

**MATHER COTTON, CALEF
ROBERT**

**THE WITCHCRAFT
DELUSION IN NEW
ENGLAND: ITS RISE,
PROGRESS, AND
TERMINATION (VOL 3
OF 3)**

**Robert Calef
Cotton Mather**

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and Termination (Vol 3 of 3)**

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(Vol 3 of 3):*

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Содержание

PART V	4
An Impartial Account of the most Memorable Matters of Fact, touching the supposed Witchcraft in New-England	4
An Account how John Aldin, ²⁵ Senior, was dealt with at Salem-Village	27
To Mr. John Arnold, Keeper of the Prison in Boston, in the County of Suffolk. ²⁷	30
The Indictment of George Burroughs. ⁵⁸	61
The Tryal of G. B. as Printed in Wonders of the Invisible World, from P. 94 to 104	63
Конец ознакомительного фрагмента.	74

Cotton Mather, Robert Calef The Witchcraft Delusion in New England: Its Rise, Progress, and Termination (Vol 3 of 3)

PART V

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

Matters of Fact.

MR. *Parris*¹ had been some years a Minister in *Salem-Village*,

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

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

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

It was the latter end of *February* 1691,² when divers young Persons belonging to Mr. *Parris's* Family, and one or more of the Neighbourhood, began to [91] Act, after a strange & unusual manner, *viz.* as by getting into Holes, and creeping under Chairs and Stools, and to use sundry odd Postures and

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

² It is remarkable that this Case should not be noticed in the *Wonders of the Invisible World*. It is told in Lawon's *Narrative*, Page 3. See also *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, 49, where by Parris's Deposition, his Age is stated at "Thirty and nine."

Antick Gestures, uttering foolish, ridiculous Speeches, which neither they themselves nor any others could make sense of; the Physicians³ that were called could assign no reason for this; but it seems one of them, having recourse to the old shift, told them he was afraid they were Bewitched; upon such suggestions, they that were concerned, applied themselves to Fasting and Prayer, which was attended not only in their own private Families, but with calling in the help of others.

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

A few days before this Solemn day of Prayer, Mr. *Parris's* *Indian* Man and Woman made a Cake of Rye Meal, with the Childrens Water, and Baked it in the Ashes, and as is said, gave it to the Dog; this was done as a means to Discover Witchcraft; soon after which those ill affected or afflicted Persons named several that they said they saw, when in their Fits, afflicting of

³ None of the Accounts give the Names of the "Physicians." "One or two of the First that were Afflicted, Complaining of unusual Illness their Relations used Physic for their *Cure*, but it was altogether in vain." —*Lawson, Second Edition, 97-8.*

them.

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

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

⁴ She is said to have been a Slave, formerly in New Spain. When arrested and searched, the Marks on her Body produced by the Sting of the Spaniard's Whip, were said to be made by the Devil. —*Hanson, Hist. Danvers*, 273. Her first Examination was on the 1st of March, 1691-2. It occupies four full Pages of Foolscap, and is in the Editor's possession, and has never been published. There is no copy at Salem, probably, as it does not appear in Mr. Woodward's Publication.

⁵ The two Magistrates were John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin. William Allen, John Hughes, William Good and Samuel Braybrook were Witnesses against Sarah Good. Allen swore, that on the 1st of March, in the Night, he saw a strange and unusual Beast lying on the Ground, which, when he came up to it, it vanished away; and in the Place thereof, started up two or three Women, who fled, though not as other Women,

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

March the 21st, Goodwife *Cory*⁶ was examined before the Magistrates of *Salem*, at the Meeting House in the Village, a throng of Spectators being present to see the Novelty. Mr. *Noyes*,⁷ one of the Ministers of *Salem* began with Prayer, after which the Prisoner being call'd, in order to answer to what should be Alledged against her, she desired that she might go to Prayer, and was answered by the Magistrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.

The number of the Afflicted were at that time about Ten,

and soon vanished out of Sight. It was about an Hour within Night, and he took the Women to be Sarah Good, Sarah Osborn, and Tittabe. John Hughes was with him and swore likewise. See *Records S. W.*, i, 38, where much more of the same Tenor may be seen.

⁶ Martha Cory was witnessed against by Edward Putnam and Henry Keney, at the Commencement; and the Mittimus sets forth that she is the Wife of Giles Cory, of Salem Farms. At the same Time were committed Rebecka Nurse, Wife of Francis Nurse, of Salem Village, Husbandman; Dorothy Good, Daughter of William Good; Sarah Cloyce, the Wife of Peter Cloyce, of Salem Village; John Proctor, of Salem Farms, and Elizabeth his Wife. They were charged with afflicting Ann Putnam, Daughter of Thomas Putnam, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard, and others.

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

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

⁸ Indifferently written in the Records *Bibber* and *Vibber*. The true Name appears to be *Bibber*. Sarah *Bibber*, in her Testimony against Sarah Good, gives her Age as 36. She gave Evidence against nine Persons at different Times. Not much has been found about her beyond her own Testimony. She appears to have had a Husband, who had the Prefix Goodman. At one Time she and her Husband lived at the House of Joseph Fowler. Fowler gave her a bad Character; as given to Tattling and Mischiefmaking; would call her Husband bad Names, was "of a very turbulent, unruly Spirit." Also Thomas Jacobs and his Wife Mary, said that "Good *Bibber* did for a Time surjine [sojourn] in their House;" that she "uery often spekeing against one and nother uery obsanely, and wichshing [wishing] uery bad wichchis, and uery often. She wichs that when hor chill [child] fell into the Reuer that she had neuer pull hor child out." That she made ill Wishes against everybody and herself too. "The nayborhud were she liueued amonkes aftor she bered hor fust housbon hes tolld us that this John *Bibber* Wife coud fall into fitts as she plesed." —*Records S. W.*, ii, 204-5. Neither Felt nor Savage appear to have met with either the Name of *Bibber* or *Vibber*.

⁹ "It was several Times observed, that when they were discoursed with about GOD or CHRIST, or the Things of *Salvation*, they were presently afflicted at a dreadful Rate, and hence were oftentimes *Outragious*, if they were permitted to be in the Congregation, in the Time of the Publick Worship." —*Lawson, Second Edit.*, 98. "On Lord's Day, the 20th of *March* were sundry of the afflicted Persons at Meeting, as Mrs. *Pope* [Wife of Mr. Joseph P.], Goodwife *Bibber*, *Abigail Williams*, *Mary Walcut*, *Mary Lewes*, and Docter *Grigg's* Maid. There was also at Meeting Goodwife C. [Cory] (who was afterward Examined on Suspicion of being a *Witch*;) They had several sore Fits, in the Time of Publick Worship, which did something interrupt me in my first Prayer; being so unusual. After Psalm was Sung, *Abigail Williams* said to me, *Now stand up*, and *Name your Text!* And after it was read, she said, *It is a long Text*. In the

present at the Examination, and did vehemently accuse her of Afflicting them, by Biting, Pinching, Strangling, &c. And they said, they did in their Fits see her likeness coming to them, and bringing a Book for them to Sign; Mr. *Hathorn*, a Magistrate of *Salem*, asked her, why she Afflicted those Children? she said, she did not Afflict them, he asked her who did then? she said, I do not know, how should I know? she said, they were Poor Distracted Creatures, and no heed to be given to what they said; Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Noyes* replied that it was the Judgment of all that were there present, that they were bewitched, and only she (the Accused) said they were Distracted: She was Accused by them, that the *Black Man* Whispered to her in her Ear now (while she was upon Examination) and that she had a Yellow Bird, that did use to Suck between her Fingers, and that the said Bird did Suck now in the Assembly; order being given to look in that place to see if there were any sign, the Girl that pretended to see it said, that it was too late now, for she had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head, it was upon search found, that a Pin was there sticking upright. When the Accused had any motion of their

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

Body, Hands or Mouth, the Accusers would cry out, as when she bit a Lip, they would cry out of being bitten, if she grasped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being Pinched by her, and would produce marks, so of the other motions of her Body, as complaining of being Prest, when she lean'd to the seat next her, if she stirred her Feet, they would stamp and cry out of Pain there. After the hearing the said *Cory* was committed to *Salem* Prison, and then their crying out of her abated.

March the 24th, Goodwife *Nurse* was brought before Mr. *Hathorn* and Mr. *Curwin* (Magistrates) in the Meeting House, Mr. *Hale* Minister of *Beverly*, began with Prayer, after which she being Accus'd of much the same Crimes made the like answers, asserting her own Innocence with earnestness. The Accusers were mostly the same, *Tho Putmans* Wife, &c. complaining much. The dreadful Shreiking from her and others, was very amazing, which was heard at a great distance; she was also Committed to Prison.¹⁰

¹⁰ The Warrant for the Apprehension of Rebecca Nurse is dated 23 March, 169½. The Day following, the Marshal, George Herrick, made his Return, that he had brought her to the house of *Nath. Ingersal*, where she was in Custody. The Witnesses were Ann Puttnam, Jr., Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, and Elizabeth Hubbard. Mary Walcott's Age was about 17; Elizabeth Hubbard's also about 17. Nothing could be too abominable for these Miscreants to make up and swear to. Mary Walcott said, among other things, that besides being "most grievously afflicted by" being bitten, pinched, and almost choked by the Prisoner, because she would not write in her Book, Goody N. said she would kill her if she did not; and on the 3rd of May, in the Evening the Apparition of the Prisoner told her "she had an Hand in the Deaths of Benjamin Holton, John Harrod, Rebekah Sheppard and seuerall others." Abigail Williams's Testimony is much the same. She heard the Accused confess (by her

A Child of *Sarah Goods*, was likewise apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years Old, the Accusers said this Child bit them, and would shew such like marks, as those of a small Sett of Teeth upon their Arms, as many of the Afflicted as the Child cast its Eye upon, would complain they were in Torment; which Child they also Committed.

Concerning these that had been hitherto Examined and Committed, it is among other things observed, by Mr. *Lawson* (in Print¹¹) that they were by the Accusers charged, to belong to a Company that did muster in Arms, and were reported by them to keep Days of Fast, Thanksgiving and Sacraments; and that those Afflicted (or Accusers) did in the Assembly, Cure each other, even with a touch of their hand, when strangled and otherways

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

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

tortured, and would endeavour to get to the Afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not used the Experiment of bringing the Accused to touch the Afflicted, in order to their Cure) and could foretell one anothers Fits to be coming, and would say, look to such a one, she will have a Fit presently and so it happened, and that at the same time when the Accused person was present, the Afflicted said they saw her *Spectre* or likeness in other places of the Meeting House Sucking [suckling] their Familiars.

The said Mr. *Lawson* being to Preach at the Village, after the Psalm was Sung, *Abigail Williams* said, *Now Stand up and name your Text*; after it was read, she said, *It is a long Text*. Mrs. Pope in the beginning of Sermon said to him, *Now there is enough of that*. In Sermon, he referring to his Doctrine, *Abigail Williams* said to him, *I know no Doctrine you had, if you did name one I have forgot it*. *Ann Putman* an afflicted Girl, said, *There was a Yellow Bird sate on his Hat as it hung on the Pin in the Pulpit*.¹²

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

April 1. *Mercy Lewis* affirmed, *That she saw a man in White,*

¹² Lawson, *First Edition*, Page 4.

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

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

April the 3d. Being Sacrament Day at the Village, *Sarah Cloys*, Sister to Goodwife *Nurse*, a Member of one of the Churches, was (tho' it seems with difficulty prevailed with to be) present; but being entred the place, and Mr. *Parris* naming his Text, *John vi. 70. Have not I chosen you Twelve, and one of you is a Devil* (for what cause may rest as a doubt whether upon the account of her Sisters being committed, or because of the choice of that Text) she rose up and went out, the wind shutting the Door forcibly, gave occasion to some to suppose she went out in Anger, and might occasion a suspicion of her; However she was soon after complain'd of, examin'd and committed.¹⁵

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

¹⁵ The following is the Relation by Lawson, given in his own Words, that the Reader may judge of his accuracy: "The 3d of *April*, the Lord's Day, being Sacrament Day, at the Village, *Good. C.*, upon Mr. *Parris's* naming his Text, *John, 6, 70. One of them is a Devil*, the said *Good. C.* went immediately out of the Meetinghouse, and flung the door after her violently, to the amazement of the Congregation: She was afterwards seen by some in their Fits, who said, *O Goodw. C. I did not think to see you here!* (and being at their *red bread and drink*) said to her, *Is this a Time to receive the Sacrament. You*

April the 11th. By this time the number of the Accused and Accusers being much increased, was a Public Examination at *Salem*, Six of the Magistrates with several Ministers being present, there appeared several who complain'd against others with hidious clamors and Screechings. Goodwife *Proctor*¹⁶ was brought thither, being Accused or cryed out against; her Husband coming to attend and assist her, as there might be need, the Accusers cryed out of him also, and that with so much earnestness, that he was Committed with his Wife. About this time besides the Experiment of the Afflicted falling at the sight, &c. they put the Accused upon saying the Lord's Prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition [*Deliver us from Evil*] she exprest it thus (*Deliver us from all Evil*) this was

ran away on the Lord's Day, and scorned to receive it in the Meetinghouse, and Is this a Time to receive it? I wonder at you! This is the Summ of what I either saw myself, or did receive Information from Persons of undoubted Reputation and Credit." —Page 8.

¹⁶ "On the 11th of April, 1692, a Council was convened at Salem; at which there were present Dep. Gov. Thomas Danforth, James Russell, John Hathorne, Isaac Addington, Maj. Samuel Appleton, Capt. Samuel Sewall and Jonathan Corwin. To them Complaint was exhibited by Capt. Jonathan Wallcott and Lieut. Nathaniell Ingersall, both of Salem Village, on the behalf of several Neighbors, as well as on their own; against Sarah Cloyce, wife of Peter Cloyce of Salem Village, and Elizabeth Proctor, wife of John Proctor of Salem Farms [on the Road towards Boston] for high suspicion of sundry Acts of Witchcraft, committed on the Bodies of Abigail Williams and John Indian, both of Mr. Samuel Parris his Famyly, Mary Walcot, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis, &c." When the Accused were brought before the Council, Mr. Parris "was desired and appointed to wright ye Examination," which he accepted, and the Record is still extant in his Hand-writing. Accordingly Elizabeth Proctor, and her Husband, John Proctor, and Sarah Cloyce were all committed to Prison, "per advise of ye Councill." —*Witchcraft Records*, i. 101-2.

lookt upon as if she Prayed against what she was now justly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating those words [*Hallowed be thy name*] she exprest it [*Hollowed be thy Name*] this was counted a depraving the words, as signifying to make void, and so a Curse rather than a Prayer, upon the whole it was concluded that she also could not say it, &c. Proceeding in this work of examination and Commitment many were sent to Prison. As an Instance, see the following Mittimus:

To their Majesties Goal-keeper in Salem

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

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

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

John Hathorn,	<i>Assistants.</i>
Jona. Curwin,	

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

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692

To Marshall George Herrick

of Salem Essex

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

John Hathorn,	<i>Assistants,</i>
Jona. Curwin,	

Dated Salem, Apr 22, 1692

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

would do so no more; to which *Bishop* replied, that he doubted not, but he could cure them all, with more to the same effect; immediately after he was parted from them, he was cried out of, &c.

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

¹⁸ Dr. Mather affirms that "the *Old Government was Reassumed*, and the *Old Charter* too was *Reassumed*, as far as it was possible to be done; Every thing in the World was done, but only declaring that the *Judgment* passed in the King's Court of Chancery (however it might be thought a Grievance) did the *Charter* no *Damage*; which if some were wiser then to say, who can help it? Well, did I oppose this *Reassumption*! They that were acquainted with me, I am sure, did not think so; and they that sent their *Tory Pamphlets* about the Countrey against me, as an *Impudent Youth* [then aged 26] for my assisting the *Reassumed Government*, I am sure did not think so. Let the things Published for the supporting of the *Reassumed Government*; and particularly the very first *Passage* in the *First Sermon*, at the *Anniversary Election*, which the Deputies of the *General-Court* called me to *Preach* and *Print*, (which by the way, would they have done, if the *Young Man* had been such an one as this Man would render him?) be my Everlasting Apology; and let *Calves* never Bleat, nor *Bulls* (of *Bashan*) Roar against me, on that Point any more." —*Remarks upon a Scandalous Book, &c.*, Pages 46-7.

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

This settlement by Sir *William Phips* his being come Governour put an end to all disputes of these things,²⁰ and being arrived, and having read his Commission, the first thing he exerted his Power in, was said to be his giving Orders that Irons

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

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

²⁰ That is the Disputes respecting the Form of Government.

should be put upon those in Prison; for tho for sometime after these were Committed, the Accusers ceased to cry out of them; yet now the cry against them was renewed, which occasioned such Order; and tho there was partiality in the executing it (some having taken them off almost as soon as put on) yet the cry of these Accusers against such ceased after this Order.²¹

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

I having heard some days, that my Wife was accused of Witchcraft, being much disturbed at it, by advice, we went to Salem-Village, to see if the afflicted knew her; we arrived there, 24. May, it happened to be a day appointed for Examination; accordingly soon after our arrival, Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Curwin, &c. went to the Meeting-house, which was the place appointed for that Work, the Minister began with Prayer, and having taken care to get a convenient place, I observed, that the afflicted were two Girls of about Ten Tears old, and about two or three other, of about eighteen, one of the girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The Prisoners were called in one by one, and

²¹ It appears that some Irons had been prepared before the Arrival of Gov. Phips, though he may have ordered a further Supply, as Prisoners greatly increased about that Time. Mr. Felt, the Annalist of Salem, furnished Mr. J. W. Hanson with a Copy of an Account of the Prison-keeper (John Arnold), of Boston, for various Items used in the Prison. Said Account begins about the 7th of March, 1691-2. On "May 9th, To Chains for Sarah Good and Sarah Osborn, 14 s. May 23d, To Shackles for 10 Prisoners. May 29th, to 1 pr. Irons for Mary Cox," &c. See *Hist. Danvers*, 290. For other Items of this Sort, see *Records of S. W.*, ii, 212, *et seq.*

as they came in were cried out of, &c. The Prisoner was placed about 7 or 8 foot from the Justices, and the Accusers between the Justices and them; the Prisoner was ordered to stand right before the Justices, with an Officer appointed to hold each hand, least they should therewith afflict them, and the Prisoner's Eyes must be constantly on the Justices; for if they look'd on the afflicted, they would either fall into their Fits, or cry out of being hurt by them; after Examination of the Prisoners, who it was afflicted these Girls, &c. they were put upon saying the Lord's Prayer, as a tryal of their guilt; after the afflicted seem'd to be out of their Fits, they would look steadfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak; and then the Justices said they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again; then the Justices said to the Accusers, which of you will go and touch the Prisoner at the Bar? then the most courageous would adventure, but before they had made three steps would ordinarily fall down as in a Fit; the Justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the Prisoner, that she might touch them; and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the Justices would say, they are well, before I could discern any alteration; by which I observed that the Justices understood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a Spectator, my Wife also was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and asked her name.

But I having an opportunity to Discourse Mr. Hale (with whom I had formerly acquaintance) I took his advice, what I had best to

do, and desired of him that I might have an opportunity to speak with her that accused my Wife; which he promised should be, I acquainting him that I reposed my trust in him.

Accordingly he came to me after the Examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to speak with the said Accuser, viz. Abigail Williams, a Girl of 11 or 12 Years old; but that we could not be in private at Mr. Parris's House, as he had promised me; we went therefore into the Alehouse, where an Indian man attended us, who it seems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave some Cyder, he shewed several Scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and shewed them as done by Witchcraft, and acquainted us that his Wife, who also was a Slave, was imprison'd for Witchcraft.²² And now instead of one Accuser, they all came in, who began to tumble down like Swine, and then three Women were called in to attend them. We in the Room were all at a stand, to see who they would cry out of; but in a short time they cried out, Cary: and immediately after a Warrant was sent from the Justices to bring my Wife before them, who were sitting in a Chamber near by, waiting for this.

Being brought before the Justices, her chief accusers were two Girls: my Wife declared to the Justices, that she never had any knowledge of them before that day; she was forced to stand with

²² This was *Tituba*, of whom Mention has been before made. See *Note 4*. Her first Examination is a surprising Document, not only for its Length, but for its Matter; and the Editor cannot but candidly confess that the Questions were more ridiculous than the Answers of the simple Indian Woman, if possible. Her Husband was known as *John Indian*. The original Minutes are in the Editor's Possession.

her Arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and the Sweat from her Face, which I did; then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying, she should faint.

Justice Hathorn replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the Room. The Indian before mentioned, was also brought in to be one of her Accusers: being come in, he now (when before the Justices) fell down and tumbled about like a Hog, but said nothing. The Justices asked the Girls, who afflicted the Indian? they answered she (meaning my wife) and now lay upon him; the Justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest instead of curing, she should make him worse, by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold on her hand, and pulled her down on the Floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extremely troubled at their Inhumane dealings, uttered a hasty Speech [That God would take vengeance on them, and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.] Then her Mittimus was writ; I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a Room, but no beds in it; if there had, could have taken but little rest that Night, she was committed to Boston Prison; but I obtained a Habeas Corpus to remove her to

Cambridge Prison, which is in our County of Middlesex. Having been there one Night, next Morning the Jaylor²³ put Irons on her legs (having received such a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds; these with her other Afflictions, soon brought her into Convulsion Fits, so that I thought she would have died that Night, I sent to intreat that the Irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have saved her Life, so that in this condition she must continue. The Tryals at Salem coming on, I went thither, to see how things were managed; and finding that the Spectre-Evidence was there received, together with Idle, if not Malicious stories, against Peoples Lives, I did easily see which way it would go; for the same Evidence that served for one, would serve for all the rest; I acquainted her with her danger; and that if she were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared she would never return. I did my utmost that she might have her Tryal in our own County, I with several others Petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it; but I soon saw so much, that I understood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon consulting the means of her escape; which thro the goodness of God was effected, and she got to Road Island, but soon found herself not safe when there, by reason of the pursuit after her; from thence she went to New-York, along with some others that had escaped their cruel hands; where we found his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Esq: Governour, who was very courteous to us. After this some of

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

my Goods were seized in a Friends hands, with whom I had left them, and myself imprisoned by the Sheriff, and kept in Custody half a day, and then dismiss; but to speak of their usage of the Prisoners, and their Inhumanity shewn to them, at the time of their Execution, no sober Christian could bear; they had also tryals of cruel mockings; which is the more, considering what a People for Religion, I mean the profession of it, we have been; those that suffered being many of them Church-Members, and most of them unspotted in their Conversation, till their Adversary the Devil took up this Method for accusing them.

*Per Jonathan Cary.*²⁴

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

²⁴ It would seem from the *Records*, (as published by Mr. Woodward) that Cary's name was *Nathaniel*. In *Savage*, we find that *Jonathan Cary* of Charlestown had Wife *Hannah Winsor*; that *Nathaniel* was Brother to *Jonathan*, and that they were Sons to *James Cary*, who came to Charlestown in or before 1639. Complaint was made against Mrs. Cary by Mr. *Thomas Putnam* and *Benjamin Hatchinson*, both of Salem Village. The Complaint was that she had bewitched the miscreant Girls before-mentioned, *Mary Walcott*, *Abigall Willyams* and *Mercy Lewis*. Mrs. Cary's Husband is styled "Capt. Nathaniell Cary of Charls Towne, Marener." —*Records*, ii., 196.

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

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

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

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

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

Aldin? *She said, the Man told her so.*

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

The Accusers cried out that Aldin did pinch them, then, when he stood upon the Chair, in the sight of all the People, a good way distant from them, one of the Magistrates bid the Marshal to hold open Aldin's hands, that he might not pinch those Creatures. Aldin asked them why they should think, that he should come to that Village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before? Mr. Gidney bid Aldin confess, and give glory to God: Aldin said he hoped he should give glory to God, and hoped he should never gratifie the Devil; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever suspected him to be such a person, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give suspicion of his being such an one. Mr. Gidney said he had known Aldin many Years, and had been at Sea with him, and always look'd upon him to be an honest Man, but now he did see cause to alter his judgment: Aldin answered, he was sorry

for that, but he hoped God would clear up his Innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he should with Job maintain his Integrity till he died. They bid Aldin look upon the Accusers, which he did, and then they fell down. Aldin asked Mr. Gidney, what reason there could be given, why Aldin's looking upon him did not strike him down as well? but no reason was given that I heard. But the Accusers were brought to Aldin to touch them, and this touch they said made them well. Aldin began to speak of the Providence of God, in suffering these Creatures to accuse Innocent persons; Mr. Noyes asked Aldin why he would offer to speak of the Providence of God, God by his Providence (said Mr. Noyes) governs the World, and keeps it in peace; and so went on with Discourse, and stopt Aldin's mouth, as to that. Aldin told Mr. Gidney, that he could assure him that there was a lying Spirit in them, for I can assure you that there is not a word of truth in all these say of me. But Aldin was again committed to the Marshal, and his Mittimus written, which was as follows.

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

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

John Hathorn,	<i>Assistants.</i>
Jonathan Curwin,	

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

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

Per. John Aldin.

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

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

June 2. A special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, having been Issued out, to Mr. *Stoughton*, the New Lieutenant Governour, Major *Saltonstall*, Major *Richards*, Major *Gidny*, Mr. *Wait Winthrop*, Captain *Sewall*, and Mr. *Sergeant*;²⁹ These (a

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

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

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

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

That they were affected with the deplorable state of the afflicted; That they were thankful for the diligent care of the Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country, praying for a perfect discovery thereof. But advised to a cautious proceeding, least many Evils ensue, &c. And that tenderness be used towards those accused, relating to matters presumptive and convictive, and also to privacy in Examinations, and to consult Mr. *Perkins* and

Sewall.

³⁰ See the long and tedious Testimonies against her in Vol. I, Pages 163-174, and of the same ridiculous Character as others; yet not so ridiculous there as in the original *Records*, which see. Ezekiel Cheever took down the Examination.

Mr. *Bernard*, what tests to make use of in the Scrutiny: That Presumptions and Convictions ought to have better grounds, than the Accusers affirming that they see such persons Spectres afflicting them; and that the Devil may afflict in the shape of good Men; and that falling at the sight, and rising at the touch of the Accused, is no infallible proof of guilt; That seeing the Devils strength consists in such Accusations, our disbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful Calamities; Nevertheless they humbly recommend to the Government, the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the Laws of God, and the wholesome Statutes of the *English Nation*, for the Detection of Witchcraft.³¹

This is briefly the substance of what may be seen more at large in *Cases of Conscience*, (*ult.*) And one of them since taking occasion to repeat some part of this advice, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 83. declares, (notwithstanding the

³¹ Of this Abstract Dr. Mather says: "His first and main Design is to render me odious unto the Countrey, as being one chief *Abettor* of that Opinion, That the Devils cannot afflict in the Shape of an Innocent Person; and as being an *Inciter* of the Judges, to the Conviction of *Witchcrafts* upon that Opinion. It is very certain that his Conscience must needs tell him, this is a most *Lying Accusation*. For in my Book of *Memorable Providences*, which I writ before the Troubles at *Salem*, and even *before I was so fully acquainted with the Wiles of Satan*, (for my saying of which, on a certain Occasion, he flouts at me) I have a whole Paragraph to caution against *accounting a bewitched Persons pretending to see an Apparition of such or such an one, an Argument of their being Naughty People*. And some of the Chief Ministers in this Land favoured that Book with their Attestation, however my Friend *Calef* now Derides it." This was the Work recommended by Mr. Baxter.

Dissatisfaction of others) that if his said Book may conduce to promote thankfulness to God for such Executions, he shall rejoice, &c.

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

At the Tryal of *Sarah Good*, one of the afflicted fell in a Fit, and after coming out of it, she cried out of the Prisoner, for stabbing her in the breast with a Knife, and that she had broken the Knife in stabbing of her, accordingly a piece of the blade of a Knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the Court, a young Man was called, who produced a Haft and part of the Blade, which the Court having viewed and compared, saw it to be the same. And upon inquiry the young Man affirmed, that yesterday he happened to brake that Knife, and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being then present, the young Man was dismiss, and she was bidden by the Court not to tell lyes;³³ and was improved (after as she had been before) to

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

³³ The Trial of *Sarah Good* was one of a singularly revolting Character. Her own Daughter, named *Dorothy*, was one of the Witnesses against her. Said her Mother "had

give Evidence against the Prisoners.

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

At the Tryal of *Rebecca Nurse*, this was remarkable that the Jury brought in their Verdict not Guilty, immediately all the accusers in the Court, and, suddenly after all the afflicted out of Court, made an hideous out-cry, to the amazement, not only of the Spectators, but the Court also seemed strangely surprized: one of the Judges exprest himself not satisfied, another of them as he was going off the Bench, said they would have her Indicted anew. The chief Judge said he would not Impose upon the Jury; but intimated, as if they had not well considered one Expression of the Prisoners when she was upon Tryal, *viz.* That when one *Hobbs*, who had confessed herself to be a Witch, was brought into the Court to witness against her, the Prisoner turning her

three Birds, one black, one yellow, and that these Birds hurt the Children and afflicted Persons." —*Records S. W.* i, 23. Her own Husband gave her a very bad Character, but said he knew nothing of her being a Witch. The Story of the broken Knife, I do not remember seeing in the *Records*. It was probably suppressed. Samuel Abbey and Mary his Wife, aged about 45 and 38, respectively, testified that William Good and his Wife Sarah, being destitute of a House to dwell in, they took them in out of Charity; but about two years and a half before, were obliged to turn them out "for quietness sake, the said Sarah was of so turbulant a Sperritt, spitefull and mallitiously bent." Whereupon the said Abbey in about two years lost 17 head of Cattle, besides Sheep and "Hoggs." —*Records, ib.* 24-5. See also Mr. Upham's *Lectures on Witchcraft*.

head to her, said, [*What, do you bring her? she is one of us*] or to that effect, this together with the Clamours of the Accusers, induced the Jury to go out again, after their Verdict, not Guilty. But not agreeing, they came into the Court, and she being then at the Bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have had her explanation of them, and she making no Reply to them, they found the Bill, and brought her in Guilty; these words being the Inducement to it, as the Foreman has signified in writing, as follows.

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

When the Verdict not Guilty was, the honored Court was pleased to object against it, saying to them, that they think they let slip the words, which the Prisoner at the Bar spake against herself, which were spoken in reply to Goodwife Hobbs and her Daughter, who had been faulty in setting their hands to the Devils Book, as they have confessed formerly; the words were [What do these persons give in Evidence against me now, they used to come among us.] After the honored Court had manifested their dissatisfaction of the Verdict, several of the Jury declared

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

themselves desirous to go out again, and thereupon the Honoured Court gave leave; but when we came to consider of the Case, I could not tell how to take her words, as an Evidence against her, till she had a further opportunity to put her Sense upon them, if she would take it; and then going into Court, I mentioned the words aforesaid, which by one of the Court were affirmed to have been spoken by her, she being then at the Bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon these words were to me a principal Evidence against her.

Thomas Fisk.

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

THESE presents do humbly shew to the honoured Court and Jury, that I being informed, that the Jury brought me in Guilty, upon my saying that Goodwife Hobbs and her Daughter were of our Company; but I intended no otherways, than as they were Prisoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do judge them not legal Evidence against their fellow Prisoners. And I being something hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the Court took up my words, and therefore had no opportunity to declare what I intended, when I said they were of our Company.

Rebecka Nurse.

After her Condemnation she was by one of the Ministers of *Salem* excommunicated; yet the Governour saw cause to grant a

Reprieve, which when known (and some say immediately upon granting) the Accusers renewed their dismal outcries against her, insomuch that the Governour was by some *Salem* Gentleman prevailed with to recall the Reprieve, and she was Executed with the rest.

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

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

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

Mr. *Burroughs* was carried in a Cart with the others, through

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

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

the streets of *Salem* to Execution; when he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing of his Innocency, with such Solemn and Serious Expressions, as were to the Admiration of all present; his Prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer,) was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness, and such (at least seeming) fervency of Spirit, as was very affecting, and drew Tears from many (so that it seemed to some, that the Spectators would hinder the Execution) the accusers said the black Man stood and dictated to him; as soon as he was turned off, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being mounted upon a Horse, addressed himself to the People, partly to declare, that he was no ordained Minister, and partly to possess the People of his guilt; saying That the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of Light;³⁷ and this did somewhat appease the People, and the Executions went on; when he was cut down, he was dragged

³⁷ "I was present when these things were testified against him, and observed that he could not make any Plea for himself (*in these Things*) that had any Weight: He had the Liberty of Challenging his *Jurors*, before empannelling, according to the *Statute* in that Case, and used his Liberty in Challenging many; yet the Jury that were *Sworn* brought him in Guilty." – Lawson, *Second Edition*, 115. Mr. Burroughs' Trial is fully given in Vol. i, 152-63. It is not among the Records, for the Reason, probably, that it had been given to Mr. Mather to use, and was never returned. His Examination was before Stoughton, Hathorne, Sewall and Corwin. The following are the Names of the Men appointed to search him for Teats: Edward Welch, William Gill, Zeb. Hill, Thomas Flint, Thomas West, Samuel Morgan and John Bare, as Printed in the *Records*, ii, 112. They reported no "Tetts" upon Mr. Burroughs. Ann Putnam's Testimony was ingenious, and as damning as any *Infernal Spirit* could have desired. See *Records*, *ib.* 113-116. Mather does not give it, but says such things were evidenced; as that he had murdered sundry People. See Remarks of Mr. Upham, *Lectures*, 55.

by the Halter to a Hole, or Grave, between the Rocks, about two foot deep, his Shirt and Breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of Trousers of one Executed, put on his lower parts, he was so put in, together with *Willard* and *Carrier*, one of his Hands and his Chin, and a Foot of one of them being left uncovered.

John Willard, had been employed to fetch in several that were accused; but taking dissatisfaction from his being sent, to fetch up some that he had better thoughts of, he declined the Service, and presently after he himself was accused of the same Crime, and that with such vehemency, that they sent after him to apprehend him; he had made his Escape as far as *Nashawag*,³⁸ about 40 Miles from *Salem*; yet 'tis said those Accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying, now *Willard* is taken.

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

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

³⁸ A misprint, probably, for *Nashaway*.

Salem-Prison, July 23, 1692.

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

Reverend Gentlemen.

THE innocency of our Case with the Enmity of our Accusers and our Judges, and Jury, whom nothing but our Innocent Blood will serve their turns, having Condemned us already before our Tryals, being so much incensed and engaged against us by the Devil, makes us bold to Beg and Implore your Favourable Assistance of this our Humble Petition to his Excellency, that if it be possible our Innocent Blood may be spared, which undoubtedly otherwise will be shed, if the Lord doth not mercifully step in. The Magistrates, Ministers, Jewries, and all the People in general, being so much intraged and incensed against us by the Delusion of the Devil, which we can term no other, by reason we know in our own Consciencs, we are all Innocent Persons. Here are five Persons who have lately confessed themselves to be Witches, and do accuse some of us, of being along with them at a Sacrament, since we were committed into close Prison, which we know to be Lies. Two of the 5 are (Carrier's Sons) Young men, who would not confess any thing till they tyed them Neck and Heels, till the Blood was ready to come out of their Noses, and 'tis credibly believed and

³⁹ Dr. Increase Mather, Mr. James Allen of the Old South, Mr. Joshua Moody, Mr. Samuel Willard of the Old South, and Mr. John Bailey of the First Church, Boston.

reported this was the occasion of making them confess that they never did, by reason they said one had been a Witch a Month, and another five Weeks, and that their Mother had made them so, who has been confined here this nine Weeks. My son William Procter, when he was examin'd, because he would not confess that he was Guilty, when he was Innocent, they tyed him Neck and Heels till the Blood gushed out at his Nose, and would have kept him so 24 Hours, if one more Merciful than the rest, had not taken pity on him, and caused him to be unbound. These actions are very like the Popish Cruelties.⁴⁰ They have already undone us in our Estates, and that will not serve their turns, without our Innocent Bloods. If it cannot be granted that we can have our Trials at Boston, we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have these Magistrates changed, and others in their rooms, begging also and beseeching you would be pleased to be here, if not all, some of you at our Trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding our Innocent Bloods, desiring your Prayers to the Lord in our behalf, we rest your Poor Afflicted Servants,

John Procter, &c.

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

Old *Jacobs* being Condemned, the Sheriff and Officers came and seized all he had, his Wife had her Wedding Ring taken from

⁴⁰ My friend Savage calls this an "Infernal Business." I hope he will never get further out of the Way. It would seem that the Officials of that Day must have taken lessons of Roman Inquisitors.

her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy Provisions of the Sheriff, such as he had taken, towards her own support, which not being sufficient, the Neighbours of Charity relieved her.

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

From the Dungeon in Salem Prison,

August 20, 1692.

Honoured Father,

AFTER my Humble Duty Remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good Health, as Blessed be God I enjoy, tho in abundance of Affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome Dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to Death, by means of the Afflicted Persons; my Grand-Father having Suffered already, and all his Estate Seized for the King. The reason of my Confinement is this, I having, through the Magistrates Threatnings, and my own Vile and Wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my

Conscience and Knowledge, tho to the Wounding of my own Soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but Oh! the terrors of a wounded Conscience who can bear. But blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my Sins, but in mercy I hope so my Soul would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the Magistrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their pleasure to put me in here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear Fathers, let me beg your Prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a Joyful and Happy Meeting in Heaven. My Mother poor Woman is very Crazy, and remembers her kind Love to you, and to Uncle, viz. D. A.⁴¹ So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your Dutiful Daughter,

Margaret Jacobs.

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

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

⁴¹ Daniel Andrew of Salem, as I conjecture.

⁴² Nineteen Years after these Executions, the General Court of the Province passed an Act declaring null and void all the Attainders and Judgments against those who had suffered for Witchcraft. This Act was passed "upon the Humble Petition of the said Persons and of the Children of others of them whose Parents were Executed." The General Assembly also appointed a Committee "to consider of ye Damages sustained by sundry Persons prosecuted for Witchcraft in ye Year 1692." The Committee

September 17. Nine more received Sentence of Death, viz. *Margaret Scot* of Rowley, Goodwife *Redd* of Marblehead, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker* of Andover, also *Abigail Falkner* of Andover, who pleaded Pregnancy, *Rebecca Eames* of Boxford, *Mary Lacy*, and *Ann Foster* of Andover, and *Abigail Hobbs* of Topsfield. Of these Eight were Executed, September 22, viz. *Martha Cory*, *Mary Easty*, *Alice Parker*, *Ann Pudeater*, *Margaret Scot*, *Willmet Redd*, *Samuel Wardwell*, and *Mary Parker*.⁴³

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

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

computed the Damage to those above named as follows: Mr. and Mrs. Cory £21; *Mary Easty* £20; *Alice Parker* got nothing, but *Mary Parker* got £8; Nothing appears for *Ann Pudeater*; *Dorcas Hoar* £21; *Mary Bradberry* £20; some that suffered had no Representative to receive the Award.

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

⁴⁴ "The Hill" has ever since been pointed out as *Witch Hill*, or more generally *Gallows Hill*; whence is had a fine view of the City of Salem. Some Account of this noted Hill might reasonably be expected in a History of Salem. The *Institute* should look to the Matter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mary Esty.

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

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

October 7. (*Edward Bishop* and his Wife having made their Escape out of Prison) this day Mr. *Corwin* the Sheriff, came and

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

⁴⁶ Mr. John Hale had testified against some of the Accused; but I do not find that when his own Wife was accused any Record was made of it.

Seiz'd his Goods, and Cattle, and had it not been for his second Son (who borrowed Ten Pound and gave it him) they had been wholly lost, the Receipt follows; but it seems they must be content with such a Receipt as he would give them.

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

George Corwin, Sheriff.

But before this the said *Bishops* Eldest Son, having Married into that Family of the *Putmans*, who were chief Prosecutors in this business; he holding a Cow to be branded lest it should be seiz'd, and having a Push or Boyl upon his Thigh, with his straining it broke; this is that that was pretended to be burnt with the said Brand; and is one of the bones thrown to the Dogmatical to pick, in *Wonders of the Invisible World*, P. 143. the other, of a Corner of a Sheet, pretended to be taken from a Spectre, it is known that it was provided the day before, by that

Afflicted person, and the third bone of a Spindle is almost as easily provided, as the piece of the Knife; so that *Apollo* needs not herein be consulted, &c.

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

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

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

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

⁴⁷ The Case of Mr. English has been before referred to. See Note [17](#).

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

When these came into any place where such were, usually they fell into a Fit; after which being asked who it was that afflicted the person, they would, for the most part, name one whom they said sat on the head, and another that sat on the lower parts of the afflicted. Soon after *Ballard's* sending (as above) more than Fifty of the People of *Andover* were complained of, for afflicting their Neighbours. Here it was that many accused themselves, of Riding upon Poles through the Air; many Parents believing their Children to be Witches, and many Husbands their Wives, &c. When these Accusers came to the House of any upon such account, it was ordinary for other young People to be taken in Fits, and to have the same Spectral sight.⁴⁹

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

⁴⁹ This was not the First of the Troubles by supposed Witchcraft at Andover, as appears by the following Record, the Original of which is in the Editor's Collection: "The Deposition of Job Tylar, aged about 40 Yeares, Mary his Wife and Moses Tylr his Son aged betwixt 17 and 18 Years, and Mary Tyler about 15 Yeares olde. – These Deponents witness that they saw a thing like a Bird to come in at the Dore of there House with John Godfery in the Night about the bignes of a Black Bird or rather bigger, to wit, as big as a Pigion, and did fly about; John Godfery labouring to catch it,

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

A Dog being afflicted at *Salem-Village*, those that had the Spectral sight being sent for, they accused Mr. *John Bradstreet* (Brother to the Justice) that he afflicted the said Dog, and now rid upon him: He made his Escape into *Pescattequa-Government*, and the Dog was put to death, and was all of the Afflicted that suffered death.

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

A worthy Gentleman of *Boston*,⁵¹ being about this time

and the Bird vanished, as they conceived, through the Chinck of a joynted Bord; and being asked by the Man of the House wherefore it came, he answered, It came to suck your Wife. This was (as they remember) about 5 or 6 Yeares since. – Taken vpon Oath of the 4 above menconed Pties, this 27. 4. 59. Before mee"Simon Bradstreete.Ouned in Court Mrh, 65, by Job Tylar and Moses Tylar.E. R. SecOwned in Court 13 March, 65, by Mary Tyler on hir former Oath.E. R. Sec"The Above is in the Autograph of Gov. Bradstreet and Edward Rawson.

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

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

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

In *October* some of these Accusers were sent for to *Gloucester*, and occasioned four Women to be sent to Prison, but *Salem* Prison being so full it could receive no more; two were sent to *Ipswich* Prison.⁵² In *November* they were sent for again by Lieutenant *Stephens*, who was told that a Sister of his was bewitched; in their way passing over *Ipswich*-bridge, they met with an old Woman, and instantly fell into their Fits: But by this time the validity of such Accusations being much questioned, they found not that Encouragement they had done elsewhere, and soon withdrew.

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

And now Nineteen persons having been hang'd, and one prest to death, and Eight more condemned, in all Twenty and eight, of which above a third part were Members of some of the Churches in *N. England*, and more than half of them of

⁵² Sarah, the Wife of Peter Cloyce and Mary Green were probably the two Persons. The Latter seems to have made her Escape by the Assistance of John Shepard of Rowley. See Felt, *History of Ipswich and Hamilton*, 207.

a good Conversation in general, and not one clear'd. About Fifty having confest themselves to be Witches, of which not one Executed; above an Hundred and Fifty in Prison, and above Two Hundred more accused. The Special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the Governours Commission, and had proceeded in the manner of swearing Witnesses, *viz.* By holding up the hand, (and by receiving Evidences in writing) according to the Ancient Usage of this Countrey; as also having their Indictments in *English*. In the Tryals, when any were Indicted for Afflicting, Pining, and wasting the Bodies of particular persons by Witchcraft; it was usual to hear Evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps Twenty or Thirty years standing, about over-setting Carts, the death of Cattle, unkindness to Relations, or unexpected Accidents befalling after some quarrel.⁵³ Whether this was admitted by the Law of *England*, or by what other Law, wants to be determined; the Executions seemed mixt, in pressing to death for not pleading, which most agrees with the Laws of *England*, and Sentencing Women to be hanged for Witchcraft, according to the former practice of this Country, and not by burning, as is said to have been the Law of *England*. And though the confessing Witches were many; yet not one of them that confessed their own guilt, and abode by their Confession were put to Death.

Here followeth what account some of those miserable

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

Creatures give of their Confession under their own hands.

We whose Names are under written, Inhabitants of Andover, when as that horrible and tremendous Judgment beginning at Salem-Village, in the Year 1692, (by some) call'd Witchcraft, first breaking forth at Mr. Parris's House, several Young persons being seemingly afflicted, did accuse several persons for afflicting them, and many there believing it so to be; we being informed that if a person were sick, that the afflicted persons could tell, what or who was the cause of that sickness. Joseph Ballard of Andover (his Wife being sick at the same time) he either from himself, or by the advice of others, fetch'd two of the persons call'd the afflicted persons, from Salem-Village to Andover: Which was the beginning of that dreadful Calamity that befel us in Andover. And the Authority in Andover, believing the said Accusations to be true, sent for the said persons to come together to the Meeting-house in Andover (the afflicted persons being there.) After Mr. Bernard⁵⁴ had been at Prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted persons, they being in their Fits, and falling into their Fits at our coming into their presence (as they said) and some led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they said they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them; whereupon we were all seized as Prisoners, by a Warrant from the Justice of the Peace, and forthwith carried to Salem. And by reason of that suddain surprizal, we knowing ourselves altogether Innocent

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

of that Crime, we were all exceedingly astonished and amazed, and consternated and affrighted even out of our Reason; and our nearest and dearest Relations, seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to save our lives, as the case was then circumstantiated but by our confessing ourselves to be such and such persons, as the afflicted represented us to be, they out of tender love and pitty perswaded us to confess what we did confess. And indeed that Confession, that it is said we made, was no other than what was suggested to us by some Gentlemen; they telling us, that we were Witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was so; and our understanding, our reason, and our faculties almost gone; we were not capable of judging our condition; as also the hard measures they used with us, rendred us uncapable of making our Defence; but said any thing and every thing which they desired, and most of what we said, was but in effect a consenting to what they said. Sometime after when we were better composed, they telling of us what we had confessed, we did profess that we were Innocent, and Ignorant of such things. And we hearing that Samuel Wardwell had renounced his Confession, and quickly after Condemned and Executed, some of us were told that we were going after Wardwell.

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

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

It may here be further added concerning those that did Confess, that besides that powerful Argument, of Life (and freedom from hardships, and Irons not only promised, but also performed to all that owned their guilt.) There are numerous Instances, too many to be here inserted, of the tedious Examinations before private persons, many hours together; they all that time urging them to Confess (and taking turns to perswade them) till the accused were wearied out by being forced to stand so long, or for want of Sleep, &c. and so brought to give an Assent to what they said; they then asking them, Were you at such a Witch-meeting, or have you signed the Devils Book, &c. upon their replying, yes, the whole was drawn into form as their Confession.

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

AS to the manner of Tryals, and the Evidence taken for Convictions at *Salem*, it is already set forth in Print, by the Reverend Mr. *Cotton Mather* in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, at the Command of his Excellency Sir *William Phips*;⁵⁶

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

with not only the Recommendation, but thanks of the Lieutenant Governour; and with the Approbation of the Reverend Mr. *J. M.* in his Postscript to his *Cases of Conscience*; which last Book was set forth by the consent of the Ministers in and near *Boston*.⁵⁷

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

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

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

William Stoughton,

Samuel Sewall.

Boston, October 11, 1692.

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

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

⁵⁷ Their Names were not printed according to the original MS. in the *Cases of Conscience*. They are correctly printed from that MS., however, by the Editor, with some Remarks, in his Edition of Mather's *Relation*, xxii. The Order of Subscription is entirely changed.

is thus prefaced, P. 81, 82, 83.

Mather's Preface to the Tryals.

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

They were some of the Gracious words inserted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Ministers did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, We cannot but with all thankfulness, acknowledge the success, which the merciful God

has given unto the Sedulous and Assiduous Endeavours of our Honorable Rulers, to detect the Abominable Witchcrafts, which have been committed in the Country; Humbly praying that the discovery of those Mysterious, and Mischievous wickednesses, may be perfected. If in the midst of the many Dissatisfactions among us, the publication of these Tryals, may promote such a Pious thankfulness unto God, for Justice being so far executed among us, I shall rejoyce that God is glorified; and pray that no wrong steps of ours may ever sully any of his glorious works.

George Burrough's *Tryal*.

*The Indictment of George Burroughs.*⁵⁸

Essex ss.

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

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

The 9th Day of *May*, in the fourth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, King and Queen Defenders of the Faith, &c. And divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable Arts, called Witchcrafts, and Sorceries, Wickedly and Feloniously hath used, practised, and exercised, at and within the Township of *Salem*, in the County of *Essex* aforesaid, in upon, and against one *Mary Wolcott* of *Salem-Village*, in the County of *Essex*, Single-woman, by which said wicked Arts the said *Mary Wolcott*, the Ninth Day of *May*, in the fourth Year abovesaid, and divers other days and

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

times, as well before as after, was and is Tortured, Afflicted, Pined, Consumed, Wasted and Tormented, against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, and against the Form of the Statute in that Case made and provided.

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

Endorsed by the Grand Jury, *Billa Vera*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. This *G. B.* was Indicted for Witchcrafts; and in the Prosecution of the Charge against him, he was Accused by five or six of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miseries; he was accused by Eight of the confessing Witches, as being an head Actor at some of their Hellish Rendezvouzes, and who had the promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be erected; he was accused by Nine persons, for extraordinary lifting, and such feats of strength as could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such things he was accused, until about Thirty Testimonies⁶¹ were brought in against him; nor

⁶¹ About twenty appear in the Records, which see, Vol. II, Pages 109, *et seq.* Respecting Mr. Burrough's great Strength, Samuel Webber, aged about 36, swore, that "aboute ceauen or eight Yeares agoe I liued at Casco Bay, and George Burroughs was then Minester there, and haueing heard much of the great Strength of him sd. Burroughs; he coming to our House wee ware in discourse aboute the same and he then told mee yt he had put his fingers into the Bung of a Barrell of Malases and lifted it vp and carried it round him." Salem, Aug. 2d, 1692. Ann Putnam swore, that on the 20th of April, 1692, she saw the *Apperishton* of Mr. Burroughs who tortured her in a

were these judg'd the half of what might have been consider'd for his Conviction: however they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him, according to the Rules of Reasoning, by the judicious *Gaule*, in that case directed.

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

terrible Manner; told her he had had three Wives, and had bewitched two of them to death; had killed Mistress Lawson because she was so unwilling to go from the Village; had killed Mr. Lawson's Children because he went to the Eastward with Sir Edmond [Andros] and preached so to the Soldiers; had bewitched a great many Soldiers to death when Sir *Edmon* was there, &c. At another time she swore that the two Wives of Mr. Burroughs appeared to her in their Winding-sheets, and told her how they were murdered. Also Mrs. Lawson and her Daughter Ann appeared in the same Manner; also another Woman who told her she was Goodman Fuller's first Wife, and that Mr. Burroughs killed her, because of a Difference between her Husband and him. Simon Willard, aged about 42 Years, was at the House of Mr. Robert Lawrence, of Casco Bay, in Sept., 1689; saw Mr. Burroughs show where he took hold of the Gun of about seven foot Barrel, which was behind the Lock; and Mr. B. said he held it out with one Hand by so taking it, but the Deponent did not see him do it. Willard commanded the Fort at Casco. Thomas Greenslett, aged about 40 Years, said he was at Capt. Joshua Scottow's at Black Point, about the breaking out of the late Indian War, where he saw Mr. B. lift a Gun of six foot Barrel or there-about, by putting the Forefinger of his right Hand into the Muzzle; holding it out at Arm's Length. Lieut. Richard Hunnewell and John *Greinslett* being present. The above are a few Specimens of the Evidence on which Mr. Burroughs was condemned and executed.

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

Others of them testified, that in their Torments *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a sound of Trumpet summoning of other Witches; who quickly after the sound would come from all quarters unto the *Randevous*. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, afterwards affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her into a very high Mountain, where he shewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms,

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

and said he would give them all to her, if she would write in his Book; but she told him, They were none of his to give; and refused the Motions; enduring of much misery for that refusal.⁶³

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

3. It hath been a frequent thing for the bewitched People, to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghosts of murdered People, at the same time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always affright the beholders, more than all the other Spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out of being murdered by the Witchcrafts or

⁶³ The Girl who made oath to this was Mercy Lewis. It took place on the 9th of May, 1692, as she said: "Mr. Burroughs carried me up to an exceeding high Mountain and shewed me all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and told me he would give them all to me if I would writ in his Book, and if I would not, he would thro me down and break my Neck: but I told him they were none of his to give, and would not writ if he throd me down on a hundred pitchforks." —*Records S. W.* ii, 118.

⁶⁴ This is only Dr. Mather's Abridgment of the Record, it will be remembered. "Sus. Sheldon testified that Burroughs two Wives appeared in their Winding-sheets, and said that Man killed them. He was bid to look upon Sus. Sheldon. He looked back and knockt down all (or most) of the afflicted who stood behind him." —*Ibid.* ii, 109.

other Violences of the persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considerable, that once or twice these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the very same time they have shown themselves to the bewitched; and seldom have there been these Apparitions, but when something unusual and suspected hath attended the death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accused by these Apparitions, accosting of the bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such persons ever being in the World, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murders of those very persons, although these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the bewitched had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said they were *G. B.*'s two Wives; and that he had been the death of them; and that the Magistrates must be told of it, before whom, if *B.* upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they should appear again in the Court. Now *G. B.* had been infamous, for the barbarous usage of his two successive Wives, all the Countrey over. Moreover, it was testified, the Spectre of *G. B.* threatning of the Sufferers told them he had killed (besides others) Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Ann*. And it was noted, that these were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one, at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for being serviceable at *Salem-Village*, from whence himself had in ill terms removed some Years before, and that when they dy'd, which was long since, there were some odd

circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendants there suspect something of Witchcraft, though none imagined from what quarter it should come.

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

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

These now testified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings

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

When the *Lancashire* Witches were Condemned, I do'n't remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the bewitched, and than that of some that had confessed. We see so much already against *G. B.* But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced credible.

5. A famous Divine, recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; the Testimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying; together with the Joint Oaths of sufficient persons, that have seen certain podigious pranks or feats, wrought by the party accused. Now God had been pleased so to leave this *G. B.* that he had ensnared himself, by several instances which he had formerly given of a preternatural strength; and which were now produced against him. He was a very puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a Giant.⁶⁵ A Gun of about 7 Foot barrel, and so heavy that strong Men could not steadily hold it out, with both hands; there were several Testimonies given in by

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

persons of Credit and Honor, that he made nothing of taking up such a Gun behind the Lock with but one hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arms-end. *G. B.* in his vindication was so foolish, as to say, that an *Indian* was there, and held it out, at the same time: whereas, none of the Spectators ever saw any such *Indian*, but they supposed the black Man (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an *Indian*) might give him that Assistance. There was Evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole Barrels fill'd with Mellasses, or Cyder, in very disadvantageous Postures, and carrying of them thro' the difficultest places, out of a Canoa to the Shore.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁶ See Note 153, Page 163, Vol. I.

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