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COLLECTION

~~Edited by David Webster~~

1842



MATTHEW HOPKINS,
OF MANNINGTREE, ESSEX,
THE CELEBRATED WITCH-FINDER.

FROM A VERY RARE PRINT IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY, AT
MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

A COLLECTION
OF
RARE AND CURIOUS TRACTS,
RELATING TO
WITCHCRAFT
IN THE COUNTIES OF
KENT, ESSEX, SUFFOLK, NORFOLK,
AND LINCOLN,
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1618 AND 1664.

Reprinted Verbatim from the Original Editions,

WITH A

PORTRAIT OF MATTHEW HOPKINS, OF MANNINGTREE, ESSEX, THE CELEBRATED WITCH-FINDER, FROM A RARE PRINT IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY, MAGDALEN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,
4, OLD COMPTON STREET, SOHO.

M DCCC XXXVIII.

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- A Prodigious and Tragickall History of the Arraignment, Tryall, Confession, and Condemnation, of Six Witches, at Maidstone, in Kent, at the Assizes there held July 30, 1652, before the Rt. Hon. Peter Warburton, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas. *London, 1652.*
- The Examination, Confession, Triall, and Execution, of Joane Williford, Joan Cariden, and Jane Hott, who were executed at Faversham, in Kent, for being Witches, on Monday, 29 Sept., 1645. *London, 1645.*
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A
TRYAL OF WITCHES,

AT THE ASSIZES

HELD AT

BURY ST. EDMONDS

FOR THE

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK;

ON

THE TENTH DAY OF MARCH, 1664.

BEFORE

Sir Matthew Hale, Kt.

THEN

Lord Chief Baron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer.

REPRINTED VERBATIM

FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1682.

WITH AN APPENDIX

BY C. CLARK, ESQ., OF GREAT TOTHAM, ESSEX.

London :

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,

4, OLD COMPTON STREET, SOHO.

1838.

THE LIFE OF WATTS

BY

HENRY S. RICHARDSON

ESQ.

OF THE BARR

AND

GREENWICH:

PRINTED BY HENRY S. RICHARDSON,

STOCKWELL STREET.

TO THE READER.

THIS Tryal of Witches hath lain a long time in a private Gentleman's hands in the Country, it being given to him by the Person that took it in the Court for his own satisfaction; but it came lately to my hands, and having perused it, I found it a very remarkable thing, and fit to be Publish'd; especially in these times, wherein things of this nature are so much controverted, and that by persons of much Learning on both sides. I thought that so exact a Relation of this Tryal would probably give more satisfaction to a great many persons, by reason that it is pure Matter of Fact, and that evidently Demonstrated; than the Arguments and Reasons of other very Learned Men, that probably may not be so Intelligible to all Readers; especially, this being held before a Judge, whom for his Integrity, Learning, and Law, hardly any Age, either before or since could pallel; who not only took a great deal of paines, and spent much time in this Tryal himself; but had the Assistance and Opinion of several other very Eminent and Learned Persons: So that this being the most perfect Narrative of any thing of this Nature hitherto Extant, made me unwilling to deprive the World of the Benefit of it; which is the sole Motive that induced me to Publish it.

FAREWEL.

LONDON, 1682.

A Tryal of Witches,

AT the Assizes and General Gaol delivery, held at Bury St. Edmonds for the County of Suffolk, the Tenth day of March, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles II. before Matthew Hale, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of His Majesties Court of Exchequer; *Rose Cullender* and *Amy Duny*, Widows, both of Leystoff, in the County aforesaid, were severally indicted for Bewitching *Elizabeth* and *Ann Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Susan Chandler*, *William Durent*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*: And the said Cullender and Duny, being arraigned upon the said Indictments, pleaded NOT GUILTY: And afterwards, upon a long Evidence, were found GUILTY, and thereupon had Judgment to DYE for the same.

The Evidence whereupon these Persons were convicted of Witchcraft, stands upon divers particular Circumstances.

I. THREE of the Parties above-named, viz. Ann Durent, Susan Chandler, and Elizabeth Pacy, were brought to Bury to the Assizes and were in a reasonable good condition: But that Morning they came into the Hall to give Instructions for the drawing of their Bills of Indictments, the Three Persons fell into strange and violent fits, screeking out in a most sad manner, so that they could not in any wise give any Instructions in the Court who were the Cause of their Distemper. And although they did after some certain space recover out of their fits, yet they were every one of them struck Dumb, so that none of them could speak neither at that time, nor during the Assizes until the Conviction of the supposed Witches.

As concerning William Durent, being an Infant, his Mother Dorothy Durent sworn and examined deposed in open Court, That about the Tenth of March, *Nono Caroli Secundi*, she having a special occasion to go from home, and having none in her House to take care of her said Child (it then sucking) desired Amy Duny her Neighbour, to look to her Child during her absence, for which she promised her to

give her a Penny: but the said Dorothy Durent desired the said Amy not to Suckle her Child, and laid a great charge upon her not to do it. Upon which it was asked by the Court, why she did give that direction, she being an old Woman and not capable of giving Suck? It was answered by the said Dorothy Durent, that she very well knew that she did not give Suck, but that for some years before, she had gone under the Reputation of a Witch, which was one cause made her give her the caution: Another was, That it was customary with old Women, that if they did look after a sucking Child, and nothing would please it but the Breast, they did use to please the Child to give it the Breast, and it did please the Child, but it sucked nothing but Wind, which did the Child hurt. Nevertheless after the departure of this Deponent, the said Amy did Suckle the Child: And after the return of the said Dorothy, the said Amy did acquaint her, That she had given Suck to the Child contrary to her command. Whereupon, the Deponent was very angry with the said Amy for the same; at which the said Amy was much discontented, and used many high Expressions and Threatning Speeches towards her; telling her, That she had as good to have done otherwise than to have found fault with her, and so departed out of her House: And that very Night her Son fell into strange fits of swoounding, and was held in such terrible manner, that she was much affrighted therewith, and so continued for divers weeks. And the said Examinant farther said, that she being exceedingly troubled at her Childs Distemper, did go to a certain Person named Doctor Jacob, who lived at Yarmouth, who had the reputation in the Country, to help children that were Bewitch'd; who advis'd her to hang up the Childs 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 Gun-powder, 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 neighbour 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 Leggs, 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, 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 farther saith, that after the burning of the said Toad, her Child recover'd, and was well again, and was living at the time of the Assizes. And this Deponent farther saith, That about the 6th. of March, 11^o Car. 2. her Daughter Elizabeth Durent, being about the Age of Ten Years, was taken in like manner as her first Child was, and in her fits complained much of Amy Duny, and said, That she did appear to her, and Afflict her in such manner as the former. And she this Deponent going to the Apothecaries for some thing for her said Child, when she did return to her own House, she found the said Amy Duny there, and asked her what she did do there? and her answer was, That she came to see her Child, and to give it some water. But she this Deponent was very angry with her, and thrust her forth of her doors, and when she was out of doors, she said, You need not be so angry, for your Child will not live long: and this was on a Saturday, and the Child dyed on the Monday following. The cause of whose Death this Deponent verily believeth was occasion'd by the Witchcraft of the said Amy Duny: for that the said Amy hath been long reputed to be a Witch, and a person of very evil behaviour, whose Kindred and Relations have been many of them accused for Witchcraft, and some of them have been Condemned.

The said Deponent further saith, that not long after the death of her Daughter Elizabeth Durent, she this Deponent was taken with a Lameness in both her Leggs, from the knees downward, that she was fain to go upon Crutches, and that she had no other use of them but only to bear a little upon them till she did remove her Crutches, and so continued till the time of the Assizes, that the Witch came to be Tryed, and

was there upon her Crutches; the Court asked her, That at the time she was taken with this Lameness, if it were with her according to the Custom of Women? Her Answer was, that it was so, and that she never had any stoppages of those things, but when she was with Child.

This is the Substance of her Evidence to this Indictment.

There was one thing very remarkable, that after she had gone upon Crutches for upwards of Three Years, and went upon them at the time of the Assizes in the Court when she gave her Evidence, and upon the Juries bringing in their Verdict, by which the said Amy Duny was found Guilty, to the great admiration of all Persons, the said Dorothy Durent was restored to the use of her Limbs, and went home without making use of her Crutches.

II. As concerning Elizabeth and Deborah Pacy, the first of the Age of Eleven Years, the other of the age of Nine Years or thereabouts: as to the Elder, she was brought into the Court at the time of the Instructions given to draw up the Indictments, and afterwards at the time of Tryal of the said Prisoners, but could not speak one Word all the time, and for the most part she remained as one wholly senseless as one in a deep Sleep, and could move no part of her body, and all the Motion of Life that appeared in her was, that as she lay upon Cushions in the Court upon her back, her stomach and belly by the drawing of her breath, would arise to a great height: and after the said Elizabeth had lain a long time on the Table in the Court, she came a little to her self and sate up, but could neither see nor speak, but was sensible of what was said to her, and after a while she laid her Head on the Bar of the Court with a Cushion under it, and her hand and her Apron upon that, and there she lay a good space of time: and by the direction of the Judge, Amy Duny was privately brought to Elizabeth Pacy, and she touched her hand; whereupon the Child without so much as seeing her, for her Eyes were closed all the while, suddenly leaped up, and caught Amy Duny by the hand, and afterwards by the face; and with her Nails scratched her till Blood came, and would by no means leave her till she was taken from her, and afterwards the Child would still be pressing towards her, and making signs of Anger conceived against her.

Deborah the younger Daughter was held in such extream manner, that her Parents wholly despaired of her life, and therefore could not bring her to the Assizes.

The Evidence which was given concerning these Two Children was to this Effect.

SAMUEL PACY a Merchant of Leystoff aforesaid, (a man who carried himself with much soberness during the Tryal, from whom proceeded no words either of Passion or Malice, though his Children were so greatly Afflicted,) Sworn and Examined, Deposeth, That his younger Daughter Deborah, upon Thursday the Tenth of October last, was suddenly taken with a Lameness in her Leggs, 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 carryed on the East part of the House, to be set upon the Bank which looketh upon the Sea; and whil'st she was sitting there, Amy Duny came to this Deponents House to buy some Herrings, but being denyed she went away discontented, and presently returned again, and was denyed, and likewise the third time and was denyed 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 extream pain in her Stomach, like the pricking of Pins, and Shreeking 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 until the Thirtieth of the same Month. During this time this Deponent sent for one Dr. Feavor, a Doctor of Physick, to take his advice concerning his Childs Distemper; the Doctor being come, he saw the Child in those fits, but could not conjecture (as he then told this Deponent, and afterwards affirmed in open Court, at this Tryal) what might be the cause of the Childs Affliction. And this Deponent farther 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 intervals 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 demanding of her (as they also affirmed in Court upon their Oathes) what should be the reason of Mr. Pacy's Childs 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, the eldest Daughter Elizabeth, fell into extream fits, insomuch, that they could not open her Mouth to give her breath, to preserve her Life without the help of a Tap which they were enforced to use; and the younger Child was in the like manner Afflicted, so that they used the same also for her Relief.

And further the said Children being grievously afflicted would severally complain in their extremity, and also in the intervals, That Amy Duny (together with one other Woman whose person and Cloathes they described) did thus Afflict them, their Apparitions appearing before them, to their great terrour and affrightment: And sometimes they would cry out, saying, There stands Amy Duny, and there Rose Cullender; the other Person troubling them.

Their fits were various, sometimes they would be lame on one side of their Bodies, sometimes on the other: sometimes a soreness over their whole Bodies, so as they could endure none to touch them: at other times they would be restored to the perfect use of their Limbs, and deprived of their Hearing; at other times of their Sight, at other times of their Speech; sometimes by the space of one day, sometimes for two; and once they were wholly deprived of their Speech for Eight days together, and then restored to their Speech again. At other times they would fall into Swoundings, and upon the recovery to their Speech they would Cough extreamly, and bring up much Flegme, and with the same crooked Pins, and one time a Two-penny Nail with a very broad head, which Pins (amounting to Forty or more) together with the Two-penny Nail were produced in Court, with the affirmation of the said Deponent, that he was present when the said Nail was Vomited up, and also most of the Pins. Commonly at the end of every fit they would cast up a Pin, and sometimes they would have four or five fits in one day.

In this manner the said Children continued with this Deponent for the space of two Months, during which time in their Intervals this Deponent would cause them to Read some

Chapters in the New Testament. Whereupon this Deponent several times observed, that they would read till they came to the Name of *Lord*, or *Jesus*, or *Christ*; and then before they could pronounce either of the said Words they would suddenly fall into their fits. But when they came to the Name of *Satan*, or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers upon the Book, crying out, This bites, but makes me speak right well.

At such time as they be recovered out of their fits (occasion'd as this Deponent conceives upon their naming of *Lord*, or *Jesus*, or *Christ*;) this Deponent hath demanded of them, what is the cause they cannot pronounce those words, They reply and say, That Amy Duny saith, I must not use that name.

And farther, the said Children after their fits were past, would tell, how that Amy Duny, and Rose Cullender would appear before them, holding their Fists at them, threatning, That if they related either what they saw or heard, that they would Torment them Ten times more than ever they did before.

In their fits they would cry out, There stands Amy Duny, or Rose Cullender; and sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, running with great violence to the place where they fancied them to stand, striking at them as if they present; they would appear to them sometimes spinning, and sometimes reeling, or in other postures, deriding or threatning them.

And this Deponent farther saith, That his Children being thus Tormented by all the space aforesaid, and finding no hopes of amendment, he sent them to his Sisters House, one Margaret Arnold, who lived at Yarmouth, to make tryal, whether the change of the Air might do them any good. And how, and in what manner they were afterwards held, he this Deponent refers himself to the Testimony of his said Sister.

Margaret Arnold, Sworn and Examined, saith, That the said Elizabeth and Deborah Pacy came to her House about the Thirtieth of November last, her Brother acquainted her, that he thought they were Bewitch'd, for that they vomited Pins; and farther Informed her of the several passages which occurred at his own House. This Deponent said, that she gave no credit to that which was related to her, conceiving possibly the Children might use some deceit in putting Pins in their mouths themselves. Wherefore this Deponent unpinned all their Cloathes, and left not so much as one Pin upon them, but sewed all the Cloathes they wore, instead of pinning of them. But this De-

ponent saith, that notwithstanding all this care and circumspection of hers, the Children afterwards raised at several times at least Thirty Pins in her presence, and had most fierce and violent Fitts upon them.

The Children would in their Fitts cry out against Rose Culender and Amy Duny, affirming that they saw them; and they threatned 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 suddainly snapt one with the Tongs, and threw it into the fire, and it screeched out like a Rat.

At another time, the younger Child being out of her Fitts 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, screeking 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 Fitt, and at last with much pain straining herself, she vomitted up a Two-penny 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 Fitts, she saw Flies come unto her, and bring with them in their Mouthes crooked Pins; and after the Child had thus declared the same, she fell again into violent Fitts, and afterwards raised several Pins.

At another time, the said Elder Child declared unto this Deponent, and sitting by the Fire suddainly started up and said, she saw a Mouse, and she crept under the Table looking after it, and at lenght, 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 Gun-powder, though she confessed she saw nothing in the Childs Hand.

At another time the said Child being speechless, but otherwise, of perfect understanding, ran round about the House holding her Apron, crying hush, hush, as if there had been Poultry in the House; but this Deponent could perceive nothing: but at last she saw the Child stoop as if she had

catch't at something, and put it into her Apron, and afterwards made as if she had thrown it into the Fire: but this Deponent could not discover any thing: but the Child afterwards being restored to her speech, she this Deponent demanded of her what she saw at the time she used such a posture? who answered, That she saw a Duck.

At another time, the Younger daughter being recovered out of her Fitts, declared, That Amy Duny had been with her, and that she tempted her to Drown her self, and to cut her Throat, or otherwise to Destroy her self.

At another time, in their Fitts they both of them cryed out upon Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, complaining against them; Why do you not come your selves, but send your Imps to Torment us?

These several passages as most remarkable, the said Deponent did particularly set down as they daily happen'd, and for the reasons aforesaid, she doth verily believe in her conscience, that the Children were bewitched, and by the said Amy Duny, and Rose Cullender; though at first she could hardly be induced to believe it.

As concerning Ann Durent, one other of the Parties, supposed to be bewitched, present in Court.

Edmund Durent her Father Sworn and Examined; said, That he also lived in the said Town of Leystoff, and that the said Rose Cullender, about the latter end of November last, came into this Deponents House to buy some Herrings of his Wife, but being denied by her, the said Rose returned in a discontented manner; and upon the first of December after, his Daughter Ann Durent was very sorely Afflicted in her Stomach, and felt great pain, like the pricking of Pins, and then fell into swooning fitts, and after the Recovery from her Fitts, she declared, That she had seen the Apparition of the said Rose, who threatned to Torment her. In this manner she continued from the first of December, until this present time of Tryal; having likewise vomited up divers Pins (produced here in Court.) This Maid was present in Court, but could not speak to declare her knowledge, but fell into most violent fits when she was brought before Rose Cullender.

Ann Baldwin Sworn and Examined, Deposeth the same thing as touching the Bewitching of the said Ann Durent.

As concerning Jane Bocking who was so weak, she could not be brought to the Assizes.

Diana Bocking Sworn and Examined, Deposed, That she lived in the same Town of Leystoff, and that her said Daughter having been formerly Afflicted with swooning fitts, recovered well of them, and so continued for a certain time; and upon the First of February last, she was taken also with great pain in her Stomach, like pricking with Pins; and afterwards fell into swooning fitts and so continued till the Deponents coming to the Assizes, having during the same time taken little or no food, but daily vomiting crooked Pins; and upon Sunday last raised Seven Pins. And whilst her fitts were upon her she would spread forth her Arms with her hands open, and use postures as if she caught at something, and would instantly close her hands again; which being immediatly forced open, they found several Pins diversly crooked, but could neither see nor perceive how or in what manner they were conveyed thither. At another time, the same Jane being in another of her fitts, talked as if she were discoursing with some persons in the Room, (though she would give no answer nor seem to take notice of any person then present) and would in like manner cast abroad her Arms, saying, I will not have it, I will not have it; and at last she said, Then I will have it, and so waving her Arm with her hand open, she would presently close the same, which instantly forced open, they found in it a Lath-Nail. In her Fitts she would frequently complain of Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, saying, That now she saw Rose Cullender standing at the Beds feet, and another time at the Beds head, and so in other places. At last she was stricken Dumb and could not speak one Word, though her fitts were not upon her, and so she continued for some days, and at last her speech came to her again, and she desired her Mother to get her some Meat; and being demanded the reason why she could not speak in so long time? She answered, That Amy Duny would not suffer her to speak. This Lath-Nail, and divers of the Pins were produced in Court.

As concerning Susan Chandler, one other of the Parties supposed to be Bewitched and present in Court.

Mary Chandler Mother of the said Susan, Sworn and Examined, Deposed and said, That about the beginning of February last past, the said Rose Cullender and Amy Duny were Charged by Mr. Samuel Pacy for Bewitching of his Daughters. And a Warrant being granted at the request of the said Mr.

Pacy, by Sir Edmund Bacon, Baronet, one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Suffolk, to bring them before him, and they being brought before him were Examined, and Confessed nothing. He gave order that they should be searched; whereupon this Deponent with five others were appointed to do the same: and coming to the House of Rose Cullender, they did acquaint her with what they were come about, and asked whether she was contented that they should search her? she did not oppose it, whereupon they began at her Head, and so stript her naked, and in the lower part of her Belly they found a thing like a Teat of an Inch long, they questioned her about it, and she said, That she had got a strain by carrying of water which caused that Excrescence. But upon narrower search, they found in her Privy Parts three more Excrescences or Teats, but smaller than the former: This Deponent farther saith, That in the long Teat at the end thereof there was a little hole, and it appeared unto them as if it had been lately sucked, and upon the straining of it there issued out white milkie Matter.

And this Deponent farther saith, That her said Daughter (being of the Age of Eighteen Years) was then in Service in the said Town of Leystoff, and 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 extreamly terrified, she fell extream 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 extream fits as if she were distracted, crying against Rose Cullender; saying, she would come to bed to her. She continued in this manner beating and wearing her self, insomuch, that this Deponent was glad to get help to attend her. In her Intervals she would declare, That some time she saw Rose Cullender, 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 Tryal of the Prisoners was; for she was not able to speak her knowledge; but being brought into the Court at the Tryal, she suddenly fell into her fits, and being carryed out of the Court again, within the space of half an hour she came to her self and recovered her speech, and thereupon was immediatly 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, screek-

ing out in a miserable manner, crying Burn her, burn her, which were all the Words she could speak.

Robert Chandler, father of the said Susan, gave in the same Evidence, that his Wife Mary Chandler had given; only as to the searching of Rose Cullender as aforesaid.

This was the sum and Substance of the Evidence which was given against the Prisoners concerning the Bewitching of the Children before mentioned. At the hearing this Evidence there were divers known persons, as Mr. Serjeant Keeling, Mr. Serjeant Earl, and Mr. Serjeant Bernard, present. Mr. Serjeant Keeling seemed much unsatisfied with it, and thought it not sufficient to Convict the Prisoners: for admitting that the Children were in Truth Bewitched, yet said he, it can never be applyed to the Prisoners, upon the Imagination only of the Parties Afflicted; For if that might be allowed, no person whatsoever can be in safety, for perhaps they might fancy another person, who might altogether be innocent in such matters.

There was also Dr. Brown of Norwich, a Person of great knowledge; who after this Evidence given, and upon view of the three persons in Court, was desired to give his Opinion, what he did conceive of them: and he was clearly of Opinion, that the persons were Bewitched; and said, That in Denmark there had been lately a great Discovery of Witches, who used the very same way of Afflicting Persons, by conveying Pins into them, and crooked as these Pins were, with Needles and Nails. And his Opinion was, That the Devil in such cases did work upon the Bodies of Men and Women, upon a Natural Foundation, (that is) to stir up and excite such humours superabounding in their Bodies to a great excess, whereby he did in an extraordinary manner Afflict them with such Distempers as their Bodies were most subject to, as particularly appeared in these Children; for he conceived, that these swooning Fits were Natural, and nothing else but that they call the Mother, but only heightned to a great excess by the subtilty of the Devil, co-operating with the Malice of these which we term Witches, at whose Instance he doth these Villanies.

Besides the particulars above-mention'd touching the said persons Bewitched, there were many other things Objected against them for a further proof and manifestation that the said Children were Bewitched.

As First, during the time of the Tryal, 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 Fitts, to all Mens apprehension wholly deprived of all sense and understanding, closing their Fists in such manner, as that the strongest Man in the Court could not force them open; yet by the least touch of one of these 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 least 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 farther part of the Hall, whilst she was in her fits, and then to 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 meer 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. This saying of Mr. Pacy was found to be true afterwards, when his Daughter was fully recovered (as she afterwards was) as shall in due time be related: For she was asked, whither she did hear and understand any thing that was done and acted in the

Court, during the time that she lay as one deprived of her understanding? and she said, she did: and by the Opinions of some, this experiment, (which others would have a Fallacy) was rather a confirmation that the Parties were really Bewitched, than otherwise: for say they, it is not possible that any should counterfeit such Distempers, being accompanied with such various Circumstances, much less Children; and for so long time, and yet undiscovered by their Parents and Relations: For no man can suppose that they should all Conspire together, (being out of several families, and, as they Affirm, no way related one to the other, and scarce of familiar acquaintance) to do an Act of this nature whereby no benefit or advantage could redound to any of the Parties, but a guilty Conscience for Perjuring themselves in taking the Lives of two poor simple Women away, and there appears no Malice in the Case. For the Prisoners themselves did scarce so much as Object it. Wherefore, say they, it is very evident that the Parties were Bewitched, and that when they apprehend or understand by any means, that the persons who have done them this wrong are near, or touch them; then their spirits being more than ordinarily moved with rage and anger at them being present, they do use more violent gestures of their Bodies, and extend forth their hands, as desirous to lay hold upon them; which at other times not having the same occasion, the instance there falls not out the same.

2ly. One John Soam of Leystoff aforesaid, Yeoman, a sufficient Person, Deposeth, 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 Cullenders House, whereupon she came out in a great rage and threatned 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 afterwards; but as to this Cart which touched Rose Cullenders House, after it was loaded, it was overturned twice or thrice that day; and after that they had loaded it again the 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 Gate-head, that they could not possibly get it through, but were inforced 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-posts. And this Deponent further saith, That after they had got it through the Gate-way, 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

unto 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 labour 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 Axletree of his Cart touched her House, and broke down some part of it, at which, she was very much displeased, threatning him, that his Horses should suffer for it; and so it happen'd, for all those Horses, being Four in Number, died within a short time after: since that time he hath had great Losses by the suddain dying of his other Cattle; so soon as his Sows pigged, the Pigs would leap and caper, and immediately fall down and dye. 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 great Number of Lice of an extraordinary bigness, and although he many times shifted himself, yet he was not any thing the better, but would swarm again with them; so that in the Conclusion he was forc'd to burn all his Clothes, being two suits of Apparel, and then was clean from them.

As concerning Amy Duny, one Richard Spencer Deposeth, That about the first of September last, he heard her say at his House, That the Devil would not let her rest until she were Revenged on one Cornelius Sandeswell's Wife.

Ann Sandeswell, Wife unto the above-said Cornelius, Deposeth, That about Seven or Eight Years since, she having bought a certain number of Geese, meeting with Amy Duny, she told her, If she did not fetch her Geese home they would all be Destroyed: which in a few days after came to pass.

Afterwards the said Amy became Tenant to this Deponents Husband for a House, who told her, That if she looked not well to such a Chimney in her House, that the same would fall: Whereupon this Deponent replyed, That it was a new one; but not minding much her Words, at that time they parted. But in a short time the Chimney fell down according as the said Amy had said.

Also this Deponent farther saith, That her Brother being a Fisherman, and using to go into the Northern Seas, she desired

him to send her a Firkin of Fish, which he did accordingly ; and she having notice that the said Firkin was brought into Leystoff-Road, she desired a Boatman to bring it ashore with the other Goods they were to bring ; and she going down to meet the Boat-man to receive her Fish, desired the said Amy to go along with her to help her home with it ; Amy Replied, She would go when she had it. And thereupon this Deponent went to the Shoar without her, and demanded of the Boat-man the Firkin, they told her, That they could not keep it in the Boat from falling into the Sea, and they thought it was gone to the Devil, for they never saw the like before. And being demanded by this Deponent, whether any other Goods in the Boat were likewise lost as well as hers ? They answered, Not any.

This was the substance of the whole Evidence given against the Prisoners at the Bar ; who being demanded what they had to say for themselves ? They replied, Nothing material to any thing that was proved against them. Whereupon the Judge in giving his direction to the Jury, told them, That he would not repeat the Evidence unto them, least by so doing he should wrong the Evidence on the one side or on the other. Only this acquainted them, That they had Two things to enquire after. First, Whether or no these Children were Bewitched ? Secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were Guilty of it ?

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 Punishments proportionable to the quality of the Offence. And desired them, strictly to observe their Evidence ; and desired the great God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in this weighty thing they had in hand : For to Condemn the Innocent, and to let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.

With this short Direction the Jury departed from the Bar, and within the space of half an hour returned, and brought them in both *GUILTY* upon the several Indictments, which were Thirteen in Number, whereupon they stood Indicted.

This was upon Thursday in the Afternoon, March 13, 1664.

The next Morning, the Three Children with their Parents came to the Lord Chief Baron Hale's Lodging, who all of them spake perfectly, and were as in good Health as ever they were; only Susan Chandler, by reason of her very much Affliction, did look very thin and wan. And their friends were asked, At what time they were restored thus to their Speech and Health? And Mr. Pacy did Affirm, That within less than half an hour after the Witches were Convicted, they were all of them Restored, and slept well that Night, feeling no pain; only Susan Chandler felt a pain like pricking of Pins in her Stomach.

After, they were all of them brought down to the Court, but Ann Durent was so fearful to behold them, that she desired she might not see them. The other Two continued in the Court, and they Affirmed in the face of the Country, and before the Witches themselves, what before hath been Deposed by their Friends and Relations; the Prisoners not much contradicting them. In Conclusion, the Judge and all the Court were fully satisfied with the Verdict, and thereupon gave Judgment against the Witches that they should be Hanged.

They were much urged to confess, but would not.

That morning we departed for Cambridge, but no Reprieve was granted: And they were Executed on Monday, the Seventeenth of March following, but they Confessed nothing.

END OF THE TRIAL.

Appendix.

A Witch, according to old descriptions, was generally blessed with a "wrinkled face, a furred brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye, a squeaking voice, a scolding tongue, a ragged coat on her back, a scull-cap on her head, a spindle in her hand, and a dog or cat by her side;" and Lord Coke pithily describes a "Witch to be a person that hath conference with the devil, to consult with him or to do some act." In former times the most eminent men and philosophers (Sir Thomas Brown for instance.—See p. 16) were not proof against the prevailing opinions. A modern writer observes, that one would imagine that the establishment of Protestantism would have conduced to the abolition of this lamentable and pernicious credulity. But the Reformation did not arrive with great rapidity at its full extent, and the belief in Witchcraft long continued to "overspread the land." Indeed it has been proved by Hutchinson, in his *Essay on Witchcraft*, that the change of religion at first rather augmented than diminished the evil. A degree of importance, hardly credible in these times, was attached to it; and in the sixteenth century the unbelievers were accounted "Sadducees, Atheists, and Infidels!" One of the most eminent divines of the day, a strenuous advocate in the belief of Witchcraft, characterises them thus in the most forcible language! It is not surprising, therefore, that the supposed dabblers in the infernal art were hunted out and exposed to the most dreadful cruelty and oppression, not only from those who imagined they had suffered under their charms, but from the very laws of the realm also. The first trial of any note took place in 1593. Three persons, old Samuel and his wife and daughter Agnes, were condemned at Huntingdon, before Mr. Justice Fenner, for bewitching a Mr. Throgmorton's family, &c. A few years after, an advocate for this belief appeared from no less a quarter than the throne itself. King James I. in his *Demonologie*, completely superseded Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, a work which completely unmasked the whole machinery, and was a storehouse of facts on the subject. The infection, commenced at the throne, soon reached the Parliament, and (as it has been observed the greatest part of mankind have no other reason for their

opinions than that they are in fashion) a statute was passed in the first year of King James, having for its object, as expressed in the preamble, "the more effectual punishment of those detestable slaves of the devil, witches, sorcerers, enchanters, and conjurors." The punishment was enacted to be the pillory for the first offence (even though its object were not effected) and death for the second. "Thus was the detestable doctrine established both by law and fashion, and it became not only unpolite but criminal to doubt it; and, as prodigies are always seen in proportion as they are expected, witches were every day discovered, and multiplied so fast in some places, that Bishop Hall mentions a village in Lancashire where their number was greater than that of the houses." There was dreadful havoc in that county after this law had passed. Lancashire has always been remarkable for the number of its witches. Though the information we have to go upon cannot, of course, be considered as very accurate, yet it has been ascertained that between the commencement of the statute in question (1602) and the year 1701, in the space of one century, 3192 persons were executed for the crimes of Witchcraft and Sorcery! The act alluded to was rigorously enforced during this period, and the above calculation is probably under the mark, and does not include the numbers that were tried on suspicion, but acquitted for want of sufficient proof of the charges alleged against them.

WITCHCRAFT IN SUFFOLK. In 1644, one Matthew Hopkins, of Manningtree, in Essex, who styled himself *Witch-finder General*, and had 20s. allowed him for every town he visited, was, with some others, commissioned by Parliament to perform a circuit for the discovery of witches, during this and the two following years. Thus authorised, they went from place to place, through many parts of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Huntingdonshire; but what appears still more astonishing, they caused 16 persons to be hanged at Yarmouth, 40 at Bury, and others in different parts of the county to the amount of 60 persons!! Butler, in his *Hudibras*, alludes to this when he makes his hero say—

"Has not this present Parliament
A ledger to the devil sent,
Fully empowered to treat about
Finding revolted witches out?
And has not he within one year
Hang'd threescore of them in a shire?"

A Mr. Lowes, an innocent and aged clergyman, vicar of Brandeston, was among the victims sacrificed by this impostor and his associates. A cooper and his wife, and fifteen other women, were by the same influence all condemned and executed at one

time at Bury! Besides the arts used by Hopkins to extort confession from suspected persons, he had recourse to *swimming them*; which was done by tying their thumbs and great toes together, previously to throwing them into the water: if they sunk it was a proof of their innocence, but if they floated they were guilty. This method he pursued till some gentlemen, indignant at his barbarity, tied his own thumbs and toes, as he had been accustomed to tie those of other persons, and when put into the water, he himself swam, as many others had done before him. By this expedient the country was cleared of him. *Hudibras* alludes to this when, speaking of Hopkins, he says—

“ Who after proved himself a witch,
And made a rod for his own breech.”

The following curious Letter is copied from a manuscript in the British Museum:—

“ From Mr. Manning, Dissenting Teacher, at Halstead, in Essex, to John Morley, Esq., Halstead.

“ Halstead, Aug. 2, 1732.

“ SIR,—The narrative which I gave you in relation to witchcraft, and which you are pleased to lay your commands upon me to repeat, is as follows:—There was one master Collett, a smith by trade, of Haveningham, in the County of Suffolk, who, as 'twas customary with him, assisting the maide to churne, and not being able (as the phrase is) to make the butter come, threw a hot iron into the churn, under the notion of witchcraft in the case, upon which a poore labourer, then employed in carrying of dung in the yard, cried out in a terrible manner, ‘they have killed me, they have killed me;’ still keeping his hand upon his back, intimating where the pain was, and died upon the spot.

“ Mr. Collett, with the rest of the servants then present, took off the poor man’s clothes, and found to their great surprise, the mark of the iron that was heated and thrown into the churn, deeply impressed upon his back. This account I had from Mr. Collett’s own mouth, who being a man of unblemished character, I verily believe to be matter of fact.

“ I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

“ SAM. MANNING.”

An old gentleman, who died at Polstead, in Suffolk, some years ago, lamented till his death a sight he had lost when a boy, only for the want of five pounds; a man having undertaken for that sum to make all the witches in the parish dance on the knoll together; and though he grew up a penurious man, and lived a bachelor till fifty, he never ceased to lament that such an opportunity of seeing these weird-sisters collected together,

never occurred again. He used to say he had seen a witch *swam* on Polstead Ponds, and "she went over the water like a cork." He had, when a boy, stopped a wizard on his way to Stoke, by laying a line of single straws across the path; and, concealed in a hedge, he had watched an old woman (alias witch) feeding her imps in the form of three blackbirds.

WITCH-FINDING AT NEWCASTLE.—Mention occurs of a petition in the common council books of Newcastle, dated March 26th, 1649, and signed, no doubt, by the inhabitants, concerning witches, the purport of which appears, from what followed, to have occasioned all such persons as were suspected, to be apprehended and brought to trial. In consequence of this, the magistrates sent two of their serjeants into Scotland, to agree with a Scotchman, who pretended knowledge to find out witches by pricking them with pins, to come to Newcastle, where he should try such as should be brought to him, and have twenty shillings a-piece for all he should condemn as witches, and free passage thither and back. When the serjeants brought the witch-finder on horseback to town, the magistrates sent their bellman through the town, ringing his bell and crying, all people that would bring in any complaint against any woman for a witch, they should be sent for, and tried by the person appointed. Thirty women were brought into the Town Hall, and had pins thrust into their flesh, and most of them were found guilty.—It appears by an extract from the registry of the parochial chapelry of St. Andrews, in Scotland, that one man and fifteen women were executed at Newcastle for witchcraft; and there is a print of this horrid execution in *Gardner's England's Grievance Discovered*, 1655, reprinted at Newcastle, 1796.—When the witch-finder had done in Newcastle, and received his wages, he went into Northumberland, to try women there, and got £3. a-piece; but Henry Ogle, Esq., laid hold on him, and required bond of him, to answer at the sessions. He escaped into Scotland, where he was made prisoner, indicted, arraigned, and condemned for such-like villany exercised in Scotland, and confessed at the gallows that he had been the death of above 220 women in England and Scotland, for the gain of 20s. a-piece!! —*Sykes's Local Records*.

WITCHCRAFT IN LANCASHIRE.—In 1634, seventeen Pendleforest witches were condemned in Lancashire, by the infamous contrivances of a boy only eleven years of age, and his father. Amongst other charges equally wonderful and miraculous, this little villain deposed that a greyhound was transformed by their agency into "one Dickenson's wife," &c. These poor creatures,

however, obtained a reprieve, and were sent to London, where they first viewed and examined by his majesty's physicians and surgeons, and then by "*his majesty himself and the council.*" The result was that the boy's contrivances were exposed and properly punished. In 1664, Alice Hudson, who was burnt at York, said she received money from the devil, ten shillings at a time!

ORIGIN OF WALTZING.—The origin of that elegant accomplishment, *waltzing*, is derived from the orgies of the devils and witches during the ceremony of initiation, who on these occasions never failed to dance. Each had a broomstick in her hand, and held it up aloft. "*Also that these night-walking, or rather night-dancing, devils brought out of Italy into France that dance which is called La Volta.*"—See Bodin in his *Lib. de Demonomania*, and Scot's *Discoverie*. This is certainly the origin of the modern waltz; and that it should take its derivation from so diabolical a source is much to be lamented. Some, however, have endeavoured to trace the waltz from certain feasts of Bacchus, called *Orgia*.

WITCHCRAFT IN ESSEX.—About the year 1576, seventeen or eighteen persons were condemned for witchcraft at St. Osyth, in Essex. An account of them was written by Brian Darcy, with the names and colours of their spirits!—See Scot's *Discoverie*.

In 1645, fifteen persons were condemned for witchcraft at Chelmsford, and hanged—some at Chelmsford and some at Manningtree. Another died in gaol. Another died as going to execution. They were condemned at a Sessions by the Earl of Warwick, and some Justices of the Peace.—*Hutchinson's Essay*.

About half a century ago, the inhabitants of the rural village of Great Totham, Essex, were witnesses of one of those strange ceremonies, the swimming of a person who was suspected to be a witch. From a person who was present and saw the whole of the proceedings, and upon whose veracity I can rely, I have collected the following particulars:—At an old cottage, a part of which is still standing, situate on the western side of Totham Hill, to the right of the road leading to Beckingham, dwelt an old widow-woman of rather singular habits of the name of Scotcher. One morning in harvest time, she and her daughter, who, with her husband, lived with her, were found by one Master Fitch, a small farmer at Great Totham, who happened to be accompanied that morning by the village blacksmith, a person of the name of Acers, in one of the fields of the former, gleaning,—it being but just light, and a much earlier hour than

the rest of the inhabitants were accustomed to go out into the fields to glean. On being told that they had no right to be there at that time of the morning, and ordered to leave the field, they were much offended, and Scotcher became very abusive. At length, finding that words would not prevail, Acers went and procured a hedge-stake, and, assisted by Fitch, drove them out of the field by force. Acers used his weapon only *in terrorem*; but after they had driven them out of the field, being much excited by their conduct, he seized hold of both the offenders, and knocked their heads together with great force, telling Scotcher that she was a Witch, and that he would have her swam. This threat was actually put into execution a few days after, in the presence of a great number of the villagers, at "Totham Pond," (now laid dry and cultivated,) situate by the side of the road leading from Maldon to Colchester. The suspected witch, after having been stript of all her habiliments save her under garment, her feet and hands confined together, and a rope tied round her waist, to enable the officiating person to pull her out of the water again, if they found she was in danger of drowning, was put into a large tub, where she was received by Acers, who, all being arranged, immediately shoved the tub from the side, and continued floating it until they had got to the deepest part of the pond, when he threw her into the water, and—*she swam!* Although she tried all she could, and even "dived down into the water like a duck," said my informant, "she could no more sink than a piece of cork!" After she had been worried about in the water for some time, she was taken out and allowed to depart; those assembled being quite satisfied that she was one of those "slaves of the Devil," yclept a Witch!

According to Strype, Bishop Jewel, preaching before the Queen, in 1558, said: "It may please your grace to understand that witches and sorcerers, within these few last years, are marvelously increased within your grace's realm. Your grace's subjects pine away, even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft. I pray God they never practice *further than upon the subject.*" "This," says Strype, "I make no doubt was the occasion of bringing in a bill, the next parliament, for making enchantments and witchcraft felony." One of the bishop's strong expressions is, "These eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks of their wickedness."

In Archbishop Cranmer's Articles of Visitation, 1549, is the following:—"Item, You shall enquire, whether you know of any that use charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, sooth-saying, or any like craft, invented by the Devil."

John Bell, minister of the gospel at Glaidsmuir, says:—
 “Providently, two tests appeared to discover the crime: if the witch cries out ‘Lord, have mercy upon me!’ when apprehended; and the inability of shedding tears: because, as a witch could only shed three tears, and those with her left eye, her stock was quickly exhausted; and that was the more striking, as King James I. shrewdly observes, ‘since other women in general are like the crocodile, ready to weep upon every slight occasion.

About the year 1679, a witch was condemned at Ely, but reprieved by King Charles II., and afterwards the fellow that pretended to have been bewitched, was hanged at Chelmsford, in Essex, and confessed that he had counterfeited his fits and vomitings.—*Hutchinson's Essay*.

In 1716, Mrs. Hicks, and her daughter aged *nine*, were hanged at Huntingdon for selling their souls to the Devil, and raising a storm, by pulling off their stockings and making a lather of soap! With this crowning atrocity, the catalogue of murders in England closes; the penal statutes against witchcraft being repealed in 1736, and the pretended exercise of such arts being punished in future by imprisonment and pillory. Barrington, in his observations on the statute 20 Henry VI., does not hesitate to estimate the numbers of those put to death in England on the charge of witchcraft at 30,000!—*Foreign Quarterly Review*.

GREENWICH:

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An Account
OF THE
TRIAL, CONFESSION & CONDEMNATION
OF
SIX WITCHES,
AT
MAIDSTONE, IN THE COUNTY OF KENT,
AT THE ASSIZES HELD THERE JULY 1652,
BEFORE
SIR PETER WARBURTON,
One of the Justices of the Common Pleas.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
THE
TRIAL, EXAMINATION AND EXECUTION
OF
Three Witches
EXECUTED AT FAVERSHAM,
IN THE SAME COUNTY,
SEPTEMBER 1645.

London;

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MDCCCXXXVII.

P R E F A C E.

IT is somewhat extraordinary that the circumstances of the following narrative has entirely escaped the notice of all the historians and provincial writers on the County of Kent, which is the more remarkable as the celebrated Sir Robert Filmer, Knt. of East Sutton, near Maidstone, wrote a work on the occasion entitled "An Advertisement to the Jurymen of England touching Witches, together with a Difference between an English and an Hebrew Witch, quarto. Lond. 1652." in the preface of which he states, "The late Execution of Witches at the Summer Assises in Kent occasioned this brief Exercitation, which addresses it selfe to such as have not deliberately thought upon the great difficulty in discovering, *what*, or *who* a Witch is." In a volume of Tracts on Witchcraft in the possession of the printer, occurs the following manuscript remarks of a former possessor, from which it would appear, the writer intended to republish Sir R. Filmer's work, or some other treatise on Witchcraft

who also appeared to be ignorant of the rare tract here reprinted, the writer says, " I hope it (meaning Sir Robert's work) prevented the spreading of that weakness of reasoning which occasioned it, and made the promoters thereof ashamed of it, since I do not find nor can learn that their Tryals were ever printed or their Execution justified by any in answer thereto, nor have I been able to find any thing else relating thereto save that in the Diary of Elias Ashmole, Esquire, printed from his manuscript at Oxford by Charles Burman. Printed for Curll, duodecimo, 1717, in it he says " August 2, 1652. I went to Maidstone Assizes to hear the Witches tryed and took Mr Tradescant with me " I was in hopes of seeing some Account of these in Dr. Harris's elaborate Antiquities of the County of Kent, in the account he gives of the Town of Maidstone, and the Village of East Sutton where is situated the seat of the learned author of this advertisement, now that of his worthy grandson, the present Sir Edward Filmer, Bart. I was in hopes at least of receiving some Account of them from the present very worthy Minister of Maidstone, my old acquaintance and Chamber-fellow at Oxford, to whom I wrote in hopes of receiving some information relating thereto.

He wrote me the following very kind letter dated September 17, 1722.

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry it is not in my power to assist you in a design which I approve so much as

that which you are now upon I have read Dr. Hutchinson's book* and was extremely pleased with the reading of it, and I imagine you will do a good deal of real service to the world in what you are going to publish.

There is nobody here that knows or remembers the least tittle of what you desire me to inform you of; but if upon fuller enquiry I can meet with any thing worthy your knowledge you shall be sure to receive it from

Dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant

S. WELLER.†

In answer to this I begged of him to continue his enquiries and for that end to pay a visit to Sir Edward Filmer, if he had the honor of being acquainted with him, in answer to which he wrote me word on October 10, following in these words "I am sorry I can't execute your directions to me relating to Sir Edward Filmer, having no manner of acquaintance with him, and as for the Executions here in 1652 I have enquired but can find no account of them," It is notoriously evident that in the late miserable times of Rebellion and Usurpation, the unhappy notions of the absurd power of Witches to hurt both man and beast had taken so great a possession of the minds of

* Historical Essay on Witchcraft.

† The Rev. Samuel Weller was Curate of Maidstone from 1712 to 1753.

the credulous and weak teachers of those times, that it was thought no less than doing God service to promote the prosecution and execution of silly ignorant old women under the name of Witches.”

Both Lewis and Jacob in their Histories of Faversham were ignorant of the transactions recorded in annexed tract, as was also the indefatigable Bishop Hutchinson



A

Prodigious & Tragically
HISTORY

OF THE

Arraignment, Tryall, Confession, and
Condemnation of six Witches at *Maidstone*,
in *Kent*, at the Assizes there held in *July*, Fry-
day 30, this present year, 1652.

Before the Right Honourable, *Peter Warburton*,
one of the Justices of the Common Pleas.

Collected from the Observations of E. G. Gent, a
learned person, present at their Conviction
and Condemnation) and digested by H. F. Gent.

*To which is added a true relation of one Mrs.
Atkins, a Mercers Wife in Warwick, who was
strangely carried away from her House in July
last, and hath not been heard of since.*




LONDON

Printed for *Richard Harper*, in Smithfeild, 1652.



Kent, *the first Christian, last conquered, and one of the most flourishing and fruitful Provinces of England, is the Scene, and the beautifull town of Maidstone, the Stage, whereon this Tragicall Story was publickly acted, at Maidstone Assizes last past.*

 **A**mongst many others that then made their entrance, and were presented as suspected of Witchcraft before the Reverend and Honourable Judge *Warburton*, who then sate Judge over crimminall offenders: the most notorious were, *Anne Ashby*, alias *Cobler*, *Anne Martyn*, *Mary Browne*, *Mildred Wright*, and *Anne Wilson*, all of *Cranbrooke*, a market Town in *Kent*, and *Mary Read*, of

Lenham in the same County; all which were convicted of the execrable and Diabolicall crime of Witchcraft, and for the same received sentence of death, on Friday the 30. day of *July* last; of whose actions and confessions I shall give you a few particulars, but those you will confesse, very rare and remarkable.

Anne Ashby alias *Cobler*, who was the chief Actresse and who had the greatest part in this Tragedy, and *Anne Martyn*, confessed at the time of their triall, that the Divell had known them carnally, and that they had no hurt by it.

The said Ashby alias Cobler, in view of this Observation, fell into an extasie before the Bench, and swell'd into a monstrous and vast bigness, screeching and crying out very dolefully; and being recovered, and demanded if the Divell at that time had possessed her, she replied she knew not that, but she said that the Spirit *Rug* came out of her mouth like a Mouse.

And further concerning this Spirit *Rug*, it is reported, that the said *Ashby* alias *Cobler* being under Examination before a Justice of Peace, before whom she was carried by certain Souldiers of Colonell *Humfrey's* Regiment; at

the same time of her examination, a certain Groom that was in presence said come *Rug* into my mouth, which Groom, as it is reported, died within a fortnight after, near unto the City of London.

The said Anne Ashby further confessed, that the Divell had given them a piece of flesh, which whensoever they should touch, they should thereby affect their desires.

That this flesh lay hid amongst grasse, in a certain place which she named, where upon search it was found accordingly.

This flesh was of a sinnewy substance, and scorched, and was seen and felt by this Observer, and reserved for publique view, at the sign of the Swan in *Maidstone*.

The said *Anne Ashby*, *Anne Martyn*, and one other of their Associates, after they were cast, and upon the pronounciation of Judgement against them, pleaded that they were with child pregnant, but confessed it was not by any man, but by the Divell.

One *Dock* of *Gresham* alias *Cresham*, Doctor to *Anne Ashby*, is committed to close imprison-

ment, and not permitted to speak with any person, without the presence of his Keeper.

A Pin being thrust to the head into one of their arms, the party did not feele it, neither did it draw bloud from her, which was *Mary Browne*, *Anne Wilson*, or *Mildred Wright*.

Mary Read of *Lenham* had a visible Teat under her tongue, and did shew it to many, and it was likewise seen by this Observator.

It is likewise to be noted, that the aforesaid *Anne Ashby*, alias *Cobler*, during the time of her extasie, when she swell'd in that prodigious manner before mentioned, uttered many speeches which did greatly amaze and astonish the Auditory, proceeding from her in that manner, of which there was no small number of Witnesses, in so great and generall a confluence of people, some of which the Observator remembreth, but forbears at present to set down the particulars.

So upon the proceedings aforesaid, and the evidences brought in against them, the said *Anne Ashby*, alias *Cobler*, *Anne Martyn*, *Mary Browne*, *Anne Wilson*, and *Mildred Wright* of *Cranbrook*, and *Mary Read*, of *Lenham*, being

legally convicted, were according to the Laws of this Nation, adjudged to be hanged, at the common place of Execution.

Some there were that wished rather they might be burnt to Ashes; alledging, that it was a received opinion amongst many, that the body of a witch being burnt, her bloud is prevented thereby from becomming hereditary to her Progeny in the same evill, which by hanging is not; but whether this opinion be erroneous or not, I am not to dispute.

Besides these former six condemned Witches, there were at the same time others of *Greanes* Arraigned, who although sentence of death did not then passe against them, yet one whose name was *Creed*, was by three severall Indictments found guilty by the Grand Jury, consisting of persons of good integrity, and estates. And in the aforesaid black List, were mustred one *Reynolds*, and one *Wilson*, with both their Wives.

It is supposed that nine children, besides a man and a woman, were bewitched; 500 pounds worth of Cattel lost, and much Corn at Sea wrack'd, by Witchcraft.

They confessed they had bewitched a child, that had been languishing a long time; this child died about the time of their trials, whose pourtraicture in wax was found, where they had laid it, under the Threshold of a doore.

To this discourse the bodies of three Children lately found at *Chatham*, may have some reference, which however it will not be much amisse to insert here; although it be doubtfull, whether their deaths be to be attributed to Sorcery or any other violent means; two of these bodies appeared but in part, the rest being consumed; the third was the entire body of a Male-child, having a Navell five inches long.

And here you may observe the hellish and infernall estate of those wretched deluded people, calld Witches, whom their Grandmaster the Devill, at one time or other leaves in the lurch; as here you may perceive in the Story of these miserable Wretches, who deservedly received the Sentence of Condemnation, as aforesayd; for it is written, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.*



A true Relation of one Mrs. *Atkins*, a Mercers
 Wife in *Warwick*, who was strangely
 carried away from her house in
July last, and hath not been
 heard of since.

IN *Warwick Town* one Mrs. Katherine *At-*
kins, a Mercers Wife, standing at her door
 on Saturday night, the 24. *July* 1652. A
 certain unknown Woman came to her and sayd
Mistris, pray give me two-pence, she answered,
 two-pences are not so plentiful, and that she
 would give her no Mony. Pray *Mistris*,
 sayd she, then give me that Pin, so she took the
 Pin off her sleeve and gave her, for which
 she was very thankful, and was going away.
Mistris Atkins seeing her so thankful for a
 Pin, called her again, and told her if she
 would stay, she would fetch some Victuals for
 her, or give her some thread, or something out
 of the shop. She answered, she would have
 nothing else, and bid a pox of her Victuals,
 and swore (by God) saying, You shall be an
 hundred miles off within this week, when you

shall want two-pence as much as I, and so she went grumbling away.

Hereupon the sayd Mistris Atkins was much troubled in mind, and did advise with some Friends what were best to be done in such a case, but receiving no resolution from any one what to do, she attended the Event what might befall within such a time, and upon the 29. of July, she exprest to a Kinsman Mr. Nicholas Bikar, that she was much troubled about the foresayd businesse, but hoped the time was so near expired, that it would come to nothing.

But the sayd Thursday night betwixt the houres of 8. and 9. She going into the Shop, and returning thence in the Entry adjoyning to the sayd Shop, she was immediatly gone, by what means and whither we do not know, nor can we hear of upon enquiry made to this present.

The desire of her Husband and Friends is of all the Inhabitants of this Nation, That if they hear of any such party in such a lost condition as is before expressed: That there may be speedy notice given thereof to her Husband in Warwick, and that all convenient provisions both of Horse and mony may be made for the conveying of her to the place aforesayd,

and such as shall take pains, or be at expences herein shall be sufficiently recompenced for the same, with many thanks.

It's likewise desired that Ministers in London, and elsewhere, where the notice of these presents shall come, would be pleased to present her sad condition to God in their severall Congregations. The truth hereof we testifie, whose names are subscribed.

	}	Richard Vennour.
John Halleford		Hen. Butler, <i>Ministers</i> , of Warwick.
		Joseph Fisher, <i>Minister</i> .



THE
EXAMINATION
CONFESSION, TRIALL,
AND EXECUTION
Of Joane Williford, Joan Cariden
And Jane Hott :

Who were executed at *Feversham*, in *Kent*, for
being Witches, on Monday the 29 of
September, 1645.

Being a true Copy of their evill
lives and wicked deeds, taken by the Major
of *Feversham* and Jurors for the
Said Inquest.

With the Examination and Confession of
Elizabeth Harris, not yet executed.

All attested under the head of
ROBERT GREENSTREET, *Major of Feversham*.

London,
Printed for *J. G.* October 2, 1645.



The confession of *Ioan Walliford*,
Septemb. 25, 1645. made before the
Major and other Jurates.

Shee confessed :

THat the divell about seven yeeres agoe did appeare to her in the shape of a little dog, and bid her to forsake God and leane to him : who replied, that she was loath to forsake him.

Shee confessed also that shee had a desire to be revenged upon *Thomas Letherland* and *Mary Woodrufe* now his wife. She further said that the divell promised her, that she should not lacke, and that she had money sometimes brought her she knew not whence, sometime one shilling, sometimes eightpence, never more at once ; shee called her Divell by the name of *Bunne*. Shee further saith, that her retainer *Bunne* carried *Thomas Gardler* out of a window, who fell into a backside. She further saith, that neere twenty yeeres since, she promised her soule

to the Divell. She further saith, that she gave some of her blood to the Divell, who wrote the covenant betwixt them. She further saith that the Divell promised to be her servant about twenty yeeres, and that the time is now almost expired. She further saith that *Iane Hot, Elizabeth Harris, Ioan Argoll*, were her fellowes.

She further saith that her Divell told her that *Elizabeth Harris*, about six or seven yeeres since curst the Boat of one *John Woodcott*, and so it came to passe.

She further saith, that the Divell promised her that shee should not sinke being thrown into the water. She further said Goodwife *Argoll* cursed Mr. *Major*, and also *Iohn Mannington*, and said that he should not thrive, and so it came to passe. She likewise saith, that the Divell sucked twice since she came into the prison, he came to her in the forme of a muce.

She being brought to the Barre, was asked *Guilty* or *not Guilty*, she answered, *guilty*.

When she came to the place of execution Mr. Major asked her if she thought that she deserved death? to whom she answered, that she had; and that she desired all good people to take warning by her, and not to suffer themselves to

be deceived by the Divell, neither for lucre of money, malice, or any thing else, as she had done: but to sticke fast to God, for if she had not first forsaken God, God would not have forsaken her.

*The Examination of Joan Cariden, widdow,
taken Septemb. 25. 1645.*

THIS Examinant saith, that about three quarters of a yeere agoe, as she was in the bed about twelve or one of the clocke in the night there lay a rugged soft thing upon her bosome 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 forsooke her, for she could never pray so well since as she could before; and further saith, that shee verily thinkes it was alive.

*The second Examination of the said Joan
Cariden, alias Argoll, taken the same day
before the Major,*

THIS Examinant saith, that in the same yeere that this Major was formerly Major the Divell came to her in the shape of a blacke rugged Dog, in the night time, and crept into the bed to her, and

spake to her in mumbling language ; The next night it came to her againe, and required this examinant to deny God and leane to him, and that then he would revenge her of any one she owed ill will to, and thereupon this examinant promised him her soule upon those conditions ; And that about that time the Divell sucked this examinant and hath divers times since sucked her, and that it was no paine to her.

September 27. 1645.

Confest upon the examination of *Ioan Carri-den* before Master Major, that Goodwife *Hott* told her within these two daies that there was a great meeting at Goodwife *Panterys* house, and that Goodwife *Dodson* was there, and that Goodwife *Gardner* should have been there, but did not come, and the Divell sat at the upper end of the Table.

The Examination of Jane Hott widdow, taken before the Major and Jurates, the 25 of September, 1645.

THIS Examinant confesseth that a thing like a hedg-hog had usually visited her, and came to her a great while agoe, about twenty years agoe,

and that if it sucked her it was in her sleep, and the pain thereof awaked her, and it came to her once or twice in the month and sucked her, and when it lay upon her breast she strucke it off with her hand, and that it was as soft as a Cat.

At her first coming into the Goale she spake very much to the other that were apprehended before her, to confesse if they were guilty ; and stood to it very perversely that she was cleare of any such thing, and that if they put her into the Water to try her, she should certainly sinke. But when she was put into the Water and it was apparent that she did flote upon the water, being taken forth, a Gentleman to whom before she had so confidently spake, 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 confesse herselfe, when she had so much perswaded the other to confesse : to whom she answered, That the Divell went with her all the way, and told her that she should sinke ; but when she was in the Water he sate upon a Crosse-beame, and laughed at her.

These three were executed on Munday last.

The Examination of Elizabeth Harris, the 26 of September, 1645. before Master Major.

THIS examinant saith, that about 19 yeeres agoe, the Divell did appeare to her in the forme of a Muse : she further saith, that she had a desire to be revenged ; and the divell told her she should be revenged ; she called the Divell her Impe. She further saith, Goodman *Chilman*, of Nuenham said that she stole a Pigge, then she desired that God would revenge her of him, and the man pined away and dyed, and she saw it apparent that her Impe was the cause of that mans death ; she further saith, that the Divell bid her to forsake Christ and leane to him, whereupon she saith that she scratched herselfe with her nailes and fetched blood from her breast, and she wiped it with her finger and gave it to her Impe who wrote the covenant with it : she further saith that a fortnight after the Divell sucked her, but she felt no paine. Being demanded how many Witches were in Town ? She answered that were a heavy sentence. She further saith that Goodwife *Dodson*, *Ioan Argoe*, *William Argos* wife, Goodwife *Cox* have very bad tongues. She further saith that her Impe did sucke every three or foure nights ; she further saith that her sonne being drowned in Goodman *Woodcots* High she wished that God might be her revenger, which was her watchword to the Divell, and this High was cast away, and she

conceives that her wish was the cause of its being cast away : she further saith, than *Ioan Williford* told her that her Impe said on Wednesday last, that though the Boate, (she not knowing what Boat,) went chearfully out, it should not come so chearfully home ; She saith further, that Goodwife *Pantery* did many times make meetings with Goodwife Williford and with Goodwife *Hott* ; she further saith, that Goodwife *Gardner* hath a very ill tongue.

All these are true coppies of examination, one whereof is not yet executed, and were taken before me,

Robert Greenstreet, Major

Finis.



THE
WONDERFUL
DISCOVERIE OF THE
Witchcrafts of *Margaret* and *Phillip*

Flower, daughters of *Joan Flower* neere *Beuer*
Castle: executed at *Lincolne*, *March* 11. 1618.

Who were specially arraigned & condemned before
Sir *Henry Hobart*, and Sir *Edward Bromley*, Judges
of Assize, for confessing themselues actors in the destruc-
tion of *Henry*, Lord *Rosse*, with their damnable prac-
tises against others the Children of the Right
Honourable FRANCIS Earle of *Rutland*.

Together with the seuerall Examinations and Confessions of *Anne*
Baker, *Ioan Willimot*, and *Ellen Greene*, Witches in *Leicestershire*.



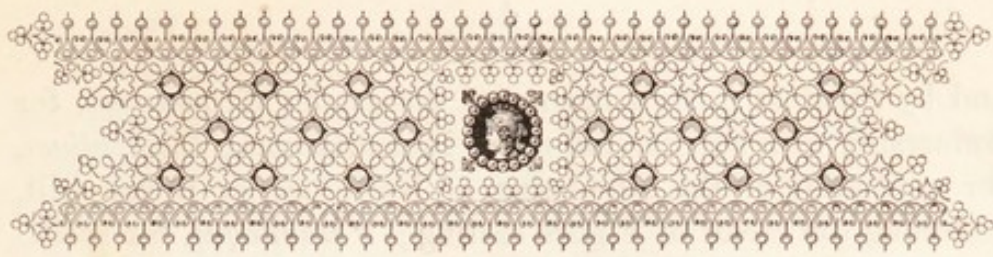
Printed at London by *G. Eld* for *I. Barnes*, dwelling in the long Walke
neere *Christ-Church*. 1619.

THE
PROVIDENCE
OF
THE
WISDOM OF
THE
UNIVERSITY OF
THE
STATE OF
NEW YORK
IN
THE
MATTER OF
THE
ELECTIONS
OF
1892

IMPRESSION LIMITED TO TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES.

REPRINTED VERBATIM FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION,

BY HENRY S. RICHARDSON, GREENWICH.



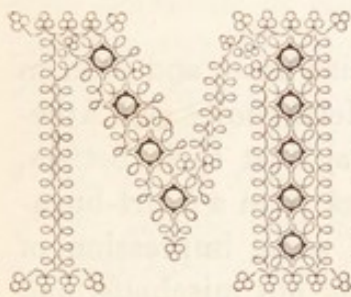
THE WONDERFVL *DISCOVERIE OF THE*

Witch-craftes of *Margaret* and *Phillip*
Flower, *Daughters* of *Joan* Flower,

by BEAUER CASTLE, and exe-
cuted at LINCOLNE the

11. of *March*.

1618.



Y meaning is not to make any conten-
tious arguments about the discourses,
distinction or definition of Witchcraft,
the power of Diuells, the nature of Spi-
rits, the force of Charmes, the secrets of
Incantation and such like, because the
Scriptures are full of prohibitions to this
purpose, and proclaimes death to the presumptuous attempters
of the same: Besides both Princes (yea our onne learned and
most iudicious King) Philosophers, Poets, Chronologers, His-
toriographers, and many worthy writers, have concurred and
concluded in this; that diuers impious and fascinorus mis-
chiefes have beene effectuated through the instruments of the
Diuell, by permission of God, so that the actors of the same
have carried away the opinion of the world, to doe that which
they did by Witchcraft, or at least to be esteemed Witches, for
bringing such and such things to passe: For howsoever the
learned haue characted delinquents in this kind by titles of
sundry sortes, and most significant attributes, as *Pythonissæ*
dealing with artificial Charmes; *Magi* anciently reputed so,
for extraordinary wisdom and knowledge in the secrets of
simples and hearbes; *Chaldei*, famous for Astronomy and As-
trology; *Necromancers* for practising to raise dead bodies,

and by them to foretell euent of the earth; *Geomantici*, for conuersing with Spirits, and using Inchantations; *Genethliaci*, for presuming on the calculating of Natiuities, or if you will, assuming the credit of Figure casting; *Ventriloqui*, for speaking with hollow voyces as if they were possessed with Diuells; *Venefici*, for dealing with Poyson, and either killing or curing that way: For you must understand howeuer the Professors aforesaid practise murther and mischeife, yet many times they Pretend cures and preseruation; with many others, carrying the shew of great learning and admired knowledge; yet haue they all but one familier tearme with vs in English called Witches. As for the conceit of wisemen or wisewomen, they are all meereley coseners and deceiuers; so that if they make you belieue that by their meanes you shall heare of things lost or stolne, it is either done by Confederacy, or put off by protraction to deceiue you of your money.

Only (as I said before) there be certaine men and women gronne in yeares, and ouer gronne with Melancholly and Atheisme, who out of a malicious disposition against their betters, or others thriuing by them; but most times from a heart-burning desire of reuenge, hauing entertained some impression of displeasure, and vnkindnesse, study nothing but mischeife, and exoticke practises of loathsome Artes and Sciences: yet I must needes say, that sometimes the fained reputation of wisdom, cunning, to be reputed a dangerous and skilfull person, hath so preuailed with diuers, that they haue taken vpon them indeed to know more than God euer afforded any creature, and to performe no lesse than the Creator both of Heauen and Earth; making you beleeeue with *Medea*, that they can raise tempests, turne the Sunne into blood, pull the Moone out of her Speare, and saile ouer the Sea in a cockle shell, according to the Poet.

Flectere si nequeam Superos, Acheronta monebo.

If Art doe faile to moue the Gods
consent vnto my minde:
I will the Diuells raise, to doe
what they can in their kinde.

But howsoeuer special persons are transported with an opinion of their onne worth, and preuailing in this kinde, yet by lament-

able experience we know too well, what monstrous effects haue bene produced, and euen to the horror of the hearers, and damnation of their onn soules by such kind of people: For as it is in the tale of the enuious man, that put out one of his eyes to haue his companion loose both; so fareth it with them and worse, to giue away their soules to be reuenged of their aduersaries bodies wherein the monstrous subtilty of the Diuell is so apparant, that it is wonderfull one way to relate, and lamentable another way to obserue the same. For no sooner shall such motiues poyson the inward conceite or apprehension of such damnable Caitiffes: But then steppeth forth the Diuell, and not only sheweth them the way, but prescribeth the manner of effecting the same, with facility and easinesse, assuring that hee himself will attend them in some familiar shape of Rat, Cat, Toade, Birde, Cricket, &c.: yea effectuate whatsoeuer they shall demaund or desire, and for their better assurance and corroboration of their credulity, they shall haue palpable and forcible touches of sucking, pinching, kissing, closing, colling and such like: Wherevpon without any feare of God or Man, knowledge of Christ, hope of redemption, confidence of mercy, or true beleefe that their is any other thing to bee looked after but this present world; according to that Atheisticall position of *Epicurus*.

Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas.

Eat, drink, sport, play and take thy pleasures rest:
For after death, who knows what shall be best.

They admit of those execrable conditions of commutation of soules for the entertaining of the spirits, and so fall to their abominable practises, continuing in the same till God laugh them to scorne, and will by no meanes suffer them to abuse his holy name nor deceiue others by their prophane liues any longer: Witnesses for the generall those infinite Treatises of many of them conuincd by Law, and condemned to death, to the fearefull example of all carnall and hypocriticall Christians: but more especially you may ouerlooke (if you please) that learned Discourse of *Dæmonologie*, composed in forme of a Dialogue, by the High and Mighty Prince, JAMES by the grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, &c. and

printed (as I take it) according to the copy of Edenburgh 1603. As also a Treatise of Witch-craft made by that learned Mr. *Alexander Roberts* Preacher at Kings-Line in Norfolke, 1615. vpon the discouery of the Witch-crafts of *Mary Smith*, wife of *Henry Smith* Glouer, with her vocall contract betweene the Diuell and herselfe, in solemne tearmes, and such like imposturing filthinesse: with many hurts and mischeifes which thereby she procured: As also a Certaine discouery 1611. made by *John Cottu* Docter of Phisicke in Northampton, of Empericks, woemen about sicke persons: Quacksaluers, and fugitiues, which seeme to worke iuggling wonders, Surgeons, Apothecaries, practisers by Spells, the true discouery of Witch-craft, especially in the Sicke with many instances in that kind, Wisards, and seruants, of Phisitions, who may be called Ministring helpers: To this hee hath added the *Methodian* learned deceiuer, or hereticke Phisitions, Astrologers, *Ephemerides*-maisters, Coniecters by vrine, Trauellers, and last of all, the true Artist his right description and election. As also a Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraft, composed by *George Gifford*, Minister of Gods word in Maldon, 1603. Wherein the cunning of the Diuell is discouered, both concerning the deceiuing of Witches, and the seducing of others into many great errors: As also an ancient discourse of the fearefull practises of foure notorious French Witches, with the manner of their strange execution. As also the several and damnable practises of Mother *Sutton* of Milton Miles in the County of Bedford, and *Mary Sutton* her daughter who were arraigned, and condemned, and executed for the same: As also 1612. the wonderfull discouery of Witches in Lancashire, being 19. in number, notorious for many infamed actions, and conuicted before Sr. *James Altham*, and S. *Edward Bromley*, Barons of the Exchequer together with the arraignment and triall of *Iennet Preston*, at *Yorke*, with her fearefull execution for the murthering of Mr. *Lisker* by Witchcraft, with infinite other relations concerning the generall conuiction of Witches, and their practises, and condemnation of the particular opinion of some men, who suppose there bee none at all, or at least that they do not personally or truely effect such things as are imputed vnto them, and which out of some dangerous impres-

sion of melancholly, vaine glory, or some other diseased operation, they assume to themselves by reason of a former contract with the Diuell. And so much for the certainty of a Story, and fearefullnesse of the truth concerning the damnable practises of Witches and cunning of the Diuell to deceiue them.

But yet because the mind of man may be carried away with many idle coniectures, either that woemen confessed these things by extremitie of Torture, or that ancient examples are by this time forgotten (although the particulars are upon record, for the benefit of all posterity:) Or that they were besides themselves, or subject to some weake devise or other, rather to bring in question the integrity of *Iustice*; then to make odious the liues of such horrible offenders. I haue presumed to present on the *Stage* of verity for the good of my Country and the loue of truth, the late wofull Tragedy of the destruction of the *Right Honourable the Earle of Rutlands Children*, who to his eternall praise proceeded yet both religiously and charitably against the Offenders, leauing their prosecution to the law and submitting himselfe, and deplorable case to the prouidence of God, who afflicteth his best Seruant with punishments, and many times, sendeth extraordinary vengeance as well on the innocent as the bad deseruer, to manifest his glory: Therefore by way of Caution I aduise thee (gentle Reader) whosoeuer thou art, to take heede how thou doest either despise the power of God in his Creatures, or vilipend the subtilty and fury of the Diuell, as Gods instrument of vengeance, considering that truth in despite of gaine sayers will preuaile, according to that principle: *Magna est veritas & prevalebit.*

The Story follows.

After the Right Honourable Sr. *Francis Manners* succeeded his Brother in the Earledome of Rutland: and so not only tooke possession of Beauer Castle, but of all other his demeanes, Lordships, Tonnes, Mannors, Lands, and Revennues appropriate to the same Earledome: he proceeded so honourably in the course of his life, as neither displacing Tenants, discharg-

ing seruants, denying the accesse of the poore, welcoming of strangers, and performing all the duties of a noble Lord, that hee fastened as it were vnto himself the loue and good opinion of the Country wherein he walked the more cheerefully and remarkable, because his honourable Countesse marched arme and arme with him in the same race; so that Beauer Castle was a continuall Pallace of entertainment, and a daily reception for all sorts both rich and poore, especially such auncient people as neighboured the same; amongst whom one *Ioane Flower*, with her Daughters *Margaret* and *Phillip* were not only relieved at first from thence, but quickly entertained as Chair-women, and *Margaret* admitted as a continual dweller in the Castle, looking both to the poultreys abroad and the wash-house within doores: In which life they continued with equal correspondency, till something was discovered to the Noble Lady, which concerned the misdemeanour of these women. And although such honourable persons shall not want of all sorts of people, either to bring the newes, tales, reports, or to serue their turne in all offices whatsoever; so that it may well be said of them, as it is of Great Kings and Princes, that they haue large hands, wide eares, and piercing sights to discover the vnswept corners of their remotest confines, to reach euen to their furthest borders, and to vnderstand the secrets of their meanest subjects: yet in this matter were they busie-bodies, flatterers, malicious politicians, vnderminers, nor supplanters one of anothers good fortune; but went simply to worke, as regarding the honor of the Earle and his Lady, and so by degrees gaue light to their understanding to apprehend their complaints. First that *Ioane Flower* the Mother was a monstrous malicious woman, full of oathes, curses, and imprecations irreligious, and for any thing they saw by her, a plaine Atheist; besides of late days her very countenance was estranged, her eyes were fiery and hollow, her speech fell and enuious, her demeanour strange and exoticke, and her conuersation sequestered; so that the whole course of her life gaue great suspicion that she was a notorious Witch, yea some of her neighbours dared to affirme that she dealt with familiar Spirits, and terrified them all with curses and threatning of reuenge, if there were neuer so little cause of displeasure and vnkindnesse.

Concerning *Margaret* that she often resorted from the Castle to her Mother, bringing such provision as they thought was vnbeftitting for a seruant to purloine, and coming at such vnseasonable houres, that they could not but coniecture some mischeife between them, and that their extraordinary ryot and expences tended both to rob the Lady, and to maintaine certaine deboist and base company which frequented this *Ioane Flowers* house the mother, and especially her youngest Daughter. Concerning *Phillip* that she was lewdly transported with the loue of one *Th: Simpson*, who presumed to say, that she had bewitched him: for hee had no power to leaue, and was as he supposed maruellously altered both in minde and body, since her acquainted company: these complaints began many years before either their conuiction, or publique apprehension: Notwithstanding such was the honour of this Earle and his Lady; such was the cunning of this monstrous woman in obseruation towards them; such was the subtilty of the Diuell to bring his purposes to passe; such was the pleasure of God to make tryall of his seruants; and such was the effect of a damnable womans wit and malitious enuy, that all things were carried away in the smooth Channell of liking and good entertainment on euery side, untill the Earle by degrees conceiued some mislike against; and, so peradventure estranged himself from that familiarity and accustomed conferences he was wont to haue with her: untill one Peate offered her some wrong; against whom she complained, but found that my Lord did affect her clamours, and malicious information, vntill one Mr. *Vauasor* abandoned her company, as either suspicious of her lewd life, or distasted with his onn misliking of such base and poore Creatures, whom nobody loued but the Earles houshold: vntill the Countesse misconceiuing of her daughter *Margaret* and discovering some vndecencies both in her life and neglect of her businesse, discharged her from lying any more in the Castle, yet gaue her 40s. a bolster, and a mattresse of wooll: commanding her to go home, vntill the slacknesse of her repaying to the Castle, as she was wont, did turne her loue and liking toward this honourable Earle and his family into hate and rancor: wherevpon despighted to bee so neglected, and exprobatd by her neighbours for her Daughters casting out of

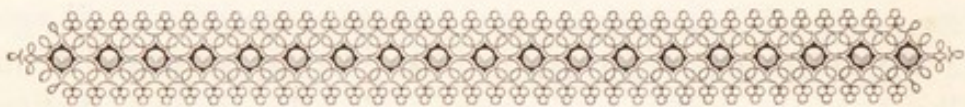
doores, and other conceiued displeasures, she grew past all shame and woman-hood, and many times cursed them all that were the cause of this discontentment, and made her so loathsome to her former familiar friends and beneficial acquaintance.

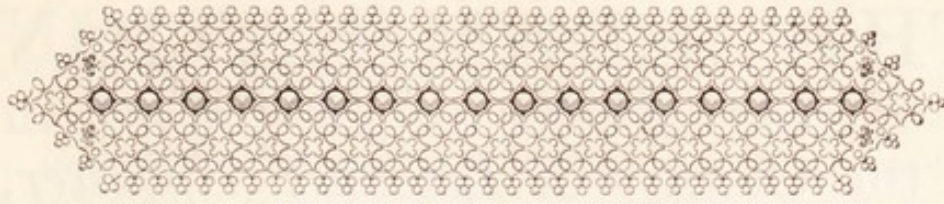
When the Diuell perceiued the inficious disposition of this wretch, and that she and her Daughters might easily bee made instruments to enlarge his Kingdome, and bee as it were the executioners of his vengeance; not caring whether it lighted vpon innocents or no, he came more neerer vnto them, and in plaine tearmes to come quickly to the purpose, offered them his seruice, and that in such a manner, as they might command what they pleased: for he would attend you in such prety formes of Dog, Cat or Rat, that they should neither be terrified nor any body else suspicious of the matter. Vpon this they agree, and (as it should seeme) giue away their soules for the seruice of such Spirits, as he had promised them; which filthy conditions were ratified with abominable kisses, and an odious sacrifice of blood, not leauing out certaine charmes and coniurations with which the Diuell deceiued them, as though nothing could bee done without ceremony, and a solemnity of orderly ratification. By this time doth Sathan triumph, and goeth away satisfied to haue caught such fish in the net of his illusions: By this time are those women Diuels incarnate, and grow proud again in their cunning and artificiall power, to doe what mischeife they listed: By this time they haue learnt the manner of incantations, Spells and Charmes: By this they will kill what Cattle they list; and vnder the couert of flattery and familiar entertainment, keepe hidden the stinging serpent of mallice, and a venomous inclination to mischeife: By this time is the Earle and his family threatened, and must feele the burthen of a terrible tempest, which from these womens Diuellish deuises fell vppon him, he neither suspecting nor vnderstanding the same: By this time both himself and his honourable Countesse, are many times subiect to sicknesse and extraordinary convulsions, which they taking as gentle corrections from the hand of God, submit with quietnesse to his mercy, and study nothing more, then to glorifie their Creator in heauen, and beare his crosses on earth.

At last, as mallice increased in these damnable Women; so his family felt the smart of their reuenge and inficious disposition, For his eldest Sonne *Henry* Lord *Rosse* sickened very strangely, and after awhile died: his next named *Francis* Lord *Rosse* accordingly, was seuerely tormented by them; and most barbarously and inhumanely tortured by a strange sicknesse; not long after the Lady *Katherine* was set vpon by their dangerous and diuellish practises, and many times in great danger of life, through extreame maladies and vnusuall fits, nay (as it should seeme, and they afterwards confessed) both the Earle and his Countesse were brought into their snares as they imagined, and indeed determind to keepe them from hauing any more Children. Oh vnheard of wickednesse and mischievous damnation? Notwithstanding all this did the noble Earle attend his Majesty, both at Newmarket before Christmas, and at Christmas at Whitehall; bearing the losse of his Children most nobly, and little suspecting they had miscarried by witchcraft, or such like inuentions of the Diuell, vntill it pleased God to discouer the villanous practises, of these Woemen, and to command the Diuell from executing any further vengeance on Innocents, but leaue them to their Shames, and the hands of Iustice, that they might only be confounded for their villanous practises, but remaine as a notorious example to all ages of iudgement and fury. Thus were they apprehended about Christmas and carried to Lincolne Jayle, after due examination, before sufficient Iustices of the Peace, and discreete Maiestates, who wondered at their audacious wickednes, but *Ioane Flower* the Mother before conuiction, (as they say) called for Bread and Butter, and wished it might neuer goe through if she were guilty of that, wherevpon she was examined: so mumbling it in her mouth, neuer spake more wordes after, but fell donne and dyed as she was carryed to Lincolne Goale, with a horrible excruciation of soule and body, and was buried at Ancaster.

When the Earle heard of their apprehension he hasted donne with his brother Sr. *George*, and sometimes examining them himself, and sometimes sending them to others; at last left them to the triall at Law, before the Iudges of Assise at *Lincolne*; and so they were conuicted of Murther and executed ac-

cordingly, about the 11. of March, to the terror of all beholders, and example of such dissolute and abominable Creatures, and because you shall haue both cause to glorifie God for this discovery, and occasion to apprehend the strangenesse of their liues, and truth of their proceedings: I thought it both meete and conuenient to lay open their onne Examinations and Euidences against one another, with such apparant circumstances, as doe not only shew the cause of their mislike and distasting against the Earle and his family; but the manner of their proceedings and reuenges, with other particulars belonging to the true and plaine discovery of their Villany and Witch-craft.





THE EXAMINATIONS OF

Anne Baker, Ioane Willimot,

and *Ellen Greene*; as

followeth, &c.

Anne Baker.

Ioane Willimot.

Ellen Greene.



THE EXAMINATION
of *Anne Baker* of *Bottesford* in
the County of *Leicester* *Spinster*,
taken *March* 1. 1618. by the Right
Honourable, *Francis Earl of Rut-*
land, *Sir George Manners Knight*,
two of his *Maiesties Iustices* of the
peace for the County of *Lincolne*,
and *Samuel Fleming Doctor of*
Diuinitie, one of his *Maiesties Ius-*
tices of the peace for the County
of *Leicester* aforesaid.

SHE saith that there are foure colours of Planets,
Blacke, Yellow, Greene, and Blew, and that *Blacke* is
alwaies death, and she saw the *Blew* Plannet strike
Thomas Fairebarne the eldest son unto *William Fairebarne* of
Bottesford aforesaid by the *Pinfold* there, within the which
time the said *William Fairebarne* did beat her and breake her
head, whereupon the said *Thomas Fairebarne*, did mend. And
being asked who did send that Planet? answered it was not I.

Further shee saith, that shee saw a hand appeare vnto her,
and that shee heard a voyce in the ayre said vnto her: *Anne*
Baker, saue thy selfe, for to morrow thou and thy *Maister*
must be slaine: and the next day her *Maister* and shee were
in a *Cart* together; and suddainly shee saw a flash of fire,
and said her prayers, and the fire went away, and shortly after
a *Crow* came and peched upon her cloathes, and she said her
prayers againe, and bad the *Crow* to go to whom he was sent,
and the *Crow* went vnto her *Maister*, and did beat him to
death, and shee with her prayers recouered him to life; but
he was sicke a fortnight after, and saith, that if shee had not

had more knowledge then her Maister, both he and shee and all the Cattell had beene slaine.

Being examined concerning a Childe of Anne Stannidge, which she was suspected to haue bewitched to death; saith, the said Anne Stannidge did deliuer her Childe into her hands, and that she did lay it upon her skirt, but did no harme vnto it; And being charged by the Mother of the Childe, that upon the burning of the haire and the paring of the nailes of the said Childe, the said Anne Baker came in and set her donne, and for one houres spaces could speake nothing; confesseth she came into the house of the said Anne Stannidge in great paine, but did not know of the burning of the haire and nailes of the said Childe; but said she was sicke that she did not know whither she went.

Being charged that shee bewitched Elizabeth Hough, the wife of William Hough to death, for that shee angred her in giuing her almes of her second bread; confesseth that she was angry with her and said she might haue giuen her of her better bread, for she had gone too often on her errands, but more she saith not.

This Examinat confesseth that shee came to Ioane Gylles house, her Child being sicke, and that shee intreated this Examinat to look on the Child, and to tell her whether it was forspoken or no, and this Examinat said it was forspoken; but when the said Child died she cannot tell.

And being asked concerning Nortley carrying of his Child home vnto his onn house, where the said Anne Baker was, shee asked him, who gaue the said Child that loafe, he told her Anthony Gill, to whom this Examinat said, he might haue had a Child of his onne if hee would haue sought in time for it; which words shee confessed shee did speake.

Being blamed by Henry Milles in this sort: A fire set on you, I haue two or three ill nights; to whom shee made answere, you should haue let me alone then, which shee confesseth.

The said Anne Baker, March 2. 1618. confesseth before Samuel Fleming Doctor of Diuinity, that about 3. yeares agoe, shee went into Northamptonshire, and that at her coming back againe, one Peakes wife and Dennis his wife of Beluoyre told her that my young Lord Henry was dead, and that their was a gloue of the said Lord buried in the ground; and as that gloue did rot and wast, so did the liuer of the said Lord rot and wast.

Further she said, March 3. 1618. before Sr. George Manners Knight, and Samuel Fleming Doctor of Diuinity, that shee hath a Spirit which hath the shape of a White Dogge, which shee calleth her good Spirit.

Samuel Fleming test.

The Examination of *Ioan Willimot*, taken the 28. of *February*, in the 16. yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord, *JAMES*, ouer *England* King and ouer *Scotland* the 52. before *Alexander Amcotts* Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace of the said parts and County.

THIS Examinat saith, that *Ioane Flower* told her that my Lord of *Rutland* had dealt badly with her and that they had put away her Daughter, and that although she could not haue her will of my Lord himselve, yet she had spied my Lords Sonne and had striken him to the heart. And she saith that my Lords Sonne was striken with a white Spirit,

and that shee can cure some that send vnto her, and that some reward her for her paines, and of some she taketh nothing.

She further saith, that vpon Fryday night last, her Spirit came to her and told her that there was a bad woman at *Deeping* who had giuen her Soule to the Diuell: and that her said Spirit did then appeare vnto her in a more ugly forme then it had formerly done, and that it urged much to giue it something, although it were but a peece of her Girdle, and told her that it had taken great paines for her, but she saith that she would giue it nothing, and told it that she had sent it to no place but onely to see how my Lord *Rosse* did, and that her Spirit told her that he should doe well.

The Examination of the *Ioan Wil-* *limott*, taken the second day of March in the year abouesaid, be- fore the said *Alexander Amcotts*.

THIS Examinee saith, That shee hath a Spirit which shee calleth *Pretty*, which was giuen vnto her by *William Berry* of *Langholme* in *Rutlandshire*, whom she serued three yeares; and that her Master when he gaue it vnto her, willed her to open her mouth, and hee would blow into her a Fairy which should doe her good; and that shee 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 vpon the ground in the shape and form of a Woman, which Spirit aske of her her Soule, which shee then promised vnto it, being willed therevnto by her Master. Shee further confesseth, that shee neuer hurt any body, but did helpe diuers that sent for her, which were stricken or fore-spoken: and that her Spirit came weekly to her, and would tell her of diuers persons that were stricken and forespoken. And shee saith, that the vse which shee had of the Spirit, was to know how those did which

shee had vndertaken to amend; and that shee did helpe them by certaine prayers which she vsed, and not by her onne Spirit; neyther did shee imploy her Spirit in any thing, but onely to bring word how those did which she had vndertaken to cure.

And shee further saith, that her Spirit came vnto her this last night (as she thought) in the forme of a woman, mumbling, but she could not vnderstand what it said. And being asked whether shee were not in a dreame or slumber when she thought she saw it, shee said no, and she was as waking as at this present.

Alexander Amcotts.

Thomas Robinson test.

The Examination of *Ioane Willimot* of *Goadby* in the County of *Leicester* Widdow, taken the 17. of *March* 1618. by *Sir Henry Hastings* Knight, and *Samuel Fleming* Doctor of Diuinity, two of his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace of the said County of *Leicester*.

SHE saith that she tould one *Cookes* wife of *Stathorne* in the said County Labourer, that *Iohn Patchet* might haue had his Child aliue, if he would haue sought forth for it in time, and if it were not death stricken in her wayes, and that *Patchets* wife had an euil thing within her, which should make an end of her, and that she knew by her Girdle.

She saith further, that *Gamaliel Greeete* of *Waltham* in the said County Shepheard, had a Spirit like a White Mouse put

into him in his swearing; and that if hee did looke vpon any thing with an intent to hurt, it should be hurt, and that he had a marke on his left arme, which was cut away; and that her onn Spirit did tell her all this before it went from her.

Further she saith that *Ioane Flower*, *Margaret Flower* and shee, did meet about a week before *Ioane Flowers* apprehension, in *Black-borrow-hill*, and went from thence home to the said *Ioan Flowers* house, and there she saw two Spirits one like a Rat, and the other like an Owle; and one of them did sucke vnder her right eare, as she thought: and the said *Ioan* told her, that her Spirits did say that shee should neyther be hanged or burnt. Further she saith, that the said *Ioan Flower* did take up some earth and spet vpon it, and did worke it with her finger, and put it up into her purse, and said though she could not hurt the Lord himselfe, yet shee had sped his Sonne, which is dead.

H. Hastings.
Samuel Fleming.

The Examination of *Ellen Greene* of *Stathorne* in the County of *Leicester*, taken the 17. of *March* 1618. by Sir *Henry Hastings* Knight: and *Samuel Fleming* D. of Diuinitie, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace of said County.

SHEE saith, that one *Ioan Willimott* of *Goadby* came about sixe yeares since to her in the Wowlds, and perswaded this Examinee to forsake God, and betake her to the diuel, and she would giue her two Spirits, to which she gaue her consent, and therevpon the said *Ioan Willimot* called two

Spirits, one in the likenesse of a Kittin, and the other of a Moldiwarp: the first the said *Willimot* called *pusse*, the other *hiffe, hiffe*, and they presently came to her, and she departing left them with this Examinee, and they leapt on her shoulder, and the Kittin suckt vnder her right eare on her neck, and the Moldiwarp on the left side in the like place. After they had suckt her, shee sent the Kittin to a Baker of that Towne, whose name shee remembers not, who had called her Witch and stricken her; and bad her said Spirit goe and bewitch him to death: the Moldiwarp shee then bad go to *Anne Dawse* of the same towne and bewitch her to death, because she had called this Examinee witch, whore, jade, &c. and within one fortnight they both dyed.

And further this Examinee saith, that she sent both her Spirits to *Stonesby*, to one *Willison*, a husbandman, and *Robert Williman* a husbandmans sonne, and bad the Kittin goe to *Willison* and bewitch him to death, and the Moldywarp to the other, and bewitch him to death which they did; and within tenne dayes they dyed. These foure were bewitched while this Examinee dwelt at *Waltham* aforesaid.

About three yeares since, this Examinee remoued thence to *Stathorne*, where she now dwelt: vpon a difference between the said *Willimot* and the wife of *Iohn Patchet* of the said *Stathorne* Yeoman, she the said *Willimot* called her this Examinee to goe and touch the said *Iohn Patchets* Wife and her Childe, which shee did, touching the said *Iohn Patchets* Wife in her bed, and the Childe in the Grace-wifes armes, 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 moneth and more, for then shee dyed; the Childe dyed the next day after she touched it.

And shee further saith, that the said *Ioane Willimot* had a Spirit sucking on her, vnder the left flanke in the likenesse of a little white Dogge which this Examinee saith, that she saw the same sucking in Barley-haruest last, being then at the house of the said *Ioan Willimot*.

And for hirselfe this Examinee further saith, that she gaue her soule to the Diuell to haue the Spirits at her command; for a confirmation whereof, she suffered them to suck her alwayes as aforesaid about the change and full of the Moone.

H. Hastings.
Samuel Fleming.

The Examination of *Philip Flower*, sister of *Margaret Flower*, and daughter of *Ioan Flower*, before Sir *William Pelham*, and Mr. *Butler*, Iustices of the Peace, *Feb. 4. 1618.* which was brought in at the Assizes as euidence against her sister *Margaret*.

SHE saith, that her mother and her sister maliced the Earle of *Rutlande*, his Countesse, and their Children, because her sister *Margaret* was put out of the Ladies seruice of Laundry, and exempted from other seruices about the house, wherevpon her said sister, by the commandement of her mother, brought from the Castle the right hand gloue of the Lord *Henry Rosse*, which she deliuered to her Mother; who presently rubd it on the backe of her Spirit *Rutterkin*, and then put it into hot boyling water, afterward shee pricked it often and buried it in the yard, wishing the Lord *Rosse* might neuer thriue, and so her sister *Margaret* continued with her mother, where she often saw the Cat *Rutterkin* leape on her shoulder, and sucke her necke.

Shee further confesseth, that shee heard her mother often curse the Earle and his Lady, and therevpon would boyle feathers and blood together, vsing many Diuellish speeches and strange gestures.

The Examination of *Margaret Flower*, sister of
Phillip Flower &c. about the 22 of January. 1618.

SHE saith and confesseth that about foure or fiewe yeare since her Mother sent her for the right hand gloue of *Henry Lord Rosse* afterward that her mother bade her goe againe into the Castle of *Beauer*, and bring downe the gloue or some other thing of *Henry Lord Rosse*, and shee askt what to doe? Her mother replied to hurt my Lord *Rosse*: wherevpon she brought downe a gloue, and deliuered the same to her mother, who stroked *Rutterkin* her Cat with it, after it was dipt in hot water, and so prickt it often, after which *Henry Lord Rosse* fell sicke within a weeke, and was much tormented with the same. She further saith, that finding a gloue about two or three yeares since of *Francis Lord Rosse* on a dung-hill, she deliuered it to her mother, who put it into hot water, and after tooke it out and rubd it on *Rutterkin* the Cat, and bade him goe vpwards, and after her mother buried it in the yard, and said a mischeife light on him, but he will not mend againe.

She further saith, that her Mother and shee, and her Sister agreed together to bewitch the Earle and his Lady, that they might haue no more Children: and being demanded the cause of this their malice and ill-will; she saith, that about foure yeares since the Countesse (growing into some mislike with her) gaue her forty shillings, a bolster, and a mattresse, and bad her lye at home, and come no more to dwell at the Castle; which she not onely tooke in ill part, but grudged at it exceedingly, swearing in her heart to be reuenged. After this, her Mother complained to the Earle against one *Peake*, who had offered her some wrong, wherein she conceiued that the Earle tooke not her part, as shee expected, which dislike with the rest, exasperated her displeasure against him, and so she watched the opportunity to bee reuenged: wherevpon she tooke wooll out of the said mattresse, and a pair of gloues, which were giuen her by Mr. *Vauasor*, and put them into warm water, mingling them with some blood, and stirring it together, then shee tooke the wooll and gloues out of the water, and rubd them on the belly of *Rutterkin* her Cat, saying the Lord and the Lady should haue more Children but it should be long first.

She further confesseth, that by her Mothers commandement, she brought to her a peece of a handkercher of the Lady *Katherine* the Earles daughter, and her mother put it into hot water, and then taking it out rubd it on *Rutterkin*, bidding him flye, and go; wherevpon *Rutterkin* whined and cryed Mew: wherevpon she said, that *Rutterkin* had no power ouer the Lady *Katherine* to hurt her.

The Examination of *Phillip Flower*, the 25. of *February* 1618. before *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, *Francis* Lord *Willoughby* of *Ersby*, Sr. *George Manners*, and Sr. *William Pelham*.

SHEE confesseth and saith, that shee hath a Spirit sucking on her in the forme of a white Rat, which keepeth her left breast, and hath so done for three or foure yeares, and concerning the agreement betwixt her Spirit and hir selfe she confesseth and saith, that when it came first vnto her, shee gaue her Soule to it, and it promised to doe her good, and cause *Thomas Simpson* to loue her, if she would suffer it to sucke her, which she agreed vnto; and so the last time it suckt was on Tuesday at night the 23 of February.

The Examination of *Margaret Flower*, at the same time, &c.

SHEE confesseth, that shee hath two familiar Spirits sucking on her, the one white, the other black spotted; the white sucked vnder her left breast, and the blacke spotted within the inward parts of her secrets. When shee first entertained them shee promised them her soule, and they couenanted to doe all things which she commanded them, &c.

Shee further saith, that about the 30. of *January*, last past being Saturday, foure Diuells appeared vnto her in *Lincolne Jayle*, at eleuen or twelue o'clock at midnight: The one stood at her beds feete, with a blacke head like an Ape, and spake vnto her, but what, shee cannot well remember, at which shee

was very angry because he would speake no plainer, or let her understand his meaning: the other three were *Rutterkin*, *Little Robin*, and *Spirit*, but shee neuer mistrusted them, nor suspected herselfe till then.

There is another Examination of the said *Margaret Flower*, taken the fourth of *February* 1618. tending to this effect.

THAT being asked what shee knoweth concerning the bewitching of the Earle of *Rutland*, his Wife, and Children, shee saith, that it is true, that her selfe, her mother, and sister were all displeas'd with him, especially with the Countesse, for turning her out of service, wherevpon some four year since her mother commanded her to goe vp to the Castle, and bring her the right hand gloue of the Lord *Henry Rosse*, the Earles eldest sonne; which gloue which she found on the rushes in the Nurcery, and deliuered the same to her mother, who put it into hot water, prickt it often with her knife, then tooke it out of the water, and rubd it vpon *Rutterkin*, bidding him height and goe, and doe some hurt to *Henry Lord Rosse*, wherevpon hee fell sicke, and shortly after dyed, which her mother hearing of, said it was well: but after shee had rubd the gloue on the Spirit *Rutterkin*, shee threw it into the fire and burnt it, &c.

THESSE Examinations and some others were taken and charily preserued for the continuing of sufficient evidences against them, and when the Iudges of the Assize came downe to *Lincolne* about the first weeke in *March*, being Sir *Henry Hobart*, Lord Cheife Iustice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Ed: Bromley* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, they were presented vnto them, who not only wondred at the wickednesse of these persons, but were amazed at their practises and horrible contracts with the Diuell to damne their onn soules: And although the Right Honourable Earle had sufficient greife for the losse of his Children; yet no doubt it was the greater to consider the manner, and how it pleased God to inflict on him such a fashion of visitation: Besides, as it amazed the hearers

to vnderstand the particulars, and the circumstances of this diuellish contract, so was it as wonderfull to see their desperate impenitency, and horrible distraction, according to the rest of that sort, exclaiming against the Diuell for deluding them, and now breaking promise with them, when they stood in most need of his helpe. Notwithstanding all these aggrauations, such was the vnparelleld magnanimity, wisdom, and patience of this generous Nobleman, that hee vrged nothing against them more then their onne confessions, and so quietly left them to iudiciall triall, desiring of God mercy for their soules, and of men charity to censure them in their condemnation: but God is not mocked, and so gaue them ouer to iudgement, nor man so reformed, but for the Earles sake, they cursed them to that place which they themselues long before had bargained for.

What now remaines (gentle Reader) but for thee to make vse of so wonderfull a Story, and remarkable an accident, out of which to draw to a conclusion, thou maist collect these particulars. First that God is the supreame Commander of all things, and permitteth wonderfull actions in the world, for the tryall of the Godly, the punishment of the wicked, and his onne glory: of which man shall neuer attaine to know the reason or occasion. Secondly, that the Diuell is the meere seruant and agent of God, to prosecute whatsoever hee shall command rather then giue leaue vnto; limitting him yet thus farre in his onne nature, that he can go no further then the bounds within which hee is hedged. Thirdly that this God hath punishments, *ad correctionem*, that is to say Chasticements of the Godly, and *ad ruinam, Videlicet*, Iudgements against the wicked, wherein yet man must disclaime any knowledge, and forsake preiudicate opinions. For the very iust shall be tried like gold, and no man exempted from castigation whom God doth loue. Fourthly, that this Diuell, though he bee Gods Instrument, yet worketh altogether by deceit: for as he was lyer from the beginning; so let no man trust him, because he aymeth at the confusion of all mankinde. Fifthly, that the wicked (howeuer they may thriue and prosper for a time) yet in the end are sure to bee payed home, either with punishment in this life or the life to come, or both, as a finall reward of monstrous impiety. Sixthly, that Man in his frailty must not presume of prosperity,

but prepare a kinde of stooping vnder the hand of God, when it pleaseth him to strike or punish us. Seauently, that there is no murmuring or repining against God, but quietly to tolerate his inflictions, whensoever they chance, of which this worthy Earle is a memorable example of all men and Ages. Eighthly, that the punishments of the wicked are so many warnings to all irregular sinners to amend their liues, and auoid the iudgement to come, by penitency and newnesse of life. Ninthly, that though man could bee content to passe ouer blasphemies and offences against the Statutes of Princes, yet God will ouertake them in their onn walks, and pull them backe by the sleeue into a Slaughter-house, as here you know the euidences against these people tooke life and power from their onne Confessions. Tenthly, and last of all, that priuate opinion, cannot preuaile against publique censures: for here you see the learned and religious Iudges cryed out with our Sauour, *Exore tuo*. Therefore though it were so, that neither Witch nor Diuell could doe these things, yet *Let not a Witch liue*, saith God, and *Let them dye* (saith the Law of England) *that haue conuersation with Spirits, and presume to blaspheme the name of God with spells and incantation*. O then you sonnes of men, take warning by these examples, and eyther diuert your steps from the broad way of destruction, and irrecoerable gulph of damnation, or with *Iosuahs* counsell to *Achan*, blesse God for the discouery of wickednesse, and take thy death patiently, as the preuention of thy future iudgement, and sauing innocents from punishment, who otherwise may be suspected without cause.

Vtinam tam facile vera inuenire possem, quam falsa conuincere.



A
True and exact Relation,
OF THE SEVERALL
INFORMATIONS, EXAMINATIONS,
AND CONFESSIONS

OF THE LATE
W I T C H E S,
ARRAIGNED AND EXECUTED IN
THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

WHO WERE ARRAIGNED AND CONDEMNED AT THE LATE
SESSIONS, HOLDEN AT CHELMESFORD

BEFORE

The Right Honorable Robert, Earle of Warwicke,
and severall of his Majesties Justices of Peace,
the 29 of July, 1645.

WHEREIN THE SEVERALL MURTHERS, AND DEVILLISH WITCH-
CRAFTS, COMMITTED ON THE BODIES OF MEN, WOMEN,
AND CHILDREN, AND DIVERS CATTELL, ARE
FULLY DISCOVERED.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

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1837.

THE PREFACE.

INGENUOUS READER;

THOU hast here presented to thee a sad Emblem of the strange sleights and cunning subtilties, whereby Satan labours daily to insnare soules, and at last to bring them to utter ruine; who being that grand impostor, soone began this worke, even in the morning of the Creation, in the body of a Serpent miraculously, to reason, dispute, speake, and conferre with Evah; and never ceased till he had laid the honour of those glorious creatures in the dust: and therefore is called that old Serpent, that deceiveth all the world, by whose deceitfull promises and subtill devices (for his own end, and desire of their destruction,) hath insnared and drawne these poore silly creatures, into these horrid and detestable practises, of renouncing God and Christ, and entring into a solemne league and contract with the Devill;* the thought whereof is sufficient to cause a man to be filled with horror and astonishment. The Law and expresse command of God doth allow of no familiarity or inquiry of any other spirit, but from himselfe; as Isa. 8. 19. *And when they shall say unto you, seeke unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto Wizards, that peep and that mutter, should not a people seeke unto their God, &c.* Vnder this interrogative is understood this affirmative, A people should inquire of no other spirit, but of their God onely. By which also it is evident, that all spirits that doe suffer themselves to be inquired at, are evill spirits, and therefore Devills. And though these devillish practises were frequent and common amongst heathens and infidells, who usually held familiarity with these spirits, and many inquired of them in their Oracles; and therefore called those spirits that gave answer by them, Dæmons, of their skill and knowledge in foretelling things to come: yet now when the light of the Gospel shineth so gloriously, that such a generation of poore deluded soules (and to such a number as hath of late been discovered) should be found

* As one of them witnessed in open Court, Rebecca West.

amongst us, is much more matter of admiration and astonishment. I doubt not but these things may seeme as incredible unto some, as they are matter of admiration unto others. *Nolle nimis sapere*, saith the Poet, It is true wisdom not to be too wise, that is, not to know nor desire to know more then is allowed or needfull, needfull not in our desires, but in Gods decree: Here then let reasonable men be perswaded not too much (as is usuall) to swell with indignation, or to be puffed with impatience, where God doth not apertly reveale and plainly (as they desire and thinke needfull) the subtile Engines and mysticall craft of the Devill in the machinations of Witches and Sorcerers; but soberly, modestly, and discreetly, so far forth be contented to pursue the triall and just way of their discoverie, as with sense, with reason, with Religion, is just and righteous; knowing, that whatsoever is beyond these lists, is reasonlesse, senslesse and impious. The greatest doubt and question will be, whether it be in the power of the Devill to perform such asportation and locall translation of the bodies of Witches; it seemeth in reason a thing whereunto the Devill is unable: And whether these supernaturall works, which are above the power of man to do, and proper only to Spirits, whether they are reall, or only imaginary and fained. In answer to which, it is very probable that the Devill hath power to dispose and transport the bodies of men and women, where God himself doth not countermand or prohibit: as instance, when hee tooke the body of our Saviour and set it upon a pinnacle of the Temple; and these supernaturall acts may appear to the outward sense, as Histories, and many other true reports and Records of other wonderfull works and supernaturall feats, all alike offered to the outward sense. It is true, that a Spirit, and a spirituall work simply in it self, in the own nature and substance cannot be seen by any bodily eye, or be deprehended by any outward sense, notwithstanding, as they do mix themselves with bodily substances, are certainly tried and subject to the sense: For illustration hereof, instance may be given in the holy Scripture, as the Sorcerers of Egypt, where water was turned into blood, the rod into a Serpent, &c. By a spirituall power their eyes did manifestly see the water, and as apparently after see the blood, and the rod turned into a Serpent, the eye being

a true and undeceived witness of both: Things imagined and fancied, are easily discerned from those things that are real and true objects. But it may be demanded, whether a Spirit or Devill can cause such a transmutation of the bodies of Witches into those severall shapes and forms of Cats, Dogges, Birds, and other creatures, as is often reported, where Witches and Sorcerers have lived. The answer is, that it is impossible in nature, and in the ordinary unchangeable course of all things created by God, that one individuall and continued substance or entire thing should be wholly divided from it self, and yet be it self, for there can be no real or true transmutation of one substance, or nature into another, but either by creation or generation. Now creation is the worke of an infinite power, and therefore of God alone. The Devill then cannot create, neither can he do it by any course of true generation, because a true and real generation hath many precedent alterations, and by little and little, in space of time growes unto the perfection of that kind unto which it doth tend, or is begotten; therefore they are but seeming and juggling transmutations of the Devill: And here that saying of Augustine may be alledged, *De civit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 18. (Nec sanè Dæmones naturas creant, sed specie tenus, quæ à Deo creata sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quæ non sunt)* that is, Devils cannot create any nature or substance, but in juggling shew, or seemingly only, whereby with false shadowes covering those things which are created of God to cause them to seem that which they are not indeed. Take one instance of the jugglings and illusions of the Devill above all the rest, which doth most palpably detect him herein, is a History related by Johannes Baptista Porta, in his second book, *de Magia naturali*; hee there witnesseth, that upon the Devils suggestion, a Witch believed firmly and perswaded her self, that all the night shee had rid in the aire, over divers great mountaines, and met in conventicles with other Witches, when the same night, the mentioned Author himself, with others that watched her and saw her all that imagined time of her transvection in the aire, to be within her chamber profoundly sleeping; yea, had smitten her, made her flesh blew with strokes, and could not awake her, nor perswade her afterward when she was awaked that they had so used

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her, or at all had seene or beheld her; thus prevalent was the juggling power of the Devill.

Many other like instances of like nature might be added, only what here is published and communicated unto the world, may sufficiently discover those strong delusions which these poor soules were given up unto, who now according to their demerits, and according to the Lawes of God and this kingdome established, have received their just reward.

H. F.

True and exact Relation,

&c. &c.

THE Information of JOHN RIVET of Mannintree, Tayler, taken before Sir Harbottell Grimston, Knight and Baronet, one of the Members of the Honourable House of Commons: And Sir Thomas Bowes, Knight, another of his Majesties Justices of Peace for this County, the 21st of March. 1645.

THIS Informant saith, That about Christmas last, his wife was taken sicke, and lame, with such violent fits, that this Informant verily conceived her sicknesse was something more then meerly naturall: Whereupon this Informant about a fortnight since went to a Cunning Woman, the wife of one Hovye at Hadleigh in Suffolke, who told this Informant, that his wife was cursed by two women who were neere neighbours to this Informant, the one dwelling a little above his house, and the other beneath his house, this Informants house standing on the side of an Hill: Whereupon he beleevd his said wife was bewitched by one Elizabeth Clarke, alias Bedingfield, that dwelt above this Informants house, for that the said Elizabeths mother and some other of her kinsfolke did suffer death for Witchcraft and murther.

The Information of MATTHEW HOPKINS, of Mannintree, Gent. taken upon Oath before us the 25th day of March. 1645.

This Informant saith, That the said Elizabeth Clarke (suspected for a Witch as aforesaid) being by the appointment of the said Justices watched certaine nights, for the better discovery of her wicked Practises, this Informant came into the roome where the said Elizabeth was watched, as aforesaid, the last night, being the 24th of this instant March, but intended not to have stayed long there. But the said Elizabeth forthwith told this Informant and one Master Sterne there

present, if they would stay and do the said Elizabeth no hurt, shee would call one of her white Impes, and play with it in her lap; but this Informant told her, they would not allow of it; And that staying there a while longer, the said Elizabeth confessed shee had had c——ll c———n with the Devill six or seven yeares; and that he would appeare to her three or foure times in a weeke at her bed side, and goe to b—d to her, and l—e with her halfe a night together in the shape of a proper Gentleman, with a laced band, having the whole proportion of a man, and would say to her, *Besse I must l—e with you*, and shee did never deny him: And within a quarter of an houre after there appeared an Impe like to a Dog, which was white, with some sandy spots, and seemed to be very fat and plumpe, with very short legges, who forthwith vanished away: And the said Elizabeth said the name of that Impe was, *Jarmara*: And immediately there appeared another Impe, which shee called *Vinegar Tom*, in the shape of a Greyhound with long legges: And the said Elizabeth then said that the next Impe should be a black Impe, and should come for the said Master Sterne, which appeared, but presently vanished: And the last that appeared was in the shape of a Polcat, but the head somewhat bigger. And the said Elizabeth then told this Informant that shee had five Impes of her owne, and two of the Impes of the old Beldam Weste (meaning one Anne Weste, widow) who is now also suspected to be guilty of Witchcraft: And said sometimes the Impes of the old Beldam sucked on the said Elizabeth, and sometimes her Impes sucked on the old Beldam Weste. And the said Elizabeth further told this Informant, that Satan would never let her rest, or be quiet, untill shee did consent to the killing of the Hogges of one Mr. Edwards of Mannintree aforesaid, and the Horse of one Robert Tayler of the same Towne: And this Informant 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 jumpe, and ran as shee had been in a full course after an Hare; And that when this Informant made haste to see what his Greyhound so eagerly pursued; He espied a white thing about the bignesse of a Kitlyn, and the Greyhound

standing aloofe from it; and that by and by the said white Impe or Kitlyn daunced about the said Greyhound, and by all likelihood bit off 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 torne from her shoulder. And this Informant further saith, That comming into his own Yard that night, he espied a black thing, proportioned like a Cat, onely it was thrice as big, sitting on a strawberry-bed, and fixing the eyes on this Informant; and when he went towards it, it leaped over the pale towards 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 paire of Tumbrell Strings, and did throw the said Gate wide open, and then vanished; And the said Greyhound returned againe to this Informant, shaking and trembling exceedingly.

The Information of JOHN STERNE, Gent. taken upon Oath before us the 25th day of March. 1645.

This Informant saith, That watching with Elizabeth Clarke, (suspected for Witchcraft, as aforesaid) shee confessed that the Devill had had c——ll c——n with her in the likenesse of a man; and that the said Elizabeth desired this Informant, and the rest that were in the roome with her to sit downe, and said, shee would shew this Informant and the rest some of her Impes: And within halfe an houre there appeared a white thing in the likeness of a Cat, but not altogether so big: And being asked if she would not be afraid of her Impes; the said Elizabeth answered; *What doe yee thinke I am afraid of my children?* And that shee called the name of that white Impe, *Hoult*. And this Informant further saith, That presently after there appeared another white Impe, with red spots, as big as a small dog, which shee then called *Jarmara*: And that immediately after, there appeared at the threshold of the doore another Impe about the bignesse of the first, but did presently vanish away. And then the said Elizabeth being asked if any more Impes would come; shee answered, *That Vinegar Tom would come by and by*. And forthwith there appeared another in the likenesse of a dumb Dogge, somewhat bigger then any of the former: And the said Elizabeth also told this Informant, That shee had three Impes from her mother, which were

of a browne colour, and two from the old Beldam Weste: And that there had five Impes appeared; But shee had one more called *Sack and Sugar*, which had been hard at worke, and it would be long before it came, but it should teare this Informant. And a while after the said Elizabeth said, That it was well for this Informant he was so quick, otherwise the said Impe had soone skiped upon his face, and perchance had got into his throate, and then there would have been a feast of Toades in this Informants belly. And the said Elizabeth further confessed to this Informant, that shee had one Impe for which shee would fight up to the knees in bloud, before shee would lose it. And that her Impes did commonly suck on the old Beldam Weste; and that the said old Beldams Impes, did suck on her the said Elizabeth likewise.

The Information of FRANCES MILLES, GRACE NORMAN, MARY PHILLIPS, and MARY PARSLEY, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 25th of March. An. Dom. 1645.

These Informants say joyntly, That watching with the said Elizabeth Clarke, suspected as aforesaid, about twelve of the Clock last night, the said Elizabeth smacked with her mouth, and beckned with her hand, and instantly there appeared a white thing about the bignesse of a Cat; and that these Informants saw five Impes more, which the said Elizabeth named as aforesaid. And that the said Elizabeth told these Informants, That the old Beldam (meaning the said Anne Weste) did by Witchcraft kill the wife of one Robert Oakes of Lawford in the County aforesaid; and was the death of a Clothiers childe of Dedham in the said County of Essex: both which dyed as these Informants very well know about a weeke since. And the said Elizabeth told these Informants, that the said old Beldam Weste had the wife of one William Cole of Mannintree aforesaid in handling, who dyed not long since of a pining and languishing disease.

The Information of GEORGE TURNER taken upon oath the 25th day of March. 1645. before the said Justices.

This Informant saith, That going to the said Elizabeth Clarke, alias Bedingfeild, after shee was appre-

hended, and asking her whether shee had any hand in the drowning of one Thomas Turner, this Informants Brother, who was cast away at Sea about thirty moneths since; the said Elizabeth answered, That the old Bel-dam Weste raised that winde that sunke his Hoy: And that she the said Elizabeth had no hand in that businesse.

The Information of JOHN BANKES of Mannintree taken upon oath before the said Justices the 25th of March. 1645.

This Informant saith, That watching with the said Elizabeth, he doth informe and confirme all the particulars expressed and set downe in the Information of the said Mr. Sterne.

The Information of EDWARD PARSLEY of Mannintree, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 25th of March. 1645.

This Informant saith, That watching with the said Elizabeth Clarke, alias Bedingfeild, the last night, he asked the said Elizabeth if he should continue still in the roome with her; And the said Elizabeth desired he should, if he would fight for her with the Devills, for they would come this night, and that which shee called *Hoult* would come first, and then that which shee called *Jarmara*; which did appeare in the likenesse of a white Dogge, with red spots; and presently after there appeared that Impe which shee called *Vinegar Tom*; and then that which shee called *Sack and Sugar*: And the said Elizabeth then told this Informant, that the Devill had had possession of her six or seven yeares. And that he had oftentimes knocked at her dore in the night time; and that shee did arise, open the dore and let him in; and that he went to b—d to her three or foure times in a weeke, and had the c——ll knowledge of her as a man.

The Examination of the said ELIZABETH CLARKE, alias BEDINGFEILD, taken before the said Justices the 25th of March. 1645.*

This Examinant saith, That about six moneths since shee met with the said Anne Weste, widow, (who

* Executed at Chelmsford.

is now likewise apprehended) in a field neere the house of the said Elizabeth, where the said Elizabeth was picking up a few sticks; The said Anne Weste seemed much to pitie this Examinant for her lamenesse (having but one leg) and her poverty; And said to this Examinant, That there was wayes and meanes for her to live much better then now shee did: And said, that shee would send to this Examinant a thing like a little Kitlyn, which would fetch home some victualls for this Examinant; and that it should doe her no hurt. And this Examinant saith, that within two or three nights after there came a white thing to her in the night, and the night after a gray one, which spake to this Examinant, and told her they would doe her no hurt, but would helpe her to an Husband, who should maintaine her ever after: And that these two things came into this Examinants bed every night, or every other night, and sucked upon the lower parts of her body.

The Information of ROBERT TAYLER of Mannintree, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 23th day of Aprill. 1645.

This Informant saith, That about nine weekes since, Elizabeth, the wife of Edward Gooding (who is accused by the said Elizabeth Clarke to be a confederate with her) came to the Shop of this Informant, and desired to be trusted for half a pound of Cheese, which being denied, shee went away, muttering and mumbling to her self, and within a few houres came again with money, and bought a pound of Cheese of this Informant, and the same night this Informant having an Horse standing in his stable, the said Horse was taken in a strange manner sick and lame; whereupon this Informant sent for four Farriers to have their best advice, who could not discover the cause of the disease; but the said Horse about four dayes after died: And this Informant also saith, that it was observed by himself, and divers others, who often went to see the said Horse, that still upon their coming into the stable, he lay quiet, and looked cheerfully, but as soon as the door was shut, and the Horse alone, hee did violently beat himself, and that the belly of the said Horse would rumble and make a noyse, as a foule chimney set on fire: And this Informant further saith, that hee is induced to believe,

that the said Elizabeth Gooding was the cause of the death of his said Horse ; for that this Informant hath heard, that Elizabeth Clark, and Anne Leech widow, (who stand both accused for Witchcraft, and have confessed themselves guilty) have impeached the said Elizabeth Gooding for killing of this said Horse, and that the said Elizabeth Gooding is a lewd woman, and to this Informants knowledge, hath kept company with the said Elizabeth Clark, Anne Leech, and Anne West, which Anne West hath been suspected for a Witch many yeers since, and suffered imprisonment for the same.

The Examination of ELIZABETH GOODING, taken before the said Justices the 11th of April, 1645.*

This Examinant saith, that shee is not guilty of any one particular charged upon her in the Information of the said Robert Tailer.

The Information of RICHARD EDWARDS of Mannintree aforesaid, taken before the said Justices the 23 day of April, 1645.

This Informant saith, That about twelve moneths since, upon a Sabbath day, after the afternoon Sermon, driving his Cowes home by the house of Anne Leech of Misley widow, about forty yards from her said house, a black Cowe of this Informants, (being very well to his thinking) fell down, and within two dayes after died. And the very next day driving his Cowes from the same pasture, this Informant had a white Cowe that fell down within a Rod of the same place, where the other Cowe fell, (being also, as this Informant conceived, sound and well) and within a weak after dyed ; and hee further saith, that hee caused both the said Cowes to be opened, and that there could be no disease discovered, which might occasion their death : And this Informant likewise saith, that about August last, hee had a childe nursed by one Goodwife Wyles, dwelling neer the houses of the said Elizabeth Clark and Elizabeth Gooding, and that his said childe was taken sick, and had very strange fits, extending the limbs, and rowling the eyes, and within two dayes after dyed : And this Informant doth verily believe, that Anne Leech, and the said Elizabeth

* Executed at Chelmesford.

Gooding, were the death of his said child, as is confessed by the said Anne Leech in her own Confession and Examination.

The Examination of ANNE LEECH of Misley in the County aforesaid, widow, taken before the said Justices, April 14. 1645.*

This Examinant saith, That she had a grey Impe sent to her, and that this Examinant, together with the said Elizabeth Clark, and Elizabeth, the wife of Edward Gooding, did about a yeer since, send their Imps to kill a black Cowe and a white Cowe of Mr. Edwards, which was done accordingly: And this Examinant saith, that she sent her gray Imp, Elizabeth Clark a black Imp, and Elizabeth Gooding a white Imp: And this Examinant saith, that about thirty yeeres since, shee sent a gray Imp to kill two Horses of one Mr. Bragge of Misley, which were killed accordingly; and that the occasion of her malice was, because Mistresse Bragge had told this Examinant, that shee suspected her to be a naughty woman; and this Examinant confesseth, that she and the said Eliz. Gooding, sent either of them an Imp to destroy the childe of the said Mr. Edwards; this Examinants Imp being then a white one, and Elizabeth Goodings a black Imp; and that about thirty yeers since, this Examinant had the said white Imp, and two others, a gray, and a black Imp of one Anne, the wife of Robert Pearce of Stoak in Suffolk, being her brother; and that these Imps went commonly from one to another, and did mischief where ever they went; and that when this Examinant did not send and imploy them abroad to do mischief, she had not her health, but when they were imployed, she was healthfull and well, and that these Imps did usually suck those teats which were found about the privie parts of her body; and that the said Imps did often speak to this Examinant, and told her, she should never feele hell torments, and that they spake to her in an hollow voyce, which she plainly understood: And this Examinant also confesseth, that she sent her gray Imp to Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert Kirk of Mannyntree, about three yeers since, to destroy her; and upon the sending of the said Imp, the said

* Executed at Chelmesford.

Elizabeth languished by the space of one whole yeer, untill shee dyed, and that the occasion of offence this Examinant took against her the said Elizabeth was, for that she had asked a Coife of the said Elizabeth, which shee refused to give to this Examinant. And further, this Examinant saith, that long since, but the exact time she cannot remember, she sent her gray Imp to kill the daughter of the widow Rawlyns of Misley aforesaid; and the reason was, because this Examinant was put out of her Farm, and the said widow Rawlyns put in, where shee dwelleth at this present. And moreover, this Examinant confesseth, that she was acquainted with the sending of an Imp by the aforesaid Elizabeth Gooding, to vex and torment Mary the wife of John Tayler of Mannyntree aforesaid about three yeers since; and this Examinant being asked why she did not discover it to the said Mary, she said, the Devill would not suffer her, and that the cause of the said Elizabeth Goodings malice against the said Mary was, because the said Mary refused to give to the said Elizabeth some Beeregood. And lastly, this Examinant saith, that about eight weeks since, this Examinant, the said Elizabeth Gooding, and one Anne West of Lawford widow, met together at the house of the said Elizabeth Clark, where there was a book read, wherein shee thinks there was no goodnesse.

The Information of GRACE the wife of RICHARD GLASCOCK of Mannyntree, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 11th day of April, 1645.

This Informant saith, that there being some falling out between Mary the wife of Edward Parsley of Mannyntree, and one Hellen Clark, the wife of Thomas Clark (which said Hellen is the daughter of the said Anne Leech, whose confession doth immediately precede) this Informant heard the said Hellen to say, as the said Hellen passed by this Informants door in the street, that Mary the daughter of the said Edward and Mary Parsley should rue for all, whereupon, presently the said Mary the daughter, fell sick, and died within six weeks after.

The Information of EDWARD PARSLEY of Mannyntree, taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 11. 1645.

This Informant saith, that his said daughter sick-

ned very suddenly, as the said Grace Glascock hath before informed, and died about six weeks since; and this Informant doth verily believe, the said Hellen Clark was the death of his said daughter.

The Examination of HELLEN CLARK, taken before the said Justices the 11th of April, 1645.*

This Examinant confesseth, that about six weeks since, the Devill appeared to her in her house, in the likenesse of a white Dog, and that she calleth that Familiar *Elimanzer*; and that this Examinant hath often fed him with milk-pottage; and that the said Familiar spake to this Examinant audibly, and bade her deny Christ, and shee should never want, which shee did then assent unto, but doth altogether deny the killing of the daughter of the said Edward Parsley.

The Information of PRUDENCE HART, the wife of Thomas Hart of Lawford, taken upon oath before us the 23. of April, 1645.

This Informant saith, that about eight week since, being at her Parish Church, on the Sabbath day, half a mile distant from her house, and being about twenty weeks gone with childe, and to her thinking, very well and healthfull, upon the sudden shee was taken with great pains, and miscarried before shee could be got home; and this Examinant saith, that about two moneths since, being in her bed, in the night, something fell down upon her right side, but being dark, she cannot tell in what shape it was: And that presently shee was taken lame on that side, with extraordinary pains and burning, but recovered again within a few dayes after: And this Informant further saith, that she verily believeth, that Rebecca West, and Anne West her mother, were the cause of her pains; for that the said Rebecca hath in part of her Confession expressed, that shee had much maliced this Informant, because the said Rebecca West ever thought this Informant to be her greatest enemy.

The Information of JOHN EDES, Clerke, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 28th day of April. 1645.

* Executed at Mannyntree.

This Informant saith, That Rebecca West confessed unto him, that about seven yeares since, shee began to have familiaritie with the Devill, by the instigation of her mother Anne Weste; who hath appeared unto the said Rebecca at severall times, in diverse shapes: At one time in the likenesse of a proper young man, who desired of her, that he might have the same familiaritie with her, that others that appeared unto her before had had: Promising that if shee would, he would then doe for the said Rebecca what she desired, and avenge her on her enemies; but required further, that shee would deny God, and relie upon him. Now there was one Thomas Hart of Lawford, where the said Rebecca lived, with her said mother, Anne West, and the said Rebecca told this Informant, that shee required of him, that hee would avenge her on the said Hart by killing his son, who not long after was taken sick, and dyed, whereupon the said Rebecca told this Informant, that shee conceived hee could do as God; after which time shee gave entertainment to him, who l—y with her as a man; and the said Rebecca further confessed to this Informant, that whilest she lived at Rivenall in the said County of Essex, the said Anne her mother, came to the said Rebecca, and told her the Barley corn was picked up (meaning one George Frances, the only son of one George Frances, one of the chief Inhabitants of that town, where the said Anne West dwelt) and that his father thought the said George his son was bewitched to death; and the said Anne then said unto the said Rebecca, *Be it unto him according to his faith.*

The Confession of REBECCA WEST, taken before the said Justices at Mannyntree, the 21. of March, 1645.*

This Examinant saith, that about a moneth since, the aforesaid Anne Leech, Elizabeth Gooding, Hellen Clark, Anne West, and this Examinant, met all together at the house of the aforesaid Elizabeth Clark in Mannyntree, where they together spent some time in praying unto their Familiars, and every one in order went to prayers; afterwards some of them read in a book, the book being Elizabeth Clarks; and this Examinant saith, that forthwith their Familiars appeared, and every one of them made their severall Propositions to those Fa-

* Found by the grand Jury, but acquitted by the Jury of life and death.

miliars, what every one of them desired to have effected: And this Examinant saith, that first of all the said Elizabeth Clark desired of her Spirit, that Mr. Edwards might be met withall about the middle bridge, as hee should come riding from Eastberyhould in Suffolk; that his Horse might be scared, and he thrown down, and never rise again: And this Examinant saith, that the said Elizabeth Gooding desired of her Spirit, that shee might be avenged on Robert Taylers Horse, for that the said Robert suspected the said Elizabeth Gooding for the killing of an Horse of the said Robert formerly: And this examinant saith, that the said Hellen Clark desired of her Spirit, that shee might be revenged on two Hogs in Misley street, (being the place where the said Hellen lived) one of the Hogs to die presently, and the other to be taken lame; and this Examinant further saith, that Anne Leech desired of her Spirit, that a Cowe might be taken lame of a mans living in Mannyntree, but the name of the man this Examinant cannot remember: And this examinant further saith, that the said Anne West,* this Examinants mother, desired of her Spirit, that shee might be freed from all her enemies, and have no trouble: And this Examinant saith, that shee desired of her Spirit, that shee might be revenged on Prudence the wife of Thomas Hart, and that the said Prudence might be taken lame on her right side. And lastly this Examinant saith, that having thus done, this Examinant, and the other five, did appoint the next meeting to be at the said Elizabeth Goodings house, and so departed all to their owne houses.

The Information of RICHARD EDWARDS of Mannintree, Gent. taken upon oath before the said Justices the 23th of Aprill. 1645.

This Informant saith, That not long since, about three moneths to his best remembrance, as he was coming from Eastberyhould in Suffolke, halfe an houre within evening; within ten score of the middle bridge (according to the desire of the said Elizabeth Clarke, as is declared in the confession of the said Rebecca Weste) this Informants horse started with him, and greatly endangered him; and he heard something about his horse

* This Anne West was executed at Mannyntree the first of August, 1645.

cry, *Ah, ah*; much like the shriek of a Polcat. And this Informant saith, That with much difficulty he saved himselfe from being thrown off his horse. All which, this Informant reported to his wife and neighbours as soone as he came home.

The Information of MATTHEW HOPKINS, Gent. taken upon oath before the said Justices the 18th of Aprill. 1645.

This Informant saith, That being lately at Colchester, he went to the Castle, where the said Rebecca Weste, with the other five, are secured untill the next Gaole delivery; And this Informant going to Rebecca Weste, and asking her how shee came first to be a Witch, the said Rebecca told this Informant, that about a yeare since, or thereabouts, halfe an houre before Sun-set, the said Anne Weste (her mother) carried the said Rebecca Weste towards Mannintree, (which is about a small mile from the place where the said Anne dwelt) and the said Rebecca told this Informant, that as her mother and shee walked together, the said Anne told the said Rebecca, shee must keepe secret whatsoever shee saw, whither they were then going; and the said Rebecca promised so to doe; And the said Rebecca told this Informant, that her mother and shee went to the house of the aforesaid Elizabeth Clarke, where at their comming in they found the aforesaid Anne Leech, widow, Elizabeth Gooding, Hellen Clarke, and the house-keeper Elizabeth Clarke, and that forthwith the Devill appeared to them in the shape of a dogge; afterwards in the shape of two Kitlyns; then in the shape of two dogges; and that the said familiars did doe homage in the first place to the said Elizabeth Clarke, and skipped up into her lap, and kissed her; and then went and kissed all that were in the roome, except the said Rebecca: And the said Rebecca told this Informant, that immediately one of their company asked the said Anne her mother, if shee had acquainted her daughter (the said Rebecca) with the businesse; and her mother answered shee had, and told them all, they need not feare her the said Rebecca for revealing any thing: And the said Rebecca told this Informant, that forthwith the said Anne Leech pulled out a booke, and swore the said Rebecca never to reveale any thing shee

saw or heard ; and if shee should discover any thing, they all told the said Rebecca, shee should endure more torments on earth, then could be in hell : And the said Rebecca told this Informant, that shee promised to keepe all their secrets ; And moreover, they all told her, that shee must never confesse any thing, although the Rope were about her necke, and shee ready to be hanged : And that after shee had consented to all these things, the Devill came into her lap, and kissed her, and promised to doe for her what shee could desire ; and that within halfe a yeare after the Devill appeared to her the said Rebecca, as shee was going to bed, and told her, he would marry her, and that shee could not deny him ; shee said he kissed her, but was as cold as clay, and married her that night, in this manner ; He tooke her by the hand and lead her about the Chamber, and promised to be her loving husband till death, and to avenge her of her enemies ; And that then shee promised him to be his obedient wife till death, and to deny God and Christ Jesus ; And the said Rebecca told this Informant, that shee sent the Devill to kill the sonne of the said Thomas Hart, which he did within one fortnight ; and that after that shee tooke him for her God, and thought he could doe as God.

The Information of SUSAN SPARROW, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 25th day of Aprill, An. Dom. 1645. at Little Bentley.

This Informant saith, That about thirty yeares since, living under the same roofe with Mary Greenleif of Alresford, either of them had a Daughter of about thirteen or fourteen yeares of age, and being one night in bed with their children, this Informant heard the childe of the said Mary Greenleif to cry out in a fearefull manner ; Oh Mother, now it comes, it comes, oh helpe mother, it hurts me, it hurts me : Whereupon this Informant called to the said Mary, and said, Good-wife Greenleife, Good-wife Greenleife, if your childe be asleepe, awaken it, for if any body comes by, and heare it make such moane (you having an ill name already) they will say, You are suckling your Impes upon it : Whereupon the said Mary replied ; I doe so indeed, and I will fee with them (meaning her said Impes,) that they shall suck my daughter one night, and thine ano-

ther: And this Informant saith, that the very next night, her childe cryed out in the same manner, and clasped her armes about this Informants necke, being much affrighted, sweating, and shrieking in a terrible manner, complaining that shee was nipped and pinched on her thigh; and that the next morning searching what the cause should be, shee found above the right knee of her childe, a black and blew spot, as broad and long as her hand: And this Informant saith, that her childe did complaine on that leg, at least a moneth after. And this Informant saith, that the house where this Informant and the said Mary did dwell together, was haunted with a Leveret, which did usually sit before the dore: And this Informant knowing that one Anthony Sharlock had an excellent Greyhound that had killed many Hares; and having heard that a childe of the said Anthony was much haunted and troubled, and that the mother of the childe suspected the said Mary to be the cause of it: This Informant went to the said Anthony Sharlock and acquainted him, that a Leveret did usually come and sit before the dore, where this Informant and the said Mary Greenleife lived, and desired the said Anthony to bring downe his Greyhound to see if he could kill the said Leveret; and the next day the said Anthony did accordingly bring his Greyhound, and coursed it, but whether the dog killed it this Informant knows not; But being a little before coursed by Good-man Merrills dog, the dog ran at it, but the Leveret never stirred, and just when the dog came at it, he skipped over it, and turned about and stood still, and looked on it, and shortly after that dog languished and dyed. But whether this was an Impe in the shape of a Leveret, or had any relation to the said Mary, this Informant knows not, but does confesse shee wondered very much to see a Leveret, wilde by nature, to come so frequently and sit openly before the dore in such a familiar way.

The Information of ELIZABETH HUNT and PRISCILLA BRIGS, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 25th day of Aprill. 1645.

These Informants say, That being by the said Justices imployed to search the said Mary Greenleife, upon suspect for being a Witch, these Informants found that the said Mary had bigges or teates in her secret

parts, not like Emerods, nor in those places where women use to be troubled with them ; and that they verily beleeve, these teates are sucked by her Impes ; for that these Informants have been formerly imployed to search other women suspected for Witchcraft, who have had the like bigges, and have afterwards confessed themselves to be Witches.

The Examination of MARY GREENLEIFE taken before the said Justices, April 25. 1645.

This Examinant being asked how she came by those teats which were discovered in her secret parts, She saith she knows not unlesse she were born with them ; but she never knew she had any such untill this time, they were found in those parts upon the said search ; And she does deny that ever she had any Impe sucked on these teats : But she does confesse she hath seen a Leveret once sitting before her doore within a yard of the threshold ; and that she wondered much at it, being about noon time as she remembreth. And further saith, she is not guilty of any accusation charged upon her this Examinant.

The Information of ELIZABETH OTLEY of Wyvenhoe taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 25. 1645.

This Informant saith, that Alice Dixon (who now stands committed for a suspected Witch) did in the presence of Mary Johnson of the same Town, charge and accuse the said Mary Johnson to be the death of this Informants child, saying, that the said Mary Johnson did carry an Impe in her pocket to this Informants house, and put the said Impe into the house, at an hole in the doore, bidding it go rock the Cradle, and do the businesse she sent it about, and return to her again : And this Informant saith, that upon a Munday before Michaelmas last, the said Mary Johnson came to the house of this Informant, and gave her child an apple, and kissed it ; And within a short time after the said child sickned and died : And the said Alice Dixon did also affirm, that the Impe which the said Mary Johnson sent to this Informants house, was in shape somewhat like a Rat, but without tayl and eares. And this Informant saith, that the said Mary Johnsons answer was, that if

she did it, she did it, she could but receive punishment for it. And at the same time the said Mary Johnson said, the said Alice Dixon did the mischief to this Informants child her self. And this Informant further saith, that after the said Alice Dixon had made this discovery, she, this Informant, was taken with extreme pains in her body, and that during the time of her extremity, the said Mary Johnson did many times come to this Informants house, perswading her, that she was not the death of this Informants child: But this Informant could not be satisfied untill she had gotten the blood of the said Mary Johnson; And meeting with her after long scuffling, this Informant made the said Mary Johnsons teeth to bleed, and immediately after, this Informants extraordinary pains left her, and her stomack came to her, having eat little or nothing a fortnight before, and slept very well the night following, having been restlesse by reason of her extreme pains all the time aforesaid. And this Informant further saith, that the next day after the said Mary Johnson had given this Informants child the Apple, the child was taken with very violent fits, and in the fits (although the Child was but two yeers old) yet this Informant could very hardly with all her strength hold it down in the Cradle, and so continued untill it died.

The Examination of MARY JOHNSON taken before the said Justices the 25. of April, 1645.

This Examinant saith, that she is not guilty of any one particular charged upon her in the Information of the said Elizabeth Otley touching the killing of the child of the said Elizabeth.

The Information of IOSEPH LONG Minister of Clacton in the County of Essex, taken before the said Just: April 29. 1645.

This Informant saith, that Anne the wife of John Cooper* of Clacton aforesaid, being accused for a Witch: Confessed unto this Informant, that she the said Anne was guilty of the sin of Witchcraft; and that she hath had three black Impes suckled on the lower parts of her body: called by the names of *Wynowe*, *Jeso*, and *Panu*: And this Informant saith, that the said Anne told

* Executed at Mannintree the 1. of August.

him, that once she cursed a Colt of one William Cottin-gams of Clacton aforesaid, and the said Colt broke his neck presently after going out of a gate: And the said Anne further confessed unto this Informant, that she the said Anne offered to give unto her daughter Sarah Cooper an Impe in the likenes of a gray Kite, to suck on the said Sarah: which Impes name the said Anne called *Tom boy*: and told the said Sarah, there was a Cat for her; And this Informant saith, that the said Anne confessed unto him, that she the said Anne about ten yeers since falling out with Johan the wife of Gregory Rous of Clacton aforesaid; the said Anne Cooper sent one of her Impes to kill the daughter of the said Gregory and Johan named Mary: And this Informant saith, that to his own knowledge about the same time the said child was strangely taken sick, and languishing, within a short time died.

The Information of ROGER HEMPSON taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

This Informant doth confirm the Information of the said Joseph Longe, and concurs in every particular.

The Information of ROGER HEMPSON taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

This Informant saith, that Mr. Longe telling Elizabeth Hare,* that she was accused by one Mary Smith, for giving of her the said Mary two Impes: And that the said Elizabeth Hare, praying to God with her hands upward, that if she were guilty of any such thing, He would shew some example upon her: And this Informant saith, that presently after she shaked and quivered, and fell down to the ground backward, and tumbled up and down upon the ground, and hath continued sick ever since.

The Information of ANABALL the wife of GEORGE DURRANT taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

This Informant saith, that about ten moneths since, going from Wivenhoe towards Fingeringhoe, in the County of Essex, by the way Mary Johnson the wife of Nicholas Johnson met with this Informant, whom this

* Condemned, but reprieved.

Informant never saw before to her knowledge ; And this Informant leading her Child upon her hand, being about two yeers old, and perfectly well: the said Mary Johnson took occasion of her own accord to commend the said Child, saying, it was a pretty child ; and stroaked it upon the face, and gave it a peece of bread and butter, and so left this Informant. And this Informants child did eat a peece of the said bread and butter : and within half a quarter of an houre after, her said child shricked and cried out it was lame ; And this Informant carried her child home, and had the advice of one Mr. Dawber a Chirurgeon, who could find no naturall cause of its lamenesse ; and so the said child continued for the space of eight dayes shricking and tearing it self, and then died.—And further, this Informant saith, that immediately after the death of her child, she was taken with extreme pains in her body, sometimes every day or at least every third day, for the space of seven or eight moneths together as if she had been to be delivered of a child, but was not with child ; And this Informant saith, that setting up of broome in an out-house presently after her child was dead, she had the perfect representation of a shape, to her thinking, like the said Mary Johnson, and was struck with a lamenesse in her Arms, and such a stiffnesse that three or foure that came to help her, were not able to bow her Arms: and this Informant continued speechlesse all that day and the night following, and had such a weaknesse in the rest of her limbes, that she was carried into her house by some of her friends, and continued by the space of a fortnight, being before untill this present (as she conceived) in perfect health and strength : And further this Informant saith, that she being charged by the Constable by vertue of a Warrant to give this her Information before the said Justices against the said Mary Johnson this day : this Informants husband called her up in the morning, wishing her to make her ready to go before the said Justices ; And presently after he gave a great shriek, and said the said Mary Johnson would be his death, and had a great swelling risen up in his breast, and now lies sweating, and in great extremity. And at this very instant a noise was heard in the Roome where her husband lay like an Hornet, and thereupon her husband cried out, It comes, it comes, Now goodwife John-

sons Impe is come, Now she hath my life; And forthwith a great part of the wall in the said roome fell down. And this Informant saith, that she doth verily beleve the said Mary Johnson was the cause of her childs death: And that she is now the cause of her husbands extremity.

The Information of RIC. CARTER and HENRY CORNWALL of Thorp, taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

These Informants say, that being appointed to watch Margaret Moone, after she was accused and apprehended for a Witch, the said Margaret going about the Roome, these Informants did see a thing drop from under her coats (as they thought) in the likenesse of a Rat for bignesse and shape, but of a gray colour; And presently there was such an extreame offensive stink in the Roome, that these Informants were scarce able to endure to stay in it; And these Informants asking the said Margaret what it was that dropped from her, she bid them coop it up and catch it if they could. And this Informant Henry Cornwall saith, that the said Margaret did confesse to him that she had twelve Impes, and called them by their names; of which he remembers onely these following: *Jesus, Jockey, Sandy, Mrs. Elizabeth, and Collyn.*

The Information of WILL. DAMMON, HEN. CORNWALL, BEVIS VINCENT, and THO. BURLES, taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

These Informants say, that upon the 21. day of April last past, they heard Margaret Moone confesse, that she was a Witch, and that she had twelve Impes, that she had killed a Cow of Stephen Cookers, and had two Cowes more of the said Stephen in handling; that she had killed a Cow and a Sow of Henry Robertsons. That she was partner with the aforesaid Eliz: Clark of Mannintree, in killing of a Child of one Mr. Edwards of Mannintree aforesaid, and spoiling of 3 Brewings of beere of the said Mr. Edwards. That she the said Margaret Moon spoiled a batch of bread of one Philip Berimans; that she was the cause that one Philip Daniels horse broke his neck going down an hill in his Waggon. And the said Informant saith, that the said M: Moone

did freely and voluntarily confesse unto him, without any question being asked, that she was the cause of the death of Johan Cornwall this Informants daughter. And this Informant saith, that the said Margaret Moone before his child fell sick, sent for this Informant to do some work for her, and then she desired to buy an Hooke which he carried with him in his hand ; And they agreed she should have the said Hooke for half a peck of Apples: And as this Informant went home he did eat one of the said Apples, and was presently taken sick with an extreme shaking and pain in all parts of his body ; And this Informants wife knowing the said Margaret Moone to be a woman of a very bad fame and suspected for a Witch, and had formerly been questioned at an Assize for the same, she flung away the Aples. And this Informant saith, that he continued in great extremity for the space of twelve weeks, and most part of that time deprived of his senses. And at the same time his wife was taken in the same manner, and is not yet perfectly recovered. And lastly this Informant saith, that the next day after he had been at the said Margarets house as aforesaid, that his child (which the said Margaret confessed she was the death of) was taken sick with strange fits, and shriekings out, and so continued languishing for a moneth, and died.

The Information of RICHARD CALEY of Thorpe taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

This Informant saith, that being called into the house where Bevis Vincent, and Henry Cornwall were appointed by the neighbours of Thorpe aforesaid to watch Margaret Moone, the said Margaret did confesse before this Informant, that she had by Witchcraft killed a Cow and a Sow of one Henry Robinsons. And that one Henry Dorr being then called to write what she should confesse, the said Margaret refused to make any further discovery, before this Informant ; but fell upon other discourse, saying, that she had been told fourty times, that this Informant thought in his conscience she was no Witch ; And that this Informant knew that one William Caley his brother let the said Margaret an House about twenty yeers since, and afterwards warned her out of the said house ; and that then she went into an house that was built for her by one Thomas Turner, and being also turned out of Turners house, that one

Rawbood and his wife gave ten shillings more for the said house, then the said Margaret, and came and dwelt in the said house: But the said Margaret said, they (meaning the said Rawbood and his wife) had as good they had not medled with the house, for they did never thrive after. And this Informant saith, that after the said Rawbood had taken the said house, he and his wife were alwayes lame or sick untill they died: and that the wife of the said Rawbood being a very tydy and cleanly woman, sitting upon a block after dinner with another Neighbour a little before it was time to go to Church (and as he remembers) upon an Easter day, the said Rawboods wife was on the sudden so filled with Lice, that they might have been swept off her cloaths with a stick; And this Informant saith he did see them, and that they were long, and lean, and not like other Lice. And this Informant being asked, whether the said Margaret were at this time sensible, he saith that she spake very plainly and very intelligently, discoursing of some things done long before, her memory serving her very exactly.

The Information of FRANCIS MILLES taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

This Informant saith, that being employed by the Neighbours of Thorpe aforesaid, to search Margaret Moone, who was suspected for a Witch, she found three long teats or bigges in her secret parts, which seemed to have been lately sucked; and that they were not like Pyles, for this Informant knows well what they are, having been troubled with them her self. And this Informant saith, that she asking the said Margaret for her Impes, which sucked those teats: she said, if she might have some bread and beere, she would call her said Impes; which being given unto her, she put the bread into the beere, and set it against an hole in the wall, and made a circle round about the pot, and then cried, *Come Christ, come Christ, come Mounsier, come Mounsier:* And no Impe appearing, she cried out and said, she had Devillish Daughters which had carried her Impes away in a white bagge, and wished they might be searched, for they were naught: And upon the searching of her Daughters, this Informant found that two of them had biggs in their privy parts as the said Margaret their mother had.

The Information of MARY PHILIPS, ELIZABETH HARRIS, widow, SUSAN BURLLES, and PHILIP TUMNOR taken upon oath before the said Justices, April 29. 1645.

These Informants do all and every of them concur with Frances Milles in her said Information, in that particular concerning the teats of the said Margaret Moone, and her two daughters; And the said Mary Philips doth also confirm and concur with that part of the Information of the said Frances Milles, touching the pot, the circle, and the calling of the Impes by the said Margaret Moone.—And this Informant Mary Philips doth also say, that being sent for to search the said Margaret Moone, as she was coming towards Thorp aforesaid, and going over a broad foot Bridge, this Informant sensibly felt a great blow on her head, which strook her into a ditch up to the neck. And this Informant and the said Francis Mylles, doe both of them say, That as soon as they came into the room where the said Margaret Moon was, she called these two Informants, Manintree Rogues (they both dwelling at a Town so called,) and said, Who a Devill sent for you? But I hope I have met with some of you.

The Examination of MARGARET MOON, taken before the said Justices, the 29. day of May, 1645.*

This Examinant being examined to all the particulars charged upon her, in all the aforesaid severall informations, denies every particular.

The Examination of JUDITH MOONE, daughter of the said Margaret Moone, taken before the said Justices the 29th day of Aprill. 1645.

This Examinant (being a single woman and having such marks of a Witch, as aforesaid) saith, that about a fortnight before her Mother was apprehended for a Witch, the said Margaret bid this Examinant goe and fetch a bundle of wood, and this Examinant told her mother shee would not fetch any wood: Whereupon the said Margaret threatned this Examinant, and told her shee had as good have gone for some wood; And that the next night as this Examinant lay in her bed, she felt something come into the bed, about her legges, being

* Condemned and dyed by the way to execution.

at that time broad awake, and that shee searched to see what it should be, but could not finde any thing.

The Information of BRIDGET REYNOLDS, the wife of Edmond Reynolds of Ramsey in the said County of Essex, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 3d of May. 1645.

This Informant saith, That she with some other women, were required to search Sarah Hating, the wife of William Hating, Elizabeth Harvy, widow, and Marian Hocket, widow, who are all suspected for witchcraft, and upon her said search (being a Midwife) found such Marks, or Bigges in their privy parts, that she never saw in other women: for Sarah Hating had foure Teats, or Bigges in those parts, almost an inch long, and as bigge as this Informants little finger: That the said Elizabeth Harvy had three such Bigges, and about the said scantling: And that the said Marian Hocket had no such Bigges, but was found in the same parts not like other honest women. And this Informant further saith, That the said Elizabeth Harvy said (since she was found with the said suspitious marks) unto this Informant, That if she were a Witch, she was so made by the said Marian Hocket; for that the said Marian brought unto her the said Elizabeth Harvy, three things about the bignesse of Mouses, and willed the said Elizabeth to make much of them, for they were pretty things; which the said Elizabeth received: And the said Elizabeth told this Informant, that ever since she received those three things which the said Marian delivered unto her, she hath been much torn and troubled in her privy parts, where the said Bigges were found. And that the said three things were delivered to her the said Elizabeth about six or seven years since.

The Information of ELIZABETH DURDEN, the wife of Edward Durden and MARY PHILIPS, taken upon oath before the said Justices the 3. day of May, 1645.

These Informants do concur in every particular with the said Briget Reynolds in her Information touching the search of the said Sarah Hating, Elizabeth Harvie, and Marian Hocket: And this Informant Elizabeth Durden further saith, that the said Elizabeth Harvie told her, that if shee were a Witch, shee was so made by the said Marian Hocket.

The Information of FRANCIS STOCK and JOHN BATTILLY, taken upon oath, before the said Justices, May 3. 1645.

These Informants say, that the said Elizabeth Harvie confessed to them with many teares, that shee had three marks, two before and one behinde (as is already informed by Bridget Reynolds and others,) And that the said Marian Hocket made her have the said marks or bigs, by bringing of three things to her the said Elizabeth, and telling her, if shee would receive them, shee should never want so long as she lived; which three things have since made the said marks in her privie parts, and the said Elizabeth told these Informants, that the said three things were of a reddish color, and that since, the said Marian, and the said Elizabeth falling out, she the said Elizabeth would have put away & sent home the three things which the said Marian brought to her, and that ever since the said things have tormented her in her bed, in the places aforesaid, as if they had pulled her in pieces.

The second Information of FRANCIS STOCK, taken before the said Justices upon oath, May 3. 1645.

This Informant saith, that about five yeers since, being one of the Constables of Ramsey aforesaid, hee impressed William Hating, husband to the aforesaid Sarah Hating for a souldier, whereupon the said William threatened this Informant very much, and not long after, this Informants wife told him, shee espied a Snake lying upon a shelf in this Informants house, about three yards high from the ground, which falling down into the house, shee endeavoured to kill with a Spade; and striking at it, the Snake suddenly vanished away, and could no where be found: And this Informant saith, that presently after his said wife was taken sick with extraordinary fits, pains and burnings all over her body, and within one week dyed: And further this Informant saith, that within two or three dayes, after the death of his said wife, hee had a daughter taken sick after a very strange manner, who in all the time of her sicknesse, cryed out much on the said Sarah, the wife of the said William Hating, saying, that the said Sarah was the cause of her death, and dyed presently after; and that within two or three dayes after the death of his said

childe, this Informant had another childe taken sick in the same manner, and within a few dayes dyed also: And lastly, this Informant saith, that about three quarters of a yeer after, he had a man-servant, that for some ill language given to him by John Hating, one of the sons of the said William and Sarah Hating, his said servant did beat the said John, and the very next day hee was taken sick, and so continued in a pining and languishing condition, crying out often of the said Sarah, that she had bewitched him, and was the cause of his death, which soon after ensued.

The Information of FRANCIS STOCK, and JOHN FELGATE, taken upon oath before the said Justices, May 3. 1645.

This Informant John Felgate saith, that speaking with one Sarah Barton, the sister of the said Marian Hocket (which said Sarah is now imprisoned in the Gaole at Harwich upon suspition of Witchcraft) who told this Informant, that the said Marian had cut off her bigs, whereby she might have been the more suspected to have been a Witch, and laid plaisters to those places: And the said Francis and John say, that the said Sarah Barton, told them, that the said Marian had given and delivered unto her the said Sarah three Imps, and that the said Marian called them by the names of *Little-man, Pretty-man, and Dainty.*

The Examination of MARIAN HOCKET, SARAH HATING, and ELIZABETH HARVIE of Ramsey within the County aforesaid, taken before the said Justices, May 3. 1645.

This Examinant, Marian Hocket* saith, that shee is not guilty of any of the particulars charged upon her, touching Witchcraft, notwithstanding the severall accusations against her.

This Examinant, Sarah Hating† saith, that shee is not guilty of any particular wherewith shee stands charged in the Information of Francis Stock and others.

This Examinant, Elizabeth Harvie‡ saith, that about halfe a yeer since, the said Marian Hocket brought

* Executed at Mannyn-tree, Aug. 1. 1645. † Executed at Chelmesford. ‡ Executed at Chelmesford.

three things to her house, two of them being smaller then Mouses, and the other somewhat bigger and longer; and that the said Marian told this examinant they were pretty things, and would do her and this Examinant good, if shee this Examinant would keep them; and that afterwards shee was very much pained in those parts of her body where the said teats or bigs were discovered by the said searchers, as aforesaid.

The Information of ROBERT TURNER of St. Osith Carpenter, taken upon oath before the said Justices, May 6. 1645.

This Informant saith, that about eight dayes since, his servant was taken sick, shaking and shrieking, and crying out of Rose Hallybread, that shee had bewitched him: And this Informant saith, that sometimes his said servant, since hee was taken sick, as aforesaid, hath crowed perfectly as a Cock; sometimes barked like a Dog; sometimes violently groaned beyond the ordinary course of nature; and struggling with such strength (being but a youth) that four or five strong men were not able to hold him down in his bed; and sometimes sung divers and sundry perfect tunes: And that this Informant could not perceive his mouth to open, or so much as his lips to stir all the time of his singing.

The Examination of ROSE HALLYBREAD, taken before the said Justices, the 6th of May, 1645.*

This Examinant saith, that about fifteen or sixteen yeers since, there was an Imp brought to her house by one Goodwife Hagtree, which Imp this Examinant entertained, fed it with oatmeale, and suckled it on her body, for the space of a yeer and a halfe, or thereabouts, and then lost it: And this Examinant further saith, that about half a yeer since, one Joyce Boanes (who is now also accused for Witchcraft) brought to this Examinants house another Imp, in the likenesse of a small Gray bird, which this Examinant received, and carried it to the house of one Thomas Toakley of St. Osyth, and put the said Imp into a cranny of the doore of the said Toakely's house, after which time the son of the said Thomas languished, and dyed, crying out of this Examinant, that shee was his death: And this Ex-

* Died in the Gaole.

aminant further saith, that about eight dayes since, Susan Cock, Margaret Landish, and Joyce Boanes, (all which stand now suspected for Witchcraft) brought to this Examinants house each of them an Imp, (in all three) to which this Examinant added one of her own Imps; and then the said Joyce Boanes carryed the said four Imps to the house of one Robert Turner, to torment his servant, because hee had refused to give unto her this Examinant, the said Susan Cocks, Margaret Landish and Joyce Boanes a few chips: And this Examinant further saith, that the said Robert Turners servant forthwith fell sick, and oftentimes barked like a Dog: And this Examinant saith, that shee believeth that the said four Imps were the cause of his barking and sicknesse.

The Examination of JOYCE the wife of WILLIAM BOANES, taken before the said Justices, May 6. 1645.*

This Examinant saith, that about thirteen yeers since, shee had two Imps which came into the bed to her in the likenesse of Mouses, and that they sucked on this Examinants body; and that afterwards this Examinant employed and sent the said Imps to a Farm house in St. Osyth, called Cocket-wick, where one Richard Welch then lived, where the said Imps killed ten or twelve Lambs of the said Richards: And this Examinant saith further, that a little while after, shee sent her said two Imps to the house of one Thomas Clynch, where they killed a Calf, a Sheep and a Lamb: And this Examinant also saith, that shee carried one of her said Imps, called *Rug*, to the house of the said Rose Hallybread; and that her said Imp *Rug*, with three Imps of the said Rose Hallybread, Susan Cock, and Margaret Landish, each of them sending one, were carried by this Examinant from the house of the said Rose Hallybread, to the house of the said Robert Turner to kill the servant of the said Robert; whereupon his said servant hath oftentimes crowed like a Cock, barked like a Dogge, sung tunes, and groaned: And this Examinant saith, that her said Imp made the servant to barke like a Dog; the Imp of the said Rose Hallybread inforced him to sing sundry tunes in his great extremity of paines; the Imp of the said Susan Cock, compelled him to crow like a Cock;

* Executed at Chelmesford.

and the Imp of Margaret Landish made him groan in such an extraordinary manner.

The Examination of SUSAN COCK, taken before the said Justices the 6. day of May, 1645.*

This Examinant saith, that about three or four yeeres since, one Margery Stoakes, this Examinants mother, lying upon her death-bed, and this Examinant coming to visit her, shee the said Margery desired this Examinant privately, to give entertainment to two of her Imps, and withall told this Examinant, they would do this Examinant good: And this Examinant saith, that the same night her said mother dyed, the said two Imps came to her accordingly, and sucked on her body: And this Examinant saith, that one of the said Imps was like a mouse, and the name of that was *Susan*; that the other was of a yellow colour, about the bignesse of a Cat; and that the name of that Imp was *Besse*: And this Examinant saith, that she employed her said Imp called *Besse*, together with the Imps of the said Rose Hallybread, Joyce Boanes, and Margaret Landish, each of them one, to the house of one John Spall, where the said Imps killed ten or twelve Sheep of the said John Spalls; and that the cause of this Examinants malice was, because she being with childe, desired to have some curds of the said Spalls wife, which she refused, either to give or sell to this Examinant: And further, this Examinant saith, that about a week since, she, together with Joyce Boanes, Rose Hallybread, and Margaret Landish sent four Imps to the house of one Robert Turner (by the said Joyce Boanes) to torment his servant, for that the said servant of the said Robert Turner refused to give to this Examinant a sack full of chips: And this Examinant further saith, that she, together with the said Margaret Landish, sent her Impe to the house of one Thomas Mannock in St. Osyth aforesaid, where their said Impes killed six or seven shoots or hogges of the said Mr. Mannock; and that the occasion of offence was, because the wife of the said Mr. Mannock refused to give to this Examinant such reliefe as shee desired, telling this Examinant, that shee was a young woman, and able to worke for her living.

* Executed at Chelmesford.

The Examination of MARGARET LANDISHE, taken before the said Justices the 6th day of May. 1645.*

This Examinant saith, That about eight or nine weekes since lying sicke by the fire side in her owne house, something came up to her body, and sucked on her privie parts, and much pained and tormented her: And this Examinant saith, that if it were an Impe that came and sucked her as aforesaid, that the said Susan Cock sent it to her: And this Examinant denieth, that ever shee joyned with the said Joyce Boanes, Rose Hallibread, and Susan Cock, in the tormenting of the servant of the said Robert Turner, & doth utterly deny the sending of any Impe to destroy or kill the hogges of the said Mr. Mannoock, as the said Susan Cock hath charged her withall in the Examination of the said Susan.

The Examination of REBECCA JONES† of St. Osyth, taken before the said Justices the 9th of May. 1645.

This Examinant saith, That about 24. or 25 yeares since, dwelling with one John Bishop, of Much-Clacton in the County of Essex as his servant, there came one morning one to the doore of the said John Bishop and knocked, and that this Examinant going to the dore, shee saw there a very handsome young man (as shee then thought) but now shee thinkes it was the Devill; who asked this Examinant how shee did, and desired to see her left Wrist, which shee shewed unto him: and that he then tooke a pin from this Examinants owne sleeve, and pricked her wrist twice, and there came out a drop of blood, which he took off with the top of his finger, and so departed. And this Examinant saith, that about a quarter of a yeare after, as shee was going to St. Osyth, (where this Examinant doth now dwell) to sell her said Masters butter, a man met with her, being in a ragged sute, and having such great eyes, that this Examinant was much afraid of him; who came to this Examinant, and gave her three things like to Moules, having foure feete apiece, but without tayles, and of a blacke colour, and bid this Examinant nurse the said three things, untill he did desire them againe; And this Examinant asked the said man, what she should give them to eate, and he told this Examinant milke, and

* Executed at Chelmesford. † Executed at Chelmesford, and the first that was arraigned.

that they would not hurt her, and wished her not to be afraid of them: And the said man told this Examinant, that those three things which he gave her, would avenge her on her enemies, and bid her murther some, but not too many, and he would forgive her; and then went away from this Examinant: And this Examinant saith, that the first time shee imployed any of the said things, shee sent one of them to kill a Sowe of one Benjamin Howes of Little-Clacton in the County aforesaid; and the said Sowe was killed by the said Impe accordingly: And this Examinant saith, that the names of her three Impes were *Margaret*, *Amie*, and *Susan*: And that a while after, this Examinant and one Joyce Boanes (now in prison) did send each of them an Impe to kill one Thomas Bumstead of St. Osyth aforesaid, who died about three weekes after. And this Examinant saith, that shee beleeveth that the said two Impes did kill the said Thomas Bumstead; and the Impes name which this Examinant sent to destroy the said Bumstead was *Margaret*: And that the Impe which the said Joyce Boanes sent was a dund one like unto a Mouse. And this Examinant saith, that shee did send another of her Impes called *Amie*, to the said Bumsteads house, which did kill the wife of the said Bumstead within a short time after: And this Examinant confesseth, that the cause of offence shee tooke so to destroy and kill the said Bumstead and his wife, was because the said Thomas Bumstead did beate the sonne of this Examinant for eating up of some honey which he found about the house of the said Thomas Bumstead. And this Examinant further confesseth, that shee did send her other third Impe called *Susan*, to afflict the childe of one Mistris Darcy of St. Osyth aforesaid: But did withall bid the said Impe it should not hurt the said child too much, and come away againe: And this Examinant saith, that the said Imp is come againe from the said Mistris Darcies childe.

The Examination of JOHAN COOPER, widow, taken before the said Justices, May 9. 1645.*

This Examinant saith, that she hath been a witch about twenty yeers, and hath three Familiars, two like Mouses, and the third like a Frog: The names of the two like Mouses, are *Jack*, and the other *Prickeare*,

* Died in the Gaole.

and the name of the third like a Frog, is *Frog*: And this Examinant saith, that she sent one of her said Imps to kill a child of one Thomas Woodward, which her said Imp did kill within a fortnight after: And this Examinant saith, that shee did send her said Imp called *Frog*, to kill two of John Cartwrights children, of Much-Holland in the County of Essex aforesaid, which said Imp did kill the said two children within a fortnight or three weeks after: And this Examinant saith further, that at another time shee sent her said Imp *Frog*, to destroy the wife of one George Parby of Much-Holland aforesaid, which did kill her within three dayes after.

The Examination of ANNE CATE, alias MAIDENHEAD, of Much-Holland, in the County aforesaid, taken before the said Justices the 9th day of May, 1645.*

This Examinant saith, that she hath four Familiars, which shee had from her mother, about two and twenty yeeres since; and that the names of the said Imps are *James, Prickeare, Robyn, and Sparrow*; and that three of these Imps are like Mouses, and the fourth like a Sparrow, which she called *Sparrow*: And this Examinant saith, that to whomsoever shee sent the said Imp called *Sparrow*, it killed them presently; and that first of all shee sent one of her three Imps like mouses, to nip the knee of one Robert Freeman, of Little-Clacton, in the County of Essex aforesaid, whom the said Imp did so lame, that the said Robert dyed on that lameness within half a yeere after: And this Examinant saith, that she sent her said Imp *Prickeare* to kill the daughter of John Rawlins of Much-Holland aforesaid, which died accordingly within a short time after; and that shee sent her said Imp *Prickeare* to the house of one John Tillet, which did suddenly kill the said Tillet: And this Examinant saith, that shee sent her said Imp *Sparrow*, to kill the childe of one George Parby of Much-Holland aforesaid, which child the said Imp did presently kill; and that the offence this Examinant took against the said George Parby to kill his said childe, was, because the wife of the said Parby denied to give this Examinant a pint of Milke: And this Examinant further saith, that shee sent her said Imp *Sparrow* to

* Executed at Chelmesford.

the house of Samuel Ray, which in a very short time did kill the wife of the said Samuel; and that the cause of this Examinants malice against the said woman was, because shee refused to pay to this Examinant two pence which she challenged to be due to her; And that afterwards her said Imp *Sparrow* killed the said childe of the said Samuel Ray: And this Examinant confesseth, that as soon as shee had received the said four Imps from her said mother, the said Imps spake to this Examinant, and told her, shee must deny God and Christ, which this Examinant did then assent unto.

The testimony of SIR THOMAS BOWES, Knight, which he spake upon the Bench, concerning the aforesaid Anne West, shee being then at the Barre upon her tryall.

That a very honest man of Mannintree,* whom he knew would not speake an untruth, affirmed unto him, that very early one morning as he passed by the said Anne Wests dore, about foure a clock, it being a moonlight night, and perceiving her dore to be open so early in the morning, looked into the house, and presently there came three or foure little things in the shape of black rabbits, leaping and skipping about him, who having a good stick in his hand, struck at them, thinking to kill them, but could not, but at last caught one of them in his hand, and holding it by the body of it, he beat the head of it against his stick, intending to beat out the braines of it; but when he could not kill it that way, he tooke the body of it in one hand, and the head of it in another, and indeavoured to wring off the head; and as he wrung and stretched the neck of it, it came out between his hands like a lock of wooll; yet he would not give over his intended purpose, but knowing of a Spring not farre off, he went to drowne it; but still as he went he fell downe, and could not goe but downe he fell againe, so that he at last crept upon his hands and knees till he came at the water, and holding it fast in his hand, he put his hand downe into the water up to his elbow, and held it under water a good space, till he conceived it was drowned, and then letting goe his hand, it sprung out of the water up into the aire, and so va-

* One Goff of Mannintree, a Glover.

nished away: and then comming backe to the said Anne Wests dore, he saw her standing there in her smock, and asked her why shee did set her Impes to molest and trouble him? to whom shee made answer, that they were not sent to trouble him, but were sent out as Scouts upon another designe.

THE END.

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WHICH HAVE BEEN AND ARE LIKELY TO
BE OBJECTED AGAINST MATHEW HOP-
KINS, IN HIS WAY OF FINDING OUT
WITCHES.

QUERIE I.

That he must needs be the greatest Witch, Sorcerer, and Wizzard himselfe, else hee could not doe it.

ANSWER.

If Satans Kingdome be divided against it selfe, how shall it stand?

QUERIE II.

If he never went so farre as is before mentioned, yet for certaine he met with the Devill, and cheated him of his Books, wherein were written all the Witches names in England, and if he looks on any Witch, he can tell by her countenance what she is; so by this, his helpe is from the Devill.

ANSWER.

If he had been too hard for the Devill and got his book, it had been to his great commendation, and no disgrace at all: and for judgement in Phisiognomie, he hath no more then any man else whatsoever.

QUERIE III.

From whence then proceeded this his skill? Was it from his profound learning, or from much reading of learned authors concerning that subject?

ANSWER.

From neither of both, but from experience, which though it be meanly esteemed of, yet the surest and safest way to judge by.

QUERIE IV.

I pray where was this experience gained? And why gained by him and not by others?

ANSWER.

The Discoverer never travelled far for it, but in March 1644, he had some seven or eight of that horrible sect of Witches living in the Towne where he lived, a Towne in Essex called Maningtree, with divers other adjacent Witches of other towns, who every six weeks in the night (being alwayes on the Friday night) had their meeting close by his house, and had their severall solemne sacrifices there offered to the Devill, one of which this Discoverer heard speaking to her Imps one night, and bid them goe to another Witch, who was thereupon apprehended, and searched by women who had for many yeares knowne the Devills marks, and found to have three teats about her, which honest women have not: so upon command from the Justice, they were to keep her from sleep two or three nights, expecting in that time to see her familiars, which the fourth night she called in by their severall names, and told them what shapes, a quarter of an houre before they came in, there being ten of us in the roome, the first she called was

1. *Holt*, who came in like a white kitling.
2. *Jarmara*, who came in like a fat spaniel without any legs at all, she said she kept him fat, for she clapt her hand on her belly, and said he suckt good blood from her body.
3. *Vinegar Tom*, who was like a long legged Greyhound, with an head like an Oxe, with a long taile and broad eyes, who when this Discoverer spoke to, and bade him goe to the place provided for him and his Angels, immediately transformed himselfe into the shape of a childe of foure yeeres old without a head, and gave halfe a dozen turnes about the house, and vanished at the doore.
4. *Sack and Sugar*, like a black Rabbet.
5. *Newes*, like a Polcat. All these vanished away in

a little time. Immediately after, this Witch confessed severall other Witches, from whom she had her Imps, and named to divers women where their marks were, the number of their Marks, and Imps, and Imps names, as *Elemauzer, Pyewacket, Peck in the Crown, Griez-zel Greedigut, &c.* which no mortall could invent; and upon their searches the same Markes were found, the same number, and in the same place, and the like confessions from them of the same Imps, (though they knew not what we were told before) and so peached one another thereabouts that joyned together in the like damnable practise, that in our Hundred in Essex, 29. were condemned at once, 4. brought 25. miles to be hanged, where this Discoverer lives, for sending the Devill like a Beare to kill him in his garden, so by seeing diverse of the mens Papps, and trying wayes with hundreds of them, he gained this experience, and for ought he knowes any man else may find them as well as he and his company, if they had the same skill and experience.

QUERIE V.

Many poore People are condemned for having a Pap, or Teat about them, whereas many People (especially antient People) are, and have been a long time troubled with naturall wretts on severall parts of their bodies, and other naturall excrescencies, as Hemerodes, Piles, Childbearing, &c. and these shall be judged only by one man alone, and a woman, and so accused or acquitted.

ANSWER.

The parties so judging can justifie their skill to any, and shew good reasons why such markes are not meerly naturall, neither that they can happen by any such naturall cause as is before expressed, and for farther answer for their private judgements alone, it is most false and untrue, for never was any man tryed by search of his body, but commonly a dozen of the ablest men in the Parish or else where, were present, and most commonly as many ancient skilfull matrons and midwives present when the women are tryed, which marks not only he, and his company attest to be very suspitious, but all beholders, the skilfullest of them, doe not approve of them, but likewise assent that such tokens

cannot in their judgements proceed from any of the above mentioned causes.

QUERIE VI.

It is a thing impossible for any man or woman to judge rightly on such marks, they are so near to naturall exressencies, and they that finde them, durst not presently give Oath they were drawne by evill Spirits, till they have used unlawfull courses of torture to make them say any thing for ease and quiet, as who would not do? but I would know the reasons he speakes of, how, and whereby to discover the one from the other, and so be satisfied in that.

ANSWER.

The reasons in breefe are three, which for the present he judgeth to differ from naturall marks; which are,

1. He judgeth by the unusualnes of the place where he findeth the teats in or on their bodies, being farre distant from any usuall place, from whence such naturall markes proceed, as if a Witch plead the markes found are Emorods, if I finde them on the bottome of the back-bone, shall I assent with him, knowing they are not neere that veine, and so others by child-bearing, when it may be they are in the contrary part.

2. They are most commonly insensible, and feele neither pin, needle, aule, &c. thrust through them.

3. The often variations and mutations of these marks into severall formes, confirms the matter; as if a Witch hear a month or two before that the *Witch-finder* (as they call him) is coming, they will, and have put out their Imps to others to suckle them, even to their owne young and tender children; these upon search are found to have dry skinnes and filmes only, and be close to the flesh, keepe her 24. houres with a diligent eye, that none of her Spirits come in any visible shape to suck her; the women have seen the next day after her Teats extended out to their former filling length, full of corruption ready to burst, and leaving her alone then one quarter of an houre, and let the

women go up againe, and shee will have them drawn by her Imps close againe: *Probatum est*. Now for answer to their tortures in its due place.

QUERIE VII.

How can it possibly be that the Devill, being a Spirit, and wants no nutriment or sustentation, should desire to suck any blood? and indeed as he is a Spirit he cannot draw any such excrecences, having neither flesh nor bone, nor can be felt, &c.

ANSWER.

He seekes not their blood, as if he could not subsist without that nourishment, but he often repairs to them, and gets it, the more to aggravate the Witches damnation, and to put her in mind of her Covenant: and as he is a Spirit and Prince of the ayre, he appears to them in any shape whatsoever, which shape is occasioned by him through joyning of condensed thickened aire together, and many times doth assume shapes of many creatures; but to create any thing he cannot do it, it is only proper to God: But in this case of drawing out of these Teats, he doth really enter the body, reall, corporeall, substantiall creature, and forceth that Creature (he working in it) to his desired ends, and useth the organs of that body to speake withall to make his compact up with the Witches, be the creature Cat, Rat, Mouse, &c.

QUERIE VIII.

When these Paps are fully discovered, yet that will not serve sufficiently to convict them, but they must be tortured and kept from sleep two or three nights, to distract them, and make them say any thing; which is a way to tame a wilde Colt, or Hawke, &c.

ANSWER.

In the infancy of this discovery it was not only thought fitting, but enjoyed in Essex and Suffolke by the Magistrates, with this intention only, because they being kept awake would be the more active to call their Imps in open view the sooner to their helpe, which oftentimes have so happened; and never or seldome did any Witch ever complaine in the time of their keeping for want of

rest, but after they had beat their heads together in the Gaole; and after this use was not allowed of by the Judges and other Magistrates, it was never since used, which is a yeare and a halfe since, neither were any kept from sleep by any order or direction since; but peradventure their own stubborne wills did not let them sleep, though tendered and offered to them.

QUERIE IX.

Beside that unreasonable watching, they were extraordinarily walked, till their feet were blistered, and so forced through that cruelty to confesse, &c.

ANSWER.

It was in the same beginning of this discovery, and the meaning of walking of them at the highest extent of cruelty, was only to walke about themselves the night they were watched, only to keepe them waking: and the reason was this, when they did lye or sit in a chaire, if they did offer to couch downe, then the watchers were only to desire them to sit up and walke about, for indeed when they be suffered so to couch, immediately comes their Familiars into the room and scareth the watchers, and fasteneth on the Witch, though contrary to the true meaning of the same instructions, diverse have been by rusticall People, (they hearing them confess to be Witches) mis-used, sported, and abused, diverse whereof have suffered for the same, but could never be proved against this Discoverer to have a hand in it, or consent to it; and hath likewise been un-used by him and others, ever since the time they were kept from sleepe.

QUERIE X.

But there hath been an abominable, inhumane, and unmercifull tryall of these poore creatures, by tying them, and heaving them into the water; a tryall not allowable by Law or conscience, and I would faine know the reasons for that.

ANSWER.

It is not denyed but many were so served as had Papps, and floated, others that had none were tryed with them and sunk, but marke the reasons.

For, first, the Divels policie is great, in perswading many to come of their owne accord to be tryed, perswading them their marks are so close they shall not be found out, so as diverse have come 10 or 12. miles to be searched of their own accord, and hanged for their labour, (as one Meggs a Baker did, who lived within 7. miles of Norwich, and was hanged at Norwich Assizes for Witchcraft) then when they find that the Devil tells them false they reflect on him, and he (as 40 have confessed) adviseth them to be sworne, and tells them they shall sinke and be cleared that way, then when they be tryed that way and floate, they see the Devill deceives them againe, and have so laid open his treacheries.

2. It was never brought in against any of them at their tryals as any evidence.

3. King James in his *Demonology* saith it is a certaine rule, for (saith he) Witches deny their baptisme when they covenant with the Devill, water being the sole element thereof, and therefore saith he, when they be heaved into the water, the water refuseth to receive them into her bosome, (they being such miscreants to deny their baptisme) and suffers them to float, as the Froath on the Sea, which the water will not receive, but casts it up and downe, till it comes to the earthy element the shore, and there leaves it to consume.

4. Observe: these generation of Witches, if they be at any time abused by being called Whore, Theefe, &c. by any where they live, they are the readiest to cry and wring their hands, and shed tears in abundance and run with full and right sorrowfull acclamations to some Justice of the Peace, and with many teares make their complaints: but now behold their stupidity of nature, or the elements reflection from them; when they are accused for this horrible and damnable sin of Witchcraft, they never alter or change their countenances, nor let one Teare fall. This, by the way, swimming (by able Divines whom I reverence) is condemned for no way, and therefore of late hath, and for ever shall be left.

QUERIE XI.

Oh! but if this torturing Witch-catcher can by all or any of these meanes wring out a word or two of confession from any of these stupified, ignorant, unintelligible, poore silly creatures, (though none heare it but himselfe) he will adde and put her in feare to confesse telling her, else she shall be hanged; but if she doe, he will set her at liberty, and so put a word into her mouth, and make such a silly creature confesse she knowes not what.

ANSWER.

He is of a better conscience, and for your better understanding of him, he doth thus uncase himselfe to all, and declares what confessions (though made by a Witch against herselfe) he allowes not of, and doth altogether account of no validity, or worthy of credence to be given to it, and ever did so account it, and ever likewise shall.

1. He utterly denyes that confession of a Witch to be of any validity, when it is drawn from her by any torture or violence whatsoever; although after watching, walking, or swimming, diverse have suffered, yet peradventure Magistrates with much care and diligence did solely and fully examine them after sleepe, and consideration sufficient.

2. He utterly denyes that confession of a Witch, which is drawn from her by flattery, viz. If you will confesse you shall go home, you shall not go to the Gaole, nor be hanged, &c.

3. He utterly denyes that confession of a Witch, when she confesseth any improbability, or impossibility, as flying in the ayre, riding on a broom, &c.

4. He utterly denyes a confession of a Witch, when it is interrogated to her, and words put into her mouth, to be of any force or effect: as to say to a silly (yet Witch wicked enough) You have foure Imps have you not? She answers affirmatively, Yes: Did they not suck you? Yes, saith she: Are not their names so, and so? Yes, saith she: Did you not send such an Impe to kill

my child? Yes, saith she, this being all her confession after this manner, it is by him accompted nothing, and he earnestly doth desire that all Magistrates and Jurors would a little more then ever they did, examine witnesses, about the interrogated confessions.

QUERIE XII.

If all these confessions be denyed, I wonder what he will make a confession, for sure it is, all these wayes have been used, and took for good confessions, and many have suffered for them, and I know not what he will then make confession.

ANSWER.

Yes, in brief he will declare what confession of a Witch is of validity and force in his judgement, to hang a Witch: when a Witch is first found with teats, then sequestred from her house, which is onely to keep her old associates from her, and so by good counsell brought into a sad condition, by understanding the horribleness of her sin, and the judgements threatned against her; and knowing the Devil's malice and subtile circumventions, is brought to remorse and sorrow for complying with Satan so long, and disobeying Gods sacred Commands, doth then desire to unfold her mind with much bitterness, and then without any of the before-mentioned hard usages or questions put to her, doth of her owne accord declare what was the occasion of the Devil's appearing to her, whether ignorance, pride, anger, malice, &c. was predominant over her, she doth then declare what speech they had, what likeness he was in, what voice he had, what familiars he sent her, what number of Spirits, what names they had, what shape they were in, what imployment she set them about to severall persons in severall places, (unknowne to the hearers) all which mischiefes being proved to be done, at the same time she confessed to the same parties for the same cause, and all effected, is testimony enough against her for all her denyall.

QUERIE XIII.

How can any possibly beleve that the Devill and the Witch joyning together, should have such power, as the Witches confesse, to kill such and such a man,

child, horse, cow, or the like; if we beleve they can doe what they will, then we derogate from Gods power, who for certaine limits the Devill and the Witch; and I cannot beleve they have any power at all.

ANSWER.

God suffers the Devill many times to doe much hurt, and the Devill doth play many times the deluder and impostor with these Witches, in persuading them that they are the cause of such and such a murder wrought by him with their consents, when and indeed neither he nor they had any hand in it, as thus: We must needs argue, he is of a long standing, above 6000. yeers, then he must needs be the best Scholar in all knowledges of arts and tongues, and so have the best skill in Physicke, judgement in Physiognomie, and knowledge of what disease is reigning or predominant in this or that man's body (and so for Cattell too) by reason of his long experience. This subtile tempter knowing such a man lyable to some sudden disease, (as by experience I have found) as Plurisie, Imposthume, &c. he resorts to divers Witches; if they know the man, and seek to make a difference between the Witches and the party, it may be by telling them he hath threatned to have them very shortly searched, and so hanged for Witches, then they all consult with Satan to save themselves, and Satan stands ready prepared, with a *What will you have me doe for you, my deare and nearest children, covenanted and compacted with me in my hellish league, and sealed with your blood, my delicate firebrand darlings.* Oh thou (say they) that at the first didst promise to save us thy servants from any of our deadly enemies discovery, and didst promise to avenge and slay all those we pleased, that did offend us; Murther that wretch suddenly who threatens the downfall of your loyall subjects. He then promiseth to effect it. Next newes is heard the partie is dead, he comes to the Witch, and gets a world of reverence, credence and respect for his power and activeness, when and indeed the disease kills the party, not the Witch, nor the Devill, (onely the Devill knew that such a disease was predominant) and the Witch aggravates her damnation by her familiarity and consent to the Devill, and so comes likewise in compass of the Lawes. This is Satans

usuall imposting and deluding, but not his constant course of proceeding, for he and the Witch doe mischief too much. But I would that Magistrates and Jurors would a little examine witnesses when they heare Witches confess such and such a murder, whether the party had not long time before, or at the time when the Witch grew suspected, some disease or other predominant, which might cause that issue or effect of death.

QUERIE XIV.

All that the Witch-finder doth, is to fleece the country of their money, and therefore rides and goes to townes to have imployment, and promiseth them faire promises, and it may be doth nothing for it, and possesseth many men that they have so many Wizzards and so many Witches in their towne, and so hastens them on to entertaine him.

ANSWER.

You doe him a great deale of wrong in every of these particulars. For, first,

1. He never went to any towne or place, but they rode, writ, or sent often for him, and were (for ought he knew) glad of him.

2. He is a man that doth disclaime that ever he detected a Witch, or said, Thou art a Witch; only after her tryall by search, and their owne confessions, he as others may judge.

3. Lastly, judge how he fleeceth the country, and enriches himselfe, by considering the vast summe he takes of every towne, he demands but 20s. a town, and doth sometimes ride 20. miles for that, and hath no more for all his charges thither and back again (and it may be stayes a weeke there) and finde there 3. or 4. Witches, or if it be but one, cheap enough, and this is the great summe he takes to maintaine his Companie with 3. horses.

INDICET ULLUS.

WITCHCRAFT

AT MALDON, ESSEX, IN 1579.

The following is an Extract from an extremely rare little Work, in black-letter, entitled "A Detection of damnable driftes, practized by three Witches arraigned at Chelmsforde in Essex, at the laste Assizes there holden, whiche were executed in Aprill, 1579.—Set forthe to discover the Ambushementes of Sathan, whereby he would surprise us lulled in securitie, and hardened with contempte of Gods vengeance threatened for our offences."—Imprinted at London for Edward White, at the little North-dore of Paules.

"THE EVIDENCE GIUEN AGAINST ELLEINE SMITHE
OF MALDON.

THERE was one Jhon Chaundeler dwellyng in Maldon, whose wife named Alice Chaundeler, was mother unto this Elleine Smithe, and for Witchcrafte was executed long before, after whose execution he went unto his daughter in lawe Elleine Smithe, and demaunded certaine money of her, whiche she had receiued of her mother his Wife, by means of whiche money they fell out, and in sallying out the saied Elleine in greate rage saied unto hym, that it had been better for hym, he had neuer fallen out with her, and so it came to passe, for the same Jhon Chaundeler confessed before his death, that after the same hower that she had saied so vnto hym, he neuer eate any meate that digested in him, but euer it came up againe as soone as it was done, by whiche meanes he consumed, and wasted awaie to his death.

2. The sonne of the foresaied Elleine Smithe, of the age of thirteene yeres, or there aboutes, came to the house of one Jhon Estwood of Malden, for to begge an almse, who chid the boye awaie from his doore, wherevpon he wente home and tolde his mother, and within

a while after the saied Estwood was taken with very greate paine in his bodie, and the same night following, as he satte by the fire with one of his neighbours, to their thinkyng thei did see a Ratte runne vp the Chimney, and presently it did fall doune again in the likeness of a Tode, and takyng it up with the tongges, thei thrust it into the fire, and so helde it in forcesibly, it made the fire burne as blewe as Azure, and the fire was almoste out, and at the burnyng thereof the saied Elleine Smithe was in greate paine and out of quiete, wherevpon dissemblyngly she came to the house of the foresaied Jhon Estwood, and asked how all that were there did, and he saied well I thanke God, and she said, I thought you had not been well, and therefore I came to see how you did, and so went her waie.

3. Also it was avouched, and by this prisoner confessed, that where as her daughter, and the daughter of one Widdowe Webbe of Maldon aforesaied, did fall out and fight, the same Ellein Smithe offended thereat, meetyng good wife Webbes daughter the next daie, gave her a blowe on the face, wherevpon as soone as the childe came home she sickened, and languishyng two daies, cried continually, Awaie with the Witche, Awaie with the Witch, and so died. And in the morning immediately after the death of the same childe, the same good wife Webbe espied (as she thought) a thyng like a blacke Dogge goe out at her doore, and presently at the sight thereof, she fell distraught of her wittes.

4. Besides the sonne of this Mother Smithe, confessed that his mother did keepe three Spirites, whereof the one called by her great Dicke, was enclosed in a wicker Bottle: The seconde named Little Dicke, was putte into a Leather Bottle: And the third termed Willet, she kept in a Wolle Packe. And thereuppon the house was commanded to bee searched. The Bottles and packe were found, but the Spirites were banished awaie."

