrutable or hidden from detection in the inquisition thereof, by signes of presumption, probable and likely conjecture or suspicion, then all other intricate or hidden subjects, or objects of the understanding whatsoever. For, although presumptions are alone no sufficient prooffe, yet doe they yeeld matter and occasion of diligent and judicious inquisition, which is the reasonable way and due method of upright proceeding, and the common, hopefull and warranted path unto all detections, in all other cases of doubt and difficulty whatsoever; wherein I see no cause or reason, why judicious, wary and wife practise and prooffe, weighing and

pressing circumstances into the bone and marrow, should not equally, in case of Witch-craft, as in all other cases of judgment and inquisitions (though not ever because that exceeds the nature of presumption) equally, I say, and as oft should not confound the guilty, and chase and winde out as faire an issue. Certainly, if men would more industriously exercise their sharper wits, exquisite sense, and awaked judgements, according unto the former reasonable, religious, and judicious wayes, exempt from the burthen and incumbrance of blinde superstitions, traditionary and imaginary inventions and customes, no doubt, but experience would yeeld and bring forth in short time, a much more rich increase of satisfaction, and more happy detection in judiciall proceedings. It is true, that in the case of Witch-craft many things are very difficult, hidden and infolded in mists and clouds, overshadowing our reason and best understanding. Notwithstanding, why should men be more impatient or dejected, that in matters of Witch-craft, many things are oft hidden from our knowledge, and discovery, when the same darkenesse, obscurity, difficulty and doubtfulness, is a thing ordinary in many other subjects beside, as necessary

Chapter 13

Page 140

unto us, and concerning which, it may be no lesse truely said, that in this life of mortality, much more is that which is unknowne, then that which is knowne and revealed unto us. Hence is that ancient saying of the Philosopher: Hoc tantum scio, quòd nihil scio, that is, so few are those things, which are demonstratively, truely, and certainly knowne, that they are nothing in comparison of the infinite number and multitude of such things, as are either onely probable, or obscure or inscrutable. For to deny that God hath given unto man a great measure of knowledge in many things, were not onely grosse darknesse and blindness, but great ingratitude, yea impiety. Neverthesse, it were also as great fatuity not to see or acknowledge, that God hath mixed this knowledge with much intricate difficulty and ambiguity, which notwithstanding he doth in his wisdom more or lesse reveale distribute and dispense, in severall measures, unto severall men, according to their severall cares, studies, indefatigable paines, and more industrious indeavour, in seeking and inquiring it: in defect whereof more commonly then either in Gods decreed restraint, or natures absence, mens desires and labours are so often annihilate.

CHAP. XIII. The confutation of divers erroneous wayes, unto the discovery of Witches, vulgarly received and approved. As true religion doth truely teach the true worship of God in that true

manner which he requireth, and commandeth: so superstition in an unapt measure or manner, doth offer up and sacrifice her vaine and foolish zeale or feare. Unto her therefore and her sacrifice, thus doth Almighty God reply; Who required this at your hands? I hate and abhorre your Sabboths and your new Moones, Isa. 12.13. The heathen Oratour could say, Religio continetur cultu pie

Page 141

Deoxum. True religion consisteth in the holy and true worship of God. Unto the advancing of the worship of the true God, the extirpation of Witches and Witch-craft (because it is the most abominable kinde of Idolatry) is a speciall service, and acceptable duty unto God, expressely commanded by himselfe, Deut. 17. 3, 4, 5. In the performance therefore of this worship, as it is solely and truely religious, to seeke their extermination by those meanes, and in that manner, which Almighty God doth approve and allow: so with misgouerned zeale or feare, in the ignorance, or neglect of the right manner or way, inconsiderately to follow unwarranted pathes thereto, is plaine Superstition. Julius Scaliger, in his third booke of Poetrie, thus describeth very lively the nature of Superstition. Superstitio satisfacit ad notandum eum habitum, quo metuimus, aut Deum sine ratione, aut ei opera attribuimus que opera ne cogitavit quidem unquam ille, that is, this word Superstition doth serve to set forth such an habit or disposition of minde, wherein wee worship or so feare God, as is voide of cause or reason, or unto our owne hurt or damage, we attribute unto God, as of God, those workes or things, which Almighty God himselfe never thought or intended. The word which the Greekes use for Superstition, is [Greek omitted] *inconsulta and absurda divine potentia formido*, that is, an absurd, and ill-advised feare or worship of God, which certainly is there, where he neither requireth it, nor is true cause or reason either of such worship, or in such sort or manner. In this speciall part therefore of the worship and feare of God, namely, in the discovery of Witch-craft and Sorcery, as wee have before labored to finde out those waies which are lawfull, instifiable, and allowed: so let us now briefly display the folly and vanity of erroneous and blind pathes, pointing deceitfully thereto; that we seeke not superstitiously to serve God, in our injoynd and commanded duties of the discoveties of Witches, with our owne vanities or follies, rash inventions, or devices; but in reasonable, just,

Chapter 14

Page 142

discreete and religious proceeding, which is onely and solely acceptable with God. In former ages and times, have been published by divers writers, many ridiculous traditions, herein so vaine, and so farre unworthy any serious confutation, that they scarce deserve so much as bare mention. Of this sort are the imagined profligations of the fits of the bewitched, by beholding the face of a Priest, by being touched by hallowed ointments, or liniments, by the vertue of exorcisation, of incense, of odours, of certaine mumbled sacred or misticall words. I will therefore omit these, as by time it selfe worne exolete, found worthlesse, and almost of later writers left namelesse, and will onely oppose and examine such later experiments, as doe in our time and country most prevaile in esteeme. CHAP. XIII. The casting of Witches into the Water, Scratching, Beating, Pinching, and drawing of blood of Witches. IT is vulgarly credited, that the casting of supposed Witches bound into the water, and the water refusing or not suffering them to sinke within her bosome or bowels, is an infallible detection that such are Witches. If this experiment be true, then must it necessarily so be, either as a thing ordinary, or as a thing extraordinary: because nothing can happen or fall out, that is not limited within this circuit or compasse. That which is ordinary, is naturall; as like wife that which is natural, is ordinary. Aristotle in the second of his Ethickes saith of that which is naturall quod aliter non assurset, that is, ordinarily it is not otherwise, then ever the same. From whence it doth follow by good consequent, that whatsoever is ordinary, must be naturall, because it keepeth the

Page 143

same course and order, which is the property of nature. For this cause Scaliger in his booke de subtilitate saith, Naturaest ordinaria Deipotestas, that is, nature is the ordinary power of God, in the ordinary course and government of all things. If then this experiment in the tryall of Witches, be as a thing ordinary (as it is vulgarly esteemed) it must be found likewise naturall. If it cannot be found naturall, it cannot be ordinary. That it is not, nor cannot be naturall, is manifest. First, for that the ordinary nature of things senselesse and voide of reason, doth not distinguish one person from another, vertue from vice, a good man from an evill man. This our Saviour himselfe doth confirme, Math. 5. verse 45. God maketh his sunne to arise on the evill, and the good, and sendeth raine on the just and unjust. Nay, we may further observe in the booke of God, and also reade in the booke of nature and common experience, that the common benefit of nature, is not onely vouchsafed unto all wicked men indifferently, but even unto Devils themselves, who doe not

only participate in nature the common essence, faculties and powers, proper unto the substance and nature of all other Spirits; but also doe exercise these powers and spirituall forces usually upon other inferiour natures, subject unto their supernaturall nature, reach and efficacy, as is often seene in their workes even upon the bodies and goods of the blessed Saints and sonnes of God. Hereby then is evident, that nature cannot take notice, or distinguish a wicked man, no not a Devil, and therefore much lesse a Witch. But here may be objected, that divers herbs and other simples, produce many strange and wondered effects, by an hidden secret, and occult qualitie and property in nature, though there appeare no manifest qualitie oft-times in them, by which in reason or probabilitie they should or can bee effectuall thereto. This Physicians doe dayly wnesse

Page 144

and proove true. Why then may not there bee likewise yeilded the like hidden power, or antipatheticall vertue in the nature of the element of water, and thereby a Witch bee detected; as well without knowne cause or reason thereof in nature; notwithstanding naturally the evils or diseases both of body and minde, are both detected, and cured by elementary substances or compositions, in which there is no manifest knowne proportion therewith? It is truly answered, that although in this supposed experiment of the disposition of the element of water towards Witches, casualty may haply sometimes seeme to justifie it true; yet is not this sufficient to evince it a thing naturall. Those things which are naturall, necessarily and ever produce their effect, except some manifest or extraordinary interception or impediment hinder. Thus fire doth necessarily, ordinarily, and alwaies burne and consume any combustible matter or fuell being added thereto, except either some manifest or extraordinary hindrance oppose it. The like may be saide of all other elements for their naturall effects in their proper objects. Naturall medicines likewise, if rightly accommodated with prudence, art and discretion unto the right disease, doe never faile their usuall productions or effects. This Almighty God in his holy writ doth confirme, and long and aged experience of many hundreths of yeares hath successively witnessed, wherein the ancient records of all learned writers, have ever testified innumerable medicinal herbs and drugges, certainly and truly to bee ever the same. Present times doe likewise see and witness it, and no man doth or can doubt it in the right proove. Concerning any such nature or custome in the element of water, in the refragation of Witches, who was as yet ever able to write and fully resolve, or proove it ordinary, necessary, certaine, ever

or for the most part, not failing as is in course of nature most infallible and never doubted? What former ages have successively vouchsafed the mention of truth or certainty

Page 145

therein? Hath Almighty God, at all, so much as approved any opinion or thought thereof? Is it not rather to be justly doubted, that it may be esteemed among the abominations of the Gentiles, which God in his people doth detest, Deut. 18. verse 9? Doe all men in our time, or good and just men avouch their owne prooffe in the tryall thereof? Or contrariwise, doe not many wise, religious, learned and equall minds with reason reject and contemne it? Doth Law as yet establish it, or reason proove it? How can it then be proposed as equivalent with those reasonable meanes or wayes, of just proceedings or tryalls, which God, his divine Lawe, his law of nature, judgement reason, experience, and the lawes of men have ever witnessed, perpetually and onely assured certaine and infallible? It wanteth the universall testimony of former ages and Writers; in this our age it is held in jealousie with the most judicious, sage, and wise: It hath no reasonable prooffe, no justifiable tryall hath dared to avouch it upon publike record, no lawe hath as yet, thought it worthy of admittance; and the Lawe of God is not proofed to proove or approve it. If it had beene a thing naturall, ordinary, of necessary, or of certaine operation or power, and therein so evidently remarkeable, it is impossible it should have escaped authentically approbation, or the same notable testimonies, which all other tryed truths have ever obtained. From the former premises therefore we conclude, that it cannot be a thing naturall, necessary or ordinary. If it be not ordinary, then is it not alwaies the same; if not alwayes the same, then is it sometimes failing; if sometimes sailing, then is it not infallible; if not infallible, then in no true judgement or justice to be trusted or credited. It now remaineth to inquire, whether being proofed salse or ordinary, it may not be proofed true as extraordinary (for to esteeme or grant it both is an impossibility in nature, and an absurdity in reason.) Let us grant, it may be judged and deemed extraordinary; the next doubt then remaining is, whether being extraordinary or miraculous, it be of God or of the Devil.

Page 146

The reason why some men suppose it should be of God, is, for that the water is an element which is used in Baptisme, and therefore by the miraculous and extraordinary power of God, doth reject and refuse those who have renounced their vows and

promise thereby, made unto God, of which sort are Witches. If this reason be sound and good, why should not Bread and Wine, being elements in that Sacrement of the Eucharist, be likewise noted and observed to trurne backe, or fly away from the thraotes, mouthes, and teeth of Witches? and why, (if for the former reason, the water being an element in the Sacrament of covenant, made with God, in the first initiation into the faith, doe for that cause refuse to receive Witches into her bosome, and thereby give an infallible prooffe of a Witch?) Why, I say, should not by the same reason Bread and Wine, being elements in the Sacrament of confirmation and growth of saith, refuse and fly from those much more, whose faith and promise made unto God in riper and more under standing yeares, is by them renounced? And why for that cause, should not Bread and Wine become as infallible markes and testimonies unto the detection of Witches? If the reason be good in the first, it must necessarily be the same in the second; and if it faile in the second, it cannot be good or sound in the first. Neither doth it or can it stand with any good reason at all, that because so small part of the element of water, is set apart unto that religious service in the Sacrament; therefore, the whole element of water, or all other waters must thereby obtaine any generall common property above the kinde or nature. Neither is it as yet agreed, or concluded generally among the most learned, and reverend Divines, whether that small part of water which in particular is set apart, or used in the Sacrament, doth thereby receive any manifest alteration at all in substance, essence, nature or quality. If then that part of the element of water it selfe, which is hallowed unto that holy use, be not manifested, or apparently proofed to be thereby indowed with any vertue, much lesse

Page 147

can it communicate any vertue unto other waters, which did not participate there with in the same religious service. Except then there may be proved by this religious use of water, some more endowment of sense or religion therein, then is in other elements, why should it more fly from a Witch then the fire, then the ayre, then the earth? The fire doth warme them, the ayre flyeth not from them, but giveth them breathing; the earth refuseth not to beare them, to feede them, to bury them. Why then should the water alone runne away or flye from them? It may be answered, that it is a miracle, where of therefore there neither can nor ought reason in nature to be demaunded or given. If it be a miracle, it is either a true miracle, which onely and solely doth exceed the power of any G1 created nature, or is a seeming miracle by the power of the Devil, working effects in

respect of mans reason, nature, and power supernaturall and impossible; notwithstanding confined and limited within the generall rule, reason and power of universall nature, which he G2 cannot exceed or transcend, being a finite creature, and no infinite Creator. Miracles, of the first kinde, are raising from the dead the son of the widow of Sarepta, by Elias 3. of the kings, 17. the dividing the water of Jordan with Elias cloake, 4. of the Kings 2. the curing of the sicke by S. Pauls handkercher, Act. 5. 19. the raising Lazarus by our blessed Saviour, and the like. Miracles of the second kinde, are all the workes of the Enchanters of cgypt, Exod. 7. which were onely Devilish sleights, cunning G3 imitations, countersets, and Diabolicall resemblances and shadowes of the true miracles, wrought by Almighty God, in the hand of his servant Moses. If this miracle, or this miraculous detection of Witches by water, be of this later kinde, it is of the Devil; and is not to be esteemed or named, where the Name of God is feared or called upon. For although the cunning fraude of the Devil, above and -notes- G1 Non est creator, nisi qui principaliter format: nec quisquam hoc potest, nisi unus Creator Deus. Aug. 3 de Trin. G2 Augustinus 3. De Trin. Alia potest si non prohibetur, Dæmon: Alia non potest, etsi permittatur, qu and #233;admo dum homo potest, ambulare si non prohibeatur, volare non potest, etsi permittatur Petr. Lomb. G3 Sent. Lib. 2. Dist. 7

Page 148

beyond all capacitie of the weake sense and understanding of man, doe so lively oft-times cast before our eyes, the outward shape and similitude of the miracles of God, that man is not able easily to distinguish them, or at first sight to put a true difference: yet must men studiously, and circumspectly be advised herein, lest rashly they confound, or equall the vile and abject illusions of that damned creature the Devil (though never so wonderfull in our eyes) unto the infinite power of the Almighty Creator, in his true and truely created miracles, which is an high dishonour unto our God, and accursed impiety. For this cause, the holy Scripture hath admonished and warned the weakenesse of humane understanding, not to be transported by signes and wonders, nor to trust or give credit to every miracle: and our Saviour himselfe, Math. 24. verse. 24. doth furnish his Disciples with carefull warning herein. And S. John, in his Revelation foretelleth, that in the latter dayes and times, the Divell and the great Whore of Babylon, shall with great signes, wonders, and miracles, seduce and deceive the last ages, and people of the world. Since then miracles are of no validity, except certainly and truely knowne to be of God; and since also it is not easie for

every Spirit to discern therein; let us duely examine and sift this our supposed and proposed miracle in the tryall and detection of Witches. Petrus Gregorins Tholosanus in his Syntagma Juris, hb. 2. cap. 12. in a tractate concerning the Relicks and Monuments of Saints, together with miracles, doth give very honest, sound, and substantiall direction. First, that all credited miracles be sound and allowed by religious lawes and authoritie. Secondly, that the persons by whom they are first revealed or knowne, or by whom they are avouched, be testes idonei, omnig exceptione majores, that is, that they be worthy witnesses of undoubted and unstained credit and worth, free from all just exception, of holy life, and unstained conversation. [Missing page] [Missing page]

Page 149

ordinary, whereby the true miracles and miraculous workes of God also may grow with undiscerning men of lesse esteeme, vile and of no accompt. Nam miracula Dei assiduitate viluerunt (saith S. Augustine) the miracles and miraculous workes of God, being oft seene, become of small or no reputation. The second tryall of a false miracle, was the robbing of God of his due honour and praise, which in this proposed miracle is partly proofed; by making the extraordinary work or use of miracles ordinary, and thereby derogating from the power, worth and nature of Gods true miracles (as is before said): partly by unthankful undervalewing, omitting, or relinquishing the ordinary meanes of tryalls and detections of doubtfull truths, which God hath made and given in his good grace; and therefore their contempt and neglect is a manifest robbing of God of his due praise and glory therein. The third tryall of the Devils property in miracles, was the seducing of mens hearts from God unto himselfe, which in our supposed miracle may be necessarily concluded. For if the miracle it selfe be upon good grounds before alleaged, rightfully deemed to bee of the Devil; it must necessarily follow, that what soever esteeme or reputation is given thereto, is a secret sacrifice of ignorance or superstition unto the Devil, and an hidden and court seduction from God: and thus hath beene proofed, or at least, with good reason alleaged. First that the tryall of Witches by water, is not naturall or according to any reason in nature. Secondly, if it be extraordinary and a miracle, that it is in greater likelihood and probability a miracle of the Devil to in snare, then any manifest miracle of God to glorifie his name, which is the true end of right miracles. Concerning the other imagined trials of Witches, as by beating, scratching, drawing bloud from supposed or suspected Witches, where by it is said that the fits or diseases of the bewitched do cease

miraculously; as also concerning the burning of bewitched cattell, whereby it is said, that the Witch is miraculously compelled to present her selfe.

Chapter 15

Page 150

These, and the like, I thinke it vaine and needlesse, particularly or singly to confute, because it doth directly appeare, by their examination, according to the former rules produced against the naturalizing of the detection of Witches by casting them into the water, that first they are excluded out of the number of things naturall: secondly, that being reputed as miracles, they will also be rather instly judged miracles of the Devil, then of God, by the former reasons which have stripped the supposed miraculous detection of Witches by the water, of any hopefull opinion that they can be of God. Nor doth our law now in force, differ here from rejecting such like miraculous trialls. See the triall by Orde il abolished by Parliament the third yeare of Henry the third, Coke 9. Rep. Case Abbot de Strata Mercella Fol. 33. CHAP. XV. The exploration of Witches, by supernaturall revelations in the bewitched, by signes and secret markes, declared by the bewitched, to be in the body of the suspected Witch, by the touch of the Witch curing the touched bewitched. There remaine as yet other miraculous explorations of a Witch, carrying in their first view a far more wondred representation then any or all the former explorations. One is, when persons be witched, shall in the time of their strange fits or traunces nominate or accuse a Witch, and for a true testimony against him, or her, thus nominated, shall reveale secret markes in his or her body, never before seene or knowne by any creature; nay, the very words or workes, which the supposed, or thus nominated Witch shall be acting or speaking in farre distant places, even in the very moment and point of time, while they are in acting or speaking; all which I have sometimes my selfe beard and seene proved true. This is reputed a certaine

Page 151

conviction of a witch. An othor miraculous tryal of a Witch and like unto this, wonderfull is; when a supposed Witch required by the bewitched, doth touch him or her (though when unknowne or unperceived by the bewitched themselves,) yet according to the prediction of that issue by the bewitched, he or shee immediately are delivered from the present fit or agony, that then was upon him or her, which I have also my selfe seene. For the better discovery of truth in these so wondered difficulties, let us first

recall to minde these few observations in our former Treatise determined and proofed. First, that the Devil doth many miraculous and supernaturall things meerey simply and alone of himselfe, for his owne ends, and without the instigation or association of a Witch. This was made manifest by his conference, disputation and speech with Eva after a miraculous manner, out of the body of the Serpent, when as yet neither Witch, nor Witch-craft were come into the world. Secondly, that the Devil is able to obtrude or impose his supernaturall or miraculous workes upon men, against their knowledge, liking, will, or affection, and being unrequired. This is cleere by his transection of the body of our blessed Saviour, as also by his violent casting of the bodies of the possessed, amongst the people mentioned in the Gospell. Thirdly, let us not here forget specially, that hee is able to transmit and send unto, or into men unrequired, and without their desire or assent, secret powers, force, knowledge, illuminations, and supernaturall revelations. This was prooved by the possessed in the Gospells who from a secret and hidden revelation and power, above and beyond themselves, were able to utter that high mistery, as yet hidden from the world, that Jesus was the Sonne of the living God. This could not be knowne unto them, by their owne reason or nature, being above and beyond all reason or nature, and by grace onely then begun to be revealed unto the blessed Disciples themselves. To thinke that the possessed could have that knowledge equally with the Disciples by the same grace, were impious derogation from their

Page 152

Apostolicall priviledge and prerogative therein, unto whom did properly belong the first fruits there of alone. This supernaturall revelation therefore was transfused into the possessed by the Devil, who could not be ignorant of the Lyon of Juda, the mighty destroyer of his spirituall kingdome, long before the disciples were borne, or capable of knowledge. And thus having recalled these observations, from them doe issue these necessary inferences. First, that all supernaturall acts or works in men, are not to bee imputed unto those men. Secondly, that for this cause those supernaturall workes, are onely to be imputed unto men which the Devil, according unto contract or Covenant which those men doth practise and produce. And for this cause, in the inquisition of Witch-craft, when we have truely first detected an act, done by a spirituall and supernaturall force (because it is in all lawes injurious, to accuse of any act, before it be certainly knowne the act hath beene committed) then, and not before, wee ought indeavour directly and necessarily to prove the

contract, consent, and affection of the person suspected, unto, or in that supernaturall act, that being no lesse essetiall, to detect and discover the true and undonbted Witch; then the supernaturall act, being certainly apparent, doth undoubtedly prove the Devil, and his power therein. This equall regard, in case of Witch-craft, ought to bee carefully ballanced, without which vaine and unstable men shall ever at their lust and pleasure, upon affections and passions, be priviledged with impunity, to lay unjust imputations, and to use wrongfull violence and oppression beyond all equitie, or reason. When therefore men that are prudent, judicious, and able to discern, doe first advisedly upon good ground and reason, adjudge a supernaturall act evidently done, or at least worthy to be suspected: secondly, shall by just and reasonable prooffe, or at least linely and faire presumption, detect the contract, affection, or consent of any man in that act; then and not before, is the accusation, inquisition

Page 153

and inditement of Witch-craft, against any man equall and just. For since a supernaturall worke can be truely and simply no act of a unaturall man, and is the immediate hand and power of a Devil (as is formerly prooved) it is the mans consent, contract and covenant alone, in the act with the Devil, that being detected and discovered, doth infallibly and essentially prove him a Witch, and not the act it selfe. These observations, and considerations, first necessarily prefixed, let us now proceed unto the two former propounded experiments of the miraculous detection of Witches. It is necessarily true, that it can solely proceed from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are enabled in their trannces, to fore-tell the sequell of the supposed Witches touch: likewise, that the nominated Witch, shall accordingly by her touch immediately free and dispossesse the Sicke or the bewitched of their agonies. It is as necessarily true also, that it can solely proceed from a supernaturall power, that the bewitched are able in their traunces to nominate the most secret and hidden marks in the bodies of the suspected Witch, her present speech G1 and actions in fatre distant places, and the like, but whether these mitaculous Revelations, with their answerable events, ought to bee esteemed just convictions of the persons thus by a supernaturall finger, pointed out and noted; as also whether they proceede of God or of the Devil, is very materiall, to examine and consider. If they proceede from God, their end, their extraordinary necessitie and use, bent solely unto the immediate speciall glory, or extraordinary glorification of God therein, will evidently declare. What more

extraordinary glorification of God can be pretended in the needfulnesse of a miraculous detection of Witch-craft, then of any other sinne committed, as immediatly -notes- G1 Herein the Divell affecteth to imitate the power of God in his holy Prophet, who was able by his divine revelation to make known what the King spake in his Privy Chamber. 2. Kings verse 12. cap. 6. He herein also counterfeteth the Divinitie of our Saviour, seeing Nathaniel, when he was under the Figgetree. Joh, 1. 48.

Page 154

against God, and with as high an hand? Witch-craft is indeed one kinde of horrid renunciation, and forsaking of God, but there are many more kinds much more hellish then this secret and concealed defection: as the open cursings, wilfull blasphemings, and spitefull railings upon God, even unto his face, professed hatred and contempt of God. Among many Offendors in these kindes, after their owne long provoking continuance therein, and Almighty God his unspeakeable long suffering and patience: some few sometimes have been made hideous spectacles and examples unto the rest, of the infinite power and justice of God, his unsufferable displeasure, indignation and direfull revenging wrath. In this number was, for some time Nebuchadneser, and Pharaoh King of Egypt, and in later times Julian the Apostata, and others the like. Many other as high Blasphemers, and despisers of God, notwithstanding have been permitted to escape any such miraculous punishments, or fearefull notorious exposings unto the worlds view. Rabshakeh, railing on the living God, in the open view and hearing of the men of Israel, and Olofernes denying the God of heaven, were not miraculously, or by any immediate hand of God smitten, but were suffered to grow on, untill their harvest of confusion was ripe. That high degree of blasphemie against the Sonne of the living God, hanging upon the Crosse for the sinnes of mankinde, committed by the cruell and hard-hearted Iewes, in scorning, scoffing, and spitefull derision both of God in heaven, Math. 27. verse 43. and also of the eternall Saviour of the world, descended from heaven, was not by God then extraordinarily revenged (as the incomparable greatnesse of the sinne might seeme to require) but was in Almighty God his just judgement, suffered, untill in the due time, their owne execrations, and cursings of themselves, and their posterity, thereby to hasten and purchase the effusion of that holy innocent bloud, did fall upon them so heavily, that their whole

Page 155

Nation, People, and Kingdome, became extirpate, vile, and vagabond for ever upon the face of the earth. It is recorded in the Revelation, chap. 13. verse 5, 6,7. concerning the Beast, that he opened his mouth unto blasphemy against God, his Tabernacle, and the saints; that he spake great mighty blasphemies, yet power was given unto him to continue, and prevaile therein many yeares, and a large space of time. By these few examples it is evident, that neither the height, the nature, the quantitie, nor the qualitie, of the most abominable, or provoking sinne, most odious unto God and men, doth usually, or alwaies draw downe from heaven upon it selfe a miraculous immediate hand of Gods wrath. We may easily instance the like, concerning the sin of witch-craft, which is our particular subject. Although by the hand of his holy servant Saint Paul, Almighty God did miraculously smite the Sorcerer clymas, and as writers report, Simon Magus, by the hand of St. Peter, multitudes and societies of other Sorcerers, and Southsayers among the Caldeans, escaped not onely the hands of Nebuchadneser, in his wrath; but as it seemeth in the prophecy of Daniel, they lived many yeares in high esteeme, fame, and renowne, both in their owne Nation, and also in forreine Countreyes, yea through the world. There is no doubt, that Ægypt likewise did abound with swarmes of Sorcerers, as the holy Scripture, and all times and writers report. Among the people of God also, the Israelites, it is manifest that divers Sorcerers and Witches did shrowed themselves, and lived with impunity, as appeareth by the Witch of Endor, which king Saules severity, in their generall extirpation throw the whole kingdome, had not withstanding passed by, and lest unespied; as also by that special note and commendations, from Gods owne mouth and word of Joshua, that is, that hee had taken away from amidst his people, all the Enchanters and Sorcerers: by which it is likely and cannot be denied, that through the lenitie or carelesnesse of former Princes, they formerly had long securely

Page 156

their breathed. That God doth not use by miracles to detect all, or most Enchanters, Magicians, or Witches, is farther made undoubted; because it should follow then and thence necessarily, that he hath both in the first ages of the world, ordained lawes, and ordinary, legall courses of proceeding against them in vaine; as also for that he doth, in the holy records of his sacred word, make knowne his Decree, that they shall be permitted to live and continue upon the face of the earth among other, and as other unrepentant sinners, untill his second comming, and the last day of eternall doome, Revelat. chap. 22. vers. 15, without shall be

Enchanters. If his Justice and severe judgement should by his miraculous power make so narrow search amongst them, as ordinarily to root them out, it were impossible any one of them should escape his all-seeing revengefull hand, to survive unto his generall decreed day of sentence, and dreadfull doome, of all kinde of sinnes and sinners, which both in justice unto some, and mercy unto other some, his infinite goodnesse and wisdome hath decreed, shall not be frustrate. Although therefore Almighty God doth sometimes stretch forth his mighty hand miraculously to smite, or bring into light some horrid sinnes and sinners, his extraordinary power therein sometimes onely extended, at his owne good will and pleasure, doth not justifie the presumptuous expectation of the dispensation there of in any particular. God who is the God of order, and not of confusion, doth not ordinarily dispense his extraordinary workes, nor usually confound indifferently, so different natures in their end and use, and his owne decree. Nature it selfe doth also teach an impossibility in that which is extraordinary, to become or be expected ordinary. In that way which is ordinary, the industriuous, the diligent, the provident man therefore doth with carefull perseverance uprightly walke. The slothfull, onely the intemperate, the improvident man, either by folly or ignorance loseth or by idle sloth forgetteth, or omitteth, his ordinary way or opportunity, and ridiculously hopeth or trusteth unto

Page 157

the redemption thereof, by extraordinary contingents or events. Thus it hath appeared, that in regard of any more speciall or extraordinary glorification of God, in the detection of Witches, rather then of other as great and as abominable sinners, their is no needfull or necessary use of myracles. The second consideration was, whether they are not rather of the Devil, then of God; as also, how they may be any just convictions of the supposed or suspected guilty. Wee will first herein examine the touch of the supposed Witch, immediatly commanding the cessation of the supposed fits of the bewitched. That this is a false or Diabolicall miracle and not of God, may be justly doubted. First, because the holy and blessed power of working miracles (among which, the healing the Sicke or the possessed was not the least) was never of God dispensed, to haunt or follow the touch of wicked men, or Sorcerers or Witches. Secondly, for that the true miracles of God (which were ever dispensed, either for the common good of his Church, or the declaration of his glorious truth, or for the extraordinary punishment and destruction of evill men) did never obscurely, or indirectly, prove themselves or their ends, but in their

manifestation were enabled to over-shine cleerely, all the fogges and mists of doubt or question. The contrary hereunto in this our suspected miracle is manifest, wherein is ridiculously imagined, that the blessed gist and vertue of healing the sicke, descended from God above, may be reputed in the hands of a Witch a signe or testimony of his or her guilt and impiety, which ever hath beene, and is in it selfe a speciall grace and favour of God, and was ever used rather as a confirmation of the truth of Gods Ministers and servants. Let us now consider how this miraculous touch and the efficacy thereof, may be any just conviction of a Witch. No man can doubt that the vertue wherewith this touch was indued, was supernaturall. If it bee supernaturall, how can man, unto whom nothing simply

Page 158

is possible, that is not naturall, bee justly reputed any proper Agent therein? If hee cannot bee esteemed in himselfe any possible or true Agent, then it remaineth, that hee can onely bee interested therein, as an accessory in consent; as a Solicitor or Tenant unto a superiour power. If that superiour power (as is before proved in the falsehood of his miracle) be the Devil, the least reasonable doubt remaining whether the Devill alone, or with the consent or contract of the suspected person hath produced that wonderfull effect: with what Religion or reason can any man rather incline to credit the Devils information in the mouth of the bewitched (who is the common accuser of God to men, and of men to God) then in requisite pittie, pietie, and humane respect unto his owne kinde to tender the weakenesse of fraile man, against the subtilty of the deceitfull Devil. Shall man with man find lesse favour, then the Devil with man against man? That the Devil is able by the permission of God, to annex or hang this miracle upon this or that particular, is manifest, by the possessed in the Gospell; upon whom and their naturall actions and motions, he cast supernaturall consequences or concomitances. Was not their speech attended with supernaturall revelation, their hands with supernaturall force, to rend and teare in pieces iron chaines and bonds? If the Devil be able to transfuse, or cast these miraculous concomitances or consequences alone, and without allowance of any man or person where God doth permit; how is it in any equity or reason just, that these impositions of the Devil should be imputed unto any man? God forbid, that the Devil signes and wonders, nay his truths should become any legall allegations or evidences in lawe. We may therefore conclude it unjust, that the forenamed miraculous effects by the Devil wrought and imputed by the bewitched, should be esteemed a signe or infallible marke

against any man, as therefore convinced a Witch, for that the Devil and the bewitched have so deciphered him. These like miraculous stratagems may be exercised upó any man,

Page 159

or unto any mans actions may be deceitfully or fraudulently by the Devil conjoined or apted. This therefore doth not inferre any mans guilt therein. It ought be a mans owne proper contract therein with the Devil, necessarily and directly proved, that shall justly condemne him. This contract may be and is plainly detected, by sifting and considering, that mans voluntarily assisting or promoting, promising, or undertaking such supernaturall workes, with answerable performance thereof. As hath beene said, concerning the miraculous consequence of the touch of a suspected Witch; so may be determined concerning the supernaturall revelations of secret markes or signes in her body, according unto the prediction of the bewitched, as also of the discovery of the present actions, gestures, and speches of supposed Witches in farre distant places. Divers examples I my selfe have seene in these kinds: I must necessarily acknowledge a more then natural power therein, because farre beyond the nature, reason, or power of man. But there is notwithstanding sufficient matter of doubt, whether such revelations, secret signes, and marks, though found in the named persons or parts true, as also the right portraitures and shapes of the supposed or accused Witches, though never of the bewitched before seene, and yet by the bewitched truely described; there is, I say, notwithstanding, sufficient matter of doubt, whether they are not very insufficient to charge or accuse any particular thus pointed out or marked. The Law and expresse commandement of God doth allow of no revelation from any other Spirit, but from himselfe, Isa. 8. 19. Whether these revelations are immediatly of God, if their due examination by the rule of his Word G1 doe not clearely determine, rash or hasty perturbation or passion ought not presume it. The lawes of men also admit no supernaturall illuminations or revelations, as any grounds of just tryals or decisions of right or truth. It follows therefore necessarily, that they are voide, and ought to be of no force or credit in upright judgement with just and righteous men. It may bee objected, -notes- G1 ESTIN AMARTIA ANOMIA. Quicquid non congruit cum lege, peccatum eft.

Page 160

that truth is found in these revelations, and truth ought be of regard. It may hereto againe bee replied, that although truth in it selfe be great, and ought and will prevaile; yet in the abuse,

evill use, or corrupted, or depraved end thereof, it ought not deceive nor is of force. The Devil, as all other cunning lyers and deceivers and imitators of that his art, usually mixe truths with lyes, that those truths giving credit unto lyes, men may beleve both and so be deceived. It was ever the onely safe way of lying, to face and guard it with some plausible truths. In the former revelations therefore, representations and true descriptions in the bewitched, of persons of secret markes and signes, of speeches, gestures, and the like, although the Devil be found true, or speaking truth, yet may he notwithstanding haply bee therein also a lyer, while truly describing their persons, shapes, markes, manners and gestures, speeches and the like, he falsely and lyingly addeth thereby a seeming or deceiving necessity of their guilt, as if therein or thereby necesatily inferred. The fallicy illusion and the lyingly true revelations of the Devil, may by many examples be manifested. Ianus Iacobus Boissardus in his tract. de Divinatione Chap. 5. reporteth an admirable story of a noble Gentleman his familiar friend, and knowne unto himselfe. This man flying from his owne native Countrey for feare of punishment for a murther by him committed, and living in farre distant coasts, desired curiously to enquire what his wife was in his absence doing, whom hee had (being very faire young and beautifull) married two monethes onely before his departure or voluntary exile. For this purpose he came unto a Magitian living in the place of exile, who lively described unto him the true fashion, building, and ornaments of his house where his wife in his absence lived, her apparrell, countenance, and the like, as they were perfectly foreknowne unto himselfe. He farther expecting to learne what she was at that present instant doing. The Magitian made knowne that there was then in her company a beautifull young

Page 161

man with his hose or breeches about his heeles standing neere or close unto her. Uppon the knowne truth of the Magician his first description of his house and wife, the gentleman assuring himselfe of the truth of the second description of seeming manifest adultrey in her, secretly stealeth home with an absolute resolution by murdering of her to be revenged, and comming home by stealth neere unto the place where his house and her dwelling was, by a ring (which as an infallible testimonie of her true love she had delivered unto him at his departure) he immediately caused her to come unto him. Her kinde and loving intertainment so qualified and mollified his intended rage and fury, that he had patience first to confer with her, which before his sight of her, he did not intende. After her conference he

demaunded whether such a day (naming the certaine day) she did not weare apparrel of such a colour and fashion. She answered with wonder that it was true. He againe demaunded what that was which she smothed and handled in her hand, and who that young man was which stood neere her with his hose about his heeles. She hereat amazed and perceiving the sodaine change of a fierce and cruell looke in her husband, desired him to be pacified and better informed. The young man was his owne brother who could wnesse the truth thereof, and that which she smoothed or stroked in her hand was a plaister which she did smooth for him and applyed unto his hip, where he had a very greivous and painefull ulcer. This being found true, the husband sorrowed for his bloody intention, and detested the execrable and damnable Art of the Magician, and the foule lying truth of the Devil. How foulely likewise many other men by these like darke and double dealing truthes, equivocations, and amphibologies, have beene deceived consulting with the Devil and his oracles may be by many other examples testified. The fame Author mentioneth the oraculous revelation by dreame presented unto the daughter of Polycrates of Samos. It was revealed unto her that her father should be taken up into heaven, be washed

Page 162

by Jupiter and annointed by the Sun. This after proved true but in a dreaming sense. For Polyerates being surprised by Orantes, was hanged up toward heaven upon an high Crosse, where Jupiter (that is the ayre) with his moisture did wash him, and the Sun melting his grease and the substance of his flesh did so annoint him as was least imagined or suspected. Plut arke in the life of Annibalt reporteth that Anniball consulted with the oracle concerning his owne reserved destiny or end. The oracle answered that Libissa land should burie his corpes. Hereupon he presumed that he should returne into that his owne countrey and therein his old age die. He grewe therefore secure and careless. But shortly afterward being taken by the Romanes in a little obscure village by the sea coast called by the name of Libissa, he there grewe wearie of his life and poysoned himselfe in the Devils truth: behold untruth and deceit. Libissa buried Anniball, but not Libissa by Anniball either knowne or possible to be imagined. These examples are sufficient whereby is plainly seen the dangerous deceitfull fallacy of the devil even where he speaketh truth. Let us now returne againe unto our former miraculous prediction of the Devil by the mouth of the bewitched concerning the cure of the bewitched by the touch of the supposed Witch. We may boldly affirme that in this case or in

any other, if it were possible for the Devil to speake the truth, truly, wholly, unpartially; so as it might appeare plaine, evident, manifest; yet ought we not from him beleeeve it or receive it. This is in our blessed Saviour made undoubted, who in the Gospell oft rebuked him even speaking truth, as also in S. Paul rebuking the Pythonisse, truly affirming, and acknow ledging him the servant and Minister of God. If the Devil then speaking truth, may not be allowed or credited; how shall revelations, miracles or oracles proceeding from him, be they never so true, or approved with any shew of true Religion or reason, become any just probations or allegations in law, equity or justice? it may be objected, that many times men have bin by dreames and visions admonished

Page 163

of secret and concealed hideous murders, and other evill facts committed privily, whereby the Malefactors and their guilt have bin admirably produced unto due punishment. This truth is even by Heathen Authors witnessed, and in our time the like have hapned, and is testified by witnesses, whose faith and credit is free from all exception. Although this be true and cannot be denied, some reasons notwithstanding doe perswade that it is more safe to incline, to suspect that these like visions or dreames are rather of the Devil, then rashly to determine or decree that they are immediatly of God. First, for that though haply they might be sometimes so granted, yet ought we not too swiftly or sodainly so beleeeve, for that by the lively counterfeit of the true visions, dreames and revelations of God, the Devil hath ever usually practised to be taken and esteemed as God: the allowance whereof by men is high blasphemy against God, and ignorant occult adoration of Devils. Secondly, for that no visions, dreames, or revelations, ought to be esteemed of God, originally or immediatly, which doe respect or answere curiositie of knowledge or desire, as most of the forementioned kinds usually are wont. Thirdly, for that the visions of God, as they are ever bent unto an extraordinary, divine end, and an universall good, so are they ever dispensed by the ministry of men, who have manifest commission, or warrant from God, either mediate, or immediate. The mediate is prooved by the manifestation of the meanes: the immediate, by the evident reflexion of a manifest divinity, in the power and authority thereof. For as it is said of the word of God, Heb. 4 verse 12. so must it necessarily be concluded of all the true miracles, visions, or revelations of God, that they are lively, and mighty in operation. This is seene in the miracles wrought by Moses, which the Sorcerers themselves could not deny to bee the finger of God, Gen. 8. verse 19. This is likewise seene in

Simon Magus, who could not but acknowledge the miraculous power of the holy Ghost, by the laying on of the Apostles hands, so far forth that in the consideration of his owne guilt, and of a convincing power or deitie therein, he desired them to pray for him. The same is also witnessed in the servants of the high Priests who being sent with wicked malice, and cursed prejudice to intrap and betray our Saviour, were by the miraculous power of his word and workes compelled to proclaime and confesse; No man ever spake like this man. All these notes or markes, of the true visions, dreames, or revelations of God, are ever generally, or for the most part wanting in the forementioned kinds, which being never free from some suspitious note of godly jealousie, therefore ought not but with much doubt and difficulty be at any time admitted. It may bee as yet further objected. How can it otherwise bee deemed, then that God himselfe is the Author of the former revelations, since they tend unto his glory in the detecting and punishing of so hideous sinnes? It is hereto answered, that Almighty God is able to use and command evill instruments unto good ends. He hath ordained the Devil himselfe to be the common accuser of all sinnes and sinners. It is therefore no inconvenience nor repugnant unto religion or reason, to affirme, that the Devil himselfe, in the forementioned visions or dreames, by the commandement or permission of God, is the producer of the fore-mentioned murders, evill facts, unto light and judgement. God for his owne glory permitteth the Devil by these his wonderfull revelations, to detect the named sinnes and sinners. The Devil also for his owne end, and desire of their destruction, doth execute the Decree of God for their just punishment. But here may be objected againe, that the Divell

in his revelations (as is before mentioned) is not to be beleaved or credited, although he spake truth. How then may men be allowed, to admit or make use of these his visions or dreames in this kinde. It is hereto replied, Almighty God himselfe doth both permit and heare the Devill when hee accuseth, as is manifest by holy Scriptures. Therefore among men, and by men also, his accusations may be heard and considered. Notwithstanding, since hee is oft a false Accuser, and the enemy of God and truth, hee may not bee credited in himselfe, no nor truth it selfe simply as in his mouth. Upon his accusation therefore, if truth and certaintie doe declare it selfe, the force and vertue thereof, and not the accusation doth conduct, upright men and minds, unto proceeding and judgement; it is not the Devils accusation, but

the truth it selfe, unto which haply that accusation did point inquisition, that by it selfe made manifest, is therefore credited. And thus with brevity hath the vanity both of all superstitious, and also of all miraculous waies of the detection of Witches and Witch-craft, beene in some few of their particulars generally unmasked. There are, and may bee many more besides these, which in these, and with these, will like wise perish and vanish, being by the same rule and reason compelled unto the golden tryall of sincere religion and affection. The sole, true and warranted way, wherein uprightly men may walke herein before God and men, hath beene in this Treatise formerly disquied and discoursed. Therein (intelligent Reader) thou maist observe two sorts of manifest Witches: The one is offered unto the outward sense, in his apparent and palpable Sorcerous workes: The other is made evident by plaine demonstration out of the sacred word

Page 166

of truth. It hath ever prevailed with vulgar custome (because most sensible of the most grosse harmes more open to sense) to cast chiefly, or for the most part, the eye and common jealousie upon the first kinde. The other kinde (because usually lest noted of sense, and therefore esteemed least harmefull to men) is both in the just protraction or production thereof unto the barre of Justice much more rare and seldome, and also in common and vulgar observation is little or not at all considered. Hence it proceedeth, that most men doe doubtfully resolve thereof; Yea, some men admire a worth therein, others esteeme it of reasonable and commendable use, unto the satisfaction of their curiosities, in things secret and hidden from the knowledge of man. But since Almighty God hath more specially (as is in the former Treatise proved) both given most certaine and plaine indication, and information of this kinde, by the expressed fruites thereof, and the necessary inference of familiarity and consultation with other Spirits then himselfe, Isaiah 8. verse 19. and hath also so oft in so diners places iterated the great abomination, and his high detestation thereof, it is not onely the saving duety of all private men to take more diligent and wary notice thereof, thereby to eschew and flye from it, according unto Gods expressle charge and command; but it is the charge of Princes and Magistrates also, to fulfill thereby the commanded execution of Gods holy wrath and vengeance upon it; for which pleasing service and sacrifice unto him, Almighty God hath upon the cuerlasting records of his holy word fixed for ever the so memorable praise, and commendation of those famous Princes, who have dedicated themselves unto his will therein. As it hath beene declared by

what meanes Witches and Sorcerers, in two kindes severally may be manifestly charged, challenged, and proved as certaine and undoubted Offendors: so also how farre presumption probabilities, or matter of just suspition in both may blamelesly guide, and conduct upright and equall inquisition, hath beene briefly instanced. From all which it is evident: first, that God in nature hath not shut up in this subject, the common inrance and doore of judging, trying or deciding as equally, as in other cases: secondly, that beside and beyond that way, which God hath lest open unto sensible and reasonable progresse, herein it must necessarily bee preposterous presumption to breake out, or over-reach, as also in steade of that plaine approoved and authentike walke for the tryalls of truth; the judgement and condemnation of others, and the establishment of mens owne thoughts, and mindes, to seeke irreligious footing, in the Labyrinth of amazing wonderments, and reasonlesse traditions and experiments. To walke in these waies, is no better then to runne away from God, in whom to trust, though with some restraint, and coercion of our longing vaine desires, and satisfactions, is truely farre more happy then out of the conduct of his allowance therein, to enjoy the sullest measure or overflow of all the most obsequious influencies of humane blisse. If true religion and pietie could settle this consideration, the common folly of misgoverned, petulant, inordinate, and intemperate expatiations in this kinde, would not onely in private men more usually blush and be ashamed, but a more even, straight, and uninterrupted way, being prepared thereby unto justice, would usually bring forth a much more happy issue, then now is ordinary. Thus farre the love of truth, which I have ever carefully sought and studied, hath offered violence

unto my private thoughts and meditations, exposing them unto the hazard of publike view. As my labour is not lost unto my selfe, and my owne more confirmed satisfaction thereby: so if there be therein any good unto the common good, I know, good men will not for the thorne, refuse the fruite, for desect of elegance in stile, or obscurity of worth in the Author, quarrell with the matter it selfe. FINIS.