

Defoe Daniel

**The History of the Devil, As Well
Ancient as Modern: In Two Parts**



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Bad as he is, the Devil may be abus'd,
Be falsly charg'd, and causelesly accus'd,
When Men, unwilling to be blam'd alone,
Shift off these Crimes on Him which are their Own.

THE PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This Second Edition of this Work, notwithstanding a large Impression of the First, is a Certificate from the World of its general Acceptation; so we need not, according to the Custom of Editors, boast of it without Evidence, or tell a F – b in its Favour.

The Subject is singular, and it has been handled after a singular Manner: The wise World has been pleased with it, the merry World has been diverted with it, and the ignorant World has been taught by it; none but the malicious part of the World has been offended at it: Who can wonder, that when the Devil is not pleased, his Friends should be angry?

The strangest thing of it all is, to hear Satan complain that the Story is handled prophanely: But who can think it strange that his Advocates should be, what he was from the Beginning?

The Author affirms, and has good Vouchers for it (in the Opinion of such whose Judgment passes with him for an Authority) that the whole Tenor of the Work is solemn, calculated to promote serious Religion, and capable of being improv'd in a religious manner. But he does not think that we are bound never to speak of the Devil but with an Air of Terror, as if we were always afraid of him.

'Tis evident the Devil, as subtle and as frightful as he is, has

acted the ridiculous and foolish Part, as much as most of God's Creatures, and daily does so. And he cannot believe 'tis any Sin to expose him for a foolish Devil, as he is, or shew the World that he may be laugh'd at.

Those that think the Subject not handled with Gravity enough, have all the Room given them in the World to handle it better; and as the Author professes he is far from thinking his Piece perfect, they ought not to be angry that he gives them leave to mend it. He has had the Satisfaction to please some Readers, and to see good Men approve it; and for the rest, as my Lord Rochester says in another Case,

He counts their Censure Fame.

As for a certain Reverend Gentleman, who is pleased gravely to dislike the Work (he hopes, rather for the Author's sake than the Devil's) he only says, Let the Performance be how it will, and the Author what he will, it is apparent he has not yet preach'd away all his Hearers.

It is enough to me (says the Author) that the Devil himself is not pleased with my Work, and less with the Design of it; let the Devil and all his fellow Complainers stand on one side, and the honest, well meaning, charitable World, who approve my Work, on the other, and I'll tell Noses with Satan, if he dares.

PART I

Chap. I

Being an Introduction to the whole Work

I doubt not but the title of this book will amuse some of my reading friends a little at first; they will make a pause, perhaps, as they do at a witch's prayer, and be some time resolving whether they had best look into it or no, lest they should really raise the *Devil* by reading his story.

Children and old women have told themselves so many frightful things *of the Devil*, and have form'd ideas of him in their minds, in so many horrible and monstrous shapes, that really it were enough to fright the *Devil* himself, to meet himself in the dark, dress'd up in the several figures which imagination has form'd for him in the minds of men; and as for themselves, I cannot think by any means that the *Devil* would terrify them half so much, if they were to converse face to face with him.

It must certainly therefore be a most useful undertaking to give the true history of this *Tyrant of the air*, this *God of the world*, this terror and aversion of mankind, which we call *Devil*; to shew

what he is, and what he is not, where he is, and where he is not, when he is in us, and when he is not; for I cannot doubt but that the *Devil* is really and *bona fide* in a great many of our honest weak-headed friends, when they themselves know nothing of the matter.

Nor is the work so difficult as some may imagine. The *Devil's* history is not so hard to come at, as it seems to be; His original and the first rise of his family is upon record, and as for his conduct, he has acted indeed in the dark, as to method in many things; but *in general*, as cunning as he is, he has been fool enough to expose himself in some of the most considerable transactions of his Life, and has not shewn himself a politician at all: Our old friend *Matchiavel* outdid him in many things, and I may in the process of this work give an account of several of the sons of *Adam*, and some societies of 'em too, who have out-witted *the Devil*, nay, who have out-sin'd *the Devil*, and that I think may be call'd out-shooting him in his own bow.

It may perhaps be expected of me in this history, that since I seem inclin'd to speak favourably of *Satan*, to do him justice, and to write his story impartially, I should take some pains to tell you what religion he is of; and even this part may not be so much a jest, as at first sight you may take it to be; for *Satan* has something of religion in him, I assure you; nor is he such an unprofitable *Devil* that way, as some may suppose him to be; for tho', in reverence to my brethren, I will not reckon him among the Clergy; No not so much as a gifted Brother, yet I cannot

deny, but that he often preaches, and if it be not profitably to his hearers; 'tis as much their fault, as it is out of his design.

It has indeed been suggested that he has taken orders, and that a certain Pope, famous for being an extraordinary favourite of his, gave him both institution and induction; but as this is not upon record, and therefore we have no authentic document for the probation, I shall not affirm it for a truth, for I would not slander the *Devil*.

It is said also, and I am apt to believe it, that he was very familiar with that holy father Pope *Silvester II.* and some charge him with personating Pope *Hildebrand* on an extraordinary occasion, and himself sitting in the chair apostolick, in a full congregation; and you may hear more of this hereafter: But as I do not meet with Pope *Diabolus* among the list; in all father *Platina's* lives of the Popes, so I am willing to leave it as I find it.

But to speak to the point, and a nice point it is I acknowledge; *namely*, what religion *the Devil* is of; my answer will indeed be general, yet not at all ambiguous, for I love to speak positively and with undoubted evidence.

1. *He is a believer.* And if in saying so it should follow, that even the *Devil* has more religion than some of our men of fame can at this time be charged with, I hope my Lord – and his Grace the – of – and some of the upper class in the red-hot club, will not wear the coat, however well it may sit to their shapes, or challenge the Satyr, as if it were pointed at them, because 'tis due to them: In a word, whatever their Lordships are, I can assure them that the *Devil* is no Infidel.

2. *He fears God.* We have such abundant evidence of this in sacred History, that if I were not at present, in common with a few others, talking to an infidel sort of Gentlemen, with whom those remote things call'd Scriptures are not allow'd in evidence, I might say it was sufficiently prov'd; but I doubt not in the process of this undertaking to shew, that *the Devil* really *fears God*, and that after another manner than ever he fear'd Saint *Frances* or Saint *Dunstan*; and if that be proved, as I take upon me to advance, I shall leave it to judgment, who's the better Christian, *the Devil* who *believes and trembles*, or our modern gentry of – who believe neither *God nor Devil*.

Having thus brought the *Devil* within the *Pale*, I shall leave him among you for the present; not but that I may examine in its order who has the best claim to his brotherhood, the Papists or the Protestants; and among the latter the Lutherans or the Calvinists; and so descending to all the several denominations of churches, see who has less of *the Devil* in them, and who more; and whether *less* or *more* the Devil has not a seat in every synagogue, a pew in every church, a place in every pulpit, and a vote in every synod; even from the Sanhedrim of the *Jews*, to our friends at the *Bull and Mouth*, &c. from the greatest to the least.

It will, I confess, come very much within the compass of this part of my discourse, to give an account, *or at least make an essay toward it*, of the share *the Devil* has had in the spreading religion in the world; and especially of dividing and subdividing opinions in religion; perhaps, to eke it out and make it reach the

farther; and also to shew how far he is or has made himself a missionary of the famous clan *de propaganda fide*; it is true, we find him heartily employ'd in almost every corner of the world *ad propagandum errorem*: But that may require a history by it self.

As to his propagating religion, 'tis a little hard indeed, at first sight, to charge *the Devil* with propagating religion, that is to say, if we take it literally, and in the gross; but if you take it as the *Scots* insisted to take the oath of fidelity, *viz.* with an *explanation*, it is plain *Satan* has very often had a share in the method, if not in the design of propagating the *christian faith*: For example.

I think I do no injury at all to the Devil, to say that he had a great hand in the old *holy war*, as it was ignorantly and enthusiastically call'd; stirring up the christian princes and powers of *Europe* to run a madding after the *Turks* and *Saracens*, and make war with those innocent people above a thousand miles off, only because they entred into God's heritage when he had forsaken it; graz'd upon his ground when he had fairly turn'd it into a common, and laid it open for the next comer; spending their nation's treasure, and embarking their kings and people, (I say) in a war above a thousand miles off, filling their heads with that religious madness, call'd, in those days, *holy zeal* to recover the *terra sancta*, the sepulchers of Christ and the Saints, and as they call'd it falsly, the *holy city*, tho' true religion says it was the accursed city, and not worth spending one drop of blood for.

This religious *Bubble* was certainly of *Satan*, who, as he craftily drew them in, so like a true *Devil* he left them in the lurch

when they came there, fac'd about to the *Saracens*, animated the immortal *Saladin* against them, and manag'd so dexterously that he left the bones of about thirteen or fourteen hundred thousand Christians there as a trophy of his infernal politicks; and after the christian world had run *a la santa terra*, or in *English* a *saunt'ring*, about a hundred year, he dropt it to play another game less foolish, but ten times wickeder than that which went before it, *namely*, turning the crusadoes of the Christians one against another; and, as *Hudibras* said in another case,

“Made them fight like mad or drunk

“For dame religion as for punk.

Of this you have a compleat account in the history of the Popes decrees against the Count *de Thoulouse*, and the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, with the crusadoes and massacres which follow'd upon them, wherein to do *the Devil's* politicks some justice, he met with all the success he could desire; the zealots of that day executed his infernal orders most punctually, and planted religion in those countries in a glorious and triumphant manner, upon the destruction of an infinite number of innocent people, whose blood has fatten'd the soil for the growth of the Catholick faith, in a manner very particular, and to Satan's full satisfaction.

I might, to compleat this part of his history, give you the detail of his progress in these first steps of his alliances with *Rome*; and

add a long list of massacres, wars, and expeditions in behalf of religion, which he has had the honour to have a visible hand in; such as the *Parisian* massacre, the *Flemish* war under the Duke *d'Alva*, the *Smithfield* fires in the *Marian days* in *England*, and the massacres in *Ireland*; all which would most effectually convince us that *the Devil* has not been idle in his business; but I may meet with these again in my way, 'tis enough, while I am upon the generals only, to mention them thus in a summary way; I say, 'tis enough to prove that *the Devil* has really been as much concerned as any body, in the methods taken by some people for propagating the christian religion in the world.

Some have rashly, and I had almost said maliciously charg'd *the Devil* with the great triumphs of his friends the *Spaniards* in *America*, and would place the conquest of *Mexico* and *Peru* to the credit of his account.

But I cannot join with them in this at all, I must say, I believe *the Devil* was innocent of that matter; my reason is, because, *Satan* was never such a fool as to spend his time, or his politicks, or embark his allies to conquer nations who were already his own; that would be *Satan* against *Beelzebub*, making war upon himself, and at least doing nothing to the purpose.

If they should charge him, indeed, with deluding *Philip II.* of *Spain* into that preposterous attempt call'd *the Armada*, (*anglice*, the *Spanish Invasion*.) I should indeed more readily join with them; but whether he did it weakly, in hope, *which was indeed not likely*, that it should succeed; or wickedly, to destroy that great

fleet of the *Spaniards*, and draw them within the reach of his own dominions, the elements; this being a question which authors differ exceedingly about, I shall leave it to decide it self.

But the greatest piece of management, which we find *the Devil* has concern'd himself in of late, in the matter of religion, seems to be that of the mission into *China*; and here indeed *Satan* has acted his master-piece: It was, no doubt, much for his service that *the Chinese* should have no insight into matters of religion, I mean, that we call christian; and therefore, tho' *Popery* and the *Devil* are not at so much variance as some may imagine, yet he did not think it safe to let the general system of Christianity be heard of among them in *China*. Hence when the name of the christian religion had but been received with some seeming approbation in the country of *Japan*, *Satan* immediately, as if alarm'd at the thing, and dreading what the consequence of it might be, arm'd the *Japoneses* against it with such fury, that they expell'd it at once.

It was much safer to his designs, when, if the story be not a fiction, he put that *Dutch* witicism into the mouths of the States commanders, when they came to *Japan*; who having more wit than to own themselves Christians in such a place as that, when the question was put to them, answered negatively, *That they were not*, but that *they were of another religion call'd* *Hollanders*.

However, it seems the diligent *Jesuits* out-witted the Devil in *China*, and, as I said above, over-shot him in his own Bow; for the mission being in danger *by the Devil and the Chinese*

Emperor's joining together, of being wholly expell'd there too, as they had been in *Japan*, they cunningly fell in with the ecclesiasticks of the country, and joining the priestcraft of both religions together, they brought *Jesus Christ* and *Confucius* to be so reconcilable, that the *Chinese* and the *Roman* idolatry appeared capable of a confederacy, of going on hand in hand together, and consequently of being very good friends.

This was a master-piece indeed, and, *as they say*, almost frighted *Satan* out of his wits; but he being a ready manager, and particularly famous for serving himself of the rogueries of the priests, fac'd about immediately to the mission, and making a virtue of necessity, clapt in, with all possible alacrity, with the proposal¹; so the *Jesuits* and he form'd a *hotch-potch* of religion made up of *Popery* and *Paganism* and calculated to leave the latter rather worse than they found it, binding the faith of Christ and the philosophy or morals of *Confucius* together, and formally christening them by the name of *religion*; by which means the politick interest of the mission was preserved; and yet *Satan* lost not one inch of ground with the *Chineses*, no, not by the planting the Gospel it self, *such as it was*, among them.

Nor has it been such disadvantage to him that this plan or scheme of a new modell'd religion would not go down at *Rome*, and that the Inquisition damn'd it with Bell, Book and Candle; distance of place serv'd his new allies, the missionaries, in the

¹ N. B. He never refus'd setting his hand to any opinion, which he thought it for his interest to acknowledge.

stead of a protection from the Inquisition; and now and then a rich present well plac'd found them friends in the congregation it self; and where any Nuncio with his impudent zeal pretended to take such a long voyage to oppose them, *Satan* took care to get him sent back *re infecta*, or inspir'd the million to move him off the premisses, by methods of their own (that is to say, being interpreted) to *murther him*.

Thus the mission has in itself been truly *devilish*, and the Devil has interested himself in the planting the christian religion in *China*.

The influence *the Devil* has in the Politicks of mankind, is another especial part of his history, and would require, if it were possible, a very exact description; but here we shall necessarily be obliged to inquire so nicely into the Arcana of circumstances, and unlock the cabinets of state in so many courts, canvass the councils of ministers and the conduct of princes so fully, and expose them so much, that it may, perhaps, make a combustion among the great politicians abroad; and in doing that we may come so near home too, that tho' personal safety and prudentials forbid our meddling with our own country, we may be taken in a double entendre, and fall unpitied for being only suspected of touching truths that are so tender, whether we are guilty or no; on these accounts I must meddle the less with that part, at least for the present.

Be it that the Devil has had a share in some of the late councils of *Europe*, influencing them this way or that way, to his own

advantage, what is it to us? For example, What if he has had any concern in the late affair of *Thorn*? What need we put it upon him, seeing his confederates the *Jesuites* with the *Assessorial* tribunal of *Poland* take it upon themselves? I shall leave that part to the issue of time. I wish it were as easy to persuade the world that he had no hand in bringing the injur'd Protestants to leave the justice due to the cries of protestant blood to the arbitrament of a popish power, who dare say that *the Devil* must be in it, if justice should be obtain'd that way: I should rather say, *the Devil* is in it, or else it would never be expected.

It occurs next to enquire from the premisses, whether *the Devil* has more influence or less in the affairs of the world now, than he had in former ages; and this will depend upon comparing, as we go along, his methods and way of working in past times, and the modern politicks by which he acts in our days; with the differing reception which he has met with among the men of such distant ages.

But there is so much to enquire of about *the Devil*, before we can bring his story down to our modern times, that we must for the present let them drop, and look a little back to the remoter parts of this history; drawing his picture that people may know him when they meet him, and see who and what he is, and what he has been doing ever since he got leave to act in the high station he now appears in.

In the mean time, if I might obtain leave to present an humble petition to *Satan*, it should be, that he would according to modern

usage oblige us all, with writing *the history of his own times*; 'twould, as well as one that is gone before it, be a Devilish good one; for as to the sincerity of the performance, the authority of the particulars, the justice of the characters, &c. if they were no better vouch'd, no more consistent with themselves, with charity, with truth, and with the honour of an historian, than the last of that kind which came abroad among us, it must be a reproach to *the Devil* himself to be the author of it.

Were *Satan* to be brought under the least obligation to write truth, and that the matters of fact, which he should write, might be depended upon, he is certainly qualified by his knowledge of things to be a compleat historian; nor could the Bishop himself, *who, by the way, has given us already the Devil of a history*, come up to him: *Milton's Pandemonium*, tho' an excellent dramatick performance, would appear a meer trifling sing-song business, beneath the dignity of *Chevy-chase*: The *Devil* could give us a true account of all the civil wars in Heaven; how and by whom, and in what manner he lost the day there, and was oblig'd to quit the field: The fiction of his refusing to acknowledge and submit to the *Messiah*, upon his being declar'd Generalissimo of the Heavenly forces, which *Satan* expected himself, as the eldest officer; and his not being able to brook another to be put in over his head; I say, that fine-spun thought of Mr. *Milton* would appear to be strain'd too far, and only serve to convince us that he (*Milton*) knew nothing of the matter. *Satan* knows very well, that the *Messiah* was not declared to be the Son of God with power

till by and after *the resurrection from the dead*, and that all power was then given him *in Heaven and earth*, and not before; so that *Satan's* rebellion must derive from other causes, and upon other occasions, as he himself can doubtless give us an account, if he thinks fit, and of which we shall speak further in this work.

What a fine History might this old Gentleman write of the Antediluvian world, and of all the weighty affairs, as well of state as of religion, which happen'd during the fifteen hundred years of the patriarchal administration!

Who, like him, could give a full and compleat account of the Deluge, whether it was a meer vindictive, a blast from Heaven, wrought by a supernatural power in the way of miracle? or whether, according to Mr. *Burnet's Theory*, it was a consequence following antecedent causes by the meer necessity of nature; seen in constitution, natural position, and unavoidable working of things, as by the Theory publish'd by that learn'd enthusiast it seems to be?

Satan could easily account for all the difficulties of the *Theory*, and tell us whether, as there was a natural necessity of the Deluge, there is not the like necessity and natural tendency to a Conflagration at last.

Would *the Devil* exert himself as an Historian, for our improvement and diversion, how glorious an account could he give us of *Noah's Voyage* round the world, in the famous Ark! he could resolve all the difficulties about the building it, the furnishing it, and the laying up provision in it for all the collection

of kinds that he had made; He could tell us whether all the creatures came voluntier to him to go into the ark, or whether he went a hunting for several years before, in order to bring them together.

He could give us a true relation how he wheedled the people of the next world into the absurd ridiculous undertaking of building a *Babel*; how far that stupendous stair-case, which was in imagination to reach up to Heaven, was carried, before it was interrupted and the builders confounded; how their speech was alter'd, how many Tongues it was divided into, or whether they were divided at all; and how many subdivisions or dialects have been made since that, by which means very few of God's creatures, except the Brutes, understand one another, or care one farthing whether they do or no.

In all these things *Satan*, who, no doubt, would make a very good chronologist, could settle every Epoque, correct every Calendar, and bring all our accounts of time to a general agreement; as well the *Grecian Olympiads*, the *Turkish Heghira*, the *Chinese* fictitious account of the world's duration, as our blind *Julian* and *Gregorian* accounts, which have put the world, to this day, into such confusion, that we neither agree in our holy-days or working days, fasts or feasts, nor keep the same sabbaths in any part of the same globe.

This great Antiquary could bring us to a certainty in all the difficulties of ancient story, and tell us whether the tale of the siege of *Troy*, and the rape of *Helen* was a fable of *Homer* or a

history; whether the fictions of the Poets are form'd from their own brain, or founded in facts; and whether letters were invented by *Cadmus* the *Phœnician*, or dictated immediately from *Heaven* at mount *Sinai*.

Nay, he could tell us how and in what manner he wheedled *Eve*, deluded *Adam*, put *Cain* into a passion, till he made him murder his own brother; and made *Noah*, who was above 500 years a preacher of righteousness, turn Sot in his old age, dishonour all his ministry, debauch himself with wine, and by getting drunk and exposing himself, become the jest and laughing-stock of his children, and of all his posterity to this day.

And would Satan, according to the modern practice of the late right reverend Historian, enter into the characters of the great men of his age, how should we be diverted with the just history of *Adam*, in paradise and out of it; his character, and how he behaved at and after his expulsion; how *Cain* wandered in the land of *Nod*, what the mark was which *God* set upon him, whose daughter his wife was, and how big the city was he built there, according to a certain Poet of noble extraction,

How *Cain* in the land of *Nod*
When the rascal was alone
Like an owl in an ivy tod
Built a city as big as *Roan*.

Roch.

He could have certainly drawn *Eve*'s picture, told us every

feature in her face, and every inch in her shape, whether she was a perfect beauty or no, and whether with the fall she did grow crooked, ugly, ill-natur'd and a scold; as the learned *Valdemar* suggests to be the effects of the curse.

Descending to the character of the Patriarchs in that age, he might, no doubt, give us in particular the characters of *Belus*, worship'd under the name of *Baal*; with *Satan*, and *Jupiter*, his successors; who they were here, and how they behaved; with all the *Pharaohs* of *Egypt*, the *Abimilechs* of *Canaan*, and the great monarchs of *Assyria* and *Babylon*.

Hence also he is able to write the lives of all the Heroes of the world, from *Alexander* of *Macedon* to *Lewis* the XIV. and from *Augustus* to the great King *George*; nor could the Bishop himself go beyond him for flattery, any more than the Devil himself could go beyond the Bishop for falshood.

I could enlarge with a particular satisfaction upon the many fine things which *Satan*, rummaging his inexhaustible storehouse of slander, could set down to blacken the characters of good men, and load the best Princes of the world with infamy and reproach.

But we shall never prevail with him, I doubt, to do mankind so much service, as resolving all those difficulties would be; for he has an indelible grudge against us; as he believes, and perhaps is assur'd that men were at first created by his sovereign, to the intent that after a certain state of Probation in life, such of them as shall be approved, are appointed to fill up those vacancies in the Heavenly Host, which were made by the abdication and

expulsion of him (*the Devil*) and his Angels; so that man is appointed to come in *Satan's* stead, to make good the breach, and enjoy all those ineffable Joys and Beatitudes which *Satan* enjoy'd before his fall; no wonder then, that *the Devil* swells with envy and rage at mankind in general, and at the best of them in particular; nay, the granting this point is giving an unanswerable reason, why the *Devil* practises with such unwearied and indefatigable application upon the best men, if possible, to disappoint God Almighty's decree, and that he should not find enough among the whole Race, to be proper subjects of his clemency, and qualified to succeed *the Devil* and his host, or fill up the places vacant by the Fall. It is true indeed, *the Devil*, who we have reason to say is no fool, ought to know better than to suppose that if he should seduce the whole race of mankind, and make them as bad as himself, he could, by that success of his wickedness, thwart or disappoint the determin'd purposes of Heaven; but that those which are appointed to inherit the Thrones, which he and his followers abdicated, and were deposed from, shall certainly be preserv'd in spite of his Devices for that inheritance, and shall have the possession secur'd to them, notwithstanding all that *the Devil* and all the Host of *Hell* can do to prevent it.

But, however he knows the certainty of this, and that when he endeavours the seducing the chosen servants of the most High, he fights against God himself, struggles with irresistible grace, and makes war with infinite power; undermining the church of God, and that faith in him which is fortified with the eternal promises

of Jesus Christ, that the gates of *Hell*, that is to say, the *Devil* and all his power, shall not prevail against them; I say, however he knows the impossibility there is that he should obtain his ends, yet so blind is his rage, so infatuate his wisdom, that he cannot refrain breaking himself to pieces against this mountain, and splitting against the rock. *qui Jupiter vult perdere hos dementat.*

But to leave this serious part, which is a little too solemn, for the account of this rebel; seeing we are not to expect he will write his own History for our information and diversion, I shall see if I cannot write it for him: In order to this, I shall extract the substance of his whole story, from the beginning to our own times, which I shall collect out of what is come to hand, whether by revelation or inspiration, that's nothing to him; I shall take care so to improve my intelligence, as may make my account of him authentick, and, *in a word*, such as the Devil himself shall not be able to contradict.

In writing this uncouth story I shall be freed from the censures of the Criticks, in a more than ordinary manner, upon one account especially; (*viz.*) that my story shall be so just and so well grounded, and, after all the good things I shall say of *Satan*, will be so little to his satisfaction, that *the Devil* himself will not be able to say, *I dealt with the Devil* in writing it: I might, perhaps, give you some account where I had my intelligence, and how all the Arcana of his management have come to my hands; *but pardon me, Gentlemen*, this would be to betray conversation, and to discover my agents, and you know statesmen are very

careful to preserve the correspondences they keep in the enemy's country, lest they expose their friends to the resentment of the Power whose councils they betray.

Besides, the learned tell us, that ministers of state make an excellent plea of their not betraying their intelligence, against all party inquiries into the great sums of money pretended to be paid for *secret service*; and whether the secret service was to bribe people to betray things abroad or at home; whether the money was paid to some body or to no body, employ'd to establish correspondences abroad, or to establish families and amass treasure at home; in a word, whether it was to serve their country or serve themselves, it has been the same thing, and the same plea has been their protection: Likewise in the important affair which I am upon, 'tis hoped you will not desire me to betray my Correspondents; for you know *Satan* is naturally cruel and malicious, and who knows what he might do to shew his resentment? at least it might endanger a stop of our intelligence for the future.

And yet, before I have done, I shall make it very plain, that however my information may be secret and difficult, that yet I came very honestly by it, and shall make a very good use of it; for 'tis a great mistake in those who think that an acquaintance with the affairs of *the Devil* may not be made very useful to us all: They that know no evil can know no good; and, as the learned tell us, that a stone taken out of the head of a Toad is a good antidote against poison; so a competent knowledge of *the Devil*,

and all his ways, may be the best help to make us defie *the Devil*
and all his *works*.

Chap. II

Of the word DEVIL, as it is a proper name to the Devil, and any or all his host, Angels, &c

It is a question, not yet determined by the learned, whether the word *Devil* be a *singular*, that is to say, the *name* of a person standing by himself, or a *noun of multitude*; if it be a singular, and so must be used personally only as a *proper name*, it consequently implies one imperial *Devil*, Monarch or King of the whole clan of Hell; justly distinguish'd by the term the Devil, or as the *Scots* call him, *the muckle horn'd Dee'l*, or as others in a wilder dialect, *the Devil of Hell*, that is to say, the *Devil* of a *Devil*; or (better still) as the Scripture expresses it, by way of emphasis, the *great red Dragon*, the *Devil* and *Satan*.

But if we take this word to be, as above, a *noun of multitude*, and so to be used *ambo-dexter*, as occasion presents, singular or plural; then *the Devil* signifies *Satan* by himself, or *Satan with all his Legions* at his heels, as you please, more or less; and this way of understanding the word, as it may be very convenient for my purpose, in the account I am now to give of the infernal Powers, so it is not altogether improper in the nature of the thing: It is thus express'd in Scripture, where the person possess'd *Matt. iv. 24.* is first said to be possess'd of *the Devil* (singular) and our Saviour

asks him, as speaking to a single person, *what is thy name?* and is answer'd in the plural and singular together, my name is Legion, for *we are many*.

Nor will it be any wrong to *the Devil*, supposing him a single person, seeing entitling him to the conduct of all his inferior Agents, is what he will take rather for an addition to his infernal glory, than a diminution or lessening of him in the extent of his Fame.

Having thus articul'd with the *Devil* for liberty of speech, I shall talk of him sometimes in the singular, as a person, and sometimes in the plural, as an host of *Devils* or of infernal Spirits, just as occasion requires, and as the history of his affairs makes necessary.

But before I enter upon any part of his history, the nature of the thing calls me back, and my Lord B – of – in his late famous orations in defence of liberty, summons me to prove that there is such a thing or such a person as *the Devil*; and in short, unless I can give some evidence of his existence, as my Lord – said very well, I am talking of *nobody*.

D – m me, Sir, says a graceless comrade of his to a great man, *your Grace* will go to *the Devil*.

D – m ye, Sir, says the D – , then I shall go *no where*; I wonder where you intend to go?

Nay, to *the D – l* too I doubt, says *Graceless*, for I am almost as wicked as my *Lord Duke*.

D. Thou ar't a silly empty Dog, says the D – , and if there is

such a place as *a Hell*, tho' I believe nothing of it, 'tis a place for fools, such as thou art.

Gr. I wonder then, what Heaven the great wits go to, such as my *Lord Duke*; I don't care to go there, let it be where it will; they are a tiresome kind of people, there's no bearing them, they'll make *a Hell* wherever they come.

D. Prithee hold thy fool's tongue, I tell thee, if there is any such place as we call *no where*; that's all the Heaven or Hell that I know of, or believe any thing about.

Gr. Very good, my Lord – ; so that *Heaven is no where*, and *Hell is no where*, and the *Devil is nobody*, according to my *Lord Duke*!

D. Yes Sir, and what then?

Gr. And you are to go *no where* when you die, are you?

D. Yes, you Dog, don't you know what that incomparable noble genius my Lord *Rochester* sings upon the subject, I believe it unfeignedly,

After death nothing is,
And nothing death.

Gr. You believe it, my Lord, you mean, you would fain believe it if you could; but since you put that great genius my Lord *Rochester* upon me, let me play him back upon *your Grace*; I am sure you have read his fine poem upon *nothing*, in one of the stanzas of which is this beautiful thought,

And to be part of² thee
The wicked wisely pray.

D. You are a foolish Dog.

Gr. And my *Lord Duke* is a wise Infidel.

D. Why? is it not wiser to believe *no Devil*, than to be always terrify'd at him?

Gr. But shall I toss another Poet upon you, my Lord?

If it should so fall out, as who can tell
But there may be a God, a *Heaven* and *Hell*?
Mankind had best consider well, for fear
'T should be too late when their mistakes appear.

D. D – m your foolish Poet, that's not my Lord *Rochester*.

Gr. But how must I be damn'd, if there's *no Devil*? Is not *your Grace* a little inconsistent there? My Lord *Rochester* would not have said that, and't please your Grace.

D. No, *you Dog*, I am not inconsistent at all, and if I had the ordering of you, I'd make you sensible of it; I'd make you think your self damn'd for want of *a Devil*.

Gr. That's like one of *your Grace's* paradoxes, such as when you swore *by God* that you did not believe there was any such thing as *a God*, or *Devil*; so you swear by *nothing*, and damn me to *no where*.

D. You are a critical Dog, who taught you to believe these

² Mean't of nothing.

solemn trifles? who taught you to say there is a God?

Gr. Nay, I had a better school-master than my *Lord Duke*.

D. Why, who was your school-master pray?

Gr. *The Devil*, and't please your *Grace*.

D. *The Devil! the Devil he did?* what you're going to quote Scripture, are you? Prithee don't tell me of *Scripture*, I know what you mean, *the Devils believe and tremble*; why then I have the whip-hand of *the Devil*, for I hate trembling; and I am deliver'd from it effectually, for I never believed any thing of it, and therefore I don't tremble.

Gr. And there, indeed, I am a wickeder creature than the *Devil*, or even than my *Lord Duke*, for I believe, and yet don't tremble neither.

D. Nay, if you are come to your penitentials I have done with you.

Gr. And I think I must have done with my *Lord Duke*, for the same reason.

D. Ay, ay, pray do, I'll go and enjoy my self; I won't throw away the pleasure of my life, I know the consequence of it.

Gr. And I'll go and reform my self, else I know the consequence too.

This short Dialogue happen'd between two men of quality, and both men of wit too; and the effect was, that the Lord brought the reality of *the Devil* into the question, and the debate brought the profligate to be a penitent; so in short, *the Devil* was made a preacher of repentance.

The Truth is, *God* and *the Devil*, however opposite in their nature, and remote from one another in their place of abiding, seem to stand pretty much upon a level in our faith: For as to our believing the reality of their existence, he that denies one, generally denies both; and he that believes one, necessarily believes both.

Very few, if any of those who believe there is a God, and acknowledge the debt of homage which mankind owes to the supreme Governor of the World, doubt the existence of *the Devil*, except here and there one, whom we call practical Atheists; and 'tis the character of an Atheist, if there is such a creature on Earth, that like my *Lord Duke*, he believes neither God or *Devil*.

As the belief of both these stands upon a level, and that God and the *Devil* seem to have an equal share in our faith, so the evidence of their existence seems to stand upon a level too, in many things; and as they are known by their Works in the same particular cases, so they are discover'd after the same manner of demonstration.

Nay, in some respects 'tis equally criminal to deny the reality of them both, only with this difference, that to believe the existence of a God is a debt to nature, and to believe the existence of *the Devil* is a like debt to reason; one is a demonstration from the reality of visible causes, and the other a deduction from the like reality of their effects.

One demonstration of the existence of God, is from the universal well-guided consent of all nations to worship and adore

a supreme Power; One demonstration of the existence of the *Devil*, is from the avow'd ill-guided consent of some nations, who knowing no other God, make a God of the *Devil*, for want of a better.

It may be true, that those nations have no other Ideas of the *Devil* than as of a superior Power; if they thought him a supreme Power it would have other effects on them, and they would submit to and worship him with a different kind of fear.

But 'tis plain they have right notions of him as a *Devil* or evil Spirit, because the best reason, and in some places the only reason they give for worshipping him is, that he may do them no hurt; having no notions at all of his having any power, much less any inclination to do them good; so that indeed they make a meer *Devil* of him, at the same time that they bow to him as to a God.

All the ages of Paganism in the World have had this notion of *the Devil*: indeed in some parts of the World they had also some Deities which they honour'd above him, as being supposed to be beneficent, kind and inclined, as well as capable to give them good things; for this reason the more polite Heathens, such as the *Grecians* and the *Romans*, had their *Lares* or household Gods, whom they paid a particular respect to; as being their Protectors from Hobgoblins, Ghosts of the Dead, evil Spirits, frightful Appearances, evil Genius's and other noxious Beings from the invisible World; or to put it into the language of the day we live in, from *the Devil*, in whatever shape or appearance he might come to them, and from whatever might hurt them: and

what was all this but setting up *Devils* against *Devils*, supplicating one *Devil* under the notion of a good Spirit, to drive out and protect them from another, whom they call'd a bad Spirit, the white *Devil* against the black *Devil*?

This proceeds from the natural notions mankind necessarily entertain of things to come; *superior* or *inferior*, God and the *Devil*, fill up all futurity in our thoughts; and 'tis impossible for us to form any images in our minds of an immortality and an invisible World, but under the notions of perfect felicity, or extreme misery.

Now as these two respect the Eternal state of man after life, they are respectively the object of our reverence and affection, or of our horror and aversion; but notwithstanding they are plac'd thus in a diametrical opposition in our affections and passions, they are on an evident level as to the certainty of their existence, and, as I said above, bear an equal share in our faith.

It being then as certain that there is *a Devil*, as that there is *a God*, I must from this time forward admit no more doubt of his existence, nor take any more pains to convince you of it; but speaking of him as a reality in Being, proceed to enquire who he is, and from whence, in order to enter directly into the detail of his History.

Now not to enter into all the metaphysical trumpery of his Schools, nor wholly to confine my self to the language of the Pulpit; where we are told, that to think of God and of the *Devil*, we must endeavour first to form Ideas of those things

which illustrate the description of rewards and punishments; in the one the eternal presence of the highest good, and, as a necessary attendant, the most perfect, consummate, durable bliss and felicity, springing from the presence of that Being in whom all possible Beatitude is inexpressibly present, and that in the highest perfection: On the contrary, to conceive of a sublime fallen Arch-angel, attended with an innumerable host of degenerate, rebel Seraphs or Angels cast out of Heaven together; all guilty of inexpressible rebellion, and all suffering from that time, and to suffer for ever the eternal vengeance of the Almighty, in an inconceivable manner; that his presence, tho' blessed in it self, is to them the most compleat article of terror; That they are in themselves perfectly miserable; and to be with whom for ever, adds an inexpressible misery to any state as well as place; and fills the minds of those who are to be, or expect to be banish'd to them with inconceivable horror and amazement.

But when you have gone over all this, and a great deal more of the like, tho' less intelligible language, which the passions of men collect to amuse one another with; you have said nothing if you omit the main article, namely, the personality of *the Devil*; and till you add to all the rest some description of the company with whom all this is to be suffer'd, *viz.* the *Devil and his Angels*.

Now who this *Devil and his Angels* are, what share they have either actively or passively in the eternal miseries of a future state, how far they are Agents in or Partners with the sufferings of the place, is a difficulty yet not fully discover'd by the most learned;

nor do I believe 'tis made less a difficulty by their meddling with it.

But to come to the person and original of *the Devil*, or, as I said before, of *Devils*; I allow him to come of an ancient family, for he is from Heaven, and more truly than the *Romans* could say of their idoliz'd *Numa*, he is of the race of the Gods.

That *Satan* is a fallen Angel, a rebel Seraph, cast out for his Rebellion, is the general opinion, and 'tis not my business to dispute things universally receiv'd; as he was try'd, condemn'd, and the sentence of expulsion executed on him in Heaven, he is in this World like a transported Felon never to return; His crime, whatever particular aggravations it might have, 'tis certain, amounted to High-treason against his Lord and Governor, who was also his Maker; against whom he rose in rebellion, took up arms, and in a word, rais'd a horrid and unnatural war in his dominions; but being overcome in battle, and made prisoner, he and all his Host, whose numbers were infinite, all glorious Angels like himself, lost at once their beauty and glory with their Innocence, and commenc'd *Devils*, being transform'd by crime into monsters and frightful objects; such as to describe, human fancy is obliged to draw pictures and descriptions in such forms as are most hateful and frightful to the imagination.

These notions, I doubt not, gave birth to all the beauteous Images and sublime expressions in Mr. *Milton's* majestick Poem; where, tho' he has play'd the Poet in a most luxuriant manner, he has sinn'd against *Satan* most egregiously, and done the *Devil* a manifest injury in a great many particulars, as I shall shew in its

place. And as I shall be oblig'd to do *Satan* justice when I come to that part of his History, Mr. *Milton's* admirers must pardon me, if I let them see, that tho' I admire Mr. *Milton* as a Poet, yet that he was greatly out in matters of History, and especially the History of the *Devil*; in short, That he has charged *Satan* falsly in several particulars; and so he has *Adam* and *Eve* too: But that I shall leave till I come to the History of the Royal Family of *Eden*; which I resolve to present you with when the *Devil* and I have done with one another.

But not to run down Mr. *Milton* neither, whose poetry, or his judgment, cannot be reproached without injury to our own; all those bright Ideas of his, which make his poem so justly valued, whether they are capable of proof as to the fact, are notwithstanding, confirmations of my hypothesis; and are taken from a supposition of the Personality of the *Devil*, placing him at the head of the infernal host, as a sovereign elevated Spirit and Monarch of Hell; and as such it is that I undertake to write his history.

By the word Hell I do not suppose, or at least not determine, that his residence, or that of the whole army of *Devils*, is yet in the same local Hell, to which the Divines tell us he shall be at last chain'd down; or at least that he is yet confin'd to it, for we shall find he is at present a prisoner at large: of both which circumstances of *Satan* I shall take occasion to speak in its course.

But when I call the Devil the Monarch of *Hell*, I am to

be understood as suits to the present purpose; that he is the Sovereign of all the race of Hell, that is to say of all the Devils or Spirits of the infernal Clan, let their numbers, quality and powers be what they will.

Upon this supposed personality and superiority of *Satan*, or, as I call it, the sovereignty and government of one Devil above all the rest; I say, upon this notion are form'd all the systems of the dark side of futurity, that we can form in our minds: And so general is the opinion of it, that it will hardly bear to be oppos'd by any other argument, at least that will bear to be reason'd upon: All the notions of a parity of Devils, or making a common-wealth among the black Divan, seem to be enthusiastick and visionary, but with no consistency or certainty, and is so generally exploded, that we must not venture so much as to debate the point.

Taking it then as the generality of mankind do, that there is a Grand Devil, a superior of the whole black race; that they all fell, together with their General, *Satan*, at the head of them; that tho' he, *Satan*, could not maintain his high station in Heaven, yet that he did continue his dignity among the rest, who are call'd his servants, *in Scripture his Angels*; that he has a kind of dominion or authority over the rest, and that they were all, how many millions soever in number, at his command; employ'd by him in all his hellish designs, and in all his wicked contrivances for the destruction of man, and for the setting up his own kingdom in the world.

Supposing then that there is such a superior Master-Devil

over all the rest, it remains that we enquire into his character, and something of his History; in which, tho' we cannot perhaps produce such authentick documents as in the story of other great Monarchs, Tyrants, and Furies of the World; yet I shall endeavour to speak some things which the experience of mankind may be apt to confirm, and which the Devil himself will hardly be able to contradict.

It being then granted that there is such a thing or person, call him which we will, as a Master-Devil; that he is thus superior to all the rest in power and in authority, and that all the other evil Spirits are his Angels, or Ministers, or Officers to execute his commands, and are employ'd in his business; it remains to enquire, whence he came? how he got hither, into this World? what that business is which he is employ'd about? what his present state is, and where and to what part of the creation of God he is limited and restrained? what the liberties are he takes or is allow'd to take? in what manner he works, and how his instruments are likewise allow'd to work? what he has done ever since he commenc'd Devil, what he is now doing, and what he may yet do before his last and closer confinement? as also what he cannot do, and how far we may or may not be said to be exposed to him, or have or have not reason to be afraid of him? These, and whatever else occurs in the History and conduct of this Arch-devil and his Agents, that may be useful for information, caution, or diversion, you may expect in the process of this work.

I know it has been question'd by some, with more face than fear, how it consists with a compleat victory of the Devil, which they say was at first obtained by the Heavenly Powers over *Satan* and his apostate army in *Heaven*, that when he was cast out of his holy place, and dash'd down into the abyss of eternal darkness, as into a place of punishment, a condemn'd hold, or place of confinement, to be reserved there to the judgment of the great Day; *I say*, how it consists with that entire victory, to let him loose again, and give him liberty, like a thief that has broken prison, to range about God's creation, and there to continue his rebellion, commit new ravages, and acts of hostility against God, make new efforts at dethroning the almighty Creator; and in particular to fall upon the weakest of his creatures, Man? how *Satan* being so entirely vanquish'd, he should be permitted to recover any of his wicked powers, and find room to do mischief to mankind.

Nay they go farther, and suggest bold things against the wisdom of Heaven, in exposing mankind, weak in comparison of the immense extent of the *Devil's* power, to so manifest an overthrow, to so unequal a fight, in which he is sure, if alone in the conflict, to be worsted; to leave him such a dreadful enemy to engage with, and so ill furnish'd with weapons to assist him.

These objections I shall give as good an answer to as the case will admit in this course, but must adjourn them for the present.

That the Devil is not yet a close prisoner, we have evidence enough to confirm; I will not suggest, that like our *Newgate* Thieves, (to bring little Devils and great Devils together) he is let

out by connivance, and has some little latitudes and advantages for mischief, by that means; returning at certain seasons to his confinement again. This might hold, were it not, that the comparison must suggest, that the power which has cast him down could be deluded, and the under-keepers or jailors, under whose charge he was in custody, could wink at his excursions, and the Lord of the place know nothing of the matter. But this wants farther explanation.

Chap. III

Of the original of the Devil, who he is, and what he was before his expulsion out of Heaven, and in what state he was from that time to the creation of Man

To come to a regular enquiry into Satan's affairs, 'tis needful we should go back to his original, as far as history and the opinion of the learned World will give us leave.

It is agreed by all Writers, as well sacred as prophane, that this creature we now call a Devil, was originally an Angel of light, a glorious Seraph; perhaps the choicest of all the glorious Seraphs. See how *Milton* describes his original glory:

Satan, so call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heaven: He of the first,
If not *the first Archangel*; great in power,
In favour and preeminence.

lib. v. fol. 140.

And again the same author, and upon the same subject:

– Brighter once amidst the host
Of Angels, than that star the stars among.

lib. vii. fol. 189.

The glorious figure which Satan is supposed to make among the *Thrones* and *Dominions* in Heaven is such, as we might suppose the highest Angel in that exalted train could make; and some think, *as above*, that he was the chief of the Arch-angels.

Hence that notion, (and not ill founded) *namely*, that the first cause of his disgrace, and on which ensued his rebellion, was occasioned upon God's proclaiming his Son Generalissimo, and with himself supreme ruler in heaven; giving the dominion of all his works of creation, as well already finish'd, as not then begun, to him; which post of honour (say they) *Satan* expected to be conferr'd on himself, as next in honour, majesty and power to God the Supreme.

This opinion is follow'd by Mr. *Milton* too, as appears in the following lines, where he makes all the Angels attending all a general summons, and God the Father making the following declaration to them.

“Here, all ye Angels, prodigy of light,

“Thrones, dominions, pryncedoms, virtues, pow'rs!

“Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.

“This day I have begot whom I declare

“My only Son, and on this hill

“Him have anointed, whom you now behold

“At my right hand; your Head I Him appoint:

“And my self have sworn to him shall bow

“All knees in Heav’n, and shall confess him Lord,
“Under his great vice-gerent reign abide
“United, as one individual soul,
“For ever happy: Him who disobeys,
“Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day
“Cast out from God, and blessed vision, falls
“Into utter darkness, deep ingulph’d, his place
“Ordain’d without redemption, without end.

Satan, affronted at the appearance of a new Essence or Being in Heaven, call’d the Son of God; for God, says Mr. *Milton*, (tho’ erroneously) declared himself at that time, saying, *This day have I begotten him*, and that he should be set up, above all the former Powers of Heaven, of whom Satan (as above) was the Chief and expecting, if any higher post could be granted, it might be his due; I say, affronted at this he resolv’d

“With all his Legions to dislodge, and leave
“Unworship’d, unobey’d, the throne supreme
“Contemptuous. — —

Par. lost, lib. v. fo. 140.

But Mr. *Milton* is grosly erroneous in ascribing those words, *This day have I begotten thee*, to that declaration of the Father before Satan fell, and consequently to a time before the creation; whereas, it is by Interpreters agreed to be understood of the

Incarnation of the Son of God, or at least of the Resurrection:³ see *Pool* upon *Acts* xiii. 33.

In a word, Satan withdrew with all his followers malecontent and chagrine, resolv'd to disobey this new command, and not yield obedience to the Son.

But Mr. *Milton* agrees in that opinion, that the number of Angels which rebel'd with *Satan* was infinite, and suggests in one place, that they were the greatest half of all the angelick Body or seraphick Host.

“But Satan with his Power,

“An host

“Innumerable as the stars of night,

“Or stars of morning, dew drops, which the Sun

“Impearls on ev'ry leaf and ev'ry flower.

ib. lib. v. fo. 142.

Be their number as it is, numberless millions and legions of millions, that is no part of my present enquiry; Satan the leader, guide and superior, as he was author of the celestial rebellion,

³ *Mr. Pool's words are these:* Some refer the words, *This day have I begotten thee*, to the incarnation of the Son of God, others to the Resurrection: our Translators lay the stress on the preposition of which the verb is compounded, and by adding *again*, (*viz.*) *rais'd up Jesus again*, *Acts* xiii. 33. intend it to be understood of the Resurrection; and there is ground for it, in the context, for the Resurrection of Christ, is that which *St. Paul* had propounded in v. 30. of the same Chapter, as his theme or argument to preach upon. Not that Christ at his Resurrection began to be the Son of God, but that he was manifested then to be so.

is still the great Head and Master-Devil as before; under his authority they still act, not obeying but carrying on the same insurrection against God, which they begun in Heaven; making war still against Heaven, in the person of his Image and Creature man; and tho' vanquish'd by the thunder of the Son of God, and cast down headlong from Heaven, they have yet reassumed, or rather not lost either the will or the power of doing evil.

This fall of the Angels, with the war in Heaven which preceded it, is finely describ'd by *Ovid*, in his war of the *Titans* against *Jupiter*; casting mountain upon mountain, and hill upon hill (*Pelion* upon *Ossa*) in order to scale the Adamantine walls, and break open the gates of *Heaven*; till *Jupiter* struck them with his thunder-bolts and overwhelm'd them in the abyss: *Vide Ovid Metam.* new translation, lib. i. p. 19.

“Nor were the Gods themselves secure on high,
“For now the *Gyants* strove to storm *the sky*,
“The lawless brood with bold attempt invade
“The Gods, and mountains upon mountains *laid*.
“But now the *bolt*, enrag'd *the Father* took,
“*Olympus* from her deep foundations shook,
“Their structure nodded at the mighty stroke,
“And *Ossa's* shatter'd top o'er *Pelion* broke,
“They're in their own ungodly ruins slain. —

Then again speaking of *Jupiter*, resolving in council to destroy mankind by a deluge, and giving the reasons of it to the heavenly

Host, say thus, speaking of the demy-Gods alluding to good men below.

“Think you that they in safety can remain,
“When I my self who o’er Immortals reign,
“Who send the lightning, and Heaven’s empire sway,
“The stern⁴ Lycaon practis’d to betray.

ib. p. 10.

Since then so much poetic liberty is taken with the Devil, relating to his most early state, and the time before his fall, give me leave to make an excursion of the like kind, relating to his History immediately after the fall, and till the creation of man; an interval which I think much of the Devil’s story is to be seen in, and which Mr. *Milton* has taken little notice of, at least it does not seem compleatly fill’d up; after which I shall return to honest Prose again, and persue the duty of an Historian.

Satan, with hideous ruin thus supprest
Expell’d the seat of blessedness and rest,
Look’d back and saw the *high eternal mound*,
Where all *his rebel host* their *outlet* found
Restor’d impregnable: The breach made up,
And garrisons of Angels rang’d a top;
In front a hundred thousand thunders roll,
And lightnings temper’d to transfix a soul,

⁴ Satan.

Terror of *Devils*. *Satan* and his host,
Now to themselves *as well as station lost*,
Unable to support the hated sight,
Expand *seraphic wings*, and swift as light
Seek for new safety in *eternal Night*.

In the remotest gulphs *of dark* they land,
Here vengeance gives them leave to make their stand,
Not that to *steps and measures* they pretend,
Councils and schemes their station to defend;
But broken, disconcerted and *dismay'd*,
By guilt and fright to guilt and fright *betray'd*;
Rage and confusion ev'ry Spirit possess'd,
And *shame and horror* swell'd in ev'ry breast;
Transforming envy to their essentials burns,
And *the bright Angel* to a *frightful Devil* turns.
Thus Hell began; the fire of conscious rage
No years can quench, no length of time assuage.
Material Fire, with its intensest flame,
Compar'd *with this* can scarce deserve a Name;
How should it up to *immaterials* rise,
When we're *all flame*, we shall *all fire* despise.
This fire outrageous and its heat intense
Turns all the pain *of loss* to pain *of sense*.
The folding flames *concave* and *inward* roll,
Act *upon spirit* and penetrate *the soul*:
Not force of *Devils* can its new powers repel,
Where'er it burns *it finds* or *makes* a Hell;
For *Satan* flaming with unquench'd desire

Forms *his own Hell*, and kindles *his own fire*,
Vanquish'd, *not humbl'd*, not in will brought low,
But as *his powers decline his passions grow*:
The malice, *Viper like*, takes vent within,
Gnaws its own bowels, and bursts in *its own sin*:
Impatient of the change *he scorns to bow*,
And never *impotent* in power *till now*;
Ardent with hate, and *with revenge* distract,
A will to new attempts, *but none* to act;
Yet all *seraphick*, and in just degree,
Suited to *Spirits high sense* of misery,
Deriv'd from *loss* which *nothing* can repair,
And *room for nothing left* but meer despair.
Here's finish'd Hell! what fiercer fire *can burn*?
Enough ten thousand Worlds to over-turn.
Hell's but the frenzy of defeated pride,
Seraphick Treason's strong impetuous tide,
Where vile ambition *disappointed* first,
To its *own rage* and *boundless hatred* curst;
The hate's *fan'd up to fury*, that to *flame*,
For *fire* and *fury* are in kind the same;
These burn unquenchable in every face,
And the word Endless constitutes the place.

O *state of Being!* where being's the only grief,
And the *chief torture's* to be damn'd to life;
O *life!* the only thing they have to hate;
The *finish'd torment* of a future state,
Compleat in all the parts of endless misery,

And worse ten thousand times than *not* to Be!
Could but the Damn'd *the immortal law* repeal,
And *Devils dye*, there'd be *an end of Hell*;
Could they that thing call'd *Being* annihilate,
There'd be *no sorrows* in a future state;
The Wretch, whose crimes had shut him out *on high*,
Could be reveng'd on God himself *and die*;
Job's Wife was in the right, and always we
Might end *by death* all human misery,
Might have it in our choice, *to be* or not to be.

Chap. IV

Of the name of the Devil, his original, and the nature of his circumstances since he has been called by that name

The Scripture is the first writing on earth where we find the *Devil* called by his own proper distinguishing denomination, DEVIL, or the⁵ *Destroyer*; nor indeed is there any other author of antiquity or of sufficient authority which says any thing of that kind about him.

Here he makes his first appearance in the world, and on that occasion he is called the *Serpent*; but the *Serpent* however since made to signify the *Devil*, when spoken of in general terms, was but the Devil's representative, or the Devil *in quo vis vehiculo*, for that time, clothed in a bodily shape, acting under cover and in disguise, or if you will the *Devil* in *masquerade*: Nay, if we believe Mr. *Milton*, the *Angel Gabriel's* spear had such a secret powerful influence, as to make him strip of a sudden, and with a touch to unmask, and stand upright in his naked original shape, meer *Devil*, without any disguises whatsoever.

Now as we go to the Scripture for much of his history, so

⁵ The meaning of the word Devil is Destroyer. See *Pool* upon *Acts* xiii. 10.

we must go there also for some of his names; and he has a great variety of names indeed, as his several mischievous doings guide us to conceive of him. The truth is, all the ancient names given him, of which the Scripture is full, seems to be originals derived from and adapted to the several steps he has taken, and the several shapes he has appeared in to do mischief in the world.

Here he is called the *Serpent*, Gen. iii. 1.

The *old Serpent*, Rev. xii. 9.

The *great red Dragon*, Rev. xii. 3.

The *Accuser of the Brethren*, Rev. xii. 10.

The *Enemy*, Matt. xxiii. 29.

Satan, Job i. Zech. iii. 1, 2.

Belial, 2 Cor. vi. 15.

Beelzebub, Matt. xii. 24.

Mammon, Matt. vi. 24.

The *Angel of light*, 2 Cor. xi. 14.

The *Angel of the bottomless pit*, Rev. ix. 11.

The *Prince of the power of the air*, Eph. ii. 2.

Lucifer, Isa. xiv. 12.

Abaddon or *Apollion*, Rev. ix. 11.

Legion, Mark v. 9.

The *God of this world*, 2 Cor. iv. 4.

The *Foul Spirit*, Mark ix. 5.

The *Unclean Spirit*, Mark i. 27.

The *Lying Spirit*, 2 Chron. xxx.

The *Tempter*, Matt. iv. 3.

The *Son of the morning*, Isa. xiv. 12.

But to sum them all up in one, he is called in the new

Testament *plain Devil*; all his other names are varied according to the custom of speech, and the dialects of the several nations where he is spoken of; But in a word, *Devil* is the common name of the *Devil* in all the known languages of the earth. Nay, all the mischiefs he is empowered to do, are in Scripture placed to his account, under the particular title of the *Devil*, not of *Devils* in the plural number, though they are sometimes mentioned too; but in the singular it is the identical individual *Devil*, in and under whom all the little *Devils*, and all the great *Devils*, if such there be, are supposed to act; nay, they are supposed to be govern'd and directed by him. Thus we are told in Scripture of the works of *the Devil*, 1 John iii. 8. of casting out *the Devil*, Mark i. 34. of resisting *the Devil*, James iv. 5. of our Saviour being tempted of *the Devil*, Mat. iv. 1. of *Simon Magus*, a child of the *Devil*, Acts xiii. 10. The *Devil* came down in a great wrath, Rev. xii. 12. *and the like*. According to this usage in speech we go on to this day, and all the infernal things we converse with in the world, are fathered upon the *Devil*, as one undivided simple essence, by how many agents soever working: Every thing evil, frightful in appearance, wicked in its actings, horrible in its manner, monstrous in its effects, is called the *Devil*; in a word, *Devil* is the common name for all *Devils*; that is to say, for all evil Spirits, all evil Powers, all evil Works, and even all evil things: Yet 'tis remarkable *the Devil* is no old Testament word, and we never find it used in all that part of the Bible but four times, and then not once in the singular number, and not once to signify *Satan*

as 'tis now understood.

It is true, the Learned give a great many differing interpretations of the word *Devil*; the *English* Commentators tell us, it means *a destroyer*, others that it signifies a deceiver, and the *Greeks* derive it from a *Calumniator* or false witness; for we find that *Calumny* was a *Goddess*, to whom the *Athenians* built altars and offer'd Sacrifices upon some solemn occasions, and they call her $\Delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ from whence came the masculine $\Delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ which we translate *Devil*.

Thus we take the name of *Devil* to signify not persons only, but actions and habits; making imaginary Devils, and transforming that substantial creature call'd Devil into every thing noxious and offensive: Thus St. *Francis* being tempted by the *Devil* in the shape of a bag of money lying in the highway, *the Saint* having discover'd the fraud, whether seeing his *Cloven-foot* hang out of the purse, or whether he distinguish'd him by his smell of *sulphur*, or how otherwise, authors are not agreed; but, I say, the Saint having discover'd the cheat, and out-witted the *Devil*, took occasion to preach that eminent sermon to his disciples, where his Text was, *Money is the Devil*.

Nor, upon the whole, is any wrong done to *the Devil* by this kind of treatment, it only gives him the sovereignty of the whole army of Hell, and making all the numberless legions of the bottomless pit servants; or, *as the Scripture calls them*, Angels to *Satan* the grand *Devil*; all their actions, performances and achievements are justly attributed to him, not as the prince of

Devils only, but the Emperor of *Devils*; the prince of all the princes of *Devils*.

Under this denomination then of Devil, all the Powers of Hell, all the Princes of the air, all the black armies of *Satan* are comprehended, and in such manner they are to be understood in this whole work; *mutatis mutandis*, according to the several circumstances of which we are to speak of them.

This being premis'd, and my authority being so good, *Satan* must not take it ill, if I treat him *after the manner of men*, and give him those titles which he is best known by among us; for indeed having so many, 'tis not very easy to call him out of his name.

However, as I am oblig'd by the duty of an Historian to decency as well as impartiality, so I thought it necessary, before I used too much freedom with *Satan*, to produce authentick Documents, and bring antiquity upon the stage, to justify the manner of my writing, and let you see I shall describe him in no colours, nor call him by any name, but what he has been known by for many ages before me.

And now, though writing to the common understanding of my Readers, I am oblig'd to treat *Satan* very coarsly, and to speak of him in the common acceptation, calling him plain *Devil*, a word which in this mannerly age is not so *sonorous* as others might be, and which by the error of the Times is apt to prejudice us against his Person; yet it must be acknowledg'd he has a great many other names and surnames which he might be known by, of a less obnoxious import than that of *Devil*, or *Destroyer*, &c.

Mr. *Milton*, indeed, wanting titles of honour to give to the Leaders of Satan's Host, is oblig'd to borrow several of his Scripture names, and bestow them upon his infernal *Heroes*, whom he makes the Generals and Leaders of the armies of Hell; and so he makes *Beelzebub*, *Lucifer*, *Belial*, *Mammon*, and some others, to be the names of particular Devils, members of *Satan's upper house* or *Pandemonium*; whereas indeed, these are all names proper and peculiar to *Satan* himself.

The Scripture also has some names of a coarser kind, by which *the Devil* is understood, as particularly, which is noted already, in the Apocalypse he is call'd the *Great Red Dragon*, the *Beast*, the *Old Serpent*, and the like: But take it in the Scripture, or where you will in History sacred or prophane, you will find that in general the *Devil* is, as I have said above, his ordinary name in all languages and in all nations; the name by which he and his works are principally distinguish'd: Also the Scripture, besides that it often gives him this name, speaks of the works of *the Devil*, of the subtilty of *the Devil*, of casting out *Devils*, of being tempted of the *Devil*, of being possess'd with a *Devil*, and so many other expressions of that kind, as I have said already, are made use of for us to understand the evil Spirit by, that in a word, *Devil* is the common name of all wicked Spirits: For *Satan* is no more *the Devil*, as if he alone was so, and all the rest were a diminutive species who did not go by that name; But, I say, even in Scripture, every Spirit, whether under his Dominion or out of his Dominion, is called the *Devil*, and is as much a real *Devil*, that

is to say, a condemn'd Spirit, and employ'd in the same wicked work as *Satan* himself.

His Name then being thus ascertain'd, and his Existence acknowledg'd, it should be a little enquir'd *what he is*; we believe there is such a thing, such a creature as *the Devil*, and that he has been, and may still with propriety of speech, and without injustice to his Character be call'd by his antient name *Devil*.

But who is he? what is his original? whence came he? and what is his present station and condition? for these things and these enquiries are very necessary to his History, nor indeed can any part of his History be compleat without them.

That he is of an antient and noble original must be acknowledged, for he is *Heaven-born*, and of *Angelic Race*, as has been touch'd already: If Scripture-evidence may be of any weight in the question, there is no room to doubt the genealogy of the *Devil*; he is not only spoken of as an *Angel*, but as a *fallen Angel*, one that had been in *Heaven*, had beheld the face of God in his full effulgence of glory, and had surrounded the Throne of the most High; from whence, commencing rebel and being expell'd, he was cast down, down, down, God and the *Devil* himself only knows where; for indeed we cannot say that any man on Earth knows it; and wherever it is, he has ever since man's creation been a plague to him, been a tempter, a deluder, a calumniator, an enemy and the object of man's horror and aversion.

As his original is *Heaven-born*, and his Race *Angelic*, so the *Angelic* nature is evidently plac'd in a class superior to the

human, and this the Scripture is express in also; when speaking of man, it says, he made him a little lower than the Angels.

Thus *the Devil*, as mean thoughts as you may have of him, is of a better family than any of you, nay than the best Gentleman of you all; what he may be fallen to, is *one thing*, but what he is fallen from, is *another*; and therefore I must tell my learned and reverend friend *J. W. LL. D.* when he spoke so rudely of *the Devil* lately, That in my opinion he abus'd his Betters.

Nor is the Scripture more a help to us in the search after *the Devil's* Original, than it is in our search after his Nature: it is true, Authors are not agreed about his age, what time he was created, how many years he enjoy'd his state of blessedness before he fell; or how many years he continued with his whole army in a state of darkness, and before the creation of man. 'Tis supposed it might be a considerable space, and that it was a part of his punishment too, being all the while unactive, unemploy'd, having no business, nothing to do but gnawing his own Bowels, and rolling in the agony of his own self-approaches, being a Hell to himself in reflecting on the glorious state from whence he was fallen.

How long he remain'd thus, 'tis true, we have no light into from History, and but little from Tradition; *Rabbi Judah* says, the *Jews* were of the opinion, that he remain'd twenty thousand years in that condition, and that the World shall continue twenty thousand more, in which he shall find work enough to satisfy his mischievous desires; but he shews no authority for his opinion.

Indeed let the *Devil* have been as idle as they think he was

before, it must be acknowledg'd that now he is the most busy, vigilant and diligent, of all God's creatures, and very full of employment too, *such as it is*.

Scripture indeed, gives us light into the enmity there is between the two natures, the Diabolical and the Human; the reason of it, and how and by what means the power of *the Devil* is restrain'd by the *Messias*; and to those who are willing to trust to Gospel-light, and believe what the Scripture says of *the Devil*, there may much of his History be discover'd, and therefore those that list may go there for a fuller account of the matter.

But to reserve all Scripture-evidence of these things, as a Magazine in store for the use of those with whom Scripture-testimony is of force, I must for the present turn to other enquiries, being now directing my story to an age, wherein to be driven to Revelation and Scripture-assertions is esteem'd giving up the dispute; people now-a-days must have demonstration; and in a word, nothing will satisfy the age, but such evidence as perhaps the nature of the question will not admit.

It is hard, indeed, to bring demonstrations in such a case as this: *No man has seen God at any time*, says the scripture, 1 *John* iv. 12. So *the Devil* being a spirit incorporeal, an Angel of light, and consequently not visible in his own substance, nature and form, it may in some sense be said, *no man has seen the Devil at any time*; all those pretences of phrenziful and fanciful people, who tell us, they have seen *the Devil*, I shall examine, and perhaps expose by themselves.

It might take up a great deal of our time here, to enquire whether *the Devil* has any particular shape or personality of substance, which can be visible to us, felt, heard, or understood; and which he cannot alter, and then, what shapes or appearances *the Devil* has at any time taken upon him; and whether he can really appear in a body which might be handled and seen, and yet so as to know it to have been *the Devil* at the time of his appearing; but this also I defer as not of weight in the present enquiry.

We have divers accounts of Witches conversing with *the Devil*; the *Devil* in a real body, with all the appearance of a body of a man or woman appearing to them; also of having a *Familiar*, as they call it, an *Incubus* or *little Devil*, which sucks their bodies, runs away with them into the air, *and the like*: Much of this is said, but much more than it is easy to prove, and we ought to give but a just proportion of credit to those things.

As to his borrow'd shapes and his subtle transformings, that we have such open testimony of, that there is no room for any question about it; and when I come to that part, I shall be oblig'd rather to give a history of the fact, than enter into any dissertation upon the nature and reason of it.

I do not find in any author, whom we can call creditable, that even in those countries where the dominion of *Satan* is more particularly establish'd, and where they may be said to worship him in a more particular manner, as *a Devil*; which some tell us the *Indians* in *America* did, who worship'd the *Devil* that he might

not hurt them; yet, *I say*, I do not find that even there the *Devil* appear'd to them in any particular constant shape or personality peculiar to himself.

Scripture and History therefore, giving us no light into that part of the question, I conclude and lay it down, not as my opinion only, but as what all ages seem to concur in, that the *Devil* has no particular body; that he is a spirit, and that tho' he may, *Proteus* like, assume the appearance of either man or beast, yet it must be some borrow'd shape, some assum'd figure, *pro hac vice*, and that he has no visible body of his own.

I thought it needful to discuss this as a preliminary, and that the next discourse might go upon a certainty in this grand point; namely, that the Devil, however, he may for his particular occasions put himself into a great many shapes, and clothe himself, perhaps, with what appearances he pleases, yet that he is himself still a meer Spirit, that he retains the seraphic Nature, is not visible by our eyes, which are human and Organic, neither can he act with the ordinary Powers, or in the ordinary manner as bodies do; and therefore, when he has thought fit to descend to the meannesses of disturbing and frightening children and old women, by noises and knockings, dislocating the chairs and stools, breaking windows, and such like little ambulatory things, which would seem to be below the dignity of his character, and which in particular, is ordinarily performed by organic Powers; yet even then he has thought fit not to be seen, and rather to make the poor people believe he had a real shape and body, with

hands to act, mouth to speak, *and the like*, than to give proof of it in common to the whole World, by shewing himself, and acting visibly and openly, as a body usually and ordinarily does.

Nor is it any disadvantage to the Devil, that his Seraphic nature is not confin'd or imprison'd in a body or shape, suppose that shape to be what monstrous thing we would; for this would, indeed, confine his actings within the narrow sphere of the organ or body to which he was limited; and tho' you were to suppose the body to have wings for a velocity of Motion equal to spirit, yet if it had not a power of invisibility too, and a capacity of conveying it self, undiscover'd, into all the secret recesses of mankind, and the same secret art or capacity of insinuation, suggestion, accusation, &c. by which his wicked designs are now propagated, and all his other devices assisted, by which he deludes and betrays mankind; I say, he would be no more a Devil, that is a Destroyer, no more a Deceiver, and, no more a Satan, that is, a dangerous Arch enemy to the souls of men; nor would it be any difficulty to mankind to shun and avoid him, as I shall make plain in the other part of his History.

Had the Devil from the beginning been embodied, as he could not have been invisible to us, whose souls equally seraphic are only prescrib'd by being embody'd and encas'd in flesh and blood as we are; so he would have been no more a Devil to any body but himself: The imprisonment in a body, had the powers of that body been all that we can conceive to make him formidable to us, would yet have been a Hell to him; consider him as a conquer'd

exasperated Rebel, retaining all that fury and swelling ambition, that hatred of God, and envy at his creatures which dwells now in his enrag'd spirit as a *Devil*: yet suppose him to have been condemn'd to organic Powers, confin'd to corporeal motion, and restrain'd as a Body must be supposed to restrain a Spirit; it must, at the same time, suppose him to be effectually disabled from all the methods he is now allow'd to make use of, for exerting his rage and enmity against God, any farther than as he might suppose it to affect his Maker at second hand, by wounding his Glory thro' the sides of his weakest creature, Man.

He must, certainly, be thus confin'd, because Body can only act upon Body, not upon Spirit; no species being empower'd to act out of the compass of its own sphere: He might have been empower'd, indeed, to have acted terrible and even destructive things upon mankind, especially if this body had any powers given it which mankind had not, by which man would be overmatch'd and not be in a condition of self-defence; for example, suppose him to have had wings to have flown in the air; Or to be invulnerable, and that no human invention, art, or engine could hurt, ensnare, captivate, or restrain him.

But this is to suppose the righteous and wise Creator to have made a creature and not be able to defend and preserve him; or to have left him defenceless to the mercy of another of his own creatures, whom he had given power to destroy him; This indeed, might have occasion'd a general idolatry, and made mankind, as the *Americans* do to this day, worship the *Devil*,

that he might not hurt them; but it could not have prevented the destruction of mankind, supposing the Devil to have had malice equal to his power: and he must put on a new nature, be compassionate, generous, beneficent, and steadily good in sparing the rival enemy he was able to destroy, or he must have ruin'd mankind: *In short*, he must have ceas'd to have been a Devil, and must have re-assum'd his original, Angelic, heavenly nature; been fill'd with the principles of love to, and delight in the Works of his Creator, and bent to propagate his Glory and Interest; or he must have put an end to the race of man, whom it would be in his Power to destroy, and oblige his Maker to create a new species, or fortify the old with some kind of defence, which must be invulnerable, and which his fiery darts could not penetrate.

On this occasion suffer me to make an excursion from the usual stile of this Work, and with some solemnity to express my Thoughts thus:

How glorious is the wisdom and goodness of the great Creator of the World! in thus restraining these seraphic outcasts from the power of assuming human or organic bodies! which could they do, enervating them with the supernatural Powers, which, as Seraphs and Angels, they now possess and might exert, they would be able even to fright mankind from the face of the Earth, and to destroy and confound God's Creation; nay, *even as they are*, were not their power limited, they might destroy the Creation it self, reverse and over-turn nature, and put the World

into a general conflagration: But were those immortal Spirits embodied, tho' they were not permitted to confound nature, they would be able to harrass poor weak and defenceless man out of his wits, and render him perfectly useless, either to his Maker or himself.

But the Dragon is chain'd, the Devil's Power is limited; he has indeed a vastly extended Empire, being Prince of the Air, having, at least, the whole Atmosphere to range in, and how far that Atmosphere is extended, is not yet ascertain'd by the nicest observations; *I say at least*, because we do not yet know how far he may be allow'd to make excursions beyond the Atmosphere of this Globe into the planetary Worlds, and what power he may exercise in all the habitable parts of the *solar system*; nay, of all the other *solar systems*, which, for ought we know, may exist in the mighty extent of created space, and of which you may hear farther in its order.

But let his power be what it will there, we are sure 'tis limited here, and that in two particulars; first, he is limited as above, from assuming body or bodily shapes with substance; and secondly, from exerting seraphic Powers, and acting with that supernatural force, which, as an Angel, he was certainly vested with before the fall, and which we are not certain is yet taken from him; or at most, we do not know how much it may or may not be diminish'd by his degeneracy, and by the blow given him at his expulsion: this we are certain, that be his Power greater or less, he is restrain'd from the exercise of it in this World; and he, who

was one equal to the Angel who kill'd 180000 men in one night, is not able now, without a new commission, to take away the life of one *Job*, nor to touch any thing he had.

But let us consider him then limited and restrained as he is, yet he remains a mighty, a terrible, an immortal Being; infinitely superior to man, as well in the dignity of his nature, as in the dreadful powers he retains still about him; it is true the brain-sick heads of our Enthusiasticks paint him blacker than he is, and, as I have said, wickedly represent him clothed with terrors that do not really belong to him; as if the power of good and evil was wholly vested in him, and that he was placed in the Throne of his Maker, to distribute both punishments and rewards; In this they are much wrong, terrifying and deluding fanciful people about him, till they turn their heads, and fright them into a belief that the *Devil* will let them alone, if they do such and such good things; or carry them away with him they know not whither, if they do not; as if the *Devil*, whose proper business is mischief, seducing and deluding mankind, and drawing them in to be rebels like himself, should threaten to seize upon them, carry them away, and in a word, fall upon them to hurt them, if they did evil, and on the contrary, be favourable and civil to them, if they did well.

Thus a poor deluded country fellow in our Town, that had liv'd a wicked, abominable, debauch'd life, was frighted with an Apparition, as he call'd it, of the *Devil*; He fancy'd that he spoke to him, and telling his tale to a good honest christian Gentleman his neighbour, that had a little more sense than himself; the

Gentleman ask'd him if he was sure he really saw the *Devil*? yes, yes, Sir, *says he*, I saw him very plain, and so they began the following discourse.

Gent. See him! See the Devil! art thou sure of it, *Thomas*?

Tho. Yes, yes, I am sure enough of it, *Master*; to be sure 'twas the *Devil*.

Gent. And how do you know 'twas the *Devil*, *Thomas*? had you ever seen the *Devil* before?

Tho. No, no, I had never seen him before, *to be sure*; but, for all that, I know 'twas the *Devil*.

Gent. Well, if you're sure, *Thomas*, there's no contradicting you; pray what clothes had he on?

Tho. Nay, Sir, don't jest with me, he had no clothes on, he was clothed with fire and brimstone.

Gent. Was it dark or day light when you saw him?

Tho. O! it was very dark, for it was midnight.

Gent. How could you see him then? did you see by the light of the fire you speak of?

Tho. No, no, he gave no light himself; but I saw him, for all that.

Gent. But was it within doors, or out in the street?

Tho. It was within, it was in my own Chamber, when I was just going into bed, that I saw him.

Gent. Well then, you had a candle, hadn't you?

Tho. Yes, I had a candle, but it burnt as blue! and as dim!

Gent. Well, but if the Devil was clothed with fire and

brimstone, he must give you some light, there can't be such a fire as you speak of, but it must give a light with it.

Tho. No, no, He gave no light, but I smelt his fire and brimstone; he left a smell of it behind him, when he was gone.

Gent. Well, so you say he had fire, but gave no light, it was a devilish fire indeed; did it feel warm? was the room hot while he was in it?

Tho. No, no, but I was hot enough without it, for it put me into a great sweat with the fright.

Gent. Very well, he was all in fire, you say, but without light or heat, only, it seems, he stunk of brimstone; pray what shapes was he in, what was he like; for you say you saw him?

Tho. O! Sir, I saw two great staring saucer eyes, enough to fright any body out of their wits.

Gent. And was that all you saw?

Tho. No, I saw his *cloven-foot* very plain, 'twas as big as one of our bullocks that goes to plow.

Gent. So you saw none of his body, but his eyes and his feet? a fine vision indeed!

Tho. Sir, that was enough to send me going.

Gent. Going! what did you run away from him?

Tho. No, but I fled into bed at one jump, and sunk down and pull'd the bed-clothes quite over me.

Gent. And what did you do that for?

Tho. To hide my self from such a frightful creature.

Gent. Why, if it had really been the Devil, do you think the

bed-clothes would have secur'd you from him?

Tho. Nay, I don't know, but in a fright it was all I could do.

Gent. Nay, 'twas as wise as all the rest; but come, *Thomas*, to be a little serious, pray did he speak to you?

Tho. Yes, yes, I heard a voice, but who it was the Lord knows.

Gent. What kind of voice was it, was it like a man's voice?

Tho. No, it was a hoarse ugly noise, like the croaking of a Frog, and it call'd me by my name twice, *Thomas Dawson, Thomas Dawson.*

Gent. Well, did you answer?

Tho. No, not I, I could not have spoke a word for my life; why, I was frighted to death.

Gent. Did it say any thing else?

Tho. Yes, when it saw that I did not speak, it said, *Thomas Dawson, Thomas Dawson, you are a wicked wretch, you lay with Jenny S – last night; if you don't repent, I will take you away alive and carry you to Hell, and you shall be damned, you wretch.*

Gent. And was it true, *Thomas*, did you lye with *Jenny S* — the night before?

Tho. Indeed Master, why yes it was true, but I was very sorry afterwards.

Gent. But how should the Devil know it, *Thomas*?

Tho. Nay, he knows it to be sure; why, they say he knows every thing.

Gent. Well, but why should he be angry at that? he would rather did you lye with her again, and encourage you to lye with forty

whores, than hinder you: This can't be the Devil, *Thomas*.

Tho. Yes, yes. Sir, 'twas the *Devil* to be sure.

Gent. But he bid you repent too, you say?

Tho. Yes, he threatn'd me if I did not.

Gent. Why, *Thomas*, do you think the Devil would have you repent?

Tho. *Why no*, that's true too, I don't know what to say to that; but what could it be? 'twas the Devil to be sure, it could be nobody else?

Gent. No, no, 'twas neither the Devil, *Thomas*, nor any body else, but your own frighted imagination; you had lain with that wench, and being a young sinner of that kind, your Conscience terrified you, told you the Devil would fetch you away, and you would be damn'd; and you were so persuaded it would be so, that you at last imagin'd he was come for you indeed; that you saw him and heard him; whereas, you may depend upon it, if *Jenny S* — will let you lye with her every night, the Devil will hold the candle, or do any thing to forward it, but will never disturb you; he's too much a friend to your wickedness, it could never be the Devil, *Thomas*; 'twas only your own guilt frighted you, and that was *Devil* enough too, if you knew the worst of it, you need no other enemy.

Tho. Why that's true, Master, one would think the *Devil* should not bid me repent, that's true; but certainly 'twas the Devil for all that.

Now *Thomas* was not the only man that having committed a

flagitious crime had been deluded by his own imagination, and the power of fancy, to think the Devil was come for him; whereas the Devil, to give him his due, is too honest to pretend to such things; 'tis his business to persuade men to offend, not to repent; and he professes no other; he may press men to this or that action, by telling them 'tis no sin, no offence, no breach of God's Law, and the like, when really 'tis both; but to press them to repent, when they have offended, that's quite out of his way; 'tis none of his business, nor does he pretend to it; therefore, let no man charge the Devil with what he is not concern'd in.

But to return to his Person, he is, as I have said, notwithstanding his lost glory, a mighty, a terrible and an immortal Spirit; he is himself call'd a Prince, *the Prince of the Power of the Air*; the Prince of Darkness, the Prince of *Devils*, and the like, and his attending Spirits are call'd *his Angels*: so that however *Satan* has lost the glory and rectitude of his Nature, by his apostate state, yet he retains a greatness and magnificence, which places him above our rank, and indeed above our conception; for we know not what he is, any more than we know what the blessed Angels are; of whom we can say no more than that they are *ministring Spirits*, &c. as the Scripture has describ'd them.

Two things, however, may give us some insight into the nature of the Devil, in the present state he is in; and these we have a clear discovery of in the whole series of his Conduct from the Beginning.

1. That he is the vanquish'd but implacable enemy of God his Creator, who has conquer'd him, and expell'd him from the habitations of bliss; on which account he is fill'd with envy, rage, malice, and all uncharitableness; would dethrone God and overturn the thrones of Heaven, if it was in his power.

2. That he is man's irreconcilable Enemy; not as he is a man, nor on his own account simply, nor for any advantage he (the Devil) can make by the ruin and destruction of man; but in meer envy at the felicity he is supposed to enjoy as Satan's rival; and as he is appointed to succeed Satan and his Angels in the possession of those glories from which they are fallen.

And here I must take upon me to say, Mr. *Milton* makes a wrong judgment of the reason of *Satan's* resolution to disturb the felicity of man; He tells us it was meerly to affront God his Maker, rob him of the glory design'd in his new work of creations and to disappoint him in his main design, namely, the creating a new species of creatures in a perfect rectitude of soul, and after his own image, from whom he might expect a new Fund of glory should be rais'd, and who was to appear as the triumph of the Messiah's victory over the Devil. In all which Satan could not be fool enough not to know that he should be disappointed by the same Power which had so eminently counter-acted his rage before.

But, I believe, the Devil went upon a much more probable design; and tho' he may be said to act upon a meaner principle

than that of pointing his rage at the personal glory of his Creator; yet I own, that in my opinion, it was by much the more rational undertaking, and more likely to succeed; and that was, that whereas he perceived this new species of creatures had a sublime as well as a human part, and were made capable of possessing the mansions of eternal Beatitude, from whence, he (*Satan*) and his Angels were expell'd and irretrievably banish'd; envy at such a rival mov'd him by all possible artifice, *for he saw him deprived of capacity to do it by force*, to render him unworthy like himself; that bringing him to fall into rebellion and disobedience, he might see his Rival damn'd with him; and those who were intended to fill up the empty spaces in Heaven, made so by the absence of so many millions of fallen Angels, be cast out into the same darkness with them.

How he came to know that this new species of creatures were liable to such imperfection, is best explain'd by the *Devil's* prying, vigilant disposition, judging or leading him to judge by himself; (for he was as near being infallible as any of God's creatures had been) and then inclining him to try whether it was so or no.

Modern Naturalists, especially some who have not so large a charity for the fair sex, as I have, tell us, that as soon as ever Satan saw the woman, and look'd in her face, he saw evidently that she was the best form'd creature to make a Tool of, and the best to make a hypocrite of, that could be made, and therefore the most fitted for his purpose.

1. He saw by some thwart lines in her face, (legible, perhaps,

to himself only) that there was a throne ready prepar'd for the sin of pride to sit in state upon, especially if it took an early possession: Eve you may suppose was a perfect Beauty, if ever such a thing may be supposed in the human frame; her figure being so extraordinary, was the groundwork of his project; there needed no more than to bring her to be vain of it, and to conceit that it either was so, or was infinitely more sublime and beautiful than it really was; and having thus tickl'd her vanity, to introduce Pride gradually, till at last he might persuade her, that she was really Angelic, or of heavenly Race, and wanted nothing but to eat the forbidden fruit, and that would make her something more excellent still.

2. Looking farther into her Frame, and with a nearer view to her imperfections, he saw room to conclude that she was of a constitution easy to be seduc'd, and especially by flattering her; raising a commotion in her Soul, and a disturbance among her passions; and accordingly he set himself to work, to disturb her repose, and put dreams of great things into her head; together with something of a nameless Kind, which (however, some have been ill-natur'd enough to suggest) I shall not injure the Devil so much as to mention, without better evidence.

3. But, besides this, he found, upon the very first survey of her outside, something so very charming in her mein and behaviour, so engaging as well as agreeable in the whole texture of her person, and withal such a sprightly wit, such a vivacity of parts, such a fluency of tongue, and above all, such a winning prevailing

whine in her smiles, or at least in her tears, that he made no doubt if he could but once delude her, she would easily be brought to delude *Adam*, whom he found set not only a great value upon her person, but was perfectly captivated by her charms; in a word, he saw plainly, that if he could but ruin her, he should easily make a Devil of her, to ruin her husband, and draw him into any gulph of mischief, were it ever so black and dreadful, that she should first fall into herself; how far some may be wicked enough, from hence, to suggest of the *fair sex*, that they have been Devils to their husbands ever since, I cannot say; I hope they will not be so unmerciful to discover truths of such fatal consequence, tho' they should come to their knowledge.

Thus subtle and penetrating has Satan been from the beginning; and who can wonder that upon these discoveries made into the woman's inside, he went immediately to work with her, rather than with *Adam*? not but that one would think, if *Adam* was fool enough to be deluded by his wife, the Devil might have seen so much of it in his countenance, as to have encourag'd him to make his attack directly upon him, and not go round about, beating the bush, and ploughing with the Heifer; setting upon the woman first, and then setting her upon her husband, who might as easily have been imposed upon as she.

Other Commentators upon this critical Text suggest to us, that *Eve* was not so pleased with the hopes of being made a Goddess; That the pride of a Seraphic Knowledge did not so much work upon her imagination to bring her to consent, as a certain secret

Notion infus'd into her head by the same wicked instrument, that she should be wiser than *Adam*, and should by the superiority of her understanding, necessarily have the government over him; which, at present, she was sensible she had not, he being master of a particular air of gravity and majesty, as well as of strength, infinitely superior to her.

This is an ill-natur'd suggestion; but it must be confess'd the impatient desire of government, which (since that) appears in the general Behaviour of the sex, and particularly of governing husbands, leaves too much room to legitimate the supposition.

The Expositors, who are of this opinion, add to it, that this being her original crime, or the particular temptation to that crime; Heaven thought fit to shew his justice, in making her more entire subjection to her husband be a part of the Curse, that she might read her sin in the punishment, (*viz.*) *he shall rule over thee*.

I only give the general hint of these things as they appear recorded in the annals of *Satan's* first Tyranny, and at the beginning of his government in the World; those that would be more particularly inform'd, may enquire of him *and know farther*.

I cannot however, but observe here *with some regret*, how it appears by the consequence, that the Devil was not mistaken when he made an early judgment of Mrs. *Eve*; and how *Satan* really went the right way to work, to judge of her; 'tis certain the Devil had nothing to do but to look in her face, and upon a near steady view he might easily see there, an instrument for

his Turn; nor has he fail'd to make her a Tool ever since, by the very methods which he at first proposed; to which, perhaps, he has made some additions in the corrupting her composition, as well as her understanding; qualifying her to be a compleat snare to the poor *weaker vessel* Man; to wheedle him with her *Syren's* voice, abuse him with her smiles, delude him with her crocodile tears, and sometimes cock her crown at him, and terrify him with the thunder of her Treble; making the effeminated *Male Apple-eater* tremble at the noise of that very Tongue, which at first commanded him to Sin. For it is yet a debate which the Learned have not decided, whether she persuaded and entreated him, or like a true she-tyrant, exercised her authority and oblig'd him to eat the forbidden fruit.

And therefore a certain author, whose name, *for fear of the Sex's resentment* I conceal, brings her in, calling to Adam at a great distance, in an imperious haughty manner, beckoning to him with her hand, thus; *Here, says she, you cowardly faint-hearted wretch, take this branch of heavenly fruit, eat and be a stupid fool no longer; eat and be wise; eat and be a God; and know, to your eternal shame, that your wife has been made an enlightn'd Goddess before you.*

He tells you Adam hung back a little at first, and trembl'd, afraid to trespass: *What ails the Sot, says the new Termagant? what are you afraid of? did God forbid you! yes, and why? that we might not be knowing and wise like himself! What reason can there be that we, who have capacious souls, able to receive*

knowledge, should have it withheld? take it, you Fool, and eat; don't you see how I am exalted in soul by it, and am quite another Creature? Take it, I say, or, if you don't, I'll go and cut down the Tree, and you shall never eat any of it at all, and you shall be still a fool, and be governed by your wife for ever.

Thus, if this interpretation of the thing be just, she Scolded him into it; Rated him, and brought him to it by the terror of her voice; a thing that has retained a dreadful influence over him ever since; nor have the greatest of *Adam's* Successors, how light soever some husbands make of it in this age, been ever able, since that, to conceal their terror, at the very Sound; nay, if we may believe history, it prevailed even among the Gods; not all the noise of *Vulcan's* hammers could silence the clamours of that outrageous whore his Goddess; nay, even *Jupiter* himself led such a life with a termagant wife, that once, they say, *Juno* out-scolded the noise of all his Thunders, and was within an ace of brawling him out of Heaven. But to return to the Devil.

With these views he resolv'd, it seems, to attack the woman; and if you consider him as a Devil, and what he aim'd at, and consider the fair prospect he had of success, I must confess, I do not see who can blame him, or at least, how any thing less could be expected from him; But we shall meet with it again by and by.

Chap. V

Of the station Satan had in Heaven before he fell; the nature and original of his crime, and some of Mr. Milton's mistakes about it

Thus far I have gone upon general observation, in this great affair of *Satan* and his Empire in the World; I now come to *my Title*, and shall enter upon the historical part, as the main work before me.

Besides what has been said Poetically, relating to the fall and wandering condition of the *Devil* and his Host, which poetical part I offer only as an excursion, and desire it should be taken so; I shall give you what I think is deduc'd from good originals on the part of *Satan's* story in a few words.

He was one of the created Angels, form'd by the same omnipotent hand and glorious power, who created the Heavens and the Earth, and all that is therein: This innumerable heavenly host, as we have reason to believe, contain'd Angels of higher and lower stations, of greater and of lesser degree, express'd in the Scripture by *Thrones, Dominions, and Principalities*: This, I think, we have as much reason to believe, as we have, that there are Stars in the Firmament (or starry Heavens) of greater and of

lesser magnitude.

What particular station among the immortal Choir of Angels, this Arch-seraph, this Prince of *Devils*, call'd *Satan*, was plac'd in before his expulsion, that indeed, we cannot come at the knowledge of, at least, not with such an Authority as may be depended upon; but as from Scripture authority, he is plac'd at the head of all the Apostate armies, after he was fallen, we cannot think it in the least assuming to say, that he might be supposed to be one of the principal Agents in the *Rebellion* which happen'd in Heaven, and consequently that he might be one of the highest in dignity there, before that Rebellion.

The higher his station, the lower, and with the greater precipitation, was his overthrow; and therefore, those words, tho' taken in another sense, may very well be apply'd to him: *How art thou fallen, O Lucifer! Son of the Morning!*

Having granted the dignity of his Person, and the high station in which he was placed among the heavenly Host; it would come then necessarily to inquire into the nature of his fall, and *above all*, a little into the reason of it; certain it is, *he did fall*, was guilty of Rebellion and Disobedience, the just effect of Pride; sins, which, in that holy place, might well be call'd wonderful.

But what to me is more wonderful, and which, I think, will be very ill accounted for, is, how came seeds of crime to rise in the Angelic Nature? created in a state of perfect, unspotted holiness? how was it first found in a place where no unclean thing can enter? how came ambition, pride, or envy

to generate there? could there be offence where there was no crime? could untainted purity breed corruption? could that nature contaminate and infect, which was always Drinking in principles of perfection?

Happy 'tis to me, *that* writing the History, *not* solving the Difficulties of *Satan's* Affairs, is my province in this Work; that I am to relate the Fact, not give reasons for it, or sign causes; if it was otherwise, I should break off at this difficulty, for I acknowledge I do not see thro' it; neither do I think that the great *Milton*, after all his fine Images and lofty Excursions upon the Subject, has left it one jot clearer than he found it: Some are of opinion, and among them the great Dr. *B-s*, that crime broke in upon them at some interval, when they omitted but one moment fixing their eyes and thoughts on the glories of the divine face, to admire and adore, which is the full employment of Angels; but even this, tho' it goes as high as imagination can carry us, does not reach it, nor, to me, make it one jot more comprehensible than it was before; all I can say to it here, is, that *so it was*, the fact was upon Record, and the rejected Troop are in being, whose circumstances confess the Guilt, and still groan under the Punishment.

If you will bear with a poetic excursion upon the subject, not to solve but to illustrate the difficulty; take it in a few lines, thus,

Thou sin of Witchcraft! firstborn child of Crime!
Produc'd before the bloom of Time;

Ambition's maiden Sin, in Heaven conceiv'd,
And who could have believ'd
Defilement could in purity begin,
And bright eternal Day be soil'd with Sin?
Tell us, sly penetrating Crime,
How cam'st thou there, thou fault sublime?
How didst thou pass the Adamantine Gate;
And into Spirit thy self insinuate?
From what dark state? from what deep place?
From what strange uncreated race?
Where was thy ancient habitation found
Before void Chaos heard the forming sound?
Wast thou a Substance, or an airy Ghost,
A Vapour flying in the fluid waste
Of unconcocted air?
And how at first didst thou come there?
Sure there was once a time when thou wert not,
By whom wast thou created? and for what?
Art thou a steam from some contagious damp exhal'd?
How should contagion be intail'd,
On bright seraphic Spirits, and in a place
Where all's supreme, and Glory fills the Space?
No noxious vapour there could rise,
For there no noxious matter lies;
Nothing that's evil could appear,
Sin never could Seraphic Glory bear;
The brightness of the eternal Face,
Which fills as well as constitutes the place,
Would be a fire too hot for crime to bear,

'Twould calcine Sin, or melt it into air.
How then did first defilement enter in?
Ambition, thou first vital seed of Sin!
Thou Life of Death, how cam'st thou there?
In what bright form didst thou appear?
In what Seraphic Orb didst thou arise?
Surely that place admits of no disguise,
Eternal Sight must know thee there,
And being known, thou soon must disappear.
But since the fatal Truth we know,
Without the matter whence or manner how:
Thou high superlative of Sin,
Tell us thy nature, where thou didst begin?
The first degree of thy increase,
Debauch'd the Regions of eternal Peace,
And fill'd the breasts of loyal Angels there
With the first Treason and infernal War.

Thou art the high extreme of pride,
And dost o'er lesser crimes preside;
Not for the mean attempt of Vice design'd,
But to embroil the World, and damn Mankind.
Transforming mischief, now hast thou procur'd
That loss that ne'er to be restor'd,
And made the bright Seraphic Morning-star
In horrid monstrous shapes appear?
Satan, that while he dwelt in glorious light,
Was always then as pure as he was bright,
That in effulgent rays of glory shone,

Excell'd by eternal Light, by him alone,
Distorted now, and stript of Innocence,
And banish'd with thee from the high Pre-eminence,
How has the splendid Seraph chang'd his face,
Transform'd by thee, and like thy monstrous race?
Ugly as is the crime, for which he fell,
Fitted by thee to make a local Hell,
For such must be the place where either of you dwell.

Thus, as I told you, I only moralize upon the subject, but as to the difficulty, I must leave it as I find it, unless, *as I hinted at first*, I could prevail with Satan to set pen to paper, and write this part of his own History: No question, but he could let us into the secret; but to be plain, I doubt I shall tell so many plain truths of the *Devil*, in this History, and discover so many of his secrets, which it is not for his interest to have discover'd, that before I have done, the *Devil* and I may not be so good friends as you may suppose we are; at least, not friends enough to obtain such a favour of him, tho' it be for public good; so we must be content till we come ont' other side the *Blue-Blanket*, and then we shall know the whole Story.

But now, tho' as I said, I will not attempt to solve the difficulty, I may, I hope, venture to tell you, that there is not so much difficulty in it, as at first sight appears: and especially not so much as some people would make us believe; let us see how others are mistaken in it, perhaps, that may help us a little in the enquiry; for to know *what it is not*, is one help towards knowing *what it is*.

Mr. *Milton* has indeed told us a great many merry things of the Devil, in a most formal, solemn manner; till in short he has made a good Play of *Heaven* and *Hell*; and no doubt if he had liv'd in our times, he might have had it acted with our *Pluto* and *Proserpine*. He has made fine Speeches both for *God* and the *Devil*, and a little addition might have turn'd it *a la modern* into a *Harlequin Dieu & Diable*.

I confess I don't well know how far the dominion of Poetry extends itself; it seems the Buts and Bounds of *Parnassus* are not yet ascertain'd; so that for ought I know, by vertue of their antient privileges call'd *Licentia Poetarum*, there can be no *Blasphemy* in *Verse*; as some of our Divines say there can be no *Treason* in the *Pulpit*. But they that will venture to write that way, ought to be better satisfy'd about that Point than I am.

Upon this foot Mr. *Milton*, to grace his Poem, and give room for his Towing Fancy, has gone a length beyond all that ever went before him, since *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis*. He has indeed complimented God *Almighty* with a flux of lofty words, and great sounds; and has made a very fine Story of the *Devil*, but he has made a meer *je ne scay Quoi* of *Jesus Christ*. In one line he has him riding on a *Cherub*, and in another sitting on a Throne, both in the very same moment of action. In another place he has brought him in making a Speech to his *Saints*, when 'tis evident he had none there; for we all know *Man was not created till a long while after*; and no body can be so dull as to say the *Angels* may be called *Saints*, without the greatest absurdity in nature. Besides, he

makes Christ himself distinguish them, as in two several Bands, and of differing Persons and Species, as to be sure they are.

Stand still in bright array, *ye Saints*—
– Here stand,
Ye Angels. —

Par. Lost. lib. vi. fo. 174.

So that Christ here is brought in drawing up his Army before the last Battle, and making a Speech to them, to tell them they shall only stand by in warlike order, but that they shall have no occasion to fight, for he alone will engage the Rebels. Then in embattling his Legions, he places the Saints here, and the Angels there, as if one were the main Battle of Infantry, and the other the Wings of Cavalry. But who are those Saints? they are indeed all of *Milton's* own making; 'tis certain there were no Saints at all in *Heaven* or *Earth* at that time; God and his *Angels* fill'd up the place; and till some of the *Angels* fell, and Men were created, had liv'd, and were dead, there could have been no *Saints* there. Saint *Abel* was certainly the *Proto-Saint* of all that ever were seen in *Heaven*, as well as the *Proto-martyr* of all that have been upon *Earth*.

Just such another Mistake, not to call it a Blunder, he makes about *Hell*; which he not only makes local, but gives it a being before the Fall of the *Angels*; and brings it in opening its mouth to receive them. This is so contrary to the nature of the thing, and so great an absurdity, that no Poetic License can account for it;

for tho' Poesie may form Stories, as Idea and Fancy may furnish Materials, yet Poesy must not break in upon Chronology, and make things which in time were to exist, act before they existed.

Thus a Painter may make a fine piece of Work, the fancy may be good, the strokes masterly, and the beauty of the Workmanship inimitably curious and fine, and yet have some unpardonable improprieties which marr the whole Work. So the famous Painter of *Toledo* painted the story of the three Wisemen of the *East* coming to worship, and bring their presents to our Lord upon his birth at *Bethlehem*, where he represents them as three *Arabian* or *Indian* Kings; two of them are white, and one black; But unhappily when he drew the latter part of them kneeling, which to be sure was done after their faces; their legs being necessarily a little intermix'd, he made three black feet for the *Negroe* King, and but three white feet for the two white Kings, and yet never discover'd the mistake till the piece was presented to the King, and hung up in the great Church. As this is an unpardonable error in Sculpture or Limning, it must be much more so in Poetry, where the Images must have no improprieties, much less inconsistencies.

In a word, Mr. *Milton* has indeed made a fine Poem, but it is *the Devil of a History*. I can easily allow Mr. *Milton* to make Hills and Dales, flowry Meadows and Plains (and the like) in Heaven; and places of Retreat and Contemplation in *Hell*; tho' I must add, that it can be allowed to no Poet on Earth but Mr. *Milton*. Nay, I will allow Mr. *Milton*, if you please, to set the *Angels* a dancing

in *Heaven*, lib. v. fo. 138. and the *Devils* a singing in *Hell*, lib. i. fo. 44. tho' they are in short, especially the last, most horrid Absurdities. But I cannot allow him to make their Musick in *Hell* to be harmonious and charming as he does; such Images being incongruous, and indeed shocking to Nature. Neither can I think we should allow things to be plac'd out of time in Poetry, any more than in History; 'tis a confusion of Images which is allow'd to be disallow'd by all the Criticks of what tribe or species soever in the world, and is indeed unpardonable. But we shall find so many more of these things in Mr. *Milton*, that really taking notice of them all, would carry me quite out of my way, I being at this time not writing the History of Mr. *Milton*, but of the *Devil*: besides, Mr. *Milton* is such a celebrated Man, that who but he that can write the History of the *Devil* dare meddle with him?

But to come back to the business. As I had caution'd you against running to Scripture for shelter in cases of difficulty, Scripture weighing very little among the people I am directing my Speech to; so indeed Scripture gives but very little light into any thing of the *Devil's* Story before his Fall, and but *to very little* of it for some time after.

Nor has Mr. *Milton* said one word to solve the main difficulty (*viz.*) How the *Devil* came to fall, and how Sin came into Heaven; how the spotless Seraphic Nature could receive infection, whence the contagion proceeded, what noxious matter could emit corruption there, how and whence any vapour to poison the Angelick Frame could rise up, or how it increas'd and grew up

to crime. But all this he passes over, and hurrying up that part in two or three words, only tells us,

– his Pride,
Had cast him out of Heaven with all his Host
Of rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
He trusted to have equal'd the most High.

lib. i. fo. 3.

His pride! but how came *Satan* while an Arch-angel to be proud? How did it consist, that Pride and perfect Holiness should meet in the same Person? Here we must bid Mr. *Milton* good night; for, in plain terms, he is in the dark about it, and so we are all; and the most that can be said, is, that we know the fact is so, but nothing of the nature or reason of it.

But to come to the History: The Angels fell, they sinn'd (wonderful!) in Heaven, and God cast them out; what their sin was is not explicit, but in general 'tis call'd a Rebellion against God; all sin must be so.

Mr. *Milton* here takes upon him to give the History of it, as particularly as if he had been born there, and came down hither on purpose to give us an account of it; (I hope he is better inform'd by this time;) but this he does in such a manner, as jostles with Religion, and shocks our Faith in so many points necessary to be believ'd, that we must forbear to give up to Mr. *Milton*, or must set aside part of the sacred Text, in such a manner, as will assist some people to set it all aside.

I mean by this, his invented Scheme of the Son's being declared in Heaven to be begotten then, and then to be declar'd Generalissimo of all the Armies of Heaven; and of the Father's Summoning all the Angels of the heavenly Host to submit to him, and pay him homage. The words are quoted already, page 32.

I must own the Invention, indeed, is very fine; the Images exceeding magnificent, the Thought rich and bright, and, in some respect, truly sublime: But the Authorities fail most wretchedly, and the miss-timing of it, is unsufferably gross, as is noted in the Introduction to this Work; for Christ is not declar'd the Son of God but on Earth; 'tis true, 'tis spoken from Heaven, but then 'tis spoken as perfected on Earth; if it was at all to be assign'd to Heaven, it was from Eternity, and there, indeed, his eternal Generation is allow'd; but to take upon us to say, that *On a day, a certain day*, for so our Poet assumes, lib. v. fol. 137.

– 'When on a day,

– 'On such a day

'As Heaven's great Year brings forth, the empyreal Host

'Of Angels by imperial Summons call'd,

'Forthwith from all the ends of Heaven appear'd.

This is, indeed, too gross; at this meeting he makes God declare the Son to be *that day begotten*, as before; had he made him not begotten that day, but declared General that day, it would be reconcileable with Scripture and with sense; for either the begetting is meant of ordaining to an office, or else the

eternal Generation falls to the ground; and if it was to the office (Mediator) then Mr. *Milton* is out in ascribing another fix'd day to the Work; see lib. x. fo. 194. But then the declaring him *that day*, is wrong chronology too, for Christ is declar'd *the Son of God with power, only by the Resurrection of the dead*, and this is both a Declaration in Heaven and in Earth. *Rom. i. 4.* And *Milton* can have no authority to tell us, there was any Declaration of it in Heaven before this, except it be that dull authority call'd *poetic License*, which will not pass in so solemn an affair as that.

But the thing was necessary to *Milton*, who wanted to assign some cause or original of the *Devil's* Rebellion; and so, *as I said above*, the design is well laid, it only wants two Trifles call'd *Truth* and *History*; so I leave it to struggle for itself.

This Ground-plot being laid, he has a fair field for the *Devil* to play the Rebel in, for he immediately brings him in, not satisfy'd with the Exaltation of the Son of God. The case must be thus; *Satan* being an eminent *Arch-angel*, and perhaps, the highest of all the Angelic Train, hearing this Sovereign Declaration, that the *Son of God* was declar'd to be Head or Generalissimo of all the heavenly Host, took it ill to see another put into the high station *over his head*, as the Soldiers call it; he, perhaps, thinking himself the senior Officer, and disdainng to submit to any but to his former immediate Sovereign; in short, he threw up his Commission, and, in order not to be compel'd to obey, revolted and broke out in open Rebellion.

All this part is a Decoration noble and great, nor is there any

objection to be made against the invention, because a deduction of probable Events; but the Plot is wrong laid, as is observ'd above, because contradicted by the Scripture account, according to which Christ was declared in Heaven, not then, but from Eternity, and not declared with power, but on Earth, (*viz.*) in his victory over Sin and Death, by the Resurrection from the dead: so that Mr. *Milton* is not orthodox in this part, but lays an avow'd foundation for the corrupt Doctrine of *Arius*, which says, there was a time when Christ *was not* the Son of God.

But to leave Mr. *Milton* to his flights, I agree with him in this part, *viz.* that the wicked or sinning Angels, with the great Archangel at the head of them, revolted from their obedience, even in Heaven it self; that *Satan* began the wicked defection, and being a Chief among the heavenly Host, consequently carry'd over a great party with him, who all together rebel'd against God; that upon this Rebellion they were sentenc'd, by the righteous judgment of God, to be expel'd the holy Habitation; this, besides the authority of Scripture, we have visible testimonies of, from the Devils themselves; their influences and operations among us every day, of which Mankind are witnesses; in all the merry things they do in his name, and under his protection, in almost every scene of life they pass thro', whether we talk of things done openly or in Masquerade, things done in – or out of it, things done in earnest or in jest.

But then, what comes of the long and bloody War that Mr. *Milton* gives such a full and particular account of, and the terrible

Battles in Heaven between *Michael* with the royal Army of Angels on one hand, and *Satan* with his rebel Host on the other; in which he supposes the numbers and strength to be pretty near equal? but at length brings in the *Devil's* Army, upon doubling their rage and bringing new engines of war into the field, putting *Michael* and all the faithful Army to the worst; and, in a word, defeats them? For tho' they were not put to a plain flight, in which case he must, at least, have given an account of two or three thousand millions of Angels cut in pieces and wounded, yet he allows them to give over the fight, and make a kind of retreat; so making way for the compleat victory of the Son of God: Now this is all invention, or at least, a borrow'd thought from the old Poets, and the Fight of the *Giants* against *Jupiter*, so nobly design'd by *Ovid*, almost two thousand years ago; and there 'twas well enough; but whether Poetic Fancy should be allow'd to fable upon *Heaven*, or no, and upon the King of Heaven too, that I leave to the Sages.

By this expulsion of the *Devils*, it is allow'd by most Authors, they are, *ipso facto*, stript of the Rectitude and Holiness of their Nature, which was their Beauty and Perfection; and being ingulph'd in the abyss of irrecoverable ruin, 'tis no matter where, from that very time they lost their Angelic beautiful Form, commenc'd ugly frightful Monsters and *Devils*, and became evil doers, as well as evil Spirits; fill'd with a horrid malignity and enmity against their Maker, and arm'd with a hellish resolution to shew and exert it on all occasions; retaining however their exalted

spirituous Nature, and having a vast extensive power of Action, all which they can exert in nothing else but doing evil, for they are entirely divested of either Power or will to do good; and even in doing evil, they are under restraints and limitations of a superior Power, which it is their Torment, and, perhaps, a great part of their Hell that they cannot break thro'.

Chap. VI

What became of the Devil and his Host of fallen Spirits after their being expell'd from Heaven, and his wandring condition till the Creation; with some more of Mr. Milton's absurdities on that subject

Having thus brought the *Devil* and his innumerable Legions to the edge of the Bottomless-pit, it remains, before I bring them to action, that some enquiry should be made into the posture of their affairs immediately after their precipitate Fall, and into the place of their immediate Residence; for this will appear to be very necessary to *Satan's* History, and indeed, so as that without it, all the farther account we have to give of him, will be inconsistent and imperfect.

And first, I take upon me to lay down some Fundamentals, which I believe I shall be able to make out Historically, tho', perhaps, not so Geographically as some have pretended to do.

1. That *Satan* was not immediately, nor is yet lock'd down into the Abyss of a *local Hell*, such as is supposed by some, and such as he shall be at last; or that,

2. If he was, he has certain liberties allowed him for excursions into the Regions of this Air, and certain spheres of action, in which he can, and does move, to do, *like a very*

Devil as he is, all the mischief he can, and of which we see so many examples both about us and in us; in the inquiry after which, I shall take occasion to examine whether the Devil is not in most of us, sometimes, if not in all of us one time or other.

3. That *Satan* has no particular residence in this Globe or Earth where we live; that he rambles about among us, and marches over and over our whole country, he and his Devils in *Camps volant*; but that he pitches his grand Army or chief Encampment in our Adjacencies or Frontiers, which the Philosophers call *Atmosphere*; and whence he is call'd the Prince of the Power of that Element or part of the World we call *Air*; from whence he sends out his Spies, his Agents and Emissaries, to get intelligence, and to carry his Commissions to his trusty and well beloved Cousins and Counsellors on Earth, by which his business is done, and his affairs carried on in the World.

Here, again, I meet Mr. *Milton* full in my face, who will have it, that *the Devil*, immediately at his expulsion, roll'd down directly into a Hell proper and local; nay, he measures the very distance, at least gives the length of the journey by the time they were passing or falling, which, he says, was *nine days*; a good Poetical flight, but neither founded on Scripture or Philosophy; he might every jot as well have brought *Hell* up to the Walls of *Heaven*, advanc'd to receive them, or he ought to have consider'd the space which is to be allow'd to any locality, let him take what part of infinite distance between *Heaven* and a created Hell he pleases.

But let that be as Mr. *Milton's* extraordinary genius pleases to place it; the passage, it seems, is just *nine days* betwixt Heaven and Hell; well might *Dives* then see father *Abraham*, and talk to him too; but then the great Gulph which *Abraham* tells him was fix'd between them, does not seem to be so large, as according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, Dr. *Halley*, Mr. *Whiston*, and the rest of our Men of Science, we take it to be.

But suppose the passage to be nine Days, according to Mr. *Milton*, what follow'd? why Hell gap'd wide, open'd its frightful mouth, and received them all at once; millions and thousands of millions as they were, it received them all at a gulp, *as we call it*, they had no difficulty to go in, no, none at all.

*Facilis desensus averni, sed revocare gradum
Hoc opus hic labor est.*—Virg.

All this, as Poetical, we may receive, but not at all as Historical; for then come difficulties insuperable in our way, some of which may be as follow: (1.) Hell is here supposed to be a place; nay a place created for the punishment of Angels and Men, and likewise created long before those had fallen, or these had Being; this makes me say, Mr. *Milton* was a good Poet, but a bad Historian: *Tophet* was prepar'd of old, indeed, but it was for the King, that is to say, it was prepar'd for those whose lot it should be to come there; but this does not at all suppose it was prepar'd before it was resolv'd whether there should be subjects

for it, or no; else we must suppose both Men and Angels were made by the glorious and upright Maker of all things, on purpose for destruction, which would be incongruous and absurd.

But there is worse yet to come; in the next place he adds, that *Hell* having receiv'd them, clos'd upon them; that is to say, took them in, clos'd or shut its Mouth; and in a word, they were lock'd in, as it was said in another place, they were lock'd in, and the Key is carry'd up to Heaven and kept there; for *we know* the Angel came down from Heaven, having the Key of the Bottomless-pit; but first, see Mr. *Milton*.

'Nine days they fell, confounded chaos roar'd
'And felt ten-fold confusion in their fall:
' – Hell at last
'Yawning receiv'd them all, and on them clos'd;
'Down from the verge of Heaven, eternal wrath
'Burnt after them —
'Unquenchable.

This Scheme is certainly deficient, if not absurd, and I think is more so than any other he has laid; 'tis evident, neither *Satan* or his Host of *Devils* are, *no not any of them*, yet, even now, confin'd in the eternal Prison, where the Scripture says, he shall be *reserved in chains of darkness*. They must have mean thoughts of *Hell*, as a Prison, a *local* Confinement, that can suppose the *Devil* able to break Goal, knock off his Fetters, and come abroad, if he had been once lock'd in there, as Mr. *Milton* says he was:

Now we know that he is abroad again, he presented himself before *God*, among his neighbours, when *Job's* case came to be discours'd of; and more than that, it's plain he was a prisoner at large, by his answer to *God's* question, which was, *whence comest thou?* to which he answer'd, *from going to and fro thro' the Earth,* &c. this, I say, is plain, and if it be as certain that Hell closed upon them, I demand then, how got he out? and why was there not a Proclamation for apprehending him, as there usually is, after such Rogues as break prison?

In short, the true Account of the *Devil's* Circumstances, since his Fall from *Heaven*, is much more likely to be thus: That he is more of a Vagrant than a Prisoner, that he is a Wanderer in the wild unbounded West, where he and his Legions, like the Hoords of *Tartary*, who, in the wild Countries of *Karakathay*, the Desarts of *Barkan*, *Kassan*, and *Astracan*, live up and down where they find proper; so Satan and his innumerable Legions rove about *hic & ubique*, pitching their Camps (being Beasts of prey) where they find the most Spoil; watching over this World, (and all the other Worlds for ought we know, and if there are any such,) I say watching, and seeking who they may devour, *that is*, who they may deceive and delude, and so destroy, for devour they cannot.

Satan being thus confin'd to a vagabond, wandring, unsettl'd Condition, is without any certain Abode; For tho' he has, in consequence of his Angelic Nature, a kind of Empire in the liquid West or *Air*; yet, this is certainly part of his punishment,

that he is continually hovering over this inhabited Globe of Earth; swelling with the Rage of Envy, at the Felicity of his Rival, Man; and studying all the means possible to injure and ruin him; but extremely limited in Power, to his unspeakable Mortification: This is his present State, without any fix'd Abode, Place, or Space, allow'd him to rest the Sole of his Foot upon.

From his Expulsion, I take his first View of Horror to be that, of looking back towards the Heaven which he had lost; there to see the Chasm or Opening made up, out at which, as at a Breach in the Wall of the holy Place, he was thrust Head-long by the Power which expel'd him; I say, to see the Breach repair'd, the Mounds built up, the Walls garison'd with millions of Angels, and arm'd with Thunders; and, above all, made terrible by that Glory from whose Presence they were expel'd, as is Poetically hinted at before.

Upon this sight, 'tis no wonder (if there was such a Place) that they fled till the Darkness might cover them, and that they might be out of the View of so hated a Sight.

Wherever they found it, you may be sure they pitch'd their first Camp, and began, after many a sour Reflection upon what was pass'd, to consider and think a little, upon what was to come.

If I had as much personal Acquaintance with the *Devil*, as would admit it, and could depend upon the Truth of what Answer he would give me, the first Question I would ask him, should be, what Measures they resolv'd on at their first Assembly? and the next should be, how they were employ'd in all that space

of Time, between their so flying the Face of their almighty Conqueror, and the Creation of Man? as for the Length of the Time, which, according to the Learn'd, was twenty thousand Years, and according to the more Learned, not half a Quarter so much, I would not concern my Curiosity much about it; 'tis most certain, there was a considerable time between, but of that immediately; first let me enquire what they were doing all that time.

The Devil and his Host, being thus, I say, cast out of Heaven, and not yet confin'd strictly to *Hell*, 'tis plain they must be *some where*. Satan and all his Legions did not lose their Existence, no, nor the Existence of *Devils* neither; God was so far from annihilating him, that he still preserv'd his Being; and this not Mr. *Milton* only, but God himself has made known to us, having left his History so far upon record; several expressions in Scripture also make it evident, as particularly the story of *Job*, mentioned before; the like in our Saviour's time, and several others.

If Hell did not immediately ingulph them, as *Milton* suggests, 'tis certain, I say, that they fled Somewhere, from the anger of Heaven, from the face of the Avenger; and his absence, and their own guilt, *wonder not at it*, would make Hell enough for them wherever they went.

Nor need we fly to the Dreams of our *Astronomers*, who take a great deal of pains to fill up the vast Spaces of the starry Heavens with innumerable habitable Worlds; allowing as many *solar Systems* as there are fix'd Stars, and that not only in the

known Constellations, but even in *Gallaxie* it self; who, to every such System allow a certain number of Planets, and to every one of those Planets so many *Satellites* or *Moons*, and all these Planets and Moons to be Worlds; solid, dark, opaque Bodies, habitable, and (as they would have us believe) inhabited by the like Animals and rational Creatures as on this Earth; so that they may, at this rate, find room enough for the *Devil* and all his Angels, without making a Hell on purpose; nay they may, for ought I know, find a World for every *Devil* in all the *Devil's Host*, and so every one may be a Monarch or *Master-Devil*, separately in his own Sphere or World, and play the *Devil* there by himself.

And even if this were so, it cannot be denied but that one *Devil* in a place would be enough for a whole systemary World, and be able, if not restrained, to do mischief enough there too, and even to ruin and overthrow the whole body of People contain'd in it.

But, I say, we need not fly to these shifts, or consult the Astronomers in the decision of this point; for wherever *Satan* and his defeated Host went, at their expulsion from *Heaven*, we think we are certain, none of all these Beautiful Worlds, or be they Worlds or no, I mean the fix'd Stars, Planets, &c. had then any existence; for the Beginning, as the Scripture calls it, was not yet Begun.

But to speak a little by the rules of Philosophy, that is to say, so as to be understood by others, even when we speak of things we cannot fully understand ourselves: Tho' in the Beginning of Time all this glorious Creation was form'd, the Earth, the starry

Heavens, and all the Furniture thereof, and there was a Time when they were not; yet we cannot say so of the Void, or that nameless *no-where*, as I call'd it before, which now appears to be a *some-where*, in which these glorious Bodies are plac'd. That immense Space which those take up, and which they move in at this Time, must be supposed, before they had Being, to be plac'd there: As God himself was, and existed before all Being, Time, or Place, so the Heaven of Heavens, or the Place, where the Thrones and Dominions of his Kingdom then existed, inconceivable and ineffable, had an existence before the glorious Seraphs, the innumerable company of Angels which attended about the Throne of God existed; these all had a Being long before, as the Eternal Creator of them all had before them.

Into this void or abyss of Nothing, however unmeasurable, infinite, and even to those Spirits, themselves Inconceivable, they certainly launch'd from the bright Precipice which they fell from, and here they shifted as well as they could.

Here expanding those Wings which Fear, and Horror at their Defeat furnish'd them, as I hinted before, they hurried away to the utmost Distance possible, from the Face of God their Conqueror, and then most dreaded Enemy; formerly their Joy and Glory.

Be this utmost remov'd Distance *where it will*, Here, certainly, *Satan* and all his *Gang of Devils*, his numberless, tho' routed Armies retired. Here *Milton* might, with some good Ground, have form'd his *Pandemonium*, and have brought them in,

consulting what was next to be done, and whether there was any room left to renew the War, or to carry on the Rebellion; but had they been cast immediately into *Hell*, closed up there, the Bottomless pit lock'd upon them, and the Key carried up to *Heaven* to be kept there, as Mr. *Milton* himself in part confesses, and the Scripture affirms; I say, had this been so, the *Devil* himself could not have been so ignorant as to think of any future Steps to be taken, to retrieve his Affairs, and therefore a *Pandemonium* or Divan in Hell, to consult of it, was ridiculous.

All Mr. *Milton's* Scheme of *Satan's* future Conduct, and all the Scripture Expressions about *the Devil* and his numerous Attendants, and of his actings since that time, make it not reasonable to suggest that the *Devils* were confin'd to their eternal Prison, at their Expulsion out of *Heaven*; But that they were in a State of Liberty to act, tho' limited in acting, of which I shall also speak in its place.

Chap. VII

Of the Number of Satan's Host; how they came first to know of the new created Worlds, now in being, and their Measures with Mankind upon the Discovery

Several things have been suggested to set us a calculating the number of this frightful throng of *Devils*, who with Satan, the *Master-Devil*, was thus cast out of *Heaven*; I cannot say, I am so much Master of Political Arithmetick as to cast up the Number of the Beast, no, nor the Number of the Beasts *or Devils*, who make up this Throng. St. *Francis*, they tell us, or some other Saint, they do not say who, ask'd the *Devil* once, how strong he was? for St. *Francis*, you must know, was very familiar with him; *The Devil*, it seems, did not tell him, but presently raised a great Cloud of Dust, by the help, I suppose, of a Gust of Wind, and bid that Saint count it; He was, I suppose, a Calculator, that would be call'd grave, who dividing *Satan's* Troops into three Lines, cast up the Number of the *Devils* of all sorts in each Battalia, at ten hundred times a hundred thousand millions of the first Line, fifty millions of times as many in the second Line, and three hundred thousand times as many as both in the third Line.

The Impertinence of this account would hardly have given it a

place here, only to hint that it has always been the Opinion, that *Satan's* Name may well be call'd a Noun of Multitude, and that *the Devil* and his *Angels* are certainly no inconsiderable Number: It was a smart Repartee that a *Venetian* Nobleman made to a Priest who rallied him upon his refusing to give something to the Church, which the Priest demanded for the delivering him from Purgatory; when the Priest asking him, *if he knew what an innumerable Number of Devils there were to take him?* he answer'd, *yes, he knew how many Devils there were in all: How many?* says the Priest, his curiosity, I suppose, being rais'd by the novelty of the answer. *Why ten millions five hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy five Devils and a half,* says the Nobleman: *A half!* says the Priest, *pray what kind of a Devil is that?* *your self,* says the Nobleman, *for you are half a Devil already (and will be a whole one when you come there) for you are for deluding all you deal with, and bringing us Soul and Body into your Hands, that you may be paid for letting us go again. So much for their Number.*

Here also it would come in very aptly, to consider the state of that long interval between the Time of their Expulsion from *Heaven*, and the Creation of the World; and what the Posture of the Devil's Affairs might be, during that Time. The horror of their Condition can only be conceiv'd of at a Distance, and especially by us, who being embodied Creatures, cannot fully judge of what is, or is not a Punishment to *Seraphs* and *Spirits*; But 'tis just to suppose they suffer'd all that Spirits of a Seraphic

Nature were capable to sustain, consistent with their Existence; notwithstanding which they retain'd still the *Hellishness* of their rebellious Principles; namely, their Hatred and Rage against God, and their Envy at the Felicity of his Creatures.

As to how long their time might be, I shall leave that Search, no lights being given me that are either probable or rational, and we have so little room to make a Judgment of it, that we may as well believe Father *M* —, who supposes it to be a hundred thousand Years, as those who judge it one thousand Years; 'tis enough that we are sure, it was before the Creation, how long before is not material to *the Devil's History*, unless we had some Records of what happen'd to him, or was done by him in the Interval.

During the wandring Condition the Devil was in at that Time, we may suppose, he and his whole Clan to be employ'd in exerting their Hatred and Rage at the Almighty, and at the Happiness of the remaining faithful Angels, by all the ways they had power to shew it.

From this determin'd stated Enmity of *Satan* and his Host against *God*, and at every thing that brought Glory to his Name, Mr. *Milton* brings in *Satan*, (when first he saw *Adam* in *Paradise*, and the Felicity of his Station there) swelling with Rage and Envy, and taking up a dreadful Resolution to ruin *Adam* and all his Posterity, meerly to disappoint his Maker of the Glory of his Creation; I shall come to speak of that in its Place.

How *Satan*, in his remote Situation, got Intelligence of the

Place where to find *Adam* out, or that any such thing as a Man was created, is Matter of just Speculation, and there might be many rational Schemes laid for it: Mr. *Milton* does not undertake to tell us the Particulars, nor indeed could he find room for it; perhaps, the *Devil* having, *as I have said*, a Liberty to range over the whole Void or Abyss, which we want as well a Name for, as indeed Powers to conceive of; might have discovered that the Almighty Creator had form'd a new and glorious Work, with infinite Beauty and Variety, filling up the immense Waste of Space, in which he, (the *Devil*) and his *Angels*, had rov'd for so long a time, without finding any thing to work on, or to exert their Apostate Rage in against their Maker.

That at length they found the infinite untrodden Space, on a sudden spread full with glorious Bodies, shining in self-existing Beauty, with a new, and to them unknown Lustre, call'd Light: They found these luminous Bodies, tho' immense in Bulk, and infinite in Number, yet fixt in their wondrous Stations, regular and exact in their Motions, confin'd in their proper Orbits, tending to their particular Centers, and enjoying every one their peculiar Systems, within which was contain'd innumerable Planets with their Satellites or Moons, in which (*again*) a reciprocal Influence, Motion and Revolution conspired to Form the most admirable Uniformity of the whole.

Surprized, to be sure, with this sudden and yet glorious Work of the Almighty; for the Creation was enough, with its Lustre, even to surprize *the Devils*; they might reasonably be supposed

to start out of their dark Retreat, and with a Curiosity not below the Seraphic Dignity; for *these are some of the things which the Angels desire to look into*, to take a flight thro' all the amazing Systems of the fix'd Suns or Stars, which we see now but at a Distance, and only make Astronomical Guesses at.

Here the Devil found not subject of Wonder only, but matter to swell his revolted Spirit with more Rage, and to revive the Malignity of his Mind against his Maker, and especially against this new encrease of Glory, which to his infinite Regret was extended over the whole Wast, and which he look'd upon, as we say in human Affairs, as a *Pays conquis*, or, if you will have it in the Language of the *Devil*, as an invasion upon his Kingdom.

Here it naturally occur'd to them, in their State of Envy and Rebellion, that tho' they could not assault the impregnable Walls of Heaven, and could no more pretend to raise War in the Place of Blessedness and Peace; yet that perhaps they might find Room in this new, and however glorious, yet inferior Kingdom or Creation, to work some despite to their great Creator, or to affront his Majesty in the Person of some of his new made Creatures; and upon this they may be justly supposed to double their Vigilance, in the survey they resolve to take of these new Worlds, however great, numberless and wonderful.

What Discoveries they may have made in the other and greater Worlds, than this Earth, we have not yet had an account; possibly they are conversant with other Parts of God's Creation, besides this little little Globe, which is but as a Point in comparison of

the Rest; and with other of God's Creatures besides Man, who may, according to the Opinion of our Philosophers, inhabit those Worlds; but as no body knows that Part but the *Devil*, we shall not trouble our selves with the Enquiry.

But 'tis very reasonable, and indeed probable, that *the Devils* were more than ordinarily surpriz'd at the Nature and Reason of all this glorious Creation, after they had, with the utmost Curiosity, view'd all the parts of it; The Glories of the several Systems; the immense spaces in which those glorious Bodies that were created and made part of it, were allow'd respectively to move; the innumerable fix'd Stars, as so many Suns in the Center of so many distant *Solar Systems*; the (likewise innumerable) dark opaque Bodies receiving light, and depending upon those Suns respectively for such light, and then reflecting that light again upon and for the Use of one another; To see the Beauty and Splendor of their Forms, the Regularity of their Position, the Order and Exactness, and yet inconceivable Velocity of their Motions, the certainty of their Revolutions, and the Variety and Virtue of their Influences; and then, which was even to the Devils themselves most astonishing, That after all the rest of their Observations they should find this whole immense Work was adapted for, and made subservient to the Use, Delight and Blessing only of one poor Species, in itself small, and in Appearance contemptible; the meanest of all the Kinds supposed to inhabit so many glorious Worlds, as appeared now to be form'd; I mean, that Moon call'd the Earth, and the Creature

call'd Man; that all was made for him, upheld by the wise Creator, on his account only, and would necessarily end and cease whenever that Species should end and be determin'd.

That this Creature was to be found no where but (as above) in one little individual *Moon*; a Spot less than almost any of the Moons, which were in such great Numbers to be found attendant upon, and prescrib'd with in every System of the whole created Heavens; This was astonishing even to the *Devil* himself, nay the whole Clan of *Devils* could scarce entertain any just Ideas of the thing; Till at last *Satan*, indefatigable in his Search or Enquiry into the Nature and Reason of this new Work, and particularly searching into the Species of Man, whom he found God had thus plac'd in the little Globe, call'd *Earth*; he soon came to an *Eclaircissement*, or a clear Understanding of the whole. *For Example,*

First, He found this Creature, call'd Man, was however mean and small in his Appearance, a kind of a Seraphic Species; that he was made in the very Image of God, endowed with reasonable Faculties to know Good and Evil, and possess'd of a certain thing till then unknown and unheard of even in Hell it self; that is, in the Habitation of Devils, let that be where it would, (*viz.*)

2. That God had made him indeed of the lowest and coarsest Materials, but that he had breath'd into him the Breath of Life, and that he became a living thing call'd Soul, being a kind of an extraordinary heavenly and divine Emanation; and consequently that Man, however mean and

Terrestrial his Body might be, was yet, Heaven-born, in his spirituous Part compleatly Seraphic; and after a Space of Life here, (determin'd to be a state of probation) he should be translated thro' the Regions of Death into a Life purely and truly Heavenly, and which should remain so for ever; being capable of knowing and enjoying God his Maker, and standing in his Presence, as the glorified Angels do.

3. That he had the most sublime Faculties infused into him; was capable not only of knowing and contemplating God, and which was still more, of enjoying him, as above; but (which the *Devil* now was not) capable of honouring and glorifying his Maker; who also had condescended to accept of Honour from him.

4. And which was still more, that being of an Angelic Nature, tho' mix'd with, and confined for the present in a Case of mortal Flesh; he was intended to be remov'd from this Earth after a certain time of Life here, to inhabit that Heaven, and enjoy that very Glory and Felicity, from which Satan and his Angels had been expell'd.

When he found all this, it presently occur'd to him, that God had done it all as an act of Triumph over him (Satan,) and that these Creatures were only created to people Heaven, depopulated or stript of its inhabitants by his Expulsion, and that these were all to be made *Angels* in the *Devil's* stead.

If this thought increas'd his Fury and Envy, as far as *Rage of Devils* can be capable of being made greater; it doubtless set him on work to give a Vent to that Rage and Envy, by searching into the Nature and Constitution of this Creature, call'd

Man; and to find out whether he was invulnerable, and could by no means be hurt by the Power of Hell, or deluded by his Subtilty; or whether he might be beguil'd and deluded, and so, instead of being preserv'd in Holiness and Purity, wherein he was certainly created, be brought to fall and rebell as he (*Satan*) had done before him; by which, instead of being transplanted into a glorious State, after this Life in Heaven, as his Maker had design'd him to be, to fill up the Angelic Choir, and supply the Place from whence he (*Satan*) had fallen, he might be made to fall also like him, and in a Word, be made a *Devil* like himself.

This convinces us that the *Devil* has not lost his natural Powers by his Fall; and our learned Commentator Mr. *Pool* is of the same Opinion; tho' he grants that the *Devil* has lost his moral Power, or his Power of doing Good, which he can never recover. *Vide* Mr. *Pool* upon *Acts* xix. 17. where we may particularly observe, when the Man possess'd with an evil Spirit flew upon the seven Sons of *Scæva* the *Jew*, who would have Exorcis'd them in the Name of *Jesus*, without the Authority of *Jesus*, or without Faith in him; He flew on them and master'd them, so that they fled out of the House from the Devil conquered, naked and wounded: But of this Power of the Devil I shall speak by it self.

In a Word, and to sum up all the *Devil's* Story from his first Expulsion, it stands thus: For so many Years as were between his Fall and the Creation of Man, tho' we have no *Memoirs* of his particular Affairs, we have Reason to believe he was without any Manner of Employment; but a certain tormenting Endeavour to

be always expressing his Rage and Enmity against Heaven; I call it tormenting, Because ever disappointed; every thought about it proving empty; every attempt towards it abortive; Leaving him only Light enough to see still more and more Reason to despair of Success; and that this made his Condition still more and more a Hell than it was before.

After a Space of Duration in this Misery, which we have no light given us to measure or judge of, He at length discovered the new Creation of Man, as above, upon which he soon found Matter to set himself to work upon, and has been busily employ'd ever since.

And now indeed there may be room to suggest a Local *Hell*, and the Confinement of Souls (made corrupt and degenerate by him) to it, as a Place; tho' he himself, as is still apparent by his Actings, is not yet confin'd to it; of this Hell, its Locality, Extent, Dimensions, Continuance and Nature, as it does not belong to Satan's History, I have a good excuse for saying nothing, and so put off my meddling with that, which if I would meddle with, I could say nothing of to the Purpose.

Chap. VIII

Of the Power of the Devil at the Time of the Creation of this World; whether it has not been farther straitn'd and limited since that Time, and what Shifts and Stratagems he is obliged to make use of to compass his Designs upon Mankind

Cunning Men have fabled, and tho' it be without either Religion, Authority or physical Foundation, it may be we may like it ne'er the worse for that; that when God made the Stars and all the Heavenly Luminaries, the *Devil*, to mimick his Maker and insult his new Creation, made Comets, in Imitation of the fix'd Stars; but that the Composition of them being combustible, when they came to wander in the Abyss, rolling by an irregular ill-grounded Motion, they took Fire, in their Approach to some of those great Bodies of Flame, *the fix'd Stars*; and being thus kindled (like a Fire-work unskilfully let off) they then took wild and excentrick, as also different Motions of their own, out of Satan's Direction, and beyond his Power to regulate ever after.

Let this Thought stand by it self, it matters not to our purpose whether we believe any thing of it, or no; 'tis enough to our Case, that if Satan had any such Power then, he has no such Power now,

and that leads me to enquire into his more recent Limitations.

I am to suppose, he and all his Accomplices being confounded at the Discovery of the new Creation, and racking their Wits to find out the meaning of it, had at last (*no matter how*) discover'd the whole System, and concluded, *as I have said*, that the Creature, *call'd Man*, was to be their Successor in the Heavenly Mansions; upon which I suggest that the first Motion of Hell was to destroy this new Work, and, if possible, to overwhelm it.

But when they came to make the Attempt, they found their Chains were not long enough, and that they could not reach to the Extremes of the System: They had no Power either to break the Order, or stop the Motion, dislocate the Parts, or confound the Situation of Things; they traversed, no doubt, the whole Work, visited every Star, landed upon every Solid, and sail'd upon every Fluid in the whole Scheme, to see what Mischief they could do.

Upon a long and full Survey, they came to this Point in their Enquiry, that in short they could do nothing by Force; that they could not displace any Part, annihilate any Atom, or destroy any Life in the whole Creation; but that as Omnipotence had created it, so the same Omnipotence had arm'd it at all Points against the utmost Power of Hell, had made the smallest Creature in it invulnerable, as to *Satan*; so that without the Permission of the same Power which had made *Heaven*, and conquer'd the *Devil*, he could do nothing at all, as to destroying any thing that God had made, no, not the little diminutive thing call'd Man, who *Satan*

saw so much reason to hate, as being created to succeed him in Happiness in *Heaven*.

Satan found him placed out of his Power to hurt, or out of his Reach to touch; and here, by the way, appears the second Conquest of *Heaven* over the *Devil*; that having plac'd his Rival, as it were, just before his Face, and shew'd the hateful sight to him, he saw written upon his Image, *Touch him if you dare*.

It cannot be doubted, but, had it not been thus, Man is so far from being a Match for the *Devil*, that one of Satan's least Imps or *Angels* could destroy all the Race of them in the World, ay World and all in a moment;

As he is Prince of the Power of the Air, taking the Air for *the Elementary World*, how easily could he, at one Blast, sweep all the Surface of the Earth into the Sea, or drive weighty immense Surges of the Ocean over the whole Plane of the Earth, and deluge the Globe at once with a Storm? Or how easily could he, who, by the Situation of the Empire, must be supposed able to manage the Clouds, draw them up, in such Position as should naturally produce Thunders and Lightnings, cause those Lightnings to blast the Earth, dash in Pieces all the Buildings, burn all the populous Towns and Cities, and lay wast the World;

At the same time he might command suited Quantities of sublimated Air to burst out of the Bowels of the Earth, and overwhelm and swallow up, in the opening Chasms, all the Inhabitants of the Globe?

In a Word, *Satan* left to himself as a Devil, and to the Power,

which by virtue of his Seraphic Original he must be vested with, was able to have made Devilish Work in the World, if by a superior Power he was not restrain'd.

But there is no doubt, *at least to me*, but that with his fall from Heaven, as he lost the Rectitude and Glory of his Angelic Nature, I mean his Innocence, so he lost the Power too that he had before; and that when he first commenc'd Devil, he received the Chains of Restraint too, as the Badge of his Apostacy, *viz.* a general Prohibition, to do any thing to the Prejudice of this Creation, or to act any thing by Force or Violence without special Permission.

This Prohibition was not sent him by a Messenger, or by an Order in Writing, or proclaimed from Heaven by a Law; but *Satan*, by a strange, invisible and unaccountable Impression felt the Restraint within him; and at the same time that his moral Capacity was not taken away, yet his Power of exerting that Capacity felt the Restraint, and left him unable to do, even what he was able to do at the same time.

I make no question, but the Devil is sensible of this Restraint, that is to say, *not* as it is a restraint only, or as an effect of his Expulsion from *Heaven*; But as it prevents his Capital Design against Man, who, for the Reason I have given already, he entertains a mortal Hatred of, and would destroy with all his Heart, if he might; and therefore, like a chain'd Mastiff, we find him oftentimes making a horrid hellish Clamour and Noise, barking and howling, and frightening the People, letting them know, that if he was loose he would tear them in pieces; but

at the same time his very Fury shakes his Chain, which lets them know, to their Satisfaction, he can only Bark, but cannot Bite.

Some are of Opinion that the Devil is not restrain'd so much by the superior Power of his Sovereign and Maker; but that all his milder Measures with Man are the effect of a political Scheme, and done upon mature Deliberation; that it was resolved to act thus, in the great Council or P – t of Devils, call'd upon this very Occasion, when they first were inform'd of the Creation of Man; and especially when they considered what kind of Creature he was, and what might probably be the Reason of making him, (*viz.*) to fill up the Vacancies in Heaven; I say, that then the *Devils* resolv'd, that it was not for their Interest to fall upon him with Fury and Rage, and so destroy the Species, for that this would be no Benefit at all to them, and would only cause another original Man to be created; for that they knew God could, by the same Omnipotence, form as many new Species of Creatures as he pleased; and, if he thought fit, create them in Heaven too, out of the Reach of *Devils* or evil Spirits, and that therefore, to destroy Man would no way answer their End.

On the other hand, examining strictly the Mould of this new made Creature, and of what Materials he was form'd; how mixt up of a Nature convertible and pervertible, capable indeed of infinite Excellence, and consequently of eternal Felicity; but subject likewise to Corruption and Degeneracy, and consequently to eternal Misery; That instead of being fit to supply the Places of Satan and his rejected Tribe (the expell'd

Angels) in Heaven, and filling up the Thrones or Stalls in the Celestial Choir, they might, if they could but be brought into Crime, become a Race of Rebels and Traytors like the rest; and so come at last to keep them Company, as well in the Place of eternal Misery, as in the Merit of it, and in a Word, become Devils instead of Angels.

Upon this Discovery, I say, they found it infinitely more for the Interest of Satan's infernal Kingdom, to go another way to work with Mankind, and see if it were possible, by the strength of all their infernal Wit and Counsels, to lay some Snare for him, and by some Stratagem to bring him to eternal Ruin and Misery.

This being then approv'd as their only Method, (and the *Devil* shew'd he was no Fool in the Choice) he next resolv'd that there was no time to be lost; that it was to be set about immediately, before the Race was Multiplied, and by that means the Work be not made greater only, but perhaps the more difficult too; accordingly the diligent Devil went instantly about it, agreeably to all the Story of *Eve* and the serpent, as before; the belief of which, whether historically or allegorically, is not at all obstructed by this Hypothesis.

I do not affirm that this was the Case at first, because being not present in that black *Divan*, at least not that I know of, *for who knows where he was or was not in his pre-existent State?* I cannot be positive in the Resolve that past there; but except for some very little Contradiction, which we find in the sacred Writings, I should, I confess, incline to believe it Historically;

and I shall speak of those things which I call Contradictions to it more largely hereafter.

In the mean time, be it one way or other, *that is to say*, either that Satan had no Power to have proceeded with Man by Violence, and to have destroy'd him as soon as he was made, or that he had the Power, but chose rather to proceed by other Methods to deceive and debauch him; *I say*, be it which you please, I am still of the Opinion that it really was not the *Devil's* Business to destroy the Species; that it would have been nothing to the purpose, and no Advantage at all to him, if he had done it; for that, as above, God could immediately have created another Species to the same end, whom he either could have made invulnerable, and not subject to the Devil's Power, or remov'd him out of *Satan*

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