This file is designed to accompany my book, *Raising Spirits: How a Conjuror’s Story was Transmitted across the Enlightenment*, published as a pivot book in Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic in November 2013. It contains the full texts of all the main versions of the letter written by Arthur Bedford about Perks, as discussed in the book. It begins with a brief history of the text, followed by the bibliographical details of all the editions then reproduced, and then a brief commentary on the main textual variations. Then I give all the texts, delineated according to the lineation of the first version given, so that different versions can be easily compared. Finally I give a parallel version of five of the texts which illustrate the main substantive variations. I would be very interested to hear of any other versions; please email me at J.Barry@ex.ac.uk.

1. Brief history of the text

 Bedford, who had previously told the story to many people, including the ‘late Bishop of Hereford’ (Gilbert Ironside), was prompted by Henry Shute (a London clergyman with Bristol links) to write a letter to Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, on 2 August 1703. A neat later copy (‘Temple’) is in the Temple parish archives. Shute himself then wrote a letter (‘Shute’) to Fowler on 4 September 1703, based on what Bedford had written separately to him. In 1704 two printed versions appeared, one printed in Bristol (*Bonny*) naming Fowler and Perks, but referring to Bedford merely as ‘a clergyman of the Church of England, living in Bristol’. This publication, possibly superintended by Fowler, either followed a different version of Bedford’s letter from ‘Temple’ or was compiled using both ‘Temple’ and ‘Shute’. The London edition (*Hills*) was considerably abridged to fit on a single sheet. A (differently) abridged version (*Beaumont*) (with Perks called ‘Jerps’) was printed as a letter from Bedford ‘to a friend of his the last year’ in John Beaumont’s *A Historical ....* *Treatise of Spirits* (1705), possibly based on the (lost) letter Bedford had written to Shute.

There is then a gap until two versions emerge, both authenticated by Bedford himself (by then at Hoxton in London) on 1 January 1740. The first (‘Cruttenden’) was sent to the dissenting minister Philip Doddridge by Robert Cruttenden on 10 September 1747. First printed with Doddridge’s correspondence in 1830, it was reproduced (*Tatler*) later that year in *The Tatler*, edited by Leigh Hunt. The second version (*Chronicle*) appeared in *St James’s Chronicle* of 18 April 1761. Although these versions share characteristics, they also differ.  *Chronicle* adds that the book Perks used for his conjurations was ‘*Cornelius Agrippa’s Magick*’. There was also renewed interest in Bristol. George Catcott transcribed a copy in 1779, including a similar note re Agrippa. As his brother was vicar of Temple, he had access to the parish archives, but his transcription is closer to *Bonny* than ‘Temple’. Joseph Beck and Stephen Penny conversed in 1760 with a Mangotsfield man who had known Perks and told them another story about Mangotsfield conjuration, preserved by the Beck/Harford family. Penny and his friends were involved in the Lamb Inn witchcraft case in 1762, where the familiar spirit of the suspected witch (herself from Mangotsfield) was called ‘Malchi’, the name of Perks’ spirit. Henry Durbin, whose narrative of the episode (probably written in early 1763) was published posthumously in 1800, appended the Bedford letter (*Durbin*) to his pamphlet, but gave the trade of Perks or his father (the texts are ambiguous) as being a ‘gunsmith’, rather than ‘blacksmith’ as in all the versions discussed so far. Thomas Perks’ father *was* a gunsmith so this change reflects knowledge of the family circumstances.

The ‘gunsmith’ variant appears in two manuscript copies (‘Sharp’) now among the papers of Granville Sharp, a leading slave trade abolitionist; one might have belonged to Granville’s grandfather John Sharp (Archbishop of York) or William Lloyd (Bishop of Worcester), the other being a later transcription of the first. The first printed version with ‘gunsmith’ (*Jones*) appears in *A Relation of the Apparitions of Spirits in the Principality of Wales* (1780) by Welsh dissenting clergyman Edmund Jones, which ends with some English cases, including the Perks letter, mistakenly dated ‘2 August 1763’. This may be copied from the same original (now lost) as *Durbin* and ‘Sharp’. Three manuscripts identical to *Jones* (‘Bristol’, ‘Vowell’ and ‘Evans’) may be copied from the publication, or one (perhaps used to train evangelical ministers) may be Jones’s source. A similar evangelical purpose inspired the abridged version (*Arminian*) published in John Wesley’s *Arminian Magazine* in August 1782, also with ‘gunsmith’ but correctly dated. Curiously, later Wesleyan collections did not reproduce *Arminian*; the only one to feature the story, *The Spectre or News from the Dead* (1836) by ‘T. Ottley’, reproduced *Jones*. From Ottley’s book the story was translated into German in 1840 [[Joseph von Görres](http://www.google.co.uk/search?tbo=p&tbm=bks&q=inauthor:%22Joseph+von+G%C3%B6rres%22), *Die christliche Mystik*, vol. 3 (Manz, 1840), pp. 627-30].

A newspaper version of the text including ‘gunsmith’ is included in a scrapbook kept by George Catcott, but its provenance/date is not given. It is essentially identical to a final eighteenth-century publication (*Sibly*), which appears in the final volume (published in 1788), of *A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences* (1784-8) by the astrologer Ebenezer Sibly, although Sibly omits two lines which indicate Perks’ doubts about whether astrology could ever achieve ‘mathematical demonstration’. Sibly lived in Bristol c.1784-7 and so may have seen and copied the same newspaper version (or possibly one of them submitted the text to the newspaper; if it was Catcott, it presumably postdated his 1779 transcription discussed above, which still had ‘blacksmith’). *Sibly* was copied (*Raphael*) in *The Familiar Astrologer* (1831) by Bristol-born astrologer Robert Cross Smith (publishing as ‘Raphael’), who noted that ‘I have myself seen a very curious telescope and a very ingenious fowling-piece made by this said Thomas Perks and in my last tour to the west of England (1830) I found numerous versions of this particular account still extant among the peasantry’. The surviving ‘fowling-piece’ may explain continuing knowledge of his trade. *Raphael* has a coloured print showing Perks under attack from the spirits, entitled ‘Thomas Perks, Raising a Spirit, to his own Destruction!’. In his *Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century* (1825), Raphael had referenced both *Beaumont* and *Sibly*, and linked the story back to his own family (and to the other Mangotsfield conjuration story, though with different protagonists). It was largely through *Sibly*/*Raphael* that the story was noted by later occultists.

Finally, Bedford’s letter entered the Victorian world with a transcription (*Ashburner*) of ‘Temple’ in the *Spiritual Magazine* of 1860 provided by John Ashburner, a London physician and champion of mesmerism, phrenology and spiritualism. Through him it was cited by another leading spiritualist, William Howitt, and also by anti-spiritualist writers. The Anglo-Catholic clergyman, Frederick George Lee (using the Penny/Beck account from the Harford family) reproduced *Jones*/*Ottley* in his *Glimpses in the Twilight* (1885) to demonstrate that spiritualism was a dangerous heresy, whose spirits were indeed demons.

There must be other versions that I have not discovered. For example, ‘A Narrative of Thomas Perks of Mangotsfield Glos concerning Spirits in Kingswood related to Rev. Arthur Bedford who has penned the same in a letter to Dr Fowler Bishop of Gloucester’ was sold together with ‘a sermon on 1 Corinthians 15:19 in manuscript’ as item 1868 among the miscellaneous items in *Catalogue of Items auctioned by Messrs Leigh, Sotheby and John Wilkinson – Miscellaneous Library of Late H.B. Coles esq M.P., Rev H.L.Majendi and W de la Motte esq – sold 11 May 1863 onwards* (1863). The story (though not a standard) is reproduced in modern online reportage about the supernatural – mostly from the nineteenth-century texts now digitized by Google Books.[ For example, <http://issuu.com/davidgamble/docs/paranormal37> ‘The Doom that Came to Thomas Parkes’ *Paranormal Magazine* 37 (July 2009), 64-5, reprints the letter in full from *Lee;* [***http://www.uncannyuk.com/273/the-haunted-death-of-thomas-parkes/***](http://www.uncannyuk.com/273/the-haunted-death-of-thomas-parkes/) ‘The haunted death of Thomas Parkes’by Richard Holland (2010) has a brief summary probably from Lee.]

1. Bibliographical details of the variants

I have identified the following transcriptions of the Bedford letter, given in rough chronological order of when they were produced. Below they are referred to by the single word given below, with italics for printed versions.

‘Temple’: Bristol Record Office, P/Temple/Le/7

‘Shute’: British Library Additional MSS 32096, fos. 54-7

*Bonny*: *A Copy of a Letter sent to the Right Reverend Father in God,* Edward *Lord Bishop of* Glocester*, from a Clergy-man of the Church of* England*, living in* Bristol*, giving an Account of one* Thomas Perks *of* Mangorsfield *near the same City, and the Conversation he had with Familiar Spirits* (Bristol, printed by W. Bonny in Cornstreet, 1704) (ESTC T017168; only known copy, B.L. 3504.aaa.40(8))

*Hills*: *A Copy of a LETTER sent to the Right Reverend Father in God,* Edward *Lord Bishop of* Glocester*, from a Clergy-man of the Church of* England*, living in* Bristol*, giving an Account of one* Tho. Perks *of* Mangorsfield *near the same City, and of his Conversation with Familiar Spirits* (London Printed by *H.Hills* in *Blackfryars* near the Waterside, 1704) (ESTC t193925: only known copy in Bodleian John Johnson Collection, ‘Supernatural Box 1’)

*Beaumont*: John Beaumont, *An Historical, Physiological and Theological Treatise of Spirit*s, *Apparitions, Witchcraft and Other Magical Practices* (London, 1705), pp. 296-300

‘Cruttenden’: John Doddridge Humphreys (ed.), *The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge*, vol. IV (London, 1830), pp. 552-61

*Chronicle*: *St James’s Chronicle* issue 17, 18 April 1761, reprinted in *Read’s Weekly Journal* no 5, 25 April 1761 and in *The Yearly Chronicle for MDCCLXI or a Collection of the Most Interesting and Striking Essays, Letters etc which appeared in the St James’s Chronicle for that Year* (London, 1762), pp. 51-55

*Durbin*: *A Narrative of Some Extraordinary Things that Happened to Mr Richard Giles’s Children, at the Lamb without Lawford’s Gate, Bristol: Supposed to be the Effect of Witchcraft. By the Late Mr. Henry Durbin, chymist, who was an eye and ear witness of the principal facts herein related. (Never before published.) To which is added, a Letter from the Rev. Mr Bedford, late Vicar of Temple, to the Bishop of Glocester,relative to one Thomas Perks of Mangotsfield, who had dealings with familiar spirits* (Bristol, 1800), pp. 56-60

‘Sharp’: Gloucestershire Record Office, D3549 13/1/B17 – two copies, the second a neat later copy of the first

‘Catcott’: Bristol Central Library, Bristol Collection 10364, ‘George Catcott, February 1779’

*Jones*: [Edmund Jones], *A Relation of Apparitions of Spirits, in the Principality of Wales* ([Trevecca], 1780), pp. 124-30

‘Bristol’: Bristol Central Library, Bristol Collection 396, a MS copy of the same text as *Jones*, including ‘Remarks’

‘Vowell’: Bodleian Library MS Montagu d. 11, fos. 145-6, a MS copy of the same text as *Jones* but with ‘Remarks’ annotated as ‘by Revd George Vowell’

‘Evans’: British Library, Additional MSS 15085, fos 20-9, a MS copy (in handwriting of Rev. Evan Evans) of *Jones*

*Arminian*: *Arminian Magazine for the Year 1782*, vol. 5, August 1782, pp. 425-9

‘*Newspaper*’: Bodleian Gough Additions Gloucestershire B4 volume b item 898 (unidentified newspaper article appearing in George Catcott’s scrapbook)

*Sibly: A New and Complete Illustration of the Occult Sciences ... in Four Parts* (London, 1784-8, and numerous later editions), pp. 1121-5

*Tatler*: [Leigh Hunt], *The Tatler: A Daily Journal of Literature and the Stage*, no. 45, 26 October 1830, pp. 177-8

*Raphael*: Raphael [Robert Cross Smith], *The Familiar Astrologer* (London, 1831/2 – preface and one titlepage dated 1831, but main titlepage 1832), pp. 694-700 (and print opposite page 212)

*Ottway*: T. Ottway, *The Spectre: or News from the Invisible World* (London, 1836), pp. 242-8, reissued several times as *News from the Invisible World*, including Halifax (1860) where story is pp. 201-6

*Ashburner*: *Spiritual Magazine* volume 1 (1860), pp. 157-60

*Lee*: Frederick George Lee, *Glimpses in the Twilight* (London, 1885), pp. 249-57 and 349-52

1. Commentary on texts

It is impossible to establish either a single ‘authentic’ text, or exactly how each subsequent edition depended on its predecessors. Neither the early printed editions nor any single manuscript version became the established text from which later editions derived (no later version, for example, repeats the ‘Jerps’ misreading of Perks found in *Beaumont*, nor the abridgements found in *Hills*, which one might have expected to have wider circulation than one printed in Bristol). Many alterations might be simple transcribing errors/decisions, but there are three key variants with substantive implications where more fundamental alternatives are presented. All the manuscript versions of *Jones* (‘Bristol’, ‘Vowell’ and Evans’) and *Ottway*/*Lee* are identical to *Jones* on all but minor details and so are not discussed separately below, just as *Raphael* copies *Sibly* and *Ashburner* ‘Temple’ unless noted.

The first variant is whether the trade of Perks or his father was that of gunsmith or blacksmith. Upto and including the 1761 *Chronicle* and in ‘Catcott’, the trade is given as blacksmith; the only text which may be earlier and includes ‘gunsmith’ is ‘Sharp’. From 1763 onwards, all other versions have ‘gunsmith’: this may derive from the new information about the Perks family available to *Durbin* (and later to *Raphael*) but it is unclear how this would have reached either ‘Sharp’ (if this is post-1763) or the suppliers of the stories used by *Jones*, *Arminian,* ‘*Newspaper*’ or *Sibly*. As for whether the trade was that of Perks or his father, which is left ambiguous in the phrasing of ‘Temple’ and ‘Shute’ (and *Durbin*, *Arminian,* ‘*Newspaper*’and *Sibly*); *Bonny* (and *Chronicle*, which leaves out the father altogether) resolve the ambiguity (probably wrongly) by presenting it as Perks’ own trade, and so does ‘Cruttenden’, which thoroughly confuses matters by making it Bedford, not Perks, who lived with Perks’ father. Other accounts, including ‘Sharp’, ‘Catcott’ and *Jones* put in an ‘and’ (‘and by trade ...’) implying that the trade was Perks’, not his father’s, without definitely committing themselves: these may reflect their own uncertainty as to how to resolve the unclear formulation.

Secondly, there is the discussion of the ‘orders of angels’. Here again, ‘Temple’, ‘Shute’ and *Bonny/Hills* from 1703-4 are all essentially the same in describing three orders, and are followed by the post-1763 texts except ‘Sharp’. But the second and third orders are merged in *Beaumont*, ‘Sharp’, ‘Catcott’ and *Chronicle* (but not in ‘Cruttenden’), although only *Chronicle* omits the initial reference to ‘three’ orders to reflect the (presumably incorrectly copied) details which follow. Yet three of these four versions have ‘blacksmith’ while ‘Sharp’ has gunsmith, so they cannot all be copying the same original text, a text which would itself have had to commit an error of omission in transcribing a text properly describing the second/third orders.

Finally, there is the discussion of the name and ‘signification’ of the familiar spirit (as given by Bedford – see chapter two for consideration of what Perks himself may have meant). Here ‘Temple’ and *Chronicle* have Malchi, ‘Sharp’ Malchie, ‘Shute’ Maleki and *Bonny/Hills* Malki. All the other texts opt for Malchi except *Jones*, who offers the Biblical ‘Malachi’ (*Ashburner* misreads ‘Temple’ as Mulchi). Almost every version (except *Durbin* and *Arminian*) then describes this as a ‘word in Hebrew’ [sometimes expanded as ‘in the Hebrew language’], but they vary in whether they offer an explanation of its meaning and add a phrase about its ‘signification’. An explanation that it means ‘my king’ appears in ‘Sharp’, ‘Catcott’, *Durbin* (but not *Arminian*), *Jones,* ‘*Newspaper*’ and *Sibly* (but not *Raphael*). ‘Temple’ states it is a word in Hebrew ‘of an outward signification’: this seems a transcription error. ‘Shute’ and *Bonny/Hills* adopt the alternative ‘untoward signification’, which remains puzzling but seems a possible reading, and is followed by ‘Cruttenden’, *Chronicle* and ‘Catcott’. ‘Sharp’ offers the more straightforward ‘unknown signification’, followed by ‘*Newspaper*’ and *Sibly*, while the others omit the phrase altogether, either because it did not appear in the version they were copying, or given its uncertain meaning it seemed simplest to omit it.

The reader would lose patience if I discussed other variations, such as in describing Perks’ mathematical and astrological skills, or the precise ordering of the consecrated objects he used to make his circles or prepare his magic book. But anyone wanting to use a particular version of this story to explore what Perks may actually have done (or believed he had done) should note that there are numerous minor variants. Were the creatures he saw in his early conjurations ‘maids’ ‘maidens’ or ‘girls’? Was he attacked during his attempted final conjuration by lions, serpents and bears throwing ‘spheres and balls of fire’, ‘spears and balls of fire’ or simply ‘balls of fire’? Since no version can claim precedence even in representing Bedford’s understanding of what occurred (let alone Perks’s), it would be unwise to place reliance on any exact phraseology which is not recurrent throughout most versions, and certainly unwise to rely on printed versions such as *Jones* or *Sibly* (from which most modern retellings are drawn) without comparing them with the others.

1. Transcriptions of the texts, lineated to match ‘Temple’

‘Temple’

1 Extract of a Letter from the Revd Mr Arthur Bedford

2 to the Bishop of Gloucester

3 My Lord Bristol 2 August 1703

4 Being informed by Mr Shute of your Lordships Desire that I should comm=

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who was acquainted with

6 Spiritts to his own Destruction I have made bold to Give you the trouble of this Letter

7 and I have my Desire to Gratify your Lordship in every particular which may be an

8 Apology for the length hereof. I had formerly Given an Acct to the Late Bishop of

9 Hereford in which there are probably somethings contained which I do not now remem

10 =ber and which if your Lordship would procure from his Lady who lives at Gloucester

11 would be more Authentick. About thirteen Years Ago whilst I was Curate to Dr Read

12 Rector of St Nicholas in this City I began to be acquainted with one Thos Perks a Man

13 about Twenty Years of Age who lived with his Father at Mangesfield by trade a Black

14 Smith and I contracted an intimacy with him he being not only a very Good tempered

15 Man but extremely well Skil’d in the Mathematicall Studies which was his Constant

16 Delight (viz) Arithmetick, Geometry, Guaging, Surveying, Astronomy & Algebra. He had

17 a Notion of a perpetual Motion much like that Wheel in Archimedes his Mathematical

18 Magick to which he had made some improvement and as he said was Demonstrable

19 from Mathematicall principles tho’ I could never believe it accordingly I have seen

20 an Iron Wheel to which he intended to Add severall things of his Own Invention in order

21 to finish the same but think it of no use & being otherwise unfortunately engaged it

22 was never perfected he Gave himself so much to Astronomy that he could not only Calculate

23 the motions of the Planetts but an Eclips also and Demonstrate every problem in

24 Sphericall Trigonometry from Mathematicall principles in which he would Discover

25 a clear force of reason, tho’ he very frequently would mistake in the quantity of

26 Syllables. When one Mr Bayly Minister of St James’s in this City endeavoured to

27 Set up a Mathematicall School I Advised him to this Thos Perks for an Acquaintance

28 in whom (as he told me) he found a far Greater proficiency in those Studies than he

29 expected or could have imagined. After he Applied himself to Astronomy & would

30 Sometimes Calculate Nativities & resolve Horary Questions which he told me often=

31 times proved very true but he was not Satisfied with it because there was nothing

32 in it that tended to a Mathematicall Demonstration. When by the Providence

33 of God I was settled in Temple Parish I having not seen him for sometime he came to me

34 (and being in private) Ask’d my Opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of Conversing

35 with Spirits & after I had Given my thoughts in the Negative and Confirm’d it with the

36 best reasons I could he told me he had Considered all these Arguments & believed they

37 only related to Conjuration but there was an innocent Society with them which a Man

38 might use if he made no Contract with them did no Harm by their means nor was

39 not Curious in prying into Hidden things and that he himself had Discoursed with them

40 and he heard them Sing to his Satisfaction he gave an offer to me one time & Mr Bayly

41 that if we would Go with him one Night to Kingswood we should see them & hear them Sing

42 & talk with them what ever we had a mind to & we should return very Safe but neither of us

43 had the Courage to Venture. I told him the Subtlety of the Devil to Delude Mankind & could

44 Transform himself even into an Angell of Light. But he could not believe it was the Devill.

45 I had severall Conferences of the Subject, but could never Convince him , in all which

46 never observed the least Disorder of mind his Discourse was very rationall & I proposed

47 (to try him) a question in Astronomy relating to the projection of the Sphere which he

48 projected & resolved & afterwards Did so Demonstrate from the Mathematicks as to shew

49 at the same time that his Brains was free from the least Tincture of Madness & Distraction

50 having this opportunity I ask’d him severall particulars Concerning the methods he used

51 & the Discourse he had with them he told me he had a Book whose Directions he follow’d

52 and accordingly in the Dead time of the night he went out to a Cross way with a Lanthorn

53 & Candle which was Consecrated for this purpose with severall incantations he had also

54 Consecrated Chalk consisting of severall mixtures & with this he used to make a

55 circle at what Distance he thought fitt within which no Spirit had power to enter

56 after this he envoked the Spirit by using severall forms of words some of which

57 he told me was taken out of the Holy Scriptures & therefore he thought Lawfull

58 without Considering how they might be rested to his Destruction. Accordingly the

59 Spirits appear’d to him which he call’d for in the Shape of Little Maidens about

60 a foot & half high & play’d about the Circle at first he was somewhat Affrighted, but

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy in Nature wore off & he became

62 pleased with their Company he told me they speak with a very Shrill Voice like

63 an Antient Woman he asking them if there was a God they told him there was

64 he Ask’d them if there was a Heaven or a Hell they said there was. he ask’d

65 them what place heaven was which they Described as a place of Great Glory & Happiness

66 & he Ask’d what place Hell was & they bid him ask no Questions of that Nature for it was

67 a Dreadfull thing to relate the Devills Believe & Tremble he Ask’d then what sort of

68 Method or order they had among themselves they told him that they were Divided

69 between Three orders that they had a Chief whose residence was in the Air that he had

70 several Councellors which where placed by him in the form of a Globe & he in the Center

71 which was the Chiefest order. another order there was employ’d in Going to & fro the

72 earth to Carry intelligence from these lower Spirits & a Third upon the earth according

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air the Description was very

74 Surprizing but being Contrary to the Acct we have in the Scriptures of the Hierarchy

75 of the Blessed Angells made me Conclude they were Devills but could not Convince him

76 of it he told me he bade them sing & they went to some Distance behind a Bush

77 from whence he could hear a perfect Consert but of such Musick he never heard the

78 like & in the upper part he could hear something very Harsh & Shrill like a Read

79 when it was Managed did Give a particular Grace to the Rest. but a quarter of a

80 Year after he came again to me he wish’d he had taken my Advice for he thought he

81 had Done that which would Cost him his Life & which he Did heartily Repent of &

82 indeed his Eyes & Countenance did Show a Great Alteration. I ask’d him what he

83 had Done he told me that being Bewitch’d to his acquaintance he resolved to

84 proceed further in this Art & to have some familiar Spiritt at his Command

85 according to the Directions of his Book which was a Book of what he Called Virgins

86 parchment & Consecrated with Severall incantations as also a particular

87 Inkhorn Ink & Pen for this purpose. with those he went to Go out (as usuall)

88 to a Cross way & Called up a Spiritt ask’d him his Name which he was to put in

89 the first page of his Book & this was his familliar thus he was to Do by as

90 many as he pleased writing their Names in Distinct pages only one in a

91 Leaf &then when ever he took the Book & open’d it the Spirit whose Name

92 Appeared also appear’d when he Did thus The Familliar Spirit was called Malchi

93 (a Word in Hebrew of an outward Signification) after this they Appear’d faster

94 than he Desired and in most Dismall Shapes Like Serpents & Lyons

95 Bears &c & Hissing at him or Attempting to Throw Spears or Balls of fire

96 at him this Did very much Affright him and that more he found it not

97 in his power to Lay them in so much that his Hair as he told me stood

98 upright he expected every moment to be torn in pieces this was in Decemr

99 about Midnight where he Continued till Break of Day when they |Left him

100 & from that Time he was never well as long as he lived in this sickness he

101 came frequently to this City to Consult with Mr Jacobs an Apothecary in

102Broad Street Concerning his Cure but I know not whether he told him the

103 Originall or no he also came to me at the same time & own’d every matter

104 of Fact untill the last & insisted when he Did anything of this Nature he

105 was Deluded in his Conscience to think it Lawfull but he was since Convinc’d

106 to the Contrary he still own’d he made no Contract with any of those Spiritts he

107 never Did any harm by their means he never pried into the future fortune

108 of himself or others & expressed an hearty Repentance & Detestation of his Sin

109 so that tho’ those Methods Cost him his Life in this world yet I have Great reason

110 to Believe him happy in the other I am not certain whether he Gave this

111 Acct to any other but myself tho’ he communicated something of it to Bayly

112 the Minister of St James’s in this City perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further Informed from his relations & Neighbours in Mangesfield who

114 lives in Gloucestershire not above a Mile out of the Road from this City

115 to Bath I have frequently told the Story but never mention’d this Name

116 before & therefore if your Lordship have any Desire of printing such

117 an Acct as this I Desire it may be with Such a Tenderness to his

118 Memory so as it may not be in the Least prejudicious to his relations

119 who have the Repute to be of Honest & sober people However I

120 never heard anything to the Contrary

121 I am

122 Your Lordships most Dutifull Son

123 & Servant

124 Arthur Bedford

‘Shute’

A Copy of a Letter concerning a person that convers’t with spirits. Written to Bishop Fowler. Sept. 4 1703. It is not signed at the end.

3-7 My Lord

When I was last at Bristoll, my worthy friend Mr Bedford, Minister of Temple parish, gave me a strange relation of an acquaintance of his, who conversed with spirits, & the unhappy consequence of it. I desired him to commit the whole narrative to writing & send it me, that I might impart it to your Lordship. He has granted my request, & the full account of the affair I shall here transcribe in his own words, as follows.

[8-11 see end]

11 About 13 years agoe

12 I was acquainted with one Tho: Perks a man

13 about 20 years of age who lived with his father at Mangersfield in the county of Gloucester, by trade a black

14 smith; he was a very good temper’d

15 man & extremely well skill’d in the mathematick studies, which were his constant

16 delight;

22 he addicted himself so much to astronomy that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the Planets, but an eclipse also, & demonstrate every /54v/ probleme in

24 spherical Trigonometry from mathematical principles, in which he would discover

25 a clear force of reason thô very frequently in discourse he would mistake in the quality of

26 the syllables. When Mr Bayly (now Minister of St James’s in Bristoll) endeavour’d to

27 set up a Mathematicall school, I advised him to this Tho: Perks for an acquaintance,

28 in whom, as he told me, he found a far greater proficiency in such studies than he

29 expected, or could have imagined from a man of his profession. After he applied himself to astrology, & would

30 sometimes calculate nativities & resolve horary questions, which he told me did often

31 times prove very true but he was not satisfied with it, because there was nothing

32 in it that tended to a mathematicall demonstration.

33 Having not seen him for sometime he came to me one day, &

34 (wee being in private) ask’d my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfullnesse of conversing

35 with spirits, & after I had given him my thoughts in the negative, & confirm’d them with the

36 best reasons I could, /55/ he told me he had consider’d all those arguments, & believ’d they

37 all related only to conjuration, but there was an innocent society with them, which a man

38 might use, if he made no compacts with them, did no harm by their means, & was

39 not curious to pry into hidden things -- & that he himselfe had discours’d with them,

40 had heard them sing &c. to his great satisfaction, & made an offer to me at one time, & to Mr Bayly at another,

41 that if wee would goe with him one night to Kingswood, wee should see them& hear them both speak & sing

42 & talk with them on whatsoever subject wee had a mind, & should return very safe, but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him the subtlety of the Devil was to delude mankind & to

44 transforme himselfe into an angel of light, but he could not believe it was the devil.

45 I had several conferences with him on the subject but could never convince him. In all which

46 I never observ’d the least disorder of mind, his discourse was very rational & I proposed,

47 to try him, a question in Astronomy relateing to the projection of a sphere, which he

48 projected & resolv’d & afterwards did so demonstrate it from the mathematicks, as so /55v/ demonstrate,

49 at the same time, that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness or distraction.

50 Having this opportunity I ask’d him severall particulars concerning the methods he used,

51 & the discourse he had with them. He told me he had a book whose directions he follow’d,

52 & accordingly in the dead time of the night he went out to a crosse way with a a lanthorn

53 & candle, which were consecrated for that purpose with severall incantations. he had also

54 a consecrated chalk consisting of severa[ll] mixtures, & with this he used to make a

55 circle at what distance he thought fit, within which no spirit had power to enter –

56 after this he invoked the spirits by using severall forms of words, some of which,

57 he told me, were taken out of the holy scriptures, & therefore he thought them lawfull,

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his destruction. Accordingly, those

59 spirits appear’d to him, which he call’d for in the shape of little girls, about

60 a foot & half high, & play’d without the circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted, but

61 after some small acquaintance this antipathy in nature wore off, & hee became

62 pleas’d with /56/ their company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill voice like

63 an antient woman. He ask’d them whether there was a God, they told him there was.

64 He ask’d

65 them what place heaven was, which they described as a place of great glory & happynesse,

66 & ask’d them what place hell was, & they bid him ask no questions of that nature, for it was

67 a dreadfull thing to relate it (The Devils believe & tremble) He ask’d them what sort of

68 method & order they had among themselves, they told him they were divided

69 into 3 orders, That they had a chief whose residence was in the air, that he had

70 severall Counsellours, which were placed by him in the form of a globe & he in the Centre,

71 which was the cheifest order. Another order was employed in goeing to & fro [‘o’ del at end of word] from thence to the

72 earth to carry intelligence from the lower spirits & a 3d to act on the earth, according

73 to the directions they received from those in the air. This description was very

74 surprising, & being contrary to the account wee have in scripture of the Hierarchy

75 of the Blessed Angells, made me conclude they must bee devils, but I could never convince him

76 of it. He told me he /56v/ had bad them sing, & they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he could hear a perfect consort, but of such musick, which he had never heard the

78 like & in the upper part he could hear something very harsh & shrill like a reed,

79 but, as it was managed did give a particular grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

80 year after this, he came to me again & told me, he wish’d he had taken my advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his life, & which he did heartily repent of. And

82 indeed his eyes & countenance did shew a great alteration. I ask’d him what he

83 had done, he told me that, being bewitch’d with his acquaintance he resolved to

84 proceed further in this art, & to have some familiar spirits at his command,

85 according to the direction of his book, which was, to have a book made of, what he call’d, virgin

86 parchment & consecrated with severall incantations, as also particular

87 ink horn, pens &c. for that purpose. with these he was to goe out, as usuall,

88 to a crosse way, & call up a spirit & ask him his name, which he was to put into

89 the first page of his book, & this was his chief Familiar. /57/ Thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleas’d, writing their names in distinct pages, only one on a

91 leaf, & then whenever he took the book & open’d it the spirit whose name

92 appear‘d, should appear also. His chief Familiar he said was [call’d, del] Maleki,

93 a word in Hebrew of an untoward signification. After he had done this, they appear’d to him faster

94 than he desired & in most dismall shapes, like serpents, lyons,

95 bears &c. & hiss’d at him, & attempted to throw spears & balls of fire.

96 This did very much affright him, & the more because he found it not

97 in his power to lay them, insomuch that his hair, as he told me, stood

98 upright, & he expected any moment to be torn in pieces. This was in December

99 about midnight when he continued in sweat till break of day at which time they left him.

100 And from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his sicknesse he

101 came frequently to Bristoll, to consult with one Mr Jacons an Apothecary in

102 broad street concerning a cure, but I know not whether he ever told him the

103 original cause of his distemper. He would come also to /57v/ to see me, when he came to town, & own’d every matter

104 of fact untill the last. And still told me that when he did anything of this nature, he

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawfull, but he was now convinc’d

106 to the contrary. He alwaies said, that he never made any compacts with [one?, del] any of these spirits, he

107 never did any harm by their means, he never pryed into the future fortune

108 of himself or others, & express’d a hearty repentance & detestation of his sin,

 & also a stedfast faith in Christ Jesus for the pardon of the same & the salvation of his soul.

109 So that thô the[se] methods cost him his life in this world, I have reason

110 so hope & believe him happy in the other. I am not certain whether he gave this

111 account to anyone except my selfe, thô he communicated something of it to Mr Bayly

112 minister of St James’s in the city.

113 A further account of this matter may be had perhaps from his relations or neighbours in Mangersfield

114 in Gloucestershire, not above a mile out of the road between Bristoll &

115 Bath. I have never mention’d his name or habitation /58/

116 before, & therefore, if this account should ever be printed,

117 I desire it may be done with such tendernesse to his

118 memory as he deservd &c.

8 I had formerly gin an account of this affair to the late Bishop of

9 Hereford, in which probably there are some things contain’d, which I do not now remem

10 ber, which perhaps may be procured from his widow now living near Gloucester,

11 which account may be more authentick.

*Bonny*

A Copy of a Letter sent to the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Glocester*, from a Clergy-man of the Church of *England*, living in *Bristol*, giving an Account of one *Thomas Perks* of *Mangorsfield* near the same City, and the Conversation he had with Familiar Spirits.

*My Lord*,

4 Being inform’d by Mr.Shute, of your Lordship’s Desire, that I should comm.

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain Person who was acquainted with

6 Spirits to his own Destruction, I have made bold to Give you the trouble of this Letter,

7 and I hope my Desire to gratifie your Lordship in every particular may be an

8 Apology for the Length hereof. I had formerly given an Account to the Late Bishop of

9 *Hereford* in which there are probably some things contain’d which I do not now remem

10 =ber and which (if your Lordship could procure from his Lady who lives near *Glocester*

11 would be more Authentick. [p.2] Some time since, whilst I was a Curate to Dr. R---

12 Rector of *St. N-----s* in this City, I began to be acquainted with one *Thomas Perks*, (a Man

13 about twenty Years of Age, who lived with his Father at *Mangorsfield*, and was by Trade a Black

14 smith) and contracted an intimacy with him, he being not only a very good temper’d

15 Man, but extremely well skill’d in the Mathematical Studies which was his constant

16 delight, *viz.* Arithmetick, Geometry, Gauging, Surveying, Astronomy & Algebra; he had

17 a Notion of the Perpetual Motion, much like that Wheel in *Archimedes* his Mathematical

18 Magick, to which he had made some Improvements, and which as he said was demonstrable

19 from Mathematical Principles (tho’ I could never believe it) accordingly I have seen

20 an Iron Wheel, to which he intended to add severall things of his own Invention in order

21 to finish the same, but thinking it of no Use, and being otherwise unfortunately engaged it

22 was never perfected. He addicted himself so much to Astronomy that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the Planets, but an Eclipse also, & demonstrate every problem in

24 spherical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles in which he [p.3] would discover

25 a clear force of reason, though he very frequently would mistake in the quantity of

26 Syllables. When one Mr *B---*, now Minister of *St. J---s* in this City endeavoured the

27 setting up a Mathematical School, I advised him to this *Thomas Perks* for an Acquaintance,

28 in whom, (as he told me) he found a far greater Proficiency in these studies than he

29 expected, or could have imagin’d. After this he applied himself to Astrology, and could

30 sometimes calculate Nativities & resolve horary Questions, which as he told did often

31 times prove very true, but he was not satisfied with it because there was nothing

32 in it that tended to a Mathematical Demonstration. When by the Providence

33 of God I was settled in *T---* Parish, and having not seen him for sometime he came to me one day, &

34 (we being in private) asked me my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with Spirits and after I had given My thoughts in the Negative, and confirmed them with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered all those Arguments and believed they

37 all related only to Conjuration, but there was an innocent Society with them, which a Man

38 might use, if he made no Compacts with them, did no [p.4] harm by their means, and was

39 not curious to pry into hidden things; and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and had heard them sing, &c. to his great Satisfaction, and gave an offer to me at one time, and to Mr *B----* at another,

41 that if would go with him one night to *Kings-wood*, we should see them and hear them both speak & sing

42 and talk with them whatever we had a mind to, and we should return very safe: but neither of us

43 had the Courage to venture: I told him of the Subtilty of the Devil to delude mankind, and to

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light; bet he could not believe it was the Devil.

45 I had severall Conferences on this Subject, but could never convince him; in all which

46 I never observed the least disorder of Mind; his Ciscours was very rational, and

47 (to try him) I proposed a Question in Astronomy relating to the Projection of a Sphere, which he

48 projected and resolved, and afterwards did so demonstrate from the Mathematicks as to demonstrate

49 at the same time that his Brain was free from the least Tincture of Madness or Destraction.

50 Having this opportunity I asked him several Particulars concerning the Methods he used,

51 and the discourse he had with them, he told me he had also a Book whose Directions he Followed,

52 and accordingly in the dead time of the Night he went out to a Cross way with a Lanthorn

53 and Candle which was consecrated for that purpose, with several Incantations; he had also

54 a consecrated Chalk consisting of several Mixtures, [p.5] and with this he used to make a

55 Circle, at what Distance he thought fit, within which no Spirit had power to enter:

56 after this he invoked the Spirits by using several Forms of Words, some of which

57 he told me were taken out of the holy Scripture, and therefore he thought them lawful,

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his Destruction; accordingly, these

59 Spirits appeared to him which he called for, in the Shape of little Maids, about

60 a Foot and half high, and played without the circle: at first he was somewhat affrighted, but

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy in Nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their Company: He told me they spake with a very shrill voice like

63 an Ancient Woman; He asked them if there was a God, they told him there was;

64 He asked them if there was a Heaven or Hell, they said there was; he asked

65 them what Place Heaven was, which they described as a Place of great Glory and Happiness;

66 and he asked them what Place Hell was, and thay bad him ask no more Questions of that Nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate it; *(the Devils believe & tremble:)* He asked them what sort of

68 Method and Order they had among themselves, they told him that they were divided

69 into three Orders, that they had a Chief whose Residence was in the Air, that he had

70 several Counsellors, which were placed by him in the Form of a Globe, and he in the Centre,

71 which was the chiefest Order; another Order was employed in going to & fro from thence to the

72 Earth, to carry Intelligence from these lower Spirits; and a thirdto act upon Earth according

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air: This Description was very

74 surprizing; but being contrary to the Account we have in the Scripture [p.6] of the Hierarchy

75 of the blessed Angels, made me conclude they were Devils, but I could not convince him

76 of it: He had bad them sing, and they went, to some Distance behind a Bush

77 from whence he could hear a perfect Consort, but of such Musick as he never heard the

78 like, and in the upper Part he could hear something very harsh and shrill like a Reed,

79 but, as it was managed did give a particular Grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

80Year after he came again to me and told me he wished he had taken my Advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his Life, and which he did heartily repent of; and

82 indeed his Eyes & Countenance did shew a great Alteration: I asked him what he

83 had done; he told me that being bewitch’d with his Acquaintance he resolved to

84 proceed farther in this Art, and to have some Familiar Spirits at his Command,

85 according to the Direction of his Book, which was to have a Book made of what he called, *Virgins*

86 *Parchment*, and consecrated with several Incantations; also particular

87 Ink, Ink horn, Pen, &c. for his Purpose: With these he was to go out (as usually)

88 to a Cross-way, and called up a Spirit, asked him his Name, which he was to put in

89 the first Page of his Book, and this was his Familiar; thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their Names in distinct Pages, only one in a

91 Leaf; and then whenever he took the Book and opened it, the Spirit whose Name

92 appeared, should appear also when he did thus the Familiar Spirit he had was called *Malki*,

93 (a word in *Hebrew* of an untoward Signification) after this, they appeared faster

94 than he desired, and in most dismal Shapes, [p.7] like Serpents, Lyons,

95 Bears &c. and hissing at him, or attempting to throw Spears or Balls of Fire at him;

96 this did very much affright him, and the more that he found it not

97 in his Power to lay them, insomuch that his Hair (as he told me) stood

98 upright, and he expected every Moment to be torn to pieces, this was in *December*

99 about Midnight, when he continued there in a Sweat till break of Day when they left him,

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his Sickness he

101 frequently came to this City to consult with Mr. *J---b* an Apothecary in

102 Broad-street concerning a Cure, but I know not whether he told him the

103 Original Cause or no; he also came to me at the same time and owned every Matter

104 of Fact until the last, and still insisted that when he did any thing of this Nature, he

105 was deluded in his Conscience to think it lawful, but he is since convinced

106 to the contrary: He still declared he made no Compacts with any of those Spirits, he

107 never did any Harm by their Means, he never pryed into the Future State

108 of himself and Others, and expressed a hearty Repentance and Detestation of his Sin,

And also a stedfast Faith in Christ for the Pardon of the same, and the Salvation of his Soul:

109 So that though these Methods cost him his Life in this World, yet I have great Reason

110 to believe him happy in the other. [p.8] I am not certain whether he gave this

111 Account to anyone except my self (though he communicated something of it to Mr *B---e---*

112 the Minister of *St. J-------* in this City) perhaps your Lordship may be

113 farther informed from his Relations and Neighbours in *Mangorsfield*, which lies

114 in *Glocestershire*, not above a Mile out of the Road from this City to

115 *Bath*. I have frequently told the Story, but never mentioned his Name

116 before; and therefore if your Lordship hath a Design of printing such Accounts as these,

117 I desire it may be with such Tenderness to his

118 Memory as he deserved, and so as may not be the least Prejudice to his Relations,

119 who have the deserved Character of honest & sober People; however I

120 never heard any thing to the contrary.

121 *I am*

122 *your Lordship’s Most Dutiful Son*

123 *and Servant*

124

Licensed according to Order.

*Bristol*, Printed by *W. Bonny* in *Cornstreet*. 1704.

*Hills*

A Copy of a LETTER sent to the Right Reverend Father in God *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Glocester*, from a Clergy-man of the Church of *England*, living in *Bristol*, giving an Account of one *Tho. Perks* of *Mangorsfield* near the same City, and of his Conversation with Familiar Spirits.

*My Lord*,

4 Being inform’d by Mr.Shute, that your Lordship was desirous

5 to know what Mr. *Thomas Perks* could relate as to

6 Spirits, I thought fit to give you the following Relation from his own mouth, but before I give your Lordship the Relation, I think fit to let you know what I understand of him, as to his Principles, Conversation, Capacities, and Learning viz.,

7 -12

13 He was, a thorough paced Proficient on the Mathematicks, a Blacksmith by Trade,

14 a Man of Good Conversation and of Good Morals

15-28

29 but his Particular Talent was his Great knowledge in Astrology.

30-33

34 At a certain time he asked me my Opinion concerning the Lawfulness of Conversing

35 with Spirits, and after I had given my Thoughts,

36 he told me that he had considered all those Arguments, and believed they

37 all related only to Conjuration, but that there was an innocent Society with them,

38

39 and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 to his great Satisfaction, and gave an Offer to me,

41 that if I would go with him one Night to *Kingswood* I should see and hear them both speak and sing:

42

43 I told him of the Subtilty of the Devil to delude mankind, and to

44 Transform himself into an Angel of Light; but he could not believe that it was the Devil.

45 I had several Conferences on this Subject, but could never convince him; in all which

46 I never observed the least disorder of Mind; his Discourse was very rational, and

47 I proposed (to try him) a Question in *Astronomy* relating to the Projection of a Sphere, which he

48 projected and resolved, and afterwards gave such demonstrations in the *Mathematicks* as did demonstrate

49 that his Brain was free from the least Tincture of Madness or Destraction.

50 Having this Oppertunity I asked him several Particulars concerning the Methods he used,

51 and the discourse he had with them, he told me he had a Book whose Directions he followed,

52 and accordingly in the dead time of the Night he went out to a Cross-way with a Lanthorn

53 and Candle; he had also

54 a Consecrated Chalk consisting of several Mixtures, with this he used to make a

55 Circle, within which no Spirit had Power to enter:

56 After this he invoked the Spirits by using several Forms of Words, some of which

57 he told me were taken out of the holy Scripture, and therefore he thought them lawful,

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his Destruction; accordingly, these

59 Spirits appeared which he called for, in the Shape of little Maids, about

60 a Foot and half high, and played without the circle: At first he was somewhat affrighted, but

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy in Nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their Company: He told me they spake with a very shrill Voice like

63 an Ancient Woman; He asked them if there was a God, they told him there was;

64 He asked them if there was a Heaven or Hell, they said there was; he asked

65 ‘em what Place Heaven was, which they described as a Place of great Glory and happiness;

66 and he asked them what Place Hell was, and thay bad him ask no more Questions of that Nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate it; *(the Devils believe & tremble:)* He asked them what sort of

68 Method and Order they had among themselves, they told him they were divided

69 into three Orders, that they had a Chief whose Residence was in the Air, that he had

70 several Counsellors, which were placed by him in the Form of a Globe, and he in the Centre,

71 which was the chiefest Order; another Order was employed in going to and fro from thence to the

72 Earth, to carry Intelligence from these lower Spirits; and a Thirdto act upon Earth according

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air: This Description was very

74 surprising, but being contrary to the Account we have in the Scripture of the Hierarchy

75 of the blessed Angels, made me conclude they were Devils, but I could not convince him

76 of it: He bad them sing, and they went to some Distance behind a Bush

77 from whence he could hear a perfect Consort, but of such Musick he never heard the

78 like, and in the upper Part he could hear something very harsh and shrill like a Reed,

79 but, as it was managed did give a particular Grace to all the rest. About a quarter of a

80Year after he came again to me and told me he wished he had taken my Advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which wou’d cost him his Life;

82 I asked him what he

83 had done; he told me that being bewitched with his Acquaintance he resolved to

84 proceed farther in this Art, and to have some Familiar Spirits at his Command,

85 according to the Directions of his Book, which was made of *Virgins*

86 *Parchment*, and consecrated with several Incantations; and also particular

87 Ink, Ink-horn, Pen, &c. for his Purpose; With these he was to go out (as usually)

88 to a

89 Book, and this was his Familiar; Thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their Names in distinct Pages, only one in a

91 Leaf; and then when ever he took the Book and opened it, the Spirit whose Name

92 appeared should appear also; when he did thus the Familiar Spirit he had was call’d *Malki*,

93 after this they appeared faster

94 than he desired, and in most dismal Shapes, like Serpents, Lions,

95 Bears &c. and hissing at him, or attempting to throw Spears or Balls of Fire at him;

96 this did very much affright him, the more because it was not

97 in his Power to lay them, insomuch that his Hair stood

98 upright, and expected every Moment to be torn to pieces, this was in *Decemb.*

99 about Midnight,

100 and from that time never well as long as he lived. In his Sickness he

101 frequently came to this City to consult with Mr. *Jacob* an Apothecary

102 concerning a Cure:

103 -5

106 He still declared he made no Compacts with any of those Spirits,

107 nor did ever any Harm by their Means, he never pry’d into the Future State

108 of himself and Others, and expressed an hearty Repentance and Detestation of his Sins,

and also a stedfast Faith in Christ for the Pardon of the same, and the Salvation of his Soul:

109 So that tho’ these Methods cost him his Life in this World, yet I have great Reason

110 to believe him happy in the other. I am not certain whether he gave this

111 Account to any other but my self,

112 perhaps your Lordship may be

113 farther informed from his Relations and Neighbours in *Mangorsfield*, which lies

114 in *Glocestershire*, not above a Mile out of the Road from this City to

115 *Bath*.

116-20

121 *I am*

122 *your Lordship’s Most Dutiful Son*

123 *and Servant*

124

*London* Printed by *H.Hills* in *Blackfryars* near the Waterside, 1704

*Beaumont*

Mr. *Bedford*, Minister of *Temple* Parish in *Bristol*, writ a Friend of his the last Year, a strange Relation of an Acquaintance of his, who often conversed with Spirits, and the unhappy consequences of it. It is as follows. [8-11 see end]

11 About Thirteen Years since,

12 I was acquainted with one *Thomas Jerps*, a Man

13 about 20 Years of Age, who lived with his Father, at Mangerfield, in the County Gloucester, by Trade *a Black-*

14 *Smith*, he was a very good Temper’d

15 Man, extreamly well Skilled in the Mathematical Studies, which were his constant

16 Delight, *viz. Arithmetick, Geometry, Gauging, Surveying* and *Algebra*,

22 and much addicted himself to *Astronomy*;

23-28

29 at length he applied himself to *Astrology*, & would

30 sometimes Calculate Nativities & resolve Horary Questions, &c. which he told me prov’d often-

31 times very true; but he was not satisfied with it, because there was nothing

32 in it, which tended to a Mathematical Demonstration.

33 Having not seen him for some time, he came to me one Day, and

34 we being in private, ask’d me very seriously concerning the Lawfulness of conversing

35 with Spirits; and after I had given my Thoughts in the Negative, and confirm’d them with the

36 best Reasons I could, he told me he had considered all those Arguments, and believed they

37 all related only to Conjuration; but there was an Innocent Society with them, which a Man

38 might use, if he made no contract with them, did no harm by their means, and was

39 not curious to pry into hidden things; and that he himself had Discoursed with them,

40 and heard them Sing &c. to his great Satisfaction, and once made an offer to my self, and another time to Mr. *Bayly*, now Minister of St. *James’s* in *Bristol*,

41 that if we would go with him one Night to *Kingswood Forest*, we should see them, and hear them both Speak and Sing,

42 and talk with them on whatsoever Subject we had a mind to, and we should return very safe; but neither of us

43 had the Courage to venture. I told him of the Subtlety of the Devil to delude Mankind, and to

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light; but he could not believe that it was the Devil.

45 I had several conferences with him on this Subject, but could never convince him: In all which

46 I never observ’d the least disorder of Mind, his Discourse being very rational.

47-49

50 I ask’d him several particulars concerning the method he used,

51 and the discourse he had with the Spirits; He told me he had a Book whose directions he followed,

52 and accordingly, in the dead time of the Night, he went to a cross way, with a Lanthorn

53 and Candle, which were Consecrated for this purpose, with several Incantations; He had also

54 a Consecrated Chalk, having a mixture of several things within it; and with this he used to make a

55 Circle at what distance he thought fit, within which no Spirit had power to enter;

56 after this he Invoked the Spirits, by using several forms of Words; some of which,

57 he told me were taken out of the Scriptures, and therefore he thought them lawful.

58 The

59 Spirits appeared accordingly to him, in the shapes of little Girls, about

60 a Foot and an half high, and play’d without the Circle: at first he was somewhat affrighted, but

61 after some small Acquaintance, he became

62 pleased with their Company: He told me they spake with a very Shrill Voice like

63 an Ancient Woman; he asked them if there were a God,

64 an Heaven, and an Hell? They Answered there were;

65-66

67 He ask’d them what

68 oeconomy they had among themselves? They told him they were divided

69 into Three Orders: that they had a Chief, whose residence was in the Air, that he had

70 several Counsellors, which were placed in the form of a Globe, and he in the Center,

71 which was the chiefest Order: another Order was imployed in going to & fro, from thence to the

72 Earth, to carry Intelligence from the Lower Spirits, according

73 to the Directions they received from those in the Air. This Description

74 being contrary to the account we have in Scripture, of the Hierarchy

75 of Angels, made me conclude them Devils, but I could never convince him:

76 He told me he bid them Sing, and they went to some distance, behind a Bush,

77 from whence he could hear a pleasant Consort, but of such Musick, of which he never heard the

78 like; and in the upper part he could hear something very harsh and shrill like a Reed,

79 but as it was managed, gave a particular Grace to all the rest. About a Quarter of a

80 Year after this, he came to me again, and told me, he wished now he had taken my Advice, for he thought he

81 had done that, which would cost him his Life, and

82 his Eyes and Countenance shew’d a great alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done? he told me that being Bewitch’d by his Acquaintance he resolved to

84 proceed farther in this Art, and to have some Familiar Spirits at his Command,

85 according to the directions of his Book, which were to get a Book made of Virgin

86 Parchment, and Consecrated with several Incantations, as also particular

87 Ink, Inkhorn, Pens, &c. for thid purpose; with these he was to go out as usual

88 to a Cross-way, call upon a Spirit, and ask him his Name, which he was to enter in

89 the First Page of his Book, and this was to be his Chief Familiar. Thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased, Writing their Names in distinct Pages, only one in a

91 Leaf, and then, whenever he took the Book and opened it, the first whose Name

92 presented, should appear: his Chief Familiar he said was called *Malchi*,

93 after he had done this, they appear’d to him faster

94 than he desired, and in most Dismal Shapes, as of Serpents, Lions,

95 Bears, &c. and hist at him, and attempted to throw Spears, and Balls of Fire;

96 he was very much Affrighted, and the more because, he found it not

97 in his power to Lay them, insomuch that his Hair stood

98 an end, and he expected every moment to be Torn in Pieces. This was in *December*

99 about Midnight, when he continued there in a Sweat till break of Day, at which time they left him,

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he liv’d

101-105

106 He always said he never made any Compacts with any of these Spirits,

107 nor ever did any Harm by their means, nor pry’d into Future Concerns,

108 relating to himself, or others, and exprest a hearty Repentance for his Sin,

109-12

113 A further account of this Matter may, perhaps, be had from his Relations, or Neighbours in *Mangerfield*

114 in *Gloucester-shire*, not above a Mile out of the Road, betwixt *Bristol* and

115 *Bath*.

116-23

8 I formerly gave an Account of this Affair, to the late Bishop of

9 *Hereford*, in which probably there are some things contain’d, which I do not now remem

10 ber, and which, perhaps, may be procured from his Lady, now living near *Gloucester*,

11 which Account would be more Authentick.

124 So far Mr *Bedford*.

**‘Cruttenden’**

1 *(From the RevArthur Bedford*

2 *to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.)*

3 MY LORD Bristol, Aug. 2 1703. [this is printed at end of letter]

4 Being informed by MrShute of your Lordship’s desire that I should comm-

5 unicate to you what I know of a certain person who was acquainted with

6 spirits to his own destruction, I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter,

7 and hope my desire to gratify your Lordship in every particular, will be an

8 apology for the length of it. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

9 Hereford, in which there are, probably, some things contained, which I cannot now well remem

10 =ber, which if your Lordship could procure from his lady, who lives near Gloucester,

11 would be more authentic. About thirteen years ago when I was curate to the Rev. Dr. Read,

12 rector of St Nicholas, in this city, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Parks,

13 at Mangersfield, by trade a blacksmith; he was about twenty years old:

14 I lived, at that time, with his father, and contracted an intimacy with him, he being not only good natured,

15 but extremely well skilled in mathematical studies, which were his constant

16 delight. He understood arithmetic, geometry, gauging, surveying, astronomy, and algebra: he had

17 a notion of the perpetual motion, much like the wheel in Archimedes’ mathematical

18 magic, to which he had made some improvement, and which, he said, was demonstrable

19 on mathematical principles, though I could never believe it. Accordingly I have seen

20 an iron wheel, to which he intended to have added several things of his own invention, in order

21 to finish the same; but thinking the discovery of no use, and being unfortunately otherwise engaged, it

22 was never perfected. He gave himself so much to astronomy, that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the planets, but an eclipse also, and demonstrate every problem in

24 spherical trigonometry by mathematical principles, in which he would discover

25 a clear form of reasoning, though he would very often mistake in the quality of

26 things. When the Rev. Mr Bayley, rector of St. James’s, in this city, endeavoured to

27 set up a mathematical school, I advised him to this Thomas Parks as an acquaintance,

28 in whom, as he told me, he found a much greater proficiency than he

29 expected, or could have imagined. After this he applied himself to astrology, and would

30 sometimes calculate nativities, and resolved questions, which he said often

31 proved true; but he was not satisfied in it, because there was nothing

32 which would admit of a demonstration. When, by the providence

33 of God, I was settled in Temple Parish, and having not seen him for some time, he came to me,

34 and we being in private, he asked me very seriously my opinion concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with spirits; and after I had given him my thoughts in the negative, and confirmed them with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered all these arguments, and believed they

37 only related to conjuration, but that there was an innocent society with them, which a man

38 might use, if he entered into no contracts, and did no harm by their means, and was

39 not anxious in prying into forbidden things; That he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and heard them sing to his great satisfaction; and he gave an offer to me at one time, and to Mr Bayley at an other,

41 that if we would go with him one night to Kingswood, we should see them, and hear them both talk and sing,

42 and should talk with them whatever we pleased, and that we should return very safe: but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him of the subtilty of the devil in deluding mankind, by

44 transforming himself into an angel of light, but he could not believe it was the devil.

45 We had several conferences on this subject, but I could never convince him. In all these conversations I could

46 never discover the least disorder of mind; his discourse was always very rational, and I proposed,

47 to try him, by a question in astronomy, relating to the projection of the sphere, which he

48 resolved, and afterwards did so demonstrate from the mathematics, as shewed

49 his brain free from any suspicion of madness or distraction.

50 Having this opportunity, I asked him several questions concerning the methods he used

51 to obtain this conversation, he told me he had a book, whose directions he followed;

52 and accordingly, in the dead time of the night, he went out into a cross way, with a candle and lanthorn

53 consecrated for that purpose, with several incantations. He had, also,

54 consecrated chalk, consisting of several mixtures, with which he made a

55 circle at what distance he saw fit, into which no spirit could enter.

56 After this he invoked the spirits he would converse with, by using several forms of words, which,

57 he told me, were taken out of the holy scriptures; and therefore he thought them lawful

58 not considering that they were wrested to his own destruction. Accordingly the

59 spirits appeared in the shape of little maids, about

60 a foot and a half high, and played about the circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted; but

61 after longer acquaintance the antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spake with a very shrill voice like

63 an ancient woman. He asked them if there was a God? they said there was.

64 He asked them if there was a heaven, or hell? they said there was. He asked

65 them what a place heaven was? They described it as a place of great joy and happiness.

66 He inquired what a place hell was? they bid him ask no questions of that nature, for that it was

67 dreadful to relate it. He asked them what

68 method or order they had amongst themselves? they told him they were divided

69 into three orders - that they had a chief, whose residence was in the air, that he had

70 several counsellors, who were planted, by him, in the form of a globe, and he in the centre,

71 which was the chief order. The second order were employed in going to and fro from thence to the

72 earth to carry intelligence from the higher spirits. A third were confined to the earth, acting according

73 to the directions they received from those in the air. This description was very

74 surprising; but being contrary to the account we have in scripture of the hierarchy

75 of the holy angels, it made me conclude they were devils, but I could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he bade them sing, and they went to some distance, behind a bush,

77 whence he heard a pleasant concert of such music as he never heard the

78 like; in the uppermost part he could hear something very harsh and shrill, like a reed;

79 but as it was managed it gave a particular grace to the rest. About three months

80 after this he came to me again, and said, he wished he had taken my advice, for that he

81 had got what would cost him his life, and what he did heartily repent of, and,

82 indeed, his eyes & countenance showed a very great alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done? he told me that, being bewitched to his new acquaintance, he resolved to

84 proceed farther in his art, and to have some familiar spirits at his command,

85 according to the directions of his book; which were to get a book made of what he called virgin

86 parchment, and consecrated with several incantations, as also a particular

87 inkhorn, ink, and pens: He was to go, as usual,

88 to a cross way, to call up a spirit, and ask him his name, which he was to put in

89 the first page of the book, and this was to be his Familiar. This he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

91 leaf; and then whenever he opened the book, the spirit, whose name first

92 appeared, should appear also. The Familiar spirit he had was called *Malchi*,

93 a word in the Hebrew of an untoward signification. After this they appeared faster

94 than he desired, in most dreadful shapes, like lions,

95 bears, and serpents, hissing, and attempting to throw balls of fire

96 at him. This very much affrighted him, and the more, because he found it not

97 in his power to lay them, insomuch that his hair, as he told me, stood

98 upright, and he expected every moment to be torn in pieces. This was in December,

99 about midnight, and continued till break of day, and then they left him.

100 From that time he was never well as long as he lived; in his sickness he

101 came often to this city to consult with Mr.Jacobs, an apothecary in

102 Broad Street, concerning a cure, but I know not whether he ever told him the

103 occasion of his illness. He also came to me at the same time and owned every matter

104 of fact unto the last. He said that when he did anything of this nature he

105 was deluded in his conscience to believe it lawful, but that he was since convinced

106 to the contrary: he professed that he made no contract with any of these spirits, and that he

107 never did any harm by their means, nor ever pryed into the future fortunes

108 of himself or others. He expressed a hearty repentance of the steps he had taken;

109 so that, though they cost him his life in this world, I have great reason

110 to hope and believe, that he is happy in a better. I am not certain whether he gave this

111 account to any besides myself, though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bayley,

112 the minister of St James’s parish, in this city. Perhaps your Lordship may be

113 farther informed by his relations or neighbours in Mangersfield; the town

114 lies not above a mile out of the road from this city

115 to Bath. I have frequently told the story, but never mentioned his name

116 before. If, therefore, your Lordship has any design of printing any such

117 accounts as these, I desire it may be with such a tenderness to his

118 memory, as he deserved, and so that it may not in the least prejudice any of his surviving relations,

119 who have the character of sober and honest people; at least I

120 never heard anything to the contrary.

121 I am

122 your Lordship’s most dutiful son

123 and very humble servant,

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD.

NB The original from whence I transcribed my copy, contains the following words signed by the writer’s own hand. “The above facts are all true. *Arthur Bedford*. Jan. 1, 1740.”

*Chronicle*

St James Chronicle 18 April 1761

Though we are far from giving Credit to every idle Story concerning Apparitions and Incantations ourselves, and farther still from intending to impose them as Articles of Belief upon our Readers; yet we have presented them with the following merely for its Novelty, and as an Anecdote, which in a future Edition, would make a very proper Supplement to the celebrated Tale of the Lady in Drelincourt, upon Death. We think it incumbent upon us, however, at the same Time to declare, that it has been really delivered to us as an authentic Letter, written by the very Rev. Gentleman whose Name it bears; that is to say, by the late Mr. Arthur Bedford, Chaplain to Haberdasher’s Alms Houses, a Person of the greatest Eminence for Learning and Piety.

3 My Lord, *Bristol, Aug.* 2, 1703

4 Being informed by Mr. Shute, of your Lordship’s Desire that I should comm=

5 unicate to you what I know concerning a certain Person, who was acquainted with

6 Spirits to his own Destruction; I have made bold to give you this Letter,

7 and I hope my Desire to gratify your Lordship in every Particular, will be an

8 Apology for the Length thereof. I had formerly given an Account to the late Bishop of

9 Hereford, in which there are probably some Things contained,

10 which if your Lordship could procure of his Lady (who lives near Gloucester)

11 would be more authentic. About thirteen Years ago, when I was Curate to the Rev. Dr *Reed*,

12 Rector of St. *Nicholas* in this City, I began to be acquainted with one *Thomas Perks*

13 at *Mangersfield* and by trade a Blacksmith, (he was about twenty Years of Age)

14 I contracted an Intimacy with him, he being not only good tempered,

15 but extremely well versed in the Mathematicks, which was his constant

16 Designs, viz. *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Gauging*, *Surveying*, *Astronomy* and *Algebra*; he had

17 a Notion of the perpetual Motion, much like the Wheel in *Archimedes* his Mathematical

18 Magic, to which he had made some Improvements, and which (as he said) was demonstrable

19 from Mathematical Principles, though I could never believe it; accordingly I have seen

20 an Iron Wheel, to which he intended to add severall Things of his own Invention, in order

21 to finish the same; but, thinking it of no Use, and being otherwise unfortunately engaged, it

22 was never perfected: He gave himself so much to *Astronomy* , that he could not only calculate

23 the Motions of the *Planets*, but an *Eclipse* also, and demonstrate every Problem in

24 Spherenical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles, in which, he would discover

25 a clear Form of reason, (though he would often mistake in the Quantity of

26 Things) When the Rev. Mr. *Bayley*, Rector of *St James’s* in this City, endeavoured to

27 set up a Mathematical School, I advised him to this *Thomas Perks*, as an Acquaintance,

28 in whom (as he told me) he found greater Proficiency than he

29 expected, or could have imagined: After this, he applied himself to *Astrology*, and would

30 sometimes calculate Nativities, and resolve Questions, which, as he told me, often

31 proved true, but he was not satisfied with it, because there was nothing

32 in it that tended to a Mathematical Demonstration. When by the Providence

33 of God I was settled in *Temple* Parish, I having not seen him for some Time, he came to me

34 and we being alone in private, he asked me my Opinion very seriously, concerning the Lawfulness of conversing

35 with Spirits; and, after I had given my Thoughts in the Negative, and confirmed them with the

36 best Reasons I could, he told me, he had considered all those Arguments, and believed they

37 only respected Conjurations; but, there was an innocent Society with them, which a Man

38 might use, if he had no Contract with them, or did no Harm by their means, and was

39 not curious in prying into hidden Things, and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and heard them sing to his great Satisfaction, and gave an Offer to me at one Time, and Mr. *Bayley* another,

41 that if we would go with him one Night to Kingswood, we should see them, and hear them both talk and sing,

42 and should talk with them whatsoever we pleased, and that we should return very safe; but, neither of us

43 had the Courage to venture. I told him the Subtilety of the Devil to delude Mankind and to

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light; but he could never believe it was the Devil; - .

45 we had several Conferences on this Subject, but I could never convince him , in all which

46 I could never discover the least Disorder of Mind; his Discourse was very rational and I proposed

47 (to try him) a Question in Astronomy, relating to the Projection of a Sphere, which he

48 projected and resolved, and afterwards did so demonstrate it from the Mathematicks

49 that his Brain was clear from the least Tincture of Madness or Distraction;

50 having this Opportunity, I asked him several Particulars concerning the Methods he used,

51 and the Discourse he had with them; he told me, he had a Book whose Directions he followed,

52 and accordingly in the dead Time of the Night, he went out to a Cross-way with a Lanthorn

53 and Candle, which was consecrated for that Purpose, with several Incantations. He had also

54 consecrated Chalk, consisting of several Mixtures, with which he used to make a

55 Circle, at what Distance he thought proper, within which no Spirit had Power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the Spirits, by using several Forms of Words, which

57 he told me were taken out of the Holy Scriptures; and therefore he thought them lawful

58 (not considering they might be wrested to his own Destruction): Accordingly the

59 Spirits appeared which he called for, in the Shape of little Maids about

60 a Foot and a Half high, and played about the Circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted; but

61 after some small Acquaintance the Antipathy in Nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their Company. He told me they spoke with a Voice very shrill like

63 an ancient Woman; he asked them if there was a God, they said there was;

64 he asked

65 them what place heaven was, which they described as a Place of great Glory and Happiness.

66 Then he asked them what Place Hell was; they bid him ask no Questions of that Nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate it (the Devils believe and tremble); he asked them what

68 Method and Order they had among themselves; they told him that they were divided

69 into Orders, that they had a Chief whose Residence was in the Air, that he had

70 several Counsellors, which were planted by him in the Form of a Globe, and in the Centre,

71 which was the chiefest Order. The second Order was employed in going to and fro from thence to the

72 Earth, to act according

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air. This Description was very

74 surprising, but being Contrary to the Account we have in Scripture of the Hierarchy

75 of the Blessed Angels, made me conclude they were Devils, but could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he bid them sing, and they went to some Distance behind a Bush,

77 from whence he heard a pleasant Concert, but of such Music he never heard the

78 like; and in the uppermost Part he could hear something very harsh and shrill, like a Reed,

79 but as it was managed did give a particular Grace to the rest. ----- About a Quarter of a

80 Year afterwards he came to me, and said he wished he had taken my Advice, for he thought he

81 had that, that would cost him his Life, and which he did heartily repent of; and

82 indeed his Eyes & Countenance did show a great Alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done; He told me, that being bewitched to his Acquaintance, he resolved to

84 proceed farther in this Art, and to have some familiar Spirits at his Command, and

85 according to the Direction of his Book, which was to have a Book made of what he called Virgin’s

86 Parchment, and consecrated with several Incantations, as also a particular

87 Ink-horn, Ink, and Pens; and for this Purpose, with those he was to go as usually

88 to a Cross-way, and call up a Spirit and ask him his Name, which he was to put in

89 the first page of his Book, and this was his familiar: this he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased. Writing their Names in distinct Pages, only one in a

91 Leaf, and then whensoever he took the Book and opened it, the Spirit (whose Name first

92 appeared) appeared also; thus the familiar Spirit he had, was called Malchi;

93 a Word in the Hebrew, of an untoward Signification; after this they appeared faster

94 than he desired, and in most dismal Shapes, like Lions,

95 Bears, Serpents, &c. Hissing at him and attempting to throw Spheres or Balls of Fire

96 at him; this did very much affright him, and the more because he found it out

97 of his Power to lay them, insomuch, that his Hair, as he told me, stood

98 upright, and he expected every Moment to be torn in pieces; this was in December

99 about Midnight, when he continued there in a Sweat till break of Day, and then they left him,

100 and from that Time he never was well as long as he lived: In his sickness he

101 came often to this City to consult with one Mr.Jacobs an Apothecary in

102 Broad-street, concerning a Cure, but I know not whether he ever told him the

103 original cause or not; he also came to me at the same Time and owned every Matter

104 of Fact to the last, and said, that when he did any Thing of this Nature, he

105 was deluded in his Conscience to believe it lawful, but he was since convinced

106 of the contrary; he confessd he made no Contract with any of these Spirits, that he

107 never did any harm by their Means, nor ever pryed into the future Fortunes

108 of himself or others; he expressed a hearty Repentance & Detestation of his Sins,

109 so that tho’ it cost him his Life in this World, yet I have great Reason

110 to believe him happy in the other; I am not certain whether he gave this

111 Account to any other but myself, though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bayley,

112 Minister of St James’s in this City; perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further informed by his Relations and Neighbours in Mangersfield, which

114 lies in Gloucestershire, not above a Mile out of the Road from this City

115 to Bath; I have frequently told the Story but never mentioned his Name

116 before, therefore, if your Lordship hath any Design of Printing such

117 Accounts as these, I desire it may be with such a Tenderness to his

118 Memory as he deserved, and so as that it may not in the least prejudice any of his surviving Relations,

119 who have the Character of sober, honest People, however I

120 never heard anything to the contrary.

121 I am,

122 Your Lordship’s most dutiful Son

123 and Servant

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD

*Memorandum, the Facts contained in this Letter, were confirmed by the Rev. Author, Jan. 1 1739-40, to C-----s J-----n, Apothecary in the Minories.*

 L. D. N---------------E

Policy Broker, Exchange Alley

*Cornelius Agrippa’s Magick*, was the supposed Book the above-mentioned Thomas Perks made use of.

 ‘Sharp’

1-2 A Copy of A Letter sent to the Bishop of Glocester by the Revd  Mr Arthur Bedford Minister of Temple in Bristol

3 Bristol Aug:t 2d 1703 My Lord,

4 Being inform’d by Mr Shute of Your Lordships Desire, that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a Certain Person who was acquainted with

6 Spirits to his own Destruction I have [‘made’ inserted above the line] bold to give you the trouble of this Letter,

7 hoping my desire to Gratify your Lordship in every particulars may be an

8 Apology for the Length thereof; I had formerly given an Account to the Late Ld Bishop of

9 Hereford in which there are Probably some things Contain’d which I do not now Remem

10 ber which if Your Lordship could Procure from his Lady who Lives now near Glocester

11 would be more Authentick About thirteen Years ago whilst I was Curate to Dr Reed

12 Rector of St Nicholasses in this City I began to be acquainted with one Thos Perkes A Man

13 About twenty Years of Age who Lived with his Father at Manglesfield and by trade a Gun

14 smith and Contracted an Intimacy with him he not being only a good [added above line ‘even-‘] Temper’d

15 Man but Extreamly Skil’d in the Mathematical Studys wich was his Constant

16 studies Viz Arithmetick Geometry Gauging Surveying Astronomy & Algebra; he had

17 a Notion of the Perpetual Motion much like that weel in Archimedes his Mathmatical

18 magick in which he had made some Improvement and which as he has held was demonstrable

19 from Mathematical Principles tho I Could never beleive it Accordingly I have seen

20 an Iron weel to which he intended to add several things of his own inventions in order

21 to finish the Same but thinking it of no Use and being otherways Unfortunately employ’d it

22 was never Perfected he gave Himself so much to Astronomy that He Could not only Calculate

23 the Motions of the Planets but an Eclipse Also and demonstrate any Problem in

24 Spherical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles in Which he would discover

25 a full force of Reason

26 When one Mr Bayly Minister of St James’s in this City endeavoured to

27 Set up a Mathematical School I advis’d him to Thos Perks for an Acquaintance,

28 In whom as he told me he found a greater Proficiency in those Studys than he

29 Expected or he Could have Imagin’d After this he Apply’d himself to Astrology and would

30 Sometimes Calculate Nativities and resolve Horary Questions which he told me often

31 times Prov’d true but he was not Satisfied with it Because there was nothing

32 in it that did tend to Mathematical Demonstrations When by the Providence

33 of God I was Settled in temple Parish and having not Seen him for time he Came to me

34 and wee being in Private he ask’d my Opinion very Seriously Concerning the Lawfulness of Conversing

35 with Spirits and after I had given my thoughts in the Negative and Confirm’d them with the

36 Best reason I Could he told me he had Considered all those Arguments and believ’d they

37 only related to Conjuration but there was also an Innocent Society with them them that a Man

38 might Use if he had no Compacts with them did no Harm by their Means and was

39 not Curious Prying into Hidden things and that he himself had Discours’d with them

40 and heard them Sing to his Great satisfaction and gave an Offer to me and Mr Bayly at another Time

41 that if wee would go with him one Night to Kingswood wee should See them and hear them both talk and Sing

42 and talk with them whatever wee had a Mind too and wee should Return very Safe but neither of us

43 had the Courage to Venter I told him the Subtility of the Devil to Delude Mankind and to

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light but he Could not Believe it was the Devil

45 I had several Conferences with him on the Subject but Could never Convince him; In all I Could

46 not Discern the Least Disorder of Mind, his Discourse being very rational I Propos’d

47 (to try Him) a Question in Astronomy relating to the Projection of the Sphere which he

48 Projected and Resolv’d and afterwards did so Demonstrate from the Mathematicks as to demonstrate

49 at the Same time that his brain was free from the Least tincture of Madness and distraction;

50 having this opportunity of asking him Several Particulars Concerning the Methods he Used

51 and the Discourse he had with them; he told me he had a Book whose directions he followed

52 and Accordingly in the dead time of the Night he went out to A Crossway with A Candle

53 and Lanthorn which was Consecrated for this Purpose with several Incantations he had also

54 Consecrated Chalk Consisting of Several Mixtures which he Used to Make A

55 Circle at what distance he thought fit within wich he said no Spirit had Power to enter

56 after this he Invok’d the Spirits by several forms of words some of wich

57 he told me were taken out of the Holy Scriptures therefore he thought Lawful

58 without Considering how they might be wrested to his Destruction accordingly the

59 Spirits appear’d to him which he Call’d for in the shape of Little Maidens abt

60 a foot and a half High and Play’d about the Sircle; at first he was somewhat Affrighted but

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy of Nature wore off and he became

62 Pleas’d with their Company he told me they Speak with A Very Shrill voice like

63 an Ancient woman he ask’d them if there was a God they said there was A God

64 he ask’d them if there was an heaven or an Hell they Said there was he ask’d

65 them what Place heaven was wich they Described as A Place of great Glory and Happiness

66 he ask’d them what Hell was and they told Him to ask no Questions of that Nature for it was

67 A dreadful thing to Relate it and the Devils believe and tremble he further ask’d them what

68 Method or Order they had amongst themselves they told him they where divided

69 in three Orders that they had A Chief whose Residence was in the Air that he had

70 Several Counsellors wich were Placed by him in the form of A Globe and he in the Center

71 wich was the Chiefest order Another order was Employ’d going to and fro from thence to the [word Directions then written and deleted – this mistake then leads to the omission of the next phrase?]

72 Earth According

73 to the Directions they Should receive from those in the Air this description was very

74 Surprising but being Contratry to the Account we have in Scripture of the Hierarchy

75 of the Blessed Angels made me Conclude they was Devils but I Could not Convince him

76 of it he told me bade them Sing and they went to Some distance behind a Bush

77 from whence he Could hear a Perfect Consort of such Musick he Never heard the

78 Like and in the Upper Part he Could hear something very Harsh and Shrill like a Reed

79 but as it was Manag’d did [added above line ‘give a Particular’] grace to ye Rest. About a Quarter of A

80 Year after he Came to me again and wish’d he had taken my Advice for he thought he

81 had done that, that would Cost him his Life and wich he did heartily Repent off and

82 Indeed his Eyes and Countenance did show a great Alteration I ask what he

83 had Done he told me that being bewitch’d to his Acquaintance he Resolv’d to

84 Proceed farther In this Art and to have Some Particular Spirit at his Command

85 according to the Directions of His Book; wich was to have A Book made of Virgin

86 Parchment and Consecrated with Several Incantations as Also a Particular

87 Inkhorn, Pen, Ink &c for his purpose with those he Used to go Out as Usual

88 to a Crossway and Call up a Spirit and ask him his Name which he was to Put in

89 the first Page of his Book and this was to be his familiar thus was he to do with as

90 Many as he Pleas’d writing their Names in Distinct Pages; only one In A

91 Leaf then whenever he took the Book and open’d it the Spirit whose Name

92 Appear’d should Appear Also and putting this in Practice the Familiar Spirits had was Call’d Malchie

93 (be Thou my King) (a word in the Hebrew of an Unknown Signification) after this they Appear’d faster

94 then he Desired and in most Dismall Shapes like Serpents Lyons

95 Bears &c Hissing at Him and Attemting to throw Balls of Fire

96 at him wich did very Much Affright him and the more when he found it not

97 in His Power to Lay them even so Much as his hair Stood

98 on End and he expected every Moment to be torn in Pieces this was December

99 about Midnight when he Continued there in A Sweat till break of Day and then they Left him

100 and from that time he Never was well as Long as he Liv’d in his Sickness he

101 Came frequently to this City to Consult with Mr Jacob an apothecary in

102 Broad Street concerning a Cure but I know not wether he told him the

103 Original or no he also Came to me at the same time and own’d Every matter

104 of Fact until the Last; and Insisted when ever he did any thing of this Nature he

105 was deluded in his Conscience to think it Lawfull but he was since Convinc’d

106 to the Contrary; he still own’d to me that he made no Agreement with any of these Spirits

107 nor did any harm by their Means nor Never Pryed into the future fortune

108 of Himself or Others; and express’d an Hearty Repentance and Detestation of his Sins

109 so that those methods Cost him his Life in this world; Yet I may believe by great reasons

110 that he is Happy in the other I am not Certain whether he gave the

111 Account to any but Myself; tho he Communicated something of it to Mr Bayley

112 Minister of St Jameses in this City; Perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further Inform’d from his Relations and Neighbours of Manglesfield which

114 lyes in Glocestershire not above a Mile out of the Road

115 to Bath; I have frequently told the Story but Never Mentioned his Name

116 before; and therefore if your Lordship has any design of Printing this

117 Account; I hope You will do it with as much tenderness to his

118 Memory as he deserv’d; and so as may be not Prejudice to his Relations

119 who have the Deserv’d Character of Sober honest People however I

120 Never heard any thing to the Contrary --

121 I am

122 Your Lordships most Dutifull Son

123 &c

124 Arthur Bedford

*Durbin*

1-2 *Copy of a* LETTER *sent to the* Bishop of Glocester, *by the Rev.* *Mr.* ARTHUR BEDFORD, *late vicar of* Temple, *in the City of* Bristol

3 Bristol Aug. 2, 1703 MY LORD,

4 Being informed by Mr. SHUTES of your Lordship’s desire, that I should comm

5 unicate to you, what I had known concerning a certain person, who was acquainted with

6 spirits to his own destruction, I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter;

7 hoping my desire to gratify your Lordship in every particular may be an

8 apology for the length thereof. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

 9 Hereford, in which there are probably some things contained, which I do not now remem

10 ber, which if your Lordship could procure from his Lady, who lives near Glocester,

11 would be more satisfactory. About thirteen years ago, whilst I was Curate to Dr. Read,

12 Rector of St. Nicholas, in this city, I began to be acquainted with one ThomasPerks, a man

13 of about twenty years of age, who lived with his father at Mangotsfield, by trade a gun

14 smith, and contracted an intimacy with him, he not being only a very good-tempered

15 man, but extremely well skilled in Mathematical and Astronomical Studies, which were his great

16 delight

17-23

24 and in which he would discover

25 a clear force of reason,

26 insomuch that when Mr. Bailey, Minister of St. James’s, in this city, endeavoured to

27 set up a Mathematical School, I advised him to this Thomas Perks, for an acquaintance;

28 in whom, as he told me, he found a greater proficiency in those studies than he

29 expected, or could have imagined. After this he applyied himself to Astrology, and would

30 sometimes calculate Nativities, and resolve horary questions, which he told me often-

31 times proved true, but that he was not satisfied with it, for want of

32 Mathematical demonstration, which this science did not afford. When by the providence

33 of God, I was settled in Temple Parish, and had not seen him for some time, he came to me

34 in private, and asked my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with Spirits. After I had given my thoughts in the negative and confirmed them with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered those arguments, and believed they

37 only related to conjuration; but that there was an innocent society with them which a man

38 might enjoy, if he had no compacts with them, did no harm by their means, and was

39 not curious in prying into hidden things; and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and had heard them sing to his great satisfaction, and offered to me at one time, and to Mr. Bayley at another,

41 that if we would go one night with him to *Kingswood*, we should see them and hear them both talk and sing,

42 and talk with them on whatever subject we had a mind to; and that we should return very safe. But neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him of the subtility of the Devil to delude mankind, and to

44 transform himself into an angel of light. But he could not believe that it was the Devil.

45 I had several conferences with him on this subject, but could never convince him; in all which conversations, I

46 never observed the least disorder of mind, his discourse being very rational. To try him, I proposed

47 a question in Astronomy, relating to the projection of the sphere, which he

48 projected and resolved; and after did so demonstrate in the Mathematics, as to prove

49 that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness and distraction.

50 Having this opportunity, I asked him several particulars concerning the methods he used,

51 and the discourse he had with familiar spirits. He told me he had a book, whose directions he followed;

52 and accordingly in the dead of the night he went out to a crossway with a lantern

53 and candle, which were consecrated for this purpose, with several incantations. He had also

54 consecrated chalk, consisting of several mixtures, with which he used to make a

55 circle at what distance he thought fit, within which no spirit had power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the spirits in several forms of words, some of which

57 he told me were taken out of the holy scriptures, and therefore he thought lawful;

58 without considering how the scriptures themselves might be wrested to his destruction. He said the

59 spirits he called for appeared to him in the shape of little maidens, about

60 a foot and a half high, and played about the circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted, but

61 after some small acquaintance with them, this antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their company. He told me, they spake with a very shrill voice, like

63 an ancient woman. He asked them if there was a God? They told him there was.

64 He asked if there was a heaven and a hell? They said there were. He asked

65 them what place heaven was? They described it as a place of great glory and happiness.

66 He then asked, What place hell was? They bade him, ask no questions of that nature, for that it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate it. He further asked, What

68 method or order they had amongst themselves. They told him, that they were divided

69 into three order;s that they had a chief, whose residence was in the air; that he had

70 several counsellors, which were placed near him in the form of a globe, and he in the centre;

71 and that this was the chiefest order. That another order was employed in passing to and fro thence to the

72 earth, to convey directions and intelligence between the higher order and a third, or the lowest order which was upon the earth and obeying

73 the directions and orders which they received from the highest order, those residing in the air. This description was very

74 surprising, and being contrary to the account which we have in scripture of the hierarchy

75 of the blessed angels, made me conclude, they were Demons. But I could not convince him

76 of it. He told me, that he had bade them sing, and that they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he could hear a perfect concert of such music, as he had never heard;

78 and that in the upper part he could hear something very harsh and shrill like a reed,

79 but as it was managed, it gave a particular grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

80 year after, he came to me again, and said, He wished he had taken my advice, for that he believed he

81 had done that which would cost him his life, and which he did heartily repent of.

82 Indeed his eyes and countenance discovered a great alteration in the state of his mind, and were vastly sunk and emaciated. I asked him, What he

83 had done. He told me, That being bewitched to his acquaintance, he was resolved to

84 proceed further in this art and to have some familiar spirit at his command,

85 according to the directions of his book, which were to have a book made of what he called Virgin

86 Parchment, and consecrated with several incantations; as also a particular

87 inkhorn, ink, pen, &c. for the purpose. With these, he was to go out as usual,

88 to a crossway, and call up a spiri,t and ask him his name, which he was to write down in

89 the first page of his book, and this was to be his Familiar. Thus was he to do, by as

90 many as he pleased; writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

91 leaf; and then, whenever he should take the book and open it,the spirit whose name

92 appeared, would come up to him. Putting this in practice, the familiar spirit he had was called *Malchi*

93 (that is, *my King*). After this, they appeared faster

94 then he desired, and in most dismal shapes, like serpents, lions,

95 bears, &c. hissing and roaring, and attempting to throw spears and balls of fire

96 at him, which did very much affright him, and the more so, when he found it not

97 in his power to lay them; insomuch that his hair, as he told me, stood

98 upright, and he expected every moment to be torn in pieces. This was in December,

99 about midnight, when he continued there in a sweat till break of day. They then left him,

100 and from that time he was never well, as long as he lived. In his sickness he

101 came frequently to this city, to consult with Mr. Jacob, an apothecary, in

102 Broad-street.

103 He came to me at the same time, and owned every matter

104 of fact, as above related. He continued to declare the same to the very last, and insisted that when he did any thing of this nature, he

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawful, but that he was now convinced

106 to the contrary. eH [sic] still declared, that he had made no compacts with any of those spirits,

107 and that he had never done any harm by their means, nor ever pried into the future fortune

108 of himself or others, and expressed a hearty repentance for his sins, and a sincere detestation of them.

109 So that though such proceedings cost him his life in this world, yet I have great reason to believe

110 him happy in the other. I am not certain whether he ever gave this

111 account to any but myself; though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bailey,

112 Minister of St. James, in this city. Perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further informed by his relations and neighbours in Mangotsfield, which

114 lies in Glocestershire, not much above a mile out of the road

115 to Bath. I have frequently told the story, but never mentioned his name

116 before. If your Lordship, therefore, hath any design of printing such

117 accounts as these, I beg it may be with such a tenderness to his

118 memory, as he deserved, and so as may not be of any prejudice to his relations

119 who deservedly bear the character of honest, sober people.

120

121 *I am*

122 *Your Lordship’s Most dutiful Son*

123 *and Servant*,

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD.

‘Catcott’

The following well-attested narrative drawn up by the late Revd and ingenious Arthur Bedford, vicar of Temple, Bristol, at the particular request of Dr - the late Bishop of Gloucester, may perhaps serve as an anecdote to the spreading infidelity of the present age in which too many of the sadducean stamp are found who not only deny the existence of spirits but even call into question the immortality of the soul.

3 My Lord, *Bristol, Aug.* 2, 1703

4 Being informed by Mr. Shute, of your Lordship’s Desire that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I know concerning a certain Person, who was acquainted with

6 Spirits to his own Destruction; I have made bold to give you the trouble of this Letter,

7 and I hope my Desire to gratify your Lordship in every particular, may be an

8 Apology for the length hereof. I had formerly given an Account to the late Bishop of

9 Hereford, in wch are probably some things contain’d, which I do not now remember, &

10 which if your Lordship could procure from his Lady (who lives near Gloucester)

11 would be more authentic. About 13 years ago, whilst I was Curate to Dr Read

12 of St. *Nicholas* in this City, I began to be acquainted wth one Thomas Perks

13 a Man about 20 years of Age, who lived with his Father at Magnotsfield, and was by Trade a Blacksmith

14 and contracted an Intimacy with him, he being not only a very good temper’d Man,

15 but extremely well skilled in the Mathematical Studies, which was his constant

16 Delight, Vizt Arithmetick, Geometry, Gauging, Surveying, Astronomy and Algebra. He had

17 a Notion of a perpetual motion, much like the Wheel in Archimedes’s Mathematical

18 Magick, to wch he had made some Improvements and which he said was demonstrable

19 from Mathematical Principles (tho’ I could never believe it) accordingly I have seen

20 an Iron Wheel, to which he intended to add several things of his own Invention, in order

21 to finish the same; but, thinking it of no use, & being otherwise unfortunately engaged, it

22 was never perfected He addicted Himself so much to Astronomy, that he could not only calculate

23 the Motions of the Planets, but an Eclipse also, & demonstrate every Problem in

24 Spherical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles, in which, he would discover

25 a clear force of Reason, though he very frequently would mistake in the Quantity of

26 Syllables. When Mr Bayly now Minister of St James’s in this City, endeavoured the

27 setting up a Mathematical School, I advised him to this Thos Perks for an Acquaintance,

28 in whom (as he told me) he found a far greater proficiency in these studys, than he

29 expect’d, or could have imagined. After this, he applyed Himself to Astrology, & would

30 sometimes calculate Nativities, and resolve horary Questions &c, which as he told me, did often

31 times prove true, but he was not satisfied with it, because there was nothing

32 in it, which tended to a Mathematical Demonstration. When by the Providence

33 of God I was settled in *Temple* Parish, & having not seen him for some Time, he came to me

34 and (we being in private) ask’d me my Opinio,n very seriously, concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with Spirits; and after I had given my Thoughts in the Negative, and confirm’d them with the

36 best Reasons I could, he told me he had consider’d all these Arguments, & believed they

37 all related only to Conjurations, but there was an innocent Society wth them, which a Man

38 might use, if he had no compacts with them, did noe harm by these means, & was

39 not curious to pry into hidden things, and that he Himself had discours’d with them,

40 had heard them sing &c to his great Satisfaction, and gave an Offer to me at one time, and Mr. Baily atanother,

41 that if we would go with him one Night to Kingswood, we should see them, and hear them both speak and sing,

42 & talk with them whatever we had a mind to, and we should return very safe, but neither of us

43 had the Courage to venture. I told him the Subtilty of the Devil to delude Mankin,d and to

44 transform Himself into an Angel of Light, but he could not believe that it was the Devil.

45 I had several conferences on this Subject, but could never convince him; in all which

46 I never observ’d the least Disorder of Mind, his Discourse was very rational, and I proposed

47 (to try him) a Question in Astronomy, relating to the Spheres, wch he

48 projected and resolved, and afterwards, did so demonstrate, from the Mathematicks, as to demonstrate

49 at the same time that his Brain was free from the least Tincture of Madness or Distraction

50 Having this Opportunity, I asked him several particulars concerning the Methods he used,

51 & the Discourse he had with them; he told me he had a Book whose Directions he followed,

52 & accordingly in the dead time of the Night, he went out to a Cross way wth a Lanthorn

53 and Candle, wch was consecrated for this purpose, wth several Incantations. He had also a

54 consecrated Chalk, consisting of several Mixtures, and with this he used to make a

55 Circle, at what distance he thought fit, within which noe Spirit had power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the Spirits by using several forms of Words, some of wch

57 he told me were taken out of the holy Scriptures, and therefore he thought them lawful,

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his Destruction. Accordingly the

59 Spirits appeared to him, which he called for, in the shapes of little Maids, about

60 a foot and a half high, and played without the Circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted; but

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy in Nature wore off; and he became

62 pleased wth their Company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill Voice, like

63 an ancient Woman; he asked them if there was a God, they told him there was;

64 he asked them if there was an Heaven or an Hell, they said there was

65 which they described as a place of great Glory & Happiness,

66 and he asked them what place Hell was and they bid him ask noe Questions of that Nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate it (the Devils believe and tremble). He asked them what sort of

68 Method or Order they had among Themselves, they told him that they were divided

69 into three Orders, that they had a Chief, whose residence was in the Air, that he had

70 several Counsellors, wch were placed by him in the form of a Globe, & he in the Center,

71 which was the chiefest Order; another Order was employed in going to & fro from thence to the

72 Earth, to carry Intelligences from these lower Spirits and attend to act upon Earth according

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air. This Descripn was very

74 surprising, but being contrary to the Account we have in Scriptures of the Hierarchy

75 of the blessed Angels, made me conclude they were Devils; but could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he bid them sing, & they went to some Distance behind a Bush,

77 from whence he could hear a perfect Concert, but of such exquisite Music he never heard the

78 like; and in the upper part he could hear something very harsh and shrill, like a Reed,

79 but as it was managed, did give a particular Grace to all the rest. About a Quarter [‘of a year’ added above the line]

80 after he came again to me, and told me he wished he had taken my Advice, for he thought he

81 had done that, which would cost him his Life; and wch he did heartily repent of; and

82 indeed his Eyes & Countenance did show a great Alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done; he told me, that being bewitched to his Acquaintance, he resolved to

84 proceed further in this Art, and to have some familiar Spirit at his Commnd,

85 according to the Directions of his Book, which were as follows: He was to have a Book made of what he called Virgin’s

86 Parchmnt, & consecrated with several Incantations, as also a particular

87 Ink-horn, Pens &c for his purpose; with these he was to go out as usual

88 to a Cross-way, and call up a Spirit, and ask him his Name, wch he was to put in

89 the first Page of his Book, & this was his Familiar. Thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased writing their Names in distinct Pages, only one in a

91 Leaf, & then whensoever he took this Book, and opened it, the Spirit whose Name first

92 appeared, should appear also; thus the familiar Spirit he had was called Malchi

93 (i.e. be my King) a Word in Hebrew of an untoward Signification). After this, they appeared faster

94 than he desired, and in most dismal Shapes, like Lions, Serpents,

95 Bears, &c; & hissing at him, or attempting to throw Speres or Balls of Fire

96 at him; this did very much Affright him, and the more, that he found it not

97 in his Power to lay them, insomuch that his Hair (as he told me) stood

98 upright, and he expected every Moment to be torn in pieces. this was in December

99 about Midnight, when he continued there in a Sweat, till break of Day, when they left him;

100 and from that Time he never was well as long as he lived. In his Sickness he

101 came frequently to this City, to consult wth Mr. Jacobs an Apothecary in

102 Broad Street, concerning a cure; but I know not whether he told him the

103 Original Cause or not. He also came to see me at the same Time and owned every matter

104 of Fact to the last; and still insisted that when he did any thing of this Nature, he

105 was deluded in his Conscience to think it lawful, but he was [‘since’ added above the line] convinced

106 to the contrary; he still owned he made no Contracts with any of these Spirits, he

107 never did any harm by their means, he never pryed into the future Fortunes

108 of Himself or others; and expressed a hearty repentance & detestation of his Sins, and a steadfast Faith in Christ, for Pardon of the same, And the Salvation of his Soul;

109 so that tho’ it cost him his Life in this World, yet I have great Reason

110 to believe him happy in the other. I am not certain whether he gave this

111 Account to any other except Myself; though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bayly,

112 Minister of Saint James, in this City; perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further inform’d from his Relations and Neighbours in Magnotsfield, which

114 lies in Gloucestershire, not above a Mile out of the Road from this City

115 to Bath. I have frequently told the Story, but never mentioned his Name

116 before; therefore, if your Lordship hath any Design of Printing such

117 Accounts as these, I desire it may be done with such Tenderness to his

118 Memory, as he deserved, and so as it may not be the least Prejudice to his Relations,

119 who have the Character of sober &honest People, however I

120 never heard anything to the contrary.

121 I am,

122 Your Lordship’s most dutiful Son

123 and Servant

124 Arthur Bedford

Cornelius Agrippa’s Magick, was probably the Book the above-mentioned Thos Perks made use of in his Incantations.

*Jones*

1-2 A Notable Account of a certain Person’s Conversation with evil Spirits to his own ruin. In a Letter sent to the Bishop of Glocester: by the Rev. Mr Arthur Bedford, Minister of Temple Parish in Bristol.

3 Bristol August 2, 1763 “My Lord,

4 being inform’d by Mr. Shutes of your Lordship’s desire, that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who was acquainted with

6 Spirits to his own destruction; I have made bold to give you the trouble of this Letter,

7 hoping my design to gratify your Lordship in every particular, may be an

8 apology for the length thereof. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

 9 Hereford, in which there may be some things contained which I do not now remem

10 ber; which if your Lordship could procure from his Lady, who lives near Glocester,

11 would be more authentick. About thirteen years ago, whilst I was Curate to Dr. Read

12 Rector of St.Nicolas in this City, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Parkes, a young man

13 about twenty years of age, who lived with his Father at Mangots-field in Glocestershire, and by trade a Gun

14 smith; and contracted an intimate acquaintance with him, he being not only a good tempered

15 man but extremely well skil’d in the Mathematical studies, which was his constant

16 delight; viz. Arithmetic, Geometry, Guaging, Surveying, Astronomy, and Algebra.

17-21

22 He gave himself up to Astronomy so far that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the Planets, but an Eclipse also, and demonstrate also every problem in

24 Spherical Trigonometry from Mathematical principles; in which he would discover

25 a clear force of reason.

26 When Mr. Bayley Minister of St James in the City endeavoured to

27 set up a Mathematical Academy, I advis’d him to this Thomas Parkes, as an acquaintance

28 in whom as he told me, he found greater proficiency in those studies than he

29 expected, or could have imagined. After this he apply’d himself to Astrology, and would

30 sometimes calculate Nativities, and resolv’d Horary questions which he told me often

31 times prov’d true; but he was not satisfied with it because there was nothing

32 in it which tended to Mathematical demonstration. When by the providence

33 of God I was settled in Temple Parish, and having not seen him for some time, he came to me,

34 and we being in private, he asked my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with Spirits. And after I had given my thoughts in the negative, and confirm’d them with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had consider’d all those arguments, and believed they

37 only related to Conjuratism; but that there was an innocent Society with them which a man

38 might use, if he made no compact with them, did no harm by their means, and was

39 not curious in prying into hidden things: and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and heard them sing to his great satisfaction; and gave an offer to me at one time, to Mr. Bayley at another,

41 that if we would go with him one night to Kingswood, we should see them, hear them talk and sing,

42 and talk with them whatever we had a mind to, and we should return very safe. But neither of us

43 had the courage to venture I told him of the subtility of the Devil to deceive mankind, and to

44 transform himself into an Angel of light; but he could not believe it was the Devil.

45 I had several conferences with him on the subject, but never could convince him. In all which time I

46 never observed the least disorder of mind, his discourse being very rational. I propos’d

47 to try him a question in Astronomy relating to the projection of the Sphere, which he

48 projected, and resolved; and afterward did so demonstrate them from the Mathematicks as to demonstrate

49 that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness and distraction.

50 Having the opportunity, I ask’d him several particulars concerning the method he used,

51 and the discourse he had with the Spirits he convers’d with. He told me he had a Book where were the directions he followed;

52 accordingly in the dead time of the night he went into a cause-way with candle

53 and Lanthorn, which was consecrated for the purpose with incantations. He had also

54 consecrated Chalk consisting of several mixtures, with which he used to make a

55 Circle of what distance he thought fit, within which Circle no Spirit had power to enter.

56 After he Invok’d the Spirit by several forms of words, some of which

57 he told me were taken from the Holy Scripture; and therefore he thought them lawful;

58 without considering that they might, as the Apostle saith, 2 Pet. Iii. 16 “be wrested to his own destruction.” Accordingly the

59 Spirit for which he called, appeared to him, in the shape of little Girls, about

60 a foot and a half high, and played about the Circle. At first he was affrighted, but

61 after some small acquaintance this antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

62 pleas’d with their company. He told me they spake with a shrill voice like

63 an antient woman. He asked them if there was a God; they told him there was.

64 He asked if there was an heaven and hell; they said there was. He asked

65 what sort of place heaven was; which they describ’d as a place of glory and happiness.

66 He asked what place hell was; and they bad me ask no questions of that nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate. “The Devils believe and tremble”. He farther asked what

68 method or order they had among themselves; They told him they were divided

69 into three orders; that their chief had his residence in the Air. That he had

70 several Counsellors which were placed by him in form of a Globe, and he in the center,

71 which is the chiefest order. Another order, they said, is employ’d going to and fro from thence to the

72 earth to carry intelligence from those lower Spirits. And a third order was in the earth according

73 to the directions they receive from those in the Air. This description was very

74 surprising, but being contrary to the account we have in Scripture of the Hierarchy

75 of the blessed Angels made me conclude they were Devils; but I could not convince him

76 thereof. He told me he had bad them sing, and they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he heard a perfect consort of such Musick, the like he never heard;

78 and in the upper part he could hear something very harsh and shrill like a reed,

79 but as it was manag’d it came with particular grace. About a quarter of a

80 year after he came again to me, and said, he wish’d he had taken my advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his life; and which he did heartily repent of. And

82 indeed his eyes and countenance did shew a great alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done; He told me that being bewitched to his acquaintance, he resolved to

84 proceed farther in the art, and to have a familiar Spirit at his command,

85 according to the directions of his Book; which was to have a Book of what he call’d Virgins

86 Parchment, consecrated with several Incantations; as also a particular

87 Inkhorn, Ink and pen. With those he was to go out as usual

88 to a cross way, and call up a Spirit; and ask him his name, which he was to put in

89 the first page of his Book; and this was to be his familiar Spirit. Thus was he to do by as

90 many as he pleas’d, writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

91 leaf; and then whenever he took the Book and opened it, this Spirit whose name

92 appear’d should appear also. The Familiar Spirit he had, was called Malachi,

93 i.e. my King; an Hebrew name of an evil signification to him; i.e. that an evil Spirit was become his King. After this they appeared faster

94 than he desir’d, and in most dismal shapes. Like Serpents, Lions,

95 Bears, &c, Hissing at him, and attempting to throw Spears and balls of fire

96 upon him, which did very much affright him; and the more so when he found it was not

97 in his power to lay them: Insomuch as told me his hair stood

98 upright, expecting every moment to be torn to pieces. This was in December

99 about midnight, when he continued there in a great sweat,

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In the course of his sickness, he

101 often came to Mr. ---- the Apothecary (the name is blotted and illegible) in

102 Broad street concerning a cure, but I know not whether he told him the

103 original cause or not. He also came to me at the same time, and own’d every matter

104 as fact; which he had told before unto the last; And insisted that whenever he did any thing of that nature, he

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawful; but that he was since convinced

106 to the contrary. But still asserted he made no compact with those Spirits,

107 never did harm to others by their means, nor ever pry’d into the future fortune

108 of himself or others. And express’d an hearty repentance for, and detestation of his sins;

109 so that though these matters cost him his life, yet I have room to believe

110 him happy in the other world. I am not certain whether he gave this

111 account to any other but myself, tho’ he did relate something of it to Mr. Bayley

112 Minister of St James in the City. Perhaps your Lordship may be

113 farther informed from his Relations and neighbours of Mangots-field, which

114 is not above a Mile out of the Road

115 to Bath. I have often told the story, but never mentioned his name

116 before; and therefore if your Lordship has a mind to print such

117 accounts as these, I beg it might be with such tenderness to his

118 memory as he deserved, and so as it may not be the least prejudice to his Relations,

119 who have the deserved character of an honest sober people. However I

120 never heard any thing to the contrary.

121 I am with due Respects,

122 Your Lordship’s son

123 and servant,

124 Arthur Bedford.

‘Bristol’, ‘Vowell’ and ‘Evans’, identical to *Jones*

*Arminian*

1-2 *Mr.* BEDFORD’S *Account of* THOMAS PERKS: *in a Letter to the Bishop of* GLOUCESTER.

3 My Lord, Bristol, Aug. 2. 1703

4 Being informed by Mr. Shute of your Lordship’s desire, that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who lately lived near this city,

6 I have made bold to give you the trouble of this Letter,

7 hoping my desire to Gratify your Lordship in every particular may be an

8 apology for the length thereof

9-10

11 About thirteen years ago, whilst I was Curate to Dr. Read,

12 Rector of St.Nicholas, in this city, I began to be acquainted with one ThomasPerks, a man

13 about twenty years of age; who lived with his father at Mangotsfield, by trade a Gun

14 smith, and contracted an intimate acquaintance with him, he being not only a very good tempered

15 man, but extremely well skilled in Mathematical Studies. His constant

16 delight was in Arithmetic, Geometry, Gauging, Surveying, Astronomy and Algebra; he had

17 a notion of the Perpetual Motion

18 and which, as he has held, was demonstrable

19 from Mathematical Principles.

20-21

22 He gave himself so much to Astronomy, that he could calculate

23 the motions of the planets and demonstrate every problem in

24 Spherical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles

25-28

29 After this, he applied himself to Astrology,

30 calculated Nativities and resolved Horary Questions

31

32 When

33 I was settled in Temple Parish, after I had seen him for some time, he came to me

34 and asked my opinion concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with spirits. After I had given him my thoughts in the negative, I confirmed them with the

36 best reasons I could. He told me, he had considered all those arguments,

37 but that nevertheless there was an innocent society with them which a man

38 might use if he did no harm by their means and was

39 not curious in prying into hidden things: and that he himself had discoursed with them

40 to his great satisfaction. And he gave an offer to me at one time, and to Mr. Bayley of Bristol at another

41 that if we would go with him at night to Kingswood, we should hear them both talk and sing

42 and talk with them and return very safe: but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him the subtility of the Devil to

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light; but he could not believe it was the Devil.

45 I had several conferences with him upon this subject but could never convince him.

46 I proposed

47 (to try him) a question in Astronomy relating to the Projection of the Sphere; which he

48 projected and resolved and afterward did so demonstrate from the Mathematics, as to demonstrate

49 at the same time that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness.

50 I asked him several particulars concerning the methods he used.

51 He told me he had a book whose directions he followed;

52 that at midnight, he went to a cross-way with a lanthorn

53 and candle, which was consecrated for this purpose with several incantations. He had also

54 consecrated chalk, consisting of several mixtures, and with which he used to make a

55 circle, at what distance he thought fit; within which no spirit had power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the spirits by several forms of words, some of which

57 he told me were taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore must be lawful.

58 The

59 spirits, appeared to him which he called for, in the shape of little maidens about

60 a foot and half high, and played about the circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted, but

61 after some acquaintance with them, this wore off and he began to be well

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill voice.

63 He asked them if there was a God; they told him there was.

64 He asked if there was a heaven or a hell; they said there was. He asked

65 them what sort of a place heaven was, which they demonstrated as a place of great glory and happiness.

66 He also asked what sort of a place hell was, but they desired him to ask no questions of that nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate it. He further asked them what

68 method or order they had amongst themselves; they told him that they were divided

69 in three Orders; that they had a Chief, whose residence was in the air; that he had

70 several Counsellors, which were placed by him in the form of a globe, and he himself in the centre,

71 which was the chief Order; another Order was employed in going to and fro from thence to the

72 Earth, to carry intelligence from those lower spirits; and a third Order was on the Earth to do according

73 to the directions they should receive from those in the Air. This description

74 being contrary to the account we have in Scripture of the

75 blessed Angels, made me conclude they were devils; but I could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he had bid them sing, and they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he could hear such a concert of music, as he never heard

78 before. That in the upper part he could hear something very harsh and shrill, like a reed;

79 but as it was managed it gave a particular grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

80 year after he came to me again, and told me he wished he had taken my advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his life.

82 Indeed his eyes and his countenance shewed a great alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done; he told me that being resolved to

84 proceed in his Art, and to have some familiar spirit at his command,

85 according to the directions of his book, he procured a book made of virgin’s

86 parchment, and consecrated with several incantations as also a particular

87 inkhorn, ink, pen &c for his purpose. With those he went out (as usual)

88 to a cross-way, called up a spirit and asked him his name: which he put in

89 the first page of his book. This was to be his Familiar; thus was he to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their names in distinct pages, only one on a

91 leaf; and then whenever he took the book and opened it, the spirit whose name

92 appeared, appeared also. The familiar spirit he had was called *Malchi*.

93 After this they appeared oftener

94 than he desired and in most dismal shapes, like serpents, lions,

95 bears, &c hissing at him, and attempting to throw spears and balls of fire,

96 which did very much affright him. And the more, when he found it not

97 in his power to lay them; insomuch as his hair, as he told me, stood

98 upright, and he expected every moment to be torn in pieces. This was in December,

99 about midnight. He continued there in a great sweat till break of day, then they left him;

100 but from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his Sickness he

101 came frequently to consult with Mr. Jacob, an Apothecary, in

102 Broad-Street; but in vain.

103 He also came to me and owned every matter

104 of fact, insisting that he

105 long thought it lawful, but was since convinced

106 to the contrary: he still owned, he made no compact with any of those spirits,

107 and never did any harm by their means, nor never pryed into the future fortune

108 of himself. He exprest a hearty repentance and detestation of his sins,

109 so that though those methods cost him his life, yet I have great reason

110 to believe him happy now.

111

112 Perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further informed from his Relations and Neighbours of Mangotsfield, which

114 lies in Gloucestershire, not above a mile out of the road

115 to Bath. I have frequently told the story but never mentioned his name

116 before; and therefore if your Lordship hath any design of printing such

117 Account as these, I desire it may be with such a tenderness to his

118 memory as may be the least prejudice to his Relations.

119-120

121 I am

122 Your Lordship’s most dutiful Son

123 and Servant,

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD

*Mr. Bedford* was some time Chaplain of the Haberdasher’s Hospital, in Hoxton.

‘*Newspaper’*

1-2 A Copy of A Letter sent to the Bishop of Glocester by the Revd  Mr Arthur Bedford Minister of Temple in Bristol

3 My Lord, Bristol August 2d 1703

4 Being informed by Mr Shute of your Lordships desire, that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who was acquainted with

6 spirits to his own destruction I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter,

7 hoping my desire to gratify your Lordship in every particular may be an

8 apology for the length thereof. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

9 Hereford in which there are probably some things contained which I do not now remem

10 ber which if your Lordship could procure from his lady (who now lives near Gloucester)

11 would be more authentic. About thirteen years ago whilst I was curate to Dr Read

12 Rector of St Nicholas in this city I began to be acquainted with one Thos Perks a man

13 about twenty years of age who lived with his father at Mangotsfield and by trade a gun

14 smith and contracted an intimacy with him he not being only a very good-tempered

15 man but extreamly skilled in the mathematical studies which were his constant

16 studies viz Arithmetic Geometry Gauging Surveying Astronomy & Algebra. He had

17 a notion of the perpetual motion much like that wheel in Archimedes’ mathematical

18 magic in which he had made some improvement and which he has held was demonstrable

19 from mathematical principles though I could never believe it. I have seen

20 an iron wheel to which he intended to add several things of his own inventions in order

21 to finish the same but thinking it of no use and being otherways unfortunately employed it

22 was never perfected. He gave himself so much to astronomy that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the planets but an eclipse also and demonstrate any problem in

24 spherical trigonometry from mathematical principles in which he discovered

25 a clear force of reason.

26 When one Mr Bayly minister of St James’s in this city endeavoured to

27 set up a mathematical school I advised him to this Thos Perks for an acquaintance,

28 in whom as he told me he found a greater proficiency in those studies than he

29 expected or could have imagined. After this he applied himself to astrology and would

30 sometimes calculate nativities and resolve hoary [corrected in pen to ‘horary’] questions which he told me often

31 proved true but he was not satisfied with it because there was nothing

32 in it that did tend to mathematical demonstration. When by the Providence

33 of God I was settled in Temple parish and not having seen him for some time he came to me

34 and we being in private he asked my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with spirits and after I had given my thoughts in the negative and confirmed them with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered all those arguments and believed they

37 only related to conjurations but there was also an innocent society with them which a man

38 might use if he made no compacts with them, did no harm by their means and was

39 not curious in prying into hidden things and that he himself had discoursed with them

40 and heard them sing to his great satisfaction, and gave an offer to me, and Mr Bayly at another time,

41 that if we would go with him one night to Kingswood we should see them and hear them both talk and sing

42 and talk with them whatever we had a mind to and we should return very safe, but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him the subtility of the Devil to delude mankind and to

44 transform himself into an angel of light but he could not believe it was the Devil.

45 I had several conferences with him on the subject but could never convince him; in all which I could

46 not discern the least disorder of mind, his discourse being very rational and I proposed

47 (to try him) a question in astronomy relating to the projection of the spheres which he

48 projected and resolved and did afterwards so demonstrate from the mathematics as to demonstrate

49 at the same time that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness and distraction.

50 Having this opportunity of asking him several particulars concerning the methods he used

51 and the discourse he had with them, he told me he had a book whose directions he followed

52 and accordingly in the dead time of the night he went out to a crossway with a lanthorn

53 and candle consecrated for this purpose with several incantations. He had also

54 consecrated chalk consisting of several mixtures with which he made a

55 circle at what distance he thought fit within which no spirit had power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the spirit by several forms of words (some of which

57 he told me were taken out of the Holy Scriptures therefore he thought lawful

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his destruction). Accordingly the

59 spirits appeared to him which he called for in the shape of little maidens about

60 a foot and a half high and played about a Circle; at first he was somewhat affrighted but

61 after some small acquaintance this antipathy in nature wore off and he became

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill voice like

63 an ancient woman. He asked them if there was

64 an Heaven or an Hell, they said there was. He asked

65 them what place Heaven was which they described as a place of great glory and happiness and

66 he asked them what Hell was and they bade him ask no questions of that nature for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate it and the Devils believe and tremble. He farther asked them what

68 method or order they had among themselves; they told him they were divided

69 in three orders that they had a chief whose residence was in the air, that he had

70 several counsellors which were placed by him in the form of a globe and he in the centre

71 which was the chiefest order. Another order was employed in going to and from thence to the

72 earth to carry intelligence from these lower spirits; and their own order was on the earth, according

73 to the directions they should receive from those in the air. This description was very

74 surprising but being contrary to the account we have in Scripture of the hierarchy

75 of the blessed angels made me conclude they were devils but I could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he had bade them sing and they went to some distance behind a bush

77 from whence he could hear a perfect concert of such exquisite music as he never before heard

78 and in the upper part he heard something very harsh and shrill like a reed

79 but as it was managed did give a particular grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

80 year after he again came to me and wished he had taken my advice for he thought he

81 had done that, which would cost him his life and which he did heartily repent of and

82 indeed his eyes and countenance shewed a great alteration. I asked what he

83 had done. He told me that being bewitched to his acquaintance he resolved to

84 proceed farther in this art and to have some familiar spirit at his command

85 according to the directions of his book, which were as follows: - He was to have a book made of virgin

86 parchment consecrated with several incantations, likewise a particular

87 inkhorn, ink &c for his purpose; with those he was to go out as usual

88 to a crossway and call up a spirit and ask him his name which he was to put in

89 the first page of his book and this was to be his familiar; thus was he to do by as

90 many as he pleased writing their names in distinct pages; only one in a

91 leaf and then whenever he took the book and opened it the spirit whose name

92 appeared should appear also, and putting this in practice the familiar he had was called Malchi

93 (be my King) a word in Hebrew of an unknown signification. After this they appeared faster

94 then he desired and in most dismal shapes like serpents lions

95 bears &c hissing at him and attempting to throw spears and balls of fire

96 which did very much affright him and the more when he found it not

97 in his power to lay them insomuch that his hair (as he told me) stood

98 upright and he expected every moment to be torn in pieces. This happened in December

99 about midnight when he continued there in a sweat till break of day and then they left him

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his sickness he

101 came frequently to Bristol to consult with Mr Jacob an apothecary in

102 Broad Street concerning a cure but I know not whether he told him the

103 origin of his sickness or not; he also came to me at the same time and owned every matter

104 of fact until the last; and insisted that when he did any thing of this nature he

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawfull but he was since convinced

106 to the contrary. He declared he made no compacts with any of those spirits

107 and never did any harm by their means nor ever pryed into the future fortune

108 of himself or others; and expressed an hearty repentance and detestation of his sins

109 so that though those methods cost him his life in this world; yet I have great reason to believe

110 him happy in the other. I am not certain that he gave this

111 account to any other person but myself; though he communicated something of it to Mr Bailey

112 minister of St James’s in this city; perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further informed by his relations and neighbours of Mangotsfield which

114 lies in Gloucestershire not above a mile out of the road

115 to Bath. I have frequently told the story but never mentioned his name

116 before; and therefore if your Lordship hath any design of printing such

117 accounts as these, I desire it may be with such a tenderness to his

118 memory as he deserved; and so as may not be the least prejudice to his relations

119 who have the deserved character of honest and sober people

120

121 I am

122 your Lordship’s dutiful son

123 and servant

124 Arthur Bedford

*Sibly*

**1** AUTHENTIC COPY *of a* LETTER *sent to the Bishop of Gloucester, by the Reverend Mr. Arthur Bedford, Minister of Temple Church, in Bristol*.

3 MY LORD, *Bristol, August 2d, 1703*

4 Being informed by Mr. Shute of your Lordship's desire that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who was acquainted with

6 spirits to his own destruction, I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter,

7 hoping my desire to gratify your lordship in every particular may be an

8 apology for the length thereof. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

9 Hereford, in which there are probably some things contained, which I do not now remem

10 ber, which, if your lordship could procure from his lady, (who now lives near Gloucester,)

11 would be more authentic. About thirteen years ago, whilst I was a curate to Dr. Read,

12 rector of St. Nicholas in this city, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Perks, a man

13 about twenty years of age, who lived with his father at Mongatsfield, a gun

14 smith; and contracted an intimacy with him, he being not only a very good-natured

15 man, but extremely skilled in mathematical studies, which were his constant

16 delight, viz. arithmetic, geometry, gauging, surveying, astronomy, and algebra; he had

17 a notion of the perpetual motion much like that wheel in Archimedes's Mathematical

18 Magic, in which he had made some improvements, and which he has held was demonstrable

19 from mathematical principles, though I could never believe it. I have seen

20 an iron wheel, to which he intended to add several things of his own invention, in order

21 to finish the same; but, thinking it of no use, and being otherwise unfortunately engaged, it

22 was never perfected. He gave himself so much to astronomy, that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the planets, but an eclipse also, and demonstrate any problem in

24 spherical trigonometry from mathematical principles, in which he discovered

25 a clear force of reason.

26 When one Mr. Bayley, minister of St. James's in this city, endeavoured to

27 set up a mathematical school, I advised him to this Thomas Perks, for an acquaintance,

28 in whom, as he told me, he found a greater proficiency in those studies than he

29 expected or could have imagined. After this he applied himself to astrology, and would

30 sometimes calculate nativities and resolve horary questions.

31

32 When, by providence

33 of God, I was settled in Temple parish, and not having seen him for some time, he came to me,

34 and, we being in private, he asked my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with spirits; and, after I had given my thoughts in the negative, and confirmed them with the

36 best reason I could, he told me, he had considered all these arguments, and believed they

37 only related to conjurations, but there was an innocent society with them which a man

38 might use, if he made no compacts with them, did no harm by their means, and were

39 not curious in prying into hidden things, and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and heard them sing to his great satisfaction; and gave an offer to me and Mr. Bayley at another time,

41 that, if we would go with him one night to Kingswood, we should see them and hear them both talk and sing,

42 and talk with them whenever we had a mind, and we should return very safe; but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him the subtility of the devil to delude mankind, and to

44 transform himself into an angel of light; but he would not believe it was the devil.

45 I had severa1 conferences with him upon this subject, but could never convince him; in all which

46 I could never observe the least disorder of mind, his discourse being very rational, and I proposed

47 (to try him) a question in astronomy relating to the projection of the spheres, which he

48 projected and resolved, and did afterwards demonstrate from the mathematics, so as to demonstrate

49 at the same time that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness and distraction.

50 -- Having this opportunity of asking him several particulars, concerning the methods he used,

51 and the discourses he had with them, he told me had a book whose directions he followed,

52 and accordingly, in the dead time of the night, he went out to a cross way, with a lanthorn

53 and candle consecrated for this purpose with several incantations. He had also

54 consecrated chalk, consisting of several mixtures, with which he made a

55 circle at what distance he thought fit, within which no spirit had power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the spirit by several forms of words, (some of which

57 he told me were taken out of the holy Scriptures, and therefore he thought them lawful,

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his destruction;) accordingly the

59 spirits appeared to him which he called for, in the shape of little maidens, about

60 a foot and a half high, and played about a circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted, but,

61 after some small acquaintance, this antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill voice, like

63 an ancient woman:

64 he asked them if there was a heaven or hell; they said there was. He asked

65 them what place heaven was, which they described as a place of great glory and happiness;

66 and he asked them what hell was, and they bade him ask no questions of that nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate, and the devils believe and tremble. He farther asked them what

68 method or order they had among themselves; they told him they were divided

69 into three orders; that they had a chief whose residence was in the air; that he had

70 several counsellors which were placed by him in form of a globe, and he in the centre,

71 which was the chiefest order; another order was employed in going to and from thence to the

72 earth, to carry intelligence from those lower spirits; and their own order was on the earth, according

73 to the directions they should receive from those in the air. This description was very

74 surprising, but, being contrary to the account we have in scripture of the hierarchy

75 of the blessed angels, made me conclude they were devils, but I could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he had bade them sing, and they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he could hear a perfect concert of such exquisite music as he never before heard;

78 and in the upper part he heard something very harsh and shrill like a reed,

79 but as it was managed, did give a particular grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

80 year after he came again to me, and wished he had taken my advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his life, and which he did heartily repent of; and

82 indeed his eyes and countenance shewed a great alteration. I asked him what he

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84 proceed farther in this art, and to have some familiar spirit at his command,

85 according to the directions of his book, which were as follows:--
He was to have a book made of virgin

86 parchment consecrated with several incantations, likewise a particular

87 ink-horn, ink, &c. for his purpose; with these he was to go out as usual

88 to a cross way, and call up a spirit, and ask him his name, which he was to put in

89 the first page of his book, and this was to be his familiar. Thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

91 leaf, and then, whenever he took the book and opened it, the spirit whose name

92 appeared should appear also; and putting this in practice, the familiar he had was called Malchi,

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94 than he desired, and in most dismal shapes, like serpents, lions,

95 bears, &c. hissing at him, and attempting to throw spears and balls of fire,

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97 in his power to stay them, insomuch that his hair (as he told me) stood

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105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawful, but he was since convinced

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107 never did any harm by their means, nor ever pryed into the future fortune

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109 so that, though those methods cost him his life in this world, yet I have great reason

110 to believe him happy in the other. I am not certain that he gave this

111 account to any other person but myself, though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bayley,

112 minister of St. James's, in this city; perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further informed by his relations and neighbours of Mangotsfield, which

114 lies in Gloucestershire, not above a mile out of the road

115 to Bath. I have frequently told this story, but never mentioned his name

116 before, and therefore, if your Lordship hath any design of printing such

117 accounts as these, I desire it may be with such tenderness to his

118 memory as he deserved, and so as may not be the least prejudice to his relations,

119 who have the deserved character of honest and sober people.

120

121 I am

122 Your Lordship’s dutiful

123 Son and servant,

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD

*Tatler*

Identical to ‘Cruttenden’

*Raphael* (based on *Sibly*, but with some minor alterations)

1*Authentic Copy of a Letter sent to the Bishop of Gloucester, by the Reverend Mr. Arthur Bedford, Minister of Temple Church, in Bristol.*

3 MY LORD, *Bristol, August 2, 1703*

4 Being informed by Mr. Shute of your Lordship's desire that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who was acquainted with

6 spirits to his own destruction, I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter,

7 hoping my desire to gratify your Lordship in every particular may be an

8 apology for the length thereof. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

9 Hereford, in which there are probably some things contained, which I do not now remem

10 ber, which, if your Lordship could procure from his Lady, (who now lives near Gloucester,)

11 would be more authentic. About thirteen years ago, whilst I was curate to Dr. Read,

12 rector of St. Nicholas in this city, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Perks, a man

13 about twenty years of age, who lived with his father at Mongatsfield, a gun

14 smith; and contracted an intimacy with him, he being not only a very good-natured

15 man, but extremely skilled in mathematical studies, which were his constant

16 delight, viz. arithmetic, geometry, gauging, surveying, astronomy, and algebra; he had

17 a notion of the perpetual motion, much like that wheel in Archimedes's Mathematical

18 Magic, in which he had made some improvements, and which he has held was demonstrable

19 from mathematical principles, though I could never believe it. I have seen

20 an iron wheel, to which he intended to add several things of his own invention, in order

21 to finish the same; but, thinking it of no use, and being otherwise unfortunately engaged, it 22 was never perfected. He gave himself so much to astronomy, that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the planets, but an eclipse also; and demonstrate any problem in

24 spherical trigonometry from mathematical principles, in which he discovered

25 a clear force of reason.

26 When one Mr. Bailey, minister of St. James's in this city, endeavoured to

27 set up a mathematical school, I advised him to this Thomas Perks, for an acquaintance;

28 in whom, as he told me, he found a greater proficiency in those studies than he

29 expected or could have imagined. After this he applied himself to astrology, and would

30 sometimes calculate nativities and resolve horary questions.

31

32 When, by the providence

33 of God, I was settled in Temple-parish, and had not seen him for some time, he came to me,

34 and, we being in private, he asked my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with spirits; and, after I had given my thoughts in the negative, and confirmed them with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me, he had considered all these arguments, and believed they 37 only related to conjurations, but there was an innocent society with them which a man

38 might use, if he made no compacts with them, did no harm by their means, and were

39 not curious in prying into hidden things; and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and heard them sing to his great satisfaction; and gave an offer to me and Mr. Bayley at another time,

41 that, if we would go with him one night to Kingswood, we should see them and hear them both talk and sing,

42 and talk with them whenever we had a mind, and we should return very safe; but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him the subtility of the devil to delude mankind, and to

44 transform himself into an angel of light; but he would not believe it was the devil.

45 I had severa1 conferences with him upon this subject, but could never convince him; in all which

46 I could never observe the least disorder of mind, his discourse being very rational; and I proposed

47 (to try him) a question in astronomy, relating to the projection of the sphere, which he

48 projected and resolved, and did afterwards demonstrate from the mathematics, so as to show

49 at the same time that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness and distraction. 50 -- Having this opportunity of asking him several particulars, concerning the methods he used,

51 and the discourses he had with them, he told me had a book whose directions he followed, 52 and accordingly, in the dead time of the night, he went out to a cross way, with a lanthorn 53 and candle consecrated for this purpose with several incantations. He had also

54 consecrated chalk, consisting of several mixtures, with which he made a

55 circle at what distance he thought fit, within which no spirit had power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the spirit by several forms of words, (some of which

57 he told me were taken out of the holy Scriptures, and therefore he thought them lawful,

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his destruction;) accordingly the

59 spirits appeared to him which he called for, in the shape of little maidens, about

60 a foot and a half high, and played about a circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted, but, 61 after some small acquaintance, this antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill voice, like

63 an ancient woman.

64 He asked them if there was a heaven or hell? they said there was. He asked

65 them what place heaven was? which they described as a place of great glory and happiness;

66 and he asked them what hell was? and they bade him ask no questions of that nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate, and the devils believe and tremble. He further asked them what 68 method or order they had among themselves; they told him they were divided

69 into three orders; that they had a chief whose residence was in the air; that he had

70 several counsellors which were placed by him in form of a globe, and he in the centre,

71 which was the chiefest order; another order was employed in going to and from thence to the

72 earth, to carry intelligence from those lower spirits; and their own order was on the earth, according

73 to the directions they should receive from those in the air. This description was very

74 surprising, but, being contrary to the account we have in Scripture of the hierarchy

75 of the blessed angels, made me conclude they were devils, but I could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he had bade them sing, and they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he could hear a perfect concert of such exquisite music as he never before heard;

78 and in the upper part he heard something very harsh and shrill, like a reed,

79 but, as it was managed, did give a particular grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

80 year after he came again to me, and wished he had taken my advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his life, and which he did heartily repent of; and

82 indeed his eyes and countenance showed a great alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done. He told me that, being bewitched to his acquaintance, he resolved to

84 proceed farther in this art, and to have some familiar spirit at his command,

85 according to the directions of his book, which were as follows:--
He was to have a book made of virgin

86 parchment consecrated with several incantations; likewise a particular

87 ink-horn, ink, &c. for his purpose; with these he was to go out as usual

88 to a cross way, and call up a spirit, and ask him his name, which he was to put in

89 the first page of his book, and this was to be his familiar. Thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

91 leaf; and then, whenever he took the book and opened it, the spirit whose name

92 appeared should appear also; and putting this in practice, the familiar he had was called Malchi,

93 a word in Hebrew of an unknown signification. After this they appeared faster

94 than he desired, and in most dismal shapes, like serpents, lions,

95 bears, &c. hissing at him, and attempting to throw spears and balls of fire,

96 which did very much affright him, and the more when he found it not

97 in his power to stay them, insomuch that his hair (as he told me) stood

98 upright, and he expected every moment to be torn in pieces; this happened in December

99 about midnight, when he continued there in a sweat till break of day, and then they left him,

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his sickness he

101 came frequently to Bristol\*, to consult with Mr. Jacob, an apothecary in

102 Broad Street, concerning a cure; but I know not whether he told him the

103 origin of his sickness or not; he also came to me at the same time, and owned every matter

104 of fact, until the last, and insisted that, when he did any thing of this nature, he

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawful, but he was since convinced

106 to the contrary. He declared he made no compacts with any of those spirits, and

107 never did any harm by their means, nor ever pryed into the future fortune

108 of himself or others, and expressed a hearty repentance and detestation of his sins;

109 so that, though those methods cost him his life in this world, yet I have great reason

110 to believe him happy in the other. I am not certain that he gave this

111 account to any other person but myself, though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bayley,

112 minister of St. James's, in this city; perhaps your lordship may be

113 further informed by his relations and neighbours of Mangotsfield, which

114 lies in Gloucestershire, not above a mile out of the road

115 to Bath. I have frequently told this story, but never mentioned his name

116 before; and therefore, if your lordship hath any design of printing such

117 accounts as these, I desire it may be with such tenderness to his

118 memory as he deserved, and so as may not be the least prejudice to his relations,

119 who have the deserved character of honest and sober people.

120

121 I am

122 Your Lordship’s dutiful

123 Son and servant,

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD

\*I have myself seen a very curious Telescope, and a very ingenious Fowling Piece, made by this said Thomas Perks; and in my last tour to the West of England (1830) I found numerous versions of this particular account still extant among the peasantry of Kingswood – *Raphael*.

*Ottway* (based on *Jones*, but with some modernizing and re-phrasing)

1-2 The following is a notable account of a certain person’s conversation with evil spirits to his own ruin, in a letter sent to the Bishop of Gloucester, by the Rev. Mr Arthur Bedford, minister of Temple parish, in Bristol: --

3 Bristol Aug. 2, “MY LORD, --

4 Being informed by Mr. Shutes of your lordship’s desire, that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who was acquainted with

6 spirits to his own destruction, I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter,

7 hoping my design to gratify your Lordship in every particular, may be an

8 apology for the length hereof. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

 9 Hereford, in which there may be some things contained which I do not now remem

10 ber; which if your lordship could procure from his lady, who now lives near Gloucester,

11 would be more authentic. Whilst I was Curate to Dr. Read,

12 rector of St.Nicholas, in this city, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Parkes, a young man

13 about twenty years of age, who lived with his father at Mangotsfield, in Gloucestershire, and by trade a gun

14 smith, with whom I contracted an intimate acquaintance: he being not only a good tempered

15 man but extremely well skilled in the mathematical studies, which was his constant

16 delight; viz. arithmetic, geometry, gauging, surveying, astronomy, and algebra.

17-21

22 He gave himself up to astronomy so far that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the planets, but an eclipse also, and demonstrate also every problem in

24 spherical trigonometry from mathematical principles, in which he would discover

25 a clear force of reason.

26 When Mr. Bailey, minister of St. James, in the city, endeavoured to

27 set up a mathematical academy, I advised him to this Thomas Parkes, as an acquaintance;

28 in whom, as he told me, he found greater proficiency in those studies than he

29 expected, or could imagine. After this he applied himself to astrology, and would

30 sometimes calculate nativities, and resolved horary questions which he told me often

31 times proved true; but he was not satisfied with it, because there was nothing

32 in it which tended to mathematical demonstration. When by the providence

33 of God I was settled in Temple Parish, and having not seen him for some time, he came to me,

34 and we being in private, he asked my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with spirits. After I had given my thoughts in the negative, and confirmed them with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered all those arguments, and believed they

37 only related to conjuration; but that there was an innocent cociety with them which a man

38 might use, if he made no compact with them, did no harm by their means, and was

39 not curious in prying into hidden things; and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and heard them sing to his great satisfaction. He gave an offer to me at one time, to Mr. Bailey at another,

41 that if we would go with him one night to Kingswood, we should see them, hear them talk and sing,

42 and talk with them whatsoever we had a mind to, and we should return very safe; but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture I told him of the subtility of the devil to deceive mankind, and to

44 transform himself into an angel of light; but he could not believe it was the devil.

45

46 I proposed

47 to try him a question in astronomy relating to the projection of the sphere, which he

48 projected, and resolved; and afterward did so demonstrate from the mathematics, as to demonstrate

49 that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness and distraction.

50 I asked him several particulars concerning the method he used,

51 and the discourse he had with the spirits he conversed with. He told me he had a book where there was the directions he followed;

52 accordingly in the dead time of the night he went into a causeway with candle

53 and lanthorn, which was consecrated for the purpose with incantations. He had also

54 consecrated chalk, consisting of several mixtures, with which he used to make a

55 circle of what distance he thought fit, within which no spirit had power to enter.

56 After he invoked the spirit by several forms of words, some of which

57 he told me were taken from the holy scripture, and therefore he thought them lawful;

58 without considering that they might, as the apostle saith, 2 Pet. iii. 16 “be wrested to his own destruction.” Accordingly the

59 spirits for which he called, appeared to him, in the shape of little girls, about

60 a foot and a half high, and played about the circle. At first he was affrighted, but

61 after some small acquaintance this antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spake with a shrill voice like

63 an ancient woman. He asked them if there was a God; they told him there was.

64 He asked if there was a heaven and hell; they said there was. He asked

65 what sort of place heaven was; which they described as a place of glory and happiness.

66 He asked what place hell was; and they bid him ask no questions of that nature, for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate. “The devils believe and tremble”. He asked what

68 method or order they had among themselves; they told him they were divided

69 into three orders; that their chief had his residence in the air – that he had

70 several counsellors which were placed by him in form of a globe, and he in the centre,

71 which is the chiefest order. Another order, they said, is employed in going to and fro from thence to the

72 earth to carry intelligence from those lower spirits. And a third order was in the earth, according

73 to the directions they receive from those in the air. This description was very

74 surprising; but being contrary to the account we have in scripture hierarchy

75 of the blessed angels, made me conclude they were devils; but I could not convince him

76 thereof. He told me he had desired them to sing, and they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he heard a perfect concert of such music, the like he never heard;

78 and in the upper part he could hear something very harsh and shrill like a reed,

79 but as it was managed it came with particular grace. About a quarter of a

80 year after he came to me again, and said, he wished he had taken my advice; for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his life; and which he did heartily repent of. He appeared to me as if he had been in great trouble,

82 as his countenance was very much altered. I asked him what he

83 had done; he told me that being bewitched to his acquaintance, he resolved to

84 proceed farther in the art, and to have a familiar spirit at his command,

85 according to the directions of his book; which was to have a book of Virgin’s

86 Parchment, consecrated with several incantations; as also a particular

87 inkhorn, ink and pen; with those he was to go out as usual

88 to a cross-way, and call up a spirit, and ask him his name, which he was to put in

89 the first page of his book; and this was to be his familiar spirit. Thus was he to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

91 leaf; and then, whenever he took the book and opened it, this spirit whose name

92 appeared should appear also. The familiar spirit he had was called Malachi,

93 *i.e.* my king; -- an Hebrew name of an evil signification to him; *i.e*. that an evil spirit was become his king. After this they appeared faster

94 than he wished, and in most dreadful shapes: -- like serpents, lions,

95 bears, &c, hissing at him,

96 which did very much affright him; and the more so when he found it was not

97 in his power to lay them: Insomuch as told me his hair stood

98 upright, expecting every moment to be torn to pieces. This was in December,

99 about midnight, when he continued there in a great sweat;

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In the course of his sickness, he

101 often came to Mr. ---- the apothecary in

102 Broad-street, concerning a cure; but I know not whether he told him the

103 original cause or not. He also came to me at the same time, and owned every matter

104 as fact; which he had told before unto the last; and insisted that whenever he did any thing of that nature, he

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawful; but that he was since convinced

106 to the contrary. But still asserted he made no compact with those spirits,

107 never did harm to others by their means, nor ever pryed into the future fortune

108 of himself or others: he expressed an hearty repentance for, and detestation of his sins;

109 so that though these matters cost him his life, yet I have room to believe

110 him happy in the other world. I am not certain whether he gave this

111 account to any other but myself, though he did relate something of it to Mr. Bailey,

112 minister of St. James, in the city. Perhaps your lordship may be

113 further informed from his relations and neighbours of Mangotsfield, which

114 is not above a mile out of the road

115 to Bath. I have often told the story, but never mentioned his name

116 before; and therefore if your lordship has a mind to print such

117 accounts as these, I beg it might be with such tenderness to his

118 memory as he deserved, and so it may not be the least prejudice to his relations,

119 who have the deserved character of honest sober people.

120

121 I am, with due respects,

122 Your lordship’s son,

123 and servant,

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD.

*Ashburner* (based on ‘Temple’ with modernization and minor alterations)

1 COPY *of an old* LETTER *from the* REV MR. ARTHUR BEDFORD

2 *to the* BISHOP *of* GLOUCESTER

By the kindness of Dr. Ashburner we are put in possession of this Letter, which contains so many points of interest we feel sure it will please our readers.

3 My Lord Bristol 2 August 1703

4 Being informed by Mr Shute of your lordships desire that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person that was acquainted with

6 spirits to his own Destruction I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter

7 and I hope my desire to gratify your lordship in every particular which may be an

8 Apology for the length hereof. I had formerly given an accountto the late Bishop of

9 Hereford in which there are probably some things contained which I do not now remem

10 ber and which if your lordship would procure from his lady who now lives at Gloucester

11 would be more Authentic. About thirteen years ago, whilst I was curate to Dr. Read

12 rector of St Nicholas, in this city, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Perks a man

13 about 20 years of age who lived with his Father at Magnatsfield by trade a black

14 smith and contracted an intimacy with him he being not only a very good-tempered

15 man but extremely well skilled in the mathematical studies which was his constant

16 delight, *viz.* arithmetic, geometry, gauging, astronomy & algebra. He had

17 a notion of a perpetual motion much like that wheel in *Archimedes’s Mathematical*

18 *Magick* to which he had made some improvement and as he said was demonstrable

19 from mathematical principles though I could never believe it. Accordingly I have seen

20 an iron wheel to which he intended to add severall things of his own invention in order

21 to finish the same but thinking it of no use, and being unfortunately engaged it

22 was never perfected. He gave himself so much to astronomy that he could not only calculate

23 the motions of the planets, but an eclipse also, and demonstrate every problem in

24 spherical trigonometry from mathematical principles in which he would discover

25 a clear force of reason, though he frequently would mistake in the quantity of

26 syllables. When one Mr Bayly, minister of St James’s, in this city, endeavoured to

27 set up a mathematical school I advised him to this Thomas Perks for an acquaintance

28 in whom (as he told me) he found a far greater proficiency in those studies than he

29 expected or could have imagined. After he applied himself to astronomy & would

30 sometimes calculate nativities & resolve orrery questions which he told me he often

31 times proved very true but he was not satisfied with it because there was nothing

32 in it that tended to a mathematical demonstration. When by the providence

33 of God I was settled in Temple parish I having not seen him for some time, he came to me

34 (and being in private) asked my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

35 with spirit, and after I had given my thoughts in the negative and confirmed it with the

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered all these arguments and believed they

37 only related conjuration; but there was an innocency with them which a man

38 might use if he made no contract with them, did no harm by their means or was

39 not curious in prying into hidden things; and that he himself had discoursed with them,

40 and heard them sing to his satisfaction. He gave an offer to me one time and Mr Bayly

41 that if we would go with him one night to Kingswood we should see and hear them sing

42 and talk with them whatever we had a mind to, and we should return very safe but neither of us

43 had the courage to venture. I told him the subtlity of the devil to delude mankind, and that he could

44 transform himself even into an angel of light - but he would not believe it was the devil.

45 I had several conferences of the subject, but could never convince him, in all which I

46 never observed the least disorder of mind. His discourse was very rational and I proposed

47 (to try him) a question in astronomy relating to the projection of the sphere which he

48 projected and resolved and afterwards did so demonstrate from the mathematics as to shew

49 at the same time that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness or distraction.

50 Having this opportunity, I asked him several questions concerning the methods he used

51 and the discourse he had with them. He told me he had a book whose directions he followed;

52 and accordingly, in the dead time of the night he went out to a cross-way with a lanthorn

53 and candle which was consecrated for this purpose with several incantations. He had also

54 consecrated chalk consisting of several mixtures, and with this he used to make a

55 circle at what distance he thought fit, which no spirit had power to enter.

56 After this he invoked the spirit by using several forms of words, some of which

57 he told me was taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and therefore he thought lawful

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his destruction: accordingly the

59 spirits appeared to him which he called for in the shape of little maidens about

60 a foot and a half high and played about the circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted, but

61 after some small acquaintance this antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill voice, like

63 an ancient woman; he asked them if there was a God, they told him there was;

64 he asked them if there was a heaven or a hell - they said there was; he asked

65 them what place heaven was, which they described as a place of great glory and happiness;

66 and he asked what place hell was, and they bid him ask no more questions of that nature for it was

67 a dreadful thing to relate that the devils believe and tremble. He asked them what sort of

68 method or order they had among themselves, they told him that they were divided

69 between three orders: that they had a chief whose residence was in the air; that he had

70 several councillors which were placed by him in the form of a globe, and he in the centre,

71 which was the chiefest order; another order there was employed in going to and fro in the

72 earth to carry intelligence from these lower spirits, and a third upon the earth according

73 to the directions they should receive from them in the air. The description was very

74 surprising, but being contrary to the account we have in the Scriptures of the hierarchy

75 of the blessed angels made me conclude they were devils, butI could not convince him

76 of it. He told me he bade them sing and they went to some distance behind a bush,

77 from whence he could hear a perfect concert, but of such music he never heard the

78 like; and in the upper part he could hear something very harsh and shrill, like a reed,

79 which gave a particular grace to the rest. But a quarter of a

80 year after he came again to me; he said he wished he had taken my advice, for he thought he

81 had done that which would cost him his life, and which he did heartily repent of and

82 indeed his eyes and countenance did show a great alteration. I asked him what he

83 had done he told me that being bewitched to his acquaintance, he resolved to

84 proceed further in this art and to have a familiar spirit at his command,

85 according to the directions of his book of what he called virgin’s

86 parchment, and consecrated with several incantations, as also a particular

87 ink horn, ink and pen, for this purpose; with these he went to go out (as usual)

88 to a crossway, and calling up a spirit, asked him his name, which he was to put in

89 the first page of his book, and this was his familiar; thus he was to do by as

90 many as he pleased, writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

91 leaf, and then, whenever he took the book and opened it, the spirit whose name

92 appeared also appeared. When he did this the familiar spirit was called Mulchi,

93 a word in the Hebrew of an outward signification. After this they appeared faster

94 than he desired and in most dismal shapes, like serpents, lions

95 bears &c. and hissing at him or attempting to throw spears or balls of fire

96 at him. This did very much affright him, and the more so because he found it not

97 in his power to lay them; in so much that his hair, as he told me, stood

98 upright. He expected every moment to be torn in pieces; this was in December,

99 about midnight, where he continued till break of day, when they left him,

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his illness he

101 came frequently to this city to consult with Mr.Jacobs, an apothecary in

102 Broad-street, concerning his cure, but I know not whether he told him the

103 origin or not. He also came to me at the same time and owned every matter

104 of fact until the last and insisted when he did anything of this nature, he

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawful, but he was since convinced

106 to the contrary. He still said he made no contract with any of those spirits; he

107 never did any harm by their means; he never pryed into the future fortune

108 of himself or others, and expressed an hearty repentance and detestation of his sin,

109 so that, though those methods cost him his life in this world, yet I have great reason

110 to believe him happy in the other. I am not certain whether he gave this

111 account to any other but myself, though he communicated something of it to Bayly,

112 the minister of St James’s, in this city. Perhaps your lordship may be

113 further informed from his relations and neighbours in Magnatsfield, who

114 live in Gloucestershire, not above a mile out of the road from this city

115 to Bath. I have frequently told the story, but never mentioned his name

116 before, and therefore if your lordship have any desire of printing such

117 an account, I desire it may be with such a tenderness to his

118 memory as may not in the least be prejudicial to his relations,

119 who have the repute to be honest and sober people; however I

120 never heard anything to the contrary.

121 I am

122 your Lordship’s most dutiful son

123 and servant

124 Arthur Bedford

*Lee*

Lee’s main version is from *Ottway*; they are all but identical.

However on p.349 he quotes from the opening of another version [very close to *Durbin*] as follows:

11 About thirteen years ago, whilst I was curate to Dr Reid,

12 Rector of St Nicholas, in this city, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Perks,

13 about twenty years of age, who lived with his father at Mangotsfield, by trade a gun

14 smith.

Six key versions interlineated for comparison (with varied typeface for ease of distinction):

‘Temple’ Le 7

‘Shute’

*Bonny*

‘Cruttenden’

*Chronicle*

‘Sharp’

3 My Lord Bristol 2 August 1703

*3 My Lord*,

3

3 MY LORD Bristol, Aug. 2 1703. [this is printed at end of letter]

3 My Lord, *Bristol, Aug.* 2, 1703

3 Bristol Aug:t 2d 1703 My Lord,

4 Being informed by Mr Shute of your Lordships Desire that I should comm=

4

4 Being inform’d by Mr.Shute, of your Lordship’s Desire, that I should comm

4 Being informed by MrShute of your Lordship’s desire that I should comm-

4 Being informed by Mr. Shute, of your Lordship’s Desire that I should comm=

4 Being inform’d by Mr Shute of Your Lordships Desire, that I should comm

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain person who was acquainted with

5

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a certain Person who was acquainted with

5 unicate to you what I know of a certain person who was acquainted with

5 unicate to you what I know concerning a certain Person, who was acquainted with

5 unicate to you what I had known concerning a Certain Person who was acquainted with

6 Spiritts to his own Destruction I have made bold to Give you the trouble of this Letter

6

6 Spirits to his own Destruction, I have made bold to Give you the trouble of this Letter,

6 spirits to his own destruction, I have made bold to give you the trouble of this letter,

6 Spirits to his own Destruction; I have made bold to give you this Letter,

6 Spirits to his own Destruction I have made bold to give you the trouble of this Letter,

7 and I have my Desire to Gratify your Lordship in every particular which may be an

7

7 and I hope my Desire to gratifie your Lordship in every particular may be an

7 and hope my desire to gratify your Lordship in every particular, will be an

7 and I hope my Desire to gratify your Lordship in every Particular, will be an

7 hoping my desire to Gratify your Lordship in every particulars may be an

8 Apology for the length hereof. I had formerly Given an Acct to the Late Bishop of

8 I had formerly gin an account of this affair to the late Bishop of

8 Apology for the Length hereof. I had formerly given an Account to the Late Bishop of

8 apology for the length of it. I had formerly given an account to the late Bishop of

8 Apology for the Length thereof. I had formerly given an Account to the late Bishop of

8 Apology for the Length thereof; I had formerly given an Account to the Late Ld Bishop of

9 Hereford in which there are probably somethings contained which I do not now remem

9 Hereford, in which probably there are some things contain’d, which I do not now remem

9 *Hereford* in which there are probably some things contain’d which I do not now remem

9 Hereford, in which there are, probably, some things contained, which I cannot now well remem

9 Hereford, in which there are probably some Things contained,

9 Hereford in which there are Probably some things Contain’d which I do not now Remem

10 =ber and which if your Lordship would procure from his Lady who lives at Gloucester

10 ber, which perhaps may be procured from his widow now living near Gloucester,

10 =ber and which (if your Lordship could procure from his Lady who lives near *Glocester*

10 =ber, which if your Lordship could procure from his lady, who lives near Gloucester,

10 which if your Lordship could procure of his Lady (who lives near Gloucester)

10 ber which if Your Lordship could Procure from his Lady who Lives now near Glocester

11 would be more Authentick. About thirteen Years Ago whilst I was Curate to Dr Read

11 which account may be more authentick. About 13 years agoe

11 would be more Authentick. [p.2] Some time since, whilst I was a Curate to Dr. *R---*

11 would be more authentic. About thirteen years ago when I was curate to the Rev. Dr. Read,

11 would be more authentic. About thirteen Years ago, when I was Curate to the Rev. Dr *Reed*,

11 wouls be more Authentick About thirteen Years ago whilst I was Curate to Dr Reed

12 Rector of St Nicholas in this City I began to be acquainted with one Thos Perks a Man

12 I was acquainted with one Tho: Perks a man

12 Rector of *St. N-----s* in this City, I began to be acquainted with one *Thomas Perks*, (a Man

12 rector of St Nicholas, in this city, I began to be acquainted with one Thomas Parks,

12 Rector of St. *Nicholas* in this City, I began to be acquainted with one *Thomas Perks*

12 Rector of St Nicholas in this City I began to be acquainted with one Thos Perkes A Man

13 about Twenty Years of Age who lived with his Father at Mangesfield by trade a Black

13 about 20 years of age who lived with his father at Mangersfield in the county of Gloucester, by trade a black

13 about twenty Years of Age, who lived with his Father at *Mangorsfield*, and was by Trade a Black

13 at Mangersfield, by trade a blacksmith; he was about twenty years old:

13 at *Mangersfield* and by trade a Blacksmith, (he was about twenty Years of Age)

13 About twenty Years of Age who Lived with his Father at Manglesfield and by trade a Gun

14 Smith and I contracted an intimacy with him he being not only a very Good tempered

14 smith; he was a very good temper’d

14 smith) and contracted an intimacy with him, he being not only a very good temper’d

14 I lived, at that time, with his father, and contracted an intimacy with him, he being not only good natured,

14 I contracted an Intimacy with him, he being not only good tempered,

14 smith and Contracted an Intimacy with him he not being only a good [added above line ‘even-‘] Temper’d

15 Man but extremely well Skil’d in the Mathematicall Studies which was his Constant

15 man & extremely well skill’d in the mathematick studies, which were his constant

15 Man, but extremely well skill’d in the Mathematical Studies which was his constant

15 but extremely well skilled in mathematical studies, which were his constant

15 but extremely well versed in the Mathematicks, which was his constant

15 Man but Extreamly Skil’d in the Mathematical Studys wich was his Constant

16 Delight (viz) Arithmetick, Geometry, Guaging, Surveying, Astronomy & Algebra. He had

16delight;

16delight, *viz.* Arithmetick, Geometry, Gauging, Surveying, Astronomy & Algebra; he had

16 delight. He understood arithmetic, geometry, gauging, surveying, astronomy, and algebra: he had

16 Designs, viz. *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Gauging*, *Surveying*, *Astronomy* and *Algebra*; he had

16 studies Viz Arithmetick Geometry Gauging Surveying Astronomy & Algebra; he had

17 a Notion of a perpetual Motion much like that Wheel in Archimedes his Mathematical

17

17 a Notion of the Perpetual Motion, much like that Wheel in *Archimedes* his Mathematical

17 a notion of the perpetual motion, much like the wheel in Archimedes’ mathematical

17 a Notion of the perpetual Motion, much like the Wheel in *Archimedes* his Mathematical

17 a Notion of the Perpetual Motion much like that weel in Archimedes his Mathematical

18 Magick to which he had made some improvement and as he said was Demonstrable

18

18 Magick, to which he had made some Improvements, and which as he said was demonstrable

18 magic, to which he had made some improvement, and which, he said, was demonstrable

18 Magic, to which he had made some Improvements, and which (as he said) was demonstrable

18 magick in which he had made some Improvement and which as he has held was demonstrable

19 from Mathematicall principles tho’ I could never believe it accordingly I have seen

19

19 from Mathematical Principles (tho’ I could never believe it) accordingly I have seen

19 on mathematical principles, though I could never believe it. Accordingly I have seen

19 from Mathematical Principles, though I could never believe it; accordingly I have seen

19 from Mathematical Principles tho I Could never beleive it Accordingly I have seen

20 an Iron Wheel to which he intended to Add severall things of his Own Invention in order

20

20 an Iron Wheel, to which he intended to add severall things of his own Invention in order

20 an iron wheel, to which he intended to have added several things of his own invention, in order

20 an Iron Wheel, to which he intended to add severall Things of his own Invention, in order

20 an Iron weel to which he intended to add several things of his own inventions in order

21 to finish the same but think it of no use & being otherwise unfortunately engaged it

21

21 to finish the same, but thinking it of no Use, and being otherwise unfortunately engaged it

21 to finish the same; but thinking the discovery of no use, and being unfortunately otherwise engaged, it

21 to finish the same; but, thinking it of no Use, and being otherwise unfortunately engaged, it

21 to finish the Same but thinking it of no Use and being otherways Unfortunately employ’d it

22 was never perfected he Gave himself so much to Astronomy that he could not only Calculate

22 he addicted himself so much to astronomy that he could not only calculate

22 was never perfected. He addicted himself so much to Astronomy that he could not only calculate

22 was never perfected. He gave himself so much to astronomy, that he could not only calculate

22 was never perfected: He gave himself so much to *Astronomy* , that he could not only calculate

22 was never Perfected he gave Himself so much to Astronomy that He Could not only Calculate

23 the motions of the Planetts but an Eclips also and Demonstrate every problem in

23 the motions of the Planets, but an eclipse also, & demonstrate every /54v/ probleme in

23 the motions of the Planets, but an Eclipse also, & demonstrate every problem in

23 the motions of the planets, but an eclipse also, and demonstrate every problem in

23 the Motions of the *Planets*, but an *Eclipse* also, and demonstrate every Problem in

23 the Motions of the Planets but an Eclipse Also and demonstrate any Problem in

24 Sphericall Trigonometry from Mathematicall principles in which he would Discover

24 spherical Trigonometry from mathematical principles, in which he would discover

24 spherical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles in which he [p.3] would discover

24 spherical trigonometry by mathematical principles, in which he would discover

24 Spherenical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles, in which, he would discover

24 Spherical Trigonometry from Mathematical Principles in Which he would discover

25 a clear force of reason, tho’ he very frequently would mistake in the quantity of

25 a clear force of reason thô very frequently in discourse he would mistake in the quality of

25 a clear force of reason, though he very frequently would mistake in the quantity of

25 a clear form of reasoning, though he would very often mistake in the quality of

25 a clear Form of reason, (though he would often mistake in the Quantity of

25 a full force of Reason

26 Syllables. When one Mr Bayly Minister of St James’s in this City endeavoured to

26 the syllables. When Mr Bayly (now Minister of St James’s in Bristoll) endeavour’d to

26 Syllables. When one Mr *B---*, now Minister of *St. J---s* in this City endeavoured the

26 things. When the Rev. Mr Bayley, rector of St. James’s, in this city, endeavoured to

26 Things) When the Rev. Mr. *Bayley*, Rector of *St James’s* in this City, endeavoured to

26 When one Mr Bayly Minister of St James’s in this City endeavoured to

27 Set up a Mathematicall School I Advised him to this Thos Perks for an Acquaintance

27set up a Mathematicall school, I advised him to this Tho: Perks for an acquaintance,

27setting up a Mathematical School, I advised him to this *Thomas Perks* for an Acquaintance,

27 set up a mathematical school, I advised him to this Thomas Parks as an acquaintance,

27 set up a Mathematical School, I advised him to this *Thomas Perks*, as an Acquaintance,

27 Set up a Mathematical School I advis’d him to Thos Perks for an Acquaintance,

28 in whom (as he told me) he found a far Greater proficiency in those Studies than he

28 in whom, as he told me, he found a far greater proficiency in such studies than he

28 in whom, (as he told me) he found a far greater Proficiency in these studies than he

28 in whom, as he told me, he found a much greater proficiency than he

28 in whom (as he told me) he found greater Proficiency than he

28 In whom as he told me he found a greater Proficiency in those Studys than he

29 expected or could have imagined. After he Applied himself to Astronomy & would

29 expected, or could have imagined from a man of his profession. After he applied himself to astrology, & would

29 expected, or could have imagin’d. After this he applied himself to Astrology, and could

29 expected, or could have imagined. After this he applied himself to astrology, and would

29 expected, or could have imagined: After this, he applied himself to *Astrology*, and would

29 Expected or he Could have Imagin’d After this he Apply’d himself to Astrology and would

30 Sometimes Calculate Nativities & resolve Horary Questions which he told me often=

30 sometimes calculate nativities & resolve horary questions, which he told me did often

30 sometimes calculate Nativities & resolve horary Questions, which as he told did often

30 sometimes calculate nativities, and resolved questions, which he said often

30 sometimes calculate Nativities, and resolve Questions, which, as he told me, often

30 Sometimes Calculate Nativities and resolve Horary Questions which he told me often

31 times proved very true but he was not Satisfied with it because there was nothing

31 times prove very true but he was not satisfied with it, because there was nothing

31 times prove very true, but he was not satisfied with it because there was nothing

31 proved true; but he was not satisfied in it, because there was nothing

31 proved true, but he was not satisfied with it, because there was nothing

31 times Prov’d true but he was not Satisfied with it Because there was nothing

32 in it that tended to a Mathematicall Demonstration. When by the Providence

32in it that tended to a mathematicall demonstration.

32in it that tended to a Mathematical Demonstration. When by the Providence

32 which would admit of a demonstration. When, by the providence

32 in it that tended to a Mathematical Demonstration. When by the Providence

32 in it that did tend to Mathematical Demonstrations When by the Providence

33 of God I was settled in Temple Parish I having not seen him for sometime he came to me

33 Having not seen him for sometime he came to me one day, &

33 of God I was settled in *T---* Parish, and having not seen him for sometime he came to me one day, &

33 of God, I was settled in Temple Parish, and having not seen him for some time, he came to me,

33 of God I was settled in *Temple* Parish, I having not seen him for some Time, he came to me

33 Of God I was Settled in temple Parish and having not Seen him for time he Came to me

34 (and being in private) Ask’d my Opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of Conversing

34 (wee being in private) ask’d my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfullnesse of conversing

34 (we being in private) asked me my opinion very seriously concerning the lawfulness of conversing

34 and we being in private, he asked me very seriously my opinion concerning the lawfulness of conversing

34 and we being alone in private, he asked me my Opinion very seriously, concerning the Lawfulness of conversing

34 and wee being in Private he ask’d my Opinion very Seriously Concerning the Lawfulness of Conversing

35 with Spirits & after I had Given my thoughts in the Negative and Confirm’d it with the

35 with spirits, & after I had given him my thoughts in the negative, & confirm’d them with the

35 with Spirits and after I had given My thoughts in the Negative, and confirmed them with the

35 with spirits; and after I had given him my thoughts in the negative, and confirmed them with the

35 with Spirits; and, after I had given my Thoughts in the Negative, and confirmed them with the

35 with Spirits and after I had given my thoughts in the Negative and Confirm’d them with the

36 best reasons I could he told me he had Considered all these Arguments & believed they

36 best reasons I could, /55/ he told me he had consider’d all those arguments, & believ’d they

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered all those Arguments and believed they

36 best reasons I could, he told me he had considered all these arguments, and believed they

36 best Reasons I could, he told me, he had considered all those Arguments, and believed they

36 Best reason I Could he told me he had Considered all those Arguments and believ’d they

37 only related to Conjuration but there was an innocent Society with them which a Man

37 all related only to conjuration, but there was an innocent society with them, which a man

37 all related only to Conjuration, but there was an innocent Society with them, which a Man

37 only related to conjuration, but that there was an innocent society with them, which a man

37 only respected Conjurations; but, there was an innocent Society with them, which a Man

37 only related to Conjuration but there was also an Innocent Society with them them that a Man

38 might use if he made no Contract with them did no Harm by their means nor was

38 might use, if he made no compacts with them, did no harm by their means, & was

38 might use, if he made no Compacts with them, did no [p.4] harm by their means, and was

38 might use, if he entered into no contracts, and did no harm by their means, and was

38 might use, if he had no Contract with them, or did no Harm by their means, and was

38 might Use if he had no Compacts with them did no Harm by their Means and was

39 not Curious in prying into Hidden things and that he himself had Discoursed with them

39 not curious to pry into hidden things -- & that he himselfe had discours’d with them,

39 not curious to pry into hidden things; and that he himself had discoursed with them,

39 not anxious in prying into forbidden things; That he himself had discoursed with them,

39 not curious in prying into hidden Things, and that he himself had discoursed with them,

39 not Curious Prying into Hidden things and that he himself had Discours’d with them

40 and he heard them Sing to his Satisfaction he gave an offer to me one time & Mr Bayly

40 had heard them sing &c. to his great satisfaction, & made an offer to me at one time, & to Mr Bayly at another,

40 and had heard them sing, &c. to his great Satisfaction, and gave an offer to me at one time, and to Mr *B----* at another,

40 and heard them sing to his great satisfaction; and he gave an offer to me at one time, and to Mr Bayley at an other,

40 and heard them sing to his great Satisfaction, and gave an Offer to me at one Time, and Mr. *Bayley* another,

40 and heard them Sing to his Great satisfaction and gave an Offer to me and Mr Bayly at another Time

41 that if we would Go with him one Night to Kingswood we should see them & hear them Sing

41that if wee would goe with him one night to Kingswood, wee should see them& hear them both speak & sing

41that if would go with him one night to *Kings-wood*, we should see them and hear them both speak & sing

41 that if we would go with him one night to Kingswood, we should see them, and hear them both talk and sing,

41 that if we would go with him one Night to Kingswood, we should see them, and hear them both talk and sing,

41 that if wee would go with him one Night to Kingswood wee should See them and hear them both talk and Sing

42 & talk with them what ever we had a mind to & we should return very Safe but neither of us

42 & talk with them on whatsoever subject wee had a mind, & should return very safe, but neither of us

42 and talk with them whatever we had a mind to, and we should return very safe: but neither of us

42 and should talk with them whatever we pleased, and that we should return very safe: but neither of us

42 and should talk with them whatsoever we pleased, and that we should return very safe; but, neither of us

42 and talk with them whatever wee had a Mind too and wee should Return very Safe but neither of us

43 had the Courage to Venture. I told him the Subtlety of the Devil to Delude Mankind & could

43 had the courage to venture. I told him the subtlety of the Devil was to delude mankind & to

43 had the Courage to venture: I told him of the Subtilty of the Devil to delude mankind, and to

43 had the courage to venture. I told him of the subtilty of the devil in deluding mankind, by

43 had the Courage to venture. I told him the Subtilety of the Devil to delude Mankind and to

43 had the Courage to Ventur I told him the Subtility of the Devil to Delude Mankind and to

44 Transform himself even into an Angell of Light. But he could not believe it was the Devill.

44 transforme himselfe into an angel of light, but he could not believe it was the devil.

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light; bet he could not believe it was the Devil.

44 transforming himself into an angel of light, but he could not believe it was the devil.

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light; but he could never believe it was the Devil; - .

44 transform himself into an Angel of Light but he Could not Believe it was the Devil

45 I had severall Conferences of the Subject, but could never Convince him , in all which

45 I had several conferences with him on the subject but could never convince him. In all which

45 I had severall Conferences on this Subject, but could never convince him; in all which

45 We had several conferences on this subject, but I could never convince him. In all these conversations I could

45 we had several Conferences on this Subject, but I could never convince him , in all which I could

45 I had several Conferences with him on the Subject but Could never Convince him ; In all I Could

46 never observed the least Disorder of mind his Discourse was very rationall & I proposed

46 I never observ’d the least disorder of mind, his discourse was very rational & I proposed,

46 I never observed the least disorder of Mind; his Ciscours was very rational, and

46 never discover the least disorder of mind; his discourse was always very rational, and I proposed,

46 never discover the least Disorder of Mind; his Discourse was very rational and I proposed

46 not Discern the Least Disorder of Mind, his Discourse being very rational I Propos’d

47 (to try him) a question in Astronomy relating to the projection of the Sphere which he

47 to try him, a question in Astronomy relateing to the projection of a sphere, which he

47 (to try him) I proposed a Question in Astronomy relating to the Projection of a Sphere, which he

47 to try him, by a question in astronomy, relating to the projection of the sphere, which he

47 (to try him) a Question in Astronomy, relating to the Projection of a Sphere, which he

47 (to try Him) a Question in Astronomy relating to the Projection of the Sphere which he

48 projected & resolved & afterwards Did so Demonstrate from the Mathematicks as to shew

48 projected & resolv’d & afterwards did so demonstrate it from the mathematicks, as so /55v/ demonstrate,

48 projected and resolved, and afterwards did so demonstrate from the Mathematicks as to demonstrate

48 resolved, and afterwards did so demonstrate from the mathematics, as shewed

48 projected and resolved, and afterwards did so demonstrate it from the Mathematicks

48 Projected and Resolv’d and afterwards did so Demonstrate from the Mathematicks as to demonstrate

49 at the same time that his Brains was free from the least Tincture of Madness & Distraction

49 at the same time, that his brain was free from the least tincture of madness or distraction.

49 at the same time that his Brain was free from the least Tincture of Madness or Destraction.

49 his brain free from any suspicion of madness or distraction.

49 that his Brain was clear from the least Tincture of Madness or Distraction;

49 at the same time that his brain was free from the Least tincture of Madness and distraction;

50 having this opportunity I ask’d him severall particulars Concerning the methods he used

50 Having this opportunity I ask’d him severall particulars concerning the methods he used,

50 Having this opportunity I asked him several Particulars concerning the Methods he used,

50 Having this opportunity, I asked him several questions concerning the methods he used

50 having this Opportunity, I asked him several Particulars concerning the Methods he used,

50 having this opportunity of asking him Several Particulars Concerning the Methods he Used

51 & the Discourse he had with them he told me he had a Book whose Directions he follow’d

51 & the discourse he had with them. He told me he had a book whose directions he follow’d,

51 and the discourse he had with them, he told me he had also a Book whose Directions he Followed,

51to obtain this conversation, he told me he had a book, whose directions he followed;

51 and the Discourse he had with them; he told me, he had a Book whose Directions he followed,

51 and the Discourse he had with them; he told me he had a Book whose directions he followed

52 and accordingly in the Dead time of the night he went out to a Cross way with a Lanthorn

52 & accordingly in the dead time of the night he went out to a crosse way with a a lanthorn

52 and accordingly in the dead time of the Night he went out to a Cross way with a Lanthorn

52 and accordingly, in the dead time of the night, he went out into a cross way, with a candle

52 and accordingly in the dead Time of the Night, he went out to a Cross-way with a Lanthorn

53 and Accordingly in the dead time of the Night he went out to A Crossway with a Candle

53 & Candle which was Consecrated for this purpose with severall incantations he had also

53 & candle, which were consecrated for that purpose with severall incantations. he had also

53 and Candle which was consecrated for that purpose, with several Incantations; he had also

53 and lanthorn consecrated for that purpose, with several incantations. He had, also,

53 and Candle, which was consecrated for that Purpose, with several Incantations. He had also

53 and Lanthorn which was Consecrated for this Purpose with several Incantations he had also

54 Consecrated Chalk consisting of severall mixtures & with this he used to make a

54 a consecrated chalk consisting of severa[ll] mixtures, & with this he used to make a

54 a consecrated Chalk consisting of several Mixtures, [p.5] and with this he used to make a

54 consecrated chalk, consisting of several mixtures, with which he made a

54 consecrated Chalk, consisting of several Mixtures, with which he used to make a

54 Consecrated Chalk Consisting of Several Mixtures which he Used to Make a

55 circle at what Distance he thought fitt within which no Spirit had power to enter

55 circle at what distance he thought fit, within which no spirit had power to enter –

55 Circle, at what Distance he thought fit, within which no Spirit had power to enter:

55 circle at what distance he saw fit, into which no spirit could enter.

55 Circle, at what Distance he thought proper, within which no Spirit had Power to enter.

55 Circle at what distance he thought fit within which he said no Spirit had Power to enter

56 after this he envoked the Spirit by using severall forms of words some of which

56 after this he invoked the spirits by using severall forms of words, some of which,

56 after this he invoked the Spirits by using several Forms of Words, some of which

56 After this he invoked the spirits he would converse with, by using several forms of words, which,

56 After this he invoked the Spirits, by using several Forms of Words, which

56 after this he Invok’d the Spirits by several forms of words some of which

57 he told me was taken out of the Holy Scriptures & therefore he thought Lawfull

57 he told me, were taken out of the holy scriptures, & therefore he thought them lawfull,

57 he told me were taken out of the holy Scripture, and therefore he thought them lawful,

57 he told me, were taken out of the holy scriptures; and therefore he thought them lawful

57 he told me were taken out of the Holy Scriptures; and therefore he thought them lawful

57 he told me were taken out of the Holy Scriptures therefore he thought Lawful

58 without Considering how they might be rested to his Destruction. Accordingly the

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his destruction. Accordingly, those

58 without considering how they might be wrested to his Destruction; accordingly, these

58 not considering that they were wrested to his own destruction. Accordingly the

58 (not considering they might be wrested to his own Destruction): Accordingly the

58 without Considering how they might be wrested to his Destruction accordingly the

59 Spirits appear’d to him which he call’d for in the Shape of Little Maidens about

59 spirits appear’d to him, which he call’d for in the shape of little girls, about

59 Spirits appeared to him which he called for, in the Shape of little Maids, about

59 spirits appeared in the shape of little maids, about

59 Spirits appeared which he called for, in the Shape of little Maids about

59 Spirits appear’d to him which he Call’d for in the shape of Little Maidens abt

60 a foot & half high & play’d about the Circle at first he was somewhat Affrighted, but

60 a foot & half high, & play’d without the circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted, but

60 a Foot and half high, and played without the circle: at first he was somewhat affrighted, but

60 a foot and a half high, and played about the circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted; but

60 a Foot and a Half high, and played about the Circle. At first he was somewhat affrighted; but

60 a foot and a half High and Play’d about the Sircle; at first he was somewhat affrighted but

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy in Nature wore off & he became

61 after some small acquaintance this antipathy in nature wore off, & hee became

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy in Nature wore off, and he became

61 after longer acquaintance the antipathy in nature wore off, and he became

61 after some small Acquaintance the Antipathy in Nature wore off, and he became

61 after some small Acquaintance this Antipathy of Nature wore off and he became

62 pleased with their Company he told me they speak with a very Shrill Voice like

62 pleas’d with /56/ their company. He told me they spoke with a very shrill voice like

62 pleased with their Company: He told me they spake with a very shrill voice like

62 pleased with their company. He told me they spake with a very shrill voice like

62 pleased with their Company. He told me they spoke with a Voice very shrill like

62 Pleas’d with their Company he told me they Speak with A Very Shrill voice like

63 an Antient Woman he asking them if there was a God they told him there was

63 an antient woman. He ask’d them whether there was a God, they told him there was.

63 an Ancient Woman; He asked them if there was a God, they told him there was;

63 an ancient woman. He asked them if there was a God? they said there was.

63 an ancient Woman; he asked them if there was a God, they said there was;

63 an Ancient woman he ask’d them if there was a God they said there was A God

64 he Ask’d them if there was a Heaven or a Hell they said there was. he ask’d

64He ask’d

64He asked them if there was a Heaven or Hell, they said there was; he asked

64 He asked them if there was a heaven, or hell? they said there was. He asked

64 he asked

64 he ask’d them if there was an heaven or an Hell they Said there was he ask’d

65 them what place heaven was which they Described as a place of Great Glory & Happiness

65 them what place heaven was, which they described as a place of great glory & happynesse,

65 them what Place Heaven was, which they described as a Place of great Glory and Happiness;

65 them what a place heaven was? They described it as a place of great joy and happiness.

65 them what place heaven was, which they described as a Place of great Glory and Happiness.

65 them what Place heaven was wich they Described as A Place of great Glory and Happiness

66 & he Ask’d what place Hell was & they bid him ask no Questions of that Nature for it was

66 & ask’d them what place hell was, & they bid him ask no questions of that nature, for it was

66 and he asked them what Place Hell was, and thay bad him ask no more Questions of that Nature, for it was

66 He inquired what a place hell was? they bid him ask no questions of that nature, for that it was

66 Then he asked them what Place Hell was; they bid him ask no Questions of that Nature, for it was

66 he ask’d them what Hell was and they told Him to ask no Questions of that Nature for it was

67 a Dreadfull thing to relate the Devills Believe & Tremble he Ask’d then what sort of

67 a dreadfull thing to relate it (The Devils believe & tremble) He ask’d them what sort of

67 a dreadful thing to relate it; *(the Devils believe & tremble:)* He asked them what sort of

67 dreadful to relate it. He asked them what

67 a dreadful thing to relate it (the Devils believe and tremble); he asked them what

67 A dreadful thing to Relate it and the Devils believe and tremble he further ask’d them what

68 Method or order they had among themselves they told him that they were Divided

68 method & order they had among themselves, they told him they were divided

68 Method and Order they had among themselves, they told him that they were divided

68 method or order they had amongst themselves? they told him they were divided

68 Method and Order they had among themselves; they told him that they were divided

68 Method or Order they had amongst themselves they told him they were divided

69 between Three orders that they had a Chief whose residence was in the Air that he had

69 into 3 orders, That they had a chief whose residence was in the air, that he had

69 into three Orders, that they had a Chief whose Residence was in the Air, that he had

69 into three orders - that they had a chief, whose residence was in the air, that he had

69 into Orders, that they had a Chief whose Residence was in the Air, that he had

69 in three Orders that they had a Chief whose Residence was in the Air that he had

70 several Councellors which where placed by him in the form of a Globe & he in the Center

70 severall Counsellours, which were placed by him in the form of a globe & he in the Centre,

70 several Counsellors, which were placed by him in the Form of a Globe, and he in the Centre,

70 several counsellors, who were planted, by him, in the form of a globe, and he in the centre,

70 several Counsellors, which were planted by him in the Form of a Globe, and in the Centre,

70 Several Counsellors wich were Placed by him in the form of A Globe and he in the Center

71 which was the Chiefest order. another order there was employ’d in Going to & fro the

71 which was the cheifest order. Another order was employed in goeing to & fro [‘o’ del at end of word] from thence to the

71 which was the chiefest Order; another Order was employed in going to & fro from thence to the

71 which was the chief order. The second order were employed in going to and fro from thence to the

71 which was the chiefest Order. The second Order was employed in going to and fro from thence to the

71 which was the Chiefest order Another order was Employ’d going to and fro from thence to the [word Directions then written and deleted – this mistake then leads to the omission of the next phrase?]

72 earth to Carry intelligence from these lower Spirits & a Third upon the earth according

72 earth to carry intelligence from the lower spirits & a 3d to act on the earth, according

72 Earth, to carry Intelligence from these lower Spirits; and a thirdto act upon Earth according

72 earth to carry intelligence from the higher spirits. A third were confined to the earth, acting according

72 Earth, to act according

72 Earth According

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air the Description was very

73 to the directions they received from those in the air. This description was very

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air: This Description was very

73 to the directions they received from those in the air. This description was very

73 to the Directions they should receive from those in the Air. This Description was very

73 to the Directions they Should receive from those in the Air this description was very

74 Surprizing but being Contrary to the Acct we have in the Scriptures of the Hierarchy

74surprising, & being contrary to the account wee have in scripture of the Hierarchy

74surprizing; but being contrary to the Account we have in the Scripture [p.6] of the Hierarchy

74 surprising; but being contrary to the account we have in scripture of the hierarchy

74 surprising, but being Contrary to the Account we have in Scripture of the Hierarchy

74 Surprising but being Contrary to the Account we have in Scripture of the Hierarchy

75 of the Blessed Angells made me Conclude they were Devills but could not Convince him

75 of the Blessed Angells, made me conclude they must bee devils, but I could never convince him

75 of the blessed Angels, made me conclude they were Devils, but I could not convince him

75 of the holy angels, it made me conclude they were devils, but I could not convince him

75 of the Blessed Angels, made me conclude they were Devils, but could not convince him

75 of the Blessed Angels made me Conclude they was Devils but I Could not Convince him

76 of it he told me he bade them sing & they went to some Distance behind a Bush

76 of it. He told me he /56v/ had bad them sing, & they went to some distance behind a bush,

76 of it: He had bad them sing, and they went, to some Distance behind a Bush

76 of it. He told me he bade them sing, and they went to some distance, behind a bush,

76 of it. He told me he bid them sing, and they went to some Distance behind a Bush,

76 of it he told me bade them Sing and they went to Some distance behind a Bush

77 from whence he could hear a perfect Consert but of such Musick he never heard the

77 from whence he could hear a perfect consort, but of such musick, which he had never heard the

77 from whence he could hear a perfect Consort, but of such Musick as he never heard the

77 whence he heard a pleasant concert of such music as he never heard the

77 from whence he heard a pleasant Concert, but of such Music he never heard the

77 from whence he Could hear a Perfect Consort of such Musick he Never heard the

78 like & in the upper part he could hear something very Harsh & Shrill like a Read

78 like & in the upper part he could hear something very harsh & shrill like a reed,

78 like, and in the upper Part he could hear something very harsh and shrill like a Reed,

78 like; in the uppermost part he could hear something very harsh and shrill, like a reed;

78 like; and in the uppermost Part he could hear something very harsh and shrill, like a Reed,

78 Like and in the Upper Part he Could hear something very Harsh and Shrill like a Reed

79 when it was Managed did Give a particular Grace to the Rest. but a quarter of a

79 but, as it was managed did give a particular grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

79 but, as it was managed did give a particular Grace to the rest. About a quarter of a

79 but as it was managed it gave a particular grace to the rest. About three months

79 but as it was managed did give a particular Grace to the rest. ----- About a Quarter of a

79 but as it was Manag’d did [added above line ‘give a Particular’] grace to ye Rest. About a Quarter of A

80 Year after he came again to me he wish’d he had taken my Advice for he thought he

80year after this, he came to me again & told me, he wish’d he had taken my advice, for he thought he

80Year after he came again to me and told me he wished he had taken my Advice, for he thought he

80 after this he came to me again, and said, he wished he had taken my advice, for that he

80 Year afterwards he came to me, and said he wished he had taken my Advice, for he thought he

80 Year after he Came to me again and wish’d he had taken my Advice for he thought he

81 had Done that which would Cost him his Life & which he Did heartily Repent of &

81 had done that which would cost him his life, & which he did heartily repent of. And

81 had done that which would cost him his Life, and which he did heartily repent of; and

81 had got what would cost him his life, and what he did heartily repent of, and,

81 had that, that would cost him his Life, and which he did heartily repent of; and

81 had done that, that would Cost him his Life and wich he did heartily Repent off and

82 indeed his Eyes & Countenance did Show a Great Alteration. I ask’d him what he

82 indeed his eyes & countenance did shew a great alteration. I ask’d him what he

82 indeed his Eyes & Countenance did shew a great Alteration: I asked him what he

82 indeed, his eyes & countenance showed a very great alteration. I asked him what he

82 indeed his Eyes & Countenance did show a great Alteration. I asked him what he

82 Indeed his Eyes and Countenance did show a great Alteration I ask what he

83 had Done he told me that being Bewitch’d to his acquaintance he resolved to

83 had done, he told me that, being bewitch’d with his acquaintance he resolved to

83 had done; he told me that being bewitch’d with his Acquaintance he resolved to

83 had done? he told me that, being bewitched to his new acquaintance, he resolved to

83 had done; He told me, that being bewitched to his Acquaintance, he resolved to

83 had Done he told me that being bewitch’d to his Acquaintance he Resolv’d to

84 proceed further in this Art & to have some familiar Spiritt at his Command

84 proceed further in this art, & to have some familiar spirits at his command,

84 proceed farther in this Art, and to have some Familiar Spirits at his Command,

84 proceed farther in his art, and to have some familiar spirits at his command,

84 proceed farther in this Art, and to have some familiar Spirits at his Command, and

84 Proceed farther In this Art and to have Some Particular Spirit at his Command

85 according to the Directions of his Book which was a Book of what he Called Virgins

85 according to the direction of his book, which was, to have a book made of, what he call’d, virgin

85 according to the Direction of his Book, which was to have a Book made of what he called, *Virgins*

85 according to the directions of his book; which were to get a book made of what he called virgin

85 according to the Direction of his Book, which was to have a Book made of what he called Virgin’s

85 according to the Directions of His Book; wich was to have A Book made of Virgin

86 parchment & Consecrated with Severall incantations as also a particular

86 parchment & consecrated with severall incantations, as also particular

86 *Parchment*, and consecrated with several Incantations; also particular

86 parchment, and consecrated with several incantations, as also a particular

86 Parchment, and consecrated with several Incantations, as also a particular

86 Parchment and Consecrated with Several Incantations as Also a Particular

87 Inkhorn Ink & Pen for this purpose. with those he went to Go out (as usuall)

87 ink horn, pens &c. for that purpose. with these he was to goe out, as usuall,

87 Ink, Ink horn, Pen, &c. for his Purpose: With these he was to go out (as usually)

87 inkhorn, ink, and pens: He was to go, as usual,

87 Ink-horn, Ink, and Pens; and for this Purpose, with those he was to go as usually

87 Inkhorn, Pen, Ink &c for his purpose with those he Used to go Out as Usual

88 to a Cross way & Called up a Spiritt ask’d him his Name which he was to put in

88 to a crosse way, & call up a spirit & ask him his name, which he was to put into

88 to a Cross-way, and called up a Spirit, asked him his Name, which he was to put in

88 to a cross way, to call up a spirit, and ask him his name, which he was to put in

88 to a Cross-way, and call up a Spirit and ask him his Name, which he was to put in

88 to a Crossway and Call up a Spirit and ask him his Name which he was to Put in

89 the first page of his Book & this was his familliar thus he was to Do by as

89 the first page of his book, & this was his chief Familiar. /57/ Thus he was to do by as

89 the first Page of his Book, and this was his Familiar; thus he was to do by as

89 the first page of the book, and this was to be his Familiar. This he was to do by as

89 the first page of his Book, and this was his familiar: this he was to do by as

89 the first Page of his Book and this was to be his familiar thus was he to do with as

90 many as he pleased writing their Names in Distinct pages only one in a

90 many as he pleas’d, writing their names in distinct pages, only one on a

90 many as he pleased, writing their Names in distinct Pages, only one in a

90 many as he pleased, writing their names in distinct pages, only one in a

90 many as he pleased. Writing their Names in distinct Pages, only one in a

90 Many as he Pleas’d writing their Names in Distinct Pages; only one In A

91 Leaf &then when ever he took the Book & open’d it the Spirit whose Name

91 leaf, & then whenever he took the book & open’d it the spirit whose name

91 Leaf; and then whenever he took the Book and opened it, the Spirit whose Name

91 leaf; and then whenever he opened the book, the spirit, whose name first

91 Leaf, and then whensoever he took the Book and opened it, the Spirit (whose Name first

91 Leaf then whenever he took the Book and open’d it the Spirit whose Name

92 Appeared also [adds above the line ‘appear’d’] when he Did thus The Familliar Spirit was called Malchi

92 appear‘d, should appear also. His chief Familiar he said was [call’d, del] Maleki,

92 appeared, should appear also when he did thus the Familiar Spirit he had was called *Malki*,

92 appeared, should appear also. The Familiar spirit he had was called *Malchi*,

92 appeared) appeared also; thus the familiar Spirit he had, was called Malchi;

92 Appear’d should Appear Also and putting this in Practice the Familiar Spirits had was Call’d Malchie

93 (a Word in Hebrew of an outward Signification) after this they Appear’d faster

93 a word in Hebrew of an untoward signification. After he had done this, they appear’d to him faster

 93 (a word in *Hebrew* of an untoward Signification) after this, they appeared faster

93 a word in the Hebrew of an untoward signification. After this they appeared faster

93 a Word in the Hebrew, of an untoward Signification; after this they appeared faster

93 (be Thou my King) (a word in the Hebrew of an Unknown Signification) after this they Appear’d faster

94 than he Desired and in most Dismall Shapes Like Serpents & Lyons

94 than he desired & in most dismall shapes, like serpents, lyons,

94 than he desired, and in most dismal Shapes, [p.7] like Serpents, Lyons,

94 than he desired, in most dreadful shapes, like lions,

94 than he desired, and in most dismal Shapes, like Lions,

94 then he Desired and in most Dismall Shapes like Serpents Lyons

95 Bears &c & Hissing at him or Attempting to Throw Spears or Balls of fire

95 bears &c. & hiss’d at him, & attempted to throw spears & balls of fire.

95 Bears &c. and hissing at him, or attempting to throw Spears or Balls of Fire

95 bears, and serpents, hissing, and attempting to throw balls of fire

95 Bears, Serpents, &c. Hissing at him and attempting to throw Spheres or Balls of Fire

95 Bears &c Hissing at Him and Attemting to throw Balls of Fire

96 at him this Did very much Affright him and that more he found it not

96 This did very much affright him, & the more because he found it not

96 at him; this did very much affright him, and the more that he found it not

96 at him. This very much affrighted him, and the more, because he found it not

96 at him; this did very much affright him, and the more because he found it out

96 at him wich did very Much Affright him and the more when he found it not

97 in his power to Lay them in so much that his Hair as he told me stood

97 in his power to lay them, insomuch that his hair, as he told me, stood

97 in his Power to lay them, insomuch that his Hair (as he told me) stood

97 in his power to lay them, insomuch that his hair, as he told me, stood

97 of his Power to lay them, insomuch, that his Hair, as he told me, stood

97 in His Power to Lay them even so Much as his hair Stood

98 upright he expected every moment to be torn in pieces this was in Decemr

98 upright, & he expected any moment to be torn in pieces. This was in December

98 upright, and he expected every Moment to be torn to pieces, this was in *December*

98 upright, and he expected every moment to be torn in pieces. This was in December,

98 upright, and he expected every Moment to be torn in pieces; this was in December

98 on End and he expected every Moment to be torn in Pieces this was December

99 about Midnight where he Continued till Break of Day when they |Left him

99 about midnight when he continued in sweat till break of day at which time they left him.

99 about Midnight, when he continued there in a Sweat till break of Day when they left him,

99 about midnight, and continued till break of day, and then they left him.

99 about Midnight, when he continued there in a Sweat till break of Day, and then they left him,

99 about Midnight when he Continued there in a Sweat till break of Day and then they Left him

100 & from that Time he was never well as long as he lived in this sickness he

100 And from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his sicknesse he

100 and from that time he was never well as long as he lived. In his Sickness he

100 From that time he was never well as long as he lived; in his sickness he

100 and from that Time he never was well as long as he lived: In his sickness he

100 and from that time he Never was well as Long as he Liv’d in his Sickness he

101 came frequently to this City to Consult with Mr Jacobs an Apothecary in

101 came frequently to Bristoll, to consult with one Mr Jacons an Apothecary in

101 frequently came to this City to consult with Mr. *J---b* an Apothecary in

101 came often to this city to consult with Mr.Jacobs, an apothecary in

101 came often to this City to consult with one Mr.Jacobs an Apothecary in

101 Came frequently to this City to Consult with Mr Jacob an apothecary in

102Broad Street Concerning his Cure but I know not whether he told him the

102 broad street concerning a cure, but I know not whether he ever told him the

102 Broad-street concerning a Cure, but I know not whether he told him the

102Broad Street, concerning a cure, but I know not whether he ever told him the

102 Broad-street, concerning a Cure, but I know not whether he ever told him the

102 Broad Street concerning a Cure but I know not wether he told him the

103 Originall or no he also came to me at the same time & own’d every matter

103 original cause of his distemper. He would come also to /57v/ to see me, when he came to town, & own’d every matter

103 Original Cause or no; he also came to me at the same time and owned every Matter

103 occasion of his illness. He also came to me at the same time and owned every matter

103 original cause or not; he also came to me at the same Time and owned every Matter

103 Original or no he also Came to me at the same time and own’d Every matter

104 of Fact untill the last & insisted when he Did anything of this Nature he

104 of fact untill the last. And still told me that when he did anything of this nature, he

104 of Fact until the last, and still insisted that when he did any thing of this Nature, he

104 of fact unto the last. He said that when he did anything of this nature he

104 of Fact to the last, and said, that when he did any Thing of this Nature, he

104 of Fact until the Last; and Insisted when ever he did any thing of this Nature he

105 was Deluded in his Conscience to think it Lawfull but he was since Convinc’d

105 was deluded in his conscience to think it lawfull, but he was now convinc’d

105 was deluded in his Conscience to think it lawful, but he is since convinced

105 was deluded in his conscience to believe it lawful, but that he was since convinced

105 was deluded in his Conscience to believe it lawful, but he was since convinced

105 was deluded in his Conscience to think it Lawfull but he was since Convinc’d

106 to the Contrary he still own’d he made no Contract with any of those Spiritts he

106 to the contrary. He alwaies said, that he never made any compacts with [one?, del] any of these spirits, he

106 to the contrary: He still declared he made no Compacts with any of those Spirits, he

106 to the contrary: he professed that he made no contract with any of these spirits, and that he

106 of the contrary; he confessd he made no Contract with any of these Spirits, that he

106 to the Contrary; he still own’d to me that he made no Agreement with any of these Spirits

107 never Did any harm by their means he never pried into the future fortune

107 never did any harm by their means, he never pryed into the future fortune

107 never did any Harm by their Means, he never pryed into the Future State

 107 never did any harm by their means, nor ever pryed into the future fortunes

107 never did any harm by their Means, nor ever pryed into the future Fortunes

107 nor did any harm by their Means nor Never Pryed into the future fortune

108 of himself or others & expressed an hearty Repentance & Detestation of his Sin

108 of himself or others, & express’d a hearty repentance & detestation of his sin,

 & also a stedfast faith in Christ Jesus for the pardon of the same & the salvation of his soul.

108 of himself and Others, and expressed a hearty Repentance and Detestation of his Sin,

And also a stedfast Faith in Christ for the Pardon of the same, and the Salvation of his Soul:

108 of himself or others. He expressed a hearty repentance of the steps he had taken;

108 of himself or others; he expressed a hearty Repentance & Detestation of his Sins,

108 of Himself or Others; and express’d an Hearty Repentance and Detestation of his Sins

109 so that tho’ those Methods Cost him his Life in this world yet I have Great reason

109 So that thô the[se] methods cost him his life in this world, I have reason

109 So that though these Methods cost him his Life in this World, yet I have great Reason

109 so that, though they cost him his life in this world, I have great reason

109 so that tho’ it cost him his Life in this World, yet I have great Reason

109 so that those methods Cost him his Life in this world; Yet I may believe by great reasons

110 to Believe him happy in the other I am not certain whether he Gave this

110 so hope & believe him happy in the other. I am not certain whether he gave this

110 to believe him happy in the other. [p.8] I am not certain whether he gave this

110 to hope and believe, that he is happy in a better. I am not certain whether he gave this

110 to believe him happy in the other; I am not certain whether he gave this

110 that he is Happy in the other I am not Certain whether he gave the

111 Acct to any other but myself tho’ he communicated something of it to Bayly

111 account to anyone except my selfe, thô he communicated something of it to Mr Bayly

111 Account to anyone except my self (though he communicated something of it to Mr *B---e---*

111 account to any besides myself, though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bayley,

111 Account to any other but myself, though he communicated something of it to Mr. Bayley,

111 Account to any but Myself; tho he Communicated something of it to Mr Bayley

112 the Minister of St James’s in this City perhaps your Lordship may be

112 minister of St James’s in the city.

112 the Minister of *St. J-------* in this City) perhaps your Lordship may be

112 the minister of St James’s parish, in this city. Perhaps your Lordship may be

112 Minister of St James’s in this City; perhaps your Lordship may be

112 Minister of St Jameses in this City; Perhaps your Lordship may be

113 further Informed from his relations & Neighbours in Mangesfield who

113A further account of this matter may be had perhaps from his relations or neighbours in Mangersfield

113 farther informed from his Relations and Neighbours in *Mangorsfield*, which

113 farther informed by his relations or neighbours in Mangersfield; the town

113 further informed by his Relations and Neighbours in Mangersfield, which

113 further Inform’d from his Relations and Neighbours of Manglesfield which

114 lives in Gloucestershire not above a Mile out of the Road from this City

114 in Gloucestershire, not above a mile out of the road between Bristoll &

114 lies in *Glocestershire*, not above a Mile out of the Road from this City to

114 lies not above a mile out of the road from this city

114 lies in Gloucestershire, not above a Mile out of the Road from this City

114 lyes in Glocestershire not above a Mile out of the Road

115 to Bath I have frequently told the Story but never mention’d this Name

115 Bath. I have never mention’d his name or habitation /58/

115 *Bath*. I have frequently told the Story, but never mentioned his Name

115 to Bath. I have frequently told the story, but never mentioned his name

115 to Bath; I have frequently told the Story but never mentioned his Name

115 to Bath; I have frequently told the Story but Never Mentioned his Name

116 before & therefore if your Lordship have any Desire of printing such

116 before, & therefore, if this account should ever be printed,

116 before; and therefore if your Lordship hath a Design of printing such Accounts as these,

116 before. If, therefore, your Lordship has any design of printing any such

116 before, therefore, if your Lordship hath any Design of Printing such

116 before; and therefore if your Lordship has any design of Printing this

117 an Acct as this I Desire it may be with Such a Tenderness to his

117 I desire it may be done with such tendernesse to his

117 I desire it may be with such Tenderness to his

117 accounts as these, I desire it may be with such a tenderness to his

117 Accounts as these, I desire it may be with such a Tenderness to his

117 Account; I hope You will do it with as much tenderness to his

118 Memory so as it may not be in the Least prejudicious to his relations

118 memory as he deservd &c.

118 Memory as he deserved, and so as may not be the least Prejudice to his Relations,

118 memory, as he deserved, and so that it may not in the least prejudice any of his surviving relations,

118 Memory as he deserved, and so as that it may not in the least prejudice any of his surviving Relations,

118 Memory as he deserv’d; and so as may be not Prejudice to his Relations

119 who have the Repute to be of Honest & sober people However I

119

119 who have the deserved Character of honest & sober People; however I

119 who have the character of sober and honest people; at least I

119 who have the Character of sober, honest People, however I

119 who have the Deserv’d Character of Sober honest People however I

120 never heard anything to the Contrary

120

120 never heard any thing to the contrary.

120 never heard anything to the contrary.

120 never heard anything to the contrary.

120 Never heard any thing to the Contrary --

121 I am

121

121 *I am*

121 I am

121 I am,

121 I am

122 Your Lordships most Dutifull Son

122

122 *your Lordship’s Most Dutiful Son*

122 your Lordship’s most dutiful son

122 Your Lordship’s most dutiful Son

122 Your Lordships most Dutifull Son

123 & Servant

123

123 *and Servant*

123 and very humble Servant,

123 and Servant

123 &c

124 Arthur Bedford

124

124

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD.

124 ARTHUR BEDFORD

124 Arthur Bedford