



A
CONFIRMATION
And Discovery of
WITCH CRAFT,

Containing these severall particulars;

That there are **W**itches called
bad **W**itches, and **W**itches untruely called
good or white **W**itches, and what manner of
people they be, and how they may bee knowne;
with many particulars thereunto tending.

Together with the **C**onfessions of many of those executed since
May 1645. in the severall Counties hereafter mentioned.
As also some objections Answered.

By *John Stearne*, now of *Lawshall* neere *Burie*
Saint Edmonds in *Suffolke*, sometimes of
Manningtree in *Essex*.

PROV. 17. 15. *He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they
both are an abomination to the Lord.*

DEUT 13. 14. *Thou shalt therefore inquire, and make search, and aske diligently,
whether it be truth, and the thing certaine.*

LONDON,
Printed by *William Wilson*, dwelling in *Little Saint Bartholo-*
mewes neere *Smithfield*. 1 6 4 8 -

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A CONFIRMATION AND
DISCOVERY OF
WITCHCRAFT

by

JOHN STEARNE

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Bibliographical Note

A confirmation and discovery of witchcraft is the sole publication of John Stearne (or Sterne), close associate of Witch-Finder General Matthew Hopkins in an intense campaign in East Anglia between 1645 and 1647. Hopkins published his own *The discovery of witches* (Wing, *Short title catalogue*, H2571) in Norwich in May 1647 as a reply to criticisms of John Gaule, *Select cases of conscience touching witches and witchcraft* (Wing, G379, June 1646), but was dead before Stearne's contribution to the controversy came out in 1648. (According to legend and the *D.N.B.* Hopkins was himself 'swome' as a witch and hanged, but Stearne states that he died 'peacably after a long sickness of consumption'.) *A confirmation, inter alia*, defends witchfinders against charges of hypocrisy and chicanery. Hopkins and Stearne were certainly professionals not indifferent to profit and notoriety, but seem also to have been assured of performing a public service. For Stearne, who has been labelled a puritan, it may have been a spiritual duty. *A confirmation* pays close attention to biblical texts. Recent commentators have established that existing fears of witchcraft were being exploited rather than created and that the mission of discovery, with its numerous victims, was a popular one. Testimony was freely and copiously given by neighbours. Indeed, Gaule complained that men spoke more of 'the infallible and wonderful power of the witch-finders than . . . of God, Christ or the gospel preached'.

A confirmation offers valuable clues, direct and indirect, to the motives not only of witch-accusers but of those who 'became' witches themselves and suggests why women in particular might be ready to make a pact with the Devil. The pamphlet has been extensively used by C. L'Estrange Ewen in his *Witch hunting and witch trials* (1929, reissued 1971) and *Witchcraft and demonianism* (1933, reissued 1970), by A. MacFarlane in *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (1970) and in K. V. Thomas's comprehensive *Religion and the decline of magic* (1971). The last two discuss the activities of 'white witches' whose existence Stearne denies.

John Stearne survived the Restoration and in the 1660s apparently was living once again in Manningtree, Essex, a centre of his earlier witchfinding activities (Ewen, *Witchcraft and demonianism*, p. 261).

George Thomason seems to have missed *A confirmation*. The British Museum copy (Shelf mark C. 54.e.6.) from which this edition—the first since 1648—is reproduced (with the permission of the Trustees) was acquired in the nineteenth century. Wing S5364 wrongly assigns it to 1645. There is in fact only one version (Wing S5365).

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Courteous R E A D E R,

TO the end I might satisfie the opinions of such as desire to be further satisfied concerning the diabolical art, or crying sin, of Witch-craft (as I may so call it;) For the sinne of Witch-craft, and the diabolical practise thereof, is omnium scelerum atrocissimum, and in such as have the knowledge of God, the greatest Apostacie from the faith; for they renounce God and Christ, and give themselves by a covenant to the Devill, the utter enemy to God and all mankind, for in Deut. 18. 10, 11, 12. God gave command to all the children of Israel that none amongst his should bee such. For those abominations were the children of Canaan driven out from before them, and utterly destroyed and plagued. As also Manasseh, 2 Cron. 33. 6. which wickednesse of his was so abhorred of God, as in his displeasure hee mentions it many yeares after by Jeremy, as cause of removing the Iewes from their land, and so leading them away captive into a strange land, Ier. 15. 4, 5. Idolaters ought to dye, as in Exod. 22. 20. and 32. 28, 29. Nay inticers to Idolatrie, Deut. 13. 9. because they worship Devills, Psal. 106. 37. 1 Cor. 10. 20. Revel. 9. 20. But Witches worship Devills, they invocate them, crave helpe of them, worke by them, and doe them homage, sacrifice to them, and they do it not to stockes and stones, and so mediately to the Devill, as other Idolaters doe, but immediately to the Devill himselfe, and therefore the greatest Idolaters that can be; and

To the Reader.

are not they then more worthy of death? And to convince others who are of such an erroneous opinion as to say, notwithstanding Gods law against them, and the holy Scripture speaking of them, besides the lawes of Nations, both heathen and Christian, made to punish them, that there are no witches, but that there are many poore silly ignorant people hanged wrongfully, and that those who have gone or beene instruments in finding out or discovering those of late made knowne have done it for there owne private ends, for gainc and such like, favouring some where they thought good, and unjustly prosecuting others; I therefore (as my leasure hath permitted me) have given my selfe to the reading of some approved relations touching the arraignment and condemnation of Witches; As also treatises of learned men concerning the devilish art of Witch-craft; adding withall some few things which otherwise I have learned and observed since the 25. of March 1645 as being in part an agent in finding out or discovering some of those since that time, being about two hundred in number, in Essex, Suffolke, Northamptonshire, Huntingtongshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolke, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge, besides other places, justly and deservedly executed upon their legall tryalls. Now the occasion being thus offered, and Master Hopkins dead; I desire to give some satisfaction to the world, that it may appeare, what hath beene done, hath beene for the good of the common wealth, and we free from those aspersions cast upon us, and that I never favored any, or unjustly prosecuted others, but that all that be guilty of this, ought to die; as well the good or white witches so called, as the other: and that there is, and hath beene more favour shewed, or at least lesse care taken for the discovery of such as be guilty, then by the word of God there ought. For how many are there now a daies which could be contented to passe by many of them, as Magicians, Negromancers and such like? of whom his late Majesty of famous
renowne

To the Reader.

renowne in his Demonologic giveth a dreadfull censurę,
who saith they are to be dealt with ill, as with Soverers, and e-
specially the curing witch, commonly called the good witch.
Nay these rather get credit and estimation, love and liking, as
did the Magicians and Sorcerers with Pharaoh, Exod. 7. 8.
with Nabuchadnezer and Belshazzar, Isa. 47. 12. Ezek. 22.
As did also Simon Magus with the Samaritans, who was held
to be the great power of God, Acts 8. Likewise Elimas with
Sergius Paulus, Acts 13. And the Pythonesse with her Ma-
ster, Acts 16. And will not many say, surely they worke by
God, because they use good prayers and good words, and often
name God? but let those remember that the Devill himselfe
can use good words, Mar. 1. 24. and 5. 7. Acts 17. that hee
can counterfeit the habit and words of an holy man, Sa-
muel. 1 Sam. 28. 13, 15, 17. that hee can turne himselfe into
an Angell of light, 2 Cor. 11. Therefore hee not teach his
servants to feigne holinesse and yet be these in many respects
worse then the others, and the holy Scripture exempts none,
but utterly forbids any going to them, or asking counsell of
them. I hope this my labour will excuse mee, and give some
better satisfaction to those who are not yet fully satisfied
herein, for that I shall make it plainly appeare, that I neither
formerly, in any of my proceedings concerning this matter,
or in penning of this, ayme at mine owne private ends rather
then the publique good, for that I shall discover, so far forth
as I am able, or at least, as civility and modestie shall give
way; yet I am not ignorant how dangerous it is for me to put
my selfe so farre forth into the Sea of common opinion, and I
cannot see that by reason of the shelves and rocks of injurious
conceits which are ready to be found on every hand I am like
to passe any aduventure; having had experience already how
forward many bee in taking part with many of those who
have been detected to promote them forward to take the least
advantage by suit of law, thereby to aquitt themselves, when
as many times it hath fallen out otherwise, and been a

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means to bring to their deserved punishment, but let such remember, the Devill needs no provoker. And though Balack sent to Balaam to pursue the people, yet we find the contrary, for surely said Balaam, there is no enchantment in Iacob, nor divination against Israel. And yet nevertheless craving pardon if in any thing herein I have taken too much upon me, I have once ventured to commit my selfe to thy sentence, & doubt not of prosperous acceptance, if but a charitable construction be had of my true intent & meaning therein, as from a plaine country man, who intend not to pen any thing but what I shall be able to make appeare plainely to bee truth, and then I shall reckon it as a sufficient recompence for my labour and paines. And so with my due respects I take leave.

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An being borne in sinne, hath thereby since the fall of our first parents lost the Image of God in which he was created, through the temptation of Satan, and is naturally, wholly polluted with sinne and corruption, whereby he is become of very neere kin unto the Devill, even his owne child, *1 Iohn 3. 10.* And that beeing his child, he will doe the lusts of his Father, *Iohn 8. 44.* and that no doubt in one thing as well as in another, for men love darkenesse more than light, *Iohn 3. 19.* Yea, and naturally are given to worke all uncleannesse even with greedinesse, so captivated are they to their lusts, *Ephes. 4. 19.* For Satan hath his wiles, *Ephes. 1. 11.* his devices, *2 Cor. 2. 11.* his depths and policies. *Revel. 2. 24.* his snares to catch people at unawares. *1 Tim. 3. 7. 2 Tim. 2. 26.* And being thus furnished, hee dare set upon any, yea upon our Saviour Christ himselfe, to solicit him, yea, and to a most execrable impiety, even to have Christ to fall downe and to worship him a Devill, *Mat. 4.* for he watcheth opportunities, he seeketh occasions, and the least offer he espieth and quickly taketh the same, and so prevaieth often, not only with the rude and sottish, but with the greatest spirits and sharpest witts many times. For man being given over to his unruly passion, is violent, inconsiderate and vehemently greedy to have his desired ends, by what meanes soever he can attaine them; which maketh him seeke meanes of the Devill to become injoyer of his inordinate desires, regarding more the having of his present will, than respecting his future state after death, and is more taken up to obtaine what he liketh for the body.

dy and outward estate in this world, than with the care of his spirituall condition and estate before God in the world to come, which the naturall man very little or nothing at all regardeth. This being the condition of a naturall man who remaines still unregenerate and given over of God unto Satans temptation in this kind, how can they resist? Man is weake, Satan is strong, and withall subtile to beguile, they may easily yeeld, for that he hath over meeke naturall men a ruling power, *Ephes. 2. 2.* who are already in his snare, and at his owne will are taken captive, *2 Tim. 2. 26.*

Here some will say, you goe about to make all subject to Witch-craft, or at least all unregenerate persons.

Answer, it said in *John 3. 6.* That which is borne of the flesh is flesh, and that which is borne of the spirit is spirit: and therefore Witch-craft being as Saint Paul saith, Amongst the fruits of the flesh, *Gal. 5. 20.* one may fall into this sinne aswell as into any other, if God prevent it not. Wherefore it behooves man (if he would prevent the power of the Devill and whatsoever Witches can doe) to labour to entertaine and uphold the preaching of the Gospell. For where it commeth, downe goeth the power of Witcherie, *Acts 8.* and *13.*

Historie likewise tells us, where the Gospell came among the heathen, there the hellish power of Devils and spirits greatly diminished, and we heare now by travellers, that in other Countries where the Gospell is not preached, & where they still remaine, (as I may say) according to the abominations of the Canaanites, I meane in such places where the Heathens still remaine, as in the Indies, where they by travellers relations, worship the Sunne, Moone and Starrs, Nay I have heard in some places, the Devill himselfe, and where popery and prophanenesse is, with contempt of Preaching or vile neglect thereof, there Witch-craft is most rife. Therefore it behooves men to labour to bring forth fruits worthy the Gospell and amendment of life. For God hedgeth the vertuous man about, *Iob 1.* so as Satan cannot come at him, without very speciall licence from God, and that onely for a tryall. The Angels of God doe also pitch their tents about such, *Psal. 34.* yea, and have charge over them to keepe them in their waies, *Psal. 91. 11, 12.* And to have religious duties in our families: and as the Apostle saith; to pray continually. *1 Thes. 5.* And as Saint James telleth us, *Iam. 5. 16.* that the prayer of a righteous man availeth much if it be fervent. *David* did not onely serve

serve God openly in the Tabernacle, but returned home to blesse his house, 2 *Sam.* 6. 20. And *Job* every day sacrificed to God, and sanctified his children and family. *Iob* 1. 5. And God gave to *Israel* a law to sanctifying their houses. And so going ever well armed against these rulers of darkenesse, devills and evill spirits, furnished with the heavenly furniture and spirituall weapons, of which the *Apollle* speaketh, *Eph.* 6. 14. 18. and being thus qualified, and armed, to trust in God only, who will keepe thee under the shadow of his wings, *Psal.* 91. No man shall neede to feare *Witches* or *Devills*; knowing ever this, that they cannot doe the very least harme unto any of the least creatures of God without leave from him: no, not to enter into the heard of swine of the very *Gardarens*, for surely there is no enchantment in *Tacob*, nor any *Divination* against *Israel*. It is the Lord, let him doe what seemeth him good, 2 *Sam.* 15. 26. It is the Lord that giveth, it is the Lord that taketh away, blessed bee the name of the Lord, *Iob* 1. 21. And therefore many yeeld thus farre as that *Satan* needes no provoker to set him forward, as the *Scripture* tells us. For the text saith, that he compasseth the world to, and fro, *Iob* 1. going up and downe like a roaring syon seeking whom hee may devour, 1 *Pet.* 5. 8. He is ready (if God give waie) to bee a lying spirit in the mouth of *Ababs* Prophets to seduce him, 1 *King.* 22. and to beguile; and that the people which brought the possessed to our Saviour, complained only of the Devill, *Mat.* 15. 2. *Luk.* 9. 39. They made no mention of *Witches*, nor (for ought we know) had any suspicion of them, for we find that God hath often sent the Devill, as the executioner of his displeasure without any meanes of a *Witch*, as amongst the *Egyptians*, he sent evill Angells, *Psal.* 78. 49. between *Abimelech* and the *Sichemites*, *Judg.* 9. 23. So upon *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 16. 15. And so we reade of a Legion sent by *Christ* into the heard of swine, *Mat.* 5. 12. Thus we see *Devills* immediately sent from God without any instigation of *Witches*. And therefore conclude that all is from the Devill by Gods permission, and that there are no *Witches* at all. But whosoever thou beest that art of this opinion, & although many have gone about to prove that there are no *Witches*: yet besides the former reason, the contrary tenet is undeniable true, that there are *Witches*.

First, from the lawes that God himselfe hath made against them. First, in forbidding the practice of *Witch-craft*, and that none amongst his should be *Witches*, *Wizards*, *Negromancers* and such like, *Deut.* 18. 10, 11, 12. Secondly in forbidding any to go to them,

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Levit. 19. 20. *Iſa* 8. 19. Thirdly, his commandement to put Witches to death, *Exod.* 22. 18. Fourthly, Gods judgements againſt them, *Deut.* 18. 12. which if there were no Witches what neede theſe lawes?

Secondly, from the hiſtorie of the Bible, which nameth to us certaine Witches, as the Sockerers of *Egypt*, *Exod.* 7. *Iannes* and *Iambres*, *2 Tim.* 3. 8. Thoſe in *Babylon* and *Persia*, *Dan.* 2. 5. 7. *Iſa.* 47. 12. And amongſt the Nations driven out before the children of *Iſrael*, *Deut.* 18. 12, 13. So wee reade of other Witches which were, of *Balaam* *Numb.* 22. *Iof.* 13. 22. Of *Iſrael*, *2 King.* 9. 22. Of *Manaſſes*, *2 Chron.* 33. 6. Of *Simon Magus*, *Acts* 8. 9. And *Elimas*, *Acts* 13. 8. Secondly, it maketh mention of the practizes of Witches, *Exod.* 7. *2 Chron.* 33. 6. *Iſa.* 47. 9. *Eze.* 21. 21. Thirdly, it ſpeaketh of ſome going to them, *1 Sam.* 28. 7. and ſending to them, *Numb.* 22. 5. *Iof.* 24. 9. Fourthly, it relateth how ſome Kings put them to death, *1 Sam.* 28. 3, 9. and cut them off, *2 King.* 23. 24. all this ſhould be falſe if there were no Witches.

Thirdly, from ſome Compariſons or Similies fetched from witch-craft, by *Samuel*, *1 Sam.* 15. and by *Iſa.* 29. 4. which were abſurd if there were no Witches.

Fourthly, (as before) *St Pauls* mentioning Witch-craft amongſt the workes of the fleſh, *Gal.* 5. 20.

Fifthly, Gods threatning damnation upon Sockerers, *Rev.* 21. 8.

Sixtly, the Lawes of Nations both Heathen and Chriſtian againſt them.

Sevently, the truth of Hiſtories, and manie relations of their Arraignement and conviction.

Eightly, experience amongſt our ſelves, and in other Countries, together with the confeſſion of ſome of thoſe Witches condemned and executed ſince *May* 1645. in the ſeveral Counties afore mentioned, Hereafter, herein expreſſed, I hope will give all ſufficient ſatisfaction that there are Witches.

Now here ſome may ſay, this is ſufficient to prove that there are Witches in ſome Countries, or at leaſt have bene in former times with us here in this Country; but how will you make it appeare that there have been any ſince the Goſpel preached amongſt us? For many are of oppinion that there are Witches in other Countries where the Goſpel is not at all, or very little regarded, but where the Goſpel is faithfully preached as with us in *England* and *Scotland*, &c. that there are not any, no not ſince the comming of our Saviour.

I answer that if any man can make it appear that the Gospell free^s us from sinne, more then the Law did our forefathers, that then it might be so. But the Gospell frees us not, and therefore we are as like to have such miscreants amongst us as our Forefathers. For we are as sinful as in the time of the law. And Satan stil remains amongst us. And we are as impatient, profane, and unconscionable as ever, having dis tempered passions, violent in affection, given to ill company, and vain curiosities, not having respect of Religion, by which occasions the Devill taketh advantage and works to have his will, for he goeth thither where he is either sure or hopeth well for entertainment, *Mat. 12. 44.* He therefore watcheth the time when he may best offer his service to such as any way he finds the least kind of preparednesse in, as when any fall into a passionate sorrow, accompanied with solitarinesse for some losse, as husband, wife, children or such like, the Devill offers himself to comfort such in their sorrowfull melancholy mood. So in time of death through extreme poverty it many times causeth many to be desperately impatient; or so impatient through poverty when they would needs be rich, even against Gods providence, as that they be in such a dis tempered passion, as they would have their wants satisfied and their desires fulfilled, be it by what means it possible can be, (as I may say) right or wrong; or when one is enraged with anger, plotting revenge, or is familiar with such as be Witches; As likewise when any are addicted to the reading and studie of dangerous books, inticing to the practice of hidden mysteries, of Magick and Inchantments. Thus by these and such other like means as may be gathered from the confessions of Witches, they prepare themselves for Satans temptations, to draw them to Witchcraft, as I could instance in those innumerable examples, as you shall read hereafter more at large when I come to speak of what sorts of people are most addicted to Witchcraft; and therefore do you not conceive that there are still such people remaining amongst us? yea certainly there are, and Witches likewise.

But you will still say it doth not yet plainly appear to be so since the Gospell, though all these sinnes still remain, for the Devil needs no provoker as before, for he can, if God permit, greatly trouble us, and can bereave one of his wits, and make one lunatick, deaf, dumb and blind, bow the body together, so that one shall not be able to lift up himself, he can even enter in and possesse any really

and make them invincibly strong, and work other effects. Of all which you may read in *Matth.* 9. 32. and 12. 22. and 15. 22. and 17. 15. *Mark.* 1. 23. and 5. 5, 7. and 7. 26. and 9. 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26. and in *Luke* 4. 35. and 7. 2. and 8. 29, 39. and 11. 14. and 13. 11, 16. and can enter into children, *Luke* 13. 16. young folks, *Mark* 7. 26. Men, *Mark* 5. 1, 2, 3. women, *Luke* 13. 16. *Matt.* the 15. 22. Yea through the permission of God, such as be the elect of God. *Job* 1. and 2. A daughter of *Abraham*, *Luke* 13. 11. & *Mary Magdalene*, *Luke* 7. 2. & can counterfeit the resemblance of an holy man, 1 *Sam.* 28. 12. 14. 19. yea and for along time, *Luke* 8. 27. from a child till one be grown up, *Mark* 9. 21. even eighteen yeares, *Luke* 13. 16. and so we reade in *Luke* 7. 2. of seven Devils in one at once, and more *Luke* 11. 26. Yea a whole legion, *Mark* 5. 9, 16, 14. and sometimes the Lord is pleased to send Devils as executioners of his displeasure, as is before expressed.

To this I answer, and grant it for truth, and not to be denyed, but yet notwithstanding all this, there are Witches likewise, and yet the Devill doth all this, and more if God permit, for in *Gen.* 3. We may learne here that the Devill may enter into a dumb creature, & come out of the same, utter a voice intelligible, & offer conference (if any will hearken) to deceive as our Witches now a dayes confesse, and that he chooseth the subtlest creature to deceive by, and the weaker vessell to confer with, but by the confessions of Witches now lately detected, he chooseth such creatures as they themselves are most addicted to, as you shall hereafter find by their confessions, by the severall shapes he appears in, but how ever we may read there, it was a powerfull perswasion to overcome, and yet work by Witches, Wizzards, Necromancers, Sorcerers, Southsayers, and all kind of Magick art, As we may reade in *Exod.* 7. 11, 12. and 8. 7. Where we may see that *Pharaoh* called the Wisemen, the Sorcerers, and the Magicians of *Egypt*, who did with their inchantments in like manner as *Moses* and *Aaron*. But I passe by the proofs out of the Old Testament for this because I desire to give such satisfaction (as I am able) that it may appear that there be Witches now as in former ages. And if what hath been already spoken will not give satisfaction herein, you may read in the 2. *Tim.* 3. 8. who they were, that were the opposors of the truth, but such as *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who withstood *Moses*, and then search who they were, and you shall find they were such as *Pharaoh* called to him, as in the before mentioned places, who with their inchantments did the like as *Moses* had done.

So

So you may read of *Elymas* the Sorcerer, *Act.* 13. 8. who resisted the Apostles in the time of the Gospel.

So likewise in *Act.* 8. 9. you shall read of *Simon Magus* a sorcerer, to whom in the 10 verse it is said, they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, this man is the great power of God, For in the 11. verse it is said, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries, and in the 13 verse we read he was baptised, but read the 20, 21, 22, and you shall read what *Peter* said to him, and so read no more of him in all the New Testament.

Also in the *Rev.* 21. 8. you may read how Sorcerers shall with other sinners there reckoned up, have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone.

And so likewise we read in the Epistle of *Jude* the Apostle speaking there of false Teachers, which were crept into the Church to seduce them, for whose damnable doctrine and manners, horrible judgement was prepared, in the 11. verse pronounceth woe unto them, for they have gone in the way of *Cain*, and ranne greedily after the error of *Balaam*, by which we may plainly see that there were Witches in the time of the Gospel, and after the coming and ascension of our Saviour, and do any doubt then, whether there be any now? do any think that we be free from such, where sinne and ignorance besides so much abounds? or do you desire to have proof of Witches sincethen, you shall have enough of their confessions to make this evident, besides the relations of learned men writing concerning Witchcraft. But if you would but rightly observe that place in 2. *Tim.* 3. 1 and so on to the 8 you shall find that in the last dayes shall come perillous times, &c. And in the 8. verse it is said, And as *Jannes* and *Jambres* withstood *Moses*, so do those also resist the truth. There you may see plainly that there should be such to the latter end, besides in divers other places speaking expressly of Witchcraft; as 1. *Tim.* 4. 1. and *Jude* 18.

Likewise of the Pythonesse which brought her mistress much gain *Acts* 16. 16. Also in *Rev.* 21. 8. And so I might nominate divers other places, for those which remain doubtfull either of being bewitched or of Witches themselves, but because their own confessions clear this evidently, besides the forenamed places, I proceed to distinguish between those called bad Witches, and those called white or good Witches, which is easily to be discerned and known.

But yet I say all Witches be bad, and ought to suffer alike, being
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both in league with the Devill : for so is the good, so untruly called, aswell as the other, either open or implicit. And therefore I conclude, all that be in open league with the Devill ought to die. And the Scripture maketh mention onely of ten sorts, which speakes rather of those called the good, which the world so much runnes after, then the other. As we may read: First in *Deut.* 18. 10. 2 *Kings* 17. 1. of a Diviner foreshewing things to come. Such the people delighted in and consulted with, *Jer.* 27. 9. *Ezek.* 21. 22. Such an one was *Balaam*, *Ios.* 13. 22.

Secondly, We read in *Deut.* 18. 10. of an Observer of times, or Soothsayer, one which by gaping on the Heavens could also foretell something. To these likewise did the people give eare, *Jer.* 27. 9. And such an one was *Manasses*, 2 *Chron.* 33. 6. And what was *Elimas* the Sorcerer spoken of in the *Acts* ?

Thirdly, we read in *Deut.* 18. 10. of an Observer of times, or searcher out ; One which observed times to know when it was best to begin a businesse : as *Hamans* Witches did by casting of lots before him. Of this *Manasses* also was guilty, 2 *Chro.* 33. 6. To which might be added that in *Hester.* 3. 7. and 9. 24.

Fourthly, we read in *Deut.* 18. 10. *Isa.* 47. 12. of a Magician, one that could deceive the Eye-sight by making something to appeare otherwise then it is. Such *Pharaoh* called to him to oppose *Moses*. Herein, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, of whom *Saint Paul* speaketh of, were guilty, and so likewise was *Manasses*, 2 *Chron.* 33. 6.

Fifthly, we read in *Deut.* 18. 11. of an Inchanter, or Conjuror ; one joyned in league with another, as the Witch is with the Devill. Such an one used Charmes to tame Serpents, *Psal.* 58. 5. Many such were in *Babylon*, *Isa.* 47. 9. and *Eccl.* 10. 11.

Sixthly, we read in *Deut.* 18. 11. *Lev.* 20. Of one which hath a spirit in him or her which doth give answer to such as come to inquire of them. Such an one was the Witch of *Endor*, *Sam.* 28. Such an one was the Pythonesse which brought her Mistris much gaine, *Acts* 16. In *Isa.* 29. 4 called a Whisperer. To such the people had regard, *Lev.* 19. 21. and encouraged one another thereunto, *Isa.* 8. 19.

Seventhly, we read in *Deut.* 18. 11. of a Wizzard, 1 *Sam.* 28. 9. One also which could foretell some things, and so called for his or her foreknowledge ; as now we terme them a wise man, or a wise woman. After this sort the people sought also, *Lev.* 19. 31. and 20. 6.

Eighthly,

Eighthly, we read in *Deu.* 18. 41. of a Negromancer, one that consulteth with the dead. *I. 8. 9.*

Ninthly, we read in *Ija.* 19. 3. of a VVhisperer, with secret or soft words, as our white VVitches doe, endeavouring to help man or beast. To these the *Egyptians* sought after, as they did to their Idolls, as in the last forementioned place is expressed. These are now (as I have read) translated Charmers.

Tenthly, we read in *Exod.* 8. 11. of such as *Pharao* sought to, as we call them *Juglers*, deceivers, beguiling the eye-sight. Some hold them to be casters of Nativities, which tell people their fortune by the time of their birth. These are onely expressed in the Old Testament: But the New speaketh, as I may say, onely in generall against VVitch-craft, which comprehends all the ten aforementioned. And therefore it cannot be denied, besides their confessions hereafter herein expressed, but that there are such to this time, and that they all ought to suffer alike, which have made an expresse league with the Devill. An art so execrable, to renounce God, and to betake themselves to the Devill, as for this thing onely they deserve death in the highest degree: for the Law of God saith without exception, Thou shalt not suffer a VVitch to live, *Exod.* 22. 18. It a Witch justly convicted, Death is due to such an one, *Levit.* 20. 27. For, for those abominations the Lord utterly destroyed the *Canaanites*, and plagued *Manasses*, which wickedness of his was so abhorred of God, as in his displeasure hee mentioned it many yeares after, as a cause of removing the *Jewes* from their Land, and of leading them away captive into a strange Land, *Ier.* 15. 4. And did not good King *Josiah* put such sorts to death that he might fulfill the Law? *2 Kings* 23. 24. And so did *Saul*, *Sam.* 28. Nay, bath not the Lord threatned great Judgements in the aforementioned places? Yea, and doth he not by the Prophet promise to cut off VVitch-crafts and Soothsayers, when he intends to blesse a Nation? *Mic.* 5. 12.

Now, who they be that make this expresse or open league, are both sorts. But for the hurting and curling VVitch, there is but one sort. All which makes this expresse or open league; and they doe it onely for mischief, though severall wayes: for they take their Familiars: Some for one mischief, some for another. VVhen as there be two sorts of the other; the one in expresse and open league, for so I tearme it, though made never so secret, because it

is done by conference with the Devill; And the other is by implicit, or secret league, onely by confidence in believing, that such or such a thing shall produce such, or such an effect. Now the first of these two have Familiars, as well as the other, or at least a brand, by which they may be known and discerned by, as well as the first. Some to set spells; Some Charmes; Some to cure diseases severall wayes, either by words, or washing clothes, or anoynting the Instrument which gave the wound to cure the wound; Some onely by laying on ofc their hands; Some by using and saying superstitious words, or forme of prayers, using good words to bad ends; Some by both; Some by herbes; Some to know where stolen goods be, either by raising the Devill, or Familiar Spirits; Some onely by words, and so likewise the same for lost goods, or man or beast, and to bring them againe; and so by many such like wayes and meanes doe these worke by: Yet many times they erre, all of these: For the Devill cannot performe his promises at all times. So that it is not to be questioned, but all these sorts are in league with the Devill. For it is not to be doubted, but before any of them can have power to doe any thing, against, or for any parry, or have any desired ends effected, the league expresse or implicit is first made; bee it expresse then confirmed; but for the Confirmation hereof their confessions will make it plainly appeare, and plaine proofes and reasons for the other, that they confidently trust that their desires shall be effected accordingly to their believe, as the curing Witches doe of them which come to them for help. All which I will make plainly appeare, when I come to speake how they may be known. For here some may first demand of mee what sorts of people they be of either sorts?

I answer, as for the first sort most women, and for the other most men. And albeit there be of both sorts of both: as *Elimas* the Sorcerer, and *Simor Magus*, and so likewise *Balaam*, and the Witch of *Endor*, and of these young, middle, and old age, of which instances may be given; Yet of Witches in generall, there be commonly more women then men. This is evident.

First, from Gods Law against Witches, *Exod.* 22. In the feminine gender, *prestigiaticem ne finito vivere.*

Secondly, from *Sauls* speech, when he said, Seeke one out, a woman that hath a familiar spirit, *Sam.* 28 7. *1 Chron.* 10 13, 14. in naming a woman and not a man.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, from experience it is found true here, and in all Countries, especially of hurting Witches, that they are most in number, as appears by their owne confessions, with the stories and relations even from these in our owne Kingdome. As of those of *Burton-Old*, where there met above fourescore at a time; And at *Tilbrooke* bushes in *Bedfordsbier*, neere adjacent to *Catworth*; in *Huntingtonshier*, where there met above twenty at one time, as *John Wynick*, and others confessed who suffered at *Huntington* last *May* was two yeares: As also by the confessions of some others which suffered at *Northampton* not long before; So likewise were those which met at *Manningtree* in *Essex*, as *Elizabeth Clarke*, and *Anne Leech* confessed, and those which were condemned, there being about twenty eight, at *Chelmsford*, in the summer 1645. were (as I remember) all women. And those at *Burie Saint Edmunds*, where sixtie eight were (as I likewise remember) condemned, most women, All at one Goale delivery, in the summer 1645. So I could nominate farre more instances in other places, and of about two hundred executed since the said *May*, 1645. in the severall Counties aforementioned, the women farre exceeded the men in number. And as I have read, those in *Lancastheire*, where nineteene assembled, and but two men, and that those that bewitched the Earle of *Rutland* were women; and that those of *Warboyes* were women, and but one man. Women therefore without question exceed men, especially of the hurting Witches; but for the other, I have knowne more men, and have heard such as have gone to them say, almost generally they be men, and so likewise finde them to be so in Authors, which speake of such, and never knew any women questioned in that way but men, and of them as hitherto not many; For as before, men rather uphold them, and say, why should any man be questioned for doing good; but I am certaine the word of God is contrary.

Now, why it should be that women exceed men in this kind, I will not say, that Satans setting upon these rather then man is, or like to be, because of his unhappy onset and prevailing with *Eve*; or their more credulous nature, and apt to bee misled, for that they be commonly impatient, and being displeased more malicious, and so more apt to revenge according to their power, and thereby more fit instruments for the *Dévil*; or that, because they

be more ready to be teachers of Witchcraft to others, and to leave it to Children, servants, or to some others (but that you shall finde to be a great inducement thereto by their Confessions) or that, because, where they can command they are more fierce in their rule, and revengefull in setting such on worke whom they can command, wherefore the Devill laboureth most to make them Witches : for Satan is subtill, and seeketh whom he may devoure, and if false teachers.

But as Saint *Paul* saith, VVitchcraft being amongst the fruits of the flesh, one may fall into this sinne as well as into any other (if God prevent it not) and therefore whether men or women, These sorts following are the aptest, as by experience plainly appeares amongst us now a dayes.

I passe by Infidels, and Heathen people in former times (from whom these abominations mentioned in *Deut.* 18. 10, 11. came into *Israel*, and savage Nations now (amongst whom) by Travellers relations, VVitchcraft is most rise) and will speake onely of such sorts as be called Christians, and these be,

First, ignorant people whose eyes are blinded by Satan, 2 *Cor.* 4. 4. and are led captive by him, as is said in another place.

This appeareth in those VVitches commonly detected amongst us, silly ignorant persons many of them. *Elizabeth Deekes* of *Rattlesden*, in *Suffolk*, a silly ignorant young woman being found with the markes, confessed that she was guilty, and had two crop eared Impes, as she said, which had sucked two or three times upon those markes found upon her, which Impes (she said) came like Mice; the one white, which she called Birds, being the least, the other gray, which she called Teates, which Impe asked her to denye God, and Christ, and told her if she would she should never want, but she said she then refused: Whereupon (she said) her mother asked her to give her soule from God to the Devill, which (she said) she likewise refused: but as she was going to bed, either upon a paire of staires, or ladder, her mother pulled her back in much danger of her life, and confessed many other things then more at large. But for her ignorance she was saved at first, when her mother suffered, yet afterward, notwithstanding this, and her refusing those temptations, she confessed, she did make a League and Covenant with the Devill, and sealed it with her blood, and employed those Impes, to the much prejudice of her Neighbours

Neighbours and Townsmen, as she confessed before the Justice of Peace. Ald^o *Joane Wallis* of *Keyston*, in *Huntingtonshire*, a very ignorant, sottish woman, confessed the Devill came to her in the likenesse of a man, in blackish cloathing, but had cloven feet, which she called *Blackman*, who used to lie with her, and have the uses of her body, yet she confessed he was more uglier then man, and not as her husband, which speaks to her like a man, but he as he had been some distance from her when he was with her, who told her, if she would be ruled by him she should never want, but should have what she desired, and brought her two others the third time he came, which (she said) she called *Grizzell*, and *Greedigut*, for so (she said) they called themselves, and that those, after shee had consented to the other his demands, and confirmed the Covenant, she could and did employ as shee then further confessed, both to the Townsmen, and after to the Justice of Peace, and some of the mischiefes she had done. Ennumerable of these instances I could nominate in many of their Confessions, as you shall finde in some of those following. But I desire to Answer one objection before I proceed further (that is) some say, and many will and doe say; But you watched them, and kept them from meat, drinke, or rest, and so made them say what you would. A very unnaturall part so to use Christians. I answer so it were. But I never knew any deprived of meat, drinke or rest, but had what was fitting till they were carried before some Justice of Peace to be examined, and had provision to rest upon, as bolsters, pillows, or Cushions, and such like, if they were kept where no beds were; yet I doe not deny but at first, some were kept two, three, or foure dayes, perchance somewhat baser, but then it hath been, either when no Justice of Peace was neere, or when the witnesses against them could not goe sooner, but then they have had beds, and for other provision, I never knew any kept, of what ranke or quality soever, but that they had better provision, either meate or drinke, then at their own houses. For the watching, it is not to use violence, or extremity to force them to confesse, but onely the keeping is, first, to see whether any of their spirits, or familiars come to or neere them; for I have found, that if the time be come, the spirit or Impe so called should come, it will be either visible or invisible, if visible, then it may bee discerned by those in the Roome, if invisible, then by the party. Secondly, it is for this

and also, that if the parties which watch them, be so carefull that none come viible, nor inviible but may be discerned, if they follow their directions, then the party presently after the time their Familiars should have come, if they faile, will presently confesse, for then they thinke they will either come or not, or at least have forsaken them.

Thirdly, it is also to the end, that Godly Divines and others might discourte with them, and idle persons be kept from them, for if any of their society come to them to discourte with them, they will never confesse; This was observed at *Bury Saint Ednunds* in *Suffolk*, as I remember, when there were eighteene to be executed; most of them kept in a Barne together, they made a Covenant amongst themselves, not to confesse a word next day at the gallowes, when they were to be hanged, notwithstanding they had formerly confessed, and some of them after they came into the Goale, and some before the Bench and Country, but most of them (if not all) before the Justices of the Peace, and so dyed next day accordingly very desperately, except one penitent woman which refused their Covenant or agreement: so she made it knowne, and how they made; a singing of a Psalme after they had done it. But if honest godly people discourte with them, laying the hainoufnesse of their sins to them, and in what condition they are in without Repentance, and telling them the subtilties of the Devill, and the mercies of God, these wayes will bring them to Confession without extremity, it will make them breake into Confession hoping for mercy.

Now that the Impes come visible, it is true and apparent, and so watching hath produced true and strange effects, and is a great meanes (under God) to bring them to confession, as for example; *Elizabeth Clarke* of *Manningtree* in *Essex*, being kept three dayes and three nights, shee confessed many things, but how she was kept I know not well, for I came not at her during that time, notwithstanding I lived then in Towne, and was one which caused her to be questioned, who did accuse some others which lived in their severall Parishes, the Townsamen desired me to goe with her confession taken in writing by another, to the Justices of the Peace for a warrant for those she accused, the warrant was made for the searching of such persons as I should nominate, whereupon, I wou'd first goe to her before the Warrant should

be served, to know of her who she did accuse; Mr. *Hopkin* being with mee went together, and when I had asked her who shee had accused, we were agoing away; but she said to us, if you will stay, I will shew you my Impes, for they bee ready to come. Then said Mr. *Hopkin*; *Besse*, will they doe us no harme? no said she, what? did you thinke I am afraid of my children? you shall fit downe, so wee did, where she appointed us. Then one of the company which was appointed to be with her that night, said to her, *Besse*, I asked you a question of late, but you answered not, then she said, what is it? Then he replied and said, tell the truth, if it be the truth, say so. but if not truth, then say so, Hath not the Devill had the use of your body? she said, why should you aske such a question? he answered, I desire to know the truth and no otherwise, then she fetched a sigh, and said, it is true, then said Mr. *Hopkin*, in what manner and likenesse came he to you? shee said, like a tall, proper, black haired gentleman, a properer man then your selfe, and being asked which she had rather lie withall, shee said the Devill, and so particularized every thing, and how he came in, and his habit, and how he lay with her, and spoke to her, as she then affirmed to bee truth, and so presently fell a smacking with her lips and called Lought two or three times, which presently appeared to us eight (For there were six which were appointed to be with her that night before we went) in the likenesse of a Cat, as she had formerly told us; for she told us before what shapes they should come in, and so that presently vanished; then she called againe as before, *Jermarah*, then appeared another, like a red or sandie spotted dog, with legs not so long as a finger (to our perceivance) but his back as broad as two dogs, or broader, of that bignesse, and vanished, and so after that called more, as before, by their severall names, which came in severall shapes, One like a Greyhound, with legs as long as a Stagge; Another like a Ferrit; And one like a Rabbit, and so in severall shapes they appeared to us, till there were some seven or eight seen; Some by some of us, and others by other some of us; then I asked her if they were not all come, for there were more come then she spoke of, she answered that they came double in severall shapes, but said, one was still to come, which was to teare mee in peeces, then I asked her why, she said, because I would have swome her, and told me that now shee would bee

even with mee, and so told in what manner it should come, black, and like a Toade, and so afterward did come, as the rest averred that saw it, and so she confessed their meetings, and the manner how they worshipped the Devill at their meetings, and said to us, they that be found with these markes that I am found withall, are without question Witches, yet said, that there might be some Witches which had not those markes; but affirmed it over and over again, that all those that had those markes were Witches, and had familiar spirits which sucked of them, and so confessed what mischief she had done with her Impes, in a very large manner, and so did next day, after she had slept; for the Justice gave me order that she should sleepe before he examined her, lest shee had not slept before, and so I did accordingly, and yet shee then confessed at large before two Justices of the Peace, and how shee would have been my death; this was the first accused, and her markes and confession, the beginning of our knowledge: Yet I confesse, the markes be difficult to finde from naturall markes; as I shall hereafter declare. *Rebecca West* of *Lamsford*, in *Essex*, who was (as she confessed) married to the Devill, and the manner, had an Inipe came to her in the time she was kept, but of her confession more at large hereafter. Also *Elizabeth Finch* of *Watson* in *Suffolke*, confessed, that about twenty yeares before shee was found with the markes, the Devill appeared to her in the likenesse of a smoaky coloured Dog, which asked her to deny God and Christ, which she said, upon his promises she did, and let him have blood to seale, or confirme the Covenant or agreement; and that soone after that, there came two more, black on the backs and reddish on the bellies, which sucked her two or three times a week, upon those markes that were found on her, and that sometimes she fetched blood in other places for them, and gave it to them; shee also had her Impes came visible; For she confessed in the time shee was kept, one which was with her to looke to her, saw one of them, and fung it into the fire, which she affirmed was one of her Impes, and that whilest they were busie about that, thinking to burne it, she confessed the other came, and threw her out of the chaire she sate in, which hurt her forehead and wrent, which was done accordingly, and so further confessed. Of these I could bring diverse instances, but I will proceed They come likewise invibile; as one *Binkes* of *Haverill*,

verill had an Impie sucking of her whilst she was talking with others, and presently confessed it. Another whilst I was in the roome with her, at *Huntington*, I perceived by her carriage that she was sucking her Impes, Spirits, or Familiars so called; I layed it to her charge, but she denied it: Yet presently after she confessed it was truth, when she was asked by the Justice of Peace. And as I remember, it was the same woman; but I am sure of *Keyston* in *Huntingtonshier*, and so was she, that to the thinking of two which were with her, she sate still in her chaire, when two more in the yard saw her goe out into the yard, and her going in againe; This woman confessed the Devill sate in her likeness, and she went out, and suckled her Impes in the yard, as the other two affirmed. So in the same Towne, one *Clarkes* wife skipped out at a hole in a stone wall, above halfe a foot thick, which was some nine Inches long, and some foure and a halfe broad, all the one side head and all, and but little to bee seen of her but one leg; and the hole was neere a yard and halfe from the ground, and yet one pulled her back againe, and afterward went away, nobody knew how: yet I say, if those which looke to them be carefull, it is to be discerned; this is apparent by that I nominated at *Huntington*. And so at *Codman* in *Suffolke*, being told how a woman there carried her selfe, I caused her to be searched againe, and there was alteration of the markes, and the woman presently confessed it, and made a large confession; and so it hath been common in all our proceedings, and a great cause for keeping them; for the bloud hath sometimes been found on the end of the marke, or to be stroked ou't when they be taken on a suddaine. As I could instance the one halfe of their confessions; but because it is so apparent, I instance no furuher. But now to manifest that good Countell will doe it, and so likewise without keeping; for I hold they two depend most upon one: Then say I, that upon good exhortations after the markes found, they may be brought to confession, either by keeping, though every thing necessary be afforded them, as I never did otherwise, but now lately keepe none, or not above one night till we goe thence, and yet have their confessions. Witnessse those executed at *Elie*, a litle before *Michaelmas* last, who made large confessions. Also one at *Chatterisb* there; One at *March* there; And another at *Wimblington* there now lately found, still to be tryed, who made very large

large confessions, especially the first two; *Nicolas Hempstead* of *Creting in Suffolke*, being found, upon exhortations, and laying the hainousnesse of the sinne, and Gods Judgements, and Gods mercie, and the like, notwithstanding hee at first railed on me in very approbious tearmes, yet presently sent for me, and would have asked mee forgiveness, he presently confessed that hee had made a league and Covenant with the Devill, and how hee had confirmed it with his bloud; And the shape of his Impes, and of the Devill when they covenanted, and how he killed a horse of one of the Constables, because he pressed him for a fouldier, and five of the best horses in *Colonell Rochesters Troope*; And divers other things he had done, making a very large confession, with a great deal of penitency and sorrow, which hee so continued in (as I since heard) to his very execution without alteration. To this I might adde, *Henry Carrs* hereafter mentioned; And the boyes next, after the objections answered, and diverse others which you shall here finde; but because it falleth out better, when I shall speake how to discover them, I leave here; hoping this is sufficient for that objection, if not, I will answer more fully, as occasion shall serve. But then some will say, you swome some of them, especially at the first, was not that extremity? I answer, that hath been used, and I durst not goe about to cleere my selfe of it, because formerly I used it, but it was at such time of the yeare as when none tooke any harme by it, neither did I ever doe it but upon their owne request; and were to such as first were found with the markes; but now lately, there hath been no such course taken that I know of. For I am of opinion, that it is one way of distrusting of Gods providence, putting confidence that that shall bring such or such an effect, or event; neither was it ever given in or taken, that I know, as an evidence against any, nor used by any of us but the first summer, from *March*, or *May* 1645. to about the middle of *August* next following; when *Judge Corbalt* that now is, forwarned it; When Divines gave their opinion of the unlawfulnessse thereof, it hath ever since been left, and not many before so used: Notwithstanding, it was then the desire of such persons themselves, thinking thereby to cleare themselves, whereas it fell out otherwise. Yet under favour, Let me speake one thing that I have found in that way; that it is a true rule in one respect, that the water entreth not into any of them, when
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it will into a free person, though they swimme both alike; for so they will, if the water be enchanted, but the free person will presently be choaked, when the other lye topling on the water, striving to get their heads, or themselves under the water, but cannot, neither can they bring out water in their mouths, though they be foretold of it, nor spit cleare water; for the water enters them not when it will the other Thus farre I have observed, or further: But because it is held unlawfull, I should be sorry to speake any thing, either to give offence to any, or to be a meanes to animate any in such courses. For if any did confesse, rather then to goe into the water, or to come out of the water, or presently after, except they had been shifted, and refreshed every way, and knowne to be in perfect memory, it hath been taken as no evidence; and so hath all other forcement been. But there is one, a very remarkable thing concerning this, that was done at Saint Neotts, in *Huntingtonshire*, of a woman that had been searched two or three times, and not found, for they can hide their markes sometimes, as you shall heare after herein, yet was still in great suspicion of many of the Townsmen to be guilty (the brand is difficult to finde if she had notice) and the rather, for that she fled, or went away after she was searched twice, for some are not found at first, yet be in the end: So at her returne some would swim her, and did, she swum apparently, where they had formerly cast a freeman in, tyed after the same manner, she was not further medled with then. But as I have heard, and in part from the man himself, where the act should be done, A Dog was seen in his yard, which a Mastie Dog would not seize on, but his son stroke at the Dog, and hatt him two or three blowes over the back, up to the shouldersward, presently a gelt bitch seized on him, and bit him on the neck, and gave him some shuckes, and then the Dog got away: so it remained, but this woman not being seen in the street as formerly, was caused to be viewed; and found bitten on the neck, or bruised on the other parts in a most fearfull manner. These are some similitudes, that there is something in swimming (if lawfull) but to proceed. This one more, that ignorant people are most apt to be Witches, as afore said. Of a Boy in *Ratlesdon* afore said, who was accused, when he was under nine yeares of age, when all know he could not be of much capacity, hee without watching, or keeping, voluntarily confessed, that hee

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suckled

suckled an Impe, and had it at command to doe mischief, and nominated some, as the killing of some Chickings, and some other mischiefs he had then done, as he confessed, together with the reasons he caused his Impe to kill the Chickens, which was, because the man which owed them had chidden him for spoyling his grasse, when, as he said, they did it, so the next time he saw them there, he did it. This boy being young, I (suppose the Jury had hopes of his amendment, as I confesse I then had) he was then released, and went to the Towne againe, where he continued some time, and was suspected againe for further mischief, and so apprehended againe, and put into prison, where he then voluntarily confessed likewise his renewing of the league and Covenant with the Devill, and the sealing of it with his blood, after his mother was hanged; for she suffered for Witchcraft, about the *Michaelmas* 1645. and then was he first questioned, and that he had more familiar spirits, or Impes, as they call them, and that the Devill appeared to him, in the likenesse of a black broovne Mare, and would carrie him whither hee desired, and confessed abundance of mischief he had done, between the time he was released, and committed againe. But after hee was in *Burie Goale*, not long before the Assizes, the first since these warres, the Goaler missing a Prisoner in the morning, which he had over night, a notorious offender, whom he kept double shackled, the Goaler questioned this boy, and upon some threatening speeches, the boy confessed, that he was gone home on his Mare over the walls, and shewed where, and told him he should finde him with his wife; whereupon, the Goaler sent forthwith to the Prisoners house, being at least twelve miles, and there found him at his house, as the boy had said, having shackles on as he went out. Will this with the other give you satisfaction? but I might adde to this, superstitious and Idolatrous persons. But I passe, intending onely to take the heads, agreeing with the confessions of Witches.

Secondly, malicious people, full of revenge, having hearts swolne with rancour, upon the least displeasure, with bitter banings and curses, threatening revenge, or requitalls: this is manifest by the nature, quality, words, and deeds of Witches convicted, who have shewed themselves to be such, as ever found so to be, as the said *John Wymitch* confess, that when hee lived

at *Thrapston* in *Northamptonshire*, he having lost his purse with some seven shillings in it, as he was in a Barne, where he lived, there in an hne, as hee was making up of bottles of hay, hee was in a passion for his purse and money, and in such a rage of banning and curing, that he was saying to himselfe, would hee knew where he might goe to a cunning man for it, for have it he would, though he went to the Devill for it; (here was a preparednesse for the Devill) for he confessed, the Devill appeared to him immediately, in the likenesse of a Beare, but not above the bignesse of a Rabbit, which told him, if hee would fall downe and worship him, he would help him to his purse, and money againe, and that he should have it where he stood, next day about the same time; so he did fall downe and worship him; And next day he came againe, to see for his purse and money, and found it accordingly, but confessed, that before he could tell it, the Devill in the same shape appeared to him againe, and told him, hee must fall downe and worship him againe, and then he fell downe, and said, Oh my Lord, my God, I thanke thee, and then hee asked him to deny God, and Christ, and to serve him as Lord, and then he should never want, which he confessed he consented to, then he demanded blood, and he bade him take it, so he skipped on his shoulder, and fetched blood with his claw, on the side of his head, which marke was seen at his Tryall; Then he confessed, there appeared two more, which the first told him hee must worship also, and take them for his Gods, and they should be at his command, and so he said, he did; then that like a Beare turned like a Ratt, and so those sucked on the three marks I found on him, after to the time he was taken, at their times appointed, and were at his command, as he then confessed more at large, before the Justices of the Peace, and confessed at the Gallowes likewise, the last words he spoke. Also one *Moore's* wife of *Sutton*, in the Isle of *Elie*, in the County of *Cambridge*, after she had confessed the league and Covenant made, and sealed vwith her blood, confessed, that she sent one of her Impes to kill a man, or at least to hurt to him; for that she had bought a Pigge of him, for two shillings and two pence, and paid him two shillings, and afterward he coming by her dore, asked her for it, which man, was soone after taken sick, and in his sicknesse, cryed out of her, saying, he could not depart this life, untill hee had spoken with

her, so she was sent for, but she refused, whereupon (he lying in such extremity) she was by some of his friends, at his request, being so delirous to speake with her in such extremity, forced to goe to him, and then soone after he dyed, according as hee formerly said; So this woman confessed divers other things, and seemed to be very penitent, and sorry for it, for she wept at her tryall, and confessed her selfe guilty before the Judge, Bench, and Country; But what she did after, or at her Execution, I know not. *Thomazine Ratcliffe* of *Shellie*, in *Suffolke*, confessed, that it was malice that had brought her to that she was come to, meaning Witchcraft; for she confessed, that soone after her husbands decease, above twenty yeares before her confession, there came one in the likeuesse of a man, into bed to her, which spoke with a hollow, shrill voyce, and told her, he would be a loving husband to her, if she would consent to him, which she said, she did, and then he told her, he would revenge her of all her enemies, and that she should never misse any thing, in which she said, she found him a lyer, but said, that Satan often tempted her to banning, swearing, and curling, which shee confessed she did use a long time, and that many times it fell out accordingly, and that she, falling out with one *Martins* wife, who had a child drowned, for that she called her Witch, saying, she was the cause of the childs drowning, she bad her goe home and look to the rest, lest she lost more, and one died suddenly after. Also *Anne Kardall* of *Lauenbam* in *Suffolke*, after she had confessed the Covenant, for still you must remember, that is first done, before the Devill, or their Familiars, or Impes, act, or doe any thing, confessed that she had two Impes, which were heavie and soft, but came in the likenesse of Cats, or Kitlins, of a blew colour, called Hangman, and *Jacob*, and that those sucked on the markes were found upon her body, some thirty yeares together: sometimes once a weeke, sometimes once a fortnight, and that shee sent her Impe Hangman to kill a horse of one *William Baldwins* of *Thorpe*, some two miles from *Lauenbam*, for that she asked him to bring her in some wood, and he bad her pay for that she had had first; and the Impe returned, and told her he had done, he had killed two, for they were lanquelled together, so he killed them both, which horses were killed (but in such a tempest) as was supposed by a Devill in Thunder, untill she confessed it of
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her selfe. Also she confessed, that being at *Stephen Humfries* in *Thorpe* aforesaid, and a begging for Almshouses, hee came home well, and she being at the doore, he chid her, or gave her such words as she liked not of; As she went over the way from the house, her *Impe Hangman* appeared to her, and asked her what he should doe, and she bad him goe and kill one of his Hogs, which shee saw, which she said he did before she was out of sight, which Hog died accordingly. Likewise she further confessed, that she being angry with one *Mr. Coppinger* of *Lavenham*, she sent her *Impe Jacob* to carry away bushes, which he had caused to be laid to fence his fences, above one load, here some, and there some, all along by the hedge side, as they were to be hedged out, and in one night they were gone, no man knew what way, untill such time as she confessed her *Impe* did it. But as I have since heard, they were knowne to be in another mans ground, who confessed, they came the same night, but how, he knew not till then. Also a young man of *Denford*, in *Northamptonshire*, who suffered for Witchery since the said time, at *Northampton*, Confessed, that he sent one of his *Impes*, to one *Cockes Cattell* of *Derford*, because he would not let him keep them, and the Cattell ranne so violently away foming, that the owner had much adoe to catch them with a horse, and more to get them home into his yard againe; and so many other things he confessed, as I could particularly instance. And so for this, I hope it is sufficient, to give all satisfaction, for all confessions, or most of them at least, tend to prove this in some part. Those that are given to over much curiosity, to seeke after vaine Knowledge, in pride of heart to goe beyond others; to understand secret and hidden things, to know things to come. Such are those, as not bounding themselves within the limits of reason, nor of Gods revealed will, fall fowle unawares upon the Devill, and are in great danger to be intrapped by him, and made his slaves by his inticements. Thus was *Parson Lewis* taken, who had been a Minister (as I have heard) in one Parish above forty yeares, in *Suffolke*, before he was condemned, but had been indited for a common imbariter, and for Witchcraft, above thirty yeares before, and the grand Jury (as I have heard) found the bill for a common imbarriter, who now, after he was found with the markes, in his confession, he confessed, that in pride of heart, to be equall, or

rather above God, the Devill tooke advantage of him, and hee covenanted with the Devill, and sealed it with his blood, and had three Familiars or spirits, which sucked on the markes found upon his body, and did much harme, both by Sea and Land, especially by Sea, for he confessed, that he being at *Langarfort* in *Suffolke*, where he preached, as he walked upon the wall, or workes there, he saw a great faile of Ships passe by, and that as they were sailing by, one of his three Impes, namely his yellow one, forthwith appeared to him, and asked him what hee should doe, and he bade it goe and strike such a Ship, and showed his Impe a new Ship, amongst the middle of the rest (as I remember) one that belonged to *Ipswich*, so he confessed the Impe went forthwith away, and he stood till, and viewed the Ships on the Sea as they were a sayling, and perceived that Ship immediately, to be in more trouble and danger then the rest; for he said, the water was more boystrous neere that then the rest, tumbling up and downe with waves, as if water had been boyled in a pot, and soone after (he said) in a short time it sanke directly downe into the Sea, as he stood and viewed it, when all the rest sayled away in safety, there he confessed, he made fourteen widdowes in one quarter of an houre. Then *Mr. Hopkins*, as he told me (for he tooke his Confession) asked him, if it did not grieve him to see so many men cast away, in a short time, and that he should be the cause of so many poore widdowes on a suddaine; but he swore by his maker, no, he was joyfull to see what power his Impes had, and so likewise confessed many other mischiefes, and had a charme to keep him out of Goale, and hanging, as he paraphrased it himselfe, but therein the Devill deceived him; for he was hanged, that *Michaelmas* time 1645. at *Burie Saint Edmunds*, but he made a very farre larger confession, which I have heard hath been printed; but if it were so, it was neither of *Mr. Hopkins* doing, nor mine owne; for we never printed any thing untill now. I doe this (he being dead) but make no use of any confessions taken by him, but only this, for that it falleth out so fit for this purpose: Yet I have heard, that other confessions have been printed, and some other things besides, as if it had been of ours, or one of our doings, or at least, by one of our consents; when as I know, he never had any hand in any, and for my part I utterly renounce all former. Also I may adde

to this, one *Henry Carre* of *Ratcliff*, in *Suffolke*, who I have heard was a Scholler fit for *Cambridge*, (if not a *Cambridge Scholler*) and was well educated; yet fell into this grievous sinne, and confessed, that he had two Impes, which sucked on those markes I found upon him, two yeeres together, and came in the likenesse of Mice, which he felt oft, and said, they were hairy and heavie, and so seeming to bewaile his condition, said, that he had forsaken God, and God him, and therefore would confesse no more, he said untill he came on the Gallowes to be hanged, for he had confessed enough for that, and then he would confesse all, and make all other knowne he knew of, but in the meane time, he would confesse no more, nor did, yet he was much importuned to it, but that was alwayes his answer, and was arraigned at the Barre, three or foure times, and yet by reason of an Allarum at *Cambridge*, the Goale delivery at *Burie Saint Edmunds* was adjourned, for about three weekes, and he died in the Goale in that time: So it was conceived to be pride of heart, which was the first originall cause, by reason of his knowledge; yet I confesse, he fell into poverty before his death, but as for that, I thinke it is seldome or never knowne, that any get estates, or thrive, that thus give themselves over to Satan, but rather consume their estates, if they have any: yet the word of God sayes, The wicked man thriveth as well as the godly in this world: But for Witches, I never knew any. To these likewise might be added, those observers of times, *Deut. 18*. And such as professe to cure diseases, by such meanes as have no reason, or worke of nature to doe the Cure, nor have by any ordinance of God, from his word, any such operation to heale the infirmity. And therefore such remedies must be Diabolically, & the practisers either Witches already, or by their implicit faith, the next doore to Witchcraft. Such be they that use Spells, Charms, and such like; and what be Juglers and Iegerdemain Companions? For that they sport with such resemblances, and utter words, as the invocating of a Spirit, the reality whereof, is called an abomination before God, and as *Saint Paul* speaketh, Children of disobedience. What be the Fortune tellers, and such like? but apt to be Satans slaves in Witchery, as they be thus otherwise in impiety; For through curiosity of knowledge, if reason and Art faile, will it not move men to seeke help of a Spirit.

rit, who is ready at hand to attend, to draw them into the pit of Magick, and Sorcery, and Witchcraft? as one Mr. Cooper speaketh of, in his booke, called, *The Mystery of Witchcraft*, Whom himselfe was delivered from, by Gods preventing grace; but because as yet, these have not been so commonly found out now a dayes, I forbear further, though I might instance divers examples more. Those who with greedinesse gape after worldly wealth, or feare poverty. As *Meribell Bedford* of *Rattlesden* aforesaid confessed, that above six yeares before she was found with the markes, which Witches usually have, There came a black thing to her, and called *Meribell*, which asked her to denie God, and Christ, and told her, if she would, she should never want, but should bee avenged of all her enemies, which she consented to: then she said, he had bloud of one of her little fingers, to seale the Covenant, which being done, she said, foure more came, One like a Dow, called *Tib*; One like a Miller called *Tom*; One like a Spider, or a Spinner called *Joane*; and the other like a Waspe called *Nann*; These she confessed were at her command, to performe the Covenant, and did suck upon those markes found upon her body, two or three times a week, during the said six yeares, and did much harme, as she freely confessed with much penitency. To this I may adde, one *Elizabeth Hubbard*, widow, of *Stow Market* in *Suffolke*, who confessed, that above thirty yeares, she had three things came to her in the likenesse of Children, which asked her whispering to deny God, Christ, and all his workes, and to cleave to them, and she should want nothing; These she said, as they named themselves, were called, *Thomas*, *Richard*, and *Hobb*, and that they scratched her back, and fetched bloud to seale the Covenant, and that they use to suck on those markes which were found upon her, two or three times a week, about breake of the day, and that she did say, I pray to God to doe to him, as he dealt by me (meaning a man of the same Towne) and he languished and died, and many other things she said she did, but was ashamed to tell them. *Alice* the wife of *Edmund Wright* of *Hitcham*, in *Suffolke*, confessed that she had foure Impes above threescore yeares; two like little Boyes; one like a Lambe, and the fourth like a gray Buzzard, and that the biggest boy spoke to her with a great whore voice, as if he had been griev'd, and asked her to goe into the field, and
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she should have money, and should never milke or want any thing, and asked her to deny God, and Christ, and to curse God two or three times, and that she tooke her elder brother with her, and went into the field, but when they came to the place where they appointed her to goe, they found none, and that she uses often to be in paine and trouble, after they had nipped or sucked her, where her markes were found, sometimes once a week, sometimes once a fortnight, and that she felt on them, and that they were soft, and that they came sometimes severally, sometimes altogether, and that they often asked her to goe and doe mischief, which she confessed, to some Cattell of her Neighbours, and said, that she was much troubled and tormented, and in extreame paine, which they have put her to for denying their demands. Furthermore, *Joane Ruce ulver* of *Powstead* in *Suffolke*, confessed, that in the field called *Horsecroft* or *Hog-Marsh*, there appeared in a bush things like Chickens, about five or six, and that she caught three of them and the rest ranne away, and that she carried three home, which soone after turned to the likenesse of Mice, whose names she called *Touch*, *Pluck*, and *Take*, which spoke to her with a great hollow voyce, and asked her to denie God, and Christ, and told her, if she would, she should never want meat, drinke, or clothes, or money, but she said she told them, that if she denied God and Christ, she should lose her soule, but she said, they told her againe, they were more able to save her soule then God, and that they would doe more for her then she thought for, if she would consent to them, which then she confessed she did, and then they demanded blood, and she nipped her fore-finger, and they pricked her finger with a pin, and there dropped six drops of blood which they caught, and so had it againe after the same manner thrice, and that she did agree to give them her soule; Then I asked her whether they brought her any money or no, and she said, sometimes foure shillings at a time, and sometimes six shillings at a time, but that is but seldome, for I never knew any that had any money before, except of *Clarke's* wife of *Manningtree*, who confessed the same, and shewed some which she said her Impe brought her, which was perfect money: But this *Ruce*, further confessed the sucking of her markes, and how she sent her Impe *Touch* to kill a Bullock, and that he came back againe, and told her he had stuck it on the

right side, and it died accordingly, and so many other things, and said she was stopped and could not confesse when she would, but after had ease. Here you may observe, that if he cannot prevaile for-want, then he promises to free them of hell torments, and so delude them that way. As he did *Ellen* the wife of *Nicholas Greenlief* of *Barton*, in *Suffolke*, who confessed that three things came to her; one like a Rat, cold and ragged as she felt on him; The next like a Mole, soft and cold; The third like a Mouse; and that the Mole spoke to her with a great hollow voyce, and asked her to give her soule and body to him, for he could save her, and bad her not be afraid of him, for he could performe what he promised, whereupon she consented, then he told her she should never want, but be avenged of all her enemies, and so should continue her life time, if she did not bewray him, for if she did he would have the upper hand of her, and confessed that her wishes came to passe; as for example: she wished one good-man *Garnebam* might be lame, and so he was, and that Master *Lockweed* might have Lice, because he formerly accused her for sending, or causing him to have some when she did it not, and so he had, and that her Impested to suck her two or three times a week, for nineteene yeares together; And that the Mole said she should be questioned in some short time, but advised her to stand out and not to confesse, for if she did he would cause her to drowne her selfe, or put her selfe to death, and then he should have her soule, and after when she was kept, before she went to the Justices of Peace, her Impe in the shape of a Mole came to her, when those which were with her saw it not, and tore her as she confessed, as if he would have torne her in pieces, because she had confessed. This woman also confessed, that when she prayed she prayed to the Devill and not to God, and that she had her Impes from her mother in Law, who she said spoiled her; And further confessed that the Devill had the use of her body, and used to come to bed to her, but was soft, cold, and heavier, so heavie as she could not speake, And that her Impe like a Rat went upon her, wishing to lame *Ralph Roggards* Horse or Mare, because he said he would goe for the Searchers, and so it was. Besides the former markes know this, that it is more ealier to finde them on the brest then in any o'her place, for that the brest is all shrunke up, and the Teate thereof extended longer
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then any womans that gives suck, be it on man or woman, with a Circle round about it as if it were sucked, and insensible as aforesaid, and if on a woman that gives suck, that breitt is drye, for where the Impes suck there will come no milke, but the teate will stick out longer there then the other, and is nothing but skinne, and will be much extended as aforesaid, and easily to bee discerned by feeling of it. I should thinke this should give all satisfaction; that gaine, Revenge, feare of want, or poverty, or fearefulnesse of hell torments, or ill parents, or company, yea and lust also, or any one may bee a meanes to draw one to Witchcraft.

As for ill company, bad and wicked parents, and such as are over-much given to lust, I will put them together, and instancce some few more examples; As one *Bush* of *Barton* aforesaid widow, confessed that about three weekes after her husbands decease, being above fiteene yeares before she was questioned, the Devill appeared to her in the shape of a young black mān, standing by her bed side, which spoke to her with a hollow voyce, and came into bed to her, and had the use of her body, and asked her to deny God and Christ, and serve him, and then she should never want, but should be avenged of all her enemies, which she consented to, then she said he kissed her and asked her for bloud, which he drew out of her mouth, and it dropped on a paper, and that he us'd to have the use of her body two or three times a weeke, and then us'd to kisse her, and at no other time but as aforesaid, but she said he was colder then man, and heavier, and could not performe nature as man, and that soone after she had consented to the Covenant and given her bloud, there came two things more like Mice, which used to suck her about twice a week during that time, and confessed how she sent an Impe to torment a Maiden, who she thought was against her having reliefe at her Masters, which was done, but afterward this Maiden went to her and scratched her till she got bloud of her, and then she confessed she had no further power over her (but this is not alwayes true, nor to be observed, though it tooke effect there) But she confessed the killing of three and twenty Turkies at one time, and Cowes, and how her Impes returned and told her it was done, and other things then at large. One more which I should thinke should be a warning to others, to have a care to

bring their Children up in the nurture and feare of God. Of one *Anne Cricke* of *Hitcham* aforesaid widdow, that she had three Impes about seven yeares together; The one in the like-nesse of a Sparrow called *Harrie*; the other two in the likenesse of reddith dunne Mice, called *Jack* and *Will*, and they sucked her twice a weeke severally, all in one night, and the Devill fetched bloud on her left Arme to seale the Covenant, which was to denie God and Christ, and to serve him, which she said she promised faintly, but confessed the promise was first made by her, before the Devill had her bloud; Then I asked her if she did grieve for it after she had done it, she answered, when it was done it was too late to repent; then I asked her why she did it, she said she was left weake, and the Devill got the upper hand of her for want of faith, through want and otherwise, she also confessed the Devill had the use of her body, but she said she could not tell whether he performed nature or not, and said she could not confesse before much company, but said the Devill spoke in a hollow voyce, and confessed the imployment of her Impes, as the sending of her Impe *Harry* to *John Leverishes* of the same Towne, to kill him a Hog, because she was denyed Egges and such like things, and they burnt his eares, and she could not keepe from going; it being asked her why she went, she said they must needs goe the Devill drives, and so many such like things. Also *Susan Scot* of *Lauenham* aforesaid, complained of one *Sweeting* comming to her with one *Golding*, who confessed the Devill us'd to have the use of her body, and spoke to her with a great easie voyce, and that she had two Impes like Cats and Dogs, which sucked on those markes found upon her, and how she was the Death of *Thomazine*, the daughter of one *Mr. Coppinger* there, and diverse other things. Also one *Richmond*, a woman which lived at *Brampsford*, confessed the Devill appeared to her in the like-nesse of a man, called *Daniel* the Prophet, who bad her not be afraid of him, for he was so, and tooke her by the hand, and bad her trust in him and he would avenge her of all her enemies, and he should misse nothing, for he would curse her enemies, and that she after falling out with her neighbour, cursed her and bad the Devill take her, and she dyed after she had lyen some eight weekes, as she said, by her meanes, because the Devill promised her revenge; she confessed her Covenant was to deny God, Christ and

and his Ministers, and to serve him, she said the Devill, for she said so he was that she called *Daniel* the Prophet, none shall need question it; and she confessed she had threemore, One like a ruggredbrinded Dog with cloven feet, One like a Hog called *Jack*, and another like a Dog called *James*, and confessed the Devill desired her to use cursing, and whatsoever she desired should come to her, and so confessed many things she did. Also *Anne Goodfellow* of *Woodford*, in *Northamptonshire* widdow, confessed that soone after her Aunts decease, about three yeares before she was questioned, the Devill in the shape of a white Cat appeared to her, and spoke to her with a low voyce, and bad her not be afraid of it, for he was her Aunts spirit, and asked her to deny God, Christ and her Baptisme, which she said she did, for he promised her that she should be saved, and would doe for her what she desired, and then asked her for blood to seale the Covenant, and she further confessed that he bit her on the second finger, and got blood into his mouth, but what he did with all she knew not, but said amongst other things that she found him a lyer, for she often wanted after. Also *Elizabeth Gurrey* of *Risden*, in *Bedfordshire* Widdow, confessed that the Devill had the use of her body, and lay heavie upon her, and that through her wilfulnesse, and poverty, with delire of revenge, she denied God, and Christ, and sealed it with her blood, about five or seven yeares before she was found with the markes, and confessed what she had done to one *William Dickens*, and another there, and the manner how, but afterward I heard she made a very large confession. *Anne Hammer* neere *Needham* in *Suffolke*, of *Creeting* there (as I remember) confessed that soone after her mothers decease, which was above twenty yeares before she was questioned, there came two Impes to her, which she called *Tom*, *Robbin*, and *Tom* like a Mole, and *Robbin* like a Dorr, which she sent to kill *Mr. Campe* a child, which she said did (very like to be true,) for *Master Campe* averred that a Mole to their thinking was seen in the house, going towards the roome where the child lay, and that they had much adoe to keep it out, nor could tell what became of it in the end, and that they used to suck her twice a fortnight on those markes found upon her, during that time, and that the Devill in the likenesse of a Calfe asked her to denie God, and Christ, and to serve him as Lord, and told her that if she

would he would free her of hell torments, and that she should never want any thing, but be saved, and she consented, then he told her he would avenge her of her enemies, but she said the Devill never performed any thing but revenge, and that the Devill in the likenesse of a black man us'd to come in at the key hole, and to bed to her, and have the use of her body, but was heavier and colder, and lay all over her as man, and us'd not to speake but onely to aske to lie with her, and as she thought performed nature: But if I should goe to pen all of these sorts, then I should have no end, or at least too big a volume, and therefore but this one more; that *Anne Boreham* of *Sudbury*, in the County of *Suffolke* widdow, confessed that as she awoke out of a dreame she saw ugly men (as she thought) a fighting, and asked them why they fought, who answered that they would fight for all her, and then one vanished away, and then came to her into bed and had the use of her body, but said he was heavier and colder then man, and lay onely on part of her, and that man asked her to deny God and Christ, and to serve him, but she said she told him she was a poore widdow, and then he said if she would serve him she should never want, but have her desire, and then she consented, for he promised her to free her of hell torments, yet she said he told her she must goe to hell, but should not be tormented (a fearefull and subtile delusion) for I have been with some who have confessed the same, and that he promised them that they should onely walke too and fro the earth as their Impes did, and never suffer or feele torments. Now some may say, if all these sorts be Witches, then most part of the world be so. I answer no; for honest persons may bee given to these, and yet free from Witchcraft; But this is onely to shew when any are given to be extreame in any of these, then is the Devill busie to worke upon them, for he doth not upon all that be given to these wayes, but upon such as he findes some kinde of preparednesse in, as forexample, Was there not a preparednesse in *Boneham*, and *Mr. Parson Lowis*, and so if you doe but truly observe little or more in all their confessions, as take but this last when she saw that sight of fighting (as she thought) would not a good Christian have had her thoughts upon God, rather then to have suffered one to come to bed to her, which she knew could be no lesse but the Devill, and no man, for then he could
not

not have come into the roome, for Satan appeareth net to them in any shape untill he finde some preparednesse, and then as you have heard by these confessions pati he appeares in severall shapes, and then maketh the league, and confirms it with bloud, and then sends them Familiars more or lesse, and so procedes by degrees: So you may finde as I said before, extreme poverty, pationate sorrow accompanied with solitarinesse, too much iraged with anger and desire of revenge, those of such parents, and all that I have formerly reckoned; you see by their confessions, that the extreame makes a preparednesse, and I have heard of some schollers for want of Learning, to be learned have growne to it, and some through overmuch, as is instanced before. Likewise *John Scarfe* of *Rattlesden* afore said, confessed that about three yeares before he was accused to be searched, there came a thing; into his house of a gray colour, of the bignesse of a great Rat, of about a quarter of an ell long, which he tooke up and put into a box, and kept it some certaine time there, and then tooke it out, and laid it downe on his belly, and put it to the place where the markes were found, where he said it sucked halfe an houre; (Did he prepare himselfe, or was he desirous to be one?) I conceive he did desire to be one, for he was a heathenish man, and so the agreement past; but to shew his willingnesse to put it to the place, for in his confession more at large, he confessed that within a fortnight after there came two more, of a whitish dunne colour, and lesse then the other, which he called *Tom*, and *Will*; but the first he called *Harrie*, and so proceded. Now I will proceed to prove that Witches may be found out.

First, from God in the giving of his Law against Witches. *Exod. 21. 18.* Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live, which implyeth a Discovery of them, else it could never be put in execution, and so should be a Law to no purpose.

Secondly from the History, First Divine. For it is said *Saul* found out Witches, and executed the Law upon them, or put them to death, and so good King *Josiah*, *2 King. 3. 14.*

Secondly, we have *Chronicles*, and many relations made of the evident discourse of Witches.

Thirdly, the many Tryalls in our owne Country at many Assizes: So it is cleere that Witches may be discovered, though it cannot be denyed but that there is some difficulty therein, because

cause the secrecie of the grounds of Witchcraft is so close and hidden, as being one of the greatest workes of darknesse committed this day under the Sunne: for that naturall causes may arise very strong, and many may cunningly counterfet outward appearances, and Witnesses may feigne their accusations out of malice, being transported with rage and uncharitableness, and desire of revenge, because of the strange imagination they have through many seeming probabilities; Some for words, or deeds, taken in the worst sense; Some upon some suddaine sight of some creature, and so likewise upon burning any thing of the party suspected to be bewitched, if any shall come (though peradventure accidentally) and so sometimes something else, as thatch over the doore or such like of the parties suspected to be a Witch, and so I could reckon divers instances of severall wayes, which many times have produced strange and sometimes true effects, which meanes have partly been the cause of the questioning of many, who have been found no lesse then Witches, and have suffered since the aforementioned time: but I forbear to speake any further of those wayes, for I conceive them to be unlawfull altogether, and not to be used, for it cannot be conceived any lesse then a distrust in Gods providence, in putting confidence that such meanes will make the Witch knowne, and effect their desires: Yet to proceed as I have said, I cannot deny but those may be just grounds of suspicion, and cause of questioning them, but not alwayes certaine, besides the unlawfulness held by Divines. But these cannot be denied to be just grounds as aforesaid. As when one shall be given to cursing and banning, with imprecations upon slight occasion, and withall use threatnings to be revenged, and thereupon evill to happen. As *Cherrie of Thrapston*, in *Norhamptonshire*, a very aged man, who upon a small occasion, of falling out with one of his Neighbours in the field, where they kept Cattell, one of the two (I doe not now well remember which) scared some Cattell off the ground, where the Cattell the other kept was to goe, with a Dog; the said *Cherrie* and the other fell at odds and worded, whereupon *Cherrie* wished that his tongue might rot out of his head, the man was soone after strangely taken, and his tongue did come out of his mouth, hanging onely by the rootes thereof within his mouth, but could not be kept all in his mouth, and so continued to his death,
and

and died in a miserable condition. This *Cherrie* confessed himself, and that he was his death, onely upon that occasion. After which Confession, that it came to be known, many of the townsmen of *Thrapstone* aforesaid averred that he died with his tongue out, and that in a manner it rotted. A fearful thing to be thought of, what a miserable condition the poor man died in.

Cherrie likewise confessed the death of two more, which by his confession, and those that knew their deaths, died in a strange and miserable condition, through his wicked cursing (as he confessed;) and so confessed many other notorious facts he had done. And being asked whether he did not do Sir *John Washington*, a Knight which lived in the same town, any harm in his cattel or otherwise, for that he had suffered strange losses, he confessed he did, and particularized the death of much cattel; saying, when he had reckoned up as many as he could well remember, That he had been the death of so many of his, that he could not reckon them all.

Then it was demanded of him, Why he would offer it to Sir *John*, who had been so loving to him in affording him relief constantly. He answered; The more he gave him, the more power he had over him to do him mischief: for he said his Imps must be employed, else they would not let him be quiet, but torment him.

This *Cherrie* also confessed divers other things and harms he had done, and the sealing of the Covenant with the devil with his blood, to deny God and Christ, and to serve him the devil for revenge, with promise of freedom from hell-torments: and that his Imps, the last time they sucked him, not long before he was searched, told him they would not suck him any more but that time, because he was an old man, and had but little blood.

This *Cherrie* confessed presently after he was searched, who died at *Northampton* in the Goal there, the same day he should have been tried, much about the time the Grand Jury had found the Bill of Indictment against him, *Billa vera*, as it was reported, miserably. A just judgement of God: for it was reported, that a night or two before, his coat was all rent right down on the back, and his mouth stopped full: and when it was pulled out, he confessed that he had been at a bridge going into *Thrapston* town, and had a card found about his neck.

To this I might adde the aforementioned *Thomazin Ratcliff*, who upon the falling out with another woman about the death of a childe, bade her go home and look to the rest, lett she lost more. And one died suddenly after, as before is expressed.

Of these kindes I could nominate divers more, as you may observe in many of their Confessions, and might adde implicate confessions: As, when a question is asked the suspected party, If he or she were not the cause of such or such a thing; answer is made, He or she might have let me alone, or not done so and so; or such like. As for example, you may observe in most of their Confessions, they did it because they had not, such things as they desired, or used to have: as *Anne Leech* of Hawford in Essex confessed in her Confession, besides the death of two or three, the laming of a childe of one *Turners*. It being asked her why she did it, she answered, Her mother might have paid her for work she had done. Likewise one *Anne Parker*, being asked why she did one *Pryer* mischief; she answered, He might have given her money upon a Thanksgiving-day, as well as he gave to others; but would not give her any, because she was not at Church; whereupon she sent her spirit to him, who did accordingly. And so confessed how the devil in the likenesse of a dun Dog, had three drops of blood under her tongue, to seal the Covenant; and had a piece of paper in his hand, and wrote her name thereon with her consent, and so promised her money, and that she should never want, but should be avenged of her enemies, according as is expressed in others.

Hereto I might adde such as said they have such things as Familiars suck on them, but cannot help it. *Alexander Suffums* of Melford in Suffolk, confessed that he had things which did draw those marks I found upon him; but said he could not help it, for that all his kinred were naught. Then I asked him how it was possible they could suck without his consent. He said he did consent to that. Then I asked him again why he should do it, when as God was so merciful towards him, as I then told him of, being a man whom I had been formerly acquainted withal, as having lived in Town. He answered again, He could not help it, for that all his generation was naught; and so told me his mother and aunt were hanged, his grandmother burnt for Witchcraft, and so others of them questioned and hanged. This man is yet living, notwithstanding he confessed the sucking of such things above

sixteen yeers together, but was suspected for doing of mischief, yet never questioned, but as he came into a houie accidentally where I was, and so profered himself to be searched, and presently confessed these particulars, and so by that means brought to trial, but freed, and living, as atorefaid.

Likewise I may adde, When the party suspected makes enquiry after the party taken sick, or desires to visit the party, or the party the suspected: For many have confessed that after they have done a thing, they are sorry for it, but cannot help it; as *King* of Acton in Suffolk confessed, to a woman whom he had bewitched, in the time she was in her extremity, long before he was questioned: but this woman desired him to undo what he had done; and he told her he could not undo what he had done, but told her he was sorry for it, and told her of another that could, as he said, and as she affirmed, that was one, as we untruly call them, White or good Witches, and one that was then suspected, who accordingly did it.

To confirm this, I can tell you of a very remarkable example much tending to this particular, of one at Heddenham in the Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge, where a childe suspected to be bewitched, was carried to the Justice of Peace his house, where the party suspected was to be carried to be examined. This childe being very sick, was set in a chair, and held in it; but as soon as the party who was suspected came in, on a sudden it arose of it self, and got hold of her face to scratch her, 'as its strength would afford, she not stirring. Here you may observe the former Confessions, where the Witch confessed, that after she was scratched, she had no further power over that party; for this woman stood still: and so you may perceive that many of them, after they have done mischiefs, are sorry for it, and cannot help it: (This it is to renounce God and Christ) for this woman presently confessed, that it was she that had hurt the childe, through her diabolical practice, and told him what Imp she had sent to hurt the childe, and the occasion why she did it; and how she had sent one of her Imps a little before she was accused, (for she had been searched, and found with the marks) to destroy or spoil a whole field of corn in that Parish; and so made a very large Confession, with the suckling of her Imps upon those marks found upon her, and the Covenant sealed with her blood, (as atorefaid in other Confessions) besides

other mischiefs which she did. May not Spell-setters and Charmers be also added? for I cannot conceive any lesse, when they shall say that by words they can charm, set Spells, and help or cure mad Dogs, or any thing bitten by them, and such-like; though it be by their implicite league, (as some of them do) yet it is a distrust of Gods providence, putting their confidence in their words, rather then in the living God, who saith it is an abomination to him. And I have heard some of these, not long since, boast of their doings therein, saying they had it from their parents, and were not their parents good Christians? and they do but use the words for good ends. So likewise of those born of ill parents, if their carriage be not otherwise; as I have instanced enough of those, else I could instance more, as the aforementioned *Rebecca West*, who was drawn to it by her mother, (as she confessed) after a strange manner, as she said: for her mother asked her to go to Manningtree with her, which was about a mile, and bade her work hard that she might go; and as they went, she told her she must not say any thing whatsoever she saw, but consent to them, and do as they did, and then she should be a happie woman; or such-like inticements. But when she came there, at the house where her mother went, there were her confederates met; then, before she could be entertained, her mother was asked whether her daughter was acquainted with the matter in hand; who answered She was. Then she was entertained; and as she confessed, the devil appeared, and first kissed the woman of the house, and so one after another, and at last her self; and so she was asked then if she were willing to be entred into their society; who said, She was. Then appeared Familiars, which she confessed, also the sucking of her body on the marks, and the sealing of the Covenant with her blood. This young woman confessed the naming of their Imps, and the manner, which I am ashamed to expresse; and the initiation of a Witch, and every particular thing at large; especially, she confessed how the devil took her by the hand, and the manner and words were used at her Marriage, when she was married to the devil (as she confessed:) a fearful thing to declare. But one thing observe, That the devil imitates God in all things as he can, much after the book of Common-prayer, then in his outward Worship. She likewise confessed that her mother prayed constantly, (and, as the world thought, very seriously) but she said it was to the devil,

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using these words, *Oh my God, my God*, meaning him, and not the L O R D. This I put in the rather, because you may take notice, where such meetings be, there are just grounds of suspicion: for they cannot always do their mischiefs according to their desires, without their meetings, and the help one of another.

I might adde the apparition of the party suspected to the party tick, and could nominate some instances thereof, as in Northampton-shire, and elsewhere: but because apparitions may proceed from the phantasie of such as the party use to fear, or at least suspect, I forbear, because I would not that any should be accused, but where there are just grounds of suspicion. But those called *Wise-men, or Wise-women, called your White Witches*, which will shew the other in glasses, or undo what the other have done, (if proved) is it not sufficient?

But I hope there is none so ignorant or blinde, as to think or believe it is lawful for any to go or send to such, much lesse to put any confidence or trust in them, who require faith to believe they can cure, before they will undertake it; seeing by the Law of God they ought to die, as well as the other. And the holy Scripture utterly forbids any going to them, *Levit. 2. 6.* where it is said, that he will set his face against such as shall seek after those that have familiar spirits, and will cut them off from amongst his people; much more then such as should be guilty themselves.

Then some will say, How shall they be known one from another, or how shall they be found out, if these difficulties be? For it cannot be denied but that many of them have made great shews of Religion.

I answer, It is truth: as the devil can transform himself into an Angel of light, so have many of these Witches made outward shews, as if they had been Saints on earth, and so were taken by some; as one of *Catworth* in *Huntingtonshire*, who made as large a Confession, in a manner, as ever any did, & confessed at the gallows before her death, in my hearing. Likewise one *Lendall* of *Cambridge*, who suffered also, carried her self as if she had been no lesse: and so did the mother of the said *Rebecca West*, and many others, which by their carriage seemed to be very religious people, and would constantly repair to all Sermons neer them: yet notwithstanding all their shews of religion, there appeared some of these probabilities, whereby they were suspected, and so searched, and so

by that means discovered and made known. For if you do but observe these and such-like other reasons as may be thereby gathered, together with their Confessions, you shall finde that they prepare themselves in some kinde or other, and that by their outward carriage, either by ill company keeping, maliciousnesse, revengeful persons, or such as be born of such parents, or go under a general suspicion of Witchcraft, or one way or other as aforefaid, there will appear just grounds of suspicion, either by words or deeds, whereby they may be brought to be questioned, whereby it may appear there is a league made with the devil: for notwithstanding all former reasons, to convict or prove one guilty of Witchcraft, is to prove a League made with the devil: in this onely act, standeth the very reality of a Witch; without which, (notwithstanding great shews of probabilities) I know not, nor cannot conceive how any can be properly said to be Witches: For the devil (through Gods permission) may hurt mens bodies, and kill their cattel; and ill haps may fall out upon his or her cursing, and but grounds to make enquiry and search, which must be for this League; which though never so secretly made, yet it is to be discerned, seeing it is that which maketh a Witch, and not to some of their own society: For besides the former reasons, it is an heathenish practice to seek to such, *Isa.* 19. 3. and *65.* 4. 2 *King.* 17. 17. Now we should not be like the abominable heathen in any evil, much lesse in these abominations. And they which seek to them, are commonly wicked and evil people, haunted themselves by an evil spirit, who suggesteth this course into them, as he did into *Saul*, *1 Sam.* 28. Yea, such as esteeme of these, and think they work in Gods Name, and by his power, are bewitched in so thinking, *Acts* 8. 9, 11. For it is found true by daily experience amongst our selves, that those which most use them, most need them, as I might instance; but onely I desire to prove the League, which is to be proved: for they that make this League, if expresse as before, have a familiar or spirit, more or lesse: For as soon as the League is made, the Spirit or Familiar, one or more, is familiar, as was before sufficiently proved by *Saul* and *Josiah* in the forementioned places, when Witches were known to have Familiars, besides the Confessions of Witches lately executed herein expressed, and so they have now adays; by which, after their League made, they work their mischief, as is likewise proved

proved by their Confessions; as the said *Elizabeth Clark* confessed, who averred that all were Witches who had such marks as she was found withal, and had familiar spirits more or lesse; and that there were some which had none; which I have found true; for they have onely the brand, or devils mark, as I may so call it: but for the other, you may observe it as a genetal rule in all their Confessions; as *John Byfack*, alias *Gleede*, of *Waldingfield magna* in the County of *Suffolk*, confessed that the devil came in at his window in the shape of a rugged sandy-coloured dog, which asked him to deny God, Chrilt, and his Baptism, which he spake with a great hollow voice; and he consented. Then he said Satan asked him for blood to seal and confirm the cover ant or agreement; and he bade him take it; and that Satan with his consent had, in the shape of such a coloured dog, thorow his leather doublet, with his claw. Then I asked him whereaway Satan had it: and he said, From his heart; and that Satan promised to free him of hell-torments, and that he would send him other things which he must let suck his blood, and they should avenge him of all his enemies. All which he said he consented to, and was willing withal; and then soon after those came, which he called his Imps, and sucked on those marks or teats which I found on his body, neer twenty yeers together, sometimes once a week, sometimes once a fortnight, which he confessed came in the likenesse of Snails, onely they differed one from another in colour and bignesse. Then I asked him how they could suck on that part of his body I found the marks on: and he said he used to lie down on his right side to let them suck, and was willing withal: for he confessed he oftentimes arose out of his bed, and made a fire, and lay down by it to let them suck his blood; which rising out of his bed, and fire making, his wife averred to be truth; yet she said she never knew or thought him to be such a manner of person; for she said he used to tell her he was sick, and used to be troubled with a disease which he could not help himself better for to ease himself of his pain he used to be in, then by that means, and could not endure his bed, his pain was so troublesome. But to clear all suspicion which after might fall on her thereby, she was searched, and found clear, and no lesse thought to be by her neighbours before and since, as I have heard. He likewise confessed his Imps names were *Sydrake*, *Jeffry*, *Peter*, *Ayleward*, *Sacar*, and *Pyman*; for he had

six by his confession, and no lesse by the number of his marks. The first was to kill all manner of fowls, which was the first he confessed he employed. The second was to kill sheep and such-like cattel. The third, hogs, and such-like. The fourth, Cows, and such-like beasts. The fifth, all manner of horses. And the sixth, Christians: and so particularized many mischiefs he had done.

So they have their Familiars, some for one thing, and some for another; some to help them at their needs, (though many times therein they fail them) and others to work their mischiefs and revenge, as the aforesaid *Iohn Wynnicke* and many others have confessed. But I onely instance their Confessions in short, and but in part onely, tending to that I quote them for as near as I can. For I could adde divers more to this, but many of the other in effect tend to prove this; so do most of the Confessions little or more depend one upon another; so that I do but instance part of them, and of the effect of them, and not the third part of those I have; for if I should, I have many larger Confessions, which perchance might give better satisfaction to some: but I onely aim at the principal heads, and to clear and make it appear, that what hath been done, hath been in a legal way, and not unjustly, as many have surmised, but for the good of the Common-wealth, and I doubt not but agreeable to the Word of God. And that all that be thus in league, (as expresse or open league as aforesaid) are to be found out and known by these evidences, be they of either sort, bad, or white or good Witches so called; first, by Witches marks, which are most commonly upon those baser sorts called the bad and curling Witch; and so upon the other called the good or white Witch, though not so easily found, (if but onely the brand, or devils mark, as it may well be termed) but the other, which the spirits suck of, are easily to be distinguished and known from all the other marks, but yet have as before (if an expresse league.)

This is not to be doubted of; it is the devils custom to mark his: God will have his mark for his, *Ezek. 9. Rev. 7.* the Beast will have his mark, *Rev. 13.* So the devil himself will have his mark, as you may see as well by the relations and confessions of Witches, as also the witnesses of many learned men, writing of Witches and Witchcraft. Therefore, where this mark is, there is a league and familiar spirits more or lesse; which marks are to be found by searching.

Now

Now some will say, How shall they be discerned from natural marks?

I answer: First, as for that mark which comes by the sucking or by the drawing of the spirit or familiar, more or lesse, which is most commonly upon the baser sort called the bad witch, and so many times upon the other so untruly called the good or white witch, for all witches are bad indeed, though peradventure for the most part they have not commonly so many Familiars as the other, yet I say most of them work by Familiars as well as the other, and suckle them likewise, though not commonly above one. They are to be known by these tokens, as by the insensibleness of them, sometimes like a little teat or big, that is when it remains as the Imp or Familiar sucks thereof: if outward, then nothing to be discerned but as a little bit of skin, which may be extended and drawn out, and wrung, much like the finger of a glove, and is very limber, and hath no substance in it, except it be when their Imps have newly sucked them, and then it may be there may be a little watrish blood perceived, but may be known from natural marks several ways; for it hath no scar, but at the very top a little hole, where the blood cometh out. But if it be inward, then it is beyond all natural marks, or where no such-like (if natural) could possibly be, and remains but as a little red spot, much like, or little differing from a flea-bite; onely it is out of the flesh above it, when as the other is flat, but this as I say is out above it, with a whitish end at the top, and may be known both of them by a circle about them, much like the circle of a womans brest which hath been sucked, and one may discern the place where the blood comes out: and many times it falleth out, if new sucked, the watrish blood may be stroaked out, especially in the time they be kept, if the watchers be careful to discern when they be in most trouble, though their Familiars come never so insensible: and therein (as before) watching hath done good (though not deprived of any thing necessary, as before.) And the skin may be pulled one side from the other, and differeth from the other parts in colour, and remains as if it were a dead place, and so it is insensible of pricking and other usage, if it be done in a direct manner; and so may be easily discerned from any natural mark otherwise, if this were not sufficient to give satisfaction, which I doubt not but it will, as I could otherwise expresse, if it were neither

for giving offence to some, nor a means to give some of such persons insight so far, as thereby they might grow more experienced to make away their marks, for that hath been too common amongst them already; for which I could instance many examples: but you finde by their Confessions, that all of them tend to manifest, that their Familiars suck upon those marks which we first finde, which are before expressed, and therefore I forbear to instance any to that particular.

Sometimes they be like a blue spot, that is, when they make them away, and then no more to be discerned besides the insensibleness thereof; but will grow or be drawn again by the sucking of their Imps or Familiars more or lesse, for they cannot hide them always: as one *Marsh* a woman of *Brampford* confessed, who had been searched two or three times one after another, and no other marks could be found upon her: at length, she being accused by another of the same town, was forthwith before she had any knowledge thereof, or thoughts (as I suppose) of being searched again, taken by the Constables there in the streets, as she was coming homeward to her own house, and brought to be searched again, upon the others accusation: but as she came by her own house, she desired to go in, (as she said) to shift her self, for that she was very unwilling (as she pretended) to go to the women to be searched with a foul shift on her back: but the Constable having had notice of it formerly, not to suffer her to go to do it, it being known she did it before her former searching, brought her forthwith away to the place where she was to be searched; and when she was a searching, she was presently found to have the marks very apparent, and had a clean Shift on her back. But not long after, in her Confession, amongst other things, she confessed that if she had been let go home to have shifted her self, she had not been found with the marks, for that she had a shift so dressed, that her marks could not have been found at present, and that she thereby so escaped by the same means the former searches; yet she was searched by those which were the first that ever to my knowledge found any of those marks; and so confessed that she had made a covenant with the devil, and sealed it with her blood, and set a round O to the paper the devil brought her, and confessed her Familiars, with the sucking of them, and the mischief she had done by her Witchcraft, or at least part of them, as she then fur-

th er

ther confessed, and suffered for the same. Here you may observe, that the diligentnesse of searching is a great matter, and one of the chiefest points of their discovery: For I have observed this one thing in my proceedings herein, that if all their marks, though in several places, be not found, they will hardly confesse: but when all are found, and the iust number of them more or lesse laid to their charge, according as they have, it is a great inducement to bring them to confession; and that hath made me careful when apparent marks have not been seen at first, that a second or third search be made: for it is a matter of concernment of life and death; and therefore, as I conceive, it were fitting that those which search, and those with them, they having some intelligence of the marks first given them, were sworn before searching, that diligent search might be made in all places of such as be suspected in such a case of life and death, for the detection of so great a height of sin and impiety, that none that be guilty might escape the punishment due according to their deserts here; and so those likewise that wrongfully go under that aspercion, be freed thereof. To which end, it were fitting that such as did it might be such as know what belongs to an Oath, and who make conscience to perform the same likewise; and such as be at the searching, able people, of discretion and good carriage; for I fear that money hath swayed some, and want of knowledge others.

Sometimes the flesh is sunk in a hollow, that is, when they pull them off, and pull them out with their nails, or otherwise cause them to be pulled off; as one of Over in Cambridge-shire confessed, it being so found and laid to her charge, that she heard of our coming to town, and plucked her marks off the night before, because she would not have been found, as she confessed before a Justice of Peace of the same town at large, both of the Covenant and her Imps, and the harms she did both to him and others by her Imps.

But some will say, It is strange they should know when they should be searched, if it be kept private.

I answer, Let it be kept never so private, it hath been common, and as common as any other thing, as they themselves have confessed: for so did they of Fenny-Drayton in Cambridge-shire, who made very large Confessions, as, that the devil told them of our coming to town, but withal told them they should be

searched, but should not be found; wherein they said they found him a liar; and so they said they did in his promising them they should never want, which they did: and so likewise that is usual with others; but those made very large Confessions.

Also sometimes there is nothing to be discerned but red spots, as if the skin were perished, (and so it is) for that is when they onely cut them off, and apply no medicine at all to it; yet the blood will appear all round within the circle, as afore is expressed. And of these I have found divers; but for the most part, those have been left for a second search, or a third, as occasion or ground sufficient required. And of these though I have found divers, yet I have but one example by confession, and that is of one *Clarke* of Keyston in Huntington-shire, a young man, who was so found, and set at liberty, expecting to have been searched another time, when he should not know of it; but he soon after confessed he had cut off his marks, saying they were fools that were found with the marks, for he had made sure he could not be found with them, for he had cut off his two or three days before I searched him. But I perceived the blood, and shewed it to the townsmen, and told them that I thought he was naught, and guilty of that sin, and doubted not thereof, but would not take oath, unlesse the marks had been apparently seen upon him.

Now some will say, notwithstanding all this that is said, There may be and are natural marks like all these afore spoken of.

I answer, For natural marks, as I conceive, there be Wens of divers sorts; but view these well, and next adjacent to the flesh they are very small, and hang like a thred, but from thence like a teat or big; but feel of it, and it is fleshie, and will not extend as the other will do.

But some will say, It may be a rent, and so a piece of skin may hang.

I answer, This, though it be nothing but as a skin, yet it cometh firmly out of the flesh, and sticks out like a big or teat, and not hang down, when I conceive rents will either hang, or lie flat; but if hang, then I believe a scar is to be seen, and feels fleshlike besides: but these have no scar, onely as it were a little hole on the top, where the blood comes out, which is easily to be discerned, for I have nipped blood out. And then likewise they be insensible, when the other be not; But I confesse, if these be not pricked the

the right way, they will feel it likewise. Some have Warts : but I answer, They be out of the flesh as well as the other, but they are flat and fleshie, and sensible, and will not any way extend : but so far unlike the other, as I will not further speak of them. Some have Moulds ; it is truth, I believe most men have, though they be of several colours ; but those be flat to the flesh always, which is nothing like the other, nor will extend, but is sensible.

But some will say, It may be like the brand.

I answer, No : for it differeth as well in colour, as also it hath no circle about it, but is as the rest of the skin is on the other parts of the body, onely differs sometimes in colour, but not like the other, and is sensible : neither for the most part have any of the marks of those which have suffered been found, where there were either Warts, Wens, or Moulds, or commonly rents, especially of the men.

But then some will say, There are Emrod-marks, and piles.

I answer, True, but the Emrod-marks are upon the veins, though they issue out, and are to be discerned either by the colour, or by the lying up of the veins ; but if the veins be down, still, the colour remains in part, and are to be known that way : But however, they will not extend to be drawn out and twixed, as the other will ; if at all, I am sure not so much ; and if a little, then it is pain, and the other none : for therein the insensibleness cleers this expressly ; for it cannot be conceived that any should be insensible upon their veins, and the other are meerly out of the flesh ; for I conceive if they were upon the veins, they would bleed after they were sucked, and would not easily be stetched again ; neither be they so inward as the Emrods marks, except the inward marks, which are beyond them, and where no natural cause can be of that colour, and insensible. And as for the Piles, I think this is a sufficient answer for that likewise ; for they be out of the veins, and are sensible without question, and be flat, and will not be extended as the other will.

And then some others will say, But women have rents and other miscarriages by childe-bearing.

I answer partly as before, and grant it for truth ; but yet if that way will neither scar appear, nor will it feel fleshie, but will it be extended as the other ; admit all this were truth, I will affirm the colour differs, and that there will be no circle about it, nor twixed.

nor have a hole as the other have, and be insensible likewise, and otherwise, as I could further explain more at large, if it were fitting: for, *All things* (as the proverb is) *ought not to be spoken at all times*, much lesse printed.

But if any shall hereafter make any Objections against me (as I expect they will) I will then explain my self (through permission) as far as by experience I have found, or by reading or otherwise my knowledge shall extend to. For I am confident, and my conscience tells me, that those who shall be found with these marks, are expressly guilty of that diabolical art or practice of Witchcraft, whether they have done mischief or not, but onely for that they have renounced God and Christ, and betaken themselves to the devil, the utter enemy of God and all the world. And I had rather be an instrument (if any such thing ought to be) to save one who should confesse and humble himself, as *Manasseh* did, then any of those who, being found with the marks upon them, shall deny: but I shall forbear herein, where it nothing concerns me, but those in authority; for I would not give offence to any, onely desire to cleer my self, in giving satisfaction to the world that my conscience is, that none of these sorts ought to live amongst us; for by the Laws of God and the Realm, they ought to die, as it is said in the 18 of *Deuteronomy*. And then remember this one place, which is in *Micab* 5, where it is said, that when God intends to blesse a Nation, he will cut off or root out all Witchcraftes and Inchantments: which I should think should give all sufficient satisfaction, that those which have these marks, are in league and covenant with the devil, and that it is not to be doubted but that there are Witches, and that those which have the brand be also guilty as aforesaid, be they of either sort, and are to be found as well as the other, by searching also; yet I confesse that is very difficult to be known, and very few ever attained to the discovery thereof: but it is to be known by the insensible-nesse thereof, and other wise, being drawn or shrunk up so with a circle about it, as if the skin were stretched to that place, or shrunk up about it; but very little by the colour, for that is as if it were or had been some natural cause, or where some issue had been, when as the skin was never perished, as may be easily discerned; onely it shews in the middle thereof, for the most part, as if a little hole had been, except it be such as the places where the
blood

blood is fetched to seal the Covenant, which is onely like a natural mark, either long or otherwise, as natural marks be; onely it seemeth to be deader and harder, and so it is, and not so tender as other places be, or where plaiuers have been used: but the other is for the most part round, but however, it hath a little circle about it, just adjacent to it, as if it were sunk in all the circle about, and then within that, next adjacent to the circle, somewhat higher then the flesh, and harder; and in the middle thereof, a little hole or pit somewhat sunk. This brand or mark, if it come to be tried for the insensibleness, will soon be felt, if greater care be not had in pricking of it; for though it be insensible a little way, yet it is not so deep into the flesh as the others be, but shews dead-like, much like as if it had been seared with a hot-iron, and is firmly upon the body, and in no secret place, as the other be, but differs a little in colour, as a seared place doth from another; as I might somewhat inlarge, but I will not presume too far, lest others should unadvisedly and rashly proceed in the discovery of such persons wrongfully, and then fault me for the insight; as hath been formerly done by some, who when they have done that they are not able to give an account of, or render a reason for, or perchance say those be guilty, where they finde some other evidence may be given that they be guilty, or where money will be largely given that they are guilty, when as if they come to be further questioned, they can onely say they be such marks as such a one told me; and so likewise can say, I have seen some have such marks in the Jail, of his finding out, or some who have confessed: when as they themselves cannot distinguish between natural marks, and those, neither indeed know them asunder, but however, know but one sort of the marks, and so let many escape, and I fear wrongfully thereby, or for lucre, accuse; a fearful thing to be considered of: And therefore I conceive it were fitting, that when such come to their trials in this kinde, it might be done by those of knowledge and discretion, and upon good grounds, and not by every light-carriag'd houswife, who regards more her own ends then the life of a Christian; who can render no other reason, but that they do but what they have learned some insight in, & so go where they are sent for, or else they would not do it; indeed for money, and not for the Common-wealths good, as may be seen by their want of knowledge therein: For, as I said, it had need be
done

done by able, discreet, honest persons, especially for these last mentioned, and upon good grounds, and other cleer evidences concurring with them. Yet I affirm that all that have these, or any of these marks, are guilty of Witchcraft, if plainly made appear: for I could have spoken somewhat more, both of wrongfully accusing, and excusing, onely I know it will then be judged that I do it to take off all others, and that none, or but such as I like of, were fitting to do it, and so thereby take all upon my self; which I know many in the world will be ready enough to censure of me: But for my part, where one hath the least insight herein, I wish there were hundreds in all Countries which had the whole, and more then any now have; but onely that such as be idle, or unconscionable of their ways, and carelesse of men and womens lives, or at least unskilful in these ways, might not be suffered to meddle; in such a businesse of concernment of life and death, as this is. As for this, and the lucre of money, I shall more fully clear in the last Objection in the close hereof, to acquit my self thereof.

Now for the implicite or secret League, if it be asked what these be which thus work by Satan:

I answer, in some sort, by way of similitude, from the direction of that place in *Mark* 9. 38, 40. and *Luke* 9. 49. For Satan will be Gods ape in all things whatsoever he can, and therefore will he also imitate Christ herein. They are such as invoke the devil by certain superstitious forms of words, and prayers, believing that these means can effect what they have offered them for, and do withal earnestly desire to have them effectual. Now the devil herein consenteth, and affordeth his power, at the utterance of the words, to bring the thing to passe which is desired. Here therefore is a Covenant and mutual consent on both sides: for if a man or woman be content to use superstitious forms of invocation for help in time of need, and in using them desireth in heart to have the thing effected; if the devil work the feat, there is, a secret compact: for they have desired, and he hath consented. They are such as do know, that neither by Gods work in nature, nor by Gods ordination from his Word, the things they do are warrantable, (but rather hear such things forbidden) and that they also are absurd to common reason, and yet will do them, because they finde an effect answerable to their expectation.

Hereto

Hereto I might adde the healing of a wound by anointing the instrument which gave the wound, Spell-setters, and Charmers, and such-like, who many of them are in expresse league as afore-said: for the devil contenteth himself sometimes, to wit, there where he well perceiveth the party will not be brought to the other, and lets them please themselves with hope of Gods mercy, employing them onely about seeming-good things, for that in so doing they suppose they sin not, nor are in danger of the devil, nor under Gods wrath. as the other are, because they fall not so foully into the pit of destruction by an expresse league, as the others do, and make an outward shew of Religion as well as others.

For what can be said of those who onely cure diseases by laying on their hands, and using certain words or forms of prayers? Is it not done by this secret Compact, though ignorantly they think otherwise? For if the remedy be not natural, then it is supernatural; if supernatural, then either from God, and so hath warrant from his Word, and is ordinary, not miraculous; for that work of God hath ceased long since: or else is from the devil, as works wrought by Spells and Charms, and such-like, forbidden by God. Yet these sorts of persons, finding their practices successful, are not against Satan, nor can lightly speak ill of his working power, because of their secret and implicate league they have with him, and especially because of the profit they finde come to them thereby. And herein also doth the devil imitate Christ, who allowed some, which openly as yet did not follow him, to have power to cast out devils, *Mark 9. 38, 39.* who were not, as he said, against him, nor could lightly speak ill of him, nor of his power, by reason of their secret and implicate faith, and covenant with Christ; yet did it, because they found successe in it.

So likewise in the Scripture is found the cutting off hair, and burning it, *Numb. 6. 18.* the writing of words, and the blotting of them out again, and to give them unto one, *Numb. 5. 23.* Also the giving of a portion, *Numb. 5. 27.* So Satan teacheth his to cut off hair and burn it; as the White-Witch will do to such as come to them, advising them to cut hair, or such-like, off the beast they suspect to be bewitched, and to write a Charm, and to blot it out, and then give it one; also to use portions; thus seeming, by these imitations, to have Scripture for their warrant.

And so after this manner I might reckon up several other ways : as, the Lord had some which by curling and threatenng procured evil upon others, *2 Kings 2. 24. Acts 13.* so Satan hath such, which by curling and threats procure mischiefs upon others, as you may plainly see by their Confessions.

Also the Lord tied his to certain Rules and Ordinances in his Service, and sometimes to a certain number, *Josh. 6. 15. 1 Kings 17. 21.* So Satan tieth his Witches to certain words and deeds in going about his service, and to observe numbers, and to do a thing so and so often, three times, seven times, or such-like, as the White Witches do: and so imitate Christ in many things, as his Assemblies and Sabbaths; Baptism and Covenants; so Satan hath all his, after his manner, as *Rebecca West* and *Elizabeth Clarke* confessed, as well in these as in other particulars, as you may finde as well by theirs and others Confessions, as also by the Writings of learned men who have writ concerning the same.

And further, as the Lord had such as cured diseases by words, by prayers, and did anoint the party infirm; as by something brought them from the sick, and carried to the sick again, *James 5. Mark 6. 13. Acts 19. 12.* So hath Satan such as seem by words to cure diseases, by forms of prayers, and by oile; and also by bringing something from the sick party, and carrying the same back again.

So the Lord by his servants raised some from the dead, *1 Kings 17. 21. Acts 9. 40.* and likewise Satan maketh shew by his servants to raise up the dead, *1 Sam. 28.*

And as the Lord maketh some to be his, either by his immediate inspiration, and speaking to them, or winneth them to him by his instruments: so Satan maketh some Witches by inward suggestions, and his speaking to them, or by using other Witches to gain them to him; as you may finde also by their Confessions. And that as the Lord spake by a beast unto a Witch, *Numb. 22. 28.* so Satan speaketh to Witches, sometimes in one shape, and sometimes in another.

So likewise, as the Lord ordained Sacrifices to be offered to him, Satan hath taught his to do so too, *Numb. 23.*

And as the Lord promised earthly blessings, to stir up people to serve him; so Satan, as you may finde, is very large in his promises to such as will serve him, *Matth. 4.*

And

And so it is in many other particulars, as might well be observed, if you do but rightly observe their Confessions, with their carriages, and Satans doings.

But here some will say, Is there no other way to finde them out, but onely by searching ?

I answer, That is both the most ready and certain way, and such a way, as that, if they which undertake it be careful, there can be no mistake, especially in those who shall be found to have the marks; and for the other, if in expresse league, then by the brand; if implicite, then by the aforesaid reasons, and by their carriages. Yet they may be found by Witches words also, as when he or she hath been heard to call upon their spirits, or to speak to them, or talk of them to any, inticing them to receive such Familiars. As some of those of Rattlefden confessed that they had their Familiars from old mother *Orvis*; so had *Elizabeth Clarke* from *Anne West*, and so had her daughter from her, *Anne Clarke* from her mother, and her mother from another; so in many other particulars. As also, when they have been heard telling of killing of some man or beast, or of the hurting of them; or when they have not onely threatned revenge upon any or their cattel, but have told particularly what shall happen to such a one, and the same found true; and their boasting afterward thereof. Furthermore, if they have been heard to speak of their transportation from home to certain places of their meetings with others there, as was at Manningtree, Burton, Old, Trilbrook-bushes, and other places.

These and such like, as you may finde by their Confessions, prove a league and familiarity also with the devil.

So also by Witches deeds, as when any have seen them with their spirits, or seen to feed some creatures secretly; or where the Witch hath put such, which may be known by the smell of the place; for they will stink detestably, which we have often found true in the time they have been kept, if their Imps or Familiars came to suck in the mean time, as you may finde they often have. Also when it can be found that they have made pictures; as I have credibly heard of one of Yarmouth, who since the aforesaid time suffered there, and confessed that she had made a picture of wax or clay, I do not well remember which, of the proportion of a childe which she was intended to work her mis-

chief against, and had thrust a nail in the head thereof, and so had buried it in a place, which she then confessed; and that as that consumed, so should the childe, and did, a long time, as I was told by Master Hopkins, who was there, and took her Confession, and went to look for the picture; and that the childe (as I have heard) did soon after mend, and grew lusty again. A hellish invention.

And so many such Witchery-tricks, both of this kinde and otherwise, have thus been lately found out: as, the giving any thing to any man or other creature, which immediately caused either pains or death; as was at Brampford and other places, as you may also finde by their Confessions. So likewise by laying on their hands, or by some one or more fellow-Witches confessing their own Witchcraft, and bearing witness against others, so as they can make good the truth of their witness, and give sufficient proof thereof, as, that they have seen them with their spirits, or that they have received their spirits from them, as before said; or that they can tell when they used their Witchery-tricks to do harm, or joyned with them; as those of Manningtree and other places at their meetings used to do: or that they told them what harm they had done, or that they can shew the mark upon them, or such-like; or by the Witches confessing of giving their souls to the devil, and of the spirits which they have, and how they come by them, and the suckling of them, and such other like ways, as you may gather by their Confessions.

All which, notwithstanding, principally depends upon searching, which is the readiest way to bring them to these Confessions.

Also some witness of God himself happening upon the execrable curses of Witches upon themselves, praying God to shew some token, if they be guilty; who by bitter curses upon themselves, think thereby to clear themselves: as one *Binkes* of Haverill in Suffolk, who confessed to me that she was guilty, and amongst other things told me, that the Fly which was seen to flie about the chamber, was one of her Imps; but desired to speak with one Master *Fairecloth*, who lived not above two miles, or thereabouts, from the Town, being an able Orthodox Divine; who was immediately sent for, and came. This woman, notwithstanding her confessing to me, denied all to him, wishing
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and desiring withal, that if she were such a manner of person, that the Lord would shew an example upon her; and that if she had any Imps, that they would come whilst he was there: presently after, she cries out, A just judgement of God, they are come indeed, said she. This Imp, in the same shape it was seen formerly flying in the room, was seen fastened upon another place of her body, not far from the other marks, but not upon them, and so remained above half a quarter of an hour, till some women came neer a quarter of a mile, who saw it fastened on her body, she onely crying out to have it pulled off; which at first they were fearful to do; but at length they wiped it off, as they say, with a cloth; and what became of it after, they knew not; but it had drawn a new mark, like the other.

Was this woman fitting to live, this evidence, with others, being against her, by credible witnesses? I am sure she was living not long since, and acquitted upon her trial: for she never confessed any more, but denied what she had formerly confessed.

Here you may take notice, first, that if they have their Familiars come to them either before or after confession, they will not confesse till another time, or deny, and therein watching is of some consequence, till they be examined by a Justice of Peace, or else they must expect but few confessions. This was observed as well by those at Bury, as indeed for the most part of all those now lately detected. And secondly, the extreme pain they put them to, especially when they first draw their marks, as most of them generally confesse:

And I have observed in the time they have been kept, that if their Imps be a sucking, it is easie to be discerned and known; for then they will either covet to ruck or sit down upon the ground, or will lie shrinking up all of a heap, making sowe faces, as if they were in extreme pain: so that they may be easily discerned by their carriage and gestures, whether any thing come to them, or not, while they be kept.

Also I have read that a Witch, in some cases, hath been brought to a dead party, who hath been suspected to have been bewitched by that Witch, to touch the dead corps; which

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was no sooner touched by the Witch, but the corps bled flesh blood.

These and such-like evidences may sometimes, though peradventure not always be given from God, when he is pleased to detect such malefactors guilty of blood, as well as in other cases of murder.

And thus you may plainly see that Witches may be discovered, albeit there be some difficulty therein, and may likewise be brought to confesse their Witchcraft; as also, that there be Witches in these our days, nay I rather think more frequent then formerly: for if Satan be such a powerful deceiver and seducer, who can make an *Eve* in Paradise (being in the state of perfection) to believe him, the devil, before God; can he not seduce now? Yes certainly, more desperately, to manifest his bloody malice in these later times against mankinde, and therefore he hath now adays stirred up such cruel Witches as be wholly set upon revenge, tormenting men and women, and their cattel, and making a trade of killing and murdering: of which sort the Scripture hardly gives an instance, except it be in *Balaam*, hired to curse Gods people.

Let us therefore learn to follow the Lord, and hate Witches, Wizzards, Magicians, Soothsayers, Fortune-tellers, Inchanters, jugling companions, and all others that deal in Sorcery and Witchcraft, beholding in them a spectacle of mans misery, as being left of God unto the power of the devil, and so be moved with compassion towards them, and pray for their conversions. Yet consider, though they be left of God for a time, yet not all so left, nor so dreadfully caught by Satan, but that they may, through the mercy of God, be his servants, and converted, as none can deny but *Manasseh* was; and so put a difference between their fearful sin and their persons; hate the one, but not the other; hate the one in conscience to Gods commandment, utterly forbidding to regard such, *Levit. 19. 31.*, for it is spiritual whoredom and defilement, *Levit. 26. 6.* because such as used them were Heathens, as, the Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Chaldeans. Such as in Israel followed the Heathenish customs, were wicked and ungodly; as *Saul*, who was a murderer, *1 Sam. 22.* a profane neglecter of Gods Worship,
1 *Chron.*

1 Chron. 13. 3. and one whom God had forsaken, and taken his Spirit from, 1 Sam. 16. 14. an evil Spirit likewise was upon him, neither did God vouchsafe him any answer by sacred means, 1 Sam. 18. 16. and therefore he fell to Witches.

And what was *Manasseh*, but an idolater, and an observer of times, and so fell to Witchery, and to such as had Familiars? And the people which delighted in these, were haters of true Teachers, and believed false Prophets, Dreamers, and Diviners, *Jerem. 27. 9.* and with us, what are they, but vain loose livers, superstitious Neutrals, and such-like? But let them remember, that it will be but bitterness in the end.

Let *Saul* and *Manasseh* be a warning to all of this kinde, besides examples abroad, and in Histories, with those amongst our selves, which may serve to terrifie all good Christians from seeking unto or regarding such: for it is plainly said, *The Lord setteth his face against such, to cut them off,* Levit. 20. 6. And if God be against them, what may they look for in the end, seeing the least of these do intice people from God, in requiring faith of them, and do cause the people to run a whoring after them? as *Moses* speaketh, *Levit. 20. 6.*

Being therefore in league with Satan and abominable idolaters, inticing people from their faith in God, they are therein worthy to die, or at least to receive punishment according to the Statutes: for many of them are hurting Witches, as well as curing, and certainly to be discovered and known, with far lesse difficulty then the other; for they are to be discerned by their practices here, working openly by their cures, &c. when as the other work onely secretly and in darkness. And surely let no man doubt but that the finding out of such miscreants is an acceptable service before God, else why should the Lord have given such command to the children of *Israel*, and to have driven out the Nations from before them for those abominations, and to cause his owne people to be led into captivity for those sins, threatning judgements upon them, and likewise against those who should suffer any such abominations amongst them; as in divers places both in the Prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Isaiab*, besides many other places of Scripture both in the Old and New Testament, afor-

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mentioned. Nay, there are threatnings against such as shall but resort unto them, as in *Exod.* 20. 6. and so in divers other places before mentioned.

And doth not the Lord by the Prophet *Micah* promise to cut off Witchcraft out of the land, and that they should have no more Soothsayers, in the time that he intended to blesse a Nation? *Micah* 5. 12.

And in truth, was there no alteration in England at the beginning and continuance of the suppression of this sin, and in some Counties more then others? And who are they that have been against the prosecution of, or been partakers with such, but onely such as (without offence I may speak it) be enemies to the Church of God? I dare not instance, not onely for fear of offence, but also for suits of Law.

For was there not above forty in *Essex*, (as I take it) all in Tending hundred, there where some were discovered, illegally outlawed, contrary to the Law of this Realm, upon a Writ of Conspiracy (as I have been credibly informed) I being one of the number, as I was likewise informed by some which were my neighbours when I lived there, by the means of one who is reported to have been one of the greatest agents in *Colchester*-businessse, within the Town; when as there was never any notice given to any upon the Proclamations, as ought, I am sure? This man, with another who is likewise reported to have been fellow-agent with him in that businessse, and the two chiefest in it, was the cause that some were not questioned in that Town: but for his part, I saw him labour and endeavour all he could to keep this woman, whom he so much held withal from her legal Trial, and likewise heard him threaten both me and all that had given evidence against her, or informed what manner of woman she had been in her life and conversation, to their knowledge, or as they had heard: Yea, as I since have heard, she was condemned at that *Allize*, and by his procurement reprieved. Since which time, on her behalf, this hath been done.

Was not this an animation to all such people in those parts, when so many Gentlemen and Yeomen thereabouts should

should be thus questioned for testifying their knowledge? And was it not a fit object for the devil, to work upon others? Let the world judge. For I have heard many of them say, that the devil hath inticed them to Witchcraft by some Sermons they have heard preached; as when Ministers will preach of the power of the devil, and his tormenting the wicked, and such-like: as I have heard some say (I will not say, in the place where I now live) that the devil will sit and laugh at such and such offenders when he torments them, and will jeer at them in tormenting them, when he hath got them. A fearful thing! whenas the devil is tormented himself, and tormenteth none; for it is the wrath of God for sins committed, and the judgements of God for his mercies abused.

These and such-like speeches, I have heard them say, the devil hath made use of to perswade them to Witchery; coming to them, and asking them, How do you think to be saved? for your sins are so and so, (as he can set them out large enough) and you heard the Minister say that I will torment you: Give me your soul, and agree with me, and I will free you of hell-torments. Ignorant people have been thus seduced. Therefore it behoves all to be careful in giving the devil the least advantage, and to put a difference between their fearful sin and their persons, hating the one, but not the other, for that by corrupt nature we are no lesse apt to be misled by him then they, walking in sins and trespasses, *Ephes. 2. 1.*

But in obedience to the Law of God, and accomplishment of all things in the Scripture contained, such ought not to live amongst us, lest the Lord should deal with us as he did with others for the same abominations; much lesse should any harbour such thoughts, as that there are not any: for did not the Lord leave some of the nations, to try and prove Israel? *Judg. 2 and 3.* and doth not *S. John* say, (*Matth. 3. 7.*) *O generation, of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Do not they, when they covenant with the devil to free them of hell-torments, who cannot free himself of them, flee (as much as in them lieth) from the wrath to come?*

As for you that are of such an opinion, surely, if neither all the threatnings and judgements of God against such, be-

rides their own Confessions, will not prevail with you, methinks the mercies of God should, in that fifth of *Micah*; for it is undeniably true, that there was, is, and shall be Witches, till Christs conquest there spoken of, agreeable with that in *Revel.* 20. 1, 2, 3. which as yet cannot be: for without doubt the devil is buite in deceiving of Nations, and that not onely such as know not Christ, but others also; which could not be, if he were bound; nor the Jews or other Nations still to come: but other places of Scripture would be contradicted. And therefore every one must conclude with me, that (as yet) of Witchcraft there is no end.

Now whosoever thou beest that thinkest I ever made such gain of the way, or favoured any, and persecuted others, or took bribes, I call God to witnesse, that considering the charge of going to severall places, and Assizes, and Goal-deliveries, and the time I expended thereabouts, I never, one time with another, got so much as I did by my Calling and Practise, towards the maintenance of my family. And as for taking any money, or other thing, by way of bribe or gift, I never did, to the value of one peny, neither one way nor other, but what I openly took in the view of the Townsmen where I came; and that in many places I never received peny as yet, nor any am like, notwithstanding I have hands for satisfaction, except I should sue; but many rather fall upon me for what hath been received: but I hope such Suits will be disannulled, and that where I have been out moneys for Towns in charges and otherwise, such course will be taken, that I may be satisfied and paid with reason. And for ever accusing one wrongfully, my conscience is clear before the Almighty: and I ever desired equal punishment to all that were guilty, or at least, if any favour, that it might be to those who confessed: byt those still suffered, and others, though never so guilty, escaped. The reason why I did thus, was, because I desired so to satisfy the world in this particular, that it must needs be a great errour to save such, and not to question others at all, as before mentioned, they being all guilty alike.

And in truth, concerning him who is dead, who likewise
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was an agent in the businesse, for my part, I never knew that he either unjustly favoured any, or received bribes, or used such extremity as was reported of him; onely at first, before he or I ever went, many Towns used extremity of themselves, which after was laid on us. And I do not deny but at first he might watch some; but to my knowledge, he soon left it, or at least in such a way as not to make them uncapable: but if he ever did at first, evidencé was not taken till after they rested. And for my part, I never watched any at first, so as any way at all to disturb them in their brains; but when some have been watched before I have come to them, I have caused them to take their rest, before I would ever question with them: but now lately, and ever since the *Michaemas* after the first beginning, I never used any but as aforesaid, with consent of the Justices, and not otherwise, nor ever did. But to my knowledge, we have been both much injured in words, and he since his death: but I am certain (notwithstanding whatsoever hath been said of him) he died peaceably at Manningtree, after a long sickness of a Consumption, as many of his generation had done before him, without any trouble of conscience for what he had done, as was falsely reported of him. And though many of these things may seem very strange, and hardly to be believed, yet this is the very truth; and that he was the son of a godly Minister, and therefore without doubt within the Covenant. Therefore let no man take upon him either to speak or write more then he knoweth to be truth; for this I am able to manifest and prove to be truth.

And so I leave my self to the censure of the world, yet desire it might be left to the Almighty, who knoweth the secrets of all hearts: For, *blessed are they that do his commandments*, Revel. 22. 14.

FINIS.

