

IV.

TWO TRIALS FOR WITCHCRAFT. BY MISS M. A. MURRAY,
LADY ASSOCIATE.

The two following cases are well known to all students of witchcraft literature. They illustrate some of the details of that ancient religion which existed in Britain before the Roman Conquest, and which the Christian judges and clergy united to destroy. It belonged to the primitive stratum of the population, and was gradually obscured as Christianity advanced; it underlay the State religion throughout the Middle Ages and was not suppressed till the seventeenth, or even the eighteenth, century. The struggle between these two fanatical and fiercely proselytising religions was long and bitter; Christianity, however, having the law-makers on its side, was victor in the end after more than two centuries of warfare.

Many objections have been raised as to the value of the evidence given by the witches. It is argued that a questionnaire was drawn up by the inquisitors and used by all witch-hunters, hence the similarity in the accounts; also that the evidence being elicited by torture was thereby rendered valueless, for the wretched victims would recklessly accuse innocent persons. But the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the book on which the objectors base their claim as to the existence of a questionnaire, gives no details of the Sabbaths; and even under torture, the witches never accuse more than a number which makes up thirteen or a multiple of thirteen. Torture was used comparatively little, usually in cases of murder or high treason only. The objectors, who refuse to believe torture-evidence in the witch-trials, do not hesitate to accept it in political trials of the same period.

This ancient cult, to which the "witches" belonged, resolves itself, when carefully studied and the details tabulated, into one of the religions of the Lower Culture, and its ritual can be paralleled in many parts of the ancient and modern world. Its chief tenet was the belief that God was incarnate in a living human being. He was adored as the Creator and Giver of all, and it was the duty and the glory of his worshippers to serve and obey him to the utmost of their ability. When Christianity obtained sufficient power to ensure the conversion or death of all those who worshipped a different God, "witches" were brought to trial not merely for casting spells, but for "denying Christ" or "renouncing Christian baptism." Yet many adherents of the Old Religion chose the gibbet and the stake, preferring "the Devil and

hell-fire," as the Christian recorders phrase it, rather than desert their old Deity for the God of their persecutors.

Turning to the details of this hitherto-unrecognised cult, we find that, as in the case of all converts to another religion, neophytes made an explicit recantation of their previous beliefs and devoted themselves, body and soul, to the new God. This is what is meant in the witch-trials by "renouncing their baptism," and "betaking themselves to the service of the Devil." The actual ceremony is described in many trials, and follows the same lines throughout Western Europe.

Like all religions of the Lower Culture, fertility rites were common, and the prurient minds of the Christian clergy and recorders have given them an undue prominence. Every detail of such rites was elicited and recorded with the utmost minuteness; but when the cult is studied as a whole, these rites fall into their proper place as part, and a comparatively small part only, of the ritual. Equally important, though not so meticulously recorded, were the religious services and the sacred dances.

The identification of the "Devils" mentioned in various trials is an interesting point. At present, though I have succeeded in identifying several, only one is of historical interest;¹ the rest are of no importance, being little more than names. In the Torryburn case, the intimate knowledge which the Rev. Allan Logan possessed as to the persons belonging to the cult suggests that he also may have been a member, and saved himself by betraying others. Such men are found in other witchcraft trials.

In tabulating the evidence, certain local differences are visible, *e.g.* the changing of the name on admission into the cult occurs only in Scotland; even at such a little distance over the border as Wooler in Northumberland it is not found. On the other hand, the domestic familiar—cat, dog, toad, etc.—occurs only in England, usually in the eastern counties, and never further north than Lancashire.

The divining familiar, however, was common to the whole of Western Europe. When a neophyte was admitted the Devil appointed one or more species of animals or birds to be her familiars, and she was carefully instructed in the method of asking questions and "receiving responses," judging the replies by the behaviour of the animal, as was done by Roman and other augurs. In the case of Alexander Hamilton, the divining creature was a "corbie," when he required only an answer; but when he needed a concrete object, it was a man whom he consulted.

The steady decadence of the cult is visible when studied chrono-

¹ See my paper on "The Devil of North Berwick," in the *Scottish Historical Review*, 1918.

logically. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries its tenets were still held by many nobles, and the Church was not able to make many attacks upon it. In the sixteenth century the two religions fought on nearly equal terms; but Christianity had secured to itself the law-makers and the law-enforcers as well as the wealth of every European nation. The increase of power thus obtained made the Christian irresistible, and the witch-cult fell, its members fighting and enduring with a steadfast and gallant courage which, however mistaken we may consider the object, commands our admiration and respect.

I. ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

This trial is very well known from the quotations made from it by Sir Walter Scott. The record is in the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh, and is now published for the first time *in extenso*.

CURIA JUSTICIARIE S.D.N. Regis tenta in pretorio de
Edr. xxii Januarii 1630. Per Magros Alexandrum
Colville et Jacobum Robertoun, Justiciarios Deputatos.

INTRAN.

Alexr Hamiltoun, warlok,

Delaitit of dyvers poyntis of sorcerie and witchcraft and consultation wt. the devill¹ anent the destruction of dyvers persones by sorcerie and witchcraft in manner speid. in his dittay and depositiones.

PERSEWARIS.

Mr Robert Burnet
Mr John Oliphant

Substitutes to Sir Thomas Hope,
His Maties. Advocat.

The persewaris productet the dittay wt. the Roll of the persones of Assyse.

The Judges after reiding of the dittay having demanded of the said Alexander Hamiltoun gif the depositiones maid be him in pns. (presence) of the Lords Commissioners and sworne be him to be of veritie, war true and gif he wald abyd therewt. or reseill fra ony point thereof desyreing him thairfoir now in judgement to declair the treuth thereof and nocht to lie upone any persone as he sould ansr befoir the Tribunall seit of Chryst befoir quhome he was schortlie to compeir. For ansr thairto Be his girt and solem aith prostrat upone his kneis he Ratifeit and approvet his haill depositiones formerlie maid be him sen his apprehension in the haill per-
ticuler articles thairof except allanerlie in that poynt of the samyn deponit be him against The Lady Manderstoun quhilk (as he declairit) is altogidder untrew And for the qlk upone his kneis he cravet God mercie And ther-
anent declairit that he had that relationn against her be the repoir and informatioun of Jon Neill in Tueidmouth as his last deposition thereanent maid at Edr. beiris.

¹ Compare Lord Coke's definition of a witch: "A person that hath conference with the Devil to take counsel or to do some act." Such conference being proved, the accused was thereby proved to belong to an illegal society and suffered capital punishment.

The pannell eftir reiding of the dittay and his accusatioun of the severall poyntis thereof Confessit the samyn and hail poyntis thereof to be of veritie whereupone the advocatis his persewaris askit instrumentis.

ASSYSE.

Jon Couper, merchand.	Rot. Reid, butterman.
Rot. Burnie, merchand.	Jon Ritchie, merchand.
Rot. Wilson, hat maker.	Cha. Thomas Armstrong, merchand.
Mungo Hunter, staibler.	Barnard Schaw, merchand.
J.nwa Steill, butterman.	David Flemyng, merchand.
Hew Wallace in plesance.	
Thomas Ireland, burges of Edr.	
John Fergusson, tailor.	
William Mayne, burges of Edr.	
Patrick Smeittone, baxter.	

Quhilkis persones of Assyse being ressautt sworne and admittit eftir accusatioun of the said Alexr. Hamiltoun be dittay of the crymes respective and peerticulerlie following, mentioned thereintill, viz.—Forsamekill as be the Devyne law of Almytie God set down in his sacred word agains all witches sorceraris and usearis and practizers of sorcerie and witchcraft threatening denouncing and appointing the deserved puneishment of death to be inflicted upone all sic persones as ar guiltie and culpable thair of. As also be the actis of Parliament and Municipall lawis of this kingdome maid in the dayes of our soverane lordis maist noble progenitors And namelie be the 73 Act of the Nynt parliament halden be his Maiesteis darrest guidame of worthie and famous memorie It is expresslie provydit statute & ordainit that na manner of persone nor persones of quhatsumevir estait degrie or conditioun thai be of presume nor tak upon thame at ony time thereftir to practeis or use ony maner of witchcraft, sorcerie or necromancie or gie thame selfis furth to haif ony sic skill craft or knowlege therethrow to abuse his maiesties guid people under the pane of deid as in the saidis lawis and acts of Parliament at lenth is contenit Nochtwithstanding grof It is of veritie that the said Alexr Hamiltoun schaikng of all feir of the Almytie and omnipotent God, reverence or regaird of his devyne lawis & ordinances set down in his sacred word and of the lawis and acts of pliament of this kingdome in maist feirfull manner betaking him self to the service of Sathan the enemie of his salvatioun about Michaelmes in the zeir of God 1624 zeirs he enterit in pactioun and covenant with the devill upone Hugstoun hillis in his coming frome the Nunland to the burgh of Hadingtoun about tuelf houres of the day Quhan the devill appeirit to the said Alexr in the schaipe and liknes of ane blak man all cled in blak without ane cloik with ane wand in his hand and there, eftir conference betuix thame and upone conditioun that the devill sould nocht let the said Alexr want nather meit cleathing nor money the said Alexr. than promiseit to be his servand At quhilk tyme the said Alexander desyret money fra him quhilk he refusit at that tyme Bot appointit the said Alexr to meit him sum few dayis thereftir upone gairnetoun hillis betuix tuelf and ane in the nyt and thair the said Alexr renewing his covenant and promiseit to him he than sould geve the said Alexr money. Lykas schortlie thereftir according to thair former appointment the said Alexr come to garnetoun hillis quhair he met with the devill his maister being rydeing upone ane blak horse to the said Alexr his appeirance Quha askit of the said Alexr how he did and gif he was content to remaine his servand or nocht Quhairto the said Alexr maid answer that he was content thair-

with Grupone the devill made the said Alexr in maist feirfull manner to renounce his baptisme and of new agane to be becum his bundman and thair wt he delyverit to the said Alexr foure schillingis starling in English money Eftir the quhilk paction & aggrement maid & cumd to betuixt thame the said Alexr than haifing ane battoun of fir in his hand the devill than gave the said Alexr command to tak that battoun quhan evir he had ado with him and thairwt to strek thruse upone the ground and to charge him to ruse up foule theiff Conforme to the whilk directioun and be streking of the said battone thruse upone the ground the devill was in use sumtymes to appeir to the said Alexr in the liknes of ane corbie at uther tymes in the schape of ane katt and at uther tymes in the schape of ane dog and thereby the said Alexr did ressave responses frome him and afoir the devill his away passing the said Alexr was in use to cast to him ather ane katt or ane laif¹ or ane dog or ony uther sic beist he come be Quhilk battone the said Alexr keipit quhill he was tane in Killene Mure a thre myles frome Newcastle and at his coming to the new castell in ane house be the way qr he drank he cuist the said battone in the fyre At the incasting grof in the fyre it gaif ane girt noyse or crak quhairat the beholders mervelling the said Alexr said to thame be nocht effrayed for it is nothing bot the knottis of the fir that makis the noyse.² Item schortlie thaireftir the said Alexr with certane utheris his complices and associatis insert in his depositions haifing met togidder at ane tryst with the devill upone the hillis bewast the castell of Dunce quhair everie ane of thame askit libertie of the devill to do hearne to sic persones agains qm thay buir ony malice or evill will lyk as the said Alexr beiring ane evill will agains Mr James Cockburne proveist of Hadingtoun in revenge of ane inurie done be the said Mr James to him the said Alexr was comandit by the devill his mr to draw thre heidis of corne furth of ilk ane of the said Mr James stakis than standing in his barne zaird and thereftir to cayrie thame to gairnetoun hillis thair to be brunt According to the whilk command the said thre heidis of corne war drawin out be the said Alexander furth of the saidis stakis and brunt be him in gairnetone hillis at the burning grof the said proveist of hadingtoun haifing ane kilfull of corne than drying in his kill the samyn be the said Alexr his devillish sorcerie and be the assistance of the devill his maister was altogidder brunt. Item Thomas Home in Clairkingtoun being bewitchet wt ane feirfull seiknes laid upone him be ane begger wyfe quha is now deid be hir laying of ane inchantit threid befoir his dur Quhilk witchcraft was devyset agains James Home his father becaus he had strukin her of befoir, The said Alexr Hamiltoun coming to the said Thomas Homes house and seing him visseit with the said seiknes declairit to him that he was bewitchet and promiseit to cure him thereof Lykas for this effect the said Alexr schortlie thereftir past to clarkingtoun burne besyde the rotoneraw haifing ane katt under his okister and thair wt his said battoun raisit Sathan his maister quha than appeirit to him in the liknes of ane corbie and thair instructit him be quhat meanis he sould cure the said Thomas of his said seiknes be taking of certane ulie spek³ cammomyle and heart creisch mixt and meltit togidder and to take ane wolline claith dippit therin and to rub him therwt and he haifing ressaut that respons fra the devill the said Alexr thereftir

¹ Sir W. Scott transcribes this as "a live dog," but "laif" is clearly a noun, and is an animal distinct from either a cat or a dog. By analogy with other trials, where similar ceremonies were used, one expects here a word meaning a hen or a cock.

² Compare with this the account of the burning of Major Weir's magic staff in 1670, forty years later than Alexander Hamilton.

³ "Ulie spek," i.e. oil of spikenard; "heart creisch" is heart grease or fat.

cuist to him the kat quha therewt vanischet away According to the quhilk instructioun and be applying the foirsaid cure to the said Thomas he be the said Alexr his sorcerie was curret of his former diseas. Item the said Alexr Hamiltoun haifing conceivet ane deidlie haitrent agains umqle Elizabeth Lausone Lady Ormestoun younger becaus the said Alexr being at her zet asking for almous she choisit him therfra saying to him "away eustroun carle ye will get nothing heir" The said Alexr therupon in revenge therof accompaneit wt tua wemen mentionet in his depositiones come to Saltoun Woid quhair he raisit the devill and quha appeirit to him and his associattis in the liknes of ane man cled in gray and the said Alexr & his associattis haifing schawin to him the caus of thair coming desyreing him to schaw to thame be quhat means thay micht be revendget upon the said Lady Quhairupone thair was delyverit to the said Alexr be the devill the bodome of ane blew clew with this directioun to lay the threid thereof befor the zet and entrie of hir duelling place wt this certificat that by doing therof they sould get their intent agains hir. According to the quhilk devillisch directioun the said blew threid was laid down be the said Alexr & his associattis foiranent the said Lady Ormestounes zett of Woidheid and whan ane schorte tyme thereftir be the sorcerie & witchcraft practizet be thame agains the said Lady in manner foirsaid sche and hir eldest dochter tuik bayt suddane seiknes and war bothe bereft of thair naturall lyves therby. Item he being Indytit forsamekill as he haifing consaivet ane deidlie malice agains george broun of Colstoun becaus he had banischet the said Alexr of his boundis as ane idle begger and vagabond the said Alexr in revenge therof raisit the devill his maister at ane pairt callit the monkrig above the stob stane quhair he desyret power of the devill to do harme to the said laird of Colstoun aither in his persone or guidis To the quhilk the devill maid ansr That he could nocht sua do becaus he had grantit that gift of befor to Wilsones wyf in Stobstane to harme the said Laird of Colstoun. Item being Indytit for being in companie wt Agnes Thomesoun in the panes the spous of Jon Woid thair at ane meitting wt the devill upone the Links of Prestoun Quhair ane conclusioun was laid down for destructioun of dyvers persones their guidis & schippis quhilk the devill grantit Item for being in companie wt umqle Catharene Oswald in Niddrie¹ and Catharene Gilmore thair at ane tryst and meiting keipit be thame at the heid of the brokin calsay of Nydrie neir to the how of the Deane in the way to Edmiestoun quhair the devill appeirit to thame in the liknes of ane blak man cled in blak clothes and talked wt the tua wemen the spaice of ane half hor. and thereftir tuik thame up the syde of the how of the Deane whair he abaid wt thame the spaice of ane quarter of ane hor. leveing the said Alexr behind comanding him to stay thair quhill the devill & thay returnet Eftir quhais returning bak agane thair was ane new tryst appointed be him to be keipit wt thame altogidder within xiii days thereftir upon the cauldbit mure Quhilk meitting was nocht keipit be the said Alexr for the quhilk caus and breking of that tryst the said Alexr was maist rigorouslie strukin be the devill wt ane battoun² at ane meitting keipit betuix thame schortlie thereftir upon gairnetoune hillis.

The quhilkis haill perticuler poyntis of dittay aboue writtin with dyvers utheris meittingis keipit be the said Alexr & his associattis with the devill ar planelie confessit be the said Alexr to be of verritie as his depositiones

¹ The record of the trial of Katharene Oswald is in the Edinburgh Justiciary Court. It consists of fifteen pages of close writing, and takes the form of narrative of eight charges; objections to the relevancy of these charges; answers to the objections, and further arguments.

² Beating was the usual punishment for disobedience.

beiris For the quhilkis haynous crymes and damnable lyfe led be the said Alexr in his former devillish service wt sathan thir mony zeirs by gane he hes incurrit the puneishment of daith as ane nocht worthie to leave among Christiane people.

The saids persones of Assyse removet altogidder furth of Court to the Assyse house quhair thay electit the said Thomas Armstrong in chancellor ressonit & voittit upone the foirsaid dittay and depositiones producet for cleiring thairof qlkis war haillilie ratifeit in judgement in thair presence & audience be the said Alexr and confessit be him to be of verritie thay re- enterit agane in Court quhair be the repoint and declaratioun of the said Chancellor thay in respeid of his awin judicciall confessioun Fand pronouncet and declairit all in voce the said Alexander Hamiltoun to be fylet culpable and convicd of the haill abhominable crymes of sorcerie witchcraft and consultatioun wt the devill for the daith & destructioun of the persones speid. in his dittay For the quhilk caus The Justice be the mouth of Andro McCairtor dempster of Court Ordainit & Adjudget the said Alexr Hamiltoun to be tain to the castell hill of the burg of edr. and thair to be wirreit at ane staik quhill he be deid and thereftir his body to be brunt & consumiet in assis & his haill moveabill guidis gif he ony hes to be confiscat & escheit to his maiesteis use Qlk was pronouncet & gevin out for Dome.

The samyn day the said Alexr Hamiltoun warlok being presentit upone pannell be the magistrattis of Edr. and brocht furth of thair waired grin he hes bene keipit and deteind since the moneth of August last by past 1629 And being delaitit acuset and persewit be Mr Rot. Burnet and Mr Johnne Oliphant advocattis substitutes to Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, knyt barronet aduocat to our souerane lord for his hienes intreis of dyvers poynttis of sorcerie witchcraft and consultatioun wt the devill for destructioun and away taking of the lyves of dyvers persones speid. in his dittay and depositiones maid be him at Duncce Hadingtoun and Edr. respectively as the depositiones maid be him theranent producet & remaining in proces in thame selfis proportis Befoir the admissioun and electioun of the persones sumoned upone his assyse and also after the saidis assyses electioun & admissioun :— The said Alexr Hamiltoun in face of judgement in presence of the Justice and assyse Be his girt aith gevin and prostrat upone his kneis Ratifeit and approvet his haill former depositiones maid be him to be of veritie in the haill articles & clauss thairof except in that perticuler deponet be him agains the Lady Manderstoun quhilkis (as he affirmet) is altogidder untrew And for the whilk he cravet God mercie Declairing theranent That that poynt- anent the Lady Manderstoun was reveillit to him be the repoint & informa- tioun of Johne Neill in tueidmouth as his last depositioun theranent maid at Edr. beiris And also being humblet and prostrat upone his kneis as said is be his girt aith Declairet that all the foirsaidis depositiones maid be him ar deponet and set down of his awin certane knowlege without the sugges- tioun informatioun or command of ony persone qtsumevir as the samyn is declairit therin (except as is befoir exceptit) especiallie that Sir George Home of Manderstoun knyt nevir spak to him ony woird bot only to cum to ane trew confessioun & Declaratioun of the treuth As also that Andro Frazer his servand quha convoyat the said Alexr fra berwik to Duncce spak na uther woirdis ayther in berwik or be the way to Duncce Bot only to declair the treuth quhat he knew Saying to him Gif Alexander thou sua doo my maister will doo the good for he is ane pitiefull man Quhairupone Sir George Home of Manderstoun being personallie present askit instrumentis and protestit that the premiss myt be recoirdit & remane in proces.

Lyk as the said Alexander Hamiltoun Ratifeit & approvet in presence of the Justice & Assysrs in face of judgement the haill depositiones maid be

him agains Jon hog in markle and his spous as thay ar set down & sworne be him in presence of the lords and judges his examiners And theranent Declairet be his girt aith that he was nevir seducet or persuadet be ony man to mak ony depositions aither wt the said Jon hog and his wyfe or agains thame Bot he hes deponit the treuth therintill accoirding to his awin certane knowlege. Quhairupone Andro Quhyte being personally present also askit Instrumentis.

II. This rare Pamphlet is entitled: MINUTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE SESSION OF TORRYBURN IN FIFESHIRE CONCERNING WITCHCRAFT, WITH THE CONFESSION OF LILLIAS ADIE. Taken from the Session Records. (It was printed for David Webster, Edinburgh, 1820.)

TORRY, June 30th, 1704.

SEDERUNT—WM. HUTTON, WM. DALGLEISH, WM. REID, JOHN MITCHELL,
DAVID CURRY, GEO. TILLOCH, WITH THE MINISTER.¹

The session being called, *pro re nata*, upon a flagrant rumour, that Jean Bizet, wife to James Tanochie, had been molested by Satan, and had complained of some particular person of the devil's instruments in that trouble that she lay under. Whereupon the minister ordered the officer to cite the said Jean Bizet, also Lillias Adie and Janet Whyte, whom she was said to complain of; and also to cite Mary Wilson, who is said to have taken the charm by stroking up her head; and also he ordered the officer to cite Tanochie's daughter, with James Tanochie, James Whyte and his wife, Helen Anderson, and Mary Nielson, who are said to know something of the circumstances of that affair.

- 1^{mo}, Jean Bizet being called, compeared not, upon which the officer is ordered to cite her to the next.
- 2^{do}, There being a public report that Janet Whyte should have threatened James Tanochie's family with a mischief, but particularly his wife, before this befell; the said Janet was called, and interrogate, if ever she threatened James Tanochie's wife, she declares, that she never threatened any such thing, nor thought so. Moreover, she said, that James his wife would not say so, otherwise she would lay down her head upon a scaffold. She said, that she was not at her since she took that distemper, and saw her not since, but saw her on the Monday before, and her husband's daughter, and Jean Archibald in Culross; but upon the morrow the woman was troubled. James White being called, declared, that Jean Bizet was in a distemper upon Tuesday the 13th day of June, in Helen Anderson's house, betwixt 9 and 10 at night, and seemed drunk.
- 3^{do}, That she drank not a gill in that house, but before she came to Helen's house, she was about half an hour in Mary Wilson's.
- 4^{to}, She seemed to be strangely distempered, and he heard her say, Agnes, beware lest Lillias Adie come upon you and your child.
- 2^d, She said to Mary Nielson, Lillias Adie thinks to use me as she used your sister.
- 3^{do}, She complained upon Mary Wilson, but none saw the said Mary; as she went home, she cried, *now, now, Jenny, I'll be felled now, there*

¹ The Rev. Allan Logan, *cf.* note 2, p. 59.

three blew doublets, frequently, and wringing her hands. *Note.*—She got a considerable sleep in Helen Anderson's.

5^{to}, As she went home, he had let her go, and she not only went freely, but did run violently, without stumbling in the least, the breadth of Torry Park, and he had difficulty to overtake her, notwithstanding there was both a dyke and furrows in the way.

6^{to}, He declared, that he heard that the next day she was no better.

7^{no}, He declared, that on the Monday before, Janet Whyte said to him, before James Alexander in Drumfin, that she would make Jean Bizet forethink what she had done to her in not paying her two barrels of ale which she sold her, on this purpose she could not get the maltman payed.

3^{to}, Helen Anderson being called, declared, that Jean Bizet was in her house, out of Mary Wilson's, about 5 or 6 at night the foresaid day, and she seemed to be strangely distempered. 2^{ly}, Her eyes raised, and could drink none. 3^{to}, After she had slept from 6 to near 9, and when she awaked, she cried, *by God he is going to take me! by Christ he is going to take me! O Lilly with her blew doublet! O Mary, Mary Wilson! repeating Christ keep me!* Upon which Helen said to her husband, did you ever see her in this condition? He answered, never in my life, but she is too much taken up with that company, but let me to her, I shall ding the devil out of her. For this she appeals to James Tanochie and his son. She and James Whyte declares both, that they are clear to depone the same.

Agnes Henderson, wife to James Whyte, called, compeared, declared that she was sent for to James Tanochie's wife the day foresaid, who was in a great trouble, and never saw her in the like. 2^d, That she slept a while, and when she awoke, she cried, *O God! O Christ! there is Lilly coming to take me, and three blew doublets! O Mary Wilson, keep me, she is coming!* She adds that Jean was in Mary Wilson's before she came to Helen Anderson's, and she said, that she desired her to go home, for Lilly will take you and the child both. She heard her say to Mary Wilson, it was not to you that she did evil, but to your sister, what aileth her at me, I never did her any ill. And as she went home, she seemed raised, but went and spak very well, and she went with her, she heard her speak often of Lilly by the way, that she was coming to take her. And she adds, that as she came first into the Newmiln, that she looked and spoke as heartsomely as ever she saw her, and seemed no way disordered; and having carried one of James Whyte's children from the Newmiln to James's house. And on the next day, being Wednesday, she went to see how she was, and found her complaining of a sore head, and in a sweat, and she seemed not right; and she says, she is clear to depone what she has declared.

Mary Nielson being called in, said, that when Jean Bizet came to her mistress Helen Anderson her house, she was not within, but she was within when she awoke out of her sleep. 2^d, She heard her say, *O God! O Christ Jesus keep me!* 3^{to}, She heard her say, *O keep me! keep me! there she is coming, Lilly Adie with her blew doublet!* 4^o, *O Mary Wilson!* 5^o, She said, as she went away out of the house, she did no ill to you, but to your sister. She is clear to depone all this.

Jean Bizet being called in, declares, that on the foresaid Tuesday, she came to the Newmiln in the forenoon, carrying James Whyte's son on her back from the Craigmiln, and James Whyte was with her. 2^d, She came first to Helen Anderson her house, and her husband being upon business, she went to Helen Tilloch her house. 3^{to}, She went to Mary Wilson's house, where Lott Nicol, with Isobel Harlay, were drinking in the room next to

the door, and she went by them to the room, where Mary Wilson filled a pint of ale and desired her to drink of it. She took a drink, but did not drink beyond a gill of it; and Helen Tilloch and Jean Tilloch, came in and drank the rest, with many others. 4th, She could scarcely have been a quarter of an hour there, and that she returned to Helen Anderson her house immediately.

Mary Wilson called, said, when Jean Bizet came to her house, she called for a choppin of ale, and stayed until that was drunk, and another was filled, and a part of that was drunk. 2^d, There was none but Helen Tilloch and Jean Bizet, and herself, at the drinking of that ale. 3th, Euphan Nicol came in, and she took a drink of it. 4th, She declares, that Jean Tilloch was not within the door then. 5th, Robert Nicol and Catharine Mitchell and Margaret Nicol, sister to Robert Nicol, were drinking at the fire-side. 6th, She declares, that she seemed no ways disordered with drink, nor any other way. 7th, She went up to her on Thursday afternoon, and she found her lying on her bed, and straked her head, and whether she was immediately the better of it, or not, she knew not; but she left her sitting at the fire-side with her child on her knee.

Jean Bizet says, Jean Tilloch was really there. 2^d, She says it was Friday afternoon before she settled.

Torryburn, 29th July 1704.—After Prayer, Sederunt, Minister and Elders.

Lillias Adie being accused of witchcraft by Jean Neilson, who is dreadfully tormented, the said Lillias was incarcerated by Bailie Williamson about ten of the night upon the 28th of July.

Lillias being exhorted to declare the truth, and nothing but the truth, she replied, what I am to say shall be as true as the sun is in the firmament.

Being interrogate if she was in compact with the devil, she replied, I am in compact with the devil, and have been so since before the second burning of the witches in this place. She further declared that the first time she met with the devil was at the Gollet, between Torryburn and Newmilne, in the harvest, before the sun set, where he trysted her to meet the day after, which tryst she kept, and the devil took her to a stook side, and caused her renounce her baptism; the ceremony he used was, he put one hand on the crown of her head, and the other on the soles of her feet, with her own consent, and caused her say all was the devil's betwixt the crown of her head and the soles of her feet; and there the devil lay with her carnally; and that his skin was cold, and his colour black and pale, he had a hat on his head, and his feet was cloven like the feet of a stirk, as she observed when he went from her.

The next time she saw him was at a meeting at the Barnrods, to which she was summoned by Grissel Anderson in Newmilne, about Martinmas, their number was about twenty or thirty, whereof none are now living but herself. She adds, it was a moon-light night, and they danced some time before the devil came on a pony, with a hat on his head, and they clapt their hands and cried, *There our Prince, there our Prince*, with whom they danced about an hour.

The next time was at a meeting at the back of Patrick Sands his house, in Valleyfield, where the devil came with a cap which covered his ears and neck;—they had no moonlight. Being interrogate if they had any light, she replied, she got light from darkness, and could not tell what that light was, but she heard them say it came from darkness, and went to darkness, and said it is not so bright as a candle, the low thereof being blue, yet it gave such a light as they could discern others faces. There they abode about

an hour, and danced as formerly; she knew none at the meeting but Elspeth Williamson, whom she saw at the close of the meeting coming down by the dyke-side; and she said, she was also at another meeting in the Haugh of Torry, where they were furnished with the former light, and she saw Elspeth Williamson there also.

July 31st, 1704.—After Prayer, Sederunt, Minister and Elders.

Lillias Adie adhered to her former confession, and added, there were many meetings she was not witness to, and was at many of which she could give no particular account; and you will get more news after this. Being interrogate if she knew any more witches in the place, she replied, Agnes Currie is a witch, but she is a bold woman, and will flee upon me if I should delate her.

Being interrogate if the devil had a sword, she replied, she believed he durst not use a sword; and called him a villain that promised her many good things when she engaged with him, but never gave her anything but misery and poverty.

The last meeting ever she was at, was 14 days after the Sacrament, in the month of August 1701, upon the minister's glebe where the tent stood, their number was 16 or 18, whereof Agnes Currie was one. She added, that she made an apology to the meeting, because she could not wait upon them all the time, being obliged to go to Borrowstouness that morning's tide. She added, that she heard Jean Neilson was possessed with a devil, and troubled with a fit of distemper, but declared that she never wronged her, though the devil may do it in her likeness.

Elspeth Williamson being called, came into the prison where the session sate, and being interrogate if Lillias Adie had any envy at her, she answered, she knew no envy she had at her. Lillias being interrogate if Elspeth Williamson was guilty of witchcraft, she replied, she is as guilty as I am, and my guilt is as sure as God is in heaven.

The next time she saw the devil was about half a year ago, as she went to Culross, she saw him at the west end of the coal-fold.

Upon the affair of Janet Whyte, James Alexander being called, appeared, and declared that he never heard Janet Whyte threaten Jean Bizet in the least.

James White called, declared *ut ante*, but adds, that upon Friday was eight days, the 21st of July, he heard a great screeching when he was in the Craigmilne upon the bleaching green, beneath the said milne, and heard a second screech much greater, and clapping of hands and laughing, about twelve of the night, in the green on the other side of the burn; and it was observed by the bleachers to be all pastered, though there was no cloth at the burn, nor bleachers that night. Also, on the second of August 1704, Lillias declared before witnesses, that Grissel Anderson invited her to her house on that Lammas day, the morning just before the last burning of the witches. Grissel desired her to come and speak with a man there; accordingly she went in there about day-break, where there was a number of witches, some laughing, some standing, others sitting, but she came immediately away, being to go to Lammas fair; and several of them were taken shortly after, and Grissel Anderson among the rest, who was burnt, and some of them taken that very week. She adds, that Euphan Stirt warned her to the meeting at the Barnrod; and the said Euphan was burnt afterward, though she had been no longer a witch than a month before her death. She added, that she knew few of them that were at those meetings, especially the young sort, because they were masked like gentlewomen: and if Agnes Currie's

heart would fall, she could tell as much as any, being in the midst of the meeting, where she saw her face by the blue low near Patrick Sands.

At Torryburn, August 19th, 1704.—After Prayer, Sederunt, &c. Minister and Elders.

Elspeth Williamson declared, that shortly after the last communion, there came a woman to her door, and bade her go east the way, whom she followed the length of the church-yard, and leaned upon the dyke, and saw a bouroch of women, some with black heads, were sitting where the tent stood. The woman that called her, went straight to the meeting, and fell down upon her knees, whereat she wondered, and hearkened if there was any reading or singing of psalms among them, and when she heard none, she thought she was in the wrong place, and did not think the woman would have taken her to the devil's meeting. She thought the woman was Mary Wilson, but is not certain; and about ten at night, some time after, a young lass came to her door, and desired her to go westward a little, whom she followed, but knew not the lass, she went so fast west the town before her, and was got the length of the Gollet or she came to the west end of the town; and when she was come west near the Gollet, she saw a meeting of women and some men, and she stood at a little distance from them, and saw them go through other for the space of near an hour, and removed insensibly eastward from her, upon which she stole away.

Lillias Adie confessed, that after she entered into compact with Satan, he appeared to her some hundreds of times, and that the devil himself summoned her to that meeting which was on the glebe, he coming into her house like a shadow, and went away like a shadow; and added, that she saw Elspeth Williamson and Agnes Currie both there, only Agnes was nearer the meeting than Elspeth, who was leaning on the church-yard dike with her elbow. She added, that the devil bade her attend many meetings that she could not attend, for age and sickness; and though he appeared not to her when there was company with her, yet he appeared to her like a shadow, so that none could see him but herself. At another time, she said, that when she renounced her baptism, the devil first spoke the words, and she repeated them after him, and that as he went away she did not hear his feet on the stubble.

August 20th, 1704.—After Prayer, Sederunt, Minister and Elders.

It is to be minded, that Lillias Adie appeared before the congregation on the Lord's day, and being called up by the minister and asked if she was guilty of witchcraft, she confessed freely that she was, and had entered expressly into covenant with Satan, and renounced her baptism, the devil putting one hand on the crown of her head, and the other under the soles of her feet, and she gave over all to the devil that was betwixt his two hands, and she was come hither to confess her sins, and to get her renounced baptism back again. She also desired all that had power with God to pray for her; to this the minister and elders, and whole congregation, were witnesses.

It being reported, that Agnes Currie should have delated Bessie Callander and Mary Wilson, guilty of witchcraft; Agnes being called, compeared and declared, that Robert Currie told her Elspeth Williamson told him that Bessie Callander and Mary Wilson, were witches.

George Stewart, solemnly sworn, purged of malice and partial counsel, aged 27 years, married, deponed, that Agnes Currie said to him, I'll tell you,

but you must not let any of your folk know of it; he replied, I believe in Christ, I hope the devil hath no power over me. Ha, ha, said she, the devil hath done wrong to many, and he may wrong your friends or goods. Elspeth Williamson told Robert Currie, and Robert Currie told me, that Bessie Callander and Mary Wilson, are guilty of witchcraft. And this is truth, as he shall answer.—*Causa scientia*.

Sic subscribitur, G. S.

James Paton, solemnly sworn, purged of malice, and partial counsel, aged between 22 and 23 years, depones, he was not requiring any thing of her by way of confession of persons names to which she assented in the meantime, but Agnes Currie said to him, there are two witches in Newmilne, and one of them is at the Bridgend; upon which I replied, you must tell me, for I have a sister there. Agnes replied, her name begins with a B, George Marshall replied, is that our Bessie, she answered, you are right enough, it's Bessie Callander. As to the other person, she would not tell her name at first, but said, she is be-east your house, but after owned the person to be Mary Wilson, but desired him not to divulge it to your mother or sister, least these persons do you ill. This is the truth, as he shall answer.—*Causa scientia*.

Sic subscribitur, JA. PATON.

George Marshall, sworn, purged, &c. *ut supra*, aged 39 years, married, declared, *ut supra*, and added, that she said, ye are husbandmen, devulge it not, least your beasts get wrang; and said to Alexander Drysdale, you go to sea, you have need to take head; and she said, the other lived be-east James Paton's house, but he going away heard not her name. And this is the truth, as he shall answer.—*Causa scientia*.

Sic subscribitur, G. M.

Agnes Currie assented to this in session; and that Robert Currie told her, that Elspeth Williamson told him these things; and that Mary Carmichael in Linlithgow is a witch.

Robert Currie, called, compeared, and declared that Elspeth Williamson delated to him Bessie Callander, Mary Wilson, and Mary Carmichael, as witches, which the said Elspeth referred to the probation of the witch.

The foresaid day, Lillias Adie said to the minister, that the devil was angry that she went to church, and said, that she might do as well at home. Being interrogate if he was angry like, she said, that he never looked pleasant like.—And closed with prayer.

August 29th, 1704.

Lillias Adie declared, some hours before her death, in audience of the minister, precentor, George Pringle, and John Paterson, that what she had said of Elspeth Williamson and Agnes Currie, was as true as the Gospel; and added, it is as true as the sun shines on that floor, and dim as my eyes are, I see that.

It being reported that William Wilson knew something of Agnes Currie that was witchcraft, as also Janet Glass, they were called, and the said William declared, that about 24 years ago, Helen Johnston having overlaid her child the night after it was baptized, and the next day he was lamenting the woman's case, Agnes Currie said to him, if I had been her cummer, I could have advised her to take heed to her child; and also, that the said William was desired some time ago to bring some *slyk*¹ to a house that

¹ Thin clay or mud.

belonged to Agnes, and he answered, that his mare was in the yoke all day and could not; Agnes said she could not help it, and that day his mare died in a stank.

Janet Glass declared, that she came once into Agnes Currie's house, having something to do with Agnes, who in the time was baking bread, and broke three several bannocks, lying in three several places, and gave it to the said Janet, and she with eating the same fell in a fever.

Torryburn, 3d of September, 1704.—After Prayer, Sederunt, Minister and Elders, except Robert Baxter, John Weir, and John Wardlaw.

Agnes Currie being called, compeared, and confronted with Janet Glass; Janet declared, that about twelve years ago, she brought her cloth to her house, and Agnes was baking bread, and she broke three several bannocks that were in three several places, and gave her a piece of every bannock, and immediately she took a fever; and she adds, that she gave her a little piece of every bannock, and it was all one sort of bread. Janet declares that she is ready to swear it; also adds, Helen Lawson was so used.

Helen Lawson being called, declared, that a long time ago, Agnes Currie broke three several bannocks, and gave her a piece of every one, but she would not take the third piece; and adds, that she is ready to swear it.

Elsbeth Williamson being brought in, and interrogate if she was a witch, she answered that she would not deny that.

N.B.—Lillias Addie was buried within the sea-mark at Torryburn.¹

William Cose being called, compeared, and owned, that on Sabbath morning, anno 1704, it being moon-light, he saw Bessie Meiklejohn, or the devil in her stead, in James Chalmers's bark, then lying in Leith, and he doubts not but she saw him; and adds, that she had a green plaid about her head, as he offered to depone. The session considering that the devil appeared in her likeness, it was no proof against her, they judged it not necessary to regard that matter, and thought William Cose should not be troubled, it appearing he had not spoken it from malice, nor accused her of witchcraft formerly.

March 30th, 1709.

Margaret Humble called, declared, that Helen Key said, that when she heard Mr Logan² speak against the witches, she thought that he was daft, and she had up her stool to go out of the kirk: Also declared, that Helen Key threatened to strike Mary Neilson.

Jean Pearson declared, that she heard Helen Key say, that she would strike Mary Neilson. The said Helen Key confessed what all the witnesses declared.

As to the affair of Helen Key, Mary Neilson called, declared, that she heard Helen Key say, that she thought Mr Logan was not wise when he was speaking against the witches; and she had one unseemly expression that it is not decent to be put on the records; and when Margaret Humble rebuked her, she said it was not Margaret Humble's part to speak in

¹ Her grave is still to be seen at the west end of the town, marked with a large stone.—Ed.

² The Rev. Allan Logan, the minister, is still famous all over the country for his skill in discovering witches; and used, when administering the Sacrament, to say, "You witch wife get up from the table of the Lord," when some unhappy old woman would have risen, imagining she was pointed at, and it was well if it did not afterwards cost her her life. *Daft* or not, he was certainly a most wretched fanatic of the worst description.—Ed.

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Mr Logan's favours, but she would not express what Mr Logan said of Margaret Humble to her.

The session having found her convicted of prophane irreverent language against the minister and his doctrine, without any shadow of provocation, and of gross lying and prevaricating, both in private and before the session, and of threatening to strike a person because she had reported her impudent, Godless, and scandalous language,—therefore, they appoint her to sit before the congregation the next Lord's day, and to be rebuked after the afternoon's sermon.

THE END.

EDINBURGH, 1820.
