
THE
T R Y A L S

OF
Several Witches,

Lately Executed in

NEW-ENGLAND:

Published by the Special Command of the

G O V E R N O U R.

Imprimatur.

Decemb. 23.
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EDMUND BOHUN.

The Wonders of the Invisible World:

Being an Account of the

T R Y A I L S

O F

Several **W**itches,

Lately Executed in

NEW-ENGLAND:

And of several remarkable Curiosities therein Occurring.

Together with,

- I. Observations upon the Nature, the Number, and the Operations of the Devil.
- II. A short Narrative of a late outrage committed by a knot of Witches in *Swede-Land*, very much resembling, and so far explaining, that under which *New-England* has laboured.
- III. Some Councils directing a due Improvement of the Terrible things here done by the unusual and amazing Range of *Evil-Spirits* in *New-England*.
- IV. A brief Discourse upon those *Temptations* which are the more ordinary Devices of Satan.

By COTTON MATHER.

1875

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T H E

Author's Defence.

TIS, as I remember, the Learned *Scribonius*, who reports, That one of his Acquaintance, devoutly making his Prayers on the behalf of a Person molested by *Evil Spirits*, received from those *Evil Spirits* an horrible Blow over the Face: And I may my self expect not few or small Buffetings from *Evil Spirits*, for the Endeavours wherewith I am now going to encounter them. I am far from insensible, that at this extraordinary Time of the *Devils coming down in great Wrath upon us*, there are too many Tongues and Hearts thereby set on fire of *Hell*; that the various Opinions about the Witchcrafts which of later time have troubled us, are maintained by some with so much cloudy Fury, as if they could never be sufficiently stated, unless written in the Liquor wherewith Witches use to write their Covenants; and that he who becomes an Author at such a time, had need be fenced with *Iron, and the Staff of a Spear*. The unaccountable Frowardness, Austerity, Untreatableness, and Inconsistency of many Persons, every Day gives a visible Exposition of that passage, *An evil spirit from the Lord came upon Saul*; and Illustration of that Story, *There met him two possessed with Devils, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way*. To send abroad a Book, among such Readers, were a very unadvised thing, if a Man had not such Reasons to give, as I can bring, for such an Undertaking. Briefly, I hope it cannot be said, *They are all jo*: No, I hope the Body of this People, are yet in such a Temper, as to be capable of applying their Thoughts, to make a *Right Use* of the stupendous and prodigious Things that are happening among us: And because I was concern'd, when I saw that noabler Hand emitted any Essays to engage the Minds of this People, in such holy, pious, fruitful Improvements, as God would have to be made of his amazing Dispensations now upon us. THEREFORE it is, that One of the Least among the Children of *New-England*, has here done, what is done. None, but *the Father, who sees in secret*, knows the Heart-breaking Exercises, wherewith I have composed what is now

The Author's Defence.

going to be exposed, lest I should in any one thing miss of doing my designed Service for his Glory, and for his People ; but I am now somewhat comfortably assured of his favourable acceptance ; and, *I will not fear ; what can a Satan do unto me !*

Having performed something of what God required, in labouring to suit his Words unto his Works, at this Day among us, and therewithal handled a Theme that has been sometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, even of a King, it will easily be perceived, that some subordinate Ends have been considered in these Endeavours.

I have indeed set myself to countermine the whole PLOT of the Devil, against *New-England*, in every Branch of it, as far as one of my *darkness*, can comprehend such a *Work of Darkness*. I may add, that I have herein also aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good Men in another Country, a thousand Leagues off, where I have, it may be, more, or however, more considerable Friends, than in my own : And I do what I can to have that Country, now, as well as always, in the best Terms with my own. But while I am doing these things, I have been driven a little to do something likewise for myself ; I mean, by taking off the false Reports, and hard Censures about my Opinion in these Matters, the *Parter's Portions* which my *pursuit of Peace* has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto *unvaried Thoughts* are here published ; and I believe, they will be owned by most of the Ministers of God in these Colonies ; nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other sorts of *Representations*.

In fine : For the Dogmatical part of my Discourse, I want no Defence ; for the Historical part of it, I have a very Great One ; the Lieutenant-Governour of *New-England* having perused it, has done me the Honour of giving me a Shield, under the Umbrage whereof I now date to walk abroad.

Reverend

Reverend and Dear SIR,

YOU very much gratify'd me, as well as put a kind Respect upon me, when you put into my hands, your elaborate and most seasonable Discourse, entituled, The Wonders of the Invisible World. And having now perused so fruitful and happy a Composure, upon such a Subject, at this Juncture of Time; and considering the place that I hold in the Court of Oyer and Terminer, still labouring and proceeding in the Trial of the Persons accused and convicted for Witchcraft, I find that I am more nearly and highly concerned than as a meer ordinary Reader, to express my Obligation and Thankfulness to you for so great Pains; and cannot but hold myself many ways bound, even to the utmost of what is proper for me, in my present publick Capacity, to declare my singular Approbation thereof. Such is your Design, most plainly expressed throughout the whole; such your Zeal for God, your Enmity to Satan and his Kingdom, your Faithfulness and Compassion to this poor People; such the Vigour, but yet great Temper of your Spirit; such your Instruction and Counsel, your Care of Truth, your Wisdom and Dexterity in allaying and moderating that among us, which needs it; such your clear discerning of Divine Providences and Periods, now running on apace towards their Glorious Issues in the World; and finally, such your good News of The Shortness of the Devils Time, that all Good Men must needs desire, the making of this your Discourse publick to the World; and will greatly rejoyce, that the Spirit of the Lord has thus enabled you to lift up a Standard against the Infernal Enemy, that hath been coming in like a Flood upon us. I do therefore make it my particular and earnest Request unto you, that as soon as may be, you will commit the same unto the Press accordingly. I am,

Your assured Friend,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

I Live by *Neighbours* that force me to produce these undeserved Lines. But now, as when Mr. *Wilson* beholding a great Muster of Souldiers, had it by a Gentleman then present, said unto him, *Sir, I'll tell you a great Thing : Here is a mighty Body of People ; and there is not Seven of them all, but what loves Mr. Wilson.* That gracious Man presently and pleasantly reply'd : *Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that ; here is a mighty Body of People, and there is not so much as One among them all, but Mr. Wilson loves him.* Somewhat so : 'Tis possible, that among this Body of People, there may be few that love the Writer of this Book ; but give me leave to boast so far, there is not one among all this Body of People, whom this *Mather* would not study to serve, as well as to love. With such a *Spirit of Love,* is the Book now before us written : I appeal to all *this World ;* and if *this World* will deny me the Right of acknowledging so much, I appeal to the *other,* that it is not written with an *Evil Spirit :* for which cause, I shall not wonder, if *Evil Spirits* be exasperated by what is written, as the *Sadduces* doubtless were with what was discoursed in the Days of our Saviour. I only demand the *Justice,* that others read it, with the same Spirit wherewith I writ it.

ENCHANT.

ENCHANTMENTS

ENCOUNTER'D.

§ I. **I**T was as long ago, as the Year 1637. that a Faithful Minister of the Church of *England*, whose Name was Mr. Edward Symons, did in a Sermon afterwards Printed, thus express himself; 'At *New-England* 'now the Sun of Comfort begins to appear, and the glorious Day-
'Star to show It self; — *Sed Venient Annis Seclæ Seris*, there will come
'Times in after Ages, when the *Clouds will over-shadow and darken the Sky*
'there. Many now promise to themselves nothing but successive Happiness
'there, which for a time through God's Mercy they may enjoy; and I pray
'God, they may a long time; but in this World there is no Happiness perpe-
'tual. An *Observation*, or I had almost said, an *Inspiration*, very dismally
now verif'd upon us! It has been affirm'd by some who best knew *New-England*,
That the World will do *New-England* a great piece of Injustice, if it acknow-
ledge not a measure of Religion, Loyalty, Honesty and Industry, in the People
there, beyond what is to be found with any other People for the Number of
them. When I did a few years ago, publish a Book, which mentioned a few
memorable Witchcrafts, committed in this Country; the excellent *Baxter*,
graced the Second Edition of that Book, with a kind Preface, wherein he sees
cause to say, *If any are Scandalized, that New-England, a place of as serious*
Piety, as any I can hear of, under Heaven, should be troubled so much with
Witches; I think, 'tis no wonder: Where will the Devil show most Malice, but
where he is hated, and hated most: And I hope, the Country will still deserve
and answer the Charity so expressed by that Reverend Man of God. Who-
ever travels over this Wilderness, will see it richly bespangled with Evangeli-
cal Churches, whose Pastors are holy, able, and painful Overseers of their Flocks,
lively Preachers, and vertuous Livers; and such as in their several Neighbourly
Associations, have had their Meetings whereat Ecclesiastical Matters of common
Concernment are considered: *Churches*, whose Communicants have been seriously
examined about their Experiences of Regeneration, as well as about their
Knowledge, and Belief, and blameless Conversation, before their admission to
the Sacred Communion; although others of less but hopeful Attainments in
Christianity are not ordinarily deny'd Baptism for themselves and theirs;
Churches, which are shy of using any thing in the Worship of God, for
which they cannot see a Warrant of God; but with whom yet the Names of
Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Antipedobaptist, are swallowed
up in that of *Christian*; Persons of all those Perswasions being taken into our
Fellow.

Fellowship, when visible Goodness has recommended them: Churches, which usually do within themselves manage their own Discipline, under the Conduct of their Elders; but yet call in the help of Synods upon Emergencies, or Aggrievances: Churches, Lastly, wherein Multitudes are growing ripe for Heaven every day; and as fast as these are taken off, others are daily rising up. And by the Presence and Power of the Divine Institutions thus maintained in the Country. We are still so happy, that I suppose there is no Land in the Universe more free from the debauching, and the debasing Vices of Ungodliness. The Body of the People are hitherto so disposed, that *Swearing, Sabbath-breaking, Whoring, Drunkenness*, and the like, do not make a Gentleman, but a Monster, or a Goblin, in the vulgar Estimation. All this notwithstanding, we must humbly confess to our God, that we are miserably degenerated from the first Love of our Predecessors; however we boast our selves a little, when Men would go to trample upon us, and we venture to say, *Whereinsoever any is bold (we speak foolishly) we are bold as ye*. The first Planters of these Colonies were a chosen Generation of Men, who were first so pure, as to dislike many things which they thought wanted Reformation elsewhere; and yet withal so peaceable, that they embraced a voluntary Exile in a squalid, horrid, *American* Desert, rather than to live in Contentions with their Brethren. Those good Men imagined that they should leave their Posterity in a place, where they should never see the Inroads of Profanity, or Superstition: And a famous Person returning hence, could in a Sermon before the Parliament, profess, *I have now been seven Years in a Country, where I never saw one Man drunk, or heard one Oath sworn, or heard one Beggar in the Streets all the while*. Such great Persons as *Budæus*, and others, who mistook *Sir Thomas Moor's UTOPIA*; for a Country really existent, and stirr'd up some Divines charitably to undertake a Voyage thither, might now have certainly found a Truth in their Mistake, *New-England* was a true *Utopia*. But, alas, the Children and Servants of those old Planters must needs afford many, degenerate Plants, and there is now risen up a Number of People, otherwise inclined than our *Joshua's*, and the Elders that out-liv'd them. Those two things our holy Progenitors, and our happy Advantages make Omissions of Duty, and such Spiritual Disorders as the whole World abroad is overwhelmed with, to be as provoking in us, as the most flagitious Wickednesses committed in other places; and the Ministers of God are accordingly severe in their Testimonies: But in short, those Interests of the Gospel, which were the Errand of our Fathers into these Ends of the Earth, have been too much neglected and postponed, and the Attainments of an handsome Education, have been too much undervalued, by Multitudes that have not fallen into Exorbitances of Wickedness; and sine, especially of our young Ones, when they have got abroad from under the Restraints here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicious. Hence 'tis, that the Happiness of *New-England* has been but for a time, as it was foretold, and not for a long time, as has been desir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity has long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reason imaginable to ascribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our manifold *Apostasies*; we make no right use of our *Disasters*: If we do not, *Remember whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the first Works*. But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Consideration with us: There is a further Cause of our Afflictions, whose due must be given him

§ II. The *New-Englanders* are a People of God settled in those, which were once the *Devil's Territories*; and it may easily be supposed that the *Devil* was exceedingly disturbed, when he perceived such a People here accomplishing the Promise of o'd made unto our Blessed Jesus, *That He should have the Utmost parts of the Earth for his Possession.* There was not a greater Uproar among the *Ephesians*, when the Gospel was first brought among them, than there was among, *The Powers of the Air* (after whom those *Ephesians* walked) when first the *Silver Trumpets* of the Gospel here made the *Joyful sound.* The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all sorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and so much of the Church, as was *Planted into this Wilderness*, immediately found, *The Serpent cast out of his mouth a Flood for the carrying of it away.* I believe, that never were more *Satanical Devices* used for the Unsetting of any People under the Sun, than what have been Employ'd for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here *Planted*, *Casting out the Heathen*, and preparing a *Room* before it, and causing it to take deep Root, and sit the Land, so that it sent its *Boughs* unto the *Atlantic Sea* Eastward, and its *Branches* unto the *Connecticut River* Westward, and the *Hills* were covered with the shadow thereof. But, All those Attempts of Hell, have hitherto been Abortive, many an *Eben-tzer* has been Erected unto the Praise of God, by His Poor People here; and, *Having obtained Help from God*, we continue to this Day. Wherefore the Devil is now making one Attempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprizing, more Inard'd with unintelligible Circumstances than any that we have hitherto Encountred; an Attempt so *Critical*, that if we get well through, we shall soon Enjoy *Halcyon Days* with all the *Vultures* of Hell Trodden under our Feet. He has wanted his *Incarnate Legions* to Persecute us, as the People of God have in the other Hemisphere been Persecuted: he has therefore drawn forth his more *Spiritual* ones to make an Attacque upon us. We have been advised by some *Credible Christians* yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder*, and Executed in this place more than *Forty Years* ago, did then give Notice of, *An Horrible PLOT* against the Country by *WITCHCRAFT*, and a *Foundation of WITCHCRAFT* then laid, which if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country. And we have now with Horror seen the Discovery of such a *Witchcraft*! An Army of *Devils* is horribly broke in upon the place which is the Center, and after a sort, the *First-born* of our *English* Settlements: and the Houses of the Good People there are fill'd with the doleful Shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by invisible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After the *Mischiefs* there Endeavoured, and since in part Conquered, the terrible Plague, of *Evil Angels*, hath made its Progress into some other places, where other Persons have been in like manner Diabolically handled. These our poor Afflicted Neighbours, quickly after they become *Infected* and *Infested* with these *Demons*, arrive to a Capacity of Discerning those which they conceive the *Shapes* of their Troublers; and notwithstanding the Great and Just Suspicion, that the *Demons* might Impose the *Shapes* of Innocent Persons in their *Spectral Exhibitions* upon the Sufferers, (which may perhaps prove no small part of the *Witch-Plot* in the issue.) yet many of the Persons thus Represented, being Examined, several of them have been Convicted of a very Damnable *witchcraft*: yea, more than One *Twenty* have Confessed, that they have Signed^d unto a *Book*, which the Devil show'd them, and Engaged in his Hellish Design of *Bewitching*, and Ruining our Land. We know

know not, at least *I* know not, how far the *Delusions* of Satan may be Interwoven into some Circumstances of the *Confessions*; but one would think, all the Rules of Understanding Humane Affairs are at an end, if after so many most Voluntary Harmonious *Confessions*, made by Intelligent Persons of all Ages, in sundry Towns, at several Times, we must not believe the *main strokes* wherein those *Confessions* all agree: especially when we have a thousand preternatural Things every day before our eyes, wherein the *Confessors* do acknowledge their Concernment, and give Demonstration of their being so Concerned. If the Devils now can strike the minds of men with any *Poisons* of so fine a Composition and Operation, that scores of Innocent People shall Unite, in *Confessions* of a Crime, which we see actually committed, it is a thing prodigious, beyond the Wonders of the former Ages, and it threatens no less than a sort of a Dissolution upon the World. Now, by these *Confessions* 'tis Agreed, *That* the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of *Witches* in the Country, and by the help of *Witches* has dreadfully increased that Knot: *That* these *Witches* have driven a Trade of Commissioning their *Confederate Spirits*, to do all sorts of Mischief to the Neighbours, whereupon there have ensued such Mischievous consequences upon the Bodies and Estates of the Neighbourhood, as could not otherwise be accounted for: yea, *That* at prodigious *Witch-Meetings*, the Wretches have proceeded so far, as to Concert and Consult the Methods of Rooting out the Christian Religion from this Country, and setting up instead of it, perhaps a more gross *Diabolism*, than ever the World saw before. And yet it will be a thing little short of *Miracle*, if in so spread a Business as this, the Devil should not get in some of his Juggles, to confound the Discovery of all the rest.

§. III. Doubtless, the Thoughts of many will receive a great Scandal against *New-England*, from the Number of Persons that have been Accused, or Suspected, for *Witchcraft*, in this Country: But it were easie to offer many things, that may Answer and Abate the Scandal. If the Holy God should any where permit the Devils to hook two or three wicked *Scholars* into *Witchcraft*, and then by their Assistance to Range wth their *Poisonous Insinuations* among Ignorant, Envious, Discontented People, till they have cunningly decoy'd them into some sudden *Act*, whereby the Toys of Hell shall be perhaps inextricably cast over them: what Country in the World would not afford *Witches*, numerous to a Prodigy? Accordingly, The Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, yea, and *England* it self, as well as the Province of *New-England*, have had their Storms of *Witchcrafts* breaking upon them, which have made most Lamentable Devastations: which also I wish, may be *The Last*. And it is not unesie to be Imagined, That God has not brought out all the *Witchcrafts* in many other Lands wth such a speedy, dreadful, destroying *Jealousie*, as burns forth upon such *High Treasons*, committed here in *A Land of Uprightness*: Transgressors may more quickly here than elsewhere become a Prey to the Vengeance of Him, *Who has Eyes like a Flame of Fire*, and, *who walks in the midst of the Golden Candle-sticks*. Moreover, There are many parts of the World, who if they do upon this Occasion insult over this People of God, need only to be told the Story of what happened at *Loim*, in the Dutchy of *Galie*, where a Popish Curate having ineffectually try'd many Charms to Eject the Devil out of a Damsel there possessed, he passionately bid the Devil come out of her into himself; but the Devil answered him, *Quid mihi Opus, est eum tentare, quem Novissimo die, Jure Optimo sum possessurus?* That is, *What need I meddle with one whom I am sure to have, and hold at the Last-day as my own for ever!*

But besides all this, give me leave to add, it is to be hoped, That among the Persons represented by the *Spectres* which now afflict our Neighbours, there will be found some that never explicitly contracted with any of the *Evil Angels*. The Witches have not only intimated, but some of them acknowledged, That they have plotted the Representations of *Innocent Persons*, to cover and shelter themselves in their Witchcrafts; now, altho' our good God has hitherto generally preserved us from the Abuse therein design'd by the Devils for us, yet who of us can exactly state, *How far our God may for our Chastisement permit the Devil to proceed in such an Abuse?* It was the Result of a Discourse, lately held at a Meeting of some very Pious and Learned Ministers among us, *That the Devils may sometimes have a permission to Represent an Innocent Person, as Tormenting such as are under Diabolical Molestations: But that such things are Rare, and Extraordinary; especially when such matters come before Civil Judicature.* The Opinion expressed with so much Caution and Judgment, seems to be the prevailing Sense of many others, who are men Eminently Cautious and Judicious; and have both *Argument* and *History* to Countenance them in it. It is *Rare and Extraordinary*, for an Honest *Naboth* to have his Life it self Sworn away by two *Children of Belial*, and yet no Infringement hereby made on the Rectoral Righteousness of our Eternal Sovereign, whose *Judgments are a Great Deep*, and who gives none Account of His matters. Thus, although the Appearance of Innocent Persons in *Spectral Exhibitions* afflicting the Neighbourhood, be a thing *Rare and Extraordinary*; yet who can be sure, that the great *Belial* of Hell must needs be always *Tokid* up from this piece of Mischief? The best man that ever lived has been called a *Witch*: and why may not this too usual and unhappy Symptom of A *Witch*, even a *Spectral Representation*, befall a person that shall be none of the worst? Is it not possible? The *Laplanners* will tell us 'tis possible: for Persons to be unwittingly attended with officious *Demons*, bequeathed unto them, and impos'd upon them, by Relations that have been *Witches*. Query, also, Whether at a Time, when the Devil with his *Witches* are engag'd in a War upon a people, some certain steps of ours, in such a War, may not be follow'd with our appearing so and so for a while among them in the Visions of our afflicted *Forlorns*? And, Who can certainly say, what other Degrees or Methods of sinning, besides that of a *Diabolical Compact*, may give the Devils advantage to act in the Shape of them that have miscarried? Besides what may happen for a while, to try the *Patience* of the *Vortexus*. May not some that have been ready upon feeble grounds uncharitably to Censure and Reproach other people, be punished for it by *Spectres* for a while exposing them to Censure and Reproach? And furthermore, I pray, that it may be considered, Whether a World of Magical Tricks often used in the World, may not insensibly oblige *Devils* to wait upon the Superstitious Users of them. A Witty Writer against *Saddarism* has this Observation, That persons who never made any express Contract with *Apostate Spirits*, yet may Act strange Things by *Diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the use of those wicked *Forms and Arts*, that the Devil first imparted unto his Confederates. And he adds, *We know not but the Laws of the Dark Kingdom may Enjyn a particular Attendance upon all those that practice their Mysteries, whether they know them to be theirs or no.* Some of them that have been cry'd out upon, as employing *Evil Spirits* to hurt our Land, have been known to be most bloody *Fortant-Tellers*; and some of them have confessed, That when they told *Fortunes*, they would pretend the Rules of *Chirromancy* and the like Ignorant Sciences, but indeed they had no Rule (they said)

but this, *The things were then Darted into their minds. Darted! Ye Wretches; By whom, I pray? Surely by none but the Devils; who, tho' perhaps they did not exactly Foreknow all the thus Predicted Contingencies; yet having once Foretold them, they stood bound in Honour now to use their Interest, which alas, in This World, is very great, for the Accomplishment of their own Predictions. There are others, that have used most wicked Sorceries to gratifie their unlawful Curiosities, or to prevent Inconveniencies in Man and Beast; Sorceries, which I will not Name, lest I should by Naming, Teach them. Now, some Devil is evermore Invited into the Service of the Person that shall Practise these Witchcrafts; and If they have gone on Impenitently in these Communions with any Devil, the Devil may perhaps become at last a Familiar to them, and so assume their Livery, that they cannot shake him off in any way, but that One, which I would most heartily prescribe unto them, Namely, That of a deep and long Repentance. Should these Impieties have been committed in such a place as New-England, for my part I should not wonder, if when Devils are Exposing the Greater Witches among us, God permit them to bring in these Lesser ones with the rest for their perpetual Humiliation. In the Issue therefore, may it not be found, that New-England is not so stock'd with Rattle Snakes, as was imagined.*

§ IV. But I do not believe, that the progress of *Witchcraft* among us, is all the Plot which the Devil is managing in the *Witchcraft* now upon us. It is judged, That the Devil rais'd the Storm, whereof we read in the Eighth Chapter of *Matthew*, on purpose to over-set the little Vessel wherein the Disciples of Our Lord were Embarqued with Him. And it may be fear'd, that in the *Horrible Tempest* which is now upon ourselves, the design of the Devil is to sink that Happy Settlement of Government, wherewith Almighty God has graciously enclined Their Majesties to favour us. We are blessed with a GOVERNOUR, than whom no man can be more willing to serve Their Majesties, or this their Province: He is continually venturing his *All* to do it: and were not the Interests of his Prince dearer to him than his own, he could not but soon be weary of the *Helm*, whereat he sits. We are under the Influence of a LIEUTENANT GOVERNOUR, who not only by being admirably accomplished both with Natural and Acquired Endowments, is fitted for the Service of Their Majesties, but also with an unspotted Fidelity applies himself to that Service. Our COUNCELLOURS are some of our most Eminent Persons, and as Loyal Subjects to the Crown, as hearty lovers of their Country. Our Constitution also is attended with singular Priviledges; All which Things are by the Devil exceedingly *Envy'd* unto us. And the Devil will doubtless take this occasion for the raising of such complaints and clamours, as may be of pernicious consequence unto some part of our present Settlement, if he can so far *Impose*. But that which most of all Threatens us, in our present Circumstances, is the *Misunderstanding*, and so the *Animosity*, whereinto the *Witchcraft* now Raging, has Enchanted us. The Embroiling, first, of our *Spirits*, and then of our *Affairs*, is evidently as considerable a Branch of the Hellish Intrigue which now vexes us as any one Thing whatsoever. The Devil has made us like a *Troubled Sea*, and the *Mire* and *Mud* begins now also to heave up apace. Even Good and Wise Men suffer themselves to fall into their *Paroxysms*; and the Shake which the Devil is now giving us, fetches up the *Dirt* which before lay still at the bottom of our sinful Hearts. If we allow the Mad Dogs of Hell to poyson us by biting us,

we shall imagine that we see nothing but such things about us, and like such things fly upon all that we see. Were it not for what is I N U S, for my part, I should not fear a thousand Legions of Devils: 'tis by our Quarrels that we spoil our Prayers; and if our humble, zealous, and united Prayers are once hindered: Alas, the *Philistines* of Hell have cut our Locks for us; they will then blind us, mock us, ruine us: In truth, I cannot altogether blame it, if People are a little transported, when they conceive all the secular Interests of themselves and their Families at the Stake; and yet at the sight of these Heart-burnings, I cannot forbear the Exclamation of the Sweet-spirited *Austin*, in his Pacificatory Epistle to *Jerom*, on the Contest with *Ruffin*, *O misera & miseranda Conditio!* O Condition, truly miserably! But what shall be done to cure these Distractions? It is wonderfully necessary, that some healing Attempts be made at this time: And I must needs confess (if I may speak so much) like a *Naxianzen*, I am so desirous of a share in them, that if, being thrown overboard, were needful to allay the Storm, I should think Dying, a Trifle to be undergone, for so great a Blessedness.

§ V. I would most importunately In the first place, entreat every Man to maintain an holy Jealousie over his own Soul at this time, and think; May not the Devil make me, though ignorantly and unwillingly, to be an Instrument of doing something that he would have to be done? For my part, I freely own my Suspicion, lest something of Enchantment, have reach'd more Persons and Spirits among us, than we are well aware of. But then, let us more generally agree to maintain a kind Opinion one of another. That Charity without which, even our giving our Bodies to be burned would profit nothing, uses to proceed by this Rule; It is kind, it is not easily provok'd, it thinks no Evil, it believes all things, hopes all things. But if we disregard this Rule of Charity, we shall indeed give our Body Politick to be burned. I have heard it affirmed, That in the late great Flood upon *Connollicus*, those Creatures which could not but have quarrell'd at another time, yet now being driven together very agreeably stood by one another. I am sure we shall be worse than *Brutes* if we fly upon one another at a time when the Floods of *Belial* make us afraid. On the one side; [Alas, my Pen, must thou write the word, *Side* in the Business?] There are very worthy Men, who having been call'd by God, when and where this Witchcraft first appeared upon the Stage to encounter it, are earnestly desirous to have it sifted unto the bottom of it. And I pray, which of us all that should live under the continual Impressions of the Tortures, Outcries, and Havocks which Devils confessedly Commissioned by Witches make among their distressed Neighbours, would not have a Bias that way beyond other Men? Persons this way disposed have been Men eminent for Wisdom and Vertue, and Men act'd by a noble Principle of Conscience: Had not Conscience (of Duty to God) prevailed above other Considerations with them, they would not for all they are worth in the World have medled in this Thorny business. Have there been any disputed Methods used in discovering the Works of Darkness? It may be none but what have had great Precedents in other parts of the World; which may, though not altogether justifie, yet much alleviate a Mistake in us if there should happen to be found any such mistake in so dark a Matter. They have done what they have done, with multiplied Addresses to God for his Guidance, and have not been insensible how

much they have expos'd themselves in what they have done. Yea, they would gladly contrive and receive an expedient, how the shedding of Blood, might be spared, by the Recovery of Witches, not gone beyond the Reach of Pardon. And after all, they invite all good Men. in Terms to this purpose, 'Being amazed at the Number and Quality of those accused of late, we do not know but Satan by his Wiles may have entrappted some Innocent Persons; and therefore should earnestly and humbly desire the most Critical Enquiry upon the place, to find out the Falacy; that there may be none of the Servants of the Lord, with the Worshippers of *Baal*. I may also add, That whereas, if once a Witch do ingeniously confess among us, no more *Spittres* do in their Shapes after this, trouble the Vicinage; if any guilty Creatures will accordingly to so good purpose confess their Crime to any Minister of God, and get out of the Snare of the Devil, as no Minister will discover such a Conscientious Confession, so I believe none in the Authority will press him to discover it; but rejoice'd in a Soul sav'd from Death. On the other side [if I must again use the word *Side*, which yet I hope to live to blot out] there are very worthy Men, who are not a little dissatisfied at the Proceedings in the Prosecution of this Witchcraft. And why? Not because they would have any such abominable thing, defended from the Strokes of Impartial Justice. No, those Reverend Persons who gave in this Advice unto the Honourable Council; 'That Presumptions, whereupon Persons may be Committed, and much more Convictions, whereupon Persons may be Condemned, as guilty of Witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable, than barely the Accused Persons being represented by a *Spittre* unto the Afflicted; Nor are Alterations made in the Sufferers, by a Look or Touch of the Accused, to be esteem'd an infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently liable to be abused by the Devils Legerdemairs: I say, those very Men of God most conscientiously Subjoined this Article to that Advice.— 'Nevertheless we cannot but humbly recommend unto the Government, the speedy and vigorous Prosecution of such as have rendred themselves Obnoxious; according to the best Directions given in the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the *English* Nation for the Detection of Witchcraft. Only 'tis a most commendable Cautiousness, in those gracious Men, to be very shy lest the Devil get so far into our Faith, as that for the sake of many Truths which we find he tells us, we come at length to believe any Lyes, wherewith he may abuse us: whereupon, what a Desolation of Names would soon ensue, besides a thousand other pernicious Consequences? and lest there should be any such Principles taken up. as when put into Practice must unavoidably cause the *Righteous to perish with the Wicked*; or procure the Bloodshed of any Persons, like the *Gibionites*, whom some learned Men suppose to be under a false Notion of Witches, by *Saul* exterminated.

They would have all due steps taken for the Extinction of Witches; but they would fain have them to be sure ones; nor is it from any thing, but the real and hearty goodness of such Men, that they are loth to surmise ill of other Men, till there be the fullest Evidence for the surmises. As for the Honourable Judges that have been hitherto in the Commission, they are above my Consideration: wherefore I will only say thus much of them, That such of them as I have the Honour of a Personal Acquaintance with, are Men of an excellent Spirit; and as at first they went about the work for which they were Commission'd, with

a very great aversion, so they have still been under Heart-breaking Sollicitudes, how they might therein best serve both God and Man? In fine, Have there been faults on any side fallen into? Surely, they have at worst been but the faults of a well-meaning Ignorance. On every side then, why should not we endeavour with amicable Correspondencies, to help one another out of the Snares wherein the Devil would involve us? To wrangle the Devil out of the Country, will be truly a New Experiment: Alas! we are not aware of the Devil, if we do not think, that he aims at inflaming us one against another; and shall we suffer our selves to be Devil-ridden? or by any unadvisableness contribute unto the Widening of our Breaches?

To say no more, there is a published and credible Relation; which affirms, That very lately in a part of England, where some of the Neighbourhood were quarrelling, a Raven from the Top of a Tree very articulately and unaccountably cry'd out, *Read the Third of the Colossians and the Fifteenth!* Were I my self to chuse what sort of Bird I would be transformed into, I would say, *O that I had wings like a Dove!* Nevertheless, I will for once do the Office, which as it seems, Heaven sent that Raven upon; even to beg, *That the Peace of God may Rule in our Hearts.*

§ VI. 'Tis necessary that we unite in every thing: but there are especially two Things wherein our Union must carry us along together. We are to unite in our Endeavours to deliver our distressed Neighbours, from the horrible Annoyances and Molestations with which a dreadful Witchcraft is now persecuting of them. To have an hand in any thing, that may stifle or obstruct a Regular Detection of that Witchcraft, is what we may well with an holy fear avoid. Their Majesties good Subjects must not every day be torn to pieces by horrid Witches, and those bloody Fekns, be left wholly unprosecuted. The Witchcraft is a business that will not be sham'd, without plunging us into sore Plagues, and of long continuance. But then we are to unite in such Methods for this deliverance, as may be unquestionably safe, lest the latter end be worse than the beginning. And here, what shall I say? I will venture to say thus much, That we are safe, when we make just as much use of all Advice from the invisible World, as God sends it for. It is a safe Principle, That when God Almighty permits any Spirits from the unseen Regions, to visit us with surprizing Intermissions, there is then something to be enquired after; we are then to enquire of one another, What Cause there is for such things? The peculiar Government of God, over the unbodied Intelligences, is a sufficient Foundation for this Principle. When there has been a Murder committed, an Apparition of the slain Party accusing of any Man, altho' such Apparitions have ofner spoke true than false, is not enough to Convict the Man as guilty of that Murder; but yet it is a sufficient occasion for Magistrates to make a particular Enquiry, whether such a Man have afforded any ground for such an Accusation. Even so a Spectre exactly resembling such or such a Person, when the Neighbourhood are tormented by such Spectres, may reasonably make Magistrates inquisitive whether the Person so represented have done or said any thing that may argue their confederacy with Evil Spirits, altho' it may be defective enough in point of Conviction; especially at a time, when tis possible, some over-powerful Conjuror may have got the skill of thus exhibiting the Shapes of all sorts of Persons, on purpose to stop the Prosecution of the Wretches, whom due Enquiries thus provoked, might have made obnoxious unto Justice.

Quere, Whether if God would have us to proceed any further than bare *Enquiry*, upon what Reports there may come against any Man, from the World of *Spirits*, he will not by his Providence at the same time have brought into our hands, these more evident and sensible things, whereupon a man is to be esteem'd a Criminal. But I will venture to say this further, that it will be safe to account the Names as well as the Lives of our Neighbors; two considerable things to be brought under a Judicial Process, until it be found by Humane Observations that the Peace of Mankind is thereby disturbed. We are Humane Creatures, and we are safe while we say, they must be Humane Witnesses, who also have in the particular Act of Seeing, or Hearing, which enables them to be Witnesses, had no more than Humane Assurances, that are to turn the Scale when Laws are to be executed. And upon this Head I will further add: A wise and a just Magistrate, may so far give way to a common Stream of Dissatisfaction, as to forbear acting up to the height of his own Persuasion, about what may be judged convictive of a Crime, whose Nature shall be so abstruse and obscure, as to raise much Disputation. Tho' he may not do what he should leave undone, yet he may leave undone something that else he could do, when the Publick Safety makes an *Exigency*.

§ VII. I was going to make one Venture more; that is, to offer some safe Rules, for the finding out of the Witches, which are at this day our accursed Troublers: but this were a Venture too *Presumptuous* and *Icarian* for me to make, I leave that unto those Excellent and Judicious Persons, with whom I am not worthy to be numbred: All that I shall do, shall be to lay before my Readers, a brief *Synopsis* of what has been written on that Subject, by a *Triumvirate* of as Eminent Persons as have ever handled it. I will begin with,

An ABSTRACT of Mr. PERKINS'S Way for the Discovery of WITCHES.

I. **T**Here are Presumptions, which do at least probably and conjecturally note one to be a Witch. These give occasion to Examine, yet they are no sufficient Causes of Conviction.

II. If any Man or Woman be notoriously defamed for a Witch, this yields a strong Suspicion. Yet the Judge ought carefully to look, that the Report be made by Men of Honesty and Credit.

III. If a Fellow-Witch, or Magician, give Testimony of any Person to be a Witch; this indeed is not sufficient for Condemnation; but it is a fit Presumption to cause a strict Examination.

IV. If after Cursing their fellow Death, or at least some mischief: for Witches are wont to practise their mischievous Facts, by Cursing and Banning: This also is a sufficient matter of Examination, tho' not of Conviction.

V. If after Enmity, Quarrelling, or Threatning, a present mischief does follow; that also is a great Presumption

VI. If the Party suspected be the Son or Daughter, the man-servant or maid-servant, the Familiar Friend, near Neighbor, or old Companion, of a known and convicted Witch; this may be likewise a Presumption; for Witchcraft is an Art that may be learned, and conveyed from man to man.

VII. Some add this for a Presumption: If the Party suspected be found to have the Devil's mark; for it is commonly thought, when the Devil makes his Covenant with them, he alwaies leaves his mark behind them, whereby he knows them for his own: — a mark whereof no evident Reason in Nature can be given.

VIII. Lastly, If the party examined be Unconstant, or contrary to himself, in his deliberate Answers, it argueth a Guilty Conscience, which stops the freedom of Utterance. And yet there are causes of Astonishment, which may befall the Good, as well as the Bad.

IX. But then there is a Conviction, discovering the Witch, which must proceed from just and sufficient proofs, and not from bare presumptions.

X. Scratching of the suspected party, and Recovery thereupon, with several other such weak Proofs; as also, the flitting of the suspected Party, thrown upon the Water; these Proofs are so far from being sufficient, that some of them are, after a sort, practices of Witchcraft.

XI. The Testimony of some Wizzard, tho' offering to shew the Witches Face in a Glass: This, I grant, may be a good Presumption, to cause a strait Examination; but a sufficient Proof of Conviction it cannot be. If the Devil tell the Grand Jury, that the person in question is a Witch, and offers withal to confirm the same by Oath, should the Inquest receive his Oath or Accusation to condemn the man? Assuredly no. And yet, that is as much as the Testimony of another Wizzard, who only by the Devil's help reveals the Witch.

XII. If a man, being dangerously sick, and like to dye, upon Suspicion, will take it on his Death, that such a one hath bewitched him, it is an Allegation of the same nature, which may move the Judge to examine the Party, but it is of no moment for Conviction.

XIII. Among the sufficient means of Conviction, the first is, the free and voluntary Confession of the Crime, made by the party suspected and accused, after Examination. I say not, that a bare Confession is sufficient, but a Confession after due Examination, taken upon pregnant presumptions. What needs now more witness or further Enquiry?

XIV. There is a second sufficient Conviction, by the Testimony of two Witnesses, of good and honest Report, avouching before the Magistrate, upon their own Knowledge, these two things: either that the party accused hath made a League with the Devil, or hath done some known practice of witchcraft. And, all Arguments that do necessarily prove either of these, being brought by two sufficient Witnesses, are of force fully to convince the party suspected.

XV. If it can be proved, that the party suspected hath called upon the Devil, or desired his Help, this is a pregnant proof of a League formerly made between them.

XVI. If it can be proved, that the party hath entertained a Familiar Spirit, and had Conference with it, in the likeness of some visible Creatures; here is Evidence of witchcraft.

XVII. If the witnesses affirm upon Oath, that the suspected person hath done any action or work which necessarily infers a Covenant made, or, that he hath used Enchantments

enchancements, divined things before they come to pass, and that peremptorily, raised Tempests, caused the Form of a dead man to appear; it proveth sufficiently, that he or she is a Witch. This is the Substance of Mr. Perkins.

Take next the Sum of Mr. Gaules Judgment about the Detection of Witches.

1. Some Tokens for the Trial of Witches, are altogether unwarrantable. Such are the old Paganish Sign, the Witches Long Eyes; the Tradition of Witches not weeping; the casting of the Witch into the Water, with Thumbs and Toes ty'd a-cross. And many more such Marks, which if they are to know a Witch by, certainly 'tis no other Witch, but the User of them.

2. There are some Tokens for the Trial of Witches, more probable, and yet not so certain as to afford Conviction. Such are strong and long Suspicion: Suspected Ancestors, some appearance of Fact, the Corps bleeding upon the Witches touch, the Testimony of the Party bewitched, the supposed Witches unusual Bodily marks, the Witches usual Cursing and Banning, the Witches lewd and naughty kind of Life.

3. Some Signs there are of a Witch, more certain and infallible. As, firstly, Declining of Judicature, or faltering, faulty, unconstant, and contrary Answers, upon judicial and deliberate examination. Secondly, When upon due Enquiry into a person's Faith and Manners, there are found all or most of the Causes which produce Witchcraft, namely, God forsaking, Satan invading, particular Sins disposing; and lastly, a compact compleating all.

Thirdly, The Witches free Confession, together with full Evidence of the Fact. Confession without Fact may be a meer Delusion, and Fact without Confession may be a meer Accident.

4thly, The semblable Gestures and Actions of suspected Witches, with the comparable Expressions of Affections, which in all Witches have been observ'd and found very much alike.

Fifthly, The Testimony of the Party bewitched, whether pining or dying, together with the joynt Oaths of sufficient persons, that have seen certain prodigious Pranks or Fears, wrought by the Party accused.

4. Among the most unhappy circumstances to convict a Witch, one is, a maligning and oppugning the Word, Work, and Worship of God, and by any extraordinary sign seeking to seduce any from it. See *Deut.* 13. 1, 2. *Mat.* 24. 24. *Act.* 13. 8, 10. *2 Tim.* 3. 8. Do but mark well the places, and for this very Property (of thus opposing and perverting) they are all there concluded arrant and absolute Witches.

5. It is not requisite, that so palpable Evidence of Conviction should here come in, as in other more sensible matters; 'tis enough, if there be but so much circumstantial Proof or Evidence, as the Substance, Matter, and Nature of such an abstruse Mystery of Iniquity will well admit. [I suppose he means, that whereas in other Crimes we look for more direct proofs, in this there is a greater use of consequential ones.]

But I could heartily wish, that the Juries were empanell'd of the most eminent Physicians, Lawyers, and Divines that a Country could afford. In the mean time 'tis not to be called a Toleration, if Witches escape, where Conviction is wanting. To this purpose our Gaule.

I will transcribe a little from one Author more, 'tis the Judicious Bernard of Batcomb, who in his *Guide to grand Jurymen*, after he has mention'd several things that are throw'd Presumptions of a Witch, proceeds to such things as are the Convictions of such an one. And he says, 'A witch in league with the Devil is convicted by these

these Evidences ; I. By a witches *Mark* ; which is upon the Baser sort of Witches ; and this, by the Devils either Sucking or Touching of them. *Tertullian* says, *It is the Devils custome to mark his.* And note, That this mark is *Insensible*, and being prick'd it will not Bleed. Sometimes, its like a *Teate* ; sometimes but a *Blewish Spot* ; sometimes a *Red one* ; and sometimes the *flesh Sunk* : but the Witches do sometimes cover them. II. By the Witches *Words*. As when they have been heard calling on, speaking to, or Talking of their *Familiars* ; or, when they have been heard *Telling of Hurt* they have done to man or beast : Or when they have been heard *Threatning* of such Hurt ; Or if they have been heard *Relating their Transportations*. III. By the Witches *Deeds*. As when they have been *seen* with their *Spirits*, or seen secretly *Feeding* any of their *Imps*. Or, when there can be found their *Pictures*, *Poppets*, and other *Hellish Compositions*. IV. By the Witches *Extasies* : With the *Delight* whereof, Witches are so taken, that they will hardly conceal the same : Or, however at some time or other, they may be found in them. V. By one or more *Fellow-Witches*, *Confessing* their own *Witchcraft*, and bearing *Witness* against others ; if they can make good the *Truth* of their *Witness*, and give sufficient proof of it. As, that they have *seen* them with their *Spirits* ; or, that they have *Received* *Spirits* from them ; or that they can tell, when they used *Witchery-Tricks* to *Do Harm* ; or, that they told them what *Harm* they had done ; or that they can show the *mark* upon them ; or, that they have been together in their *Meetings* ; and such like. VI. By some *Witness*, of *God* Himself, happening upon the *Execrable Curses* of Witches upon themselves, *Praying* of *God* to show some *Token*, if they be *Guilty*. VII. By the Witches own *Confession*, of *Giving* their *Souls* to the *Devil*. It is no *Rare* thing, for Witches to *Confess*.

They are *Considerable* Things, which I have thus *Recited* ; and yet it must be with *Open Eyes*, kept upon *Open Rules*, that we are to follow these things,

S. 8. But *Juries* are not the only *Instruments* to be *employ'd* in such a *Work* ; all *Christians* are to be concerned with *daily* and *servent Prayers*, for the assisting of it. In the *Days* of *Athanasius*, the *Devils* were found *unable* to stand before, that *Prayer*, however then used perhaps with too much of *Ceremony*, *Let God Arise, Let his Enemies be Scattered. Let them also that Hate Him, flee before Him.*

O that instead of letting our *Hearts Rise* against one another, our *Prayers* might *Rise* unto an high pitch of *Importunity*, for such a *Rising* of the *Lord* ! Especially, Let them that are *Suffering* by *Witchcraft*, be sure to *stay* and *pray*, and *Beseech* the *Lord* *thrice*, even as much as ever they can, before they complain of any *Neighbour* for afflicting them Let them also that are *accused* of *Witchcraft*, set themselves to *Fast* and *Pray*, and so shake off the *Demons* that would like *Vipers* fasten upon them ; and get the *Waters of Jealousie* made profitable to them.

And Now, O Thou *Hope* of *New-England*, and the *Saviour* thereof in the *Time* of *Trouble* ; Do thou look *mercifully* down upon us, & *Rescue* us, out of the *Trouble* which at this time do's threaten to *swallow* us up. Let *Satan* be shortly *bruised* under our *Feet*, and Let the *Covenanted Vassals* of *Satan*, which have *Traiterously* brought him in upon us, be *Gloriously Conquered*, by thy *Powerful* and *Gracious* *Presence* in the *midst* of us. *Abhor* us not, O *God*, but *cleanse* us, but *heal* us, but *save* us, for the sake of thy *Glory*. *Enwrapped* in our *Salvations*. By thy *Spirit*, *List* up a *Standard* against our *infernal* *adversaries*, Let us quickly find thee *making* of us *glad*, according to the *Days* wherein we have been *afflicted*. *Accept* of all our *Endeavours* to *glorify* thee, in the *Fires* that are upon us ; and among the rest, Let these my poor and weak *essays*, composed with what *Tears*, what *Cares*, what *Prayers*, thou only knowest, not want the *Acceptance* of the *Lord*.

18
A Discourse on the VVonders of the Invisible
World.

Uttered (in part) on Aug. 4. 1692.

Ecclesiastical History has Reported it unto us, That a Renowned Martyr at the Stake, seeing the Book of the REVELATION thrown by his no less Profane than Bloody Persecutors, to be Burn'd in the same Fire with himself, he cryed out, *O Beata Apocalypsis; quam bene mecum agitur, qui tecum Comburo!* BLESSED REVELATION! said he, *How Blessed am I in this Fire, while I have Thee to to bear me Company.* As for our selves this Day; 'tis a Fire of sore Affliction and Confusion, wherein we are Embroiled; but it is no inconsiderable Advantage unto us, that we have the Company of this Glorious and Sacred Book the REVELATION to assist us in our Exercises. From that Book there is one Text, which I would single out at this time to lay before you; 'tis that in

Revel. XII. 12.

Wo to the Inhabitants of the Earth, and of the Sea; for the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath; because he knoweth, that he hath but a short time.

THE Text is Like the Cloudy and Fiery Pillar, vouchsafed unto Israel, in the Wilderness of old; there is a very dark side of it, in the Intimation, that, *The Devil is come down having great Wrath*; but it has also a bright side, when it assures us, that *He has but a short time*; Unto the Contemplation of both, I do this Day Invite you.

We have in our Hands a Letter from our Ascended Lord in Heaven, to Advise us of his being still alive, and of his Purpose e're long, to give us a Visit, wherein we shall see our Living Redeemer, stand at the latter day upon the Earth. 'Tis the last Advice that we have had from Heaven, for now sixteen Hundred years; and the scope of it, is, to represent how the Lord Jesus Christ, having begun to set up his Kingdom in the World, by the preaching of the Gospel, he would from time to time utterly break to pices all Powers that should make Head against it, until, *The Kingdoms of this World are become the Kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Christ*

Invisible World.

Christ, and he shall Reign for ever and ever. 'Tis a Commentary on what had been written by Daniel, about, *The fourth Monarchy*; with some Touches upon, *The Fifth*; where in, *The greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most High*: And altho' it have, as 'tis expressed by one of the Ancients, *Tot Sacramenta quæ verba*, a Mystery in every Syllable, yet it is not altogether to be neglected with such a Despair, as that, *I cannot Read, for the Book is Sealed*. It is a REVELATION, and a singular, and notable Blessing is pronounced upon them that humbly study it.

The Divine Oracles, have with a most admirable Artifice and Carefulness, drawn, as the very pious *Beverley*, has laboriously Evinced, an exact LINE OF TIME, from the first Sabbath at the Creation of the World, unto the great Sabbatism at the Restitution of all Things. In that famous *Line of Time*, from the Decree for the Restoring of *Jerusalem*, after the *Babylonish Captivity*, there seem to remain a matter of *Two Thousand and Three Hundred Years*, unto that *New Jerusalem*, whereto the Church is to be advanced, when the *Mystical Babylon* shall be fallen. At the Resurrection of our Lord, there were seventeen or eighteen Hundred of those Years, yet upon the Line, to run unto, *The rest which remains for the People of God*; and this Remnant in the *Line of Time*, is here in our *Apocalypse*, variously Embossed, Adorned, and Signalized with such Distinguishing Events, if we mind them, will help us escape that Censure, *Can ye not Discern the Signs of the Times?*

The Apostle *John*, for the View of these Things, had laid before him, as I conceive, a *Book*; with leaves, or folds; which *Volume* was written both on the *Backside*, and on the *Inside*, and Roll'd up in a *Cylindriacal Form*, under seven *Labels*, fastned with so many *Seals*. The first *Seal* being opened, and the first *Label* removed, under the first *Label* the Apostle saw what he saw, of a first *Rider* Pourtray'd, and so on, till the last *Seal* was broken up; each of the *Sculptures* being enlarged with agreeable *Visions* and *Voices*, to illustrate it. The Book being now Unroll'd, there were *Trumpets*; with wonderful Concomitants, Exhibited successively on the *Expanding Backside* of it. Whereupon the Book was *Eaten*, as it were to be Hidden, from Interpretations; till afterwards, in the *Inside* of it, the Kingdom of Antichrist came to be Exposed. Thus, the Judgments of God on the *Roman Empire*, first unto the Downfall of *Paganism*; and then, unto the Downfall of *Popery*, which is but Revived *Paganism*, are in these Displayes with live'y Colours and Features made sensible unto us.

The Wonders of the

Accordingly, in the Twelfth Chapter of this Book; we have an August Preface, to the Description of that Horrid Kingdom; which our Lord Christ refused; but Antichrist accepted, from the Devils Hands; a Kingdom, which for *Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years* together, was to be a continual oppression upon the People of God, and opposition unto his Interests; until the Arrival of that Illustrious Day, wherein, *The Kingdom shall be the Lords, and he shall be Governour among the Nations.* The Chapter is (as an Excellent Person calls it) an *Extravagated Account* of the Circumstances, which befell the *Primitive Church*, during the first Four or Five Hundred Years of Christianity: It shows us the Face of the Church, first in *Rome* Heathenish, and then in *Rome* Converted, before the *Man of Sin* was yet come to *Mans Estate*. Our Text, contains the Acclamations made upon the most Glorious Revolution that ever yet happened upon the Roman Empire; namely, That wherein the Travailing Church brought forth a Christian Emperour. This was a most Eminent *Victory* over the Devil, and *Resemblance* of the State, wherein the World, ere long shall see, *The Kingdom of our God, and the Power of his Christ.* It is here noted,

First, As a matter of *Triumph*. 'Tis said, *Rejoyce, ye Heavens, and ye that dwell in them.* The Saints in both Worlds, took the Comfort of this Revolution; the Devout Ones that had out-lived the late Persecutions, were filled with Transporting Joys, when they saw the *Christian* become the *Imperial Religion*, and when they saw Good Men come to give Law unto the rest of Mankind; the Deceased Ones also, whose Blood had been Sacrificed in the Ten Persecutions, doubtless made the Light Regions to ring with *Hallelujahs* unto God, when there were brought unto them, the Tidings of the Advances now given to the *Christian Religion*, for which they had suffered *Martyrdom*.

Secondly, As a matter of *Horror*. 'Tis said, *Wo to the Inhabiters of the Earth and of the Sea.* The *Earth* still means, the *False Church*, the *Sea* means the *Wide World*, in Prophetical Phrasæology. There was yet left a vast party of Men that were Enemies to the *Christian Religion*, in the power of it; a vast party left for the Devil to work upon: Unto these is a *Wo* denounced; and why so? 'Tis added, *For the Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath, because he knows, that he has but a short time.* These were, it seems, to have some desperate and peculiar Attempts of the Devil made upon them. In the mean time, we may Entertain this for our Doctrine,

Great *Wo* proceeds from the Great **WRATH**, with which the **DEVIL**,

DEVIL, towards the end of his TIME, will make a DESCENT upon a miserable World.

I have now Published a most awful and solemn Warning for our selves at this day; which has four Propositions, comprehended in it.

Proposition I. That there is a Devil, is a thing Doubted by none but such as are under the Influences of the Devil. For any to deny the Being of a Devil must be from an Ignorance or Profaneness, worse than Diabolical. A Devil. What is that? We have a Definition of the Monster, in Eph 6. 12. A Spiritual Wickedness, that is, A wicked Spirit. A Devil is a Fallen Angel, an Angel Fallen from the Fear and Love of God, and from all Celestial Glories; but Fallen to all manner of Wretchedness and Cursedness. He was once in that Order of Heavenly Creatures, which God in the Beginning made *Ministring Spirits*, for his own peculiar Service and Honour, in the management of the Universe; but we may now write that Epitaph upon him, *For art thou fallen from Heaven! thou hast said in thine Heart, I will Exalt my Throne above the Stars of God; but thou art brought down to Hell!* A Devil is a Spiritual and Rational Substance, by his Apostacy from God, inclined unto all that is Vicious, and for that Apostacy confined unto the Atmosphere of this Earth, in Chains and Darkness, unto the Judgment of the Great Day. This is a Devil; and the Experience of Mankind as well as the Testimony of Scripture, does abundantly prove the Existence of such a Devil.

About this Devil, there are many things; whereof we may reasonably and profitably be Inquisitive; such things, I mean, as are in our Bibles Reveald unto us; according to which if we do not speak, on so dark a Subject, but according to our own uncertain, and perhaps humourfome Conjectures, *There is no Light in us.* I will carry you with me, but unto one Paragraph of the Bible, to be informed of three Things, relating to the Devil; 'tis the Story of the *Gadaren Emergumen*, in the fifth Chapter of *Mark*.

First, then, 'Tis to be granted; the Devils are so many, that some Thousands, can sometimes at once apply themselves to vex one Child of Man. It is said, in *Mark* 5. 15. *He that was Possessed with the Devil, had the Legion.* Dreadful to be spoken! A Legion consisted of Twelve Thousand Five Hundred People: And we see that in one Man or two, so many Devils can be spared for a Garrison. As the Prophet cryed out, *Multitudes, Multitudes, in the Valley of Decision!* So I say, *There are multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of Destruction, where the Devils are!* When

we speak of, *The Devil*, 'tis, *A name of Multitude*; it means not *One Individual Devil*, so Potent and Scient, as perhaps a *Manichee* would imagine; but it means a *Kind*, which a *Multitude* belongs unto. Alas, the *Devils*, they swarm about us, like the *Frogs of Egypt*, in the most Retired of our Chambers. Are we at our *Boards*? There will be *Devils* to Tempt us unto Sensuality: Are we in our *Beds*? There will be *Devils* to Tempt us unto Carnality; Are we in our *Shops*? There will be *Devils* to Tempt us unto Dishonesty. Yea, Tho' we get into the Church of God, there will be *Devils* to Haunt us in the very *Temple* it self, and there tempt us to manifold Misbehaviours. I am verily perswaded, That there are very few Humane Affairs whereinto some *Devils* are not Infiltrated; There is not so much as a *Journey* intended, but *Satan* will have an hand in hindering or furthering of it.

Secondly, 'Tis to be supposed, That there is a sort of Arbitrary, even *Military Government*, among the *Devils*. This is intimated, when in *Mar. 5 9*. *The unclean Spirit said, My Name is Legion*: they are such a Discipline as *Legions* use to be. Hence we read about, *The Prince of the power of the Air*: Our *Air* has a power? or an Army of *Devils* in the *High Places* of it; and these *Devils* have a *Prince* over them, who is *King over the Children of Pride*. 'Tis probable, That the *Devil*, who was the Ring-leader of that mutinous and rebellious Crew, which first shook off the Authority of God, is now the General of those Hellish Armies; Our Lord, that Conquered him, has told us the Name of him; 'tis *Belzebub*; 'tis he that is *the Devil*, and the rest are *his Angels*, or his Souldiers. Think on vast Regiments of cruel and bloody *French Dragoons*, with an *Intendant* over them, over-running a pillaged Neighbourhood, and you will think a little, what the Constitution among the *Devils* is.

Thirdly, 'tis to be supposed, that some *Devils* are more peculiarly Commission'd, and perhaps Qualify'd, for some Countries, while others are for others. This is intimated when in *Mar. 5 10*. *The Devils besought our Lord much, that he would not send them away out of the Countrey*. Why was that? But in all probability, because these *Devils* were more able to do the works of the *Devil*, in such a Countrey, than in another. It is not likely that every *Devil* does know every *Language*; or that every *Devil* can do every *Mischief*. 'Tis possible, that the *Experience*, or, if I may call it so, the *Education* of all *Devils*, is not alike, and that there may be some difference in their *Abilities*. If one might make an Inference from what the *Devils* do, to what they are, One cannot forbear

forbear dreaming, that there are *degrees* of Devils. Who can allow, that such Trifling *Dæmons*, as that of *Mascon*, or those that once infested our *New berry*, are of so much Grandeur, as those *Dæmons*, whose Games are mighty Kingdoms? Yea, 'tis certain, that all Devils do not make a like figure in the *Invisible World*. Nor does it look agreeably; That the *Dæmons*, which were the Familiars of such a Man as the Old *Apollonius*, differ not from those baser Goblins that chuse to Nest in the filthy and loathsome Rags of a beastly Sorceress. Accordingly, why may not some Devils be more accomplished for what is to be done in such and such places, when others must be *detach'd* for other Territories? Each Devil, as he sees his advantage. cries out, *Let me be in this Countrey, rather than another.* But Enough, if not too much, of these things.

Proposition II. There is a Devilish *Wrath* against Mankind, with which the Devil is for God's sake Inspired. The Devil is himself broiling under the intollerable and interminable *Wrath* of God; and a fiery *Wrath* at God, is, that which the Devil is for that cause Enflamed. Methinks I see the posture of the Devils in *Isa. 8 21.* *They fret themselves, and Curse their God, and look upward.* The first and chief *Wrath* of the Devil, is at the Almighty God himself; he knows, *The God that made him, will not have mercy on him, and the God that formed him, will shew him no favour;* and so he can have no *Kindness* for that God, who has no *Mercy*, nor *Favour* for him. Hence 'tis, that he cannot bare the Name of God should be acknowledged in the World: Every Acknowledgement paid unto God, is a fresh drop of the burning Brimstone falling upon the Devil; he does make his Insolent, tho Impotent Batteries, even upon the *Throne* of God himself: and foolishly affects to have himself exalted unto that *Glorious High Throne*, by all people, as he sometimes is, by Execrable *Witches*. This horrible Dragon does not only with his Tayl strike at the Stars of God, but at the God himself, who made the Stars, being desirous to outshine them all. God and the Devil are sword Enemies to each other; the Terms between them, are those, in *Zech. 1. 18.* *My Soul loathed them, and their Soul also abhorred me.* And from this Furious *wrath*, or Displeasure and Prejudice at God, proceeds the Devils *wrath* at us, the poor Children of Men. Our doing the Service of God, is one thing that exposes us to the *wrath* of the Devil. We are the *High-Priests* of the World; when all Creatures are called upon, *Praise ye the Lord*, they being to us those demanded *Praises* of God, saying, *do you offer them for us.* Hence 'tis, that the Devil has a Quarrel with

us, as he had with the *High-Priest* in the Vision of Old. Our bearing the Image of God is another thing that brings the *wrath* of the Devil upon us. As a *Tyger*, thro his Hatred at man will tear the very Picture of him, if it come in his way; such a *Tyger* the Devil is; because God said of old, *Let us make Man in our Image*, the Devil is ever saying, *Let us pull this man to pieces*. But the envious *Pride* of the Devil, is one thing more that gives an Edge unto his Furious *Wrath* against us. The Apostle has given us an hint, as if *Pride* had been the *Condemnation of the Devil*. 'Tis not unlikely, that the Devil's *Affectation* to be above that Condition which he might learn that Mankind was to be prefer'd unto, might be the occasion of his taking up Arms against the *Immortal King*. However, the Devil now sees *Man* lying in the Bosom of God, but *himself* damned in the bottom of Hell; and this enrages him exceedingly; O, says he, *I cannot bear it, that man should not be as miserable as my self*.

Proposition III. The Devil, in the prosecution, and the execution of his *wrath* upon them, often gets a *Liberty* to make a *Descent* upon the Children of men. When the Devil *does hurt* unto us, he comes down unto us; for the *Rendezvouze* of the *Infernal Troops*, is indeed in the *supernal parts* of our Air. But as 'tis said, *A sparrow of the Air does not fall down without the will of God*; so I may say, *Not a Devil in the Air, can come down without the leave of God*. Of this we have a famous Instance in that Arabian Prince, of whom the Devil was not able so much as to *Touch* any thing, till the most high God gave him a permission, *to go down*. The Devil stands with all the Instruments of death, aiming at us, and begging of the Lord, as that King ask'd for the *Hood-wink'd Syrians* of old, *Shall I smite 'em, shall I smite 'em?* He cannot strike a blow, till the Lord say, *Go down and smite*, but sometimes he does obtain from the *high possessor of Heaven and Earth*, a License for the doing of it. The Devil sometimes does make most rueful *Havock* among us; but still we may say to him, as our Lord said unto a great Servant of his, *Thou couldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above*. The Devil is called in *1 Pet. 5. 8.* *Your Adversary*. This is a Law-term; and it notes *An Adversary at Lam*. The Devil cannot come at us, except in some sence according to *Lam*; but sometimes he does procure sad things to be inflicted, according to the *Lam* of the eternal King upon us. The Devil first goes up as an *Accuser* against us: He is therefore styled *The Accuser*; and it is on this account, that his proper Name does belong unto him. There is a Court somewhere kept; a Court of Spirits, where the Devil enters all sorts of *Complaints* against

against us all; he charges us with manifold *sins* against the Lord our God: *There* he loads us with heavy *Imputations* of Hypocry-
 sic, Iniquity, Disobedience; whereupon he urges, Lord, *let 'em now have the death, which is their wages, paid unto 'em!* If our *Ad-
 vocate* in the Heavens do not now take off his Libels; the Devil, then, with a Concession of God, *comes down*, as a *destroyer* upon us. Having first been an *Attorney* to bespeak that the Judgments of Heaven may be ordered for us, he then also pleads, that he may be the *Executioner* of those Judgments; and the God of Hea-
 ven sometimes after a sort, signs a Warrant, for this *destroying Angel*, to do what has been *desired* to be done for the *destroying of men*. But such a *permission* from God, for the Devil to *come down*, and *break in* upon mankind, oftentimes must be accompa-
 ny'd with a *Commission* from some wretches of mankind it self. Every man is, as 'tis hinted in *Gen. 4. 9. His brother's keeper*. We are to *keep* one another from the Inroads of the Devil, by mu-
 tual and cordial Wishes of prosperity to one another. When ungodly people give their *Consents* in *witchcrafts* diabolically per-
 formed, for the Devil to annoy their Neighbours, he finds a breach made in the Hedge about us, whereat he Rushes in up-
 on us, with grievous molestations. Yea, when the impious people, that never saw the Devil, do but utter their *Curses* a-
 gainst their Neighbours, those are so many *match words*, whereby the Mastives of Hell are animated presently to fall upon us. 'Tis thus, that the Devil gets *leave* to worry us.

Proposition IV. Most horrible *woes* come to be inflicted upon Mankind, when the Devil does in *great wrath*, make a *descent* up-
 on them. The Devil is a *Do-Evil*, and wholly set upon mischief. When our Lord once was going to *Muzzel* him, that he might not mischief others, he cry'd out, *Art thou come to torment me?* He is, it seems, himself *Tormented*, if he be but *Restrained* from the tormenting of Men. If upon the sounding of the Three last *A-
 pocalypitical Angels*, it was an outcry made in Heaven, *Wo, wo, wo,* to the inhabitants of the Earth by reason of the voice of the Trumpet. I am sure, a *descent* made by the Angel of *death*, would give cause for the like Exclamation: *Wo to the world, by reason of the
 wrath of the Devil!* what a *woful* plight, mankind would by the descent of the Devil be brought into, may be gathered from the *woful* pains, and wounds, and hideous desolations which the De-
 vil brings upon them, with whom he has with a *bodily Possession* made a *Stature*. You may both in Sacred and Profane History, read many a direful Account of the *woes*, which they that are posses-
 sed by the Devil, do undergo: And from thence conclude, *It has*
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Must the Children of Men hope from such a Devil! Moreover, the Tyrannical Ceremonies, whereto the Devil uses to subjugate such Woful Nations or Orders of Men, as are more Entirely under his Dominion, do declare what woful Work the Devil would make where he comes. The very Devotions of those forlorn Pagans, to whom the Devil is a Leader, are most bloody Penances; and what Woes indeed must we expect from such a Devil of a Moloch, as relishes no Sacrifices like those of Humane Heart-blood, and unto whom there is no Musick like the bitter, dying, doleful Groans, ejaculated by the Roasting Children of Men.

Furthermore, the servile, abject, needy circumstances wherein the Devil keeps the Slaves, that are under his more sensible Vassalage, do suggest unto us, how woful the Devil would render all our Lives. We that live in a Province, which affords unto us all that may be necessary or comfortable for us, found the Province fill'd with vast Herds of Salvages, that never saw so much as a Knife, or a Nail; or a Board, or a Grain of Salt, in all their Days. No better would the Devil have the World provided for: Nor should we, or any else, have one convenient thing about us, but be as indigent as usually our most Ragged Witches are; if the Devil's Malice were not over ruled by a compassionate God, who preserves Man and Beast. Hence 'tis, that the Devil, even like a Dragon, keeping a Guard upon such Fruits as would refresh a languishing World, has hindered Mankind for many Ages, from hitting those useful Inventions, which yet were so obvious and facil, that it is every bodies wonder, they were no sooner hit upon. The benighted World, must jog on for thousands of Years, without the knowledg of the Loadstone, till a Neopolitan stumbled upon it, about three hundred years ago. Nor must the World be blest with such a matchless Engine of Learning and Vertue, as that of Printing, till about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. Nor could One Old Man, all over the Face of the whole Earth, have the benefit of such a Little, tho most needful thing, as a pair of Spectacles, till a Dutch-Man, a little while ago accommodated us.

Indeed, as the Devil does begrutch us all manner of Good, so he does annoy us with all manner of Wo, as often as he finds himself capable of doing it. But shall we mention some of the special woes with which the Devil does usually infest the World! Briefly then; Plagues are some of those woes with which the Devil troubles us. It is said of the Israelites, in 1 Cr. 10. 10. They were destroyed of the destroyer. That is, they had the Plague among them. 'Tis the Destroyer, or the Devil, that scatters Plagues about the World. Pestilential and Contagious Diseases, 'tis the Devil who does oftentimes invade us with them. 'Tis no uneasy thing for the Devil to impreg-

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nate the Air about us, with such Malignant Salts, as meeting with the Salt of our *Microcosm*, shall immediately cast us into that Fermentation and Putrefaction, which will utterly dissolve all the Vital Tyes within us; Ev'n as an *Aqua-Fortis*, made with a conjunction of *Nitre* and *Strioliol*, Corrodes what it Seizes upon. And when the Devil has raised those *Arsenical Fumes*, which become *Venermous Quivers* full of *Terrible Arrows*, how easily can he shoot the deleterious *Miasms* into those Juices or Bowels of Mens Bodies, which will soon Enflame them with a Mortal Fire! Hence come such *Plagues*, as that *Beefom of Destruction*, which within our memory swept away such a Throng of People from one *English City* in one Visitation; And hence those Infectious Fevers, which are but so many *Disguised Plagues* among us, causing Epidemical Desolations. Again, *Wars* are also some of those *Woes*, with which the Devil causes our Trouble. It is said in *Rev. 12. 17. The Dragon was Wrath, and he went to make War*; and there is in truth scarce any *War*, but what is of the *Dragon's* kindling. The Devil is that *Vulcan*, out of whose Forge come the instruments of our *Wars*, and it is he that finds us Employments for those Instruments. We read concerning *Demoniacs*, or People in whom the Devil was, that they would cut and wound themselves; and so, when the Devil is in Men, he puts 'em upon dealing in that barbarous fashion with one another. *Wars* do often furnish him with some Thousands of Souls in one Morning from one Acre of Ground; and for the sake of such *Thyestean Banquets*, he will push us upon as many *Wars* as he can.

Once more, why may not *Storms* be reckoned among those *Woes* with which the Devil does disturb us? It is not improbable that *Natural Storms* on the World are often of the Devils raising. We are told in *Job 1. 11, 12, 19.* that the Devil made a *Storm*, which hurricano'd the House of *Job*, upon the Heads of them that were Feasting in it; *Paracelsus* could have informed the Devil, if he had not been informed, as before he was before, That if much *Aluminious* matter, with *Salt Petre* not thoroughly prepared, be mixed, they will send up a cloud of Smoke, which will come down in Rain. But undoubtedly the Devil understands as well the way to make a *Tempest* as to turn the *Winds* at the Solicitation of a *Laplander*; whence perhaps it is that *Thunders* are observed often to break upon *Churches* than upon any other *Buildings*; and besides many a Man, yea many a Ship, yea, many a Town has miscarried, when the Devil has been permitted from above to make an horrible *Tempest*. However that the Devil has raised many *Metaphorical Storms* upon the Church is a thing, than which there is nothing more notorious. It was said unto Believers in *Rev. 2. 10. The Devil shall cast some of*

you into Prison. The Devil was he that at first set Cain upon Abel to butcher him, as the Apostle seems to suggest, for his Faith in God, as a Rewarder. And in how many Persecutions, as well as Heresies has the Devil been ever since Engaging all the Children of Cain! That Serpent the Devil has acted his cursed Seed in unwearied endeavours to have them, *Of whom the World is not worthy, treated as those who are not worthy to live in the World.* By the impulse of the Devil, 'tis that first the old Heathens, and then the mad Arians were pricking Briars to the true Servants of God; and that the Papists that came after them, have out-done them all for Slaughters, upon those that have been accounted as the Sheep for the Slaughters. The late French Persecution is perhaps the horriblest that ever was in the World: And as the Devil of Mascon seems before to have meant it in his out-cries upon the Miseries preparing for the poor Hugonots! Thus it has been all acted by a singular Fury of the old Dragon inspiring of his Emissaries.

But in reality, *Spiritual Woes* are the principal Woes among all those that the Devil would have us undone withal. Sins are the worst of Woes, and the Devil seeks nothing so much as to plunge us into Sins. When men do commit a Crime for which they are to be Indicted, they are usually mov'd by the Instigation of the Devil. The Devil will put ill men upon being worse. Was it not he that said in 1 King. 22. 22. *I will go forth, and be a lying Spirit in the Mouth of all the Prophets?* Even so the Devil becomes an Unclean Spirit, a Drinking Spirit, a Swearing Spirit, a Worldly Spirit, a Passionate Spirit, a Revengeful Spirit, and the like in the Hearts of those that are already too much of such a Spirit; and thus they become improv'd in Sinfulness. Yea, the Devil will put good men upon doing ill. Thus we read in 1 Chron. 21. 1: *Satan provoked David to number Israel.* And so the Devil provokes men that are Eminent in Holiness unto such things as may become eminently Pernicious; he provokes them especially unto Pride, and unto many unsuitable Emulations. There are likewise most lamentable Impressions which the Devil makes upon the Souls of Men by way of punishment upon them for their Sins. 'Tis thus when an Offended God puts the Souls of Men over into the Hands of that Officer who has the power of Death, that is, the Devil. It is the woful Milery of Unbelievers in 2 Cor. 4. 4. *The god of this World has blinded their minds.* And thus it may be said of those woful Wretches whom the Devil is a God unto, *the Devil so muffles them that they cannot see the things of their peace.* And the Devil so hardens them, that nothing will awaken their cares about their Souls: How come so many to be Seared in their Sins? 'Tis the Devil that with a red hot Iron fetcht from his Hell

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does cauterise them. Thus 'tis, till perhaps at last they come to have a *Wounded Conscience* in them, and the Devil has often a share in their Torturing and confounding Anguishes. The *Devil* who Terrified *Cain*, and *Saul*, and *Judas* into Desperation, still becomes a *King of Terrors* to many Sinners, and frights them from laying hold on the Mercy of God in the Lord Jesus Christ. In these regards. *Wo to us, when the Devil comes down upon us.*

Proposition V. Toward the *End* of his *Time* the *Descent* of the Devil in *Wrath* upon the *World* will produce more *woful Effects*, than what have been in *former Ages*. The dying Dragon, will bite more cruelly and sting more bloodily than ever he did before: The *Death-pangs* of the Devil will make him to be more of a *Devil* than ever he was; and the *Furnace* of this *Nebuchadnezzar* will be heated *seven times* hotter, just before its putting out.

We are in the first place to apprehend that there is a time fixed and stated by God for the Devil to enjoy a dominion over our sinful and therefore woful World. The *Devil* once exclaimed in *Matt 8. 29.* *Jesus, thou Son of God, art thou come hither to Torment us before our Time?* It is plain, that until the second coming of our Lord the Devil must have a time of plaguing the World, which he was afraid would have *Expired* at his first. The *Devil* is by the *wrath* of God the *Prince* of this *World*; and the time of his *Reign* is to continue until the time when our Lord himself shall take to himself his great *Power* and *Reign*. Then 'tis that the *Devil* shall hear the *Son of God* swearing with loud *Thunders* against him, *Thy time shall now be no more!* Then shall the *Devil* with his *Angels* receive their doom, which will be, *depart into the everlasting Fire prepared for you.*

We are also to apprehend, that in the *mean time*, the Devil can give a shrowd guess, when he draws near to the *End of his Time*. When he saw *Christianity* enthron'd among the *Romans*, it is here said, in our *Rev. 12. 12.* *He knows he hath but a short time.* And how does he know it? Why *Reason* will make the Devil to know that God won't suffer him to have the *Everlasting Dominion*; and that when God has once begun to rescue the *World* out of his hands, he'll go through with it, until the *Captives of the mighty shall be taken away and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered.* But the Devil will have *Scripture* also, to make him know, that when his *Antichristian Vicar*, the *seven-headed Beast* on the *seven-billed City*, shall have spent his determined years, he with his *Vicar* must unavoidably go down into the *bottomless Pit*. It is not improbable, that the Devil often hears the *Scripture* expounded in our *Congregtions*; yea that we never assemble without a *Satan* among us. As there are some *Divines*, who do with more uncertainty conjecture, from a certain place in the *Epistle to the Eshefians*, That the *Angels* do sometimes come into our Churches, to gain some advantage from our *Ministry*. But be sure our *Demonstrable Interpretations* may give Repeated Notices to the Devil, That his time is almost out; and what the Preacher says unto the *Young Man*, *Know thou, that God will bring thee into Judgment!* THAT may our *Sermons* tell unto the *Old Wretch*, *Know thou, that thy Judgment is at hand.*

But we must now, likewise, apprehend, that in such a time, the *woes* of the *World* will be heightened, beyond what they were at any time yet from the foundation of the *World*. Hence 'tis, that the *Apostle* has forewarned us, in *2 Tim. 3. 1.* *this know, that*

The wonders of the

20 In the last days, perillous times shall come. Truly, when the Devil knows, that he is got into his *Last days*, he will make *perillous times* for us; the times will grow more full of *Devils*; and therefore more full of *Perils*, than ever they were before. Of this, if we would know, what cause is to be assigned; It is not only, because the Devil grows more able, and more eager to vex the World; but also, and chiefly, because the World is more worthy to be vexed by the Devil, than ever heretofore. The *Sins* of men in this Generation, will be more *mighty Sins*, than those of the former Ages; men will be more Accurate and Exquisite and Refined in the arts of *Sinning*, than they use to be. And besides, their own sins, the sins of all the former Ages will also lie upon the sinners of this generation. Do we ask why the *mischievous powers of darkness* prevail more in our days, than they did in those that are past and gone? 'Tis because that men by sinning over again the sins of the former days, have a *fellowship with all those unfruitful works of darkness*. As 'twas said in *Matth. 23. 36. All these things shall come upon this generation*; so, the men of the last Generation, will find themselves involved in the gulf of all that went before them. Of Sinners 'tis said, *They heap up wrath*; and the sinners of the last Generations do not only add unto the heap of sin that has been piling up ever since the Fall of man, but they Interest themselves in every sin of that enormous heap. There has been a *Cry* of all former ages going up to God, *That the Devil may come down!* and the sinners of the Last Generations, do sharpen and louden that cry, till the thing do come to pass, as *Destruively* as Irremediably. From whence it follows; that the Thrice Holy God, with his Holy Angels, will now after a sort more *abandon* the World, than in the former ages. The roaring Impieties of the *old World*, at last gave mankind such a distast in the Heart of the just God, that he came to say, *It Repents me that I have made such a Creature!* And however, it may be but a witty Fancy, in a late Learned Writer, that the *Earth* before the Flood was nearer to the Sun, than it is at this Day; and that Gods Hurling down the *Earth* to a further distance from the Sun, were the cause of that Flood; yet we may truly enough say, that men perished by a *Rejection* from the God of Heaven. Thus the enhanc'd Impieties of this our World, will Exasperate the Displeasure of God, at such a rate, as that he will more *cast us off*, than heretofore; until at last, he do with a more than ordinary Indignation say, *Go Devils; do you take them, and make them beyond all former measures miserable!*

If Lastly, We are inquisitive after Instances of those aggravated *woes*, with which the Devil will towards the *End* of his *Time* assault us; let it be remembered, That all the Extremities which were foretold by the *Trumpets* and *Vials* in the Apocalyptic Schemes of these things, to come upon the World, were the *woes* to come from the *wrath* of of the Devil, upon the *shortning* of his *Time*. The horrendous desolations that have come upon mankind, by the Irruptions of the old *Barbarians* upon the *Roman World*, and then of the *Saracens*, and since, of the *Turks*, were such *woes* as men had never seen before. The Infamous *Blindness* and *Vileness* which then came upon mankind, and the Monstrous *Crossadoes* which thereupon carried the *Roman World* by Millions together unto the *Shambles*; were also such *woes* as had never yet had a *Parallel*. And yet these were some of the things here intended, when it was said, *Wo! For the Devil is come down in great Wrath, having but a short time.*

But besides all these things, and besides the increase of *Plagues* and *Wars*, and *Storms*, and *Internal Maladies* now in our days, there are especially two most extraordinary *Woes*, one would fear, will in these days become very ordinary: One *Woe* that may be look'd for is, A frequent Repetition of *Earthquakes*, and this perhaps by the energy of the Devil in the *Earth*. The Devil will be clapt up, as a Prisoner in or near the Bowels of the earth, when once that *Conflagration* shall be dispatched, which will make, *The New Earth wherein shall dwell Righteousness*; and that *Conflagration* will doubtless be much promoted, by the *Subterraneous Fires*, which are a cause of the *Earthquakes* in our Days. Accordingly, we read, *Great Earthquakes in divers places, enumerated among the Tokens of the Time approaching; when the Devil shall have no longer Time.* I suspect, That we shall now be visited with more Usual, and

Invisible World.

and yet more Fatal Earthquakes, than were our Ancestors; inasmuch as the Fires that are shortly to Burn unto the Lowest Hell, and set on Fire the Foundations of the Mountains, will now get more Head than they use to do; and it is not impossible, that the Devil, who is ere long to be punished in those Fires, may aforehand augment his Desert of it, by having an hand in using some of those Fires, for our Detriment. Learned Men have made no scruple to charge the Devil with it; *Deo permittente, Terræ motus causat.* The Devil surely, was a party in the Earthquake, whereby the Vengeance of God, in one black Night sunk Twelve considerable Cities of Asia, in the Reign of Tiberius. But there will be more such Catastrophes in our Dayes; Italy has lately been shaking, till its Earthquakes have brought Ruines at once upon more than thirty Towns; but it will within a little while, shake again, and shake till the Fire of God have made an Entire *Æna* of it. And behold, This very Morning, when I was intending to utter among you such Things as these, we are cast into an Earthquake by Tidings of an Earthquake that has lately happened at Jamaica: an horrible Earthquake, whereby the Tyrus of the English America, was at once pull'd into the Jaws of the Gaping and Groaning Earth, and many Hundreds of the Inhabitants buried alive. The Lord sanctifie so dismal a Dispensation of his Providence, unto all the American Plantations! But be assured, my Neighbours, the Earthquakes are not over yet! We have not yet seen the last. And then, Another *Wo* that may be Look'd for is, The Devils being now set Loose in preternatural Operations more than formerly; and perhaps in Possessions and Obsessions that shall be very marvellous. You are not Ignorant, That just before our Lords First Coming, there were most observable Outrages committed by the Devil upon the Children of Men: And I am suspicious, That there will again be an unusual Range of the Devil among us, a little before the Second Coming of our Lord, which will be, to give the last stroke, in Destroying the works of the Devil. The Evening Wolves will be much abroad, when we are near the Evening of the World. The Devil is going to be Dillodged of the Air, where his present Quarters are; God will with flashes of hot Lightning upon him, cause him to fall as Lightning from his Ancient Habitations: And the Raised Saints will there have a New Heaven, which We expect according to the Promise of God. Now a little before this thing, you be like to see the Devil more sensible and visibly Busy upon Earth perhaps, than ever he was before. You shall oftner hear about Apparitions of the Devil, and about poor people strangely Bewitched, Possessed and Obsessed, by Internal Fiends. When our Lord is going to set up His Kingdom, in the most sensible and visible manner that ever was, and in a manner answering the Transfiguration in the Mount, it is a Thousand to One, but the Devil will in sundry parts of the world, assay the like for Himself, with a most Apish Imitation: and Men, at least in some Corners of the World, and perhaps in such as God may have some special Designs upon, will to their Cost, be more Familiarized with the World of Spirits than they had been formerly.

So that, in fine, if just before the End, when the times of the Jews were to be finished, a man then ran about every where, crying, *Wo to the Nation! Wo to the City! Wo to the Temple! Wo! Wo! Wo!* Much more may the descent of the Devil, just before his End, when a little before the times of the Gentiles will be finished, cause us to cry out, *Wo! Wo! Wo!* because of the black things that threaten us!

But it is now Time to make our Improvement of what has been said. And, first, we shall entertain our selves with a few Corollaries, deduced from what has been thus asserted.

Corollary I. What cause have we to bless God, for our preservation from the Devils wrath, in this which may too reasonably be called the Devils World? While we are in, this present evil world, We are continually surrounded with swarms of those Devils, who make this present world, become so evil. What a wonder of Mercy is it, that no Devil could ever yet make a prey of us! We can set our foot no where but we shall tread in the midst of most Hellish Rattle-Snakes; and one of those Rattle-Snakes once thro' the mouth of a Man on whom he had Stized, hissed out such a Truth as this, *If God would let me loose upon you, I should find enough in the Best of you all, to make you all mine.* What shall I say? The Wilderness thro' which we are passing to the Promised

The wonders of the

mis'd Land, is all over fill'd with *Fiery flying serpents*. But, blessed be God; None of them have hitherto so fastned upon us, as to confound us utterly! All our way to Heaven, lies by the *Dens of Lions*, and the *Mounts of Leopards*; there are incredible *Droves of Devils* in our way. But have we safely got on our way thusfar? O let us be thankful to our Eternal preserver for it. It is said in, *Psal. 76. 10. Surely the wrath of Man shall praise thee, and the Remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain*; But surely it becomes us to praise God, in that we have yet sustain'd no more Damage by the *wrath of the Devil*, and in that he has restrain'd that *Overwhelming wrath*. We are poor, Travellers in a World, which is as well the *Divels Field*, as the *Devils Gaol*; a World in every Nook whereof, the Devil is encamped, with *Bands of Robbers*, to pester all that have their *Face looking Zion-ward*: And are we all this while preserved from the undoing *Snares of the Devil*? it is, *Thou, O keeper of Israel, that hast hitherto been our Keeper!* And therefore, *Bless the Lord, O my soul, Bless his Holy Name, who has redeemed thy Life from the Destroyer!*

Corollary. II. We may see the rise of those multiply'd magnify'd, and Singularly-stinged Afflictions, with which *aged, or dying Saints* frequently have their *Death Prefaced*, and their *Age embittered*. When the *Saints of God* are going to leave the World, it is usually a more *Stormy World* with them, than ever it was; and they find more *Vanity*, and more *Vexation* in the world than ever they did before. It is true; *That many are the afflictions of the Righteous*; but a little before they bid adieu to all those many *Afflictions*, they often have greater, harder, Sorer, Loads thereof laid upon them, than they had yet endured. It is true, *That thro' much Tribulation we must enter in the Kingdom of God*; but a little before our *Entrance* thereinto, our *Tribulation* may have some sharper accents of *Sorrow*, than ever were yet upon it. And what is the cause of this! It is indeed the *Faithfulness of our God unto us*, that we should find the *Earth* more full of *Thorns and Briars* than ever, just before he fetches us from *Earth to Heaven*; that so we may go away the more willingly, the more easily, and with less *Convulsion*, at his calling for us. O there are ugly *Ties*, by which we are fastned unto this world; but God will by *Thorns and Briars* tear those *Ties* asunder. But, is not the *Hand of Joab* here? Sure, There is the *wrath of the Devil* also in it. A little before we step into Heaven, the Devil thinks with himself, *My time to abuse that Saint is now but short; what mischief I am to do that Saint, must be done quickly, if at all; he'll shortly be out of my Reach for ever*. And for this cause he will now fly upon us with the *Fiercest Efforts and Furies of his Wrath*. It was allowed unto the *Serpent*, in *Gen. 2. 15. To Bruise the Heel*. Why, at the *Heel*, or at the *Close*, of our *Lives*, the *Serpent* will be nibbling, more than ever in our *Lives* before; and it is, *Because now he has but a short time*. He knows, *That we shall very shortly be; Where the wicked cease from Troubling, and where the Weary are at Rest*; wherefore that *Wicked one* will now *Trouble* us, more than ever he did, and we shall have so much *Disrest*, as will make us more *weary* than ever we were, of things here below.

Corollary. III. What a Reasonable Thing then is it, that they whose *Time* is but *short*, should make as great *Use of their Time*, as ever they can! pray, let us learn some good, even from the *wicked One* himself. It has been advised, *Be wise as Serpents*: why, there is a piece of *Wisdom*, whereto that old *Serpent*, the *Divel* himself, may be our *Monitèr*. When the Devil perceives his *Time* is but *short*, it puts him upon *Great Wrath*. But how should it be with us, when we perceive that our *Time* is but *short*? why, it should put us upon *Great Work*. The *move* which makes the Devil to be more full of *wrath*, should make us more full of *warmth*, more full of *watch*, and more full of *All Diligence to make our Vocation, and Election sure*. Our *Pace* in our *Journey Heaven-ward*, must be *Quickened*, if our *space* on that *Journey* be *shortned*, even as *Israel* went further the *two last years* of their *Journey Canaan-ward*, than they did in *38 years* before. The *Apostle* brings this, as a *spur*, to the *Devotions of Christians*, in *1 Cor. 7. 29. This I say, Brethren, the time is short*. Even so, I say this; some things I lay before you, which I do only *think, or guess*, but here is a thing which I venture to *say* with all the *freedom*

freedom-imaginable. You have now a *Time* to Get good, even a *Time* to make sure of *Grace and Glory*, and every good thing, by true Repen- tance: But, *This I say, the time is but short*. You have now *Time* to Do good, even to serve out your generation, as by the *Will*, so for the *Praise* of God; but, *This I say, the time is but short*. And what I say thus to *All People*, I say to *Old People*, with a peculiar Vehemency: Sirs, It cannot be long before your *Time* is out; there are but a few sands left in the glass of your *Time*: And it is of all things the saddest, for a man to say, *My Time is done, but my work undone!* O then, To work as fast as you can; and of Soul-work, and Church-work, dispatch as much as ever you can. Say to all *Hindrances*, as the gracious *Jeremiah Burrows* would sometimes to *Visitants*: *You'll excuse me, if I ask you to be short with me, for my work is great, and my time is but short.* Methinks every time we hear a *Clock*, or see a *Watch*, we have an admonition given us, that our *Time* is upon the wing, and it will all be gone within a little while. I remember I have read of a famous man, who having a *Clock-match* long lying by him, out of Kilture in his Trunk, it unaccountably struck Eleven just before he died. Why, there are many of you, for whom I am to do that office this day: I am to tell you, *You are come to your Eleventh hour*; there is no more than a *twelfth part* at most, of your life yet behind. But if we neglect our business, till our *short Time* shall be reduced into *none*, then, woe to us, for the great wrath of God will send us down from whence there is no *Redemption*.

Corollary IV.

How welcome should a *Death in the Lord* be unto them that belong not unto the Devil, but unto the Lord! While we are sojourning in this World, we are in what may upon too many accounts be called *The Devils Country*: We are where the Devil may come upon us in great wrath continually. The day when God shall take us out of this World, will be, *The day when the Lord will deliver us from the hand of all our Enemies, and from the hand of Satan*. In such a day, why should not our song be that of the Psalmist, *Blessed be my Rock, and let the God of my Salvation be exalted!* While we are here, we are in the valley of the shadow of death; and what is it that makes it so? 'Tis because the wild *Beasts of Hell* are lurking on every side of us, and every minute ready to fall upon us. But our *Death* will fetch us out of that Valley, and carry us where we shall be for ever with the Lord. We are now under the daily *Buffetings* of the Devil, and he does molest us with such *Fiery Darts*, as cause us even to cry out, *I am weary of my Life*. Yea, but are we as willing to die, as weary of Life? Our *Death* will then soon set us where we cannot be reach'd by the *Fist of Wickedness*; and where the *Perfect* cannot be shotten at. It is said in *Rev. 14. 13*. *Blissed are the*

Dead which die in the Lord, they rest from their labours. But we may say, Blessed are the Dead in the Lord, inasmuch as they rest from the Devils! Our dying will be but our taking wing: When attended with a Convoy of winged Angels, we shall be convey'd into that Heaven, from whence the Devil having been thrown, he shall never more come thither after us. What if God should now say to us, as to Moses, Go up and die! As long as we go up, when we die, let us receive the Message with a joyful Soul; we shall soon be there, where the Devil can't come down upon us. If the God of our Life should now send that Order to us, which he gave to Hezekiah, Set thy house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live; we need not be cast into such deadly Agonies thereupon, as Hezekiah was: We are but going to that House; the Golden Doors whereof, cannot be entred by the Devil that here did use to persecute us. Methinks I see the Departed Spirit of a Believer, triumphantly carried thro' the Devils Territories, in such a stately and Fiery Chariot, as the Spiritualizing Body of Elias had; methink I see the Devil, with whole Flocks of Harpies, grinning at this Child of God, but unable to fasten any of their griping Talons upon him: And then, upon the utmost edge of our Atmosphere, methinkss I over-hear the holy Soul, with a most heavenly Gallantry, deriding the defeated Fiend, and saying, Ah! Satan! Return to thy Dungeons again; I am going where thou canst not come for ever! O 'tis a brave thing so to die! and especially so to die, in our time. For, tho' when we call to mind, That the Devils time is now but short, it may almost make us wish to live unto the end of it; and to say with the Psalmist, Because the Lord will shortly appear in his Glory, to build up Zion. O my God! Take me not away in the midst of my days. Yet when we bear in mind, that the Devils Wrath is now most great, it would make one willing to be out of the way. Inasmuch as now is the time for the doing of those things in the prospect whereof Balaam long ago cry'd out, Who shall live when such things are done! We should not be inordinately loth to die at such a time. In a word, the Times are so bad, that we may well count it, as good a time to die in, as ever we saw.

Corollary V.

Good News for the *Israel of God*, and particularly for his *New-English Israel*. If the Devils Time were above a thousand years ago, pronounced short, what may we suppose it now in our Time? Surely we are not a thousand years distant from those happy thousand years of rest and peace, and [which is better] Holiness reserved for the People of God in the latter days; and if we are not a thousand years yet short of that Golden Age, there is cause to think, that we are not an hundred. That the blessed Thousand years are not yet begun, is abundantly clear

from this, *We do not see the Devil bound*; No, the Devil was never more let loose than in our Days; and it is very much that any should imagine otherwise: But the same thing that proves the *Thousand Years* of prosperity for the Church of God, under the whole Heaven, to be not yet begun, does also prove, that it is not very far off; and that is the prodigious *wrath* with which the Devil does in our days Persecute, yea, desolate the World. Let us cast our Eyes almost where we will, and we shall see the *Devil's* domineering at such a rate as may justly fill us with astonishment; it is questionable whether *Iniquity* ever were so rampant, or whether *Calamity* were ever so pungent, as in this *Lamentable time*; We may truly say, *'Tis the Hour and the Power of Darkness*. But, tho the *wrath* be so great, the *time* is but short: when we are perplexed with the *wrath* of the Devil, the *Word* of our God at the same time unto us, is that in Rom. 16. 20. *The God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet Shortly*. Shortly, didst thou say, dearest Lord! O glad some word! Amen, Even so, come Lord! Lord Jesus, come quickly! *We shall never be rid of this troublesome Devil, till thou do come to Chain him up!*

But because the people of God, would willingly be told *whereabouts* we are, with reference to the *wrath* and the *time* of the Devil, you shall give me leave humbly to set before you a few *Conjectures*.

The first Conjecture.

The Devils *Eldest Son* seems to be towards the *End* of his last *Half-time*; and if it be so, the Devils *Whole-time*, cannot but be very near its *End*. It is a very scandalous thing that any *Protestant*, should be at a loss where to find the *Anti-Christ*. But, we have a sufficient assurance, that the *Duration* of *Anti-Christ*; is to be but for a *Time*, and for *Times*, and for *Half a time*; that is for *Twelve hundred and Sixty Years*. And indeed, those *Twelve Hundred and Sixty years*, were the very *Spott* of *Time* left for the *Devil*, and meant when 'tis here said, *He has but a short time*. Now, I should have an *easy time* of it, if I were never put upon an *Harder Task*, than to produce what might render it extremely probable, that *Antichrist* entered his last *Half-time*, or the last *Hundred and Fourscore* years of his *Reign*, at or soon after the celebrated *Reformation* which began at the year 1517 in the former century. Indeed, it is very agreeable to see how *Antichrist* then lost *Half* of his *Empire*; and how that *half* which then became *Reformed*, have been upon many accounts little more than *Half-reformed*. But by this computation, we must needs be within a very few years of such a *Mortification* to befall the *See of Rome*, as that *Antichrist* who has lately been planting (what proves no more lasting than) a *Tabernacle* in the *Glorious Holy Mountain* between the *Seas*, must quickly, *Come to his End* and none shall help him.

So then, within a very little while, we shall see the Devil stript of the grand, yea, the last, *Vehicle*, wherein he will be capable to abuse our World. The *Fires*, with which, *That Beast* is to be consumed, will so singe the Wings of the *Devil* too, that he shall no more set the Affairs of *this world* on *Fire*. Yea, they shall both go into the same *Fire*, to be tormented for ever and ever.

The Second Conjecture.

That which is, perhaps, the greatest Effect of the *Devils Wrath*, seems to be in a manner at an *end*: and this would make one hope that the *Devils time* cannot be far from its *end*. It is in *Persecution*, that the *wrath* of the Devil uses to break forth, with its greatest fury. Now there want not probabilities, that the *last Persecution* intended for the Church of God before the Advent of our Lord, has been upon it. When we see the *second Woe* passing away, we have a fair signal given unto us, *That the last slaughter of our Lord's Witnesses is over*; and then what Quickly follows? The next thing is, *The Kingdoms of this World, are become the Kingdoms of Our Lord, and of His Christ*: and then down goes the Kingdom of the Devil, so that he cannot any more come down upon us. Now, the Irrecoverable and Irretrievable Humiliations that have lately befallen the *Turkish Power*, are but so many Declarations of the *second Woe* passing away. And the dealings of God with the *European* parts of the world, at this day, do further strengthen this our expectation. We do see, at *this hour* a great *Earth-quake* all *Europe* over: and we shall see, that this great *Earth-quake*, and these great *Commotions*, will but contribute unto the advancement of our Lords hitherto-depressed Interests. 'Tis also to be remark'd that, a disposition to recognize the *Empire* of God over the *Conscience* of man, does now prevail more in the world than formerly; and God from on High more touches the Hearts of Princes and Rulers with an averseness to *Persecution*. 'Tis particularly the unspeakable happiness of the English Nation, to be under the Influences of that excellent Queen, who could say, *In as much as a man cannot make himself believe what he will, why should we Persecute men for not believing as we do!* I wish I could see all good men of one mind; but in the meantime I pray, let them however love one another. Words worthy to be written in Letters of Gold! and by us the more to be considered, because to one of *Ours* did that royal Person express Her self so excellently, so obligingly. When the late King *James* published his Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, a worthy Divine in the Church of *England*, then studying the *Revelation*, saw cause upon *Revelational* Grounds, to declare himself in such words as these, *Whatsoever others may intend or design by this Liberty of Conscience, I cannot believe, that it will ever be recalled in England, as long as the World stands.* And you know how miraculously
the

the *Earth-quake* which then immediately came upon the Kingdom, has established that *Liberty*! But that which exceeds all the tendencies this way, is, the dispensation of God at this Day, towards the blessed *Vaudois*. Those renowned *Waldenses*, which were a sort of *Root* unto all Protestant Churches, were never dissipated, by all the Persecutions of many Ages, till within these fews years, the *French King* and the Duke of *Savoy* leagued for their dissipation. But just *Three years and a half* after the scattering of that holy people, to the surprize of all the World; *Spirit of life from God* is come into them; and having with a thousand Miracles repossessed themselves of their antient Seats, their hot *Persecutor* is become their great *Protector*. Whereupon the reflection of the worthy person, that writes the story is, *The Churches of Piemont, being the Root of the Protestant Churches, they have been the first established; the Churches of other places, being but the Branches, shall be established in due time, God will deliver them speedily, He has already delivered the Mother, and He will not long leave the Daughter behind: He will finish what he has gloriously begun!*

The Third Conjecture.

There is a little room for hope, that the great wrath of the Devil, will not prove the present ruine of our poor *New-England* in particular. I believe, there never was a poor Plantation, more pursued by the wrath of the Devil, than our poor *New-England*; and that which makes our condition very much the more deplorable is, that the wrath of the great God Himself, at the same time also presses hard upon us. It was a rousing alarm to the Devil, when a great Company of English Protestants and Puritans, came to erect Evangelical Churches, in a corner of the World, where he had reign'd without any controul for many Ages; and it is a vexing Eye-sore to the Devil, that our Lord Christ should be known, and own'd, and preached in this howling Wilderness. Wherefor he has left no Stone unturned, that so he might undermine his Plantation, and force us out of our Country.

First, The Indian *Powawes*, used all their Sorceries to molest the first Planters here; but God said unto them, *Touch them not!* Then, *Seducing Spirits* came to root in this Vineyard, but God so rated them off, that they have not prevail'd much farther than the Edges of our Land. After this, we have had a continual blist upon some of our principal Grain, annually diminishing a vast part of our ordinary Food. Herewithal, wasting Sickneses, especially Burning and Mortal Agues, have Shot the Arrows of Death in at our Windows. Next, we have had many Adversaries of our own Language who have been perpetually assaying to deprive us of those *English Liberties* in the encouragement whereof these Territories have been settled. As if this had not been enough!

enough; The *Tarnies* among whom we came, have watered our Soil with the Blood of many Hundreds of our Inhabitants. Desolating *Wres* also have many times laid the chief Treasure of the whole Province in Ashes. As for *Losses* by Sea, they have been multiply'd upon us: and particularly in the present *French War*, the whole English Nation have observ'd that no part of the Nation has proportionably had so many Vessels taken, as our poor *New-England*. Besides all which, now at last the Devils are (if I may so speak) *in Person* come down upon us with such a *Wrath*, as is justly *much*, and will quickly be more, the Astonishment of the World. Alas, I may sigh over this Wilderness, as *Moses* did over his, in *Psalm*. 90. 7 9. *We are consumed by thine Anger, and by thy Wrath we are troubled: All our days are passed away in thy Wrath.* And I may add this unto it, *The Wrath of the Devil too has been troubling and spending of us, all our days.*

But what will become of this poor *New-England* after all? Shall we sink, expire, perish, before the short time of the Devil shall be finished? I must confess, That when I consider the lamentable *Unfruitfulness* of men, among us, under as powerful and perspicuous Dispensations of the Gospel, as are in the World; and when I consider the declining state of the *Power of Godliness* in our Churches, with the most horrible Indisposition that perhaps ever was, to recover out of this declension; I cannot but *Fear* lest it comes to this, and lest an *Asiatic Removal* of *Candlesticks* come upon us. But upon some other Accounts, I would fain *hope* otherwise; and I will give you therefore the opportunity to try what Inferences may be drawn from these probable Prognostications.

I say, *First*, That surely, *America's Fate*, must at the long run include *New-Englands* in it. What was the design of our God, in bringing over so many *Europeans* hither of later years? Of what use or state will *America* be, when the *Kingdom of God* shall come? If it must all be the Devils propriety, while the *saved Nations* of the other Hæmisphere shall be *Walking in the Light of the New Jerusalem*, Our *New-England* has then, 'tis likely, done all that it was erected for. But if God have a purpose to make here a seat for any of those glorious things which are spoken of thee, O thou *City of God*; then even thou, O *New-England*, art within a very little while of better days than ever yet have dawn'd upon thee.

I say, *Secondly*, That tho' there be very *Threatning* Symptoms on *America*, yet there are some *hopeful* ones. I confess, when one thinks upon the crying Barbarities with which the most of those *Europeans* that have Peopled this New world, became the Masters of it; it looks but *Ominously*. When one also thinks how much the way of living in many parts of *America*, is utterly inconsistent with the very *Essentials of Christianity*; yea, how much Injury and Violence is there-
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in done to *Humanity* it self; it is enough to damp the Hopes of the most Sanguine Complexion. And the *Frown* of Heaven which has hitherto been upon Attempts of better Gospellizing the Plantations, considered, will but increase the *Damp*. Nevertheless, on the other side, what shall be said of all the *Promises*, That our Lord *Jesus Christ* shall have the uttermost parts of the Earth for his Possession? and of all the *Prophecies*, That *All the ends of the Earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord*? Or does it look agreeably, That such a rich quarter of the World, equal in some regards to all the rest, should never be out of the *Devils* hands, from the first Inhabitation unto the last Dissolution of it? No sure; why may not the *last* be the *first*? and the *Sun of Righteousness* come to shine *brightest*, in Climates which it rose *latest* upon!

I say, *Thirdly*, That as it fares with *Old England*, so it will be most likely to fare with *New-England*. For which cause, by the way, there may be more of the Divine Favour in the present Circumstances of our dependence on *England*, than we are well aware of. This is very sure, if matters go ill with our *Mother*, her poor *American Daughter* here, must feel it; nor could our former Happy Settlement have hindered our sympathy in that Unhappiness. But if matters go Well in the Three Kingdoms; as long as God shall bless the English Nation, with Rulers that shall encourage *Piety, Honesty, Industry*, in their Subjects, and that shall cast a Benign Aspect upon the Interests of our Glorious Gospel, *Abroad* as well as at *Home*; so long, *New-England* will at least keep its head above water: and so much the more, for our comfortable Settlement in such a Form as we are now cast into. Unless there should be any singular, destroying, *Topical Plagues*, whereby an offended God should at last make us *Rise*; But, *Alas, O Lord, what other Hive hast thou provided for us!*

I say, *Fourthly*, That the *Elder England* will certainly and speedily be Visited with the *ancient loving kindness* of God. When one sees, how strangely the Curse of our *Joshua*, has fallen upon the Persons and Houses of them that have attempted the Rebuilding of the *Old Roman Jericho*, which has there been so far demolished, they cannot but say, That the *Reformation* there; shall not only be maintained, but also pursued, proceeded, perfected; and that God will shortly there have a *New Jerusalem*. Or, Let a Man in his thoughts run over but the series of amazing Providences towards the English Nation for the last *Thirty Years*: Let him reflect, how many *Plots* for the ruine of the Nation, have been strangely discovered? yea, how very unaccountably those very *Persons*, yea, I may also say, and those very *Methods* which were intended for the tools of that ruine, have become the instruments or occasions of Deliverances? A man cannot but say upon these Reflections,

ctions, as the Wife of *Maroah* once prudently expressed her self, *If the Lord were pleased to have Destroyed us, He would not have shew'd us all these things.* Indeed, It is not unlikely, that the Enemies of the English Nation, may yet provoke such a *Shake* unto it, as may perhaps exceed any that has hitherto been undergone: the Lord prevent the Machinations of his Adversaries! But that *shake* will usher in the most glorious Times that ever arose upon the English Horizon. As for the French Cloud which hangs over *England*, tho' it be like to Rain showers of Blood upon a Nation, where the Blood of the Blessed Jesus has been too much treated as an *Unholy Thing*; yet I believe God will shortly scatter it: and my belief is grounded upon a bottom that will bear it. If that overgrown *French Leviathan* should accomplish any thing like a Conquest of *England*, what could there be to hinder him from the Universal Empire of the *West*? But the *Visions* of the Western World, in the *Views* both of *Daniel* and of *John*, do assure us, that whatever Monarch, shall while the *Papacy* continues go to swallow up the *Ten Kings* which received their Power upon the Fall of the Western Empire, he must miscarry in the Attempt. The *French Phactons* Epitaph seems written in that, *Sure Word of Prophecy.*

[Since the making of this Conjecture, there are arriv'd unto us, the News of a Victory obtain'd by the *English* over the *French*, which further confirms our Conjecture; and causes us to sing, *Pharaohs Chariots, and his Host, has the Lord cast down into the Sea; Thy right-hand has dashed in pieces the Enemy!*]

Now, *In the Salvation of England*, the Plantations cannot but Rejoyce, and *New-England* also will be Glad.

But so much for our *Corollaries*, I hasten to the main thing designed for your entertainment. And that is,

An Hortatory and Necessary Address, To a Country now Extraordinarily Alarm'd by the Wrath of the Devil. 'Tis this,

Let us now make a good and a right use of the prodigious descent which the *Devil* in *Great Wrath* is at this day making upon our Land. Upon the Death of a Great Man once, an Orator call'd the Town together, crying out, *Concurrere Cives, Dilapsa sunt vestra Mœnia!* that is, *Come together, Neighbours, your Town-Walls are fallen down!* But such is the descent of the *Devil* at this day upon our selves, that I may truly tell you, *The Walls of the whole World are broken down!* The usual *Walls* of defence about mankind have such a Gap made in them, that the very *Devils* are broke in upon us, to seduce the *Souls*, torment the *Bodies*, sully the *Credits*, and consume the *Estates* of our Neighbours, with

with Impressions both as *real* and as *furious*, as if the *Invisible World* were becoming *Incarnate*, on purpose for the vexing of us. And what use ought now to be made of so tremendous a dispensation? We are engaged in a *Fast* this day; but shall we try to fetch *Meat* out of the *Eater*, and make the *Lion* to afford some *Hony* for our *Souls*?

That the Devil is come down unto us with great *Wrath*, we find, we feel, we now deplore. In many ways, for many years hath the Devil been assaying to Extirpate the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus here. *New-England* may complain of the Devil, as in *Psal. 129. 1, 2.* *Many a time have they afflicted me, from my Youth, may New-England now say; many a time have they afflicted me from my Youth; yet they have not prevailed against me.* But now there is a more than ordinary affliction, with which the Devil is Galling of us: and such an one as is indeed Unparallelable. The things confessed by *Witches*, and the things endured by *Others*, laid together, amount unto this account of our Affliction. The Devil, Exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black man*, has decoy'd a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures, to list themselves in his horrid Service, by entering their Names in a *Book* by him tendred unto them. These *Witches*, whereof above a Score have now Confessed, and shown their Deeds, and some are now tormented by the Devils, for Confessing, have met in *Hellish Rendezvouses*, wherein the Confessors do say, they have had their diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptism* and the *Supper* of our Lord. In these hellish meetings, these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a thing than, *To destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, in these parts of the World*; and in order hereunto, First they each of them have their *Spectres*, or Devils, commission'd by them, & representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked *Spectres*, they sieze poor people about the Country, with various & bloody *Torments*; and of those evidently Preternatural torments there are some have dy'd. They have bewitched some, even so far as to make *Self-destroyers*: and others are in many Towns here and there languishing under their *Evil hands*. The people thus afflicted, are miserably scratched and bitten, so that the Marks are most visible to all the World, but the causes utterly invisible; and the same Invisible Furies do most visibly stick Pins into the bodies of the afflicted, and scale them, and hideously distort, and disjoint all their members, besides a thousand other sorts of *Plagues* beyond these of any natural diseases which they give unto them. Yea, they sometimes drag the poor people out of their chambers, and carry them over Trees and Hills, for divers miles together: A large part of the persons tortured by these Diabolical *Spectres*, are horribly tempted by them, sometimes with fair promises,

promises, and sometimes with hard threatnings, but always with felt miseries, to sign the *Devils Laws* in a Spectral Book laid before them; which two or three of these poor Sufferers, being by their tiresome sufferings overcome to do, they have immediately been released from all their miseries and they appear'd in Spectre then to Torture those that were before their Fellow-Sufferers. The *Witches* which by their covenant with the Devil, are become Owners of *Spectres*, are oftentimes by their own *Spectres* required and compelled to give their consent, for the molestation of some, which they had no mind otherwise to fall upon; and cruel depredations are then made upon the Vicinage. In the Prosecution of these Witchcrafts, among a thousand other unaccountable things, the *Spectres* have an odd faculty of cloathing the most substantial and corporeal Instruments of Torture, with Invisibilty, while the wounds thereby given have been the most palpable things in the World; so that the Sufferers assaulted with Instruments of Iron, wholly unseen to the standers by, though, to their cost, seen by themselves, have, upon snatching, wrested the Instruments out of the *Spectres* hands, and every one has then immediately not only beheld, but handled, an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbour. These wicked *Spectres* have proceeded so far, as to steal several quantities of Money from divers people, part of which Money has, before sufficient Spectators, been dropt out of the Air into the Hands of the Sufferers, while the *Spectres* have been urging them to subscribe their *Covenant with Death*. In such extravagant ways have these Wretches propounded, the *Dragooning* of as many as they can, in their own Combination, and the *Destroying* of others, with lingring, spreading, deadly diseases; till our Countrey should at last become too hot for us. Among the Ghastly Instances of the *success* which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own Children, so dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy, it is found, the *Imps* have sucked them, and rendred them Venemous to a Prodigy. We have also seen the Devils first batteries upon the Town, where the first Church of our Lord in this Colony was gathered, producing those distractions, which have almost ruin'd the Town. We have seen likewise the *Plague* reaching afterwards into other Towns far and near, where the Houses of good Men have the Devils filling of them with terrible Vexations!

This is the Descent, which, it seems, the Devil has now made upon us. But that which makes this Descent the more formidable, is; The *multitude* and *quality* of Persons accused of an interest in this *Witchcraft*, by the Efficacy of the *Spectres* which take their Name and shape upon them; causing very many good and wise Men to fear,
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That many *innocent*, yea, and some *virtuous* persons, are by the Devils in this matter, imposed upon; That the Devils have obtain'd the power, to take on them the likeness of harmless people, and in that likeness to afflict other people, and be so abused by *Præstigious Demons*, that upon their look or touch, the afflicted shall be odly affected. Arguments from the *Providence of God*, on the one side, and from our *Charity* towards *Man* on the other side, have made this now to become a most agitated Controversie among us. There is an *Agony* produced in the Minds of Men, lest the Devil should sham us with *De-vices*, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practis'd upon the World. The whole business is become hereupon so *Snarled*, and the determination of the Question one way or another, so *dismal*, that our Honourable Judges have a Room for *Jehoshaphat's* Exclamation, *We know not what to do!* They have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the *Spectral Evidences*, to introduce their further Enquiries into the *Lives* of the persons accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with *other evidences*, that some of the *Witch Gang* have been fairly Executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the *evidence* is chiefly founded in the *dark world*? Here they do solemnly demand our Addresses to the *Father of Lights*, on their behalf. But in the mean time, the Devil improves the *Darkness* of this Affair, to push us into a *Blind Mans Buffet*, and we are even ready to be *sinfully*, yea, hotly, and madly, mauling one another in the *dark*.

The consequence of these things, every *considerate* Man trembles at; and the more, because the frequent cheats of Passion, and Rumour, do precipitate so many, that I wish I could say, The most were *considerate*.

But that which carries on the formidableness of our Trials, unto that which may be called, *A wrath unto the uttermost*, is this: It is not without the *wrath* of the Almighty God himself, that the *Devil* is permitted thus to come down upon us in *wrath*. It was said, in *Isa. 9. 19.* *Through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, the Land is darkned.* Our Land is *darkned* indeed; since the *Powers of Darkness* are turned in upon us: 'tis a *dark time*, yea a black night indeed, now the *Ty-dogs* of the Pit are abroad among us: but, *it is through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts!* Inasmuch as the *Fire-brands* of *Hell* it self are used for the scorching of us, with cause enough may we cry out, *What means the heat of this anger?* Blessed Lord! Are all the other Instruments of thy Vengeance, too good for the chastisement of such transgressors as we are? Must the very *Devils* be sent out of *Their own place*, to be our Troublers: Must we be lath'd with *Scorpions*, fetch'd from the *Place of Torment?*

Torment? Must this *Wilderness* be made a Receptacle for the *Dragons of the Wilderness*? If a *Lapland* should nourish in it vast numbers, the successors of the old *Biarimi*, who can with looks or words bewitch other people, or sell Winds to Marriners, and have their *Familiar Spirits* which they bequeath to their Children when they die, and by their Enchanted Kettle-Drums can learn things done a Thousand Leagues off; If a *Swedeland* should afford a Village, where some scores of Hags, may not only have their Meetings with *Familiar Spirits*, but also by their Enchantments drag many scores of poor children out of their Bed-chambers, to be spoiled at those Meetings; This, were not altogether a matter of so much wonder! But that *New-England* should this way be harassed! They are not *Chaldeans*, that *Bitter and Hasty Nation*, but they are, *Bitter and Burning Devils*; They are not *Swarthy Indians*, but they are *Sooty Devils*; that are let loose upon us. Ah, Poor *New-England*! Must the plague of *Old Ægypt* come upon thee? Whereof we read in *Psal. 78. 49.* *He cast upon them the fierceness of his Anger, Wrath, and Indignation, and Trouble, by sending Evil Angels among them.* What, O what must next be looked for? Must that which is there next mentioned, be next encountered? *He spared not their soul from death, but gave their life over to the Pestilence.* For my part, when I consider what *Melancthon* says, in one of his *Epistles*, *That these Diabolical Spectacles are often Prodiges*; and when I consider, how often people have been by *Spectres* called upon, just before their Deaths; I am verily afraid, lest some wasting *Mortality* be among the things, which this *Plague* is the *Forerunner* of. I pray God prevent it!

But now, *What shall we do?*

I. Let the Devils coming down in great wrath upon us, cause us to come down in great grief before the Lord. We may truly and sadly say, *We are brought very low!* Low indeed, when the Serpents of the dust, are crawling and coyling about us, and Insulting over us. May we not say, *We are in the very belly of Hell*, when *Hell* it self is feeding upon us? But how Low is that! O let us then most penitently lay our selves very Low before the God of Heaven, who has thus Abased us. When a *Truculent Nero*, a *Devil of a Man*, was turned in upon the World, it was said, in *1 Pet. 5. 6.* *Humble your selves under the mighty hand of God.* How much more now ought we to humble our selves under that *Mighty Hand* of that God who indeed has the *Devil* in a *Chain*, but has horribly lengthened out the *Chain*! When the old people of God heard any *Blasphemies*, tearing of his Ever-Blessed Name to pieces, they were to *Rend their Cloaths* at what they heard. I am sure that we have cause to *Rend our Hearts* this Day, when we see
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what an High Treason has been committed against the most high God, by the Witchcrafts in our Neighbourhood. We may say; and shall we not be *humbled* when we say it? *We have seen an horrible thing done in our Land!* O 'tis a most humbling thing, to think, that ever there should be such an abomination among us, as for a crew of humane race, to renounce their *Maker*, and to unite with the *Devil*, for the troubling of mankind, and for People to be, (as is by some confess'd) *Baptized* by a *Fiend* using this form upon them, *Thou art mine, and I have a full power over thee!* afterwards communicating in an *Hellish Bread and Wine*, by that *Fiend* administered unto them. It was said in Deut. 18. 10, 11, 12. *There shall not be found among you an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Conjurer with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer; For all that do these things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of these Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee.* That *New-England* now should have these *Abominations* in it, yea, that some of no mean *Profession*, should be found guilty of them: Alas, what *Humiliations* are we all hereby oblig'd unto? O 'tis a *Defiled Land*, wherein we live; Let us be *humbled* for these *Defiling Abominations*, lest we be driven out of our Land. It's a very *humbling* thing to think, what reproaches will be cast upon us, for this matter, among *The Daughters of the Philistines*. Indeed, enough might easily be said for the vindication of this Country from the *Singularity* of this matter, by ripping up, what has been discovered in others. *Great Britain* alone, and this also in our days of *Greatest Light*, has had that in it, which may divert the *Calumnies* of an ill-natured World, from centring here. They are words of the Devout Bishop *Hall*, *Satans prevalency in this Age, is most clear in the marvellous Number of Witches abounding in all places. Now Hundreds are discovered in one Shire; and, if Fame Deceives us not, in a Village of Fourteen Houses in the North, are found so many of this Damned Brood. Yea, and those of both Sexes, who have Professed much Knowledge, Holiness, and Devotion, are drawn into this Damnable Practice, I suppose the Doctor in the first of those Passages, may refer to what happened in the Year 1645. When so many Vassals of the Devil were Detected, that there were Thirty try'd at one time, whereas about fourteen were Hang'd and an Hundred more detained in the Prisons of Suffolk and Essex. Among other things which many of these Acknowledged, one was, That they were to undergo certain Punishments, if they did not such and such *Hurts*, as were appointed them. And, among the rest that were then Executed, there was an Old Parson, called *Louis*, who confessed, That he had a couple of *Imps*, whereof one was always putting him upon the doing of *Mischief*; Once particularly, that *Imp* calling for his Consent to do, went immediately and Sunk a *Ship*, then under Sail. I pray, let not *New-England* become of an *Unfavoury* and a *Sulphureous* Resentment in the Opinion of the World abroad, for the *Doleful* things which are now fallen out among us, while there are such *Histories* of other places abroad in the World. Nevertheless, I am sure that we, the People of *New-England*, have cause enough to *Humble* our selves under our most *Humbling* Circumstances. We must no more be *Haughty*, because of the *Lords Holy Mountain* among us; No it becomes us rather to be, *Humble*, because we have been such an *Habitation* of *Unholy Devils*!*

II. Since the Devil is come down in great wrath upon us, let not us in our great wrath against one another provide a *Lodging* for him. It was a most wholesome caution, in Eph 4. 25. 27. *Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath: Neither give place to the Devil.* The Devil is come down to see what *Quarter* he shall find among us: And if his coming down, do not fill us with *wrath* against one another, and if between the cause of the *Sufferers* on one hand, and the cause of the *Suspected* on t'other, we carry things to such extremes of *Passion* as are now gaining upon us, the Devil will Bless himself, to find such a convenient *Lodging* as we shall therein afford unto him. And it may be that the *wrath* which we have had against one another has had more than a little influence upon the coming down of the Devil in that *wrath* which now amazes us. Have not many of us been *Devil*-one unto another for *Slandering*, for *Backbitings*, for *Animosities*? For this, among other causes, perhaps, God has permitted the *Devils* to be worrying, as they now are, among us. But it is high time to leave off all *Devilism*, when the *Devil* himself is falling upon us: And it is no time for us to be *Censuring* and *Reviling* one another, with a *Devilish* *wrath*, when the *wrath* of the *Devil* is annoying of us. The way for us to out-wit the *Devil*, in the *Wars* with which he now fights

us, would be for us to joyn as one man in our cries to God, for the Directing, and Issuing of this Thorney Business; but if we do not *List up* our Hands to Heaven, without *Wrath*, we cannot then do it without *Doubt*, of speeding in it. I am ashamed when I read French Authors giving this Character of Englishmen [*Ils se haïssent Les uns les autres, & sont en Division Continue.*] They hate one another, and are always Quarrelling one with another. And I shall be much more ashamed, if it become the Character of *New-Englanders*; which is indeed what the Devil would have. *Satan* would make us bruise one another, by breaking of the *Peace* among us; but O let us disappoint him. We read of a thing that sometimes happens to the Devil, when he is flaming with his *Wrath*, in *Mat. 12. 43.* *The unclean Spirit seeks rest, and finds none.* But we give rest unto the Devil, by *wrath* one against another. If we would lay aside all fierceness, and keenness, in the disputes which the Devil has raised among us; and if we would use to one another none but the *soft Answers*, which turn away *wrath*: I should hope that we might light upon such Counsels, as would quickly Extricate us out of our *Labyrinths*. But the old *Incenariary* of the world, is come from Hell, with *Sparks* of Hell-Fire-flashing on every side of him; and we make our selves *Tinder* to the Sparks. When the Emperour *Henry III.* kept the Feast of *Pentecost*, at the City *Mantz*, there arose a discussion among some of the people there, which came from words to blows, and at last it passed on to the shedding of Blood. After the Tumult was over, when they came to that clause in their Devotions; *Thou hast made this day Glorious*; the Devil to the unexpressible Terror of that vast Assembly, made the Temple Ring with that Outcry. *But I have made this Day Quarrelsome!* We are truly come into a day, which by being well managed might be very *Glorious*, for the exterminating of those *Accursed things*, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Prosperity; but if we make this day *Quarrelsome*, thro' any *Raging Confidences*, Alas, O Lord, my *Flesh Trembles for Fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments.* *Erasmus*, among other Historians, tells us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a Witch or Devil, appeared on the Top of a Chimney, Threatning to set the Town on *Fire*: And at length, Scattering a Pot of Ashes abroad, the Town was presently and horribly Burnt unto the Ground. Methinks, I see the *Spectres*, from the Top of the Chimneys to the Northward, threatning to scatter *Fire*, about the Countrey; but let us quench that *Fire*, by the most amicable Correspondencies: Lest, as the *Spectres*, have, they say, already most Literally burnt some of our Dwellings there do come forth a further *Fire* from the *Brambles* of Hell, which may more terribly Devour us. Let us not be like a *Troubled House*, altho' we are so much haunted by the *Devils*. Let our *Long suffering* be a well-placed piece of *Armour*, about us, against the *Fifty Darts* of the wicked ones. History informs us, That so long ago, as the year, 858. a certain Pestilent and Malignant sort of a *Dæmon*, molested *Cannont* in *Germany* with all sorts of methods to stir up strife among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detected Villanies, he branded people with all kind of Infamies. He incensed the Neighbourhood against one Man particularly, as the cause of all the mischiefs: who yet proved himself innocent. He threw stones at the Inhabitants, and at length burnt their Habitations, till the Commission of the *Dæmon* could go no further. I say, Let us be well aware lest such *Dæmons* do Come hither also.

III. Inasmuch as the Devil is come down in *Great Wrath*, we had need Labour, with all the Care and Speed we can to Divert the *Great Wrath* of Heaven from coming at the same time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions, been calling us to a *Reformation of our Provoking Evils*, as the only way to avoid that *Wrath* of His, which does not only Threaten but Consume us. 'Tis because we have been Deaf to those Calls, that we are now by a provoked God, laid open to the *Wrath* of the Devil himself. It is said in *Pr. 16. 7.* *When a mans ways please the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The Devil is our grand *Enemy*; and tho' we would not be at peace with him, yet we would be at peace from him, that is, we would have him unable to disquiet our peace. But inasmuch as the *wrath* which we endure from this *Enemy*, will allow us no peace, we may be sure, our ways have not pleased the Lord. It is because we have broken the hedge of Gods Precepts, that the hedge of Gods Providence is not so entire as it uses to be about us; but Serpents are biting of us. O let us then se