NARRATIVES

OF

SORCERY AND MAGIC,

From the most Authentic Sources.

BY

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TO

LORD LONDESBOROUGH.

My Lord: The interest which your lordship has always taken in historical studies, has encouraged me to offer to you this volume of what may be truly considered as the dark features of history. It appears to me that these are features on which sometimes at least we ought to dwell, and which it has been too much the fashion with historical writers to conceal from view, and I am not sure if we are not at this moment suffering from the results of that concealment. It is true that if, in tracing the history of declining Rome, we pass gently over the crimes of a Caligula or a Commodus, if we show the bright side of the history of the middle ages and hide their viciousness and brutality, if we tell the story of Romanism without its arrogance, its persecutions, and its massacres, or if we attempt to trace the progress of society from darkness to light, without entering into the details of those strange hallucinations which have at times disfigured and impeded it—such as are related in the following narratives—in acting thus we spare the reader much that is horrible and revolting to his better feelings, but at the same time time we destroy the moral and utility of history itself.

If I mistake not, the history presented in this volume furnishes more than any other, an example of the manner in which the public mind may, under particular circumstances, be acted upon by erroneous views. The paganism of our forefathers, instead of being eradicated by papal Rome, was preserved as a useful instrument of power, and fostered until it grew into a monster far more fearful and degrading than the original from which it sprung,

and infinitely more cruel in its influence. It is the object of the following detached histories to exhibit the character and forms under which, at various different periods, the superstitions of sorcery and magic affected the progress, or interfered with the peace of society. At first they appeared as the mere, almost unobserved, fables of the vulgar—then they were seized upon as an arm of the ecclesiastical power, to crush those who dared to question the spiritual doctrines, or oppose the temporal power of the papal church. From this time sorcery makes its appearance more frequently in history, until it gained that hold on the minds of all classes which led to the fearful persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It is no part of the design of this volume to enter into a disquisition on what have been termed the occult sciences, nor do I pretend to give a regular history of witchcraft. I have merely attempted to show the influence which superstition once exercised on the history of the world, by a few narratives taken from the annals of past ages, of events which seemed to place it in its strongest and clearest light. For these sketches, thrown together somewhat hastily, and gathered from a field of research which has always had great attractions for me, I venture to claim from your lordship an indulgence which will be the more valued from the appreciation which I know that these studies have aways received from you; and I have only to hope for the same indulgence from the public at large.

I have the honor to be, my lord, with sincere respect,

Your lordship's very faithful servant,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

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SORCERY AND MAGIC.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

If the universality of a belief be a proof of its truth, few creeds have been better established than that of sorcery. Every people, from the rudest to the most refined, we may almost add in every age, have believed in the kind of supernatural agency which we understand by this term. It was founded on the equally extensive creed, that, besides our own visible existence, we live in an invisible world of spiritual beings, by which our actions and even our thoughts are often guided, and which have a certain degree of power over the elements and over the ordinary course of organic life. Many of these powerful beings were supposed to be enemies of mankind, fiendish creatures which thirsted after human blood, or demons whose constant business it was to tempt and seduce their victim, and deprive him of the hope of salvation. These beings were themselves subject to certain mysterious influences, and became the slaves even of mortals, when by their profound penetration into the secrets of nature they obtained a knowledge of those influences. But more frequently their intercourse with man was voluntary, and the services they rendered him were only intended to draw him to a more certain destruction. It is a dark subject for investigation; and we will not pretend to decide whether, and how far, a higher Providence may, in some cases, have permitted such intercourse between the natural and supernatural world. Yet the

superstitions to which this creed gave rise have exerted a mighty influence on society, through ages, which it is far from uninteresting to trace in its outward manifestations.

The belief of which we are treating manifested itself under two different forms, sorcery and magic. The magician differed from the witch, in this, that, while the latter was an ignorant instrument in the hands of the demons, the former had become their master by the powerful intermediation of a science which was only within the reach of the few, and which these beings were unable to disobey. In the earlier ages, this mysterious science flourished widely, and there were noted schools of magic in several parts of Europe. One of the most famous was that of Toledo in Spain, nearly on the confines which divided Christendom from Islam, on that spiritual neutral ground where the demon might then bid defiance to the gospel or the Koran. It was in this school that Gerbert, in the tenth century, is said to have obtained his marvellous proficiency in knowledge forbidden by the church. Gerbert lived at Toledo, in the house of a celebrated Arabian philosopher, whose book of magic, or "grimoire," had unusual power in coercing the evil one. Gerbert was seized with an ardent desire of possessing this book, but the Saracen would not part with it for love or money, and, lest it might be stolen from him, he concealed it under his pillow at night. The Saracen had a beautiful daughter; and Gerbert, as the last resource, gave his love to the maiden, and in a moment of amorous confidence learned from her where the book was concealed. He made the philosopher drunk, stole the grimoire, and took to flight. The magician followed him, and was enabled, by consulting the stars, to know where he was, either on earth or water. But Gerbert at last baffled him, by hanging under a bridge in such a manner that he touched neither one element nor the other, and finally arrived in safety on the seashore. Here he opened his book, and by its powerful enchantment called up the arch fiend himself, who at his orders carried him in safety to the opposite coast.

The science of the magician was dangerous, but not necessarily fatal, to his salvation. The possession of one object led naturally to the desire of another, until ambition, or avarice, or some other passion, tempted him at length to make the final sacrifice. Gerbert is said to have sold himself on condition of being made a pope. Magicians were, in general, beneficent, rather than noxious to their fellow-men; it was only when provoked, that they injured or tormented them; and their vengeance was in

most cases of a ludicrous character. A magician of the twelfth century, named Eustace the Monk, who also had studied in Toledo, was ill-received in a tavern, in return for which he caused the hostess and her gossips to expose themselves in a disgraceful manner to the ridicule of their fellow-townspeople; the latter had shown him disrespect, and he set them all by the ears with his conjurations; a wagoner, in whose vehicle he was riding, treated him with insolence, and he terrified him with his enchantments. Another necromancer, according to a story of the thirteenth century, went to a town to gain money by his feats; the townspeople looked on, but gave him nothing; and in revenge, by his magic (*arte dæmonica*), he made them all strip to the skin, and in this condition dance and sing about the streets.

Sometimes the evil one had intercourse with men who were not magicians; when they were influenced by some unattainable desire, he appeared to them, called or uncalled, and bought their souls in exchange for the gratification of their wishes. Not unfrequently the victim had fallen suddenly from wealth and power, to extreme poverty and helplessness, and the tempter appeared to him when he had retired to some solitary spot to hide the poignancy of his grief. This circumstance was a fertile source of stories in the middle ages, and in most of which the victim of the fiend is rescued by the interference of the Virgin. Sometimes he sought an interview with the demon through the agency of a magician. Thus Theophilus, a personage who figures rather extensively in medieval legends, was the seneschal of a bishop, and as such, a rich and powerful man; but his patron died, and the new bishop deprived him of his place and its emoluments. Theophilus, in his distress, consulted a Jew, who was a magician; the latter called in the fiend, and Theophilus sold himself on condition of being restored to his old dignity, with increased power and authority. The temper of men raised in the world in this manner was generally changed, and they became vindictive, cruel, and vicious. It was one of the articles of the compact of Theophilus with the demon, that during the remainder of his life, he should practise every kind of vice and oppression; but before his time came, he repented, and from a great sinner, became a great saint. We have in the legend of Faust ("Dr. Faustus"), the general type of a medieval magician.

The witch held a lower degree in the scale of forbidden knowledge. She was a slave without recompense; she had sold herself without any apparent object, unless it were the mere power of doing evil. The witch remained always the same, poor and

despised, an outcast from among her fellow-creatures. It is to this class of persons that our work will be more especially devoted; and in the present chapter we will endeavor to trace, amid the dim light of early medieval history, the ideas of our forefathers on this subject, previous to the time when trials for sorcery became frequent.

It has been an article of popular belief, from the earliest period of the history of the nations of western Europe, that women were more easily brought into connection with the spiritual world than men: priestesses were the favorite agents of the deities of the ages of paganism, and the natural weakness and vengeful feelings of the sex made their power an object of fear. To them especially were known the herbs, or animals, or other articles which were noxious to mankind, and the ceremonies and charms whereby the influence of the gods might be obtained to preserve or to injure. After the introduction of Christianity, it was the demons who were supposed to listen to these incantations, and they are strictly forbidden in the early ecclesiastical laws, which alone appear at first to have taken cognizance of them. We learn from these laws that witches were believed to destroy people's cattle and goods, to strike people with diseases, and even to cause their death. It does not appear, however, that previous to the twelfth century, at least, their power was believed to arise from any direct compact with the devil. In the adventures of Hereward, a witch is introduced to enchant a whole army, but she appears to derive her power from a spirit which presided over a fountain. The Anglo-Saxon women seem, from allusions met with here and there in old writers, to have been much addicted to these superstitious practices, but unfortunately we have very little information as to their particular form or description. The character of Hilda, in Bulwer's noble romance of "King Harold," is a faithful picture of the Saxon sorceress of a higher class. During the period subsequent to the Norman conquest, we are better acquainted with the general character of witchcraft in England, and among our neighbors on the continent, because more of the historical monuments of that period have been preserved.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the power of the witches to do mischief was derived from a direct compact with the demon, whom they were bound to worship with certain rites and ceremonies, the shadows of those which had in remoter ages been performed in honor of the pagan gods. Southey's ballad has given a modern popularity to the story of the witch of Berkeley, which William of Malmsbury, an historian

of the first half of the twelfth century, relates from the information of one of his own acquaintances, who assured him that he was an eye-witness, and whom William "would have been ashamed to disbelieve."* No sooner had her unearthly master given the miserable woman warning that the hour had approached when he should take final possession, than she called to her death-bed her children and the monks of a neighboring monastery, confessed her evil courses and her subjection to the devil, and begged that they would at least secure her body from the hands of the fiends. "Sew me," she said, "in the hide of a stag, then place me in a stone coffin, and fasten in the covering lead and iron. Upon this place another stone, and chain the whole down with three heavy chains of iron. Let fifty psalms be sung each night, and fifty masses be said by day, to break the power of the demons. If you can thus keep my body three nights, on the fourth day you may securely bury it in the ground." These directions were executed to the letter; but psalms and masses were equally unavailable. The first night the priests withstood the efforts of the fiends; the second they became more clamorous, the gates of the monastery were burst open in spite of the strength of the bolts, and two of the chains which held down the coffin were broken, though the middle one held firm. On the third night the clamor of the fiends increased till the monastery trembled from its foundations; and the priests, stiff with terror, were unable to proceed with their service. The doors at length burst open of their own accord, and a demon larger and more terrible than any of the others, stalked into the church. He stopped at the coffin, and with a fearful voice ordered the woman to arise. She answered that she was held down by the chain; the demon put his foot to the coffin, the last chain broke asunder like a bit of thread, and the covering of the coffin flew off. The body of the witch then arose, and her persecutor took her by the hand, and led her to the door, where a black horse of gigantic stature, its back covered with iron spikes, awaited them, and, seating her beside him on its back, he disappeared from the sight of the terrified monks. But the horrible screams of his victim were heard through the country for miles as they passed along.

At this period the witches met together by night, in solitary places, to worship their master, who appeared to them in the shape of a cat, or a goat, or sometimes in that of a man. At these meetings, as we are informed by John of Salisbury, they had feasts and some were appointed to serve at table, while

* Ego illud a tali audivi, qui se vidisse juraret, cui erubescerem non credere.

others received punishment or reward, according to their zeal in the service of the evil one. Hither, also, they brought children which they had stolen from their cradles, and which were sometimes torn to pieces and devoured. We see here the first outlines of the witches' "sabbath" of a later age. The witches came to these assemblies riding through the air, mounted on besoms. William of Auverne, who wrote in the thirteenth century, informs us that when the witches wished to go to the place of rendezvous, they took a reed or cane, and, on making some magical signs and uttering certain barbarous words, it became transformed into a horse, which carried them thither with extraordinary rapidity. It was a very common article of belief in the middle ages, that women of this class rode about through the air at night, mounted on strange beasts; that they passed over immense distances in an incredible short space of time; and that they entered men's houses without opening doors or windows, and destroyed their goods, and injured their persons while asleep, sometimes even causing their death. Vincent of Beauvais, in the thirteenth century, tells a story of one of these wandering dames, who one day went to the priest in the church, and said, "Sir, I did you a great service last night, and saved you from much evil; for the dames with whom I am accustomed to go about at night, entered your chamber, and if I had not interceded with them, and prayed for you, they would have done you an injury." Says the priest, "The door of my chamber was locked and bolted; how could you enter it?" To which the old woman (for we are assured that it was an old woman), answered, "Sir, neither door nor lock can restrain or hinder us from freely going in and out wherever we choose." Then the priest shut and bolted the church-doors, and seizing the staff of the cross, "I will prove if it be true," said he, "that I may repay you for so great a service," and he belabored the woman's back and shoulders. To all her outcries, his only reply was, "Get out of the church and fly, since neither door nor lock can restrain you?" It was an argument that could not be evaded. A writer of the twelfth century, however, relates *from his own knowledge*, an incident where a woman in France had been seized for her wicked opinions, and condemned to the fire; but, with a word or two of contempt for her keepers and judges, she approached the window of the room in which she was confined, uttered a charm, and instantly disappeared in the air.

Another faculty possessed by the witches of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was that of taking strange shapes, as those of dif-

ferent animals, or of transforming others. It was a very prevalent belief that such persons turned themselves into ravenous wolves, and wandered about by night to devour people. They took many other shapes to indulge passions which could not be otherwise gratified. They sometimes revenged themselves upon their enemies, or those against whom they bore ill-will, by turning them into dogs or asses, and they could only recover their shapes by bathing in running water. William of Malmsbury, in the earlier part of the twelfth century, tells us, that in the high road to Rome there dwelt two old women, of no good reputation, in a wretched hut, where they allured weary travellers; and by their charms they transformed them into horses, or swine, or any other animals which they could sell to the merchants who passed that way, by which means they gained a livelihood. One day a jougleur, or mountebank, asked for a night's lodging; and when they were informed of his profession, they told him that they had an ass which was remarkable for its intelligence—being deficient only in speech, but which would do every kind of feat it was ordered to do. The jougleur saw the ass, was delighted with its exploits, and bought it for a considerable sum of money. The woman told him at parting, that if he would preserve the animal long, he must carefully keep it from water. The mountebank followed these directions, and his ass became a very fertile source of profit. But its keeper, with increase of riches, became more dissolute, and less attentive to his interests; and one day while he was in a state of drunken forgetfulness, the ass escaped, and ran directly to the nearest stream, into which it had no sooner thrown itself, than it recovered its original shape of a handsome young man. The mountebank soon afterward missing his ass, set out anxiously in search of it, and met the young man, who told him what had happened, and how he had been transformed by the wicked charms of the old women. The latter were carried with him before the pope, to whom they confessed their evil practices.

The power of the witches was indeed very great; and as they were believed to be entirely occupied in the perpetration of mischief, it was in these early ages an object of universal terror. They sent storms which destroyed the crops, and overthrew or set fire to people's houses. They sunk ships on the sea. They cast charms on people's cattle. They carried away children from the cradle, and often tore and devoured them at their horrible orgies, while sometimes they left changelings in their places. They struck men and women with noxious diseases, and made

them gradually pine away. The earlier German and Anglo-Saxon witches were still more ferocious, for it appears that when they found men asleep, or off their guard, they slew them, and devoured their heart and breast, a crime for which a severe punishment is allotted in the ancient laws of some of the Teutonic tribes. But it appears, by some of these laws, that the witches had contrived a singular mode of evasion. When they found a man asleep, they tore out his heart and devoured it, and then filled the cavity with straw, or a piece of wood, or some other substance, and by their charms gave him an artificial life, so that he appeared to live and move in the world, and execute all his functions, until long after the actual crime had taken place, and then he pined away, and seemed to die.

The practice of bewitching and killing people by charmed images of wax, which is so often mentioned in later times, does not occur in the earlier history of sorcery in the west. It is not distinctly mentioned until the beginning of the fourteenth century; but it must not be forgotten that we have no detailed trials of witches in these early ages, and that consequently we find only accidental allusions to their practices. The earliest trial for witchcraft in England occurs in the tenth year of the reign of King John, when, as it is briefly stated in the "*Abbreviatio Placitorum*," the only record of the legal proceedings of the time, "Agnes, the wife of Odo the merchant, accused Gideon of sorcery *(de sorceria)*, and she was acquitted by the judgment of [hot] iron." During the reign of Edward II., in 1324, occurs the earliest case of sorcery in England of which we have any details. The actors in it were men, and their object was to cause the death of the king, the two Despensers (his favorites), and the prior of Coventry, who, it appears, had been supported by the royal favorites in oppressing the city of Coventry, and more especially certain of its citizens. The latter went to a famous necromancer of Coventry, named Master John of Nottingham, and his man Robert Marshall of Leicester, and requested them to aid "by their necromancy and their arts" in bringing about the death of the king, the two favorites, and the said prior. Robert Marshall, perhaps in consequence of a quarrel with his master, sought his revenge by laying an information against the other confederates. He said that John of Nottingham and himself having agreed for a certain sum of money to do as they were requested by the citizens, the latter brought them, on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Nicholas, being the 11th of March, a sum of money in part payment, with seven pounds of wax and

two yards of canvass, with which wax the necromancer and his man made seven images, the one representing the king with his crown on his head, the six others representing the two Despensers, the prior, his caterer and steward, and a certain person named Richard de Lowe, the latter being chosen merely for the purpose of trying an experiment upon him to prove the strength of the charm. Robert Marshall confessed that he and his master, John of Nottingham, went to an old ruined house under Shortely park, about half a league from the city of Coventry, in which they began their work on the Monday after the feast of St. Nicholas, and that they remained constantly at work until the Saturday after the feast of the Ascension; that "as the said Master John and he were at their work in the said old house the Friday after the feast of the Holy Cross, about midnight, the said Master John gave to the said Robert a broach of lead with a sharp point, and commanded him to push it to the depth of about two inches in the forehead of the image made after Richard de Lowe, by which he would prove the others; and so he did; and the next morning the said Master John sent the said Robert to the house of the said Richard de Lowe, to spy in what condition he was, and the said Robert found the said Richard screaming and crying 'Harrow!' and without knowledge of anybody, having lost his memory; and so the said Richard lay languishing until the daybreak of the Sunday before the feast of the Ascension, at which hour the said Master John drew out the said leaden broach from the forehead of the said image made after the said Richard, and thrust it into its heart. And thus the said broach remained in the heart of the image until the Wednesday following, on which day the said Richard died." It appears that a stop was put to the further prosecution of their design, and thus the only person who suffered was one against whom they appear to have had no cause for malice. The trial was adjourned from term to term, until at length it disappears from the rolls, and the prosecution was probably dropped.

It was, however, the church more frequently than the common law, which took cognizance of such crimes; for sorcery was conceived to be one of the means used by Satan to stir up heresies, and it was on this account that on the continent it was at an early period treated with so much severity.* Apostate priests were believed to attend the secret assemblies of the witches, and

* The earliest instance which I have met with of the burning of witches, occurs in the curious treatise of Walter Mapes, "De Nugis Curialium," dist. iv., chap. 6, written in the reign of our Henry II.

receive their lessons from the evil one. A very remarkable heretical sorcerer, named Eudo de Stella, lived in the middle of the twelfth century, and is the subject of several wonderful stories in the chronicles of those times. By his "diabolical charms," if we believe William of Newbury, he collected together a great multitude of followers. Sometimes they were carried about from province to province, with amazing rapidity, making converts wherever they stopped. At other times they retired into desert places, where their leader held his court with great apparent magnificence, and noble tables were suddenly spread with rich viands and strong wines, served by invisible spirits, and whatever the guests wished for was laid before them in an instant. But William of Newbury tells us that he had heard, from some of Eudo's followers, that these various meats were not substantial, that they gave satisfaction only for the moment, which was soon followed by keener hunger than before, so that they were continually eating. Any one, however, who once tasted of these meats, or received any of Eudo's gifts, was immediately held by a charm, and became involuntarily one of his followers. A knight of his acquaintance—for he was a man of good family—visited him at his "fantastic" court, and endeavored in vain to convert him from his evil ways. When he departed. Eudo presented his esquire with a handsome hawk. The knight, observing his esquire with the bird on his hand, advised him to cast it away; but he refused, and they had scarcely left the assembly which surrounded Eudo's resting-place, when the esquire felt the claws of his bird grasping him tighter and tighter, until, before he could disengage himself, it flew away with him, and he was seen no more. The hawk was a demon. Eudo was at length arrested by the archbishop of Rheims, and died in prison. His followers dispersed when their leader was taken, but some of them were seized and burnt.

The religious sects which sprang up rather numerously in the twelfth century, in consequence of the violent intellectual agitation of that age, and which attempted to throw off the corruptions of the papacy, naturally gave great alarm to the church; and the advocates of the latter adopted the course, too common in religious controversies, of attempting to render their opponents unpopular, by fixing upon them some disgraceful stigma. They thus ascribed to them most of the scandalous practices which the fathers had told them were in use among the Manichæans and other heretics of the primitive church, while among the vulgar they identified them with the hated sorcerer and witch, and ac-

cused them of being in direct compact with the devil. The secrecy which their safety compelled them to observe gave a ready handle for such sinister reports. William of Rheims, the prelate mentioned above, appears to have been a great persecutor of these sects, which were numerous in all parts of France, and were known by such names as Publicans (said to be a corruption of Paulicians), Paternins, &c., in the north, and Waldenses in the south. Walter Mapes, a well-known English writer of the latter half of the twelfth century, in a treatise entitled "*De Nugis Curialium*," recently published for the first time by the author of these pages, has preserved some curious stories relating to these Publicans, whom he represents as being under the necessity of concealing their opinions from the knowledge of the public. Some of them, he says, who had returned to the community of the church, confessed that at their meetings, which were held "about the first watch of the night," they closed the doors and windows, and sat waiting in silence, until at length a black cat descended among them. They then immediately put out the lights, and, approaching this strange object of adoration, every one caught hold of it how he could and kissed it. The worshippers then took hold of each other, men and women, and proceeded to acts which can not here be described. The archbishop of Rheims told Mapes himself that there was a certain great baron in the district of Vienne who always carried with him in his scrip a small quantity of exorcised salt, as a defence against the sorcery of these people, to which he thought he was exposed even at table. Information was brought to him at last that his nephew, who was also a man of great wealth and influence (perhaps the same Eudo de Stella mentioned by William of Newbury), had been converted to the creed of these Publicans or Paternins by the intermediation of two knights, and he immediately paid him a visit. As they all sat at dinner, the noble convert ordered to be placed before his uncle a fine barbel on a dish, which was equally tempting by its look and smell; but he had no sooner sprinkled a little of his salt upon it, than it vanished, and nothing was left on the dish but a bit of dirt. The uncle, astonished at what had happened, urged his nephew to abandon his evil courses, but in vain, and he left him, carrying away as prisoners the two knights who had corrupted him. To punish these for their heresy, he bound them in a little hut of inflammable materials, to which he set fire in order to burn them; but when the ashes were cleared away, they were found totally unhurt. To counteract the effects this false miracle might produce on the minds of the vulgar, the baron

now erected a larger hut with still more inflammable materials, which he sprinkled all over with holy water as a precaution against sorcery; but now it was found that the flames would not communicate themselves to the building. When people entered, however, they found to their astonishment that the former miracle was reversed: for now, while the wooden building which had been sprinkled with holy water would not burn, the two sorcerers were found reduced to ashes. The truth of this story was asserted by the prince-bishop of Rheims (for the prelate was the French king's brother-in-law), and the readiness with which it was received is a proof of the extraordinary credulity of the age in matters of this kind. Walter Mapes, who was rather beyond his age in liberality of sentiment, acknowledges the simplicity and innocence of the Waldenses, or Vaudois; yet, before much more than a century was past, they also were exposed to the worst part of the charges mentioned above. A list of the pretended errors of this sect, compiled probably about the end of the thirteenth century, speaks of the same disgraceful proceedings at their secret meetings; of the figure of a cat under which the demon appeared to them, to receive their homage; and tells us that they travelled through the air or skies anointed with a certain ointment: but the writer confesses naively that they had not done such things to his knowledge in the parts where he lived.*

The demons whom the sorcerer served seem rarely to have given any assistance to their victims, when the latter fell into the hands of the judicial authorities. But if they escaped punishment by the agency of the law, they were only reserved for a more terrible end. We have already seen the fate of the woman of Berkeley. A writer of the thirteenth century has preserved a story of a man who, by his compact with the evil one, had collected together great riches. One day, while he was absent in the fields, a stranger of suspicious appearance came to his house, and asked for him. His wife replied that he was not at home. The stranger said, "Tell him, when he returns, that to-night he must pay me my debt." The wife replied that she was not aware

* This list of the errors of the Waldenses is printed in the "Reliquiæ Antiquæ," vol. i., p. 246. The charges alluded to are placed at the end.

"Item, habent etiam inter se mixtum abominabile et perversa dogmata ad hoc apta, *sed non reperitur quod abutantur in partibus istis a multis temporibus.*

"Item, *in aliquibus aliis partibus* apparet eis dæmon sub specie et figura cati, quem sub cauda sigillatim osculantur.

"Item, *in aliis partibus* super unum baculum certo unguento perunctum equitant et ad loca assignata ubi voluerint congregantur in momento dum volunt. *Sed ista in istis partibus non inveniuntur.*"

The latter is distinctly an allusion to the "sabbath" of the witches.

he owed anything to him. "Tell him," said the stranger, with a ferocious look, "that I will have my debt to-night!" The husband returned, and, when informed of what had taken place, merely remarked that the demand was just. He then ordered his bed to be made that night in an outhouse, where he had never slept before, and he shut himself in it with a lighted candle. The family were astonished, and could not resist the impulse to gratify their curiosity by looking through the holes in the door. They beheld the same stranger, who had entered without opening the door, seated beside his victim, and they appeared to be counting large sums of money. Soon they began to quarrel about their accounts, and were proceeding from threats to blows, when the servants, who were looking through the door, burst it open, that they might help their master. The light was instantly extinguished, and when another was brought, no traces could be found of either of the disputants, nor were they ever afterward heard of. The suspicious-looking stranger was the demon himself, who had carried away his victim.

In some cases the demon interfered uncalled for, and without any apparent advantage to himself. A story told by Walter Mapes furnishes a curious illustration of this, while it shows us the strong tendency of the popular mind to believe in supernatural agency. The wars and troubles of the twelfth century, joined with the defective construction of the social system, exposed France and other countries to the ravages of troops of soldier-robbers, who made war on society for their own gain, and who represented in a rude form the Free Companies of a later period. They were commonly known by the appellation of Routiers, and in many instances had for their leaders knights and gentlemen who, having squandered away their property, or incurred the ban of society, betook themselves to this wild mode of life. The chief of one of the bands which ravaged the diocese of Beauvais in the twelfth century was named Eudo. He was the son and heir of a baron of great wealth, but had wasted his patrimony until he was reduced to beggary. One day he wandered from the city into a neighboring wood, and there he sank down on a bank-side, reflecting on his own miserable condition. Suddenly he was roused from his revery by the appearance of a stranger, a man of large stature but repulsive countenance, who nevertheless addressed him in conciliatory language, and soon showed that he knew all his affairs. The stranger, who was no other than a demon in disguise, promised Eudo that he should not only recover his former riches, but that he should gain infinitely more

wealth and power than he had ever possessed before, if he would submit to his guidance and follow his councils. After much hesitation, Eudo accepted the tempter's aid; and the latter not only waived any disagreeable conditions on the part of his victim, but even agreed that he would give him three successive warnings before his death, so that he might have sufficient time for repentance.

From this moment Olga, for this was the name the demon took, was Eudo's constant companion, and the adviser of all his actions. They soon raised a powerful troop, and, by the knowledge and skill of Olga, the whole district of Beauvais was gradually overrun and plundered, and its inhabitants exposed to every outrage in which the lawless soldiers of the middle ages indulged. Success attended all Eudo's undertakings, and neither towns nor castles were safe from their ravages. The possessions of the clergy were the special objects of Eudo's fury; and the bishop of Beauvais, after using in vain all means of reclaiming or resisting him, thundered against him the deepest anathema of the church.. In the midst of these daily scenes of rapine and slaughter, one day Olga met him with a more serious countenance than usual, reminded him of his sins, preached repentance, and recommended him, above all things, to submit to the bishop and reconcile himself to the church. Eudo obeyed, obtained the bishop's absolution, led a better life for a short time, and then returned to his old ways, and became worse than before. In the course of one of his plundering expeditions, he was thrown from his horse, and broke his leg. This Eudo took as his first warning; he repented anew, went to the bishop and made his confession (omitting, however, all mention of his compact with Olga), and remained peaceful till his recovery from the accident, when he collected his followers again, and pursued his old life with such eagerness, that no one could speak of his name without horror. A second warning, the loss of his eye by an arrow, had the same result. At length he was visited by the third and last warning, the death of his only son, and then true penitence visited his heart. He hastened to the city of Beauvais, and found the bishop outside the walls assisting at the burning of a witch. But the prelate had now experienced so many times the falseness of Eudo's penitence, that he refused to believe it when true. The earnest supplications of the sinner, even the tardy sympathy of the multitude who stood round, most of whom had been sufferers from his violence, were of no avail, and the bishop persisted in refusing to the unhappy man the consolations of the church. At

length, tormented and angered with his importunities, the bishop exclaimed, "If I must relent, be it known that I enjoin as thy penitence that thou throw thyself into this fire which has been prepared for the sorceress." Eudo remonstrated not, but threw himself into the fire, and was consumed to ashes.

With the fourteenth century we enter upon a new period of the history of sorcery. The trial of the necromancers of Coventry appears to have originated in an attempt to gratify private revenge. In our next chapter we shall detail a far more extraordinary case, occurring at the same time, which appears to have arisen from acts of extortion and oppression. From this time, during at least two centuries (the fourteenth and fifteenth), we shall find sorcery used frequently as a powerful instrument of political intrigue. After that period, we enter upon what may be termed, *par excellence*, the age of witches.

CHAPTER II.

STORY OF THE LADY ALICE KYTELER.

It was late in the twelfth century when the Anglo-Normans first set their feet in Ireland as conquerors, and before the end of the thirteenth the portion of that island which has since received the name of the English Pale, was already covered with flourishing towns and cities, which bore witness to the rapid increase of commerce in the hands of the enterprising and industrious settlers from the shores of Great Britain. The county of Kilkenny, attractive by its beauty and by its various resources, was one of the districts first occupied by the invaders; and at the time of which we are speaking, its chief town, named also Kilkenny, was a strong city with a commanding castle, and was inhabited by wealthy merchants, one of whom was a rich banker and money-lender named William Outlawe.

This William Outlawe married a lady of property named Alice Kyteler, or Le Kyteler, who was, perhaps, the sister or a near relative of a William Kyteler, incidentally mentioned as holding the office of sheriff of the liberty of Kilkenny. William Outlawe died some time before 1302; and his widow became the wife of Adam le Blond, of Callan, of a family which, by its English name of White, held considerable estates in Kilkenny and Tipperary in later times. This second husband was dead before 1311; for in that

year the lady Alice appears as the wife of Richard de Valle: and at the time of the events narrated in the following pages, she was the spouse of a fourth husband, Sir John le Poer. By her first husband she had a son, named also William Outlawe, who appears to have been the heir to his father's property, and succeeded him as a banker. He was his mother's favorite child, and seems to have inherited also a good portion of the wealth of the lady Alice's second and third husbands.

The few incidents relating to this family previous to the year 1324, which can be gathered from the entries on the Irish records, seem to show that it was not altogether free from the turbulent spirit which was so prevalent among the Anglo-Irish in former ages. It appears that, in 1302, Adam le Blond and Alice his wife intrusted to the keeping of William Outlawe the younger the sum of three thousand pounds in money, which William Outlawe, for the better security, buried in the earth within his house, a method of concealing treasure which accounts for many of our antiquarian discoveries. This was soon noised abroad; and one night William le Kyteler, the sheriff above mentioned, with others, by precept of the seneschal of the liberty of Kilkenny, broke into the house *vi et armis*, as the record has it, dug up the money, and carried it off, along with a hundred pounds belonging to William Outlawe himself, which they found in the house. Such an outrage as this could not pass in silence; but the perpetrators attempted to shelter themselves under the excuse that, being dug up from the ground, it was *treasure-trove*, and as such belonged to the king; and, when Adam le Blond and his wife Alice attempted to make good their claims, the sheriff trumped up a charge against them that they had committed homicide and other crimes, and that they had concealed Roesia Outlawe (perhaps the sister of William Outlawe the younger), accused of theft, from the agents of justice, under which pretences he threw into prison all three, Adam, Alice, and Roesia. They were, however, soon afterward liberated, but we do not learn if they recovered their money. William Outlawe's riches, and his mother's partiality for him, appear to have drawn upon them both the jealousy and hatred of many of their neighbors, and even of some of their kindred, but they were too powerful and too highly connected to be reached in any ordinary way.

At this time Richard de Ledrede, a turbulent intriguing prelate, held the see of Ossory, to which he had been consecrated in 1318 by mandate from Pope John XXII., the same pontiff to whom we owe the first bull against sorcery (*contra magos ma-*

gicasque superstitiones), which was the groundwork of the inquisitorial persecutions of the following ages. In 1324, Bishop Richard made a visitation of his diocese, and "found," as the chronicler of these events informs us, "by an inquest in which were five knights and other noblemen in great multitude, that in the city of Kilkenny there had long been, and still were, many sorcerers using divers kinds of witchcraft, to the investigation of which the bishop proceeding, as he was obliged by duty of his office, found a certain rich lady, called the lady Alice Kyteler, the mother of William Outlawe, with many of her accomplices, involved in various such heresies." Here, then, was a fair occasion for displaying the zeal of a follower of the sorcery-hating Pope John, and also perhaps for indulging some other passions.

The persons accused as Lady Alice's accomplices, were her son, the banker, William Outlawe, a clerk named Robert de Bristol, John Galrussyn, William Payn of Boly, Petronilla de Meath, Petronilla's daughter Sarah, Alice, the wife of Henry the Smith, Annota Lange, Helena Galrussyn, Sysok Galrussyn, and Eva de Brounstoun. The charges brought against them were distributed under seven formidable heads. First, it was asserted that, in order to give effect to their sorcery, they were in the habit of totally denying the faith of Christ and of the church for a year or month, according as the object to be attained was greater or less, so that during the stipulated period they believed in nothing that the church believed, and abstained from worshipping the body of Christ, from entering a church, from hearing mass, and from participating in the sacrament. Second, that they propitiated the demons with sacrifices of living animals, which they divided member from member, and offered, by scattering them in cross-roads, to a certain demon who caused himself to be called Robin Artisson *(filius Artis)*, who was "one of the poorer class of hell." Third, that by their sorceries they sought council and answers from demons. Fourth, that they used the ceremonies of the church in their nightly conventicles, pronouncing, with lighted candles of wax, sentence of excommunication, even against the persons of their own husbands, naming expressly every member, from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, and at length extinguishing the candles with the exclamation "Fi! fi! fi! Amen." Fifth, that with the intestines and other inner parts of cocks sacrificed to the demons, with "certain horrible worms," various herbs, the nails of dead men, the hair, brains, and clothes of children which had died unbaptized, and other things equally disgusting, boiled in the skull of a certain robber who had been

beheaded, on a fire made of oak-sticks, they had made powders and ointments, and also candles of fat boiled in the said skull, with certain charms, which things were to be instrumental in exciting love or hatred, and in killing and otherwise afflicting the bodies of faithful Christians, and in effecting various other purposes. Sixth, that the sons and daughters of the four husbands of the lady Alice Kyteler had made their complaint to the bishop, that she, by such sorcery, had procured the death of her husbands, and had so infatuated and charmed them, that they had given all their property to her and her son, to the perpetual impoverishment of their sons and heirs; insomuch, that her present husband, Sir John le Poer, was reduced to a most miserable state of body by her powders, ointments, and other magical operations; but being warned by her maid-servant, he had forcibly taken from his wife the keys of her boxes, in which he found a bag filled with the "detestable" articles above enumerated, which he had sent to the bishop. Seventh, that there was an unholy connection between the said Lady Alice and the demon called Robin Artisson, who sometimes appeared to her in the form of a cat, sometimes in that of a black shaggy dog, and at others in the form of a black man, with two tall and equally-swarthy companions, each carrying an iron rod in his hand. It is added by some of the old chroniclers, that her offering to the demon was nine red cocks, and nine peacocks' eyes, at a certain stone bridge at a cross-road; that she had a certain ointment with which she rubbed a beam of wood "called a cowltre," upon which she and her accomplices were carried to any part of the world they wished, without hurt or stoppage; that "she swept the stretes of Kilkennie betweene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of hir sonne William Outlawe, murmuring secretlie with hir selfe these words:—

> 'To the house of William my sonne,
> Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie town;'"

and that in her house was seized a wafer of consecrated bread, on which the name of the devil was written.

The bishop of Ossory resolved at once to enforce in its utmost rigor the recent papal bull against offenders of this class; but he had to contend with greater difficulties than he expected. The mode of proceeding was new, for hitherto in England sorcery was looked upon as a crime of which the secular law had cognizance, and not as belonging to the ecclesiastical court; and this is said to have been the first trial of the kind in Ireland that

had attracted any public attention. Moreover, the lady Alice, who was the person chiefly attacked, had rich and powerful supporters. The first step taken by the bishop was to require the chancellor to issue a writ for the arrest of the persons accused. But it happened that the lord-chancellor of Ireland at this time was Roger Outlawe, prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and a kinsman of William Outlawe. This dignitary, in conjunction with Arnald le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny, expostulated with the bishop, and tried to persuade him to drop the suit. When, however, the latter refused to listen to them, and persisted in demanding the writ, the chancellor informed him that it was not customary to issue a writ of this kind, until the parties had been regularly proceeded against according to law. The bishop indignantly replied that the service of the church was above the forms of the law of the land; but the chancellor now turned a deaf ear, and the bishop sent two apparitors with a formal attendance of priests to the house of William Outlawe, where Lady Alice was residing, to cite her in person before his court. The lady refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court in this case; and, on the day she was to appear, the chancellor, Roger Outlawe, sent advocates, who publicly pleaded her right to defend herself by her counsel, and not to appear in person. The bishop, regardless of this plea, pronounced against her the sentence of excommunication, and cited her son, William Outlawe, to appear on a certain day, and answer to the charge of harboring and concealing his mother in defiance of the authority of the church.

On learning this, the seneschal of Kilkenny, Arnald le Poer, repaired to the priory of Kells, where the bishop was lodged, and made a long and touching appeal to him to mitigate his anger, until at length, wearied and provoked by his obstinacy, he left his presence with threats of vengeance. The next morning, as the bishop was departing from the priory to continue his visitation in other parts of the diocese, he was stopped at the entrance to the town of Kells by one of the seneschal's officers, Stephen le Poer, with a body of armed men, who conducted him as a prisoner to the castle of Kilkenny, where he was kept in custody until the day was past on which William Outlawe had been cited to appear in his court. The bishop, after many protests on the indignity offered in his person to the church, and on the protection given to sorcerers and heretics, was obliged to submit. It was a mode of evading the form of law, characteristic of an age in which the latter was subservient to force, and the

bishop's friends believed that the king's officers were bribed by William Outlawe's wealth. They even reported afterward, to throw more discredit on the authors of this act of violence, that one of the guards was heard to say to another, as they led him to prison, "That fair steed which William Outlawe presented to our lord Sir Arnald last night draws well, for it has drawn the bishop to prison."

This summary mode of proceeding against an ecclesiastic, appears to have caused astonishment even in Ireland, and during the first day multitudes of people of all classes visited the bishop in his confinement, to feed and comfort him, the general ferment increasing with the discourses he pronounced to his visiters. To hinder this, the seneschal ordered him to be more strictly confined, and forbade the admission of any visiters, except a few of the bishop's especial friends and servants. The bishop at once placed the whole diocese under an interdict. It was necessary to prepare immediately some excuse for these proceedings, and the seneschal issued a proclamation calling upon all who had any complaints to make against the bishop of Ossory to come forward; and at an inquest held before the justices itinerant, many grievous crimes of the bishop were rehearsed, but none would venture personally to charge him with them. All these circumstances, however, show that the bishop was not faultless; and that his conduct would not bear a very close examination, is evident from the fact, that on more than one occasion in subsequent times, he was obliged to shelter himself under the protection of the king's pardon for all past offences. William Outlawe now went to the archives of Kilkenny, and there found a former deed of accusation against the bishop of Ossory for having defrauded a widow of the inheritance of her husband. The bishop's party said that it was a cancelled document, the case having been taken out of the secular court; and that William had had a new copy made of it to conceal the evidence of this fact, and had then rubbed the fresh parchment with his shoes in order to give his copy the appearance of an old document. However, it was delivered to the seneschal, who now offered to release his prisoner on condition of his giving sufficient bail to appear and answer in the secular court the charge thus brought against him. This the bishop refused to do, and after he had remained eighteen days in confinement, he was unconditionally set free.

The bishop marched from his prison in triumph, full-dressed in his pontifical robes, and immediately cited William Outlawe to appear before him in his court on another day; but before that

day arrived, he received a royal writ, ordering him to appear before the lord-justice of Ireland without any delay, on penalty of a fine of a thousand pounds, to answer to the king for having placed his diocese under interdict, and also to make his defence against the accusations of Arnald le Poer. He received a similar summons from the dean of St. Patrick's, to appear hefore him as the vicarial representative of the archbishop of Dublin. The bishop of Ossory made answer that it was not safe for him to undertake the journey, because his way lay through the lands and lordship of his enemy, Sir Arnald, but this excuse was not admitted, and the diocese was relieved from the interdict.

Other trials were reserved for the mortified prelate. On the Monday after the octaves of Easter, the seneschal, Arnald le Poer, held his court of justice in the judicial hall of the city of Kilkenny, and there the bishop of Ossory resolved to present himself and invoke publicly the aid of the secular arm to his assistance in seizing the persons accused of sorcery. The seneschal forbade him to enter the court on his peril; but the bishop persevered, and "robed in his pontificals, carrying in his hands the body of Christ (the consecrated host), in a vessel of gold," and attended by a numerous body of friars and clergy, he entered the hall and forced his way to the tribunal. The seneschal received him with reproaches and insults, and caused him to be ignominiously turned out of court. At the repeated protest, however, of the offended prelate, and the intercession of some influential persons there present, he was allowed to return, and the seneschal ordered him to take his place at the bar allotted for criminals, upon which the bishop cried out that Christ had never been treated so before since he stood at the bar before Pontius Pilate. He then called upon the seneschal to cause the persons accused of sorcery to be seized upon and delivered into his hands, and, upon his refusal to do this, he held open the book of the decretals and said, "You, Sir Arnald, are a knight, and instructed in letters, and that you may not have the plea of ignorance in this place, we are prepared here to show in these decretals that you and your officials are bound to obey my order in this respect under heavy penalties."

"Go to the church with your decretals," replied the seneschal, "and preach there, for here you will not find an attentive audience."

The bishop then read aloud the names of the offenders, and the crimes imputed to them, summoned the seneschal to deliver them up to the jurisdiction of the church, and retreated from the court.

Sir Arnald le Poer and his friends had not been idle on their part, and the bishop was next cited to defend himself against various charges in the parliament to be held at Dublin, while the lady Alice indicted him in a secular court for defamation. The bishop is represented as having narrowly escaped the snares which were laid for him on his way to Dublin; he there found the Irish prelates not much inclined to advocate his cause, because they looked upon him as a foreigner and an interloper, and he was spoken of as a truant monk from England, who came thither to represent the "Island of Saints" as a nest of heretics, and to plague them with papal bulls of which they never heard before. It was, however, thought expedient to preserve the credit of the church, and some of the more influential of the Irish ecclesiastics interfered to effect at least an outward reconciliation between the seneschal and the bishop of Ossory. After encountering an infinity of new obstacles and disappointments, the latter at length obtained the necessary power to bring the alleged offenders to a trial, and most of them were imprisoned, but the chief object of the bishop's proceedings, the lady Alice, had been conveyed secretly away, and she is said to have passed the rest of her life in England. When her son, William Outlawe, was cited to appear before the bishop in his court in the church of St. Mary at Kilkenny, he went "armed to the teeth" with all sorts of armor, and attended with a very formidable company, and demanded a copy of the charges objected against him, which extended through thirty-four chapters. He for the present was allowed to go at large, because nobody dared to arrest him, and when the officers of the crown arrived they showed so openly their favor toward him as to take up their lodgings at his house. At length, however, having been convicted in the bishop's court at least of harboring those accused of sorcery, he consented to go into prison, trusting probably to the secret protection of the great barons of the land.

The only person mentioned by name as punished for the extreme crime of sorcery was Petronilla de Meath, who was, perhaps, less provided with worldly interests to protect her, and who appears to have been made an expiatory sacrifice for her superiors. She was, by order of the bishop six times flogged, and then, probably to escape a further repetition of this cruel and degrading punishment, she made public confession, accusing not only herself but all the others against whom the bishop had proceeded. She said that in all England, "perhaps in the whole world," there was not a person more deeply skilled in the prac-

tices of sorcery than the lady Alice Kyteler, who had been their mistress and teacher in the art. She confessed to most of the charges contained in the bishop's articles of accusation, and said that she had been present at the sacrifices to the demon, and had assisted in making the unguents of the intestines of the cocks offered on this occasion, mixed with spiders and certain black worms like scorpions, with a certain herb called millefoil, and other herbs and worms, and with the brains and clothes of a child that had died without baptism, in the manner before related; that with these unguents they had produced various effects upon different persons, making the faces of certain ladies appear horned like goats; that she had been present at the nightly conventicles, and with the assistance of her mistress had frequently pronounced the sentence of excommunication against her own husband, with all the ceremonies required by their unholy rites; that she had been with the lady Alice when the demon, Robin Artisson, appeared to her, and had seen acts pass between them, in her presence, which we shall not undertake to describe. The wretched woman, having made this public confession, was carried out into the city and publicly burnt. This, says the relator, was the first witch who was ever burnt in Ireland.

The rage of the bishop of Ossory appears now to have been, to a certain degree, appeased. He was prevailed upon to remit the offences of William Outlawe, enjoining him, as a reparation for his contempt of the church, that within the period of four years he should cover with lead the whole roof of his cathedral from the steeple eastward, as well as that of the chapel of the holy Virgin. The rest of the lady Alice's "pestiferous society" were punished in different ways, with more or less severity; one or two of them, we are told, were subsequently burnt; others were flogged publicly in the market-place and through the city; others were banished from the diocese; and a few, like their mistress, fled to a distance, or concealed themselves so effectually as to escape the hands of justice.

There was one person concerned in the foregoing events whom the bishop had not forgotten or forgiven. That was Arnald le Poer, the seneschal of Kilkenny, who had so strenuously advocated the cause of William Outlawe and his mother, and who had treated with so much rudeness the bishop himself. The Latin narrative of this history, published for the Camden Society by the writer of this paper, gives no further information respecting him, but we learn from other sources that the bishop now accused him of heresy, had him excommunicated, and obtained

a writ by which he was committed prisoner to the castle of Dublin. Here he remained in 1328, when Roger Outlawe was made lord-justice of Ireland, who attempted to mitigate his sufferings. The bishop of Ossory, enraged at the lord-justice's humanity, accused him also of heresy and of abetting heretics; upon which a parliament was called, and the different accusations having been duly examined, Arnald le Poer himself would probably have been declared innocent and liberated from confinement, but before the end of the investigation he died in prison, and his body, lying under sentence of excommunication, remained long unburied.

The bishop, who had been so great a persecutor of heresy in others, was at last accused of the same crime himself, and the case being laid before the archbishop of Dublin, he appealed to the apostolic see, fled the country privately, and repaired to Italy. Subsequent to this, he appears to have experienced a variety of troubles, and he suffered banishment during nine years. He died at a very great age in 1360. The bishop's party boasted that the "nest" of sorcerers who had infested Ireland was entirely rooted out by the prosecution of the lady Alice Kyteler and her accomplices. It may, however, be well doubted, if the belief in witchcraft were not rather extended by the publicity and magnitude of these events. Ireland would no doubt afford many equally remarkable cases in subsequent times, had the chroniclers thought them as well worth recording as the process of a lady of rank, which involved some of the leading people in the English pale, and which agitated the whole state during several successive years.

CHAPTER III.

FURTHER POLITICAL USAGE OF THE BELIEF IN SORCERY.—THE TEMPLARS.

THE history of the lady Alice Kyteler is one of the most remarkable examples that the middle ages have left us of the use which might be made of popular superstition as a means of oppression or vengeance, when other more legitimate means were wanting. France and Italy had, however, recently presented a case in which the belief in sorcery had been used as a weapon against a still higher personage.

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed history of the quarrel between the French monarch, Philippe le Bel, and the pope, Boniface VIII. It originated in the determination of the king to check in his own dominions the power and insolence of the church, and the ambitious pretensions of the see of Rome. In 1303, Philippe's ministers and agents, having collected pretended evidence in Italy, boldly accused Boniface of heresy and sorcery; and the king called a council at Paris, to hear witnesses and pronounce judgment. The pope resisted, and refused to acknowledge a council not called by himself; but the insults and outrages to which he was exposed proved too much for him, and he died the same year, in the midst of these vindictive proceedings. His enemies spread abroad a report that in his last moments he had confessed his league with the demon, and that his death was attended with "so much thunder and tempest, with dragons flying in the air and vomiting flames, and such lightning and other prodigies, that the people of Rome believed that the whole city was going to be swallowed up in the abyss." His successor, Benedict XI., undertook to defend his memory; but he died in the first year of his pontificate (in 1304), it was said by poison, and the holy see remained vacant during eleven months. In the middle of June, 1305, a Frenchman, the archbishop of Bordeaux, was elected to the papal chair under the title of Clement V.

It was understood that Clement was raised to the papacy in a great measure by the king's influence, who is said to have stipulated, as one of the conditions, that he should allow of the pro-

ceedings against Boniface, which were to make his memory infamous. Preparations were again made to carry on the trial of Boniface, but the king's necessities compelled him to seek other boons of the supreme pontiff, in consideration of which he agreed to drop the prosecution; and at last, in 1312, Boniface was declared in the council of Vienne innocent of all the offences with which he had been charged.

Whatever may have been Boniface's faults, to screen the reputation of a pope was to save the character of the church. If we may place any faith at all in the witnesses who were adduced against him, Boniface was at bottom a free-thinker, who concealed under the mitre the spirit of mockery which afterward shone forth in his countryman Rabelais, and that in moments of relaxation, especially among those with whom he was familiar, he was in the habit of speaking in bold, even in cynical language, of things which the church regarded as sacred. Persons were brought forward who deposed to having heard expressions from the lips of the pope, which, if not invented or exaggerated, savor of infidelity, and even of atheism. Other persons deposed that it was commonly reported in Italy that Boniface had communication with demons, to whom he offered his worship, whom he bound to his service by necromancy, and by whose agency he acted.* They said further, that he had been heard to hold conversation with spirits in the night; that he had a certain "idol," in which a "diabolical spirit" was enclosed, whom he was in the habit of consulting; while others said that he had a demon enclosed in a ring which he wore on his finger.† The witnesses in general spoke of these reports only as things which they had heard; but one, a friar, brother Bernard de Sorano, deposed that when Boniface was a cardinal, and held the office of notary to

* Quod ipse thurisabat et sacrificabat dæmonibus, et spiritus diabolicos citendo arte nigromantica constringebat, et quicquid agebat per actus diabolicos exercebat. —*Dupuy*, Preuves, p. 528.

† Audivit dici quod ipse Bonifacius utebatur consilio dæmonum, et habebat dæmonem inclusum in annulo. According to the popular report, spread abroad by his enemies, when Boniface was dying, he tore this ring from his finger, and dashed it on the ground, reproaching the demon with having deserted him at his greatest need.

Spirits confined in rings are often mentioned among the magical operations of the middle ages, and occur as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when such rings appear to have been brought from Spain, the seat of the ancient celebrated school of magicians. Bodinus (Dæmonomania, lib. ii, c. 3) speaks of a magician condemned in the duchy of Gueldres, in 1548, who had a demon confined in a ring (dæmonem sibi esse inclusum annulo fatebatur); and he mentions as having come within his own knowledge the case of a man who bought of a Spaniard a spirit with a ring.—(Ib., lib. iii., c. 6.) Magical rings are by no means uncommon in the cabinets of collectors.

Nicholas III., he lay with the papal army before the castle of Puriano, and he (brother Bernard) was sent to receive the surrender of the castle. He returned with the cardinal to Viterbo, where he was lodged in the palace. Late one night, as he and the cardinal's chamberlain were looking out of the window of the room he occupied, they saw Benedict of Gaeta (which was Boniface's name before he was made pope) enter a garden adjoining the palace, alone, and in a mysterious manner. He made a circle on the ground with a sword, and placed himself in the middle, having with him a cock, and a fire in an earthen pot *(in quadam olla terrea)*. Having seated himself in the middle of the circle, he killed the cock and threw its blood in the fire, from which smoke immediately issued, while Benedict read in a certain book to conjure demons. Presently brother Bernard heard a great noise *(rumorem magnum)*, and was much terrified. Then he could distinguish the voice of some one saying, "Give us the share," upon which Benedict took the cock, threw it out of the garden, and walked away without uttering a word. Though he met several persons on his way, he spoke to nobody, but proceeded immediately to a chamber near that of brother Bernard, and shut himself up. Bernard declared that, though he knew there was nobody in the room with the cardinal, he not only heard him all night talking, but he could distinctly perceive a strange voice answering him. This voice, of course, was that of a demon.*

The same charge that had been brought forward to confound Pope Boniface, was made a principal ground of persecution against the templars. It was by no means the first time that people who associated together thus in mutual confidence, or for mutual support and protection, were branded with the accusation of holding intercourse with demons, as we have already seen in the case of the Waldenses, who were hated for their heresy, and the Routiers, who were detested for their outrages. We might easily collect other examples. A French antiquary, M. Guérard, has printed, in the cartulary of St. Peter's at Chartres, a document of the earlier part of the eleventh century, which describes a sect of heretics that had arisen in the city of Orleans, whose proceedings are described as too horrible to be translated here from the original Latin of the narrator.† Just two centuries later,

* All the documents relating to the trial of this pope have been collected and printed by Dupuy, in his "Histoire du Different de Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel," 4to.

† Congregabantur siquidem certis noctibus in domo denominata, singuli lucernas tenentes in manibus, et, ad instar letaniæ, dæmonum nomina declamabant, donec

the inhabitants of the district of Steding, the modern Oldenberg, a race of people who lived in sturdy independence, were at variance with the archbishop of Bremen. The quarrel had arisen from disputed claims to tithes of the land and the right of hunting in their forests. The archbishop resented this contempt of the church, declared that the Stedingers were heretics, and proclaimed a crusade against them. At first they contended with success against their enemies, repulsed them with valor, and for some years set the archbishop at defiance. But Archbishop Gerard, who came to the see of Bremen in 1219, resolved to suppress them. One day, a greedy priest, who had been offended at the small fee given him by a noble lady of this country after confession, took his revenge by thrusting the money into her mouth instead of the consecrated host, when she was communicating. The husband of the lady resented this affront by slaying the priest. The archbishop launched against the murderer the sentence of excommunication; but he set the power of the church at defiance, and the Stedingers rose up in his cause. The archbishop, with the assistance of the neighboring princes, invaded their district; but they resisted with so much courage, that he was driven back.

The archbishop now applied to the pope, and accused the Stedingers of being obstinate heretics. Gregory IV., who at that time occupied the papal chair, addressed a bull, in 1232, to the bishops of Minden, Lübeck, and Ratzeburg, ordering them to preach a crusade against the offending population; and in the year following a second bull was addressed to the bishops of Paderborn, Hildesheim, Verden, Münster, and Osnabrück, which repeated this order more pressingly, and gave the special charge of the war to the archbishop of Maintz and Conrad of Marburg. In the year 1234, an army of forty thousand men overran and laid waste the district of Steding; a considerable portion of the population fell in battle, and the rest engaged to make reparation to the archbishop, and to be obedient to him in future, and they

subito dæmonem in similitudine cujuslibet bestiolæ inter eos viderent descendere. Qui statim ut visibilis illa videbatur visio, omnibus extinctis luminaribus, quam primum quisque poterat mulierem quæ ad manum sibi veniebat, ad abutendum arripiebat, sine peccati respectu et utrum mater aut soror aut monacha habereter; pro sanctitate ac religione ejus concubitus ab illis æstimabatur. Ex quo spurcissimo concubitu infans generatus, octava die in medio eorum copioso igne accenso piabatur per ignem, more antiquorum paganorum, et sic in igne cremabatur. Cujus cinis tanta veneratione colligebatur atque custodiebatur, ut Christiana religiositas corpus Christi custodiri solet, ægris dandum de hoc seculo exituris ad viaticum. Inerat enim tanta vis diabolicæ fraudis in ipso cinere, ut quicunque de præfata hæresi imbutus fuesset et de eodem cinere quamvis sumendo parum prælibavisset, vix unquam postea de eadem hæresi gressum mentis ad viam veritatis dirigere valeret.

were thereupon released from the sentence of excommunication.

When the archbishop of Bremen invented the charge of heresy against the Stedingers, he seems to have culled from the accounts of the heresies of the primitive church a choice collection of horrible accusations. In the pope's first bull, the Stedingers were accused of contempt and hostility toward the church; of savage barbarity, especially toward monks; of scorning the sacrament; and of holding communication with demons, making images of wax, and consulting with witches. But Gregory's second bull contains more details of the charges brought against them, and gives the following strange and wild account of the ceremonies attending the initiation of a new convert into their sect. When the novice was first introduced into their "school," we are told a toad made its appearance, which they kissed, some behind, and others on the mouth; and they drew its tongue and spittle into their mouths. Sometimes this toad appeared of a natural size; at other times it was as big as a goose or duck; but its usual size was that of an oven. As the novice proceeded, he was met by a man, who was wonderfully pale, with great black eyes, and his body so wasted and thin, that his flesh seemed to be all gone, and he appeared to have nothing but skin hanging upon his bones. The novice kissed this creature, and found that he was as cold as ice; and "after the kiss, all remembrance of the catholic faith vanished entirely from his heart." Then they all sat down to the banquet, and when they rose again, there stepped out of a statue, which was usually found in these schools, a black cat, double the size of a moderate dog: it came backward, with its tail turned up. The novice first, then the master, and afterward the others, one after another, kissed the cat as it presented itself; and when they had returned to their places, they remained in silence, with their heads inclined toward the cat, and the master suddenly pronounced the words, "Save us." He addressed this to the next in order, and the third answered, "We know it, lord;" upon which a fourth added, "We have to obey." After this ceremony was performed, the candles were extinguished, and they proceeded indiscriminately to acts which can hardly be described. When this was over, the candles were again lighted, and they resumed their places; and then out of a dark corner of the room came a man, the upper part of whom, above the loins, was bright and radiant as the sun, and the lower part was rough and hairy like a cat, and his brightness illuminated the whole room. Then the master tore off a bit of the garment of the nov-

ice, and said to the shining personage, "Master, this is given to me, and I give it again to thee;" to which he replied, "Thou hast served me well, and thou wilt serve me more and better; what thou hast given me, I give into thy keeping." Immediately after this the shining personage vanished, and the meeting broke up. The bull further charges these people with worshipping Lucifer; and contains other articles, evidently borrowed from ths creed of the ancient gnostics and Manichæans, and their kindred sects.

Such is the statement gravely made in a formal instrument by the head of the church. At the first outbreak of the quarrel between the Stedingers and the see of Bremen, no one appears to have thought of charging them with these horrible acts. They were invented only when the force which the archbishop could command was not sufficient to reduce them; and singularly enough, when they had submitted, the charge of heresy, with all its concomitant scandals, seems to have been entirely forgotten. The archbishop of Bremen with the Stedingers, like Philippe le Bel with the templars, began by defaming the cause which he wished to destroy. The prelate was incited by the love of temporal authority, the king by the want of gold.

The military order of the templars was founded early in the twelfth century, for the protection of the holy sepulchre; its members, by their conduct, merited the eulogy of St. Bernard, and on many occasions their bravery saved the Christian interests in the East. But the order soon became extraordinarily rich, and wealth, as usual, brought with it a host of corruptions and attendant vices. The writers of the twelfth century complain that the templars had degenerated much from the virtue which originally characterized the order; and in the century following "the pride of a templar" became a proverbial saying. The new knight was received into the order at a private initiation, with various forms and ceremonies, having partly a literal and partly a symbolical meaning. Some of these appear to have been repeated and corrupted after their real intention was forgotten; and it is not impossible that in the course of the familiar relations which they are said to have held with the infidels, some of them may have learned and adopted many doctrines and practices which were inconsistent with their profession.* It is cer-

* Some years ago, Von Hammer Pürgstall, in an elaborate essay published in the Fundgrüben des Orients, attempted to show from medieval monuments, that the order of the templars was infested with gnosticism: but his error has been pointed out by more than one subsequent writer. In fact, Von Hammer totally misunderstood the character of the monuments on which he built his theory.

tain, that before the end of the thirteenth century, rumors were spread abroad of strange practices, and still stranger vices, in which the templars were said to indulge. The mysterious secrecy which they maintained, their pride, riches, and power, were quite sufficient grounds in a superstitious age for such charges. Their power made them an object of alarm to the sovereigns of the various countries in which they were established, but their riches proved the cause of their final doom.

The treasury of Philippe le Bel had been long exhausted, and he had already tried a variety of expedients for the purpose of raising money, when, in the first years of the fourteenth century, he determined to recruit his finances by seizing the immense property of the templars. The sinister reports, already believed by many, were encouraged; vague complaints against the corruptions of the templars were carried to the pope, and the king of France urged that an inquiry should be instituted. At length one or more knights of the order were induced to make a voluntary confession of the enormities which they pretended were practised by the templars in their secret conclaves, and then the pontiff yielded to the urgent demands of King Philippe, and agreed that they should be brought to a trial. The richest possessions of the order were in France, for the Temple in Paris was their grand central establishment; and hence Philippe le Bel assumed the right of directing and presiding over the process which was to be carried on against them. He had offered himself as a candidate for admission into the order, and been refused.

The knights themselves appear to have had a presentiment of their impending fate, and to have been alarmed at the extent of the popular feeling against them. An English templar meeting a knight who had been newly received into the order, inquired if he had been admitted, and the latter having replied affirmatively, he added, "If you should sit on the top of the steeple of St. Paul's in London, you should not be able to see greater misfortunes than shall happen to you before you die." The rumors against the order were increased by indiscreet confessions and boasts of a few individuals, which seemed to give consistence to them. A templar had said to one who did not belong to the order, that in their chapter-general "there was a thing in secret that if any one had the misfortune to see it, even were it the king of France himself, nothing would hinder those of the chapter from killing him, if it were in their power." Another said, "We have three articles among us in our order, which none will ever know, except God and the devil, and we the brethren

of the order." Many stories were reported of individuals who had been secretly put to death, because they had been witnesses, by design or accident, of the secret ceremonies of the temple, and of the terrible dungeons into which the chiefs of the order threw its disobedient members. One of the knights declared that his uncle "had entered the order in good health, and cheerful, with his dogs and falcons, and that in three days he was dead;" and one witness examined before the commission by which the cause of the templars was tried, deposed that he had heard several templars say that there were points beside those mentioned in the public rules of the order, "which they would not mention for their heads."

In the autumn of the year 1307, the king of France struck the blow which he had been some time contemplating. He invited the grand master, Jaques de Molay, and the chiefs of the order in France, to Paris, under pretence of showing them his favor, and received them with every mark of attachment. After having acted as godfather to one of the king's sons, the grand master was one of the pall-bearers at the burial of his sister-in-law on the twelfth of October. Next day, Jaques de Molay, and a hundred and forty templars who were in Paris on this occasion, were arrested and thrown into prison. The same day thirty were arrested at Beaucaire, and immediately afterward the templars in all parts of France were seized. The publication of scandalous reports, the invectives of the monkish preachers, an inflammatory letter of the king, every method was employed to excite the people against them. The grand master, and some of the principal brethren of the order arrested in Paris, were carried before the university, and examined on certain articles of accusation, founded, it was said, on the voluntary confession of two knights of the order, a Gascon and an Italian, who, imprisoned for some offences against the law, had revealed the secrets of the order. These pretended secrets were now made public, probably with much exaggeration and addition. The templars were accused of renouncing the faith of the church, and of spitting and trampling upon the cross, of using ceremonies of a disgusting character at their initiations, and of secret practices of the most revolting description. The general character of the act of accusation against the templars bore a close resemblance to that of the earlier bull against the Stedingers. It was said that they worshipped the evil one in the shape of an idol, which they looked upon as the patron of their order, and as the author of all their riches and prosperity, and that they were individually pro-

tected by a cord that had been passed with mystic ceremony round the idol, and which they wore as a girdle at the waist. This idol they were accused of consecrating, by anointing it with the fat of a new-born infant, the illegitimate offspring of a brother of the order.* A more rational charge was that, founded on the intimate intercourse with the Saracens, of having betrayed the Christians of the East to their unbelieving enemies. They were even accused of having entered into the service of the sultan. It was said, further, that they refused to receive the sacraments from those who were alone authorized by the church to communicate them, and that they confessed only to one another and to their chiefs.

The process dragged on slowly during more than three years, in consequence of the jealousies which arose among those who were more or less interested in its prosecution. The pope wished to bring it entirely under the jurisdiction of the church, and to have it decided at Rome. The king, on the other hand, mistrusting the pope, and resolved on the destruction of the order, and that none but himself should reap the advantage of it, decided that it should be judged at Paris under his own personal influence. The prosecution was directed by his ministers, Nogaret and Enguerrand de Marigny. The templars asserted their innocence, and demanded a fair trial; but they found few advocates who would undertake their defence, and they were subjected to hardships and tortures which forced many of them into confessions dictated to them by their persecutors. During this interval, the pope's orders were carried into other countries, ordering the arrest of the templars, and the seizure of their goods, and everywhere the same charges were brought against them, and the same means adopted to procure their condemnation, although they were not everywhere subjected to the same severity as in France. At length, in the spring of 1316, the grand process was opened in Paris, and an immense number of templars, brought from all parts of the kingdom, underwent a public examination. A long act of accusation was read, some of the heads of which were, that the templars, at their reception into the order, denied Christ, and sometimes they denied expressly all the saints, declaring that he was not God truly, but a false prophet, a man who had been punished for his crimes; that they

* Car encore faisoient-il pis, car un enfant nouvel engendré d'un templier en une pucelle estoit cuit et rosti au feu, et toute la gresse ostée; et de celle estoit sacrée et ointe leur ydole.—*Les grandes Chroniques de St. Dénis*, ed. de Paulin Paris, tom. v., p. 190.

had no hope of salvation through him; that they always, at their initiation into the order, spit upon the cross, and trod it under foot; that they did this especially on Good Friday; that they worshipped a certain cat, which sometimes appeared to them in their congregation;* that they did not believe in any of the sacraments of the church; that they took secret oaths which they were bound not to reveal; that the brother who officiated at the reception of a new brother kissed the naked body of the latter, often in a very unbecoming manner; that each different province of the order has its idol, which was a head, having sometimes three faces, and at others only one; or sometimes a human skull;† these idols they worshipped in their chapters and congregations, believing that they had the power of making them rich, and of causing the trees to flourish, and the earth to become fruitful; that they girt themselves with cords, with which these idols had been superstitiously touched; that those who betrayed the secrets of their order, or were disobedient, were thrown into prison, and often put to death; that they held their chapters secretly and by night, and placed a watch to prevent them from any danger of interruption or discovery; and that they believed the grand-master alone had the power of absolving them from their sins. The publication of these charges, and the agitation which had been designedly got up, created such a horror throughout France, that the templars who died during the process were treated as condemned heretics, and burial in consecrated ground was refused to their remains.

When we read over the numerous examinations of the templars, in other countries, as well as in France, we can not but feel convinced that some of these charges had a degree of foundation, though perhaps the circumstances on which they were founded were misunderstood. A very great number of knights agreed to the general points of the formula of initiation, and we can not but believe that they did deny Christ, and that they spit and trod upon the cross. The words of the denial were, *Je reney Deu*, or *Je reney Jhesu*, repeated thrice; but most of those who confessed having gone through this ceremony, declared that they did it with repugnance, and that they spit beside the cross, and not on it. The reception took place in a secret room, with closed doors; the candidate was compelled to take off part

* Item, quod adorabant quendam catum sibi in ipsa congregatione apparentem quandoque.

† Item, quod ipsi per singulas provincias habebant ydola, videlicet capita quorum aliqua habebant tres facies et aliqua unam, et aliqua craneum humanum habebant.

or all of his garments (very rarely the latter), and then he was kissed on various parts of the body. One of the knights examined, Guischard de Marzici, said he remembered the reception of Hugh de Marhaud, of the diocese of Lyons, whom he saw taken into a small room, which was closed up so that no one conld see or hear what took place within; but that when, after some time, he was let out, he was very pale, and looked as though he were troubled and amazed (*fuit valde pallidus et quasi turbatus et stupefactus*). In conjunction, however, with these strange and revolting ceremonies, there were others that showed a reverence for the Christian church and its ordinances, a profound faith in Christ, and the consciousness that the partaker of them was entering into a holy vow.

M. Michelet, who has carefully investigated the materials relating to the trial of the templars, has suggested at least an ingenious explanation of these anomalies. He imagines that the form of reception was borrowed from the figurative mysteries and rites of the early church. The candidate for admission into the order, according to this notion, was first presented as a sinner and renegade, in which character, after the example of St. Peter, he denied Christ. This denial was a sort of pantomime, in which the novice expressed his reprobate state by spitting on the cross. The candidate was then stripped of his profane clothing, received through the kiss of the order into a higher state of faith, and redressed with the garb of its holiness. Forms like these would, in the middle ages, be easily misunderstood, and their original meaning soon forgotten.

Another charge in the accusation of the templars seems to have been to a great degree proved by the depositions of witnesses; the idol or head which they were said to have worshipped, but the real character or meaning of which we are totally unable to explain. Many templars confessed to having seen this idol, but as they described it differently, we must suppose that it was not in all cases represented under the same form. Some said it was a frightful head, with long beard and sparkling eyes; others said it was a man's skull; some described it as having three faces; some said it was of wood, and others of metal; one witness described it as a painting (*tabula picta*) representing the image of a man (*imago hominis*), and said that when it was shown to him, he was ordered to "adore Christ his creator." According to some, it was a gilt figure, either of wood or metal; while others described it as painted black and white. According to another deposition, the idol had four feet, two be-

fore and two behind; the one belonging to the order at Paris was said to be a silver head, with two faces and a beard. The novices of the order were told always to regard this idol as their savior. Deodatus Jaffet, a knight from the south of France, who had been received at Pedenat, deposed that the person who in his case performed the ceremonies of reception, showed him a head or idol, which appeared to have three faces, and said, "You must adore this as your savior, and the savior of the order of the Temple," and that he was made to worship the idol, saying, "Blessed be he who shall save my soul." Cetus Ragonis, a knight received at Rome in a chamber of the palace of the Lateran, gave a somewhat similar account. Many other witnesses spoke of having seen these heads, which, however, were, perhaps, not shown to everybody, for the greatest number of those who spoke on this subject, said that they had heard speak of the head, but that they had never seen it themselves; and many of them declared their disbelief in its existence. A friar minor deposed in England that an English templar had assured him that in that country the order had four principal idols, one at London in the sacristy of the Temple, another at Bristelham, a third at Brueria (Bruern in Lincolnshire), and a fourth beyond the Humber.

Some of the knights from the south added another circumstance in their confessions relating to this head. A templar of Florence, declared that, in the secret meetings of the chapters, one brother said to the others, showing them the idol, "Adore this head. This head is your God and your Mahomet." Another, Gauserand de Montpesant, said, that the idol was made in the figure of Baffomet (*in figuram Baffometi*); and another, Raymond Rubei, described it as a wooden head, on which was painted the figure of Baphomet, and he adds, "that he worshipped it by kissing its feet, and exclaiming, *Yalla*," which he describes as "a word of the Saracens" (*verbum Saracenorum*). This has been seized upon by some as a proof that the templars had secretly embraced Mahometanism, as Baffomet or Baphomet is evidently a corruption of Mahomet; but it must not be forgotten that the Christians of the West constantly used the word Mahomet in the mere signification of an idol, and that it was the desire of those who conducted the prosecution against the templars to show their intimate intercourse with the Saracens. Others, especially Von Hammer, gave a Greek derivation of the word, and assumed it as a proof that gnosticism was the secret doctrine of the Temple.

The confessions with regard to the mysterious cat were much rarer and more vague. Some Italian knights confessed that they had been present at a secret chapter of twelve knights held at Brindisi, at which a gray cat suddenly appeared among them, and that they worshipped it. At Nismes, some templars declared that they had been present at a chapter at Montpelier, at which the demon appeared to them in the form of a cat, and promised them worldly prosperity; and added, that they saw devils in the shape of women. Gilletus de Encreyo, a templar of the diocese of Rheims, who disbelieved in the story of the cat, deposed that he had heard say, though he knew not by whom, that in some of their battles beyond sea, a cat had appeared to them.* An English knight, who was examined at London, deposed, that in England they did not adore the cat or the idol to his knowledge, but he had heard it positively stated that they worshipped the cat and the idol in parts beyond sea.† English witnesses deposed to other acts of "indolatry." It was of course the demon, who presented himself in the form of the cat. A lady, named Agnes Lovecote, examined in England, stated that she had heard that, at a chapter held at Dineslee (Dynnesley in Hertfordshire), the devil appeared to the templars in a monstrous form, having precious stones instead of eyes, which shone so bright that they illuminated the whole chapter; the brethren, in succession, kissed him on the posteriors, and marked there the form of the cross. She was told that one young man, who refused to go through this ceremony, was thrown into a well, and a great stone cast upon him. Another witness, Robert de Folde, said that he had heard twenty years ago, that in the same place, the devil came to the chapter once a year, and flew away with one of the knights, whom he took as a sort of tribute. Two others deposed that certain templars confessed to them that at a grand annual assembly in the county of York, the templars worshipped a calf. All this is mere hearsay, but it shows the popular opinion of the conduct of the order. A templar examined in Paris, named Jacques de Treces, who said that he had been informed that at secret chapters held at midnight, a head appeared to the assembled brethren, added, that one of them "had a private demon, by whose council he was wise and rich."‡

* Audivit tamen ab aliquibus dici, de quibus non recordatur quod quidam catus apparebat ultra mare in preliis eorum, quod tamen non credit.

† Respondit quod in Anglia non adorant catum nec idolum, quod ipse sciat; sed audivit bene dici, quod adorant catum et idolum in partibus transmarinis.

‡ Audivit tamen dici postquam fuit in ordine, quod dictus frater Radulphus habebat dæmonem privatum, cujus consilio erat sapiens et dives.

Absurd as these accusations may appear to us at the present day, they were then believed, and helped as much as anything else to insure the condemnation of the order. The aim of king Philippe was secured; he seized upon the whole treasure of the temple in France, and became rich. Those who ventured to speak in defence of the order were brow-beaten, and received little attention; the torture was employed to force confessions; fifty-four templars who refused to confess were carried to the windmill of St. Antoine, in the suburbs of Paris, and there burnt; and many others, among whom was the grand-master himself, were subsequently brought to the stake. After having lasted two or three years, the process ended in the condemnation and suppression of the order, and its estates were given in some countries to the knights of St. John. It was in France that the persecution was most cruel; in England, the order was suppressed, but no executions took place. Even in Italy, the severity of the judges was not everywhere the same; in Lombardy and Tuscany, the templars were condemned, while they were acquitted at Ravenna and Bologna. They were also pronounced innocent in Castile, while in Arragon they were reduced by force, only because they had attempted to resist by force of arms; and both in Spain and in Portugal they only gave up their own order to be admitted into others. The pope was offended at the lenity shown toward them in England, Spain, and Germany. The order of the temple was finally dissolved and abolished, and its memory branded with disgrace. Some of the knights are said to have remained together, and formed secret societies; from one of which it has been supposed that the modern freemasons are derived. This, however, is a doubtful question, which will perhaps never be cleared up.*

* The history of the suppression of the templars was treated in a large work by the historian Dupuy, in which numerous documents relating to the process were printed. M. Raynouard published, in 1813, a critical essay on the subject, in which he put himself forward as the champion of the order. M. Michelet has more recently printed the original examinations and other documents of the process in the collection of historical documents published by direction of the French government; and he has treated the matter at considerable length and with much research in the third volume of his "Histoire de France." A manuscript of the fourteenth century in the Cottonian library in the British Museum, (MS Cotten. Julius B. XII.) contains a considerable portion of the depositions of the witnesses examined in England.

CHAPTER IV.

SORCERY IN FRANCE—THE CITIZENS OF ARRAS.

In France, the belief in sorcery appears to have been more prevalent at this early period, even than in England, and about the middle of the fifteenth century it became the ground of one of the most remarkable acts of wholesale oppression that the history of that age has preserved to us. We have seen how, as early as the thirteenth century, the charge of sorcery had been used as one of the means of branding with infamy the name of the Waldenses or Vaudois; they were accused of selling themselves to the devil, of passing through the air mounted on broomsticks to a place of general meeting, where they did homage to the demon, and where they had preaching, and did various acts of impiety and sinfulness. Several persons accused of taking part in these meetings were put to death, and the meeting itself was often characterized by the name of a *Vaudoisie* or a *Vauderie*. The secresy of the meetings of persecuted religious sectaries gave a certain plausible appearance to such stories. We have seen, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the same hated and fearful crime of sorcery deeply mixed up with the charges brought against the unfortunate templars; and it was not unfrequently used then and in subsequent times to ruin the character of high state offenders.

One of its victims was the powerful minister of Philippe le Bel, Enguerrand de Marigny, the same who had conducted the execution of the templars, and who thus fell under a stroke of the deadly weapon which he had conjured up for the destruction of others. After the death of that monarch iu 1315, Enguerrand was thrown into prison, and accused of various acts of extortion and other crimes in abuse of the confidence of his late master, at the instigation of some of the princes of the royal family of France, whose enmity he had provoked, especially of the counts of Valois and St. Pol. Philippe's successor, Louis, showed some inclination to save Enguerrand, and his trial was making little progress, when it was suddenly published abroad that he had entered into a conspiracy to compass the death of his two principal accusers. It was stated that Enguerrand had sent for his wife, the lady of Marigny, her sister the lady of Chantelou,

and his brother, the archbishop of Sens, who came to him in his prison, and there held counsel together on the best method of effecting the deaths of the two counts. The ladies, after leaving the prison, sent for a lame woman, who appears to have dealt in alchemy—*qui fesoit l'or*—and a *mauvais garçon*, named Paviot, and promised them a great sum of money if they would make "certain faces whereby they might kill the said counts." The "faces," or images, were accordingly made of wax, and baptized in the devil's name, and so ordered "by art magic," that as they dried up the counts would have gradually pined away and died. But accidentally, as we are told, the whole matter came to the ears of the count of Valois, who gave information to the king, and the latter then consented to Enguerrand's death. Enguerrand and Paviot were hanged on one gibbet; the lame woman was burnt, and the two ladies were condemned to prison. In 1334, the lady of Robert count of Artois, and her son, were thrown into prison on a suspicion of sorcery; her husband had been banished for crimes of a different nature.

The chronicle of St. Denis, in which is preserved the account of the trial of Enguerrand de Marigny, furnishes a singular instance of the superstitious feelings of the age. In 1323, a Cistercian abbot was robbed of a very considerable sum of money. He went to a man of Château-Landon, who had been provost of that town, and was known by the name of Jehan le Prevost, to consult on the best way of tracing the robbers, and by his advice made an agreement with a sorcerer, who undertook to discover them and oblige them to make restitution. A box was first made, and in it was placed a black cat, with three days' provision of bread sopped in cream, oil that had been sanctified, and holy water, and the box was then buried in the ground at a cross road, two holes having been left in the box, with two long pipes, which admitted sufficient air to keep the cat alive. After three days the cat was to have been taken out and skinned, and the skin cut into thongs, and these thongs being made into a girdle, the man who wore it, with certain insignificant ceremonies, might call upon the evil one, who would immediately come and answer any question he put to him.

It happened, however, that the day after the cat was buried, a party of shepherds passed over the spot with their sheep and dogs, and the latter, smelling the cat, began to bark furiously and tear up the ground with their feet. The shepherds, astonished at the perseverance with which the dogs continued to scratch the ground, brought the then provost of Château-Landon

to the place, who had the ground excavated, and found the box and cat. It was at once judged to be an act of sorcery, and was the subject of much scandal, but no traces could be discovered of the persons who had done it, until at last the provost found the carpenter who had made the box for Jehan le Prevost, and thus the whole matter came to light, and two persons were burnt for the crime.

Later on in the century, in the reign of the weak Charles VI., the superstitions of the vulgar were again mixed up with the highest affairs of the state. It was in 1393 that this prince experienced the first attack of that painful malady which affected his reason, and rendered him unfit for several years to fulfil the duties of his high station. People in general ascribed his madness to the effects of sorcery, and they pointed to his beloved Italian sister-in-law, the young and beautiful duchess of Orleans, as the author of it. This lady was a visconti, the daughter of the rich and powerful duke of Milan: and it appears that at this time Lombardy, her native land, was celebrated above all other parts for sorcerers and poisoners.* The wise ministers of the court judged it necessary to set up one sorcerer against another, and a man of this stamp, named Arnaud Guillaume, was brought from Guienne to cure the king by his magic. Arnaud was in every respect an ignorant pretender, but he possessed a book to which he gave the strange title of Smagorad, the original of which he said was given by God to Adam, to console him for the loss of his son Abel; and he pretended that any one who possessed this book was enabled thereby to hold the stars in subjection, and to command the four elements and all the objects they contained. This man gave credit to the general opinion by asserting positively that the king lay under the power of sorcery; but he said that the authors of the charm were working so strenuously against him, that it would take much time before he could overcome them. The clergy, in the meantime, interfered to put a stop to proceedings so contrary to the sentiments of the church, and the king having recovered, Arnaud Guillaume seems to have fallen back into his original obscurity. Another attack followed rapidly, but the magician was not recalled, although people still believed that their king was bewitched, and they now openly accused the duke of Milan himself as the sorcerer.

In 1397, King Charles was again the victim of a violent at-

* Allegantes quod in Lombardia, unde ducebat originem, intoxicationes et sortilegia vigebant plus quam aliis partibus. The Chronique du religieux de St. Denis, which is my authority for these facts.

tack. On this occasion the province of Guienne, which appears to have been celebrated for persons of this description, contributed toward his cure by sending two persons to counteract the influence under which he was believed to have fallen. These men, who were by profession Augustine friars, were received at court with every respect and honor, and were lodged in the château of St. Antoine. They, like their predecessor, delayed their operations, amusing people with formalities and promises, while they lived in luxury and debauchery, and used their influence over people's minds to corrupt their wives and daughters. At last their character became so apparent, that, after having been subjected to a fair trial, they were conducted to the Grève at Paris, where they were at first publicly degraded from their order, and then beheaded. But even their fate was no warning to others; for when, in 1403, the king was laboring under another attack of his malady, two sorcerers, named Poinson and Briquet, who resided at Dijon in Burgundy, offered to effect his cure. For this purpose they established themselves in a thick wood not far from the gates of Dijon, where they made a magic circle of iron of immense weight, which was supported by iron columns of the height of a middle-sized man, and to which twelve chains of iron were attached. So great was the popular anxiety for the king's recovery, that the two sorcerers succeeded in persuading twelve of the principal persons of the town to enter the circle, and allow themselves to be fastened by the chains. The sorcerers then proceeded with their incantations, but they were altogether without result. The bailif of Dijon, who was one of the twelve, and had averred his incredulity from the first, caused the sorcerers to be arrested, and they were burnt for their crime.

The duke of Orleans appears to have fallen under the same suspicion of sorcery as his Italian consort. After his murder by order of the duke of Burgundy—the commencement of those troubles which led to the desolation of France—the latter drew up various heads of accusation against his victim as justifications of the crime, and one of these was, that the duke of Orleans had attempted to compass his death by means of sorcery. According to this statement, he had received a magician—another apostate friar—into his castle of Mountjoie, where he was employed in these sinister designs. He performed his magical ceremonies before sunrise on a neighboring mountain, where two demons, named Herman and Astramon, appeared to him; and these became his active instruments in the prosecution of his design.

Many other such cases no doubt occurred in the annals of this period. Every reader of history knows that the most serious crime laid to the charge of Jeanne of Arc was that of sorcery, for which chiefly she was condemned to the stake. It was pretended that she had been in the habit of attending at the witches' sabbath which was held on the Thursday night of every week, at a fountain by the fairies' oak of Bourlemont, near Domremy, her native place; that thence she was sent forth to cause war and slaughter; that the evil spirits had discovered to her a magic sword concealed in the church of St. Catherine at Fierbois, to which, and to charmed rings and banners which she bore about with her, she owed her victories; and that by means of sorcery she had gained the confidence and favor of the king and the duke of Bourbon. She was gravely condemned on these charges by the faculty of theology of the university of Paris.

The belief in the nightly meetings, or sabbath of the witches, had now become almost universal. We learn that it was very prevalent in Italy about the year 1400, and that many persons were accused of having been present at them, and of having denied their belief in the church, and done homage to the evil one, with various detestable acts and ceremonies. It was half a century later that this belief was made the ground-work of a series of prosecutions in Artois and Flanders, the only object of which appears to have been revenge and extortion. We know nothing, however, of the events which preceded and led to them. A particular account of the proceedings has been left us by a contemporary writer, Jacques du Clerc, who appears to have been present, and shorter accounts are preserved in one or two of the old historians. The term *Vauldois* is here used simply in the sense of a sorcerer.

At the time of which we are speaking, a Jacobin monk, named Pierre le Broussart, was inquisitor of the faith in the city of Arras. About the feast of All-Saints, 1459, a young woman, somewhat more than thirty years of age, named Demiselle, who lived by prostitution (*a femme de follie vie*), in the city of Douai, was suddenly arrested at that place by Pierre le Broussart's orders, and carried prisoner to Arras, where she was brought before the municipal magistrates, and by them, at the inquisitor's demand, given over to the ecclesiastical arm, and thrown into the bishop's prison. When she asked her persecutors why she was thus treated, they only condescended to inform her that she would hear in good time, and one of them asked, by way of rail-

lery, if she did not know a hermit named Robinet de Vaulx. She replied in consternation, "*Et que checy? cuide ton que je sois Vauldois?*"—"And what of that? do they think me a witch?"

In fact, Robinet de Vaulx, who was a native of Artois, but had lived for some time as a hermit in the province of Burgundy, had recently been burnt for the crime of sorcery, or *Vaulderie*, at Langres, and she could only suppose, by the allusion to his name, that she was now accused of the same crime. Accordingly, it was soon afterward made known that Pierre le Broussart had been at the chapter-general of the friars' preachers (or Jacobins), held that year at Langres, at which Robinet de Vaulx had been condemned; that on his trial, Robinet had confessed that there were a great number of sorcerers in Artois, men and women; and, that, among others, he had named this woman, Demiselle, dwelling at Douai, and a man named Jehan Levite, who was known by the nickname of *abbé de peu de sens* (the abbot of little sense). On his return from the chapter, Broussart had, as he pretended, acted on this information, and caused Demiselle to be arrested. She was examined and put to the torture several times before the vicars of the bishop of Arras, and, among the rest, master Jacques Dubois, a doctor in theology, canon and dean of the church of Nôtre Dame at Arras, made himself most busy and active, and labored most in interrogating her. After having been very cruelly tortured, the miserable woman was at length induced to confess that she had been present at the *Vaulderie*, or meeting of sorcerers, where she had seen and recognised many persons, and, among others, the said Jehan Levite, known as the *abbé de peu de sens*, who was a painter, and then resided at Arras, but where he was at the time of her examination she did not know. The inquisitor of the faith, after much trouble, found him living at Abbeville in Ponthieu, and had him seized and brought to Arras, where he arrived on the 25th of February, and was immediately committed to the bishop's prison. The *abbé de peu de sens*, at the moment of being taken, appears to have lost the little sense he possessed, for he attempted to cut off his own tongue with a penknife, and maimed himself so much that he was for some length of time unable to speak. The inquisitors said that he did this to avoid making any confession; and they subjected him to a close examination and cruel tortures, until they forced him to make an avowal in writing, that he had been at the *Vaulderie*, and that he had seen there many people of all estates, men and women, nobles and burghers, and even ecclesiastics, whose names and surnames he

gave. In consequence of this information, Huguet Camey, a barber, known commonly by the name of Paternoster; Jehan le Ferre, a sergeant of the échevins of the city of Arras; Jeanne d'Auvergne, the mistress of the new baths of the city; and three prostitutes of Arras, known by the familiar appellations of Belotte, Vergengen, and Blancquinette; were all thrown into the bishop's prison, and subjected to the same interrogations and tortures as the others.

When the bishop's vicars saw the matter going on in this way, and the number of persons accused increasing daily, they began to dread the consequences, and were inclined to put a stop to the proceedings. Indeed, it was understood to be their intention to set all the prisoners at liberty at Easter. But Jacques Dubois, the dean of Arras, who had already shown himself such an active inquisitor, opposed violently this act of leniency, and offered himself as their accuser, being supported in this by a bigoted friar minor, John, bishop of Bayrut and suffragan of the church of Arras. Still fearful that he might not be successful, the dean went to Peronne, and obtained a private interview with the count of Estampes, who came in haste to Arras, called before him the bishop's vicars, enjoined them to proceed energetically against the prisoners, as it was their duty to do, or he would take the affair into his own hands, and then returned to Peronne. The vicars did not venture to disobey the count, because, if by their negligence they let the cause go out of their court, it implied a loss or diminution of their privileges.

The prisoners were again subjected to the torture, and, as it appears, the number of persons accused by them was considerably increased. The bishop's vicars were more and more embarrassed, and tried to relieve themselves by sending a copy of the examinations to Cambray, for the advice of Gilles Carlier, a doctor of theology, seventy-two years of age, dean of the church of Nôtre Dame of Cambray, and "one of the most notable clerks in Christendom, as was said;" and another "*très notable clerc*," Master Gregoire Nicollay, canon and official of the bishop of Cambray. These two notables, having carefully and attentively read the confessions, gave it in writing as their opinion that they should only punish the prisoners leniently, and not proceed to extremities, if they had committed no murders, and had not abused the body of Christ (that is the consecrated host). Master Jacques Dubois and the titular bishop of Bayrut were much irritated at this decision. They proclaimed it as their opinion that the prisoners ought all to be burnt, and that even those who did

not confess should be condemned, if four of those who confessed agreed in accusing the same person; and these two dignitaries used their utmost diligence to bring this opinion into effect. Dubois declared publicly, that he knew things at which, if made known, "people would be much abashed," and that he knew that all who were accused were justly accused. He said that bishops and even cardinals had been at the *Vaulderie*, or sabbath, and that the number of persons compromised in it was so great, that, if they had only some king or great prince to head them, they would rebel against the whole world. The bishop of Bayrut had held the office of penitentier to the pope, and was said to *connaitre moult des choses;* and the historian tells us that he had "such an imagination," that as soon as he saw people, he at once judged and said whether they were Vauldois or not (a veritable Matthew Hopkins of the fifteenth century). This man and Dubois sustained, that when a man was once accused of this crime, from that moment nobody, even father or mother, or wife, or brother, or child, ought to take his part, or hold any communication with him. At this time, another citizen of Arras, a wood-merchant, was accused and thrown into prison; and the count of Estampes was prevailed upon to write a letter to the vicars, rebuking them for their tardiness.

At length, a scaffold was raised in the public place of the city of Arras, and, amid an immense concourse of people, all the prisoners were brought forth, each with a mitre on his head, on which the devil was painted in the form in which he had appeared at the *Vaulderie*. They were first exhorted by the inquisitors, and their confession was then read to them, in which they avowed that when they wished to go to the *Vaulderie*, they took a certain ointment which the devil had given them, rubbed a little wooden rod and the palms of their hands with it, and then placed the rod between their legs, upon which they were suddenly carried through the air to the place of assembly. There they found tables spread, loaded with all sorts of meats and with wine, and a devil in the form of a goat, with the tail of an ape, and a human countenance. They first did oblation and homage to him, offering him their soul, or at least some part of their body, and then, as a mark of adoration, kissed him behind, holding burning torches in their hands. The *abbé de peu de sens* was stated to have held the office of master of the ceremonies at these meetings, it being his duty to make the new-comers do their homage. After this, they all trod on the cross, spit upon it, in despite of Jesus and the Holy Trinity, and performed

other profane actions. They then fell to eating and drinking, and the meeting ended in a scene of indescribable debauchery, in which the demon took alternately the forms of each sex. After a number of wicked actions, the devil preached to the assembly, and forbade them to go to church, or to hear mass, or to touch holy water, or perform any other Christian duty. The assembly was stated to have been most commonly held at a fountain in the wood of Mofflaines, about a league from Arras, but sometimes in other places, and, on some occasions, they had gone thither on foot.

When this confession had been read, the prisoners were publicly asked if they acknowledged its truth, and they all answered with a clear voice, "Yes," after which they were taken from the scaffold, and carried to the town-hall. Their sentence was then published in French and Latin, and they were delivered over to the secular power, to do execution upon them as rotten and stinking members of the church of Christ. Their inheritances were forfeited to the count, and their goods (the better share of the booty in this instance) to the bishop. When it was announced to the prisoners that they were condemned to death, the women burst into fearful screams and lamentations, and they all declared themselves innocent, and called for vengeance on Jacques Dubois, who, they said, had induced them to make the confession which he had put into their mouths, by the promise that on that condition he would save their lives. They persisted in declaring their innocence to the last, which "moved people to great thought and murmurs," some asserting that they were wrongfully condemned, while others said it was the devil who had made them obstinate, that they might not relinquish his service. The *abbé de peu de sens* was the first that was burnt; and his fate excited much commiseration, for he was between sixty and seventy years of age, a painter and a poet, who had been welcome everywhere, because he composed and sung songs well; and it was observed, that he had made beautiful ditties and ballads in honor of the blessed Virgin; but there were people malicious enough to say, that when he sung these, he took off his hat at the end, and said in a low voice, "*Ne deplaise à mon maistre?*" The woman Demiselle, who had been the first person accused, was carried to Douai to be burnt there.

Hitherto, the accused had been all poor people, and chiefly persons of very equivocal character. Their depositions, as far as they compromised others, were kept in the greatest secresy; but it was after their execution that the real designs of the prosecutors began to show themselves. Late in the evening of the 16th

of July, 1460, the governor of Peronne, Bauldwin, lord of Noyalles, came to Arras, and arrested, on an accusation of *Vaulderie*, Master Anthoine Sacquespée, one of the échevins of the city, and a very rich burgher, and delivered him into the custody of the lieutenant of Arras, who committed him to the bishop's prison. The following morning, another of the échevins, Jehan Josset, and the city sergeant, Henriet de Royville, both men of substance, were imprisoned in the course of the day; the fear and consternation of the citizens became so great, that several of the most wealthy attempted to save themselves by flight; but they were immediately pursued by the officers of the count of Estampes, and brought back to be imprisoned along with their companions. Some of them were followed as far as Paris; several other persons, all chosen apparently for their wealth, were arrested in the course of the following days, among whom was the lord of Beauffort; and the affair made so much noise, that even in distant parts of France, a traveller who was known to have come from Arras, could with difficulty find anybody who would give him lodgings.

A few of the persons thus seized were set at liberty, because they would not confess, and only one, or two, or three witnesses had deposed to having seen them at the sabbath; but the rest accused only on the evidence forced from prostitutes and others, who had been put to death, and were therefore not forthcoming to be cross-examined or confronted with the persons they accused, were treated with the utmost rigor. The city of Arras was in the greatest consternation; trade was at a stand; and people were seizing every possible excuse to leave it. At length the affair reached the ears of the duke of Burgundy, and it was discussed before him and the learned people of his court at Brussels, and at their suggestion, the opinion of the university of Louvaine was taken. There was found much division of opinion, however, among the learned clerks; for some declared loudly their belief that this crime of *Vaulderie* was not real, but a mere illusion; while others as resolutely sustained the contrary. The duke, however, interposed his authority so far, that from this time no other persons were arrested, and he sent to Arras one of his confidential courtiers to watch the trials, which were pushed forward as rapidly as possible by Dubois and his colleagues.

On the 12th of October, 1460, the five prisoners of most importance for their wealth or position, were brought forth, and, to the surprise of everybody, the lord of Beauffort made a voluntary

confession, that he had been acquainted with the three prostitutes who had already perished at the stake, and that he had allowed himself to be overcome by their wicked persuasions, in consequence of which he had, in his own house, anointed a stick and his own body with the ointment which they had given him, and that he was immediately carried away to the wood of Moufflaine, where he found a great multitude of persons of both sexes congregated together. He said that the devil presided over the assembly in the form of an ape, and that he had done homage to him, and kissed one of his paws. He expressed the greatest contrition for his crime, and begged for mercy of his judges. Many of the other prisoners sustained the utmost extremity of torture, and still asserted their innocence; but the confession of the lord of Beauffort had its effect in giving credit to the accusations of the inquisitors, who declared publicly that antichrist was born, and that the *Vaulderie* was preparing the way for him. All the prisoners were found guilty, and the sentence was confirmed by the duke, but none of them were put to death. The lord of Beauffort was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, and to a heavy fine, which went chiefly to the church and to the inquisitors. The others were similarly punished with various degrees of fine and imprisonment.

A new incident in this tragedy occurred at the beginning of the year 1461, which seemed like a judgment of Providence on one of the most busy persecutors of the good citizens of Arras. Master Jacques Dubois, dean of the church of Nôtre Dame, as he was on his way to the town of Corbey, was suddenly struck with a paralytic attack, which deprived him of his senses. He was carried to Paris, but medical aid was of no avail. He recovered the use of his senses, but he remained in a state of extreme bodily weakness, his members trembled and shook when he attempted to use them and he lingered on miserably in his chamber till the month of February, when he died. All who believed in the truth of the *Vaulderie*, said that he had been bewitched by some of the sorcerers in revenge for the activity he had shown in bringing them to justice.

But it turned out that the inquisitors, in their eagerness for the plunder, had struck too high. The lord of Beauffort, indignant at the treatment he had experienced, prosecuted his judges, and carried his cause before the parliament of Paris, where it was pleaded by his counsel in June, 1461. The latter laid open, with a very unsparing hand, the illegal and tyrannical conduct of the inquisitors; showed that the confessions of the prisoners

had been forced from them by the torture, and that they had been allowed to make no defence; and stated, that, at the trial, the lord of Beauffort had himself been put to the torture, and persisting in asserting his innocence, had been carried back to prison, where he was visited by Master Jacques Dubois, the dean of Nôtre Dame above mentioned, who had begged him on his knees to make a confession and acknowledge that he had been present at the *Vaulderie*, pretending that he made this request for the sake of his children and family, as it was the only way in which he could save him from the stake, in which case his property and estates would be confiscated, and his children reduced to poverty; that when the lord of Beauffort represented to Dubois in reply, that he was already bound by the oath he had taken to his own innocence, and which he could not contradict, the dean told him not to be uneasy on that point, as he would undertake to obtain an absolution for him. It was now remembered that when the first victims of the inquisitors were carried to execution, they had asserted that all they had said in their confessions was untrue, and that Jacques Dubois had promised them he would save their lives if they would say it. The parliament at once acquitted the lord of Beauffort and set him at liberty. The other prisoners were then sent for by the parliament, and their cases having been severally examined into, they were also released from the penalties to which they had been condemned, and sent home to their families. Thus ended the persecution of the sorcerers of Arras, an extraordinary example of the lengths to which people may be led by ignorance and superstition.

CHAPTER V.

THE LORD OF MIREBEAU AND PIERRE D'ESTAING THE ALCHEMIST.

At the same period with the persecution of the citizens of Arras for Vaulderie or sorcery, another town in France was the scene of events equally characteristic of an age when great troubles frequently arose out of what would now be considered the most contemptible superstitions of the vulgar. The science of alchemy was closely allied to that of magic; both were grounded in the desire to become master of the secret and mysterious workings of nature. The former especially addressed

itself to the covetous feelings of mankind, and found dupes in every class of society, although old Chaucer's judgment was constantly verified in the result—

> "This cursed craft who so wol exercise,
> He shal no good have, that him may suffice:
> For all the good he spendeth thereaboute
> He lesen shal, thereof have I no doubte."

The history of alchemy in the middle ages would make a book of itself; I will not enter upon it, but proceed to my narrative, which furnishes a pertinent illustration of the *dictum* of the old English poet.

One day, at the beginning of the month of November, 1455, a man named Pierre d'Estaing, a practitioner in medicine, who stated that he was attached to the household of the duke of Bourbon, arrived suddenly and hurriedly at the convent of the Jacobins in the town of Dijon, and claimed protection under the right of asylum which the house of this order enjoyed by especial privilege. He refused, however, to inform them of the circumstances which had placed his life in danger. He remained safe under shelter of the immunities of the place a few days, until on Friday, the 7th of November between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, Jean de Beauffremont, lord of Mirebeau and Bourbonne, a powerful baron of the neighborhood, came to the postern-gate of the monastery, on pretence of hearing mass, accompanied by two of his bastard children (one of whom was a Jacobin monk) and a party of armed retainers. Their horses had been placed secretly in the stable of an adjoining inn. The intruders marched direct into the cloisters, and there seized Pierre d'Estaing, whom they found sitting under the arcade, and, in spite of the cries and resistance of the monks, who had been brought together by the noise of these violent proceedings, dragged him to the outside of the convent, where they ordered him to mount a horse which had been brought there in readiness. On his refusing to obey, the lord of Mirebeau drew his dagger, and struck him on the head, so as to produce an effusion of blood; and after giving him several blows with the fist, they bound him with cords and tied him on the horse's back. The whole party then rode off at full gallop, succeeded in passing one of the gates of the town before it could be closed upon them, and made for the castle of Mirebeau, where their prisoner was thrown into the castle dungeon.

Meanwhile the good town of Dijon was thrown into a great uproar. The mayor and échevins met the same day. A de-

tailed *procès-verbal* was drawn up by the municipal officers, and witnesses were heard, who all confirmed the account given by the monks. Not only had there been a flagrant breach of the privileges secured to the town by its charter, which gave to the municipal officers the sole right of arrest within the town and its jurisdiction, but a convent, protected by the strongest sympathies of the municipality, had been openly violated. The monastery of the Jacobins was, indeed, under the special jurisdiction of the mayor and échevins; and it was within its walls that, for half a century, the municipal elections had always taken place. On the morrow Master Etienne Berbisey, lieutenant of the mayor, and Master Mougin Lacorne, secretary of the municipality (or, as we should say, town-clerk), were sent to Mirebeau, to demand of its lord, Jean de Bauffremont, reparation for the injuries done to the privileges of Dijon; but he made evasive answers, and evidently wished to gain time. After vain attempts, on the part of the town, to bring their opponent to reason by friendly expostulations, the authorities proceeded to act with the vigor that so frequently characterized the measures of the municipal bodies in the middle ages. On the 13th of November, Philippe Bergain, the sergeant and crier of the town, summoned, by sound of trumpet, in all the streets and places of Dijon, the lord Jean de Bauffremont and his accomplices, to appear before the mayor, on Monday, the 24th of November, at two o'clock in the afternoon, on pain of confiscation of all the goods he possessed in Dijon, and of perpetual banishment from the town and its jurisdiction.

The town had met with a formidable antagonist in Jean de Bauffremont, who quietly set the municipal authorities at defiance. He happened to possess no goods within the limits of their jurisdiction, so that their only hope of obtaining justice was by calling for the interference of their feudal lord, the duke of Burgundy, to whom, and to his house, the lord of Mirebeau had done important services. Jean de Bauffremont had accompanied the duke Jean-sans-Peur to the siege of Bourges, in 1412; in 1417 he was one of the captains who besieged the castle of Nogent, and who received its capitulation in the name of the duke: and in the year ensuing, he had bravely repulsed the troops of the king of France, which were ravaging the frontiers of the duchy. In fact, he had shown himself, through these desolating civil wars, one of the bravest and most devoted adherents of the Burdian party. At the first glance, therefore, the success of an to the duke appeared to be very doubtful. But, amid

the constant troubles and hostilities of the middle ages, the leading men in the municipal towns learned to be at once brave captains and skilful diplomatists; and we shall see in the sequel that those of Dijon were not deficient, at least in the qualifications of the latter.

The duke of Burgundy was at this time in Holland, at the Hague, whither the mayor and échevins sent messengers with letters, placing themselves under his special protection. They made a full statement of the affair, pleaded their chartered rights and privileges, and ended by intimating that the reason they had not been on the spot in time to seize the offenders in the fact, and exact justice for themselves, was that *they were at that moment occupied in their assembly in voting unanimously the aid of sixty thousand francs*, which the duke had asked of them in the month of January preceding. This was a very cunning stroke of policy, and seems to have had its effect. To make still more sure, the burghers wrote at the same time to the duke's chancellor, to Jean de Molesmes, the duke's secretary, Jean Costain, his butler, to Jean Martin, the castellan of Rouvre and the duke's valet-de-chambre, and to other officers of the ducal household, recommending the cause of the town to their protection in the most pressing terms, and as there are in the municipal accounts of this period a number of vague and mysterious entries of payments of money voted by the town, it seems probable that other means were taken to make clear to the duke's councillors the justice of this cause. The result was, that the duke took up the cause of the burghers with zeal, and issued on the 9th of December a peremptory order to the bailiff of Dijon to repair immediately to the castle of Mirebeau, to deliver the prisoner, and restore him to the place whence he had been taken, using force in case of resistance, and to arrest without delay all persons concerned in the outrage, and commit them to prison in the strong castle of Talant, belonging to the duke, and situated in the immediate vicinity of Dijon. On the 31st of December the bailiff of Dijon, Philippe de Courcelles, went to Mirebeau with a strong party of sergeants and men-at-arms, but he found the gates of the castle closed and barricaded. After he had knocked three times at the principal entrance, and summoned the castle by sound of horn at the end of the drawbridge, the chief of the watch, who is called the bastard Jean de Ruppes, made his appearance; but the only answer he would give was, that his master was absent, and that he had left strict orders to open to nobody. The bailiff then read the duke's order, but in vain; where-

upon he pronounced solemnly the confiscation of the castle of Mirebeau, and in sign of seizure placed the ducal arms on the great gate. He then collected together the people of the town of Mirebeau by sound of trumpet, and caused the crier, as well before the castle as in the market-place, to summon the lord Jean de Bauffremont, and his accomplices, and the bastard Jean de Ruppes, to appear before him on the 10th of January following, on pain of banishment and final confiscation of the goods of all the persons thus summoned. Philippe de Courcelles then returned with his escort to Dijon.

The affair had now taken a very serious turn. Jean de Bauffremont imagined that it would end in a mere squabble between himself and the townsmen, or he would hardly have carried the matter so far; but when he saw the promptitude with which the duke had taken up the cause of the town, he was not so rash as to brave an authority against which he knew that he was powerless. Accordingly, when the 10th of January arrived, he came forward and surrendered himself a prisoner in the castle of Talant. The prosecution was now actively followed up as well by the duke's bailiff as in the municipal court. When brought into the court for examination, the lord of Mirebeau confessed the crime with which he was charged; but he refused, with the same obstinacy which had been shown by Pierre d'Estaing himself, to give any account of the motives of his hostility to that individual. The bailiff adjourned his judgment from day to day, in the expectation of further disclosures. The municipal body held a rapid series of deliberations, all of which were entered in their secret register, and the result of which was regularly communicated to the duke and his counsellors, in a correspondence which was carried on, without interruption, during the months of January, February, and March. The men-at-arms of the town were in the meantime actively engaged in tracing the accomplices of Jean de Bauffremont, who had hitherto effectively concealed themselves; but they were at length discovered, and were all arrested on the 11th of March, and the same day confronted with their master. The latter now made a full confession of his dealings with Pierre d'Estaing.

It appears that some months before the proceedings described above, a certain Jacobin monk, named Olivier, came to the lord of Mirebeau, and told him, that among other things there was a man at Moulins, in the Bourbonnois, who had an art (a *ligue*, as he termed it—perhaps with the evil one) whereby he could make forty or fifty thousand écus every year, and that he was called Master Pierre

d'Estaing, a gentleman by birth, and, as he said, a near kinsman of the pope. Seeing that he had raised the curiosity of the lord of Mirebeau, he added that, if it were his pleasure, he would undertake to act as a negotiator for him with the said Pierre d'Estaing. The cupidity of Jean de Bauffremont was strongly excited and he eagerly embraced the monk's offer; and Brother Olivier made several journeys to Moulins at his expense, to convey his proposals to the alchemist. Led by the favorable reports which this monk brought him, Jean de Bauffremont repaired to Moulins in person, and there conversed with Master Pierre, and was so fully satisfied with his statements, that he entered into an agreement whereby Pierre d'Estaing promised to put him in possession of the science of his "*ligue*," on condition that the lord of Mirebeau should deposite in the hands of a merchant the sum of one thousand écus of gold, which were to be given to Master Pierre as soon as he had fulfilled his promise. The next day the lord of Mirebeau was so much pleased with the "fair and great promises" of the alchemist, that he gave him a diamond of the value of twenty écus or more, to present to his lady; which so entirely gained his heart, that he immediately agreed to reduce his demand from a thousand to five hundred écus, and Jean de Bauffremont took immediate steps to raise the money. From this time we hear no more of Brother Olivier; and it looks much as if the two parties chiefly concerned were trying mutually to overreach each other.

Before Jean de Bauffremont departed from Moulins, Pierre d'Estaing gave him one of his servants to accompany him back to Mirebeau, there to commence operations, which he said would take three months before it would be necessary for him to interfere. He was then to bring the preparation to Moulins, and to pay two hundred écus into the hands of the alchemist, upon which the latter would enter upon the more secret parts of the process, which his servant was incapable of performing.

Jean de Bauffremont accordingly returned to his castle of Mirebeau with Pierre d'Estaing's servant, to whom he gave money to defray his expenses. At Mirebeau, the servant began to work assiduously on his "operations," in the course of which he was sent several times to consult his master, always at Jean de Bauffremont's expense, who also gave him daily a Rhenish florin for his wages. In the sequel Pierre d'Estaing himself came to Mirebeau, and renewed his promises to its lord, who in return, assured him that he should be liberally rewarded. Master Pierre, with three assistants, had remained in the castle a con-

siderable time, at Jean de Bauffremont's expense, when the latter received a letter from the count of Clermont, son of the duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, to whose house the alchemist had been attached. The count congratulated the lord of Mirebeau on the acquisition he had made in the person of Master Pierre d'Estaing, who, he said, was quite capable of performing what he had promised, adding, that he would not have permitted him to leave his service for that of any other person; he recommended him to keep a sharp watch on the alchemist, and if he did not perform his work to his satisfaction, to shut him up in a place where he could work only by candle-light, and to keep him there till it was done; and concluded by expressing a hope that Jean de Bauffremont would not object to share with him the great treasure which he was to gain by the labors of Master Pierre.

Jean de Bauffremont immediately showed the count's letter to Pierre d'Estaing, who was much abashed when he heard its contents, and bursting into tears, fell on his knees before him, and begged that he would have pity upon him. Jean de Bauffremont told him to lay aside his fears, assured him that no one should injure him, and promised to treat him as he would his own child. It appears, however, that he led him into the chapel of the castle, and made him swear, with his hand upon the altar, that he would not go beyond the castle walls until he had entirely completed his task. Upon this Pierre d'Estaing obtained from his employer a hundred and fifty francs to give to his first servant, a horse worth twelve écus, and a mantle of four écus; six écus to distribute among his other servants; twenty écus to send to his house at Moulins; and ten écus to send to his "chambrière" (we are not told if this were the lady for whom the diamond was designed). It is probable that the alchemist was now treated with rigor, and that he considered his life in danger; for these last transactions occurred about the feast of All Saints, two or three days after which, while Jean de Bauffremont was absent on a visit to Villers-les-Pots, he let himself down from one of the castle windows by means of his bed-clothes, about eleven o'clock at night, passed the outer watch of the castle unperceived, and, wandering till morning, reached the town of Dijon, where, as we have already seen, he sought shelter in the convent of the Jacobins.

Jean de Bauffremont was immediately made acquainted with Master Pierre's escape, and he hurried back in a fury to Mirebeau, where the hiding-place of the fugitive was soon known. According to his own account of what followed, the lord of Mirebeau repaired with a party of his friends and servants to Dijon,

and there gave information that a prisoner had escaped from his castle, and was concealed by the Jacobins. The next day he went to the monastery, had an interview with Pierre d'Estaing, and, as he stated, obtained from him a promise to return with him to his castle and continue his alchemical operations, which seems to have been the thing he had most at heart. Finding subsequently that Master Pierre was still unwilling to leave the sanctuary, he represented to him the great expenses he had already been at, and offered to pay for him into the hands of some person in Dijon a thousand écus as the reward for the completion of his work, pledging himself that when it was finished, he would bring him back in safety and restore him to the same place in which he had now taken refuge. The alchemist seems now, however, to have had no inclination to renew his experiments; perhaps he had no great confidence in their success, and Jean de Bauffremont, finding that he wonld no longer put any trust in his promises, told him openly that from that moment he considered all their engagements broken, and that each must do his best for himself. He then concerted measures for taking away the fugitive by force, which, as we have already seen, were carried into effect early on the following morning.

The legal investigation of this strange affair being brought to a close by the confession of the principal offender, the mayor and échevins demanded, in the name of the crown, that Jean de Bauffremont should pay a fine of ten thousand écus of gold, to be employed on the fortification of the town wall, and that his accomplices should be given up to the judgment of the municipal court. The latter point was yielded at once, without any hesitation, and on the 18th of March the court pronounced its sentence, according to which the men who had aided the lord of Mirebeau in violating the sanctuary of the convent, were to be brought on a Sunday, in their shirts and barefoot, each with a lighted taper in his hand weighing three pounds, before the same gate of the town through which Pierre d'Estaing had been carried away, and there they were to cry "mercy" on their knees before the mayor and échevins, who were to be summoned for the occasion, and they were also to cry "mercy" to the whole town, at the same time making a public confession of their crime; they were then to recite the *amende honorable*, after which each was to have one of his hands cut off; they were next to carry the tapers to the monastery of the Jacobins, and there offer them at the high altar; after which they were to pay a pecuniary fine proportionate to their means, and to be banished from the town and jurisdiction

of Dijon for ever. This sentence was executed to the letter on the first Sunday in April.

It appears to have been a much more difficult matter to pronounce judgment on the person of Jean de Bauffremont, who remained in prison till the month of December following, without any prospect of a satisfactory decision of his cause. He then wrote to the mayor to propose terms of arrangement, and sent the letter by one of the duke's councillors; but when the common council of the town had held two deliberations on the subject, he only received for answer that, since the cause was now in the duke's court, and before his bailiff, it was not in the power of the municipal body to enter upon his proposals. Jean de Bauffremont then wrote direct to the duke of Burgundy, begging in the most abject terms, that the duke would have compassion upon him. Three months again passed away; but at length, on the 26th of March, 1457, Duke Philippe, then at Brussels, granted the prisoner letters of pardon and restitution to his goods, on condition that he should give sureties for making his peace with the town.

This, however, was not so easily done. A new series of proceedings was commenced, in the course of which the lord of Mirebeau died. They still remain undecided in the year 1462, when the cause was again prosecuted against Jean de Bauffremont's widow, Marguerite de Châlon, and his son, Pierre de Bauffremont, and, by the duke's orders, the affair was carried before the parliament of Burgundy, then sitting at Beaune. This new process lasted till 1470, in which year, on the 12th of January, the parliament condemned the heirs of Jean de Bauffremont to a fine of four thousand livres to the town, which was subsequently, by an agreement of the two parties, commuted for one thousand livres. It was not till the 6th of August, 1472, that the judgment of the parliament was executed, and that this long affair, which had been held in suspense during more than fifteen years, was fully terminated.*

* The documents of this remarkable story are published in an article in the "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes."

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARLIER MEDIEVAL TYPE OF THE SORCERER; VIRGIL THE ENCHANTER.

We have hitherto been obliged to form our notion of the practice of sorcery and magic in the middle ages from individual and scattered examples of superstitious practices. But it was a peculiar trait in the character of the middle ages to create imaginary personages, and clothe them with the attributes of a class—types, as it were, of popular belief or of popular attachment or glory. Such, in that age, to history and to sentiment, were the heroes and heroines of its romances. Romance, indeed, was then but a sort of reflection of the popular mind. The despised and hated witch has left us no such type of her life and history; but the magician or sorcerer held a higher rank in public estimation. From a feeling which may be traced back to Runic ages, when every letter of the alphabet was supposed to possess its mystic power as an instrument of magic, his vocation was looked upon with more reverence as closely connected with literature and science.

Either from this circumstance, or because their names were popularly attached to some of the marvellous remains of ancient art, the people of the middle ages first saw the type of the magician in the poets and philosophers of classic days. The physician Hippocrates, under the corrupted name of Ypocras, was supposed to have effected his cures by magic, and he was the subject of a legendary history, certainly as old as the end of the twelfth century, containing incidents which were subsequently told of a more celebrated conjuror, Virgil. In the popular creed of the middle ages, medicine was also closely allied with witchcraft and the forbidden sciences; many of the herbs and other articles which restored the patient to health had qualities of a more mysterious nature, and the philter or the more fearful mixture of the sorcerer's caldron, which had the power of commanding the spirit of darkness, were but an extension of the physician's specific. We shall have occasion to recur again to this subject, and show how far a knowledge of the medical properties of herbs and other things did form a part of medieval sor-

cery, and was used for deadly purposes. It is not impossible that the equivocal meaning of the Latin word *carmen* (which means a poem and a charm) may have contributed to the popular reputation of the poets. Down to a very recent period, if not at the present day, the people in the neighborhood of Palestrina have looked upon Horace as a powerful and benevolent wizard. A story, apparently not more modern than the thirteenth century, represents two scholars proceeding to the tomb of Ovid, and receiving answers from his manes; in fact, practising necromancy. But the personages of antiquity about whom these mysterious legends were principally grouped was the poet Virgil. It would perhaps not be very difficult to point out some reasons for which such tales were attached to the memory of one who seems to have found a place in popular superstition from a very early period, and whose name was connected in popular tradition with several ancient monuments in Italy.

We find scattered allusions to the supposed exploits of Virgil at an early period, connected chiefly with Naples and Rome. Gervase of Tilbury, a well-known writer of the end of the twelfth century, heard, while in Italy, how Virgil had placed a brazen fly on one of the gates of the former city, which kept the city free from real flies; how he had erected chambers in which meat could be kept for any length of time without tainting; and how he had placed two images of stone at another gate of Naples, which severally he endowed with the quality of giving good fortune or bad fortune to strangers who, entering the city, approached by the one or the other. According to this writer, he raised on a mountain near Naples a statue of brass, which had in its mouth a trumpet, and when the north wind blew, this trumpet sounded so loud, that the fire and smoke issuing out of those forges of Vulcan, which are at this day seen near the city of Puossola (Puzzuola), were forced back toward the sea, so as not to injure or annoy the inhabitants. He made three baths capable of removing every disorder, with inscriptions in letters of gold; but the latter were cunningly defaced by the physicians of Salerno, who were jealous lest people should be cured of their diseases without their intervention. He also made a contrivance by which no man could be hurt in the miraculous vault cut through the mountain at Posilippo in going to Naples. He further made a public fire, where every one might warm himself, near which he placed a brazen archer, with his bow and arrow drawn ready to shoot, and an inscription, stating, "If any one strike me, I will shoot off my arrow." At length a fool-hardy

individual struck the archer, who shot him with the arrow, and sent him into the fire, which was immediately extinguished. Other writers added to this list of Virgil's wonders. But there seems to have been a more explicit and connected story of the enchanter Virgil, from what period it is difficult to say, which appeared in a French history in the fifteenth century, and was printed at the close of that century and the beginning of the sixteenth. Two editions are known, and it has been reprinted. About the same time, "the Life of Virgilius" appeared in English, printed at Antwerp by John Doesborcke, about the year 1508. The English story does not appear to have been taken directly from the French, at least not from the printed edition, from which it differs considerably in some of its details and in its extent. It gives us the full outline of the medieval belief in Virgil the magician.

Virgil, according to this story was the son of a Roman senator of great wealth and power, who was at war with the emperor of Rome. Virgil's birth was attended with prodigies, and he soon showed so much aptitude for learning, that he was sent to school at Toledo. Toledo, as I have already observed, was a celebrated school of magic in the middle ages; but the way in which Virgil obtained his knowledge was sufficiently singular to deserve being repeated in the quaint language of the original. "And Virgilius," we are told, "was at scole at Tolenten, where he stodyed dyligently, for he was of great understandynge. Upon a tyme the scholers hadde lycence to goo to play and sporte them in the fyldes after the usaunce of the olde tyme; and there was also Virgilius thereby also walkynge among the hylles all about. It fortuned he spyed a great hole in the syde of a great hyll, wherein he went so depe that he culde not see no more lyght, and than he went a lytell ferther therein, and than he sawe som lyght agayne, and than wente he fourth streyghte. And within a lytyll wyle after he harde a voice that called, 'Virgilius, Virgilius!' and he loked aboute, and he colde nat see nobodye. Than Virgilius spake, and asked, 'Who calleth me?' Than harde he the voyce agayne, but he sawe nobody. Than sayd he, 'Virgilius, see ye not that lytyll bourde lyinge bysyde you there marked with that worde?' Than answered Virgilius, 'I see that borde well enough.' The voyce sayd, 'Doo awaye that bourd, and lette me oute theratte.' Than answered Virgilius to the voyce that was under the lytell borde, and sayd, 'Who art thow that talkest me so?' Than answered the devyll, 'I am a devyll conjured out of the body of a certeyne man, and banysshed here

tyll the day of jugement, without that I be delyvered by the handes of men. Thus, Virgilius, I pray the delyver me out of this payn, and I shall shewe unto the many bokes of nygromancy, and howe thow shalt cum by it lyghtly and knowe the practyse therein, that no man in the scyence of negromancye shall pass the; and, moreover, I shall showe and enforme you so that thou shalt have all thy desyre, wherby me thynke it is a great gyfte for so lytyll a doynge, for ye may also thus your poor frendys helpen, and make ryghte your ennemyes unmyghty.' Thorowgh that great promyse was Virgilius tempted; he badde the fynd showe the bokes to hym, that he myght have and occupy them at his wyll. And so the fynd shewed hym, and than Virgilius pulled open a bourde, and there was a lytell hole, and thereat wrange the devyll out lyke a yeel [an eel], and cam and stode byfore Virgilius lyke a bygge man. Thereof Virgilius was astoned [astonished] and merveyled greatly thereof, that so great a man myght come out at so lytell a hole. Than sayd Virgilius, 'Shulde ye well passe into the hole that ye cam out of?'—'Ye, I shall well,' sayd the devyll. 'I holde the beste pledge that I have, ye shall not do it.' 'Well,' sayde the devyll, 'thereto I consente.' And than the devyll wrange hymselfe into the lytell hole agen, and as he was therein, Virgilius kyvered the hole ageyn, with the bourd close, and so was the devyll begyled, and myght not there come out agen, but there abydeth shytte [shut] styll therein. Than called the devyll dredefully to Virgilius, and sayd, 'What have ye done?' Virgilius answered, 'Abyde there styll to your day apoynted.' And fro thensforth abydeth he there. And so Virgilius becam very connynge in the practyse of the blacke scyence."

While Virgil was thus pursuing such studies, his father died, and the other senators joined in usurping his inheritance, on the principle that the smaller number of persons being in power, the greater would be the power of each individual. Virgil's mother next became aged, and she sent for her son from Toledo to protect her, and reclaim his property and rank. Virgil collected the riches he had gained by his science, and repaired to Rome, and was received well by his "poor kinsmen," as they had no interest contrary to his own; but the rich leagued with his enemies, and would not acknowledge him. Then he went before the emperor, stated his case, and demanded his rights. The emperor hesitated, and listened to evil counsellors, who said, "Methinketh that the land is well divided to them that have it, for they may help you in their need; what needeth you for to

care for the disheriting of one schoolmaster? bid him take heed and look to his schools, for he hath no right to any land here about the city of Rome." And so the emperor put him off for four or five years.

But Virgil, aware of his own powers, was determined not to be thus deluded. He waited quietly till harvest, conciliating his poor kinsmen and friends by his liberality, and then, when corn and fruit were ripe, he threw, by art-magic, a mist over all the lands of his inheritance, so that their new possessors could not approach them, and so quietly gathered in the whole produce. "And when Virgil's enemies saw the fruit so gathered, they assembled a great power, and came toward Virgilius to take him and smite off his head; and when they were assembled, they were so strong that the emperor for fear fled out of Rome, for they were twelve senators that had all the world under them; and if Virgilius had had right, he had been one of the twelve, but they had disinherited him and his mother. And when Virgilius knew of their coming, he closed all his lands with the air round about all his land, that no living creature might there come in to dwell against his [Virgil's] will or pleasure."

This dispute led to still more important events. The emperor took part with the senators, and they all joined in making war upon Virgil, who not only found safety in his enchantments, but he at length compelled the emperor to restore him to his rights. From this moment Virgil became the emperor's greatest friend, and was the foremost in all his counsels.

"After that it happened that Virgilius was enamored of a fair lady, the fairest in all Rome. Virgilius made a craft in necromancy that told her all his mind; when the lady knew his mind, she thought in herself to deceive him, and said, If he will come at midnight to the castle wall, she should let down a basket with strong cords, and there to draw him up at her window, and so lie by her and have his pleasure; and with this answer was Virgilius very glad, and said he should do it with a good will." It appears that the tower in which the lady dwelt was one of the most public places in Rome, immediately looking over the market, and that it was there that malefactors were exhibited to public view. Virgil went in the night, found the basket, jumped into it, and was rejoiced at finding himself pulled up with no hesitating hand. But when the basket was half way up the tower, the lady, who had no intention of yielding to his seductions, left it, and Virgil remained in this disgraceful posture to

be gazed at and ridiculed by the multitude during the whole of the following day, until the emperor himself interfered, at whose request the enchanter was released from his penance.

Virgil hastened home, breathing nothing but vengeance. He began by extinguishing all the fire in Rome except his own. The Romans soon found the inconvenience of this measure, and made their complaint to the emperor, who went to seek assistance of Virgil. The latter at once told him that, if he wished for relief, he must cause the lady to be brought out in a state of nudity and placed in a public part of the city, and that every Roman who wanted fire must go and light his candle or torch on her person in a manner which hardly admits of detailed description. She was exposed in this manner during three days, "and after the third day went the gentlewoman home sore ashamed, for 'she knew well that Virgilius had done that violence to her."*

Virgil now married, and after his marriage he built by his magic art a palace for the emperor, with four corners, answering to the four quarters of Rome; and when the emperor placed himself in any one of these corners, he heard all that was said in the corresponding quarter of the city, so that no secret could be kept from him. Thus was the state protected against domestic enemies; but it was requisite also to guard against outward foes. And one day "the emperor asked of Virgilius how that he might make Rome prosper and have many lands under them, and know when any land would rise against them; and Virgilius said to the emperor, 'I will, within short space, that do.' And he made upon the capitolium, that was the town-house, carved images of stone, and that he let call *salvatio Romæ*, that is to say, the salvation of the city of Rome. And he made in the compass all the gods that we call mawmets and idols, that were under the subjection of Rome; and each of the gods that were there had in his hand a bell, and in the middle of the gods he made one god of Rome. And whensoever that there was any land that would make any war against Rome, then would the gods turn their backs toward the god of Rome; and then the god of the land that would stand up against Rome

* This was the most popular of the legends relating to the magician Virgil, and is frequently alluded to in old writings. The story itself is generally told with coarse details, better suited to those times than to the present. The reader may be referred, for an example, to the account of this legend given in the *Pastime of Pleasure* of Stephen Hawes (see the edition published by the Percy Society, page 139). This story was told of Hippocrates, or Ypocras, before it was fathered upon Virgil.

clinked his bell so long that he had in his hand, till the senators of Rome heard it, and forthwith they went there and saw what land it was that would war against them, and so they prepared them, and went against them, and subdued them."

This also was one of the most popular of the legends relating to Virgil the necromancer; and we can easily imagine how vulgar credulity invented such a belief to explain the remains of Roman statuary which were still visible in the middle ages. The destruction of the *salvatio Romæ* was not less singular than its origin.

"This foresaid token knew the men of Carthage, that were sore aggrieved for the great harm that the Romans had done them. And they took a privy counsel in what manner they might destroy that work. Then thought they in their mind to send three men out, and gave them great multitude of gold and silver; and these three men took their leave of the lordes, and went towards the city of Rome, and when they were come to Rome, they reported themselves soothsayers and true dreamers. Upon a time went these three men to a hill that was within the city, and there they buried a great pot of money very deep in the earth, and when that was done and covered again, they went to the bridge of Tiber, and let fall in a certain place a great barrel with golden pence.* And when this was done, those three men went to the senators of Rome, and said, 'Worshipful lords, we have this night dreamed, that within the foot of a hill here within Rome is a great pot with money; will ye, lords, grant it to us, and we shall do the cost to seek thereafter?' And the lords consented; and they took laborers, and delved the money out of the earth. And when it was done, they went another time to the lords, and said, 'Worshipful lords, we have also dreamed that in a certain place of Tiber lieth a barrel full of golden pence, if that you will grant to us that, we shall go seek it.' And the lords of Rome, thinking no deceit, granted to those soothsayers, and bade them do what they should to do their best. And then the soothsayers were glad; and they hired ships, and men, and went towards the place where it was, and when they were come there, they sought in every place there about, and at the last found the barrel full of golden pence, whereof they were right glad. And then they gave to the lords costly gifts.

* We can not help seeing how naturally legends like this arose out of the frequent discoveries of the concealed treasures of ancient times, and the constant recovery of antiquities from such rivers as the Tiber. The English antiquary will understand this perfectly well. The Thames has always been rich in the produce which would give rise to such stories.

And then, to come to their purpose, they came to the lords again, and said to them, 'Worshipful lords, we have dreamed again that under the foundation of capitolium, there where *salvatio Romæ* standeth, be twelve barrels full of gold; and pleaseth you, lords, that you would grant us the licence, it shall be to your great advantage.' And the lords, stirred with covetousness, granted them, because two times afore they told true; whereof they were glad, and got laborers, and began to dig under the foundation of *salvatio Romæ;* and when they thought they had digged enough, they departed from Rome, and the next day following fell that house down, and all the work that Virgilius had made. And so the lords knew that they were deceived, and were sorrowful, and after that had no fortune as they had aforetimes."*

After having contrived this defence against the outward enemies of Rome, Virgil was desired by the emperor to invent some method of clearing the city of the numerous banditti who infested it by night, and who robbed and murdered great numbers of its inhabitants. He accordingly made images of copper, and the emperor having issued a decree that no honest people should appear out of their houses after a certain hour at night, these images swept through the city, destroying every living being that was found in the streets. After an attempt to evade these perilous enemies, the robbers were all killed or driven away. We can easily understand how the popular imagination formed legends like this on the sculptures of bronze and other material that must have been frequently discovered among the ruins of ancient Rome. Virgil's next performance was a sort of prototype of the electric light. "For profit of the common people, Virgilius, on a great mighty marble pillar, did make a bridge that came up to the palace, and so went Virgilius well up the pillar out of the palace. That palace and the pillar stood in the middle of Rome; and upon this pillar made he a lamp of glass that alway burned without going out, and nobody might put it out; and this lamp lightened over all the city of Rome from the one corner to the other, and there was not so little a street but it gave such a light that it seemed two torches there had stand. And upon the walls of the palace made he a metal man that held in his hand a metal bow that pointed ever upon the lamp to shoot it out; but alway burned the lamp and gave light

* This was one of the most popular of the *early* legends relating to Virgil. It is found in the early collection of stories entitled the Seven Sages, and frequently elsewhere.

over all Rome. And upon a time went the burgesses' daughters to play in the palace, and they beheld the metal man, and one of them asked in sport, why he shot not; and then she came to the man, and with her hand touched the bow, and then the bolt [arrow] flew out and brake the lamp that Virgilius made. And it was wonder that the maiden went not out of her mind for the great fear she had, and also the other burgesses' daughters that were in her company, of the great stroke that it gave when it hit the lamp, and when they saw the metal man so swiftly run his way, and never after was he no more seen. And this foresaid lamp was abyding burning after the death of Virgilius by the space of three hundred years or more."

After this, Virgil made himself a wonderful orchard or garden, and placed in it an extraordinary fountain, with a cellar or vault in which to store up his great wealth. "And he set two metal men before the door to keep it, and in each hand a great hammer, and therewith they smote upon an anvil, one after the other, insomuch that the birds that fly over heareth it, and by-and-by falleth there down dead; and otherwise had Virgilius not his good [that is, wealth] kept." Another image made by Virgil produced effects which were by no means agreeable to the Roman ladies, in consequence of which his wife went secretly and overthrew it; and when he discovered this, "from thenceforth began Virgilius to hate his wife."

The next of Virgil's exploits appears to have been taken from some one of the old Spanish romances. Virgil had heard people speak often of the beauty of the sultan's daughter, and he determined to possess her. By his "cunning" he made a bridge in the air, by which he passed over in an instant to the sultan's palace in Babylon. There he introduced himself into the chamber of the princess, and overcame her scruples without much difficulty, although "she never saw him before." At length he prevailed upon her to accompany him in his return, and he carried her through the air to his orchard, in Italy, and there he kept her as long as he liked, and afterward replaced her in her bed in her father's palace. The sultan meanwhile missed his daughter, and in his distress he had caused diligent search to be made for her, but without success, when he was informed that she was asleep in her bed. He was overjoyed at her recovery, and examined her closely as to the cause and manner of her disappearance, and she confessed the whole, but she neither knew who had carried her away, or whither she was taken. It was not long, however, before Virgil came to seek her again, and then, by her

father's directions, the princess took home with her some of the fruit which her lover had given her to eat, from which the sultan concluded that she had been carried to some place "on the side of France." After she had been frequently carried away in this manner, the sultan, under pretence that he wished to ascertain whence her lover came, persuaded the princess to give him a sleeping-draught, and thus was the intruder captured, and thrown into prison; and it was judged that both he and his mistress should be burnt for their misdeeds. "When Virgilius heard of this, he made with his cunning the sultan and all his lords think that the great river of Babylon* was run in the middle of them, and that they swam and lay and sprung like ducks, and thus took Virgilius with him the fair lady upon the bridge in the air. And when they were both upon the bridge, he delivered the sultan from the river, and all the lords, and then they saw Virgilius carry away his daughter over the sea upon a bridge in the air, whereof he marvelled and was very sorry, and wist not what to do, for he could not remedy it. And in this manner did he convey the sultan's daughter over the sea to Rome. And Virgilius was sore enamored of that lady. Then he thought in his mind how he might marry her, and thought in his mind to found in the midst of the sea a fair town with great lands belonging to it; and so he did by his cunning, and called it Naples; and the foundation of it was of eggs.† And in that town of Naples he made a tower with four corners, and on the top he set an apple upon an iron yard [rod], and no man could pull away that apple without he brake it; and through that iron set he a bottle, and on that bottle set he an egg; and he hanged the apple by the stalk upon a chain, and so hangeth it still. And when the egg stirreth, so should the town of Naples quake; and when the egg brake, then should the town sink. When he had made an end, he let call it Naples. And in this town he laid a part of his treasure that he had therein; and also set therein his lover, the fair lady the sultan's daughter; and he gave to her the town of Naples, and all the lands thereto belonging, to her use and her children."

With such a dower, it is not to be wondered if the lady soon

* The Nile. The Babylon in which the sultans dwelt was old Cairo, Babylon of Egypt.

† The foundation of the city of Naples upon eggs, and the egg on which its fate depended, seem to have been legends generally current in the middle ages. They are said still to exist among the lazzaroni. By the statutes of the order of the saint Esprit au droit desir, instituted in 1352 (Montfaucon, *Monumens de la Mon. Fr.*, vol. ii., p. 329), a chapter of the knights was appointed to be held annually *in custello ovi incantati in mirabili periculo.*

found a husband, and accordingly Virgil gave her in marriage to a certain lord of Spain, whose courage was put to the trial in defending the town against the emperor, who had "a great fantasy" to it, and had brought a powerful army to seize upon it by force. But Virgil defeated him with his enchantments, and when he had secured the place and driven the emperor away, "then returned he again to Rome, and fetched his books and other removeable goods, and brought them to Naples, and let his good alone that he had shut in the cellar, and his dwelling he gave to his friends to keep, and his dwelling-places, and so departed to Naples. There he made a school, and gave thereto much lands, that every scholar abiding and going to school had land to live on of the town, and they that gave up the school lost the land. And there came many from Toledo to school. And when he had ordained the town well with scholars, then made he a warm bath, that every man might bathe him in that would; and that bath is there to this time, and it was the first bath that ever was. And after this he made a bridge, the fairest that ever man saw, and there might men see all manner of fair ships that belonged to merchandise, and all other things of the sea. And the town in those days was the fairest and noblest in all the world. And in this school aforesaid did Virgilius read [that is, lecture upon] the great cunning and science of necromancy, for he was the cunningest that ever was afore or after in that science. And within short space his wife died, and she had never no children by him. And moreover, above all men he loved scholars, and gave much money to buy books withal."

Virgil seems now to have been reconciled with the emperor, for he made for him a serpent of metal, to which he gave such a quality that any one who put his hand in its mouth and swore falsely would have it bitten off; but if he swore the truth, he would withdraw it uninjured. At last a woman accused of adultery deceived Virgil and his serpent by an artful trick, which is found repeated in Tristan and some others of the medieval romances. She arranged that her lover should be there disguised as a fool, and then, boldly thrusting her hand into the serpent's mouth, she swore that she had no more sinned with the man who was accused of being her paramour than with that fool. Virgil, in anger against womankind, broke the serpent to pieces.

Virgil's death was quite as extraordinary as his life. "And after this made Virgilius a goodly castle, that had but one going in thereto, and no man might not enter in thereto but at the one

gate, or else not. And also about the same castle flowed there a water, and it was impossible for any man there to have any entering. And this castle stood without the city of Rome. And this entering of this gate was made with twenty-four iron flails, and on every side were there twelve men on each side still a piece smiting with the flails, never ceasing, the one after the other; and no man might come in, without the flails stood still, but he was slain. And these flails were made with such a gin [contrivance] that Virgilius stopped them when he list to enter in thereat, but no man else could find the way. And in this castle put Virgilius part of his treasure privily; and, when this was done, he, imagined in his mind by what means he might make himself young again, because he thought to live longer many years, to do many wonders and marvellous things. And upon a time went Virgilius to the emperor, and asked him of license [of absence] by the space of three weeks. But the emperor in no wise would grant it unto him, for he would have Virgilins at all times by him. Then heard he that Virgilius went to his house, and took with him one of his men that he above all men trusted and knew well that he would best keep his counsel; and they departed to his castle that was without the town, and, when they were afore the castle, there saw the men stand with iron flails in their hands sore smiting. Then Virgilius said to his man, 'Enter you first into the castle.' Then answered the man and said, 'If I should enter, the flails would slay me.' Then showed Virgilius to the man of each side the entering in, and all the vices [screws] that thereto belonged; and when he had shown him all the ways, he made cease the flails, and went into the castle. And when they were both in, Virgilius turned the vices again, and so went the iron flails as they did afore. Then said Virgilius, 'My dear beloved friend, and he that I above all men trust, and know most of my secrets;' and then let he the man into the cellar, where he had made a fair lamp at all seasons burning. And then said Virgilius to the man, 'See you the barrel that standeth here?' And he said, 'Ye must put me there; first ye must slay me, and hew me small to pieces, and cut my head in four pieces, and salt the head under in the bottom, and then the pieces thereafter, and my heart in the middle, and then set the barrel under the lamp, that night and day therein may drop and leke; and ye shall nine days long once in the day fill the lamp, and fail not; and when this is all done, then shall I be renewed and made young again, and live long time and many winters more, if that it fortune me

not to be taken of above and die.'* And when the man heard his master Virgilius speak thus, he was sore abashed, and said, 'That will I never while I live, for in no manner will I slay you.' Then said Virgilius, 'Ye at this time must do it, for it shall be no grief unto you.' And at last Virgilius entreated his man so much, that he consented to him; and then the servant took Virgilius, and slew him, and when he was thus slain, he hewed him in pieces, and salted him in the barrel, and cut his head in four pieces as his master bade him, and then put the heart in the middle, and salted them well; and when all this was done, he hung the lamp right over the barrel, that it might at all times drop in thereto. And when he had done all this, he went out of the castle and turned the vices, and then went the copper men smiting with their flails as strongly upon the iron anvils as they did before, that there durst no man enter; and he came every day to the castle and filled the lamp, as Virgilius had bade him.

"And as the emperor missed Virgilius by the space of seven days, he marvelled greatly where he should be become; but Virgilius was killed and laid in the cellar by his servant that he loved so well. And then the emperor thought in his mind to ask Virgilius's servant where Virgilius his master was; and so he did, for he knew well that Virgilius loved him above all men in the world. Then answered the servant to the emperor, and said, 'Worshipful lord, and it please your grace, I wot not where he is, for it is seven days past that I saw him last; and then went he forth I can not tell whither, for he would not let me go with him.' Then was the emperor angry with that answer, and said, 'Thou liest, false thief that thou art; but without thou show me shortly where he is, I shall put thee to death.' With those words was the man abashed, and said, 'Worshipful lord, seven days ago I went with him without the town to the castle, and there he went in, and there I left him, for he would not let me in with him.' Then said the emperor, 'Go with me to the same castle;' and so he did; and when they came afore the castle and would have entered, they might not, because the flails smote so fast. Then said the emperor, 'Make appease these flails that we may come in.' Then answered the man, 'I know not the way.' Then said the emperor, 'Then shalt thou die.' And then, through the fear of death, he turned the vices and made the flails stand still; and then the emperor entered into the castle with all his folk, and sought all about in every corner

* A similar mode of renovation occurs not unfrequently in medieval tales and legends. It seems to have had its origin in the classic story of Medea.

after Virgilius, and at the last they sought so long that they came into the cellar where they saw the lamp hang over the barrel, where Virgilius lay indeed. Then asked the emperor the man, who had made him so hardy to put his master Virgilius so to death; and the man answered no word to the emperor. And then the emperor, with great anger, drew out his sword, and slew he there Virgilius' man. And when all this was done, then saw the emperor and all his folk a naked child, three times running about the barrel, saying the words, 'Cursed be the time that ye came ever here!' And with those words vanished the child away, and was never seen again; and thus abode Virgilius in the barrel, dead. Then was the emperor very heavy for the death of Virgilius, and also all Virgilius' kindred, and also all the scholars that dwelt about the town of Naples, and in especial the town of Naples, for because that Virgilius was the founder thereof, and made it of great worship. Then thought the emperor to have the goods and riches of Virgilius; but there were none so hardy that durst come in to fetch it, for fear of the copper men that smote so fast with their iron flails; and so abides Virgilius's treasure in the cellar."

CHAPTER VII.

THE LATER MEDIEVAL TYPES OF THE MAGICIAN—FRIAR BACON AND DR. FAUSTUS.

We have seen the type of the magician as it was formed at an early period, and in a particular locality and circumstances. Virgil the enchanter was the creation of the popular imagination to represent its notion of the wonders of ancient science and art. It was the type of the sorcerer as it arose out of the wreck of antiquity. But the middle ages wanted a type of its own time, which should represent, according to the notions of the vulgar, the consciousness of that extraordinary science which was producing present wonders. This it soon found in one of the greatest of its own scholastics, the celebrated Roger Bacon.

So naturally was the notion of magic connected with that of superior learning in the mind of the multitude, that few of the great scholars of the middle ages escaped the imputation. Probably in their own time, Roger Bacon, and Grosseteste, and

others, enjoyed the same reputation in this respect as the more ancient Gerbert. This was the case with Bacon especially, who devoted himself so much to practical science, and whose chemical discoveries (such as that of gunpowder), his optical glasses, and his mechanical contrivances, were the wonder of the thirteenth century. A few of the genuine traditions relating to him are found scattered in old writings, such as that of the brazen head, and others connected with his glasses. One of them tells us of Friar Bacon's (as he was usually termed) compact with the evil one, and the artful manner in which he evaded it. It is said that his agreement stipulated that he was to belong to the devil after his death, if he died in the church or out of it; but the wily magician, when he felt his end approaching, caused a cell to be made in the wall of the church, where he died and was buried, neither in the church nor without, and thus the fiend was cheated of his prey.

When, in the sixteenth century, the study of magic was pursued with increased zeal, the celebrity of Friar Bacon became more popular, and was spread wider; and not only were the traditions worked up into a popular book, entitled "The History of Friar Bacon," but one of the dramatists of the age, Robert Greene, founded upon them a play, which was often acted, and of which there are several editions. The greater part of the history of Friar Bacon, as far as it related to that celebrated personage, is evidently the invention of the writer, who appears to have lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth; he adopted some of the older traditions, and filled up his narrative with fables taken from the common story-books of the age. We are here first made acquainted with two other legendary conjurers, Friars Bungay and Vandermast; and the recital is enlivened with the pranks of Bacon's servant Miles.

According to this legendary history, Roger Bacon was the son of a wealthy farmer in the west of England, who had placed his son with the parish priest to gain a little scholarship. The boy soon showed an extraordinary ability for learning, which was encouraged by the priest, but which was extremely disagreeable to the father, who intended him for no other profession but that of the plough. Young Bacon fled from home, and took shelter in a monastery, where he followed his studies to his heart's content, and was eventually sent to complete them at Oxford. There he made himself a proficient in the occult sciences, and attained to the highest proficiency in magic. At length he had an opportunity of exhibiting his skill before the court, and the account of

his exploits on this occasion may be given as a sample of the style of this quaint old history.

"'The king being in Oxfordshire at a nobleman's house, was very desirous to see this famous friar, for he had heard many times of his wondrous things that he had done by his art, therefore he sent one for him to desire him to come to the court. Friar Bacon kindly thanked the king by the messenger, and said that he was at the king's service, and would suddenly attend him; 'but, sir,' saith he to the gentleman, 'I pray make you haste, or else I shall be two hours before you at the court.'—'For all your learning,' answered the gentleman, 'I can hardly believe this, for scholars, old men, and travellers, may lie by authority.' 'To strengthen your belief,' said Friar Bacon, 'I could presently show you the last wench that you were withal, but I will not at this time.'—'One is as true as the other,' said the gentleman, 'and I would laugh to see either.'—'You shall see them both within these four hours,' quoth the friar, 'and therefore make what haste you can.' 'I will prevent that by my speed,' said the gentleman, and with that he rid his way; but he rode out of his way, as it should seem, for he had but five miles to ride, and yet was he better than three hours a riding them, so that Friar Bacon by his art was with the king before he came.

"'The king kindly welcomed him, and said that he long time had desired to see him, for he had as yet not heard of his like. Friar Bacon answered him, that fame had belied him, and given him that report that his poor studies had never deserved, for he believed that art had many sons more excellent than himself was. The king commended him for his modesty, and told him that nothing could become a wise man less than boasting: but yet withal he requested him now to be no niggard of his knowledge, but to show his queen and him some of his skill. 'I were worthy of neither art nor knowledge,' quoth Friar Bacon, 'should I deny your majesty this small request; I pray seat yourselves, and you shall see presently what my poor skill can perform.' The king, queen, and nobles, sat them all down. They having so done, the friar waved his wand, and presently was heard such excellent music, that they were all amazed, for they all said they had never heard the like. 'This is,' said the friar, 'to delight the sense of hearing,—I will delight all your other senses ere you depart hence.' So waving his wand again, there was louder music heard, and presently five dancers entered, the first like a court laundress, the second like a footman, the third like a usurer, the fourth like a prodigal, the fifth like a fool.

These did divers excellent changes, so that they gave content to all the beholders, and having done their dance they all vanished away in their order as they came in. Thus feasted he two of their senses. Then waved he his wand again, and there was another kiud of music heard, and while it was playing, there was suddenly before them a table, richly covered with all sorts of delicacies. Then desired he the king and queen to taste of some certain rare fruits that were on the table, which they and the nobles there present did, and were very highly pleased with the taste; they being satisfied, all vanished away on the sudden. Then waved he his wand again, and suddenly there was such a smell, as if all the rich perfumes in the whole world had been then prepared in the best manner that art could set them out. While he feasted thus their smelling, he waved his wand again. and there came divers nations in sundry habits, as Russians, Polanders, Indians, Armenians, all bringing sundry kinds of furs, such as their countries yielded, all which they presented to the king and queen. These furs were so soft to the touch, that they highly pleased all those that handled them. Then, after some odd fantastic dances, after their country manner, they vanished away. Then asked Friar Bacon the king's majesty if that he desired any more of his skill. The king answered that he was fully satisfied for that time, and that he only now thought of something that he might bestow on him, that might partly satisfy the kindness that he had received. Friar Bacon said that he desired nothing so much as his majesty's love, and if that he might be assured of that, he would think himself happy in it. 'For that,' said the king, 'be thou ever sure of it, in token of which receive this jewel,' and withal gave him a costly jewel from his neck. The friar did with great reverence thank his majesty, and said, 'As your majesty's vassal you shall ever find me ready to do you service; your time of need shall find it both beneficial and delightful. But among all these gentlemen I see not the man that your grace did send for me by; sure he hath lost his way, or else met with some sport that detains him so long; I promised to be here before him, and all this noble assembly can witness I am as good as my word—I hear him coming.' With that entered the gentleman, all bedirted, for he had rid through ditches, quagmires, plashes, and waters, that he was in a most pitiful case. He, seeing the friar there, looked full angrily, and bid a plague on all his devils, for they had led him out of his way, and almost drowned him. 'Be not angry, sir,' said Friar Bacon, 'here is an old friend of yours that hath

more cause, for she hath tarried these three hours for you'—with that he pulled up the hangings, and behind them stood a kitchen-maid with a basting-ladle in her hand—'now am I as good as my word with you? for I promised to help you to your sweetheart—how do you like this?'—'So ill,' answered the gentleman, 'that I will be revenged of you.'—'Threaten not,' said Friar Bacon, 'lest I do you more shame, and do you take heed how you give scholars the lie again; but because I know not how well you are stored with money at this time, I will bear your wench's charges home' With that she vanished away."

This may be taken as a sort of exemplification of the class of exhibitions which were probably the result of superior knowledge of natural science, and which were exaggerated by popular imagination. They had been made, to a certain degree, familiar by the performances of the skilful jugglers who came from the East, and who were scattered throughout Europe; and we read not unfrequently of such magical feats in old writers. When the emperor Charles IV. was married in the middle of the fourteenth century to the Bavarian princess Sophia in the city of Prague, the father of the princess brought a wagon-load of magicians to assist in the festivities. Two of the chief proficients in the art, Zytho the great Bohemian sorcerer, and Gouin the Bavarian, were pitched against each other, and we are told that after a desperate trial of skill, Zytho, opening his jaws from ear to ear, ate up his rival without stopping till he came to his shoes, which he spit out, because, as he said, they had not been cleaned. After having performed this strange feat, he restored the unhappy sorcerer to life again. The idea of contests like this seems to have been taken from the scriptural narrative of the contention of the Egyptian magicians against Moses.

We must run through Friar Bacon's other exploits more briefly. As I have said, the greater number of them are mere adaptations of medieval stories; but they show nevertheless, what was the popular notion of the magician's character. Such is the story of the gentleman who, reduced to poverty and involved in debt, sold himself to the evil one, on condition that he was to deliver himself up as soon as his debts were paid. As may be imagined without much difficulty, he was not in haste to satisfy his creditors, but at length the time came when he could put them off no longer, and then, in his despair, he would have committed violence on himself had not his hand been arrested by Bacon. The latter, when he had heard the gentleman's story,

directed him to repair to the place appointed for his meeting with the evil one, to deny the devil's claim, and to refer for judgment to the first person who should pass. "In the morning, after that he had blessed himself, he went to the wood, where he found the devil ready for him. So soon as he came near, the devil said: 'Now, deceiver, are you come? Now shall thou see that I can and will prove that thou hast paid all thy debts, and therefore thy soul belongest to me.'—'Thou art a deceiver,' said the gentleman, 'and gavest me money to cheat me of my soul, for else why wilt thou be thine own judge?—let me have some others to judge between us.'—'Content,' said the devil, 'take whom thou wilt.'—'Then I will have,' said the gentleman, 'the next man that cometh this way.' Hereto the devil agreed. No sooner were these words ended, but Friar Bacon came by, to whom this gentleman spoke, and requested that he would be judge in a weighty matter between them two. The friar said he was content, so both parties were agreed: the devil said they were, and told Friar Bacon how the case stood between them in this manner. 'Know, friar, that I, seeing this prodigal like to starve for want of food, lent him money, not only to buy him victuals, but also to redeem his lands and pay his debts, conditionally, that so soon as his debts were paid, that he should give himself freely to me; to this, here is his hand,' showing him the bond: 'now my time is expired, for all his debts are paid, which he can not deny.'—'This case is plain, if it be so that his debts are paid.'—'His silence confirms it,' said the devil, 'therefore give him a just sentence.'—'I will,' said Friar Bacon; 'but first tell me'—speaking to the gentleman—'didst thou never yet give the devil any of his money back, nor requite him in any ways?' —'Never had he anything of me as yet,' answered the gentleman. 'Then never let him have anything of thee, and thou art free. Deceiver of mankind,' said he, speaking to the devil, 'it was thy bargain never to meddle with him so long as he was indebted to any; now, how canst thou demand of him anything when he is indebted for all that he hath to thee? when he payeth thee thy money, then take him as thy due; till then thou hast nothing to do with him, and so I charge thee to be gone.' At this the devil vanished with great horror, but Friar Bacon comforted the gentleman, and sent him home with a quiet conscience, bidding him never to pay the devil's money back, as he tendered his own safety."

Bacon now met with a companion, Friar Bungay, whose tastes and pursuits were congenial to his own, and with his assistance

he undertook the exploit for which he was most famous. He had a fancy that he would defend England against its enemies, by walling it with brass, preparatory to which they made a head of that metal. Their intent was to make the head speak, for which purpose they raised a spirit in a wood, by whose directions they made a fumigation, to which the head was to be exposed during a month, and to be carefully watched, because if the two friars did not hear it before it had given over speaking, their labor would be lost. Accordingly, the care of watching over the head while they slept was intrusted to Bacon's man, Miles. The period of speaking unfortunately came while Miles was watching. The head suddenly uttered the two words "Time is." Miles thought it was unnecessary to disturb his master for such a brief speech, and sat still. In half an hour, the head again broke silence with the words, "Time was." Still Miles waited, until, in another half hour, the head said, "Time is past," and fell to the ground with a terrible noise. Thus, through the negligence of Miles, the labor of the two friars was thrown away.

The king soon wanted Friar Bacon's services, and the latter enabled him, by his perspective and burning-glasses, to take a town which he was besieging. In consequence of this success, the kings of England and France made peace, and a grand court was held, at which the German conjurer, Vandermast, was brought to try his skill against Bacon. Their performances were something in the style of Bacon's former exhibition before the king and queen. Vandermast, in revenge, sent a soldier to kill Bacon, but in vain. Next follow a series of adventures which consist of a few medieval stories very clumsily put together, among which are that known as the Friar and the Boy, the one which appeared in Scottish verse, under the title of the Friars of Berwick, a tale taken from the Gesta Romanorum, and some others. A contention in magic between Vandermast and Bungay ended in the deaths of both. The servant Miles next turned conjurer, having got hold of one of Bacon's books, and escaped with a dreadful fright and a broken leg. Everything now seemed to go wrong. Friar Bacon "had a glass which was of that excellent nature, that any man might behold anything that he desired to see within the compass of fifty miles round about him." In this glass he used to show people what their relations and friends were doing, or where they were, One day, two young gentlemen of high birth came to look into the glass, and they beheld their fathers desperately fighting together, upon which they drew their swords and slew each other. Bacon was so shocked that he broke his glass in disgust, and

hearing about the same time of the deaths of Vandermast and Bungay, he became melancholy, and at length he burnt his books of magic, distributed his wealth among poor scholars and others, and became an anchorite. Thus ended the life of Friar Bacon, according to "the famous history," which probably owed most of its incidents to the imagination of the writer.

The character of Dr. Faustus seems, as a magician, to be more veritable than that of Friar Bacon. His history, which was transferred to English literature direct from the German, appeared in England about the same time. There appears, in fact, to have lived in the earlier part of the sixteenth century a great magician and conjuror of the name of Faust, or Latinized, Faustus, a native of Kundling, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, whose celebrity gave rise to the book entitled "The History of the Life and Death of Dr. Faustus," which became so popular in England, that it was brought on the stage by one of the best dramatists of the Elizabethan age, Greene, and went into a proverb in our language, and has been embodied in one of the most extraordinary productions of the literature of our age, the Faust of Goethe.

Still we must look upon Dr. Faustus as one of the types only of the art, for we have no authentic account of what he did perform. The book consists, like the histories of Virgil and Bacon, of a mere collection of stories of magic and incantation, many of them probably invented for the occasion, and all of them fathered upon one personage, whose name had become sufficiently notorious for the purpose. According to this history, Faustus was the son of a German boor, and being remarkable for his early talents, was adopted by a rich uncle at Wittenburg, who enabled him to pursue his studies at a celebrated university in that city. The inclinations of Faustus led him into the forbidden paths of science, and at length he became such a proficient in magic that he determined to call up the demon. So "taking his way to a thick wood near to Wittenburg, called in the German tongue Spisserholt, he came into the wood one evening into the crossway, where he made with a wand a circle in the dust, and within that many more circles and characters; and thus he passed away the time until it was nine or ten of the clock in the night; then began Dr. Faustus to call on Mephistophiles the spirit, and to charge him in the name of Beelzebub to appear there presently, without any long stay. Then presently the devil began so great a rumor in the wood, as if heaven and earth would have come together, with wind, and the trees bowed their tops to the ground. Then fell the devil to roar, as if the whole wood had been full of lions

and suddenly about the circle run the devil, as if a thousand wagons had been running together on paved stones. After this, at the four corners of the wood it thundered horribly, with such lightning as if the whole world to his seeming had been on fire. Faustus all this while, half amazed at the devil's so long tarrying, and doubting whether he were best to abide any more such horrible conjurings, thought to leave his circle and depart, whereupon the devil made him such music of all sorts, as if the nymphs themselves had been in the place. Whereat Faustus revived, and stood stoutly in the circle, expecting his purpose, and began again to conjure the spirit Mephistophiles in the name of the prince of devils, to appear in his likeness; whereat suddenly over his head hung hovering in the air a mighty dragon. Then calls Faustus again after his devilish manner; at which there was a monstrous cry in the wood, as if hell had been open, and all the tormented souls cursing their condition. Presently, not three fathoms above his head, fell a flame in manner of lightning, and changed itself into a globe; yet Faustus feared it not, but did persuade himself that the devil should give him his request before he would leave. Then Faustus, vexed at his spirit's so long tarrying, used his charm, with full purpose not to depart before he had his intent; and crying on Mephistophiles the spirit, suddenly the globe opened, and sprung up in the height of a man; so, burning a time, in the end it converted to the shape of a fiery man. This pleasant beast ran about the circle a great while, and lastly, appeared in the manner of a gray friar, asking Faustus what was his request. Faustus commanded, that the next morning at twelve of the clock he should appear to him at his house; but the devil would in no wise grant it. Faustus began to conjure him again, in the name of Beelzebub, that he should fulfil his request; whereupon the spirit agreed, and so they departed each on his way."

The spirit accordingly visited Faustus, and after three interviews, they came to an agreement, by which the doctor, as the price of his soul, was to have Mephistophiles for his servant, and have a certain allotment of life, during which he would have the full gratification of his power in everything. One of the first uses which Faustus made of the power he had now obtained was to gratify his ardent thirst for knowledge, and by the aid of his spirit Mephistophiles, he soon surpassed all others in the knowledge of hidden causes. All his desires were fulfilled the instant they were formed, so that he lived a life of unrestrained gratification. He travelled with inconceivable rapidity, not only

through different countries, but into the remotest regions of the air, and even into hell, and thus he became a profound astronomer, and was initiated in some measure into the secrets of the other world. He now "fell to be a calendar-maker by the help of his spirit," and nobody's prognostications were equal to those of Dr. Faustus. His travels were so extensive, that he even obtained a glimpse of Paradise; and in the course of his wanderings he played all sorts of pranks. Among other victims of his wantonness were the Grand Turk and the pope of Rome.

When the emperor Charles V., we are told, was holding his court at Inspruck, he invited Faustus to make an exhibition of his skill, and to gratify him he raised up the spirits of Alexander the Great and his beautiful paramour, to the emperor's no small delight. Some of the courtiers having provoked him, he transformed them, and exposed them to the ridicule of their companions. After leaving the court, he performed a variety of tricks upon persons of all conditions, whom he met on his way. He pawned his leg to a Jew for money. At the fair of Pfeiffeng, he sold a horse to a horse-dealer, with a warning not to ride through a course of water with it; but the dealer, having disobeyed these directions, found himself suddenly sitting astride a bottle of straw. He alarmed a countryman by eating a load of hay; and wherever he found students or clowns drinking together, he seldom failed to make them victims of his art. He subsequently performed extraordinary exploits at the court of the duke of Anhalt; and he gave equally extraordinary specimens of his power in a series of extravagant feats with which he treated the students of Wittenburg, and which he ended by calling up to their sight the fair Helen of Troy.

"Dr. Faustus came in Lent unto Frankland fair, where his spirit Mephistophiles gave him to understand that in an inn were four jugglers that cut one another's heads off, and after their cutting off sent them to the barber to be trimmed, which many people saw. This angered Faustus, for he meant to have himself the only cook in the devil's banquet, and he went to the place where they were to beguile them. And as the jugglers were together, ready one to cut off another's head, there stood also the barber ready to trim them, and by them upon the table stood likewise a glass full of stilled waters, and he that was the chiefest among them stood by it. Thus they began: they smote off the head of the first, and presently there was a lily in the glass of distilled water, where Faustus perceived this lily as it was springing up, and the chief juggler named it the tree of life.

Thus dealt he with the first, making the barber wash and comb his head, and then he set it on again; presently the lily vanished away out of the water; hereat the man had his head whole and sound again. The like did he with the other two; and as the turn and lot came to the chief juggler, that he also should be beheaded, and that his lily was most pleasant, fair, and flourishing green, they smote his head off, and when it came to be barbed [that is, shaved], it troubled Faustus his conscience, insomuch that he could not abide to see another do anything, for he thought himself to be the principal conjurer in the world; wherefore Dr. Faustus went to the table whereat the other jugglers kept that lily, and so he took a small knife and cut off the stalk of the lily, saying to himself, 'None of them shall blind Faustus.' Yet no man saw Faustus to cut the lily; but when the rest of the jugglers thought to have set on their master's head, they could not; wherefore they looked on the lily, and found it bleeding. By this means the juggler was beguiled, and so died in his wickedness; yet no one thought that Dr. Faustus had done it."

It was about this time that Faustus had a fit of repentance, for which he was severely rebuked by his spirit Mephistophiles, who forced him to sign a new bond with the evil one. From this time he became more headstrong and depraved than ever, and, to use the words of the history, "he began to live a swinish and Epicurean life." He now caused Mephistophiles to bring him the fair Helen of Troy, with whom he fell violently in love, and kept her during the rest of his life as his mistress; but she, and a child she bore him, vanished together on his death. This was not long in approaching, and when his last day was at hand, he invited his fellow-students to a supper, and gave them a moral discourse on his own errors, and an urgent warning to avoid his example. "The students and the others that were there, when they had prayed for him, they wept, and so went forth; but Faustus tarried in the hall; and when the gentlemen were laid in bed, none of them could sleep, for that they attended to hear if they might be privy of his end. It happened that between twelve and one o'clock at midnight there blew a mighty storm of wind against the house, as though it would have blown the foundation thereof out of its place. Hereupon the students began to fear, and go out of their beds, but they would not stir out of the chamber, and the host of the house ran out of doors, thinking the house would fall. The students lay near unto the hall wherein Dr. Faustus lay, and they heard a mighty noise and hissing, as if the hall had been full of snakes and adders. With

that the hall-door flew open wherein Dr. Faustus was; then he began to cry for help, saying, 'Murther! murther!' but it was with a half voice and very hollow; shortly after they heard him no more. But when it was day, the students, that had taken no rest that night, arose and went into the hall in the which they left Dr. Faustus, where, notwithstanding, they found not Faustus, but all the hall sprinkled with blood, the brains cleaving to the wall, for the devil had beaten him from one wall against another; in one corner lay his eyes, in another his teeth; a fearful and pitiful sight to behold. Then began the students to wail and weep for him, and sought for his body in many places. Lastly, they came into the yard, where they found his body lying on the horse-dung, most monstrously torn, and fearful to behold, for his head and all his joints were dashed to pieces. The forenamed students and masters that were at his death, obtained so much that they buried him in the village where he was so grievously tormented."

Such was the end which it was believed awaited the magicians who entered into a direct compact with the evil one. The history of Dr. Faustus has been the delight and wonder of thousands in various countries and through several ages. The popularity of the book was so great, that another author undertook to compile a continuation. Faustus, it was pretended, had left a familiar servant, named Christopher Wagner, with whom he had deposited his greatest secrets, and to whom he had left his books and his art. The exploits of Wagner form what is called the second part of Dr. Faustus, which seems to have been compiled in England, and was published long subsequent to the first part. Wagner is made to call up the spirit of his master Faustus, and compel him to serve as his familiar. The book contains a repetition of the same descriptions of exorcisms which had been used by Faustus toward Mephistophiles, and of similar exploits.

The foregoing are types of the popular belief during many centuries. They picture to us the notion of the magician as it existed in people's imagination. We must now return to the reality of these superstitions, as it is presented to us by the history of past ages.

CHAPTER VIII.

SORCERY IN GERMANY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY; THE MALLEUS MALEFICARUM.

SINCE the establishment of the inquisition, and the practice of drawing the crime of sorcery under its jurisdiction, the belief in its effects was becoming more intense, and was spreading more widely. In the fifteenth century the holy inquisition had gradually formed the witchcraft legends into a regular system, and when published under such authority few would venture to disbelieve it. It was in Germany, indeed, that the belief in witchcraft seems to have first taken that dark, systematical form which held so fearful a sway over men's minds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There the wilder superstitions of the ancient Teutonic creed have been preserved in greater force than in any other part of Europe. The pious legends of Cæsarius of Heisterbach, who flourished in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, are little better than a mass of stories of magic and sorcery. The imaginative feelings of the people, and the wild character of many parts of the country, were peculiarly calculated to foster superstitions of this description.

In fact, we may there trace back distinctly most of the circumstances of the earlier belief relating to witchcraft to the mythology of the ante-christian period. The grand night of meeting of the German witches was the night of St. Walpurgis, which answered to one of the great religious festivals of the Teutonic tribes before their conversion. In after-times two other nights of annual assembly were added, those of the feasts of St. John and St. Bartholomew. It is probable that, as Christianity gained ground, and became established as the religion of the state, the old religious festivals, to which the lower and more ignorant part of the people, and particularly the weaker sex (more susceptible of superstitious feelings), were still attached, were celebrated in solitary places and in private, and those who frequented them were branded as witches and sorcerers who met together to hold communication with demons; for as such the earlier Christians looked upon all the heathen gods. This gives us an easy explanation of the manner in which the heathen wor-

ship became transformed into the witchcraft of the middle ages. At an early period it was commonly believed that the witches (*unholde*) rode through the air to the place of rendezvous on reeds and sticks, or on besoms, which latter were the articles readiest at hand to women of this class of society. The chief place of meeting, at the great annual witch-festivals in Germany, appears to have been, from an early period, the Brocken mountain, the highest part of the wild Hartz chain; but there were several other favorite places of resort. The persons believed to have been initiated at their assemblies were looked upon with dread, for they were supposed to be capable of injuring people in various ways, both in their persons and in their possessions, and their malice was especially directed against little children. One of the earliest trials for witchcraft, unconnected with other offences, on the continent, is that of a woman in the bishopric of Novara, on the northern borders of Italy, about the middle of the fourteenth century; and it illustrates the general belief in Germany at that period. It appears, from the slight account which remains of this trial (which is printed in a collection of criminal cases in Latin, by Joh. Bapt. Ziletti, fol. Franck. 1578), that the belief then held by the church was, that women of this class could, by their touch or look, fascinate men, or children, or beasts, so as to produce sickness and death; and they believed further, that they had devoted their own souls to the demon, to whom also they had done personal homage, after having trampled under foot the figure of the cross. For these offences they were judged by the most learned theologians to be worthy of being burnt at the stake.

In the earlier period of the history of witchcraft in Germany, we find no traces of the more repulsive details of the sabbath of the sorcerers; and it is, therefore, probable that they were introduced there perhaps not before the fourteenth century, and that even during that century they did not constitute an article of the general belief. They appear to have originated in France and Italy, where there is reason for believing, that down to a late period some of the worst sects of the ancient Gnostics retained a footing. These sects appear to have been justly accused with the celebration of infamous rites, or rather orgies, which the popish church found it convenient to lay to the charge of all whom it thought right to class under the title of heretics. The church, it is well known, claimed the right of judging witchcraft, by considering it as a heresy, or as akin to heresy, and it is probable that by the confusion of ideas thus produced, the

orgies of the Gnostics were transferred to the sabbath of the witches.

During the period of which we have been speaking, men of sense in Germany, and the better educated and less bigoted portion of the clergy, appear to have looked upon the whole as a delusion; witchcraft was a crime, inasmuch as it was an act of vulgar superstition. Some of the early councils forbid the belief in it, and consequently the partaking in any of its practices and ceremonies. It only rose to higher estimation in the age of inquisitors. Toward the middle and during the latter half of the fifteenth century, the question of witchcraft began to be much agitated. The wholesale persecutions of witches had commenced with the celebrated council of Constance (1414 to 1418), which had proscribed the doctrines of Wycliffe, and condemned John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames. One of the inquisitors of this period, a Swiss friar preacher named John Nider, published a work on the various sins and crimes againt religion, under the title of *Formicarium* (or the Ant-hill), the fifth book of which is devoted to the subject of sorcery. This book was published toward the year 1440, for it speaks of the latter events of the life of Joan of Arc as having occurred within ten years; and the author's information, relative to sorcerers, appears to be mainly derived from the inquisitor of Berne, named Peter, who had distinguished himself by his inactivity in the pursuit of witches and sorcerers, and had caused a great number of them to be burnt.

According to John Nider, the injury done by the witches was manifold, and difficult to be guarded against; and we are amused with the various absurd formulæ of exorcism which he recommends against their effects, as though, if their object were to drive away the evil one, or to call upon Divine interference, one proper formula would not be sufficient for every case that could occur. They raised at will destructive storms; they caused barrenness, both of living beings and of the fruits of the earth: a man at Poltingen, in the diocese of Lausanne, by placing a charmed lisard under the doorstead of a house, is stated to have caused the good woman of the house to have abortive births during seven years, and to have produced the same effect on all living creatures of her sex which remained within her dwelling; when the sorcerer was seized, and made a full confession of his evil practices, no lizard was found in the spot indicated, but as it was supposed during so long a period of time to have been entirely decomposed by decay, all the dust under the door was care-

fully carried away, and from that time the inmates were relieved from this severe visitation. They sometimes raised illicit love;* and at others, hindered the consummation of marriage, excited hatred between man and wife, and raised dissensions between the dearest friends. They drove horses mad, and made them run away with their riders. They conveyed away the property of others into their own possession; though, in most of the examples cited, the property thus conveyed away consisted of articles of small value. They made known people's secrets, were endowed with the power of second-sight, and were able to foretell events. They caused people to be struck with lightning, or to be visited with grievous diseases; and did many other "detestable things." Their enmity appears to have been especially directed against little children. There were persons of both sexes who confessed to having transformed themselves into wolves and other ravenous beasts, in order to devour them more at their ease. They watched opportunities of pushing them into rivers and wells, or of bringing upon them other apparently accidental deaths. Their appetite for children is said to have been so great, that when they could not get those of other persons, they would devour their own. They watched more especially new-born infants, which, if possible, they killed before baptism, in such a manner as to make the mothers believe that they had died naturally, or been overlain. When buried, the witches dug the bodies out of the graves, and carried them to the scene of their secret rites, where, with various charms, they boiled them in caldrons, and reduced them to an unguent, which was one of their most efficient preparations. The liquor in which they were boiled was drawn off, and carefully preserved in flasks. Any one who drank of it, became in an instant a perfect master of the whole art of magic.

Such were the Swiss witches of the beginning of the fifteenth century. The large proportion of the children which died in the middle ages, from want of cleanness and improper treatment, may account, in some measure, for the readiness with which people believed in the agency of witchcraft to cause their destruction. John Nider makes not the slightest allusion to the witches' sabbath meetings, a circumstance which naturally leads us to suppose that this was not then an article of popular belief in the district with the superstitions of which he was acquainted.

* This singular writer, among his remedies, indicates as the most effective one against the goadings of the passion of love in young men, to frequent the company of old women! Vetularum aspectus et colloquia amorem excutiunt.

They had sometimes meetings at which the demon appeared in person, either to initiate new converts, or to obtain his aid in the perpetration of some great mischief.

A young man, named Stadelin, was seized at Berne, on suspicion of being a sorcerer, and submitted to the most cruel tortures, until at last he was compelled to make a confession. He gave the following account of the mode in which a new sorcerer was initiated. He must first in a church, before witnesses who were already of the order, make a full denial of his faith and baptism. He was then taken to a meeting, and made to do homage to the "little master," as the demon was called. A flask was next brought forth, and he drank of the liquor above mentioned, after which, without further instruction, he became fully and intimately acquainted with the whole art, and all the customs and practices of the sorcerers. "I and my wife," said Stadelin, "were thus seduced and initiated; but she, I know, is too strongly possessed by the evil one, and too obstinate in her ill ways, to confess, although I know that we are both witches." The inquisitor ordered Stadelin to be burnt because he had confessed, and his wife because she would not confess; for so far the man's assertion was verified, that the poor woman denied all he said, and was dragged to the stake, obstinately persisting in the declaration that she was innocent.

Stadelin confessed that he had been instrumental in perpetrating much mischief by means of thunder and lightning. The way, he said, in which they effected this, was to go to a place where there were cross-roads, and there call upon a demon, who immediately came. They then sacrificed to him a black chicken, and made their offering by tossing it up in the air. This was followed almost immediately by a violent storm, which was most destructive in the places that had been pointed out to the demon's anger. It may be observed, that the belief that storms were the work of demons, who were supposed to be present in them, was universally current during the middle ages.

At this period, the demons, contrary to their practice in a later age, seem to have exerted themselves in the defence of their worshippers, when the latter were in danger of falling into the hands of justice. The evil one generally used his power to enable his votaries to support their tortures without confessing. When the order was given to arrest Stadelin, the officers sent in search of him felt such a sudden numbness in their hands and members, that they were a long time before they could take hold of him.

The witches, at this time, sometimes counteracted each other, which, according to the information given to John Nider by another inquisitor, was effected in the following manner: A person who believed himself to be bewitched, and who desired to take vengeance on the person who had bewitched him, though entirely ignorant who was his tormentor, applied for this purpose to another witch, and told her his case. She immediately took lead, melted it, and threw it into a vessel of water, and, by magical agency, it received the rude shape of a man. She then said, "In which member of his body will you have me punish your enemy?" And upon his naming the member, she struck a sharp instrument into the corresponding part of the leaden figure. The inquisitor assured John Nider that the sorcerer who was the author of the witchcraft by which the complainant had been affected, never failed to suffer in the identical part of the body which had been struck in effigy by the witch.

The inquisitors themselves were not always safe from the vengeance of the witches. Peter, the inquisitor of Berne, told Nider that he was obliged to be constantly on his guard, for he had been so great a persecutor of sorcerers, that he knew they had been long watching for an opportunity of injuring him. He, however, was strong in the faith, and he signed himself with the sign of the cross at night when he went to his bed, and again when he arose in the morning. Once, however, the opportunity, long looked for, occurred.

Peter, while holding the office of judge over Berne, resided in the castle of Blanckenburg, which, on resigning his office, he quitted to return to a house in the city; but, one of his own friends being elected his successor, he was not an unfrequent visiter to the castle. One day he went thither, and, in resigning himself to slumber, he signed himself as usual. It happened, however, that during the day he had committed some oversight in his religious duties, which took from this ceremony its ordinary degree of efficacy. It was his intention to rise in the middle of the night, and to pass an hour or two in writing some correspondence of an important character. At midnight he was disturbed from his sleep in an unaccountable manner, and perceiving a light like that of day, he supposed that it was morning, and that his servant had forgot to call him at the time appointed. He rose from his bed in an ill-humor, and went down stairs to seek his writing materials, but he found that the room in which they had been left was locked. Peter now burst into a great rage, and returned upstairs to bed, muttering maledictions, but

he had hardly pronounced the words "in the devil's name!" (*in nomine diaboli*), when he suddenly found himself in utter darkness, amid dreadful noises, and he was struck down with so much force that he remained senseless on the steps, until his servant, who slept near, roused by the unusual noise, came to his assistance. For a time, the inquisitor seemed to be entirely deprived of his reason, and it was three weeks before he regained the perfect use of his members.

The cause of this singular visitation was accidentally brought to light some time afterward. A man of Friburg, who was looked upon suspiciously in his own neighborhood, went on business to Berne, and sat in a tavern, drinking with some of the citizens. Suddenly he appeared abstracted, and exclaimed, "I see so-and-so [mentioning a man's name] creeping round my house, and stealing the lines I had laid in the river to catch fish." This was second-sight, or, as the mesmerist would say, *clairvoyance*, for the man's house was distant about six German miles, or nearly thirty English miles, from Berne. The persons who were sitting by, looked at him with astonishment; and, after the first moment of surprise, taking him for a sorcerer, they seized upon him, and carried him before the inquisitor. The latter put him to the torture during two days, without effect; but, on the third, which happened to be the feast of the Virgin, he made a confession, after stating that the demon had hindered him from confessing during the two preceding days, but that day, being under the influence of the Virgin, the fiend had lost his power. Among other things, he stated that he was one of four sorcerers, who had joined with a witch to take vengeance on the inquisitor, who, as judge of Berne, had given judgment against her in some case which had come within his jurisdiction. He said, that on such a day (naming the day on which the inquisitor had paid his unlucky visit to Blanckenburg), having learned that the inquisitor was less on his guard than usual, they had met together in a certain field, and, by means of sorcery, had caused the accident which had fallen upon him in the night. The inquisitor gravely stated, that he did not believe that the individuals themselves had been personally there to strike him, but that the devil had struck him, at their bidding.

From the time of John Nider, the persecution of witches in Germany increased in intensity. In 1484, a bull of the pope appointed inquisitors for this especial purpose, and the following year they burnt upward of forty, within a small space on the borders of Austria and Italy. In 1486, the emperor Maximilian

I., then at Brussels, took the papal inquisitors, sent to put down witchcraft in Germany, under his protection. Nevertheless, the archduke Sigismund, who was prince of the Tyrol, and a man above the ordinary prejudices of his time, at first gave what protection he could to the miserable objects of persecution; but he was at length obliged to allow himself to be carried away by the popular torrent. He employed Ulric Molitor to compose a dialogue on the subject, which was printed under the title *De Pythonicis Mulieribus*, at Constance, in the beginning of 1489. In this tract, the archduke Sigismund, Ulric Molitor, and a citizen of Constance, named Conrad Schak, are introduced as the interlocutors, Sigismund arguing against the common belief. In conclusion, the witches are judged worthy of execution, although the opinions here expressed as to witchcraft itself are by no means those of the inquisitors. From this time there arose two parties, one of which sustained that all the crimes imputed to the witches were real bona fide acts, while the other asserted that many of the circumstances to which they were made to confess, such as their being carried through the air, and their presence at the sabbath, were mere delusions, produced on their imagination by their master the devil. Both parties, however, agreed in general to the condemnation of the offenders.

Under the papal inquisitors appointed by the bull of 1484, the persecution of people accused of witchcraft was carried on with a fury which can only be compared with what took place in different countries at the latter part of the end of the following century. Hundreds of wretched individuuls were publicly burnt at the stake within the space of a few years. As an apology for these proceedings, two of the inquisitors, Jacob Sprengar and (as the other is named in Latin) Henricus Institor, employed themselves in compiling a rather large volume under the title *Malleus Maleficarum*, which was printed before the end of the fifteenth century. In this celebrated work, the doctrine of witchcraft was first reduced to a regular system, and it was the model and groundwork of all that was written on the subject long after the date which saw its first appearance. Its writers enter largely into the much-disputed question of the nature of demons; set forth the causes which lead them to seduce men in this manner; and show why women are most prone to listen to their proposals, by reasons which prove that the inquisitors had but a mean estimate of the softer sex. The inquisitors show the most extraordinary skill in explaining all the difficulties which seemed to beset the subject; they even prove to their entire satisfaction

that persons who have become witches may easily change themselves into beasts, particularly into wolves and cats; and after the exhibition of such a mass of learning, few would venture any longer to entertain a doubt. They investigate, not only the methods employed to effect various kinds of mischief, but also the counter-charms and exorcisms that may be used against them. They likewise tell, from their own experience, the dangers to which the inquisitors were exposed, and exult in the fact that they were a class of men against whom sorcery had no power. These writers actually tell us, that the demon had tried to frighten them by day and by night in the forms of apes, dogs, goats, &c.; and that they frequently found large pins stuck in their night-caps, which they doubted not came there by witchcraft. When we hear these inquisitors asserting that the crime of which the witches were accused, deserved a more extreme punishment than all the vilest actions of which humanity is capable, we can understand in some degree the complacency with which they relate how, by their means, forty persons had been burned in one place, and fifty in another, and a still greater number in a third. From the time of the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the continental press during two or three generations teemed with publications on the all-absorbing subject of sorcery.

One of the points on which opinion had differed most was, whether the sorcerers were carried bodily through the air to the place of meeting, or whether it was an imaginary journey, suggested to their minds by the agency of the evil one. The authors of the *Malleus* decide at once in favor of the bodily transmission. One of them was personally acquainted with a priest of the diocese of Frisingen, who declared that he had in his younger days been carried through the air by a demon to a place at a very great distance from the spot whence he had been taken. Another priest, his friend, declared that he had seen him carried away, and that he appeared to him to be borne up on a kind of cloud. At Baldshut, on the Rhine, in the diocese of Constance, a witch confessed, that offended at not having been invited to the wedding of an acquaintance, she had caused herself to be carried through the air, in open daylight, to the top of a neighboring mountain, and there, having made a hole with her hands and filled it with water, she had, by stirring the water with certain incantations, caused a heavy storm to burst forth on the heads of the wedding-party; and there were witnesses at the trial who swore they saw her carried through the air. The inquisitors, however, confess, that the witches were sometimes carried away, as they

term it, in the spirit; and they give the instance of one woman who was watched by her husband; she appeared as if asleep, and was insensible, but he perceived a kind of cloudy vapor arise out of her mouth, and vanish from the room in which she lay—this after a time returned, and she then awoke, and gave an account of her adventures, as though she had been carried bodily to the assembly.

The Swiss and German witches are represented at this period as showing an extraordinary eagerness to make converts. The neophyte was admitted either at the great solemn assemblies or at smaller private meetings where the demon was present—he or she was obliged to deny faith in Christ, do homage to the demon, and then received from his hands a certain quantity of an unguent, made of men's bones and the flesh of unbaptized infants. It was this unguent which, being rubbed on the body, enabled the sorcerer to travel through the air.

Some persons, even of the same sex, were naturally more prone to become witches than others, and this was observed to run in families, so that when a witch was convicted, all her kindred fell under suspicion, and the number of prosecutions increased as they went on. The children of a witch almost always followed in the track of their mother, and they were sometimes endowed with the power of sorcery long before they arrived at an age to understand the sinfulness of their conduct. The reverend inquisitors who wrote the *Malleus*, tell us of a singular fact which had come under their own immediate notice. A farmer in Switzerland was walking out into his fields, and bitterly complaining of the want of rain which was rendering them sterile. A little girl of only eight years of age accosted him, and said in a playful manner, "You need not grieve for want of rain, for I can give you as much as you like."

The latter, in astonishment, exclaimed, "Who taught thee to bring rain?"

"I learned it from my mother," was the reply.

"And how do you proceed to effect this object?" inquired the farmer.

"Give me some water," said the little girl, "and I will show you."

The farmer took her to a small brook which was near at hand. "Now," said he, "if you can, cause the rain to fall upon all my fields, but upon those of no other person."

The little girl put her hand in the water, stirred it in a particular manner, muttering at the same time unintelligible words, and a plentiful shower fell upon the farmer's lands, as he desired.

He then asked her if she could produce hail or thunder, and on her answering in the affirmative, he intimated his wish to have a sample of a hail-storm in one field only. The girl moved her hands more violently in the water, muttering other words, and a heavy shower of hail followed immediately. When the farmer, still more amazed at this instance of power in a child, inquired how she had been taught to do this, she said, "My mother gave me a master, and he taught me."

The farmer pressed her for a further explanation, and asked her if she saw this master visibly.

"Yes," she said, "when I am with my mother I see men coming in and going out, and these my mother tells me are our masters."

This innocent revelation led to the seizure of the woman on suspicion of being a witch; she was carried before the inquisitors, put to the torture until she confessed, and then burnt. The child was spared on account of its age, but as a measure of precaution, it was placed in a nunnery.

The witches of the *Malleus Malleficarum* appear to have been more injurious to horses and cattle than to mankind. A witch at Ravenspurg confessed that she had killed twenty-three horses by sorcery. We are led to wonder most at the ease with which people are brought to bear witness to things utterly beyond the limits of belief. A man of the name of Stauff, in the territory of Berne, declared that when pursued by the agents of justice, he escaped by taking the form of a mouse; and persons were found to testify that they had seen him perform this transmutation.

The latter part of the work of the two inquisitors gives minute directions for the mode in which the prisoners are to be treated, the means to be used to force them to a confession, the degree of evidence required for conviction of those who would not confess, and the whole process of the trials. These show sufficiently that the unfortunate wretch who was once brought before the inquisitors of the holy see on the suspicion of sorcery, however slight might be the grounds of the charge, had very small chance of escaping out of their claws.

The *Malleus* contains no distinct allusion to the proceedings at the sabbath. The witches of this period differ little from those who had fallen into the hands of the earlier inquisitors of Constance. We see plainly how, in most countries, the mysteriously indefinite crime of sorcery had first been seized on to ruin the cause of great political offenders, until the fictitious import-

ance thus given to it brought forward into a prominent position, which they would, perhaps, never otherwise have held, the miserable class who were supposed to be more especially engaged in it. It was the judicial prosecutions and the sanguinary executions which followed, that stamped that character of reality on charges of which it required two or three centuries to convince mankind of the emptiness and vanity. One of the chief instruments in fixing the belief in sorcery, and in giving it that terrible hold on society which it exhibited in the following century, was the compilation of Jacob Sprenger and his fellow inquisitor. In this book sorcery was reduced to a system, but it was not yet perfect; and we must look forward some half century before we find it clothed with all the horrors which cast so much terror into every class of society.

CHAPTER IX.

WITCHCRAFT IN SCOTLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

It has been already remarked, that the superstitions connected with sorcery and magic had their foundation in the earlier mythology of the people. If we would perceive this connection more intimately, we have only to turn our eyes toward Scotland, a country in which this mythology had preserved its sway over the popular imagination much longer than in the more civilized south. We know but little of the Scottish popular superstitions until the sixteenth century, when they are found in nearly the same shape in which they had appeared in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Scotland, witchcraft had not been magnified and modified by the systematical proceedings of ecclesiastical inquisitors, and it is therefore found in a much less sophisticated form.

In Scotland, as in other parts of Europe, witchcraft first makes its appearance in judiciary proceedings as an instrument of political or personal animosity, and was used where other grounds of accusation were too weak to effect the objects of the accuser. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, the earl of Mar, brother of James III., was accused of consulting witches and sorcerers, in order to shorten the king's days, and he was bled to death in his own lodgings, whout even being brought to a trial. Twelve

witches, and three or four wizards, were subsequently burnt at Edinburgh as his accomplices. In the century following; in 1532, a woman of rank and beauty, Janet Douglas, Lady Glammis, was charged with having caused the death of her first husband by sorcery, but escaped, to be tried and burnt, amid the general commiseration of her countrymen, for a similar crime which she was said to have attempted against the person of James V., with a view to the restoration of the Douglas family, the object of James's special hatred. In these executions, death was the punishment rather of the treason than of the sorcery; and the first simple case of the latter which we find in the records of the high court of justiciary in Scotland, is that of Agnes Mullikine, *alias* Bessie Boswell, of Dumfermling, who, in 1563, was "banished and exiled" for witchcraft, a mild sentence which seldom occurs in subsequent times. The records just alluded to, published a few years ago by Mr. Robert Pitcairn, will be our chief guide in the history of sorcery in Scotland.

In Scotland, the witches received their power, not from the evil one, but from the "fairy folk," with whom, at least until a late period, their connection was more innocent, and was characterized by none of the disgusting particularities which distinguished the proceedings of their sisters on the continent. According to an old and popular ballad—as ancient perhaps as the fourteenth century—the celebrated Thomas of Ercildowne obtained his supposed skill in prophecy from his connection with the queen of faery. In 1576, a very extraordinary case was tried before the high court, in which the chief actress was known as Bessie Dunlop, a native of the county of Ayr, and wife of a cottager named Andro Jak. In her confession, this woman stated that she was one day going from her own house to the yard of Monkcastell, driving her cows to the pasture, and weeping "for her cow that was dead," her husband and child that were both lying ill of an epidemic, and herself newly risen from child-bed, when a strange man met her by the way, and saluted her with the words, "Gude day, Bessie!" She returned his salutation, and in answer to his inquiries, told him of her troubles, upon which he informed her, that her child, as well as the sick cow, and two of her sheep, would die, but that her "gude man" should soon recover, all of which took place as he foretold. She described her interrogator as "ane honest wele-elderlie man, gray bairdit [*bearded*], and had ane gray coilt with Lumbart slevis of the auld fassoun; ane pair of gray brekis [*breeches*], and quhyte schankis, gartanit abone the kne; ane

black bonet ou his heid, cloise behind and plane befoir, with silkin laissis drawin throw the lippis thairof; and ane quhyte wand in his hand." This personage told her at last that he was one Thome Reid, "quha diet [*died*], at Pinkye." (Sept. 10, 1547.) And this account was confirmed by the manner in which he disappeared through the yard of Monkcastell: "I thocht he gait in at ane narroware hoill of the dyke, nor ony erdlie man culd haif gane throw; and swa I was sumthing fleit [*aghast*]." It appears that Thome Reid had been a turned-off servant of the laird of Blair, and Bessie Dunlop was once sent on a message to his son, who inherited his name, and had succeeded to his place in the household of the laird of Blair, and who fully confirmed Thome's story, that he had gone to the battle of Pinkye, and fallen in that disastrous conflict.

The next time Thome Reid appeared to Bessie, as she was going between her own house and the thorn of Dawmstarnok, and he then declared more openly his ultimate designs. After remaining some time with her, Thome asked her pointedly if she would belief in him, to which she replied with great *naiveté*, "She would believe in anybody who did her good." Thome had hitherto spoken like a good Christian, and at their first interview he had addressed her in the name of the Blessed Virgin, but now, encouraged by her answer, he boldly proposed to her that she should "deny her Christendom, and the faith she took at the baptismal font," in return for which she should have goods and horses and cows in abundance, besides other advantages. This, however, she refused indignantly, and her tempter went away, "something angry" with her.

Thome's visits generally occurred at mid-day, not at the still hour of night, and he seemed little embarrassed by the presence of other company. Shortly after the interview just mentioned, he visited her in her own house, where she was in company with her husband and three tailors, and, unseen by these, he took her by the apron and led her to the door, and she followed him up to the "hill-end," and there he told her to remain quiet and speak not, whatever she might hear and see. She then advanced a little, and suddenly saw twelve persons, eight women and four men—"the men were clad in gentlemen's clothing, and the women had all plaids round about them, and were very seemly like to see, and Thome was with them." They bade her sit down, and said, "Welcome, Bessie, wilt thou go with us?" but as she had been warned, she returned no answer, and, after holding a consultation among themselves, which she did not hear,

they disappeared in a "hideous" whirlwind. Shortly afterward Thome returned, and told her the persons she had seen were the "good wights," who dwelt in the court of Elfen, who came there to invite her to go with them, and he repeated the invitation very pressingly, but she answered that "she saw no profit to gang that kind of gates, unless she knew wherefore."

Then he said, "Seest thou not me, worth meat and worth clothes, and good enough like in person?" and he promised to make her far better off than ever she was.

Her answer, however, was still the same—she dwelt with her own husband and "bairns," and could not leave them—and so he "began to be very crabbed with her," and told her that if she continued in that mind she would get little good of him. His anger, however, appears to have soon subsided, and he continued to come at her call, and give her his advice and assistance, always treating her with respect, for she declared that the greatest liberty he had taken with her was to draw her by the apron when he would persuade her to go with him to fairy-land. She said that she sometimes saw him in public places, as in Edinburgh streets on a market-day, and that on one occasion, when she was "gone a-field" with her husband to Leith, she went to tie her nag to the stake by Restalrig loch, and there came suddenly a company of riders by "that made a din as though heaven and earth had gone together," and immediately they rode into the loch with a "hideous rumble." Thome came to her and told her that it was the "good wights," who were taking their ride in this world. On another occasion Thome told her the reason of his visit to her; he called to her remembrance that one day when she was ill in child-bed, and near her time of delivery, a stout woman came in to her, and sat down on the form beside her, and asked a drink of her, and she immediately gave it; this he said was his mistress, the queen of Elfen, who had commanded him to wait upon her and "do her good."

The whole extent of Bessie Dunlop's witchcraft consisted in curing diseases and recovering stolen property, which she did by the agency of her unearthly visiter, who gave her medicines, or showed her how to prepare them. Some of her statements appear to have been confirmed by other witnesses; and however we may judge of the connection between Thome Reid and Bessie Dunlop, it is rendered certain by the entry in the court records, that the unfortunate woman was convict and byrnt."

From this time cases of witchcraft occur more frequently in the judicial records, and they become exceedingly numerous as

we approach the end of the century, still, however, distinguished by their purely Scottish character. A remarkable case is recorded in the memorable year 1588, which has several points of resemblance with the story of Bessie Dunlop. The heroine was Alison Peirsoun, of Byrehill, whose connection with "faerie" originated with her kinsman, William Sympsoune, a "great scholar and doctor of medicine." He was born at Stirling, his father being the king's smith, but he "was taken away from his father by a man of Egypt, a giant, while but a child, who led him away to Egypt with him, where he remained by the space of twelve years before he came home again." During this time his father, who also appears to have had a hankering after unlawful knowledge, died "for opening a priest's book and looking upon it." On his return home, Alison Peirsoun became intimate with her kinsman, who cured her of certain diseases, until, as it would appear, he died also. One day, as she stated, being in Grange Muir, with the people that passed to the muir (moor), she lay down sick and alone, when she was suddenly accosted by a man clad in green clothes, who told her if she would be faithful, he would do her good. She was at first terrified, and cried for help, but no one hearing her, she addressed him in God's name, upon which he immediately disappeared. But he soon afterward appeared to her again, accompanied with "many men and women," and she was obliged to go with them, and they had with them "piping and merriment, and good cheer;" and she was thus carried to Lothian, where they found puncheons of wine with drinking-cups. From this time she constantly haunted the company of the "good neighbors" (fairies), and the queen of Elfen, at whose court she was a frequent visiter, and she boasted that she had many friends there, among whom was the aforesaid William Sympsoune, who was most familiar with her, and from whom chiefly she derived her skill in curing diseases. She declared that her familiarity with the fairies was so great, that she was allowed to see them "make their salves with pans and fires, and that they gathered their herbs before sun-rising, as she did." The archbishop of St. Andrews, a scholar and profound divine, had condescended to seek the assistance of this woman in a dangerous illness, for which he was made an object of severe satire by his political enemies; she caused him to eat a sodden fowl, and take a quart of claret wine mixed with her drugs, which the worthy prelate drank off at two draughts! Alison, in the course of her examination, gave many curious anecdotes of the fairy people, with

whom she was sometimes on better terms than at others; among them she saw several of her acquaintance, who had been carried to Elfland, when their friends imagined they were dead and gone to heaven; and she learned from her kinsman, Sympsoune, that a tithe of them was yearly given up to hell, and had been warned by him from time to time not to go with them at certain periods, lest she should be made one of the number. This woman also was convicted and burnt (*convicta et combusta*).

The next case, or rather two cases, of witchcraft in the Scottish annals, is of a more fearful and more criminal character than either of the preceding. The chief persons implicated were Katherine Munro lady Fowlis, wife of the chief of the clan of Munro, and Hector Munro, the son of the baron of Fowlis by a former wife. The lady Fowlis was by birth Katharine Ross of Balnagown; and, in consequence of family quarrels and intrigues, she had laid a plot to make away with Robert Munro, her husband's eldest son, in order that his widow might be married to her brother, George Ross, laird of Balnagown, preparatory to which it was also necessary to effect the death of the young lady Balnagown. The open manner in which the proceedings of lady Fowlis were carried on, affords a remarkable picture of the barbarous state of society among the Scottish clans at this period. Among her chief agents were Agnes Roy, Christiane Ross, and Marjory Neyne Mac Allester, the latter better known by the name of Loskie Loncart, and all three described as "notorious witches;" another active individual was named William Mac Gillevordame; and there were a number of other subordinate persons of very equivocal characters. As early as the midsummer of 1576, it appears from the trial that Agnes Roy was sent to bring Loskie Loncart to consult with lady Fowlis, who was advised "to go into the hills to speak with the Elf-folk," and learn from them if Robert Munro and lady Balnagown would die, and if the laird of Balnagown would marry Robert's widow; and about the same time, these two women made clay images of the two individuals who were to die, for the purpose of bewitching them. Poison was also adopted as a surer means of securing their victims, and the cook of the laird of Balnagown was bribed to their interests. The deadly ingredients were obtained by William Mac Gillevordame, at Aberdeen, under pretence of buying poison for rats; it was administered by the cook just mentioned, in a dish sent to the lady Balnagown's table, and another accomplice, who was present, declared "that it was the sairest and maist cruell sicht that evir scho saw, seing the vomit

and vexacioun that was on the young lady Balnagown and hir company." However, although the victim was thrown into a miserable and long-lasting illness, the poison did not produce immediate death, as was expected. From various points in the accusation, it appears that the conspirators were actively employed in devising means of effecting their purpose from the period mentioned above till the Easter of the following year, by which time the deadly designs of the lady Fowlis had become much more comprehensive, and she aimed at no less than the destruction of all the former family of her husband, that their inheritance might fall to her own children. In May, 1577, William Mac Gillevordame was asked to procure a greater quantity of poison, the preceding dose having been insufficient; but he refused, unless her brother, the laird of Balnagown, were made privy to it; a difficulty which was soon got over, and it appears that the laird was, to a certain degree, acquainted with their proceedings. A potion of a much more deadly character was now prepared, and two individuals, the nurse of the lady Fowlis and a boy, were killed by accidentally tasting of it; but we are not told if any of the intended victims fell a sacrifice. The conspirators had now recourse again to witchcraft, and in the June of 1577, a man obtained for the lady Fowlis an "elf arrow-head," for which she gave him four shillings. The "elf arrow-head" was nothing more than one of those small rude weapons of flint, belonging to a primeval state of society, which are often met with in turning up the soil, and which the superstitious peasantry of various countries have looked upon as the offensive arms of fairies and witches. On the 2d and 6th of July, lady Fowlis and her accomplices held two secret meetings; at the first they made an image of butter, to represent Robert Munro, and having placed it against the wall of the chamber, Loskie Loncart shot at it eight times with the elf arrow-head, but always missed it; and at the second meeting they made a figure of clay to represent the same person, at which Loskie shot twelve times, but with no better success, in spite of all their incantations. This seems to have been a source of great disappointment, for they had brought fine linen cloth, in which the figures, if struck by the elf arrow-head, were to have been wrapped, and so buried in the earth at a place which seems to have been consecrated by superstitious feeling, and this ceremony was to have insured Robert Munro's death. In August, another elf arrow-head was obtained, and toward Hallowmass another meeting was held, and two figures of clay made one for Robert Munro and the other for the lady;

lady Fowlis shot two shots at lady Balnagown, and Loskie Loncart shot three at Robert Munro, but neither of them were successful, and the two images were accidentally broken, and thus the charm was destroyed. They now prepared to try poison again, but Christiane Ross, who had been present at the last meeting, was arrested toward the end of November, and, being put to the torture, made a full confession, which was followed by the seizure of some of her accomplices, several of whom, as well as Christiane Ross, were "convicted and burnt." The lady Fowlis fled to Caithness and remained there nine months, after which she was allowed to return home. Her husband died in 1588, and was succeeded by Robert Munro, who appears to have revived the old charge of witchcraft against his stepmother; for in 1589 he obtained a commission for the examination of witches, among whose names were those of Lady Fowlis and some of her surviving accomplices. She appears to have warded off the danger by her influence and money for some months, until July 22, 1590, when she was brought to her trial, her accuser being Hector Munro. This trial offered one of the first instances of acquittal of the charge of sorcery, and it has been observed that there are reasons for thinking the case was brought before a jury packed for that purpose.

It is somewhat remarkable, that while the lady Fowlis was thus attempting the destruction of her step-children, they were trying to effect, by the same means, the death of her own son. Immediately after her acquittal, on the same day, the 22d of July, 1590, Hector Munro (her accuser) was put on his trial befor a jury composed of nearly the same persons, for practising the same crime of sorcery. It is stated in the charge that, when his brother Robert Munro had been grievously ill in the summar of 1588, Hector Munro had assembled "three notorious and common witches," to devise means to cure him, and had given harbor to them several days, until he was compelled to dismiss them by his father, who threatened to apprehend them. Subsequent to this, in January, 1588 (that is 1589 according to the modern reckoning), Hector became suddenly ill, upon which he sent one of his men to seek a woman named Marion Mac Ingaruch, "ane of the maist notorious and rank witches in all this realme," and she was brought to the house in which he was lying sick. After long consultation, and having given him "three drinks of water out of three stones which she had," she declared that there was no remedy for him, unless the principal man of his blood should suffer death for him. They then held

further counsel, and came at last to the conclusion that the person who must thus be his substitute was George Munro, the eldest son of the lady Fowlis, whose trial has just been described. The ceremonies which followed are some of the most extraordinary in the whole range of the history of these dark superstitions. Messengers were sent out to seek George Munro, the intended victim, in every direction, and he, "as a loving brother," suspecting no evil, came to where Hector lay, on the fifth day. By the express direction of the witch, the latter was to allow none to enter the house until after his brother's arrival; he was to receive his brother in silence, give him his left hand and take him by the right hand, and not speak till he had first spoken to him. Hector Munro followed these instructions to the letter; George Munro was astonished at the coldness of his reception, compared with the pressing manner in which he had been invited, and he remained in the room an hour before he uttered a word. George at last asked him how he did, to which Hector replied, "The better that you have come to visit me," and then relapsed into his former silence. This, it appears, was a part of the spell. At one o'clock the same night, Marion Mac Ingaruch, the presiding sorceress, with certain of her accomplices, provided themselves with spades, and went to a piece of earth at the seaside, lying between the boundaries of the lands of two proprietors, and dug a grave proportionate to the size of the sick man, and took off the sod. She then returned to the house, and carefully instructed each of the persons concerned in the part they were to perform in the ceremonies which were to transfer the fate of Hector Munro to his brother George.

The friends of Hector, who were in the secret, represented that if George should die suddenly, suspicion would fall upon them all, and their lives would be in danger, and wished her to delay his death "a space;" and she took on hand to "warrant him unto the 17th day of April next thereafter." They then took the sick man from his bed, and carried him in a pair of blankets to the grave, the assistants being forbidden to utter a word until the witch and his foster-mother, named Christiana Neill Dayzill, had first spoken with "their master, the devil." Hector was then placed in the grave, and the green sod laid over him, and held down upon him with staves, and the chief witch took her stand beside him. The foster-mother, leading a young lad by the hand, then ran the breadth of nine ridges, and on her return inquired of the hag "which was her choice;" to which she replied that

"Hector was her choice to live, and his brother George to die for him." This strange form of incantation was repeated thrice, and then the patient was taken from the grave, and carried home to his bed in the same silence which had distinguished the first part of the ceremony. The effects of an exposure to the cold of a January night in the north, on a sick man, must have been very serious; but Hector recovered soon afterward, and in the month of April, as foretold, George Munro was seized with a mortal disease, under which he lingered till the month of June, when he died. Hector Munro took the witch into great favor, carried her to the house of his uncle at "Kildrummadyis," where she was "entertained as if she had been his spouse, and gave her such pre-eminence in the country that there was none that durst offend her, and gave her the keeping of his sheep, to color the matter." After the death of George, the affair was whispered abroad, and an order was issued for the arrest of the witch, but she was concealed by Hector Munro, until information was given by Lady Fowlis, that she was in the house at Fowlis. When subjected to an examination, and no doubt to the torture, she made a confession, and was publicly burnt. Her confession was the ground of the charge against Hector Munro, who, like his step-mother, was acquitted.

The trials of Lady Fowlis and Hector Munro, appear to have caused much excitement, and other cases of witchcraft followed with fearful rapidity in different parts of the country, to such a degree that they moved the learned superstition of the king, who from this period began to take an extraordinary interest in prosecutions for crimes of this description. King James's example was not lost upon his subjects, and not only did they show redoubled diligence in seeking out offenders, but probably cases were made up to gratify his curiosity, until a fearful conspiracy between the hags and the evil one was discovered, of which the king was to have been the chief victim, and which will be related at full in our next chapter. The interference of King James not only marks an epoch in the history of sorcery in Scotland, but it had also an influence in modifying the belief by the introduction of the scientific demonology of France and Germany. In the conspiracy to which I have just alluded, we shall see many foreign notions mixed with the native superstitions.

For two or three subsequent years, the records of the high court are unfortunately missing, but in 1596, we find several prosecutions for the practice of witchcraft, of which persons of high rank believed themselves, or were believed to be, the vic-

tims. On the 24th of June, John Stewart, the master of Orkney, was accused, on the confession of certain witches who had previously been condemned and burnt, of having employed them to compass the death of Patrick, earl of Orkney; but he alleged in his defence that the confessions had been extorted by extreme torture, and had afterward been contradicted by the sufferers as they were carried to the stake, and he was acquitted by the jury. On the 30th of October, a woman named Alison Jollie was tried for the same crime of employing a witch to cause the death of a woman with whom she had quarrelled, grounded on the confession of the witch, and was also acquitted. Another woman, named Christian Stewart, tried on the 27th of November, for compassing the death of one of the powerful family of the Ruthvens by witchcraft, was less fortunate, for she was judged "to be tane to the castle hill, and thair to be burnt."

In 1597, we have another case bearing some resemblance to those of Bessie Dunlop and Alison Peirsoun. The healing art had been, during the middle ages, practised by all sorts of quacks and unskilful pretenders, who made use of certain preparations of herbs and some other ingredients, but depended more for their success on the superstitious observances with which they were gathered, prepared, or applied. In order to gain more credit for their remedies, they pretended to receive their knowledge from an intercourse with the spiritual world. It was a part of the education of every good housewife in former days to understand the use of medicines, and most women were, more or less, acquainted with the mode of preparing them. Most of the remedies which are mentioned in the trials as used by Bessie Dunlop, Alison Peirsoun, and others, are found in the old medieval receipt-books. On the 12th of November, in the year last mentioned, four miserable women, Janet Stewart, Christian Lewingstoun, Bessie Aiken, and Christian Saidler, were brought to their trial for various alleged acts of witchcraft. Christian Lewingstoun was accused of having bewitched a baker of Haddington, by burying a small bag full of worsted thread, hairs, and nails of men, and other articles, under his stairs, then pretending that the witchcraft was the work of another, and undertaking to relieve him from it. In this we can see little more than a dishonest trick to extort money; but she pretended to further knowledge, and the baker's wife being with child at the time, she told her that she would give birth to a boy which happened accordingly. When asked whence she derived her knowledge, she said that she had a daughter who was carried away by the "fairy folk,"

and from her she had her knowledge. She was accused after this, with the other women as accomplices, of the superstitious treatment of various sick persons, besides some other transactions not more honest than her treatment of the baker of Haddington. Janet Stewart was on one occasion, called to a woman who was "deadly sick;" she took off the sick woman's shirt and her "mutche" (cap), and carried them to a stream which ran toward the south, and washed them in it, and made the patient put them on dripping wet, and said thrice over her, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," and then put a red-hot iron in the water, and then burnt straw at each "newke" of the bed. This was a primitive sort of "cold-water cure." She healed several women of another disease, by passing them thrice through a garland of green woodbine, which she afterward cut in nine pieces, and cast in the fire. Woodbine appears to have been a favorite remedy in a variety of cases. Bessie Aiken cured most of her patients by passing them nine times through a "girth" of woodbine, in the name of the three persons of the Holy Trinity. For a woman laboring under a pain in the loins, she took a decoction of red nettles and herb Alexander, and bathed the part with it, and then boiled herb Alexander with fresh butter, and rubbed her with it, and then passed her nine times through the girth of woodbine, at three several times, a space of twenty-four hours being allowed to elapse between each. Other similar practices are recounted; and the four women were finally condemned to be taken to the castle hill at Edinburgh, and there to be strangled at a stake till they died, and their bodies to be burnt to ashes; a sentence which was duly executed on three of them. But Bessie Aiken pleaded that she was with child, and she was allowed to languish in prison until the 15th of August, 1598, when the king, moved with, for him, an unusual degree of clemency, in consideration that she was "delyverit of ane infant, and hes sustenit lang puneischment be famine and impreisment," commuted her original sentence for perpetual banishment.

We have thus traced the history of witchcraft in Scotland to the close of the sixteenth century, down to which time it had preserved its national character, altogether differing from the superstitions which prevailed on the continent in the same age. In Scotland, witchcraft was an object of more universal and unhesitating belief than in almost any other country, and it obtained greater authority from the circumstance that so many people of rank at different periods had recourse to it as a means of gratifying revenge or ambition. There were sorcerers among the mi-

nor agents in the mysterious conspiracies of the earl of Gowry, which have given such celebrity in Scottish history to the last year of the century. The narrative which will occupy our next chapter, will exhibit in a remarkable manner the sentiments of King James, who appears to have carried his hatred of witches with him into England, and with his reign in the latter country began the darkest period of the history of witchcraft in the southern parts of the island. In a future chapter, we shall have to return to the superstitions of Scotland, which took a still wider and more fearful form in the seventeenth century, when they were beginning to subside in other countries.

CHAPTER X.

KING JAMES AND THE WITCHES OF LOTHIAN.

In the year 1589, surrounded by political jealousies abroad, and harassed by the turbulence of his subjects at home, James VI. of Scotland came to the resolution of marrying Anne of Denmark, and the earl-marshal left Scotland on the 18th of June on a mission to Copenhagen, to arrange the contract. In July, the marriage was celebrated by proxy, and in September, the new queen of Scotland left her father's court, and embarked with the earl-marshal and his suite for her adopted country; but they had hardly left the port when they were assailed by a tempest, which carried them so far from their course that they with difficulty reached Upsal in Norway, where a continuance of tempestuous weather threatened to detain them till the setting in of winter. King James, impatient of delay, summoned up more courage than he had ever shown before, and on the 22d of October, set off in search of his wife, whom he found still at Upsal where they were again married, and with whom he returned to Copenhagen, and remained there during the winter. On the reappearance of spring he left Denmark, and after a rough voyage, landed with his queen at Leith, on the 1st of May, 1590.

The obstinate hostility of the weather toward James and his new consort coinciding with political hatred among a portion of his subjects, gave rise to strange reports, and at last a conspiracy of an unearthly character was brought to light, by the agency of which it was universally believed that the royal seafarer had

been persecuted. The earl of Bothwell, the especial organ of the Romish party, was said to have been its instigator, and on this and other charges he was committed to ward, from which he broke toward the end of June, 1591, and took refuge among his friends in the more inaccessible parts of the north. He was himself believed to be a skilful necromancer, and held frequent communication with witches.

The manner in which this extraordinary affair was discovered is involved in some obscurity; but, according to the common story, the first divulger of the secret was a young woman named Geillis Duncan. This woman was servant in the house of David Seytoun, deputy-bailiff of the little town of Tranent, on the shores of the frith of Forth, about nine miles to the east of Edinburgh; and on a sudden she became celebrated for her extraordinary skill in curing diseases, and for doing other things which gave rise to the belief that the agency by which she worked was something more than natural. Her master's suspicions on this subject were strengthened by the discovery, that Geillis was in the habit of secretly leaving the house and absenting herself every other night. He thereupon questioned her in private, but obtaining no satisfactory answer, he presumed so far upon his municipal office, as to call in some of his acquaintance, and in their presence put her to most severe tortures. But even this had no effect; and they then examined every part of her body in order to discover the devil's mark. For it was one article of the belief in witchcraft, that, after the compact between the witch and the evil one had been completed, the latter sucked some part of his victim's body, and left his mark, and until this mark was discovered, his influence was unabated, and he hindered confession. The mark was most commonly placed on a part covered with hair, that it might be more easily concealed: and hence one of the first processes in the examination of a witch was one most shocking to her feelings of modesty, that of shaving her body. In the case of Geillis Duncan, the fiend's mark was found in the fore-part of her throat, upon which she confessed that she effected her cures by means of witchcraft. She was now committed to prison, and, after a short confinement, made a more full confession, which implicated a number of persons living in different parts of the district of Lothian, and led to the arrest of not less than thirty presumed sorcerers, whose examinations brought to light the conspiracy above alluded to. The more remarkable of the persons thus placed under arrest were Dr. Fian, otherwise named John Cunningham, Agnes Sampsoun, Euphame Mackal-

zeane, and Barbara Napier. In the account which these persons gave of their communications with the tempter, we find many incidents apparently new to the popular mythology of Scotland, but which recur over and over again in the witchcraft stories of later days.

John Fian, one of the chief persons compromised by Geillis Duncan's confession, was a schoolmaster of Tranent, a man above the ordinary stamp of sorcerers at this period, who appears, at the time of these transactions, to have taken up his residence in the neighboring township of Preston-Pans, the same place which obtained so much celebrity in later Scottish history. Dr. Fian gave the following account of the origin of his acquaintance with the devil. He lodged at Tranent, in the house of one Thomas Trumbill, who had given him great offence by neglecting to "sparge," or whitewash, his chamber, as he had promised; Fian was lying in his bed, "musing and thinking how he might be revenged of the said Thomas," when the devil suddenly made his appearance, clad in white raiment, and said to him, "Will ye be my servant, and adore me and all my servants, and ye shall never want?"

The doctor assented to the terms, and, at the suggestion of the evil one, he revenged himself on Trumbill by burning his house. The second night the devil again appeared to him in white raiment, and put his mark upon him with a rod. Subsequently, Fian was found in his chamber, as it were, in a trance, during which he said that his spirit was carried "over many mountains," and as it appeared all over the world. From this time he was present at all the nightly conventions held in the district of Lothian, and rose so high in Satan's favor, that the fiend appointed him his "registrar and secretary." His first visit to these conventions was at the church at North Berwick, about fourteen miles along the coast from Preston-Pans, a favorite meeting-place of the witches. He was transported thither from his bed at Preston-Pans, "as if he had been skimming across the earth;" and he found a number of Satan's "servants," with a candle burning blue in the middle of them. Their master stood in a pulpit "making a sermon of doubtful speeches," the effect of which was that they were not to fear him, "though he were grim" (he seems to have appeared in a different character from that in which he first presented himself to Fian); telling them that "he had many servants, who should never want, and should ail nothing, so long as their hairs were on, and that they should never let any tears fall from their eyes." It was a common article of belief that witches could not shed tears He further ex-

horted them that "they should spare not to do evil, and to eat, drink, and be blithe;" and he made them do him homage by kissing his posteriors. Fian appears to have been an ill-disposed person, and well inclined to put in practice Satan's exhortations. The power which he obtained by his connection with the tempter, was always employed to work mischief, or for the indulgence of his wicked passions. He confessed on his trial that he had seduced a widow named Margaret Spens, under promise of marriage, and then deserted her. He was popularly accused of having attempted to force to his will a virtuous maiden, the sister of one of his scholars, by charms which can not well be described here, but which were thwarted by the ingenuity of her mother, and made to throw disgrace on the designing sorcerer. While residing at Tranent, Fian one night supped at the miller's, some distance from the town, and as it was late before he left, was conveyed home on a horse by one of the miller's men; it being dark, he raised up, by his unearthly agency, four candles on the horse's ears, and one on the staff which his companion carried, which were so bright that they made the night appear as light as day; but the man was terrified to such a degree, that on his return home he dropped down dead. This was told by Fian himself on his examination.

Agnes Sampsoun acted an especially prominent part in these transactions. She is described in the indictment as residing in Nether Keith, was commonly known by the title of the wise wife of Keith, and seems to have used her art chiefly in curing diseases, although she was accused of having inflicted serious injuries on those who provoked her. Archbishop Spotswode describes her as a woman, not of the base and ignorant sort of witches, but matron-like, grave, and settled in her answers. Her examination was long, and her confession, by what is preserved, appears to have been the wildest and most extraordinary of them all; but it would take too much of our space to give more than a sample of them.

She said that she had learned her art of knowing and healing diseases from her father; that the first time she began to serve the devil was after the death of her husband, when he appeared to her in the likeness of a man, and commanded her to acknowledge him as her master, and to renounce Christ. This she agreed to, being poor, and the tempter promising her riches for herself and her children. He generally appeared to her in the likeness of a dog, of which she asked questions, and received answers. On one occasion, when she was sent for to the old

lady Edmestoune, who lay sick, she went into the garden at night and called the devil by the name of Elva, who came in over the dike, in the likeness of a dog, and came so near to her that she was frightened, upon which she charged him, "on the law he believed on," to come no nearer. She then asked him if the lady would recover, and he told her that "her days were gone." He then asked where the gentlewomen, the lady's daughters, were. She told him they were to meet her there, on which he said that he would have one of them. Agnes said that she would hinder him, on which he went away howling, and concealed himself in the well, where he remained till after supper. The gentlewomen came into the garden when supper was over, whereupon the dog rushed out, terrified them all, and seized one of the daughters, the lady Torsenye, and attempted to drag her into the well to drown her, but Agnes also seized hold of her, and proved stronger than the devil, who thereupon disappeared with a terrible howl. On another occasion, Agnes, with Geillis Duncan and other witches, wishing to be revenged on David Seytoun (Geillis Duncan's master), met on the bridge at Foulstruthir, and threw a cord into the river, and Agnes Sampsoun cried, "Hail, holoa!" The end of the cord which was in the water became immediately heavy, and when they drew it out, the devil came up at the end of it, and asked if they had all been good servants. He then gave them a charm, which was to affect David Seytoun and his goods, but it was accidentally averted, and fell upon another person. The lady of whom we are now speaking seems to have had a little of the evil one in her, for she sometimes quarrelled with the devil himself.

Euphame (Euphemia) Mackalzeane, one of the persons most deeply implicated in these charges, was a lady of rank in society, the only daughter and heiress of Thomas Mackalzeane lord Cliftounhall, one of the senators of the College of Justice, a distinguished scholar, lawyer, and statesman. She appears to have been led into associating with the base people concerned in this conspiracy, by her devotion to the Romish religion and to the party of the earl of Bothwell. She confessed that she had first been made a witch by the means of an Irishwoman "with a fallen nose;" and that to make herself "more perfect and well-skilled in the said art of witchcraft," she had caused another witch, dwelling in St. Ninian's Row (in Edinburgh), to "inaugurate" her in the said craft, with "the girth of ane grit bikar," turning the same "oft round her head and neck, and oft-times round her head." She was charged with having procured the

deaths of her husband, her father-in-law, and various other persons, by means of poison and sorcery. She had become acquainted with Agnes Sampsoun at the time of the birth of her first son, when she applied to her to ease her of her pains in childbirth, which she did by transferring them to a dog, which ran away, and was never heard of afterward. At the birth of her second son, Agnes Sampsoun in the same way transferred her pains to a cat.

Barbara Napier was also a woman of some rank; but the others were in general persons of very low condition. A man, nicknamed Grey Meill (Gray Meal) whom Spotswode describes as "ane auld sely pure plowman," was keeper of the door at their conventions.

The extensive scene of the operations of this society embraced the sea as well as the land. I have already stated that the church of North Berwick was their favorite place of meeting. Agnes Sampsoun confessed that, one Allhallow Eve "shee was accompanied with a great many other witches, to the number of two hundredth, and that all they together went to sea, each one in a riddle or cive, and went into the same very substantially, with flaggons of wine, making merrie and drinking by the way, in the same riddles or cives, to the kirke of North Barrick, in Lowthian; and that after they had landed, took handes on the lande, and daunced this reill or short daunce, singing all with one voice,

> "'Commer goe ye before, commer goe ye,
> Gif ye wall not goe before, commer let me.'

At which time she confessed that this Geillis Duncane did goe before them, playing this reill or daunce, upon a small trumpe, called a Jewes trumpe, until they entered into the kirk of North Barrick." On one occasion, Fian, Agnes Sampoun, an active wizard named Robert Griersoun, and others, left Griersoun's house, at Preston, in a boat, and went out to sea to a "tryst," with another witch, and entered a ship, and had "good wine and ale" therein, after which, as was their usual custom, they sank the ship and all that was in it, and returned home. On another occasion, as Agnes Sampsoun confessed, they sailed out from North Berwick in a boat like a chimney, the devil passing before them like a rick of hay, and entered a ship called the "Grace of God," where they had abundance of wine and "other good cheer," and when they came away the fiend raised "an evil wind," he being under the ship, and caused the ship to perish; and Agnes said that she gave on this occasion twenty

shillings to Greg Meill for his attendance, which would seem to imply that they had taken the ship's money. On one of their voyages, in the summer of 1589, Dr. Fian stated that the fiend informed them of the leak which subsequently endangered the queen's ship, when she took refuge in Norway. Subsequent to this, when the queen was on her way from Denmark, a convention was held at the "Brumehoillis," where the whole party went to sea in riddles, Robert Griersoun, above-mentioned, being their "admiral and master-man," and they again entered a ship and made merry; and finished by throwing a dog overboard, which not only made the ship turn over and sink, but raised a storm which helped to drive the queen back.

This latter event, however, was effected by more imposing ceremonies. A meeting was held in a webster's house, at Preston-Pans, at which were present Agnes Sampsoun, John Fian, Geillis Duncan, and two others, who "baptized" a cat in a manner thus described in the confession of Agnes Sampsoun: "First, two of them held one finger in the one side of the chimney-crook, and another held another finger in the other side, the two nibs of the fingers meeting together; thus they put the cat thrice through the links of the crook, and passed it thrice under the chimney." They subsequently tied to the four feet of the cat four joints of dead men; and it was then carried to Leith, and the witches took it to the pier-head about midnight, and threw it into the sea. Another party of the conspirators, at Preston-Pans, threw another cat into the sea at eleven o'clock at night. The result of all this was a storm so dreadful, that the boat between Leith and Kinghorn perished with all on board, amounting to three-score persons.

This particular quality of the cats for raising storms is not easily accounted for. Dr. Fian was accused of the hunting of a cat at Tranent; in which hunt he was carried high above the ground, with great swiftness, and as lightly as the cat herself, over "a higher dyke than he was able to lay his hand to the head of;" and when asked why he pursued the cat, he replied, that at a convention held at the "Brumehoillis," Satan had commanded all that were present to catch cats, to be cast into the sea for the purpose of raising winds for the destruction of ships. A cat was subsequently cast into the sea to raise winds on the king's passage to Denmark; and when the king was returning, another convention was held, at which Satan promised to raise a mist, and cast the king into England, for which purpose he threw into the sea a thing like a foot-ball, in the presence of

Dr. Fian, who saw a vapor and smoke rise from the spot where it touched the water.

The king and his consort, as we have seen, escaped all the perils of the sea, and landed safely in Scotland. Satan confessed that James was "un homme de Dieu," and that he had little power over him; but after his return, new plans were formed for the king's destruction, at the moment when Bothwell was plotting rebellion against his sovereign. On Lammas Eve (July 31st), 1590, nine of the principal sorcerers, including Dr. Fian, Agnes Sampsoun, Euphame Mackalzeane, and Barbara Napier, with others to the number of thirty, met at the New Haven, between Mussilburgh and Preston-Pans, at a spot called the "Fayrie-hoillis," when the devil made his appearance in the form of a black man, which was "thought most meet to do the turn for which they were convened." When they had all taken the places assigned to them, Agnes Sampsoun proposed that they should consult for the destruction of the king. The devil, after stating that their designs were likely to be thwarted, promised them a picture of wax, and directed them to hang up and roast a toad, and lay the drippings of the toad, mixed with "strang wash," an adder's skin, and "the thing in the forehead of a new-foaled foal," in the way where the king was to pass, or hang it in a position where it might drop on his body. Agnes Sampsoun was appointed to make the figure, which she did, and gave it to the evil one, who promised to prepare it and deliver it to them for use within a short time. The process of the toad was carried into effect, and the dripping was to have fallen on the king "during his majesty's being at the Brig of Die, the day before the common bell rang, for fear the earl Bothwell should have entered Edinburgh." It happened, however, that the king did not pass by the way he was expected.

The image of wax appears to have been considered a matter of much greater moment—a last and terrible resource, and there was evidently more than one meeting on the subject between the time above-mentioned and the eve of Hallowmass, 1590. An unusually solemn meeting had been called for that night, to be held at North Berwick church, where the witches assembled to the number of above a hundred, among which number there were only six men. Agnes Sampsoun confessed that she went thither on horseback, and arrived at the churchyard about eleven o'clock at night, across which they danced, Dr. Fian leading the way, and Geillis Duncan, as usual, playing to on a trump. At the church the women first made their

homage, being turned six times "widderschinnes" (that is in the contrary direction to the course of the sun), and then the men were turned in the same manner nine times. Fian next blew open the church door, and blew in the lights, which were like great black candles held in an old man's hand, round the pulpit. The devil suddenly rose up in the pulpit in the form of a black man, with a black beard sticking out like that of a goat, and a high ribbed nose, falling down like the beak of a hawk, "with a long rumple." He was clad in a black gown, with an "evil-favored" skull-cap, also black, on his head. John Fian stood beside the pulpit, as clerk, and next to him was Robert Greirsoun, above-mentioned. Some of the company stood and others sat. The fiend first read from a black book their names, and each when called answered, "Here, master." On this occasion Satan appears to have been in some confusion, for whereas it was the custom for every one to have a nickname, by which only they were to be named in that company, that of Robert Greirsoun being "Rob the Rowar," the devil called him by his own proper name, which caused great scandal and clamor, and they all ran "hirdie-girdie," and were angry. The excitement was increased by his making the same mistake with regard to Euphame Mackalzeane and Barbara Napier. When this outbreak was appeased, Satan made a short sermon, exhorting them all to be good servants and to continue doing as much evil as they could. This was followed by another outburst of dissatisfaction, on account of the image of wax that was not yet forthcoming. Robert Greirsoun, urged on by the women, said, "Where is the thing ye promised?" To appease the tumult, which was becoming greater and greater, the fiend replied that "It should be gotten the next meeting, and he would hold the next assembly for that cause the sooner; it was not ready at that time." Robert Greirsoun, who was perhaps offended at the mistake about his name, called out, "Ye promised twice and deceived us!" and four "honest-like women," as Barbara Napier termed them in her confession, were very importunate, and obtained a promise that the image should be delivered very shortly to Barbara Napier and Euphame Mackalzeane, without waiting for another meeting. In the midst of this tumult, poor Grey Meill, the door-keeper, was imprudent enough to say that "nothing ailed the king yet, God be thanked!" for which "the devil gave him a great blow." We are told that the devil gave as a reason for his tardiness, the king's extreme piety and wisdom, which had preserved him from all dangers; and the king

was not a little flattered by this confession. After this business was ended, the company appear to have had a sort of a revel, and they opened two graves within and one without the church, and took the joints of the dead to make charms of, which were shared among them, and then they departed, having given the evil one the accustomed compliment of a kiss behind. It appears that the judicial prosecution arose before any further progress could be made with the image of wax.

The strange circumstances described above, with much more, were confessed to, more or less, by nearly thirty individuals, so that we can hardly do otherwise than suppose that the persons implicated, under some mental illusion, had plotted together to effect a criminal object by superstitious practices. Much, however, of the more extravagant part of the story was probably suggested by the questions put by their examiners, and extorted under the terror and the feeling of helplessness produced by the cruelty and tyranny of their tormentors. We have already seen the manner in which Geilles Duncan's confession was wrenched from her. The firmness with which many of them suffered was looked upon as diabolical obstinacy, and only provoked to the application of severer tortures. Those to which Dr. Fian was subjected were too horrible to be described. Agnes Sampsoun was examined before the king at Holyrood House; she bore the torture, which is described in the old narrative as "a payne most grevous," firmly and without confession; upon which she was stripped, the hair shaved from her body, and "the devil's mark" found in a part where it was a cruel insult to her womanhood to search. She confessed anything rather than submit to further indignities.

The king, we are told, "took great delight" in these examinations; and the confessions put him "in a wonderful admiration." His vanity was flattered, at the same time that his curiosity was excited and gratified. He made Geilles Duncan play before him on her trump (or Jew's harp) the same tune to which the witches had danced in their meetings. The trials continued to occupy him throughout the winter of 1590, and the end was more tragical even than the beginning, for the Scottish Solomon was inexorable in his judgments. Dr. Fian was condemned on the 26th of December, 1590, and "byrnt" at the beginning of January. On the 27th of January, 1591, Agnes Sampsoun was sentenced to be taken to the castle-hill of Edinburgh, and there be bound to a stake and "wirreit" [worried] till she was dead, and thereafter her body burnt to ashes; all which was duly ex-

ecuted. The sentence of Euphame Mackalzeane was still more cruel; she appears to have been kept long and to have undergone many examinations, probably in the hope that she might give up the names of some of Bothwell's accomplices, and on the 7th of June, 1591, she was condemned to be burnt alive, the others being all strangled before they were committed to the flames. During the intervening period many of her accomplices of less note suffered at the stake. In the case of Barbara Napier, the majority of the jury having acquitted her of the chief articles of the charge against her, were themselves threatened—the king sitting in judgment in his own person—with a trial for wilful error upon an assize, and were compelled to avoid the consequences by acknowledging themselves guilty and throwing themselves on the king's mercy, who "pardoned" them.

King James now became proud of his skill and knowledge in the matter of sorcery, and of the wisdom of his judgments. He made it a subject of his special study, and his royal leisure was occupied with the compilation, in form of a dialogue, of a treatise which was printed under the title of "Dæmonologie," with the king's name, at Edinburgh, in 1597. In the preface the royal author speaks of "the fearfull aboundinge" of witches in Scotland at that time; and complains bitterly against the Englishman Reginald Scott, who had attempted to disprove the existence of witches, and against Wierus, the German, who had written a sort of apology for the persons thus accused, "whereby," says the king, "he plainly bewrayes himselfe to have bene one of that profession. His majesty's book is much inferior to the other treatises on the subject published about the same period; it is compiled from foreign works, and begins with discussing very learnedly the nature and existence of witchcraft, and with describing the contract with Satan, but it furnishes little or no information on the real character of the Scottish superstitions of the day.

CHAPTER XI.

MAGIC IN ENGLAND DURING THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

THE magician, as we have stated in a former chapter, differed from the witch in being the master and not the slave of the spirits who were supposed to work his will. In the middle ages the knowledge of the few contrasted so marvellously with the ignorance of the multitude, that people were easily led to put faith in the report that they obtained it by a communication with the invisible world, which they in too many cases designedly propagated, in order to impose more powerfully on popular credulity. However, neither the learning of the scholar nor the wisdom of the statesman were proof against the influence of the universally prevailing belief in magic. The latter not unfrequently sought the advice of the astrologer or the aid of the magician in his difficulties; while some of the most profound scholars wasted their lives in the unprofitable study of a science, the truth of which was pretended to rest on books and rules handed down to posterity from the age of Solomon, and even from those of Adam and the patriarchs, who were said to have received them from the angels Raziel and Raphael.

The popular belief in this science was strengthened by the extraordinary effects of natural processes now commonly understood, but then known only to a small number of individuals, who covered their knowledge with the most profound secrecy; and by the no less extraordinary feats of jugglers, who derived their skill in sleight-of-hand from the East, a part of the world always celebrated as the cradle of this class of performers. We find in old histories mention of strange exhibitions, which can only be explained by the supposition of a combination of optical instruments, and by other agencies which indicate an unusual knowledge of natural philosophy. The performances of the jugglers often excited astonishment and alarm, and they were sometimes prosecuted by the church for their presumed intercourse with the devil. We are told by the ecclesiastical inquisitor, John Nider, mentioned in a former chapter, that, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, a woman made her appearance at Cologne, who performed many extraordinary feats, such

as tearing a napkin to pieces, and then in an instant producing it uninjured before the eyes of the spectators; dashing a glass against the ceiling, and immediately restoring it whole, and the like; and although these are among the commonest tricks of modern sleight-of-hand, it required powerful protectors to screen her from the pursuits of the bishop. Even as late as the year 1595, as we learn from the journal of Pierre l'Estoile, when a juggler, who had taught a cat to perform various surprising feats, offered to exhibit it before the French king Henri IV., his ministers represented to the monarch that it might be a plot to bewitch him, and, although his majesty laughed at their apprehensions, means were found to get the juggler and his cat out of the way. It was indeed at that time an unpopular animal; a learned pig would have had a better chance. In the earlier part of the sixteenth century, as we learn from Wierus, a contemporary writer on these subjects, there was a man at Magdeburg who undertook to ride up in the air, and, under this pretext, collected from those who were eager to witness his departure a considerable sum of money. The people who had paid their money met on the day appointed; they saw the man bring forth a horse and perform certain mysterious ceremonies, whereupon it began to rise from the ground; the conjuror took hold of the horse's tail, and, as he gradually mounted upward, his wife took hold of him, and their servant held by his mistress, and so they disappeared, to the great astonishment of the beholders. But in the midst of their admiration, a townsman, returning from a visit to the country, informed them that he had seen the juggler marching away with his family and his spoils, along one of the public roads leading from the city, in the same ordinary manner in which other mortal men are accustomed to travel. The whole was a deception.

Treatises on magic, both in manuscript and in print, were abundant. In these we find the description of a numerous host of spirits, classed according to their powers, and forms, and attributes. One had for its province the care of treasures, another the giving of power, this of endowing with eloquence, that of procuring or destroying love. Each of these, by certain ceremonies and invocations, might be made subservient to the person who called him up. So general was the belief in the efficacy of these charms and ceremonies, that even late in the sixteenth century, when men of enlightened minds printed them in order to expose them to ridicule, others, their opponents, but men of learning and character, such as Bodin, cried out with

terror at the danger likely to arise from placing within the reach of the vulgar such powerful instruments of mischief. Sometimes the magician called the spirit to a charmed circle; sometimes he compelled him to appear in a mirror; but the more usual method was to force the spirit into a crystal, or stone, and to hold him confined there until he had answered the purposes for which he was called. Dee's conjuring stone was preserved in the Strawberry Hill collection, and is described as being apparently a polished piece of kennel coal. The works on magic give the several invocations and forms for calling each particular spirit; and there are even incantations of a more stringent nature to be used for the purpose of constraining or punishing such spirits as might show obstinacy toward those who called upon them. A volume of this description among the manuscripts in the British Museum (MS. Sloane, No. 3850, fol. 149), after giving a charm, and directions for using it, goes on to say, "The virtue of this, first, is, that if any spirit were in any glass, and any of these figures laid upon the said glass, that then the spirit should not depart till the figure were removed; and when thou wilt bind or conjure any spirit, then thou must bind the seal of Solomon about thy right arm, the pentagon and mortagon about thy head, and the girdle about thy breast: then hold a little myrrh and frankincense under thy tongue, and call what spirit thou wilt, and he will presently, without delay, come and obey thee in what he may." It was necessary that persons using these charms should be well acquainted with the science and its applications; for, although, when properly performed, they made the magician absolute master of the spirit, the latter was an unwilling servant, and if the slightest error were made in the incantation, he not unfrequently took his revenge by rushing on the unskilful scholar, and carrying him away. In 1530, as Wierus tells us, a priest of Nuremburg had recourse to such incantations, and the devil showed him in a glass where treasure lay buried. The priest went to the spot, and began digging, but, when he had just come in sight of the chest of treasure and of a black dog which guarded it, the earth fell in upon him and buried him, and nobody could find the place afterward.

As we approach the age of the Reformation, we find that the study of magic and alchemy had become extremely common among the Romish clergy. This was especially the case in England, where we hear of frequent instances of priests and monks who ventured to dabble in the forbidden sciences. Under the first monarchs of the Tudor dynasty, the extraordinary

and rapid elevation of men like Wolsey and Cromwell, from comparatively low stations in life to the possession of immense wealth and almost regal power, led people to suspect the intervention of supernatural agency, and set people mad in their efforts in search of treasure and the attainment of power. In the reign of bluff King Hal, to judge by documents still preserved, this island must have been full of conjurors. One or two curious examples are furnished by documents among the Cromwell papers in the record-office of the Rolls-House.

Among these ambitious hunters after fortune was one of the Neville family, who is merely described as William Neville, "gent," but who had a house at "Weke," near Oxford, and who appears to have held some place in the haughty cardinal's household. At the period of Wolsey's greatness, a magician, who is described as "one Wood, gent," was dragged before the privy-council, charged with some misdemeanor which was connected with the intrigues of the day. In a paper addressed to the lords of the council, Wood states that William Neville had sent for him to his own house at Oxford, it being the first communication he ever had with that "gent." After he had been at Weke a short time, Neville took him by the arm and led him privately into the garden, and, to use the quaint language of the original, "ther demawndyd of me many questyons, and amowng all other askyd [if it] were not possible to have a rynge made that showld brynge man in favor with hys prynce, saying my lord cardinale had suche a rynge that whatsomevere he askyd of the kynges grace that he hadd yt, 'and Master Cromwell, when he and I were servauntys in my lord cardynales housse, dyd hawnt to the company of one that was seyne in your faculté, and shortly after no man so grett with my lord cardynale as Master Cromwell was.'" Neville added, that he had spoken "with all those who have any name in this realm," who had assured him that in the same way he might become "great with his prince," and he ended by asking of the reputed magician what books he had studied on the subject. The latter continues, "and I, at the harté desyre of hym, showyd hym that I had rede many bokes, and specyally the boke of Salamon, and how his rynges be made and of what mettell, and what vertues they had after the canon of Salamon." He added, that he had also studied the magical work of Hermes. William Neville then requested him to undertake the making of a ring, which he says that he declined, and so went away for that time. But Neville sent for him again, and entered into further communication with him on

the old subject, telling him that he had with him another conjurer, named Wade, who could show him more than he should; and, among other things, had showed him that "he should be a great lord." This was an effective attempt to move Wood's jealousy; and it appears that Neville now prevailed upon him to make "moldes," probably images, "to the entent that he showld a had Mastres Elezebeth Gare," on whom he seems to have set his love. Perhaps she was a rich heiress. Wood then enters into excuses for himself, declaring that, although at the desire of "some of his friends," he had called to a stone for things stolen, he had not undertaken to find treasures; and he concludes with the naive boast, "but to make the phylosofer's stone, I wyll chebard [that is, jeopard] my lyffe to do hyt, yf hyt plesse the kynges good grace to command me do hyt." This was the pride of science above the low practitioners. He even offered to remain in prison until he had performed his boast, and only asked "twelve months upon silver, and twelve and a half upon gold." This reminds us of the story of Pierre d'Estaing and the lord of Bauffremont.

The search of treasures, which the conjuror Wood so earnestly disclaims, was, however, one of the most usual occupations of our magicians of this period. The frequent discoveries of Roman or Saxon, or medieval deposites, in the course of accidental digging—then probably more common than at present—was enough to whet the appetite of the needy or the miserly; and the belief that the sepulchral barrow, or the long-deserted ruin, or even the wild and haunted glen, concealed treasures of gold and silver of great amount, has been carried down to our own days in a variety of local legends. Hidden treasures were under the particular charge of some of the spirits who obeyed the magician's call, and we still trace his operations in many a barrow that has been disturbed, and ruined floor which has been broken up. That these searches were not always successful will be evident from the following narrative.

In the reign of Henry VIII., a priest named William Stapleton was placed under arrest as a conjuror, and as having been mixed up in some court intrigues, and at the request of Cardinal Wolsey he wrote an account of his adventures, still preserved in the Roll's House records (for it is certainly addressed to Wolsey, and not, as has been supposed, to Cromwell). Stapleton says that he had been a monk of the mitred abbey of St. Benet in the Holm, in Norfolk, where he was resident in the nineteenth of Henry VIII., that is, in 1527 or 1528, at which time he borrowed

of one Dennys, of Hofton, who had procured them of the vicar of Watton, a book called "*Thesaurus Spirituum*, and after that another, called *Secreta Secretorum*, a little ring, a plate, a circle, and also a sword for the art of digging," in studying the use of which he spent six months. Now it appears that Stapleton had small taste for early rising, and after having been frequently punished for being absent from matins and negligent of his duty in church, he obtained a license of six months from the abbot to go into the world, and try and raise money to buy a dispensation from an order which seemed so little agreeable to his taste. The first person he consulted with was his friend Dennys, who recommended him to try his skill in finding treasure, and introduced him to two "knowing men," who had "placards," or licenses from the king to search for treasure trove, which were not unfrequently bought from the crown at this period. These men lent him other books and instruments belonging to the "art of digging," and they went together to a place named Sidestrand in Norfolk, to search and mark out the ground where they thought treasure should lie. It happened, however, that the lady Tyrry, to whom the estate belonged, received intelligence of their movements, and, after sending for them and subjecting them to a close examination, ordered them to leave her grounds.

After this rebuff, the treasure-seekers went to Norwich, where they became acquainted with another conjurer named Godfrey, who had a "shower," or spirit; "which spirit," Stapleton says, "I had after myself;" and they went together to Felmingham, and there Godfrey's boy did "scry" unto the spirit, but after opening the ground they found nothing there. There are Roman barrows at Felmingham, which, when examined recently, appeared to have been opened at a former period in search of treasure. The disappointed conjurers returned to Norwich, and there met with a stranger, who brought them to a house in which it was supposed that treasure lay concealed; and Stapleton again applied himself to his incantations, and called the spirit of the treasure to appear, but he turned a deaf ear to their charms, "for I suppose of a truth," is the pithy observation of the operator, "that there was none."

Disappointed and disgusted, Stapleton now gave up the pursuit, and obtained money from a friend with which he bought a dispensation to quit his monastic order, and returned to Norfolk with the intention of establishing himself as a hermit.

Perhaps William Stapleton's object in turning hermit was to follow his former pursuits with more secrecy. In Norfolk he

soon met with some of his old treasure-seeking acquaintances, who urged him to go to work again, which he refused to do unless his books were better. They told him of a man of the name of Leech, who had a book, to which the parson of Lesingham had bound a spirit called "Andrea Malchus;" and to this man he went. Leech let him have all his instruments, and told him further that the parson of Lesingham and Sir John of Leiston (another ecclesiastic) with others, had called up of late by the means of the book in question three spirits, Andrew Malchus (before mentioned), Oberion, and Inchubus. "When these spirits," he said, "were all raised, Oberion would in nowise speak. And then the parson of Lesingham did demand of Andrew Malchus, and so did Sir John of Leiston also, why Oberion would not speak to them. And Andrew Malchus made answer, 'For because he was bound unto the lord-cardinal.' And that also they did entreat the said parson of Lesingham, and the said Sir John of Leiston, that they might depart as at that time; and whensoever it would please them to call them up again, they would gladly do them any service they could."

When Stapleton had made this important acquisition, he repaired again to Norwich, where he had not long been, when he was found by a messenger from a personage whom he calls the lord Leonard Marquees, who lived at "Calkett Hall," and who wanted a person expert in the art of digging. He met Lord Leonard at Walsingham, who promised him that if he would take pains in exercising the said art, he would sue out a dispensation for him to be a secular priest, and so make him his chaplain. The lord Leonard proceeded rather shrewdly to make trial of the searcher's talents; for he directed one of his servants to hide a sum of money in the garden, and Stapleton "shewed" for it, and one Jackson "scryed," but he was unable to find the money. Yet, without being daunted at this slip, Stapleton went directly with two other priests, Sir John Shepe and Sir Robert Porter, to a place beside Creke Abbey, where treasure was supposed to be, and "Sir John Shepe called the spirit of the treasure, and I showed to him, but *all came to no purpose*."

Stapleton now went to hide his disappointment in London, and remained there some weeks, till the lord Leonard, who had sued out his dispensation as he promised, sent for him to pass the winter with him in Leicestershire, and toward spring he returned to Norfolk. And there he was informed that there was "much money" hidden in the neighborhood of Calkett Hall, and especially in the Bell Hill (probably an ancient tumulus or barrow), and after

some delay, he obtained his instruments, and went to work with the parish priest of Gorleston, but "of truth we could bring nothing to effect." On this he again repaired to London, carrying his instruments with him, and on his arrival he was thrown into prison at the suit of the lord Leonard, who accused him of leaving his service without permission, and all his instruments were seized. These he never recovered, but he was soon liberated from prison, and obtained temporary employment in the church.

But his conjuring propensities seem still to have lingered about him, and we find this ex-monk and hermit, and now secular priest, soon afterward engaged in an intrigue which led him eventually into a much more serious danger. It appears by Stapleton's statements, that one Wright, a servant of the duke of Norfolk, came to him, and "at a certayn season shewed me that the duke's grace, his master, was soore vexed with a spyrytt by the enchantment of your grace"—he is addressing Wolsey. Stapleton says that he refused to interfere, but that Wright went to the duke and told him that he, Stapleton, knew of his being enchanted by Cardinal Wolsey, and that he could help him; upon which the duke sent for Stapleton, and had an interview with him. It had previously been arranged by Wright and Stapleton (who says that he had been urged into the plot by the persuasion of Wright, and by the hope of gain and prospect of obtaining the duke's favor), that he should say he knew that the duke was persecuted by a spirit, and that he had "forged" an image of wax in his similitude, which he had enchanted, in order to relieve him. The duke of Norfolk appears at first to have placed implicit belief in all that Stapleton told him; he inquired of him if he had certain knowledge that the lord-cardinal had a spirit at his command, to which he replied in the negative. He then questioned him as to his having heard any one assert that the cardinal had a spirit; on which Stapleton told him of the raising of Oberion by the parson of Lesingham and Sir John of Leiston, and how Oberion refused to speak, because he was the lord-cardinal's spirit. The duke, however, soon after this, became either suspicious or fearful, and he eventually sent Stapleton to the cardinal himself, who appears to have committed him to prison, and at whose order he drew up the account here abridged.

The foregoing is the history of a man who, after having been a victim to his implicit belief in the efficiency of magical operations, was himself driven at last to have recourse to intentional deception. The number of such treasure-hunters appears to have been far greater among his contemporaries, of almost all

classes of society, than we should at first glance be led to suppose. A few years before the date of these events, in the 12th Henry VIII., or A. D., 1521, the king had granted to Robert Lord Curzon, the monopoly of treasure-seeking in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lord Curzon immediately delegated to a man, named William Smith, of Clopton, and a servant or retainer of his own, named Amylyon, not only the right of search thus given to him, but the power to arrest and proceed against any other person they found seeking treasures within the two counties. It appears that Smith and Amylyon had in some cases used this delegated authority for purposes of extortion; and in the summer of the same year, Smith was brought up before the court of the city of Norwich, at the suit of William Goodred, of Great Melton, the minutes of the proceedings against him still remaining on the records. We here again find priests concerned in these singular operations.

It appears that the treasure-diggers, who had received their "placard" of Lord Curzon in March, went to Norwich about Easter, and paid a visit to a schoolmaster, named George Dowsing, dwelling in the parish of St. Faith, who, they had heard, was "seen in astronymye." They showed him their license for treasure-seeking, which authorized them to press into their service any persons they might find who had skill in the science; so that it would appear that they were not capable of raising spirits themselves, without the assistance of "scholars." The schoolmaster entered willingly into their projects, and they went, about two or three o'clock in the morning, with one or two other persons who were admitted into their confidence, and dug in ground beside "Butter Hilles," within the walls of the city, but "*found nothing there.*" These "hilles," also, were probably tumuli. They next proceeded to a place called "Seynt William in the Wood, by Norwich," where they excavated two days (or rather two nights), but with no better success.

They now held a meeting at the house of one Saunders, in the market of Norwich, and called to their assistance two ecclesiastics, one named Sir William, the other, Sir Robert Cromer, the former being the parish priest of St. Gregory's. At this meeting, George Dowsing raised "a spirit or two," in a glass; but one of the priests, Sir Robert Cromer, "began and raised a spirit first." This spirit, according to the depositions, was seen by two or three persons. Amylyon deposed that "he was at Saunders's, where Sir Robert Cromer held up a stone, but he could not perceive anything in it; but that George Dowsing

caused to rise in a glass a little thing of the length of an inch or thereabout, but whether it was a spirit or a shadow he can not tell, but the said George said it was a spirit." However, spirit or no spirit, they seem to have had as little success as ever in discovering the treasure.

Unable, after so many attempts, to find a treasure themselves, they seem now to have resolved on laying a general contribution on everybody who followed the same equivocal calling. They went first and accused a person of the name of Wikman, of Morley Swanton, in the county of Norfolk, of "digging of hilles," and, by threatening to take him before Lord Curzon, they obtained from him ten shillings. Under the same pretext, they took from a lime-burner of Norwich, named White, a "crystal-stone," and twelvepence in money, in order that he "should not be put to further trouble." They took both books (probably conjuring books) and money from John Wellys, of Hunworth, near Holt Market, whom, similarly, they accused, of "digging of hilles." And of another person, laboring under the same charge, they took "a crystal-stone and certain money."

The case of William Goodred, "husbandman," of Great Melton, in Norfolk, affords a remarkable instance of the manner in which these worthies went to work. On St. George's Eve (April 22d, 1521), Smith, Amylyon, and an accomplice of the name of Judy, came to Goodred, as he was at the plough in Melton field, and charged him with being a "hill-digger." In order to settle the dispute, they adjourned from the field to an "ale-hous" in Melton, where several persons were drinking, and there they took Goodred into the yard to examine him. He denying the charge, Smith drew his dagger, and threatened that, unless he would confess to them that he was a hill-digger, he "would thrust his dagger through his cheeks." Goodred still persisted in his denial; whereupon Smith, Amylyon, and Judy, finding that he would not confess "to their minds," asked him what money he would give them "to have no further trouble." On his refusing to give them anything, they threatened to carry him to Norwich Castle. The noise in the yard had now brought out several men of substance, who were drinking in the alehouse, and who not only attempted to bring the accusers to reason, but offered to give security, to the amount of a hundred pounds, for Goodred's appearance to answer any charges brought against him. But this was not what Smith and his companions wanted, and they refused, and led away Goodred as far as Little Melton, accompanied by those who had joined them at the alehouse, and

there they met a Mr. Calle, who also offered to be surety for Goodred, but in vain. They thus proceeded to carry their prisoner to Norwich, but at last, after much wrangling, they agreed to take surety of the persons who had followed them from Great Melton for Goodred's appearance at Norwich the next day. Accordingly, on St. George's day, Goodred, with his sureties, came to the house of Saunders already mentioned, in the market-place, and there Smith and Amylyon asked him again how much money he would give them to have no further trouble, "or elles they would send him to the castle." On his again refusing to give any money, they dragged him through the market-place toward the castle, but at Cutlers' Row his courage failed him, and "for fear of imprisonment," he engaged to give Smith twenty shillings, in part of which he paid down to him, on a stall in Cutlers' Row, six shillings and eightpence, and gave sureties for the remainder, which was duly paid on the following Saturday, and Smith and Amylyon had the impudence to give him a written acquittance.

Such was the oppressive manner in which, in former days, men could act under cover of the livery or license of a lord. The matter was brought before the court of Norwich, as stated above, and Amylyon, who appears to have had a quarrel with his accomplice Smith, came forward as a witness against him. But still there appears to have been no great expectation of securing justice in this court; and the persons injured had recourse to a surer manner of obtaining vengeance. They swore that, at Great Melton, one of the party asking Smith if he had heard that the duke of Buckingham was committed to the Tower,* he had answered, "Yea, and therefor a very mischief and vengeance upon the heads of my lord cardinal and of my lord of Suffolk, for they are the causers thereof!" And when his interrogator observed, "Beware what ye say," Smith, "setting his hands under his sides," answered again, "By the mass, I would say it again, even if I were before my lord cardinal and my lord of Suffolk, before their faces!" We are left to guess at the result; but in the days of Cardinal Wolsey a man who used freedom of speech like this would with difficulty escape the gallows.

Other instances might be quoted of the infatuation of men at this period, in seeking treasures by means of magical operations, the influence of which was long after felt, even in an age when

* Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, having incurred the enmity of Cardinal Wolsey, the proud prelate pursued him to the scaffold, and it was just at this time that he was by his means attainted of high treason and executed. The expression of sympathy with the duke was looked upon as amounting to treason.

true science had made wide and solid progress in the land. In 1574, the celebrated Dr. Dee petitioned Lord Burghley to obtain for him from Queen Elizabeth a license of monopoly of treasure-digging in England. This superstition appears to have lingered longest in Wales and on the borders Among the Landsdowne manuscripts there is a letter from John Wogan, sheriff of Pembrokeshire, to Lord Burghley, informing him that it was reported that certain persons had "found at an old pair of walles at Spittell, in the said county, a great quantity of treasure, gold and silver, contained in a certain work of brass (that is, a brass pot), as is supposed, and that they had knowledge thereof by the advertisement of one Lewis, a priest dwelling in Carmarthenshire." The worthy sheriff, who appears to have considered this an affair of momentous importance, adds that, besides examining various persons said to have been concerned in this matter, he with others had "repaired to the place, and found the walls broken with engines, and a place within the centre of the wall containing one foot square fit for such a work, and the rest of the work had made black the circumference of the place;" and expresses his opinion that "the truth of this matter will never be bolted out, without that the priest be examined, and the parties also menaced with some torture or extremity." Long after this, a man named William Hobby, who appears at the time to have been in confinement in the Tower, writes to Lord Burghley, on the 28th of April, 1589, for authority to seek treasure in Skenfrith castle, in Monmouthshire, where he gravely informs the old and experienced minister that "the voyce of the counthrey goeth there is a *dyvell and his dam*, one sitts upon a hogshed of gold, the other upon a hogshed of silver." The writer undertakes, if properly authorized, to drive away these loathsome guardians of the treasures of olden times.

The treasure-hunting mania seems not to have been confined to England at the time of which we have been speaking above, but it spread over Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. In the latter country, as we learn from Llorente, a Spanish noble named Don Diego Fernandez de Heredia, was, on the ninth of May, 1591, denounced to the inquisitors of Saragossa on the charge of necromancy. He was said to have been in league with a Moorish magician of the village of Lucenic, from whom he obtained some Arabic books of magic, and these he communicated to another Moorish magician, named Francisco de Marquina, who read the books and told him they contained rules and directions for discovering concealed treasures. Don Diego took

this magician home to his house, and in a very dark summer night they proceeded, with the book of magic and one or two companions, to the hermitage of Matamal, not far from the Ebro, where Marquina said that, according to the book, a great horde of gold and silver money was concealed. When they had arrived there, and everything was ready, the necromancer Marquina pronounced the formula of conjuration, and immediately, we are told, loud thunder was heard on the hill beside them, and Marquina advanced toward it, and pretended to hold converse with the demon. He returned to inform his companions that they must dig under the altar of the hermitage, and they began their operations under Don Diego's directions, while he went to continue his discourse with the evil one. It is probable that the hermitage was built on a Roman site, for they found some fragments of pottery, although there was no treasure. On this, the demons were conjured anew, and they said that there certainly was treasure, but that it was very deep, and the time destined for its discovery was not yet arrived. The next night they went to another solitary place, near Xelsa, a town which occupies the site of the Roman Celsa. It is probable that they had again hit upon a Roman burial-place, for, after repeating the same conjurations, they found, as we are told, some earthen vases and a quantity of cinders and ashes, but no treasure, the absence of which was explained in the same way as before.

As the searchers appear always to have chosen sites of this description, led probably by popular tradition, it is not surprising if their search was at times crowned with success. Ignorance and superstition combined led them to attribute this to the efficacy of their charms, in which they seem honestly to have placed confidence. Indeed, when we read the old and apparently authentic descriptions of the performances of some of the pretended magicians of former days, we are not surprised that the science should gain belief. The wild stories of a Bacon or a Faustus scarcely exceed the realities which are described by old writers, and which must have been brought about by some sort of optical delusion, assisted of course by the imagination. One of the most remarkable instances with which I remember to have met is that told in the Autobiography of the celebrated Benvenuto Cellini, a writer who is generally looked upon as worthy of belief. In his youth Benvenuto fell in love with a courtesan, from whom he was suddenly separated by the departure of the lady from Rome.

"Two months after," says he, "the girl wrote me word, that

she was in Sicily, extremely unhappy. I was then indulging myself in pleasures of all sorts, and had engaged in another amour to cancel the memory of my Sicilian mistress. It happened, through a variety of odd accidents, that I made acquaintance with a Sicilian priest, who was a man of genius, and well versed in the Latin and Greek authors. Happening one day to have some conversation with him upon the art of necromancy, I, who had a great desire to know something of the matter, told him, that I had all my life felt a curiosity to be acquainted with the mysteries of this art. The priest made answer, that the man must be of a resolute and steady temper who enters upon that study. I replied, that I had fortitude and resolution enough, if I could but find an opportunity. The priest subjoined, 'If you think you have the heart to venture, I will give you all the satisfaction you can desire.' Thus we agreed to undertake this matter.

"The priest one evening prepared to satisfy me, and desired me to look out for a companion or two. I invited one Vincenzo Romoli, who was my intimate acquaintance; he brought with him a native of Pistoia, who cultivated the black art himself. We repaired to the Colosseum, and the priest, according to the custom of necromancers, began to draw circles upon the ground with the most impressive ceremonies imaginable; he likewise brought thither assafœtida, several precious perfumes, and fire, with some compositions which diffused noisome odors. As soon as he was in readiness, he made an opening in the circle, and having taken us by the hand one by one, he placed us within it. Then having arranged the other parts and assumed his wand, he ordered the other necromancer, his partner, to throw the perfumes into the fire at a proper time, intrusting the care of the fire and the perfumes to the rest, and began his incantations. This ceremony lasted above an hour and a half, when there appeared several legions of devils, insomuch that the amphitheatre was quite filled with them. I was busy about the perfumes, when the priest, perceiving there was a considerable number of infernal spirits, turned to me, and said, 'Benvenuto, ask them something.' I answered, 'Let them bring me into the company of my Sicilian mistress, Angelica.' That night we obtained no answer of any sort; but I had received great satisfaction in having my curiosity so far indulged. The necromancer told me it was requisite we should go a second time, assuring me that I should be satisfied in whatever I asked, but that I must bring with me a pure and immaculate boy. I took

with me a youth, who was in my service, of about twelve years of age, together with the same Vincenzo Romoli, who had been my companion the first time, and one Agnolino Gaddi, an intimate acquaintance, whom I likewise prevailed on to assist at the ceremony. When we came to the place appointed, the first, having made his preparations as before with the same and even more striking ceremonies, placed us within the circle, which he had drawn with a more wonderful art and in a more solemn manner than at our former meeting. Thus having committed the care of the perfumes and the fire to my friend Vincenzo, who was assisted by Gaddi, he put into my hand a pentacolo* or magical chart. The necromancer having begun to make his tremendous invocations, called by their names a multitude of demons, who were the leaders of the several legions, and invoked them by the virtue and power of the eternal uncreated God, who lives for ever, insomuch that the amphitheatre was almost in an instant filled with demons a hundred times more numerous than at the former conjuration. Vincenzo Romoli was busied in making a fire with the assistance of Agnolino, and burning a great quantity of precious perfumes. I, by the direction of the necromancer, again desired to be in the company of my Angelica. The former thereupon turning to me, said, 'Know, they have declared that in the space of a month you shall be in her company.' He then requested me to stand resolutely by him, because the legions were now above a thousand more in number than he had designed, and, besides, these were the most dangerous, so that after they had answered my question it behooved him to be civil to them, and dismiss them quietly. At the same time, the boy under the pentacolo was in a terrible fright, saying, that there were in that place a million of fierce men, who threatened to destroy us; and that, moreover, four armed giants of an enormous stature were endeavoring to break into our circle. During this time, while the necromancer, trembling with fear, endeavored by mild and gentle methods to dismiss them in the best way he could, Vincenzo Romoli, who quivered like an aspen-leaf, took care of the perfumes. Though I was as much terrified as any of them, I did my utmost to conceal the terror I felt, so that I greatly contributed to inspire the rest with resolution; but the truth is, I gave myself over for a dead man, seeing the horrid fright the necromancer was in. The boy placed his head between his knees, and said, 'In this posture will I die; for we shall all surely perish.' I told him that

* A preservative against the power of demons.

all those demons were under us, and what he saw was smoke and shadow; so bid him hold up his head and take courage. No sooner did he look up, but he cried out, 'The whole amphitheatre is burning, and the fire is just falling upon us;' so covering his face with his hands, he again exclaimed that destruction was inevitable, and he desired to see no more. The necromancer entreated me to have a good heart, and take care to burn proper perfumes; upon which I turned to Romoli, and bid him burn all the most precious perfumes he had. At the same time I cast my eye upon Agnolino Gaddi, who was terrified to such a degree, that he could scarce distinguish objects, and seemed to be half dead. Seeing him in this condition, I said, 'Agnolino, upon these occasions a man should not yield to fear, but should stir about and give his assistance; so come directly and put on some more of these perfumes.' Poor Agnolino, upon attempting to move, was so violently terrified, that the effects of his fear overpowered all the perfumes we were burning. The boy hearing a crepitation, ventured once more to raise his head, when seeing me laugh, he began to take courage, and said that the devils were flying away with a vengeance.

"In this condition we stayed till the bell rang for morning prayer. The necromancer again told us that there remained but few devils, and these were at a great distance. When the magician had performed the rest of his ceremonies, he stripped off his gown, and took up a wallet full of books which he had brought wtth him. We all went out of the circle together, keeping as close to each other as we possibly could, especially the boy, who had placed himself in the middle, holding the necromancer by the coat and me by the cloak. As we were going to our houses in the quarter of Banchi, the boy told us that two of the demons whom we had seen at the amphitheatre went on before us singing and skipping, sometimes running upon the roofs of the houses, and sometimes upon the ground. The priest declared, that though he had often entered magic circles, nothing so extraordinary had ever happened to him. As we went along he would fain have persuaded me to assist with him at consecrating a book from which he said we should derive immense riches; we should then ask the demons to discover to us the various treasures with which the earth abounds, which would raise us to opulence and power; but that those love affairs were mere follies, from whence no good could be expected. I answered, that 'I would have readily accepted his proposal, if I had understood Latin.' He redoubled his persuasions, assuring me that

the knowledge of the Latin language was by no means material. He added, that he could have found Latin scholars enough, if he had thought it worth while to look out for them, but that he could never have met with a partner of resolution and intrepidity equal to mine, and that I should by all means follow his advice. While we were engaged in this conversation, we arrived at our respective homes, and all that night I dreamed of nothing but devils.

"As I every day saw the priest, he did not fail to renew his solicitations to engage me to come into his proposal. I asked him what time it would take to carry his plan into execution, and where this scene was to be acted. He answered, that in less than a month we might complete it, and that the place best calculated for our purpose was the mountains of Norcia; though a master of his had performed the ceremony of consecration hard by the mountains of the abbey of Farfa, but that he had met with some difficulties which would not occur in those of Norcia. He added, that the neighboring peasants were men who might be confided in, and had some knowledge of necromancy, insomuch that they were likely to give us great assistance upon occasion. Such an effect had the persuasions of this holy conjurer, that I readily agreed to all that he desired, but told him, that I should be glad to finish the medal I was making for the pope first. This secret I communicated to him, but to nobody else, and begged he would not divulge it. I constantly asked him whether he thought I should, at the time mentioned by the devil, have an interview with my mistress Angelica; and finding it approach, I was surprised to hear no tidings of her. The priest always assured me that I should without fail enjoy her company as the demons never break their promise, when they make it in the solemn manner they had done to me. He bid me, therefore, wait patiently, and avoid giving room to any scandal upon that occasion, but make an effort to bear something against my nature, as he was aware of the great danger I was to encounter; adding, that it would be happy for me if I would go with him to consecrate the book, as it would be the way to obviate the danger, and could not fail to make both him and me happy."

Immediately after this, Benvenuto Cellini fell into so dangerous a scrape at Rome, that he was obliged to fly, and taking his route to Naples, he there accidentally met with his mistress on the last day of the month predicted by the necromancer.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ENGLISH MAGICIANS: DR. DEE AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

WHATEVER may have been the means employed to produce the effects described at the end of the preceding chapter, there must have been a great and general tendency to belief on the part of those to whom they were exhibited. This credulity seems to have risen to its greatest height at the time of the Reformation, as though, when the mind had been suddenly relieved from intellectual restraint, it overleaped, in the first burst of liberty, every bound to which sober reason would naturally confine it. When we see men of the greatest talents and the most profound learning, shutting themselves in their secret studies to push their anxious researches beyond the limits of natural knowledge, and hear them talking soberly of their intercourse with spirits of another world and with their rulers, we are almost driven to believe that the world had been suddenly deluged with a host of demons who amused themselves with turning to mockery the intellectual powers of the human race. Nor perhaps was this mental infatuation entirely without its use, for we must not forget that we owe some of our fundamental discoveries in science to the magicians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that one of the most universally necessary articles of the present day, our almanacs, are derived from the astrologers.

There is something extraordinary in the rage for the study of what were called the occult sciences, which manifested itself at the period of which we are speaking. In our own country, Caius, the founder of a college of learning in one of our universities, Dee, one of the first mathematicians of his age, and many of the wisest and best among their contemporaries, gave implicit belief to the science which enabled them to invoke and constrain the spiritual world. The doings and thoughts of those who specially dedicated themselves to such pursuits, form a singular chapter in the history of human intelligence.

One of the most remarkable of these, certainly, was Dr. John Dee. This celebrated personage was born in London in the year 1527. With a mind full of energy and ambition, he studied with an eagerness and success that soon raised him to reputation in the universities of England and the continent. He is said to

have imbibed his taste for the occult sciences, which his imaginative mind retained during his life, while a student at Louvaine; yet it is singular that one of his earliest writings was a defence of Roger Bacon against the imputation of having leagued with demons to obtain his extraordinary knowledge. Under the reign of Mary, Dee was in close correspondence with the princess Elizabeth, who from her childhood had been brought up in the love of learning and learned men; and for this intimacy, the young philosopher became an object of suspicion, and was thrown into prison. Elizabeth preserved her attachment for him during her life, and perhaps she had received from him the leaning to superstition which she exhibited on more than one remarkable occasion. On her accession to the throne, the virgin queen consulted with him to fix a fortunate day for her coronation; and subsequently, when an image of wax in her resemblance was found in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Dee was called to her chamber to exercise his science in counteracting the charm.

In his preface to Euclid, printed in 1570, Dee complains that he was already reputed a conjurer. In the meager diary edited by Mr. Halliwell, and in such of Dee's papers as have been preserved, we find him paying attention to his dreams, to strange noises which he fancied he heard at times in his chamber, and to other matters of a similar description. In this diary, under the date of May 25, 1581, he says, that he then first saw in a crystal. It was one of the usual methods of raising spirits at this time to bring them into a glass or stone, duly prepared for the purpose. One of Dr. Dee's conjuring stones is still preserved; it was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale.* The particular branch of magic, which he followed was that termed theurgy, which taught that by a proper disposition of mind, joined with purity of life, cleanliness of person, and other conditions, a man might be placed in visible communication with good spirits, and receive their counsel and assistance. With such views, it is not surprising that a man like John Dee should be the easy dupe of the first bold and cunning man who undertook to practise on his credulity.

Such a man evidently was Edward Kelly. He was, it seems,

* This was evidently not the stone which he used in his conferences with the spirits, with Edward Kelly for his "skryer," as that was a globe of crystal. That even in ancient times optical delusions were practised to make the uninitiated believe in the appearance of spirits, is evident from the singular doctrine of the old rabbinical writers, that when spirits were raised they always appeared in a reversed position, with their heads downward, and their feet in the air.—See the Introduction to Casaubon's edition of Dee's Conference with Spirits.

a native of Lancashire, born, according to Dee's own statement, in 1555, but we find him subsequently living at Worcester, in the profession of a druggist. He was a man of ill repute, had been convicted at Lancaster of coining, and been punished with the loss of his ears, and he appears to have found it necessary to remove from his native county. He was known as an alchemist and a conjurer before he became acquainted with Dr. Dee. A story has been preserved, told on good authority, which shows to what an extent these practices had been carried. One night Kelly took a man who was anxious to pierce the mysteries of the future, with certain of his servants, into the park of Walton le Dale, near Preston, in Lancashire, and there gratified his desire by means of necromancy. When his incantations were ended, Kelly inquired of one of the servants whose corpse had been last interred in the churchyard adjoining; and being told that a poor man had been buried there the same day, they dug up the body, and the conjurer made it speak and deliver sundry "strange predictions."

At the period when he became acquainted with Kelly, Dee was living at his house at Mortlake in Surrey, with his young wife, whom he had married in 1578. He was looking out for an assistant in his studies, fitted to serve the office of inspector of his glass, or, as it was termed, skryer, a name not as D'Israeli supposed, invented by Dee. It appears that it was always necessary to have an assistant to perform this office, who alone communed with the spirits, and repeated what he saw or heard. In a manuscript of Dee's proceedings, preserved in the British museum,* we find copies of prayers with a view to these purposes, dated in 1569 and 1579, but his first skryer of whom there is any mention, was named Barnabas Saul. In the diary already mentioned, Dee has noted down on the 9th of October, 1581, that Barnabas Saul was "strangely troubled by a spiritual creature about midnight." On the 6th of March following, Saul "confessed that he neither heard nor saw any spiritual creature any more." At this time Saul and his employer were evidently much dissatisfied with each other, and it was probably not long after when they parted. In the manuscript just quoted, Dee has set down his magical proceedings on the 2d of December, 1581, and he begins with the statement, "I willed the skryer (named Saul) to looke into my great chrystalline globe, if God had sent his holy angel Anael, or no." Saul looked, and, as the narrative

* This curious manuscript, which contains the journal of Dee's earlier conferences with spirits, is the Sloane MS., No. 3677.

goes on to say, he saw the angel Anael. It was probably Dee's own assistant who spread abroad the reports of his being a conjurer. On the 9th of March, 1582, Dee has made an entry in his diary, that, "at dinner-time Mr. Clerkson and Mr. Talbot declared a great deal of Barnabas's naughty dealing toward me . . . His friend told me, before my wife and Mr. Clerkson, that a spiritual creature told him that Barnabas had censured both Mr. Clerkson and me." In the manuscript of the British museum, we find Edward Talbot exercising the office of skryer to Dr. Dee during a great part of the year 1582, and as Edward Kelly was certainly "skrying" at the same time, it is not improbable that they are one and the same person. Weaver speaks of him as "Kelly, otherwise called Talbot," so that he seems to have passed under both names. From the time of his acquaintance with Kelly, Dr. Dee kept a regular journal of all that passed in his conferences with the spirits, the earlier portion of which is preserved in the manuscript in the British museum, and the latter part was printed by Meric Casauban, in 1659.

Kelly soon proved himself a very skilful skryer, and he seems to have used the greatest cunning in practising upon Dee's credulity, and insinuating himself into his confidence. He pretended to doubt the propriety of the work he was employed in, and expressed from time to time his suspicions of the character of the spirits with whom they were dealing. Dee gives an account of one of their quarrels that happened in the April of 1582, soon after the dinner party described above; Kelly not only expressed his belief that the spirits who came into the glass were demons sent to hurry them to their destruction, but he complained that he was kept in Dee's house as in a prison, that "it were better for him to be near Cotsall Plain, where he might walk abroad without danger." The feelings of the doctor seem to have been much hurt at the doubts thus cast on the respectability of his spiritual visiters.

During this and the following year, Dee's conferences with the spirits were very frequent. It appears that he consulted them sometimes for himself, and sometimes for others, and they often came when not called for. In the year 1583, Albert Laski, or Alaski, waiwode or prince of Siradia, in Poland, paid a visit to the court of Queen Elizabeth, and became a frequent visiter at Dee's house at Mortlake, where he was initiated into these spiritual mysteries. Kelly seems to have harbored strange and ambitious projects to be carried into effect through Laski, or some of the German princes, and he began to work upon his imagination

by the revelations of Dee's magic stone. From this moment the spirits could be brought to talk of little but revolutions and mighty convulsions which were speedily to take place in Europe. On the 28th of May, 1583, Dee and Kelly were sitting together in the study, talking of the Polish prince and his affairs. "Suddenly," Dee tells us, "there seemed to come out of my oratory a spiritual creature, like a pretty girl of seven or nine years of age, attired on her head with her hair rowled up before, and hanging down very long behind, with a gown of sey. . . . . changeable green and red, and with a train; she seemed to play up and down, and seemed to go in and out behind my books, lying on heaps, and as she should ever go between them, the books seemed to give place sufficiently, dividing one heap from the other, while she passed between them. And so I considered, and heard the diverse reports which E. K. made unto this pretty maiden, and I said, 'Whose maiden are you?'

"*She.* Whose man are you?

"*D.* I am the servant of God, both by my bound duty, and also (I hope) by his adoption.

"*(A Voyce.* You shall be beaten if you tell.)

"*She.* Am not I a fine maiden? give me leave to play in your house; my mother told me she would come and dwell here.

"*D.* She went up and down with most lively gestures of a young girl playing by herself, and divers times another spake to her from the corner of my study by a great perspective glasse, but none was seen beside herself.

"*She.* Shall I? I will. *(Now she seemed to answer one in the foresaid corner of the study.)* I pray you let me tarry a little *(speaking to one in the foresaid corner).*

"*D.* Tell me what you are.

"*She.* I pray you let me play with you a little, and I will tell you who I am.

"*D.* In the name of Jesus, then, tell me.

"*She.* I rejoyce in the name of Jesus, and I am a poor little maiden, Madimi; I am the last but one of my mother's children; I have little baby children at home.

"*D.* Where is your home?

"*Mad.* I dare not tell you where I dwell, I shall be beaten.

"*D.* You shall not be beaten for telling the truth to them that love the truth; to the eternal truth all creatures must be obedient.

"*Mad.* I warrant you I will be obedient; my sisters say they must all come and dwell with you.

"*D.* I desire that they who love God should dwell with me, and I with them.

"*Mad.* I love you now you talk of God.

"*D.* Your eldest sister—her name is Esimeli.

"*Mad.* My sister is not so short as you make her.

"*D.* Oh, I cry you mercy! she is to be pronounced Esiméli.

"*E. K.* She smileth; one calls her, saying, 'Come away, maiden.'

"*Mad.* I will read over my gentlewomen first; my master Dee will teach me if I say amiss.

"*D.* Read over your gentlewomen, as it pleaseth you.

"*Mad.* I have gentlemen and gentlewomen, look you here.

"*E. K.* She bringeth a little book out of her pocket. She pointeth to a picture in the book.

"*Mad.* Is not this a pretty man;

"*D.* What is his name?

"*Mad.* My [mother] saith his name is Edward; look you, he hath a crown upon his head; my mother saith that this man was duke of York."

Such is the style in which these extraordinary revelations commence. In the earlier books their objects were generally matters of much less importance; but Kelly seems to have formed some wild notions of universal monarchy, like that of the older anabaptists of Munster, and to have imagined that the Polish prince Lasky was the man to carry out this purpose; and from this time all his visions tended to this point. Madimi, who was now one of their most constant visiters, proceeds in the scene just described to convince them, by a sort of pictorial pedigree, that Lasky was descended from the Anglo-Norman family of the Lacies. There is something very extraordinary, and certainly great force of imagination, in the grouping and character of the spirits by whom Dee imagined that he was visited, which exhibits to us the peculiar talents of Edward Kelly. When they next consulted the stone, which was on the second of June, they were favored with a vision of one like a husbandman, who talks mystically of the wickedness of the world, and general regeneration which is to be effected through Albert Lasky. This husbandman is an angel named Murifri, to whom, at the close of this interview, Dee, descending to more commonplace subjects, presented petitions for a woman who in a fit of desperation had attempted to commit suicide, and for another who had dreamed of a treasure buried in a cellar. Several following revelations relate chiefly to the state of the world, to the

approaching revolution and regeneration, and to a book of the new law which was to be communicated to them. Another spirit, in the form of a maiden, named Galuah, shows herself, and gives them still more definite information on Albert Lasky's future fortunes.

"*Gal. . . . I say unto thee, his name is in the book of life.* The sun shall not passe his course before he be a king. His counsel shall breed alteration of his state; yea of the whole world. What wouldst thou know of him?

"*D.* If his kingdom shall be of Poland, or what land else?

"*Gal.* Of two kingdoms.

"*D.* Which, I beseech you?

"*Gal.* The one thou hast repeated, and the other he seeketh as right.

"*D.* God grant him sufficient direction to do all things so as may please the highest of his calling.

"*Gal.* He shall want no direction in anything he desireth.

"*D.* As concerning the troubles of August next, and the dangers then, what is the best for him to do? to be going home before, or to tarry here?

"*Gal.* Whom God hath armed, no man can prevail against."

Kelly now again began to pretend scruples as to the propriety of their dealing with the spirits, whom he believed were devils; and he threatened once or twice to desert the doctor, who, however, kept a close watch upon him. One day, at the end of June, Kelly announced his intention of riding on some business or other from Mortlake to Islington. "My heart did throb oftentimes this day," says Dee, "and thought that Edward Kelly did intend to absent himself from me, and now upon this morning I was confirmed, and more assured that it was so; whereupon seeing him make such haste to ride to Islington, I asked him why he so hasted to ride thither, and I said, 'If it were to ride to Mr. Harry Lee, I would go thither also to be acquainted with him, seeing now I had so good leisure, being eased of the book-writing.' Then he said, that one told him the other day that the duke [Lasky] did but flatter him, and told him other things both against the duke and me. I answered for the duke and myself, and also said, that if the forty pounds annuity which Mr. Lee did offer him, was the chief cause of his minde setting that way (contrary to many of his former promises to me), that then I would assure him of fifty pounds yearly, and would do my best, by following of my sute, to bring it to passe as soon as possibly I could;' and thereupon did make him promise upon the Bible.

Then Edward Kelly again upon the same Bible did swear unto me constant friendship, and never to forsake me; and moreover said, 'that unlesse this had so faln out, he would have gone beyond the seas, taking ship at Newcastle within eight days next.' And so we plight our faith each to other, taking each other by the hand upon these points of brotherly and friendly fidelity during life, which covenant I beseech God to turn to his honor, glory, and service, and the comfort of our brethren (his children) here in earth."

Kelly seems at this time to have been unhappy in his domestic affairs, and to have been in fear of arrest, and he still talked of leaving Dee's service. In a fit of anger, at the beginning of July, he offered to release Dee of his engagement of fifty pounds a year, declared that he hated his own wife, and wished to be away. All this, except the want of love for his wife, was mere dissimulation; he did not go, but in the next conference with the spiritual world, he declared that he had been rebuked for his discontent.

At length, all preparations having been made for the journey, Dee and Kelly, with their two wives and families, left Mortlake to accompany Albert Lasky into Poland, where they hoped to share in the great fortunes which had been promised him. They consulted their spirits, even when at sea, and apparently with the utmost satisfaction. They landed at the Brill on the 30th of the same month, and proceeded through Holland and Friesland to Embden and Bremen, and so to Lubeck, where they remained during the latter part of November and the beginning of December. On Christmas-day they reached Stettin in Pomerania, where they remained till the middle of January. During their travels, they were favored with many wonderful revelations of events which were soon to occur, most of them pointing to the extraordinary fortunes which awaited the Polish prince.

At Stettin, on the 13th of January, the angel Uriel appeared to them, and assured them of the approaching advent of antichrist. Early in February, they reached Lasco, the prince's lordship, and here they began to be affected with doubts if Albert Lasky were indeed the destined regenerator. They seem to have been deceived as to his riches and power, and it was revealed to them that on account of his faults he had been in part rejected, but that he would eventually obtain the kingdom of Moldavia. Dee was now directed by the spirits to leave Lasco, and take up his residence at Cracow. Thither accordingly they all repaired toward the middle of the March of 1584, and they

remained there till the end of July. During this period the doubts relating to Lasky produced an almost daily appeal to the spirits. Sometimes the Polish prince seemed restored to favor, at other times he was in discredit, until at length, after Dee and his party had been reduced to great distress for want of money, Lasky's final rejection was announced, and Dee was sent with a divine message to the emperor Rodolph. Dee and Kelly were at the same time directed by their spirits to remove from Cracow to Prague.

During their residence at Cracow, there were several violent disputes between Dee and Kelly, resulting from the pretended doubts of the latter as to the character of the spirits with whom they conversed. The object of these doubts was evidently to drag Dee more entirely into Kelly's power, by practising upon his credulity. On the 23d of May, Dee has noted that "there happened a great storm or temptation to Edward Kelly of doubting and misliking our instructors and their doings, and of contemning and condemning anything that I knew or could do. I bare all things patiently for God his sake." When Kelly proceeded to consult the spirits, he was rebuked for his doubts. Next day, these doubts returned, and he refused to continue his performances. But on the 28th of May, he performed the office of skryer again, and was further rebuked for his disbelief. At the beginning of June, Kelly is represented as being entirely converted from his evil thoughts; yet about a fortnight afterward we find him again in "great temptation," which was followed by another declaration of penitence.

At Prague the visions of political changes in the world became again more frequent and vivid; but, though Dee was received at the imperial court with respect as a philosopher of reputation, he appears to have been regarded only as a visionary dreamer in respect of his pretended mission. At this period, hints were now and then thrown out by the spirits of Dee's own unworthiness, because he was not always sufficiently credulous and obedient, and denunciations were pronounced against the emperor.

During the time of which we are now speaking, Dee and his party were often in great poverty, and we are therefore not surprised at the anxiety he frequently evinced to obtain the knowledge of the philosopher's stone, which was now a great object of their search. According to a story preserved by Lilly, Kelly cheated his master of this knowledge, and appropriated the discovery to himself. Frequent quarrels occurred at this time be-

tween Dee and Kelly, and the doctor appears to have been afraid of losing his assistant.

In the May of 1586, the bishop of Placenza, who was residing in Austria as apostolical nuncio, procured from the emperor an order forbidding Dee to remain any longer in his dominions; upon which he went to Erfurdt, and being ill-received there, proceeded to Cassel. Dee appears to have harbored at this time the project of going to Italy, but he was deterred by the intelligence that he had been accused at Rome of heresy and magic. In the autumn of 1586, Kelly left Dee for a time to repair to Bohemia; and when the emperor's orders against the conjurers appear to have been relaxed, Dee followed him. In 1587, they were at the castle of Trebone, in Bohemia, again consulting the spirits, but with less satisfaction than ever. In the April of the year last mentioned, Kelly appears to have made up his mind to resign his office of "skryer," and they proceeded to initiate Dee's son, Arthur, into the mystery, but as it would seem without much success.

So far, Dr. Dee appears to have been the mere tool of Kelly's ambition, and now that there seemed to be no longer hopes of success in their designs, the "skryer" determined to leave him. He prepared, however, one last trial for his master's credulity. Mrs. Jane Dee was of the same age as Kelly, and was consequently much younger than her husband. Kelly had often professed dislike to his own wife, but he appears to have had other feelings toward the wife of his employer. On the 18th of April, 1587, while they were still at Trebone, in Bohemia, a revelation was made in the glass to the effect that it was God's pleasure the two philosophers should have a community of wives. Dee was shocked, and Kelly professed the utmost abhorrence to that doctrine, yet the revelations were repeated; they were told that sin was but a relative thing, and could not be bad if ordered or allowed by God, with other doctrines of the anabaptists of those days, and of the socialists of the present; and finally, they opened the secret to their wives, and obtained their concurrence, though not without some reluctance. Dee has noted in the journal of his proceedings, "That on Sunday, the 3d of May, *anno*, 1587 (by the new account), I, John Dee, Edward Kelly, and our two wives, covenanted with God, and subscribed the same, for indissoluble and inviolable unities, charity, and friendship keeping, between us four, and all things between us to be common, as God by sundry means willed us to do."

During the remainder of this year, having obtained money for

their necessities, they were occupied in alchemical labors, which Kelly appears to have pursued with much zeal during their long residence at Trebone, where they had several quarrels, and where, as far we can gather from some notices in the journal edited by Mr. Halliwell, the new arrangement had given rise to jealousies between the two ladies. In 1589, Dee proceeded to Bremen, and his eyes now appear to have been turned toward England. His character had been branded in Germany, and he had heard during his absence, not only that the queen was displeased at his departure, but that he was threatened on his return with prosecution on the charge of being a conjurer. We have seen him wandering about the centre of Europe, sometimes travelling with the pomp of a prince, and at others penniless, reckoning in vain on the protection of the great, and deceived and deluded by those about him. Disappointed, mortified, and dispirited, deserted even by his own servants and companions, at length, in the November of 1589, he resolved to return to his own country, and he landed at Gravesend on the 2d of December, after an absence of six years. Before the end of the year Dee was again settled at Mortlake, pursuing his old studies.

Kelly, who had been knighted in Germany, remained behind, having, as it appears, impressed the emperor Rodolph, with the belief that he had proceeded so far in alchemical knowledge as to be able to make gold. The emperor kept him about his court, most of the time under restraint, and sometimes actually in prison. At length, in the year 1593, endeavoring to make his escape by night, Kelly fell from the wall of his house in Prague, and received injuries of which he died.

Dr. Dee was received by Elizabeth with kindness, but he had lost the respect with which he was formerly regarded. He was gradually neglected, and left exposed to the ill-nature of his enemies. In 1594, he was obliged to write a tract, calling attention to his writings and his discoveries, and protested against the opinion then generally entertained that he was a conjurer. The queen at length took compassion on him, and after many troubles he was appointed and instituted warden of the college at Manchester. After the loss of Kelly, Dee obtained other "skryers," and continued his "actions," with the spirits to the time of his death; though their revelations had now lost all their imaginative character, and consisted chiefly in answer to questions about thefts, hidden treasures, and such commonplace matters. Under James, he still received protection from the court, although his reputation as a conjurer and magician increased. On the 5th

of June, 1604, we find him presenting a petition to the king at Greenwich, imploring his aid against the injurious imputation of being "a conjurer, or caller, or invocator of devils," and assuring his majesty that none "of all the great number of the various strange and frivolous fables or histories reported and told of him (as to have been of his doing), were true." This petition is said to have been one of the causes of an act then passed against personal slander, which had an especial reference to the case of Dr. Dee. But even this did not mend his reputation, though it produced from the aged philosopher the following doggerel lines, which show that he was still less a poet than a conjurer :—

"TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE COMMONS IN THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

"The honor due unto you all,
And reverence, to you each one
I do first yeeld most speciall;
Grant me this time, to heare my mone.

"Now (if you will) full well you may
Fowle sclaundrous tongues for ever tame;
And helpe the trueth to beare some sway,
In just defence of a good name;

"Halfe hundred yeeres, which hath had wrong,
By false light tongues and divelish hate;
O helpe tryde trueth to become strong,
So God of trueth will blesse your state.

"In sundry sorts this sclaunder great
(Of conjurer) I have sore blamde;
But wilfull, rash, and spitefull heat
Doth nothing cease to be enflamde.

"Your helpe, therefore, by wisdom's lore,
And by your powre, so great and sure,
I humbly crave, that ever more
This hellish wound I shall endure.

"And so your act, with honor great,
All ages will hereafter prayse;
And trueth, that sitts in heavenly seat,
Will, in like case, your comforts rayse.

"*June* 8, 1604."*

In the subscription to this singular document, Dr. Dee describes himself as "mathematician to his most royal majesty." He died at Mortlake, in 1608, it is said in great poverty; but he left behind him many victims to the same delusions, though few so

* These verses, and Dee's petition, were printed in the shape of hand-bills, copies of which are preserved in the British museum.

honest as himself. Of these, one of the most remarkable was Simon Forman, who has a melancholy celebrity as connected with the crimes of the reign of James I., and who was succeeded by the still more remarkable characters, William Lilly and Elias Ashmole. The first half of the seventeenth century was the age of the English magicians.

The autobiography of William Lilly is a singular picture of the credulity of Englishmen at this period. In his younger days he was acquainted with Forman, of whom he has preserved several anecdotes, and he assures us that he had seen one of his magical books, in which was written with his own hand, "This I made the devil write with his own hands in Lambeth Fields, in 1596, in June or July, as I now remember." His own instructor in astrology, Evans, was less fortunate in an adventure with the evil one in the same neighborhood, which seems to have been celebrated as a scene of such transactions. "Some time before I became acquainted with him," says Lilly, "he then living in the Minories, was desired by the Lord Bothwell and Sir Kenelm Digby, to show them a spirit. He promised so to do; the time came, and they were all in the body of the circle, when lo, upon a sudden, after some time of invocation, Evans was taken from out the room, and carried into the field near Battersea Causeway, close to the Thames. Next morning, a countryman going by to his labor, and espying a man in black clothes, came unto him and awaked him, and asked him how he came there? Evans by this understood his condition, inquired where he was, how far from London, and in what parish he was; which, when he understood, he told the laborer he had been late at Battersea the night before, and by chance was left there by his friends. Sir Kenelm Digby and the Lord Bothwell went home without any harm, and came next day to hear what was become of him; just as they, in the afternoon, came into the house, a messenger came from Evans to his wife, to come and join him at Battersea. I inquired upon what account the spirit carried him away; who said he had not, at the time of invocation, made any suffumigation, at which the spirits were vexed."

One night Lilly went a treasure-hunting. It was in 1634, the year of his second marriage. "Davy Ramsey, his majesty's clock-maker, had been informed that there was a great quantity of treasure buried in the cloister of Westminster Abbey; he acquaints Dean Williams therewith, who was also then bishop of Lincoln; the dean gave him liberty to search after it, with this proviso, that if any was discovered, his church should have a

share of it. Davy Ramsey finds out one John Scott, who pretended the use of the Mosaical rods, to assist him herein; I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One winter's night, Davy Ramsey, with several gentlemen, myself and Scott, entered the cloisters. We played the hazel-rod round about the cloisters; upon the west side of the cloisters the rods turned one over another, an argument that the treasure was there. The laborers digged at least six foot deep, and then we met with a coffin; but in regard it was not heavy, we did not open, which we afterward much repented. From the cloisters we went into the abbey-church, where, upon a sudden (there being no wind when we began), so fierce, so high, so blustering and loud a wind did roar, that we verily believed the west end of the church would have fallen upon us; our rods would not move at all; the candles and torches, all but one, were extinguished, or burned very dimly. John Scott, my partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave directions, and commenced to dismiss the demons; which, when done, all was quiet again, and each man returned unto his lodging late, about twelve o'clock at night. I could never since be induced to join with any in such like actions." Lilly adds in a note, "Davy Ramsey brought a half quartern sack to put the treasure in."

Another of Lilly's magicians was William Hodges, who was also an intimate friend of John Scott. "Scott having some occasions into Staffordshire, addressed himself for a month or six weeks to Hodges, assisted him to dress his patients, let blood, &c. Being to return to London, he desired Hodges to show him the person and feature of the woman he should marry. Hodges carries him into a field not far from his house, pulls out his crystal, bids Scott set his foot to his, and, after a while, wishes him to inspect the crystal, and observe what he saw there. 'I see,' saith Scott, 'a ruddy-complexioned wench in a red waistcoat, drawing a can of beer.'—'She must be your wife,' said Hodges. 'You are mistaken, sir,' said Scott; 'I am, so soon as I come to London, to marry a tall gentlewoman in the Old Bailey.'—'You must marry the red waistcoat,' said Hodges. Scott leaves the country, comes up to London, finds his gentlewoman married: two years after going into Dover, in his return, he refreshed himself at an inn in Canterbury, and as he came into the hall, or first room thereof, he mistook the room, and went into the buttery, where he espied a maid, described by Hodges as before said, drawing a can of beer, &c. He then more narrowly viewing her person and habit, found her in all

parts to be the same Hodges had described; after which he became a suitor unto her, and was married unto her; which woman I have often seen. This Scott related unto me several times, being a very honest person, and made great conscience of what he spoke. Another story of him is as followeth, which I had related from a person which well knew the truth of it. A neighbor gentleman of Hodge's lost his horse; who having Hodges advice for recovery of him, did again obtain him. Some years after, in a frolic, he thought to abuse him, acquainting a neighbor therewith, viz., that he had formerly lost a horse, went to Hodges, recovered him again, but saith it was by chance; 'I might have had him without going unto him: come, let's go, I will now put a trick upon him; I will have some boy or other at the town's-end with my horse, and then go to Hodges and inquire for him.' He did so, gave his horse to a youth, with orders to walk him till he returned. Away he goes with his friend, salutes Mr. Hodges, thanks him for his former courtesy, and now desires the like, having lost a horse very lately. Hodges, after some time of pausing, said, 'Sir, your horse is lost, and never to be recovered.' 'I thought what skill you had,' replies the gallant, 'my horse is walking in a lane at the town's end.' With that Hodges swore (as he was too much given unto that vice), 'Your horse is gone, and you will never have him again.' The gentleman parted in great derision of Hodges, and went where he left his horse; when he came there, he found the boy fast asleep upon the ground, the horse gone, the boy's arm in the bridle. He returns again to Hodges, desiring his aid, being sorry for his former abuse. Old Will swore like a devil. This business ended not so; for the malicious man brought Hodges into the star-chamber, bound him over to the assizes, put Hodges to great expenses: but, by means of the Lord Dudley, if I remember aright, or some other person thereabouts, he overcame the gentleman, and was acquitted."

One of Lilly's acquaintance was a female "skryer;" which is singular enough, since Dr. Dee's spirits told him, on one occasion, that females were not admitted to these mysteries. "I was very familiar," he says, "with one Sarah Skelhorn, who had been speculatrix unto one Arthur Gauntlet about Gray's Inn Lane, a very lewd fellow, professing physick. This Sarah had a perfect sight, and indeed the best eyes for that purpose I ever yet did see. Gauntlet's books, after he was dead, were sold, after I had perused them, to my scholar Humphreys; there were rare notions in them. This Sarah lived a long time, even until

her death, with one Mrs. Stockman in the Isle of Purbeck, and died about sixteen years since. Her mistress one time being desirous to accompany her mother, the Lady Beconsfield, unto London, who lived twelve miles from her habitation, caused Sarah to inspect her crystal, to see if she, viz., her mother, was gone, yea or not: the angels appeared, and shewed her mother opening a trunk, and taking out a red waistcoat, whereby she perceived she was not gone. Next day she went to her mother's, and there, as she entered the chamber, she was opening a trunk, and had a red waistcoat in her hand. Sarah told me oft, the angels would for some years follow her, and appear in every room in the house, until she was weary of them. This Sarah Skelhorn her call unto the crystal began, '*Oh ye good angels, only and only*,' &c. Ellen Evans, daughter of my tutor Evans, her call unto the crystal was this: '*O tu Micol, O tu Micol, regina pigmeorum, veni*,' &c. Since I have related of the queen of the fairies, I shall acquaint you, that it is not for every one, or every person, that these angelical creatures will appear unto, though they may say over the call, over and over, or indeed is it given to very many persons to endure their glorious aspects; even very many have failed just at that present when they are ready to manifest themselves; even persons otherwise of undaunted spirits and firm resolution are herewith astonished, and tremble, as it happened not many years since with us. A very sober discreet person, of virtuous life and conversation, was beyond measure desirous to see something in this nature. The queen of fairies was invocated; a gentle murmuring wind came first; after that, among the hedges, a smart whirlwind; by-and-by a strong blast of wind blew upon the face of the friend,—and the queen appearing in a most illustrious glory, 'No more, I beseech you!' quoth the friend.—'My heart fails; I am not able to endure longer.' Nor was he; his black curling hair rose up, and I believe a bullrush would have beat him to the ground; he was soundly laughed at, &c. Sir Robert Holborn, knight, brought one unto me, Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had sight and conference with Uriel and Raphael, but lost them both by carelessness; so that neither of them both would but very rarely appear, and then presently be gone, resolving nothing. He would have given me two hundred pounds to have assisted him for their recovery, but I am no such man. Those glorious creatures, if well commanded, and well observed, do teach the master anything he desires; *Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta*. The fairies love the southern side of hills, mountains, and groves.

Neatness and cleanliness in apparel, a strict diet, and upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious these ways."

The delusion of this branch of superstition, which more especially affected the minds of the learned, neither held its sway so long nor prevailed so generally as the belief in witchcraft. It seemed like a visitation of Providence to show that the boasted intellect of man was but frailty, and that even the wisest were sometimes liable to stumble. We must not forget that in 1559 the learned scholar Meric Casauban, who was a believer in many of these wonders, thought the ravings of Dee and Kelly worthy of publication, and that a numerous impression of that strange book was quickly bought up. The contemporary possessor of a copy now in the British Museum, who had studied it and loaded it with manuscript notes, has left the following note among other memoranda at the commencement: "I remember well when this book was first published, that the then persons who held the government had a solemn consult upon the suppressing it, as looking upon it as published by the church of England men in reproach of them who then pretended so much to inspiration: and Goodwyn, Owen, and Nye, &c., were great sticklers against it, but it was so quickly published and spread, and so eagerly bought up as being a great and curious novelty, that it was beyond theyr power to suppresse it."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WITCHES OF WARBOYS.

In the low grounds of the county of Huntingdon, on the road between Huntingdon and Ramsey, and about four miles from the latter town, stands the village of Warboys. It is a considerable village, consisting of detached houses built partly round the village green, and partly running in a line from the green to the church. One of the best houses in the place, which was then called a town, was occupied in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth by Robert Throgmorton, Esq., a gentleman of respectability, who lived on terms of intimacy with the Cromwells of Hinchinbrook and Ramsey—Sir Henry Cromwell, grandfather by his first wife of the protector Oliver, was at this

time lord of the manor,—and with the other gentry of the neighborhood. The family of Robert Throgmorton consisted of himself and his wife, five daughters, of whom the eldest, Joan, was fifteen years of age, the others being named severally Jane, Elizabeth, Mary, and Grace, and a rather numerous family of servants.

It was about the 10th of November, 1589, that Jane Throgmorton, then a child under ten years of age, was suddenly attacked with strange convulsive fits, with which she was seized several times in the day, and which continued daily and with very little intermission. Among the villagers was a laboring family of the name of Samwell, or Samuel (as it is spelled in the printed record of those transactions), consisting of a man and his wife, and their grown-up daughter Agnes, whose cottage stood next to that of Robert Throgmorton, and who were in the habit of visiting the house to seek employment or the charitable hospitality which the poor usually found in the kitchens or halls of their betters. One day, soon after the illness of Jane Throgmorton, Mother Samwell, as the old woman was popularly called, came into the house and seated herself according to custom in the chimney corner, by the side of a woman who was holding in her arms the child, which was just recovering from one of its fits, and it no sooner saw her than it began to cry out, pointing to Mother Samuel, "Did you ever see one more like a witch than she is? Take off her black thrumbed cap, for I can not abide to look at her?" Little attention was paid to these expressions at the time, except that the mother of the child rebuked it for its crossness; and a day or two after, as they found no abatement of the child's malady, they sent to Cambridge to consult Dr. Barrow, a celebrated physician there, but neither he nor another medical man, named Butler, could discover any disease in the child.

Things went on in this manner for about a month, when two other daughters, respectively of the age of about twelve and thirteen, were attacked with similar fits, and they also cried out on Mother Samwell, "Take her away! look where she standeth there before us in a black thrumbed cap!"—this was her usual head-dress, though it appears that she did not wear it on the present occasion—"It is she that hath bewitched us, and she will kill us if you don't take her away!" The parents now for the first time began to suspect that their children were bewitched, a suspicion which it appears had already been harbored by the doctors, though they had concealed it; and it was increased when, a month later, the youngest daughter, who was about nine years

of age, was seized with the same fits, and cried also upon Mother Samwell. About the same time, the eldest daughter, Joan Throgmorton, was attacked in the same manner, and like the others, cried after Mother Samwell.

Joan Throgmorton's fits were much more violent than those of the younger children, and while suffering from them her mind seemed to wander, she said strange things, and appeared to hold converse with some person or thing which was not visible. Among other things, she declared that the spirit told her that twelve persons would be bewitched in the house, all through the agency of Mother Samwell, and she named the other seven, who were all Mrs. Throgmorton's servants. Accordingly, the servants were soon after attacked in the same manner, and called likewise on Mother Samwell as their persecutor, saying: "Take her away, mistress! for God's sake, take her away, and burn her! for she will kill us all if you let her alone!" The servants soon left their places, and no sooner had they done this than they were perfectly well, and remained so, while those who came into their places were immediately exposed to the same attacks.

It was observable of them all, that when they were out of their fits, they were totally unconscious of everything they had said.

On St. Valentine's eve, the thirteenth of February, 1590, Robert Throgmorton was visited by his brother-in-law, Gilbert Pickering, Esq., of Titchmarchgrove, in Northamptonshire, who found the children to all appearance in perfect health. He had, however, heard of their condition, and learning on his arrival that some of the friends of the Throgmortons were gone to fetch Mother Samwell to the house, and finding that they had been long with her, he "concluded that she would not come, though she had promised that she would come and see them whenever their parents should send for her; and that she would venture up to her chin in water, and lose some of her best blood, to do them a service. But now her mind, it seemed, was altered, because, as she said, all the children cried out of her, and said that she had bewitched them, and she also feared that the common practice of scratching would be used upon her, which indeed, was intended. But both her parents and Mr. Pickeriug had taken advice of good divines of the unlawfulness of it. Wherefore Mr. Pickering went to Mother Samwell's house, both to see, and to persuade her that, if she was any cause of the children's trouble, to amend it. When he came to the house, he found there Mr. Whittle, Mrs. Audley, and others, endeavoring to persuade her, but she refused it; whereupon Mr. Pickering told her that he had

authority to bring her, and if she would not go willingly, he would compel her, which he accordingly did, along with her daughter Agnes, and one Cicely Burder, who were all suspected to be witches, or in confederacy with Mother Samwell. As they were going to Mr. Throgmorton's house, Mr. Whittle and Mrs. Audley, and others going on before, Mother Samwell, Agnes Samwell, and Cicely Burder, in the middle, and Mr. Pickering behind, Mr. Pickering perceived that Mother Samwell would have talked with her daughter Agnes, if he had not followed so close that they could have no opportunity; and when they came to Mr. Throgmorton's door, Mother Samwell made a courtesy to Mr. Pickering, offering him to go in before her, that she might have an opportunity to confer with her daughter in the entry, but he refused; also she thrust her head as near as she could to her daughter's head, and said these words: 'I charge thee, do not confess anything.' Mr. Pickering, being behind them, and perceiving it, thrust his head as near as he could betwixt theirs, whilst the words were speaking, and hearing them presently, replied to old Mother Samwell, 'Dost thou charge thy daughter not to confess?' To which she answered, 'I said not so, but charged her to hasten home to get her father his dinner.' Whilst these words were speaking, Mr. Whittle, Mrs. Audley, and the rest, went into the house, and three of the children stood in the hall by the fire, perfectly well; but no sooner had Mother Samwell entered the hall, but these three children fell down at one moment on the ground, strangely tormented, so that if they had been let alone, they would have leaped and sprung about like a fish newly taken out of the water, their bellies lifting up, and their head and heels still remaining on the ground." When Mother Samwell was brought to the children, they were violent in their attempts to scratch her, which was regarded as a sure sign of her being a witch.

The next day, Mr. Pickering took Elizabeth Throgmorton home with him to Titchmarch Grove, where she remained till the eighth of September following, always troubled with her disorder, which attacked her in a variety of ways. Sometimes the reading of anything spiritual, or even saying grace at table, threw her into a fit immediately; sometimes she would be in a state of insensibility except to one thing on which she was occupied; sometimes a particular game alone kept her tranquil; at other times she was for a long period in violent hysterics, and then she would cry out against Mother Samwell. On the 2d of March, after her arrival at Titchmarch Grove, "all her fits were merry, full of exceeding laughter, and so hearty and excessive, that if

she had been awake, she would have been ashamed of being so full of trifling toys, and some merry jests of her own making, which would occasion herself, as well as the standers-by, to laugh at them. In this fit she chose one of her uncles to go to cards with her; and desiring to see the end of it, they played together. Soon after, there was a book brought and laid before her, upon which she threw herself backward; but that being taken away, she presently recovered and played again; which was often tried, and found true. As she thus played at cards, her eyes were almost shut, so that she saw the cards, and nothing else; knew her uncle, and nobody else; she heard and answered him, and no other person; she perceived when he played foul or stole from her either counters or cards, but another might steal them out of her hands without her seeing or feeling of them. Sometimes she would chide another whom she did see and hear; sometimes a little child, but never above one in a fit. The fifth of March she fell into a fit in the morning, and longed to go home to her father's. The sixth, one of her father's men came over to Titchmarch Grove, whom she had often called in her fit to carry her to Warboys to her father's, saying, if she were but half way, she knew that she should be well. To try this, they carried her toward Warboys on horseback; and being scarce gone a bow-shot, by a pond side, she awaked, wondering where she was, not knowing anything, but no sooner the horse's head was turned back, but she fell into her fit again; and for three days after, and no longer, as often as she was carried to the pond, she awaked, and was well; but as soon as she turned back again, her fit returned. The eighth day of March she had a new antic trick; for she would go well enough three steps, but the third she downright halted, giving a beck with her head as low as her knees; and as she was sitting by the fire, she would suddenly start up, up, saying she would go to Warboys; but she was stopped at the door, when going out, with a nod she hit her forehead against the latch, which raised a lump as big as a walnut; and being carried to the pond, and there awaking, she asked how she came to be hurt. There she continued all day well, playing with other children at bowls, or some other sport, for the foolisher sport she made use of, the less she was tormented with the spirit; but as soon as any motion was made of coming into the house, the fit presently took her, so that for twelve days she was never out of her fit within doors, eating and drinking in it, but neither seeing, hearing, nor understanding, and without memory of speaking."

About the middle of March, 1590, the Cromwell family, residing at this time at Ramsey, Lady Cromwell came with her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Cromwell (wife of Sir Henry's son, Oliver), on a visit to the Throgmortons. She was much affected at the sufferings of the children, and sent for Mother Samwell, whom she charged with being the cause of them, using threatening words toward her. Mother Samwell denied all, declaring that the Throgmortons did her wrong, and that they blamed her without cause; to which Lady Cromwell replied that neither Mr. Throgmorton nor his wife accused her, but the children themselves in their fits, "or rather the spirit within them." A divine named Dr. Hall was present, and he and the lady wished to examine the accused more closely, but she refused. "When the lady found that neither she nor anybody else could prevail, and that she wanted to be gone, she suddenly pulled off her kercher, and with a pair of scissors cut off a lock of her hair, and gave it privately to Mrs. Throgmorton with her hair-lace, desiring her to burn them." This was an approved antidote against witchcraft. "Mother Samwell, finding herself so served, spoke thus to the lady, 'Madam, why do you use me thus? I never did you any harm as yet.' These words were afterward remembered, though not taken notice of at that time."

Lady Cromwell returned to Ramsey the same day, and "that night my Lady Cromwell was suddenly troubled in a dream about Mother Samwell; and as she imagined was mightily disturbed in her sleep by a cat which Mother Samwell had sent her, which offered to pluck off the skin and flesh of her bones and arms. The struggle betwixt the cat and the lady was so great in her bed that night, and she made so terrible a noise, that she waked her bed-fellow, Mrs. Cromwell [both their husbands were from home], who, perceiving the lady thus disquieted, awaked her, whom the lady thanked for so doing, and told her how much she had been troubled with Mother Samwell and her cat, with many other circumstances, which made her so uneasy, that she could not rest all that night for fear of the same." Next day Lady Cromwell was seized with an illness from which she never recovered.

Various other attempts were made to persuade Mother Samwell to acknowledge her fault and relieve the children from their sufferings, but for months no attempt was made to press the matter against her in a judicial manner, although the fits continued unabated. In 1592, the spirits began to show themselves to the children in their fits, and sometimes when they were not in their

fits, and to converse with them in a familiar manner, always accusing Mother Samwell, and prognosticating that she would at last suffer the reward of her crimes. They began now only to be quiet when the presumed witch was near them, and it was found necessary to introduce her into the house as their nurse, which was done much against the inclination of her husband, old Samwell.

The suspicions of witchcraft were now strengthened by the occurrences of every day; Mother Samwell herself was once attacked with fits, and she said the house was haunted with evil spirits, and she would leave it; the spirits themselves became hourly more familiar; and new efforts were made to persuade the old woman to confess and amend what she had done. Tormented with these importunities, she one day let herself be persuaded to pronounce an exorcism against the spirits, and the children were immediately relieved from their influence. "Mr. Throgmorton's face was then toward the children, and his back to the old woman, and seeing them start up at once, he said, 'Thanks be to God!' In the meantime the old woman, fell down on her knees behind him, and said, 'Good master, forgive me.' He, turning about, and seeing her down, said, 'Why, Mother Samwell, what is the matter?'—'O, sir,' said she, 'I have been the cause of all this trouble to your children.' 'Have you, Mother Samwell?' said he; 'and why? What cause did I ever give you to use me and my children thus?'—'None at all,' said she. 'Then,' says he, 'you have done me the more wrong.' 'Good master,' said she, 'forgive me.'—'God forgive you,' said he, 'and I do; but tell me how you came to be such a woman.' 'Master,' said she, 'I have forsaken my Maker, and given my soul to the devil.' Then the grandmother and mother of the children, who were in the hall, hearing them so loud in the parlor, came in, whom Mother Samwell asked pardon of likewise. Mrs. Throgmorton, the mother, presently forgave her with all her heart, but could not well tell what was the matter. Then Mother Samwell asked the three children that were there, and the rest, forgiveness, and kissed them, the children easily forgiving her. Mr. Throgmorton and his wife perceiving the old woman so penitent and cast down, she weeping and lamenting all the time, did all they could to comfort her, and told her they would freely forgive her from their hearts, provided their children were no more troubled. She said, she trusted in God they would never be troubled again, yet could not be comforted. Mrs. Throgmorton then sent for Dr. Dorrington, minister of the town,

and told him all the circumstances; and all of them endeavored to make her easy, but nevertheless she wept all that night. The next day, being Christmas even, and the sabbath, Dr. Dorrington chose his text of repentance out of the Psalms, and communicating her confession to the assembly, directed his discourse chiefly to that purpose, to comfort a penitent heart, that it might affect her. All the sermon-time Mother Samwell wept and lamented, and was frequently so loud in her passions, that she drew the eyes of the congregation upon her."

The next day Mother Samwell contradicted all she had said, declaring that she was drawn into the confession by her surprise at finding that her exorcism had relieved the children, and that she hardly knew what she was saying. It was believed that this denial was the result of a compact with her husband and daughter, and all other means proving ineffectual to bring her back to her confession, they carried her at the end of December (1592) before the bishop of Lincoln. The old woman was now thoroughly frightened, and she made a new confession, that she was really a witch, that she had several spirits whose names she repeated, one of which appeared in the shape of a dun chicken, and often sucked her chin, and that they were given to her by an "upright man," of whose name and dwelling-place she was equally ignorant. On this confession, both mother and daughter were committed to Huntingdon jail, but the latter was bailed in accordance with Mr. Throgmorton's wish to take her to his house, in order to see if her presence would have the same effect on his children as that of her mother.

Dr. Dorrington and a Cambridge "scholar" were also in the house, and the evidence of the former as to what happened in the house when Agnes Samwell was brought there was of great weight against her on her trial. On the 10th of February, 1593, according to Dr. Dorrington's statement, "In the afternoon, she (Jane Throgmorton) lay groaning in her fit by the fireside, and suddenly was taken with a bleeding at the nose, which surprised her very much, fearing ill news after it. When she had bled much in her handkerchief, she said it was a good deed to throw it in the fire and burn the witch. After she had talked thus, it appeared that the spirit came to her; she smiling and looking about her, saying, 'What is this, in God's name, that comes tumbling to me? it tumbles like a football, it looks like a puppet-player, and appears much like its dame's old thrumb-cap. What is your name, I pray you?' said she. The thing answered his name was Blew. To which she answered, 'Mr. Blew, you

are welcome; I never saw you before; I thought my nose bled not for nothing; what news have you brought? What!' says she, 'dost thou say I shall be worse handled than ever I was? Ha! what dost thou say? that I shall now have my fits, when I shall both hear and see and know everybody? that's a new trick indeed. I think never any of my sisters were so used; but I care not for you; do your worst, and when you have done, you will make an end.' After this she was silent awhile, but listening to something that was said, presently called for Agnes Samwell, asking where she was, and saying that she had too much liberty, and that she must be more strictly looked to; 'for lately she was in the kitchen-chamber talking with her spirits, and entreated Mr. Blew not to let me have any such extreme fits, when I spoke, heard, and knew everybody. But he says he will torment me more, and not rest till Dame Agnes Samwell is brought to her end; so that now,' says she to Agnes Samwell, who was just come to her, 'it will be no better with us till you and your mother are both hanged.' The maid confessed she was in the kitchen-chamber and alone, but denied that she talked with spirits, or knew any such. Mrs. Jane bid her not deny it, for the spirits would not lie. Soon after she came out of this fit, and complained of great pain in her legs, and being asked where she had been, and what she had said, she answered, that she had been asleep, and said nothing she knew of, and wondered how her handkerchief came to be so bloody, saying, somebody else had bloodied it, and not she, for she was not used to bleed."

The other children were much affected this day and the next, and all seemed to conspire against Agnes Samwell; but it was Jane Throgmorton who appears to have been most familiar with the spirits. On the 11th of February, she "was sick and full of pain all day; when night came, after supper, she fell into her fit as the night before, being able to see, hear, and understand everything that was asked of her; and having continued in this fit some time, she fell into her senseless fit, and being silent awhile, and her mouth shut, she fetched a great groan, and said, 'Whence came you, Mr. Smack, and what news do you bring?' The spirit answered, that he came from fighting. Said she, 'With whom?' The spirit answered, 'with Pluck.'—'Where did you fight, I pray you?' said she. The spirit answered, in old dame's back-house, which stood in Mother Samwell's yard; 'and they fought with great cowlstaves last night.'—'And who got the mastery I pray you?' said she. He answered, he broke

Pluck's head. Says she, 'I wish he had broke your neck also.' Saith the spirit, 'Is that all the thanks I shall have for my labor?'—'What,' says she, 'do you look for thanks at my hand? I wish you were all hanged up against one another, for you are all naught; but God will defend me from you;' so he departed and bid her farewell. Being asked when he would come again, he said, 'On Wednesday night.' He was no sooner gone, but presently came Pluck to her, to whom she said, 'From whence come you, Pluck, with your head hanging down so?' He answered just as Smack had told her. Then said the spirit to her, 'When saw you Smack?' She answered, that she knew no such fellow. 'Yes,' says he, 'but you do, but you will not be known of him.'—'It seems,' says she, 'that you have met with your match.' And after such like expressions, he went away, and presently she came out of her fit, and complained of pain in her legs. The next day she was very sick all day, it being Monday, and in the afternoon fell into a very strange fit, having lost all her senses for about half an hour; Agnes Samwell, seeing the extremity of which, seemed to pray earnestly for her along with the rest; and being asked whether it proceeded from wantonness, as she used to say, she could not deny but it must proceed from some supernatural power. When the fit was over, she was well, except the pain in her legs. After supper, as soon as her parents were risen, she fell into the same fit again, as before, and then became senseless, and in a little time opening her mouth, she said, 'Will this hold for ever? I hope it will be better one day. From whence came you now, Catch?' said she, 'limping. I hope you have met with your match.' Catch answered that Smack and he had been fighting, and that Smack had broken his leg. Said she, 'That Smack is a shrewd fellow, methinks I would I could see him. Pluck came last night,' said she, 'with his head broke, and now you have broken your leg; I hope,' said she, 'he will break both your necks before he hath done with you.' Catch answered, that he would be even with him before he had done. Then said she, 'Put forth your other leg, and let me see if I can break that,' having a stick in her hand. The spirit told her that she could not hit him. 'Can I not hit you?' said she; 'let me try.' Then the spirit put out his leg, and she lifted up the stick easily, and suddenly struck the ground. 'You have not hurt me,' said the spirit. 'Have I not hurt you?' said she. 'No, but I would if I could, and then I would make some of you come short home.' So she seemed divers times to strike at the spirit, but he leaped

over the stick, as he said, like a Jack-an-apes. So after many such tricks the spirit went away, and she came out of her fit, continuing all that night, and the next day, very sick, and full of pain in her legs. At night, when supper was ended, she fell into her sensible fit again, which continued as usual, and then she grew senseless, and after a little time, as usual, fetching a great groan, she said, 'Ha, sirrah! are you come with your arm in a sling, Mr. Blew? Who hath met with you, I pray?' The spirit said, 'You know well enough.' She answered, 'Do I know well enough? how should I know?'—'Why,' said the spirit, 'Smack and I were fighting, and he hath broken my arm.' Said she, 'That Smack is a stout fellow indeed; I hope he will break all your necks, because you punish me without a cause. I wish,' said she, 'that I could be once acquainted with him.'—'We will be even with him,' said Blew, 'one day.'—'Why,' said she, 'what will ye do?' The spirit said they would all fall upon him and beat him. Saith she, 'Perhaps he cares not for you all, for he has broken Pluck's head, Catch's leg, and your arm; now you have something to do, you may go and heal your arm.'—'Yes,' saith the spirit, 'when my arm is well, we will beat Smack.' So they parted, and she came out of her fit, and complained of most parts of her body; so that she seemed easier while the spirit was talking with her, than when she came out of her fit. The next day, which was Wednesday, she was very ill, and when night came, she first fell into her sensible fit, and then into her senseless one, and after fetching a great sigh, she said, 'Whence came you, Mr. Smack?' He said he was come according to his promise on Sunday night. Said she, 'It is very likely you will keep your promise, but I had rather you would keep away till you are sent for; but what news have you brought?' Said he, 'I told you I had been fighting last Sunday night, but I have had many battles since.'—'So it seems,' said she, 'for here was both Pluck, Catch, and Blew, and all came lame to me.'—'Yes,' said he, 'I have met with them all.'—'But I wonder,' said she, 'you could beat them, for they are very great, and you are but a little one.' Said he, 'I am good enough for two of the best of them together.'—'But,' said she, 'I can tell you news.'—'What's that?' said he. 'They will all of them fall upon you at once, and beat you.' He said he cared not for that, he would beat two of the best of them. 'And who shall beat the other two?' said she, 'for there is one who hath been often spoke of. called Hardname, his name standing upon eight letters, and every letter standeth for a word, but what his

name is otherwise, we know not.' The spirit answered that his cousin Smack would help him to beat the other two. There are also two other Smacks, as appears from the old woman's confession. 'What?' said she, 'will your cousin Smack help you? is there kindred among devils? I never heard of that before, God keep me from that kindred!'"

This strange scene was also a part of Dr. Dorrington's evidence. Things continued thus till the month of April, when it was determined again to put in practice the remedy of scratching.

"On Monday following, which was the day appointed for scratching, Mrs. Joan fell into her fit a little before supper, and continued so all supper-time, being not able to stand on her legs. As soon as they began to give thanks after supper, she started up upon her feet and came to the table side, and stood with her sisters that were saying of grace; and as soon as grace was ended, she fell upon the maid, Nan Samwell, and took her head under her arms, and first scratched the right side of her cheeks; and when she had done that, 'Now,' said she, 'I must scratch the left side for my Aunt Pickering,' and scratched that also till blood came on both sides very plentifully. The maid stood still, and never moved to go away from her, yet cried pitifully, desiring the Lord to have mercy on her. When she had done scratching, Mrs. Joan sat herself upon a stool, and seemed to be out of breath, taking her breath very short, yet the maid never struggled with her, and was able to hold never a joint of her, but trembled like a leaf, and called for a pair of scissors to pare her nails; but when she had them, she was not able to hold them in her hands, but desired some one to do it for her, which Dr. Dorrington's wife did. Mrs. Joan saved her nails as they were pared, and when they had done threw them into the fire, and called for some water to wash her hands, and then threw the water into the fire. Then she fell upon her knees, and desired the maid to kneel by her, and prayed with her, saying the Lord's prayer and the creed; but Mrs. Joan seemed as if she did not hear the maid, for she would say amiss sometimes, and then the company would help her out; but Mrs. Joan did not stay for her, so that she had ended before the maid had half done hers. After this, Dr. Dorrington took a prayer-book and read what prayers he thought fit; and when he had done, Mrs. Joan began to exhort the maid, and as she was speaking she fell a weeping extremely, so that she could not well express her words, saying that she would not have scratched her, but she was forced to it by the spirit. As she was thus complaining, her sister Elizabeth was suddenly seized with

a fit, and turning hastily upon the maid, catched her by one of her hands, and fain would have scratched her, saying, the spirit said she must scratch her too; but the company desired the maid to keep her hand from her, so they strove a great while till the child was out of breath; then said the child, 'Will nobody help me?' twice or thrice over. Then said Mrs. Joan, being still in her fit, 'Shall I help you, Sister Elizabeth?'—'Ay, for God's sake, sister,' said she. So Mrs. Joan came and took one of the maid's hands, and held it to her sister Elizabeth, and she scratched it till blood came, at which she was very joyful. Then she pared her nails, and washed her hands, and threw the paring and the water both into the fire. After all this, before the company departed, the maid helped Mrs. Joan out of her fit three several times, one after the other, by three several charges; and likewise brought Mrs. Elizabeth out of her fit by saying, as she hath bewitched Mrs. Elizabeth Throgmorton since her mother confessed."

The sessions at Huntingdon began on the fourth of April, and then the three Samwells were put upon their trial, and all the foregoing evidence and much more was repeated. The indictments against them, specified the offences against the children and servants of the Throgmortons, and the "bewitching unto death" of the lady Cromwell. The grand jury found a verdict immediately, and then they were put upon their trial in court, and after much evidence had been gone through, "the judge, justices, and jury, said the case was apparent, and their consciences were well satisfied that the said witches were guilty, and deserved death." Afterward their confessions were put in, and "when these were read, it pleased God to raise up more witnesses against those wicked persons, as Robert Poulton, vicar of Brampton, who openly said, that one of his parishioners, John Langley, at that time being sick in his bed, told him, that one day, being at Huntingdon, he did, in Mother Samwell's hearing, forbid Mr. Knowles, of Brampton, to give her any meat, for she was an old witch; and upon that, as he went from Huntingdon to Brampton in the afternoon, having a good horse under him, he presently died in the field, and within two days after he escaped death twice very dangerously, by God's providence; but though the devil had not power over his body at that time, yet soon after he lost many good and sound cattle, to men's judgment worth twenty marks, and that he himself, not long after, was very seriously handled in his body; and the same night of the day of assize the said John Langley died. Mr. Robert Throgmorton, of Bramp-

ton, also said, that at Huntingdon and other places, he having given very rough language to the said Mother Samwell, on Friday, the tenth day following, one of his beasts, of two years old, died, and another the Sunday following. The next Friday after, a hog died, and the Sunday following, a sow which had sucking pigs died also; upon which he was advised, the next thing that died, to make a hole in the ground, and burn it. On Friday, the fourth week following, he had a fair cow, worth four marks, died likewise, and his servants made a hole accordingly, and threw faggots and sticks on her, and burnt her, and after, all his cattle did well. As to the last matter, Mother Samwell being examined the night before her execution, she confessed the bewitching of the said cattle. Then the jailer of Huntingdon gave his evidence, that a man of his, finding Mother Samwell was unruly whilst she was a prisoner, chained her to a bed-post, and not long after he fell sick, and was handled much as the children were, heaving up and down his body, shaking his arms, legs, and head, having more strength in his fits than any two men had, and crying out of Mother Samwell, saying she bewitched him, and continuing thus five or six days, died. And the jailer said, that not long after one of his sons fell sick, and was much as his servant was, whereupon the jailer brought Mother Samwell to his bedside, and held her till his son had scratched her, and upon that he soon mended."

When judgment of death was pronounced against her, the old woman, a miserable wretch of sixty years of age, scarcely knowing what she was doing or saying, pleaded in arrest of judgment that she was with child, a plea which only produced a laugh of derision. She confessed to whatever was put in her mouth. The husband and daughter asserted their innocence to the last. They were all hanged, and the historian of this strange event assures us that from that moment Robert Throgmorton's children were permanently freed from all their sufferings. In memory of the conviction and punishment of the witches of Warboys, Sir Henry Cromwell, as lord of the manor, gave a certain sum of money to the town to provide annually the sum of forty shillings to be paid for a sermon against witchcraft, to be preached by a member of Queen's college, Cambridge, in Warboys church, on Lady day, every year. I have not ascertained if this sermon is still continued.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE POETRY OF WITCHCRAFT.

THE case described in the foregoing chapter gives us a very good notion of the general form of witchcraft in England during the reign of Elizabeth, and shows us how universally it then received credit from persons of rank. It shows, however, a slowness, probably an unwillingness, to prosecute, which proves that the persecution of the witches was not as yet so general in this country as in others.

In England, indeed, the crime of witchcraft appears to have attracted less public attention than in other countries during the fifteenth and earlier part of the sixteenth centuries. During the former period, however, we have several instances in which, as in Scotland, charges of this nature were adopted as means of political revenge. In the reign of Henry VI. (A. D. 1441) it was made one of the chief accusations against the duchess of Gloucester, the wife of the "good duke Humphry," that she had employed a miserable woman known to fame as the witch of Eye, and a "clerk" named Roger, to effect the king's death by means of sorcery. The witch was burnt in Smithfield; the sorcerer "was brought into Poules (*to St. Paul's*), and there he stood up on high on a scaffold ageyn Poulys cross on a Sunday, and there he was arraied like as he schulde never the (*thrive*) in his garnementys, and there was honged rounde aboute hym alle his instrumentis whiche were taken with hym, and so shewyd among all the peple," and he was eventually hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor; the duchess was committed to perpetual imprisonment. In Shakspere the sorcerers are made to raise a spirit in a circle, who answers to their questions concerning the fate of the king and his favorites. In the reign of Edward IV. a political party spread abroad a report that the marriage of the king with the lady Elizabeth Gray was the result of witchcraft employed by the lady's mother, the duchess of Bedford. The plot was at the moment successfully exposed, and one "Thomas Wake, esquier," was proved "to have caused to be brought to Warrewyk . . . an image of lede made lyke a man of armes, contaynyng the lengthe of a mannes fynger, and broken

in the myddes, and made fast with a wyre," asserting that it was made by the duchess "to use with the said witchcraft and sorsery;" yet the story appears to have been believed by many, and at the commencement of the reign of Richard III. it was revived as one of the grounds for condemning the marriage in question and bastardizing the children. In this last reign the same crime of sorcery formed part of the charges brought against the queen's kinsmen, as well as against the frail and unfortunate Jane Shore, and subsequently against Archbishop Morton and other adherents of the duke of Richmond. The great dramatist has made Richard accuse Queen Elizabeth and Jane Shore of a plot against his own person—

> "Look how I am bewitched; behold mine arm
> Is, like a blasted sapling, withered up;
> And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch,
> Consorted with that harlot, strumpet Shore,
> That by their witchcraft thus have marked me."

The first act in the statute-book against sorcery and witchcraft, was passed in the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VIII. A. D. 1541, whereby this supposed crime was made felony without benefit of clergy. It had probably then been pushed into more prominent notice by some remarkable occurrence now forgotten. Six years after, in 1547, when the power was entirely in the hands of the religious reformers under Edward VI., his father's law against witchcraft was repealed. Under Elizabeth, in 1562, a new act was passed against witchcraft, punishing the first conviction only with exposure in the pillory. During the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, prosecutions for witchcraft seem to have become numerous in various parts of the country, and the infection was spread by the number of printed pamphlets to which they gave rise, and of which many are still preserved. Among these are accounts of a witch hanged at Barking in 1575; of four executed at Abingdon in 1579; of three at Chelmsford and two at Cambridge in the same year; of a number of witches tried and condemned at St. Osythe's, in 1582; of one at Stanmore, and of another hanged at Tyburn, both in 1585; of three at Chelmsford in 1589; of the three at Warboys in 1593; of three at Barnet and Brainford in 1595; and of several in the counties of Derby and Stafford in 1597. The frequency of such accusations at this period, and the number of persons who were on such slight pretexts brought to an ignominious death, made witchcraft a subject of discussion, and the principles of moderation, which had been espoused by Wierus on the continent, found enlightened advocates in this country. In

1584, Reginald Scott published his "Discovery of Witchcraft," in which he exposed the absurdity of the charges brought against this class of offenders, and the weakness of the evidence on which they were usually convicted. Scott's book is one of the most valuable works we have on the superstitions prevalent in England at this time, but, like most other old works, it is compiled, in a great degree, from foreign authorities. The county of Essex had been especially haunted by witches, and an intelligent and noted preacher of Maldon, George Giffard, who belonged in some measure to the same school as Scott, published, in 1587, "A Discourse of the Subtill Practices of Devilles by Witches and Sorcerers;" and, in 1593, the public received, from the same writer, "A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraft," of which another edition was printed in 1603. This latter edition of a very curious book has been reprinted by the Percy Society.

English witchcraft, at this time, seems to have been entirely free from the romantic incidents which formed so striking a characteristic of the popular creed in other countries. We have no voyages out to sea in sieves; no witches' sabbaths; not even any direct compact with the fiend. The witches are the mere victims of their own vindictive feeling, and find ready instruments in certain imps, of a very equivocal character, to wreak their malice on man or beast. These imps are represented as appearing in the form of small animals—generally those which come under the repulsive title of vermin—or cats, and they serve merely in return for their food. They bear undignified names, like Tyffin, Piggin, Titty, Jack, Tom, and the like. Mother Samwell, the witch of Warboys, confessed that she had nine spirits or imps, given her by an old man, and that three of them (cousins to each other) were named each of them Smack: the names of the others being Pluck, Blue, Catch, White, Calicut, and Hardname. One of the women arraigned at Chelmsford, in 1579, was accused by her own son (a child of eight years of age, who was examined in court as a witness against his mother), of keeping three spirits; one, which she called Great Dick, was enclosed in a wicker bottle; the second, named Little Dick, was placed in a leather bottle; and the third, which went by the name of Willet, was kept in a woolpack. "And thereupon the house was commaunded to be searched. The bottles and packe were found, but the spirites were vanished awaie." One of the witches of St. Osythe's had been heard to talk in her house when she was known to be alone, and it was at once judged that she

then held conversation with her imps. A witness in this trial deposed, that on calling one of the accused, and finding her not at home, she looked in through the chamber window, and there "espied a spirite to looke out of a potcharde from under a clothe, the nose thereof beeing browne like unto a ferret." These imps were represented as usually making a voluntary offer of their services, although they sometimes persecuted their victims until they made use of them. One of the Chelmsford witches was going from the door of a man who had refused to give her yeast for her bread, when she was met by a dog which undertook to revenge her on the man who had driven her away empty-handed. The imps were often transferred from one person to another.

One witch, mentioned in Griffith's "Dialogue," confessed before a justice that she had three spirits: one like a cat, which she called Lightfoot; another like a toad which she called Lunch; and a third like a weazel, which she called Makeshift. She said that one Mother Barlie sold her Lightfoot about sixteen years before, in exchange for an ovencake, and "told her the cat would do her good service; if she would, she might send her of her errand; this cat was with her but a while; but the weazel and toad came and offered their services. The cat would kill kine, the weazel would kill horses, the toad would plague men in their bodies." Another witch had a spirit in the likeness of a yellow dun cat, which first came to her, she said, as she sat by the fire, when she had fallen out with a neighbor of hers, and wished the vengeance of God might fall on him and his. "The cat bade her not be afraid, she would do her no harm, she had served a dame five years in Kent, that was now dead, and if she would, she would be her servant. 'And whereas,' said the cat, 'such a man hath misused thee, if thou wilt I will plague him in his cattle.' She sent the cat, which killed three hogs and one cow." Another woman confessed "that she had a spirit which did abide in a hollow tree, where was a hole, out of which he spake unto her. And ever when she was offended with any, she went to that tree and sent him to kill their cattle." The writer above quoted, tell us that, "there was one Mother W., of Great T., which had a spirit like a weazel; she was offended highly with one H. M.; home she went, and called forth her spirit, which lay in a pot of wool under her bed; she willed him to go and plague the man. He required what she would give him, and he would kill H. M. She said she would give him a cock, which she did, and he went, and the man fell sick with a great pain in his belly, languished, and died."

Such is the general picture of the vulgar and unimaginative sorcery-creed of England in the reign of good Queen Bess. It was extended and imprinted still more deeply on people's minds by a class of designing people who profited by their credulity, and set up to be what were called "white witches." These people pretended to be masters or mistresses of the sorcerer's art, and by some mysterious means to know when people were bewitched, who was the witch, and how by their charms to counteract her evil influence. Many who had experienced losses, or who labored under disease, repaired to such persons as these, and they hesitated not to charge their misfortunes to any poor, aged, and defenceless woman in their neighborhood. Sometimes they showed them the witch in a magical glass; at other times, they instructed them in certain charms and other processes which would make the witches come and show themselves. The remedies of the white witch were generally of a ridiculous character, but the popular credulity of the age was open to every kind of deception.

The efforts of Reginald Scott and George Giffard, were rendered ineffectual by the accession of James of Scotland to the English throne, who passed a new and severe law against witch craft, in which it now became almost a crime to disbelieve. We are told that King James carried his hostility to the writings of Scott to the length of causing his "Discovery of Witchcraft" to be burnt whenever he had an opportunity.

It was under the influence of this reign that witchcraft not only became a subject of deep public attention, but that it came into especial favor among the poets. The vulgar form under which it had shown itself in the preceding reign would lead us to look for anything rather than the poetry of witchcraft; but in the wilder legends of France and Scotland, there were many traits of a highly imaginative and romantic character, which made the witches no unfit instruments of supernatural agency in the conceptions of the poet. Nature's own bard seems to have been the first who called in this new agency to his aid; and he clothed it with new attributes which appear to show an acquaintance with the ancient popular mythology of the northern people. The three witches in Macbeth appear as the weird sisters or fates of the Scandinavian mythology, fixing and watching the fate of individuals in the hour of battle; and almost in the same breath they answer the calls of their familiar imps, like the witches of Elizabeth's time.

1st Witch. When shall we three meet again,
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?
2d Witch. When the hurly-burly's done,
When the battle's lost and won.
3d Witch. That will be ere set of sun.
1st Witch. Where's the place?
2d Witch. Upon the heath.
3d Witch. There to meet with Macbeth.
1st Witch. I come, Graymalkin!
All. Paddock calls.—Anon!

On their second appearance, the three witches have been employed in occupations perfectly in agreement with their popular character.

1st Witch. Where hast thou been, sister?
2d Witch. Killing swine.
3d Witch. Sister, where thou?
1st Witch. A sailor's wife had chestnuts in her lap,
And mounched, and mounched, and mounched.
Give me, quoth I.
Aroint thee, witch! the rump-fed ronyon cries.
Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the Tiger;
But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
And like a cat without a tail,
I'll do. I'll do, and I'll do.

When they next come on the scene, we find that they have a superior, to whom Shakspere gives the classic name of Hecate, and by whose permission it appears that they exercise their arts. Hecate meets the three witches—

1st Witch. Why, how now, Hecate? you look angrily.
Hec. Have I not reason, beldames as you are,
Saucy and over-bold? How did you dare
To trade and traffic with Macbeth,
In riddles, and affairs of death;
And I, the mistress of your charms,
The close contriver of all harms,
Was never called to bear my part,
Or show the glory of our art?

Even Hecate, in the conclusion, confesses to having a familiar, to whose call she obeys.

Hark, I am called; my little spirit, see,
Sits in a foggy cloud, and stays for me.

Their place of abode is a dark cave, where they mix, in their magic caldron, the horrible and loathsome ingredients of their charms.

Middleton, Shakspere's contemporary, whose witch-poetry he appears to have imitated, has left a play, entitled "The Witch." Here again the abode of Hecate is a cave, and the boiling caldron figures in it, but the mystic triad of the witches is changed

to an indefinite number, four of whom bear the names of Stadlin, Hoppo, Hellwain, and Puckle; and their familiars are called Tetty, Tiffin, Suckin, Pidgen, Liard, and Robin. It is evident from this, and several other circumstances, that Middleton had been studying Reginald Scott, and the witch trials of the preceding reign. In Middleton, the witches require an ointment (like the witches of the continent) to transfer themselves to a distance. The airiness of Shakspere's creations has totally disappeared.

Hec. Here, take this unbaptized brat;
(Giving the dead body of a child.)
Boil it well; preserve the fat;
You know 't is precious to transfer
Our 'nointed flesh into the air,
In moonlight nights, on steeple-tops,
Mountains, and pine-trees, that like pricks or stops
Seem to our height; high towers and roofs of princes
Like wrinkles in the earth: whole provinces
Appear to our sight then even leek *(like)*
A russet mole upon a lady's cheek.
When hundred leagues in air, we feast and sing,
Dance, kiss, and cuil, use everything;
What young man can we wish to pleasure us,
But we enjoy him in an incubus?

We can not but feel the degradation of the classic Hecate, when reduced to a vulgar witch, and revenging herself on those who had denied her trifling suits:—

Hec. Is the heart of wax
Stuck full of magic needles?
Stadlin. 'T is done, Hecate.
Hec. And is the farmer's picture and his wife's
Laid down to the fire yet?
Stad. They 're a roasting both too.
Hec. Good! *(exit Stadlin.)* Then their marrows are a-melting subtly,
And three months' sickness sucks up life in 'em.
They denied me often flour, bacon, and milk,
Goose-grease, and tar, when I ne'er hurt their churnings,
Their brew-locks, nor their batches, nor forespoke
Any of their breedings. Now, I'll be meet with 'em:
Seven of their young pigs I've bewitched already,
Of the last litter;
Nine ducklings, thirteen goslings, and a hog,
Fell lame last Sunday after even-song, too;
And mark how their sheep prosper, or what sup
Each milch kine gives to the pail; I 'll send three snakes
Shall milk 'em all
Beforehand; the dew-skirted dairy-wenches
Shall stroke dry dugs for this, and go home cursing.
I 'll mar their syllabubs and swathy feastings
Under cows' bellies with the parish youths.

Hecate, in Middleton's play, has a son named Firestone, who wishes his mother dead that he may have her property; and she

foreknows that her death will happen that day three years at midnight. The next time we are introduced, the witches meet in a field by moonlight, prepared to take their accustomed flight; and among the rest, Hecate ascends with her familiar imp:—

Hec. Now I go, now I fly,
Malkin, my sweet spirit, and I,
O what a dainty pleasure 't is
To ride in the air
When the moon shines fair,
And sing and dance, and toy and kiss
Over woods, high rocks, and mountains,
Over seas, our mistress' fountains,
Over steep towers and turrets,
We fly by night, 'mongst troops of spirits.
No ring of bells to our ears sounds,
No howls of wolves, no yelps of hounds;
No, not the noise of water's breach,
Or cannon's throat, our height can reach.

The allusions to the great assemblies of the witches become, it will be seen, stronger and stronger; but it was left to the genius of Goethe to bring on the scene all the marvels and all the abominations of the witches' sabbath.

In the Tempest, the spiritual part of the plot is more delicately imaginative. Prospero is the magician in his most refined character—a kind of transcendental Dr. Dee; and Ariel is a spirit that has been brought under the witches' power—not a diabolical imp, but one of the fairies or good people, a class we have already seen figuring in the witchcraft cases in Scotland, and which we shall now find under the same circumstances in South Britain.

Hast thou forgot
The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and envy
Wast grown into a hoop? hast thou forgot her?
. . . . . This damned witch Sycorax,
For mischiefs manifold, and sorceries terrible
To enter human hearing, from Argier,
Thou knowst, was banished; for one thing she did,
They would not take her life. . . . .
This blue-eyed hag was hither brought with child,
And here was left by the sailors: thou, my slave,
As thou reportst thyself, wast then her servant:
And, for thou wast a spirit too delicate
To act her earthy and abhorred commands,
Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
By help of her more potent ministers,
And in her most unmitigable rage,
Into a cloven pine; within which rift
Imprisoned, thou didst painfully remain
A dozen years; within which space she died,
And left thee there; where thou didst vent thy groans.
As fast as mill-wheels strike. Then was this island
(Save for the son that she did litter there,

A freckled whelp, hag-born) not honored with
A human shape.

An uuknown dramatist, contemporary with Shakspere and Middleton, brought on the stage the popular character of the magician, in the play of the Merry Devils of Edmonton.*

"Rare" Ben. Jonson completes the trio of contemporary witchcraft-poets, and a glorious trio it was. Jonson descends entirely to the supposed realities of the day. The witches in his "Masque of Queens," performed before King James, hold a conventicle like those of Lothian, with whose practices his majesty was so thoroughly conversant; and the poet has in the margin substantiated almost every word by a mass of learned quotations from Bodinus, and Elich, and Remigius, and Delrio, and a whole host of foreign writers on the subject of demonology. Eleven witches appear at their place of meeting, and finding that the one chosen for their president or "dame" is not arrived, they join in calling her up:—

The weather is fair, the wind is good,
Up, dame, on your horse of wood:
Or else tuck up your gray frock,
And saddle your goat, or your green cock,
And make his bridle a bottom of thread,
To roll up how many miles you have rid.
Quickly come away;
For we all stay.

"Of the green cock," says Jonson, "we have no other ground (to confess ingenuously) than a vulgar fable of a witch, that with a cock of that color, and a bottom of blue thread, would transport herself through the air; and so escaped (at the time of her being brought to execution) from the hand of justice. It was a tale when I went to school."

This is a solitary tradition of the Elizabethan witches, which is worth whole pages of the information contained in the printed accounts of their trials. After three invocations in the above style, the "dame" makes her appearance, and they then relate to one another the evil deeds in which they have been employed. One had been gathering the mandrake—a plant of superstition, and a powerful ingredient in their charms:—

I last night lay all alone
On the ground, to hear the mandrake groan;
And plucked him up, though he grew full low;
And, as I had done, the cock did crow.

* It may be observed that the legend of Peter Fabel of Edmonton, on which this play was founded, was evidently identical with a German popular story, which was turned into English verse under the title of "The Smith of Apolda," and was published in England in a periodical entitled "The Original," and reprinted in Mr. Thoms' "Lays and Legends of Germany."

Another had smothered an infant in its cradle :—

> Under a cradle I did creep,
> By day; and when the child was asleep
> At night, I sucked the breath, and rose,
> And plucked the nodding nurse by the nose.

Another had obtained the fat of an unbaptized and base-born child, which, as we have seen, was a principal ingredient in the ointment that enabled them to pass through the air to the place of their meeting :—

> I had a dagger, what did I with that?
> Killed an infant to have his fat,
> A piper it got at a church ale.

Having produced their ingredients, the witches commenced their charms and incantations, the object of which appears to be to produce a storm. This seems to have been intended to remind the king of the tempests which he believed the Scottish witches had raised to obstruct him on his return from Denmark a few years before. The whole concludes with a dance, "full of preposterous change and gesticulation."

The most pleasing composition of this age, in which the agency of witchcraft is introduced, is Ben. Jonson's unfinished drama of the "Sad Shepherd." The witch here transforms herself first into a raven, then into Maid Marian, and in the sequel it seems that she was to take the form of a hare and be so hunted. These changes she appears to have effected by means of a magic girdle :—

> But hear ye, Douce, because ye may meet me
> In many shapes to-day, where'er you spy
> This browdered belt, with characters, 'tis I.
> A Gypsan lady, and a right beldame,
> Wrought it by moonshine for me, and starlight,
> Upon your grannam's grave, that very night
> We earthed her in the shades; when our dame Hecate
> Made it her gaing night over the kirk-yard,
> With all the barkand parish tikes set at her,
> While I sat whyrland of my brazen spindle;
> At every twisted thrid my rock let fly
> Unto the sewster, who did sit me nigh,
> Under the town turnpike, which ran each spell
> She stitched in the work, and knit it well.

The Egyptians, or gypsies, occur elsewhere as agents in witchcraft. It may also be observed, that the witch spoken of appears here much in the same character as in Shakspere and Middleton. Jonson's description of the witch's place of resort is extremely elegant.

> Within a gloomy dimble she doth dwell,
> Down in a pit, o'ergrown with brakes and briers,

Close by the ruins of a shaken abbey,
Torn with an earthquake down unto the ground,
'Mongst graves and grots near an old charnel-house,
Where you shall find her sitting in her fourm,
As fearful and melancholic as that
She is about; with caterpillars' kells,
And knotty cobwebs, rounded in with spells.
Thence she steals forth to relief in the fogs,
And rotten mists, upon the fens and bogs,
Down to the drowned lands of Lincolnshire;
To make ewes cast their lambs, swine eat their farrow,
The housewives' tun not work, nor the milk churn!
Writhe children's wrists, and suck their breath in sleep,
Get vials of their blood! and where the sea
Casts up his slimy ooze, search for a weed
To open locks with, and to rivet charms,
Planted about her in the wicked feat
Of all her mischiefs, which are manifold.

* * * * *

There, in the stocks of trees, white faies do dwell,
And span-long elves that dance about a pool,
With each a little changeling in their arms!
There airy spirits play with falling stars,
And mount the sphere of fire to kiss the moon!
While she sits reading by the glow-worm's light,
Or rotten-wood, o'er which the worm hath crept,
The baneful schedule of her nocent charms,
And binding characters through which she wounds
Her puppets, the sigilla of her witchcraft.

It became now a kind of fashion to introduce witches upon the stage, and many dramas were produced in which sorcery formed a part of the plot. Few of these have been preserved, or, at least, are known to exist. None of their writers attempted, like Shakspere, to spiritualize the character; they merely proposed, like their descendants of the present age, to profit by the mania of the day, and, picturing witches as they were, or as they were supposed to be, held them up to the public odium. One play still existing, "The Witch of Edmonton," is said to be the joint efforts of several authors (among whom is enumerated, perhaps falsely, the dramatist Ford); it is founded on the trial and execution of a witch of that place, named Elizabeth Sawyer, in 1622, and its object seems to have been to show that old women were often driven to their presumed compact with the devil by persecution. "Mother Sawyer" is introduced gathering sticks in a wood, and soliloquizing on her misery:—

And why on me? why should the envious world
Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?
'Cause I am poor, deform'd, and ignorant,
And like a bow buckled and bent together,
By some, more strong in mischiefs than myself,
Must I for that be made a common sink
For all the filth and rubbish of men's tongues
To fall and run into? Some call me witch,

And, being ignorant of myself, they go
About to teach me how to be one; urging,
That my bad tongue (by their bad usage made so)
Forespeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,
Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse.
This they enforce upon me; and in part
Make one to credit it.

After being interrupted by the entrance of a party of countrymen who insult her, she continues:—

I am shunned
And hated like a sickness; made a scorn
To all degrees and sexes. I have heard old beldames
Talk of familiars in the shape of mice,
Rats, ferrets, weasels, and I wot not what,
That have appeared, and sucked, some say, their blood;
But by what means they came acquainted with them,
I am now ignorant. Would some power, good or bad,
Instruct me which way I might be revenged
Upon this churl, I'd go out of myself,
And give this fury leave to dwell within
This ruined cottage, ready to fall with age;
Abjure all goodness; be at hate with prayer;
And study curses, imprecations,
Blasphemous speeches, oaths, detested oaths,
On anything that's ill; so I might work
Revenge upon this miser, this black cur,
That barks, and bites, and sucks the very blood
Of me, and of my credit. 'T is all one,
To be a witch as to be counted one.

While she is in this temper, the demon appears in the shape of a black dog, and finds little difficulty in seducing her to his purposes.

A few years after the occurrence which furnished the plot of the piece just described, the witches of Lancashire were brought on the stage in a similar manner in the joint production of Heywood and Brome. But there is less of the "poetry" of witchcraft in this play, than in one on the same subject composed above half a century later by Thomas Shadwell, and certainly not one of the worst of the compositions of this dramatist. Shadwell professedly collected the materials for his witchcraft creations out of the writings of the "witch-mongers," as he calls them, and he has turned into verse the qualities which had previous to his time been imputed to the witches of various countries and times.

The poetry of witchcraft forms a marked point of division between the English superstitions of the sixteenth century and those of the seventeenth. The learned credulity of James I., and the influence of Scottish prejudices, had a fatal effect upon that and the following age. But our sorcery creed of the sev-

enteenth century contained so much adopted from the recitals of foreign writers, that it will be necessary to turn from it awhile until we have passed the channel to pay our respects to the sorcerers of France.

CHAPTER XV.

WITCHCRAFT IN FRANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

In England, as we have seen, the popular creed with regard to witchcraft was neither elaborate nor perfect, while on the continent, it had been assuming a form far more systematic and complete than that which it presented at an earlier period. This arose on one side from the decrees of ecclesiastical councils, which tended more than anything else to impress on people's minds the conviction of its truth, and on the other from the numerous treatises of learned men who undertook to arrange and discuss the various statements put into, rather than extracted from, the mouths of the innumerable victims to the superstition of the age. This also tended not a little to reduce to one mode the popular belief of different countries, and we shall thus find that throughout the sixteenth century the sorcery-creeds of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, scarcely differ from each other, and we may fairly take the first as a type of them all.

During the earlier part of the sixteenth century, trials for witchcraft in France are of rare occurrence, and there are no cases of great importance recorded till after the year 1560. In 1561, a number of persons were brought to trial at Vernon, accused of having held their sabbath as witches in an old ruined castle, in the shape of cats; and witnesses deposed to having seen the assembly, and to having suffered from the attacks of the pseudo-feline conspirators. But the court threw out the charge, as worthy only of ridicule. In 1564, three men and a woman were executed at Poitiers, after having been made to confess to various acts of sorcery; among other things, they said that they had regularly attended the witches' sabbath, which was held three times a year, and that the demon who presided at it, ended by burning himself to make powder for the use of his agents in mischief. In 1571, a mere conjurer, who played tricks upon cards, was thrown into prison in Paris, forced to confess that he was an at-

tendant on the sabbath, and then executed. In 1573, a man who was burnt at Drôle, on the charge of having changed himself into a wolf, and in that form devoured several children. Several witches, who all confessed to having been at the sabbaths, were in the same year condemned to be burnt in different parts of France. In 1578, another man was tried and condemned in Paris for changing himself into a wolf; and a man was condemned at Orleans for the same supposed crime in 1583. As France was often infested by these rapacious animals, it is not difficult to conceive how popular credulity was led to connect their ravages with the crime of witchcraft. The belief in what were in England called *war-wolves* (men-wolves), and in France *loups-garous*, was a very ancient superstition throughout Europe. It is asserted by a serious and intelligent writer of the time that, in 1588, a gentleman, looking out of the window of his chateau in a village two leagues from Apchon, in the mountains of Auvergne, saw one of his acquaintance going a hunting, and begged he would bring him home some game. The hunter, while occupied in the chase, was attacked by a fierce she-wolf, and, after having fired at it without effect, struck at it with his hunting-knife, and cut off the paw of its right fore-leg, on which it immediately took to flight. The hunter took up the paw, threw it into his bag with the rest of his game, and soon afterward returned to his friend's chateau, and told him of his adventure, at the same time putting his hand into the bag to bring forth the wolf's paw in confirmation of his story. What was his surprise at drawing out a lady's hand, with a gold ring on one finger! His friend's astonishment was still greater when he recognised the ring as one which he had given to his own wife; and, descending hastily into the kitchen, he found the lady warming herself by the fire, with her right arm wrapped in her apron. This he at once seized, and found to his horror that the hand was cut off. The lady confessed that it was she who, in the form of a wolf, had attacked the hunter; she was, in due course of time, brought to her trial and condemned, and was immediately afterward burnt at Rioms.

In 1578, a witch was burnt at Compiègne; she confessed that she had given herself to the devil, who appeared to her as a great black man, on horseback, booted and spurred. Another avowed witch was burnt the same year, who also stated that the evil one came to her in the shape of a black man. In 1582 and 1583, several witches were burnt, all frequenters of the sabbaths. Several local councils at this date passed severe laws against

witchcraft, and from that time to the end of the century, the number of miserable persons put to death in France under the accusation was very great. In the course only of fifteen years, from 1580 to 1595, and only in one province, that of Lorraine, the president Remigius burnt nine hundred witches, and as many more fled out of the country to save their lives; and about the close of the century, one of the French judges tells us that the crime of witchcraft had become so common, that there were not jails enough to hold the prisoners, or judges to hear their causes. A trial which he had witnessed in 1568, induced Jean Bodin, a learned physician, to compose his book "De la Demonomanie des Sorceiers," which was ever afterward the text-book on this subject.

Among the English witches, the evil one generally came in person to seduce his victims, but in France and other countries, this seems to have been unnecessary, as each person, when once initiated, became seized with an uncontrollable desire of making converts, whom he or she carried to the sabbath to be duly enrolled. Bodin says, that one witch was enough to corrupt five hundred honest persons. The infection quickly ran through a family, and was generally carried down from generation to generation, which explained satisfactorily, according to the learned commentator on demonology just mentioned, the extent to which the evil had spread itself in his days. The novice, at his or her reception, after having performed the preliminaries, and in general received a new and burlesque rite of baptism, was marked with the sign of the demon in some part of the body least exposed to observation, and performed the first criminal act of compliance which was afterward to be so frequently repeated, the evil one presenting himself on these occasions in the form of either sex, according to that of the victim.

The sabbath was generally held in some wild and solitary spot, often in the midst of forests or on the heights of mountains, at a great distance from the residence of most of the visiters. The circumstances connected with it most difficult of proof, yet of no small importance in support of the truth of the confessions, was the reality and method of transport from one place to another. The witches nearly all agreed in the statement that they divested themselves of their clothes, and anointed their bodies with an ointment made for that especial purpose. They then strode across a stick, or any similar article, and, muttering a charm, were carried through the air to the place of meeting in an incredibly short space of time. Sometimes the stick was to be anoint-

ed as well as their persons. They generally left the house by the window or by the chimney, which latter, for some reason or other, was rather a favorite way of exit. Sometimes, however, the witch went out by the door, and there found a demon in the shape of a goat, or at times of some other animal, who carried her away on his back, and brought her home again after the meeting was dissolved. In the confessions extorted from them at their trials, the witches and sorcerers bore testimony to the truth of all these particulars; but those who judged them, and who wrote upon the subject, asserted that they had many other independent proofs in corroboration.

We are assured by Bodin that a man who lived at the little town of Loches, having observed that his wife frequently absented herself from the house in the night, became suspicious of her conduct, and at last by his threats obliged her to confess that she was a witch, and that she attended the sabbaths. To appease the anger of her husband, she agreed to gratify his curiosity by taking him with her to the next meeting, but she warned him on no account whatever to allow the name of God or of the Savior, to escape his lips. At the appointed time they stripped and anointed themselves, and, after uttering the necessary formula, they were suddenly transported to the *landes* of Bordeaux, at an immense distance from their own dwelling. The husband there found himself in the midst of a great assembly of both sexes in the same state of *déshabille* as himself and his wife, and in one part he saw the devil in a hideous form; but in the first moment of his surprise, he inadvertently uttered the exclamation, "*Mon Dieu! où sommes-nous*" and all disappeared as suddenly from his view, leaving him cold and naked in the middle of the fields, where he wandered till morning, when the countrymen coming to their daily occupations told him where he was, and he made his way home in the best manner he could. But he lost no time in denouncing his wife, who was brought to her trial, confessed, and was burnt.

The same thing is stated to have happened to a man at Lyons, with a similar result; and other instances are given by Bodin and contemporary writers on the same subject. In Italy, in the year 1535, a young girl of about sixteen years of age, in the duchy of Spoleto, was taken to the sabbath for the first time by her mother, who had cautioned her against making the sign of the cross. But when the damsel saw so vast a multitude of persons collected together with so much splendor, and Satan seated on a high throne, and dressed in garments of purple and gold,

she was so much astonished that, involuntarily crossing herself, she exclaimed, "*Jesu benedetto! che cosa è questa?*" The lights and the company suddenly disappeared from her sight, and she was thrown with some violence on the ground, where she recommended herself to the protection of the Virgin. Toward morning an old man and his daughter passed near the spot with an ass, and hearing a female voice in a tone of lamentation, he approached the spot, and was still more astonished to find a young maiden in a state of nudity. She at once told him her story, and he gave her part of his garments to cover her, carried her home, and two or three days afterward restored her to her family, who lived at some distance from the spot where she was found, and who supposed she had been carried off by some of the many lawless depredators who then infested the country. The mother, who carried her to the sabbath, was tried as a witch, and burnt. Another learned Italian writer tells us a no less extraordinary story as having happened within his own knowledge. A man of respectability, residing at Venice, was surprised one morning to find the daughter of an old acquaintance, who lived at Bergomi, lying naked on one of his beds, near the cradle of his infant son. After being clothed and comforted, she told him that, waking in the night, she had seen her mother rise from her bed, strip, and rub her body with an ointment, and then disappear through the window. Prompted by her curiosity, she imitated all that her mother had done, when she was suddenly transported into the place where he had found her, where she beheld her mother preparing to kill the child in the cradle. Her astonishment at this sudden adventure, and the fright caused by her parent's threats, had made her cry out upon Christ and the Virgin, when her mother vanished, and she was left there in darkness. The man immediately sent a statement of this affair to the inquisitor of the district, who seized upon the girl's mother, and the latter confessed herself a witch, and said that she had frequently been urged by the evil one to destroy the child of her acquaintance.

The Italian trials of this period furnish several similar incidents. In 1524, Grillandus, one of the most eminent writers on the subject, examined a young witch at Rome, concerning whom the following evidence was given. She was returning one night from the sabbath rather later than was prudent, carried as usual on the back of her familiar, when, as they approached the town at which she lived, the church bells began to sound for matins. The demon in a fright threw her among the bushes by

the river side, and fled. At daybreak a youth of the town, whom she knew, passed near the spot, and she called to him by his name. Terrified at the unexpected call, at first he was on the point of leaving her with as little ceremony as the evil one had done, till recognising the voice he went nearer, and was not a little surprised to see the woman in such a position, with dishevelled hair, and in a state nearly approaching to nudity, and asked her how she came there. She replied, in evident confusion, that she was seeking her ass. The young man observed that it was not usual to go in such a pursuit in the state in which she then appeared, and insisted upon a more probable account of her adventure before he would lend her any assistance; and, after he had solemnly promised to keep the secret, she confessed the truth, and she subsequently gave him more substantial rewards for his silence. After a while, however, he incautiously spoke of it to one or two of his friends, and it began to be rumored abroad, until it reached the ears of the inquisitioners. Then the woman was thrown into prison, and her confidant was brought forward, and obliged to depose against her.

With statements like these, sent abroad under the hand of men of known learning and station in society, it is not to be wondered at if men's minds became irrevocably entangled in superstition.

As the witches generally went from their beds at night to the meetings, leaving their husbands and family behind them, it may seem extraordinary that their absence was not more frequently perceived. They had, however, a method of providing against this danger, by casting a drowsiness over those who might be witnesses, and by placing in their bed an image which, to all outward appearance, bore an exact resemblance to themselves, although in reality it was nothing more than a besom or some other similar article. But the belief was also inculcated that the witches did not always go in body to the sabbath—that they were present only in spirit, while their body remained in bed. Some of the more rationalizing writers on witchcraft taught that this was the only manner in which they were ever carried to the sabbaths, and various instances are deposed to, where that was manifestly the case. The president De la Touretta told Bodin that he had examined a witch, who was subsequently burnt in Dauphiné, and who had been carried to the sabbath in this manner. Her master one night found her stretched on the floor before the fire in a state of insensibility, and imagined her to be dead. In his attempts to rouse her, he first beat her body with

great severity, and then applied fire to the more sensitive parts, which being without effect, he left her in the belief that she had died suddenly. His astonishment was great when in the morning he found her in her own bed, in an evident state of great suffering. When he asked what ailed her, her only answer was, "*Ha! mon maistre, tant m'avez batue!*" When further pressed, however, she confessed that during the time her body lay in a state of insensibility, she had been herself to the witches' sabbath, and upon this avowal she was committed to prison. Bodin further informs us that at Bordeaux, in 1571, an old woman, who was condemned to the fire for witchcraft, had confessed that she was transported to the sabbath in this manner. One of her judges, the maître-des-requêtes, who was personally known to Bodin, while she was under examination, pressed her to show how this was effected, and released her from her fetters for that purpose. She rubbed herself in different parts of the body with "a certain grease," and immediately became stiff and insensible, and, to all appearance, dead. She remained in this state about five hours, and then as quickly revived, and told her inquisitors a great number of extraordinary things, which showed that she must have been spiritually transported to far distant places. Thus testifieth Jean Bodin.

The description of the sabbath given by the witches differed only in slight particulars of detail; for their examinations were all carried on upon one model and measure—a veritable bed of Procrustes, and equally fatal to those who were placed upon it. The sabbath was, in general, an immense assemblage of witches and demons, sometimes from distant parts of the earth, at others only from the province or district in which it was held. On arriving, the visiters performed their homage to the evil one with unseemly ceremonies, and presented their new converts. They then gave an account of all the mischief they had done since the last meeting. Those who had neglected to do evil, or who had so far overlooked themselves as to do good, were treated with disdain, or severely punished. Several of the victims of the French courts in the latter part of this century confessed that, having been unwilling or unable to fulfil the commands of the evil one, when they appeared at the sabbath he had beaten them in the most cruel manner. He took one woman, who had refused to bewitch her neighbor's daughter, and threatened to drown her in the Moselle. Others were plagued in their bodies, or by destruction of their property. Some were punished for their irregular attendance at the sabbath; and one or two, for

slighter offences, were condemned to walk home from the sabbath instead of being carried through the air. Those, on the other hand, who had exerted most of their mischievous propensities were highly honored at the sabbath, and often rewarded with gifts of money, &c. After this examination was passed, the demon distributed among his worshippers, unguents, powders, and other articles for the perpetration of evil.

It appears, also, that the witches were expected, at least o a year, to bring an offering to their master. This circumsta was certainly derived from the earlier popular superstitions; offerings to demons are mentioned frequently in the early German and Anglo-Saxon laws against paganism, and the reader will remember the nine red cocks and nine peacocks' eyes offered by the Lady Alice Kyteler. A French witch, executed in 1580, confessed that some of her companions offered a sheep or a heifer: and another, executed the following year, stated that animals of a black color were most acceptable. A third, executed at Gerbeville in 1585, declared that no one was exempt from this offering, and that the poorer sort offered a hen or a chicken, and some even a lock of their hair, a little bird, or any trifle they could put their hands upon. Severe punishments followed the neglect of this ceremony. In many instances, according to the confessions of the witches, beside their direct worship of the devil, they were obliged to show their abhorrence of the faith they had deserted by trampling on the cross, and blaspheming the saints, and by other profanations.

Before the termination of the meeting, the new witches, received their familiars, or imps, whom they generally addressed as their "little masters," although they were bound to attend at the bidding of the witches, and execute their desires. These received names, generally of a popular character, such as were given to cats, and dogs, and other pet animals, and the similarity these names bear to each other in different countries is very remarkable. Examples of English names of familiars have been given in the last chapter. In France, we have such names as Minette (that is, puss), Robin, Maistre Persil, Joly-bois, Verdelet, Saute-buisson, &c.; in Germany, the names are Ungluc (that is, misfortune), Mash-leid (mischief), Tzum-walt-vliegen (flying to the wood), Federwüch (feather-washer), and the like. The forms seem to have been generally those of animals; and they are described as speaking with a voice like that of a man with his mouth in a jug.

After all these preliminary ceremonies—or rather the business

of the meeting—had been transacted, a great banquet was laid out, and the whole company fell to eating and drinking and making merry. At times, every article of luxury was placed before them, and they feasted in the most sumptuous manner. Often, however, the meats served on the table were nothing but toads and rats, and other articles of a revolting nature. In general they had no salt, and seldom bread. But, even when best served, the money and the victuals furnished by the demons were of a most unsatisfactory character; a circumstance of which no rational explanation is given. The coin, when brought forth by open daylight, was generally found to be nothing better than dried leaves or bits of dirt; and, however greedily they may have eaten at the table, they commonly left the meeting in a state of exhaustion from hunger.

The tables were next removed, and feasting gave way to wild and uproarious dancing and revelry. The common dance, or *carole*, of the middle ages appear to have been performed by parties taking each other's hand in a circle, alternately a gentleman and a lady. This, probably the ordinary dance among the peasantry, was the one generally practised at the sabbaths of the witches, with this peculiarity, that their backs instead of their faces were turned inward. The old writers endeavor to account for this, by supposing that it was designed to prevent them from seeing and recognising each other. But this, it is clear, was not the only dance of the sabbath; perhaps more fashionable ones were introduced for witches in a better condition in society; and moralists of the succeeding age maliciously insinuate that many dances of a not very decorous character, invented by the devil himself to heat the imaginations of his victims, had subsequently been adopted by classes in society who did not frequent the sabbath. It may be observed, as a curious circumstance, that the modern waltz is first traced among the meetings of the witches and their imps! It was also confessed, in almost every case, that the dances at the sabbath produced much greater fatigue than commonly arose from such exercises. Many of the witches declared that, on their return home, they were usually unable to rise from their bed for two or three days.

Their music, also, was by no means of an ordinary character. The songs were generally obscene, or vulgar, or ridiculous. Of instruments there was considerable variety, but all partaking of the burlesque character of the proceedings. Some played the flute upon a stick or bone; another was seen striking a horse's skull for a lyre; there you saw them beating the drum on the

trunk of an oak, with a stick; here, others were blowing trumpets with the branches. The louder the instrument, the greater satisfaction it gave; and the dancing became wilder and wilder, until it merged into a vast scene of confusion, and ended in scenes over which, though minutely described in the old treatises on demonology, it will be better to throw a veil. The witches separated in time to reach their homes before cock-crow.

In the intervals between their meetings, the witches passed their whole time in devising and performing mischief; and to them were ascribed the storms or blights which devastated the fields, and destroyed the fruits of the earth; the loss of cattle or of property; ill-luck, diseases, and death. They thus became, among the peasantry, a hateful class; and every mouth was open to accuse them, and every hand to persecute. In these respects, and in nature of their supposed agency, the witches of France differed in no respect from those of England.

The truth of all these wondrous recitals depended, as will have been seen, entirely upon the confessions of the witches themselves, or on the accusations of others equally under arrest as criminals of the same description. When we read, in the writers of those times, the systematically-arranged directions for proceeding against criminals of this class in France, Germany, and Italy, we feel a sentiment of horror in contemplating the utter neglect of every principle of justice, and in considering that this arose from no deliberate intention of acting tyrannically, but from the mere perversion of human judgment, by the extraordinary influence of the lowest class of superstitions. It is difficult to say how far, under peculiar circumstances, the credulity of mankind may be carried. We frequently, however, observe in the most zealous writers against witchcraft, the involuntary expression of a kind of instinctive feeling of the weakness of evidence, while they are at the same time crying up for its irresistible force. In this feeling, they catch at anything that seems to offer a corroboration, with little inclination to examine critically into its truth. Popular legends, and old stories and fables, thus often raise their heads among the learnedly paraded confessions of the prisoners, and helped, no doubt, to confuse and bewilder the minds of many who entered upon the study of the theological and judicial treatises on witchcraft, with the real wish to discover the truth. It was from tales like those alluded to, current still among the peasantry in every part of the world, that they brought forward what they fondly believed were independent proofs of the accuracy of statements, which otherwise depended only upon the forced con-

fessions of criminals. From these latter, alone, the public were acquainted with the astounding details of the sabbaths. But Remigius, and other foreign writers, brought forward persons who were avowedly no witches, and who had accidentally witnessed some of the scenes, the description of which by the actors themselves, had caused so great a sensation. The wilds of the Vosges were celebrated as the scene of these midnight assemblies; in the year 1583, the popular festival of the month of May was held, as usual, in the village of Lutzei, at the foot of these mountains; and at night, one of the revellers who had come from a place called Wusenbach, at some distance in the mountains, prepared to return home, his head probably filled with the good cheer and revelry of the day. As he was wending his way through the higher part of the mountain which lay between the two villages, he was surprised by a sudden and unusual whirlwind, which the more astonished him as the night was peculiarly calm. Anxious to learn the cause of this singulnr interruption, his curiosity led him from his path, and, looking into a retired nook, he became suddenly aware of the presence of beings of no ordinary character. Six women were dancing round a table, covered with vessels of gold and silver, and tossing their heads in a wild manner; and near them was a man, seated on a black bull, and apparently enjoying the scene, on which he was quietly gazing. Of anything beyond this group, Claude Choté (for such was the man's name) was ignorant, for as he bent forward to examine them more carefully, whether he made a noise, or uttered a prayer, is not said, but the whole disappeared from his eyes. After recovering from his astonishment, Claude returned to the path, and continued his way; but he had not gone far before, like Tam O'Shanter, he found that he was closely pursued by the women he had seen dancing round the table, who came on wildly, tossing their heads about, and led by a man with a black face and eagle's claws. The latter was about to strike Claude Choté, when he had the presence of mind to draw his sword, and at the sight of the naked steel, his pursuers vanished from his sight. The women, however, again made their appearance, in a less hostile manner, accompanied by the man whom Claude had seen sitting on the black bull, whom he now recognised as a person of his acquaintance, and to whom he made a promise that he would be silent on the subject of what he had seen. His persecutors then left him, and he found that he had wandered far out of his way. After his return home he soon forgot his promise of secrecy, the story was gradually spread abroad, and Claude

was carried before a magistrate, and made a full confession, the consequence of which was, that some of the persons he had recognised in the mountains were placed under arrest, and one of the women, whose name is given, corroborated his story, differing only in this, that she said they had pursued him, not because he looked at them, but because he attempted to steal a silver goblet from the table. Remigius gives another instance, as occurring in the year 1590, in the same part of France, and, which was most extraordinary, at mid-day. A countryman was passing along a path in the woods, when, turning his looks to one side, he beheld, in an open field, a number of men and women dancing in a circle, all having their faces turned outward. This latter circumstance raised his curiosity, and, examining them more closely, he observed that among the rest were two or three men with feet of goats and oxen. Struck with sudden horror, he felt himself fixed to the spot, his legs trembled under him, and he screamed out involuntary, "Jesus, help!" The demons vanished in an instant from his sight; but, as they swept by him in rising into the air, he had just time to recognise one man as a native of his own village. The story was soon made public, the spot was visited, a circle on the grass where they had danced was distinctly visible, with here and there the marks of hoofs. The man who had been recognised was arrested, and his confession led to the discovery and punishment of several of the others, especially of the women.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the witchcraft infatuation had risen to its greatest height in France, and not only the lower classes, but persons of the highest rank in society, were liable to suspicions of dealing in sorcery. We need only mention that such charges were publicly made against King Henri III.* and Queen Catherine de Medicis, and that, early in the following century, they became the ground of state trials which had a fatal conclusion.

* The following account is taken from one of the libellous pamphlets against this monarch, published by the partisans of the Ligue, under the title of "Les Sorcelleries de Henri de Valois, et les oblations qu'il faisoit au diable dans le bois de Vincennes. Paris, 1589."

"On a trouvé dernièrement au bois de Vincennes deux satyres d'argent, de la hauteur de quatre pieds. Ils étaient audevant d'une croix d'or, au milieu de laquelle y avait enchâssé du bois de la vraie croix de notre seigneur Jésus Christ. Les politiques [that is, the moderate party] disent, que c'étaient des chandeliers. Ce qui fait croire le contraire, c'est que, dans ces vases, il n'y avoit pas d'aiguille qui passât pour y mettre un cierge ou une petite chandelle; joint qu'ils tournaient le derrière à ladite vraie croix, et que deux anges ou deux simples chandeliers y eussent été plus décens que ces satyres, estimés par les payens être des dieux des forêts, où l'on tient que les mauvais esprits se trouvent plutôt qu'en autres lieux.

CHAPTER XVI.

PIERRE DE LANCRE AND THE WITCHES OF LABOURD.

In the southwestern corner of France, stretching from the foot of the Pyrenees to the shore of the Bay of Biscay, bordering on Spain to the south, and extending northward on the flat sandy heaths of the Landes, is a small district which, from a Roman station named *Lapurdum*, that occupied the site of the present city of Bayonne, received in the middle ages the name of Labourd. The country and the people were equally wild and uncultivated, the produce of the former consisting chiefly of fruits, while the latter occupied themselves principally in fishing. It was the men of Labourd who, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, carried on the fishery at Newfoundland, and they are said to have been the first whalers. Their equivocal position between the two rival countries, France and Spain, and their alliance more by consanguinity with their Basque neighbors on the other side of the Spanish border than with the people to the north, seemed almost to put them out of the laws of either—a people separated from the rest of the world.

Their more civilized neighbors looked upon them with contempt for their primitive manners, and believed that the demon had selected the wild district they inhabited as his favorite resort. The women, deserted a great part of the year by their husbands and sons, who were out on their fishing expeditions, were more exposed to temptation than those of any other part of France, and the witches of Labourd had become proverbial. They, it was said, caused the storms which so often visited the Bay of Biscay, and when the fishermen perished in the pursuit of their adventurous calling, it was believed that the winds

Ces monstres diaboliques ont été vus par messieurs de la ville [the leaders of the ligue]. . . . Outre ces deux figures diaboliques, on a trouvé une peau d'enfant, laquelle avait été corroyée ; et sur icelle, y avait aussi plusieurs mots de sorcellerie et divers caractères. . . . Tout ce qu'il allait souvent au bois de Vincennes, n'etait que pour entendre à ses sorcelleries, et non pour prier Dieu."

Perhaps the two satyres were antiques, against which the peasantry had always a prejudice. In early times, when people dug up the Roman bronzes or sculptures, they broke them and threw them away in the belief that they were instruments of magic. It appears from Mr. Collingwood Bruce's excellent work on the Roman wall, that this feeling still exists among the peasantry of Northumberland.

which overwhelmed them were sent by their wives, who had formed other connections in their absence.

In the year 1609, the subject of sorcery occupied the attention of the parliament of Bordeaux, under whose jurisdiction this country lay, and it was resolved to attack Satan in his head-quarters by purging the district of Labourd of his worshippers. For this purpose, a royal commission was given to two *conseillers*, or judges, of the parliament, Pierre de Lancre, and the president Jean d'Espaignet, and they went to Labourd in the month of May, in the year just mentioned, armed with full authority to bring all who had been seduced by the fiend to immediate judgment. The two commissioners remained in Labourd four months, at the end of which time they were called away by other business ; but their crusade against sorcery had been an extraordinary active one, and an immense number of wretched people were sacrificed to their zeal. Pierre de Lancre, especially, became so profoundly learned in the subject of witchcraft, that after his return from this expedition, he compiled a large book on the subject, which remains as one of the most extraordinary monuments of the superstition of those ages.*

De Lancre was astonished at the multitude of sorcerers he found within the limits of the small district of Labourd,† and that a country so barren in other respects should be fertile only in servants of Satan. He attributed this to the barbarous condition of the inhabitants, to the deserted state of the women during the fishing season, and to the idle and dissolute life of the whole population during the rest of the year. He intimates that the priests were nearly as ignorant and vicious as the people, that they were the usual companions of the women during the absence of their husbands, and that, as they allowed them to assist in the services of the church, so they joined with them in that of the devil, who not only gained possession of the clergy, but even of the churches themselves, in some of which he held his meetings of witches. Thus, we are told, Labourd became the general refuge of all the demons whom the catholic missionaries had driven away from India, Japan, and other distant lands, and De Lancre gravely tells us that the English, Scotch, and other merchants, who came to purchase their wines at Bordeaux,

* Tableau de l'Inconstance des Mauvais Anges et Demons, où il est amplement traicte des Sorcies et Demons. 4to. Paris, 1612.

† Mais de voir tant de demons et mauvais esprits, et tant de sorciers et sorcieres confinez en ce pays de Labourt, qui n'est qu'un petit recoing de la France, de voir que c'est la pepiniere, et qu'en nul lieu de l'Europe, qu'on scache, il n'y a rien qui approche du nombre infiny que nous y en avons trouvé, c'est la merveille.

assured him they had seen on their voyage troops of demons in the shapes of monstrous men passing through the air to that country.

"They reckon," says De Lancre, "that there are thirty thousand souls in this country of Labourd, counting those who are at sea, and that among all this people there are a few families not affected with sorcery in some one of their members. If the number of sorcerers condemned to the fire is so great, one of them said to me one day, it will be strange if I have not a share in the cinders. Which is the cause that we see most frequently the son accuse the mother or the father, the brother the sister, the husband the wife, and sometimes the reverse. Which proximity is the cause that many heads of families, officers, and other people of quality, finding themselves entangled in it, prefer suffering the incommodity that may be in this abomination which the sorcerers hold always in some doubt among their acquaintance, than to see so many executions, gibbets, flames, and fires of people who are so near in affinity to them. We were never in want of proof; the multiplicity and the infinite number caused our horror. On our arrival they fled in troops, both by land and by sea; lower and upper Navarre and the Spanish frontier were filled with them hourly. They pretended pilgrimages to Montserrat and St. James's, or voyages to Newfoundland and elsewhere, and they raised such an alarm in Navarre and Spain, that the inquisitors came to the frontier, and wrote to us, that we would please to send them the names, age, and other marks of the fugitive sorcerers, in order that they might send them back to us, which they said they would do willingly. And we wrote back to them earnestly, that we wished them to keep them carefully, and prevent their returning, as we were more anxious to be rid of them than to get them back. It is a bad piece of furniture, which is better out of the inventory!"

It was a remarkable characteristic of this country that the witches were usually young women, and many of those tried and brought up as witnesses were mere girls. The demons were so bold, that they hardly thought it necessary to seek retired places for their meetings, but assembled sometimes in public thoroughfares. Thus they often met in the place before a church, and in the churchyard—even, at times, in the church itself. They had held sabbaths in houses in Bayonne and elsewhere. They often met near Bordeaux, at the *palais Gabienne*, as the Roman amphitheatre at that place was called. They met not unfrequently in the cemetry and in the ruined castle of St. Pé. Most of the

witches confessed that their favorite resorts were at cross-roads *(carrefours)*. There were, however, two or three principal places of meeting for the grand assemblies, and these were generally in wild and lonely situations. One of these was on the bleak summit of the mountain of La Rhune, overlooking the sea. Another was on the coast of Andaye, where some of the witches confessed they had been present, when there were at least twelve thousand persons assembled. A third was on the *landes*, at a place which was called popularly *Lane de Aquelarre*, or the lande of the goat, as that was the form in which the evil oue usually presented himself there. Marie de Naguille, a girl of sixteen years, said that her mother used to take her through the air to the sabbath, under her arm, having first anointed herself on the top of the head with an ointment; that their sabbath was held at a place in the pass of Ustaritz; and that when they separated they often went home on foot. A girl of Siboro, of the same age, named Jeannette d'Abadie, stated that four years had then passed since she was first taken to the sabbath by a woman named Gratiane. She had since become tired of this life, and had watched in the church of Siboro all night, in consequence of which the demon came and took her away by day; and that on Sunday the 13th of September, 1609, after watching all night, the evil one came and took her away at mid-day, in church-time, as she was laying asleep at home. She wore round her neck a *higa*, or amulet against fascination, which was made of leather, and represented a hand closed, the thumb passing between two of the fingers; it was an article in very common use. The demon tore this from her neck, and threw it behind the door of her chamber as they went out together.

Jeannette d'Abadie said that her conductor Gratiane often took her to Newfoundland; that they passed through the air, as though they were flying, she holding by the robe of Gratiane; and that they went in the company of other witches. At Newfoundland she saw "all sorts of people" from Labourd, who were raising storms to sink the ships and other vessels, and that they thus sunk one belonging to Marticot de Miguelcorena, of Siboro, who, being a sorcerer, helped to sink his own ship. Several women told Marie de la Ralde, a witch examined by De Lancre, that they had made the voyage to Newfoundland in this manner, and that there they perched on the mast of a vessel, because, it having been blessed, they dared not enter it; and that thence they threw powders to poison the fish which the poor mariners had spread on the beach to dry. Another witch, Marie d'Aspil-

couëtte, who lived at Andaye, said that once, when at the sabbath, she saw witches fly away in troops, and that on their return two or three hours after they boasted of their feats at Newfoundland, whither they had been conducted by the devil in the form of a youth of fifteen years of age. From numerous confessions, it appears that the favorite excursion of the witches of Labourd was to Newfoundland.

The people of Labourd were generally witches from their childhood, having been introduced at a tender age by their mother, or some other woman, who undertook to act as their *marraine*, and who was sometimes rewarded with a handful of gold by the evil one on the presentation of a new subject. Others were introduced at a more advanced age, and this seems to have been specially the case with the men. A native of the town of Nerac, named Isaac de Queyran, who was twenty-five years of age when he was put on his trial, stated that when he was a boy between ten and twelve years of age, being then in the service of an honest man near the town of La Bastide d'Armaignac, he went to procure a light from an old woman who lived near the house of his master. As he was taking a light from her fire, the old woman warned him not to stir two pots which were on it, or he would suffer for his carelessness; for, she said, they contained poisons which the "grand master" had ordered her to make. Seeing that he took an interest in what she said, she asked him if he would go to the sabbath with her, "where he would see fine things." The boy's curiosity was excited, and he returned to her in the evening, when, it being nearly dark, and his scruples overcome, she anointed one of his wrists with a grease of which he could not remember the nature or color, and he was immediately carried through the air, at no great elevation, to the spot where the sabbath was held, which was about a league from La Bastide. There he saw a number of men and women dancing and screaming, with which he was so much alarmed, that he ran away home. Next day, as he was going alone to his master's farm, he met on the road a man of large stature, and very dark, who told him that a woman assured him he (the boy) had promised to go to the sabbath, and asked him why he did not go. Isaac, in reply, asked what business it was of his to go there, on which the dark man said, "Stay, stay, and I will give thee something which will make thee come!" and at the same time he beat him with a stick over the shoulder that he felt the pain three days after. Subsequent to this, one day as he was passing over the bridge of the river near La Bastide, he again met the dark man,

who asked him if he remembered the beating he had given him, and if he would not come with him, for which purpose he appointed to meet him the same evening behind the mill near the bridge. Isaac went to the place appointed, and there he saw the dark man come with a great number of people, and he asked him if he was ready to go with them. Isaac asked where they wanted to take him; upon which the dark man took him upon his shoulders to throw him into the mill-dam and drown him, "which he would have done, but he cried out so loud, that the people came out of the mill, on which the dark man and his followers disappeared." Two days after, Isaac was keeping watch in his master's vineyard at night, when the dark man suddenly appeared, and this time he took hold of him and carried him through the air over the sands to a lande near St. Justin, a distance of about a quarter of a league. There he found more than fifty persons dancing to the sound of a tabor on which a little black devil was playing, who resembled a man only in his face, which was grim and frightful to behold. Others were eating and drinking at a table, at the head of which the dark man took his seat. They danced in a circle, holding hands, and their backs turned inward. Thus they amused themselves till the cock crowed, and then the "grand master" told them to go; and most of them were carried home through the air; but Isaac, living near, returned on foot.

Such were the stories which suggested the fancies of a Callot. Isaac de Queyran, having once commenced, went frequently to the sabbath, and continued his intercourse with the dark man till the time of De Lancre's terrible mission.

The confessions of the witches of Labourd related chiefly to their sabbath, at which they assembled very frequently. The ordinary meetings were held every Wednesday and Friday night. But besides these and a number of occasional meetings, they had general assemblies on a much more extensive scale, which were usually held at the four grand annual festivals of the church. The scenes enacted at these meetings resembled in their general features the ordinary descriptions of the sabbath in other parts, but they are described with more minuteness. The demon who presided over these meetings appeared not always in the same form. According to one confession, when the witches arrived, they found a jug in the middle of the place of meeting, out of which Satan rose in the form of a goat, which became immediately of a monstrous size, and then before they separated, he became small and shrunk again into his old receptacle. Others said they had seen him like a great trunk of a tree, with an ob-

scure visage, but without arms or feet, seated on a throne. Sometimes he appeared in the shape of a large black man, with horns, and his shape more or less definite. Some said he had two faces, one in the right place, and the other in the part more properly intended for sitting than seeing. According to others, the second face was at the back of his head. Sometimes he appeared as a dog, or as an ox. He is represented as sitting on a throne, more or less richly ornamented, and sometimes of gold. The ceremonies of worship, the feasting, the dance, and the license which followed, are described in all their particulars, in a multitude of confessions extorted by the two commissioners. According to these confessions, the children were kept apart, and were not admitted to see what was going on among their elders until they had reached a certain age.

Jeannette d'Abadie, of Siboro, whose confession has been already spoken of, described the demon as a hideous dark man with six horns on his head, and two faces. She saw there an infinite number of persons, many of whom she knew. She said that a man named Anduitze was employed at Siboro to give notice of the meetings to the sorcerers of that place; and that a little blind musician of Siboro served as their minstrel, playing on the tabor and flute. She saw sometimes little demons without arms amuse themselves at the sabbaths with lighting a great fire and throwing witches into it, and afterward drawing them out unhurt. This was by way of hardening them against the punishment which eventually awaited their crimes. This person also described the great demon who presided as burning himself to powder to be distributed among them for the purpose of doing mischief in the world. She had seen witches change themselves into wolves, dogs, cats, and other animals, by washing their hands in a certain water which they kept in a pot, and regain their natural form at pleasure. She said they were unconscious that their acts were sinful; that they went to church as well as to the sabbaths; and that many of the priests who officiated at the former accompanied them also to the latter, and shared in all their excesses. She had seen the whole assembly at the close of the sabbath proceed to the cemetery of St. Jean de Luz or of Siboro, to baptize toads, which were clothed in red or black velvet, with a bell at the neck, and another to their feet; and she had seen the dame of Martibelsarena dance at the sabbath with four toads, one dressed in black velvet with bells at its feet, and the other three unclothed; the one in clothes was on her left shoulder, another sat on her right shoulder, and the other two *perched like* birds on her wrists.

Another girl, twenty-four years of age, gave an extraordinary description of the grand sabbath. She compared it to a great fair, in which some were walking about in their own shapes, while others were transformed into dogs, cats, asses, horses, pigs, and other animals. There were three grades of assistants at this ceremony: the children, who were kept at a distance from the rest, with white twigs in their hands, tending on troops of toads that were at pasture by the side of a stream; those who were more advanced in age, but were as yet kept in a kind of noviciate, and were allowed to see everything, but not to partake; and lastly, those who were allowed unrestrained indulgence in all the amusements of the meeting. Of the latter some appeared in veils, to make the poorer sort think they were princes and great people, who were ashamed to show their faces. She pointed out one Esteben Detzail, then in prison on the same charge, as the man who usually held the basin of anything but holy water with which the initiated were sprinkled. She said that there were continually departures and new arrivals, and you might see them "fly, one into the air, another toward heaven, another toward earth, and another sometimes toward great fires that were lit here and there, like so many rockets sent into the air, or stars falling to the earth."

Many of these witches gave extraordinary accounts of the manner in which they mixed their poisons and charms. The former were preserved in pots which they buried underground, or concealed in some very unfrequented place. Some of the accused, when under examination, stated that one of their chief hiding-places was on a precipitous cliff upon the coast near the Spanish border. Next day, which was the 19th of July, 1609, the two commissioners, with a multitude of people on horse and foot, sallied forth to the place indicated, but their efforts to reach the summit of the rock were fruitless, and the only result of this demonstration was to alarm the inhabitants of Fontarabia. Next day they returned, and were more successful in climbing, but they found that the witches had carried their treasure away.

Though several witches in Labourd used a certain ointment preparatory to their voyage to the sabbath, yet this application appears not to have been absolutely necessary, as they often transported themselves thither without it. This was proved by the fact, that some of them, who were so addicted to these practices that they were tempted to persevere in them even after they had fallen into the hands of their persecutors, went to the sabbaths from their prisons, where they could obtain no unguent.

Several witnesses deposed to having met a woman named Necato at a sabbath on the coast in the direction of Fontarabia, at the time that she was known to be in prison. On another occasion, six children declared that they had been taken to a sabbath on the summit of the mountain La Rhune by a witch of Urrogne, named Marissans de Tartas, who was on that very night confined in prison. La Rhune is a lofty mountain, its base stretching into three kingdoms, France, Navarre, and Spain, and its summit seems to have been a very favorite resort of the witches of these parts. Marie de la Parque, a girl of Andaye, of the age of nineteen or twenty, and several others, deposed that they were present at a sabbath held on the top of this mountain, when a woman named Domingina Maletena, made a wager with another which could leap farthest, and that Domingina went at one leap from the top of the mountain to the sands between Andaye and Fontarabia, a distance of nearly two leagues, while her rival dropped in the town of Andaye, before the door of one of the inhabitants. The other witches flew in a crowd after them to adjudge the victory.

The witches of Labourd were known not only by marks on the body, but they had generally a diminutive mark in the left eye, described as resembling a frog's foot. Our two commissioners had with them a surgeon from Bayonne, who, from his extensive practice in examining witches, had attained to a wonderful skill in discovering their marks, and a girl of seventeen, who had an instinctive knowledge of them; they employed the surgeon to examine the old women, while the girl was employed upon the younger members of the sex. Their marks were discovered by pinching and pricking them with a pin.

We might fill a volume with the strange stories told by these Basque witches. Their alarm at the arrival of De Lancre and his companion was not without reason, for within a short time the arrests were so numerous, that it was hardly possible to provide prisons to hold them. Some of the prisoners confessed that the devil himself was terrified, and they said that he had made several attempts to kill or bewitch the two commissioners, but that he had found himself powerless against their persons.

From judging the lower orders, De Lancre and his companion proceeded to the better class, and especially to the priests, of whose character in Labourd he gives us a very low estimate. The first they arrested was an old man, a priest of Bayonne, who confessed, and was condemned to death. The execution of this man caused a great sensation at Bayonne and throughout

the whole country of Labourd. Other priests were accused and placed under arrest, and the alarm was so great, that many of the clergy fled the country, and others pretended vows to Nôtre Dame of Montserrat, as a pretext for absenting themselves. The eagerness of the clergy to leave was construed into an evidence, or at least a ground for suspicion, of their guilt. The commissioners arrested seven of the most notable in the whole country, who had charge of souls in the best parishes of Labourd, and of these two especially were notoriously criminal, Migalena, a priest of Siboro, aged nearly seventy years, and Master Pierre Bocal, of the same place, aged twenty-seven. These were both accused of burlesquing the ceremonies of the church in the devil's sabbaths, in addition to all the criminal and scoffing acts laid to the charge of the other witches. There were twenty-four witnesses who declared they had seen Migalena at the sabbaths, and seventeen who brought a similar charge against the other, so that they were both convicted and executed, but they made no confession. The other five priests, aware that the date of the commission of their two judges was near its expiration, made an appeal to the bishop of Bayonne, although they knew he had consented to the execution of the two others. The commission expired on the first November, and the commissioners left the five priests unjudged, and they perhaps escaped, to the great regret of their persecutors.

De Lancre, after filling the country of Labourd with death and consternation, returned to Toulouse. He took so much interest in the subject of sorcery, that he soon after published another large quarto volume on the same subject, in 1622, under the title of "L'incrédulité et mescréance du sortilége pleinement convaincue." His fellow-inquisitor, D'Espaignet, contented himself with writing a Latin poem on the witches of Labourd, which he printed at the commencement of De Lancre's work, and in which he boasts of the havoc they had made among the followers of Satan.

Nuper relicto Cantabrûm sinu, datis
Partim fugæ, partim rogo,
Sagis, refixoque ostio Proserpinæ
Regni, ipsius peculium
Postquam auximus, turbæ ut Charontis cymbula
Impar scelestæ vix natet,
Fatalis urnæ dum movemus calculos,
Nigrumque Theta prævalet.
Gaudebam ab hac prorsus redemptum me cruce,
Sat jam retectis dæmonum
Versutiis: larvas, stryges decusseram,
Dulci paratus otio.

CHAPTER XVII.

MAGIC IN SPAIN; THE AUTO-DA-FE OF LOGRONO.

We may probably explain the notorious character of the inhabitants of Labourd at this time by supposing that the population of the Basque provinces had retained, like the Welch in England, a large portion of the early superstitions of their race, and that these had so much influence on their minds, that under a sudden excitement the whole mass of the people were led to believe themselves witches. This view of the question is strengthened by the fact, that the Basque provinces on the other side of the border were proverbial throughout the southern peninsula as the principal haunt of the witches of Spain. Messire Pierre de Lancre complains of the number of sorcerers who fled from French justice to seek refuge in Spain; but they found Spanish justice equally relentless, for the inquisitors of the south came upon them, and seized upon all alike, Frenchmen or Spaniards, until they had taken so many prisoners that they were (to use De Lancre's own phrase), *fort empêchez*, to know how to deal with them all.

Spain was always looked upon as in some sort the special country of superstition; in the belief of the middle ages it was the cradle of sorcery and magic. The inquisition was taking root in the different provinces of the Spanish peninsula during the middle of the fifteenth century, and it found there a rich harvest among the superstitions of the Christians, and the unbelief of the Moors and Jews. Alfonso de Spina, a Franciscan of Castile, where the inquisition was not then established, wrote, about the year 1458 or 1460, a work especially directed against heretics and unbelievers, in which he gives a chapter on those articles of popular belief which were derived from the ancient heathendom of the people. Among these, witches, under the name of *xurguine (jurgina)* or *bruxe*, held a prominent place. But the Spanish friar of the fifteenth century, with much more good sense than was shown in later and more enlightened ages, taught that the acts attributed to this class of offenders, such as their power of transporting themselves through the air to distant localities in an incredibly short space of time, their entering houses, and the various criminal acts, which were the object and result of their transit, their power of transforming themselves, &c., existed on-

ly in the imagination. He believed, however, that the people who bore the character of witches were deluded wretches, whose minds being prepared for his service, the devil made use of them as instruments of evil. He tells us that in his time these offenders abounded in Dauphiny and Gascony, where they assembled in great numbers by night on a wild table-land, carrying candles with them to worship Satan, who appeared in the form of a boar on a certain rock, popularly known by the name *Elboch de Biterne*, and that many of them had been taken by the inquisition of Toulouse and burnt. From that time we find, in Spanish history, the charge of witchcraft and sorcery not unfrequently brought forward under different forms and circumstances, of which several remarkable examples are given by Llorente in his history of the inquisition in Spain.

The first *auto-da-fe* against sorcery appears to have been that of Calahorra, in 1507, when thirty women, charged before the inquisition as witches, were burnt. In 1527, a great number of women were accused in Navarre of the practice of sorcery, through the information of two girls, one of eleven, the other only of nine years old, who confessed before the royal council of Navarre that they been received into the sect of the *jurginas*, and promised, on condition of being pardoned, to discover all the women who were implicated in these practices. The two children declared that by inspecting the left eye of the person accused, they knew instantly if she were a witch or not; and having pointed out a district where they were numerous, and where they held their assemblies, the council sent a commissioner thither with them, attended by an escort of fifty horsemen. At each village or hamlet they came to, they confined the two girls separately in two houses, and brought all persons suspected of witchcraft in that neighborhood before them both in succession. All those women who happened to be declared to be witches by both girls, were adjudged to be guilty, and were thrown into prison, where they were soon forced to make confessions. They declared that their society consisted of a hundred and fifty women; that on the reception of a new proselyte, if she were of a marriageable age, a young man, well made and robust, was given to her as a companion; that she was made to deny her Christianity; and that when this ceremony took place, a black goat appeared suddenly in the middle of a circle, and walked round it several times; that as soon as they heard the hoarse voice of this animal, they all began to dance, to a noise which resembled that of a trumpet; that they next kissed the goat in

the same manner as has been described in other relations; and then they feasted on bread, wine, and cheese; after this was done, their male companions were changed into goats, and bore them through the air to the place where they were to work mischief; they said they had poisoned several persons by the order of Satan, and that for this purpose he introduced them into their houses through the windows or doors. They had general assemblies the night before Easter, and on the grand festivals of the church, at which they indulged in all the excesses of the witches' sabbath. We are assured by the historian who has recorded these events (Don Prudencio de Sandoval) that the commissioner took one of the witches and offered her pardon if she would perform before him the operation of sorcery, so as to fly away in his sight. To this proposal she agreed, and having obtained possession of the box of ointment which was found upon her when arrested, she went up into a tower with the commissioner, and placed herself in front of a window. A number of other persons, we are assured, were present. She began by anointing with her unguent the palm of her left hand, her wrist and elbow, and by rubbing it under her arm, and on the groin and left side. She then said with a loud voice, "Art thou there?" All the spectators heard a voice in the air replying, "Yes, I am here." The woman then began to descend the wall of the tower with her head downward, crawling on her hands and feet like a lizard; and when she was half way down, she took a start into the air, and flew away in view of all the spectators, who followed her with their eyes till she was no longer visible. The commissioner offered a reward to anybody who would bring her back, and two days afterward she was brought in by some shepherds who had found her in the fields. When asked by the commissioner why she did not fly away far enough to be out of the reach of her pursuers, she said that "her master" would not carry her further than three leagues, at which distance he left her in the fields where the shepherds found her. The witches arrested on this occasion, after being found guilty by the secular judges, were handed over to the inquisition of Estella, and there condemned to be whipped and imprisoned.

The moment the attention of the inquisition was thus drawn to the crime of sorcery, the prevalence of this superstition in the Basque provinces became notorious; and Charles V., rightly judging that it was to be attributed more to the ignorance of the population of those districts than to any other cause, directed that preachers should be sent to instruct them.

The first treatise in the Spanish language on the subject of sorcery, by a Franciscan monk named Martin de Castañaga, was printed under approbation of the bishop of Calahorra in 1529. About this time the zeal of the inquisitors of Saragossa was excited by the appearance of many witches who were said to come from Navarre, and to have been sent by their sect as missionaries to make disciples of the women of Aragon. This sudden witch persecution in Spain appears to have had an influence on the fate of the witches in Italy. Pope Adrian IV., who was raised to the papal chair in 1522, was a Spanish bishop, and had held the office of inquisitor-general in Spain. In the time of Julius II., who ruled the papal world from 1503 to 1513, a sect of witches and sorcerers had been discovered in Lombardy, who were extremely numerous, and had their sabbaths and all the other abominations of the continental witches. The proceedings against them appear to have been hindered by a dispute between the inquisitors and the secular and ecclesiastical judges who claimed the jurisdiction in such cases. On the 20th of July, 1523, Pope Adrian issued a bull against the crime of sorcery, placing it in the sole jurisdiction of the inquisitors. This bull perhaps gave the new impulse to the prosecution of the witches in Spain

Of the cases which followed during more than a century, the most remarkable was that of the *auto-da-fé* at Logroño on the 7th and 8th of November, 1610, which arose in some measure from the visitation of the French Basque province in the preceding year. The valley of Bastan is situated in Navarre at the foot of the Pyrenees, on the French frontier, and at no great distance from Labourd. It was within the jurisdiction of the inquisition established at Logroño in Castile. The mass of the population of this valley appear to have been sorcerers, and they held their meetings or sabbaths at a place called Zugarramurdi. Their practices were brought to light in the following manner. A little girl from the neighboring French territory was sent to board with a woman of Zugarramurdi, who was one of the witches, and was in the habit of taking the child with her to their assemblies—she was as yet too young to be formally initiated. After her return home, the child, having reached a proper age, became a witch at the instigation of one of her countrywomen, but she subsequently repented, and obtained absolution from the bishop of Bayonne. She afterward went again to reside at Zugarramurdi, where meeting one day a woman of the place named Maria de Jurreteguia, she told her that she knew she was a witch. When

the husband of Maria heard this, he loaded her with reproaches, and having been confronted with the accused, she was obliged to confess her fault. Maria was immediately carried before the inquisition of Logroño, and she was given to expect her pardon in return for a full confession of the practice of her associates.

Maria de Jurreteguia was the wife of Estevan de Navalcorrea. Terrified at the accusation of the French girl, and the anger of her husband, she made a full confession to the inquisitors of Logroño, in which she gave a detailed account of the proceedings of the "sect" of sorcerers, which was afterward confirmed by the confessions of eighteen of her accomplices, who were arrested in consequence of the information she gave. She had been a witch from her infancy, having been introduced to the witches' meetings by her maternal aunts Maria and Juana Chipia. She had recently left her evil ways, and made a confession to and received absolution from the curé of Zugarramurdi, in consequence of which she had been persecuted by the devil and the other witches. She said that when her aunts took her to the sabbath meetings they passed out of the house through little holes in the doors, the latter being locked. Among her practices, she said that she had often deceived a priest who was fond of hunting, by taking the form of a hare, and leading him a long course. Miguel de Goiburu was *king* of the sorcerers of Zugarramurdi; he said that he was once at a meeting af the sorcerers in a spot on the French side of the frontier, at which more than five hundred persons were present, on which one of his party, Éstefania de Tellechea, exclaimed in astonishment, "Jesus, what a crowd!" and the whole scene disappeared, and the assembly separated in the utmost consternation. On another occasion, a witch named Maria Escain having persuadad a sailor to join their society, at the first meeting which he attended, he was so astonished at the horrible figure of the devil, that he cried out involuntarily, "Jesus, how ugly he is!" on which the meeting broke up in the same manner. His brother, Joanes de Goiburu, confessed that he had played on the tabor when the witches danced at the meetings; and that one day, having accidentally prolonged their meeting till after cock-crow, his imp disappeared, and he was obliged to return to Zugarramurdi on foot. The wife of this man, Graciana de Barrenechea, was their queen. She told a story of her jealousy of another witch named Maria Joanes de Oria, because the latter was too great a favorite with the devil; and after succeeding in seducing the evil one into an act of infidelity, she obtained his permission to poison her

rival. Juan de Sansin, the cousin of Miguel de Goiburu, confessed that his office had been to play on the flute at the sabbaths. Martin de Vizcay was the overseer of the children who came to the assembly, and it was his business to keep them at a distance, where they could not see what took place between the demon and his victims. Two sisters, Estefania and Juana de Tellechea, confessed like the others that they had done much injury to the persons and properties of their neighbors who did not belong to their society. The latter said that one day, according to an ancient usage of the place, the inhabitants of Zugarramurdi assembled in the evening of St. John's day to elect a king of the Christians and a king of the Moors, who were to command the two parties of Christians and Moors in the sham fight which took place several times in the year for their amusement. It was in the year 1608, and her husband was elected king of the Moors. He was not a sorcerer, and as he received that night the visits of his neighbors to compliment him on his mock dignity, she was obliged to remain at home to do the honors of the house, and was thus hindered from attending the witches' assembly. In spite of this reasonable excuse, Juana was condemned at the next sabbath to be severely whipped by Juan de Echalaz, a smith, who held the office of the devil's executioner.

All the persons arrested on this occasion agreed in their description of the sabbath, and of the practices of the witches, which in their general features bore a close resemblance to those of the witches of Labourd. The usual place of meeting was known here, as in Labourd, by the popular name of *Aquelarre*, a Gascon word, signifying the meadow of the goat. Their ordinary meetings were held on the nights of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, every week, but they had grand feasts on the principal holydays of the church, such as Easter, Pentecost, Christmas, &c. All these feasts appear to have been fixed by the Christian teachers at the period of older pagan festivals. The form ordinarily assumed by the demon when a new convert was to be received, was that of a man with a sad and choleric countenance, very black and very ugly. He was seated on a lofty throne, black as ebony, and sometimes gilt, with all the accessories calculated to inspire reverence. On his head was a crown of small horns, with two larger ones behind, and another larger one on the forehead; it was the latter which gave a light somewhat greater than that of the moon, but less than that of the sun, which served to illuminate the assembly. His eyes were

large and round, and terrible to look at; his beard like that of a goat, and the lower part of his body had the form of that animal: his feet and hands were like those of a man, except that the ends of his fingers were curved like those of a bird of prey and ended in long pointed nails, and his toes were like those of a goose. His voice bore some resemblance to the braying of an ass, his words being ill articulated, and in a low and irregular tone.

Such was the demon of the Basque superstitions. His worship was conducted with the same forms and ceremonies as in Labourd. The hour of meeting was nine o'clock in the evening, and the assembly generally broke up at twelve. After the worship of the demon, followed a travestie of the Christian mass, at which the king and queen of the sorcerers officiated as priests. After the mass was finished, came the usual scene of licentiousness. Many of their ceremonies were accompanied with popular rhymes in Spanish. Thus when the witches and sorcerers were married together after the devil's mass, the devil said to them:—

"Esta es buena parati,
Este parati lo toma."

And as new sorcerers arrived at the sabbaths, the assembly chanted joyfully the couplet:—

"Alegremonos alegremos,
Que gente nueva tenemos."

After the scene last alluded to, the tables were spread, and we are told that they were always covered with dirty table-cloths. Their favorite viands were the flesh of men, women or children, recently dead, whom they had dug up from their graves, and it was generally the nearest relatives of the deceased who assisted in preparing them for the feast. Little demons served at table. After the feast, they all danced together in the wildest confusion. At one of their sabbaths there was a dancing-girl, who, to the sound of castanets (*castanuelas*), made such extraordinary capers, that all the witches were in admiration, and one of them exclaimed, "Jesus, how she leaps!" on which the whole scene disappeared, and the person who had uttered the imprudent exclamation was left alone to find her way home how she could. At the next meeting she was severely beaten for her offence.

Each new witch had a toad given to her, which was her imp, and always accompanied her to her meetings. From this animal she extracted her most deadly poison. Before they left the

sabbath, the demon preached to them on the duties they had contracted toward him, exhorted him to go and injure their fellow-creatures, and to practise every kind of wickedness, and gave them powders and liquors for poisoning and destroying. He often accompanied them himself when some great evil was to be done, and to carry their purposes into effect they changed themselves into the forms of vermin, or of animals, or birds of prey. In these expeditions, when they took place by night, the demon carried the arm of an unbaptized infant, lit at the ends of the fingers which served the place of a candle or torch. When they entered people's houses they threw a powder on the faces of the inmates, who were thrown thereby into so deep a slumber that nothing could wake them, until the witches were gone. Sometimes the demon opened the mouths of the people in their beds, and the sorcerer placed something on the tongue which produced this sleep. The charm was then accompanied with the words—

> "De las mortiferas aguas
> Dos tragos dizen te applico,
> Con quien los polvos de sagas
> Y muerus rabiando tisico."

Sometimes they threw these powders on the fruits of the field, and produced hail which destroyed them. On these occasions, the demon accompanied them in the form of a husbandman, and when they threw the powders they said,*

> "Polvos, polvos,
> Pierda se tado,
> Queden los nuestros,
> Y abrasense otros."

When they were not inclined to do any of these destructive injuries, they amused themselves with creating phantoms which they threw in the way of travellers to frighten them.

Sometimes the witches and sorcerers went from their sabbath to attend a larger meeting, which was held at Pampeluna, where they went to worship a great demon, named Barrabam, who was higher in dignity than the other devils, and his ceremonies were attended with greater pomp. They called him "the grand master." Then they went all in a body and passed over the frontier into France, where they met other troops of sorcerers, and they were then so numerous that one of the deponents said that when the assembly broke up, the sky was completely clouded with the troops of witches flying away in all directions.

* These rhymes are taken from the report of this transaction given in De Lancre; they bear a singular resemblance in general character to those of the Scottish witches that will be given in a subsequent chapter.

The toad acted a very important part in the witchcraft of the Basque provinces. When the new witch was presented to the meeting for the first time, the toad was given into the care of her *marraine*, until the convert had completed her noviciate, and was considered fit to receive it into her own keeping. It was dressed in a little sack, with a *capuchin* or cowl, through which the head passed, and open under the belly, where it was tied with a band, which served as a girdle; this vest was generally made of green or black cloth, or velvet. It was to be taken great care of, and to be often fed and caressed. It was one of its duties to keep its mistress or master in mind of the time for attending the sabbath, and to wake him at the necessary time if he should be asleep. The toad also furnished the liquor with which the witches rubbed different parts of their bodies when they were preparing to go to their assemblies, and by which they were enabled to fly through the air, carrying the reptile with them. Sometimes the sorcerer travelled thither on foot, and then the toad preceded, taking large leaps, and they passed over immense distances in a few minutes, as when they fled through the air. If the meeting were accidentally prolonged till after cock-crow, the toad disappeared; and the sorcerer found himself reduced to his natural powers; but the animal itself soon reappeared in the place where it was usually kept.

The witches among themselves enjoyed different degrees of rank and estimation, according to their intimacy with the evil one, and their zeal and aptitude to work mischief. It was to those only whom he held in the highest esteem, that Satan imparted the more deadly poisons, and he often assisted in person at their composition.

The *auto-da-fé* of Logroño, as far as it related to the sect of the sorcerers of Zugarramurdi, caused a great sensation, and brought the subject of witchcraft under the consideration of the Spanish theologians. These were so far more enlightened than the body of their contemporaries in other countries, that they generally leaned to the opinion that witchcraft was a mere delusion, and that the details of the confessions of the miserable creatures who were its victims were all creations of the imagination. They were punished because their belief was a heresy, contrary to the doctrines of the church. Llorente gives the abstract of a treatise on this subject by a Spanish ecclesiastic named Pedro de Valentia, addressed to the grand inquisitor in consequence of the trial at Logrono in 1610, and which remained in manuscript among the archives of the inquisition. This writer

adopts entirely the opinion that the acts confessed by the witches were imaginary; he attributes them partly to the method in which the examinations were carried on, and to the desire of the ignorant people examined to escape by saying what seemed to please their persecutors, and partly to the effects of the ointments and draughts which they had been taught to use, and which were composed of ingredients that produced sleep, and acted upon the imagination and the mental faculties.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

ADVENTURES OF DOCTOR TORRALVA.

SPAIN had not in the sixteenth century ceased to be celebrated for its magicians, as we learn from a variety of allusions in writers of that and the subsequent periods. We have seen that it was then the country from which magical rings were procured, and that it was equally with other lands the scene of treasure-hunting and of witchcraft. Nor was it wanting in great magicians. One of these gave considerable celebrity to the village of Bargota, near Viana, in the diocese of Calahorra. The curé of Bargota, who is well known to every reader of the glorious romance of Cervantes, astonished the territories of Rioja and Navarre by his extraordinary feats. Among other exploits he was in the habit of transporting himself to distant countries, and returning in an incredibly short space of time. In this way he witnessed most of the remarkable occurrences of the wars in Italy at the commencement of the sixteenth century, in which Spain had a special interest, and he announced his intelligence the same day at Viana and Logroño. He was forewarned of each event by the demon, his familiar. The latter told him one day that the pope would that night die a violent death. It appears that his holiness had an intrigue with a lady whose husband held a high office in the papal court. The latter was afraid to complain openly, but he was none the less eager for revenge, and he joined with some desperate ruffians in a plot to take away the pope's life. The demon was of course rejoiced at the prospect of evil, but his friend the curé determined to

* On this subject the reader is referred to Salverte's Philosophy of Magic, by W. Thomson, vol ii., chapters 1 and 2. 8vo. Bentley, 1846.

cheat him and save the head of the church from the danger which threatened him. He pretended to be seized with an eager desire to proceed to Rome, that he might hear the rumors to which such a remarkable occurrence must give rise, and to witness the pope's funeral. The desire was no sooner expressed than it was gratified. On his arrival at the eternal city, the curé hastened to the papal palace, forced his way into the presence of the sovereign pontiff, and told him the whole particulars of the plot against his life, and thus defeated the designs of the conspirators. After having thus outwitted him, the curé wished to have no further intercourse with Satan; he made a voluntary confession to the pope, and in return for the signal service he had performed, his holiness gave him a full absolution. On his return, he was delivered, as a matter of form, into the custody of the inquisitors of Logrono, but he was acquitted, and restored to his liberty.

There lived at the same time a magician who gained far greater celebrity than the curé of Bargota, and who adopted the same extraordinary mode of travelling. This was Doctor Eugenio Torralva, a physician in the family of the admiral of Castile.* Torralva was born at Cuença, but at the age of fifteen he was sent to Rome, where he became attached to the bishop of Volterra, Francesco Soderini, in the quality of a page. He now pursued with great earnestness the study of philosophy and medicine, under Don Cipion and the masters Mariana, Avanselo, and Maguera, until he obtained the degree of doctor in medicine. Under these teachers, Torralva learned to have doubts of the immortality of the soul and the divinity of Christ, and made great advances in skepticism. About the year 1501, when he was already a practitioner in medicine at Rome, he formed a very intimate acquaintance with one Master Alfonso, a man who had first quitted the Jewish faith for Mohammedanism, from which he had been converted to Christianity, and he had then finally adopted natural religion or deism. This man's discourses overthrew the little faith that still remained in Torralva's mind, and he became a confirmed skeptic, although he appears to have concealed his opinions from the world, and perhaps he subsequently renounced them.

* Torralva, un grande hombre, y nigromante,
Medico, y familiar del admirante.
LUIS CAPATA, CARLO FAMOSO, canto xxviii.

The authority for the details of the history of this extraordinary personage is Llorente, who derived his information from the original papers relating to his trial, preserved in the archives of the inquisition. Part of the story is told rather differently in the metrical history of Capata.

Among Torralva's friends at Rome was a Dominican monk, called Brother Pietro, who told him one day that he had in his service "an angel of the order of good spirits," named Zequiel, who was so powerful in the knowledge of the future and of hidden things that he was without his equal in the spiritual world, and of such a peculiar temper that, while other spirits made bargains with their employers before they would give them their services, Zequiel was so disinterested that he despised all considerations of this kind, and served only in friendship those who placed their confidence in him and deserved his attachment. The least attempt at restraint, Brother Pietro said, would drive him away for ever.

Torralva's curiosity was excited, and when Brother Pietro generously proposed to resign the familiar spirit to his friend, the offer was eagerly accepted. It appears that the person most concerned in this transaction made no objection to the change of masters, and at the summons of brother Pietro, Zequiel made his appearance, in the form of a fair young man, with light hair, and dressed in a flesh-colored habit and black surtout. He addressed himself to Torralva, and said, "I will be yours as long as you live, and will follow you wherever you are obliged to go." From this time Zequiel appeared to Torralva at every change of the moon, and as often as the physician wanted his services, which was generally for the purpose of transporting him in a short space of time to distant places. In these interviews, the spirit took sometimes the semblance of a traveller, and sometimes that of a hermit. In his intercourse with Torralva, he said nothing contrary to Christianity, but accompanied him to church, and never counselled him to evil; from which circumstances the physician concluded that his familiar was a good angel. He always conversed in the Latin or Italian language.

Rome had now become to Torralva a second country; but about the year 1502 he went to Spain, and subsequently he travelled through most parts of Italy, until he again fixed himself at Rome, under the protection of his old patron the bishop of Volterra, who had been made a cardinal on the 31st of May, 1503. With this introduction he soon obtained the favor of others of the cardinals, and rose to high repute for his skill in medicine. Having met at this time with some books on chiromancy, he became an eager student in that art, in the knowledge of which he subsequently surpassed most of his contemporaries. Torralva owed his medical knowledge partly to his familiar, who taught him the secret virtues of many plants, with which other

physicians were not acquainted; and when the practitioner took exorbitant fees, Zequiel rebuked him, telling him that, since he had received his knowledge for nothing, he ought to impart it gratuitously. And when on several occasions Torralva was in want of money, he found a supply in his chamber, which he believed was furnished him by the good spirit, who, however, would never acknowledge that he was the secret benefactor who had relieved him from his embarrassment.

Torralva returned to Spain in 1510, and lived for some time at the court of Ferdinand the catholic. One day Zequiel, whose informations were usually of a political character, told him that the king would soon receive disagreeable news. Torralva immediately communicated this piece of information to Ximenes de Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo (who was subsequently raised to the dignity of cardinal, and made inquisitor general of Spain), and the grand captain Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova. The same day a courier arrived with despatches from Africa, containing intelligence of the ill success of the expedition against the Moors, and of the death of Don Garcia de Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva, who commanded it.

Torralva seems to have made no secret of his intercourse with Zequiel. He had received his familiar from a monk, and the spirit is said to have shown himself to the cardinal of Volterra at the physician's wish; the latter now did not hesitate to acquaint the archbishop of Toledo and the grand captain how he came by his early intelligence. The archbishop earnestly desired to be permitted to have the same privilege as the Italian cardinal, and Torralva wished to gratify him, but Zequiel refused, though he softened his refusal by telling him to inform the archbishop that he would one day be a king, a prophecy which was believed to be fulfilled when he was made absolute governor of Spain and the Indies.

The physician was frequently favored with revelations of this kind. On one occasion, when Torralva was at Rome, Zequiel told him that his friend, Pietro Margano, would lose his life if he went out of the city that day. He was not able to see him in order to warn him of his danger, and Pietro went out of Rome and was assassinated. Zequiel told him on another occasion that the cardinal of Sienna would end his life in a tragical manner, which was verified in 1517, after the judgment of Pope Leo X., against him. Torralva re-established himself in Rome in 1513, and soon after his arrival he had a great desire to see his intimate friend, Thomas de Becara, who was then at Venice;

upon which Zequiel took him thither and back in so short a space of time that his absence was not perceived by his friends at Rome.

It was not long before he again returned to Spain, where, about the year 1516, the cardinal of Santa Cruz, Don Bernardino de Carbajal, consulted him on a subject of some importance. A Spanish lady named Rosales had complained to Don Bernardino that her nights were disturbed by a phantom which appeared in the form of a murdered man. The cardinal had sent his physician, Dr. Morales, who watched at night with the lady, but saw no apparition, although she gave him notice of its appearance, and pointed out the place where it stood. Don Bernardino hoped to know more of the matter by the means of Torralva, and he requested him to go with the physician Morales to pass the night in the lady's house. They went together and an hour after midnight they heard the lady's cry of alarm, and went into her room, where, as before, Morales saw nothing. But Torralva, who was better acquainted with the spiritual world, perceived a figure resembling a dead man, behind which appeared another apparition in the form of a woman. He asked with a firm voice, "What dost thou seek here?" to which the apparition replied, "A treasure," and immediately disappeared. Torralva consulted Zequiel on this subject, and was informed that there was buried under the house a corpse of a man who had been stabbed to death with a poignard.

Torralva was soon at Rome again, and among his more intimate friends, there was Don Diego de Zuñiga, a relative of the duke of Bejar, and brother to Don Antonio, grand prior of the order of St. John, in Castile. In 1519, the two friends returned to Spain together. On their way, at Barcelonetta near Turin, while they were walking and conversing with the secretary Azevedo (who had been adjutant-general of the Spanish armies in Italy and Savoy), Azevedo and Zuñiga thought they saw something indefinable pass by Torralva's side. He told them it was his angel Zequiel, who had approached him to whisper in his ear. Zuñiga had a great desire to see Zequiel, but Torralva could not prevail with the latter to show himself. At Barcelona, Torralva saw in the house of the canon, Juan Garcia, a book of chiromancy, and in the margin of one of the leaves was written a magical process to enable a person to gain money at play. Zuñiga, who appears to have been a man of no very exalted morality, wished to make himself master of this art, and Torralva copied the characters, and told his friend that he must write them

with his own hand on paper, using for ink the blood of a bat, and that the writing must be performed on a Wednesday, because that day was dedicated to Mercury. This charm he was to wear on his person when at play.

In 1520, Torralva went again to Rome. Being at Valladolid, he told Diego de Zuñiga of his intentions, informing him that he had the means of travelling there with extraordinary rapidity, that he had but to place himself astride on a stick, and he was carried through the air, guided by a cloud of fire. On his arrival at Rome, he saw the cardinal of Volterra and the grand prior of the order of St. John, who were very earnest with him that he should give them his familiar spirit. Torralva entreated Zequiel to comply with their wish, but in vain. In 1525, Zequiel recommended him to return to Spain, assuring him that he would obtain the place of physician to the infanta Eleanora, queen dowager of Portugal, and subsequently consort to François I., of France. Torralva obeyed the suggestion of his monitor, and obtained the promised appointment.

It was after his return to Spain, and before he obtained this appointment, that a circumstance occurred which added greatly to Torralva's celebrity. On the evening of the fifth of May, of the year last mentioned (1525), the physician received a visit from Zequiel, who told him that Rome would be taken next day by the troops of the emperor,* and Torralva desired to be taken to Rome to see this important event. They left Valladolid to-

* Catapa, who gives an account of this voyage according to the popular tradition, makes Torralva leave the admiral's town of Medina de Rioseco instead of Valladolid. He says that Torralva was sitting pensive and sad in his chamber contemplating the sky, when Zequiel appeared to him, who is described thus:—

"Zaqueil ud familiar, qu'en la figura
De un viejo sano ant'el se aparescia,
Con un bordon, y en cuerpo en vestidura
Blanca que hasta el suelo le cubria;
Y con la barba blanca a la cintura,
Como assi tan pensoso estar le via,
En la cerrada picga en este instante
Se aparescio Torralva nigromante."

CARLO FAMOSO, cant. xxx.

Zequiel asked him why he was pensive, to which he replied that he was puzzled with the stars. The familiar then informed him that the constable of Bourbon was before Rome, which would be taken next day.

"Havra sangre y crueldad en abundancia,
De que yo espero haver muy grand ganancia."

Capata imagined that the familiar might be a demon, and that he would naturally delight in the horrors which attended the sack of Rome.

gether at eleven o'clock at night, on foot, as if to take a walk; but at a short distance from the town Zequiel gave his companion a stick full of knots, and said, "Shut your eyes, and fear nothing; take this in your hand, and no harm will happen to you." After a little time, at Zequiel's bidding, Torralva opened his eyes, and he found himself so near the sea that he could have touched the water with his hand; and the black cloud which had previously enveloped him gave place immediately to so bright a light, that he was afraid of being burnt. Zequiel saw his alarm, and rebuked him for it in a familiar phrase, "*No temas, bestia fiera!*" (fear nothing, stupid fellow). Torralva then shut his eyes again, and after a while felt himself on the solid ground, and heard his companion bid him open his eyes, and see if he knew where he was. He recognised the city of Rome spread out before him, and knew that he was standing on the tower of Nona. The clock of the castle of St. Angelo was just striking the hour of midnight, so that they had been exactly one hour on their journey. The city was shrouded in night, and they waited till daybreak, when they passed through the different parts of the city, and witnessed the events of that terrible day, the attack of the besiegers, the death of the constable of Bourbon, the flight of the pope into the castle of St. Angelo, the terror and slaughter of the citizens, the pollution of the churches, and the wild riot of the conquerors. It took them an hour and a half to return to Valladolid, and when Zequiel left the doctor there, he said to him, "In future you will believe all I tell you." Torralva immediately made public all he had seen during this extraordinary excursion, and when in due course of time news arrived of the capture and sack of Rome, the court of Spain was filled with astonishment.

Torralva's fame as a magician was now in everybody's mouth, and it seems that men of high rank, in both church and state, had been cognizant of, if not accomplices in, his practices of forbidden arts. It was at length by one of his intimate friends that he was denounced to the inquisitors, who would perhaps have taken no notice of him had they not been urged to the pursuit. Diego de Zuñiga, the same who had been so long a confidant in his intercourse with the familiar, and who had even benefited by his arts to profit at the gambling-table, had suddenly become fanatical and superstitious. Not satisfied with repentance for his own sins, Zu[illegible]ed Torralva to the inquisition of Cuenca, and wh[illegible]ited that city at the beginning of the [illegible] and thrown into prison. He imme-

diately confessed all his dealings with Zequiel, whom he persisted in regarding as a good angel, and made no less than seven written declarations, the same in effect, but contradicting each other in some of the particulars. As these seem to have been thought not to be entirely satisfactory, Torralva was put to the torture, the result of which was that he declared himself convinced that Zequiel was a demon. He said that his familiar had warned him that a danger hung over him if he went to Cuença at that time, but that he had disregarded the admonition.

The inquisitors now changed their severity to indulgence, and on the 6th of March, 1529, they suspended Torralva's process for a year. But before the expiration of that period, a new accuser presented himself, and deposed to his disputes at Rome, in his younger days on the immortality of the soul and the divinity of Jesus Christ. This placed the question in a new light, and Torralva underwent examination again on the 29th of January, 1530, when he made a new declaration on the subject of his early education and opinions. The case now assumed a still more serious character, and the inquisitors of Cuença having communicated with the supreme council of the inquisition in Spain, received directions to appoint some pious and learned persons to labor for the conversion of the accused, and to persuade him to renounce, sincerely and absolutely, the science of chiromancy, his intercourse with Zequiel, and all treaties he might have entered into with the evil one, for the unburdening of his conscience and the salvation of his soul. The inquisitors intrusted this task to Brother Augustino Barragan, prior of the convent of Dominicans at Cuença, and Diego Manriques, a canon of the cathedral, and these men labored with so much zeal and effect, that Torralva agreed to do everything they wished, except that he would not undertake to see Zequiel no more. For it appears that the familiar remained so far faithful to his original promise, that he continued to visit Torralva in the prison of the inquisition, and the doctor represented to his converters that he was obliged to see him whether he would or not. The inquisitors themselves were so credulous, that they requested their prisoner to inquire of Zequiel what was his opinion of the doctrines of Luther and Erasmus; and they were gratified beyond measure when they learned that he condemned the two reformers, with this difference only, that he considered Luther to be a bad man, while he represented Erasmus as his superior in cunning and cleverness. Perhaps this piece of information brought Torralva a little into favor, and his treatment was not so rigorous as that

experienced by many at the hands of the same prosecutors. On the 6th of March, 1531, he was condemned to make the general ordinary abjuration of heresies, to undergo the punishment of imprisonment and the *san benito* as long as it might please the inquisitor-general, to undertake to have no further communication with the spirit Zequiel, and never to lend an ear to any of his proposals.

Although Torralva had been betrayed by one friend, he had others who remained faithful to him. Before his celebrated journey to Rome, in 1525, he had been appointed to the office of physician to the family of the admiral of Castile, Don Frederico Enriquez, which he still held at the time of his arrest. The admiral had always proved himself a warm friend and a stanch protector; he did not desert him in his trials, and it was no doubt to his influential interference that Torralva owed what indulgence was shown to him during his imprisonment. We have every reason to believe that it was through his protection also that soon after the process was ended, the inquisitor-general gave Torralva his pardon, and set him at liberty, in consequence, as it was pretended, of his sincere repentance. The admiral received the magician again as his physician, and continued his favor and protection to him.

Such is the history, taken entirely from his own declarations and confessions, of a magician whose fame has been immortalized in Don Quixotte.

CHAPTER XIX.

TRIAL OF THE EARL AND COUNTESS OF SOMERSET.

THE story of Doctor Torralva has drawn us a little from the chronological order of our chapters. The wholesale persecution of the witches of Labourd in the French Basque territory, and the trial of those of Zugarramurdi, on the Spanish side of the frontier, give us a fair picture of the prevalence and intensity of the belief in sorcery among all the nations of Europe during the earlier years of the seventeenth century. We can not be surprised if, under these circumstances, the charge was often made a weapon of resentment and revenge, not only in the lowest, but sometimes even in the highest class of society, and

if even people of rank and education were credulous enough to have recourse to the assistance of the sorcerer and witch. We will proceed to take a few examples of each of these cases, and our own country at this period furnishes us with one of the most extraordinary, and at the same time mysterious, tragedies that are to be found in our annals.

No period of English history offers us so much that is dark and repugnant as the reign of James I. The private history of that monarch's court is very imperfectly known, and the few revelations that have been made are calculated to convince us that in this case "ignorance is bliss." Perhaps of all the mysterious affairs of this reign, none present more difficulties than the history of James's first great favorite, Robert Carr.

This man was of a respectable Scottish family, but he had received a mean education, and the merits which gained him the royal favor were a "comely personage," and a taste in dress. The king's fondness for him was shown openly in an undignified manner; for, to use the words of a nobleman who was in constant attendance at King James's court, the monarch "would lean on his arm, pinch his cheek, smooth his ruffled garment, and, when directing discourse to others, nevertheless gaze on him." Such was one of the principal heroes of the tragedy now to be related, but the person who appears most active in it was a lady.

The lady Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas, earl of Suffolk, and great niece of Henry Howard, earl of Northampton and lord high treasurer of England, had been married in 1606 to Robert, earl of Essex, who was in after-life distinguished as the parliamentary leader. It was a marriage of family policy, and at the time it took place the bride was thirteen years of age, and the bridegroom only fourteen. The lady grew up to be one of the most dissolute of the ladies of James's court—which was not remarkable for its morality—and according to the court scandal of the day, she had intrigued with Prince Henry, and had "been cast off by him" on account of her notorious infidelity. At length the countess of Essex became passionately enamoured of the king's favorite, who was raised to the peerage in the spring of 1611, under the title of Viscount Rochester.

It appears that there were at the same time two separate intrigues in progress to bring together Lord Rochester and the countess of Essex; one had its foundation in interest alone, and the other was the offspring of ambition and love.

The old courtiers were alarmed at the power of the young

favorite, and were anxious to secure themselves by obtaining his favor, and none more so than the aged treasurer Henry, earl of Northampton. At the time when the commons of England were preparing to assert their dignity and rights, a great part of the nobility seem to have sunk into a degree of baseness which it is not easy to imagine, and there appears but too much reason for believing that the earl of Northampton did not shrink from using the prostitution of his kinswoman to secure his influence at court. It was probably in that ancient and sad-looking mansion which still looks over the commencement of the Strand, and was then the earl's residence, and known as Northampton (now Northumberland) house, that the plot was managed which eventually led to the ill-fated marriage of which I am going to tell the consequences. The plotters are said to have employed in this intrigue a follower of the new favorite, named Copinger, at whose house the meetings between Lord Rochester and Lady Essex sometimes took place.

The lady, however, was too ardent in her passion to wait the effect of this intrigue, or perhaps she was not fully acquainted with the designs of her relatives. She made her confidante of Mrs. Anne Turner, the widow of a physician of respectability, a woman not deficient in beauty, and who was at this time the mistress of Sir Arthur Mainwaring, an attendant on the prince. With this worthy companion in her evil doings, the countess repaired to Dr. Simon Foreman, the magician, who, as has been stated, was living at Lambeth. and with whom Mrs. Turner appears to have been already acquainted. It was soon agreed between them that Foreman should by his magic bewitch the Lord Rochester, and so turn his affections that they should be irrevocably fixed on Lady Essex, and he was in the same way to influence Sir Arthur Mainwaring toward Mrs. Turner. The intercourse between the ladies and the conjurer became now frequent, and he used all his skill in charms and images to effect their desire. At a subsequent period Foreman's wife deposed in court " that Mrs. Turner and her husband would sometimes be locked upp in his studye for three or four howres together ;" and the countess became so intimate that she spoke of Foreman as her " sweet father."

The result of all these intrigues was that Lord Rochester became violently enamoured of the countess, and they formed an intimacy which soon assumed a criminal character. Their stolen meetings were held at Mrs. Turner's house in Paternoster-row, at Copinger's, and elsewhere, and became a matter of

public scandal. But in the meanwhile a new obstacle had risen in the way of their criminal enjoyments. The young earl of Essex, who had been separated from his wife immediately after their premature marriage, returned from the wars abroad to claim his rights at home. The Lady Essex had scarcely known her husband, she could have no love toward him, and she was unwilling to relinquish her attachments and courtly tastes to live in private with a nobleman who never seems to have been much of a courtier. It required the earnest expostulations of her father to bring the young couple together, and when the earl of Essex, disturbed at the reports which soon reached him of her recent mode of life, took her to his house at Chartley, her coldness toward her lord was turned into intense hatred.

Mrs. Turner was again sent to Foreman, who undertook to bewitch the earl of Essex in the contrary sense to that in which he had enchanted the viscount Rochester. New images were made, new charms invented, and the doctor furnished powders to be administered, and washes to bathe his linen, which were to render the earl of Essex incapable of loving his lady. The latter had been convinced that Foreman's charms had procured her the affection of her lover, and she was now disappointed at finding them ineffectual against her husband. Letters addressed by her at this time to Mrs. Turner and Dr. Foreman were produced at a later period, in which she complained that "my lord is very well as ever he was," and expressed her aversion to him and her wish to be rid of him.

In the midst of these dark transactions a new circumstance happened which threatened to impede their intrigues. This was the sudden death of their grand agent, Doctor Foreman, who, to use the words of a manuscript report of the subsequent trial, "a little before his death desired he might be buryed very deepe in the ground, 'or else,' saith hee, 'I shall feare you all.'"* Foreman himself appears to have been apprehensive of the con-

* Lilly received from Foreman's widow the following singular account of his sudden death: "The Sunday night before he died, his wife and he being at supper in their garden-house, she being pleasant, told him, that she had been informed he could resolve whether man or wife should die first: 'Whether shall I,' quoth she, 'bury you or no?'—'Oh, Trunco,' for so he called her, 'thou shalt bury me, but thou wilt much repent it.'—'Yea, but how long first?'—'I shall die,' said he, 'ere Thursday night.' Monday came, all was well. Tuesday came, he not sick. Wednesday came, and still he was well; with which his impertinent wife did much twit him in his teeth. Thursday came, and dinner was ended, he very well: he went down to the water side, and took a pair of oars to go to some buildings he was in hand with in Puddle-dock. Being in the middle of the Thames, he presently fell down, only saying, 'An impost, an impost,' and so died. *A most sad storm of wind immediately following.*"

sequences of his dealings in this affair, for Lilly, who was acquainted with his widow, tells us that "he professed to her there would be much trouble about Carr and the countess of Essex, who frequently resorted unto him, and from whose company he would sometimes lock himself in his study a whole day." Mrs. Foreman, when afterward examined in court, deposed, that "Mrs. Turner came to her house immediatelye after her husband's death, and did demaund certaine pictures, which were in her husband's studye, namely, one picture in waxe, very sumptuously apparrelled in silke and sattin, as alsoe another sitting in forme of a naked woman, spreading and layinge forthe her haire in a glasse, which Mrs. Turner did confidentlye affirme to be in a boxe, and that she knewe in what part of the roome in the studye they were." Foreman is reported to have said, in reply to the expostulations of the countess, that the devil, as he had learned, had no power over the person of the earl of Essex; yet she persisted in her designs, and after Foreman's death, another conjurer was employed, one Doctor Lavoire or Savory, as the name is differently written in different manuscripts.

But a more powerful agent than the conjurers was now brought in. We have no means of ascertaining at what time King James was first made acquainted with the amorous intrigues of his favorite, but, as the latter was as anxious to get the lady Essex away from her husband as she was to leave him, the English Solomon resolved that both should be gratified. The countess was instructed to bring against the earl of Essex a charge of conjugal incapacity, a commission of reverend prelates of the church was appointed to sit in judgment, over whom the king presided in person, and a jury of matrons was found to give their opinion that the lady Essex was a maiden. James seems to have gloated over this revolting process with the same degree of pleasure which he had derived from the examination of the witches in Edinborough; the earl of Essex appears to have made no opposition, and the king pressed with indecent eagerness a judgment of divorce. This being effected, the king, with no less indecency, hastened a marriage between his favorite and the lady, with whose character he could not have been unacquainted, and heaped new honors upon the former for this occasion. On the 3d of November, 1613, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, was elevated to the rank and title of earl of Somerset; and on St. Stephen's day (December 26), King James gave the lady to his minion at the altar, and the marriage was celebrated by the court with unusual splendor.

There was one circumstance connected with this guilty mar-

riage, or at least contemporaneous with the intrigues which have just been described, that become in the sequel the foundation of events still more extraordinary.

Sir Thomas Overbury, who is known by literary compositions of some merit, was almost as much the favorite of Carr in the earlier period of his fortunes, as Carr was of the king; and although represented in the common published accounts as a man of honorable character, there appears to be not wanting grounds for suspecting that he was a fit companion for the monarch and his favorite. It appears from documents afterward brought forward, that Sir Thomas Overbury exercised for several years the extraordinary vocation of imparting ideas and language to the earl of Somerset, as to a puppet, who, by means of his secret suggestions, moved the inclinations of King James which way he would, governed councils, and fascinated the beauties of the court; and that he crowned his various achievements by writing love-letters in his patron's name, through which Lady Essex was led to indulge a guilty passion. Yet strangely enough, when his patron resolved to marry his mistress, and was supported in that resolution by the open approval and encouragement of his sovereign, Overbury is represented as putting himself forward indiscreetly to oppose the marriage, and as thus drawing upon himself the hatred of the favorite and his mistress. It was determined by some means or other to get Overbury out of the way; the king, at the instigation (as it is said) of Somerset and the earl of Northampton, offered to send him embassador to Russia, and when (also, it is said, at Somerset's suggestion) he refused the employment, James, in a fit of anger, ordered him to be committed close prisoner to the tower. Here Overbury lingered in a sickly state of body till the 19th of October, 1613, when he died.

For a while after the marriage, the king's attachment to the earl of Somerset seemed to increase from day to day, and honors and riches were showered thick upon him, but at length it was perceived that James began to be tired of his favorite, and his enemies seized the opportunity to conspire his ruin. Among these, the archbishop of Canterbury, Abbott, with whom Somerset had quarrelled, was one of the most active, and he has left us an account of the way in which these intrigues were carried on. "We could have no way so good," says the archbishop, "to effectuate that which was the common desire, as to bring in another in his room; one nail the proverb is, being to be driven out by another. It was now observed that the king began to cast

his eye upon George Villiers, who was then cup-bearer, and seemed a modest and courteous youth. But King James had a fashion, that he would never admit any one to nearness about himself, but such a one as the queen should commend to him, and make some suit in that behalf, in order that, if the queen afterward, being ill-treated, should complain of this *dear one*, he might make this answer, 'It is come of yourself, for you were the party that commended him unto me.' Our old master took delight in things of this nature." The queen hated Somerset, and after a good deal of communications and intriguing, she consented to act the part required; and Villiers was appointed a gentleman of the chamber, in spite of the opposition of the old favorite, who was made to feel more and more that he was losing favor with the king. Still the king continued outwardly to show him the same attention as before, and even increased his honors, by which he was lulled into security, while a deep plot was laid for his final overthrow, in which James, daily more attached to the new object, appears to have concurred.

All who looked forward for advancement through the new favorite were zealous in persecuting the old one, and among these were Sir Ralph Winwood, one of the secretaries of state, and a creature of Villiers, and Sir Francis Bacon, to whom Villiers held out the prospect of the chancellorship of England. The first of these got up the accusation on which Somerset was tried, and the second was employed to conduct the prosecution. It was stated that Sir Thomas Overbury had been poisoned in the Tower by agents of the countess and earl of Somerset, that his body had been hastily and privately buried without having been shown even to his friends, and that Somerset's power over the king had been used to hush up and conceal the crime. Several inferior agents were committed to prison, and by the king's orders a warrant was made to arrest the earl of Somerset, which is said to have been executed after he left the king's presence at Royston. In the last scene of this court drama, the king exhibited the most heartless duplicity. The following account is given by an eyewitness, Sir Anthony Weldon :—

"The king with this took his farewell for a time of London, and was accompanied with Somerset to Royston, where no sooner he brought him, but the earle instantly took his leave, little imagining what viper lay among the herbs. Nor must I forget to let you know how perfect the king was in the art of dissimulation, or, to give it his own phrase, kingcraft. The earle of Somerset never parted from him with more seeming affection

than at this time, when he knew Somerset should never see him more; and had you seen that seeming affection (as the author himselfe did), you would rather have believed he was in his rising than setting. The earle, when he kissed his hand, the king hung about his neck, slabbering his cheeks, saying:—

"'For God's sake, when shall I see thee againe? On my soule, I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come againe?'

"The earle told him on Monday (this being on the Friday)—

"'For God's sake, let me,' said the king, 'shall I, shall I?' then lolled about his neck. 'Then for God's sake, give thy lady this kiss for me.'

"In the same manner, at the stayres' head, at the middle of the stayres, and at the stayres foot. The earl was now in his coach when the king used these very words (in the hearing of four servants, of whom one was Somerset's great creature, and of the bed-chamber, who reported it instantly to the author of this history), 'I shall never see his face more.'"

The earl was placed under arrest on his return to London, but instead of proceeding to an examination of the two principal offenders, the minor actors in the tragedy were first brought to trial. The object in view from the beginning appears to have been to bring forward as little evidence as possible, but to use every means of inducing the various persons accused to confess themselves guilty and accuse their supposed employers. Although at first some of them obstinately denied any knowledge of the crime imputed to them, they all ended by confessing whatever was required, influenced either by hope or fear, and when their confessions had been obtained, they were hurried to the gallows with as little delay as possible. We can hardly doubt, from the evidence, that the countess of Somerset had been anxious for Overbury's death, and that she had suborned persons to poison him, but it certainly did not appear by the evidence that he had been poisoned by them.

During these trials the public excitement was so great that Westminster hall was intensely crowded, and immense sums were given for places on the scaffolding erected for the occasion. This was especially the case on the 7th of November, 1615, the day when Mrs. Turner was arraigned, and a feeling of superstitious fear seized on the assemblage when on that occasion the instruments of Foreman's conjurations were exposed to view. It appears that when Mrs. Turner was arrested, she sent her maid in haste to Foreman's widow, to warn her that the privy council would probably give orders to search her house, and to urge her

to burn any of her husband's papers that were calculated to compromise her. Mrs. Foreman saw that the trouble her husband foretold had arrived, and she followed the suggestion thus conveyed to her, but a few documents were preserved that were now brought into court, and among these were the two guilty letters addressed by Lady Essex from Chartley, to Mrs. Turner and Foreman, which according to some accounts, had been found in the conjuror's pockets after his sudden death. The various articles which were seized in Foreman's house related to the attempts to enchant the earls of Somerset and Essex, and not to the murder of Overbury. "There was shewed in court certeine pictures of a man and a woman made in lead, and also a mould of brasse wherein they were cast, a blacke scarfe alsoe full of white crosses, which Mrs. Turner had in her custodie;" in addition to which there were "inchanted paps and other pictures." These might be innocent enough, if they had not been followed by a parcel of Foreman's written charms and conjurations. "In some of these parchments," says the contemporary report of the trial in the manuscript from which we are quoting, "the devill had particular names, who were conjured to torment the Lord Somersett and Sir Arthur Mannering, if theire loves should not contynue, the one to the countesse, the other to Mrs. Turner." The horror caused by these revelations was so great, that the multitude assembled in the hall involuntarily led into the delusion that the demons were present among them, witnessing the exposure of their victims, and suddenly in the midst of this sensation, "there was heard a crack from the scaffold which carryed a great feare, tumult, and commotion, among the spectators and through the hall, every one feareing hurt, as if the devill had bine present and growen angry to have his workemanshipp knowne by such as were not his owne schollars." The reporter adds, "There was alsoe a note showed in courte, made by Doctor Foreman, and written in parchment, signifying what ladyes loved what lords in the court, but the lord chiefe-justice would not suffer it to be read openly in courte." This "note," or book, is understood to have been a diary of Foreman's dealings with the persons implicated; and, according to the scandal of the time, the reason why my lord-chief-justice objected to reading it was, that his own wife's name was the first which caught his eye on opening it.* Mrs. Turner had been a favorite with the court

* Had we Foreman's private diaries for this period, they would no doubt throw much light on contemporary history. The immorality of the conjuror's private character is sufficiently evinced by that portion of his secret diaries privately printed by Mr. Halliwell.

ladies on account of her skill in inventing new fashions; fully aware that it was useless to make any defence, she sought to move compassion by representing that she was a mere servant to the will of people of higher rank, on whom she had to depend for the support of herself and children. Her fate is said to have excited much commiseration.

Several months were allowed to elapse after the execution of the minor agents, on whose confessions these charges rested, before the great offenders were proceeded against. The countess of Somerset was brought to her trial on the 24th of May, 1616, and she at once pleaded guilty, under the evident impression that this plea was to merit a pardon. This had no doubt been arranged beforehand. There remained nothing now but to condemn the earl, whose trial was fixed for the day following, the 25th of May; but he it appears, was more difficult to deal with than the other prisoners. The conduct of the king and the earl on this occasion was calculated to excite extraordinary suspicions; for the reports of the trial and the version of the story which came before the public were evidently drawn up for the purpose of deceiving. An attempt has been made to throw some light on these mysterious transactions by Mr. Amos, who has examined the documents relating to this trial preserved in the state-paper office, and has collected the materials which we are now to use.*

The letters of Bacon, whose conduct throughout these trials was, to say the least, most unmanly, show us that the king looked forward to the trial of Somerset with the greatest uneasiness, and that every effort was made to induce him to admit the justice of the prosecution, even by the promise of the king's pardon. Bacon writes to Sir George Villiers, on the second of May, "That same little charm, which may be secretly infused into Somerset's ear some few hours before his trial, was excellently well thought of by his majesty, and I do approve it both for matter and time; only, if it seems good to his majesty . . . I could wish it were made a little stronger, by giving him some hopes that his majesty will be good to his lady and child, &c. . . For the person that should deliver this message, I am not so well seen in the region of his friends, as to be able to make choice of a particular; my lord treasurer, the lord Knollys, or any of his nearest friends, should not be trusted with it, for they may go

* The Grand Oyer of Poisoning: the Trial of the Earl of Somerset, for the Poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower of London. By Andrew Amos, Esq. London, Bentley, 1846.

too far, and perhaps work contrary to his majesty's ends. Those which occur to me are my Lord Hay, my Lord Burleigh, of England I mean, and Sir Robert Carre." On May 5th, Bacon writes to Villiers, after stating his opinion that the "resuscitation of Somerset's fortune" would be impolitic: "But yet the glimmering of that which the king hath done to others, by way of talk to him, can not hurt, as I conceive; but I would not have that part of the message as from the king, but added by the messenger as from himself . . . The time I wish to be the Tuesday, being the even of his lady's arraignment; for, as his majesty first conceived, I would not have it stay in his stomach too long, lest it sour in the digestion." He was, in fact, to be taken by surprise, and not left time for calm reflection. Several other letters and papers of Bacon contain similar intimations; and it appears from one, that while the countess and her husband were kept perfectly in the secret as to what course the other was pursuing, or what evidence existed against the other, they were still played off against each other. Bacon says, on the tenth of May, "It is thought that at the day of her trial the lady will confess the indictment; which, if she do, no evidence ought to be given. But because it shall not be a dumb show, and for his majesty's honor in so solemn an assembly, I purpose to make a declaration of the proceedings of this great work of justice, from the beginning to the end, wherein, nevertheless, I will be careful no ways to prevent or discover the evidence of the next day. In this my lord-chancellor and I have likewise used a point of providence; for I did forecast, that if in that narrative, by the connection of things, *anything should be spoken that should show him guilty*, she might break forth into passionate protestations *for his clearing;* which, though it may be justly made light of, yet it is better avoided; therefore, my lord-chancellor and I have devised, that upon the entrance into that declaration she shall, *in respect of her weakness*, and *not to add further affliction, be withdrawn.*" In a paper of questions for the management of the earl's trial, in Bacon's handwriting, it is suggested, "Whether, if my lord of Somerset should *break forth into any speech of taxing the king*, he be not presently by the lord-steward to be interrupted and silenced; and, if he persist, he be not to be told, that if he take that course, *he is to be withdrawn, and evidence to be given in his absence.*" It must be observed, that there is no intimation that Somerset had ever threatened to save himself by accusing the king, so that the fear on that head must have arisen from some great misgiving on the part of the latter.

Sir George Moore had been appointed lieutenant of the Tower when Somerset was committed, and in his family have been preserved the autograph letters which the king addressed to him during the preparations for the trial.* From these, we see how anxiously James was acting in the views expressed in the above extracts from Bacon's letters. In the first of the king's letters, dated on the ninth of May, James says to Sir George Moore, "As the only confidence I had in your honesty made me, without the knowledge of any, put you in that place of trust which you now possess, so must I now use your trust and secrecy in a thing greatly concerning my honor and service;" and he then desires him to admit, in the greatest secrecy, to his prisoner, a private messenger, who was to persuade him to confess. On the 13th of May, the king writes again, "Although I fear that the last message I sent to your unfortunate prisoner shall not take the effect that I wish it should, yet I can not leave off to use all means possible to move him to do that which is most honorable for me, and his own best. You shall, therefore, give him assurance in my name, that if he will yet before his trial confess clearly unto the commissioners his guiltiness of this fact, I will not only perform what I promised by my last messenger, both toward him and his wife, but I will enlarge it . . . Assure him, that I protest upon my honor, my end in this is for his and his wife's good; you will do well, likewise, of yourself to cast out unto him, that you fear *his wife shall plead weakly for his innocence*, and that you find the commissioners have, you know not how, some secret assurance that, in the end, *she will confess of him;* but this must only be as from yourself, and therefore you must not let him know that I have written to you . . . if he remain obstinate, I desire not that you should trouble me with an answer; for it is to no end, and no news is better than *evil news*." In another letter, undated, the king speaks in the same strain, and adds, "It is easy to be seen that he would threaten me, with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sort accessory to his crime;" and in a fourth, which appears to have been written early on the morning of the trial, James gave some curious directions what should be done with the earl, in case he refused to go to the trial. It appears that Somerset did not believe that the king would allow him to be brought to a public trial.

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have given important evidence on the trial, had mere truth been sought, were certainly kept out of the way.

Mr. Amos points out the improbability of the whole story of the poisoning, as it was made the groundwork of the trial, and we may fairly doubt if it were not a fiction to cover circumstances which could not safely be revealed. We learn from the narrative of Sir Anthony Weldon, that Franklin, one of the minor agents, confessed that Sir Thomas Overbury was *smothered* by him and Weston, and was not poisoned. "The suspicious circumstance that none of Franklin's examinations taken before his trial are forthcoming, gives some countenance to this report." Mr. Amos's book contains a mass of evidence on this and other points which my space will not allow me to transfer to this review of the subject.

It must be confessed that, even with the important additional evidence thus brought to light, the history of Sir Thomas Overbury's murder is still clouded in mystery. The conclusion to which we are naturally led by the foregoing facts is, that any satisfactory evidence which could have been brought forward would have involved other accomplices, whose names it was necessary to keep carefully from public suspicion, and that the real object of the prosecution was the ruin and disgrace of the favorite, whom at last James, actuated by fear or some other motive, did not sacrifice to the utmost extent of the wishes of his enemies. The presumption is indeed strong that the murder was authorized by King James himself. This supposition, at least, explains various circumstances which are otherwise totally inexplicable. We thus understand why the minor agents in the plot, and especially the unfortunate lieutenant of the Tower (Sir Gervais Helwysse), and Overbury's jailer, Weston, were so summarily despatched out of the world. We thus understand the tampering with their depositions, which, with all the arrangements for the trial, were made according to the king's own directions. And still more, we understand James's anxiety to prevent Somerset's anticipated revelations.

With this new view of the subject, we are led further to ask for a reason for this extraordinary state murder, and here at present we are left entirely to conjecture. The common story that Overbury's murder was a mere act of revenge for his opposition to the marriage of Somerset with the countess of Essex, has always appeared to me to be in the highest degree improbable, when we consider the part he appears to have previously acted in promoting Somerset's amours, and the part which he

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covery of the secret would, perhaps, reveal scenes of royal depravity which it were as well should remain unknown. It is certain that there was at the time an opinion abroad, that Sir Thomas Overbury had been an agent in evil deeds. He was even very commonly suspected of having had some hand in procuring the death of Prince Henry, who was far from being a favorite with his father, who hated the favorite, and who was popularly believed to have been poisoned. There are a few very remarkable passages in the papers of the time, relating to this event, which certainly, when put together, tend to raise suspicion, and Sir Edward Coke excited the king's anger to the highest degree, and was the cause of Sir Thomas Monson's trial being abruptly put a stop to, by an unguarded expression in court, which alluded to those suspicions against Overbury, and which it is said that James never forgave.

CHAPTER XX.

LA MARECHALE D'ANCRE.

WHILE this tragedy was acting in England, a somewhat similar one, though under different circumstances, was in progress in France.

On the death of Henri IV., slain by the assassin Ravaillac in 1610, his son, Louis XIII. being but a child, the royal power fell into the hands of the queen mother, Marie de Medicis. Among the servants attached to Marie before her marriage, was a woman of extraordinary address and talent, the daughter of Marie's nurse, named Eleonora Dori, or, a name she adopted afterward, Eleonora Galigai. She soon became a great favorite with her mistress, whom she accompanied into France as a confidential attendant, and she gradually gained an unbounded influence over Henri's queen. One of the gentlemen followers of the queen was a Florentine, named Concino Concini, whose grandfather was secretary to the grand duke Cosmo, but the property he had scraped together was dissipated by his children, and Concino, who had passed his youth so wildly that it is said to have become almost proverbial for parents to warn their children of his example, was in indigent circumstances. In consequence of this, he went to seek his fortune at Rome, where

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Sir George Moore had been appointed lieutenant of the Tower when Somerset was committed, and in his family have been preserved the autograph letters which the king addressed to him during the preparations for the trial.* From these, we see how anxiously James was acting in the views expressed in the above extracts from Bacon's letters. In the first of the king's letters, dated on the ninth of May, James says to Sir George Moore, "As the only confidence I had in your honesty made me, without the knowledge of any, put you in that place of trust which you now possess, so must I now use your trust and secrecy in a thing greatly concerning my honor and service;" and he then desires him to admit, in the greatest secrecy, to his prisoner, a private messenger, who was to persuade him to confess. On the 13th of May, the king writes again, "Although I fear that the last message I sent to your unfortunate prisoner shall not take the effect that I wish it should, yet I can not leave off to use all means possible to move him to do that which is most honorable for me, and his own best. You shall, therefore, give him assurance in my name, that if he will yet before his trial confess clearly unto the commissioners his guiltiness of this fact, I will not only perform what I promised by my last messenger, both toward him and his wife, but I will enlarge it . . . Assure him, that I protest upon my honor, my end in this is for his and his wife's good; you will do well, likewise, of yourself to cast out unto him, that you fear *his wife shall plead weakly for his innocence*, and that you find the commissioners have, you know not how, some secret assurance that, in the end, *she will confess of him;* but this must only be as from yourself, and therefore you must not let him know that I have written to you . . . if he remain obstinate, I desire not that you should trouble me with an answer; for it is to no end, and no news is better than *evil news*." In another letter, undated, the king speaks in the same strain, and adds, "It is easy to be seen that he would threaten me, with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sort accessory to his crime;" and in a fourth, which appears to have been written early on the morning of the trial, James gave some curious directions what should be done with the earl, in case he refused to go to the trial. It appears that Somerset did not believe that the king would allow him to be brought to a public trial.

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the crime of high treason, and she was condemned to be beheaded, and then burnt, her house to be razed to the ground, and all her blood struck with incapacity.

The maréchale d'Ancre expected that the utmost severity she had to expect was banishment and confiscation of her property, and when she heard her sentence, she was struck with the utmost astonishment, cried out repeatedly in her distress, "*Oimé povretta!*" and declared in arrest of judgment that she was with child. This plea, however, she immediately retracted; and when she was led to execution on the 8th of July, she submitted to her fate with firmness and resignation. The fury of the Parisian mob had itself abated, and the hated Italian favorite became on the scaffold an object of general commiseration.

CHAPTER XXI.

LOUIS GAUFRIDI.

THE belief in witchcraft was at this time turned to a new purpose by the Romish priesthood. They had long claimed exclusively for the church of Rome a transcendental authority and power which they were fain, in their present contest with the protestant reformers, to support with pretended miracles; and the belief which gained ground in the latter half of the sixteenth century, that people under the influence of witchcraft were possessed with demons in the same manner as the demoniacs of the New Testament, was too favorable to their plans to be neglected. Perhaps a great number of the catholic clergy believed conscientiously in the reality of these possessions, but in the more remarkable cases which have been chronicled, the patients were evidently persons tutored for the occasion; and upon the evidence of such people men of character were hurried to the gallows or the stake.

There were many of these pretended cases of obsession in England, but they were generally discouraged by the church, and were in most cases detected and exposed. In 1575, a woman of Westwell, in Kent, named Mildred Nerrington, pretended to be possessed, and accused a poor old woman of the neighborhood of having sent a devil into her. The affair went so far, that the vicar of the parish, with a neighboring clergyman, be-

lieved that they had expelled the demon by their prayers, and printed a relation of it. The civil power in this case was more effectual in establishing truth than the ecclesiastical, for the pretended demoniac confessed before two justices of the peace that it was an imposture, and she explained the way in which she had deceived the two clergymen. In 1579, a Welch girl, named Elizabeth Orton, pretended to fall into trances, and see visions, which were published with great solemnity by some Roman catholic priests; but she also was detected, and made a public confession in Chester cathedral. Two years afterward, another case of pretended demoniacs, in which some Jesuits were implicated, was similarly exposed. In 1598, a protestant clergyman, named William Darrell, made a great noise by his pretended dispossessing of demoniacs in Nottinghamshire; but his practice also ended in exposure. With a view to such cases, which were multiplying alarmingly, the convocation of the clergy, in the first year of King James, made a canon, "that no minister or ministers, without license and direction of the bishop, under his hand and seal obtained, attempt, upon any pretence whatsoever, either of possession or obsession, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any devil or devils, under pain of the imputation of imposture or cozenage, or deposition from the ministry."

Such cases were differently treated by the church in countries where the Romish faith was established, and where, though many of the more honest and better informed of the popish clergy regarded them at least with suspicion, they were encouraged by the teaching and example of those who were looked upon as the greatest authorities. Solemn forms of invocation were composed for the purpose of exorcising the demons, and driving them away from their victims; and these were as various and as superstitious as the charms of the magicians. The grand authority on this subject was an Italian ecclesiastic of the sixteenth century, named Geronimo Mengi, who published two collections of these exorcisms, which in the Latin edition are entitled *Flagellum Dœmonum*, the whip or scourge of demons, and *Fustis Dœmonum*, a club for the demons. In the introductory chapters of these books, the author describes the manner in which the exorcist was to prepare for his important office, treats of the nature of the evil beings with whom he was to deal, and warns him against their cunning and tergiversation. Among other things, he discusses the question whether it be lawful to make use of insulting language to the demons, and he resolves it in the affirmative. Another recommendation of this author shows the spirit of the

whole—the demons were to be compelled to give some open testimony to the truth of the Romish faith. Sometimes, he says, the demons are very obstinate, but the exorciser was to persevere day after day with great patience, and, above all, he was to endeavor to obtain possession of the instruments of sorcery, which being burnt, would greatly weaken the power of the evil one. Finally, he directs that the demoniacs should, if possible, be exorcised in an open church, before as large a congregation of people as possible.

These doctrines became in France and other countries the groundwork for extraordinary cases of individual persecution, of which the one I am now going to relate was not the least remarkable.

At Aix, in Provence, there was a convent of Ursuline nuns. It was one of the poorest of the monastic orders of females, for which reason they were allowed several ways of gaining a livelihood; and they seem to have been easily made the tools of the priests. Among the Ursulines of Aix there was, in the year 1610, a young lady named Magdalen de la Palude, who appears then to have been a new convert. She was the daughter of the sieur de la Palude, a Provençal gentleman, who lived in the neighborhood of Marseilles. Magdalen had not been long among the sisters of St. Ursula before she was seized with trances, and these soon communicated themselves to one of the nuns named Louise Capeau, whom she had chosen to be her intimate friend, and subsequently to some of their companions. It was evident they were possessed, and the superior of the priest proceeded to exorcise them in a little chapel, but to no purpose, and for a full year the demons continued obstinate.

Among the mountains, about three leagues from Aix, is the cave of La Sainte Baume, or "the holy cavern," in which Mary Magdalen, according to the popish tradition, was said to have passed her latter days, and which was now looked upon as a very holy place of pilgrimage. A convent had been founded on the spot, dedicated to the two patron saints of Provence, St. Magdalen and St. Maximin, the prior of which, at the time these events occurred, was Sebastian Michaelis, who was of sufficient importance to hold the office of an inquisitor of the faith. The superior of the priests of Aix, finding his own exorcisms of no avail, applied to the inquisitor Michaelis, by whose direction the two patients, Magdalen de la Palude and Louise Capeau, were carried to the Sainte Baume. The demons now became more tractable, and the exorciser learned that Magdalen was possessed

by Beelzebub, and her companion by a no less potent imp, named Verrine, who confessed that they had taken possession of the sufferers by order of Louis Gaufridi, who was the prince and commander of all the magicians in Spain, France, England, and other countries, as far as Turkey, and who had Lucifer for his demon. This Gaufridi was a native of the mountains of Provence, born at Beauvezer lés Colmaret; he was now a priest at Marseilles, enjoying, it would appear, no very good reputation, especially on account of his intrigues with women, and he seems to have been an object of jealousy and ill-feeling among his fellow-clergy.

Sister Magdalen was induced to confess that when she was very young, Louis Gaufridi was a frequent visiter at her father's house in the country, and that one day when they were in the fields, he lured her away to a cavern at no great distance from her home. When they entered the cavern, she saw a great number of people, at which she was amazed, but her companion encouraged her and said, "These are our friends, you must be marked like them." She poor girl was in such astonishment that she made no resistance, but submitted to be marked and abused, and then she returned home, telling nobody, not even her father or mother, what had occurred. After this she was frequently carried to the meeting of the witches, of whom she was made princess, as Gaufridi was their prince. Although she still remained in her father's house, her intercourse with Gaufridi continued, until she suddenly took a fancy to enter the convent of the nuns of St. Ursula. When she consulted Gaufridi on this step, he earnestly dissuaded her from it, urged her to marry, and promised to find her a rich and handsome husband; but when he saw that she was fixed in her determination, he became angry, and threatened that, if she became a nun, his punishment should be not only upon her, but upon all the sisterhood, and the consequence was the visitation under which they were now suffering. Such was the statement made by Magdalen de la Palude to the inquisitor of the Sainte Baume.

The two nuns arrived at the Sainte Baume on the 27th of November, 1610, and the prior Michaelis seems to have taken a pleasure in exercising the office of exorcist, for he continued his examinations almost daily till the month of April following. On their first arrival at the convent of the Holy Cave, the demons were extremely violent, and, irritated by the prior's exorcisms, they threw their victims into violent contortions, raised them up in the church (the place of exorcising), and attempted to carry

them out by an opening over the choir, but they were prevented. In the course of a day or two the exorcisms began to produce their effect, and on the 7th of December, Verrine, who was the weaker demon, and had possession of Sister Louise, was compelled to talk. He said that Louise was possessed by three devils, himself and two others, named Gresil and Sonneillon. Next day Verrine gave a long account of the beauty, merits, and glory of the Virgin Mary. Meanwhile Beelzebub, who possessed Sister Magdalen, was enraged at the informations given by his fellow-demon, and during his discourse on the merits of the Virgin Mary, he began to bellow like a mad bull, turning his victim's head and eyes in dreadful contortions, and taking off one of her shoes, threw it at Verrine and struck Sister Louise on the head. On the 9th of December, the demon Verrine accused Sister Magdalen of being a witch, and exhorted her to repentance, but he said that Sister Louise was innocent. Beelzebub was again turbulent, and threatened Verrine with punishment, but the latter treated his menaces with contempt; he said he owed obedience to Beelzebub when they were in hell together, but that under circumstances like the present he was his equal. On the 10th, Verrine entered into details relating to the punishments of the other world, and Beelzebub was less unruly, though he tossed his victim, Sister Magdalen, from one side of the church to the other, saying that was the way they tossed about the souls of sinners in the regions below. During all these strange proceedings, the church was crowded with pilgrims, who went away "much edified."

It was decided on the 12th of December that in future, while one priest exorcised and questioned the demons, another should commit their answers to writing. These depositions were collected and printed seriously by the exorciser Sebastian Michaelis, whose book made a great sensation, and went through several editions. It forms a sort of compendium of transcendental divinity; for the exorciser directed his examinations to the express object of obtaining "authentic" information on different points respecting which doubts might exist in the minds of Christians. Among other things the demons told them that Antichrist was born; and when questioned as to the condition of Solomon and Nebuchadnezzar, whether Henri IV. (then lately dead) was saved, and on other similar matters, they gave replies which were highly satisfactory to all zealous catholics. On one occasion Beelzebub spoke with great bitterness against the art of printing, cursing the inventors of it, those who exercised it, and the doctors who gave their approbation to the books! These

exorcisms, as I have stated above, were continued till the month of April, 1611; the demons appear to have suffered severely under the compulsion by which such confessions were extorted, and from time to time they became rebellious, and howled and shouted, invoking other demons to their assistance!

The priests who conducted this affair seem almost to have lost sight of Louis Gaufridi, in their anxiety to collect these important evidences of the true faith. It was not till toward the close of winter that the reputed wizard was again thought of. A warrant was then obtained against him, and he was taken into custody, and confined in the prison of the Conciergerie at Marseilles. On the 5th of March he was for the first time confronted with Sister Magdalen, but without producing the result anticipated by his persecutors. Little information is given as to the subsequent proceedings against him, but he appears to have been treated with great severity, and to have persevered in asserting his innocence. Sister Magdalen, or rather the demon within her, gave information of certain marks on his body which had been placed there by the evil one, and on search they were found exactly as described. It is not to be wondered at, if, after the intercourse which had existed between them, Sister Magdalen were able to give such information. Still Gaufridi continued unshaken, and he made no confession, until at length, on Easter eve, the 26th of March, 1611, a full avowal of his guilt was drawn from him, we are not told through what means, by two capuchins of the convent of Aix, to which place he had been transferred for his trial. At the beginning of April, another witness, the demoiselle Victoire de Courbier, came forward to depose that she had been bewitched by the renegade priest, who had obtained her love by his charms, and he made no objection to their adding this new incident to his confession.

Gaufridi acknowledged the truth of all that had been said by Sister Magdalen or by her demon. He said that an uncle, who had died many years ago, had left him his books, and that one day, about five or six years before his arrest on this accusation, he was looking them over, when he found among them a volume of magic, in which were some writings in French verse, accompanied with strange characters. His curiosity was excited, and he began to read it, when to his great astonishment and consternation, the demon appeared in a human form, and said to him, "What do you desire of me, for it is you who have called me?" Gaufridi was young, and easily tempted, and when he had recovered from his surprise, and was reassured by the manner

and conversation of his visiter, he replied to his offer, "If you have power to give me what I desire, I ask for two things; first, that I shall prevail with all the women I like; secondly, that I shall be esteemed and honored above all the priests of this country, and enjoy the respect of men of wealth and honor." We may see perhaps through these wishes the reason why Gaufridi was persecuted by the rest of the clergy. The demon promised to grant him his desires, on condition that he would give up to him entirely his "body, soul, and works;" to which Gaufridi agreed, except only from the latter the administration of the holy sacrament, to which he was bound by his vocation as a priest of the church.

From this time Louis Gaufridi felt an extreme pleasure in reading the magical book, and it always had the effect of bringing the demon to attend upon him. At the end of two or three days the agreement was arranged and completed, and, it having been fairly written on parchment, the priest signed it with his blood. The tempter told him that, whenever he breathed on maid or woman, provided his breath reached their nostrils, they would immediately become desperately in love with him. He soon made a trial of the demon's gift, and used it so copiously, that he became in a short time a general object of attraction to the women of the district. He said that he often amused himself with exciting their passions, when he had no intention of requiting them, and he declared that he had already made more than a thousand victims.

At length he took an extraordinary fancy to the young Magdalen de la Palude; but he found her difficult of approach on account of the watchfulness of her mother, and he only overcame the difficulty by breathing on the mother before he seduced the daughter. He thus gained his purpose, took the girl to the cave in the manner she had already described, and became so much attached to her that he often repeated his charm on her to make her more devoted in her love. Three days after their first visit to the cave, he gave her a familiar named Esmodes. Finding her now perfectly devoted to his will, he determined to marry her to Beelzebub, the prince of the demons, and she readily agreed to his proposal. He immediately called the demon prince, who appeared in the form of a handsome gentleman; and she then renounced her baptism and Christianity, signed the agreement with her blood, and received the demon's mark. When the book of magic and the various agreements, which Gaufridi said he had preserved, were sought for, they were not

forthcoming; but he got over this difficulty by stating that he had burnt the one, when under fear of arrest, and that the evil one had carried away the others. He declared further, that he had had intercourse with Sister Magdalen since she was at the Sainte Baume; that he had often been at sabbaths at the Baume de Rolland, the Baume de Loubieres, and other places in the mountains about, and that two or three times he had wished that these meetings should be held at the Sainte Baume. Once the devil had sent him to fetch Sister Magdalen thence, and he declared that he had dragged her from one place to another through all the woods around.

The priest gave an account of the sabbaths, at which he was a regular attendant. When he was ready to go—it was usually at night—he either went to the open window of his chamber, or left the chamber, locking the door, and proceeded into the open air. There Lucifer made his appearance, and took him in an instant to their place of meeting, where the orgies of the witches and sorcerers lasted usually from three to four hours. Gaufridi divided the victims of the evil one into three classes,—the *masqués* (perhaps the novices), the sorcerers, and the magicians. On arriving at the meeting, they all worshipped the demon, according to their several ranks, the *masqués* falling flat on their faces, the sorcerers kneeling with their heads and bodies humbly bowed down, and the magicians, who stood highest in importance, only kneeling. After this, they all went through the formality of denying God and the saints. Then they had a diabolical service in burlesque of that of the church, at which the evil one served as priest in a violet chasuble; the elevation of the demon hoste was announced by a wooden bell, and the sacrament itself was made of unleaven bread. The scenes which followed resembled those of other witch-meetings. Gaufridi acknowledged that he took Magdalen thither, and that he made her swallow magical "characters," that were to increase her love to him; yet he proved unfaithful to her at these sabbaths with a multitude of persons, and among the rest with "a princess of Friesland." The unhappy sorcerer confessed, among other things, that his demon was his constant companion, though generally invisible to all but himself, and that he only left him when he entered the church of the capuchins to perform his religious duties, and then he waited for him outside the church-door.

Gaufridi was tried before the court of parliament of Provence, at Aix. His confession, the declarations of the demons, the marks on his body, and other circumstances, left him no hope

of mercy; judgment was given against him on the last day of April, and the same day it was put in execution. He was burnt alive.

All true catholics had derived so much edification from the declarations of the demons of Aix, that cases of possession became more frequent, especially among the nuns. Among the more remarkable cases, we may merely cite those of the nuns of Louviers, in 1643, and of the nuns of Aussonne, in 1662. I will, however, content myself with one more narrative of this class, which is perhaps the most extraordinary of them all. We are left to guess at the reasons for the persecution of Louis Gaufridi, but our next chapter will detail a history of which the motives were more apparent.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE URSULINES OF LOUDUN.

Soon after the period of the persecution of Louis Gaufridi, there was in the town of Loudun in the ancient province of Anjou a priest named Urbain Grandier, a canon of the church there, and a man who was as remarkable for his learning and talent as for his handsome person and courtly manners. He was born toward the end of the sixteenth century at Bouvere near Sablé, at which latter place his father, Pierre Grandier, exercised the profession of a notary, and his uncle, Claude Grandier, was, like himself, a priest. Urbain Grandier had studied in the college of the Jesuits at Bordeaux, and distinguished himself so much by his attainments and by his eloquence that he became very popular at Loudun, where he obtained two benefices as a preacher. This excited the jealousy and hatred of his brother clergy, whom his proud and resentful spirit hindered him from conciliating. He seems to have given them some hold upon him by certain irregularities in his life, especially by his familiarities with the other sex, which were a matter of scandal in the town. Loudun, moreover, contained a large population of protestants, and Urbain Grandier perhaps had a leaning toward them.

Between the year 1620 and 1629, Urbain Grandier had had several serious quarrels and some lawsuits with the clergy of

Loudun. A priest named Mounier had published libels upon him, and Urbain prosecuted and obtained a judgment against him, and exacted the full penalty with unfeeling rigor. He had gained an action against another priest named Mignon, a canon of the church of St. Croix, in a matter relating to a house which the latter claimed, and he had made Mignon his personal enemy by the offensive manner in which he exulted in his defeat. By such proceedings as these, and by his real or reputed amours, he had gained many enemies. In 1629, he was accused before the court of the bishop of Poitiers of scandalous intrigues, and even of having secretly introduced women into his church for improper purposes, and he was condemned by the official to be ejected from all his benefices. But some irregularity having been discovered in the proceedings, Urbain appealed, and obtained a decree of parliament, referring the case to the presidial of Poitiers, and he was acquitted of the charges brought against him, which his accusers were compelled to retract. This judgment was delivered on the 25th of May, 1631. It increased the exasperation of his enemies to such a degree, that the rchbishop of Bordeaux, as Urbain's friend, advised him to quit Loudun, and establish himself in some other place out of the way of his persecutors. But the angry priest was too proud and resentful to listen to counsel like this.

In the year 1626, a small convent of Ursuline nuns had been established at Loudun, and being very poor, they rented a private house, and were allowed to support themselves by taking as boarders a few young ladies whom they educated. Their first confessor or "director of conscience," was a priest named Mussaut, who died soon after the acquittal of Urbain Grandier by the presidial of Poitiers. Urbain, rather imprudently, became a candidate for Mussaut's place, but was rejected, it was afterward said, on account of his scandalous character. The office of director of conscience to the Ursulines was given to his old enemy Mignon. This affair seems to have caused a revival of animosities which might otherwise have sunk into oblivion.

Meanwhile the young scholars of the convent appear to have felt dull in the company of their teachers, and they determined to amuse themselves with frightening them. For this purpose they left their beds by night, made dreadful noises about the house, and took advantage of secret passages and peculiarities they had discovered in the building to play a variety of pranks, which they laid to the charge of the ghost of the late spiritual director, Father Mussaut. The nuns communicated their terrors

to Mussaut's successor, who soon suspected the intrigue; he saw to what advantage it might be turned, and obtained the confidence of the girls who were carrying it on. He not only encouraged them to proceed, but he soon brought the nuns themselves to join in his plans.

Mignon now proceeded more systematically in instructing his patients in the parts they were to act, and taught them to counterfeit all the strange postures and contortions of one supposed to be possessed. He gained the nuns to his purposes, not only by holding out to them the hope of enriching and glorifying their order, but by telling them that they would be the means of confounding and perhaps converting the numerous heretics in and about the town of Loudun, and he assured them that Urbain Grandier was himself a secret heretic. As far as we can judge, the motive which had most weight with the nuns was the prospect of enriching themselves by this "pious fraud," and the superior of the convent entered warmly into the design. Having prepared everything for his purpose, Mignon sent for a bigoted priest of the neighborhood of Loudun, named Pierre Barré, a man who had assumed the character of a saint, to support which he performed a variety of extravagancies. With the assistance of this man, who was rejoiced at the opportunity of exhibiting the effects of his own holiness, Mignon began by exorcising the superior and two of her nuns, and they carried on their proceedings in great secret for two or three days. They then entered into communication with another priest, who bore a very indifferent character, and made him their messenger to two magistrates, whom they invited to witness the exorcising of two nuns of the convent of the Ursulines possessed, as they said, by evil spirits. The first exhibition before the magistrates took place on the 11th of October, 1632. Before the proceedings began, Mignon informed the magistrates, that the nuns had been troubled for some time with a visitation of spectral appearances, which had ended in some of them being possessed with demons. He said that the superior of the nuns was possessed by the grand demon Astaroth, and that one of the nuns was in the possession of another devil whose name was Sabulon; and, although the nuns themselves, as he assured the magistrates, were totally ignorant of the learned languages, the demons knew all languages, and preferred making use of those which were no longer spoken. They were then ushered into a chamber where the superior lay in bed, and Mignon and his fellow exorcist began their operations. When the patient first saw the priests

and their companions, she appeared to be seized with dreadful spasms and screamed fearfully; but under the hands of the exorcists she became calmer, and Mignon proceeded to interrogate her spirit in Latin. To his first question, "*Propter quam causam ingressus es in corpus hujus virginis* (for what cause did you enter the body of this virgin)?" Astaroth answered with the utmost docility, "*Causa animositatis* (from animosity)." "*Per quod pactum* (by what pact)?" said Mignon. "*Per flores* (by flowers)," replied the demon.—"*Quales* (what flowers)?" asked the priest. "*Rosas*," was the reply.—"*Quis misit* (who sent them)?" "*Urbanus*.—"'*Dic cognomen* (tell us his surname)?" To this demand the demon replied with the utmost readiness, "Grandier."—Determined to possess all the particulars, the exorcist continued, "*Dic qualitatem* (tell us his profession)?" "*Sacerdos* (a priest)," said the spirit.—"*Cujus ecclesiæ* (of what church)?" "*Sancti Petri* (of St. Peter's)." Then said the priest, "*Quæ persona attulit flores* (what person brought the flowers)?" to which the instant reply was, "*Diabolica* (a demon)."

With this, the fit ended, and of course the examination could be carried on no longer. Mignon took the magistrates aside, and discoursed with them on the extraordinary scene they had witnessed, pointing out to them its resemblance to the affair of Louis Gaufridi which had occurred twenty years before. The Romish clergy in general seemed inclined to believe implicitly in the possession, and the capuchins showed a particular animosity against Grandier. The laity were astonished at these extraordinary revelations, and it is not to be wondered at if a great portion of them were led by the priests, and thus easily prejudiced against the accused. The calling in of the magistrates had given the affair more importance; the first two invited had probably been selected as those most likely to be imposed upon by priestcraft. They were admitted to another experiment next day (the 12th of October), and after the demon who possessed the superior of the convent had been duly exorcised, he repeated the charges against Grandier, adding that he was not only a priest, but *magus* (a magician). On this occasion the guilty roses were asked for, and a bunch of those flowers were produced and burnt before the company, but to the disappointment of them all, they did not, as was expected, emit a noxious odor under the action of the fire. The principal civil officers of the municipality now interfered, and on the 13th of October the bailli of the town, with the lieutenant civil, the

lieutenant criminal, the procureur du roi, the lieutenant à la prévôté, and other officers, went together to the convent of the Ursulines. It would appear that some of these municipal officers were protestants, and the bailli, especially, was known as a man of good sense and justice. When they arrived at the house occupied by the nuns, they were shown into a waiting-room, where they were left a considerable time, until Mignon condescended to make his appearance, and inform them that the demon that morning had refused to answer except in private, that the examination had been a very extraordinary one, and that he would give them a report of it in writing.

Urbain Grandier professed to despise the intrigues of his enemies, but he could not help feeling alarmed at the formidable league which had been raised against him. He determined first to apply for protection to the spiritual power, and he hurried to lay his complaint before the bishop of Poitiers. This prelate, however, as we have seen before, was not friendly to Grandier, who could not obtain a personal audience, but was referred back to the civil authorities for redress. On his return to Loudun, Grandier went to the civil court, and presented a formal charge of conspiracy against the priest Mignon; and on the 28th of October, the bailli issued a public order of the court against the calumnies of the priests. Mignon protested earnestly against this proceeding, and the whole town became violently agitated by the dispute between the priests and the civil authorities. The bailli followed up his decree by taking a decided part against the nuns, and he gave Grandier warning of every new step which they took. The priests, however, now set the civil power at defiance, and, preparing to act under the authority of the bishop of Poitiers, they contiuued their exorcisms of the nuns, and, having collected together a number of the least reputable medical practitioners of the place, men they knew were willing from credulity or knavery to be their tools, they obtained their signature to a statement of the truth of the possession. Upon this the bailli publicly inhibited the priests from exorcising or further proceeding in this case, but they again refused to acknowledge his jurisdiction.

They accordingly went on exorcising more openly and boldly than ever. Another nun was now found to be possessed, and her demon confessed that he was Asmodeus, and that he had five companions in the possession of this single victim. He also declared that Urbain Grandier was the magician who had sent them. This occurred on the 24th of November; on the

25th, the civil officers, who were present, insisted on trying the pretended powers of the demons to speak all languages, and the bailli asked the patient what was the Hebrew word signifying water. She held down her head and muttered something, which one of the witnesses who stood very near her declared was a mere refusal in French to answer. But one of the priests, who was suggesting to her, insisted that she said *zaquaq*, which he declared meant in Hebrew *aquam effudi!* On a previous occasion they had risked an exposure by making the demon speak bad Latin.* They now, therefore, began to be more cautious, and carried on their examination of the demons in a more secret manner. At the same time they tried to gain the bailli over, but in vain. The confessions of the demons still turned mainly upon the delinquencies of Grandier, but they began also to talk against the Huguenots, provoked no doubt by the incredulity of the civil magistrates. As the latter had exposed some of their tricks, and had given them considerable embarrassment, the nuns were now made to say in their fits that they would no longer give any answers in the presence of the bailli or other municipal officers.

The priests now made their appeal to the bishop of Poitiers, who at last openly espoused their cause, and on the 28th of November he appointed two commissioners, the deans of the canons of Champigni, and of the canons of Thouars, to examine into this strange affair. With their countenance and assistance the exorcisms commenced anew, and when, on the 1st of December, the bailli went to the convent, and insisted upon being admitted to the examination, and upon being permitted to put questions to the nuns when exorcised, he was refused by Barré, who now acted as chief exorcist. The bailli then formally forbade him to put any questions to the pretended demons tending to defame individuals; but Barré merely replied that it was his intention to use his own discretion in this respect. The priests had now everything at their own will, and they were sanguine of success, when their plot was deranged by the unexpected announcement that the archbishop of Bordeaux was on his way to Loudun. On several occasions the priests had declared, to explain some temporary intermission of the fits, that they had succeeded in driving away the demons, but that they had subsequently been sent back by the magician. When news came of the approach of the archbishop, they disappeared entirely, and the nuns became quiet and tranquil. Some pru-

* In allusion to their bad Latin, and to the classes in the schools, a wit of the day said, "*Que les diable de Loudun n'avoient étudié que jusqu'en troisième.*"

dent directions given by the archbishop seem to have put a stop to further proceedings, and even Mignon and Barré let the matter drop, so that little more was heard of it.

The Ursulines were now the sufferers. They fell into general discredit; people took away their daughters,* and they fell into distress. They laid the blame of their sufferings on their director Mignon, who had led them into the expectation of deriving great profit from their imposture.

Before the embers of this flame were quite extinct, an unexpected circumstance rekindled them. Among the pamphlets which had appeared against Cardinal Richelieu, who then ruled the destinies of France, was a very bitter satire, entitled, in allusion to some low intrigue of the cardinals connected with this town, *La Cordonnière de Loudun*. M. de Laubardemont, a creature of the cardinal, who at this time held the office of master of the requests, was sent to Loudun, in 1633, to direct the demolition of the castle of that place. Mignon and his fellow-plotters immediately obtained an introduction to this minister, and they not only recounted to him the affair of the nuns, in a manner very disadvantageous to Urbain Grandier and his friends, but they persuaded him that Urbain was the author of the satire just mentioned. Laubardemont returned to Paris, and communicated what he had heard to the cardinal, who seldom spared the authors of personal attacks on himself when they were in his power, and who is said to have been urged on to sacrifice the curé of Loudun by his confidential adviser, the celebrated père Joseph. The result was, that Laubardemont returned to Loudun, commissioned by the king to inquire into the possession of the nuns, and into the charges against Grandier. He arrived at Loudun with this commission on the 6th of December, 1633.

The case now assumed a much more serious countenance. The demons returned to the sisters with redoubled fury, and with an increase of numbers, and nearly all the nuns were attacked by them. Mignon and his fellow-priest had already got up an exhibition of exorcism for Laubardemont before that functionary's departure for Paris, and he brought back with him a writ for the apprehension of Grandier, in which were blazoned forth all the crimes which had ever been imputed, rightly or wrongly, to that individual. Upon this he was thrown into prison, and his house searched for magical books, which were not

* Tallemant des Réaux, who has preserved so many anecdotes of this period, tells us that Le Couldray Montpensier, who had two daughters boarding with these nuns, immediately took them away, and had them well whipped, which he found an efficacious method of driving out the demons.

found. Two only proofs against him, considered of any importance, were discovered among his papers, some French verses, which are characterized in the *procès verbal* as being *sales et impudiques*—a somewhat strange accusation in that licentious age, but they perhaps served to corroborate the suspicion that Grandier was the author of the libel on the cardinal—and a book which he had written, but never published, against the celibacy of the clergy. At the beginning of the year a series of examinations were taken, and being committed to writing and duly attested, Laubardemont carried them to Paris to lay them before the minister. He then received a new commission from the king to act as supreme judge of this cause, independent of all other jurisdiction whatever; and he returned to Loudun with this extensive power on the 9th of April, 1634.

Laubardemont began by selecting as judges a certain number of persons from the local magistracy who were most likely to be devoted to his will, and such physicians and others were chosen to assist in the examinations as were known to bear enmity to the accused. The numerous victims of the pretended possession were now distributed into two bands, for the convenience of the exorcists. On the 23d of April the superior of the nuns declared that the demons who possessed her had entered her in the forms of a cat, a dog, a stag, and a goat. On the 24th, she declared the Grandier had the demon's marks on his body. On the authority of this statement, next day a surgeon, selected as being the bitterest of his enemies, was sent to Grandier in his prison to search for his marks, and the miserable victim was stripped and treated with extreme inhumanity. He ended by discovering, as he pretended, five marks, or insensible spots. The demons were not always very accurate in the information they gave to the exorcists. When questioned as to Grandier's books of magic, they indicated a certain *demoiselle* to whom he had intrusted them before his arrest, and in whose house they said that the books would be found. Laubardemont and others went immediately to the house indicated, which they examined from top to bottom, but they found no books of the description of those of which they were in search. They returned, and scolded the demons for their false information. The latter pretended that a niece of the *demoiselle* had carried them away after the information had been given. They then went to the niece, but they found that she was at church, and that she had been so occupied all day that it was impossible she could have acted as the demons stated. But the exorcists were not discouraged by a few

slips like these, and they were especially active in their examinations at the beginning of the month of May. Some new demons then appeared on the scene, under the names of Eazas, Cerberus, Beherit, &c. Other statements of the demons were found to be false, and the conspirators had much difficulty in concealing some of the tricks they employed. But all these difficulties were passed over as matters of little moment.

The examinations were now exhibited publicly in the church, and a crowd of people, both catholics and Huguenots, were always present. The matter had already created so much sensation throughout France, that many people of quality came from Paris and other parts, so that all the hostelries in the town were filled with visiters. Among the rest was Quillet, the court poet, who fell into temporary disgrace by his imprudence on this occasion. At one of the exhibitions, Satan, speaking from the mouth of one of the sisters, threatened that he would toss up to the ceiling of the church any one who should dare to deny the possession of the nuns. Quillet took him on his word, and was not tossed to the ceiling, but he provoked so much the anger of Laubardemont, that he is said to have found it advisable to make a journey to Rome. On another occasion the devil boasted that he would take the protestant minister of Loudun in his pulpit and carry him up to the top of the church-steeple, but he did not put his threat in execution. This same protestant minister was present at one of the examinations, when the priests, who were administering the consecrated host, told him contemptuously, to show their superiority over the Huguenots, that he dared not put his fingers into the mouths of the nuns as they did. He is said to have replied, that "he had no familiarity with the devil, and would not presume to play with him." The priests made the nuns utter a great mass of nonsense, and much that was profane and indecent. They caused them to say many things irreverent even to those who conducted the prosecution, which was considered as proving how little they were influenced by them. One day the devil, by the mouth of one of the sisters, closed the examination by declaring, "*M. de Laubardemont est cocu.*" In the evening, as usual, Laubardemont took the written report, wrote under these words as a matter of course, "*Ce que j'atteste être vrai,*" and signed it with his name. When the depositions were sent to Paris, this circumstance was the source of no little amusement at court.

As the trial went on, doubts and ridicule began to be thrown upon it, which alarmed the commissioners, and it was resolved

to hasten the proceedings. Every precaution was taken to secure the condemnation of Grandier. His brother, an advocate of parliament, was accused of sorcery and placed under arrest, that he might not be capable of appealing. Every circumstance that told in favor of the accused was carefully suppressed, while whatever could be turned against him was magnified into undue importance. Those who expressed any doubts were threatened with prosecution; and the bishop of Poitiers now came forward again, and not only gave the prosecution the full advantage of his ecclesiastical authority, but he caused placards to be exhibited about the town forbidding any one to speak disrespectfully of the nuns. This at once shut the mouths of all Grandier's friends.

His enemies had, however, another embarrassing circumstance to contend with. Some of the actors appear to have become ashamed of their parts, and to have been surprised with scruples of conscience. At the beginning of July, Sister Clara declared before the multitude assembled in the church, that all her confessions for some months past had been mere falsehood and imposture, which had been put into her mouth by Mignon and the priests, and she rushed from the church and endeavored to make her escape; but she was seized and brought back. This, however, did not hinder another nun, Sister Agnes, from following her example, and she made a similar declaration. The commissioner immediately adopted measures for hindering the recurrence of such accidents, and the priests declared that it was only one of the demon's vagaries, and that the unruly patients were at that moment under his influence. They carried their measures of intimidation so far, that they accused not only a sister of Grandier, but the wife of the bailli of Loudun, of being witches, intending thus at one blow to strike fear into his friends and relations. And they declared openly that the attempt to throw discredit on the proceedings was a mere trick of the Huguenots, who were afraid that the miracles performed by the priests on this occasion would throw discredit upon them.

Thus, overruling every form of law and justice, did the curé's enemies hurry on their object. As soon as it was known that the all-powerful cardinal was resolved on the destruction of the victim, few were bold enough to stand up in his defence. On the 18th of August, 1634, the judges assembled in the convent of the Carmelites, and on the faith of evidence testified by Astaroth, the chief of the devils, and a host of other demons, they pronounced judgment on Urbain Grandier, convicted of magic and sorcery, to the effect that he should perform penance before

the public, and that then he should be conducted to the stake, and burnt alive along with his magical covenants and characters (these were probably invented), and with his manuscript treatise on the celibacy of the clergy.* The sentence was put in execution the same day.

Thus perished another victim of superstition, adopted as the instrument of personal revenge. The process of the curé of Loudun made an extraordinary noise, the bigoted priests holding it up as a miraculous proof of the truth and efficacy of the Romish faith, while the protestants decried it loudly as an infamous imposture. Even in England it excited considerable interest. It gave rise to many publications in France, where also the evidence was analyzed, and its weakness exposed, and the whole affair soon fell into discredit. Some years afterward, the materials of this tragic story were collected together and arranged in a small volume printed at Amsterdam, in 1693, under the title of the *Histoire des Diables de Loudun.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE LANCASHIRE WITCHES.

THERE was something extraordinary in the sudden prevalence of sorcery during the years 1610, 1611, and 1612, through most of the countries of western Europe. It was in the last of these years that occurred one of the most romantic, if not one of the most remarkable, cases of witchcraft in England.

One of the wildest districts in Lancashire, even at the present day, is that known as the forest of Pendle, on the borders of Yorkshire. Above it rises the dark and lofty mountain known as Pendle hill, from the declivity of which the forest extended over a descent of about five miles to a barren and dreary tract called the water of Pendle. The view from the summit of the hill was grand and extensive, and near at hand beneath lay the splendid remains of the abbey of Whalley. The tract included under the name of the forest was barren and desolate, thinly inhabited, and its population very rude and uncultivated. On a

* The original depositions, with the autograph signatures of the demons (!), are still preserved among the manuscripts in the national library in Paris. The signatures are strange scrawls, evidently written by trembling hands guided by others.

brow of the descent from Pendle hill, at a considerable distance from any other habitation, stood a solitary and deserted building of some antiquity, no doubt in ruins, known popularly as the Malkin tower. It was inhabited at the time of which we are speaking by an old woman, whose real name was Elizabeth Southernes, but who was better known in the neighborhood by that of Old Demdike. She was at this time about eighty years of age, and exhibited all the characteristics of a confirmed witch in their most exaggerated forms. She had a son named Christopher, and a daughter named Elizabeth, who married a laborer of the Pendle district, named John Device. The Devices had three children, James, Alizon, and Jennet, the latter being, in 1612, nine years of age. It is one of the doctrines of sorcery, that the descendants of a witch follow, from a sort of inevitable necessity, the same profession, and all the members of this family then living, through the three generations, bore the same evil reputation.

They were not, however, alone in their dealings with the evil one, for the district of Pendle was at this time little better famed in the north of England than the territory of Labourd in France. There was another family which held a high rank among the witches of Pendle, the principal member of which was Anne Whittle, who went by the popular name of Old Chattox, and was of the same age as Old Demdike; she had an only daughter named Anne, who was married to Thomas Redferne. Old Demdike was the senior or queen of the witches of Pendle and the neighborhood, but she had a jealous rival in Old Chattox, and the animosity created by their rivalry was shared by their families.

Mother Demdike, however, had long reigned supreme in her quarters, the terror of her neighbors. According to her own confession, she had been a witch fifty years (the printed book says twenty, but there are other circumstances mentioned which show this was a misprint). Her own account of herself, when brought to trial was, that at the period just mentioned, she was one day "coming homeward from begging, when there met her near unto a stone-pit in Goldshaw, in the said forest of Pendle, a spirit or devil, in the shape of a boy, the one half of his coat black, and the other brown, who bade her stay, saying to her, that if she would give him her soul, she should have anything that she would request. Whereupon she demanded his name, and the spirit answered his name was Tibb. And so in hope of such gain as was promised by the said devil or Tibb, she was contented to

give her soul to the said spirit. And for the space of five or six years next after, the said spirit or devil appeared at sundry times unto her about daylight-gate [twilight], always bidding her stay, and asking her what she would have or do. To whom she replied, nay, nothing; for she said she wanted nothing yet. And so about the end of the said six years, upon a sabbath-day, in the morning, this examinate, having a little child upon her knee, and she being in a slumber, the said spirit appeared unto her in the likeness of a brown dog, forcing himself to her knee, to get blood under her left arm; and she being without any apparel saving her smock, the said devil did get blood under her left arm. And she awaking, said, 'Jesus, save my child!' but had no power, nor could not say, Jesus save herself! whereupon the brown dog vanished out of her sight; after which she was almost stark mad for the space of eight weeks."

The child here spoken of must have been Elizabeth Device, one of the heroines of the present history, who in due time was betrayed by the evil one, and made a witch by her mother. It was the old woman, also, who inducted her grand-children, or was the means of introducing them, to the same evil and dangerous calling. James Device, the eldest of these, said in his confession, "that upon Sheare Thursday was two years (Easter eve, 1610) his grandmother, Elisabeth Southernes, alias Demdike, did bid him, this examinate, go to the church to receive the communion (the next day after being good Friday), and then not eat the bread the minister gave him, but to bring it and deliver it to such a thing as should meet him in his way homeward. Notwithstanding her persuasion, this examinate did eat the bread, and so in his coming homeward some forty roodes off the said church, there met him a thing in the shape of a hare, who spoke unto this examinate, and asked him whether he had brought the bread that his grandmother had bidden him, or no. Whereupon this examinate answered, he had not; and thereupon the said thing threatened to pull this examinate in pieces; and so this examinate thereupon marked himself to God, and so the said thing vanished out of this examinate's sight. And within some four days after that, there appeared in this examinate's sight, hard by the new church in Pendle, a thing like unto a brown dog, who asked this examinate to give him his soul, and he should be revenged on any whom he would; whereunto the examinate answered, that his soul was not his to give, but was his Savior Jesus Christ's; but as much as was in him this examinate to give he was contented he should have it. And within two or

three days after, this examinate went to the Carre Hall, and upon some speeches betwixt Mistress Towneley and this examinate, she charging this examinate and his said mother to have stolen some turves of her, bad him pack the doores; and withall as he went forth of the door, the said Mistress Towneley gave him a knock between the shoulders. And about a day or two after that, there appeared unto this examinate in his way a thing like unto a black dog, who put this examinate in mind of the said Mistress Towneley's falling out with him, and bad him make a picture of clay like unto the said Mistress Towneley; and he dried it the same night by the fire, and within a day after, he, this examinate, began to crumble the said picture, every day some, for the space of a week; and within two days after all was crumbled away, the said Mistress Towneley died. And he further saith, that in Lent last one John Duckworth of the Launde promised this examinate an old shirt; and within a fortnight after, this examinate went to the said Duckworth's house, and demanded the said old shirt; but the said Duckworth denied him thereof. And going out of the said house, the said spirit Dandy appeared unto this examinate, and said, 'Thou didst touch the said Duckworth.' Whereupon this examinate answered, he did not touch him. 'Yes,' said the spirit again, 'thou didst touch him, and therefore I have power of him.' Whereupon this examinate agreed with the said spirit, and then wished the said spirit to kill the said Duckworth: and within one week, then next after, Duckworth died."

His sister Alizon's account of her conversion to witchcraft was as follows. She said, that "about two years agon, her grandmother (called Elisabeth Southernes, alias old Demdike) did sundry times in going or walking together as they went begging, persuade and advise this examinate to let a devil or familiar appear unto her; and that she, this examinate, would let him suck at some part of her, and she might have and do what she would. And she further saith, that one John Nutter, of the Bulhole in Pendle aforesaid, had a cow which was sick, and requested this examinate's grandmother to amend the said cow; and her said grandmother said she would, and so her said grandmother about ten of the clocke in the night, desired this examinate to lead her forth, which this examinate did, she being then blind; and her grandmother did remain about half an hour forth; and this examinate's sister did fetch her in again; but what she did when she was so forth, this examinate can not tell. But the next morning this examinate heard that the said cow was dead.

And this examinate verily thinketh that her said grandmother did bewitch the said cow to death. And further, this examinate saith, that about two years agon, this examinate having gotten a piggin full of blue milk by begging, brought it into the house of her grandmother, where (this examinate going forth presently, and staying about half an hour) there was butter to the quantity of a quartern of a pound in the said milk, and the quantity of the said milk still remaining; and her grandmother had no butter in the house when this examinate went forth, during which time this examinate's grandmother still lay in her bed. And further, this examinate saith, that Richard Baldwin of Weethead, within the forest of Pendle, about two years ago, fell out with this examinate's grandmother, and so would not let her come upon his land; and about four or five days then next after her said grandmother did request this examinate to lead her forth about ten of the clocke in the night, which this examinate accordingly did, and she stayed forth then about an houre, and this examinate's sister fetched her in again. And this examinate heard the next morning that a woman-child of the said Richard Baldwin was fallen sick; and as this examinate did then hear, the said child did languish afterward by the space of a year, or thereabouts, and died. And this examinate verily thinketh that her said grandmother did bewitch the said child to death."

The youngest of the Devices, Jennet, a child of nine years, was as yet too young to be a witch herself, but she had been a careful watcher of the doings of her relatives, and appears to have been usually admitted to their secret meetings.

Old Demdike must certainly have obtained the special favor of the evil one, if it was to be gained by the number of her converts, for she was not only the perverter of those of her own party, but of those of the rival faction also; for old Chattox, her equal in age and decrepitude, if not in power, confessed that it was Mother Demdike who first seduced her to listen to the tempter. The records of the court testify that "the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, said, that about fourteen years past she entered, through the wicked persuasions and counsel of Elisabeth Southernes, alias Demdike, and was seduced to condescend and agree to become subject unto that devilish abominable profession of witchcraft. Soon after which, the devil appeared unto her in the likeness of a man, about midnight, at the house of the said Demdike; and thereupon the said Demdike and she went forth of the said house unto him; whereupon the said wicked spirit moved this examinate that she would become his subject and

give her soul unto him. The which at first she refused to assent unto; but, after, by the great persuasions made by the said Demdike, she yielded to be at his commandment and appointment. Whereupon the said wicked spirit then said unto her, that he must have one part of her body for him to suck upon; the which she denied then to grant unto him; and withall asked him, what part of her body he would have for that use; who said, he would have a place of her right side, near to her ribs, for him to suck upon; whereunto she assented. And she further said, that at the same time there was a thing in the likeness of a spotted bitch, that came with the said spirit unto the said Demdike, which then did speak unto her in this examinate's hearing, and said, that she should have gold, silver, and worldly wealth, at her will; and at the same time she saith there was victuals, viz., flesh, butter, cheese, bread, and drink, and bid them eat enough. And after their eating, the devil called Fancy, and the other spirit calling himself Tibb, carried the remnant away. And she saith, that although they did eat, they were never the fuller nor better for the same; and that at their said banquet the said spirits gave them light to see what they did, although they neither had fire nor candlelight; and that they were both she spirits and devils."

Anne Redferne, Mother Chattox's daughter, held a special rank among these miserable people, for she was the most skilful of them all in making those terrible instruments of evil, the images of clay. Old Demdike, in her confession, declared, "that about half a year before Robert Nutter died, as this examinate thinketh, this examinate went to the house of Thomas Redferne, which was about midsummer, as this examinate remembereth it. And there, within three yards of the east end of the said house, she saw the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and Anne Redferne, wife of the said Thomas Redferne, and daughter of the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, the one of the one side of the ditch, and the other on the other, and two pictures of clay or marle lying by them; and the third picture the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was making; and the said Anne Redferne, her said daughter, wrought her clay or marle to make the third picture withall. And this examinate passing by them, the said spirit, called Tibb, in the shape of a black cat, appeared unto her this examinate, and said, 'Turn back again, and do as they do.' To whom this examinate said, 'What are they doing?' Whereunto the said spirit said, 'They are making three pictures.' Whereupon she asked whose pictures they were. Whereunto the said spirit said, 'They are the pictures of Christopher Nutter, Robert

Nutter, and Mary, wife of the said Robert Nutter.' But this examinate denying to go back to help them to make the pictures aforesaid, the said spirit, seeming to be angry therefore, shove or pushed this examinate into the ditch, and so shed the milk which this examinate had in a can or kit, and so thereupon the spirit at that time vanished out of this examinate's sight. But presently after that, the said spirit appeared to this examinate again in the shape of a hare, and so went with her about a quarter of a mile, but said nothing to this examinate, nor she to it."

The two factions under these two rivals in mischief—the Erictho and Canidia, as they have been aptly termed, of the forest of Pendle—were the terror of the neighborhood. Those who were not witches themselves, were glad to buy on any terms the favor of Mother Demdike and her familar Tibb, or that of Mother Chattox and her imp Fancy; and those who offended the two powerful sorceresses or their friends, or who failed to propitiate them, were sure to meet with some kind of severe punishment. Several of their deeds are recounted in the examinations taken down at the trials. Their vengeance was often the result of very trifling provocations, and they at times exerted their blighting influence without any provocation at all. In her second examination, Alizon Device, after telling the manner of her seduction by her grandmother, says that not long after, "being walking, toward the Rough-lee, in a close of one John Robinson's, there appeared unto her a thing like unto a black dog, speaking unto her, and desiring her to give him her soul, and he would give her power to do anything she would: whereupon this examinate being therewithall inticed, and setting her down, the said black dog did with his mouth (as this examinate then thought) suck at her breast, a little below her paps, which place did remain blue half a yeare next after; which said black dog did not appear to this examinate, until the eighteenth day of March last; at which time this examinate met with a pedlar on the highway called Colne-field, near unto Colne; and this examinate demanded of the said pedlar to buy some pins of him; but the said pedlar sturdily answered that he would not loose his pack; and so this examinate parting with him, presently there appeareth to this examinate the black dog which appeared unto her as before; which black dog spake unto her in English, saying, 'What wouldst thou have me to do with yonder man?' To whom this examinate said, 'What canst thou do at him?' And the dog answered again, 'I can lame him.' Whereupon this examinate answered, and said to the black dog, 'Lame

him;" and before the pedlar was gone forty rods further, he fell down lame; and this examinate then went after the said pedlar; and in a house about the distance aforesaid, he was lying lame."

We have seen that Alizon Device accused her grandmother Demdike of causing the death of a daughter of Richard Baldwin, the miller, about two years before the time of her arrest. The feud between them seems to have been lasting, for the old woman confessed that, a little before the Christmas of 1611, her daughter Elizabeth Device had been employed "in helping the folks at the mill," and asked her to call upon Richard Baldwin to demand some remuneration for her work. Probably Elizabeth Device had given some cause of anger to the miller, for, as old Demdike, led by her granddaughter Alizon (for she was herself blind), approached his house, he met them, and applying certain opprobrious epithets to both, threatened he would burn the one and hang the other unless they went their ways. As they were passing the next hedge, the old witch's familiar Tibb made his appearance, and obtained a commission to take vengeance "of the miller or his." What that vengeance was, we are not informed.

As far as we can discover from the facts deposed at the trial, the hostility between Mother Demdike and Mother Chattox arose from the depredations of the latter or of her family, which happened about the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Elizabeth Device was robbed, and some of the articles stolen were found immediately afterward on the person of Anne, the daughter of Chattox (she was not at this time married to Redferne), and reclaimed. The anger of Mother Chattox was now great against the Devices, and, she being apparently powerless against old Demdike and her blood, her son-in-law John Device, the husband of Elizabeth, became so alarmed for his own safety, that he covenanted with Chattox to pay her yearly a measure of meal on condition that she should not hurt him or his goods by her charms. "This," said Alizon, "was yearly paid, until the year which her father died in, which was about eleven years since; her father, upon his then death-bed, taking it that the said Anne Whittle, *alias* Chattox, did bewitch him to death, because the said meal was not paid the last year!"

Many other persons seem to have been gradually drawn into this feud, among whom were some branches of the Nutters, a family rather extensively spread among the lesser gentry and yeomanry of this district. The Redfernes were tenants of the Nutters of Pendle in the time of old Robert Nutter, whose wife,

Elizabeth Nutter, had employed Mother Chattox to effect the destruction of her own grandson, known as "young Robert Nutter," in order that her husband's lands might go to some member of the same family who stood higher in her favor. This circumstance we learn from the confession of Mother Chattox herself, who tells us that "Elizabeth Nutter, wife to old Robert Nutter, did request this examinate, and Loomeshaw's wife of Burley, and one Jane Boothman of the same, who are now both dead, to get young Robert Nutter his death, if they could, all being together then at that time, to that end, that if Robert were dead, then the women their cousins might have the land; by whose persuasion they all consented unto it. After which time, this examinate's son-in-law Thomas Redferne did persuade this examinate not to kill or hurt the said Robert Nutter; for which persuasion the said Loomeshaw's wife had like to have killed the said Redferne, but that one Mr. Baldwyn (the late schoolmaster at Coln) did by his learning stay the said Loomeshaw's wife, and therefor had a capon from Redferne."

Baldwyn, the schoolmaster, was probably a "white wizard."

Robert Nutter was thus saved from death, but his fate was only deferred, for not long after, as Mother Chattox further informs us, Robert Nutter who was probably ignorant of the plot from which he had already escaped, "did desire her daughter, Redferne's wife, to have his will of her, being then in Redferne's house; but the said Redferne's wife denied the said Robert. Whereupon the said Robert seeming to be greatly displeased therewith, in a great anger took his horse and went away, saying in a great rage, that if ever the ground came to him she should never dwell upon his land." Anne Redferne told her mother of the threat and the circumstance which had given rise to it, and the latter immediately consulted her familiar Fancy, "who came to her in the likeness of a man, in a parcel of ground called the Launde, asking this examinate what she would have him to do; and this examinate bade him go and revenge her of the said Robert Nutter." The result was the death not only of Robert Nutter, but of his father, Christopher Nutter, the particulars of which were told at the trial by young Robert's brother John and his sister Margaret.

Elizabeth Nutter had now fully obtained her desire, and the Redfernes were allowed to remain in their house. Some years after, however, we still find hostility existing between the Redfernes and the Nutters of Pendle. Anthony Nutter had now, perhaps, inherited Elizabeth Nutter's property, and lived in the

house at Pendle with his daughter Anne. One day they offended Mother Chattox, when she came to their house, and next day Anne Nutter fell sick, and, after languishing three weeks, died. James Device, on his examination at the trial, told a strange story connected with this event. He said, that "twelve years ago, Anne Chattox, at a burial at the new church in Pendle, did take three scalps of people which had been buried and then cast out of a grave, as she the said Chattox told this examinate; and took eight teeth out of the said scalps, whereof she kept four to herself, and gave other four to the said Demdike, this examinate's grandmother; which four teeth now shown to this examinate are the four teeth that the said Chattox gave to his said grandmother as aforesaid; which said teeth have ever since been kept, until now found by Henry Hargreaves and this examinate, at the west end of this examinate's grandmother's house, and there buried in the earth, and a picture of clay there likewise found by them about half a yard over in the earth where the said teeth lay, which said picture so found was almost withered away, and was the picture of Anne, Anthony Nutter's daughter."

We have no account of the circumstances which, after these witches had so long enjoyed impunity, led at last to their seizure. Perhaps the enmity of the Nutters had something to do with it; but Thomas Potts, who collected and printed the records of a trial in which he seems to have taken a very particular interest,* ascribes their discovery and arrest to the zealous endeavors of that "very religious honest gentleman," Roger Nowell, Esq., "one of his majesty's justices in these parts," the representative of the old family of the Nowells of Read in the Pendle district. Four of the most notorious of these witches, Demdike and Chattox, with Alizon Device and Anne Redferne, were captured by Nowell's orders, and, having each made a "full" confession, probably in the hope of saving their lives, he committed them as prisoners to Lancaster castle on the second of April, 1612, to take their trials at the next assizes.

* Potts was the author of "The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster" (4to, London, 1613), a book of some rarity, of which a reprint, with a considerable mass of valuable information, was edited, in 1845, for the Chetham Society, by James Crossley, Esq., of Manchester. The present account of the Lancashire witches is compiled entirely from the materials preserved by Potts, which are the authentic copies of the confessions of the offenders and the depositions of witnesses. The common chap-book tract, entitled "The Lancashire Witches," which has been inserted by Mr. Halliwell in his "Palatine Anthology," was a mere catch-penny invention.

The reader will remember the admirably conceived character of Master Thomas Potts, in Ainsworth's romance.

Their chief place of resort, Malkin tower, remained as yet unvisited and untouched. It was a place looked upon with awe by the peasantry, and few but Old Demdike and her confederates cared to approach it. Strange noises were heard about it, and it was haunted by beings still more strange. James Device, in his examination before Justice Nowell, deposed that, "about a month ago, as this examinate was coming toward his mother's house, and at day-gate [twilight] of the same night, he met a brown dog coming from his grandmother's house, about ten roods distant from the same house; and about two or three nights after, he heard a voice of a great number of children shrieking and crying pitifully, about daylight-gate, and likewise about ten roods distant of this examinate's said grandmother's house. And about five nights then next following, within twenty roods of the said Elizabeth Southerne's house, he heard a foul yelling like unto a great number of cats; but what they were, this examinate can not tell."

It was here that, during Mother Demdike's life, the witches of these parts held their grand and solemn meetings, which took place annually on Good Friday. The day of assembly was just at hand when Demdike was arrested, but many of the witches who had escaped met as usual, in spite of her absence. In fact, the meeting at the Malkin tower, on the Good Friday of 1612, seems to have been better attended than usual. There was, we are told, "great cheer, merry company, and much conference." The objects of this conference were of some importance. It was Elizabeth Device who presided, and of course now the object of most interest to her was the delivery of her mother. It was, we are told, proposed to kill the jailer of Lancaster castle, set all the prisoners at liberty, and blow up the castle, by a few old women assembled in an old ruinous tower. But what might not old women do, when they had Satan to assist them? The matters which were intended to be originally debated or performed at this meeting were the christening of a familiar for Alizon Device, and the bewitching of certain individuals who had recently given them offence.

But while thus consulting, the witches were not aware that a young traitor was sitting among them. This was Jennet Device, the youngest of the granddaughters of Old Device, and the child of the very woman who was presiding over the meeting in her absence. This ill-conditioned child, a girl of nine years old, gave information to the zealous Justice Nowell of the meeting at the Malkin tower, and told him who were present. Within a few days the number of persons implicated in this affair, imprisoned

in Lancaster castle, was increased to twelve, among whom were Elizabeth Device, her son James, and Alice Nutter, of Rough Lee, a lady of fortune.

From the informer, Jennet Device, the worthy justice extracted a more particular account of the feast at the Malkin tower. She said there were about twenty persons present, of whom three only were men, and that the hour of meeting was twelve o'clock of the day. They had to their dinner, beef, bacon, and roasted mutton; "which mutton, as this examinate's brother said, was of a wether of Christopher Swyer's, of Barley; which wether was brought in the night before into this examinate's mother's house by the said James Device, and in this examinate's sight was killed and eaten as aforesaid." John Balcock, one of the men present at this meeting, turned the spit. A woman named Preston, of Craven, in Yorkshire, was brought by her familiar, who had taken the form of a white foal for that purpose. James Device, who confessed that he had been present at the meeting in Malkin Tower, added, "that all the witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the doors, got on horseback like unto foals, some of one color, some of another; and Preston's wife was the last; and when she got on horseback, they all presently vanished out of this examinate's sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meet at the said Preston's wife's house that day twelvemonth; at which time the said Preston's wife promised to make them a great feast. And if they had occasion to meet in the meantime, there should warning be given, that they all should meet upon Romleyes Moor."

Several of the persons at this meeting were related in some way or other to the Devices or to their rivals, and they appear to have been generally of a very equivocal character in other respects. One person now implicated in this affair, Alice Nutter, of Rough Lee, alone excites much sympathy. She was a woman of considerable property, and held a respectable position among the better families in the county. Rough Lee, her residence, is still standing, and is a good specimen of the gentleman's house of that period. Jennet Device, the little girl, was evidently suborned to swear away the lives of her relatives, and there appeared good reason for believing that she introduced Alice Nutter into the plot at the desire of some of that lady's relatives, who were eager to obtain her property, which would come to them by heritage on her death. It has been further handed down by tradition that Justice Nowell owed the lady a grudge on account of a

long-disputed question of a boundary between their lands, and that he at least gave encouragement to this conspiracy against her.

The charges brought against Alice Nutter on the trial were chiefly remarkable for their weakness. Jennet Device and her brother James declared that she was at the meeting at the Malkin tower on Good Friday, and Elizabeth Device said she joined with her and Old Demdike in bewitching a man named Mitton, to death, merely because the said Mitton had refused to give Old Demdike a penny.

Old Demdike escaped the cruelty of the law by dying in prison a few days after she had been committed. Thus Mother Chattox became the chief of the witches who were brought into court for trial on the 19th of August. She is described as "a very old, withered, spent, and decrepit creature, her sight almost gone." Mother Chattox was quite blind; her lips were "ever chattering and talking, but no man knew what;" and she was "always more ready to do mischief to men's goods than themselves;" in this respect the contrary of Demdike, who took delight in killing and tormenting the persons of her enemies. She was, nevertheless, notorious as "a dangerous witch," and was "always opposite to Old Demdike, for whom the one favored, the other hated deadly." Between them, no doubt, the forest of Pendle must have been an agreeable neighborhood. Yet Mother Chattox had some feelings of affection, for when judgment was pronounced upon her, she cried out in a distracted manner that God would be merciful to her, and falling on her knees, supplicated the judge that he would "be merciful unto Anne Redferne, her daughter." Demdike's daughter, Elizabeth Device, was next brought to the bar. "This odious witch was branded with a preposterous mark in nature, even from her birth, which was her left eye standing lower than the other; the one looking down, the other looking up, so strangely deformed that the best that were present in that honorable assembly and great audience did affirm that they had not often seen the like." When this woman saw her own child stand up in evidence against her, she burst into a violent passion, "according to her accustomed manner, outrageously cursing, cried out against the child in such a fearful manner, as all the court did not a little wonder at her, and so amazed the child, as with weeping tears she cried out to my lord the judge, and told him she was not able to speak in the presence of her mother." In the end they were obliged to take Elizabeth Device away, and then the daughter gave her evidence unconcerned. The other prisoners were then brought to their trial in succession. Four,

Chattox, Elizabeth Device, and the two children of the latter (James and Alizon), had made confessions, and therefore they had little to hope. With them were convicted Anne Redferne, Alice Nutter, Katharine Hewit, John Bulcock, and his wife Jane, all of Pendle, and Isabel Roby, of Windle, in the parish of Prescot, who maintained their innocence to the last. They were all burnt the day after their trial, "at the common place of execution near to Lancaster." One Margaret Pearson, of Padiham, though convicted of being a witch, was dealt more leniently with, being only condemned to exposure on the pillory. Two others were acquitted.

Young Jennet Device, who for her age appears to have possessed at least as evil disposition as any of them, was spared as the principal evidence against the accused. Her declaration proved that she was not unacquainted with the practices of her parents, and she confessed, "that her mother had taught her two prayers, the one to cure the bewitched, and the other to get drink."*

* The prayer, or rather charm, to cure those bewitched, which Jennet Device had learned from her mother, was as follows, and from its phraseology was evidently then of considerable antiquity.

"Upon Good Friday, I will fast while I may
Untill I heare them knell
Our Lord's owne bell.
Lord in his messe
With his twelve apostles good,
What hath he in his hand?
Ligh in leath wand.
What hath he in his other hand?
Heaven's doore key.
Open, open, heaven doore keyes.
Steck, steck, hell doore
Let crizum child
Goe to its mother mild.
What is yonder that casts a light so farrandly?
Mine owne deare sonne that 's naild to the tree.
He is naild sore by the heart and hand,
And holy harne panne.
Well is that man,
That Fryday spell can,
His child to learne;
A cross of blew, and another of red,
As good Lord was to the roode.
Gabriel laid him downe to sleepe
Upon the ground of holy weepe;
Good Lord came walking by,
Sleepst thou, wakest thou, Gabriel?
No, Lord, I am sted with sticke and stake,
That I can neither sleepe nor wake.
Rise up, Gabriel, and goe with me,
The sticke nor the stake shall never deere thee.
Sweet Jesus, our Lord, amen.

It is a mere farrago of popish religious verses.

One other of the witches who met at the fatal assembly in Malkin tower was brought to the scaffold at the same time. This was Jennet Preston, of Gisborne, in Craven, who was tried at York for bewitching some members of the family of Lister, in Craven, and for other similar offences; but the principal evidence against her was derived from the confessions of Elizabeth, James, and Jennet Device. It was she who rode to the Malkin tower on a white foal. She died without confession.

Jennet Device only escaped the scaffold on this occasion, as it has been supposed, to undergo somewhat later the same dreadful punishment that she had brought on so many of her relatives. Twenty years after the events detailed above, the witches still continued to hold their meetings in the forest of Pendle, in greater numbers than ever, but for some reason or other the old rendezvous at Malkin tower seems to have been deserted, and they now assembled at a place at some distance from it named the Hoar-stones, a house which is said to be still standing. On the 10th of February, 1633, a lad named Edmund Robinson, the son of a poor mason in Pendle forest, made the following strange declaration before two justices of the peace. He said that on All Saints' day, in the preceding year, he was gathering bullies or wild plums in Wheatley lane, when he saw two greyhounds, one black and the other brown, running over the next field toward him. They came to him familiarly, and then he perceived they had each a collar, which "did shine like gold," and to which a string was attached. Seeing that nobody followed the greyhounds, he imagined they belonged to some of the neighbors and had broke loose, and, as at that moment a hare started up at a short distance from him, he thought he would set them to hunt it, and pointing at it, he cried, "Loo, loo!" but to no purpose, for the dogs would not run. "Whereupon, being very angry, he took them, and with the strings that were at their collars, tied either of them to a little bush at the next hedge, and with a rod that he had in his hand he beat them; and instead of the black greyhound one Dickinson's wife stood up, a neighbor whom this informer knoweth, and instead of the brown greyhound a little boy whom this informer knoweth not." Young Robinson proceeded to state that, in his terror, he attempted to run away, but was arrested by the woman, who "put her hand into her pocket, and pulled out a piece of silver much like unto a fair shilling, and offered to give him to hold his tongue, and not to tell, which he refused, saying, 'Nay, thou art a witch!' Whereupon she put her hand into her pocket again, and pulled out a string like

unto a bridle that jingled, which she put upon the little boy's head that stood up in the brown greyhound's stead, whereupon the said boy stood up a white horse." The woman now seized upon Edmund Robinson, placed him on the horse before her, and rode with him to Hoar-stones, where "there were divers persons about the door, and he saw divers others coming riding upon horses of several colors toward the house, which tied their horres to a hedge near to the said house; and which persons went into the said house, to the number of threescore or thereabouts, as this informer thinketh, where they had a fire and meat roasting, and some other meat stirring in the house, whereof a young woman, whom he this informer knoweth not, gave him flesh and bread upon a trencher, and drink in a glass, which after the first taste he refused, and would have no more, and said it was naught. And presently after, seeing divers of the company going to a barn near adjoining, he followed after, and there he saw six of them kneeling and pulling at six several ropes which were fastened or tied to the top of the house, at or with which pulling came then in this informer's sight flesh smoking, butter in lumps, and milk, as it were, syleing *(straining)* from the said ropes, all which fell into basins which were placed under the said ropes. And after that these six had done, there came other six which did likewise, and during all the time of their so pulling, they made such foul faces that feared this informer, so as he was glad to steal out and run home." He further stated that the women in the barn had there "pictures" or images, which they were pricking with thorns.

No sooner was young Robinson's flight discovered, than a party of the witches, of whom the foremost was Dickinson's wife just mentioned, the wife of a man named Loynd or Loyne, and Jennet Device,* joined in the pursuit, and they had nearly overtaken him at a spot which bore the somewhat ominous name of Boggard-hole, when the appearance of two horsemen caused them to desist. His troubles, however, were not thus ended, for on his return home in the evening, "his father bade him go fetch home two kyne to seale *(tie up in their stalls)*, and in the way, in a field called the Ollers, he chanced to hap upon a boy who began to quarrel with him, and they fought so together till this informer had his ears made very bloody by fighting, and looking down he saw the boy had a cloven foot, at which sight he was

* There is some room, after all, for doubt if this Jennet Device be the same who figured in the trials in 1612. In the copy of the deposition in Lord Londesborough's manuscript she is described as "Jennet Device uxor Willielmi Device."

afraid, and ran away from him to seek the kyne. And in the way he saw a light like a lantern, toward which he made haste, supposing it to be carried by some of Mr. Robinson's people [one of their more wealthy neighbors]; but when he came to the place, he only found a woman standing on a bridge, whom, when he saw her, he knew to be Loynd's wife, and knowing her, he turned back again, and immediately he met with the aforesaid boy, from whom he offered to run, which boy gave him a blow on the back which caused him to cry." The boy's father, in confirmation of this story, acknowledged sending him for the two kyne, and added that, thinking he stayed longer than he should have done, "he went to seek him, and in seeking him heard him cry very pitifully, and found him so afraid and distracted, that he neither knew his father, nor did he know where he was, and so continued very near a quarter of an hour before he came to himself," when he told his father the same story which he now repeated before the magistrates.

The boy Robinson, in his deposition, mentioned the names of such of the persons present at the meeting at Hoar-stones as he knew, who were immediately seized and committed to Lancaster castle. As he said he should recognise the others if he saw them, he was carried about by his father and others to the churches of the neighboring parishes to examine congregations, and in this way he gained a considerable sum of money. John Webster, whose "Displaying of Witchcraft" is one of the best books on the subject published during the seventeenth century, has given us a curious account of these proceedings. "It came to pass," he says, "that this said boy was brought into the church of Kildwick, a large parish church where I (being then curate there) was preaching in the afternoon, and was set upon a stall (he being but about ten or eleven years old) to look about him, which moved some little disturbance in the congregation for a while. And after prayers I inquiring what the matter was, the people told me that it was the boy that discovered witches, upon which I went to the house where he was to stay all night, where I found him and two very unlikely *(ill-looking)* persons that did conduct him and manage his business. I desired to have some discourse with the boy in private, but that they utterly refused. Then, in the presence of a great many people, I took the boy near me, and said, 'Good boy, tell me truly, and in earnest, did thou see and hear such strange things of the meeting of witches as is reported by many that thou dost relate, or did not some person teach thee to say such things of thyself?' But the two men

not giving the boy leave to answer, did pluck him from me, and said he had been examined by two able justices of the peace, and they did never ask him such a question; to whom I replied, the persons accused therefore had the more wrong."

By means like these, a number of wretched persons were thrown into prison, to the amount of nearly thirty. They were no sooner arrested, than people were found to accuse them of a variety of crimes, chiefly that of killing or seriously injuring people by witchcraft. It is rather a singular coincidence of names, that Jennet Device was charged with killing Isabelle the wife of William Nutter. The crime of another, Mary Spencer, was "causeing a pale or cellocke to come to her full of water fourteen yards up a hill from a well." Another, named Margaret Johnson, was accused of killing Henry Heape, and of wasting and impairing the body of Jennet Shackleton. As the evidence appears to have been otherwise rather deficient, all these persons were searched for marks, which were found in great abundance, and it is stated, at the end of the list, that against one person put on her trial, there was "no evidence found, only in search a mark found on her body."* At the ensuing assizes at Lancaster the prisoners were all put upon their trial, and no less than seventeen were on such evidence found guilty. One of them at least, Margaret Johnson, had made a confession, which, as containing apparently an abstract of the full character of a witch according to the belief of Lancashire at this period, deserves to be printed. It is here given, verbatim, from Lord Londesborough's manuscript. Margaret Johnson, on the 9th of March, 1633, before the same justices who had taken the deposition of the boy Robinson, said, "that betweene seven or eight yeares since, shee beeing in her house at Marsden in greate passion and anger, and discontented, and withall oppressed with some want, there appeared unto her a spirit or devill in the similitude and proportion of a man apparrelled in a suite of blacke, tied about with silke pointes, whoe offered her, yf shee would give him her soule, hee would supply all her wantes, and bring to her whatsoever shee wanted or needed, and at her appointment would helpe her to kill and revenge her either of men or beaste, or what she desired; and

* A very curious volume of manuscripts relating to magic and sorcery, recently published by Lord Londesborough, contains early copies of the depositions of Edmund Robinson and his father, of the confession of Margaret Johnson, which is given farther on, and of the list of persons brought to trial, with the description of their marks, and an enumeration of the crimes with which they were charged. The marks are described too minutely to allow of this curious paper being printed in a work like the present.

after a sollicitacion or two shee contracted and condicioned with the said devill or spiritt for her soule. And the said devill bad her call him by the name of Memillion, and when shee called hee would bee ready to doe her will. And shee saith that in all her talke and conference shee called the said Memillion her god . . . And shee further saith that shee was not at the greate meetinge of the witches at Harestones in the forrest of Pendle on All Saintes day last past, but saith that shee was at a second meetinge the Sunday after All Saintes day at the place aforesaid, where there was at that time betweene thirty and forty witches, which did all ride to the said meetinge. And the end of the said meetinge was to consult for the killing and hurting of man and beastes; and that there was one devill or spiritt that was more greate and grand devill then the rest, and yf anie witch desired to have such an one, they might have such an one to kill or hurt anie body. And shee further saith, that such witches as have sharpe boanes are generally for the devill to prick them with which have no papps nor duggs, but raiseth blood from the place pricked with the boane, which witches are more greate and grand witches than they which have papps or dugs. And shee beeing further asked what persons were at their last meetinge, she named one Carpnall and his wife, Rason and his wife, Pickhamer and his wife, Duffy and his wife, and one Jane Carbonell, whereof Pickhamer's wife is the most greate, grand, and auncyent witch; and that one witch alone can kill a beast, and yf they bidd their spirit or devill to goo and pricke or hurt anie man in anie particuler place, hee presently will doe it. And that their spiritts have usually knowledge of their bodies. And shee further saith the men witches have woemen spiritts, and woemen witches have men spiritts; and that Good Friday is one of their constant daies of their generall meetings, and that on Good Friday last they had a meetinge neere Pendle water side; and saith that their spirit doeth tell them where their meetings must bee, and in what place; and saith that if a witch desire to bee in anie place upon a suddaine, that on a dogg or a rod or a catt their spiritt will presently convey them thither, or into any roome in any man's house. But shee saith it is not the substance of their bodies that doeth goe into anie such roomes, but their spiritts that assume such shape and forme. And shee further saith that the devill, after hee begins to sucke, will make a papp or a dugg in a short time, and the matter hee sucketh is blood. And further saith that the devill can raise foule wether and stormes, and soo hee did at their meetinges. And she further saith that when the

devill came to suck her papp, he came to her in the lickness of a catt, sometimes of one collour and sometimes of another. And since this trouble befell her, her spiritt hath left her, and shee never sawe him since."

Although the jury were satisfied with the evidence in this case, such was not the case with the judge, who respited the prisoners, and the affair was reported to the king in council. Charles I. had not the same weak prejudices in these matters as his father, and by his orders, an inquiry was instituted at Chester, under the direction of the bishop, the result of which was that four of the convicted witches, Margaret Johnson (whose confession has just been given), Frances Dickenson, Mary Spencer, and the wife of one of the Hargreaves, were sent to London, and there examined, first by the king's physicians, and then by the king in person. Strong suspicions having arisen, the boy was separated from his father (they had both been brought to London), and then he confessed that the whole was an imposture, and that he had been taught to say what he had said by his father and some other persons who had conspired to get up this story as a profitable speculation. He declared that on the day when he said he was carried to the meeting at Hoarstones, he was a mile off gathering plums in another man's orchard. Fortunately none of the pretended witches had been executed.

Such was the end of the second great case of witchcraft in Lancashire, which became from many circumstances, but especially by the king's interference and the transferring of the case to London, one of the most celebrated in England. The Lancashire witches have gained a new celebrity at the present day by furnishing the plot of one of the best romances of one of the most popular and admired of our writers, Harrison Ainsworth. The term itself had become so famous that it has long been in that county transferred to a class of witches of the same sex, but of a very different character, and no festival there is now considered perfect until the toast of "the Lancashire Witches" of the present day has been drunk.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WITCHCRAFT IN ENGLAND DURING THE EARLIER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE case of the Lancashire witches, in 1612, seems to have been the first grand exemplification of King James's witchcraft doctrines in England. Yet though the published cases of witchcraft during that monarch's reign are not very nnmerous, there can be no doubt that the superstition itself was widely prevalent throughout the country, and that it gave rise to innumerable instances of persecution. In the same year, 1611, five witches were executed at Northampton, of whom one only, a man, made a confession. He said that he had three spirits, whom he called Grissill, Ball, and Jack. In 1615, there was a rather remarkable case of witchcraft at Lynn, in Norfolk. Relations of both of these cases were printed, and dispersed abroad. In 1618, an event of this kind occurred on the borders of the counties of Leicester and Lincoln, which was still more remarkable as having occurred in one of the noblest families in the land.

Sir Francis Manners succeeded his brother Roger in the earldom of Rutland in 1612, and soon distinguished himself by the magnificent hospitality which he exercised at his castle of Belvoir. He had two sons, Henry and Francis, and a daughter Katherine; the first of these died about the year 1614, and he was followed to the grave by his younger brother within two years. The only remaining child, who afterward married the duke of Buckingham, was also taken with a severe illness, from which she was hardly expected to recover. In the hamlet adjoining to the castle there lived an old woman named Joan Flower, with two daughters, whose poverty excited the compassion of the earl and his lady, and the mother was employed in the castle as a chairwoman, while her eldest daughter Margaret was received into the household as a servant. It was soon found, however, that Mother Flowers was undeserving of the kindness thus shown to her; she gave offence by her evil manners, and by the disorders of her house, where people of no good reputation came to visit her younger daughter Philip, and at last Margaret Flower was discharged from her place for purloining the

provisions at the castle to furnish the visiters at her mother's house. All this had occurred before the death of the earl's children, and, as the countess had acted generously toward the daughter when she was discharged, they were never suspected of malice.

However, reports of a sinister character touching the proceedings of the family of Joan Flower soon spread abroad. They had gained the reputation of being witches, and it began to be whispered about that the earl's children had perished by their agency. Witches appear to have been rather numerous in this vicinity, and as the reports became more rife, a number of arrests, including the three Flowers and other persons, were made just before the Christmas of 1617, and the prisoners were lodged in Lincoln jail. The mother, Joan Flowers, when she was committed to prison, is said to have asked for bread and butter, which she wished impiously might be her death if she were guilty of the crime of which she was accused; but she no sooner attempted to swallow it, than she was choked and instantly expired. The earl of Rutland was at the time in London; when, however, he heard of the imprisonment of the witches, and the crimes that were imputed to them, he hastened with his brother, Sir George Manners, to Lincoln, and assisted at their examination. They all confessed, were, as might be expected, duly convicted, and were executed early in the March of the year 1618.*

Among the witnesses on this occasion was a woman—apparently an old one—named Joan Willimott, of Goodby in Leicestershire, who confessed "that she hath a spirit which she calleth Pretty, which was given unto her by William Berry of Langholme in Rutlandshire, whom she served three years; and that her master, when he gave it unto her, willed her to open her mouth, and he would blow into her a fairy which should do her good; and that she opened her mouth, and he did blow into her mouth; and that presently after his blowing there came out of her mouth a spirit, which stood upon the ground, in the shape and form of a woman, which spirit asked of her her soul, which she then promised unto it, being willed thereunto by her master. She further confessed, that she never hurt anybody, but did help divers that sent for her, which were stricken or forespoken; and that her spirit came weekly to her, and would tell her of

* The earl and the countess were so far satisfied that their children died by witchcraft, that it was stated in the inscription on their monument in Bottesford church.

divers persons that were stricken and forespoken. And she saith, that the use which she had of the spirit, was to know how those did which she had undertaken to amend; and that she did help them by certain prayers which she used, and not by her own spirit; neither did she employ her spirit in anything, but only to bring word how those did that she had undertaken to cure."

Another witness, named Ellen Green, of Stathorne in the same county, said, "that one Joan Willimott of Goodby came about six years since to her in the Wolds, and persuaded this examinate to forsake God, and betake her to the devil, and she would give her two spirits, to which she gave her consent, and thereupon the said Joan Willimott called two spirits, one in the likeness of a kitten, and the other of a moldiwarp [*a mole*]; the first, the said Willimott called Pusse, the other Hiffehiffe, and they presently came to her; and she departing left them with the examinate, and they leaped on her shoulder; and the kitten sucked under her right ear or her neck, and the moldiwarp on the left side in the like place. After they had sucked her, she sent the kitten to a baker of that town, whose name she remembers not, who had called her witch and struck her; and bade her said spirit go and bewitch him to death. The moldiwarp she then bade go to Anne Dawson of the same town and bewitch her to death, because she had called this examinate witch and jade; and within one fortnight they both died. And further, this examinate saith, that she sent both her spirits to Stonesby, to one Willison, a husbandman, and Robert Williman, a husbandman's son, and bade the kitten go to Willison and bewitch him to death, and the moldiwarp to the other and bewitch him to death, which they did, and within ten days they died. These four were bewitched while this examinate dwelt at Waltham aforesaid. About three years since, this examinate removed thence to Stathorne, where she now dwelt; upon a difference between the said Willimott and the wife of John Patchet of the said Stathorne, yeoman, she, the said Willimott, called her, this examinate, to go and touch the said John Patchet's wife and her child, which she did, touching the said John Patchet's wife in her bed, and the child in the grace-wife's arms, and then sent her said spirits to bewitch them to death, which they did, and so the woman lay languishing by the space of a month and more, for then she died: the child died the next day after she touched it. And she further saith, that the said Joan Willimott had a spirit sucking on her under the left flank in the likeness of a little white dog, which this examinate saith that she saw the

same sucking in barley-harvest last, being then at the house of the said Joan Willimott."

Both the daughters of Mother Flowers confessed, and Margaret gave the following account of the proceedings relating to the earl of Rutland's family: "She saith and confesseth, that about four or five years since her mother sent her for the right-hand glove of Henry Lord Rosse, afterward that her mother bade her go again into the castle of Belvoir, and bring down the glove or some other thing of Henry Lord Rosse; whereupon she brought down a glove, and delivered the same to her mother, who stroked Rutterkin, her cat, with it; after it was dipped in hot water, and so pricked it often, after which Henry Lord Rosse fell sick within a week, and was much tormented with the same. She further saith, that finding a glove about two or three years since of Francis Lord Rosse on a dunghill, she delivered it to her mother, who put it into hot water; and after took it out and rubbed it on Rutterkin the cat, and bade him go upward; and after her mother buried it in the yard, and said a mischief light on him, but he will not mend again. She further said, that her mother and she, and her sister, agreed together to bewitch the earl and his lady, that they might have no more children; and being demanded the cause of this their malice and ill-will, she saith, that about four years since the countess (growing into some mislike with her) gave her forty shillings, a bolster, and a mattress, and bade her bide at home and come no more to dwell at the castle; which she not only took in ill part, but grudged at it exceedingly, swearing in her heart to be revenged; after this her mother complained to the earl against one Peake, who had offered her some wrong, wherein she conceived that the earl took not her part, as she expected, which dislike with the rest exasperated her displeasure against him, and so she watched the opportunity to be revenged: whereupon she took wool out of the said mattress, and a pair of gloves, which were given her by Mr. Vavasor, and put them into warm water, mingling them with some blood, and stirring it together; then she took the wool and gloves out of the water, and rubbed them on the body of Rutterkin her cat, saying the lord and the lady should have more children, but it should be long first. She further confessed, that by her mother's commandment, she brought to her a piece of a handkerchief of the lady Katherine, the earl's daughter; and her mother put it into hot water, and then taking it out rubbed it on Rutterkin, bidding him fly and go, whereupon Rutterkin whined and cried 'Mew;' whereupon she

said, that Rutterkin had no power over the lady Katherine to hurt her." Her sister, Philip Flowers, declared, that "about the 30th of January last past, being Saturday, four devils appeared unto her in Lincoln jail, at eleven or twelve o'clock at midnight; the one stood at her bed's foot, with a black head like an ape, and spake unto her, but what she can not well remember, at which she was very angry, because he would speak no plainer, or let her understand his meaning: the other three were Rutterkin, little Robin, and Spirit, but she never mistrusted them, nor suspected herself till then."

The Roman catholics in England were very active during the reign of James I., and they attempted to take advantage of the popular credulity in getting up cases of possession in imitation of their brethren on the continent; one of the most remarkable cases of this kind occurred in Lancaster in 1612, and led to a trial on the same day with that of the witches of Pendle.

The village of Samlesbury is at some distance from the Pendle district, nearer to Preston, but it was probably the reports of the deeds of Mothers Demdike and Chattox that suggested the plot now to be related. The principal family in this township were the Southworths, who had their head seat at Samlesbury park, and who seem to have been much divided among themselves —a division which was increased by religious differences, for some of them were protestants and others catholics. Lancashire was at this time remarkable for the number of papists which it harbored—it was the grand asylum of the English seminary priests, and there are documents which show that Samlesbury park was a well-known resort of the partisans of Rome. One of these priests was Christopher Southworth, who for concealment had assumed the name of Thompson, and who appears to have been nearly related to Sir John Southworth, the occupier of the park, who was then recently dead. Between Sir John and one of his female relations, Jane Southworth, there was a bitter feud, for what reason is not stated; a servant of Sir John's, named John Singleton, deposed, that "he had often heard his old master say, that the said Jane Southworth was, as he thought, an evil woman and a witch;" and he added, "that the said Sir John Southworth, in his coming or going between his own house at Samlesbury and the town of Preston, did for the most part forbear to pass by the house where the said wife dwelt, though it was his nearest and best way, and rode another way, only for fear of the said wife, as this examinate verily thinketh." This statement was confirmed by another witness,

a yeoman of Samlesbury, named William Alker, who deposed, "that he had seen the said Sir John Southworth shun the said wife when he came near where she was, and hath heard the said Sir John say that he liked her not, and that he doubted she would bewitch him." As far as we can gather, it appears further, that Jane Southworth was a recent convert from Romanism to the church of England.

There was in the same village a family of the name of Bierley. Jennet Bierley was an aged woman, who appears to have lived with a daughter-in-law, Ellen Bierley; her own daughter had married Thomas Sowerbuts of Samlesbury, a husbandman, and by her he had a daughter, Grace Sowerbuts, who was at this time about fourteen years of age. Jennet and Ellen Bierley were protestants, while Thomas Sowerbuts was a catholic, and there was probably a quarrel between them on account of the religion of the child, which Thomas Sowerbuts resolved should be that of Rome, and for that purpose he sent her for religious instruction to the priest Thompson (*alias* Southworth).

Soon after or about the time of the seizure of the witches of Pendle, Grace Sowerbuts pretended to be seized with strange fits, and she was found in a sort of trance among the hay and straw in a barn, whence she was taken to her father's house, and there told a story which led to the arrest of Jane Southworth, and Jennet and Ellen Bierley, and they were committed to Lancaster jail. They were brought to trial on the 19th of August, 1612, and then Grace Sowerbuts made a statement in court, to the effect that, after having been "haunted and vexed" for some years by the prisoners and another confederate, named Old Doewife, these four women had lately drawn her by the hair of the head to the top of a hay-mow, where they left her. Not long after this, Jennet Bierley met her near her home, appearing to her first in human likeness, "and after that in the likeness of a black dog," and attempted to terrify her. The girl told her father what had happened, and how she had often been "haunted" in this manner; and being asked by the court why she never told anybody before, she said, "she could not speak thereof, though she desired so to do." Soon after this, on the fourth of April, "going toward Samlesbury back to meet her mother, coming from Preston, she saw the said Jennet Bierley, who met this examinate at a place called the Two Brigs, first in her own shape, and afterward in the likeness of a black dog with two legs, which dog went close by the left side of this examinate till they came to a pit of water, and then the said dog

spake, and persuaded this examinate to drown herself therein, saying it was a fair and an easy death; whereupon this examinate thought there came one to her in a white sheet, and carried her away from the said pit, upon the coming whereof the said black dog departed away." The dog subsequently returned, and carried her to a neighbor's barn, where it left her in a trance on the floor. She went on to describe other instances of persecution by the witches, and declared that on one occasion her grandmother and aunt had taken her by night to the house of a man named Thomas Walshman, which they entered "she knew not how," and Jennet Bierley caused the death of an infant child; and the night after the burial of the child, "the said Jennet Bierley, and Ellen Bierley, taking this examinate with them, went to Samlesbury church, and there did take up the said child, and the said Jennet did carry it out of the churchyard in her arms, and then did put it in her lap and carried it home to her own house, and having it there, did boil some thereof in a pot, and some did broil on the coals, of both which the said Jennet and Ellen did eat, and would have had this examinate, and one Grace Bierley, daughter of the said Ellen, to have eaten with them, but they refused so to do. And afterward the said Jennet and Ellen did seethe (*boil*) the bones of the said child in a pot, and with the fat that came out of the said bones they said they would anoint themselves, that thereby they might sometimes change themselves into other shapes. And after all this being done, they said they would lay the bones again in the grave the next night following, but whether they did so or not this examinate knoweth not; neither doth she know how they got it out of the grave at the first taking of it up." She next stated, that "about half a year ago, the said Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, Jane Southworth, and this examinate (who went by the appointment of the said Jennet, her grandmother), did meet at a place called Redbank, upon the north side of the water of Ribble, every Thursday and Sunday at night, by the space of a fortnight, and at the water-side there came unto them, as they went thither, four black things, going upright, and yet not like men in the face, which four did carry the said three women and this examinate over the water; and when they came to the said Redbank, they found something there which they did eat. . . . And after they had eaten, the said three women and this examinate danced, every one of them with one of the black things aforesaid." . . . She proceeded to describe further acts, familiar to those who enter into the minutiæ of sorcery, and which seem to have been

taken from the foreign books on the subject, and then described other persecutions to which she had been subjected, until the time of the arrest of the prisoners.

It was not the fashion at this time to submit witnesses in such cases to a strict cross-examination, nor did any one think of opening the grave of the child to ascertain in what condition the body might then be; but Thomas Walshman deposed that his child died about the time stated, though he said that it had been sick for some time. Witnesses were also examined as to Grace Sowerbuts' fits, and the father and one or two other witnesses gave their evidence in corroboration of her statements. The evidence was thus in due order taken, and the jury was no doubt ready to give a verdict against the prisoners, when the judge, Sir Edward Bromley, demanded of the latter what they had to say for themselves. The sequel may be told best in the rather dramatic language of the report of the trial. The three prisoners, instead of being abashed as persons under such circumstances usually were, "humbly upon their knees, with weeping tears, desired him for God's cause to examine Grace Sowerbuts, who set her on, or by whose means this accusation came against them. Immediately the countenance of this Grace Sowerbuts changed; the witnesses, being behind, began to quarrel and accuse one another. In the end his lordship examined the girl, who could not for her life make any direct answer, but strangely amazed, told him she was put to a master to learn, but he told her nothing of this. But here, as his lordship's care and pains were great to discover the practices of these odious witches of the forest of Pendle and other places now upon their trial before him, so was he desirous to discover this damnable practice to accuse these poor women and bring their lives in danger, and thereby to deliver the innocent. And as he openly delivered it upon the bench, in the hearing of this great audience, that if a priest or Jesuit had a hand in one end of it, there would appear to be knavery and practice in the other end of it, and that it might the better appear to the whole world, examined Thomas Sowerbuts what master taught his daughter; in general terms he denied all. The wench had nothing to say, but her master told her nothing of that. In the end, some that were present told his lordship the truth, and the prisoners informed him how she went to learn with one Thompson, a seminary priest, who had instructed and taught her this accusation against them, because they were once obstinate papists, and now came to church. Here is the discovery of this priest, and of his whole practice.

Still this fire increased more and more, and, one witness accusing another, all things were laid open at large. In the end, his lordship took away the girl from her father, and committed her to Mr. Leigh, a very religious preacher, and Mr. Chisnal, two justices of the peace, to be carefully examined."

Grace Sowerbuts now made a full confession; she declared that all she said before had been taught her by the priest; that it was a mere invention; that her fits were counterfeit: and that she had, by her own will, gone into the barn and other places where she was found.

Eight years after this trial, in 1620, occurred a somewhat similar case, which made a great sensation at the time. There was at Bilston, in Staffordshire, a poor boy twelve years old, named William Percy, the son of a husbandman of that place. One day as he was coming home from school, he met an old woman whom he had never seen before, but who, as it was afterward pretended, was a poor woman of the neighborhood, named Joan Cock; she taxed him that he did not wish her good day, and told him that he was a foul thing, and that it had been better for him if he had saluted her. This was the account which the lad gave, and he had no sooner reached home than he was seized with dreadful fits. It appears that there were many Roman catholics residing in the neighborhood of Bilston, and to some of these the boy's parents applied for advice and assistance. As soon as the boy was exorcised according to the forms directed by the Romish church, he became calm, and in reply to questions put to him, he declared that he was bewitched, and that he was possessed by three devils. Besides the exorcisms, the priests were very liberal with holy water and with holy oil, by the plentiful application of which, "with extreme fits and hearings, he brought up pins, wool, knotted thread, thrums, rosemary, walnut-leaves, feathers, &c." This we learn from the priest, who drew up the account of the "miracle," which was afterward printed, and who informs us, among other things, that "on Thursday, being Corpus Christi day, I came again, and found the child in great extremities. In this time he had brought up eleven pins, and a knitting-needle, folded up in divers folds, &c. He said the spirit bad him not to hearken to me in any case; that the witch said she would make an end of him, &c. I wished him to pray for the witch, which he did; then the child did declare that now he was perfectly himself, and desired that his books, pens, ink, cloaths, might be blessed, wishing his parents, sisters, and brothers, to bless themselves, and become catholics; out of which faith, by God's grace,

he said, he would never live or die. On Sunday I exorcised him, and learned of him, that while puritans were in place, he saw the devil assault him in the form of a blackbird."

The boy's fits and trances continued, sometimes apparently yielding to the exorcisms of the priests, and then again returning as violent as ever. Meanwhile the woman accused of the witchcraft by the possessing devils, was arrested and carried before the chancellor of the bishop of Litchfield, by whose directions William Perry was brought to confront her, when he immediately fell into his usual fits, declaring that she was his tormentor. On this evidence she was committed to Stafford jail, and brought to trial on the tenth of August, but the jury, not satisfied with the evidence, acquitted her.

The judges, who seem to have suspected the truth, committed the boy to the care of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, who happened to be present, and he carried him home with him to Eccleshall castle. There his fits and convulsions were repeated, and the bishop for some time could make nothing of him. At length he bethought himself of an experiment which would at least satisfy himself. It appears that the trial verse used by the priests was the first verse of the first chapter of the gospel of St. John, the words of which were no sooner commenced than the boy was seized with the most violent symptoms. The bishop took a Greek testament in his hand, and said to the patient, "Boy, it is either thou or the devil that abhorrest those words of the gospel, and if it be the devil, he (being so ancient a scholar as of almost of six thousand years' standing) knows and understands all languages, so that he can not but know when I recite the same sentence out of the Greek text; but if it be thyself, then art thou an execrable wretch, who plays the devil's part, wherefore look to thyself, for now thou art to be put to trial, and mark diligently whether it be that same scripture which shall be read." Then the bishop read the twelfth verse of the chapter, and the boy supposing it was the first, fell into his usual convulsions; but, after the fit was passed over, and the bishop read the first verse, the boy thinking it was some other passage, was not affected at all.

The bishop was thus convinced of the imposture, but there were still some extraordinary features about the case which required explanation, and he let it go on, that it might be in the end more fully exposed. At length a hole was made through the partition of the room in which the boy slept, and the bishop placed one of his servants secretly to watch. A discovery was

thus made which left no further doubt on the matter, and when the boy found himself detected, he changed countenance and confessed. The story he told was, that an old man called Thomas, with gray hair and "a cradle of glasse," met him not far from his father's house, and, entering into conversation with him, suggested this imposture as a means of staying from school. He then taught him to roll about, groan, cast up his eyes, &c., and told him to accuse somebody who was reputed a witch. Some papists, he said, recommended him to seek help of the catholic priests. When the bishop asked him if he did not design to yield to their exorcisms, he replied that he did, but that he had continued the imposture so long, because much people resorted to him, and brought him good things, and because he was not willing to go to school again. It is not impossible that the story of the old man had been suggested by the priests themselves, in order to conceal their own complicity in case of a discovery of the fraud.

The dangerous doctrine, which had long before been acted upon in the case of the witches of Warboys, was now widely promulgated, that the declaration of the person bewitched, while in the fits caused by witchcraft, was sufficient evidence against the supposed offender. This was opening a door for the indulgence of personal enmity which could not fail to be often taken advantage of, and such cases appear to have been of very frequent occurrence. In Lord Londesborough's volume of manuscripts already alluded to, there are the notes of two very curious affairs of this kind. The first of these cases occurred in and near London, in the year 1622. The lady Jennings, living at Thistleworth, had a daughter named Elizabeth, of the age of thirteen years. One day she was "frighted with the sight of an old woman who suddainly appeared to her att the dore and demaunded a pin of her"—this seems to have been the usual article which the witches asked of those they were going to torment—and from that time the child suffered from convulsive fits of the most painful description. A variety of remedies were tried in vain, and in the course of this treatment a woman named Margaret Russel, who went by the name of Countess, frequently attended—she appears to have been well known at the house, and to have interfered with the medical arrangements. On the 25th of April, at the end of one of her fits, Elizabeth Jennings uttered the names of this woman and three others, and then went on talking incoherently, "These have bewitched all my mother's children—east, west, north, and south, all these lie—all these are witch-

es. Set up a great sprig of rosemary in the middle of the house —I have sent this child to speak to show all these witches. Put Countess in prison this child will be well.—If she had been long ago, all together had been alive [it appears some other children of the lady Jennings had died]. Them she bewitched with a catstick—Till then I shall lie in great pain.—Till then by fits I shall be in great extremity.—They died in great misery." These and some other speeches are duly attested by nine persons, among whom was the medical attendant.

The same day Countess was arrested and carried before Sir William Slingsby, a justice of the peace, and her account of herself is a curious picture of the time. She said that "yesterday she went to Mrs. Dromondbye, in Blacke-and-White-court in the Old Baylye, and told her that the lady Jennings had a daughter strangely sicke; whereuppon the said Dromondbye wished her to goe to inquire att Clerkenwell for a minister's wiffe that cold helpe people that were sicke, but she must not aske for a witch or a cunning woman, but for one that is a phisition woman; and there this examinate found her and a woman sitting with her, and told her in what case the child was, and she said shee wold come this day, but shee ought her noe service, and said she had bin there before and left receiptes there, but the child did not take them. And she said further, that there was two children that the lady Jennins had by this husband that were bewitched and dead, for there was controversie betweene two howses, and that as long as they dwelt there they cold not prosper, and that there shold be noe blessing in that house by this man. And being demaunded what she meant by the difference betwixt two howses, she answered it was betwixt the house of God and the house of the world; but being urged to expresse it better, she said wee knewe it well enough—it was the difference betwixt Higgins the apothecarie, the next neighbour, and the lady Jennins. And shee further confesseth that above a moneth agoe she went to Mrs. Saxey, in Gunpouder-alley, who was forespoken herselfe, and that had a booke that cold helpe all those that were forespoken, and that shee wold come and shewe her the booke and helpe her under God. And further said to this examinate, that none but a seminary preist cold cure her." We have here another instance how busy the seminary priests, or Jesuits, were in obtruding themselves in such cases.

Countess was now committed to Newgate, and next day new revelations were obtained from the bewitched child confirmatory of the former accusation. But meanwhile the minister's wife

(Mrs. Goodcole), with her husband and some friends, went to the Old Bailey, and being confronted with the prisoner, the latter denied the most important part of what she had said. In fact, the accusation seems to have arisen out of a private quarrel, and on application to an experienced physician, Dr. Napier, the lady Jennings was set at ease as to the ailment of her daughter—so we learn from a note at the end of the paper.

The other case recorded in Lord Londesborough's manuscript occurred in 1626, and is still more remarkable. On the 13th of August in that year, a man named Edward Bull and a woman named Joan Greedie were indicted at Taunton assizes for bewitching one Edward Dinham. This man, when in his fits, had two voices besides his own, "whereof one is a very pleasant voice and shrill, the other deadly and hollow;" the third was his own voice. When the first two (who were good and evil spirits that possessed him) spoke, there was no motion of his lips and tongue, which however moved as was usual with a man talking when his own voice was heard. No doubt he was a ventriloquist. The dialogue, as taken down in the paper before me, bears a close resemblance to the conversations of the possessed nuns in France: it is too gross an imposture to deceive any one for a moment. (I use *good* and *bad* for the two spiritual voices, and *man* for the natural voice, as more simple than the mode of expressing them in the manuscript.) The conversation began as follows:—

"*Good.* Howe comes this man to bee thus tormented?

"*Bad.* He is bewitched.

"*Good.* Who hath done it?

"*Bad.* That I may not tell.

"*Good.* Aske him agayne.

"*Man.* Come, come, prithee tell me who hath bewitched me.

"*Bad.* A woman in greene cloathes and a blacke hatt, with a longe poll; and a man in gray srite, with blewe stockinges.

"*Good.* But where are they?

"*Bad.* Shee is at her house; and hee is at a taverne in Yeohull in Ireland.

"*Good.* But what are theire names?

"*Bad.* Nay, that I will not tell.

"*Good.* Aske him agayne.

"*Man.* Come, come, prithee tell me what are their names.

"*Bad.* I am bound not to tell.

"*Good.* Then tell half of their names.

"*Bad.* The one is Johane, and the other Edward.

"*Good.* Nowe tell me the other half.

"*Bad.* That I may not.

"*Good.* Aske him agayne.

"*Man.* Come, come, prithee tell me the other half.

"*Bad.* The one is Greedie, and the other Bull."

Having obtained this information, a messenger was sent to a house "suspected," and finding a woman dressed according to the description, he caused her to be arrested and committed to safe custody. The conversation then went on as follows:—

"*Good.* But are these witches?

"*Bad.* Yes, that they are.

"*Good.* Howe came they to bee soe?

"*Bad.* By discent.

"*Good.* But howe by discent?

"*Bad.* From the grandmother to the mother, and from the mother to the children.

"*Good.* But howe were they soe?

"*Bad.* They were bound to us, and wee to them.

"*Good.* Lett me see the bond.

"*Bad.* Thou shalt not.

"*Good.* Lett me see it, and if I like I will seale alsoe.

"*Bad.* Thou shalt if thou wilt not reveale the contentes thereof.

"*Good.* I will not."

The bond is now supposed to be shown, on which the good spirit exclaims—

"*Good.* Alas! oh pittifull, pittifull, pittifull? What? eight seales, bloody seales, four dead and four alive? ah, miserable!

"*Man.* Come, come, prithee tell me, why did they bewitche me?

"*Bad.* Because thou didst call Johane Greedie witche.

"*Man.* Why, is shee not a witche?

"*Bad.* Yes, but thou shouldest not have said soe.

"*Good.* But why did Bull bewitche him?

"*Bad.* Because Greedie was not stronge enough."

Inquiry is again made after Bull, and, on following the direction given by the spirit, the messenger finds the spot from which he had just escaped, and meets with people who had seen him running away. A conversation follows on the mischiefs which the witches had perpetrated before they attacked this man, and we learn that they had bewitched a person to death. The conversation is resumed in another fit six days after, and another attempt to catch Bull failed. The bad spirit now declares his

intention to have Dinham's soul, but the good spirit opposes him, and a violent struggle arises, and the evil one has the advantage. The conversation between them is then resumed:—

"*Bad.* I will have him, or else I will torment him eight tymes more.

"*Good.* Thou shalt not have thy will in all thinges; thou shalt torment him but four tymes more.

"*Bad.* I will have thy soule.

"*Good.* If thou wilt answere me three questions, I will seale and goe with thee.

"*Bad.* I will.

"*Good.* Who made the world?

"*Bad.* God.

"*Good.* Who created mankynde?

"*Bad.* God.

"*Good.* Wherefore was Christ Jesus his precious blood shed?

"*Bad.* I'le no more of that."

Upon this, the patient was seized with terrible convulsions. A few days afterward, in another fit, the struggle to obtain possession of the soul is renewed:—

"*Bad.* If thou wilt give me thy soule, I will give thee gold enough.

"*Good.* Thy gold will scald my fingers.

"*Bad.* If thou wilt give me thy soule, I will give thee dice, and thou shalt winne infinite somes of treasure by play.

"*Good.* If thou canst make every letter in this booke [*the man had a prayer-book in his hand*] a die, I will.

"*Bad.* That I cannott.

"*Good.* Laudes, laudes, laudes!

"*Bad.* Ladies, ladies, ladies—thou shalt have ladies enough, and if thou wilt they shall come to bedd to thee." [The bad spirit evidently did not understand Latin!]

"*Good.* If thou canst make every letter in this booke a ladie, I will."

The bad spirit now attempted to cast the book away, but after a violent struggle he was overcome, and then the good spirit made "the sweetest musicke that ever was heard." After another attempt to trace and catch Bull, by the spirit's directions he was at last captured in his bed. Now that the prisoners were secured, Dinham was delivered from his persecutor, and was no more tormented. The witches were indicted for similar offences, but we are not told what was their fate, or whether any "seminary priests" were here concerned.

The influence of the doctrine and example of King James might now be considered as passed, and the witchcraft agitation would perhaps have gradually subsided, had not a new influence arisen to revive the flame. Among the writers on the subject of witchcraft during James's reign, one took it up in a more rational view than was usual among his contemporaries. This was John Cotta, an eminent physician of Northampton, the author of a work entitled "The Trial of Witchcraft." Cotta did not dispute the existence of the witches, but he objected to the evidence which was received against them; and the arguments which he used to support his opinions would, if followed out, have led him much further than he would venture then to go. Cotta requires that the evidence against persons accused of witchcraft should be of a direct and practical description. He recommended that in all cases of supposed witchcraft or possession, skilful physicians should be employed to ascertain if the patient might not be suffering from a natural malady, and he pointed out the fallacy which attended the doctrine of witches' marks. He showed how little faith could generally be placed in the confessions of the witches, from both the manner in which they were obtained, and the characters of the individuals who made them. He exposed in the same rational manner the uncertainty of such objectionable modes of trying witches as swimming them in the waters, scratching, beating, pinching, or drawing blood from them. He objected also to taking the supernatural revelations in those who were bewitched as evidence against those who were accused of bewitching them. It will be seen that all the evidence at that time considered conclusive would thus have been rendered of no account. But Cotta was in advance of his age: he published his book in 1616, when King James's doctrines prevailed in full force, and it attracted little attention. A new and much-enlarged edition, published in 1624, does not appear to have been much better received—at least it had no effect in checking the persecution to which so many unfortunate creatures were exposed.

CHAPTER XXV.

WITCHCRAFT UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH: MATTHEW HOPKINS, THE WITCH-FINDER.

THE great witch-persecution in England arose under the commonwealth. The ardent religious feelings of the puritans led them to believe not only that they were themselves supported by divine inspiration and favored with special revelations, but that Satan was as actively at work against them; and that, as with the heroes of the Homeric age, the warfare in which they were thrown engaged the spiritual no less than the carnal world. It was natural, therefore, that they should look with especial horror and hostility on that union of Satan and mankind which was embodied in the witch or sorcerer. They were the more apparent manifestations of the devil's own interference in the attempt to bring back the double tyranny of kingship and popery. It is impossible now to say how far the prosecutions of witches at this period belonged to the personal animosities of religious and political party, but there can be little doubt that some at least of those who suffered were martyrs to their loyalty. The first name which ushers in the melancholy list during this period is that of Dr. Lamb, who had been the favorite Buckingham's domestic magician, and who was torn to pieces by the London mob in 1640.

The great outbreak of fanaticism and superstition which followed began in the county of Essex. In the spring of 1645, several witches were seized at Manningtree, and were subsequently condemned and hanged. One of these was an old woman named Elizabeth Clarke, and the most important witness against her was "Matthew Hopkins of Manningtree, gent." It appears that Hopkins had watched with her several nights in a room in the house of a Mr. Edwards, in which she was confined, to keep her from sleeping until she made a confession, and to see if she were visited by her familiars. He declared, among other things, that on the night of the 24th of March, which appears to have been the third night of watching, after he had refused to let her call one of her imps or familiars, she confessed that about six or seven years before she had surrendered herself

to the devil, who came to her in the form of "a proper gentleman, with a laced band." Soon after this a little dog appeared, fat and short in the legs, in color white with sandy spots, which, when he hindered it from approaching her, vanished from his sight. She confessed that it was one of her imps, named Jarmara. Immediately after this had disappeared, another came in the form of a greyhound, which she called Vinegar Tom; and it was followed by another in the shape of a polecat. "And this informant [Hopkins] further saith, that going from the house of the said Mr. Edwards to his own house about nine or ten of the clock that night, with his greyhound with him, he saw the greyhound suddenly give a jump, and run as she had been in a full course after a hare; and that when the informant made haste to see what his greyhound so eagerly pursued, he espied a white thing about the bigness of a kitlin [kitten], and the greyhound standing aloof from it; and that by-and-by the said white imp or kitten danced about the said greyhound, and by all likelihood bit a piece of the flesh of the shoulder of the greyhound, for the greyhound came shrieking and crying to this informant with a piece of flesh torn from her shoulder. And this informant further saith, that, coming into his own yard that night, he espied a black thing, proportioned like a cat, only it was thrice as big, sitting on a strawberry-bed, and fixing its eyes on this informant; and when he went toward it, it leaped over the pale toward this informant, as he thought, but ran quite through the yard, with his greyhound after it, to a great gate, which was underset with a pair of tumbrill-strings, and did throw the said gate wide open, and then vanished; and the said greyhound returned again to this informant, shaking and trembling exceedingly."

Hopkins had not ventured to remain with the witch alone in his watchings, for he had with him one John Sterne, of Manningtree, who also added "gentleman" to his name, and who confirmed everything that Hopkins had said, deposed to the coming of the imps, and adding that the third imp was called Sack-and-sugar. They watched at night with another woman, named Rebecca West, and saw her imps in the same manner. She confessed, and stated that the first time she saw Satan, he came to her at night, told her he must be her husband, and married her. The severe treatment to which the persons accused were exposed soon forced confessions from them all, and they avowed themselves guilty of mischiefs of every description, from the taking away of human life to the spoiling of milk. Some of their imps had caused storms at sea, and thus the ships of people against

whom they were provoked were cast away. The names and forms of their imps were equally fantastic. Rebecca Jones, a witch brought from St. Osythe's, said that she had met a man in a ragged suit, with great eyes that terrified her exceedingly, and that he gave her three things like moles, but without tails, which she fed with milk. Another had an imp in the form of a white dog, which she called Elimanzer, and which she fed with milk-pottage. One had three imps, which she called Prick-ear, Jack, and Frog; another had four, named James, Prick-ear, Robin, and Sparrow. Several witnesses—poor and ignorant people—were brought to testify to the mischief which had been done by these means; and some declared that they had seen their imps. A countryman gravely related how, passing at daybreak by the house of one of the women accused, named Anne West, he was surprised to find her door open at that early hour, and looking in, he saw three or four things like black rabbits, one of which ran after him. He seized upon it and tried to kill it, but it seemed in his hands like a piece of wool, and stretched out in length as he pulled it without any apparent injury. Then recollecting that there was a spring near at hand, he hurried thither and attempted to drown it, but it vanished from his sight as soon as he put it in the water. He then returned toward the house, and seeing Anne West standing outside the door in her smock, he asked her why she sent her imps to torment him.

This seems to have been the first appearance of Matthew Hopkins in the character of a witch-finder, for which he afterward became so notorious, and which he now assumed as a legal profession. He proceeded in a regular circuit through Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdon, accompanied with John Sterne and a woman whose business it was to examine the bodies of the females in search of their marks. In August of 1645, we find them at Bury, in Suffolk, where, on the 27th of that month, no less than eighteen witches were executed at once, and a hundred and twenty more were to have been tried, but a sudden movement of the king's troops in that direction obliged the judges to adjourn the session. Some of the imps here appeared in the shapes of snakes, wasps, and hornets, and even of snails. They were mostly employed in petty offences; one man and his wife were guilty only of having bewitched the beer in a brewhouse and making it stink. Others, however, confessed that they had raised tempests and storms, and caused mischief of a much more serious character. One woman declared that she had conceived two children by the devil, "but as soon as she was delivered of

them they ran away in most horrid long ugly shapes." Anne Leach, of Mistley, Essex, who was tried here, said that the imps "did mischief wherever they went, and that when this examinant did not send and employ them abroad to do mischief, she had not her health, but when they were employed she was healthful and well."

The most remarkable victim of this inquisition at Bury was an aged clergyman named Lowes, who had been vicar of Brandeston near Framlingham in that county, fifty years, a well-known opponent of the new church government. This man, we are told by Sterne, one of the inquisitors, "had been indicted for a common imbarrator, and for witchcraft, above thirty years before, and the grand jury (as I have heard) found the bill for a common imbarrator, who now, after he was found with the marks, in his confession he confessed that in pride of heart to be equal, or rather above God, the devil took advantage of him, and he covenanted with the devil, and sealed it with his blood, and had those familiars or spirits, which sucked on the marks found on his body, and did much harm both by sea and land, especially by sea, for he confessed, that he being at Lungarfort [Languard-fort] in Suffolk, where he preached, as he walked upon the wall or works there, he saw a great sail of ships pass by, and that, as they were sailing by, one of his three imps, namely, his yellow one, forthwith appeared to him and asked him what he should do, and he bad it go and sink such a ship, and showed his imp a new ship among the middle of the rest (as I remember), one that belonged to Ipswich, so he confessed the imp went forthwith away, and he stood still and viewed the ships on the sea as they were a sailing, and perceived that ship immediately to be in more trouble and danger than the rest; for he said the water was more boisterous near that than the rest, tumbling up and down with waves, as if water had been boiled in a pot, and soon after (he said) in a short time it sunk directly down into the sea as he stood and viewed it, when all the rest sailed down in safety; then he confessed he made fourteen widows in one quarter of an hour. Then Mr. Hopkins, as he told me (for he took his confession), asked him, if it did not grieve him to see so many men cast away in a short time, and that he should be the cause of so many poor widows on a sudden; but he swore by his Maker, no, he was joyful to see what power his imps had: and so likewise confessed many other mischiefs, and had a charm to keep him out of the jail and hanging, as he paraphrased it himself, but

therein the devil deceived him; for he was hanged that Michaelmas time, 1645, at Bury St. Edmunds; but he made a very far larger confession, which I have heard hath been printed; but if it were so, it was neither of Mr. Hopkins' doing nor mine own, for we never printed anything until now."

Perhaps Hopkins, when scared by the royal troops, returned homeward from Bury to Ipswich, where a poor woman named Lakelaw was burnt on the ninth of September. She confessed that she had been a witch nearly twenty years, and that she had bewitched to death her own husband and a person who had refused to give her a needle, besides destroying several ships, yet she had always appeared to be a very religious woman, and was a constant attendant at church. She had three imps in the shape of two little dogs and a mole.

At Yarmouth, Hopkins sacrificed sixteen persons, all of whom made confessions. One woman had been in the habit of doing work for one of the aldermen, who was a stocking merchant. One day, when he was absent from home, she went to his house to ask for work, and was turned away contemptuously by his man. She then applied to the maid-servant for some knitting, but was received no more favorably. She went home in great distress and anger, and in the middle of the night, hearing a knock at the door, she rose from her bed to look out at the window, and there saw a tall black man. He told her he knew of the ill-treatment she had received, and that he was come to give her the means of revenge; and, after having made her write her name in a book he drew from his pocket, he gave her some money, and went away. Next night he appeared again, and told her he had not the power to injure the man because he went regularly to hear pious ministers, and said his prayers night and morning; and it was then agreed that he should punish the maid. The night following he returned with the same story as regarded the maid, but he said there was a child in the family that might be injured. The woman having consented, he came next night with an image of wax intended to represent the child, and they went together to the churchyard and buried it. The child was immediately taken ill, and it had languished in this condition eighteen months, when the witch was seized and brought to the witch-finder's "justice." She was taken to the room where the child lay, and she had no sooner repeated her confession there, than it began to recover. They took the woman next morning to the churchyard, where she pointed to the exact spot where the waxen image was buried, but when they dug they found nothing. The

devil it seems, had carried it away. This woman's familiar came to her in the shape of a blackbird.

The infection thus set a going by Hopkins in one part of the kingdom, soon spread itself to others, and the whole island seemed on a sudden to be filled with malignant witches. In this same month of September, 1645, three witches were executed at Faversham, in Kent. They had signed covenants to the evil one with their blood. One of them said, that about three quarters of a year before, when she first became a witch, "As she was in the bed about twelve or one of the clock in the night, there lay a ragged soft thing upon her bosom, which was very soft, and she thrust it off with her hand; and she saith that when she had thrust it away, she thought God forsook her, for she could never pray so well since as she could before; and further saith, that she verily thinks it was alive." Another, who had been twenty years acquainted with a demon which first appeared to her in the shape of a hedgehog, but as soft as a cat, "at her first coming into the jail spake very much to the others that were apprehended before her to confess if they were guilty; and stood to it very perversely that she was clear of any such thing, and that if they put her into the water to try her she should certainly sink. But when she was put into the water, and it was apparent that she did float upon the water, being taken forth, a gentleman to whom before she had so confidently spoken, and with whom she offered to lay twenty shillings to one that she could not swim, asked her how it was possible that she could be so impudent as not to confess herself, when she had so much persuaded the others to confess; to whom she answered, that the devil went with her all the way, and told her that she should sink, but, when she was in the water, he sat upon a cross-beam and laughed at her." The third of the Faversham witches, whose term of twenty years for which she had sold herself to Satan was nearly expired, and whose familiar was a little dog named Bun, deposed "that the devil promised her that she should not lack, and that she had money sometimes brought to her she knew not whence, sometimes one shilling, sometimes sixpence, never more at once." The incapacity of the tempter to give more than a small sum of money at a time to any of his victims, was a peculiar article in the English popular creed. "In 1645," says Baxter, "in Dorsetshire, I lodged at a village on a hill, called (I think) Evershot, in the house of the minister, a grave man, who had with him a son, also a learned minister, that had been chaplain to Sir Thomas Adams in London. They both

told me, that they had a neighbor that had long lain bed-rid, that told all the occasion; that for a long time, being a poor laboring man, every morning when he went out of his door, he found a shilling under his door, of which he told no man, so that in a long time, he buying some sheep or swine, and seeming rich, his neighbors marvelled how he came by it. At last he told them, and was suddenly struck lame and bed-rid. They would have me speak with the man; but the snow covering the ground, and I being ill, and the witnesses fully credible, I forbore."

Hopkins and his colleagues were encouraged in their new profession by the tacit recognition of parliament, who sent a commission of puritanical ministers to assist the judges in the assizes. We can trace his course imperfectly by the pamphlets of the time, which give reports of at least some of the different trials in which he figured as grand accuser, but some of these are now exceedingly rare, and many no doubt are lost. He was perhaps at Cambridge toward the end of the year 1645, as a witch was hanged there who had an imp in the form of a frog. Toward spring the witch-finder-general reached Huntingdon, where a rich harvest awaited him.

The imps of the witches of Huntingdon often assumed the form of mice, and they were transferable from one person to another. They had different powers, some being able to kill men, others only cattle and animals, while the power of others extended only to inanimate things. This was the reason why one witch had often several familiars. John Winnick, a husbandman, said that having lost his purse with seven shillings in it, at which he was much grieved, he was one day at noon in the barn, making hay-bottles for horses, "swearing, cursing, and raging," and wishing he might have help to restore his loss, when the evil one appeared to him in the form of a black shaggy beast, with paws like a bear, but not quite so large as a cony or rabbit, and tempted him by a promise of restitution. One of the Huntingdon witches, Joan Wallis, said that she one day met a man in black clothes, who said his name was Blackman, and asked her if she was poor. She "saw he had ugly feet," and was afraid. He told her that he would send her two familiars named Grissell and Greedigut, and "within three or four days Grissell and Greedigut came to her, in the shape of dogs with great bristles of hog's hair upon their backs, and said to her they were come from Blackman to do what she would command them, and did ask her if she did want anything, and they would fetch her anything; and she said she lacked nothing. Then they prayed her to give them

some victuals, and she said she was poor and had none to give them, and so they departed." Yet she confessed that Blackman, Grissell, and Greedigut, divers times came to her afterward, and brought her two or three shillings at a time. Elizabeth Chandler was accused of having two imps named Beelzebub and Trullibub; but she denied it, and stated that she called a certain log of wood Beelzebub, and a stick near it Trullibub. Another woman was constrained to confess that she sent her familiar, named Pretty, to kill a man's capons. The man being brought forward as a witness, deposeth, that "she coming to bake a loaf at his house about three or four years since, being denied, his capons did fall a fluttering, and would never eat after. And also saith, that about the same time, she having a hog in his yard, some of his servants set a dog on the same; for which she said she would be revenged, and the next day one of his hogs died."

It was apparently just before his visit to Huntingdon to undertake these examinations, which took place during the months of March and April of the year 1646, that Hopkins went to Kimbolton. The reports of his sanguinary proceedings had spread consternation far and wide, and it was only here and there that any one durst raise a voice against him. One of these courageous individuals was John Gaule, the minister of Great Staughton, near Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire, who took up the cudgels against Hopkins, and provoked his wrath to such a degree, that he wrote the following insolent letter to one of the chief persons in his parish. "My service to your worship presented, I have this day received a letter to come to a town called Great Staughton, to search for evil-disposed persons called witches (though I hear your minister is against us through ignorance), I intend to come (God willing) the sooner to hear his singular judgment in behalf of such parties. I have known a minister in Suffolk preach as much against the discovery in a pulpit, and forced to recant it (by the committee) in the same place. I much marvel such evil members should have any, much more any of the clergy who should daily preach terror to convince such offenders, stand up to take their parts against such as are complainants for the king and sufferers themselves with their families and estates. I intend to give your town a visit suddenly. I am to come to Kimbolton this week, and it shall be ten to one but I will come to your town first; but I would certainly know afore whether your town affords many sticklers for such cattle, or willing to give and afford us good welcome and entertainment, as other where I have been, else I shall waive your shire (not as yet be-

ginning in any part of it myself), and betake me to such places where I do and may persist without control, but with thanks and recompense. So I humbly take my leave, and rest your servant to be commanded. "MATTHEW HOPKINS."

So far was John Gaule from being terrified by this threatening epistle, that he immediately made it the text of a treatise against the witch-finder and his followers, which he published the same year under the title of "Select Cases of Conscience touching Witches and Witchcraft." Gaule was not in advance of his age in point of intelligence, though his better and more generous feelings revolted at the wholesale cruelties which had been provoked by Hopkins and his accomplices. He fully believed in the existence of the witches, and in the evils which they perpetrated, but he wished like Cotta, that the evidence should be more cautiously sifted and discriminated. In his enumeration of the objectionable methods of trying witches, he lets us into a secret of Hopkins's practices, which show us at once the horrible character of the persecution that was carried on under the direction of the witch-finder-general. "To all these signs," says Gaule, I can not but add one at large, which I have lately learned, partly from some communications I had with one of the witch-finders (as they call them), partly from the confessions (which I heard) of a suspected and committed witch, so handled as she said, and partly as the country people talk of it. Having taken the suspected witch, she is placed in the middle of a room, upon a stool or table, cross-legged, or in some other uneasy posture, to which, if she submits not, she is then bound with cords; there she is watched and kept without meat or sleep for the space of four-and-twenty hours (for they say within that time they shall see her imp come and suck). A little hole is likewise made in the door for the imp to come in at; and lest they should come in some less discernible shape, they that watch are taught to be ever and anon sweeping the room, and if they see any spiders or flies, to kill them, and if they can not kill them, then they may be sure they are her imps."

The provision of making a hole in the door shows no very intelligent appreciation of the nature of spirits, but it agrees tolerably well with the confessions of several of Hopkins's victims. Elizabeth Clark, at Manningtree, is said to have confessed that when the devil visited her at night, she was obliged to rise and let him in when he knocked at the door. One witch kept her imp a year and a half with oatmeal, and then lost it. Another *killed* her imp; and another had imps which sucked one another.

The horror at first excited by the atrocities committed under the regime of the witch-finder-general soon gave place to a widely-extended feeling of indignation. A lady who lived near Hoxne in Suffolk, told Dr. Hutchinson (the author of the Essay on Witchcraft) that when the witch-finders came into that neighborhood, they took a poor woman, and by keeping her fasting and without sleep, induced her to confess that she had an imp named Nan. "This good gentlewoman told me that her husband (a very learned and ingenious gentleman) having indignation at the thing, he and she went to the house, and put the people out of doors, and gave the poor woman some meat, and let her go to bed; and when she had slept and come to herself she knew not what she had confessed, and had nothing she called Nan but a pullet, that she sometimes called by that name." Tortures like these, and even worse, were exercised on Parson Lowes of Brandeston, to force a confession from him. Dr. Hutchinson learned "from them that watched with him, that they kept him awake several nights together, and run him backward and forward about the room, until he was out of breath; then they rested him a little, and then ran him again; and thus they did for several days and nights together, till he was weary of his life, and was scarce sensible of what he said or did. They swam him at Framlingham, but that was no true rule to try him by; for they put in honest people at the same time, and they swam as well as he."

To escape the odium which pursued him through the counties in which he had made himself so conspicuous; Hopkins appears to have now removed the scene of his labors into other parts of the kingdom. We find him not long after this at Worcester. On the fourth of March, probably of the year 1647, four witches were condemned in that city, and Matthew Hopkins was one of the principal witnesses. After the same process of watching her, he extracted from one of them a confession that Satan had appeared to her as a handsome young man, that he said he came to marry her, and that he accordingly took her as his wife. Another said that she only enjoyed her health while her imp was employed in doing mischief. These were imitations of the confessions made in Essex and Suffolk. The witches at Worcester said they tormented and killed people by making figures of wax, and sticking pins and needles into them. On their trial, one of them denied their confession, and said that when they confessed they were not in their senses.

On his return to his native county, Hopkins was assailed on

every side by the outcries of his enemies, and he was alarmed at the indignation his cruelties had excited. The extraordinary scale on which he had carried on his prosecutions, gave rise to a popular report that he was not himself unacquainted with Satan, from whom it was pretended by some that he had obtained the list of his subjects. Complaints had been publicly made against him, and his method of proceeding was laid aside as too rigorous and tyrannical. In fact, a great reaction had followed him in his course, and the witch-finder was now in disgrace. Hopkins felt this, and winced under the popular attacks. It appears that he was of a weak constitution, and vexation and regret hastened the hereditary consumption to which he was a prey. He returned to Manningtree in 1647, printed a pamphlet in his own defence,* and then died. This we learn from his coadjutor Sterne, who assures us that he had "no trouble of conscience for what he had done, as was falsely reported of him." A report was afterward circulated, apparently without any foundation in truth, although adopted by Butler, that in the midst of the popular indignation against the witch-finder, some gentlemen had seized on him and put him to the trial of swimming, on which, as he happened to swim, he was adjudged to be himself a wizard.† Upon the death of Hopkins, the popular odium seems to have fallen on his colleague Sterne, who had taken up his residence at Lawshall, near Bury St. Edmonds. In 1648, provoked by the reflections that had been cast on himself and his

* "The Discovery of Witches, in answer to several queries lately delivered to the judge of assize for the county of Norfolk; and was published by Matthew Hopkins, witch-finder, for the benefit of the whole kingdom. Printed for R. Royston, at the Angel, in Iron Lane, 1647." This is a very rare tract, and the only copy I know of was in the possession of Sir Walter Scott, from whose "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft," I take the title.

† The lines of Hudibras have been often quoted :—

Hath not this present parliament
A lieger to the devil sent,
Fully empowered to set about
Finding revolted witches out?
And has he not within a year
Hanged threescore of them in one shire?
Some only for not being drowned,
And some for sitting above ground
Whole days and nights upon their breeches,
And feeling pain, were hanged for witches.
And some for putting knavish tricks
Upon green geese or Turkey chicks
Or pigs that suddenly deceased
Of griefs unnatural, as he guessed,
Who proved himself at length a witch,
And made a rod for his own breech.

HUDIBRAS, Part ii., Canto 3.

colleague Hopkins, he published a defence of their conduct, under the title of "A Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft," in which he boasts that he had been part an agent in convicting about two hundred witches in Essex, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely. He assures us "that in many places I never received penny as yet, nor any am like, notwithstanding I have hands for satisfaction, except I should sue; but many rather fall upon me for what hath been received, but I hope such suits will be disannulled, and that where I have been out of moneys for towns in charges and otherwise, such course will be taken that I may be satisfied and paid with reason."* Hopkins himself, in defending himself against the charge of interestedness, tells us that his regular charge was twenty shillings for each town, including the expenses of living, and journeying thither and back. In his book, he confesses that besides the other practices of stripping the victims naked, and thrusting pins into various parts of their body, in search of marks, and swimming them, he had practised the new torture of keeping them awake, and forcing them to walk, which was an invention of his own; but he acknowledges that he had been so far obliged to yield to public opinion in the latter part of his course, as to lay aside this his own favorite remedy.

The violent persecution excited by Hopkins had now subsided, and it was followed by a calm, during which we hear but little of accusations of witchcraft. The independents, who had gained the ascendency, seem to have discouraged prosecutions of this kind. Yet, in 1649, soon after the execution of the king, we perceive an inclination to revive the prosecutions against witches. In the May of that year, the city of Worcester was again the scene of a tragedy of this kind. A boy, at Droitwich, whose mother, a poor woman, had a cow that had strayed, was sent in search of it. As he came near a brake, he thought he saw the bulrushes move in one place, and imagining the cow might be grazing among them, he approached the spot; but he had no sooner come near, than an old woman suddenly jumped up and cried "boh!" The lad was seized with sudden terror, became speechless, and hurried home in a state of distraction. He remained in the house till the evening, and then he was seized with a sudden fit, ran out, and directed his steps toward

* A copy of this excessively rare book is in the rich library of works on demonology of Mr. James Crossley of Manchester. I only know it through the extracts given in that gentleman's recent edition of Potts' Discovery of Witches.

the house of Sir Richard Barret, where, as was usual in the olden time, a number of poor people were collected at the door feeding upon the charity of the family. Among these the lad discovered the old woman of the brake, who it appears was a vagrant from Lancashire, sitting down and supping upon a mess of hot pottage, and he ran furiously at her, threw her pottage in her face, and struck her. The people who stood round interfered, and, when the state of the case was known, the old woman was taken and committed to the prison, which was there called the "Chequer." About the middle of the night, the boy's mother heard a noise above her, and hurried up to the garret where the boy slept, where she found him out of bed, with the leg of a stool in his hand, striking furiously at the window. He then put on his clothes, ran down into the street, and went direct to the prison. It appears that in the meantime the jailer, who compassionated the sufferings of the boy, had threatened his prisoner that she should have nothing to eat until she had said the Lord's prayer and a blessing on her victim, which with some difficulty she was prevailed upon to do. The consequence of this was, that when the boy arrived at the prison, he had recovered his speech, and was enabled to ask the jailer why he had allowed his prisoner to go at large. The jailer insisted that she was safe under lock and key. "Nay," replied the boy, "I have just seen her myself," and he proceeded to tell him how the old woman had come in at his window while he was in bed, and how he had jumped up and struck her two blows with a stool-leg as she was making her exit, which must have left their marks on her body. A woman was sent to examine the prisoner's person, and to her great astonishment she found distinct marks of blows, just as the boy had described them. These circumstances were deposed to at the assizes at Worcester, by the boy, his mother, the jailer, and the woman who searched, and the witch of course stood duly convicted. About the same time a man at Tewkesbury had a sow with a numerous litter of pigs, and was surprised at the short allowance of milk she gave to them. Suspecting there might be something wrong, he watched at night, and saw a black thing like a polecat come and suck the old sow greedily. He immediately struck at the depredator with a fork he held in his hand, and stuck the prongs into its thigh; but it made its escape through the door, and he lost sight of it. He followed, however, in the direction which he supposed it had taken, and meeting with a man he knew, asked him if he had not seen such an animal as he described. The

man declared he had seen nothing but a "wench," who passed him apparently in great haste. This wench was taken and examined, and the wounds caused by the prongs of the fork were found on her thigh. She was taken to Gloucester, and at the next assizes tried and convicted. In the month of July following, a man and woman were executed at St. Albans; the man confessed he had been a witch sixty years, and that he had generally exercised his profession as a white or beneficent witch. He was probably one of those miserable impostors who gained their living by conjuring to cure diseases, and help people to what was lost or stolen. His accomplice was a kinswoman, who lived with him, and had a familiar in the shape of a cat. She acknowledged that this familiar had promised to bring her anything she wanted, *except money*. They said there were plenty of other witches about the neighborhood, and accused several persons by name.

This year, however, witnessed a much more remarkable affair than any of these, and one which made a considerable sensation. It has gained in modern times an additional importance from the circumstance that the great historical novelist, Sir Walter Scott, has made it the foundation of one of his romances. I shall give it nearly in the words of the report written at or near the time.

After Charles's death, the royal property was confiscated to the state, and commissioners were appointed by parliament to survey and sell the crown lands. Among the royal estates was the manor of Woodstock, of which the parliamentary commissioners were sent to take possession in the month of October, 1649. The more fanatical part of the opponents of royalty had always taught that, through witches and otherwise, the devil was actively engaged in the service of their opponents, battling against them; and they now found him resolved upon more open hostilities than ever. On the third of October, the commissioners, with their servants, went to the manor-hall, and took up their lodgings in the king's own rooms, the bed-chamber and withdrawing-room: the former they used as their kitchen, the council-hall was their brewhouse, the chamber of presence served as their place of sitting to despatch business, and the dining-room was used as a woodhouse, where they laid the wood of "that ancient standard in the high park, known of all by the name of the king's oak, which (that nothing might remain that had the name of king affixed to it) they digged up by the roots."

On the 14th and 15th of October they had little disturbance; but on the 16th there came, as they thought, something into the bed-chamber, where two of the commissioners and their servant lay, in the shape of a dog, which going under their bed, did, as it were, gnaw their bed-cords; but on the morrow finding them whole, and a quarter of beef which lay on the ground untouched, they "began to entertain other thoughts." October 17.—Something, to their thinking, removed all the wood of the king's oak out of the dining-room to the presence-chamber, and hurled the chairs and stools up and down that room; from whence it came into the two chambers where the two commissioners and their servants lay, and hoisted up their bed feet so much higher than their heads, that they thought they should have been turned over and over, and then let them fall down with such force, that their bodies rebounded from the bed a good distance; and then shook the bedsteads so violently, that they declared their bodies were sore with it. On the 18th, something came into the chamber and walked up and down, and fetching the warming-pan out of the withdrawing-room, made so much noise that they thought fire-bells could not have made more. Next day trenchers were thrown up and down the dining-room, and at those who slept there; one of them being wakened, put forth his head to see what was the matter, and had trenchers thrown at him. On the 20th, the curtains of the bed in the withdrawing-room were drawn to and fro; the bedstead was much shaken, and eight great pewter dishes and three dozen of trenchers thrown about the bedchamber again. This night they also thought a whole armful of the wood of the king's oak was thrown down in their chamber, but of that in the morning they found nothing had been moved. On the 21st, the keeper of their ordinary and his bitch lay in one of the rooms with them, and on that night they were not disturbed at all. But on the 22d, though the bitch slept there again, to which circumstance they had ascribed their former night's rest, both they and it were in "a pitiful taking," the latter "opening but once, and then with a whining fearful yelp." October 23.—They had all their clothes plucked off them in the withdrawing-room, and the bricks fell out of the chimney into the room. On the 24th, they thought in the dining-room that all the wood of the king's oak had been brought thither, and thrown down close by their bed-side, which being heard by those of the withdrawing-room, "one of them rose to see what was done, fearing indeed his fellow-commissioners had been killed, but found no such matter. Whereupon returning to his bed again,

he found two or three dozen of trenchers thrown into it, and handsomely covered with the bed-clothes."

The commissioners persisted in retaining possession, and were subjected to new persecutions. On the 25th of October the curtains of the bed in the withdrawing-room were drawn to and fro, and the bedstead shaken, as before; and in the bed-chamber, glass flew about so thick (and yet not one of the chamber-windows broken), that they thought it had rained money; whereupon they lighted candles, but "to their grief they found nothing but glass." On the 29th something going to the window opened and shut it, then going into the bed-chamber, it threw great stones for half an hour's time, some whereof fell on the high-bed, others on the truckle-bed, to the number in all of above fourscore. This night there was also a very great noise, as if forty pieces of ordnance had been shot off together. It astonished all the neighborhood, and it was thought it must have been heard a great way off. During these noises, which were heard in both rooms together, the commissioners and their servants were struck with so great horror, that they cried out one to another for help; whereupon one of them recovering himself out of a "strange agony" he had been in, snatched a sword, and had like to have killed one of his brethren coming out of his bed in his shirt, whom he took for the spirit that did the mischief. However, at length they got all together, yet the noise continued so great and terrible, and shook the walls so much, that they thought the whole manor would have fallen on their heads. At the departure of the supernatural disturber of their repose, "it took all the glass of the windows away with it." On the first of November, something, as the commissioners thought, walked up and down the withdrawing-room, and then made a noise in the dining-room. The stones which were left before, and laid up in the withdrawing-room, were all fetched away this night, and a great deal of glass (not like the former) thrown about again.

On the second of November, there came something into the withdrawing-room, treading, as they conceived, much like a bear, which began by walking about for a quarter of an hour, and then at length it made a noise about the table and threw the warming-pan so violently that it was quite spoiled. It threw also a glass and great stones at the commissioners again, and the bones of horses; and all so violently, that the bedstead and the walls were bruised by them. That night they planted candles all about the rooms, and made fires up to the "rantle-trees" of the chimney,

but all were put out, nobody knew how, the fire and burnt wood being thrown up and down the room; the curtains were torn with the rods from their beds, and the bed-posts pulled away, that the tester fell down upon them, and the feet of the bedstead were cloven into two. The servants in the truckle-bed, who lay all the time sweating for fear, were treated even worse, for there came upon them first a little which made them begin to stir, but before they could get out, it was followed by a whole tubful, as it were, of stinking ditch water, so green, that it made their shirts and sheets of that color too. The same night the windows were all broke by throwing of stones, and there was most terrible noises in three several places together near them. Nay, the very rabbit-stealers who were abroad that night were so affrighted with the dismal thundering, that for haste they left their ferrets in the holes behind them, beyond Rosamond's well. Notwithstanding all this, one of them had the boldness to ask, in the name of God, what it was, what it would have, and what they had done that they should be so disturbed after this manner. To which no answer was given, but the noise ceased for a while. At length it came again, and, as all of them said, brought seven devils worse than itself. Whereupon one of them lighted a candle again, and set it between the two chambers in the doorway, on which another fixing his eyes saw the similitude of a hoof, striking the candle and candlestick into the middle of the bed-chamber, and afterward making three scrapes on the snuff to put it out. Upon this, the same person was so bold as to draw his sword, but he had scarce got it out, but there was another invisible hand had hold of it too, and tugged with him for it; and prevailing, struck him so violently, that he was stunned with the blow. Then began violent noises again, insomuch that they, calling to one another, got together, and went into the presence-chamber, where they said prayers, and sang psalms; notwithstanding all which, the thundering noises still continued in other rooms. After this, on the third of November, they removed their lodging over the gate; and next day, being Sunday, went to Ewelm, "where, how they escaped the authors of the relation knew not, but returning on Monday, the devil (for that was the name they gave their nightly guest) left them not unvisited, nor on the Tuesday following, which was the last day they stayed." The courage even of the devout commissioners of the parliament was not proof against a persecution like this, and the manor of Woodstock was relieved from their presence. It is said that one of the old retainers of the house, years afterward, confessed that he had entered the ser-

vice of the commissioners, in order by playing these tricks upon them, which he was enabled to do by his intimate acquaintance with the secret passages of the lodge, to rescue it from their grasp.

Hopkins and Sterne were not without their imitators in other parts of the country. About the end of the year of which we have just been speaking, the magistrates of Newcastle-upon-Tyne were alarmed at the reports of witches in that town, and they sent into Scotland for a practiser in the art of discovering them. They agreed to pay his travelling expenses, and give him twenty shillings for every witch who should be convicted—an excellent method of increasing their number. No sooner was the Scotchman arrived in Newcastle, than the bellman was sent round the town to invite all persons to bring their complaints against women suspected, and about thirty were brought to the town-hall, and subjected, in the sight of all the people collected there, to his examination. We are told that his practice was to lay the body of the person suspected naked to the waist, and then run a pin into her thigh, after which he suddenly let her coats fall, and asked her if she had nothing of his in her body which did not bleed; the woman was hindered from replying by shame and fear, and he immediately took out the pin and set her aside as a convicted witch. By this atrocious process, he ascertained that twenty-seven persons were practisers of sorcery, and at the ensuing assizes fourteen women and a man were found guilty and executed. The names of the sufferers are recorded in the register of the parish of St. Andrew's.

Just at the time when the commonwealth was merging into the protectorate, in the years 1652, '53, we find cases of witchcraft becoming suddenly more numerous, or, which is perhaps nearer the truth, there were for some cause or other more printed reports of them. In the former year a witch was hanged at Worcester. On the 11th of April, 1652, one Joan Peterson, known as the witch of Wapping, was hanged at Tyburn. She lived in Spruce island, near Shadwell, and was said to have done on the whole more good than harm, for she practised chiefly as a white witch. Strange things, however, were told of her. A man deposed that he was sitting with her in her house and saw her familiar, in the shape of a black dog, come in and suck her. And two women said that, as they were watching with a child of one of their neighbors that was strangely distempered, "about midnight they espied (to their thinking) a great black cat come to the cradle's side and stopped the cradling, whereupon one of the

women took up the fire-fork to strike at it, and it immediately vanished. About an hour after the cat came again to the cradle side; whereupon the other woman kicked at it, but it presently vanished, and that leg that she kicked with began to swell and be very sore, whereupon they were both afraid, and calling upon the master of the house, took their leave. As they were going to their own homes, they met a baker, who was likewise a neighbor's servant, who told them that he saw a great black cat that had so frightened him that his hair stood an end; whereupon the women told him what they had seen, who said he thought in his conscience that Peterson had bewitched the aforesaid child, for (quoth the baker), 'I met the witch a little before going down the island.'" The baker gave his testimony in court, and when asked by the judge the very pertinent question, "whether he had not at other times as well as that been afraid of a cat, he answered no, and that he never saw such a cat before, and hoped in God he should never see the like again."

On the 30th of July, 1652, no less than six witches were condemned at Maidstone, in Kent. In addition to the usual circumstances in such cases, they confessed that the devil had given them a piece of flesh, "which, whensoever they should touch they should thereby effect their desires; that this flesh lay hid among grass, in a certain place which she named, where upon search it was found accordingly." The flesh was brought into court as an evidence against them, and the author of the printed report informs us that it "was of a sinewy substance, and scorched, and was seen and felt by this observator, and reserved for public view at the sign of the Swan, in Maidstone." Other witches were brought to trial, and some found guilty, but four only were hanged. "Some there were that wished rather they might be burnt to ashes; alleging, that it was a received opinion among many that the body of a witch being burnt, her blood is prevented thereby from becoming hereditary to her progeny in the same evil, while by hanging it is not; but whether this opinion be erroneous or not, I," says the narrator, "am not to dispute."

The following year (1653) witnessed the execution at Salisbury, of a woman who had been in her younger days the servant of the famous Dr. Lamb. Her name was Anne Bodenham, and she appears to have been initiated into Lamb's practices, and to have settled at Salisbury in the character of a wise woman. She helped people to recover things stolen, cured diseases, and seems to have carried on the practice of poisoning. Many of those charged with the crime of witchcraft appear to have been

secret possessors of the art of poisoning. The depositions against Anne Bodenham were of a remarkable character. It appears that a little girl had been bewitched, and the wise woman Bodenham was accused of being in some way or other concerned in it. A servant-girl was sent to consult her, and she deposed that Anne Bodenham, having taken her into a room in her house, made a circle on the floor and carefully swept the space within it. She then looked in a glass, and in a book, uttering certain mysterious words, and placed an earthen pan full of coals in the middle of the circle. Five spirits then appeared in the shape of ragged boys, and at the same there arose a high wind which shook the house. She gave the spirits crumbs of bread, which they picked from the floor and ate, and then, after they had all leaped over the pan of coals, they danced with the witch and the maid-servant. The latter had witnessed this scene more than once, and on one occasion she was carried to a meadow at Wilton to gather vervain and dill. She declared that she had seen Anne Bodenham transform herself into a great black cat.

The improvement in intelligence and liberality under the protectorate is shown by the publication of two treatises, which contained the boldest protests against the iniquity of the witch persecution that had appeared since the days of Reginald Scott. The trials at Maidstone in 1653 had so much shocked the good sense of some of the gentlemen of Kent, that it produced from one of them, Sir Robert Filmor, a tract entitled, "An Advertisement to the Jurymen of England, touching Witches," in which he pointed out the ridiculous absurdity of the proofs by which this class of offenders were usually convicted. "The late execution of witches at the summer assizes in Kent," he says, "occasioned this brief exercitation, which addresses itself to such as have not deliberately thought upon the great difficulty in discovering what or who a witch is. To have nothing but the public faith of the present age, is none of the best evidence, unless the universality of elder times do concur with these doctrines, which ignorance in the times of darkness brought forth, and credulity in these days of light hath continued." Language like this must have sounded strange within six or seven years after the fury of persecution which had been excited by Matthew Hopkins; yet in this spirit Filmor proceeds calmly to consider and refute each of the reasons on which the witch-finders depended, ending with the crowning proof supposed to be derived from the devil himself declaring against his victims, "which, how it can be well done, except the devil be bound

over to give in evidence against the witch, can not be understood."

This book, which marked the commencement of the protectorate, was published anonymously; but two years after, in 1655, a minister of the name of Thomas Ady put forth in the same, or even in a more enlightened, spirit, a book entitled, "A Candle in the Dark, or a treatise concerning the nature of witches and witchcraft; being advice to judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and grand jurymen, what to do before they pass sentence on such as are arraigned for their lives as witches." Ady has enlivened his book with a variety of anecdotes and scraps of information relating to the popular superstitions of the day, and in speaking of charms, which he regards as mere relics of popery, he gives the following as the most approved remedy against the bewitching of milk when it will not work properly in the churn. The maid, while churning, was to repeat the words:—

> Come, butter, come; come, butter, come;
> Peter stands at the gate,
> Waiting for a buttered cake;
> Come, butter, come.

This, Ady says, was told by an old witch who declared that her grandmother had learned it in the good days of Queen Mary.

The reign of the protector Oliver was certainly not favorable to the persecution of witches. Yet two persons, a mother and daughter, were hanged at Bury St. Edmonds, about the year 1655, and in the November of 1657 a rather remarkable case occurred at Shepton Mallet in Somersetshire. A woman named Jane Brooks was accused of bewitching a boy named Jones, by giving him an apple, which he roasted and ate. He was immediately seized with strange fits, and while under their influence he cried out against Jane Brooks and her sister as the cause of his suffering. It was deposed at the trial that, one Sunday afternoon, in company with his father and a cousin named Gibson, he was suddenly visited with a fit, and he said that he saw Jane Brooks against the wall of the room, pointing to the spot where he pretended she stood. Gibson took up a knife and struck at the part of the wall to which the boy pointed, and the latter immediately exclaimed, "Oh, father! Cousin Gibson hath cut Jane Brook's hand, and it is bloody!" They immediately took a constable, and went with him to the woman's house, where they found her sitting on a stool, with her hands before her, one placed on the other. The constable inquired how she

did, and she replied, not well. He then asked her why she sat in that position, with her hands before her, to which she replied that it was her wont to do so. When he asked further if nothing ailed her hand, she said, "No, it was well enough." Still not satisfied, he forced one hand from under the other, and found it bleeding just as the boy had described. On being asked how this happened, she said she had scratched her hand with a great pin.* This was sufficient matter for carrying the woman to prison. It was pretended that the boy was often lifted about in an extraordinary manner; and one woman declared that on the 25th of February, 1658, being seized with one of his fits while in her house, he went out of the house into the garden, and she followed him. There she saw him gradually lifted up into the air, and pass away over a wall, and she saw no more of him till he was found lying at the door of a house at some distance, when he declared that he had been carried there by Jane Brooks. She was tried at Chard assizes, on the 26th of March, 1658, and, as might be expected from such conclusive evidence, condemned.

About the period of the protector's death, a witch was hanged at Norwich, and several punished in the same way in Cornwall; and in 1659, two were hanged at Lancaster, who protested their innocence to the last. The approach of a great political change, and the animosities of party which attended it, always furnished the opportunity, even in humble life, of gratifying personal resentments; and we shall find immediately after the restoration that the cases of witchcraft were again numerous. At the beginning of the period of the interregnum, the devil was the enemy of the republicans—at its close he was opposed to the royalists. On the 14th of May, 1660, four persons at Kidderminster, a widow, her two daughters, and a man, were charged with various acts of witchcraft, and carried to Worcester jail. The eldest daughter was accused of saying that, if they had not been taken, the king should never have come to England, "and,

*The following story is given in Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft: "About the year 1645, there was at Chelmsford an afflicted person, that in her fits cried out against a woman, a neighbor which Mr. Clark, the minister of the gospel there, could not believe to be guilty of such a crime. And it happened, while that woman milked her cow, the cow struck her with one horn upon the forehead, and fetched blood; and while she was thus bleeding, a spectre in her likeness appeared to the person afflicted, who, pointing at the spectre, one struck at the place, and the afflicted said, 'You have made her forehead bleed.' Hereupon some went to the woman, and found her forehead bloody, and acquainted Mr. Clark with it; who forthwith went to the woman, and asked how her forehead became bloody; and she answered, 'by a blow of the cow's horn;' whereby he was satisfied that it was a design of Satan to render an innocent person suspected."

though he now doth come, yet he shall not live long, but shall die as ill a death as they; and that they would have made corn like pepper." These were the mere ravings of puritanical discontent, repetitions probably of sentiments they had heard among their neighbors. The relater continues: "Many great charges against them, and little proved, they were put to the ducking in the river: they would not sink, but swam aloft. The man had five teats, the women three, and the eldest daughter one. When they went to search the women, none were visible; one advised to lay them on their backs and keep open their mouths, and then they would appear; and so they presently appeared in sight."

CHAPTER XXVI.

WITCHCRAFT IN GERMANY IN THE EARLIER PART OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In Germany, since the fifteenth century, sorcery had been undergoing much the same fate as in France and Spain. In the writers of the sixteenth century we trace a system of demonology differing only in some of its details from that of the other countries which we have reviewed, and in some respects perhaps more complete. It has more bold and striking points, a circumstance arising no doubt from the fact that here the ancient Teutonic mythology retained a stronger hold upon the popular mind. The sites of primitive worship are more distinctly marked; and such mountains as Blocksberg, Inselsberg, Weckingstein near Minden, Staffelstein near Bamberg, Kreidenberg near Würzburg, Bönigsberg near Loccum, Fellerberg near Treves, Kandel in Brisgau, and Heuberg in the Schwarz forest, which occur as the scenes of the great sabbaths of the witches of this period, were no doubt sacred places of the early Germans.

The witchcraft trials in Germany during the sixteenth century were numerous and curious, and there as elsewhere we can trace their origin often in personal feuds, in political enmities, and more especially in religious differences.* It was, however, at

* The best general treatise on witchcraft in the German language is, I believe, that by Dr. W. G. Soldan, "Geschichte der Hexenprocesse, aus den Quellen dargestellt." (Stuttgart, 1843.) The great collections of materials are Horst's Zau-

the commencement of the seventeenth century, on the eve of those terrible religious wars which tore Germany to pieces, that the prosecutions against witchcraft took there their grand development. They were most remarkable at the cities of Bamberg and Würzburg, and other places where the Roman catholic religion was prevalent, and which were under the immediate influence of the Jesuits. Some of the earlier writers on sorcery had declared that the increasing number of witches in the sixteenth century was owing to the spread of protestantism, and the Jesuits now seized upon this doctrine as a means of influencing the minds of the vulgar against the heretic. It is probable, therefore, that of the multitudes of persons who perished at the stake in Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century for sorcery, the only crime of many was their attachment to the religion of Luther.

The period of the great persecutions of witches in Würzburg and Bamberg was one of great suffering, when the country had been reduced to poverty by a merciless war, and when the petty princes of the empire were not unwilling to seize upon any pretence to fill their coffers; and it has been remarked that in Bamberg, at least, the persons prosecuted were in general those, the confiscation of whose property was a matter of consideration. At Bamberg, as well as at Würzburg, the bishop was a sovereign prince in his dominions. There had long been a silent war in this place between catholicism and the reformation, for the latter had gained a footing in the preceding age from which its opponents had not yet been able to drive it. The prince-bishop John George II., who ruled Bamberg from 1622 to 1633, after several unsuccessful attempts to root out Lutheranism from his dominions, commenced his attacks upon it in 1625, under another name, and the rest of his reign was distinguished by a series of sanguinary witch-trials which disgrace the annals of that city. His grand agent in these proceedings was Frederic Forner, suffragan of Bamberg, a blind supporter of the Jesuits, and a great enemy of heretics and sorcerers, against whom he published a treatise under the formidable title of *Panoplia armaturæ Dei*. We may form some notion of the proceedings of this worthy from the statement of the most authentic historians of this city, that between 1625 and 1639, not less than nine hundred trials took place in the two courts of Bamberg and Zeil; and a pamphlet pub-

ber-Bibliothek, and Hauber's Bibliotheca Magica. The present chapter is taken chiefly from Soldan's book, with which I was not acquainted when the earlier part of this book was written.

lished at Bamberg by authority, in 1659, states the number of persons which Bishop John George had caused to be burnt for sorcery, to have been six hundred.

Among the persons thus sacrificed were the chancellor, his son, Doctor Horn, with his wife and two daughters, and many of the lords and councillors of the bishop's court, and these are stated to have confessed that above twelve hundred of them had confederated together, and that if their sorcery had not been brought to light, they would have brought it to pass within four years, that there would have been neither wine nor corn in the country, and that thereby man and beast would have perished with hunger, and men be driven to eat one another. There were even some catholic priests, we are told, among them, who had been led into practices too dreadful to be described, and they confessed, among other things, that they had baptized many children in the devil's name. It must be stated that these confessions were made under tortures of the most fearful kind, far more so than anything that was practised in France or other countries. Two of the city magistrates *(bürgurmeisters)*, besides other extraordinary things they had done, said that they had often raised such terrible storms, that houses were thrown down and trees torn up by the roots, and that it had been their intention to raise such a wind as should overthrow the great tower of Bamberg. The wives of one of the burgomasters and of the town-butcher declared that it was their task to make the ointment for the sorcerers, from each of which they received two pennies a week, and that this amounted in a year to six hundred *gülders* or florins. The burgomaster Neidecker, acknowledged that he had assisted in poisoning the wells by sorcery, so that whoever drank of them would immediately be struck with pestilence, and that thus great multitudes had perished. The history of Germany shows how easy it was at this time to point out the ravages of war, pestilence, and famine. It was also acknowledged that no less than three thousand sorcerers and witches assembled at the dance on the Kreidenberg mountain near Würzburg, on the night of St. Walpurgis, and that each having given a *kreuzer* to the musician, he gained no less than forty *gülders*, and that at the same dance they drunk seven "fudder" of wine which they had stolen from the bishop of Würzburg's cellar. There were little girls of from seven to ten years of age among the witches, and seven-and-twenty of them were convicted and burnt. The numbers brought to trial in these terrible proceedings were so great, and they were treated with so little consideration, that it was usual not even to

take the trouble of setting down their names, but they were cited as the accused, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and so on. The Jesuits took their confessions in private, and they made up the list of those who were understood to have been denounced by them.

Lutheranism had been gaining ground in Würzburg more even than in Bamberg, and when Bishop Julius came to the see in 1575, the majority of the population was protestant. The energy with which he set about making converts alarmed many of those who had anything to lose in the world, and the number of "heretics" was thus soon diminished. Nevertheless, Bishop Philip Adolph, who came to the see in 1623, found a sufficient number of protestants to excite his alarm, and not daring, in the political position of Germany at that moment, to persecute them openly for their religion, he adopted the plan of his neighbor of Bamberg. A great confederacy of sorcerers was suddenly discovered, and during two or three years hundreds of people, of all ages and conditions, were hurried to the stake. A catalogue of nine-and-twenty *brände*, or burnings, during a very short period of time previous to the February of 1629, will give the best notion of the horrible character of these proceedings; it is printed from the original record in Hauber's *Bibliotheca Magica*.

In the First Burning, Four Persons.

The wife of Liebler.
Old Ancker's widow.
The wife of Gutbrodt.
The wife of Höcker.

In the Second Burning, Four Persons.

The old wife of Beutler.
Two strange women.
The old woman who kept the pot-house.

Iu the Third Burning, Five Persons.

Tungersleber, a minstrel.
The wife of Kuler.
The wife of Stier, a proctor.
The brushmaker's wife.
The goldsmith's wife.

In the Fourth Burning, Five Persons.

The wife of Siegmund the glazier, a burgomaster.
Brickmann's wife.

The midwife. N.B. She was the origin of all the mischief.
Old Rume's wife.
A strange man.

In the Fifth Burning, Eight Persons.

Lutz, an eminent shopkeeper.
Rutscher, a shopkeeper.
The housekeeper of the dean of the cathedral.
The old wife of the court ropemaker.
Jo. Stembach's housekeeper.
The wife of Baunach, a senator.
A woman named Znickel Babel.
An old woman.

In the Sixth Burning, Six Persons.

The steward of the senate, named Gering.
Old Mrs. Canzler.
The fat tailor's wife.
The woman cook of Mr. Mengerdorf.
A strange man.
A strange woman.

In the Seventh Burning, Seven Persons.

A strange girl of twelve years old.
A strange man.
A strange woman.*
A strange bailiff *(schultheiss)*.
Three strange women.

In the Eighth Burning, Seven Persons.

Baunach, a senator, the fattest citizen in Würzburg.
The steward of the dean of the cathedral.
A strange man.
The knife-grinder.
The gauger's wife.
Two strange women.

In the Ninth Burning, Five Persons.

Wunth, the wheelwright.
A strange man.

* It must be understood that *strange* means, not a citizen of Würzburg. Perhaps the numerous strange men and women were protestant refugees from other parts.

Bentze's daughter.
Bentze's wife herself.
The wife of Eyering.

In the Tenth Burning, Three Persons.

Steinacher, a very rich man.
A strange woman.
A strange man.

In the Eleventh Burning, Four Persons.

Schwerdt, a vicar-choral in the cathedral.
Rensacker's housekeeper.
The wife of Stiecher.
Silberhans, a minstrel.

In the Twelfth Burning, Two Persons.

Two strange women.

In the Thirteenth Burning, Four Persons.

The old smith of the court.
An old woman.
A little girl nine or ten years old.
A younger girl, her little sister.

In the Fourteenth Burning, Two Persons.

The mother of the two little girls before mentioned.
Liebler's daughter, aged twenty-four years.

In the Fifteenth Burning, Two Persons.

A boy of twelve years of age, in the first school.
A butcher's wife.

In the Sixteenth Burning, Six Persons.

A noble page of Ratzenstein, was executed in the chancellor's yard at six o'clock in the morning, and left upon his bier all day, and then next day burnt with the following:—
A boy of ten years of age.
The two daughters of the steward of the senate, and his maid.
The fat ropemaker's wife.

In the Seventeenth Burning, Four Persons.

The innkeeper of the Baumgarten.
A boy eleven years old.

The wife of the apothecary at the Hirsch (*the Stag*), and her daughter.

N.B.—A woman who played the harp had hanged herself.

In the Eighteenth Burning, Six Persons.

Batsch, a tanner.
Two boys of twelve years old.
The daughter of Dr. Junge.
A girl of fifteen years of age.
A strange woman.

In the Nineteenth Burning, Six Persons.

A noble page of Rotenham was beheaded at six o'clock in the chancellor's yard, and burnt the following day
The wife of the secretary Schellhar.
A woman.
A boy of ten years of age.
Another boy twelve years old.
Brugler's wife, a cymbal-player (*beckin*), was burnt alive.

In the Twentieth Burning Six Persons.

Göbel's child, the most beautiful girl in Würzburg.

A student on the fifth form, who knew many languages, and was an excellent musician *vocaliter et instrumentaliter*.

Two boys from the new minister, each twelve years old.
Stepper's little daughter.
The woman who kept the bridge-gate.

In the Twenty-first Burning, Six Persons.

The master of the Dietricher hospital, a very learned man.
Stoffel Holtzmann.
A boy fourteen years old.
The little son of Senator Stolzenberger.
Two *alumni*.

In the Twenty-second Burning, Six Persons.

Stürman, a rich cooper.
A strange boy.
The grown-up daughter of Senator Stolzenberger.
The wife of Stolzenberger herself.
The washerwoman in the new building.
A strange woman.

In the Twenty-third Burning, Nine Persons.

David Croten's boy, of nine years old, on the second form.
The two sons of the prince's cook, one of fourteen years, the other of ten years, from the first school.
Melchior Hammelmann, vicar at Hach.
Nicodemus Hirsch, a canon in the new minster.
Christopher Berger, vicar in the new minster.
An *alumnus*.
N.B.—The bailiff in the Brennerbach court and an *alumnus* were burnt alive.

In the Twenty-fourth Burning, Seven Persons.

Two boys in the hospital.
A rich cooper.
Lorenz Stüber, vicar in the new minster.
Batz, vicar in the new minster.
Lorenz Roth, vicar in the new minster.
A woman named Rossleins Martin.

In the Twenty-fifth Burning, Six Persons.

Frederick Basser, vicar in the cathedral.
Stab, vicar at Hach.
Lambrecht, canon in the new minster.
The wife of Gallus Hansen.
A strange boy.
Schelmerei, the huckstress.

In the Twenty-sixth Burning, Seven Persons.

David Hans, a canon in the new minster.
Weydenbusch, a senator.
The innkeeper's wife of the Baumgarten.
An old woman.
The little daughter of Valkenberger was privately executed and burnt on her bier.
The little son of the town council bailiff.
Herr Wagner, vicar in the cathedral, was burnt alive.

In the Twenty-seventh Burning, Seven Persons.

A butcher, named Kilian Hans.
The keeper of the bridge-gate.
A strange boy.
A strange woman.

The son of the female minstrel, vicar at Hach.
Michel Wagner, vicar at Hach.
Knor, vicar at Hach.

In the Twenty-eighth Burning, after Candlemas, 1629, *Six Persons.*

The wife of Knertz the butcher.
The infant daughter of Dr. Schültz.
A blind girl.
Schwartz, canon at Hach.
Ehling, a vicar.
Bernhard Mark, vicar in the cathedral, was burnt alive.

In the Twenty-ninth Burning, Seven Persons.

Viertel Beck.
The innkeeper at Klingen.
The bailiff of Mergelsheim.
The wife of Beck at the Ox-tower.
The fat noble lady (*edelfrau*).
N.B.—A doctor of divinity at Hach and a canon were executed early at five o'clock in the morning, and burnt on their bier.
A gentleman of Adel, called Junker Fleischbaum.

We are assured at the end of this document that there were many other burnings beside those here enumerated. It appears that, except in particular cases, the judges showed so much mercy as to cause their victims to be put to death by beheading before they were burnt.

One of the victims on this occasion excited especial commiseration, because he was of high rank, a kinsman of the bishop himself, on whom he attended as a page of the court, and because he was young, handsome, and interesting. The youthful Ernst von Ehrenberg, we are told, was remarkable chiefly for the attention he paid to his studies in the university of Würzburg, and for the progress which he made in them, until he was seduced by his aunt, a lady of rank in that city, who received him as a kinsman into her family. This lady, the Jesuits tell us, was an abandoned witch—perhaps she was a protestant—and she soon taught her nephew to pursue evil courses, until from an undue familiarity with herself he proceeded to become a familiar of the devil. For a while he had sufficient dissimulation to conceal his wickedness, until the change became evident from his increasing neglect of his studies and his religious

duties, and instead of being as before, remarkable for his attention to his books he now spent his time at play and among the ladies. The Jesuit inquisitors were alarmed at his conduct, and undertook to discover the cause. They found, or pretended to find, by the confessions of some of the sorcerers brought to the stake, that, through the seductions of his aunt, he had sold himself to the devil, aad that he had attended the sabbaths of the witches. The bishop determined to convert his kinsman, if possible, to a different life. On his profession of repentance and promise of amendment, he was delivered to the care of the Jesuits, that he might profit by their teaching, and they took him to their house, where they loaded him with holy amulets, agnus-deis, relics and holy water, and appointed one of their order to attend upon him both day and night, to protect him against the attempts of the fiend. The Jesuits, however, soon found, as they declared, that no distemper was so incurable as sorcery. Whenever he had the opportunity, he laid aside the holy articles with which he was encumbered at night, and then the devil came to him and carried him away to the witches' meetings, whence he contrived to return before four o'clock in the morning, the hour when his spiritual instructors rose. Once or twice, however, perhaps rising earlier than usual, they found his bed empty, and they discovered from this and some other circumstances how he spent his nights. They now declared that all his promises of amendment were only intended to deceive, and that they entertained no further hopes of him. He was accordingly condemned to death, and the judgment was held over him *in terrorem* with the hope that he might still be induced to repent. The conclusion of his story is dramatically told by the Jesuit who has left us a relation of it. The Jesuits were to prepare him for death. Early on the morning of the day appointed for his execution—it appears that he had not been made acquainted with his sentence—they went to him and told him, in ambiguous language, that he was to prepare for a better life than that he had hitherto led, and then took him into the castle. Here he recognised with an innocent joy the scenes of his childish gambols; "there," said he, "I played, there I drank, there I danced," and went on making remarks of this kind, until he was conducted into a room hung with black, where a scaffold was erected. Then he turned pale, and for a few minutes stood trembling and speechless; but when the executioners attempted to lay their hands upon him, he raised such a cry of distress that the judges themselves were moved by it, and they went to

intercede with the bishop in his favor. The prince made a last attempt, and sent a messenger to offer him forgiveness if he would promise a thorough reformation. But the messenger returned with an answer that all was in vain, for the devil had so hardened the youth, that he boldly declared he would remain as he was, that he had no need of repentance or change, and that if he were not so already, he would wish to become so. Then the prince sternly signified his will that justice should take its course. They dragged the youth again into the dark chamber, supported on each side by a Jesuit, who urged him to repentance; but he persisted in saying that he needed no repentance, begged for his life, tried to wrest himself from the grasp of the officers, and gave no attention to the exhortations of the priests. At last the executioner seized a favorable moment, and in the midst of his struggles to escape struck the head from his body at a blow.

We will not multiply our list of executions of witches in Germany. The persecution raised by the Jesuits against the sorcerers seemed increasing rather than otherwise, when one of their order, a pious and learned man, named Frederick Spee, a native of Cologne, raised his voice against this cruelty, by publishing, in the year 1631, a treatise on the subject, under the title of *Cautio Criminalis*, in which he pointed out the necessity of taking with more caution the sort of evidence which it was usual to adduce against offenders of this class. It was, as its author states in the title, "A book very necessary at that time for the magistracy throughout Germany" *(liber ad magistratus Germaniæ hoc tempore necessarius)*, and it no doubt had a great influence in putting a stop to the wholesale prosecutions which had become so prevalent.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE WITCHES OF SCOTLAND UNDER KING JAMES AFTER HIS ACCESSION TO THE ENGLISH THRONE.

In the earlier ages of society, the practice of medicine, which consisted in a curing of wounds, was usually intrusted to the women. It was their business to gather the best herbs, and to know their several virtues. The remedies were often very simple, and required no great knowledge to prepare and apply them,

and the professed healers, who themselves believed in the efficacy of charms and "characters," and imagined that the properties of different herbs were given to them by the spirits who presided over woods and fields, found an advantage at the same time in clothing their remedies in adventitious mystery. To what an extent this was practised will be fully understood by any one who is conversant with the collections of medicinal receipts in mediæval manuscripts. After the Roman civilization had introduced itself among the various branches of the Teutonic race, and schools of medicine were established, a new race of practitioners sprang up, superior to the others, by their learning and theoretic knowledge, but still judging it convenient to create a popular reverence for their art by clothing it in a similar garb of mystery. Thus, medicine, in whatever circumstances it was found, was deeply intermixed with superstition.

In process of time these two classes of medical practitioners became more widely separated from each other, the scholastic physicians rising in professional character, while the others went on degenerating until they became literally "old women doctors." This vulgar medicinal knowledge became at last united with sorcery in the person of the witch, as it had formerly been united with the religious worship of the people in the functions of the priestess. The latter received her knowledge by the inspiration of the gods; the former derived her knowledge of the virtues of herbs by the gift of the fairies or of the devil. Many of them added to these a profession of a far more horrible character. They were acquainted with herbs of which the properties were noxious, as well as with those which were beneficial, and they acquired at times an extraordinary skill in concocting poisons of different degrees of force, and which acted in different manners. The witches were the great poisoners of the middle ages, and their practice was no doubt far more extensive than, even with what we have recently witnessed among our peasantry, we can easily imagine.

Nearly all the Scottish witches of the first half of the seventeenth century were such vulgar practitioners in the healing art, and some of them at least were poisoners. Our materials are again furnished almost entirely by Robert Pitcairn, whose collection of early Scottish criminal trials is one of the most curious works of the kind that has ever been published.

The first instance of an offender of this class in the seventeenth century that occurs in these registers is that of James Reid, of Musselburgh, who was brought to trial as a "common sorcerer,

charmer, and abuser," on the 21st of July, 1602. James Reid professed to heal all kinds of diseases, "quhilk craft he lernit fra the devill, his maister, in Bynnie craigis and Corstorphin craigis, quhair he met with him and consultit with him to lerne the said craft; quha (that is, James Reid) gaif him thrie pennies at ane tyme, and a peice creische *(grease)* out of his bag at ane uther tyme." The devil's terms, on this occasion, were not very exorbitant. This first interview took place some thirteen years before the time of his trial, and he had since that had frequent meetings with the evil one, who appeared sometimes in the form of a man, and sometimes in that of a horse. His grand specific in effecting his cures was water from a south-running stream. Among the crimes enumerated in his indictment were several "cures" performed, to use the words of the record, "in his devilish manner;" but the most serious charge against him was a conspiracy against the life of one David Libbertoun, a baker of Edinburgh. There was a feud between this man and the family of John Crystie, of Crystiesoun's mylne, or mill, arising perhaps from some dishonest transactions between them, for in former days the roguery of bakers and millers was proverbial. Crystie's daughter, Jonet, and some other women of the family applied to James Reid for revenge, and he held a consultation with the fiend for the purpose of bringing destruction on Libbertoun, his family, goods, and corn. James's instructor made him take a piece of raw flesh, on which he made nine nicks or notches, and "enchanted the same." The flesh was given to Jonet Crystie, one half to be laid under the door of Libbertoun's mill, and the other under the door of his stable; the object of the latter being to bewitch his horses and cattle. Satan also enchanted nine stones, which were to be thrown on David Libbertoun's lands, to destroy his corn. They next made a "picture" of wax, which the fiend also "enchanted;" and this the women roasted at a fire in Crystie's house, to effect the destruction of Libbertoun himself. The latter in due course died.

In England they were contented with the cheaper and easier process of hanging the witches, but in Scotland, as in Germany, the good old system of burning was still persevered in, although they now generally put the victims to death by strangling, or some other means, before they were committed to the flames. This act of mercy was probably occasioned by the horrible scenes that burning alive continually gave rise to. We learn from the minutes of the Scotch privy council, that, on the 1st of December, 1608, "The earl of Mar declared to the council that some

women were taken in Broughton (the suburb of Edinburgh) as witches, and being put to an assize, and convicted, albeit they persevered constant in their denial to the end, yet they were burnt quick, after such a cruel manner, that some of them died in despair, renouncing and blaspheming; and others, half burnt, broke out of the fire, and were cast quick in it again, till they were burnt to death."

James Reid was wirreit, or strangled, and then burnt.

We learn from these same registers, that a man named Patrick Lowrie, of Halie in Ayrshire, commonly known by the name of Pat the witch, suffered the same fate in the July of the year 1605. This man had been in confederacy with several women witches, and on the Whitsunday of 1604 they had held a meeting with the evil one on the Sandhills in Kyle, near the burgh of Irvine. On Hallow-Eve, the same year, they assembled again on Lowdon-hill, where a spirit, in the likeness of a woman, who called herself Helen M'Brune, appeared to them, and after a long consultation, gave Patrick a hair-belt, "in one of the ends of which belt appeared the similitude of four fingers and a thumb, not far different from the claws of the devil." They afterward visited the neighboring churches and churchyards, to dig up the dead from their graves, and dismember them, "for the practising of their witchcraft and sorcery." This man, like the former, injured some people, and performed cures for others; he was charged especially with curing a child of "ane strange *incureabill* disease."

The practices of Isobel Griersoune, the wife of a laborer at Prestonpans named John Bull, were still more extraordinary. She was tried on the 10th of March, 1607, and it appeared that, having conceived a "cruel hatred and malice" against one Adam Clark, of the same place, she used during a year and a half "all devilish and ungodly means" to be avenged upon him. One night, in the November of 1606, between eleven o'clock and midnight, when the whole family, consisting of Adam, his wife, and a woman-servant, were asleep in their beds, she entered their house in the likeness of her own cat, accompanied with a great number of other cats, and made such an uproar that the inmates went nearly mad. Then, to increase the tumult, the devil, in the shape of a black man, made his appearance, and, in a fearful manner, seizing the servant as she stood in the middle of the floor, tore her cap from her head and threw it in the fire, and dragged her up and down the house with so much violence that she was obliged to keep her bed for six weeks after.

Such scenes as this seldom occur in the stories of English witchery. Previous to this occurrence, at the beginning of the year 1600, the same Isobel had taken offence against a man of the same town, named William Burnet. She threw a piece of raw "enchanted" flesh at his door, and he was immediately struck with a dreadful malady, and for the space of a year the demon haunted the house nightly, in the shape of a "naked infant bairn." In consequence of these and other similar persecutions, William Burnet languished three years and died. Another man refused to pay her the sum of nine shillings and fourpence, which he owed her, and he was seized with a grievous sickness, which never left him till the debt was discharged. An alehouse-keeper affronted her, and all his ale became "thick like gutter dirt," and smelled so bad that nobody would touch it. An innkeeper's wife gave her some cause of offence, and she went "under silence and cloud of night," and, entering the house "after a devilish and unknown way," dragged her by the hair out of bed from the side of her husband, and threw her on the floor, "whereby her spirit failed her," and she continued in a helpless state during five or six days. On this occasion, Isobel Griersoune was publicly accused of being the cause of the woman's sickness, and she therefore employed her neighbors to bring her and the innkeeper's wife to drink together, after which the latter recovered; but she again called her a witch, whereupon Isobel, who appears to have possessed anything but a gentle temper, flew into a rage, and said to her, "the fagot of hell light on thee, and hell's caldron may thou seethe in!" Her weakness returned, and remained with her till the time of Isobel's trial. Isobel Griersoune was burnt on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh. In the December of the same year a man was burnt there for the same crime; he was accused of poisoning people, as well as curing. Other similar cases occur in the following years, and no doubt many might be instanced from other parts of Scotland.

On the 27th of May, 1605, a woman named Beigis Tod, of "Lang Nydrie," was tried for sorcery, and condemned to the stake. It was stated that in the August of 1594, she, with her sister and some others, met another party of witches at "Deanefute of Lang Nydrie," where the devil appeared to them, and reproved Beigis Tod "very sharply" for her long tarrying. She said, "Sir, I could win na sooner." They all passed together to Beigis's house in Lang Nydrie, where, after they had drunk together "a certain space," they took a cat and drew it nine

times through the "cruik," or iron on which the pot was hung over the fire; and then they went with all speed to Seatoun thorn, to the north of the gate. Thorns were always favorite meeting-places of witches and spirits. When they came to the thorn, the devil left them to fetch Cristiane Tod, a sister of Beigis, "and passed to Robert Smart's house, and brought her out; and as she was coming with him, she took a great fright, and said to the devil, 'Sir, what will you do with me?' who answered her, 'tak na feir, for ye sall gang to your sister Beigis, and to the rest of hir cumpanie quha ar stayand upon your cuming at the thorn.'" Then they all went with Satan to the iron gate of Seatoun, where they again took a cat, and drew it nine times through the iron gate. Immediately afterward they went to a barn, where they christened the cat, and called her Margaret. They then returned to Deanefute, where they first met, and cast the cat to the evil one. We are not told the object of these strange proceedings.

The year 1613 was rendered remarkable in the annals of Scottish sorcery by two very extraordinary cases, one of which belonged to high life. John Erskine, laird of Dun in the county of Angus, and grandson of the celebrated John Erskine who held the office of superintendent of Angus and Mearnes, and distinguished himself by his exertions in support of the Reformation, had two sons, David, who inherited the lordship, and Robert, and three daughters, Helen, Isobel, and Anne. David Erskine, the elder brother, died young, leaving two boys, John and Alexander, the former of whom was acknowledged as the young laird. Robert Erskine and his three sisters seem to have been more attached to one another than to their late brother; the sisters especially seem to have been wicked women, and, now that only two children stood between him and the hereditary estates of the family, they urged their surviving brother to secure the lairdship and property by one of those bold bad actions which were so common in feudal times. It appears that a dispute had arisen relating to the wardship of the children, and that Robert Erskine was disappointed at not getting his nephews into his own ward. About the midsummer of 1610, a meeting between Robert and his three sisters took place in his mansion of Logy, and it was resolved that the children, of whom one seems to have been on a visit to Logy and the other was residing with his mother in Montrose, should be carried off by poison, which must be prepared and rendered effectual by witchcraft. Two of the sisters, who appear to have been the most active in this

affair, proposed to one David Blewhouse that he should find a witch and see the work done without their direct interference, and in return for this service he was to receive five hundred marks of silver and a piece of land. An agreement to this effect was drawn up, but for some reason or other it was subsequently broken off, and the two sisters, Anne and Helen, determined to take the matter in hand themselves. They accordingly set off together, and went over the Cairne-mouth toward "Mure-ail-house," to a notorious witch named Janet Irwing, from whom they received a "great quantity" of herbs, with particular directions how to use them. These they carried home to Logy, but Robert Erskine was not satisfied that they were sufficiently powerful for his purpose, and paid a visit in person to the witch, who took away all his scruples on this head. They now proceeded to make this poisonous drink, according to the witch's directions, and everything being ready, Robert Erskine rode over to Montrose, taking the boy who was with him home to his brother and mother. There the drink was secretly administered, and the victims were suddenly plunged into dreadful sufferings, and exhibited every symptom of being poisoned, till they both died, "and sa was crewallie and tresonabilie murthoret," to use the expressive words of the record. The murderers did not long enjoy the result of their crime; how the discovery was made is not told, but it seems probable that David Blewhouse turned traitor. On the 30th of November, 1613, Robert Erskine was brought for examination before the Scottish privy council, and though he denied all knowledge of the murder at first, he ended by making a full confession. The course of justice was quick at this time, and he was beheaded on the 1st of December at the "Mercat" cross in Edinburgh. His sisters seem to have possessed stronger nerves, for in face of his confession, and the evidence of Blewhouse and other witnesses, they continued "obdurate in a constant denial." They were not brought to a trial till the 22d of June, 1614, but the evidence against them was so conclusive, that they were at once found guilty, and two of them were like their brother beheaded at the Mercat-cross. The third obtained a respite from the king, who subsequently changed her punishment from death to perpetual banishment.

The other Scottish tragedy of the year 1613 was, in some respects, of a more romantic character, and we only know it from a copy of the record of the trial sent to Sir Walter Scott. Two brothers, Archibald and John Dein, lived in the town of Irvine,

of which they were burgesses; the first had married a woman named Janet Lyal, while the wife of Alexander, was Margaret Barclay. It appears that there was a quarrel between the two families, and John Dein and his wife publicly accused Margaret Barclay of theft. Margaret Barclay raised an action of slander before the church court, which was discharged, and the opponents directed to be reconciled. But Margaret did not possess a conciliating temper, and she declared that she only gave her hand in obedience to the kirk-session, but that her animosity against John Dein and his spouse was unabated. Soon after this occurrence, John Dein's ship prepared to sail for France, and he took with him the provost of the burgh of Irvine, Andrew Tran, who was one of the owners of the vessel. As they were starting, Margaret Barclay was heard to pray that sea nor salt water might never bear the ship, and that partans, or crabs, might eat the crew at the bottom of the sea. The first news of the ship which reached Irvine, came by a wandering juggler named John Stewart, who called at the house of the provost, and dropped broad hints that he knew by some mysterious means that the vessel was lost, and that the provost himself had perished. After a short period of anxiety in the provost's family, all doubt was removed by the arrival of two of the crew, who stated that their ship had been wrecked on the coast of England near Padstow, and that they were the sole survivors of all who were on board. People remembered Margaret Barclay's imprecations, and suspicions of sorcery were immediately excited against her and John Stewart, whose knowledge of the state of the ship seemed so extraordinary.

Margaret Barclay appears to have been no favorite in the town of Irvine, and proceedings were commenced in a way most likely to turn to her confusion. The wandering juggler was first arrested, and fear or torture wrung from him a confession, in which he cleared himself by seriously compromising the other person suspected. He said that Margaret Barclay, presuming perhaps on his character of a juggler, had applied to him to teach her some magic arts, "in order that she might get gear, kyes milk, love of man, her heart's desire on such persons as had done her wrong, and finally that she might obtain the fruit of sea and land." He replied that he neither possessed such arts, nor was able to communicate them to others, and thus the matter ended. But he said that subsequent to this, and shortly after the ship set sail, he came accidentally one night to Margaret's house, and there he found her with two other women making clay figures,

one of which was made handsome and with fair hair, he supposed to represent Provost Tran. They proceeded to make a figure of a ship in clay, and while they were thus occupied, the devil appeared in the shape of a handsome black lap-dog. When the ship was made, the whole party, Satan and all, left the house together, and went into an empty waste house near the seaport. They afterward proceeded to the seaside, and cast in the figures of clay representing the ship and the men, and immediately the sea raged, roared, and became red like the juice of madder in a dyer's caldron. Margaret Barclay's female acquaintances were next convened, and when John Stewart was introduced to them, he at once fixed upon an old woman named Insh, as one of the persons engaged in making the figures. This woman stoutly denied all knowledge of the matter, and said she never saw her accuser before; but the magistrates now brought forward her own daughter, a girl only eight years old, who lived in Margaret Barclay's house as a servant, and who had been made by some means or other to declare that she had been a witness to the scene described by the juggler, and that her mother was one of the persons engaged in it. This little girl improved upon the details given by Stewart; she described other persons as being present, added a black man to the black dog, and said that the latter breathed flames from its jaws and nostrils, which illuminated the witches during the performance of the spell. She said that they had promised her a pair of new shoes to keep the secret, and that her mother, Isobel Insh, remained in the waste-house, and was not present when the images were thrown into the sea.

John Stewart now underwent a new examination, and added to his own story so as to make it agree with that of the child. When asked how he gained the knowledge of things to come, he told a strange story of his adventures with the fairies; it was probably a tale he had been accustomed to recount among the people where he visited in the exercise of his craft to give himself importance in their eyes, and which he now half-unconsciously repeated before his judges. He stated that about twenty-six years before, as he was travelling on the night of All-hallow's eve, between the towns of "Monygoif" and "Clary," in the county of Galway (in Ireland), he met with the king of the fairies and his company, and the king struck him over the forehead with a white rod, which deprived him of the power of speech and the use of one eye. After remaining in this condition during three years, his speech and eyesight were restored to him by

the king of the fairies and his company, whom he again met on a Hallowe'en night near Dublin, since which time he had been in the habit of joining these people every Saturday at seven o'clock in the evening, and remaining with them all that night. They likewise met every Hallowtide, sometimes on Lanark hill, or, as Scott supposes, Tintock, and sometimes on Kilmaurs hill, when he was taught by them. Stewart pointed out the spot on his forehead where the king of the fairies struck him with a white rod, whereupon, after he had been blindfolded by order of the magistrates and ministers who were directing the examination, they pricked the spot with a large pin, of which he appeared to be quite insensible. He repeated the names of many persons whom he had seen at the court of faerie, and declared that all persons who were taken away by sudden death went thither.

After these confessions, Isobel Insh was more hardly pressed to "tell the truth," and at length she confessed that she was present at the making and drowning of the clay images, but declared that she took no part in the proceedings. She was at this moment in such a state of mind, that she evidently knew not what she was doing, and she supplicated her jailer, Bailie Dunlop, to let her go, promising him, for he also was a mariner, that if he did so, he should never make a bad voyage, but have success in all his dealings by sea and land, a promise that was easily construed into an acknowledgment that she possessed the powers attributed to her. Before she was conducted back to her prison in the belfry, she was made to promise that she would fully confess next day, but in the night she made a desperate attempt at escape. Although secured with iron bolts, locks, and fetters, she succeeded in getting out at a back window, and reached the roof of the church, for here she lost her footing and fell to the ground. She was so much hurt and bruised, that she survived but five days, during which time she resolutely persisted in asserting her innocence, and denied all that she had before admitted. In spite of the evident causes of her death, the inhabitants of Irvine attributed it to poison.

A commission was now granted for the trial of John Stewart and Margaret Barclay, and when the appointed day arrived, "My lord and earl of Eglintoune (who dwells within the space of one mile to the said burgh) having come to the said burgh at the earnest request of the said justices, for giving to them of his lordship's countenance, concurrence, and assistance, in trying of the foresaid devilish practices, conformable to the tenor of the foresaid commission, the said John Stewart, for his better pre-

serving to the day of assize, was put in a sure lock-fast booth, where no manner of person might have access to him till the down-sitting of the justice-court; and for avoiding of putting hands on himself, he was very strictly guarded, and fettered by the arms, as use is. And upon that same day of the assize, about half an hour before the down-sitting of the justice-court, Mr. David Dickson, minister at Irvine, and Mr. George Dunbar, minister of Ayr, having gone to him to exhort him to call on his God for mercy for his bygone wicked and evil life, and that God would of his infinite mercy loose him out of the bonds of the devil, whom he had served these many years bygone, he acquiesced in their prayer and godly exhortation, and uttered these words, 'I am so straitly guarded, that it lies not in my power to get my hand to take off my bonnet, nor to get bread to my mouth.' And immediately after the departure of the two ministers from him, the juggler being sent for, at the desire of my lord of Eglintoune, to be confronted with a woman of the burgh of Ayr, called Janet Bous, who was apprehended by the magistrates of the burgh of Ayr for witchcraft, and sent to the burgh of Irvine purposely for that affair, he was found, by the burgh officers who went about him, strangled and hanged by the cruik of the door, with a *tait*, or string, of hemp, supposed to have been his garter or string of his bonnet, not above the length of two span long, his knees not being from the ground half a span, and was brought out of the house, his life not being totally expelled. But notwithstanding of whatsoever means used in the contrary for remeid of his life, he revived not, but so ended his life miserably, by the help of the devil his master."

Margaret Barclay was the only one who now remained for trial, and it was determined to proceed with her at once, lest she should follow the example of the others. "Therefore, and for eschewing of the like in the person of the said Margaret, our sovereign lord's justice in that part, constituted by commission, after solemn deliberation and advice of the said noble lord, whose concurrence and advice was chiefly required and taken in this matter, concluded with all possible diligence, before the down-sitting of the justice court, to put the said Margaret to torture; in respect the devil, by God's permission, had made her associates, who were the lights of the cause, to be their own 'burrioes' [executioners]. They used the torture underwritten as being most safe and gentle (as the said noble lord assured the said justices), by putting of her two bare legs in a pair of stocks, and thereafter by on-laying of certain iron gauds [bars] severally

one by one, and then eking and augmenting the weight by laying on more gauds, and in easing of her by off-taking of the iron gauds one or more as occasion offered, which iron gauds were but little short gauds, and broke not the skin of her legs. After using of the which kind of gentle torture, the said Margaret began, according to the increase of the pain, to cry and crave for God's cause to take off her shins the foresaid irons, and she would declare truly the whole matter. Which being removed, she began at her former denial; and being of new arrayed in torture as of before, she then uttered these words: 'Take off! take off! and before God I shall show you the whole form!' And the said irons being of new, upon her faithful promise, removed, she then desired my lord of Eglintoune, the said four justices, and the said Mr. David Dickson, minister at the burgh, Mr. George Dunbar, minister of Ayr, and Mr. Mitchell Wallace, minister of Kilmarnock, Mr. John Cunninghame, minister of Dalry, and Hugh Kennedy, provost of Ayr, to come by themselves, and to remove all others, and she should declare truly as she should answer to God the whole matter. Whose desire in that being fulfilled, without any kind of demand, freely, without interrogation, God's name by earnest prayer being called upon for opening of her lips, and easing of her heart, that she, by rendering of the truth, might glorify and magnify his holy name, and disappoint the enemy of her salvation."

Margaret Barclay's confession was a mere acknowledgment of the truth of what had been said by the others, but she declared that her purpose was to kill none but her brother-in-law and Provost Tran. To make up the number of persons pretended to have been present at the making of the images, she introduced the name of another woman of Irvine, Isobel Crawford; who was thereupon arrested, and in great terror confessed it all. But when they proceeded with the trial, Alexander Dein, the husband of Margaret Barclay, appeared in court with a lawyer to act in her defence, and she was asked by the lawyer if she wished to be defended, to which she made answer: "As you please; but all I have confessed was in agony of torture, and, before God, all I have spoken is false and untrue;" adding pathetically, "Ye have been too long in coming." The jury were unmoved by this appeal; it was considered that, as the iron bars were off her legs at the moment of her making the confession, it could not be said to be made under compulsion, and she was unanimously found guilty. After her sentence was passed, she returned to her confession, influenced perhaps by the hope in some way or other of

better treatment. She was strangled at the stake, and then burnt to ashes.

Before her death, Margaret Barclay had entreated earnestly for Isobel Crawford, the woman implicated in her confession, that no injury should be done to her, but in vain. A new commission was obtained for her trial, and, as she was now obstinate in her denial, the same torture was applied to her, and with the same effect. She made a new confession, acknowledged everything that was imputed to her, and avowed that she had lived in intercourse with the evil one for several years. But when her sentence was passed, she again denied all that she had confessed, and persisted in her denial to the last.

It appears to have been a mere quarrel among the wives of the burghers of Irvine which led to this tragical conclusion. The singularly detailed report of the proceedings of the trial, which was published by Sir Walter Scott, furnishes a most remarkable illustration of the manner in which they were conducted. We now return to the registers published by Mr. Pitcairn for a few examples illustrative of the character of the Scottish witches of this period. They show us not only how generally these "weird" women were employed to cure diseases, but the particular character of their remedies.

Margaret Wallace, the wife of a burgess of Glasgow, was tried for sorcery on the 20th of March, 1622. The particular crime for which she was brought into court was the bewitching of a burgess of the same town named Cuthbert Greg, a cooper, who had excited her "deadly hatred" by publicly calling her a witch. It was deposed that she had been heard to threaten that she would make him within a few days unable to earn a cake of bread by his work. Shortly after this, he fell into sickness and extreme debility. His friends were convinced that Margaret Wallace was the cause of this visitation, and they went to her to beg her to restore him to his health. After many "malicious refusals," she yielded to their request, and went with them to his house, where she "took him by the shakel [wrist-bone] with one hand, and laid the other hand upon his breast, and without one word speaking, save only by moving of her lips, passed from him at that instant; and upon the morn thereafter, returning back again to the said Cuthbert, she took him by the arm and bade him arise, who at that time and fifteen days before was not able to lift his legs without help; yet she, having urged him to rise, and taking him by the hand, as said is, brought him out of his bed, and thereafter led him about the house; who immediately

thereafter, by her sorcery and charming practised upon him, walked up and down the floor, without help or support of any; and from that time quickly recovered and convalesced of the former grievous disease."

Margaret Wallace had formerly been intimate with a woman of Glasgow named Cristiane Grahame, who was burnt three years before as a notorious witch, and they seem to have been in the habit of assisting one another. On one occasion, when the child of one of her neighbors was taken ill, she recommended Grahame to be sent for, and, on an objection being made, she protested "Cristiane Grahame could do as mickle in that errand in curing of that disease, as if God himself would come out of heaven and cure her; and albeit the death-stroke were laid on, she could take it off again; and without her help there could be no remedy to the bairn." She further showed her confidence in the healing powers of this woman by sending for her when she was in want herself. A woman made the following deposition: It appeared that a man named Robert Stewart went with Margaret Wallace to an inn in Glasgow kept by one Alexander Vallange, where this deponent was servant, and, as she said, they there "called for a choppine of ale, which was brought by a boy to them, named James Symsone; and in drinking thereof, betwixt Robert Stewart his taking the cup and offering it to Margaret Wallace, the said Margaret took a sudden 'brasche' of sickness, unknown to the deponent what sickness it was, wherein the said Margaret was so extremely handled that she was likely to rive herself." In her convulsions she cried, "Bring me hither my dear bird!" Margaret Montgomerie, the "good-wife" of the house, who was present, and who imagined that she was calling for her husband, said, "What dear bird would you have? I believe he is not at home."—"Na," answered Margaret Wallace, "bring me Cristiane Grahame, my dear bird!"—"All this while Margaret Montgomerie was holding her by the one hand, and Cristiane M'Clauchlane by the other. Thereafter, at her desire, Robert Stewart past, and with great diligence brought Cristiane Grahame to her, at whose sudden coming Margaret Montgomerie said to Robert Stewart: 'Jesus save us! I believe thou hast met her by the way!' And Cristiane Grahame answered: 'Faith, he met me not, but came and brought me out of my own chamber; and fra I heard that my bird was sa diseased, I sped me hither.' Says, thereafter, that Cristiane Grahame took Margaret Wallace by the shakel-bone, and kist her; and in her arms carried her down the stairs, saying to her, nothing should ail

her." Another witness, a "chirurgeon," named Andro Mure, who deposed relating to the cure of one Margaret Mure, reveals a little glimpse of Scottish character. This man said: "He knows nothing of Margaret Mure's sickness, except that he himself coming down the bridge-gate, he saw Cristiane Grahame come forth of Marioun Mure's house; who thereafter came to the deponent, and desired him to gang in to the said Marioun; and the deponent, at her desire, having passed into the house, at his incoming a roasted hen was set down on the board; and the deponent, with David Scheirar and the said Marioun Mure, sat down at the board together; and within a short space thereafter, Margaret Wallace came in to them; declares, at Margaret Wallace's incoming, a goose was set down on the board; and the deponent, perceiving that such entertainment would draw him to charges, he paid his choppine of wine and came his way, and left the rest of the company behind him; and further he knows not."

Some pains seem to have been taken in this woman's defence, and the worst accusation against her appears to have been her acquaintance with Cristiane Grahame; but the jury brought her in guilty, and she was strangled and burnt.

In the May of 1623, a woman named Isobel Haldane made a "voluntary" confession at the sessions at Perth, in which she described the manner in which she cured diseases, chiefly by the use of crosses and charms such as those found in the old medical manuscripts. Being asked if she had any conversation with the fairy folk, she said that ten years before, while she was lying in her bed, she was taken forth she knew not how, and was carried to a hill-side, which opened, and she went in and remained there three days, from Thursday to Sunday at noon. She met a man with a gray beard, who brought her forth again. This man with the gray beard, resembling the Thome Reid of a former story, was the person from whom she received her knowledge of hidden things, and who imparted to her the art by which she worked her cures. She often delivered people from the witchcraft of others. One Patrick Ruthven acknowledged that he had been bewitched, and that Isobel had cured him. "She came into the bed, and stretched herself above him, her head to his head, her hands over him, and so forth, mumbling some words, he knew not what they were." Isobel seems to have been famous for curing "bairns." She confessed that, for this purpose, she made three several cakes, every one of them of nine handfuls of meal obtained from nine women that were

married maidens, and that she made a hole in the crown of every one of them, and put a bairn through it three times, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

A man named Thomas Greave was burnt at the beginning of August, 1623. He was accused of causing sickness in some people, and curing it in others. His cures were performed with crosses and signs, and by washing the patient's sark, or shirt, in the water of a south-running stream, or with water from the holy well. He sometimes passed his patients through a hasp of yarn. He took one woman's sickness from her, and put it on a cow. "Item, about Martinmas, 1621, Elspeth Thomesone, sister to John Thomesone, portioner of Petwar, being visited with a grievous sickness, the said Thomas came to her house in Corachie, where, after sighing and 'gripping' of her, he promised to cure her thereof; and for this effect called for her sark, and desired two of her 'nearest friends' to go with him, like as John and William Thomesone, her brothers, being sent for, past with the said Thomas in the night season, from Corachie toward Burley, by the space of twelve miles, and enjoyned the two brothers not to speak a word all the way; and whatever they heard or saw, no ways to be afraid, saying to them, it might be that they would hear great rumbling, and such uncouth and fearful apparitions, but nothing should annoy them. And at the ford by East Burley, in a south-running water, he there washed the sark; during the time of the which washing of the sark, there was a great noise made by fowls, or the 'lyll beasts,' that arose and flittered in the water. And coming home with the sark, put the same upon her, and cured her of her sickness."

As I have before intimated, there may be some affinity between this process and the modern cure by wet sheets; in the instance of Thomas Greave the cold-water cure was punished with death.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONFESSIONS OF ISOBEL GOWDIE.

The extraordinary cases related in the last chapter give us but a faint notion of the immense number of prosecutions for the crime of sorcery which occurred in Scotland during the first half of the seventeenth century. The cases which came before the high court of justiciary were few indeed when compared with those which were disposed of no less summarily in the multitude of inferior courts throughout that kingdom. The superstitious feelings of the Scottish clergy assisted the popular imagination, and it is not surprising if the persecution against this miserable class of people was increased, rather than otherwise, when the presbyterians were in power. Matthew Hopkins had his reflection in a number of Scottish witch-finders, or, as they were called, prickers, who gained their living by going from town to town to search suspected women or men for their marks, and we have even seen that on the eve of the Restoration they were sent for from Scotland to assist in witch prosecutions in the north of England. At this period, and in the years immediately following the accession of Charles II., the mania seems to have suddenly extended itself in Scotland, and the year 1661 was especially remarkable for the number of trials it witnessed. We are informed that on the 7th of November, in the year just mentioned, at one session of the superior court, no less than fourteen commissions were issued for trying witches in different parts of the country. A case which occurred in the spring of the year following, is deserving of particular notice for its peculiarities.

The district about the village of Auldearn, on the coast of the little county of Nairn, contained at this time so many witches, that Satan was obliged for convenience to divide them into companies named covines, each covine consisting of thirteen persons. This number was anciently called the devil's dozen, from which we understand why still, wherever the popular superstitions leave their traces, it is looked upon as an unlucky number for a party at table, but another more useful individual has since taken the place of the evil one in the name applied to it. To one of these

covines, which seems to have belonged especially to the village of Auldearn, belonged a woman of that place named Isobel Gowdie, who during the months of April and May, in the year 1662, made, without compulsion of any kind (as it is said in the document), before the clergy and magistrates of the district, four several confessions, all agreeing together, though some of them were rather fuller in detail than others.

Isobel Gowdie said that once as she was going between the farms of Drumdevin and the Heads, she was accosted by Satan, who made her promise to meet him at night. For some reason or other, in Scotland Satan preferred churches for the place of meeting of the witches, and on this occasion the rendezvous was to be in the kirk of Auldearn. Thither Isobel went on the night appointed, and she found a number of individuals who were well known to her in the kirk; the evil one stood in the reader's desk, and held a black book in his hand. After being duly introduced to the company, the new convert was made to deny her baptism, and then, placing one hand on the crown of her head and the other under the sole of her foot, she gave everything between them to the fiend. Margaret Brodie, of Auldearn, acted as her fostermother, and held her up to the devil to be baptized. He marked her on the shoulder, and sucked the blood, which "spouted" into his hand, and with this he sprinkled her on the head, rebaptizing her in his own name by the nickname of Janet. After this ceremony, the whole party separated. Shortly afterward the devil met Isobel again, alone, at the "New Wards" of Inshoch, and there the bond between them was completed. She described her new lord as a "mickle, black, rough man," with forked and cloven feet, which he sometimes concealed by wearing boots or shoes. Sometimes he appeared in the shape of a deer, or roe, or other animal.

To each covine was one female of more consideration than the others, Satan's favorite, who was chosen as the best looking of the younger witches, and she was called the maiden of the covine; and there was a man, who was their officer. The witches had only power to do injuries of an inferior kind when the maiden was not with them. They met from time to time to dance at places which seem to have been under fairy influence, such as the hill of Earlseat, the mickle burn, and the Downie hills, generally one or two covines at a time, where they danced; but they had larger general meetings toward the end of each quarter of a year. Jane Martin, a young lass of Auldearn, was the maiden of the covine to which Isobel Gowdie belonged. We

have seen that in her intercourse with the evil one, each witch was known by a new name. Thus Jane Martin was named "Over-the-dyke-with-it," because she used to sing these words when she was dancing with the devil. Her mother, Isobel Nicoll, went by the name of Bessie Rule; Margaret Wilson was named Pickle-nearest-the-wind; Bessie Wilson's name was Through-the-corn-yard; Elspet Nishie was named Bessie Bauld; and Bessie Hay rejoiced in the name of Able-and-stout. Their familiar spirits, who were distinguished by the color of their liveries, had names equally singular. Isobel Gowdie's own familiar was called Saunders-the-red-reaver, and was clothed in black; one of them had a spirit called Thomas-a-fairie; Margaret Wilson's spirit had a grass-green dress, and was called Swein; Bessie Wilson's spirit was Rorie, dressed in yellow; that of Isobel Nicoll was Roaring-lion, and his color sea-green; that of Margaret Brodie was called Robert-the-rule, and dressed in a sad dress; Bessie Wilson's familiar had the strange name of Thief-of-hell-wait-upon-her; Elspet Nishie's was Hendrie Laing; the familiar of Bessie Hay (old Able-and-stout) was named Robert-the-Jakis, and was always "clothed in dun, and seems aged; he is ane glaiked gowked spirit." Jane Martin, the maiden of the coviae, had a spirit named M'Hector, who was a "young-like" devil, and his color grass-green. These spirits were much smaller than the devil who presided at their meetings.

Isobel said that they sometimes went into the Downie hills, where they found a fair and large "brawe" room, where it was daylight. There she got meat from the queen of faerie more than she could eat. The queen was "brawlie" clothed in white linen, and in white and brown clothes. The king of faerie was a "brawe" man, well-favored, and broad-faced. "There," says Isobel, "was elf-bulls rowtting and skoylling up and down, and affrighted me." She alluded repeatedly to the fear which she always felt on seeing these elf-bulls. In the caverns of the Downie hills, Isobel Gowdie saw the "elf-boys" making the elf-arrowheads. These elf-boys were "little ones, hollow and boss-backed [*hump-backed*]; they spoke gowstie-like." The devil shaped the arrow-heads with his own hand, and gave them to the elf-boys, who sharpened and "dighted" them with a sharp thing like a packing-needle. When they were finished, the devil delivered them to the witches, saying:—

> Shoot these in my name,
> And they shall not go heal hame (*whole home*).

And when the witch shot at anybody with them, she said :—

> I shoot yon man in the devil's name,
> He shall not win heal hame!
> And this shall be all so true,
> There shall not be one bit of him on liew (*alive*)!

When they shot the arrow-heads at their victims, they "spang" them from their thumb-nails; sometimes they missed their object, but if they touched they carried certain death, even if the victim were cased in armor.

The account of what passed at the sabbaths of these Scottish witches is very imperfect, and the little that is told will be better passed over. The arch-fiend seems to have taken great delight in beating his subjects cruelly with ropes and thongs, and he resented bitterly any act of disrespect. "Sometimes among ourselves," says Isobel Gowdie, "we would be calling him Black John, or the like, and he would ken it, and hear us well enough; and he even then come to us and say, 'I ken wele eneugh what ye were saying of me.' And then he would beat and buffet us very sore." They were often beaten for absence from the meetings, or for neglect when present. Some bore their punishment quietly, but others would resist, and there were some beldames in the company who did not hesitate to exchange blows with Satan. Alexander Elder, of Earlseat, was often beaten. "He is but soft, and could never defend himself in the least, but 'greit' [lament] and cry when he would be scourging him. Margaret Wilson would defend herself finely, and cast up her hands to keep the strokes off her; and Bessie Wilson would speak crusty with her tongue, and would be belling again to him stoutly. On the whole, Satan appears to have been but an ill master, for he was easily offended, and "when he would be angry at us, he would grin at us like a dog, as if he would swallow us up." However, as a peace-offering at the end of the meeting, he sometimes gave them the "brawest like money that ever was coined!" but if they had the misfortune to keep it more than twenty-four hours in their possession, they found it was nothing but horse-dung!

Isobel Gowdie stated that when they went to the meetings, they took a straw or a bean-stalk, placed it between their feet, and said—

> Horse and hattock, horse and go,
> Horse and pellattis, ho, ho!

Then they were immediately carried into the air "as straws would fly upon a highway." If it were at night, and the witch

were afraid that her husband might miss her from his bed, she took a besom or three-legged stool, placed it beside him in bed, and said thrice—

> I lay down this besom [or stool] in the devil's name,
> Let it not stir till I come again—

"and it immediately seems a woman beside our husbands." They often travelled in this way by day, and then it was that they amused themselves by shooting people with the elf-arrowheads; and people who see straws flying about the air in a whirlwind on a fine day, are recommended to bless themselves devoutly, because if they omit that precaution they are liable to be shot by the witches who ride on them. "Any that are shot by us," Isobel informs us, "their souls will go to heaven, but their bodies will remain with us, and will fly as horses to us, as small as straws." Isobel Gowdie confessed to having killed many people in this manner. The first time she went to her covine was to Ploughlands, where she shot a man between the "plough-stilts," and he presently fell on his face to the ground. The devil gave her an arrow to shoot at a woman in the fields, which she did, and the victim dropped down dead. As they were riding one day, Isobel by the side of Satan, and Margaret Brodie and Bessie Hay in close company with them, they met Mr. Harry Forbes, the minister of Auldearn, going to Moynes, on which the devil gave Margaret Brodie an arrow to shoot at him. Margaret shot and missed her mark, and the arrow was taken up again by Satan; but when she offered to shoot again, he said, "No, we can not have his life this time." Presently afterward they saw the laird of Park, and the devil gave Isobel an arrow. She shot at him as he was crossing a burn, and, perhaps owing to this circumstance, missed him, for which Bessie Hay gave her "a great cuff."

The witches seem to have entertained an especial hostility toward these two gentlemen. In the winter of 1660, Mr. Forbes was sick, it appears, in consequence of a conspiracy of these enemies. They made a mixture of the galls, flesh, and entrails of toads, grains of barley, parings of finger and toe nails, the liver of a hare, and "bits of clouts." These ingredients were mixed together, and seethed or boiled all night in water. Satan was with them during this process, and they repeated after him, thrice each time, the words—

> He is lying in his bed, he is lying sick and sair,
> Let him lie intill his bed two months and three days mair.

And then—

> Let him lie in his bed, let him lie intill it sick and sair,
> Let him lie intill his bed two months and three days mair.

And then finally—

> He shall lie in his bed, he shall lie sick and sair,
> He shall lie intill his bed two months and three days mair.

At night they went into Forbes's chamber to swing this mixture over him as he lay sick in bed, but for some reason or other they were not able to do it. They now chose one of their covine who was most intimate and familiar with the minister, which happened to be Bessie Hay, who, as they could not injure him by night, was to visit him by day, and swing the noxious mixture over him; but she failed, because there were some other "worthy persons" with him at the time, though she "swung" a little of the mixture on the bed where he lay.

Mr. Harry Forbes appears to have received no serious injury from the witches, as he was one of those who sat in court to hear Isobel's confession. The laird of Park was less fortunate in his family, if he escaped in his person. A meeting was held at the house of John Taylor of Auldearn, at which the devil was present with Isobel Gowdie, John Taylor and his wife, and one or two others, for the purpose of making a picture of clay, to destroy the laird of Park's male children. John Taylor brought home the clay in "his plaidnewk" (a corner of his plaid), and they broke it into fine powder, and passed it through a sieve. Then they poured water on it to make a paste, and "wrought it very sore like rye-bowt." As they threw the water in, they said, in the devil's name—

> We pour in this water among this meal,
> For lang dwining [languishing] and ill heal;
> We put it into the fire,
> That it may be burnt with stick and stowre;
> It shall be burnt, with our will,
> As any stickle [stubble] upon a hill.

"The devil," says Isobel, "taught us these words, and when we had learned them, we all fell down upon our bare knees, and our hair about our eyes, and our hands lifted up, looking steadfastly upon the devil, still saying the words thrice over, till it was made." They moulded the paste into the figure of a male-child, having all its members complete, and its hands folded down by its sides; and they laid it with the face to the fire till it was almost dry, then in the devil's name they put it in the fire, and let it remain till it was red like a coal, when it was drawn out with

the same ceremony. This image was intrusted to the care of John Taylor and his wife; it was kept wrapped up in a "clout," in a cradle of clay, and hung up in a "knag" in their house. As often as they wanted to kill a male-child of the laird of Park, they took it down, wet it, and roasted it every other day till the child died, and then put it away again; and as soon as another male-child was born to him, they let it live six months, and then destroyed it by the same process. We are told in the confession that "till it be broken, it will be the death of all the male-children that the laird of Park will ever get. Cast it over a kirk it will not break, till it be broken with an axe, or some such like thing, by a man's hand. If it be not broken, it will last a hundred years." This seems to be a remnant of the early belief which led the Teutonic invaders to destroy the Roman statuary: we continually find, on Roman sites, bronzes that have been intentionally mutilated with an axe, or some other sharp instrument.

These Scottish witches appear to have had no eating and drinking at their sabbaths, but they went for this purpose into the houses of the lairds and gentlemen round about, to feast by night on the provisions which were always found there in plenty. They went thus into the house of the earl of Murray himself. On the Candlemas before this confession was made, they visited Grangehill, the house of Brodie of Lethin, where they got "meat and drink enough." On these occasions the devil always sat at the head of the table, and the maiden of the covine sat next to him, and was served first and best. The grace they said before meat was as follows:—

> We eat this meat in the devil's name,
> With sorrow, and "sych" [sighing], and mickle shame;
> We shall destroy house and hold,
> Both sheep and neat intill the fold.
> Little good shall come to the fore
> Of all the rest of the little store.

In these excursions the witches did not always go in their own semblances, for they had the power of transforming themselves into the shape of any animals except lambs or doves, which, as emblems of innocence, they might not assume. Isobel Gowdie describes minutely the process of transformation. When the witch would change herself into a hare, the form that appears to have been adopted most commonly, she said thrice—

> I shall go into a hare,
> With sorrow, and sych, and mickle care;
> I shall go in the devil's name,
> Ay till I come home again—

"and instantly we start in a hare." When they wished to return to their own shape, they repeated thrice the words—

> Hare, hare, God send the care!
> I am in a hare's likeness just now,
> But I shall be in a woman's likeness even now.

When they chose the likeness of a cat, which was the next favorite form, they said thrice—

> I shall go intill a cat,
> With sorrow, and sych, and a black shot;
> And I shall go in the devil's name,
> Ay till I come home again.

The formula was similarly varied for other animals. As thus transformed they passed by the houses of other witches, they called them out, and they came in similar shapes. Travelling in these assumed shapes was not always safe. Isobel Gowdie, who often went in the form of a hare, was sent one day, about daybreak, in this shape, with one of Satan's messages to some of her neighbors, and on her way met with the servants of Patrick Pepley of Killhill, who happened to have his hounds with them. The latter immediately gave chase to the transformed witch, and ran after her a long course, until, weary and hard pressed, she gained her own house, and ran behind a chest. The door being open, the hounds followed her, but they happening to go to the other side of the chest, she had just time to run out and enter the house of a neighbor, where she was able to say the disenchanting charm, and recovered her shape. She said that, while thus transformed, the hounds had not power to kill them, but if they chanced to be bitten, the wound remained after they had recovered their natural shape. "When we would be in the shape of cats, we did nothing but cry and 'wraw' [a very expressive word for caterwauling], and 'rywing' [tearing], and, as it were, worrying one another; and when we come to our own shapes again, we will find the scratches and 'rywes' on our skins *very sore!*" About the summer of 1659, "they went in the shape of rooks to the house of Mr. Robert Donaldson, where the devil, with John Taylor and his wife, went down the kitchen chimney, and perched on the crook, or iron on which the pot was suspended over the fire." The others seem not to have liked this mode of entry, and they waited till their friends opened a window, and then they all went into the house, and feasted on beef and drink, "but did no more harm."

Isobel Gowdie repeated in her confessions a great number of

the verses which they used in their incantations, some of which are curious. Their method of raising a tempestuous wind was to take a rag of cloth, wet it in water, and then take a beetle (with which washerwomen beat their linen) and knock it on the stone, repeating thrice—

> I knock this rag upon this stane,
> To raise the wind in the devil's name!
> It shall not lie until I please again!

To appease the wind, they dried the rag, and said—

> We lay the wind in the devil's name,
> It shall not rise till I like to raise it again!

If the wind, on this appeal, did not instantly abate, the witch called her spirit, and said to him, "Thief, thief, conjure the wind, and cause it to lie!" Isobel said that they had no power over rain. One of the witches, whose husband sold cattle, used to put a swallow's feather in the hide of the beast, and say thrice over it, before it went—

> I put out this beef in the devil's name,
> That mickle silver and good price came hame!"

They had many charms for curing diseases, as well as for sending them. It was common with them, by such charms, to appropriate to themselves the property or gain of others. When they wished to "take the fruit of fishes" from the fishermen, they went to the shore before the boat came in, and standing on the brink of the water, they said thrice—

> The fishers are gone to the sea
> And they will bring home fish to me;
> They will bring them hame intill the boat,
> But they shall get of them but the smaller sort.

As soon as the boat arrived, they stole a fish, or bought or begged one, and with it came to them "all the fruit of the whole fishes in the boat, and the fishes that the fishermen themselves will have will be but froth."

At Lammas (the first of August), the witches usually appropriated to themselves, in a similar manner, the corn and other produce of the fields, though the particular ceremonies for this purpose varied. Isobel Gowdie told, in her confession, how, soon after her conversion to sorcery, she, with John Taylor and his wife, and some others, met in the kirkyard of Nairn, and raised from its grave the corpse of an unchristened child. With this and some other ingredients, such as parings of finger and toe

nails, grains of different sorts, and leaves of colework, chopped very small, she formed a noxious mixture; and going to the end of the cornfields opposite the mill of Nairn, they threw some on the land. By this means, while the farmers reaped nothing but straw, all the grain was conveyed to the secret storehouse of the witches, who usually kept it there till the following Christmas or Easter, and then shared it among the covine. She further stated that one night before the Candlemas of 1661, she went with the other witches to some fields "be-east" Kinloss, where they yoked a plough of paddocks, or frogs; the braces were of quickens (quick or dog grass), and a riglen's or ram's horn was the coulter. The officer of their covine, one John Young, was driver, while the devil held the plough. Thus they went several times about, all they of the covine going up and down with it, praying Satan for the fruit of that land, "and that thistles and briers might grow there"—that is, that this might be the only fruit reserved to the owners of the land. When they wished to take a cow's milk, they took tow or hemp, and twined or plaited it the wrong way, in the devil's name. They then drew the rope thus made in between the cow's two hind feet, and out between the fore feet, always in the name of the arch-fiend, and milked the rope. To restore the cow its milk, they must cut the rope in two. They had similar methods of taking and transferring the strength of people's ale, and of abstracting various other things. Isobel Gowdie further stated that, when any one of them fell into the hands of justice, she lost all her power, which was thereupon shared among the rest of her covine, in addition to that which they already possessed.

We are not informed what became of Isobel Gowdie; but her case must have been considered, at least in the district where it occurred, an important one, for the examinations were continued through two months. Her first confession is dated on the 13th of April, 1662, and her last bears date of the 27th of May. Her most intimate associates appear to have been John Taylor and his wife, the latter of whom made a confession corroborating in some important points, especially in the history of the conspiracy against the laird of Park, those of Isobel Gowdie. These confessions have been printed entire by Robert Pitcairn.

Such were the confessions of Isobel Gowdie of Auldearn. If, as we are assured, they were purely voluntary, we must imagine that this woman was laboring under some strange delusion of the mind, and that she really believed the story she told. From the circumstantial character of her narrative, we can hardly avoid

supposing that there were persons so far influenced by the popular superstitions, that they joined together in practising such ceremonies as are above described, and that they really believed in their efficacy. That such delusion was possible on an extensive scale is shown by the celebrated example of Major Weir and his sister, who were executed less than ten years after the date of Isobel's confessions. This man had distinguished himself by his extraordinary zeal in the cause of the covenant, and had been appointed, in 1649, with the rank of major, to command the city-guard of Edinburgh. He lived in a retired manner with a maiden sister. Both professed in their utmost rigor the severe doctrines of the party whose cause they had espoused, and the major, who always appeared in his ordinary behavior reserved and melancholy, was especially endowed with the gift of prayer, which made him a welcome visiter to the side of a sick-bed. After the restoration, the melancholy of the major and his sister appeared to have become more and more sombre, until it settled into a kind of lunacy, and they believed themselves guilty of the most revolting crimes which disgrace humanity. The major now began to make extraordinary confessions to his friends, declaring that his sins were of that character that he had no hopes of salvation, unless he should be brought to a shameful end in this world. His presbyterian friends did their utmost to restrain him, alarmed at the scandal that Weir's conduct was likely to bring on their religion; but the affair soon reached the ears of the royalists, who were just as glad to seize upon any occasion of hurting the cause of their opponents. Major Weir and his sister were arrested, and both made what was called a full confession, involving crimes of a degrading character. As these were most of them vices which the king's party had long been in the habit of ascribing to their religious adversaries, we are perhaps justified in believing that they may have taken advantage of their state of mind to suggest to them some of these self-accusations. They found two or three witnesses to those parts of his story which were most improbable. His sister declared that he had a magical staff, which he always carried with him, and which gave him eloquence in prayer. She said that once a person called upon them at noonday with a fiery chariot, visible only to themselves, and took them to visit a friend at Dalkeith, where her brother received information, by supernatural means, of the event of the battle of Worcester, and that she herself had intercourse with the queen of the fairies, who assisted her in spinning an unusual quantity of yarn.

There was a woman who lived in the West Bow, at no great distance from Major Weir's house, who gave the following evidence. She was a substantial merchant's wife, and "being very desirous to hear him pray, for that end spoke to some of her neighbors, that when he came to their house she might be sent for. This was done, but he could never be persuaded to open his mouth before her—no, not to bless a cup of ale; he either remained mute, or up with his staff and away. Some few days before he discovered himself, this gentlewoman coming from the castle-hill, where her husband's niece was lying-in of a child, about midnight perceived about the Bow-head three women in the windows, shouting, laughing, and clapping their hands. The gentlewoman went forward, till just at Major Weir's door, there arose, as from the street, a woman about the height of two ordinary females, and stepped forward. The gentlewoman, not as yet excessively feared, bid her maid step on, if by the lantern they could see what she was; but haste what they could, this long-legged spectre was still before them, moving her body with a vehement cachination—a great, unmeasurable laughter. At this rate the two strove for place, till the giantess came to a narrow lane in the Bow, commonly called the Stinking-close, into which she turning, and the gentlewoman looking after her, perceived the close full of flaming torches (she could give them no other name), and as it had been a great multitude of people, stentoriously laughing, and gaping with tahees of laughter. This sight, at so dead a time of the night, no people being in the windows belonging to the close, made her and her servant haste home, declaring all what they saw to the rest of the family, but more passionately to her husband. And though sick with fear, yet she went the next morning with her maid to view the noted places of her former night's walk, and at the close inquired who lived thore. It was answered, Major Weir; the honest couple now rejoicing that to Weir's devotion they never said amen." When Major Weir's sister was brought to the place of execution, and saw the multitude of spectators, she exclaimed: "Many weep and lament for a poor old wretch like me; but, alas! few are weeping for a broken covenant." A clear proof of the state of mind in which these miserable people suffered.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE WITCHES OF MOHRA IN SWEDEN.

In general the countries of northern Europe appear to have been less subject to these extensive witch-prosecutions than the south, although there the ancient popular superstitions reigned in great force. Probably this latter circumstance contributed not a little to the extraordinary character assumed by a case of this nature, which, during the years 1669 and 1670, caused a great sensation throughout Sweden, and drew also the attention of other countries. It began in a district which would seem by its name of Elfdale to have been the peculiar domain of the fairies, and the chief actors in it were children, whom, according to the old popular belief, the fairies were always on the look out to carry away.

The villages of Mohra and Elfdale are situated in the dales of the mountainous districts of the central part of Sweden. In the first of the years above-mentioned, a strange report went abroad that the children of the neighborhood were carried away nightly to a place they called Blockula, where they were received by Satan in person; and the children themselves, who were the authors of the report, pointed out to numerous women who they said were witches and carried them thither. We have no information as to the manner in which this affair arose, or how it was first made public, but within a short space of time nearly all the children of the district became compromised in it, and agreed in nearly the same story. They asserted in the strongest manner the fact of their being carried away in multitudes to the place of ghostly rendezvous, and we are told that the pale and emaciated appearance of these juvenile victims gave consistency to their statements, although there was the testimony of their own parents that during their pretended absence they had never been missed from home.

Some of the incidents in this singular and tragical case seem to have been borrowed from the witchcraft-cases in France and Germany, although it is not very easy to understand how this could have been the case in what was evidently a very retired part of the country. The minister seems to have shared largely

in the delusion, and he may perhaps have been involuntarily the means of working the story of the children into its finished form. The alarm and terror in the district became so great, that a report was at last made to the king, who nominated commissioners, partly clergy and partly laymen to inquire into the extraordinary circumstances which had been brought under his notice, and these commissioners arrived in Mohra and announced their intention of opening their proceedings on the 13th of August, 1670.

On the 12th of August, the commissioners met at the parsonage-house, and heard the complaints of the minister and several people of the better class, who told them of the miserable condition they were in, and prayed that by some means or other they might be delivered from the calamity. They gravely told the commissioners that by the help of witches some hundred of their children had been drawn to Satan, who had been seen to go in a visible shape through the country, and to appear daily to the people; the poorer sort of them, they said, he had seduced by feasting them with meat and drink. Prayers and humiliations, it appears, had been ordered by the church authorities, and were strictly observed, but the inhabitants of the village lamented before the commissioners that they had been of no avail, and that their children were carried away by the fiend in spite of their devotions. They therefore earnestly begged that the witches who had been the cause of the evil might be rooted out, and that they might thus regain their former rest and quietness, "the rather," they said, "because the children which used to be carried away in the country or district of Elfdale, since some witches had been burnt there, remained unmolested." This certainly was a cogent argument for persecution.

The 13th of August was the last day appointed for prayer and humiliation, and before opening their commission the commissioners went to church, "where there appeared a considerable assembly of both young and old. The children could read most of them, and sing psalms, and so could the women, though not with any great zeal and fervor. There were preached two sermons that day, in which the miserable case of those people that suffered themselves to be deluded by the devil was laid open; and these sermons were at last concluded with very fervent prayer. The public worship being over, all the people of the town were called together in the parson's house, near three thousand of them. Silence being commanded, the king's commission was read publicly in the hearing of them all, and they

were charged, under very great penalties, to conceal nothing of what they knew, and to say nothing but the truth, those especially who were guilty, that the children might be delivered from the clutches of the devil; they all promised obedience; the guilty feignedly, but the guiltless weeping and crying bitterly."

The commissioners entered upon their duties on the next day with the utmost diligence, and the result of their misguided zeal formed one of the most remarkable examples of cruel and remorseless persecution that stain the annals of sorcery. No less than threescore and ten inhabitants of the village and district of Mohra, three-and-twenty of whom made confessions, were condemned and executed. One woman pleaded that she was with child, and the rest denied their guilt, and these were sent to Fahluna, where most of them were afterward put to death. Fifteen children were among those who suffered death, and thirty-six more, of different ages between nine and sixteen, were forced to run the gauntlet, and be scourged on the hands at the church-door every Sunday for one year; while twenty more, who had been drawn into these practices more unwillingly, and were very young, were condemned to be scourged with rods upon their hands for three successive Sundays at the church-door. The number of the children accused was about three hundred.

It appears that the commissioners began by taking the confessions of the children, and then they confronted them with the witches whom the children accused as their seducers. The latter, to use the words of the authorized report, having "most of them children with them, which they had either seduced or attempted to seduce, some seven years of age, nay, from four to sixteen years," now appeared before the commissioners. "Some of the children complained lamentably of the misery and mischief they were forced sometimes to suffer of the devil and the witches." Being asked, whether they were sure, that they were at any time carried away by the devil, they all replied in the affirmative. "Hereupon the witches themselves were asked, whether the confessions of those children were true, and admonished to confess the truth, that they might turn away from the devil unto the living God. At first, most of them did very stiffly, and without shedding the least tear, deny it, though much against their will and inclination. After this the children were examined every one by themselves, to see whether their confessions did agree or no, and the commissioners found that all of them, except some very little ones, which could not tell all the circum-

stances, did punctually agree in their confessions of particulars. In the meanwhile, the commissioners that were of the clergy examined the witches, but could not bring them to any confession, all continuing steadfast in their denials, till at last some of them burst out into tears, and their confession agreed with what the children said; and these expressed their abhorrence of the fact, and begged pardon, adding that the devil, whom they called Locyta, had stopped the mouths of some of them, so loath was he to part with his prey, and had stopped the ears of others; and being now gone from them, they could no longer conceal it, for they had now perceived his treachery."

The various confessions, not only of the witches and children in Mohra, but of those of Elfdale, presented a remarkable uniformity, even in their more minute details. They all asserted that they were carried to a place called Blockula, although they appear to have been ignorant where or at how great a distance it lay, and that they were there feasted by the arch-fiend. The confession of the witches of Elfdale ran thus: "We of the province of Elfdale do confess, that we used to go to a gravel-pit, which lies hard by a cross-way, and there we put on a vest over our heads, and then danced round; and after this ran to the cross-way, and called the devil thrice, first with a still voice, the second time somewhat louder, and the third time very loud, with these words, 'Antecessor, come and carry us to Blockula.' Whereupon immediately he used to appear; but in different habits; but for the most part we saw him in a gray coat and red and blue stockings; he had a red beard, a high-crowned hat, with linen of divers colors wrapt about it, and long garters upon his stockings. [It is very remarkable, says the report, that the devil never appears to the witches with a sword by his side.] Then he asked us, whether we would serve him with soul and body. If we were content to do so, he set us on a beast which he had there ready, and carried us over churches and high walls, and after all we came to a green meadow where Blockula lies. We must procure some scrapings of altars, and filings of church-clocks; and then he gave us a horn, with a salve in it, wherewith we do anoint ourselves, and a saddle with a hammer and a wooden nail, thereby to fix the saddle; whereupon we call upon the devil, and away we go."

The witches of Mohra made similar statements; and being asked whether they were sure of a real personal transportation, and whether they were awake when it took place, they all answered in the affirmative; and they said that the devil sometimes

laid something down in their place that was very like them; but one of them asserted that he did only take away "her strength," while her body lay still upon the ground, though sometimes he took away her body also. They were then asked, how they could go with their bodies through chimneys and unbroken panes of glass; to which they replied, that the devil did first remove all that might hinder them in their flight, and so they had room enough to go. Others, who were asked how they were able to carry so many children with them, said that they came into the chamber where the children lay asleep, and laid hold of them, upon which they awoke; they then asked them whether they would go to a feast with them. To which some answered, Yes; others, No, "yet they were all forced to go;" they only gave the children a shirt, and a coat, and doublet, which was either red or blue, and so they set them upon a beast of the devil's providing, and then they rode away. The children confessed that this was true, and some of them added, that because they had very fine clothes put upon them, they were very willing to go. Some of the children said that they concealed it from their parents, while others made no secret of their visits to Blockula. "The witches declared, moreover, that till of late, they had never power to carry away children, but only this year and the last; and the devil did at that time force them to it; that heretofore it was sufficient to carry but one of their own children, or a stranger's child with them, which happened seldom; but now he did plague them and whip them, if they did not procure him many children, insomuch that they had no peace nor quiet for him. And whereas that formerly one journey a week would serve their turn from their own town to the place aforesaid, now they were forced to run to other towns and places for children, and that they brought with them some fifteen, some sixteen children every night."

The journey to Blockula was not always made with the same kind of conveyance; they commonly used men, beasts, even spits and posts, according as they had opportunity. They preferred, however, riding upon goats, and if they had more children with them than the animal could conveniently carry, they elongated its back by means of a spit anointed with their magical ointment. It was further stated, that if the children did at any time name the names of those, either man or woman, that had been with them, and had carried them away, they were again carried by force, either to Blockula or the cross-way, and there beaten, insomuch that some of them died of it; and this some of the witches confessed, and added, that now they were exceed-

ingly troubled and tortured in their minds for it." One thing was wanting to confirm this circumstance of their confession. The marks of the whip could not be found on the persons of the victims, except on one boy, who had some wounds and holes in his back, that were given him with thorns; but the witches said they would quickly vanish."

The confessions were very minute in regard to the effects of the journey on the children after their return. "They are," says the history, "exceedingly weak; and if any be carried over night, they can not recover themselves the next day, and they often fall into fits; the coming of which they know by an extraordinary paleness that seizes on the children, and when a fit comes upon them, they lean upon their mother's arms, who sits up with them, sometimes all night, and when they observe the paleness, shake the children, but to no purpose. They observe, further, that their children's breasts grow cold at such times, and they take sometimes a burning candle and stick it in their hair, which yet is not burned by it. They swoon upon this paleness, which swoon lasteth sometime half an hour, sometimes an hour, sometimes two hours, and when the children come to themselves again, they mourn and lament, and groan most miserably, and beg exceedingly to be eased. This the old men declared upon oath before the judges, and called the inhabitants of the town to witness, as persons that had most of them experience of the strong symptoms of their children."

One little girl in Elfdale confessed that, happening accidentally to utter the name of Jesus, as she was carried away, she fell suddenly upon the ground, and received a hurt in her side, which the devil presently healed, and away he carried her.

A boy of the same district said that one day he was carried away with his mistress; and to perform the journey he took his father's horse out of the meadow, where it was feeding, and upon his return, she let the horse go into her own ground. The next morning the boy's father sought for the horse, and not finding it in its place, imagined that it was lost, till the boy told him the whole story, and the father found the horse according to his child's statement.

The account they gave of Blockula was, that it was situated in a large meadow, like a plain sea, "wherein you can see no end." The house they met at had a great gate painted with many divers colors. Through this gate they went into a little meadow distinct from the other, and here they turned their animals to graze. When they had made use of men for their beasts

of burthen, they set them up against the wall in a state of helpless slumber, and there they remained till wanted for the homeward flight. In a very large room of this house, stood a long table, at which the witches sat down; and adjoining to this room was another chamber, where there were "lovely and delicate beds."

As soon as they arrived at Blockula, the visiters were required to deny their baptism, and devote themselves body and soul to Satan, whom they promised to serve faithfully. Hereupon he cut their fingers, and they wrote their name with blood in his book. He then caused them to be baptized anew, by priests appointed for that purpose. Upon this the devil gave them a purse, wherein there were filings of clocks, with a big stone tied to it, which they threw into the water, and said, "As these filings of the clock do never return to the clock, from which they were taken, so may my soul never return to heaven!" Another difficulty arose in verifying this statement, that few of the children had any marks on their fingers to show where they had been cut. But here again the story was helped by a girl who had her finger much hurt, and who declared, that because she would not stretch out her finger, the devil in anger had thus wounded it.

When these ceremonies were completed, the witches sat down at the table, those whom the fiend esteemed most being placed nearest to him; but the children were made to stand near the door, where he himself gave them meat and drink. Perhaps we may look for the origin of this part of the story in the pages of Pierre de Lancre. The food with which the visiters to Blockula were regaled, consisted of broth, with coleworts and bacon in it; oatmeal bread spread with butter; milk, and cheese. Sometimes, they said, it tasted very well, and sometimes very ill. After meals they went to dancing, and it was one peculiarity of these northern witches' sabbaths, that the dance was usually followed by fighting. Those of Elfdale confessed that the devil used to play upon a harp before them. Another peculiarity of these northern witches was, that children resulted from their intercouse with Satan, and these children having married together, became the parents of toads and serpents. Satan loved to play tricks upon his subjects. One day he pretended to be dead, and, singularly enough, there was a great lamentation among the witches at Blockula; but he soon showed signs of life. If he had a mind to be merry with them, he let them all ride upon spits before him, and finished by taking the spits and beating them black and blue, and then laughed at them. Then he told them

that the day of judgment was at hand, and set them to build a great house of stone, promising that in his house he would preserve them from God's wrath, and cause them to enjoy the greatest delights and pleasures; but while they were hard at work, he caused a great part of the work to fall down upon them, and some of the witches were severely hurt, which made him laugh.

Some of the children spoke of a very great demon like a dragon, with fire round about him, and bound with an iron chain; and the devil told them that if they confessed anything, he would set that great devil loose upon them, whereby all Sweden should come into great danger. They said that the devil had a church there like that in the village of Mohra. When he heard that the commissioners were coming, he told the witches they should not fear them, for he would certainly kill them all. And they confessed some of them had attempted to murder the commissioners, but had not been successful. Some of the children improved upon these stories, and told of "a white angel, which used to forbid them what the devil had bid them do, and told that these things should not last long; what had been done had been permitted, because of the sin and wickedness of the people and their parents; and that the carrying away of the children should be made manifest. And they added, that this white angel would place himself sometimes at the door between the witches and the children, and that when they came to Blockula he pulled the children back, but the witches went on.

The witches of Sweden appear to have been less noxious than those of most other countries, for, whatever they acknowledged themselves, there seems to have been no evidence of mischief done by them. They confessed that they were obliged to promise Satan that they would do all kind of mischief, and that the devil taught them to milk, which was after this manner. They used to stick a knife in the wall, and hang a kind of label on it, which they drew and stroked; and as long as this lasted, the persons they had power over were miserably plagued, and the beasts were milked that way, till sometimes they died of it. A woman confessed that the devil gave her a wooden knife, wherewith, going into houses, she had power to kill anything she touched with it; yet there were few that would confess that they had hurt any man or woman. Being asked whether they had murdered any children, they confessed that they had indeed tormented many, but did not know whether any of them died of these plagues, although they said that the devil had showed them several places where he had the power to do mischief. The

[illegible]

[illegible] was, that [illegible] but [illegible] they [illegible] cheese. [illegible] the witch. [illegible] what the [illegible] gave [illegible] They said. [illegible] were forced to [illegible] fell to the [illegible] where [illegible] grow, [illegible] It was of a yellow color [illegible]

"[illegible]" says the report, "were indeed very [illegible] them to show some of [illegible] purposes, for they did all unanimously declare that since they had confessed all, they found that all their witchcraft [illegible] ne; and the devil at this time appeared very terrib[illegible] s on his hands and feet, with horns on his head [illegible] behind, and showed them a pit burning,

with a hand out; but the devil did thrust the person down again with an iron fork, and suggested to the witches that if they continued in their confession, he would deal with them in the same manner."

Such are the details, as far as they can now be obtained, of this extraordinary delusion, the only one of a similar kind that we know to have occurred in the northern part of Europe during the "age of witchcraft." In other countries we can generally trace some particular cause which gave rise to great persecutions of this kind, but here, as the story is told, we see none, for it is hardly likely that such a strange series of accusations should have been the mere involuntary creation of a party of little children. Suspicion is excited by the peculiar part which the two clergymen of Elfdale and Mohra acted in it, that they were not altogether strangers to the fabrication. They seem to have been weak superstitious men, and perhaps they had been reading the witchcraft books of the south till they imagined the country round them to be overrun with these noxious beings. The proceedings at Mohra caused so much alarm throughout Sweden, that prayers were ordered in all the churches for the delivery from the snares of Satan, who was believed to have been let loose in that kingdom. On a sudden a new edict of the king put a stop to the whole process, and the matter was brought to a close rather mysteriously. It is said that the witch prosecution was increasing so much in intensity, that accusations began to be made against people of higher class in society, and then a complaint was made to the king, and they were stopped. Perhaps the two clergymen themselves became alarmed, but one thing seems certain, that the moment the commission was revoked, and the persecution ceased, no more witches were heard of. It was thus in most countries; as long as the poor alone were the victims, their sufferings excited little commiseration, but the moment the persecution began to reach the rich, it excited their alarm, and means were found to put a stop to it, except when it had some ulterior object which it was the interest of those in power to pursue.

CHAPTER XXX.

SIR MATTHEW HALE AND CHIEF-JUSTICE HOLT.

On the tenth of March, 1664, there was a remarkable trial of witches at Bury St. Edmonds, in Suffolk, the scene of the labors of Matthew Hopkins nearly twenty years before. The victims were two poor widows of Lowestoff, who appear to have obtained a living by performing a number of menial offices for their neighbors. One of the chief witnesses was a woman of the same town, named Dorothy Durent, who deposed that, about five or six years before, she had employed Amy Duny, one of the prisoners, to nurse her infant child while she went out of the house about her affairs, and that on her return she quarrelled with her for having acted contrary to her directions, upon which Amy Duny went away in anger, uttering "many high expressions and threatening speeches." The same night her child was seized with strange and dangerous fits. "And the said examinant further said, that she being exceedingly troubled at her child's distemper, did go to a certain person named Doctor Job Jacob, who lived at Yarmouth, who had the reputation in the country to help children that were bewitched; who advised her to hang up the child's blanket in the chimney-corner all day, and at night, when she put the child to bed, to put it into the said blanket; and if she found anything in it she should not be afraid, but to throw it into the fire. And this deponent did according to his direction, and at night, when she took down the blanket with an intent to put her child therein, there fell out of the same a great toad, which ran up and down the hearth, and she having a young youth only with her in the house, desired him to catch the toad and throw it into the fire, which the youth did accordingly, and held it there with the tongs; and as soon as it was in the fire, it made a great and horrible noise, and after a space there was a flashing in the fire like gunpowder, making a noise like the discharge of a pistol, and thereupon the toad was no more seen nor heard. It was asked by the court, if that after the noise and flashing there was not the substance of the toad to be seen to consume in the fire; and it was answered by the said Dorothy Durent, that after the flashing and noise, there

was no more seen than if there had been none there. The next day there came a young woman, a kinswoman of the said Amy, and a neighbor of this deponent, and told this deponent that her aunt (meaning the said Amy) was in a most lamentable condition, having her face all scorched with fire, and that she was sitting alone in her house, in her smock, without any fire. And thereupon this deponent went into the house of the said Amy Duny to see her, and found her in the same condition as was related to her, for her face, her legs, and thighs, which this deponent saw, seemed very much scorched and burnt with fire, at which this deponent seemed much to wonder, and asked the said Amy how she came into that sad condition; and the said Amy replied that she might thank her for it, for that she, this deponent, was the cause thereof, but that she should live to see some of her children dead, and she upon crutches. And this deponent further saith, that after the burning of the said toad her child recovered, and was well again, and was living at the time of the assizes."

Subsequent to these new threats, another child of Dorothy Durent was taken ill and died, and she herself was seized with a lameness in her legs, in consequence of which she had remained a cripple ever since.

The next offence laid to the charge of Amy Duny was the bewitching of the children of Samuel Pacy, a merchant of Lowestoff, who "carried himself with much soberness during the trial." This man deposed "that his younger daughter, Deborah, upon Thursday the tenth of October last, was suddenly taken with a lameness in her legs, so that she could not stand, neither had she any strength in her limbs to support her, and so she continued until the seventeenth day of the same month, which day being fair and sunshiny, the child desired to be carried on the east part of the house, to be set upon the bank which looketh upon the sea; and while she was sitting there, Amy Duny came to this deponent's to buy some herrings, but being denied, she went away discontented, and presently returned again, and was denied, and likewise the third time, and was denied as at first; and at her last going away, she went away grumbling, but what she said was not perfectly understood. But at the very same instant of time the said child was taken with most violent fits, feeling most extreme pain in her stomach, like the pricking of pins, and shrieking out in a most dreadful manner, like unto a whelp, and not like unto a sensible creature. And in this extremity the child continued, to the great grief of the parents, un-

til the thirtieth of the same month. During this time this deponent sent for one Dr. Feavor, a doctor of physic, to take his advice concerning his child's distemper. The doctor being come, he saw the child in those fits, but could not conjecture (as he then told this deponent, and afterward he affirmed in open court at this trial) what might be the cause of the child's affliction. And this deponent further saith, that by reason of the circumstances aforesaid, and in regard Amy Duny is a woman of an ill fame, and commonly reported to be a witch and a sorceress, and for that the said child in her fits would cry out of Amy Duny as the cause of her malady, and that she did affright her with apparitions of her person (as the child in the interval of her fits related), he, this deponent, did suspect the said Amy Duny for a witch, and charged her with the injury and wrong to his child, and caused her to be set in the stocks on the twenty-eighth of the same October ; and during the time of her continuance there, one Alice Letteridge and Jane Buxton demanded of her (as they also affirmed in court upon their oaths) what should be the reason of Mr. Pacy's child's distemper, telling her that she was suspected to be the cause thereof. She replied, 'Mr. Pacy keeps a great stir about his child, but let him stay until he hath done as much by his children as I have done by mine.' And being further examined what she had done to her children, she answered that she had been fain to open her child's mouth with a tap to give it victuals. And the said deponent further deposeth, that within two days after speaking of the said words, being the thirtieth of October, his eldest daughter Elizabeth fell into extreme fits, inasmuch that they could not open her mouth to give her broth to preserve her life without the help of a tap, which they were enforced to use; and the younger child was in like manner afflicted, so that they used the same also for her relief."

The children were now continually visited with fits, similar to other supposed sufferers from witchcraft, including the vomiting of crooked pins, nails, &c., aud the spasmodic trances, in the latter of which they were in the habit of crying out against various women of ill-repute in the town, who, they said, were present tormenting them, but more especially against Amy Duny and the other prisoner, whose name was Rose Cullender. The children declared that these two women appeared to them sometimes in the act of spinning, and at other times in a variety of postures, threatening and mocking them. A friend of the family appeared in court as an independent witness, and deposed, that

in her presence "the children would in their fits cry out against Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, affirming that they saw them; and they threatened to torment them ten times more if they complained of them. At some times the children (only) would see things run up and down the house in the appearance of mice; and one of them suddenly snapped one with the tongs, and threw it into the fire, and it screeched out like a bat. At another time, the younger child being out of her fits, went out of doors to take a little fresh air, and presently a little thing like a bee flew upon her face, and would have gone into her mouth, whereupon the child ran in all haste to the door to get into the house again, shrieking out in a most terrible manner; whereupon this deponent made haste to come to her, but before she could get to her, the child fell into her swooning fit, and at last, with much pain and straining herself, she vomited up a twopenny nail with a broad head; and after that the child had raised up the nail she came to her understanding, and being demanded by this deponent how she came by this nail, she answered that the bee brought this nail and forced it into her mouth. And at other times the elder child declared unto this deponent that during the time of her fits, she saw flies come unto her, and bring with them in their mouths crooked pins; and after the child had thus declared the same, she fell again into violent fits, and afterward raised several pins. At another time the said elder child declared unto this deponent, and sitting by the fire suddenly started up and said she saw a mouse, and she crept under the table looking after it, and at length she put something in her apron, saying she had caught it; and immediately she ran to the fire and threw it in, and there did appear upon it to this deponent, like the flashing of gunpowder, though she confessed she saw nothing in the child's hands."

Another person bewitched was a servant-girl named Susan Chandler, whose mother, besides deposing to the discovery of Satan's marks on the body of one of the witches, said, "that her said daughter being of the age of eighteen years, was then in service in the said town, aud rising up early the next morning to wash, this Rose Cullender appeared to her, and took her by the hand, whereat she was much affrighted, and went forthwith to her mother (being in the same town), and acquainted her with what she had seen; but being extremely terrified, she fell extreme sick, much grieved at her stomach, and that night, after being in bed with another young woman, she suddenly shrieked out, and fell into such extreme fits as if she were distracted, cry-

ing against Rose Cullender, saying she would come to bed to her. She continued in this manner beating and wearing herself, insomuch that this deponent was glad to get help to attend her. In her intervals she would declare that sometimes she saw Rose Cullender alone, at another time with a great dog with her; she also vomited up divers crooked pins; and sometimes she was stricken with blindness, and at another time she was dumb, and so she appeared to be in court when the trial of the prisoners was, for she was not able to speak her knowledge; but being brought into court at the trial, she suddenly fell into her fits, and being carried out of the court again, within the space of half an hour she came to herself and recovered her speech, and thereupon was immediately brought into the court, and asked by the court whether she was in condition to take an oath, and to give evidence. She said she could. But when she was sworn, and asked what she could say against either of the prisoners, before she could make any answer she fell into her fits, shrieking out in a miserable manner, crying, 'Burn her, burn her!' which was all the words she could speak."

Such was the evidence against the two miserable women dragged before the court as prisoners; and the barrister who advocated their cause earnestly pleaded its insufficiency as the mere effect of the imaginations of the persons aggrieved, which was supported by no direct and substantial evidence fixing the crime on the two persons accused, even supposing that the accusers had really been bewitched. The celebrated Sir Thomas Brown was next brought forward in court, and on being asked what he thought of the case, declared that "he was clearly of opinion that the persons were bewitched," with some further remarks, which appear strange as coming from the mouth of the great exposer of "vulgar errors."

Doubts still existed among some of those who were present in court, and they attempted to dispel these by a practical experiment. "At first, during the time of the trial, there were some experiments made with the persons afflicted, by bringing the persons to touch them; and it was observed, that when they were in the midst of their fits, to all men's apprehension wholly deprived of all sense and understanding, closing their fists in such a manner as that the strongest man in the court could not force them open, yet by the least touch of one of those supposed witches, Rose Cullender by name, they would suddenly shriek out, opening their hands, which accident would not happen by the touch of any other person. And lest they might privately see

when they were touched by the said Rose Cullender, they were blinded with their own aprons, and the touching took the same effect as before. There was an ingenious person that objected there might be a great fallacy in this experiment, and there ought not to be any stress put upon this to convict the parties, for the children might counterfeit this their distemper, and perceiving what was done to them, they might in such manner suddenly alter the motion and gesture of their bodies, on purpose to induce persons to believe that they were not natural, but wrought strangely by the touch of the prisoners. Wherefore to avoid this scruple, it was privately desired by the judge that the Lord Cornwallis, Sir Edmund Bacon, and Mr. Serjeant Keeling, and some other gentlemen there in court, would attend one of the distempered persons in the farthest part of the hall, while she was in her fits, and then send for one of the witches, to try what would then happen, which they did accordingly; and Amy Duny was conveyed from the bar and brought to the maid; they put an apron before her eyes, and then one other person touched her hand, which produced the same effect as the touch of the witch did in the court. Whereupon the gentlemen returned, openly protesting that they did believe the whole transaction of this business was a mere imposture. This put the court and all persons into a stand; but at length Mr. Pacy did declare, that possibly the maid might be deceived by a suspicion that the witch touched her when she did not. For he had observed divers times, that although they could not speak, but were deprived of the use of their tongues and limbs, that their understandings were perfect, for that they have related divers things which have been when they were in their fits, after they were recovered out of them."

Disappointed in this experiment, the accusers now brought forward some other evidence to prove the character of the prisoners, the principal of which was "one John Soam, of Lowestoff, yeoman, a sufficient person," who deposed, "That not long since, in harvest-time, he had three carts which brought home his harvest, and as they were going into the field to load, one of the carts wrenched the window of Rose Cullender's house whereupon she came out in a great rage and threatened this deponent for doing that wrong, and so they passed along into the fields and loaded all the three carts, the other two carts returned safe home, and back again, twice loaded that day afterward; but as to this cart which touched Rose Cullender's house, after it was loaded it was overturned twice or thrice that day; and after that they had loaded it again this second or third time, as they brought

it through the gate which leadeth out of the field into the town, the cart stuck so fast in the gatestead, that they could not possibly get it through, but were enforced to cut down the post of the gate to make the cart pass through, although they could not perceive that the cart did of either side touch the gate-post. And this deponent further said, that after they had got it through the gateway, they did with much difficulty get it home into the yard; but for all that they could do, they could not get the cart near into the place where they should unload the corn, but were fain to unload it at a great distance from the place; and when they began to unload, they found much difficulty therein, it being so hard a labor that they were tired that first came; and when others came to assist them, their noses burst forth a bleeding; so they were fain to desist, and leave it until the next morning, and then they unloaded it without any difficulty at all. Robert Sherringham also deposeth against Rose Cullender, that about two years since, passing along the street with his cart and horses, the axle-tree of his cart touched her house, and broke down some part of it, at which she was very much displeased, threatening him that his horses should suffer for it, and so it happened, for all those horses, being four in number, died within a short time after; since that time he hath had great losses by sudden dying of his other cattle; so soon as his sows pigged, thé pigs would leap and caper, and immediately fall down and die. Also, not long after, he was taken with a lameness in his limbs that he could neither go nor stand for some days. After all this, he was very much vexed with a great number of lice of an extraordinary bigness, and although he many times shifted himself, yet he was not anything the better, but would swarm again with them; so that in the conclusion he was forced to burn all his clothes, being two suits of apparel, and then was clean from them."

This was the kind of evidence brought forward in a public court of justice in the year 1664, in a trial which has obtained especial celebrity from the circumstance that the lord-chief-baron who presided over it was the great lawyer, Sir Matthew Hale. Yet even he was not exempt from the superstitious feeling of his own age, and the cautiously-worded declaration in his charge to the jury: "That there were such creatures as witches he made no doubt at all; for first, the Scriptures had affirmed so much; secondly, the wisdom of all nations had provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime, and such hath been the judgment of this kingdom, as appears by that act of parliament which hath provided punish-

ments proportionable to the quality of the offence"—was considered as a public declaration of the judge's opinion in favor of the witchcraft prosecutions. The jury retired, passed half an hour in deliberation, and returned with a unanimous verdict against the prisoners. Sir Matthew Hale interfered no further, but proceeded on his circuit; and the two poor widows of Lowestoff were hanged on the following Monday. They persisted to the last in asserting their innocence.

The trial before Sir Matthew Hale had a great influence in increasing the number of trials for the crime of sorcery under the restoration, although the return of the Stuarts seemed from the first to have brought back some of the spirit which had been spread in England by the first of their race who came to the throne. Among other rather ridiculous cases, it will be sufficient to instance that of Julian Coxe, a wretched old woman, who, in the preceding year, had been convicted and hanged at Taunton in Somersetshire, on the evidence of a huntsman, who declared that, having given chase to a hare, it was lost in a bush, and that on examining the spot, he found on the other side of the bush this woman in such an attitude and condition as convinced him that he had been hunting a witch who had taken the opportunity of the shelter afforded by the bush to regain her own shape. In the same year that witnessed the trial before Sir Matthew Hale, at Bury, a justice of the peace in Somersetshire, named Hunt, was ambitious of becoming another witchfinder-general, and had already put twelve persons under arrest, when a stop was put on his proceedings by the interference of a higher authority. In 1679, a witch condemned at Ely was saved by a reprieve from the king, and her accuser is said to have subsequently avowed his imposture, yet three years afterward the city of Exeter witnessed the execution of three witches under circumstances well calculated to expose the absurdity of such charges.

Seaport towns appear to have been rather frequently the haunts of witches, and the scenes of some of their more extraordinary operations. At the town of Biddeford, on the coast of Devon, dwelt three women, named Temperance Lloyd, Mary Trembles, and Susanna Edwards, who seem to have enjoyed a character similar to that of Amy Duny and Rose Cullender at Lowestoff, and they were arrested and carried prisoners to Exeter in the summer of 1682. One of the persons who accused them was a mariner's wife named Dorcas Coleman, who said that in the year 1680 she had been taken with "tormenting pains

by prickling in her arms, stomach, and heart, in such a manner as she was never taken so before." She applied to one Doctor Beare, a professed physician, who told her it was past his skill to save her, inasmuch as she was bewitched. We thus see, what has indeed occurred often before, how unskilful physicians, in the attempt to conceal their own ignorance, added to and strengthened the prejudices of the vulgar. Dorcas Coleman had no suspicion of the person that had bewitched her, until Susanna Edwards was thrown into prison, and then she went to her to ask if she were her persecutor, and received an answer in the affirmative. Another woman of Biddeford, named Grace Thomas, was attacked somewhat in the same manner, and declared that as soon as Temperance Lloyd was committed to prison, she "immediately felt her pricking and sticking pains to cease and abate." Upon this one of the friends of Grace Thomas "did demand of the said Temperance Lloyd whether she had any wax or clay in the form of a picture whereby she had pricked and tormented the said Grace Thomas; unto which the said Temperance made answer, that she had no wax nor clay, but confessed that she had only a piece of leather which she had pricked nine times." Temperance Lloyd was searched, and they found on her body two "teats," which she confessed had been sucked by "the black man;" and one of the searchers, who was an acquaintance of the accused, declared that on the morning of the preceding Thursday, "she, this informant, did see something in the shape of a magpie to come at the chamber window where the said Grace Thomas did lodge. Upon which this informant did demand of the said Temperance Lloyd whether she did know of any bird to come and flutter at the said window; unto which question the said Temperance did then say that it was the black man in the shape of the bird." Having obtained thus much of foundation to build upon, the account of the black man was soon amplified, and "being demanded of what stature the said black man was," she was prevailed upon to describe him as being "about the length of her arm; and that his eyes were very big; and that he hopped or leaped in the way before her." The very picture, in fact, of a "puck" or hobgoblin.

It is hardly necessary to enter further into the rather numerous depositions made on this occasion. A piece of leather was found, in which the prosecutors and judges "conceived there might be some enchantment;" a child's doll was also produced, which it was further imagined might have been pricked with

pins; it was deposed that Temperance Lloyd had appeared in the form of a red pig to a woman while she was brewing; and upon this evidence, and more of the same description, the three women were convicted by the jury, and they were all hanged at Exeter. When these wretched women were on the scaffold, they were again tormented with questions, and returned such answers as might be expected from persons in a condition that they hardly knew what they were asked or what they said in reply. Among other things, Temperance Lloyd was asked, "How did you come in to hurt Mrs. Grace Thomas? did you pass through the keyhole of the door, or was the door open?

"*Temp.* The devil did lead me up-stairs, and the door was open; and this is all the hurt I did.

"*Q.* How do you know it was the devil?

"*Temp.* I knew it by his eyes.

"*Q.* Had you no discourse or treaty with him?

"*Temp.* No; he said I should go along with him to destroy a woman, and I told him I would not; he said he would make me; and then the devil beat me about the head.

"*Q.* Why had you not called upon God?

"*Temp.* He would not let me do it.

"*Q.* You say you never hurt ships nor boats—did you never ride over an arm of the sea on a cow?

"*Temp.* No, no, master, 'twas she" (*meaning Susan*).

Another interrogator, equally unfeeling, closed the scene with asking the victim if she had never seen the devil but once.

"*Temp.* Yes, once before; I was going for brooms, and he came to me and said, 'that poor woman has a great burthen,' and would help and ease me of my burthen; and I said, 'the Lord had enabled me to carry it so far, and I hope I shall be able to carry it further.'

"*Q.* Did the devil never promise you anything?

"*Temp.* No, never.

"*Q.* Then you have served a very bad master, who gave you nothing. Well, consider you are just departing from this world; do you believe there is a God?

"*Temp.* Yes.

"*Q.* Do you believe in Jesus Christ?

"*Temp.* Yes; and I pray Jesus Christ to pardon all my sins. *And so was executed.*"

These three women are said to have been the last persons who were executed in England for the crime of witchcraft. A great change in opinion on this subject was now taking place

in the minds of reflecting people. The vice of the court of Charles II. was skepticism rather than credulity, and although bigotry and superstition again appeared under the influence of his brother, their reign was of short duration. Two books were published during this period which certainly had some influence in breaking the strength of the popular prejudice on the subject. The first of these was a small volume by a gentleman of education named John Wagstaffe, which appeared in 1669, under the title of "The Question of Witchcraft Debated." In the opening of this work Wagstaffe expresses in strong terms his horror at the multitudes of human beings who had been during so many ages sacrificed to "this idol, Opinion;" and he protests against the "evil and base custom of torturing people to confess themselves witches, and burning them after extorted confessions. Surely the blood of men ought not to be so cheap, nor so easily to be shed by those who, under the name of God, do gratify exorbitant passions and selfish ends; for without question, under this side heaven, there is nothing so sacred as the life of man, for the preservation whereof all policies and forms of government, all laws and magistrates are most especially ordained." Wagstaffe's book was replied to in a tone of flippant self-sufficiency by Meric Casaubon, in a treatise published in the following year under the title, "Of Credulity and Incredulity in Things Divine and Spiritual."

A still greater champion soon afterward stepped into the field of controversy thus opened. This was John Webster, a native of Lancashire, the same whom we have already seen in his youth opposing in vain the imposture of the boy Pendle. Webster had lived, a careful observer, throughout the whole period of the great witchcraft mania in England, and now in his old age he published his matured judgment on the subject which had so long agitated men's minds, under the title which at once indicated the view he took of it, of "The Displaying of supposed Witchcraft." This stately folio appeared in the year 1677, and there can be little doubt of its having made a strong impression on the succeeding generation. Webster attacked with all the force of argument and wit the superstition to which so many victims had been sacrificed, and he exposed the fallacies by which it had been sustained. He made no concessions to public opinion, like most of those who preceded him on the same side of the question, and who were afraid to push too far the reasons on which they rested their cause; but he boldly published the opinion that witchcraft was nothing but a vulgar error, and that

all the instances which had occurred and which had led to such a fearful destruction of human life, were founded only in deliberate imposture, in statements made under fear of torture, in mental delusion, or in natural phenomena which were easily explained by science and reason without the necessity of calling in supernatural causes.

Books like these were chiefly calculated to influence the educated part of society, and we soon perceive their effects in the course of justice. After the revolution of 'eighty-eight, there seems to have been a strong tendency to renew the persecution against witches, but Sir Matthew Hale had been succeeded by a judge of no less weight and talent, who was in this respect at least more enlightened—the lord-chief-justice Holt. Three women were thrown into prison in 1691 for bewitching a person near Frome, in Somersetshire, of whom one died before she was brought to trial; but the other two, having Chief-Justice Holt for their judge, were acquitted. This case seems to have been the first check put upon the courts of law; and the populace, disappointed of what they called justice, had recourse, without appealing to the law, to the old popular trial of swimming the persons suspected, of which there were numerous instances during this and the following year in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Northampton. Some of the patients died under the infliction. The scene of the labors of Matthew Hopkins seems to have retained its witch-persecuting celebrity. In 1693, one Widow Chambers, of Upaston, in Suffolk, who is described by Dr. Hutchinson as "a diligent, industrious, poor woman," died in Beccles jail in consequence of the treatment she had experienced. She had been walked between two men, according to the celebrated plan of the witch-finder Hopkins, and was thus drawn to confess a number of absurdities, such as the bewitching to death of persons who were then living and in good health. In the year following, another poor woman named Mother Munnings, of Hartis, in Suffolk, was tried before the lord-chief-justice Holt, at Bury St. Edmunds; many things were deposed concerning her, such as spoiling of wort, and hurting cattle, and it was stated that several persons upon their death-beds had complained that she killed them. It was further deposed, that her landlord, Thomas Pennel, wishing to force her out of a house she had of him, took away the door, and left her without one. Some time after, she said to him as he passed by the door, "Go thy way, thy nose shall lie upward in the churchyard before Saturday next." On the Monday following, we are assured he sickened,

and died on Tuesday, and was buried within the week, according to her word. To confirm this, it was added by another witness, that a doctor whom they had consulted about an afflicted person, when Mother Munnings was mentioned, said she was a dangerous woman, for she could "touch the line of life." In her indictment, she was charged with having an imp like a pole-cat; and one witness deposed, that coming from the alehouse about nine at night, he looked in at her window, and saw her take out of her basket two imps, one black the other white. It was also deposed, that one Sarah Wager, after a quarrel with this woman, was taken dumb and lame, and was in that condition at home at the time of the trial. Many other such things were sworn, but in consequence of the charge from the judge, the jury brought her in not guilty. Dr. Hutchinson, who obtained the notes of this trial through Chief-Justice Holt himself, adds on this statement: "Upon particular inquiry of several in or near the town, I find most are satisfied that it was a very right judgment. She lived about two years after, without doing any known harm to anybody, and died declaring her innocence. Her landlord was a consumptive spent man, and the words not exactly as they swore them, and the whole thing seventeen years before. For by a certificate from the register, I find he was buried June 20, 1667. The white imp is believed to have been a lock of wool, taken out of her basket to spin, and its shadow it is supposed was the black one."

The same year, a woman of the name of Margaret Elmore was tried at Ipswich before the lord-chief-justice Holt. She was accused of having bewitched one Mrs. Rudge of that town, who was three years in a languishing condition, because, as it was alleged, Mr. Rudge, the husband of the afflicted person, had refused to let her a house. Some witnesses said that Mrs. Rudge was better upon the confinement of the woman, and worse again when her chains were off. Other witnesses gave an account, that her grandmother and her aunt had formerly been hanged for witches, and that her grandmother had said she had eight or nine imps, and that she had given two or three imps a piece to her children. This grave accusation was considered to be fully confirmed, when a midwife who had searched Margaret Elmore's grandmother, who had been hanged, said, this woman had plainer marks than she. Others deposed to their being covered with lice after quarrels with her. But notwithstanding these depositions, the jury brought her in not guilty, "and," says Dr. Hutchinson, "though I have made particular inquiry, I do not hear of any ill consequence."

In 1695, Mary Guy was tried before the lord-chief-justice Holt, at Launceston, in Cornwall, for supposed witchcraft upon a girl named Philadelphia Row. It was deposed that the appearance of the said Mary Guy was often seen by the girl, and that she vomited pins, straws, and feathers; but notwithstanding such depositions, the prisoner was acquitted. One Elizabeth Horner was tried before the same intelligent judge at Exeter, in 1696, for bewitching three children of William Bovet, one of whom was dead. It was deposed, that another had her legs twisted, and yet from her hands and knees she would spring five feet high. The children vomited pins, and were bitten (if the depositions were true), and pricked, and pinched, the marks appearing; the children said, Bess Horner's head would come off from her body, and go into their bellies; the mother of the children deposed, that one of them walked up a smooth plastered wall, to the height of nine feet, her head standing off from it; this, she said, she did five or six times, and laughed and said, Bess Horner held her up. This poor woman had something like a nipple on her shoulder, which the children said was sucked by a toad. Many other strange things were asserted by different witnesses; but the jury brought her in not guilty, "and no inconvenience hath followed from her acquittal."

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE DOINGS OF SATAN IN NEW ENGLAND.

As Satan found that, beaten by the force of public opinion, he was losing his hold on the mother-country, he seemed resolved to fix a firmer grasp upon her distant colonies, and the new world presented at this moment a scene which exemplifies the horrors and the absurdities of the witchcraft-persecutions more than anything that had occurred in the old world.

The colony of Massachusetts bay, in New England, was essentially a religious—a puritanical settlement. One of the congregations of the English presbyterians who sought refuge in Holland from the intolerance of James I., finding their position there uneasy, came to the resolution of establishing themselves in the wilds of North America, where they could worship the Almighty after their own convictions, unseen and untroubled by those who

differed from them. They made arrangements for settling in the English colony of Virginia, and set sail for America in 1618, but carried out of their course by stress of weather and other causes, they arrived on a coast more to the north, on which no settlement had hitherto been made. In the last days of the year they laid the foundations of the first town in New England, to which they gave the name of Plymouth. They formed an alliance with an Indian chief by whom this territory had been previously occupied, a great part of whose tribe had been carried off by the small-pox, and who was glad of their support against the hostile tribes of Narragansets. Several other settlements were subsequently attempted on this coast, but the settlers were ill-fitted for amalgamating with the puritans of New Plymouth, or to struggle with the difficulties they had encountered, and they therefore soon abandoned their enterprise. Under Charles I., the religious emigration from England was greatly increased, and the old settlers on these distant shores were soon joined by multitudes of friends who shared in their principles and feelings. Some of these founded, in 1628, the town of Salem. Soon afterward Boston was founded, which became at once the principal town of Massachusetts bay. From the peculiar constitution of this singular colony, it became as intolerant as it was religious, and its earlier history presents us with frequent instances of persecution for the sake of conscientious convictions. Religious discussions here took the place of political disputes, and disturbed from time to time the peace of the infant colony. A school having been founded at a small town called Newtown, it was erected into a university in 1638, and named Harvard college, from a pious minister who left a legacy for its endowment, and the name of Newtown was changed to that of Cambridge, in memory of the celebrated scholastic establishment in the mother-country. One of the most distinguished of the New England ministers, Eliott, labored to convert the Indians, and to establish more intimate and friendly relations with them, with great success, and his example having been followed by many others, there were, in 1687, no less than four-and-twenty Indians who were preachers of the gospel among their countrymen. During the period of the protectorate, the intolerant spirit of the colony was shown in the persecution of several anabaptists who had settled there. This was followed by a much more severe persecution of the quakers. The reign of Charles II., was a period of trouble for the colonists. Many perished in a fierce war with the Indians, although the latter were entirely defeated and reduced. This was followed by vexatious

proceedings on the part of the government of the mother-country, which ended in the seizure of their charter. In 1689, after the accession of the prince of Orange to the English throne, the charter was restored, or rather a new one was given to them, and Sir William Phipps was appointed their governor. It was during the forfeiture of the charter that the following events commenced.

It is not to be wondered at if the planters of New England carried with them all the superstitious feelings which had been shown by their brethren in England. It was the general belief of those times that the gods or idols worshipped by the heathens —and especially by the Indians—were demons, and that they were constantly waging war with the Christian professors through the instrumentality of sorcery. Some of the old doctors in demonology were of opinion that the devil was unable to work evil against the persons or property of Christians unless he could obtain Christians to be his willing agents, and in this way they accounted for his eagerness to make and multiply witches. It was natural enough for men placed like the colonists of New England, and with their feelings, to believe that the demon who had previously held undisturbed possession of this district should be angered at the plantation of the gospel in it, and that he should be hostile to the puritanical settlers; but they were a select body—select in faith, and select in personal attachment—and they had no enemies among themselves who were likely to sell themselves to Satan and to become his instruments of persecution. It is not surprising, therefore, if during the first half century after the foundation of the colony the idea of suspecting any one of witchcraft hardly occurred to their minds. It was only when there were more people of a miscellaneous character in the settlement, and after the fiend had failed in destroying it by an insurrection of the Indians, that he formed the more insidious design of overthrowing it by a confederation of witches.

Four persons had indeed been charged with witchcraft in 1645, and had been executed; but this single case made no great sensation, and the crime was not heard of again for many years. At length, in the year 1688, a case occurred at Boston, which struck the colonists with no little dismay. A mason of that town, named John Goodwin, who had six children, was in the habit of employing as a washerwoman one of his neighbors named Glover, an Irishwoman and a papist, neither of them any great recommendation in the state of New England. About the midsummer of the year last-mentioned, some linen having been missed, Goodwin's wife accused the woman of theft, on which

she became angry and abusive, and used cross language to one of the children, a little girl. Immediately afterward, this girl was seized with fits and strange afflictions, which soon communicated themselves to three of her sisters. The Irishwoman fell under suspicion, and was arrested, and in her examination she answered so incoherently, and with such a strange mixture of Irish and broken English, that she was soon brought in guilty, and the solemnity of the examination and execution made a deep impression on the minds of the people of Boston.

There were in that town two ministers (father and son), who, for many reasons, held a distinguished place among the clergy of New England, and their opinions were looked up to with the utmost respect. These were Increase and Cotton Mather, the first principal, and the second a fellow of Harvard college. These men seem to have studied deeply the doctrines on the subject of witchcraft which had so long been held in Europe, and to have been fully convinced of their truth. Cotton Mather was called in to witness the afflictions with which Goodwin's children were visited, and not content with what he saw there, he took the girl whose visitations seemed most extraordinary to his own home, that he might examine her more leisurely, and he has left us a printed account of his observations. It appears that some of the stories of European witchcraft had been impressed on her mind, for when in her fits she believed that the witches came for her with a horse on which she rode to their meetings. Sometimes, in the presence of a number of persons, she would suddenly fall into a sort of trance, and then she would jump into a chair, and placing herself in a riding posture, move as if she were successively ambling, trotting, and gallopping. At the same time she would talk with invisible company, that seemed to go with her, and she would listen to their answers. After continuing in this way two or three minutes, she seemed to think herself at a meeting of the witches, a great distance from the house where she was sitting; then she would return again on her imaginary horse, and come to herself again; and on one occasion she told Cotton Mather of three persons she had seen at the meeting. Dr. Mather's simplicity, to say the least, was shown by the sort of experiments he made on this fantastical patient. When she was in her fits, and therefore under the influence of Satan, she read or listened to bad books with pleasure, but good books threw her into convulsions. He tried her with the Bible, the assembly's catechism, his grandfather Cotton Mather's "Milk for Babes," and his father In-

crease's "Remarkable Providences," with a treatise written to prove the reality of witchcraft, and the existence of witches. These good books, Cotton Mather tells us, "were mortal to her," they threw her into trances and convulsions. Next he tried her with books of a different character, such as quakers' books (the quakers were looked upon with a very evil eye in New England), popish books, the Cambridge and Oxford Jests, a prayer-book (against which the puritans always professed the greatest hostility), and a book written to prove that there were no witches. These the devil let her read as long as she liked, and he showed particular respect to the prayer-book, even allowing her to read the passages of scripture in it, although he threw her into the most dreadful sufferings if she attempted to read the same texts in the Bible.

Dr. Cotton Mather gave the world a full account of this case in a little book entitled, "Late Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possession," in which he also collected together a few other cases of witchcraft in New England, which show that there was already a strong excitement abroad on the subject. This he increased by repeating to the colonists the details of the trial before Matthew Hale and other cases which had occurred in England; and further, by dispersing among them in the following year, with a warm recommendation of its merits, Baxter's "Certainty of the World of Spirits," a work well calculated to spread the terror of witchcraft.

There can be little doubt that Cotton Mather's zeal in spreading abroad the doctrines of the old world on this subject contributed to the catastrophe which followed in the new.

A Mr. Paris had been for some years minister of Salem village. He appears to have been on indifferent terms with his parishioners, on account of some disputes relating to the house and land he occupied as their minister, of which he had obtained a gift in fee-simple. Toward the end of February of 1692, some young persons in his family, and some others of their neighbors, began to act after a strange manner, creeping into holes and under chairs and stools, using antic gestures, uttering ridiculous speeches, and falling into fits. The physicians were consulted, but they were unable to discover the nature of the disorder, or to effect a cure, and they declared their belief that they were bewitched. Mr. Paris had an Indian man and woman—the latter named Tituba—as servants in his house, and they, with Mr. Paris's consent, made an enchanted cake, according to the custom of their tribes, and this being given to a dog belonging to

the family, was to enable the persons afflicted to declare who had bewitched them. The result was that they accused the two Indians, and the woman confessed herself guilty, and was thrown into prison: she was subsequently sold to pay the prison fees. Several private fasts were now held in the house of Mr. Paris, and a public fast was directed throughout the colony, to avert God's wrath.

Being visited and noticed, the children and others afflicted proceeded to other denunciations, and other persons exhibited similar fits and contortions. At first they ventured only on accusing poor women, who were of ill-repute in the place, and they talked of a black man who urged them to sign a book, which they said was red, very thick, and about a cubit long. They were gradually encouraged to accuse persons of a more respectable position in life, and among the first of these were Goodwife Cory and Goodwife Nurse, members of the churches at Salem village and Salem town. On the 21st of March Goodwife Cory was subjected to a solemn examination in the meeting-house of the village. Ten afflicted persons accused her of tormenting them. They said that in their fits they saw her likeness coming with a book for them to sign. She earnestly asserted her innocence, and represented that they were poor distracted creatures, who knew not what they were saying. Upon this they declared, that "the black man whispered to her in her ear now (while she was upon examination), and that she had a yellow bird, that did use to suck between her fingers, and that the said bird did suck now in the assembly.* Order being given to look in that place to see if there were any sign, the girl that pretended to see it said that it was too late now, for she had removed a pin, and put it on her head. It was upon search found that a pin was there sticking upright. When the accused had any motion of her body, hands, or mouth, the accusers would cry out; as when she bit her lip, they would cry out of being bitten; if she grasped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being pinched by her, and would produce marks; so of the other motions of her body, as complaining of being pressed, when she leaned to the seat next her; if she stirred her feet, they would

* These yellow birds—perhaps canaries—form a peculiar feature of witchcraft in New England. "In sermon time, when Goodwife C was present in the meeting-house, Abigail Williams called out, 'Look where Goodwife C sits on the beam suckling her yellow bird betwixt her fingers!' Anne Pitman, another girl afflicted, said, 'There was a yellow bird sat on my hat as it hung on the pin in the pulpit;' but those that were by restrained her from speaking loud about it."—INCREASE MATHER'S "FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE NEW ENGLAND WITCHES," p. 2.

stamp and cry out of pain there. After the hearing, the said Cory was committed to Salem prison, and then their crying out of her abated."

On the 24th of March, Goodwife Nurse was suddenly examined before the ministers and magistrates in the meetinghouse, with the same result. A child between four and five years old was now also committed. The accusers said that this child came invisibly, and bit them, and they would show the marks of small teeth on their arms to corroborate the statement; and when the child cast its eye upon them, they immediately cried out that they were in torment.

The number of accusers and accused now increased fast, and some of the latter, as the only means of saving themselves, made confessions, and accused others. They all spoke of a black man, and some described him as resembling an Indian, a circumstance we can easily understand. We are told by one of the historians of these events of a converted Indian, who was a zealous preacher of the gospel among his countrymen; "being a little before he died at work in the wood making of tar, there appeared unto him a black man, of a terrible aspect and more than human dimensions, threatening bitterly to kill him, if he would not promise to leave off preaching to his countrymen." This is said to have occurred just before the events I am now relating; the black man of the confessions was of ordinary stature, but he made no secret of his design to destroy the Christian settlement, and he held meetings of his converts—those who had signed his book—where they had mock ceremonies and participated in a mock sacrament. One of the accused, who saved himself by confessing, told how the devil appeared "in the shape of a black man, in the evening, to set my name to his book, as I have owned to my shame; he told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem village, there being, a little off the meetinghouse, about a hundred fine blades, some with rapiers by their sides, ... and the trumpet sounded, and bread and wine, which they called the sacrament; but I had none, being carried over all on a stick, and never was present at any other meeting." —"The design was to destroy Salem village, and to begin at the minister's house, and to destroy the churches of God, and to set up Satan's kingdom, and then all will be well."

The ministers and magistrates went on with their fastings and examinings, as the number of persons accused increased, until, on the 11th of April, there was a grand public hearing at Salem before six magistrates and several ministers. One Goodwife

Procter was among the persons accused on this occasion. Her husband attended to assist and advise her, and when he took her part, the accusers "cried out on him," and both were accordingly committed.

On the 14th of May, 1692, Sir William Phipps arrived, bringing with him the new charter of the colony. Instead of being the harbinger of peace by importing the liberal principles which were now gaining ground in England, the new governor either shared in the prejudices of the colonists, or wished to gain popularity among them by appearing to do so, and he ordered all the prisoners who were charged with witchcraft to be thrown into chains. Upon this the afflicted persons are said to have been in general relieved from their tortures. The accusations were now multiplied, and people of the greatest respectability in society became subject to the denunciations of the afflicted. On the 24th of May, a Mrs. Cary, of Charlestown, having been accused by some of the girls and an Indian, was arrested and brought before the ministers and magistrates for examination. Her husband went with her to support her in her trials, and we have his account of the manner in which the examination was carried on. "Being brought before the justices," he says, "her chief accusers were two girls. My wife declared to the justices that she never had any knowledge of them before that day. She was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me. Then she desired me to wipe the tears from her eyes and the sweat from her face, which I did. Then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying she should faint. Justice Hathorn replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the room. The Indian before mentioned was also brought in to be one of her accusers; being come in, he now (when before the justices) fell down and tumbled about like a hog, but said nothing. The justice asked the girls, who afflicted the Indian. They answered, 'she' (meaning my wife), and now lay upon him; the justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest instead of curing she should make him worse by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold on her hand, and pulled her down on the floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought."

When this man proceeded to expostulate in favor of his wife, he only provoked the court by his interference, and the afflicted were ready to "cry out" against him. Both, however, succeeded in making their escape; and they proceeded to Rhode Island, and thence to New York. The prosecutors now adopted some of the modes of trial which they learned from the printed books that had been imported from England, such as making the accused say the Lord's Prayer, and searching for teats. One of the latter was said to have been found on the person of Goodwife Bishop. On the 31st of May, the accusers struck a step higher, and "cried out" upon a sea-captain of Boston, named John Aldin, who was brought to Salem for examination. He asked his accusers, "Why they should think that he should come to that village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before?" But he found expostulation in vain, and he was committed to prison in Boston. The jailer, however, began to treat his prisoners with less rudeness, and after a long imprisonment, Captain Aldin escaped, perhaps with the jailer's connivance.

On the 2d of June a special commission was opened at Salem for the trial of the offenders. The depositions were many of them of such an extraordinary character, that we can not be surprised at being told that on the fifteenth of the same month Governor Phipps found it necessary to consult with the ministers of Boston, and that he was advised by them to proceed with caution. Five days before, Bridget Bishop had been hanged, which was the first of this series of executions.

The actors in this tragedy began, as I have already intimated, by accusing persons who were already despised and disliked by their neighbors, whose ears therefore were open to any charges against them. Bridget Bishop, the first woman executed, and Susanna Martin, who was condemned about the same time, belonged to this class, and, to judge by the extraordinary depositions on their trials, both had been for some time regarded as dangerous individuals. One of the "afflicted" stated that "the shape" of the prisoner appeared to her frequently, and bit, pricked, and otherwise tormented her. Another testified, "that it was the shape of this prisoner (Bishop) with another, which one day took her from her wheel, and carried her to the river side, threatening there to drown her if she did not sign the book." It is added, "One Deliverance Hobbes, who had confessed her being a witch, was now tormented by the spectres for her confession. And she now testified, that this Bishop tempted her to sign the book again, and to deny what she had confessed. She affirmed

that it was the shape of this prisoner which whipped her with iron rods to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed that this Bishop was at a general meeting of the witches, in a field at Salem village, and there partook of a diabolical sacrament in bread and wine there administered." Several persons stated that they had been disturbed in their beds by nocturnal visits of the "shape" of Bishop; and one man complained of her for bewitching his sow.

Other witnesses accused Bridget Bishop of still more extraordinary pranks, such, for example, as that recounted by one John Louder, who deposed, "'That upon some little controversy with Bishop about her fowls going well to bed, he did awake in the night by moonlight, and did see clearly the likeness of this woman grievously oppressing him; in which miserable condition she held him, unable to help himself, until near day. He told Bishop of this; but she denied it, and threatened him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a black thing jump in at the window, and come and stand before him. The body was like that of a monkey, the feet like a cock's, but the face much like that of a man. He being so extremely affrighted that he could not speak, this monster spoke to him, and said, 'I am a messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some trouble of mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this world.' Whereupon he endeavored to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no substance; and it jumped out of the window again; but immediately came in by the porch, though the doors were shut, and said, 'You had better take my counsel!' He then struck at it with a stick, but struck only the groundsel, and broke the stick. The arm with which he struck was presently disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the back door, and spied this Bishop in her orchard going toward her house, but he had no power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon, returning into the house, he was immediately accosted by the monster he had seen before; which goblin was now going to fly at him; whereat he cried out, 'The whole armor of God be between me and you.' So it sprang back, and flew over the apple-tree, shaking many apples off the tree in its flying over. At its leap it flung dirt with its feet against the stomach of the man; whereupon he was then struck dumb, and so continued for three days together."

As to Susanna Martin, who was also accused of paying visits to people through their chamber windows, a man named Bernard Peache, deposed in court, "that being in bed, on the Lord's day at night, he heard a scrambling at the window, whereat he then saw Susanna Martin come in and jump down upon the floor. She took hold of this deponent's foot, and drawing his body into a heap, she lay upon him near two hours, in all which time he could neither speak nor stir. At length, when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit some of her fingers, as he judged, unto the bone. Whereupon she went from the chamber, down stairs, out at the door. This deponent thereupon called out to the people of the house, to advise them of what had passed; and he himself did follow her. The people saw her not, but there being a bucket at the left hand of the door, there was a drop of blood found upon it, and several more drops of blood upon the snow newly-fallen abroad. There was likewise the print of her two feet just without the threshold, but no more sign of any footing further on. At another time this deponent was desired by the prisoner to come unto a husking of corn at her house, and she said if he did not come it were better that he did. He went not; but the night following Susanna Martin as he judged, and another came toward him. One of them said, 'Here he is,' but he having a quarter-staff, made a blow at them. The roof of the barn broke his blow, but following them to the window, he made another blow at them, and struck them down; yet they got up and got out, and he saw no more of them. About this time there was a rumor about the town that Martin had a broken head, but the deponent could say nothing to that." Another neighbor, whose name was John Kembal, stated that, "Being desirous to furnish himself with a dog, he applied himself to buy one of this Martin, who had a bitch with whelps in her house. But she not letting him have his choice, he said he would apply himself then at one Blezdel's. Having marked a puppy which he liked at Blezdel's, he met George Martin, the husband of the prisoner, going by, who asked him whether he would not have one of his wife's puppies, and he answered, no. The same day, one Edward Elliot, being at Martin's house, heard George Martin relate where this Kembal had been, and what he had said. Whereupon Susanna Martin replied, 'If I live I'll give him puppies enough.' Within a few days after this, Kembal coming out of the woods, there arose a little black cloud in the northwest, and Kembal immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not

able to avoid running upon stumps of trees that were before him, albeit he had a broad plain cart-way before him; but though he had his axe also on his shoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the meetinghouse, there appeared to him a little thing like a puppy, of a darkish color, and it shot backward and forward between his legs. He had the courage to use all possible endeavors of cutting it with his axe, but he could not hit it; the puppy gave a jump from him, and went, as to him it seemed, into the ground. Going a little further there appeared unto him a black puppy, somewhat bigger than the first, but as black as a coal. Its motions were quicker than those of his axe; it flew at his belly, and away; then at his throat; so over his shoulder one way, and then over his shoulder another way. His heart now began to fail him, and he thought the dog would have tore his throat out; but he recovered himself, and called upon God in his distress, and naming the name of Jesus Christ, it vanished away at once." Another witness, John Pressy, declared "that being one evening very unaccountably bewildered, near a field of Martin's, and several times, as one under an enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he saw a marvellous light, about the bigness of a half-bushel, near two rods out of the way. He gave it near forty blows, and felt it a palpable substance. But going from it, his heels were struck up, and he was laid with his back on the ground, sliding, as he thought, into a pit, whence he recovered by taking hold on the bush; although afterward he could find no such pit in the place. Having after his recovery, gone five or six rods, he saw Susanna Martin standing on his left hand, as the light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. The next day it was upon inquiry understood that Martin was in a miserable condition by pains and hurts that were upon her."

These tales have somewhat of novelty, but others were decidedly adopted from the witch trials in Europe, and they even went so far as to make the pretended sufferers, when under the influence of the "spirit," talk languages which they had never learned, such as Latin, and Greek, and even Hebrew, although it appeared that even Satan himself would not condescend to talk the barbarous jargon of the Indians.* It was the "shapes," or

* Dr. Cotton Mather gives the following humorous description of the difficulty of acquiring the Indian language: "Behold new difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable Elliot! He hires a native to teach him this exotic language, and, with a laborious care and skill reduces it into a grammar, which afterward he published. There is a letter or two of our alphabet which the Indians never had in

spectral appearances of the witches who tormented the sufferers, and performed all these mischievous pranks, and the strange perversion of justice which allowed the presumed acts of these spectres to be considered as the crimes of the individuals they represented, rendered the only possible defence, the plea of *alibi*, inadmissible. The statement regarding these spectral appearances were often as bold as they were extraordinary, and they found corroborative witnesses to support them. "It is well known," says Cotton Mather, in a subsequent history of the colony, "that these wicked spectres did proceed so far as to steal several quantities of money from divers people, part of which individual money was dropped sometimes out of the air, before sufficient spectators, into the hands of the afflicted, while the spectres were urging them to subscribe their covenant with death. Moreover, poisons, to the standers-by wholly invisibly, were sometimes forced upon the afflicted; which, when they have with much reluctancy swallowed, they have swollen presently, so that the common medicines for poisons have been found necessary to relieve them. Yea, sometimes the spectres in the struggle have so dropped the poisons, that the standers-by have smelled them, and viewed them, and beheld the pillows of the miserable stained with them. Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of burning rags run into their forcibly-distended mouths; and though nobody could see any such cloths, or, indeed, any fires in the chambers, yet presently the scalds were seen plainly by everybody on the mouths of the complainers, and not only the smell, but the smoke, of the burning sensibly filled the chambers. Once more, the miserable exclaimed extremely of branding-irons heating at the fire on the hearth to mark them; now, though the standers-by could see no irons, yet they could see distinctly the print of them in the ashes, and

theirs; but if their alphabet be short, I am sure the words composed of it are long enough to tire the patience of any scholar in the world; they are *sesquipedalia verba*, of which their lingo is composed; one would think they had been growing ever since Babel unto the dimensions to which they are now extended. For instance, if my reader will count how many letters there in this one word, *Nummatchekodtantamoongawunnonash*, when he has done, for his reward, I'll tell him it signifies no more in English than 'our lusts;' and if I were to translate 'our loves,' it must be nothing shorter than *Noowomantammononkanunonnash*. Or, to give my reader a longer word than either of these, *Kummogkodonattoottummooetiteaongaunnonnash*, is, in English, 'our question;' but I pray, sir, count the letters! Nor do we find in all this language, the least affinity to, or derivation from, any European speech that we are acquainted with." He then adds: "I know not what thoughts it will produce in my reader when I inform him, that once finding that the dæmons in a possessed young woman, understood the Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew languages, my curiosity led me to make trial of this Indian language, and the dæmons *did seem as if they did not understand it*."—MATHER'S MAGNALIA, book iii., p. 193.

smell them too, as they were carried by the unseen furies unto the poor creatures for whom they were intended; and those poor creatures were thereupon so stigmatized with them, that they will bear the marks of them to their dying day. Nor are these the tenth part of the prodigies that fell out among the inhabitants of New England. Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country, where they have as much mother-wit certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of Sadducism can question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one thing that will not be justified, if it be required, by the oaths of more considerate persons than any that can ridicule these odd phenomena."

The moment the executions commenced, the evil, instead of stopping, spread wider and wider. The accused were multiplied in proportion to the accusers, and no one was for one moment sure that the next moment he might not be denounced and ordered for trial, which was almost equivalent to being convicted. For so fully convinced were magistrates and ministers that Satan was in the midst of them, using human instruments to effect his purposes, that the slightest evidence was received with the utmost eagerness. The court met again on the 30th of June, and five more were condemned, who were all executed on the 19th of July. Among these were Sarah Good and Rebecca Nurse, the two "goodwives" above mentioned. "On the trial of Sarah Good, one of the afflicted fell in a fit, and after coming out of it, she cried out of the prisoner for stabbing her in the hand with a knife, and that she had broken the knife in stabbing of her; accordingly a piece of the blade of a knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the court, a young man was called, who produced a haft and part of the blade, which the court having viewed and compared, saw it to be the same. And upon inquiry, the young man affirmed that yesterday he happened to break that knife, and that he cast away the upper part, this afflicted person being then present. The young man was dismissed, and she was bidden by the court not to tell lies; and was improved after (as she had been before) to give evidence against the prisoner." As to Goodwife Nurse, the jury at first brought her in not guilty; on which the accusers and the afflicted suddenly raised a hideous outcry, pretending that she was tormenting them again, and it being represented to the jury that they had not given due consideration to one expression of hers, they returned to reconsider their verdict, and sent her to the gal-

lows. Like her companions in suffering, she persisted in declaring her innocence.

At another court, on the 5th of August, six were condemned, who were all executed on the 19th, except Procter's wife, who pleaded pregnancy. Among these was Mr. George Burroughs, a minister of the gospel, who provoked his judge by resting his defence on the bold argument, "that there neither are, nor ever were, witches that, having made a compact with the devil, can send a devil to torment other people at a distance." When brought to the place of execution, he addressed the multitude assembled around him with so much feeling, that many of the spectators were in tears, and all seemed to relent. The accusers cried out upon him, and said the black man was standing by him and dictating his discourse: and Dr. Cotton Mather, who was present on horseback, came forward to address the crowd, assuring them that he was not a minister regularly ordained, intimating that his piety was all deception, and telling them that "the devil has often been transformed into an angel of light." Thus was the rising sympathy of the people checked, and the executioner suffered to go through with his duties.

Some persons began now to feel alarmed at the manner in which these proceedings multiplied, or were disgusted at the injustice which they exhibited, though for some time it was dangerous to express such sentiments. One John Willard, who had been employed to arrest those accused, refused to perform the office any longer, and he was immediately cried out upon by the accusers. He sought safety in flight, but he was pursued and overtaken, and he was one of those executed with Burroughs. Giles Cory was brought up for trial on the 16th of September, but indignant at the injustice which was shown to others, he refused to plead, and he was pressed to death. In the infliction of this punishment his tongue was forced out of his mouth, and the unfeeling sheriff forced it in again with his cane as the victim lay in the agonies of death. On the 22d of September, eight more were executed; on their way to the place of execution the cart which conveyed them was upset, and the "afflicted" declared that the devil accompanied the cart, and that he overthrew it in order to retard their punishment.

Nineteen individuals had now been hanged, in addition to the man who was pressed to death, and the magistrates themselves seem to have been anxious to find some justification for their conduct. Thereupon Cotton Mather at the express desire of the governor, prepared for the press reports of seven of the trials,

and justified them by examples taken from the similar trials in England, and by the doctrines of the English writers in favor of the prosecutions for this crime. His book, entitled, "More Wonders of the Invisible World," was published in the month of October. The persecution received a check at this time from another circumstance. Mr. Hale, minister of Beverley, had been one of the warmest promoters of these prosecutions; but in the month of October, the accusers, who were now aiming at more respectable people than at first, cried out upon this minister's wife. As he and his friends were fully convinced of her purity and innocence, this charge was treated as absurd, but it convinced Mr. Hale and others of the injustice of the whole proceedings. Still the leaders of the persecution persisted in their course, and to get over this serious difficulty, they raised the question whether the devil could assume the "shape" or spectre of a good person to afflict his victims. Increase Mather, the principal of Harvard college, was requested to treat this question, which he did very learnedly, in a book entitled, "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft, and Evil Spirits personating Men," resolving it in the affirmative. People's faith, however, was so far shaken by these latter occurrences, that though the accusations continued, and new arrests were made daily, there were no more executions. The persecutors, disappointed in their thirst after the blood of their own species, now vented their rage upon inferior animals. A dog was strangely afflicted at Salem, upon which those who had the spectral sight declared that a brother of one of the justices afflicted the poor animal, by riding upon it invisibly. The man made his escape, but the dog was very unjustly hanged. Another dog was accused of afflicting others, who fell into fits the moment it looked upon them, and it also was killed.

The infection was now communicated from Salem to other places. "About this time," says one of the writers of these events, "a new scene began. One Joseph Ballard, of Andover, whose wife was ill, sent to Salem for some of those accusers, to tell him who afflicted his wife; others did the like. Horse and man were sent from several places to fetch those accusers who had the spectral sight, that they might thereby tell who afflicted those that were any way ill. When these came into any place where such were, usually they fell into a fit; after which, being asked who was it that afflicted the person, they would for the most part name one who they said sat on the head and another that sat on the lower part of the afflicted. More than fifty people of Ando-

ver were thus complained of for afflicting their neighbors. Here it was that many accused themselves of riding upon poles through the air; many parents believed their children to be witches, and many husbands their wives."

At Andover the accusations multiplied so rapidly, that a justice of the peace of that place, named Dudley Bradstreet, after committing thirty or forty, became alarmed, and refused to grant any more warrants. The afflcted now cried upon the justice and his wife; they said that he had killed nine persons by witchcraft, and they declared that they saw the ghosts of the murdered people hovering about him. Justice Bradstreet saw how things were going, and judged it advisable to make his escape. Soon after this, they cried out against a gentleman of Boston, who immediately obtained a writ of arrest against his accusers on a charge of defamation, and laid his damages at a thousand pounds. This bold proceeding did more than anything else to stop the accusations, which from that time began to fall into discredit. Some of those who had confessed, retracted their confessions. On the 3d of January, 1693, in the superior court of Salem, of fifty-six bills of indictment containing charges of this kind, thirty were ignored, and of the other six-and-twenty, when they were put on their trial, three only were found guilty. At the end of January, seven who lay under condemnation were reprieved.

About the month of April, Governor Phipps was recalled, and he signalized his departure by setting at liberty all the prisoners charged with witchcraft. They amounted at this time to about a hundred and fifty, of whom fifty had confessed themselves witches. About two hundred more had been accused, who were not yet placed under arrest. The people of Salem expected the worse consequences from this, as they considered it mistaken leniency, and they were astonished to find that the moment the accusations were discountenanced, there were no more afflicted —the witchcraft ceased. People in general now began to reflect, were convinced of their error, and lamented it. Seized with remorse, their resentment fell first and principally on Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem village, with whom the accusations commenced; many of his congregation withdrew from his communion, and they drew up articles against him. The disputes between the minister and his people lasted two or three years, and although he acknowledged his mistakes, and professed that he should be far from acting again upon the same principles, they were not satisfied till he left them. In a strong remonstrance against him, they enumerated the setting afloat of these accusa-

tions as his principal crime, and declared their opinion that, "by these practices and principles, he had been the beginner and precursor of the sorest afflictions, not to this village only, but to this whole country, that ever did befall them."

Some persons persisted in believing in the witchcraft, and in Satan's active agency in this affair, though they acknowledged that the accusations had been carried too far; and among these were the two Mathers. Before the conclusion of the year an opportunity occurred for reviving the subject. On the 10th of September, 1693, a girl at Boston, named Margaret Rule, was seized with convulsions, and stated that she was visited by eight spectres, some of which she recognised as being those of persons she knew. Cotton Mather visited her, professed himself convinced of the truth of her statement, and would soon have raised up a new flame. But there was an influential and intelligent merchant of Boston, named Robert Calef, who also visited Margaret Rule, and who formed a totally different opinion to that expressed by Cotton Mather, whose doctrine of witchcraft he controverted, and he gained the better in the argument. From a book published by Calef, at Boston, under the title of "More Wonders of the Invisible World," we obtain the best and most intelligible account of the extraordinary proceedings at Salem and Andover.

From this time we hear no more of witches in New England. Ashamed of their weakness, the people of Salem seem to have brooded over their past folly for several years. On the 17th of December, 1696, a fast was proclaimed, one of the reasons for which was, "That God would show us what we knew not, and help us wherein we have done amiss to do so no more; and especially that whatever mistakes on either hand had been fallen into, either by the body of this people, or any orders of men, referring to the late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments through the awful judgment of God, he would humble us therefore, and pardon all the errors of his servants." At this fast one of the judges stood up to declare publicly his remorse for the part he had taken in these lamented transactions. The jurors signed a paper also proclaiming their repentance, and ending with the declaration, "That we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds; and do therefore humbly beg forgiveness, first of God, for Christ's sake, for this our error; and pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourselves or others; and we also pray that we may be considered candidly,

and aright, by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in, matters of that nature." The delusion was further exposed by voluntary confessions of those who had previously confessed themselves witches, which they declared they had done only to save their lives. The following declaration, signed by several of the women who had acted as accusers, no doubt acquaints us with the secret of many of the witch-delusions in England. "Joseph Ballard of Andover's wife being sick," say they, "he either from himself, or the advice of others, fetched two of the persons called the afflicted persons from Salem village to Andover, which was the cause of that dreadful calamity which befell us at Andover. We were blindfolded, and our hands were laid on the afflicted persons, they being in their fits, and falling into these fits at our coming into their presence, and then they said that we were guilty of afflicting them, whereupon we were all seized as prisoners by a warrant from the justice of the peace, and forthwith carried to Salem; and by reason of that sudden surprisal, we knowing ourselves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly astonished, and amazed, and consternated, and affrighted out of our reason; and our dearest relations seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, they out of tender love and pity, persuaded us to confess what we did confess; and, indeed, that confession was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that we were so, and our understanding, and our reason, and our faculties, being almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition; as also the hard measures they used with us rendered us incapable of making any defence, but we said anything and everything they desired, and most of what we said was, in fact, but a consenting to what they said."

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONCLUSION.

THE narrative of Satan's doings in New England may be looked upon as an appropriate conclusion to an historical sketch of the prosecutions for witchcraft. We see here combined in one short act the sudden force exercised by the superstition over the popular mind, the disasters to which it led, and the final triumph of good sense and honest feelings in dispelling the illusion. It was that good sense which was now overcoming popular ignorance in most of the countries of Europe.

In France, where in the earlier period the persecution of witches was most intense, the same circumstances had not existed to keep it up as in England and Scotland. With the exception of several cases of pretended possession, intrigues of the catholic priesthood, who thus practised on the credulity of the populace, which occurred at this time, we hear little of witchcraft in France during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The belief still existed among the peasantry, who, when blights and diseases fell upon their produce or stock unexpectedly, were too apt to ascribe it to such agency, but they were discountenanced by the better classes of society. In 1672, a great number of shepherds were arrested in Normandy, on a charge of witchcraft, and prosecuted before the parliament of Rouen; but when the king was informed of it, he at once put a stop to the process by an order of council, directing the prisoners to be set at liberty This proceeding on the part of the king had the immediate effect *de faire taire le demon!* Yet a similar accusation was brought against the shepherds of Brie in 1691.

Still the belief existed in sufficient force to admit of its being used as an instrument for indulging personal animosity, and that between a minister of the crown and one of the most distinguished and celebrated of the maréchals of Louis XIV. There lived at Paris four men who professed to be magicians, and pretended to be able to raise the devil at will; they told people's fortunes, helped them to recover things stolen or lost, and sold powders and unguents. Their names were Lavoisin, Lavigoureux, and his brother, the latter a priest, and another priest named Lesage. In the year 1680, these men were arrested, and as the

crimes in which they and many others were involved had usually been punished by burning, a tribunal was appointed to sit at the arsenal, under the title of a *chambre ardente*. Although few fires were eventually lit by the judgments of this court, a great number of persons were more or less compromised, and many of them belonging to the highest classes of society. Among them were two nieces of Cardinal Mazarin; the countess of Soissons, who was cited before this tribunal, was so far implicated, that she was obliged to leave Paris and retire to Brussels. Most of these personages were probably led to consult the conjurers more by curiosity than from any other motive, and the whole matter was made a subject of ridicule and raillery in the fashionable world. When the duchess of Bouillon, who was one of the ladies implicated in this affair, was examined before the *chambre ardente*, one of the judges, La Reynie, who was not remarkable for beauty or politeness, asked her if she had seen the devil, and what he was like; she replied, "Yes, I see him now; he is *fort laid et fort vilain*, and appears in the disguise of a conseiller d'état!"

It appears that the maréchal de Luxembourg had employed Lesage to draw his horoscope, and thus the name of this great man was introduced into the process. Louvois was at that time prime-minister of France, and having some cause of hostility against the maréchal, he determined to make this an opportunity for indulging his animosity, and the maréchal de Luxembourg was thrown into the Bastile. It appears that one of the maréchal's agents named Bonard, had lost some papers of consequence belonging to his employer, and that, unable to discover any traces of them, he had consulted the priest Lesage, who instructed him how he was to visit the churches, recite psalms, and make confessions. Bonard did all this, but still he was as far from recovering his papers as ever. Then Lesage told him that a girl named Dupin knew something about them, and under his directions, Bonard performed a conjuration to force her to bring them back, but without effect. Upon this it appears that Bonard had obtained the maréchal's signature to a paper which turned out to be a compact with Satan, and which was produced at the trial. It would seem that the maréchal had been concerned in some intrigue with the girl Dupin. Lesage deposed that the maréchal had addressed himself to him, and through him to the devil, to effect the death of this girl, who perhaps had been murdered, for men were brought forward who confessed themselves the assassins, and who declared that, by order of the maréchal de Luxem-

bourg, they had cut her in pieces and thrown the fragments into the river. The maréchal was confronted with Lesage, and with another priest and conjurer named Davaux, with whom he was accused of practising sorcery, for the purpose of killing more than one person. But he rebutted all these and other charges with indignation, and, instead of bringing him to a trial, Louvois caused him to be kept in close confinement, and took care that the process should be carried on as slowly as possible. It was only after fourteen months of imprisonment that he was set at liberty; the accusations were dropped without any judgment, and he was restored to favor and to the high offices he had previously held. The four magicians were less fortunate, for they had all been burnt.

France had, however, the honor of leading the way in discouraging prosecutions of this kind. The irreligion and skepticism of the court of Charles II., contributed no doubt toward producing the same effect in England, where many, who before ventured only to doubt, now hesitated not to treat the subject with ridicule. Although works like those of Baxter and Glanvill had still their weight with many people, yet, in the controversy which was now carried on upon this subject through the instrumentality of the press, those who wrote against the popular creed had certainly the best of the argument. Still it happened from their form and character that the books written to expose the absurdity of the belief in sorcery, were restricted in their circulation to the more educated classes, while popular tracts in defence of witchcraft, and collections of cases were printed in a cheaper form, and widely distributed among that class in society where the belief was most firmly rooted. The effect of these popular publications has continued in some districts down to the present day. Thus the press, the natural tendency of which was to enlighten mankind, was made to increase ignorance by pandering to the superstitions of the multitude.

An instance of the continuance of the belief which had in former times produced the sacrifice of so much human life, occurred at the beginning of the year 1712, in the village of Walkern, in the north of the county of Hertford. There was a poor woman in that town named Jane Wenham, who, it appears, had for some time been looked upon by the more ignorant of her neighbors as a witch. When the horses or cattle of the farmers of that parish died, they usually ascribed their losses to this woman's sorcery. This was particularly the case with a farmer named John Chapman, one of whose laborers, named Matthew Gilson, examined on the

fourteenth of February, declared, "that on New Year's day last past, he carrying straw upon a fork from Mrs. Gardiner's barn, met Jane Wenham, who asked him for some straw, which he refused to give her; then she said she would take some, and accordingly took some away from this informant. And further, this informant saith, that on the 29th of January last, when this informant was thrashing in the barn of his master, John Chapman, an old woman in a riding-hood or cloak, he knows not which, came to the barn-door, and asked him for a pennyworth of straw; he told her he could give her none, and she went away muttering. And this informant saith, that after the woman was gone he was not able to work, but ran out of the barn as far as a place called Munder's hill (which was above three miles from Walkern), and asked at a house there for a pennyworth of straw, and they refused to give him any; he went further to some dung-heaps, and took some straw thence, and pulled off his shirt, and brought it home in his shirt; he knows not what moved him to this, but says he was forced to it he knows not how." Another witness declared that he saw Matthew Gilson returning with the straw in his shirt; that he moved along at a great pace, and that instead of passing over a bridge, he walked straight through the water.

John Chapman conceived now that his suspicions were fully verified, and meeting Jane Wenham soon afterward, he applied to her in anger several offensive epithets, of which that of "witch" was the least opprobrious. On the 9th of February, Jane Wenham made her complaint to Sir Henry Chauncy, who was a magistrate, and obtained a warrant against Chapman for defamation. In the sequel, at the recommendation of this magistrate, the quarrel between Jane Wenham and the farmer was referred to the decision of the minister of Walkern, the Rev. Mr. Gardiner, who appears to have spoken somewhat harshly to the woman, advising her to live more peaceably with her neighbors, and condemned Chapman to pay her one shilling.

As far as we can see, Jane Wenham took the most sensible course to retrieve herself from the imputation of being a witch; but Mr. Gardiner, although a clergyman of the church of England, was as firm a believer in witchcraft as Farmer Chapman, and he fancied that he had provoked the poor woman by not giving her the justice she expected. His judgment was delivered in the kitchen of the parsonage-house, where a maid-servant, between sixteen and seventeen years of age, named Anne Thorn, was sitting by the fireside, who had put her knee out the even-

ing before, and had just had it set. It appears that the supposed witch resolved to take vengeance on this poor girl for the offence committed by her master. Jane Wenham and Chapman were gone, and Mr. Gardiner had entered the parlor to his wife, accompanied by a neighbor named Bragge. These three persons deposed at the subsequent trial, that "Mr Gardiner had not been in the parlor with his wife and Mr. Bragge above six or seven minutes at most since he left Anne Thorn sitting by the fire, when he heard a strange yelling noise in the kitchen, and when he went out and found this Anne Thorne stripped to her shirt sleeves, howling and wringing her hands in a dismal manner, and speechless, he calling out, Mrs. Gardiner and Mr. Bragge came immediately to him. Mrs. Gardiner seeing her servant in that sad condition, asked her what was the matter with her. She not being able to speak, pointed earnestly at a bundle which lay at her feet, which Mrs. Gardiner took up and unpinned, and found it to be the girl's gown and apron, and a parcel of oaken twigs with dead leaves wrapped up therein. As soon as this bundle was opened, Anne Thorn began to speak, crying out, 'I 'm ruined and undone;' and after she had a little recovered herself, gave the following relation of what had befallen her. She said when she was left alone she found a strange roamiug in her hand (I use her own expressions); her mind ran upon Jane Wenham, and she thought she must run some whither; that accordingly she ran up the close, but looked back several times at the house, thinking she should never see it more; that she climbed over a five-bar gate, and ran along the highway up a hill; that there she met two of John Chapman's men, one of whom took hold of her hand, saying, she should go with them; but she was forced away from them, not being able to speak, either to them, or to one Daniel Chapman, whom, she said, she met on horseback, and would fain have spoken to him, but could not; then she made her way toward Cromer, as far as a place called Hockney lane, where she looked behind her, and saw a little old woman muffled in a riding-hood, who asked her whither she was going. She answered, to Cromer to fetch some sticks to make her a fire; the old woman told her there were now no sticks at Cromer, and bade her go to that oak-tree, and pluck some thence, which she did, and laid them upon the ground. The old woman bade her pull off her gown and apron, and wrap the sticks in them, and asked her whether she had e'er a pin. Upon her answering she had none, the old woman gave her a large crooked pin, bade her pin up her bundle, and then vanished away; after

which she ran home with her bundle of sticks, and sat down in the kitchen stripped, as Mr. Gardiner found her. This is the substance of what she related, upon which Mrs. Gardiner cried out, 'The girl has been in the same condition with Chapman's man; but we will burn the witch;' alluding to a received notion, that when the thing bewitched is burned the witch is forced to come in; accordingly she took the sticks, together with the pin, and threw them into the fire. Immediately, in the instant, that the sticks were flaming, Jane Wenham came into the room, and inquired for Elizabeth, the mother of Anne Thorne, saying she had an errand to do to her from Ardley Bury (Sir Henry Chauncey's house), to wit, that she must go thither to wash the next day. Now this Mother Thorne had been in the house all the time that Jane Wenham was there with John Chapman, and heard nothing of it, and was then gone home. Mrs. Gardiner bad Jane Wenham go to Elizabeth Thorne, and tell her there was work enough for her there; on which she departed. And upon inquiry made afterward, it was found that she never was ordered to deliver any such errand from Ardley Bury."

Here was an excellent groundwork for an accusation of witchcraft. Chapman's two men, and the horseman, deposed to meeting Anne Thorne on the road, as she described; and others of Jane Wenham's enemies testified that other people had been bewitched by her. All received encouragement from the readiness of the clergyman to promote the persecution, and a warrant was obtained from Sir Henry Chauncey to arrest the supposed witch. The examinations were taken before Sir Henry, at Ardley Bury, and he directed four women to search Jane Wenham's body for marks, but none were found. Next day the examination was continued, and the evidence of the Gardiners was taken. Jane Wenham expressed her horror of being sent to jail, earnestly protested her innocence, entreating Mrs. Gardiner not to swear against her, and offering to submit to trial by swimming in the water. Sir Henry, who seems to have yielded to the prejudices of the prosecutors in most things, refused to allow of this mode of trial. But the vicar of Ardley, no less superstitious than the rector of Walkern, tried her with the Lord's Prayer, which she repeated incorrectly, and he subsequently induced her, by fright and torment, to confess that she was a witch and had intercourse with Satan, and to accuse three women of Walkern as her confederates, who were also put under arrest.

Jane Wenham was now committed, and her trial came on on the 4th of March, before Justice Powell, when no less than six-

teen witnesses, among whom were three clergymen, were heard against the prisoner. The lawyers refused to draw up the indictment for any other charge than that of "conversing with the devil in the form of a cat," which, to the great anger of the prosecutors, threw an air of ridicule over the whole proceeding. Yet upon this indictment, in spite of her declarations of innocence, the Hertfordshire jury found her guilty. The judge was obliged to pronounce sentence of death, as a matter of form; but he subsequently obtained her pardon, and a gentleman of more enlightened mind than the people of Walkern, Colonel Plummer, of Gilston in the same county, took her under his protection, and placed her in a cottage near his own house, where she passed the rest of her life in a quiet inoffensive manner.

Few events of this kind have caused a greater sensation than the case of Jane Wenham. The report of the trial passed through several editions in a few days, and gave rise to a very bitter controversy, in which several clergymen joined in the cry against the innocent victim. The dispute seems to have become in some degree identified with the bitter animosities then existing between the church and the dissenters—it was just the time when the intolerant party, with their hero Sacheverell, had gained the upper hand, and they seemed not unwilling to recall into force even the old degrading belief in witchcraft, if they could make it an instrument for effecting their purposes. But the most important result of this trial, and the controversy to which it gave rise, was the publication, two or three years afterward, of the "Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft," by the king's chaplain in ordinary, Dr. Francis Hutchinson. This book may be considered as the last blow at witchcraft, which from this time found credit only among the most ignorant part of the population.

The case of Jane Wenham is the last instance of a witch being condemned by the verdict of an English jury. When the prosecutors were no longer listened to in courts of justice, they either ceased to find objects of pursuit, or they appealed for judgment to the passions of the uneducated peasantry. An occurrence of this kind, no less brutal than tragical, is said to have led to the final repeal of the witchcraft act. The scene is again laid in Hertfordshire. In the middle of the last century, there lived at Tring, in that county, a poor man and his wife of the name of Osborne, each about seventy years of age. During the rebellion of 'forty-five, Mother Osborne, as she was popularly called, went to one Butterfield, who kept a dairy at Gubblecot, to beg for some buttermilk, but he said with great brutality that he had not enough

for his hogs. The old woman, provoked by this treatment, went away, telling him that the pretender would soon have him and his hogs too. The connection with what followed perhaps arose from the popular outcry which had long coupled the pretender with Satan. Some time afterward, some of Butterfield's calves became distempered, and the ignorant people of the neighborhood, who had heard the story of the buttermilk, declared that they were bewitched by Mother Osborne. In course of time Butterfield left his dairy, and took a public-house in the same village, where, about the beginning of the year 1751, he was troubled with fits, and, although he had been subject to similar fits in former times, these also were now ascribed to Mother Osborne. He was persuaded that the doctors could do him no good, and was advised to send for an old woman out of Northamptonshire, a white witch, who had the reputation of being skilful in counteracting the effects of sorcery. This woman confirmed the opinion already afloat of the cause of Butterfield's disorder, and she directed that six men should watch his house day and night, with staves, pitchforks, and other weapons, at the same time hanging something about their necks, which she said was a charm to secure them from being bewitched themselves. This produced, as might be expected, no effect, and the accusation might have dropped; but some persons, desirous of collecting together a large number of persons with a lucrative object, caused notice to be given at several of the market-towns around that witches were to be tried by ducking, at Longmarston, on the 22d of April. The consequence was that a vast concourse of people assembled at Tring, on the day announced. The parish officers had removed the old couple from the workhouse into the church, for security; upon which the mob, after searching in vain the workhouse, and even looking into the salt-box to see if the witch had transformed herself into any diminutive form that could be concealed there, exhibited their disappointment in breaking the windows, pulling down the pales, and demolishing a part of the house. They then seized upon the governor, and collecting together a quantity of straw, threatened to drown him and set fire to the town, unless the unfortunate couple were delivered up to them. Fear at length induced the parish officers to yield, and the two wretches were stripped stark naked by the mob, their thumbs tied to their toes, and thus, each wrapped in a loose sheet, they were dragged two miles, and thrown into a muddy stream. A chimney-sweeper, named Colley, one of the ringleaders, seeing that the poor woman did not sink, went into the pond and turned her over sev-

eral times with a stick, by which her body slipped out of the sheet and was exposed naked. In this condition, and half choked with mud, she was thrown on the bank, and there kicked and beaten till she expired. Her husband died also of the injuries he had received. The man who had superintended these brutal proceedings went round to the crowd collecting money for the amusement he had afforded them! The coroner's inquest brought a verdict of wilful murder against several persons by name, but the only one brought to justice was the sweep Colley, who was executed, and afterward hung in chains, for the murder of Ruth Osborne.

From this time witchcraft has attracted no attention in England, except as a vulgar superstition in some rude localities where the schoolmaster had not yet penetrated. In Scotland the struggle between superstition and common sense continued longer and more obstinate. A few of the later cases of Scottish sorcery were collected by George Sinclair, in a little book published in the beginning of the last century, under the title of "Satan's Invisible World Discovered" One or two of these will serve to show the form which witchcraft assumed in Scotland at the time when it was falling into discredit among men of education.

There was a man named Sandie Hunter, who called himself Sandie Hamilton, but was better known by the nickname of Hattaraick, given him, it seems, by the devil. He was first a "noltherd" in East Lothian, but he had assumed the character of a conjurer, curing men and beasts by spells and charms. "His charms sometimes succeeded, sometimes not." However, the extent of Hattaraick's practices seems to have raised the jealousy of Satan. "On a day herding his kine upon a hill-side in the summer-time, the devil came to him in the form of a medeciner, and said, 'Sandie, you have too long followed my trade, and never acknowledged me for your master; you must now take with me, and be my servant, and I will make you more perfect in your calling.' Whereupon the man gave up himself to the devil, and received his mark, with this new name. After this he grew very famous through the country, for his charming, and curing of diseases in men and beasts, and turned a vagrant fellow, like a jockey, gaining meal, and flesh, and money, by his charms; such was the ignorance of many at the time, whatever house he came to, none durst refuse Hattaraick an alms, rather for his ill than his good. One day he came to the yait *(gate)* of Samuelston, when some friends after dinner were going to horse, a young gentleman, brother to the lady, seeing him,

switched him about the ears, saying. 'You warlock cairle, what have you to do here?' Whereupon the fellow goes away grumbling, and was overheard say, 'You shall dear buy this ere it be long.' This was *damnum minatum*. The young gentleman conveyed his friends a way off, and came home that way again, where he supped. After supper, taking his horse, and crossing Tyne water to go home, he rode through a shady piece of haugh, commonly called Cotters, and the evening being somewhat dark, he met with some persons there that begat a dreadful consternation in him, which, for the most part, he would never reveal. This was *malum secutum*. When he came home, the servants observed terror and fear in his countenance. The next day he became distracted, and was bound for several days. His sister, the lady Samuelston, hearing of it, was heard say, 'Surely that knave Hattaraick is the cause of his trouble, call for him in all haste.' When he had come to her, 'Sandie,' said she, 'what is this you have done to my brother William?'—'I told him,' says he, 'I should make him repent his striking of me at the yait lately.' She giving the rogue fair words, and promising him his pock full of meal, with beef and cheese, persuaded the fellow to cure him again. He undertook the business, 'but I must first,' says he, 'have one of his sarks;' which was soon gotten. What pranks he played with it can not be known; but within a short while the gentleman recovered his health. When Hattaraick came to receive his wages, he told the lady, 'Your brother William shall quickly go off the country, but shall never return.' She knowing the fellow's prophesies to hold true, caused her brother to make a disposition to her of all his patrimony, to the defrauding of his younger brother, George. After that this warlock had abused the country for a long time, he was at last apprehended at Dunbar, and brought into Edinburgh, and burnt upon the castle hill."

Another extraordinary case occurred about the end of August, 1696. One Christian Shaw, the daughter of John Shaw, of Bargarran, in the shire of Renfrew, about eleven years of age, perceiving one of the maids of the house, named Catharine Campbell, to steal and drink some milk, she told her mother of it. Whereupon the maid, "being of a proud and revengeful humor, and a great curser and swearer, did, in a great rage, thrice imprecate the curse of God upon the child, and utter these words, 'the devil harle your soul through hell!' On Friday following, one Agnes Nasmith came to Bargarran's house where she asked the said Christian how the lady and young child were, and how old

the young child was. To which Christian replied, 'What do I know?' Then Agnes asked, how herself did, and how old she was. To which she answered that she was well, and in the eleventh year of her age. On Saturday night thereafter, the child went to bed in good health; but so soon as she was asleep, she began to cry, 'Help, help;' and did fly over the resting-bed where she was lying, with such violence, that her brains had been dashed out, if a woman had not broken the force of the child's motion, and remained as if she had been dead, for the space of half an hour. After this she was troubled with sore pains, except in some short intervals, and when any of the people present touched any part of her body, she did cry and screech with such vehemence, as if they had been killing her, but would not speak. Some days thereafter she fell a crying that Catharine Campbell and Agnes Nasmith were cutting her side and other parts of her body. In this condition she continued a month, with some variation, both as to the fits and intervals. She did thrust out of her mouth parcels of hair, some curled, some plaited, some knotted, of different colors, and in large quantities, and likewise coal cinders, which were so hot that they could scarcely be handled. One of which Dr. Brisbane, being by her when she took it out of her mouth, felt it to be hotter than any one's body could make it. The girl continued a long time in this condition, till the government began to take notice of it, and gave commission to some honorable gentlemen for the trials of those two, and several others concerned in these practices; and being brought before the judges, two of their accomplices confessed the crime; whereupon they were condemned and executed."

Somewhere about the same time an equally strange affair occurred at the town of Pittenweem, in Fife, which may also be told in the words of Sinclair. "Peter Mortòn, a smith at Pittenweem, being desired by one Beatie Laing to do some work for her, which he refused, excusing himself in respect he had been pre-engaged to serve a ship with nails, within a certain time; so that till he had finished that work, he could not engage in any other; that notwithstanding the said Beatie Laing declared herself dissatisfied, and vowed revenge. The said Peter Morton afterward being indisposed, coming by the door, saw a small vessel full of water, and a coal of fire 'slockened' in the water; so perceiving an alteration in his health, and remembering Beatie Laing's threatenings, he presently suspects devilry in the matter, and quarels the thing. Thereafter, finding his indisposition growing worse and worse, being tormented and pricked

as with bodkins and pins, he openly lays the blame upon witchcraft, and accused Beatie Laing. He continued to be tormented, and she was, by warrant, apprehended, with others in Pittenweem. No natural reason could be given for his distemper, his face and neck being dreadfully distorted, his back prodigiously rising and falling, his belly swelling and falling on a sudden, his joints pliable, and constantly so stiff as no human power could bow them. Beatie Laing and her hellish companions being in custody, were brought to the room where he was, and his face covered, he told his tormenters were in the room, naming them. And though formerly no confession had been made, Beatie Laing confessed her crime, and accused several others as accessories. The said Beatie having confessed her compact with the devil, and using of spells, and particularly her 'slockening' the coal in water, she named her associates in revenge against Peter Morton, viz., Janet Cornfoot, Lillie Wallace, and Lawson, who had framed a picture of wax, and every one of the forenamed persons having put their pin in the picture for torture. They could not tell what had become of the image, but thought the devil had stolen it, whom they had seen in the prison. Beatie Laing likewise said, that one Isobel Adams, a young lass, was also in compact with the devil. This woman was desired to see with Beatie, which she refused; and Beatie let her see a man at the other end of the table, who appeared as a gentleman, and promised her all prosperity in the world; she promised her service to him, and he put his mark on her flesh, which was very painful. She was shortly after ordered to attend the company, to go to one MacGrigor's house, to murder him; he awaking when they were there, and recommending himself to God, they were forced to withdraw. This Isobel Adams appeared ingenuous, and very penitent in her confessions; she said, he who forgave Manasseh's witchcrafts might forgive hers also; and died very penitent, and *to the satisfaction of many*. This Beatie Laing was suspected by her husband, long before she was laid in prison by warrant of the magistrates. The occasion was thus: she said, that she had packs of very good wool, which she instantly sold, and coming home with a black horse which she had with her, they drinking till it was late in the night ere they came home, that man said, 'What shall I do with the horse?' She replied, 'Cast the bridle on his neck, and you will be quit of him;' and, as her husband thought, the horse flew with a great noise away in the air. They were, by a complaint to the privy council, prosecuted by her majesty's advocate, in 1704, but all set at liberty

save one who died in Pittenweem. Beatie Laing died undesired, in her bed, in St. Andrews; all the rest died miserable and violent deaths."

So says Mr. George Sinclair, who has, however, omitted to inform us of the most frightful part of this story. Janet Cornfoot, one of the persons accused, made her escape from prison, but she was recaptured, and brought back to Pittenweem, where, falling into the hands of a ferocious mob, they pelted her with stones, swung her on a rope extended from a ship to the shore, and at length put an end to her sufferings by throwing a door over her as she lay exhausted on the beach, and heaping stones on it till she was pressed to death. This was the woman who, according to Sinclair, "died in Pittenweem." The magistrates had made no attempt to rescue the miserable woman from the hands of her tormentors, and they were now violently attacked in print for their conduct, and were as warmly defended by some advocates. The agitation on the subject of the union with England contributed to the impunity with which the murderers escaped. But the controversy it occasioned, joined with the horror which such a barbarous outrage excited, tended more than anything else to open people's eyes in Scotland to the absurdity and wickedness of the prosecutions for witchcraft. It required, however, a few more instances, remarkable chiefly for their absurdity, to bring them entirely into discredit. In 1718, a carpenter in the shire of Caithness, named William Montgomery, was infested at night with cats, which, according to the evidence of his servant-maid, "spoke among themselves," and in a violent attack upon them with every weapon within his reach, he inflicted personal injury to a very considerable extent. Two women were believed to have died in consequence of these injuries, and a third, in a weak state, was imprisoned and compelled to confess not only that she was one of the offending cats, but to declare against a number of her confederates in witchcraft. A century earlier, no doubt this confession would have been fatal to most of the old women in the neighborhood; but times were changed, and the lord advocate, on being applied to, put a stop to all further proceedings. In 1720, some old women of Calder were imprisoned for certain pretended sorceries exercised on a boy, the son of James, Lord Torpichen, but the officers of the crown would not proceed to a trial. Yet two years later, a poor woman was burnt as a witch in the county of Sutherland, by order of the sheriff, Captain David Ross, of Littledean. This was

the last sentence of death for witchcraft that was ever passed in Scotland.

It appears that in Ireland the law against witchcraft has never been repealed, a circumstance that can only be explained on the supposition that since witchcraft began to fall into discredit it has never, or very rarely, been appealed to. In 1711, there occurred a case of witchcraft among the Scottish presbyterians of the island Magee, in Ulster, which excited so much interest, at least among the people of that persuasion, that it has been printed over and over again, the edition I have before me bearing date in 1822, upward of one hundred years after that of the event it commemorates. There is something peculiarly Irish in the story—it is a house, or rather a family, haunted by a spirit sent by witches. Mrs. Anne Hattridge was the widow of the presbyterian minister of the district just mentioned, and was living with her son, James Hattridge. At the beginning of September, 1710, the house began to be disturbed by an invisible visiter, who threw stones and turf about, pulled the pillows and bed-clothes off the bed, and played a variety of other disagreeable pranks. Once it appeared in the shape of a cat, which they killed and threw into the yard, but when they looked for the body it had disappeared. "There was little remarkable for several days after, unless it were that her cane would be taken away, and be missing several days together; until the 11th of December, 1710, when the aforesaid Mrs. Hattridge was sitting at the kitchen fire, in the evening before daylight-going, a little boy (as she and the servants supposed) came in and sat down beside her, having an old black bonnet on his head, with short black hair, a half-worn blanket about him, trailing on the ground behind him, and a torn black vest under it. He seemed to be about ten or twelve years old, but he still covered his face, holding his arm with a piece of the blanket before it. She desired to see his face but he took no notice of her. Then she asked him several questions; viz., if he was cold or hungry; if he would have any meat; where he came from, and whither he was going. To which he made no answer, but getting up, danced very nimbly, leaping higher than usual, and then ran out of the house as far as the end of the garden, and sometimes into the cow-house, the servants running after him to see where he would go, but soon lost sight of him; but when they returned, he would be close after them in the house, which he did above a dozen times. At last, the little girl seeing her master's dog coming in, said, 'Now my master is coming, he will take a course with this troublesome creature;' upon

which he immediately went away, and troubled them no more till the month of February, 1711."

On the 11th of February, a volume of sermons that Mrs. Hatridge was reading, suddenly disappeared in an unaccountable manner. "Next day, the apparition formerly mentioned, came to the house, and after having broken a quarry of glass in the kitchen window, on the side of the house, next the garden, he thrust in his arm with the book in his hand open, and entered into a conference with a girl of the house, called Margaret Spear, the particulars of which are as follows:—

"*Apparition.* Do you want a book?

"*Girl.* No.

"*Appar.* How come you to lie? for this is the book which the old gentlewoman wanted *(lost)* yesterday.

"*Girl.* How came you by it?

"*Appar.* I went down quietly to the parlor, when you were all in the kitchen, and found it lying upon a shelf, with a bible and a pair of spectacles.

"*Girl.* How came it that you did not take the Bible too?

"*Appar.* It was too heavy to carry.

"*Girl.* Will you give it back? for my mistress can't want it any longer.

"*Appar.* No, she shall never get it again.

"*Girl.* Can you read on it?

"*Appar.* Yes.

"*Girl.* Who taught you?

"*Appar.* The devil taught me.

"*Girl.* The Lord bless me from thee! thou hast got ill lear *(learning)*.

"*Appar.* Ay, bless yourself twenty times, but that shall not save you.

"*Girl.* What will you do to us? (Mr. Hattridge's son, about eight years of age, was with her at the time.)

"Upon which it pulled out a sword and thrust it in at the window, and said it would kill all in the house with that sword; at which the child said, 'Meg, let us go into the room and bar the door, for fear it should kill us,' which they did; then it jeered them, saying, 'Now you think you are safe enough, but I'll get in yet.'

"What way? for we have the street-door shut.

"*Appar.* I can come in by the least hole in the house, like a cat or mouse, for the devil can make me anything I please.

"*Girl.* God bless me from thee, for thou art no earthly creature if you can do that.

"Upon which it took up a stone of considerable bigness, and threw it in at the parlor-window, which upon trial could not be put out at the same place, and then went away for a little time. A little after, the girl and one of the children came out of the parlor to the kitchen, and looking out of the window, saw the apparition catching a turkey-cock, which he threw over his shoulder, holding him by the tail; and the cock making a great splutter with his feet, the book before mentioned was, as they thought, spurred out of the loop of the blanket he had about him; but he, taking no notice, run along the side of the house, and leaped, with the cock on his back, over a wall at the west end of the garden, leaping a great deal higher than the wall. The girl, thinking this a good opportunity to get the book, told Mrs. Hattridge; upon which she, with the girl and a little boy, went to the garden, and got the book, without any harm done to it. At the same time they looked about the garden and fields adjoining, but could see nobody. There was no other person about the house at that time except children. A little after, the girl went to the window in the parlor, and looking out of the casement, saw the apparition again, with the turkey-cock lying on its back before him, he endeavoring to get his sword drawn to kill it, as she apprehended, but the cock got away. It then looked for the book in the loop of the blanket, and missing it, as she apprehended, threw away the blanket, and ran nimbly up and down upon the search for it. A little after, it came back with a club, and broke the glass of the side window in the parlor, and then went to the end window, through which the girl was looking, and pulled off the casement glass (not leaving one whole quarry in it), and left it lying on the south side of the garden. A little after, the girl ventured to look out of the broken window, and saw it as it were digging near the end of the house with the sword. She asked what he was doing? He answered, 'Making a grave.'

"*Girl.* For whom?

"*Appar.* For a corpse which will come out of this house very soon.

"*Girl.* Who will it be?

"*Appar.* I 'll not tell you that yet. Is your master at home?

"*Girl.* Yes.

"*Appar.* How can you lie? he is abroad, and is dead fourteen days ago.

"*Girl.* Of what sickness did he die?

"*Appar.* I'll not tell you that.

"After this it went over the hedge, as if it had been a bird flying. Some persons of the neighborhood came in immediately after, and being told, made a diligent search, but nothing could be seen. Thus it continued from eight in the morning till two or three in the afternoon, throwing a great many stones, turf, etc., in at the windows, to the great terror of those in the house."

Not long after this old Mrs. Hattridge was taken ill, and died. But the spirit still haunted the house, and tormented a young lady, a relative of the family, who had come to live there. Mary Dunbar, for this was her name, was seized with a strange disease on the 28th of February, accompanied with fits, in the course of which she had the spectral vision, as it was called, of certain women of the neighborhood, who she said, had sent thither the tormenting spirit. All the other symptoms usually exhibited by persons bewitched followed in due course, and several persons whom she accused in her trances were taken into custody and imprisoned at Carrickfergus to await their trial. The jury brought them in guilty, but they appear not to have been executed.

From this time, in Europe at least, sorcery and magic hold no longer a place in the history of mankind. The magician disappeared more rapidly than the witch, because he belonged to the class of society in which the progress of intelligence was more decided; but we have seen that, as the agitation which brought it into importance subsided, and it could no longer be made a useful instrument in political or religious warfare, sorcery became more trivial and ridiculous in its details, until it was discarded even among the vulgar.

THE END.

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'The round towers of other days,'

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"This work claims more attention than is ordinarily given to books of its class. Such is the fluency and correctness—nay, even the nicety and felicity of style—with which Madame Pulszky writes the English language, that merely in this respect the tales here collected form a curious study. But they contain also highly suggestive illustrations of national literature and character. To not a few of the 'traditions' of Hungary a living force and significance are still imparted by the practices as well as the belief of her peasantry and people, and none were better qualified than the author of this book to give familiar and pointed expression to these national traits. . . . . The pride and power of the landed noble, in contrast with the more gaudy but less real power of the court—the continual struggle of the classes in immediate proximity with the noble—and (that fancy so peculiar to rude ages in every country) the calling in of the common robber to redress the unequal social balance—are among the prominent subjects of the traditions related by Madame Pulszky with much beauty and vivacity. The tale or tradition which holds a middle place between these and the purely fantastic, is that which describes the home-life of the peasant, and, at the same time, satisfies the love of distant adventure, which he cultivates as he follows his plough."—*London Examiner.*

"Freshness of subject is invaluable in literature—Hungary is still fresh ground. It has been trodden, but it is not yet a common highway. The tales and legends are very various, from the mere traditional anecdote to the regular legend, and they have the sort of interest which all national traditions excite."—*London Leader.*

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