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Ferguson, John  
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Scotland.



BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES  
ON THE  
**Witchcraft Literature**  
OF SCOTLAND

By JOHN FERGUSON,  
LL.D., F.S.A.

EDINBURGH: MDCCCXCVII.



**BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE  
WITCHCRAFT LITERATURE  
OF SCOTLAND**

He wase ane wyce and wylie wychte  
Of wytch and warlockrye,  
And mony ane wyfe had byrnit to coome,  
Or hangit on ane tre.

He kenit their merkis and molis of hell,  
And made them joiffully  
Ryde on the reid-het gad of ern,  
Ane plesaunt sychit to se.

*The Gude Greye Katt.*

The working of which the present day of October 1. of America  
 give you for present off the underfulstriband. A good will  
 being in mind as the day the demand for long and content  
 to beed for the sake of the present. Let us see how about the  
 and for the year for the day in the present but not yet being  
 in the present and in the present. The next part to welcome to the present  
 of the world of the world. The present of the world of the world  
 before the present to the present. The present of the present to the present  
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Offrates by George Monro  
 James Monro

James Monro





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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON  
THE WITCHCRAFT LITERATURE OF SCOTLAND.<sup>1</sup>

By JOHN FERGUSON, LL.D., F.S.A.

§ I. THE original draft of the present paper was read to the British Archæological Association at the concluding meeting of the Glasgow Congress, on Tuesday, 4th September 1888. Several considerations induced me to bring the topic before the Association. It had been my fortune to pass a number of the books through my hands, so that I could speak of them from personal observation. Further, although Glasgow all but escaped the contamination of witch trials and executions, some notable events in the history of the epidemic happened near it, and were connected with the place. One of these was the bewitching of Sir George Maxwell of Pollok in 1677-78. Twenty years later, in 1696-97, occurred the case of Christian Shaw at Bargarran,<sup>2</sup> an old house not far from Erskine Ferry on the Clyde, some eight or ten miles below Glasgow, which ended in the burning of several persons at Paisley. The physician who was consulted on the occasion, and whose report is still extant, was Dr Matthew Brisbane, at that time Professor of Medicine in the University of Glasgow. Another point of interest in the literature is also connected with the University. George Sinclar, who was reappointed Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy in 1688,<sup>3</sup> published, in 1685, the first collection of witchcraft stories—one so fascinating, that its abiding popularity can be easily understood.

In addition to these general inducements to consider the question, there was another, peculiar to the year 1888, which formed the chief incentive to the original enquiry. In the collection of Scottish antiquities which were exhibited in the Bishop's Castle at the International Exhibition, held at Glasgow in that year, there were some of the most convincing practical

<sup>1</sup> Read 14th March 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Old Balgarran House no longer stands, but its site is well known. The present farmhouse is about a quarter of a mile to the east of the scene of Christian Shaw's doings.

<sup>3</sup> Just two hundred years prior to the first reading of this paper.

illustrations that could be had of the truth of what the witchcraft literature tells us. For there were to be found amulets, rowan tree charms, agate talismans—all to defend the possessor from the malice of witches ; and there, too, were the thumbscrews, the pilniewinkes, the witch's bridle, and other torture instruments, which were employed not merely for punishment, but for extorting admission of the impossible crime from the most miserable of all wretched people accused of it.<sup>1</sup> With the hideous enginery in one's hands, with the opportunity of testing what it could do if required, it was easier to realise what one finds recorded in the literature. Not to speak, therefore, of the intrinsic interest, and even the importance of the subject, as a whole, there were the local details and the amount and character of the Scottish literature—both of which, I considered, would be new to most of the members—and the original report was accordingly drawn up.

§ 2. The aim of the paper was then, as it is now, to tell where information on the subject is to be found, and to enumerate the books which furnish it. A list of titles has been given by at least one writer, who will be duly mentioned, but no one has yet attempted a description of what bibliographic importance the books possess. Various circumstances interfered with the publication of the paper at the time of reading, but the delay has not been entirely disadvantageous. It has enabled me to add descriptions of books which I knew of, but which I had not seen ; of older works which I did not know of at all, but with which I have become acquainted in the interval ; and, of course, of books which have been recently published. At any rate, the list is now more complete than it could have been in 1888.

§ 3. Witchcraft books in general, and the Scottish ones form no exception to the rule, are possessed of a twofold value, and in this respect differ from many of the books coveted by collectors. In the case of the latter it often happens that of a most *recherché* work there are plenty of editions from which the student may learn even more readily what was the author's thought, than from the rarest copy to be had. But it is not so with treatises on witchcraft. They appeal most undoubtedly, by their rarity, curiosity, and age, to the collector and to the bibliographer ; but they are not less important

<sup>1</sup> I gave subsequently a short account of some of these. See *Scottish National Memorials*, Glasgow, 1890, pp. 328-336.



to the student, whether he be an antiquary, a folk-loreist, a historian, a psychologist, a physiologist, or a physician. It is impossible, indeed, to disjoin the two kinds of interest. A student desirous of becoming acquainted with the subject has no alternative but to examine the original literature, and to do so he must either visit some large library, not always readily accessible, or he must turn collector himself and bring the books together. If he does not do one or other he cannot read; few of the original books and pamphlets have appeared in easily acquired reprints, and there are, in this country at least, hardly any modern works in which the subject is dealt with in a scientific as well as in a historic manner, and there are no general guides to the literature, no bibliographies or catalogues similar to Grässe's.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. Perusal of what modern histories there are will give the reader a notion of the main characteristics of the supposed crime of witchcraft, and with some of the proceedings at the witch trials; but however vividly narrated these be, it is most difficult to comprehend from them how the belief in witchcraft prevailed, and how it produced such direful results alike to the accusers and the accused. In perusing a modern history in which detail is often necessarily omitted, and in which the grotesque and ridiculous aspect of the narratives is apt to appeal more strongly to the writer, and to be by him more effectively portrayed, than the ignorant and savagely cruel elements, one is inclined to view it all as a romance, and to doubt whether it was possible for the whole of Europe to have run mad on this subject some three centuries ago. But one has only to turn to the original documents to be convinced of the existence of the witch mania. In a pamphlet or book contemporary with the events, and meant to record them, these events live over again and display themselves in all their woeful reality. Deception and lying, hallucinations of disease, crotchets of monomania, paroxysms of hysteria, ravings of insanity, on one hand: ignorance, suspicion, credulity, superstition, terror, cruelty, on the other: tortures, executions, stranglings, burnings alive, as the outcome of the two, in turns come before the reader; and it is only from the original literature that a correct impression can be got of the debasing foulness and horror of the belief. Speaking of the narrated witch trials in Scotland, Hill Burton has said that "the impression made by these tough and sometimes drearily formal records is more dark

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica*, Leipzig, 1843, 8vo.

and dreadful than anything imparted by fictitious writing," and the same may be said of the narrations in other countries as well.

Nor are we left dependent upon the bald reports of the trials for the truth of Hill Burton's remark. Now and again we meet with the testimony of eye-witnesses, who unintentionally, but with a word or two, bring the scenes vividly before us. There is no better illustration of the difference between the horror of reality and that of fiction than in the narrative of the tortures of John Fian as contained in the tract which heads the present catalogue; and the torture of Margaret Barclay at Irvine in 1618, the execution of Major Weir and his sister, the murder of Janet Cornfoot at Pittenweem, and other allusions, all help to give reality to the bygone events. Even more striking, because brought into contact with our own time, is the personal remembrance of the last witch execution in 1722. Here it is, as told by Hugh Miller:—<sup>1</sup>

"I have felt," he says, "a strange interest in these glimpses of a past so unlike the present, when thus presented to the mind as personal reminiscences, or as well-attested traditions, removed from the original witnesses by but a single stage. All, for instance, which I have yet read of witch-burnings has failed to impress me so strongly as the recollections of an old lady who, in 1722, was carried in her nurse's arms—for she was almost an infant at the time—to witness a witch-execution in the neighbourhood of Dornoch—the last which took place in Scotland. The lady well remembered the awe-struck yet excited crowd, the lighting of the fire, and the miserable appearance of the poor fatuous creature whom it was kindled to consume, and who seemed to be so little aware of her situation, that she held out her thin shrivelled hands to warm them at the blaze. But what most impressed the narrator—for it must have been a frightful incident in a sad spectacle—was the circumstance that, when the charred remains of the victim were sputtering and boiling amid the intense heat of the flames, a cross gust of wind suddenly blew the smoke athwart the spectators, and she felt in her attendant's arms as if in danger of being suffocated by the horrible stench."

One cannot be too grateful that the laws which made such scenes possible were abolished. One can but wonder that there are those, even at the present time, who seem inclined to believe in the bad old days of witchcraft.

§ 5. Although in the following I am dealing with books and not with history, it may be right to say that a belief in magic in Scotland is older than any literature which has come before me. There exist in histories and in popular traditions allusions to a belief in the trafficking of mortals with

<sup>1</sup> *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, Edinburgh, 1865, pp. 125, 126.



the supernatural powers, stories of sorcery, of spells cast upon people, of the taking away of reason, health, or life by incantations, of bewitching, or whatever word may be used to denote ignorance of disease and of natural phenomena ; and the origin of such beliefs has been traced back to classical times on one hand, or to our northern ancestors on the other. Such inquiries, however, must be left to the mythologists, to the students of early religions, and to the historians of civilisation. Those who may wish to see general speculations on this subject will find a chapter devoted to it by Lecky.<sup>1</sup>

Apart, however, from such general speculations, attempts have been made to explain the characteristics of Scottish witchcraft. Hill Burton, for instance, has assigned a prominent influence to the distinctive features of the country. His statement seems to me defective and inaccurate ; but it has been adopted by some, and among them by Buckle, who says that it "is admirably expressed, and exhausts the general view of the subject." Buckle was easily satisfied. His own exposition contains such curious notions as to the scenery and meteorology of Scotland, that one can but suppose his ignorance of both was profound and comprehensive, and that he grasped at what struck him as a plausible explanation. In his few observations, he has not touched even the edge of the subject. Instead of taking a wide survey of the question, correlating the phenomena in Scotland with those in other countries—instead of recognising the racial varieties even in Scotland itself, and discriminating between their beliefs and superstitions, he has treated the subject as if it were purely local, and that in the shallowest and most provincial manner. I should not have alluded to Buckle's opinions at all, for they are devoid of knowledge, and I attach no value to them ; but he has, for some reason or another, given a list of works in which he says "further information respecting Scotch witchcraft will be found," and here, of course, he can be brought to the test. The works of King James and Sir Walter Scott, he says, "need hardly be referred to, as they are well known to every one who is interested in the history of witchcraft ; but Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, though less read, are, in every respect, more valuable, on account of the materials they contain for a study of this department of Scotch superstition." The other works he quotes, therefore, must have been looked upon by him as more recondite than these, and not so well known to those interested in the matter. Of those quoted, the only work which gives any real information is the *Spottiswoode*

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe.* 1865. 2 vols.

*Miscellany*, which is nearly as familiar as Pitcairn's work; Mackenzie's *Criminal Laws* and Hume's *Commentaries* state the opinions and views of their respective authors only, and add little or nothing to our knowledge of the facts; the remaining works in the list contain hardly more than the mere word or an incidental allusion. Is Buckle's reading, paraded so copiously, as superficial and irrelevant in general as this?

There is, it seems to me, a difficulty in adopting the view of Hill Burton, even in a much modified way. The fact is, the witch prosecutions prevailed, not in "a country of mountains, torrents, and rocks," but in those districts which were most civilised. Superstitious beliefs there were among the Highlanders, just as there are everywhere in the most cultured centres at the present moment; but I do not remember any witch trials or executions "among a people . . . poor and hardy, . . . accustomed to gloomy mists and wild storms" in the true mountainous parts of Scotland. If the belief had been a prevalent one, and executions had been as common there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as they were in and about the capital, in Fife and other eastern counties, there would have been some record of them. Martin, however, hardly mentions the word witchcraft; and Burt, who would not have been slow to have set down anything of the kind to the detriment of the Highlanders, alludes not only to Martin's silence, and has no example of his own to give, but adds that second sight, "this ridiculous notion, has almost excluded another, altogether as weak and frivolous," namely, witchcraft. From the manner in which Mrs Grant speaks about Sir Walter Scott's *Letters*, it is plain that the subject was new to her, and foreign to the habit of mind of those who lived in the mountains. The philosophic Buckle, who includes in his list Burt and Mrs Grant, and Brown's *History of the Highlands* (which contains no original matter on the subject)—if he read them—failed to see that they give evidence directly against the theory which he thought "exhausts the general view of the subject." What those authorities do is to circumscribe the area of the belief in witchcraft, which, after all, may be regarded as "further information," though not in Buckle's sense. The area, indeed, was still more circumscribed, for the belief never took firm hold in the west country. The Pollok, Bargarran, and Irvine cases are the only notable examples; and, bad as they were, they seem to have been sporadic and incidental, and not outstanding instances in a continuous stream, like what prevailed in the east. The records themselves show this, and occasional



references confirm it. Wodrow, for example, speaking of the year 1661, says:—"This year and the next there are vast numbers of commissions granted by the council to gentlemen in every shire, and almost in every parish, especially in the north and east country, to try persons for witchcraft: and great numbers of these wretches confess; clear probation is found against others, and they are executed. The numbers of these commissions for trial of witches for several years surprised me when I met with them in the registers."<sup>1</sup>

The whole theory is wrong; and Buckle was ignorant, or forgot, that witchcraft was as familiar in the plains, and in the sunshine (nominally) of England and France and Italy as ever it was in the mountains and mists of Scotland.

Natural scenery had nothing to do with the witch mania; it was of human origin. It began in unsanitary mental conditions in the middle of the fifteenth century, spread out as a loathsome epidemic, ran its course, and disappeared suddenly in the early years of last century. The phenomena were the same everywhere, independently of scenery, independently of creed, independently of rank, learning, education, profession, and everything else. It spared neither age nor sex; and those who escaped the malady appear now as the only wholesomely minded men of their time. Such were Cornelius Agrippa (who defended and rescued a woman charged with witchcraft), Wierus, Reginald Scot, Balthasar Bekker, Spee, Thomasius, and some others.

From what I have seen of the literature as a whole, I am convinced that a mere passing opinion—especially if meant to disparage a particular country, or discredit a certain class of men, or cast odium on a particular epoch—can reveal nothing but the incapacity or prejudices of the writer; it certainly cannot express all the remote and immediate causes of such an extraordinary phenomenon in the mental and moral life of Europe as the belief in witchcraft. And while this belief may have been modified by national peculiarities, and may have had local colouring in divers parts of one country—as, for instance, in Scotland—no explanation limited to one county will account for the display in that country. Nothing could be less philosophical than Buckle's attitude.

§ 6. Again, one must not fall into the mistake of supposing that certain students in the middle ages, such as Roger Bacon, Michael Scotus, and, at a

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Book I. Chap. II. Sect. viii., 1661. 8vo edit. Glasgow, 1828, I. p. 244.

more recent period, Cornelius Agrippa, who, having somewhat more insight into the ways of nature, and being able to do a little more than their fellows, were called magicians or wizards, and were the terror and victims of their contemporaries, resembled in any way the witchmongers of a subsequent epoch, or were their predecessors. In the old legends the magician appears as the master of the evil spirits, and there is something fantastic or fierce in his doings; but the later witch was a feeble creature, and the mischief of which she was accused was often of the most paltry kind. She was looked on also as the slave and potential prey of the evil one, and, what was much worse, she became sooner or later the actual prey of her evil neighbours, who had not only the power, but all the desire, to inflict tortures, which the devil of their creed would have been ashamed to copy.

It would be equally a mistake to include among witchcraft literature the books on the black art attributed to the old magicians, or those on the nullity of magic which some of them wrote. The scope of all such literature is quite different from that described in the present bibliography.

§ 7. The witchcraft literature of Scotland did not begin, so far as I have observed, till the end of the sixteenth century. It was earlier in other countries of Europe,<sup>1</sup> for the belief was more widely diffused and more intense in them than in Scotland. In England, for example, it had attained such proportions that, in 1584, Reginald Scot published his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* to try to stem the tide of popular credulity, fright, and savagery. He succeeded only partially, and in the following century the superstition burst forth in a torrent all the more furious from having been temporarily restrained.

§ 8. In the sixteenth century a few trials for witchcraft in Scotland are recorded; but the subject did not assume any marked importance until incantations were supposed to be levelled against the king himself in 1590-91. Then ensued an important trial, extraordinary confessions were made, torture was freely employed, and several of the accused were executed. The story was committed to writing, and it is, to the best of my knowledge, the earliest tract on the subject in Scotland. It forms, therefore, a suitable starting point for the following list.

<sup>1</sup> The *Malleus Maleficarum*, the chief systematic work on witchcraft, appeared at Cologne in 1487.

## §9. THE LIST.

1591-92

- i. Newes from Scotland. | Declaring the damnable life of Doc- | tor Fian a notable Sorcerer, who was burned | at Edenbrough in Ianuarie last. | 1591. | Which Doctor was register to the deuill, | that sundrie times preached at North Baricke | Kirke, to a number of notorious | Witches. | With the true examinations of the said Doctor and | witches, as they vttered them in the presence | of the Scottish king. | Discouering how they pretended to bewitch and | drowne his Maestie in the sea comming from Den- | marke, with such other wonderfull matters | as the like hath not bin heard | at anie time. | Published according to the Scottish copie. | Printed for William Wright.

Small 4to. A to C in fours, or 12 leaves, not numbered. Collation: leaf 1, Title; A2 recto, To the Reader; A3 recto, A true Discourse, | Of the apprehension of sundrie Witches lately taken | in Scotland: whereof some are executed, | and some are yet imprisoned. | With a particular recitall of their examinations, taken | in the presence of the Kings Maestie. | This discourse ends C4 recto. On the verso is: The Conclusion.

It is printed in black letter, except the title, the running title, the address to the reader, certain words and phrases in the text, and the "conclusion;" all of which are in roman. On the verso of B4 and of C2 are woodcuts representing certain incidents described in the text. The woodcut on B4 verso depicts a shipwreck, a witch laddling something out of a pot over a fire, the devil in a pulpit preaching to a "covin," with Fian (?) at a table reporting, and the pedlar (?) in the wine cellar. The cut on C2 verso contains Fian and the heifer, with the significant emblem of the gallows, and Fian on a black horse with four torches approaching a church with a spire. The latter sketch refers to a matter which is not contained in this tract, but is an item of the dittay (Pitcairn, 1. 212). Fian was riding with a man on the horse behind him. It was night, and Fian, by his devilish craft, caused four candles to shine on the horse's ears and one on the man's staff. Supposing the story to be true, as far as the lights were concerned, it was probably the same thing as that told in *Notes and Queries* (4th, iii. 125), 6th February 1869, by Mr Ernest Baker, how, riding over the Downs to Mere, Bath, suddenly there appeared five lights on his horse's head. There had been a thunderstorm, and it was raining heavily at the time—in other words, St Elmo's fires. Compare Abraham de la Pryme, *Diary*, p. 63, and Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions*, pp. 241-242, who quotes Fian's performance.

In the British Museum there is a copy of the work in MS. (Additional MSS. 5495). It is on seven leaves in small folio, on paper, written distinctly in a hand of the end of the sixteenth century, contemporary with the printed copy. The text of the printed and MS. copies agrees, but I am not certain that the MS. is that which was used for printing. It would be difficult, however, to decide whether the MS. was made from a printed copy or from another MS., though I suspect that it was from a MS. Here it may be remarked that Wright's was probably the first edition, and that there was no previous Scottish edition. In the address to the reader, the editor or printer gives his reasons for printing the book in the following terms:—

"The manifold vntruths which are spred abroad, concerning the detestable actions & apprehension of those witches whereof this historie following truely intreateth, hath caused me to publish the same in print, and the rather for that sundry writtē coppies are lately dispersed thereof, containing, that the said Witches were first discovered by meanes of a poore Pedler, traouelling to the towne of Trenent, and that by a wonderfull manner hee was in a moment conuayed at midnight from Scotland to Burdeux in France (being places of no small distance) into a Merchantes seller there,<sup>1</sup> and after, being sent from Burdeux into Scotland by certain Scottish merchants to the

<sup>1</sup> This reminds one of Hogg's ballad, "The Witch of Fife" (see No. 103), as well as of a predecessor of Lord Duffus, who was transported through the air to the King of France's wine-cellar, and brought back with him the "fairy-cup."



Kinges maiestie, that he discovered those Witches, and was the cause of their apprehension : with a number of matters miraculous and incredible : all which in truth are most false. Neuerthelesse to satisfy a number of honest mindes, who are desirous to be informed of the veritie and truth of their confessions, which for certaintie is more straunger then the common reporte runneth, and yet with more truth. I have vndertaken to publish this short Treatise, which declareth the true discourse of all that happened and as well what was pretended by those wicked and detestable Witches against the Kinges Maiestie, as also by what meanes they wrought the same.

"All which examinations (gentle Reader) I haue here truly published, as they were taken and vttered in the presence of the Kinges Maiestie, praying thee to accept it for veritie, the same being so true as cannot be reprooued."

Of the printed tract I have seen three copies : one was in the Beckford Library, at the sale of which, 13th July 1882, it fetched £60. In the sale Catalogue, Part I. p. 224, the following note is appended to the title, which is numbered 3007 :—

\* \* This copy, which sold for £6, 6s. in the sale of G. Steevens, has on fly-leaf the following note in his handwriting : "I have frequently quoted this Pamphlet (of which I never saw another copy) in my notes on Macbeth.—G. S."

This note identifies the book, and confirms the statement of Brand, quoted below. The second, in my own collection of witchcraft literature, has had its frayed edges very carefully strengthened and been bound in a manner to correspond with its excessive rarity. The third copy, also in my possession, wants the title-page, but is otherwise in fairly sound condition, and it has inserted a duplicate of the woodcut on B4, printed on a separate leaf marked A on the recto. In this respect the Lambeth copy and Douce's resemble it ; see Nos. 2 and 3. Besides these three copies there is another in the collection of Mr Huth. There is no copy in the British Museum or in the Bodleian. There is none at Abbotsford, one of the places where it was most likely to be. The book is not mentioned in any other library catalogue which I have consulted ; it is not quoted by Watt<sup>1</sup> or by Lowndes.<sup>2</sup> It is quite obvious, therefore, that it is a book of remarkable rarity ; it is described by Kirkpatrick Sharpe as a "very scarce black letter pamphlet," and a similar phrase is applied to it in the reprint in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (No. 57).

Mr Huth's copy is identical with the preceding, and is described in his *Catalogue* (London, 1880, Vol. II. pp. 513-14), and there is appended the note which follows :—

"From the collections of Mr Brand, Sir F. Freeling, and Mr Corser. Inserted are tracings of the cuts of a different edition which is among Douce's books at Oxford, and Freeling notes on a fly leaf : 'Mr Douce's copy is by the same printer, and is also without date. The only variation of consequence between the two is that in the title to Mr Douce's the words "and death" are inserted after "life ;" with the exception of the orthography, the text is precisely the same. The cut on B4 verso, besides being inserted in its proper place, faces the title, and forms Ai. It has also two additional cuts, which Mr Douce has kindly allowed me to trace, and which are inserted in their respective places. Neither of them appears to have belonged originally to the work. Upon the whole I incline to think that is the earlier edition.'

"Sir F. Freeling was not aware that at Lambeth Palace there is a third impression of this tract, with a different publisher's name, but also undated. Of the original edition, printed in Scotland, no copy is known.

"In a MS. note on the back of the title occurs : 'John Brand, Somerset place, Jany 8th, 1802. See Steevens' catalogue, No. 1791. This copy of this most rare book was bought by Clark, probably for Mr Beckford, for six guineas. Another copy was sold at the sale of the late Mr Tyssen's books, Dec. 17th, 1801 (with other tracts on the same subject . . .)'"

With regard to this note I must confess that I cannot decide whether Freeling considered his own or Douce's copy to be of the earlier edition.

Nearly as puzzling is Brand's remark, for, from the wording, one would suppose that it was his own copy—"This copy of this most rare book," *i.e.*, the one before him—which was bought by Clark,

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliographers' Manual*.

whereas he really means Steevens'. Until I had ascertained that it was actually Steevens' copy which appeared at the Beckford sale, I could not understand how the same copy figured in Mr Huth's *Catalogue* in 1880, and at the Beckford sale in 1882. The history of the copies appears to be this: Steevens' copy was bought by Beckford, and at his sale passed into Mr Quaritch's hands. Mr Huth's copy belonged to Sir F. Freeling, and from it, presumably, Henry Freeling made the reprint for the Roxburgh Club in 1816. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who was not a member of the Club, seems to have got a transcript from the reprint, and published it in his preface to *Law's Memorials*, 1818 (see No. 77), and to have given it also to Pitcairn for publication in his *Criminal Trials*, 1833 (see No. 96). I have no clue to the previous history of the two copies in my possession.

As to the authorship of this tract, the only indication I know of is afforded by Sir James Melvil (1683, No. 20), who says the acts of the North Berwick witches were written by Mr James Carmichael, minister of Haddington. Millar (*The Luckless Drave*, 1820, p. 36, note \*, see No. 80) accepts this without question. He says that Carmichael was the second Protestant minister of Haddington, and held his pastoral charge betwixt the years 1568 and 1628 [with a break, however, of some years]. "The Presbytery minutes are preserved so early as 1587, but, as it was not their province, contains no reference to these depositions" [*i.e.*, of Fian, Agnes Sampson, &c.]. Hew Scott (*Fasts*, Edinburgh, 1866, Part I, pp. 311-312) gives a very full notice of Carmichael, and says that he "had active habits, a talent for public business, and was a person of great natural and acquired abilities." He does not make any reference to the *Newes from Scotland*; and yet to a person of Scott's research it is hardly possible to believe that the North Berwick witches and their operations against the king, the account of these in *Newes from Scotland*, and Melvil's mention of Carmichael, could have remained unknown. It is noticeable, however, that Scott has carefully avoided alluding to witchcraft, not only on the present occasion, but also in notices of Ephraim Melville at Queensferry (see No. 117) and of Logan of Torryburn (see No. 143, where it is said he is best remembered by his witchcraft zeal). One could well hope that Carmichael was not the author of the present tract, for there could hardly be a worse brand on one's reputation and memory than the penning of it. If it be his production, it is the greater discredit to "great natural and acquired abilities," apart from the callousness it displays towards the infliction of torture.

2. *Newes from Scotland*, | Declaring the Damna- | ble life and death of Doctor Fian,  
a | notable Sorcerer, who was burned at | Edenbrough in January last. | 1591. | Which  
Doctor was register to the Diuell | that sundry times preached at North Bar- | rick  
Kirke, to a number of noto- | rious Witches. | With the true examinations of the  
saide Doctor | and Witches, as they vttered them in the pre- | sence of the Scottish  
King. | Discouering how they pretended | to bewitch and drowne his Maiestie in the  
Sea | comming from Denmarke, with such | other wonderfull matters as the like | hath  
not been heard of at | any time. | Published according to the Scottish Coppie. | At  
London | Printed for William | Wright. |

Small 4to. A to D in fours. No pagination. Black letter. Collation: 1st leaf recto, sign. A at the bottom; verso, frontispiece: the devil preaching, the shipwreck, &c. as in No. 1. Aii Title. Aiii To the Reader, in roman type. Aiv the text begins. Bi verso, Woodcut: the King with a councillor on a dais; four persons kneeling before him, and a man holding a stick over them. Bij is misprinted Aiii. Cij verso, the frontispiece repeated. Civ verso, woodcut of Fian and the heifer, and Fian on the black horse with the four torches approaching the kirk. Diii recto, Text ends; then the concluding paragraph in roman. Diii verso, woodcut of Fian (?) led to prison, the gaoler, with a bunch of keys at his belt, has hold of his right arm; a woman has hold of his left ear. Div is blank. Compare No. 3.

This is Douce's copy, now in the Bodleian (Douce, F. 210), and it contains the following notes. Pasted on the cover is this cutting from Steevens' Catalogue, referred to in Brand's note above:—

" 1791. Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable Life of Doctor Fian, a notable Sorcerer, who was Burned at Edenbrough in Januarie last 1591, which Doctor was Register to the Devill, that sundrie Times preached at North Baricke Kirke, to a number of notorious witches, cuts, 4to, b.l. russia, published according to the Scottish Copie printed by William Wright. See Note by Mr Steevens, in which he mentions never having seen another copy."

Steevens' note is quoted in full in Beckford's *Catalogue* (see No. 1). Written on the cutting by Douce, is the following:—"Bought by Clark (probably for Mr Beckford) for six guineas, at Mr Steevens's sale." And below the cutting:—"Another copy was sold for £11 0 0 at Mr Tyssen's sale Decem. 17th 1801."

On the opposite fly-leaf there is in Douce's handwriting:—"See *Gentleman's Magazine* Vols. VII. 556 and XLIX. 449. This tract was reprinted by Francis Freeling, Esq., a member of the Roxburgh Club in 1816."

In this last note, Douce, who was not a member of the Club, falls into the excusable mistake of assigning the Roxburgh reprint to Francis, instead of to Henry Freeling.

This edition is quoted by Hazlitt (*Handbook*, London, 1867, p. 197). He has the misprint *bewatch* for *bewitch*, and he says the book contains 15 leaves, a mistake due to his not having counted the blank leaf, Div.

The copy which belonged to Richard Gough, and is quoted by him in his *British Topography*, 1780, II. p. 672, was one with this title, containing the words "and death." It was from Gough's copy that Herbert (*Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1790, III. p. 1346) took his description, as follows:—

1591. "Newes from Scotland, Declaring the Damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable Sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in January last, 1591. Which Doctor was regester to the Diuell, that sundry times preached at North Barrick Kirke to a number of notorious Witches. With a true examination of the saide Doctor and Witches, as they vttered them in the presence of the Scottish King. Discouering how they pretended to bewitch and drowne his Maiestie in the Sea cōming from Denmarke, with such other wonderfull matters as the like has not been heard of at any time. Published according to the Scottish Coppie." For him. [*i.e.*, William Wright.] D, in fours, with cuts. Richard Gough, Esq; 4o.

3. Newes from Scotland, | Declaring the Damna- | ble life and death of Doctor Fian, a | notable Sorcerer, who was burned at | Edenbrough in Ianuary last. | 1591. | Which Doctor was regester to the Diuell | that sundry times preached at North Bar- | rick Kirke, to a number of noto- | rious Witches. | With the true examinations of the saide Doctor | and Witches, as they vttered them in the pre- | sence of the Scottish King. | Discouering how they pretended | to bewitch and drowne his Maiestie in the Sea | comming from Denmarke, with such | other wonderfull matters as the like | hath not been heard of at | any time. | Published according to the Scottish Coppie. | At London | Printed for Thomas | Nelson |

Small 4to. A to D in fours. No pagination. Black letter, except the title, To the Reader, the last paragraph beginning "this strange discourse," and running titles, &c., which are in roman. Collation: A recto contains sign. A only; verso Frontispiece, like that in my second copy. Aii, Title. Aiii, To the Reader. Aiv, the text begins. Bi verso, Picture of the examination of the witches, before King James, as in No. 2. The king is on a chair, mounted on a dais; a councillor, in a long robe, is standing to his right; before them, kneeling, are four persons, two women in front, a third woman behind, and a fourth person, Fian (?); a man stands beside them lifting a long stick, as if to strike them. Biii is misprinted Aiii. Cij verso, the frontispiece is repeated. Civ verso contains the picture of Fian and the heifer and the black horse with the candles, as in No. 1. Dij recto, the text ends, but the words "The Conclusion" in Wright's edition are omitted; Dij verso, a woodcut, as in No. 2: a gaoler, with keys at his girdle, is taking Fian (?)



to prison; a woman (the girl's mother?) has hold of Fian's left ear, and is pushing him on in front of her. Div is blank.

This edition is entirely different from Wright's, but the matter is the same.

This copy is in Lambeth Palace library. The volume contains witch tracts about Else Goode-ridge, Lond. 1597; W. Somers, 1600; The Three Witches of Chelmsforde, 1589; Fian; and G. B.'s account of Witchcraft wrought on Richard Burt, of Pinner, 1592. It bears the initials R. B. in gold on the covers, and belonged to Richard Bancroft, who was Archbishop of Canterbury, 1604-1611, and is interesting as being a contemporary collection. The Lambeth copy is quoted by W. Carew Hazlitt (*Hand-Book to the Popular . . . Literature of Great Britain*, London, 1867. 8vo, p. 197). In his transcript he gives *Copie* instead of *Coppie*, and says that the book contains fourteen leaves, whereas it contains sixteen.

The *Newes from Scotland* has been reprinted several times:—

Gentleman's Magazine, 1779, No. 57.

Roxburghe Club, 1816, No. 76.

C. K. Sharpe, 1818, No. 77.

D. Webster, 1820, No. 79.

R. Pitcairn, 1833, No. 96.

C. K. Sharpe, Reprint, 1884, No. 148.

Notwithstanding these successive issues, it is difficult to get the tract. The original editions are represented by unique, or all but unique, copies, and are practically unattainable. The Roxburghe Club edition is just as rare. Sharpe's and Pitcairn's reprints are included in bulky volumes, which are not common and are costly, and even Webster's edition appears but seldom in booksellers' catalogues.

There is a dreadful glamour about this pamphlet which would lead one to quote it entire if this were a suitable place. The terse, almost epigrammatic, force of the language, the peculiar phraseology, the direct and unabashed simplicity of the narrative, the intermixture of the ghastly with the ludicrous, of absurdities with the grimmest of realities, the tortures of the accused, out of all proportion to the confessions elicited, make this narrative one of the most instructive on the subject of witchcraft which I have seen. It seems to have produced a similar effect on all who have perused it, for the story of John Fian and his sufferings is repeated more or less fully by subsequent writers on witchcraft. The following is a list of references:—

Glanvil: *Saducismus Triumphatus*, 1681, No. 18.

Melvil: *Memoires*, 1683, No. 20.

George Sinclair: *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, 1685, No. 22.

*History of Witches and Wizards*, 17—, No. 35.

Hutchinson: *Essay*, 1718, No. 44.

Arnot: *Trials*, 1785, No. 60.

Miller: *The Luckless Drive*, 1820, No. 80.

Melvill: *Diary*, 1556-1601, 1829, No. 91.

Scott: *Letters on Demonology*, 1830, No. 93.

Dalyell: *Darker Superstitions*, 1834, No. 98.

Mitchell and Dickie: *Philosophy of Witchcraft*, 1839, No. 104.

Mackay: *Popular Delusions*, 1841, No. 106.

Wright: *Sorcery and Magic*, 1851, No. 116.

Burton: *Criminal Trials*, 1852, No. 118.

*Magic and Witchcraft*, 1852, No. 119.

Chambers: *Domestic Annals*, 1858, No. 121.

Linton: *Witch Stories*, 1861, No. 123.

Williams: *Superstition*, 1865, No. 125.

Inglis: *Witchcraft*, 1873, No. 130.

Grant: *Mysteries* (1880), No. 138.

Soldan: *Geschichte*, 1880, No. 139.

Spalding: *Elizabethan Demonology*, 1880, No. 140.

[*History of Witchcraft in Scotland*], No. 142.

Sands: *Tranent*, 1881, No. 143.

Inderwick: *Side Lights on the Stuarts*, 1888, No. 153.

Davenport Adams: *Witch, Warlock, and Magician*, 1889, No. 155.

#### 1597

4. Daemonolo- | gie, in forme | of a Dialogue, | Diuided into three Bookes. | Edinbvrgh  
| Printed by Robert Walde-graue | Printer to the Kings Majestie. An. 1597. | Cum  
Privilegio Regis.

Small 4to. Title, one leaf; Preface to the Reader, signed: James R., four leaves. Then the text, B to L in fours, M one; pp. 1-81; the last page is blank. On the title-page is a vignette of the royal arms.

This is the first edition, and it has now become scarce. There are two copies in the British Museum, C. 27. h. 1, and G. 19130.

Lowndes says that the original MS. was sold at the Fonthill sale for £10, 5s.; see also Inderwick, No. 153. Grässe, *Bibliotheca Magica*, Leipzig, 1843, p. 55, quotes an edition of Edinburgh, 1591. In his *Trésor de Livres Rares*, Dresde, 1862, III. p. 448, there is no reference to an edition of 1591, but only to this of 1597. He quotes an edition of 1600, that of 1603, and Hanau, 1604. For other editions see 1600, No. 5; 1603, Nos. 6, 7; 1604, No. 8; 1607, No. 9; 1616, No. 10; 1619, No. 11; 1689, No. 24.

As suggested by some writers, and repeated by others, it is not unlikely that the outcome of the Fian trial was King James's work on *Dæmonologie*. The king had taken a deep and personal interest in the matter, and small wonder, for he was specially aimed at in these witch conventions and plots; but, credulous though he was, some of the things confessed to by the witches were "so miraculous and strange" "that his majestie said they were all extream lyars," which is about the only gleam of truth in the whole business. Ultimately, however, he was convinced, and "swore by the living God that he beleued that all the Deuils in hell could not have discovered" what one of the witches told him privately. So impressed was he by these revelations, by the multitude of witches, by their powers, by their evil designs, by their intercourse with the devil, that he set himself to expound the nature of magic and sorcery, and especially to controvert the Sadducism of Reginald Scot, "who is not ashamed in publike print to denie that there can be such a thing as witch-craft," and of Wierus, who, "because he sets out a publike apologie for all these craftsfolkes," King James thinks must have been one of that profession.

The *Dæmonologie* has received but scant consideration for its own merits. Ady (No. 13) attacked and refuted it, and went the length of questioning its authenticity. So, too, did John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, 1677, p. 9, who speaks of "a little Treatise in Latine, titled *Dæmonologia*, fathered upon King James," and who apparently did know that the work had appeared eighty years earlier. This view, however, is untenable; for the king was very proud of the part he had played in the early witchcraft trials, and of the insight he had thus acquired into the economy of the kingdom of darkness, and the book is certainly of his composition. Miss Lucy Aikin, however, says (I do not know upon what authority) that King James in later life regretted the publication of the *Dæmonologie*, and nearly renounced his faith in witchcraft, (*Memoirs of the Court of King James the First*. By Lucy Aikin. In two volumes. Second edition. London, 1822. 8vo, Vol. II. p. 399). She makes other references to the subject: Vol. I. p. 23, witchcraft was punished when other crimes escaped; Vol. II., 166-171, aspects of witchcraft under his reign, and the use of torture. On p. 167 she says, "During the two-and-twenty years of James's English reign, it is computed that not less than a hundred persons fell victims to the prevalence of a superstition fostered by the royal example." These numbers deserve to be noted.

Modern writers speak of it without respect. Scheltema (No. 90) holds it in contempt, except for the mischief which it did. Horst (Nos. 78, 82) gives a short notice of it, and calls it a sort of English witchhammer, based on the king's own examination of old women and foreign witch treatises. Soldan (No. 108) criticises the work sharply. The author of an article on witchcraft in the *Retrospective Review*, 1822, v. p. 90, calls it "that silly compilation of exotic tales and fancies," and is severe on its author. There is a satirical notice of it in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1737, VII. 556.

A proposal, made a few years ago, to reprint it as a companion volume to Reginald Scot's *Discoverie* was not received with any favour. No one seemed to care to have the views of the royal "devilist" in a modern form. In fact, it is not a typical or original book, and it is stilted, jejune, and credulous. It has little intrinsic interest, except for a perverse commonsense which



it here and there displays, but it is of importance mainly as having guided public opinion for years, and of being responsible for part at least of the relentlessness of the witch prosecutions.

## 1600

## 5. Daemonologie.

The author of the article on "Witchcraft" in the *Retrospective Review*, 1822, Vol. v. p. 91 (note), says there was an Edinburgh edition of 1600; and Watt and Lowndes mention it, but without any detail. If there be an edition of this date, I have not seen it. See 1597, No. 4.

## 1603

## 6. Dæmonologie, | in forme | of a Dia- | logve, | Diuided into three books : | written by the high | and mightie Prince, Iames by the | grace of God King of England, | Scotland, France and Ireland, | Defender of the Faith, &amp;c. | [scroll device] | London, | Printed by Arnold Hatfield for | Robert Wald-graue. | 1603

Small 4to. A to L in fours. Title, on the verso of which are the royal arms, the Preface to the Reader, A2—4 verso, signed Iames  $\check{r}$ . Text, B—L, or, pp. 64, a misprint for 80.

There is a copy in the British Museum, 719. d. 9. There is an interesting misprint in this edition, p. 32, l. 4 from the bottom, *pausing* is given for *pansing* in the 1597 edition. The English printer did not know that King James meant "thinking."

## 7. Daemono- | logie, in forme | of a Dialogue, | Diuided into three bookes. | Written by the high and mightie Prince, Iames by | the grace of God King of England, Scotland, | France, and Ireland, Defender | of the faith. &amp;c. | [scroll device] | At London, | Printed for William Aspley, and W. Cotton, ac- | cording to the copie printed at Eden- | burgh, | 1603.

Small 4to. A to L in fours; or, pp. [8] 80. Title, verso blank. The Preface to the Reader, A2—4 verso, signed Iames  $\check{r}$ . Text, B—L, or, pp. 64, a misprint for 80.

There is a copy in the British Museum, 8631. d. 22. This is a different edition from the other throughout, though it is a page for page and almost line for line reprint; even the misprint 64 is repeated, and 57 for 73. *Pansing*, however, is given correctly.

## 1604

## 8. Dæmonologia; | hoc est, | Adversvs Incan- | tationem siue Magiam, | Institutio, | forma Dialogi | concepta, &amp; in Libros III. | distincta : | Authore | Serenissimo Poten- | tissimoq; Principe, Dn. Iacobo, | Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hy- | berniæ, ac Franciæ Rege, fi- | dei defensore, &amp;c. | Ex anglico quidem | sermone per Vincentium Meuseuo- | tium in | Belgicum; nunc verò è Belgico in La- | tinum conuersa, operâ M. | Herman. Germbergii. | Hanoviæ | Apud Guilielmum Antonium, | MDCIV.

24mo. A to H in twelves, paged continuously to 191. Pp. 1-14 contain the title, with the royal arms on the reverse, dedicatory epistle by the translator, and King James's preface; pp. 15-191 contain the text.

I have not met with any account of the *Versio Belgica* above mentioned. See Scheltema, No. 90. The Latin translator has had *pansing* in his original.

## 1607

## 9. Daemonologia.

Another edition of the preceding appeared in 1607, 12mo, according to Grässe, *Bibliotheca Magica*, Leipzig, 1843, p. 55.

## 1616

10. The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, Iames by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Pvblished by Iames, Bishop of Winton, and Deane of his Maiesties Chappel Royall.

1. Reg. 3. Vers. 12.

Loe, I haue giuen thee a wise and an vnderstanding heart.

London: Printed by Robert Barker and Iohn Bill, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno 1616.

¶ Cum Priuilegio.

Folio, with a fine portrait and engraved title-page.

The *Dæmonologie* occupies pp. 91-136. *Pansing* is the correct reading in this edition, p. 110, l. 2 from the bottom.

## 1619

11. Serenissimi | Et | Potentissimi | Principis | Iacobi, | Dei Gratia, Magnæ | Britanniæ, Franciæ, Et · Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, | Opera, | Edita ab Iacobo Montacuto, Wintoniensi Episcopo, | & sacelli Regij Decano. |

1. Reg. 3. 12. |

Ecce do tibi animum sapientem & intelligentem. |

[Device.]

Londini, | Apud Bonhamum Nortonium, & Ioannem | Billium, Typographos Regios. | M.DC.XIX. | ¶ Cum priuilegio. |

Folio; ff [24, including a portrait, engraved title-page, and the royal arms], pp. 638.

Dæmonologiæ, Libri tres, pp. 85-126.

This is a different version from that of 1604, No. 8. The copy, which the translator used, must have had the word *pansing* (Book II. chap. 2), for he renders it by *anxios* (p. 105).

Graesse, *T'ésor de Livres Râres*, Dresde, 1862, III. p. 448, quotes this edition with the collation "609 pp. et 20 ff." He also refers to the reprint of 1689. (*See* No. 24.)

British Museum, 479. g. 14. and G. 2080.

## 1645

12. The Lawes against Witches, and Conivration. And Some brief Notes and Observations for the Discovery of Witches. Being very usefull for these Times, wherein the Devil reignes and preuailes over the soules of poor Creatures, in drawing them to that crying Sin of Witch-craft. Also, The Confession of Mother Lakeland, who was arraigned and condemned for a Witch, at Ipswich in Suffolke. Published by Authority. London, Printed for R. W. 1645.

Small 4to. A in fours, or pp. 8.

This is a reprint of the Acts of the first year of James I., which did such mischief.

Mother Lakeland was burned.

The Act of 9th George II., cap. 5, repealing all this, is given in English and German in Hauber's *Bibliotheca Magica*, 1739, II. 3. Hutchinson, in his 14th chapter, considers "the Occasion of our present Statute," and shows how it was passed in 1604 by the king's influence. Remarks upon the laws are made by Sir George Mackenzie, 1678, No. 16; Forbes, 1722, No. 47; Scheltema, 1828, No. 90; Grant [1880], No. 138.

It was against the repeal of the laws anent witchcraft that the Seceders protested in 1743.

For a trial and conviction under the repealing Act, *see* the tract about Jean Maxwell, 1805, the sorceress on the Galloway hills No. 66.

## 1656

13. A Candle in the Dark: or, A Treatise Concerning the Nature of Witches and Witchcraft: Being Advice to Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Grand-Jury-men, what to do, before they passe Sentence on such as are Arraigned for their Lives, as Witches. By Thomas Ady, M.A.

London, Printed for R. I. to be sold by Tho. Newberry at the three Lions in Cornhill by the Exchange. 1656.

Small 4to, 3 leaves; B to X in fours, Y2; or, pp. [6] 172, a misprint for 164.

The reason why this book is quoted here is because it contains (pp. 139-150) a determined onslaught on the doctrines in the *Demonologie*. The singular thing, however, is that Ady seems very doubtful about the authorship of that work. For, speaking of those who have followed Bodinus and others in English, he says: "The first is James, Bishop of Winton, setting forth three Books, called *Dæmonology*, in the name and title of the works of King James (and whether the Bishop or the King were the Composer of that work, I stand not to argue)." From this it would appear that Ady knew nothing of the early editions of the *Dæmonologie*, but only of the reprint in King James's works, which were edited by the Bishop of Winton. See No. 10.

Of course, as far as the criticism and refutation of the tract are concerned, it does not matter who was the author, but it is an important fact in the history of witchcraft in England that Ady found it necessary, or considered it of importance, to confute that book sixty years after its first appearance. The *Demonologie* must have had a lasting influence when an exposure of its errors was undertaken in 1656.

## 1661

14. A Perfect Discovery of Witches. Shewing The Divine Cause of the Distractions of this Kingdome, and also of the Christian World. *Justitia Thronum firmat.*

Prov. 29. 14.

The King that faithfully judgeth the poor, his Throne shall bee established.

Very profitable to bee read by all sorts of People, especially Judges of Assizes, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Grand-Jury-men, before they passe sentence on those that are condemned for Witch-craft. By Thomas Ady, M.A.

London, Printed for R. I. to bee sold by H. Brome at the Gun in Ivy-Lane. 1661.

Small 4to. 2 leaves; B to X in fours, Y2; or pp. [4] 172, a misprint for 164.

This is a reissue of remainder copies of the preceding, with a new title-page.

## 1672

15. The Hydrostaticks; or, the Weight, Force, and Pressure of Fluid Bodies, made evident by Physical, and Sensible Experiments. Together with some Miscellany Observations, the last whereof is a short History of Coal, and of all the Common, and Proper Accidents thereof; a Subject never treated of before. By G. S.

Edinburgh, Printed by George Swintoun, James Glen, and Thomas Brown: Anno Dom. 1672.

Small 4to. ¶, ¶¶ in fours, ¶¶¶ in two, A to Z, Aa to Oo in fours, Pp 3, Qq, Rr in fours. Pp 4 was a blank leaf (?).

Separate engraved title, arms of Lord Oxford, seven folding plates of diagrams. G. S. is George Sinclar.

This book contains an account of the Devil of Glenluce, October 1654; pp. 238-247.

The account appears in the 1683 reissue of *The Hydrostaticks*, and was included by Sinclar in *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, 1685, pp. 75-92.



## 1678

16. The Laws and Customes of Scotland, in Matters Criminal. Wherein is to be seen how the Civil Law, and the Laws and Customs of other Nations do agree with, and supply ours. By Sir George Mackenzie of Rose-haugh.

Edinbvrgh, Printed by Thomas Brown, one of his Majestie's Printers: Anno Domini, MDCLXXVIII.

Small 4to.

In this there is a chapter on witchcraft, pp. 80-108. Among the authorities are Wierus, Bodinus, Delrio, and the *Malleus Maleficarum*. If one want to see the legal view of the subject when the Acts were in brisk operation, this work should be consulted. Sir George believed in witchcraft and the devil, but was not quite easy in his mind about actual cases. He thought it possible that a knowledge of natural science might explain apparent magical effects, that the treatment of the accused might lead them to say anything, that the ministers were "indiscreet in their zeal, to have poor creatures to confess in this;" and thereafter he gravely discusses the crime, its evidences and punishment, and the powers of the devil. It is very difficult to believe that the author can have been serious when he wrote this chapter, for example:—Section XIX. p. 101—"The Devil may inflict diseases, . . . and by the same means he may likewise cure: . . . And not only may he cure diseases laid on by himself, as Wierus observes, but even natural diseases, since he knows the natural causes and the origin of even these natural diseases, better than Physicians can, who are not present when diseases are contracted, and who being younger than he, must have less experience. . . ."

No great compliment either to the devil or to the Faculty; but, oh! Sir George!—

This chapter is reprinted in *A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire*, Paisley, 1809. No. 69.

17. Ravillac Redivivus, | Being A | Narrative | Of the late Tryal of | Mr. James Mitchel | A | Conventicle-Preacher, | Who was Executed the 18th of January last, for an at- | tempt which he made on the Sacred Person of the | Archbishop of St. Andrews. | To which is Annexed, | An Account of the Tryal of that most wicked | Pharisee Major Thomas Weir, who was | Executed for Adultery, Incest and Bestiality. | In which | Are many Observable Passages, especially relating to | the present Affairs of Church and State. | In a Letter from a Scottish to an English Gentleman. | London, Printed by Henry Hills, 1678. |

Small 4to. A to K in fours; or pp. 78. K4, blank (?), is wanting.

An edition in folio appeared in 1682, No. 19. See the note on it.

## 1681

18. Saducismus Triumphatus: | or, | Full and Plain Evidence | Concerning | Witches | and | Apparitions. | In Two Parts. | The First treating of their | Possibility, | The Second of their Real | Existence. | By Joseph Glanvil. . . . | With a Letter of Dr Henry More | on the same Subject. | And an Authentick, but wonderful story of certain Swe- | dish Witches; done into English by Anth. Horneck | Preacher at the Savoy. |

London: Printed for J. Collins at his Shop under the Temple- | Church, and S. Lownds at his Shop by the Savoy-gate, 1681. |

8vo. Part I., A in four, B to R in eights, but R8 wanting; or, pp. [8] 58; [16] 180. Part II., Aa to Zz in eights, Aaa in four; or, pp. [16] 310 [10] 311-328 [Errata 1, blank 1]. Frontispieces to both parts.

This, the first edition of Glanvil's book, contains in the second part (pp. 291-306) "Relat. xxviii. The Confessions of certain Scotch Witches, taken out of an authentick Copy of their Trial at the Assizes held at Paisley in Scotland, Feb. 15. 1678. touching the bewitching of Sir George Maxwell." Appended is an abstract of Fian's and Agnes Sympson's (*sic*) Confessions and Witchcrafts. (*See* 1689, No. 23; 1700, No. 34; 1726, No. 48.)

## 1682

19. Ravillac Redivivus: | Being a | Narrative | of the Late | Tryal | of | Mr. James Mitchel | A | Conventicle-Preacher, | Who was Executed the 18th of January, 1677. | for an Attempt which he made on the Sacred Person | of the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews. | To which is Annexed, | An Account of the Tryal of that most | wicked Pharisee Major Thomas Weir, who | was Executed for Adultery, Incest and Bestiality. | In which | are many Observable Passages, especially relating to the | Church and State of Scotland. | In a Letter from a Scottish to an English Gentlemen. | The second Edition very much Augmented and Enlarged. |

London: | Printed for Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's Head in St. Paul's | Church-Yard. M.DC.LXXXII.

Small folio, 2 leaves; B to M in twos, N one, O, P in twos, 1 leaf; or pp. [4] 54 [2].

Although it does not appear on the title-page, reference is made to Weir's being a magician, practising witchcraft or sorcery, and having made a compact with the devil. Reference is also made to the fiery coach, which was believed in to a late date. The author was the Rev. George Hickee, D.D., Dean of Worcester, author of the *Thesaurus*. See Law's *Memorials*, p. 26, and the note on Weir by Sharpe. The accounts do not quite harmonise. See also Arnot on Weir, No. 60, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 5th Ed., 1821, II. 147, 148, and Scott's *Letters*, 1830, No. 93.

A further account of Major Weir is given in Stevenson's edition (Edinburgh, 1871) of *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, Supp. 1. pp. i-xix. Daniel Wilson (*Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, Edinburgh, 1848, 4to) refers more than once to the Weir story, i. 101, 167; ii. 115-118, 213, taken from Sinclair, Law, Ravillac Redivivus, and a MS. in the Advocates' Library, entitled *Fraser's Providential Passages*, 1670, from which he thinks Sinclair had his account. He gives a drawing of the house. See also *Redgaunlet*, Abbotsford edition, ix. p. 89. Robert L. Stevenson, in his so-called *Picturesque Notes on Edinburgh* (London, 1879, 4to, p. 15), gives us his version of the wizard's character. Robert Chambers (*Traditions of Edinburgh*, 1825, i. 117, 133) alludes to the Major; and in his *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*, 1833, p. 82, gives a picture of the house, and a brief account of the stories told about him. His black record has not been forgotten in the black list of Pisanus Fraxi: *Centuria Librorum Absconditorum*, London, 1879, 4to, p. 51. See also *Notices . . . of Carluke*, 1874, pp. 279-288 (No. 131).

The Major has had his true story embellished and exaggerated into romance. One such version will be found in J. E. Muddock's *Stories Weird and Wonderful*, London, 1889.

Richard Gough (*British Topography*, London, 1780, Vol. II. p. 673) says:—"To 'Satan's invisible world discovered: . . . by Mr Geo. Sinclair, . . . Edinb. 1685,' 12mo, is added the marvellous history of Major Weir and his Sister. . . . Major Weir was reputed an infamous wretch, and burned for a sorcerer, 1670. . . ."

For Curl's reprint, see 1710, No. 42. For that in Somers's *Tracts*, see 1812, No. 71.

I have examined the MS. of Fraser's *Providential Passages*, above mentioned. It is a small 4to, legibly written, and Weir's story occupies pp. 307-312. Sinclair's account is based upon this MS., but it is not a verbatim copy, as comparison of the two shows.

## 1683

20. The Memoires of Sir James Melvil of Hal-Hill: Containing an Impartial Account of the most Remarkable Affairs of State . . . more particularly relating to the King-

doms of England and Scotland, under the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James. . . . Now published from the Original Manuscript. By George Scott, Gent.

London, Printed by E. H. for Robert Boulter . . . 1683.

Small folio. Pp. [16] 204 [28].

Pp. 194-195 contain an account of the witches "taken in Lauthian, who deposed concerning some design of the Earl of Bothwel's against his Majesty." The persons named are Amy Simpson, Gray Meilt, Richard Graham, Effie Machalloun, Barbary Naper. They met at North Berwick Kirk, where the Devil preached to a great number of them. A description is incidentally given of his personal appearance.

Sir James adds: "The Tricks and Tragedies he played then among so many men and women in this Country, will hardly get credit by posterity. The History whereof with their whole Depositions, was written by Mr. *James Carmichael* Minister of *Haddingtown*." Presumably Sir James alludes to *Newes from Scotland*.

This extract from the *Memoires* was reprinted by Webster (No. 79) from an 8vo edition, p. 388.

#### 1684

21. Pandæmonium, or the Devil's Cloyster. In two Parts . . . By Richard Bovett, Gent. London . . . 1684.

12mo, pp. [10] 239.

Richard Bovett has the merit of avoiding the hackneyed stories which one meets in most of the witchcraft collections, and he also displays a surprising familiarity with the kingdom of Satan.

The first part gives a comprehensive narrative of witchcraft, devil worship, magic, from the fall of Angels and the seduction of the Human Race down to the confederacies of Popes and priests with the devil. The second part contains "modern relations" of apparitions, witches and spirits.

Bovett is responsible for the story of the fairy-boy of Leith (p. 172); he also narrates briefly the bewitching of Maxwell of Pollok (p. 227); the turning of a person mad by carrying a witch's girdle (p. 231); an apparition seen at Kinneel (p. 235) of four ghosts carrying a corpse on their shoulders—a case of second sight; and he quotes (p. 83) Agnes Sampson, the Wise Wife of Keith, "who was very remarkable," from Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1655, folio, Book vi., p. 383. Sir Walter Scott, I find, has quoted Bovett about the fairy-boy; see *Minstrelsy*, 5th Edit., 1821, II. 166-168.

#### 1685

22. Satans Invisible | World | Discovered; | or, | A choice Collection of Modern Re-  
| lations, proving evidently against | the Saducees and Atheists of this | present Age,  
that there are Devils, | Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions, | from Authentick Records,  
Attestations of Famous Witnesses, and | undoubted Verity. | To all which is added,  
| That Marvellous History of Major Weir, | and his Sister: | With two Relations of  
Apparitions at | Edinburgh. | By Mr. George Sinclar, late Professor of Philosophy, |  
in the Colledge of Glasgow. |

No Man should be vain that he can injure the merit of | a Book, for, the meanest  
Rogue may burn a city, or | kill an Hero, whereas, he could never build the one, | or  
equal the other. Sr. G. McK. |

Edinburgh, Printed by John Reid. 1685.

Small 8vo. \*, A to P, ¶, ¶¶, in eights, or pp. [32] 220 [34]. ¶¶8 is wanting. It was probably blank. Collation: \*1 Title. \*2 recto, Dedication to George, Earl of Winton, ends



\*7 verso. \*8 recto, In Auctorem Opus, Encomiasticon by Patrick Sinclair; ends verso. A1 recto, The Preface to the Reader, ends 8 recto. A8 verso, Carmen Stelitenticon. B1 recto, Text begins and ends P6 verso, pp. 1-220. P7 The Index. P8 Advertisements. ¶1 recto, Postscript about Major Weir, and one or two apparitions; ends ¶¶7 verso.

This, the first edition of Sinclair's work, is of the greatest degree of rarity, not more than three or four copies being known. This is not surprising, for the edition must have been read out of existence. It was added to and reprinted frequently. The following editions are included in the present list, but I do not suppose the enumeration is complete: 1746, No. 49; 1763, No. 51; 1764, No. 53; 1769, No. 54; 1779, No. 58; 1780, No. 59; 1789, No. 61; 1808, No. 68; 1814, No. 73; 1871, No. 129. The last is the best of all the reprints. The number of the editions justifies Sir Walter Scott's remark (*Somers's Tracts*, London, 1812, VIII. p. 544, note): "Professor Sinclair has recorded some particulars concerning him [*i.e.* Major Weir] in the little book, still the darling of the Scottish vulgar, called Satan's Invisible World Discovered."

The British Museum copy (719. e. 37) wants \*8, containing Patrick Sinclair's Encomiasticon, but otherwise it is in fine, clean, crisp condition.

Fraser's *Providential Passages*, 1670, above mentioned (1682, No. 19), is the source apparently from which Sinclair took his account, not only of Major Weir, but of the bewitching of Maxwell of Pollok as well. In the MS. the two narratives are consecutive: Weir, pp. 307-312; Maxwell, 313-316.

## 1689

23. Saducismus Triumphatus: or, Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts. . . . By Joseph Glanvil, . . . The Third Edition. . . . London, Printed for S. L. and are to be sold by Anth. Baskerville, at the Bible, the Corner of Essex-street, without Temple-Bar, MDCLXXXIX.

8vo. A to Z, Aa to Oo, in eights, Pp in four, of which 4 is blank; or pp. [1-6] 7-53 [54-60] 61-188 [189-194] 195-253 [254-266] 267-561 [562-578] 579-597 [1, and 2 blank]. 2 Frontispieces and the picture of the Calculi p. 596. The pagination is continuous in this edition.

Relation XXVIII. is contained in pp. 463-473.

In More's "Continuation," Relation III. pp. 489-498, is the Glenluce disturbance (1672, No. 15). See 1681, No. 18.

24. Serenissimi et Potentissimi Principis Jacobi Magnæ Britanniaë, Franciaë, Et Hiberniaë, Regis Fidei Defensoris, Opera edita a Jacobo Montacuto Winthoniensi Episcopo et Sacelli Regii Decano.

Francofurti ad Moenum et Lipsiaë, Sumtibus Christiani Genschii, Anno MDCLXXXIX.

Folio. ff. [10, including five portraits]; pp. 283. Title in black and red.

*Dæmonologia*, pp. 44-62.

This edition is merely a cheap and inferior reprint of that of 1619, No. 11.

## 1691

25. An Essay . . . of Elves Faunes and Fairies.

The *Essay* bears date 1691, and it has been supposed that it was first printed in that year (Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, II. 361, see No. 121). No copy, however, is known, and the belief at the present time is that the first edition was that published in an edition of one hundred copies in 1815 (see No. 75), the editor of which is said to have been Sir Walter Scott. This bears to have been "reprinted;" but the very first paragraph of the prefatory note contradicts that statement (if taken literally), for it is said there:

"This Curious Tract, upon the Fairy Superstition and that of second sight, is printed literally from a manuscript copy preserved in the Advocates' Library."

Enquiry at the latter place has shown me that there is now no MS. of the *Essay* there, and that, so far as can be judged from catalogues, there never was one. Is it possible that the editor could have made so curious a slip?

The printed edition of 1815 is not complete. It breaks off in the answer to query 5, and there is added, p. 45, "See the Rest in a little Manuscript belonging to Colin Kirk.—*Note by the Transcriber.*" But why was not "the Rest" printed from this manuscript?

One infers from this that in 1815 there were two MSS. : one used by the editor of the printed edition, and another belonging to Colin Kirk, the author's son, which may have been the original, or may have been merely a transcript from it.

The reprint of the edition of 1815 by Mr Andrew Lang (No. 158) stops, of course, at the same point, with the reference to Colin Kirk's copy.

In the University Library at Edinburgh there is a MS. of the *Essay* which is apparently complete; at any rate it contains certain items which are not included in the editions of 1815 and 1893. It is a small MS. on paper, containing in all 65 leaves, as follows:—

The *Essay*, 48 leaves, with an inserted slip. It includes queries and answers to the number of nine, so that this MS. contains what the "Transcriber" calls the "Rest" that was present in Colin Kirk's little MS.

The *Essay* is followed by

"A Short Treatise | of the Scottish- | Irish charms | and spels" |  
in 9 leaves. Then a blank leaf and 7 leaves containing

"An Exposition of the difficult Words in the foregoing Treatis | es." |

At the end of which :

"Finis coronat opus,

"Written be Robert Campbell at Insh-Alladine in the paroch of Aberfoyl in Monteith. 1691."

As there is a blurred letter at the place, it may be Alladine, Allodine, or Alledine.

Robert Kirk, or Kirke, was minister of Balquhiddier, and afterwards of Aberfoyle, and was best known as a Gaelic scholar. The first complete metrical version of the Psalms into Gaelic was made by him, and was published in 1684 (see *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, by John Reid, Glasgow, 1832, 8vo, pp. 20-22). There is a copy in the University Library, Glasgow. He wrote a brief vocabulary of Gaelic words, which was printed at the end of the Irish Bible of 1690, prepared for the use of the Highlanders by Kirk (*Ibid.* p. 53). A copy of this Bible with the vocabulary is also in the Glasgow University Library. A MS. diary, written when he was in London superintending this edition, is now in the Edinburgh University Library. For the curious story of his spiriting away to Fairyland see Patrick Graham's *Sketches of Perthshire*, 1812, No. 72, from whom it is quoted in *Rob Roy*, Chap. xxviii., note on Fairy Superstition. Sir Walter says he died in 1688, but the true date seems to be 1692. See Hew Scott's *Fasti*, 1869, Vol. II. part II. p. 718.

26. The Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits. Fully evinced by unquestionable Histories of Apparitions and Witchcrafts, Operations, Voices, &c. Proving the Immortality of Souls, the Malice and Miseries of the Devils and the Damned, and the Blessedness of the Justified. Written for the Conviction of Sadduces & Infidels, by Richard Baxter. . . . London, Printed for T. Parkhurst at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside; and J. Salusbury at the Rising Sun over against the Royal Exchange. 1691.

Small 8vo. Pp. [16] 252 [2].

Baxter narrates two or three examples from Scotland. One (p. 52) is the story of the devil of Glenluce, quoted from Sinclar, which he compares with the devil of Mascon, and the truth of which he considers unquestionable. Another is the letter sent by the Duke of Lauderdale to Baxter, in 1659, which gives a number of instances of haunted houses and possession (especially the case of the nuns of Loudun), some of which were from Scotland. It forms the fourth chapter



(pp. 82-92), and is entitled: "Instances sent me from the Duke of Lauderdale: (More in other Letters of his I gave away, and some Books of Forreign Wonders he sent me)." Because Baxter's book had become scarce, the Duke's letter was reprinted by Kirkpatrick Sharpe in his Introduction to Law's *Memorials* (pp. cxi.-cxiv.). Sharpe, however, states inaccurately that it is the sixth chapter. I cannot help thinking that Lauderdale was deliberately hoaxing Baxter. The Duke certainly spoke plainly enough about the Loudun affair.

Perhaps the best comment on Baxter's book is the following judgment on the author—or "censure," as the old writers called it—by a very cool and level-headed contemporary, Abraham de la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary, as he is termed (*Diary*, Surtees Society, Vol. 54, 1870, p. 47):—

"Old Rich. Baxter is dead, the great and famous preacher up of reformation and puritanism. To give the divel his due, as the proverb is, this Baxter was a man (as far as my accounts can reach, as well oral as printed) of great virtue, piety, and holiness of life, but exceeding passionate, and so fond of his own oppinions and affections that he could not abide to hear them contradicted. He writt much against the Church of England, but tho' he was sufficiently and excellently answered by several, yet he would never vouchsafe to peruse the sayd answers, but had the impudence, in several of his books, to boast that his books were never answered, that his enemys could not confute him, and such like. But the older he grew he was the more peevisch, and became mighty enthusiastical, conceited, and dogmatical in his opinions." The type of man is not extinct even now.

## 1696

27. Miscellanies, viz. 1. Day-Fatality. . . . XXI. Second-Sighted Persons. Collected by J[ohn] Aubrey, Esq.;

London: Printed for Edward Castle, next Scotland-Yard-Gate, by Whitehall. 1696.

8vo. Pp. [6] 179.

There is a letter from a Learned Friend in Scotland, March 35 (*sic*), 1695, about "one of the Lord Duffus . . . his Predecessors," who cried "Horse and Hattock," and was carried off to the King of France's wine cellar, where he was found with a silver cup in his hand, afterwards called the Fairy Cup, pp. 121-125. Compare No. 1. The story is quoted by Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 5th Edit. 1821, II. 177-179.

There are also two letters on second sighted men in Scotland, pp. 149-179. One of these, from "A Gentleman's Son in Straths-vey" (*sic*), was reprinted in *The History of Witches, Ghosts, and Highland Seers*, No. 65, and in *Miscellanea Scotica*, No. 81. Other editions of Aubrey's book: 1721, 1784, 1890.

28. A True Relation of an Apparition, Expressions and Actings, of a Spirit, Which Infested the House of Andrew Mackie in Ring-Croft of Stocking, in the Paroch of Rerrick, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland 1695. By Mr. Alexander Telfair, Minister of that Paroch: and Attested by many other Persons, who were also Eye and Ear-Witnesses.

Eph. 6. 11. Put on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil.

Vers. 12. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against Principalities, and Powers, &c.

James 4. 7. —Resist the Devil and he will flee from you.

Edinbvrgh, Printed by George Mosman, And are to be sold at his Shop in the Parliament Closs, 1696.

Small 4to. A and B in fours; or pp. 15 [1].

This was reprinted as an Appendix to Sharpe's Law's *Memorials*, pp. 267-277 (No. 77); in the 1884 edition (No. 148), pp. 229-254; in the Supplement to Stevenson's edition of *Satan's*

*Invisible World Discovered*, 1871, No. 129, pp. xix.-xxxix.; in *Historical and Traditional Tales connected with the South of Scotland*, Kirkeudbright, 1843, No. 109.

Thomas Murray (*The Literary History of Galloway*, 2nd Edition, Edinburgh, 1832, p. 188, note †) says that "the name of Mr Telfer, who was the first minister of Rerwick after the Revolution, is known to the curious reader as the author of a credulous and superstitious pamphlet, entitled *A True Relation*, &c., 1696, 15 pages, small 4to." See Hew Scott, *Fasti*, 1867, II. p. 721.

29. A New Confutation of Sadducism. Being A true Narrative of the wonderful Expressions and Actions of a Spirit which infested the House of Andrew Mackie of Ringcroft in the County of Galloway in Scotland, from February to May 1695. Containing, amongst other things, Predictions as to future Times, in a Letter writ with Blood, and dropt by the said Spirit. Writ by Mr. Alexander Telfair Minister of the Parish; and attested by many other Ministers and Persons of Credit, whose Attestation and Names are subjoined.

London, Printed for Andrew Bell, at the Sign of the Cross-Keys in the Poultry. 1696.

Small 4to. A2, B, C, in fours; or, pp. [4] 15 [1 blank].

The Preface says that the publication of the tract in London may be as useful as in Scotland, for stemming the tide of growing atheism, or at least of Sadducism. This preface is different from Telfair's. The edition is not an exact reprint, but a sort of anglicised version, although the narrative is the same. Comparison with the Edinburgh edition is interesting, as giving an insight into the differences of language in the North and South 200 years ago. The London edition is on better paper and is better printed than the Edinburgh edition. British Museum, 719. g. 68.

Abraham de la Pryme (*Diary*, p. 39) tells a story of a haunted house opposite St John's College, in Cambridge, which resembles that of the Glenluce and Ringcroft hauntings. There were noises, stone throwing, breaking of windows, a stink of brimstone, jingling and throwing of money, and so on, till the people were all terrified out of their wits. Then some young fellows of St John's threatened to fire off pistols at the place where the noise came from.

"On Monday night likewise there being a great number of people at the door, there chanced to come by Mr Newton, fellow of Trinity College: a very learned man, and perceiving our fellows to have gone in, and seeing several scholars about the door: 'Oh! yee fools,' said he, 'will you never have any witt. Know yee not that all such things are meer cheats and impostures? Fy, fy! go home, for shame,' and so he left them, scorning to go in."

Mr Newton was apparently no believer in such spiritual manifestations.

### 1697

30. Witch-Craft Proven, Arreign'd, and Condemn'd in its Professors, Professions and Marks, by diverse pungent, and convincing Arguments, excerpted forth of the most Authentick Authors, Divine and humane, Ancient and Modern. By a Lover of the Truth.

Deut. 18. 9.—When thou art come into the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after these Abominations.

Vers. 10. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter to pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch.

Vers. 11. Or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.

Exod. 22. 18. Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.

Glasgow, Printed by Robert Sanders, One of His Majesties Printers. Anno Dom. 1697.

12mo. A, B, in fours; or pp. 16. Badly printed on poor paper.

The author was the Rev. John Bell, born at Glasgow, 1676; he was minister of Gladsmuir, and died in 1707. He wrote also a *Discourse on Witchcraft* (see No. 38), which apparently was never printed, for any reference to it or quotation from it which I have seen has always been from the MS. copy. See Sharpe's Preface, p. xxxii. (No. 77). Hew Scott, *Fasts*, 1866, I. p. 335.

This is one of the very rarest of the Scottish witchcraft tracts.

The author proves first the existence of good and bad spirits and familiars from sacred and profane history, expounds briefly the witch's compact with Satan, gives definitions of the different kinds of magicians, and especially of the witch, explains Satan's reasons for unmasking himself by the discovery of those in league with himself, and sums up by describing the marks by which a witch can be readily distinguished.

This miserable little pamphlet enables one to realise how the clergy had argued themselves into being such ardent witchhunters.

31. A Relation of the Diabolical Practices of above Twenty Wizards and Witches of the Sherifffdom of Renfrew in the Kingdom of Scotland, contain'd, in their Tryalls, Examinations, and Confessions; And for which several of them have been executed this Present Year, 1697.

London, Printed for Hugh Newman at the Grashopper in the Poultry.

Small 4to. A2, B—C in fours, D2; or pp. 24.

An abstract of this tract appears in the *True Narrative*. It is, however, an independent production, and contains confessions and other evidence. The copy which I have seen is in the British Museum, 719, g. 67.

For other editions see 1698, Nos. 32 and 33; 1775, No. 55; 1809, No. 69; 1877, No. 136.

### 1698

32. A True Narrative Of the Sufferings and Relief of A Young Girle; Strangely Molested, By Evil Spirits and their Instruments, in the West: Collected From Authentick Testimonies there-anent. With A Preface and Post-Script Containing Reflections on what is most Material or Curious; either in the History, or Trial of the Seven Witches who were Condemn'd to be Execute in that Countrey.

Job. 2. 6. And the Lord said unto Satan, behold he is in thine hand; but save his life.

Math. 15. 22. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, thou Son of David; my Daughter is grievously vexed with a Devil.

Rom. 16. 20. And the God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your Feet shortly.

Edinburgh, Printed by James Watson in Craig's Closs, on the North-side of the Cross. M.DC.XCVIII.

Small 8vo. a to f, A to C in fours, but C4 wanting; or pp. xlvi. [2 blank], 22. Printed very closely and badly with small type.

The particulars were collected by John MacGilchrist, town-clerk of Glasgow, and written out by Francis Grant, advocate, afterwards Knt. and Lord of Session, with the title of Lord Cullen (Sharpe, *Prefatory Notice*, xcii.). It consists of a preface, the narrative, and two letters referring to "what appeared most material or curious" in the trial. See also 1697, No. 31.

The Bargarran case is referred to over and over again. See Boulton, 1716, No. 43; Hutchinson, 1718, No. 44; the later editions of *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*; Pennant, 1776, No. 56;



Arnot, 1785, No. 60; *Statistical Account*, 1791, No. 63; Dalryell, 1834, No. 98; Mitchell and Dickie, 1839, No. 104; *Magic*, 1852, No. 119; Hector, 1876, No. 133; Sharpe, 1884, No. 148.

33. Sadducismus Debellatus: | Or, a True | Narrative | of the | Sorceries and Witchcrafts | exercis'd | by the Devil and his Instruments upon | Mrs Christian Shaw, Daughter of Mr John | Shaw, of Bargarran in the County of Ren- | frew in the West of Scotland, from Aug. 1696 | to Apr. 1697. | Containing | The Journal of her Sufferings, as it was Exhibited and Prov'd | by the Voluntary Confession of some of the Witches, and | other Unexceptionable Evidence, before the Commissioners Ap- | pointed by the Privy Council of Scotland to Enquire into the same. | Collected from the Records. | Together with Reflexions upon Witchcraft in General, and the Learned Argu- | ments of the Lawyers, on both Sides, at the Trial of Seven of those | Witches, who were Condemned: And some Passages which happened at | their Execution. |

Job. 2. 6. And the Lord said unto Satan, behold he is in thy hand; but save his Life.

Math. 15. 22. Have Mercy upon me, O Lord, thou Son of David; my Daugh- | ter is grievously vexed with a Devil. |

Rom. 19. 20. And the God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly. |

London, | Printed for H. Newman, and A. Bell; at the Grashopper in the Poultry, and | at the Cross-Keys and Bible in Cornhill near Stocks-Market. 1698. |

4to. A to H in fours, I2; or, pp. [8] 60. A1, Title; A2 to A4, the Preface; B to I2, the Narrative.

There is a copy in the British Museum, 8630. ee. 2, and it is quoted by W. C. Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes*, London, 1876, p. 370.

This is practically identical with the Edinburgh version, but the phraseology is modified throughout. The attestation of Dr Brisbane, and the declaration of Marshall, the apothecary, are given *in extenso*, whereas in the Edinburgh edition they are quoted in abstract. See also 1697, No. 31.

#### 1700

34. Saducismus Triumphatus: Or, full and plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions. In two Parts. The First Treating of their Possibility. The Second of their Real Existence. By Joseph Glanvil, . . . The Third Edition with Additions. . . . London. Printed for A. L. . . . MDCC.

8vo. I, A1, B to Z, Aa to Ii in eights. Frontispiece to both parts and picture of Calculi at the very end.

In Dr Henry More's "Continuation . . . or An Addition of . . . Stories of Apparitions and Witchcraft" to the second part, there is given a narrative of the Glenluce troubles, pp. 9-16.

Relation xxviii. in Part II., pp. 164-173, includes the cases of Maxwell of Pollok and John Fian. The former was reprinted in *An Authentick . . . History of Witches . . .*, 1759 (No. 50), and the latter in *The History of Witches and Wizards*, 17—, No. 35.

Glanvil's book is interesting and important more as a general treatise in defence of spiritualism than for the particular narratives which it contains. The first edition appeared in 1681 (see No. 18), and there were editions in 1689 and 1726.

#### 17—

35. The History of Witches and Wizards: Giving a true Account of all their Tryals in England, Scotland, Sweedland, France and New England; with their Confession and

Condemnation. Collected from Bishop Hall, Bishop Morton, Sir Matthew Hale, Dr Glanvil, Mr Emlin, Dr Horneck, Dr Tilson, Mr Baxter, Mr Hodges, Corn. Agrippa. By W. P.

London: Printed for C. Hitch and L. Haws, at the Red-Lion in Paternoster Row; . . .

12mo. A in six, B to G in twelves, or, pp. [12] 144. Rude woodcuts. A chap book. No date.

Chapter vi., pp. 65-75, is entitled "Tryal of Witches in Scotland," and it contains an abstract of the Fian story, reprinted from Glanvil, *Saducismus Triumphatus* (see No. 18, and compare 1759, No. 50).

### 1703

36. A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland . . . by M[artin] Martin, Gent. London, 1703.

8vo. Pp. [32] 392. Map and plan.

This contains "An Account of the Second Sight in Irish call'd Taish, or Faculty of foreseeing things to come, by way of Vision," pp. 300-335. It was reprinted in 1819-20 in the *Miscellanea Scotica*, iii., pp. 177-206, No. 81. Though in no way connected with the practice of magic or witchcraft, the subject is involved to a certain extent in the consideration of the phenomena of witchcraft, and I have accordingly included the books which treat of it in this list.

The first edition of Martin's book is usually said to be that dated 1703. I have a copy with the date 1673.

Martin's "Account of the Second Sight" is alluded to by Burt in his *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, London, 1754, II. p. 286. He calls it a "contemptible Subject" and a "ridiculous Notion." See, for other references to this theme, Bovett, 1684, No. 21; Aubrey, 1696, No. 27; Fraser, 1707, No. 41; Theophilus, 1763, No. 52, and 1815, No. 75; *Witches* . . . *Highland Seers* [1803], No. 65; Webster, 1820, 79; and others incidentally.

### 1704

37. A | True and Full | Relation | of the | Witches at | Pittenweem. | To which is added by way of Preface, | An Essay for proving the Existence of | Good and Evil Spirits, relating to the | Witches at Pittenweem, now in | Custody, with Arguments | against the Sadducism of | the Present Age. |

Edinburgh. | Printed by John Reid Junior, and are to be | Sold at his Printing House in Liber- | touns Wynd. 1704.

12mo. Title, To the Reader, 2 leaves. Text, A2-6, or pp. 3-12.

(Was John Reid, Junior, any relation of John Reid who printed Sinclair's book in 1685?)

The preliminary essay contains what the editor considers irrefragable proofs of the evidence of spirits, devils, and all the rest. He quotes the New England business, the witch's compact, images of wax, and Bargarran's daughter. Then comes the story of Pittenweem.

It is a roughly printed chap book, in the same style as Frazer's tract on the "Second Sight" (No. 41). There is a copy in the British Museum, 8631. aa. 22.

Of the two women accused of bewitching the man, Patrick (or Peter) Morton, namely, Janet Corphat <sup>1</sup> (or Cornfoot) and Beatrix Laing, Janet was ultimately seized by a mob and killed by pressing to death, but Beatrix got off. There followed a considerable discussion, but no one was punished for the cruel murder.

In his *Collection of Rare and Curious Tracts on Witchcraft*, Edinburgh, 1820 (see No. 79), Webster did not include the above "Relation," but he gives another account of the affair

<sup>1</sup> Called Corset in this tract.

which was printed in 1705, and describes the horrible treatment to which Janet Corphat was subjected. See Nos. 39, 40, 165, 168.

The Pittenweem case is referred to by Kirkpatrick Sharpe, p. xciii. See also Stevenson's edition of *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, 1871, Suppl. 1v. There is a significant allusion to the murder in *Analecta Scotica*, II. p. 23 (No. 97).

David Vedder wrote a poem entitled the "Witch of Pittenweem." It has no reference to the persons accused by Morton, but is a fanciful picture in which all the popular horrors are embodied. See "Poems, Lyrics, and Sketches, by David Vedder, with Essay on his Life and Writings by Rev. George Gilfillan, author of 'Night,' etc. Kirkwall: William Peace & Son." 8vo, pp. xxviii. [2] 370. The poem is at p. 10, and there is a brief note on p. 357.

Neither has "The Witch of Fife," whose adventures are described by James Hogg, anything to do with the murdered Janet Cornfoot. (See No. 103.)

## 1705

38. An Ingenious and Scientific Discourse of Witchcraft. 1705. 12mo.

This is quoted by Hew Scott, *Fasti*, Edinburgh, 1866, I. i. p. 335, and ascribed to Rev. John Bell of Gladsmuir, author of *Witch-craft Proven*, . . . 1697 (No. 30). I have not seen this book, and do not know if it is identical with the "Discourse" mentioned by Sharpe.

39. An | Answer | of a | Letter | From a | Gentleman in Fife, | To a | Nobleman, | Containing | A brief Account of the Barbarous and illegal Treatment, these | poor Women accused of Witchcraft, met with from the Bail- | lies of Pittenweem and others, with some few Observations | thereon. | To which is added | An Account of the horrid and Barbarous Murder, in a Letter | from a Gentleman in Fife, to his Friend in Edinburgh, Fe- | bruary 5th. 1705. | Printed in the Year 1705. |

Small 4to. A in four; or pp. 8.

There is a verbatim reprint of this tract in Webster's *Collection*, 1820, No. 79. There are copies both in the Advocates' and the Signet Libraries in Edinburgh.

40. A | Just Reproof, | To the False | Reports, bold, & unjust Calumnies, | Dropt in two late | Pamphlets | The First Entituled, | An Account of a Horrid and Barbarous Murder. In a Letter | from a Gentleman in Fife, to his Friend in Edinburgh. | And the other | An Answer of a Letter from a Gentleman in Fife to a Noble- | man, containing a brief Account of the Barbarous and Ille- | gal Treatment, the Poor Woman accused of Witchcraft met | with, from the Bailies of Pittinweem and others. |

Prov. 10. 18. He that hideth hatred with Lying Lips, and he that uttereth Slander | is a Fool. |

Prov. 12. 19. The Lip of truth shall be Establish't for ever: But a Lying tongue is | but for a Moment. |

Prov. 17. 4. A Wicked doer giveth heed to false Lips: and a Lyar giveth Ear to a | Naughty tongue. |

Edinbvrgh. | Printed in the Year M. DCC. v.

Small 4to. Title, 1 leaf; B to G in twos; or pp. [1-3] 4-26.

Webster's reprint is only an abstract of this tract. There is a copy in the Advocates' Library.



## 1707

41. ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΑ | or, | A brief Discourse concerning the | Second Sight, | Commonly so called. | By the Reverend Mr. John Frazer, | deceased, late Minister of Teree | and Coll, and Dean of the Isles, | and | Published by Mr. Andrew Symson, with | a short account of the Author. | [Thistle, rose, fleur de lys and harp, all crowned.]

Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Andrew Symson, | Anno Domini M.DCC.VII.

16mo. 8 preliminary leaves, without mark, containing Title, Dedication by Symson to George Earl of Cromartie, Symson to the Reader, giving a short sketch of Frazer's life, and A Short Advertisement to the Reader, by Frazer. The Text : B, B again, C, D, E, all in fours, or pp. 39, numbered. P. 40 is blank. British Museum, 8630. a. 31.

Frazer, born in Mull, 1647, was a Glasgow student, and, under the regent, William Blair, took the degree of M.A. He was a clergyman in Mull, afterwards in Teree, worked very faithfully among the people, and was much beloved by them. He spoke Gaelic, and knew all their humours. He married Mary Symson, a relation of A. Symson. He was put out of his charge, but still attended to his people, who supported him. He died Aug. 25, 1702, leaving a widow and family.

Symson does not defend all his views about second sight, but believes the fact, and gives two cases.

This is a rare little book, of which I have never seen but one copy for sale, and failed to get it. It is reprinted in Webster's Collection, 1820, No. 79; and although it is said to be included in the *Miscellanea Scotica*, 1820 (No. 81), it has been omitted.

The remarkable thing about this tract is the calm and dispassionate manner in which the author narrates his facts, and attempts to give a rationalised explanation of them.

It may be interesting to note that he mentions a deaf and dumb nobleman in Spain who was taught to speak and to understand by observing the motions of the lips. See Lang's remarks on Frazer, No. 158; and Hew Scott, *Fasts*, Edinburgh, 1870, III. i. p. 88.

## 1710

42. The Spirit of Fanaticism : Exemplify'd in the Tryals of Mr James Mitchel (a Presbyterian Minister, who was Hang'd at Edinburgh, for an Attempt made upon the Archbishop of St Andrews.) And Major Thomas Weir (a Gifted Brother at the Knack of Extempore Prayer) who was Burnt between Edinburgh and Leith April the 11th, 1670. for Adultery, Bestiality with a Mare and a Cow, and Incest with his own Sister, who was likewise Hang'd the next Day after him. To which is added An Account of the Original of Presbytery in Scotland, and their Behaviour towards the Episcopal Clergy; wherein is Demonstrated that Rebellion has ever been the Principal Article of their Faith. Written by an Advocate of the Civil Law in Scotland.

London: Printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street. 1710. Price one Shilling.

8vo. A1, B to I3 in fours [I4 wanting]; or, pp. [2] 62.

The modified edition of *Ravillac Redivivus* (see Nos. 17, 19, and 71). British Museum, Pam. 46.

## 1715-16-22

43. A Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft; . . . London, E. Curll, 1715-16, in two volumes, 12mo.

The author, Richard Boulton, who was a believer, gives an excellent account of some of the most notable witchcraft events of the seventeenth century. Among these is a detailed description of the Bargarran case, Vol. II. pp. 51-165, practically a reprint of the *Narrative*, No. 32.

Boulton, in the *Vindication* of his *History* against Dr Hutchinson (No. 44), which he published in 1722, naturally defends King James's views, and vindicates the statute which was passed specially to prevent such proceedings as those confessed to by Agnes Sampson. Pp. 153-4.

## 1718

44. An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft. . . . By Francis Hutchinson, D.D. . . . London . . . MDCCXVIII.

8vo. Pp. xv. [5] 270 [2]. The following Scottish cases are quoted :—

968. Duffus, 78th King of Scotland, pined away by a sweating sickness. It was discovered that his picture had been roasted by a soft fire.
1655. Story of Wm. Barton and his wife, taken from Sinclar. Hutchinson is very funny over this.
1590. Agnes Symson—the wise wife of Keith—and John Fian, taken from *Saducismus Triumphatus* and Sinclar. Compare Hutchinson's remarks on King James's statute, p. 179.
1591. Spotswood (p. 383) says that the most of this winter was spent in examining witches and sorcerers.
1649. Many thousands burned in Scotland, according to Ady.
1661. Bessie Fowler burned at Musselburgh.
1670. Major Weir and his sister, quoted from Sinclar.
1678. Six executed on account of Sir George Maxwell. From *Saducismus Triumphatus* and Sinclar.
1697. Christian Shaw, from *Saducismus Debellatus* (No. 33), and Boulton's *Compleat History* (No. 43); p. 136, criticism of King James on witch-swimming; p. 139, want of tears in Shaw's case (1697); p. 178, origin of the Statute against witchcraft, and King James's influence in getting it passed.

Hutchinson is so coldly sceptical and critical that he excited the ire of Boulton, who replied with a considerable degree of warmth, but absence of argument, in his *Vindication* just mentioned, No. 43. The second edition of the Essay appeared in 1720.

For a criticism of certain of Hutchinson's views, see *Lee's Memorial for the Bible Societies in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 108, note.

## 1720

45. An Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft. . . . By Francis Hutchinson, D.D. . . . The Second Edition, with Considerable Additions.

London: Printed for R. Knaplock, at the Bishops' Head, and D. Midwinter, at the Three Crowns, in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCCXX.

8vo. A, a, B to Y in eights; or pp. [30, and 2 of book advertisements], 336.

There is a copy in the British Museum, 231. i. 32. For the first edition see No. 44.

46. The Tincklerian Doctor Mitchel's | Strange and Wonderful Discourse | to the Witches and Warlocks in Calder.

No date, place, or printer.

This is a folio or broadside, printed probably in Edinburgh about 1720. It refers to the Torphichen imposture, and to Mitchel's attempt to exorcise the evil spirit. See No. 172.

A notice of Mitchel will be found in Appendix VII., pp. xcix.-ciii., of Stevenson's edition of *Satan's Invisible World Discover'd*, Edinburgh, 1871. Mitchel's publications are very rare.

The story of the Witch of Calder, that "horrible slave of Satan," is included in some of the later editions of Sinclar, and the case is described by Sharpe, p. civ. See also Supplement VI. in Stevenson's edition of *Satan's Invisible World Discover'd*, 1871.



In a small MS. volume, which came from the Auchinleck Library, there is a letter in Latin about the witches of Calder, which is said to have been written by Sir William Scot of Thirlestain in imitation of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Vivorum*. It is dated Calder, May 11th, 1723, and burlesques the whole affair.

## 1722-30

47. The Institutes of the Law of Scotland, . . . by William Forbes, Advocate, Professor of Law in the University of Glasgow.

Edinburgh: Printed by J. Watson, J. Mosman and Company, and sold by W. Brown at his Shop in the Parliament-Closs. Vol. I. 1722, Vol. II. 1730. 8vo.

In Vol. II., Book II., chap. III. of *Witchcraft*, there is a clear exposition of the subject from a legal point of view; the crime is defined, the compact with the devil, his marks, &c.; different kinds of witches; their works, the punishment, the proofs of bewitching, the proof of one being a witch; the ordinary doom: strangling at a stake, and then burning to ashes.

Forbes took a very decided view of the matter, but he returns to the question in an Appendix to this chapter (p. 371), and practically backs out of the responsibility of deciding whether there be such a thing as witchcraft or not. His exposition of the subject strikes one as being more benighted than even Sir G. M'Kenzie's; and it is hard to see how a man in Forbes's position could have committed himself to the statements he puts down.

Forbes's views are quoted by Grant, No. 138.

## 1726

48. Sadducismus Triumphatus: Or, a full and plain Evidence, Concerning Witches and Apparitions. In Two Parts. . . . By Joseph Glanvil. . . .

The Fourth Edition, with Additions. . . . With some account of Mr Glanvil's Life and Writings.

London: Printed for A. Bettesworth, and J. Batley, in Pater-noster-Row; W. Mears, and J. Hooke, near Temple-Bar, in Fleet-street. MDCCXXVI.

8vo. 1 leaf; A, \*B, in eights; b in four; A2 to A4; A to L in eights; O to Z, Aa to Hh in eights, Ii four; or pp. [6] 35 [1 blank] [5, 1 blank; 10] 1-104 [105-111] 112-161 [1 blank, 4]; [14 including frontispiece to the second part] 223-498 [1 leaf of the Calculi, apparently Ii2] 4 pages of book advertisements. Title red and black. Frontispiece. The 2nd frontispiece seems to be O1.

Relation XXVIII. . . . pp. 391-400.

Glenuce Case, Relation III. of More's "Continuation," pp. 412-420. See 1681, No. 18.

## 1746

49. Satan's Invisible World discovered. Edinburgh 1746.

In "Old Glasgow" Exhibition Catalogue, 1894. I have no information about this edition. For other editions see 1685, No. 22.

## 1759

50. An Authentick and Complete History of Witches and Apparitions. Shewing the Reality of their Existence in upwards of Twenty-five curious and uncommon Relations. With An Account of what happened in Sweden in 1669 and 1670, relative to the Persons accused for Witches, and tried and executed by the King's Command.

London: Printed for H. Woodgate and S. Brooks, at the Golden Ball, in Pater-noster Row. 1759.

12mo. 1 leaf, B to F in twelves, or pp. [2] 114. (4) [2].

This is a chap book.

All the tales are about bewitchings, apparitions and haunted houses in England, except the 25th, which is reprinted direct from Glanvil's *Saducismus Triumphatus*, and relates to the bewitching of Maxwell of Pollok (*see* No. 18), and compare No. 35, 17—.

## 1763

51. Satan's Invisible World discovered : or, a Choice Collection of Modern Relations. Glasgow, A. McLean & J. Duncan Jrs. 1763.  
8vo.  
In "Old Glasgow" Exhibition Catalogue, 1894. I have no information about this edition. For other editions *see* 1685, No. 22.
52. A Treatise on the Second Sight, Dreams and Apparitions : With Several Instances sufficiently attested ; And An Appendix Of others equally authentic : The whole illustrated with Letters to and from the Author on the Subject of his Treatise ; And A Short Dissertation on the Mischievous Effects of Loose Principles. By Theophilus Insulanus.

————— Si quid novisti rectius istis,  
Candidus imperti : Si non, his utere mecum. Hor.  
Hoc quicumque velis scriptum cognoscere, Lector,  
Quum præcepta ferat quæ sunt gratissima vitæ ;  
Commoda multa feres. Sin autem spreveris illud,  
Non me scriptorem, sed te neglexeris ipse. Cato.

Edinburgh : Printed by Ruddiman, Auld, and Company, Printers, Morocco's Close, Lawn-Market. M,DCC,LXIII.

12mo. Pp. vi. xix. [5] 192.

This Treatise is not upon witchcraft in the strict sense of the term, but the phenomena with which it deals are so often mentioned in connection with witchcraft, that it may be as well included in the present list along with the few other books on the same topic.

As this was "a very scarce work," parts were reprinted in Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth*, 1815 (No. 75), and it is contained in *Miscellanea Scotica*, Glasgow, 1818-20 (No. 81). It has not been reprinted by Lang in his edition of Kirk's book (No. 158). He says (p. lxii.): "This is not rare nor expensive." I have no means of deciding whether the editor of 1815 or the editor of 1893 is correct. *See* Hibbert's *Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions*, Edin. 1825, 2nd Ed., p. 220. Col. David Stewart, *Sketches of . . . the Highlanders of Scotland*, Edin. 1822, 2nd Ed., II., Appendix, p. xxxiv., gives two instances.

## 1764

53. Satan's Invisible World discovered.  
According to Stevenson (1871 edition, p. xlv.) there was an edition of Sinclar's book of this year which contained the *Additional Relations*. I have not seen it.

## 1769

54. Satan's Invisible World discovered : | or, a Choice | Collection | of Modern | Relations, | Proving evidently against the Atheists of this | present Age, that there are Devils, Spirits, | Witches and Apparitions, from authentic | Records, Attestations of Witnesses of un- | doubted Veracity. | To which is added, That marvellous | History | of | Major Weir and his Sister, the Witches | of Bargarran, Pittenweem and Calder, &c. | By Mr George Sinclair, Late Professor | of Philosophy in the College of Glasgow. |

No man should be vain that he can injure the merit | of a Book, for the meanest  
rogue may burn a city, or | kill a Hero, whereas he never could build the one, or |  
equal the other. Sir G. M'K. |

Edinburgh: | Printed by Alex. M'Caslan, and sold at his | Shop, opposite to the  
Chapel of Ease, | Cross-Causey. M DCC LXIX.

12mo. Title, 1 leaf. Text, pp. 3-294, which is a misprint for 204. The title and first three  
leaves have no signature, thus the signatures run from B to Z, Aa, Bb, all in fours, and Cc in 2.  
The Contents, 2 leaves, with sig. b on the first leaf and paged (i)-iii, the fourth page being blank,  
are inserted between the title and the text. It is a chap book.

This edition contains the additional Relations about the witches of Renfrewshire, Pittenweem,  
Calder, &c., which were subsequent to Sinclair's first edition.

There is a copy in the British Museum, 8630, bbb. 16. For other editions see 1685, No. 22.

## 1775

55. A Narrative of the Sufferings and Relief of a Young Girl; Strangely Molested by  
Evil Spirits and their Instruments, in the West: Collected from Authentic Testi-  
monies, with a Preface and Postscript. Containing Reflections on what is most  
Material or Curious, either in the History or Trial of the Seven Witches who were  
condemned and Burnt in the Gallow-Green, of Paisley.

Job. ii. 6. And the Lord said unto Satan, behold, he is in thine hand; but save his  
life.

Matth. xv. 22. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, thou Son of David; my daughter  
is grievously vexed with a devil.

Rom. xv. 20. And the God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.

Paisley: Printed and Sold by Alexander Weir. 1775.

Small 12mo. A to K in sixes, or pp. i-xvi, 17-120.

This is a rather neat reprint of the Edinburgh edition of 1698. See also 1697, No. 31.

## 1776

56. A Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXIX. . . . Fourth Edition.  
London, Printed for Benj. White, MDCCLXXVI.

4to. In three volumes.

Pennant's well-known work would not have been quoted in the present connection had he not  
in passing referred to certain witchcraft events, and shown, moreover, not only a disbelief in the  
whole thing, but a breadth of view remarkable for his time.

Vol. 1. p. 69.—Place of execution of those "imaginary criminals, witches and sorcerers" at the  
foot of the Calton Hill, Edinburgh.

P. 165.—The witches who met Macbeth Pennant identifies with the Valkyriæ, Gunna, Rota, and  
Skulda, the "Chusers of the Slain," but says that the "fine incantations that succeed, are  
borrowed from the fanciful *Diableries* of old times, but sublimed and purged from all that is  
ridiculous by the Creative genius of the inimitable Poet."

P. 188.—Execution at Dornoch in June 1727 [it was really in 1722] for the "imaginary crime  
of witchcraft." In a note he adds that this was the "last instance of these frantic executions  
in the north of *Scotland* as that in the south was at *Paisly* in 1697." He then refers to the  
story of the witches of Thurso, who tormented a man in the form of cats. This was  
Montgomery's affair. See Sharpe, 1818, No. 77.

"But these relations," he says, "of almost obsolete superstitions, must never be thought a  
reflection on this country, as long as any memory remains of the tragical end of the poor people



at *Tring*, who, within a few miles of our capital, in 1751, fell a sacrifice to the belief of the common people in witches; or of that ridiculous imposture in the capital itself, in 1762, of the *Cock-Lane* ghost, which found credit with all ranks of people" (p. 188).

What would Pennant have said to the most recent book on "that ridiculous imposture" in the present list, and to the outcome of 120 years of natural science?

As to his view of the Macbeth witches it is curious to compare it with that given by Spalding (*see* No. 140).

In his Second Tour in 1772, Part I. p. 172 (second edition, London, 1776), he mentions that in Renfrewshire "in 1697 twenty poor wretches were condemned for the imaginary crime of witchcraft." This was the Bargarran case.

## 1779

57. The Gentleman's Magazine, And Historical Chronicle. Volume XLIX. For the Year MDCCLXXIX.

Prodesse & Delectare | E Pluribus Unum.

By Sylvanus Urban, Gent.

London: Printed at St. John's Gate, for D. Henry; and sold by F. Newbery, the Corner of St. Paul's Church-Yard, Ludgate-Street.

8vo.

Pp. 393-395, 449-452 contain a reprint in full of the tract about Fian. It is taken from the copy printed by Thomas Nelson, London (*see* No. 3), and consequently the title runs: "News from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was buried (*sic*, for burned) at Edinburgh in January last, 1591. . . ."

It is entitled a "scarce Pamphlet," which was communicated to the Magazine by "a Constant Reader." It is an unexpected place to find such a reprint.

This reprint is mentioned by Gough, *British Topography*, Lond. 1780, Vol. II. p. 672.

58. Satan's Invisible World Discovered; | or, A Choice | Collection | of Modern | Relations, | Proving evidently against the Atheists of this present | Age, that there are Devils, Spirits, Witches and | Apparitions, from authentic Records, Attestations | of Witnesses of undoubted Veracity. | To which is added, That marvellous | History | of | Major Weir and his Sister, the Witches of | Bargarran, Pittenweem and Calder, &c. | By Mr George Sinclair, late Professor | of Philosophy in the College of Glasgow. |

No man should be vain that he can injure the merit of a | Book, for the meanest rogue may burn a City, or kill a Hero, | whereas he never could build the one, or equal the other. Sir G. M'K. |

Edinburgh: | Printed by Alex. Robertson, and sold at his | Shop, middle of Niddery's-wynd. | M,DCC,LXXIX.

12mo. A to M in sixes; or pp. 142. M6, presumably blank, is wanting.

This is a very poor edition. It has not even a table of contents. It contains the additional relations. For other editions, *see* 1685, No. 22.

## 1780

59. Satan's | Invisible World discovered; | or, A Choice | Collection | of Modern | Relations; | Proving evidently, against the Atheists of | this present Age, that there are Devils, | Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions, from | authentic Records, Attestations of Wit- | nesses, and undoubted Verity. | To which is added | That marvellous History of Major Weir | and his Sister, the Witches of Bargarran, Pit- | tenweem, and Calder, &c. | By | George Sinclair | Late Professor of Philosophy in Glasgow. |

No man should be vain that he can injure the merit of a Book : | for the meanest rogue may burn a City, or kill a Hero ; | whereas he could never build the one, or equal the other. | Sir George M'Kenzie.

Edinburgh : | Sold by P. Anderson, Parliament-square, | M.DCC.LXXX.

12mo. 2 leaves ; A to O in sixes, P4 ; or, pp. [4] 175 [1 blank].

A chap book. For other editions, *see* 1685, No. 22.

## 1785

60. A Collection and Abridgment of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, From A.D. 1536, to 1784. With Historical and Critical Remarks. By Hugo Arnot, Esq. Advocate.

Quae scelerum facies, O virgo, effare, quibusve  
Urgentur poenis? Quis tantus plangor ad auras?

Edinburgh : Printed for the Author ; by William Smellie. M.DCC.LXXXV.

4to. Pp. i.-xiv. [2] xv.-xxiii. [1] ; 400.

The section upon witchcraft trials occupies pp. 347-371. The trials mentioned are the following :—

1588. Alison Pearson, Byre-hills, Fifeshire, associated with the Queen of the Fairies, and was familiar with the devil in the form of William Simpson. She was strangled and burnt. (*See* No. 91.)
1590. Janet Grant and Janet Clerk bewitched people to death, and raised the devil. John Cunninghame or Fian.  
Agnes Sampson, in Keith. Arnot says Spottiswood's story (*History*, p. 83) is not confirmed by the record. She was at the North Berwick meeting.
1591. Euphan M'Calzeane, accused of making a waxen image of the King, and raising storms to hinder his return from Denmark. She was burnt alive.
1596. Alison Balfour's tortures in the Caspie-claws (Arnot, p. 368).
1605. Patrick Lawrie enchanted milk-cows, and received from the devil a hand belt. Burnt.
1620. Margaret Wallace, inflicted and cured diseases by enchantment. A disease was transferred from her to a girl by one Christian Graham, a notorious witch, who afterwards was executed.
1629. Isobel Young, in East Barns. Strangled and burnt. A frightful case of legal murder.
1630. Alexander Hamilton met the devil as a black man on a black horse. When he wanted the devil he struck the ground thrice with a fir stick, and said : Rise up, foul thief. He seems to have escaped. (*See* No. 113.)
1631. John Neil took off and laid on diseases. Consulted the devil and witches on Coldingham Law. Burnt as usual.
1649. Janet Brown and others raised the devil. Executed.  
Isobel Bairdie and other two women made the usual confessions, and were strangled at a stake and burnt. Isobel drank with the devil. Compare 1876, No. 133.
1670. Major Weir. *See* Nos. 17, 19.
1678. Isobel Elliot and nine other women confessed to the absurd accusation of his majesty's advocate, and were burnt.
1697. The Impostor of Bargarran. Seven people burnt. Arnot is severe on this case.
1709. Elspeth Rule. Habit and repute a witch. Burnt in the cheek and banished.
1722. The last witch was burnt in Sutherlandshire.
1735. The penal statutes against witchcraft were repealed.

The Seceders published a protest in 1743, which was reprinted in 1766 at Glasgow, "full of the most illiberal and absurd doctrines, the most seditious and intolerant spirit."



On pp. 367-368 there are remarks upon the tortures applied to the victims; on p. 360, on the part a clergyman played in a trial; and on pp. 354-356, on the refusal of the Courts to listen to evidence in defence of the accused.

Arnot was evidently appalled by the absurdity of the accusations, the injustice of the procedure, and the mercilessness of the punishment.

In the Appendix No. VI., p. 392, is given a copy of the expenses connected with watching, brodding, and executing Margaret Dunhome of Burncastle, condemned for witchcraft. This has been quoted by Webster, No. 79; Grant, No. 138.

## 1789

61. Satan's Invisible World Discovered: | or, A | Choice Collection | of | Modern Relations, | Proving evidently, against the Atheists of this pre- | sent age, that there are Devils, Spirits, Witches, | and Apparitions, from authentic Records, and | Attestations of Witnesses of undoubted veracity. | To which is added, | That Marvellous History | of | Major Weir and his Sister, the Witches of | Bargarran, Pittenweem, Calder, &c. | By Mr George Sinclair, | Late Professor of Philosophy in the College of Glasgow. |

No man should be vain that he can injure the merit of a | Book, for the meanest rogue may burn a City, or kill a | Hero, whereas he never could build the one, or equal the | other. | Sir G. M'K. |

Edinburgh: | Printed for William Martin, | Bookseller, Head of West-Bow. | M.DCC.LXXXIX.

12mo. a2; A to O in sixes, P in four; of which P4 is blank; or, pp. [4] 174 [2 blank].

It contains the additional relations. For other editions, see 1685, No. 22.

## 1793

62. Macleod History of Witches London 1793.

I have no information about this book. It is mentioned in the Catalogue appended to Morison's reprint of Kirkpatrick Sharpe's Introduction, 1884, No. 148.

## 1791-1799

63. The Statistical Account of Scotland. 1791-99.

8vo. In 21 volumes. This work, edited by Sir John Sinclair, contains several references to witchcraft in different parts of the country, but they are neither complete nor exhaustive.

Vol. v. 240. A woman was burned at Sandyford, in Old Kilpatrick Parish, at the end of the seventeenth century.

Vol. v. 454. Case of Marion Lillie, the *Rigwoody Witch*, in 1698, at Spott, in East Lothian.

Oct. 1705. "Many witches burnt on the top of Spott loan."

Vol. vi. 321. The last woman burned for witchcraft, at Dornoch, came from the parish of Loth, during the incumbency of the Rev. Robert Robertson.

524. A witch bridle in Forfar.

Vol. viii. 177. Witches in Newburgh. Charges brought against Katherine Kay, in 1653, by the minister, were not borne out by the evidence.

Vol. ix. 74. The Bargarran Case, in 1696-7. The author refers to Arnot's account. (See No. 60.)

Vol. xiv. 372. The Witches of Calder. (See Mitchell's *Address*, No. 46).

Vol. xvi. 58. At Heriot there is a stone called Mary Gib's, from a woman who was burnt on it for a witch.

Vol. xviii. 653. Trial of William Coke and Alison Dick for Witchcraft. Extracted from the Minutes of the Kirk-Session of Kirkcaldy, A.D. 1636. They were condemned and burnt.

At the end is an account of the expenses of the Kirk-Session and town respectively, in connection with the trial and execution. *See Webster, 1820, No. 79.*

## 1795

64. History of Glasgow ; and of Paisley, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow ; . . . by Andrew Brown. . . .

Vol. I. Glasgow : . . . M.DCC.XCV. Vol. II. Edinburgh : . . . M.DCC.XCVII.

In the first volume, p. 39, under the year 1597, there is a brief account of a woman, Margaret Aitken, belonging to Fife, who, to save her life after confessing herself a witch, said she could detect all witches by a mark in their eyes. Accordingly she was taken round the country, and finally came to Glasgow, where she accused several innocent women, "who, through the credulity of Mr John Cowper, minister of the city, were condemned and put to death." She was afterwards discovered to be an impostor, and was tried and executed.

The most important trial connected with Glasgow, though the law proceedings and the execution took place in Edinburgh, was that of Margaret Wallace, in 1622. *See Arnot, 1785, No. 60; Sharpe, p. li, No. 77; Pitcairn, No. 96, and Wright, No. 116. Compare Brown, 1881, No. 144.*

## [1803?]

65. The History of Witches, Ghosts, And Highland Seers : Containing many wonderful well-attested Relations of Supernatural Appearances, Not Published before in any similar Collection. Designed for the Conviction of the Unbeliever, and the Amusement of the Curious.

Somnia, terrores Magicos, miracula, sagas,  
Nocturnos Lemures, portentaque, Thessala rides?

Say, can you laugh indignant at the schemes  
Of magick terrours, visionary dreams,  
Portentous wonders, witching imps of Hell,  
The mighty goblin and enchanting spell?

Berwick : Printed for R. Taylor. [1803?]

8vo. a, in six, A to L in twelves, or pp. xi. and 1 blank. Text, 263. Frontispiece: The raising of Samuel by the Witch of Endor. The date in my copy has been carefully cut out.

This volume contains of Scottish examples:—The Witches of Lauder, 1649, from Sinclar; Major Weir, from the Appendix to Sinclar; Demon of Glenluce, from Glanvil's *Saducismus Triumphatus*; King Duff, from Sinclar; Hattaraick, from Sinclar; Witch of Calder, from the Appendix to Sinclar.

Of second sight, dreams, and apparitions, numerous examples are given. The first are copied from Theophilus Insulanus, and two of the apparition stories from the Appendix to Sinclar. A reprint is also given of one of the letters about second sight, which was sent to Aubrey and published by him in 1696. *See No. 27.*

## 1805

66. Remarkable Trial of Jean Maxwell, The Galloway Sorceress; Which took place at Kirkcudbright on the Twenty-eighth day of June last, 1805; For Pretending to Exercise Witchcraft, Sorcery, Inchantment, Conjunction, &c.

And that distill'd by Magic slights  
Shall raise such artificial sprights,  
As by the strength of their illusion  
Shall draw him on to his confusion.

*Macbeth.*

Kirkcudbright: Printed by Alexander Gordon. 1805.

12mo. No signatures. Pp. 24.

It will be noticed that Jean is indicted for "pretending" to exercise witchcraft, &c. In fact, the indictment is made under the Act, 9th George II., cap. 5, which repealed the statutes against witchcraft. She is accused of doing things which, a hundred years earlier, would infallibly have led to her being "wirreit and brint in assis." Jean induced a servant girl to give her money and other things to get good fortune, lay the devil, and so on. She was found guilty of cheating and pretending to bewitch, and was imprisoned for a year, and exposed at intervals on the pillory. It is an interesting case, as having occurred under the repealing Act.

### 1806

67. Sketches descriptive of Picturesque Scenery, on the Southern Confines of Perthshire; including the Trosachs, Lochard, &c. Together with Notices of Natural History. By Patrick Graham, D.D. Minister of Aberfoyle.

Edinburgh: Printed for Peter Hill, (Printer to the Church of Scotland,) and W. Hunter, Parliament Square, by Thomas Turnbull, Canongate. 1806.

12mo. Pp. xii. 127 [1 blank].

Contains a brief notice of the Superstitions of the Highlanders, pp. 103-105; Daoine Shith, or Shi', the men of peace, the fairies, 106-111; The Druids, 112-127.

Second edition, 1812 (No. 72).

### 1808

68. Satan's | Invisible World Discovered; | or a | Choice Collection | of | Modern Relations, | Proving evidently against the Atheists of this present | age, that there are Devil's, Spirits, Witches, & Ap- | paritions, from authentic Records, and Attestations | of Witnesses of undoubted veracity. | To which is now added, | That Marvellous History | of | Major Weir and his Sister, the Witches | of Bargarran, Pittenweem, Calder, &c. | By Mr George Sinclair, | Late Professor of Philosophy in the College of Glasgow, | Edinburgh: | Printed by T. Maccliesh and Co. | 1808.

12mo. Fly Title, Title, Contents, 3 leaves. Text, Sigs. A—O in sixes, P1; or pp. 170.

There is an engraved frontispiece: a bleeding nun, a skeleton with a dagger, a youth dragged by the legs to a caldron, &c., the same as in the 1814 edition, but much better executed. The book is rather more clearly printed too.

There is a copy in the British Museum, 8630. a. 40.

### 1809

69. From Authentic Documents. A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire, who were burned on the Gallowgreen of Paisley. Published by the Editor of the Paisley Repository.

"Magic Terrors, Spells of mighty power,

"Witches, who rove at midnight hour."

Paisley: Printed by J. Neilson, for John Millar, Bookseller. 1809.

12mo. A in two, B to K in sixes, S in two (the signature H is printed for I); or, pp. 200.

Besides several documents bearing upon the case of Christian Shaw, which did not appear in the early editions, this issue contains the following articles not relating to it.

There is a reprint of Sir George Mackenzie's discourse on Witchcraft (*see* No. 16), and Sinclair's account of Maxwell of Pollok (*see* No. 22). Then comes Christian Shaw's Narrative, with



the letters, as in the Edinburgh and Paisley editions. Besides these, this edition contains John Reid's Confession and Death; Rev. Mr Brown's Sermon before the Execution; "Some Passages which fell out before, and at, the execution of the seven persons"; Arnot's Remarks on the case (see No. 60); Notice by Dr Walter Young, minister of Erskine, from the Statistical Account of the Parish of Erskine (see No. 63); Information concerning Christian Shaw's husband; Execution of a witch at Paisley in 1661; Act of George II., 1736, repealing James VI. Witch Acts (see No. 12); Arnot's Remarks on the Act; Acts of the General Assembly, 1639-1649, anent Witchcraft; Mr Blackwell's account of a fast to be kept on account of Christian Shaw. See 1697, No. 31.

## 1810

70. Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song: with Historical and Traditional Notices relative to the Manners and Customs of the Peasantry. Now first published by R[obert] H[artley] Cromeck, F.A.S. Ed., Editor of 'The Reliques of Robert Burns' [vignette].

'———' a faithful portrait, unadorned,  
Of manners lingering yet in Scotia's vales.'

London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, By T. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street. 1810.

8vo. Title-leaf, A in four, a, b, B to Z, AA in fours, BB in two; or pp. [2] viii., xxxii., 370, 2.

Pp. 59-61, "The Pawky Auld Kimmer," a ballad of one reckoned a witch.

Pp. 272-293, Appendix E. History of Witchcraft sketched from the Popular Tales of the Peasantry of Nithsdale and Galloway.

Pp. 293-310, Appendix F. Character of the Scottish Lowland Fairies, from the popular Belief of Nithsdale and Galloway.

## 1812

71. Ravillac Redivivus.

*Ravillac Redivivus* was reprinted in Somers' *Tracts*. See the "Second Edition, revised, augmented, and arranged by Walter Scott, Esq. London 1812," 4<sup>o</sup>. Vol. VIII. pp. 510-553.

The editor has prefixed a short notice of Hickes from Anthony Wood, including an "account of the period and purpose of composing the pamphlet." He then says:—

"Of the following tract it need only be said, that it was written to justify the cruelties exercised upon the unfortunate fanatics of the west of Scotland by the tyrannical administration of the Duke of Lauderdale, and contains many exaggerations, and some actual falsehoods, which the reader will find corrected in the notes.

"The pamphlet first appeared in 1678 [see No. 17], and afterwards, in an enlarged state, in 1682 [see No. 19]. It was reprinted and considerably altered by Curl, in 1710 [see No. 42], under the new title of *The Spirit of Fanaticism exemplified in the Trials of Mr James Mitchel, &c., and Major Thomas Weir.*" Compare No. 131.

72. Sketches of Perthshire. By the Rev. P. Graham, D.D. The Second Edition [Vignette].

Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne and Co. for Peter Hill, and John Ballantyne and Co.; and for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Co., London. 1812.

Small 8vo. Pp. [2] iv. i.-xi. [1 blank] [13-] 14-278. Map of the Loch Katrine district.

First Edition, 1806, No. 67.

Superstitions of the Highlanders, pp. 243-278.

Story of the Reverend Robert Kirk, author of "An Essay . . . of Elves, Fannes, and Fairies" (1691, No. 25), who was carried away by the Fairies and is believed to be in Fairyland, pp. 253-255.

Graham's account has served Sir Walter on several occasions. See Notes to *The Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion* (Canto VI.), *Rob Roy* (chap. 28), *Minstrelsy*, 5th Edition, 1821, II. p. 161, *Letters*, 1830, No. 93. These, again, have furnished material for "Remarks on Brownies and Fairies," by James Browne; *History of the Highlands*, Glasgow, 1838, I. p. 106.

## 1814

73. Satan's | Invisible World | Discovered; | or a Choice | Collection of Modern Relations, | Proving evidently, | Against the Atheists of this Present Age, | That there are | Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions, | From authentic Records, and Attestations of Witnesses | of undoubted veracity. | To which is now added, | That Marvellous History | of | Major Weir and his Sister, | the Witches of | Bargarran, Pittenweem, Calder, &c. | By Mr. George Sinclair, | Late Professor of Philosophy in the College of Glasgow. | London: | Printed for the Booksellers. | 1814.

12mo. a2; B to Q in sixes, R in four, but E is omitted; or, pp. [4] 175 [1 blank]. The frontispiece of the bleeding nun and the caldron is repeated from the 1808 edition. For other editions see 1685, No. 22.

## 1815

74. A Belief in Witchcraft unsupported by Scripture. An Essay by James Paterson, A.M., Minister of the Associated Congregation, Midmar. . . . Aberdeen, . . . 1815.

12mo. 2 leaves, A to L in sixes, M in four, or, pp. [4] vi. 134.

The essay is an exposition of various references to witches in the Bible, and a demonstration that these were not witches in the modern sense. It is, therefore, a following up of Hutchinson in his 13th chapter, and is in direct opposition to the dissertations in Glanvil's *Saducismus Triumphatus*. Of course the same subject had been discussed by Bekker at great length, and by other writers, both for and against witchcraft.

75. An Essay of The Nature and Actions of the Subterranean (and, for the most part,) Invisible People, heretofore going under the Name of Elves, Faunes, and Fairies, or the lyke, among the Low-Country Scots, as they are described by those who have the Second Sight; and now, to occasion further Inquiry, collected and compared, by a Circumspect Inquirer residing among the Scottish-Irish in Scotland; with an Appendix, consisting of Extracts from a Treatise on Second Sight, by Theophilus Insulanus.

Edinburgh: Reprinted by James Ballantyne & Co. for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, Paternoster-Row, London. 1815.

4to. 3 leaves, A to L in fours, M 5 leaves, or pp. vi. 97. 100 copies were printed.

The author was Rev. Robert Kirk, who is believed to be still in Elfland. See Graham's *Sketches*, 1812, No. 72.

The editor says he never saw a copy of the 1691 edition. See under 1691, No. 25; and for Mr Lang's reprint, No. 158.

## 1816

76. Newes from Scotland | Declaring the Damnable Life | of | Doctor Fian, | a Notable Sorcerer, who was Burned at Edenbrough | in Ianuarie last. | 1591. | London: | From the Shakspeare Press, by | W. Bulmer and Co. | 1816.

4to. 4 leaves; A to C in fours; 1 leaf.

1st leaf, the fly-title; 2nd leaf, the title; 3rd leaf, the dedication:—

To the Members | of | The Roxburghe Club | This Reprint | of | A Curious Tract  
| on | A Once Popular Subject | is Dedicated and Presented | By their Obedient  
Servant, | H. Freeling. | June 17, 1816.

4th leaf: a list of the 31 members of the Roxburghe Club. A1 to C4 verso, the tract, after which is a leaf with the colophon:—

London: | From the Shakspeare Press, by | William Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-  
Row, | St. James's. | 1816.

In comparing this reprint with the two original copies, I have noted the following slips or variations. In the reprint: Sig. A2 recto, l. 26, *staunger* for *straunger*; Sig. A3 recto, line 9, *vigilant* for *vigillant*; Sig. A4 verso, line 2, *Kinges* for *Kings*; line 7, *used* and *upon* for *used* and *upon*; line 30, *used* for *used*; Sig. B3 verso, line 10, *in respect to his . . .* for *in respect of his . . .*; Sig. B4 recto, line 6, *thrust up* for *thrust vp*; Sig. C3 recto, line 22, *resedent* for *residente*.

Of this reprint thirty-seven copies were made, of which one was on vellum, and they have become about as rare as those of the original edition. One of them is at Abbotsford. My copy belonged to the Rev. Henry Drury, member of the Club.

## 1818

77. Memorials; or, the Memorable Things that fell out within this Island of Britain from 1638 to 1684. By the Rev. Mr Robert Law. Edited from the MS. by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.

All is bot gaistis, and elrische fantasyis,  
Of brownyis and of bogillis full this buke.

Mayster Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkel.

Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co. 1818.

4to. Pp. cxiv. 277. The frontispiece consists of the illustrations to the *Newes from Scotland*.

The Prefatory Notice is in reality a history of witchcraft in Scotland. Sharpe begins with the earliest stories about King Duffus, Macbeth, Lord Foulis, James I. of Scotland, Lady Janet Douglas, James v.

1588. Alison Pearson and the Queen of the Fairies. P. xxviii. (See 1829, No. 91.)  
1590. Lady Foulis and Hector Munro. Bessie Roy. P. xxix.  
1591. *Newes from Scotland*, which is copied in full, with notes about Euphame Maccalzeane, Barbara Napier, Agnes Sampson. Pp. xxx.-xliii. See No. 1.  
1596. Alison Balfour, Orkney. P. xlv.  
1597. King James, *Dæmonologie*. P. xlvi.  
1603. James Reid burnt. Patrick Lawrie. P. l.  
1607. Isobel Grierson burnt. Barbara Paterson. Pp. l.-li.  
1622. Margaret Wallace and Christian Grahame. P. li. (note).  
1629. Isobel Young. P. li. Alexander Drummond of Auchterarder. P. liv.  
Catharine Oswald in Niddrie. Alexander Hunter or Hattaraick. Pp. liv.-lvi.  
1632. Alie Nisbet, in Hilton executed. P. lvi.  
1634. Elizabeth Bathgate acquitted. P. lvii.  
1643. John Brugh, Fossoquhy, wirreit and brunt. Numerous Executions in Fife.  
Janet Barker and Margaret Lauder. Agnes Fynnies at the Potter-Row Port burnt. Pp. lix.-lxiii.  
1661. Margaret Bryson. P. lxviii. Janet Cock. P. lxix. Margaret Hutchison. P. xxiv. (note).  
1662. Marie Lamont at Innerkip. P. lxx.  
1667. Maxwell of Pollok. P. lxxiv.  
1683. A young girl in Monzie bewitched. P. lxxxii. Kate Niven. P. lxxxiii.  
1697. Bargarran Case. P. xciii. (note).  
1698. Marion Lillie, the *Rigwoody witch*. P. xciv. (note †).



1704. Pittenweem Witches. P. xciii.  
 1705. The Spott Witches. P. xciv.  
 1718. Kinross Spirits. P. xciv.  
 1718. Caithness Witches. Montgomery and the Cats. Nin Gilbert and Margaret Olson. Pp. xcvi.-civ.  
 1720. Torphichen case and Mitchell's Discourse. Pp. civ.-cvi. See No. 172.  
 1722. Last Execution. P. cvi.  
 1735. Repeal of the Statutes and protest of the Seceders. Lauderdale's Letter to Baxter. P. cvii.  
 P. 22. Ap. 12, 1670. Major Weir, and *note*.  
     Oct. 1670. The Devil of Keppoch threw stones, peats, &c. *Note* on the Devil of Glenluce.  
 P. 110. Dec. 1676. Maxwell of Pollok.  
 P. 120. Jan. 1677. Maxwell of Pollok.  
 P. 123. Bessie Weir. *Note* on p. 130.  
 P. 133. Witches at Dumbarton delated by Jonet Douglas.  
 Pp. 145-6. 1678. The Warlock Minister, Gideon Penman of Crighton (*see* Wodrow, Bk. 1. Ch. iv. Sect. 1., 1663).  
     See also what Kirkton says about Penman, *History of the Church of Scotland*, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Edinburgh, 1817, 4to, pp. 190-191.  
 P. 219. Conjurations to recover stolen articles in Montgomerie's house at Irvine.  
 P. 242. Hab Dob and Davie Din's encounter with the Devil.  
 Pp. 267-77. Reprint of Telfair's Tract. See No. 28.

78. Dämonomagie, oder Geschichte des Glaubens an Zauberei . . . von Geörg Conrad Horst, . . . Frankfurt am Main . . . 1818.  
 2 vols. 8vo.

Vol. 2, p. 455, contains a short notice of King James's *Dæmonologie*, which Horst calls a remarkable book, a sort of English Witchhammer, and an exposition of the arts of evil spirits, of the secret compacts of witches with the devil, and of the judicial procedure in their punishment. When James went to England, every one who wished to stand well with him flattered his witchcraft proclivities, so that the royal system of witchcraft and demonology was accepted by all who wished advancement, or not to lose their offices. The Act of Parliament is given in detail. See No. 82.

### 1820

79. A Collection of Rare and Curious Tracts on Witchcraft And The Second Sight; With an Original Essay on Witchcraft. Edinburgh: Printed For D. Webster, 35 West College Street. 1820.

Large 12mo. Pp. iv.; 5-183.

This is one of the best of the reprints of rare witchcraft tracts. The introductory essay on witchcraft is by the editor, p. 5. Next comes a reprint of *News from Scotland* about Geillis Duncan and Fian, p. 13; and another account from Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*, 8vo, p. 388; p. 36.

Extracts from the *Dæmonologie*, p. 42.

The Pittenweem Murder.

An Answer of a Letter from a Gentleman in Fife to a Nobleman containing a Brief account of the Barbarous and Illegal Treatment these poor Women Accused of Witchcraft met with from the Baillies of Pittenweem and others. A just reproof of the False reports and unjust Calumnies in the Foregoing Letters.

(This is different from the account given in No. 37.)

A copy of the Indictment of the Witches of Borrowstouness, p. 95. These were Annapple Thomson, and Margaret Pringle, who were wirried and burnt.

- Isobel Elliot and nine other women, 1678, burnt. P. 104.  
 The Confessions of Helen Taylor, in Eyemouth, and Menie Halyburton, in Dirlton. Accused of Witchcraft, 1649, with the Declaration of John Kincaid, Pricker. Copied from the Originals, p. 105. See Pitcairn (No. 96), III. 599.  
 Trial of William Coke and Alison Dick for Witchcraft. Extracted from the Minutes of the Kirk Session of Kirkcaldy, A.D. 1636. Expenses for trying and burning them, p. 113.  
 (This is given in the *Statistical Account* (No. 63), xviii. 653.)  
 Expenses for burning Margaret Dunhome at Burncastle, p. 125.  
 Minutes and Proceedings of the Session of Torryburn, in Fifeshire, concerning Witchcraft, with the Confession of Lillias Adie. Taken from the Session Records, p. 127 [1704].  
 It was in this case that the Rev. Mr Logan was involved. See No. 143.  
 Symson's ΔΕΤΤΕΡΟΣΚΟΠΙΑ, p. 147. This is a reprint of the edition of 1707.

80. The Luckless Drave, And Other Poems. By the Author of "Verses in Memory of Dunbar Collegiate Church." [Vignette.]  
 Edinburgh: William Laing, South Bridge; And Macredie and Co. Princes-Street. 1820.

8vo. Four leaves without signature; B to D in eights, E4, F4; or pp. 72. Printed by J. Miller, Printer, Haddington. The vignette is a picture of a witch on a broomstick, flying over a stormy sea, on which boats are swamping. The author was George Millar of Dunbar, bookseller. See Halket, *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, Edinb. 1883, ii. 1524.

In the Luckless Drave the mischief is done by the Witch of Keith, Fian, and Isobel Young. It refers to a wrecking at Dunbar in 1577; 170 boats were destroyed by a violent storm. There are notes on Agnes Sampson, including her Confession; Glanvil's account of Fian; Spottswood's and Melvil's account of the Lothian Witches; a note about Carmichael, the Minister of Haddington, the reputed author of *Newes from Scotland*; a woodcut of North Baricke Kirk in MDXC; a note on Isobel Young, who spoiled George Sandie's fishing. This is taken from Sharpe and Arnot. At the end is another note upon Elizabeth Moodie, Haddington, burned in 1677, from the Council Records of Haddington, and from Fountainhall's MS. in *Law's Memorials*. Compare Sinclair, and Chambers, 1858, Vol. II., No. 121.

81. Miscellanea Scotica. A Collection of Tracts relating to the History, Antiquities, Topography, and Literature of Scotland. Glasgow 1818-1820.

Four vols. 12mo.

In the third volume there is a reprint with a separate title:—

Treatises on the Second Sight. By Theophilus Insulanus, Rev. Mr Frazer, Mr Martin, and John Aubrey, Esq. F.R.S. . . .

Glasgow: Printed for J. Wylie & Co. By Robert Chapman. 1819.

Pp. 8, containing fly title, title, and preface; xxviii. containing a reprint of the Title of the Treatise on Second Sight (see 1763, No. 52), Theophilus's dedication, the preface, and the contents; pp. 227, containing the text:—Theophilus, pp. 1-173; Martin, 175-206 (see No. 36); Aubrey, 207-227 (see No. 27).

After all, Frazer's tract was not reprinted in the collection.

#### 1821-26

82. Zauber-Bibliothek . . . von Georg Conrad Horst . . . Mainz 1821-26.

Six vols. 8vo.

Vol. III. p. 73. King James was a diligent student of theurgical Magic and the Cabala

Vol. IV. p. 106. Further illustrations of this subject.

Vol. VI. p. 108. Influence of the *Demonologie*. It fostered the witch mania, and increased the trials in England and in Scotland.

See No. 78.

## 1822

83. Lowran Castle, | or the Wild Boar of Curridoo: | with other Tales, | illustrative of the | Superstitions, Manners, and Customs | of | Galloway. | By Robert Trotter, | Student of Medicine. |

“They were all knights of metal true,  
Kinsmen to the bold Buccleuch.”

*Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

Dumfries: | Printed by J. Swan, | 77, English Street. | 1822.

12mo. [A] to P in sixes; or, pp. [12] 168.

This volume contains (pp. 61-71) a legend entitled “The Witch of Hannayston,” and a note (pp. 143-146) on one or two witch stories, some about the collecting of butter from other people’s milk, and how an old woman, called “Babby,” was outwitted; and another about a witch who upset a ferry boat by incantations, and drowned a servant against whom she had taken an ill-will.

The Witch of Hannayston transformed herself into a child and into a white hare.

I am indebted for the use of this book to William Macmath, Esq., Edinburgh.

84. A Description of the Shetland Islands, Comprising an account of their Geology, Scenery, Antiquities, and Superstitions. By Samuel Hibbert, M.D., F.R.S.E., &c. With a Geological Map, Plates, &c.

“Dispecta est et Thule.”—TACITUS.

Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh; and Hurst, Robinson and Co. London. 1822.

4to.

The author gives (pp. 572-584) an account of Shetland witchcraft, evil eye and tongue, taking away the profit of milk or ale, changing into other shapes to do mischief, incantations, knots, casting fits or diseases upon persons or animals, forespoken water against mischiefs, use of the Bible for charms, and so on.

The most important thing, however, is the report of the trial of Marion Peebles, or Pardone, spouse of Swene of Hildiswick, in 1644, pp. 593-602. She was “wryt at ane stak and brunt in ashes” on the Hill of Berrie.

There was a reprint of the trial in a 4to pamphlet of 10 pages, sewed in a blue paper cover.

The case is briefly referred to by Mrs Lynn Linton (No. 123), and it is quoted anew by John R. Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetland; their Past and Present State*, London 1883, 8vo, p. 168, No. 147.

## 1823

85. The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland.

“Of Brownys and of Bogilis full is this Beuk.”

GAWIN DOUGLAS.

Edinburgh: Printed for Archibald Constable and Company; and Hurst, Robinson, and Co. London. 1823.

12mo. Fly title and title, 2 leaves; Dedication, Preface, and Contents, pp. iii.-xviii. Text, pp. 293. Frontispiece by Lizars. The dedication to Lady Anne Margaret Grant of Grant is signed by W[illiam] Grant Stewart.



One section is devoted to Witchcraft, and it contains some Highland tales of transformation and bewitching, but one cannot depend on their accuracy. The author obviously had no intention of giving an account of the belief as it appears in the Highlands, and it is not, in any form, a contribution to our knowledge of it. The book is intended only for amusement.

86. Witchcraft | Detected & Prevented ; | Or, the | School of Black Art | Newly Opened. | The greater part of this highly curious little volume | is selected from the ancient and scarce works | of the principal writers on these subjects, | particularly from Scott's Discovery | of Witchcraft, the Book which | supplied Shakespeare | with his Witch and | Wizard Lore. | It will also contain a variety of the most approved | Charms in Magic ; Receipts in Medicine, | Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry, &c. | By a Member of the School of Black Art, Italy. |

The vipers' iawe, the rockie stone,  
With words and charmes I break in twaine,  
I make the soules of men arise,  
I pull the moon out of the skies.

With descriptive Plates, Printed from Stone. |

Peterhead : P. Buchan, Printer and Publisher. | 1823.

Small 8vo. 2 leaves : A to O in fours ; or, pp. 4 [1-9], 10-112. 6 illustrations, 4 on stone and 2 on wood, deplorable things, especially those on stone.

This is not about witchcraft at all, but is a collection of so-called magical receipts and secrets from Albertus Magnus, and others. But for its name it would not be included in the present list.

### 1825

87. Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions ; or, An Attempt to trace such Illusions to their Physical Causes. By Samuel Hibbert, M.D., F.R.S.E., Secretary to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, &c. &c. &c.

"I' the name of truth,  
Are ye fantastical, or that indeed  
Which outwardly ye show?"—*Macbeth*.

The Second Edition, enlarged.

Edinburgh : Published by Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale-Court ; and Geo. B. Whittaker, London. 1825.

8vo. Pp. xii. 475 [1 blank].

Although Hibbert's book is not a treatise on witchcraft, yet in the course of it reference is made to second-sight, demonology, and like beliefs, and various stories are quoted in illustration of his views. It may be inserted, therefore, on the same grounds as those on which Dalzell's and Lang's books have been included. It is well that every aspect of the subject should be considered.

### 1826

88. Witchcraft | Detected and Prevented ; | or, the | School of Black Art | Newly Opened. | The greater part of this highly curious little volume | is selected from the ancient and scarce works of | the principal writers on these subjects, particularly | from Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, the Book | which supplied Shakespeare with his Witch | and Wizard Lore. | It also contains a variety of the most approved | Charms in Magic ; Receipts in Medecine, Natural | Philosophy and Chemistry, &c. | By a Member of the School of Black Art, Italy.

The vipers' iawe, the rokie stone,  
 With words and charmes I breake in twaine  
 I make the soules of men arise,  
 I pull the moon out of the skies.

Third Edition. | Peterhead: | Sold by P. Buchan, Printer and Publisher; | and  
 W. Sutherland, 28, City Terrace, London. | 1826. | Price Three Shillings.

Small 8vo. 2 leaves: A to O in fours; or pp. [4, including a frontispiece, 1-9] 10-112.

This is the 1823 book, with a new title-page, the pictures left out, and, as a frontispiece, a very worn print of "Driving away spirits that haunt a house."

There is a copy in the British Museum (1078, k. 3 [1]).

## 1828

89. Reliquiæ Scoticæ, | Scottish Remains, | In Prose and Verse. | From | Original MSS.  
 And Scarce Tracts. |  
 Edinburgh: MDCCCXXVIII.

8vo. No continuous pagination; each tract being paged separately. Altogether the pages amount to 80. It is very poorly printed. According to the preface only fourteen copies of the collection were thrown off. If that be so, it accounts for the rarity of the volume. This book must not be confused with *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Scoticæ*, No. 115.

The eighth tract, reprinted "from the original, amongst the Fountainhall Broad-sides," contains a "Representation by the Sheriff-Depute of *Ross*, Commissioners of Justiciary and Supply, and of the Justices of Peace, within the District of Ardmach, To the Committee of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, To whom the consideration of the Petition anent the Witches of Kilernan was remitted." It occupies barely three pages.

John Glass, being punished by the minister, Mr John Mackenzie, and the Session of Kilernan, employed Donald Moir, a known warlock, to put the minister out of the way. Moir and others made an effigy, and the devil helped them in the operation. The minister apparently died, Moir was found strangled in the prison, and Glass was supposed to have done it to prevent him giving evidence. Whereupon the Privy Council was asked to appoint a Commission to enquire into the affair. The result is not given; and whether Glass was or was not executed, or at least punished, for his share in the matter, I am unable to say. The Kilernan case is not referred to anywhere else, so far as I have observed. See Hew Scott, *Fasts*, 1870, III. 1. 281.

90. Geschiedenis der Heksenprocessen, . . . Door Mr Jacobus Scheltema. . . .  
 Te Haarlem, Bij Vincent Loosjes. MDCCCXXVIII.

8vo. Pp. [2], Engraved Title [2], xvi., 312, 101, [5].

In a short work like this, which surveys the subject generally, it is not possible to enter into minute details, and therefore witchcraft in Scotland is referred to very briefly. The law passed under Queen Mary (p. 108), and that under James in 1603 (p. 201), are mentioned, and the latter is quoted, with the remark that "nowhere are the crime and the punishment more exactly defined." In dealing, however, with the treatises for and against witchcraft which appeared immediately subsequent to that of Wierus, Scheltema devotes considerable space to King James's *Dæmonology*, apologising for doing so on the ground of the influence it exercised through its authorship. "Had the book come from the pen of an ordinary writer," he says, "it would have been entirely forgotten long ago by its intrinsic folly and worthlessness. We too should have passed it by in silence, but the strangeness of the fate and the pitiful consequences which this writing has had, demand a somewhat fuller description" (p. 181); and then he quotes some of the more important dicta of its author. The book, he adds, had also most lamentable and incalculably disastrous consequences in itself, especially as in judging it the rank of its author was taken into consideration. It was

received by the reformed clergy in general with unmeasured laudation. The king was compared in wisdom to Solomon. Two Dutch preachers, Vincentius Muizenvoet, at Schagen, and Isaac Genius, at Asch, near Buren, translated it into Latin and Dutch, and it is also mentioned with praise by Voetius on account of the rank and authority of the writer. Hutchinson (No. 44), the courageous opponent of the superstition in England, assures us that the contemptible pamphlet became a sort of witch-hammer for England and Scotland, and maintained its influence for a long time.<sup>1</sup> "If the king," concludes Scheltema, "had but confined himself to writing. Alas! he did more!" (pp. 184-185). On p. 201 he refers to the king's personal examination of witches in Scotland. In a note to this passage (27, p. 40) Scheltema says: "As to the crowned devilmonger (gekroonden Duivelist), as King James I. was called at the time of the conflict waged by Bekker, it need only be said that his book against Wier and Scot will be found in his *Opera* (Lond. 1619, fo.), p. 95. It is written in a Scottish dialect; to palliate to some extent its silly contents the excuse was subsequently put forward that the king wrote it when he was quite a young man; in later life, however, he trifled quite as much over theological puerilities or hair-splitting."

It is worth while hearing the opinion of a foreigner on King James and his *Dæmonologie*.

## 1829

91. The Diary of James Melvill, 1556-1601.  
Edinburgh: Printed for the Bannatyne Club. MDCCCXXIX.

4to.

P. 187. Reference to the home-coming of King James I. with his queen, and how he arrived safely in spite of the witches. Fian's attempts were apparently notorious.

P. 46 (1577). The author saw a witch burnt at St Andrews. She was set up on a pillar, and "delt with by Mr Knox" from a pulpit.

P. 97 (1582). Bishop Adamson, "seik of a disease of great fetiditie," consulted the woman who was instructed in medicine by "Wilyeam Simson." She was accused of witchcraft, but Adamson contrived to let her escape. A few years later, however, she was apprehended and executed at Edinburgh. Her name was Alison Pearson, and her case is mentioned by Arnot (No. 60), Sharpe (No. 77), Pitcairn (No. 96), Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 5th Edition, 1821, II. p. 149, Wright (No. 116), Chambers (No. 121), and others.

There was apparently a good deal of witch-burning at St Andrews, for both the Witch hill and the Witch Lake are names still known. James Grierson (*Delineation of St Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1807, p. 179) refers to the Witch hill on which they were burnt, and states that a woman named Young was burned there about the beginning of last century. Her house, at the west end of Market Street, was standing in his time. The hill is mentioned by Rev. Andrew Bell (*Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell*, by Robert Southey, . . . London, 1844, I. p. 52). See No. 110.

## 1830

92. The Foreign Quarterly Review.—Vol. VI. Published in June and October,  
M.DCCC.XXX.  
London . . . 1830.

The first article on *Dæmonology and Witchcraft* contains a review of Horst's *Zauber-bibliothek* (No. 82). It was afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form in 1852. See No. 119.

93. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, Addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq., by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.

London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. MDCCCXXX.

Small 8vo. Pp. [4]; ix. and 1 blank; Text, 402. It forms No. XVI. of The Family Library. Frontispiece of the Bow, Edinburgh, showing the house of Major Weir. It is stated to be "Drawn

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson does not say so in so many words, but he assigns an enormous influence to the king's opinions, and the result is the same.



by J. Skene, Esq. of Rubislaw," "Engraved by W. H. Lizars," and "Published by John Murray, London, 1830." Compare No. 19.

In Letter v. there is a consideration of the stories told about fairies and elves, as by Bessie Dunlop, Alison Pearson, Lady Fowlis, John Stewart and Margaret Dein, Isobel Gowdie, Robert Kirk, Dr Grahame, and others. Letter ix. is devoted to witchcraft in Scotland, and although the instances quoted are not treated of in minute detail, all the salient features are depicted, and a good general notion of the events can be formed.

The examples referred to are the following:—The Earl of Mar, Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis, Isobel Gowdie's confessions; Sir G. MacKenzie's opinions, Pricking, and other proofs of witchcraft; Hatteraick's case; Acts against witches; Bessie Graham, John Fian, and Agnes Samson; interest of King James in the witch trials; Trial of Margaret Barclay, or Dein, at Irvine. This is given very fully, Sir Walter having got a copy of the Record of the trial. It was printed at Ardrossan, about 1855 (*see* No. 120), but until then, Sir Walter's account was the fullest, I believe. The cases of Major Weir, Maxwell of Pollok, Christian Shaw, the Pittenweem witches, Margaret Nin-Gilbert, the Caithness witches, and, the last of all, the witch of Loth, burned in 1722, are described shortly.

The other letters are devoted to the superstitions and witch trials of other countries.

For other editions *see* 1831, No. 95; 1839, No. 105; 1845, No. 114; 1868, No. 128; [1876] No. 134; 1884 and 1885, No. 151.

A copy of the *Letters* having been sent to Mrs Grant of Laggan she made some remarks upon it in an epistle to Mrs Smith. The details struck her as "very revolting," and she was of opinion that the witchfinder must have been the "most detestable" of "atrocious wretches." She knew the grand-daughter of a woman, reputed as a witch, who was burnt at Inverness with the usual forms. She had made an image of the provost, Macintosh by name, and stuck it full of pins. Evidently, however, she was not familiar with the ordinary belief in witchcraft from her own experience in the Highlands. She confesses, however, to having a certain weakness for believing in the phenomena of second sight, and notes, with some amusement, that Sir Walter carefully avoids the subject. *See Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs Grant of Laggan*, London, 1844, III. pp. 186-7.

For other notices of witchcraft, *see Tales of a Grandfather*, chapter XLVII.

94. The Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton. 1649-1671.  
Printed at Edinburgh, MDCCCXXX.

4to. For the Maitland Club.

P. 6 (1649).—Witches in Fife. In 1643 witchcraft very prevalent, no less than 30 persons having been executed in a few months in the county. [Compare Lyon's *History of St Andrews*, No. 110, and Sharpe, No. 77].

P. 12 (1649).—Mistres Hendersone, delated as a witch, imprisoned in Edinburgh "for a tyme, being in health att night, upon the morne was founde dead." Curiously enough attributed to suicide, and not to the devil.

P. 47 (1652).—Trials mentioned as held at Stirling.

P. 142 (1661).—Two women, hanged for incendiarism, were also accused of witchcraft by their neighbours.

P. 143 (1661).—Divers persons, men and women, "apprehended for witchcraft in Lowthian and Edb., and sundrys of them burnt; also some were taken in Newbrough in Fiffe, and burnt like-wyse."

### 1831

95. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft Addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Second Edition.

London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. MDCCCXXXI.

12mo. Pp. [4] ix. [1 blank] 396. Frontispiece of Major Weir's house, curiously enough bearing

the imprint: "London, Wm. Tegg & Co. Cheapside." Twelve etchings by George Cruikshank are inserted. In this copy they are plain, but some sets are coloured. They are unsatisfactory as illustrations of the text, and are examples of the artist's most mannered and exaggerated style.

This is really a new edition. At the end, pp. 391-396, it contains a note on the different words for divination used by the Jews.

## 1833

96. Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland; Compiled from the Original Records and MSS., with Historical Illustrations, &c. By Robert Pitcairn, Esq. Vol. I. [Vol. II., Vol. III.] Edinburgh: Printed for the Bannatyne Club. M.DCCC.XXXIII.

4to.

The period embraced in the three volumes is from 1488 to 1624, and it includes some of the most notable witch trials extant. As the matter is arranged chronologically, the only way to find the witch trials is to refer to the Index, which is excellent, and which may be given here for convenience.

Besides the reports of the trials from the Records—for printing which, in their original form and language, the editor has been taken to task, curiously enough, by Maidment (*Spottiswoode Miscellany*, 1845, II. p. 41)—there is a reprint of the tract about Fian, *Newes from Scotland*. (See No. 1.)

Pitcairn's collections form the quarry out of which the compilers of witchcraft histories for popular instruction get their material. Among those who have copied and adapted the narratives are Dalryell (?), Mackay, Wright, Burton, Chambers, Mrs Linton, Grant, Soldan, Inderwick (?), Adams. There is no harm in that, and one is afforded material for a study in "Comparative Story-telling;" but it gets a little monotonous, for these writers have added, and can add, nothing to the narratives as they are recorded.

Witchcraft to be enquired into at Justice-Aires. I. \*66.

1563. Agnes Mullikine, *alias* Bessie Boswell, banished. The earliest case in the Records of the High Court. I. \*432.
1572. Jonet Boyman, burnt. I. 38.
1576. Bessie Dunlop and Thom Reid, burnt. I. 49.
- 1576-77. Using and seeking Enchantments, &c. I. 70.
1577. Violet Mar, convicted. I. 76.
1582. William Gilmour. I. 101.
1588. Alesoun Peirsoun, went to Elfland, burnt. I. 161.
1588. John Myllar. I. 167.
1589. Lady Fowlis. I. 185, &c.
1590. Hector Munro of Fowles. I. 201.
- 1589-90. Meg Dow, burnt. I. 186.
1590. Jonet Grant and Jonet Clark, burnt. I. 206.
1590. Bessie Roy, acquitted. I. 207.
1590. Wm. Leslie of Crechie, and his wife. I. 209.
- John Feane, *alias* Cunningham, burnt. I. 209.
- Reprint of *Newes from Scotland*. I. 213-223.
- 1590-1. Agnes Sampsonne. I. 230.
1591. Barbara Napier. I. 242.
1591. Ewfame MacAlzane, "burnt quick." I. 247.
1591. Francis, E. of Bothwell. I. 259.
1591. Nin. Chirnside, his servant. I. 259.
1591. Commission for examining Witches. I. 261. See No. 164.
1593. Kath. Muirhead, burnt. I. 359.
1596. John Stewart, Master of Orkney. I. 373.

1596. Alison Balfour, husband, son, and daughter, tortured. I. 375.  
 1596. Alison Jollie, acquitted. I. 397.  
 1596. Christian Stewart, burnt. I. 399.  
 1597. Capt. Patrik Hering, Linlithgow. II. 23.  
 1597. Jonet Stewart, Christian Lewingstoun, Bessie Aiken, and Christian Saidler, "wirreit" and "brunt in assis." II. 25.  
 1598. Bessie Aikin, banished for life. II. 52.  
 1605. Patrik Lowrie, wirreit and brunt. II. 477.  
 1607. Issobel Greirsoune, wirreit and brunt. II. 523.  
 1607. Bartie Paterson, the same. II. 535.  
 1607. Issobell Haldane's Depositions. II. 537. See No. 164.  
 1608. Beigis Tod, wirreit and brunt. II. 542.  
 1609. James Mure, administered an enchanted drink. III. 68.  
 1610. Grissell Gairdner, wirreit and brunt. III. 95.  
 1611. Marioun Peebles, *alias* Pardoun, burnt, 194; corpse bleeding by her, and by Christian Wilson, *alias* the *Lanthorne*. III. 194-195.  
 1613. Robert Erskine, beheaded. III. 260.  
 1614. His sisters beheaded. III. 267.  
     A third sister banished. III. 269.  
 1622. Margaret Wallace, a remarkable case, wirreit and brunt. III. 508.  
 1622. Christian Grahame, a Glasgow witch. III. 509.  
 1623. Tho. Greave, burnt. III. 555.  
     Examinations of accused persons. III. 596.  
     Barbarous execution of witches at Broughton. III. 598.  
     Kincaid's pricking and finding the Devil's mark. III. 599.  
 1649. Confession of Manie Haliburtoun. III. 599.  
     Geillis Johnstone. III. 600.  
 1661. Jonet Watson, and notices of Christiane Wilson and Jonet Paistoun. III. 601.  
 1662. Confessions of Issobel Gowdie. III. 602.  
 1662. Confession of Janet Braidheid. III. 616.
- Kirkpatrick Sharpe drew upon the Records for a number of the above, abstracts of which he has used for his historical essay. Pitcairn, however, gives them in full in their original form.

## 1834

97. *Analecta Scotica: Collections Illustrative of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of Scotland. Chiefly from Original MSS.* Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 87, Princes Street. MDCCCXXXIV.  
 8vo. Pp. xii. [2] 410.  
 In a letter to Sir Robert Sibbald, March (?) 1683, Mathew Mackaile describes a disease in Caithness which attacked the beasts, and was called the Heastie, because it put them in a rage and killed them suddenly. It was attributed to witchcraft. P. 112.  
 In the Second Series, Edinburgh, 1837, p. 23, there is the following significant item in a letter from Robert Maxwell to Rev. R. Wodrow, dated Edinburgh, February 10, 1705:—"Att Pittenweem, about two weeks ago, ther was a mob rose on a poor creature that was deemed for a witch, and killed her outright."  
 That is all, but it is enough. It is the dreadful murder of Janet Cornfoot. See Nos. 37, 39, 40; Webster's *Tracts*, No. 79; and the Appendix to Sinclair's book, Stevenson's reprint, 1871, No. 129.
98. *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Illustrated from History and Practice.* By John Graham Dalyell, F.A.S.E.



Edinburgh :—Waugh and Innes, Booksellers to his Majesty ; W. Curry, Jun. & Co. Dublin ; & Whittaker & Co. London. MDCCCXXXIV.

8vo. Title, Contents, Errata, 3 leaves ; Preface [v.]—vii. [1 blank] ; Text, 700. Printed by Andrew Jack & Co.

The book was issued the following year with a new title-page and the imprint of Glasgow. There is no difference in the two issues.

## 1835

99. The Darker Superstitions of Scotland. By John Graham Dalyell, Esq. F.A.S.E. Glasgow : Printed for Richard Griffin & Co. ; Thomas Tegg and Son, London ; Tegg, Wise, and Tegg, Dublin ; Carfrae and Son, Edinburgh. MDCCCXXXV.

8vo. Pp. vii. Contents 1 leaf. Errata, &c. 1 leaf. Text, pp. 700. Portrait of the author as frontispiece.

This is a new title-page prefixed to the book published at Edinburgh the previous year.

Though entitled *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* it is really a history of superstition in general, and a great deal of the darkness was not special to Scotland, but was spread over the whole world. There are numerous illustrations from Scottish cases all through the book, but the analogues from other countries show that the superstitions were nearly the same everywhere. In fact, this is a book about folk-lore to a considerable extent, and for any one desirous of comparing the form which superstitious beliefs and occult customs, divination, sorcery, spectral illusions, and so on took in Scotland with that in other countries, it is a useful summary. None of the witchcraft cases, however, are given in detail ; but such parts of them as elucidate the different beliefs are brought together, and these are contrasted with similar notions elsewhere. Many of the most notable witchcraft cases are referred to repeatedly, such as that of Fian, Agnes Sampson, and Euphame Macalyane, of Pollok, Bargarran, and others. There are sections upon second-sight, fairies, the devil and his compacts with witches, their conventions and practices, torture and execution. The views of King James are occasionally quoted. It is rather a heavy book.

100. Memorabilia of the City of Glasgow Selected from the Minute Books of the Burgh.

MDLXXXVIII.—MDCCL.

Glasgow : Printed for Private Circulation.

Small 4to. Pp. iv. 610.

4th Sept. 1697. The treasurer is ordained to pay Alex. Cunninghame, servitor to Wm. Carmichael, keeper of the Tolbuith, £82, 14s. 4d. Scots, “depursed be him for the maintenance of the witches, who are prisoners here, in the Tolbuith, be order of the Commissioners, from the 22d of May last to this day” (p. 394). And again, p. 398, March 12, £66, 8s. Scots to “the same for maintaining witches and warlocks in the Tolbuith preceding the 7th March 1698, who were imprisoned be order of the Commissioners of Justiciarie at Paisley.”

There is no notice of any witch proceedings in the town itself. Sharpe (No. 77), Pitcairn (No. 96), and after him Wright (No. 116), mention a trial and execution which concerned two Glasgow women, Margaret Wallace and Christian Graham.

## 1837

101. Miscellany | Of the | Abbotsford Club. | Volume First, | Printed at Edinburgh. | M.DCCC.XXXVII. [Edited by J. Maidment or by W. B. D. D. Turnbull.]

XI. Trials for Witchcraft, Sorcery, and Superstition, in Orkney, pp. 133–185, contain :—

1. Marable Couper, July 7, 1624. Burnt.
2. Anie Tailzeour, or Rwna Rowa, July 15, 1624. Burnt.
- 3 and 4. Marione Richart, or Layland, May 29, 1633. Burnt.
5. Katherine Cragie or Estquoy, June 16, 1640. Absolved.

6. Her second trial, July 11, 1643. Burnt.  
 7. Janet Reid, July 12, 1643. Burnt.  
 The original documents were communicated by James Allan Maconochie, Esq., Sheriff-depute of Orkney. They had been recently discovered at Kirkwall.  
 Some of these were made use of by Dalzell. See also No. 147.

102. Tales and Sketches, by the Ettrick Shepherd. . . .  
 Blackie and Son, Queen Street, Glasgow. . . . MDCCCXXXVII.—MDCCCXXXIX.  
 8vo. In six volumes.  
 Vol. IV. The Witches of Traquair, p. 173.  
 A good number of Hogg's stories turn upon dreams, apparitions, and warnings, and there is no writer who gives one a better notion of the legendary and supernatural traditions of the Border than the "Shepherd."

## 1838

103. The Poetical Works of the Ettrick Shepherd. . . .  
 Blackie and Son, Queen Street, Glasgow; . . . MDCCCXXXVIII.—MDCCCXL.  
 8vo. In five volumes.  
 Vol. I. The Witch of Fife, p. 43.  
 Kilmeny, p. 109 and the note.  
 Vol. II. The Gyre Caryl, p. 93.  
 The Haunted Glen, p. 108.  
 The Pedlar, p. 196 and the notes, which are excellent.  
 Vol. IV. The Gude Greye Katt, p. 107.

## 1839

104. The Philosophy of Witchcraft. By J. Mitchell and Jn. Dickie.  
 "I mean not to speak of Divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of hidden memory, and from hidden causes."—LORD BACON.  
 "What reason cannot comprehend, belief can never claim."  
 SATAN—a Poem.

Paisley: Murray and Stewart; Glasgow—W. Hamilton and P. Salmon; Edinburgh—N. Bowack; Aberdeen—Lewis Smith. MDCCCXXXIX.

Large 18vo. Pp. viii. 424. Frontispiece: Picture of Bargarran House.

After a brief introduction the authors go fully into the Bargarran case, p. 16; that of Maxwell of Pollok, p. 151; and of Agnes Sampson and Fian, p. 173. They make an attack on King James for his witch prosecutions, p. 272; and devote a section to second sight and similar beliefs.

To illustrate the subject, other cases from England and France are referred to, such as that of Mompesson, Grandier, the witches of Essex, and others. In the Appendix is a copy of the Indictment of the witches of Borrowstouness, as in Webster's Tracts, No. 79.

The authors are very severe upon Christian Shaw, and upon Janet Douglas, the dumb girl, who played the chief part in Maxwell of Pollok's case. This book is not now common.

105. Su la Negromanzia, gli Spiriti Elementari e le Fate Lettere di Walter Scott Versione con note di Gaetano Barbieri  
 Milano Presso la ditta Angelo Bonfanti Tipografo-Libraio 1839  
 12mo. Vol. I. pp. 255 [1 blank]; Vol. II. pp. 264.  
 B. M. 012611. h. 13. 2 vols.  
 An Italian translation of Scott's *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*.



1841

106. *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions.* By Charles Mackay. Author of "The Thames and its Tributaries," "The Hope of the World," etc.

"Il est bon de connaître les délires de l'esprit humain. Chaque peuple a ses folies plus ou moins grossières." MILLOT.

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty. 1841.

In three vols. 8vo. [For the edition of 1852, 2 vols., see No. 167.]

In Vol. II. there is a chapter on "The Witch Mania." The author reviews in a popular manner the general aspects of the subject, and considers the special features displayed in different countries. Scotland is dealt with in pp. 213-236, and pp. 258-266.

After a brief enumeration of some early cases, such as that of Janet Bowman, in 1572, and some others, the story of Fian and Geilis Duncan is told at length as a type. The author accuses Fian of infamous life, of being a compounder and dealer in poisons, a sorcerer in will if not in deed, "and that he deserved all the misery he endured." Fian, perhaps, was not quite a respectable person, though not worse than the times he lived in; but he was not a poisoner, not a conjuror, not a sorcerer, and he certainly could not raise the devil; but whatever he was, or did, the torture inflicted on him would have disgraced his reputed master himself (see No. 143). Isobel Gowdie's confession follows, and a review of King James's *Dæmonologie*. The opinion of Sir George MacKenzie; the practice of witchfinding by prickers like John Kincaid, employed in Janet Peaston's trial, in 1646, or John Bain; the fury of the prosecutions and executions from 1640 to 1670; the bewitching of Christian Shaw; the Pittenweem murder; Elspeth Rule, in 1708; the Caithness trials, in 1718, occasioned by Montgomery's delusion that he was tormented by witches under the guise of cats; and the Dornoch execution, in 1722, are all quoted. This was the last in Scotland, and the laws were repealed in 1735, which put an end to the whole delusion.

107. *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club.* Aberdeen: Printed for the Club. MDCCCXLI. 4to.

The first volume contains Trials for Witchcraft, M.D.XCVI-M.D.XCVII., pp. 81-193. In the preface, the editor has some comments upon the Trials (pp. 48-55). He draws attention to certain features in the accusations, such as casting disease upon persons, the credulity both of the accused and the accusers, &c. He quotes the cost of the burning of Jonett Wischart and Isobel Cocker, and Thomas Leis, illustrations of their treatment in prison, and the presentation to William Dun, Dean of Guild, for his zeal in burning great numbers of witches amongst other merits. He adds that after this there was a revulsion of feeling on the subject, as there is no further evidence of any more victims. The trials of some thirty persons are here recorded, of whom two-thirds were burned, several banished, and some got off unconvicted. The accusations are of the usual kind; the evidence is of the usual kind; and the profanity, indecency, ignorance, fright, cruelty, and superstitious credulity are of the usual kind. Some of the witches actually confessed: Marioun Grant to constant intercourse with Crystissunday (or Crystsunday, or—the spelling is not constant, anyhow—the devil) as a man or a "blak staig," or what not; Christian Reid to taking the enchantment off a mill that Katherine Gerard had put on, and other things, and so they were ordered to be "hed out betuixt the hillis, bund to a staik and wirreit thairat quhill they be deid, and than to be brint in assis;" but Johnnet Wischart was ordained "to be brint to the deid." This case is referred to by Hill Burton, No. 118. For some of the following, see also No. 169.

At the end of the trials are reports from various clergymen, who show themselves quite as hot against the criminals as the fires themselves, and quite as indiscriminating.

The following are the accused:—

- P. 83. King James's Commission to try certain accused persons, 2nd February 1596, viz. :—  
P. 84. Johnnet Wischart or Leyis, 17th Feb. 1596. Burnt.



- P. 97. Thomas Leyis, her son, 23rd Feb. 1596. Convicted.  
 P. 105. Helene Frasser, 21st April 1597. Convicted.  
 P. 110. Isobel Cockie, 19th Feb. 1596. Convicted.  
 P. 117. Andro Man, 20th January 1598. Convicted. (He had dealings with the Queen of Elphen, and with the devil, under the name of Christsonday.)  
 P. 125. Ellen Gray, 27th April 1597. Convicted.  
 P. 128. Agnes Wobster, 28th April 1597. To be "brint."  
 P. 131. Meriorie Mutche, 21st Nov. 1597. Acquitted.  
 P. 134. Jonat Leisk, 21st Nov. 1597. Acquitted. (Made a waxen picture for melting.)  
 P. 137. Gilbert Fidlar, 21st Nov. 1597. Acquitted.  
 P. 140. Isobell Richie, 24th April 1597. "Wirried and brint."  
 P. 142. Margaret Og, 24th April 1597. Wirried and brint.  
 P. 145. Helene Rogie, 24th April 1597. Wirried and brint.  
 P. 147. Jonat Lucas, 24th April 1597. Banished.  
 P. 150. Jonat Daudsone, 24th April 1597. Banished.  
 P. 151. Issobell Oige, 24th April 1597. Wirried and brint.  
 P. 152. Beatrix Robbie, 24th April 1597. Banished.  
 P. 156. Margaret Clerk or Bane, 25th March 1597. Convicted.  
 P. 163. Issobell Burnet, or Forbes, and her daughter, Elspeth, were "exempted" by the king from being tried on an accusation of witchcraft, on the ground of their alleged consultation with Margaret Bane, 13th April 1597.  
 P. 164. Christen Michell, 9th March 1597. Convicted.  
 P. 166. Bessie Thom, 9th March 1597. Convicted.  
 P. 168. Issobell Barroun, 9th March 1597. Convicted.  
 P. 170. Marioun Grant, 15th April 1597. Wirried and brint.  
 P. 172. Christen Reid, 15th April 1597. Wirried and brint.  
 P. 174. Katherine Gerard, 15th April 1597. Wirried and brint.  
 Marioun Wod.  
 Marioun Grant had also dealings with Christisonday.  
 P. 177. Isobell Strauthaquin (Strachein) or Scudder, and her daughter, 26th Jan. 1597.  
 P. 182. Issobell Forbes, 25th April 1597. Acquitted.  
 Margaret Cleraucht, 25th April 1597. Acquitted.  
 Katherine Ferries, 25th April 1597. Convicted.  
 P. 184. Precepts by the Commissioners for witch trials.  
 P. 187. Other persons were accused, and their cases considered by ministers and kirk sessions, but apparently they did not come to an Assize.

## 1843

108. Geschichte der Hexenprocesse. Aus den Quellen dargestellt von Dr. Wilhelm Gottlieb Soldan, Gymnasiallehrer zu Giessen. Stuttgart und Tübingen. . . . 1843.  
 8vo. Pp. xii. [4] 512.  
 This first edition contains a reference to the early bewitchings in Scotland, as of King Duffus, James III., Lady Johanna Douglas, to the Witch Act of Queen Mary (9th, 73), and to James VI.'s participation in the events of the time, p. 332. This is from Scott's *Letters*.  
 P. 352. There is a sharp criticism of King James and his book, and the author recurs again (p. 365) to him and says that the worst period for Scotland was that which he inflicted upon it. For the second edition, see 1880, No. 139.
109. Historical and Traditional Tales in Prose and Verse, Connected with the South of Scotland. Original and Select.

“To learn it we have tradition; namely, that so we believe, because both we from our predecessors, and they from theirs, have so received.”—HOOKER.

Kirkcudbright: Printed and Published by John Nicholson. MDCCCXLIII.

8vo. Pp. [2] viii. 450.

Contains (pp. 3-26) a reprint of Telfair's Relation of the Apparition that infested the house of Andrew Mackie in Rerrick. See No. 28.

110. History of St. Andrews, Episcopal, Monastic, Academic, and Civil; comprising the principal part of the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from the earliest age till the present time. By the Rev. C[harles] J[obson] Lyon, M.A. . . . In two volumes. Edinburgh, 1843.

8vo.

In Vol. II. p. 56 reference is made to the Witch Lake and the Witch Hill. In the lake (which is really a sea pool) witches are said to have been tested. If they were not drowned but floated, they were considered to be witches, and were accordingly burned on the Witch Hill.

Many witches were taken in Fife in 1643, and about 40 persons were burnt in that county alone during a few months of that year. No particulars are recorded. Compare No. 94.

The ministers subjected the accused to pricking with long pins, hanging them up by the thumbs and whipping them, or burning the soles of their feet to make them confess.

The author tries to estimate the number of witches executed at St Andrews. In 1568 Nicniven and Sir William Stewart were burnt by the Regent Moray. Chambers (see No. 121) says Nic Neville and Stewart were hanged; 1572-3, a witch was “delt with by Mr Knox,” and was burnt (see Melvill's *Diary*, No. 91); 1643, two ministers were appointed to attend the execution of two witches; forty were executed in Fife in a few months of 1643; 1649, “very many” were burnt in Fife; Janet Young was burnt about the middle of last century, and the house where she lived was still pointed out in 1843 (see No. 91 for what Grierson says). Lyon infers from all this that at least 20 persons perished at St Andrews subsequent to the Reformation, for there was nothing of the kind before it.

#### 1844

111. Commentaries on the Law of Scotland, Respecting Crimes. By the Honourable David Hume. With a Supplement by Benjamin Robert Bell, Esq., Advocate. In two volumes. Edinburgh, 1844.

4to. Vol. I. pp. 588-591. Witchcraft.

The section contains considerations upon the general aspects of the subject, but the author disposes of it as speedily as possible with a sense of shame and loathing. He treats it very briefly under the authorities, the Scots Statute which punished it with death [see the *Scots Laws and Acts of Parliament*, Edinburgh, 1682, Part I. 321, 9 Mary (1563) c. 73] referring to Mackenzie (see No. 16) and Arnot (see No. 60); the acts and “malefices” of witches, mode of inquiry, the evidence, proof by confession, and the repeal by 9 George II. c. 5.

It is worth while comparing Hume's views with those of Mackenzie and Forbes (see No. 47).

#### 1845

112. The Holocaust; or, the Witch of Monzie: A Poem, illustrative of the Cruelties of Superstition. Lays of Palestine; And other Poems. To which is prefixed,



Enchantment Disenchanted; or, a Treatise on Superstition. By the Rev. George Blair. . . .

London: J. F. Shaw, 27, Southampton Row, Russell Square. Edinburgh: Thomas Paton, Howe Street. Perth: Thomas Richardson, George Street. MDCCCXLV.

Large 12mo. Pp. xii. 277. [1].

The preliminary essay is a praiseworthy attack on superstition by the clergyman. He rationalises everything, and will not believe in ghosts, or spectres, or omens, or miracles, popish or other. He quotes Schiller's Ghost Seer for its elaborate apparatus of imposition.

The witch of Monzie was Kate McNiven, or rather Nicniven. Blair gives a short introduction about the witch burnings in Europe, and quotes *The Amber Witch*, and Combe on the *Constitution of Man*.

Kate was burnt probably about 1715. At her execution, she either bit a bead off her necklace, or spat out of her mouth a stone (an uncut sapphire, said to be) to the Laird of Inchbrakie as a charm, to ensure a direct heir and preserve the property. The late laird would not let it out of his hand when he exhibited it.

The first part of the poem is about superstition in general; the second is an imaginative account of the burning of the witch, the gathering of the people from the whole country side, the witch's curses and predictions, the rumble of an earthquake, the Inchbrakie charm, and Kate's death.

The notes are of a general kind, but contain a few references to witchcraft: burning alive, swimming and pricking; the rack and torture, with quotations from *The Amber Witch*; confession of witches; impossibility of shedding tears; the roasting and the suffering at the stake; Fox's *Book of Martyrs*; and the burning of Bishop Hooper. Kate Niven is mentioned by Sharpe, p. lxxxiii. No. 77.

For a clergyman this is a creditable, not to say courageous, performance. "For my own part," he says (p. 65), "I should rather have no Religion at all, than stupidly profess a Religion which shrunk from inquiry, and like an evil-doer, preferred to the bold light of day, that darkness, which in all ages has been the foster-mother—the alma mater, of Superstition."

113. The Spottiswoode Miscellany: A Collection of Original Papers and Tracts, illustrative chiefly of the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. Edited by James Maidment, Esq. Advocate. Edinburgh: Printed for the Spottiswoode Society. M.DCCC.XLV.

8vo. Two volumes.

Vol. II. contains an account of the following trials for witchcraft:—

1. Pp. 39–50. February 4, 1629. Isobel Young (Mrs George Smith), Eastbarns, stopped a man's mill 29 years before, and spoiled his herring fishing. Met the devil on the Doune-hill of Spott. She was "woryt at a staik" and burnt to ashes.
2. Pp. 51–56. December 18, 1664. Agnes Finnie, Poteraw, Edinburgh, laid on disease and misfortunes on people who offended her. Burnt. Mentioned by Sir George Mackenzie, No. 16, p. 92.
3. Notes of 18 trials from 1629 to 1662. Pp. 57–72, from the books of Adjournal.
- P. 49. June 16, 1640. Katharine Craigie, in Orkney. Burnt.
- P. 61. Nov. 3, 1629. Katherine Oswald in Niddry. Worried and burnt.
- P. 62. Jan. 22, 1630. Alexander Hamilton, met the devil, whom he could summon by striking the ground thrice with a fir stick and saying, "Rise up, foul thief." Confessed, and was worried and burnt. See No. 60.
- P. 62. July 23, 1632. Alison Nisbet in Hiltoun, transferred diseases. Worried and burnt.
- P. 63. Jan. 11, 1633. Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, for bewitching his sister-in-law. Denounced as a rebel and put to the horn.



- P. 64. June 4, 1634. Elizabeth Bathgate, Eyemouth. Acquitted.
- P. 66. Nov. 24, 1643. John Brugh, cured people and cattle. Worried and burnt.
- P. 66. Dec. 28, 1643. Janet Barker and Margaret Lauder, confessed great intimacy with the devil. Worried and burnt.
- P. 67. Feb. 5, 1656. John McWilliam Sclater, was made cloak-bearer to the devil. Burnt.
- P. 67. Feb. 2, 1658. Margaret Anderson, confessed to a paction with the devil. Worried and burnt.
- P. 68. Feb. 2, 1658. John Carse. Worried and burnt.
- P. 68. Aug. 3, 1658. Margt. Taylor, Janet Black, Katherine Rany, Bessie Paton. All burnt.
- P. 68. Mar. 1, 1659. Bessie Luost and four women, the Stentoun witches. All burnt.
- P. 68. May 3, 1659. John Douglas and eight women in Tranent, had merry meetings with the devil; music and dancing. All worried and burnt.
- Numerous trials in Dumfries; nine women were strangled and burnt.
- P. 68. Aug. 3, 1661. Elspeth Graham and five women. Strangled and burnt.
- P. 70. Aug. 7, 1661. Margaret Bryson and five women. Strangled and burnt.
- P. 70. Aug. 20, 1661. Janet Kerr and four women. One was convicted.
- P. 70. Aug. 21, 1661. Margaret Hutchinson. Strangled and burnt.
- P. 71. Sep. 10, 1661. Janet Cock. Burnt.
- P. 71. Jan. 27, 1662. Agnes Williamson in Samuelston. Acquitted by the jury, "to their immortal honour."
- Pp. 90-91. Illustrations of torture as applied to witches and other criminals. Complaint is made that the proof of the crimes is got from the offender's "own confession before the kirk, who are in this worse than the Roman religion, who doe not make so ill an use of their auricular confession: some of the facts were committed five, six, ten, nay, twenty years." See, for instance, Isobel Young.

In the Extracts from the Kirk-session Register of Perth, contained in the same volume, there are several references to witches and witchcraft (compare *The Book of Perth*, 1847, No. 166):—

- P. 240. Dec. 20, 1580. Witch banished.
- P. 242. Apr. 16, 1582. Alimnt to a witch: eight doits a day, or eight-twelfths of a penny sterling.
- P. 266. Nov. 2, 1589. False accusation of witchcraft against Guddal Watson.
- P. 287. May 30, 1615. Marion Murdoch, to be "warded" till her trial for witchcraft.
- P. 297. Dec. 18, 1620. James Stewart, accused of witchcraft and charming.
- P. 302. Apr. 16, 1623. Margaret Hormsleugh, suspected of sorcery, and "warded" in the tower till her assize.
- P. 303. June 3, 1623. Witches.
- P. 304. July 24, 1623. Janet Barry and others consulted with witches about the health of their children and on other matters, and were had up before the kirk-session.
- P. 307. Apr. 26, 1626. Bessie Wright, accused of witch-curing,
- P. 311. Dec. 30, 1634. Charming a mill by a young child. It was an "odious offence."

114. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft. Addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart.

New-York: Published by Harper & Brothers, No. 82 Cliff-Street. 1845.

12mo. 5 leaves, B to Z, Aa to Ee in sixes, Ff 1; or, pp. [v.-vii.] viii.-x. (*sic*, for xi.) [4 pp. not numbered] 14-338. Frontispiece of Major Weir's house.

B. M. 12205. f. 8. This copy seems to want a fly-title, which would make six preliminary leaves, containing the titles and contents. The text begins on p. 13, which is not numbered. The numbering of the preliminary leaves seems to have started wrong by *four* (if there was no fly-title), as will be seen by running on the roman into the arabic pagination.

## 1848

115. Reliquiae Antiquae Scoticae Illustrative of Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs. From Original Manuscripts.

Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 87 Princes Street. M.DCCC.XLVIII.

Svo. Fly title and title, 2 leaves; Contents, 2 leaves; Text, pp. 163.

This was edited by Kinloch and Baxter. Sixty copies on small paper and six on large are said to have been printed, and the book is now scarce. It contains (pp. 113-145) the "Confessions and Trials of the Witches of Forfar, 1661," from the Original Record.

Helen Guthrie, spouse to J. Howat, in Forfar, confessed she was a witch.

Jonat Howat. Elspeth Alexander. Jonet Stout.

Kethrine Porter. Issobell Syrie. Johne Tailzior.

Agnes Spark.

Their confessions are given, and also the confession of Isobell Smyth.

Declarations of certain witches against Elspet Bruce, in the Parish of Cortachie.

Report on the case of Marjorie Ritchie, 1662.

See No. 154.

## 1851

116. Narratives of Sorcery and Magic, From the most Authentic Sources. By Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c. . . . In Two Volumes.

London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1851.

In the first volume, Chapters IX. and X. are devoted to witchcraft in Scotland in the sixteenth century, taken from Pitcairn.

The case of the Earl of Mar, brother of James III., is mentioned. Lady Glamis, in 1522, for attempts against James V.

1563. Bessie Boswell, Dunfermline.

1576. Bessie Dunlop of Ayr, and Thom Reid, who died at Pinkie (1547). She was burnt.

1588. Alison Peirsoun and Wm. Sympsoune. She was burnt.

1576-90. Lady Fowlis and Hector Munro.

1596. John Stewart of Orkney.

Alison Jollie.

Christian Stewart, burnt.

1597. Jonet Stewart, Christian Lewingstoun, Bessie Aiken, and Christian Sadleir—all except Bessie, who was banished—were burnt for working cures upon people who were ill.

In Chapter X. follows the account of Fian and the Wise Woman of Keith, and the part King James took in the matter.

In the second volume, Chapter XXVII., there is an account of witchcraft in Scotland after the accession of King James I., taken "almost entirely from Robert Pitcairn." It includes James Reid, burnt; Patrick Lowrie, burnt; Isobel Griersoune of Preston Pans, who was burnt, because, in the form of a cat, and along with other cats, she plagued a man called Adam Bell; Beigis Tod of Lang Niddrie, burnt; the case of the Erskines, in 1613 (which was a poison case); and that of the Deins at Irvine, and Margaret Barclay, 1618, who was burnt. This trial was reprinted at Ardrossan.

See No. 120.

Margaret Wallace, wife of a Glasgow burgher, was tried in 1622. She had been intimate with Christian Grahame, who had been burnt three years before. Both had practised the cure of diseases, and although Mrs Wallace was well defended, she was strangled and burnt. This is the only distinct case of a witch execution at Glasgow that I have met with, except that mentioned by Brown (No. 64). Curiously enough, this trial is not mentioned in the *Memorabilia* under this year, but it is referred to by Kirkpatrick Sharpe, No. 77, and Pitcairn, No. 96.

1623. Isobel Haldane confessed, at Perth, to curing diseases. (*See* No. 96 and No. 164.)  
 1623. Thomas Greave was burnt for curing sickness, by dipping a woman's "sark" in cold water, and then putting it on her.

Chapter XXVIII. contains an account of Isobel Gowdie and the Witches of Auldearn.

This book gives a readable enough account of the examples quoted, without any philosophising or attempt at explanation. But, after all, it is merely a compilation, and has no value beyond that of a popular narrative.

117. Summer Life on Land and Water. By William Wallace Fyfe, Author of the Highland Society's Prize Essay on "Hiring Markets;" "Lizards' Guides to the Scottish Railways;" "M'Phun's Steam Boat Tourist;" "Moffat, Its Spas and Neighbourhood," etc., etc., etc. Illustrated with Numerous Engravings.

Edinburgh: Published by Oliver & Boyd. London: Ackermann & Co. 1851.

Small 8vo. Pp. viii, [iv.], 338 [2, 4 blank]. Frontispiece, engraved title, 10 separate plates.

The engraved title describes the book more precisely: "Summer Life on Land and Water at South Queensferry."

This is one of the topographical books which very often include notices of witchcraft in the locality treated of. The account in this instance is given on pp. 84-101, with a facsimile of the Kirk-Session record. The minister was Ephraim Melville, and he was a determined witch-hunter. The cases occurred in 1643-44. Thirteen persons were accused: Janet Lowrie, Helen Thomson, Helen Hill, Isobel Young her daughter, Janet Mowbray, Marion Dauline, Elspeth Cant, Marion Stein, Margaret Dauline, Catherine Logie, Catherine Thomson or Antonie, Marion Little, Margaret Brown. Eight were burned: Cant, Lowrie, Thomson, Helen Hill and her daughter, Marion Little, Marion Stein, and Catherine Logie. "James Lowrie," it was ordained by the Kirk-Session, "shall presentlie pay for ye burning of his owne wife . . .," which was a more thrifty plan than that followed at Burncastle (*see* Arnot, No. 60), Kirkcaldy (*Statistical Account*, xviii. 653, No. 63), and Aberdeen (*Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, 1841, No. 107; Hill Burton, I. 270, No. 118).

### 1852

118. Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland. By John Hill Burton, Author of "The Life of David Hume," "The Lives of Simon Lord Lovat, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden," &c. In Two Volumes.

London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1852.

8vo.

In Vol. I., pp. 236-310, there is a chapter about "Trials for Witchcraft." The most important references are to—

Janet Wishart, Aberdeen, 1597, taken from the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, 1841.

No. 107.

Christian Reid and a bewitched mill.

Cost of burning Janet Wishart.

The Dean of Guild of Aberdeen got a presentation for freeing the town of witches. *See* No. 107.

The Auldearn witches and Isobel Gowdie.

Wm. Montgomery and the cats, at Scrabster, in 1718; Margaret Nin-Gilbert.

Geilis Duncan, Fian, and King James.

Aleson Balfour, 1594.

The last execution, 1722.

Repeal of the Statutes, 1736, and Protest of the Seceders in 1743.

Burton's instances are taken mainly from Pitcairn, but he treats the subject with some originality. So far as it goes it is superior to Wright's *Narratives*, but it is not so comprehensive.



## 119. Magic and Witchcraft.

"Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,  
Nocturnos lemures, partentaque (*sic*) Thessala rides?"  
Hor. Epist. ii. 2. 208.

London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1852.

Small 8vo. Pp. vi. [2] 104.

A volume of "Reading for Travellers," originally written as a review of Horst's *Zauber-bibliothek*, and prior to Scott's *Letters*, 1830. See 1830, No. 92.

The part that refers to Scotland (pp. 48-89) is based chiefly on Pitcairn, and the usual cases are quoted: Bessie Dunlop, Lady Fowlis, Fian, Agnes Sampson, Euphane Macalzean, Katherine Oswald, Isobel Gowdie and Janet Braidhead, or the Auldearn witches, as they are called; Christian Shaw of Bargarran, and the Dornoch burning, in 1722, as the last of the witch executions in Scotland. There are comments on King James's doings and on his work, as well as on Sir George MacKenzie.

The book, however, is a mere sketch, and adds nothing to what was already known.

## 1855

## 120. Trial, Confession, | and | Execution | of | Isobel Inch, John Stewart, Margaret | Barclay &amp; Isobel Crawford, | For Witchcraft, | At Irvine, | Anno 1618. | From the Original Manuscript. | Herald Office:— | A. Guthrie, Printer, Ardrossan and Saltcoats. |

8vo. Pp. 16. No date; about 1855.

To extract confession torture was used. The following is the account of it: "as being most safe and gentill (as the said noble Lord assurit the said justices, [noble lord the Erle of Eglintoune! What did he know about it?] be putting of hir twa bair leggis in ane pair of stockis, and thairafter by onlrying [onlaying?] of certane yrone gaddis severally ane be ane, and thair eiking and augmenting the weht be laying on mae gaddis and in easing of hir be aftaking of the gaddis of yron, ane or mae, as occasion offerit, quhilke yron gaddis war but little schort gaddis, and brak not the schynne of hir leggis). After using of the quilk kind of gentill (!) tortour, the said Margaret began . . . to cry," and so on. It is altogether a very dreadful story.

The Rev. David Dickson, "Preacher of Gods Word at Irwin," as he styles himself, was in this business—collecting materials, I suppose, for his hymn on "True Christian Love." (See No. 138.)

An account of this is given in Sir Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology* (No. 93), from a copy of the Record, which had been sent him. It is quoted by Wright, No. 116, and by Mrs Linton, No. 123. For the Commission for trying Stewart and Barclay, see No. 164.

The pamphlet is now out of print. The copy I have seen is in the British Museum, 8631. ff. 40.

## 1858

## 121. Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution. By Robert Chambers, F.R.S.E., F.S.A. Sc., &amp;c. [Vignette].

W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London. MDCCCLVIII.

8vo. Vol. I. pp. xii. 549 [1]. Vol. II. pp. iv. 523 [1].

- Vol. I. P. 24. 1563. Act against witchcraft.  
60. 1569. Nic Neville and William Stewart, Lyon king-at-arms. Hanged for witchcraft. Another company burnt at Dundee.  
70. 1570. The witches of Athole.  
108-111. 1596. Bessie Dunlop. Burnt.  
183. 1588. Alison Peirson. Burnt.  
203-207. 1590. Lady Foulis and Hector Munro.  
207. 1590. Bessie Roy. Tried and acquitted.

- Vol. I. 211-219. 1590. Trials of Fian and Agnes Sampson.  
 236. 1591-2. Richard Graham raised the devil and terrified Bellenden to death.  
 258. 1594. Witches burnt in the Merse.  
 273. 1596. Alison Balfour. Tortured and executed.  
 278-285. 1596-7. Aberdeen witches — Janet Wishart. See No. 107, and see Knight's  
*William Shakspeare*, 1843, I. pp. 241-250; 1850, II. pp. 352-362.  
 290. 1597. Witches in Athole.  
 Margaret Aiken, "the great witch of Balwery," detected others by a  
 mark in their eyes. Brought to Glasgow. See Brown, No. 64.  
 374. Woodcut of a witch seated on the moon, from a sculpture in Elgin  
 Cathedral.  
 378. 1603. James Reid. Wirrit and brint on the Castle Hill.  
 416. 1608. The Broughton witches. Burnt alive.  
 484. 1618. Irvine witches—Margaret Barclay. Quotes Scott's *Demonology*, p. 307.  
 523-525. 1622. Margaret Wallace or Dinning, of Glasgow, tried in Edinburgh for  
 various acts, and consorting with Christian Graham, who had been  
 burnt the previous year. Burnt on the Castle Hill. See Nos. 77,  
 96, and 116.  
 535. 1623. Bessie Smith of Lesmahagow, dealt in charms.  
 536. 1623. Thomas Grieve, practised medical witchcraft. Was burnt.  
 544. 1624. Privy Council expresses doubts about granting of commissions to try  
 alleged cases.
- Vol. II. P. 31-34. 1629. Cases of Janet Boyd, Dumbarton, Isobel Young in East Barns, Alex-  
 ander Hamilton (Hatteraick), Katherine Oswald, Alie Nisbet, John  
 Neill in Tweedmouth. They were burnt.  
 43. 1630. Margaret Lumsden, "the possessed woman in Dunse." See Baxter,  
 No. 26.  
 61. 1631. John Balfour in Corshouse, acted as witchfinder.  
 70-71. 1633. William Coke and Alison Dick. Burnt. Their expenses.  
 149-153. 1643. Agnes Finnie in the Potterrow. Was burnt. See Sharpe, No. 77.  
 153. 1643. Janet Brown in Markinch.  
 153. 1644. Margaret Young in Dysart.  
 154. 1644. Margaret Thomson in Calder.  
 180. 1649. Conference about witchcraft.  
 186. 1649. Margaret Henderson in Inverkeithing.  
 Other cases.  
 187. 1649. Bessie Graham in Kilwinning. Executed.  
 188. 1649. Agnes Gourlay.  
 194. 1650. Eleven witches examined by the Presbytery of Lanark on the accusation  
 of another witch, Janet Coutts. She was burnt (?), but the eleven  
 got off.  
 Archibald Watt, tried as a warlock.  
 P. 219. 1652. Examination of reputed witches under Cromwell. Most of them got off.  
 228-232. 1654. Devil of Glenluce.  
 243-244. 1657. Witch burnings—Jonet Anderson and others.  
 277. 1661. Revival of witch-burning after the Restoration. Isabel Johnston of  
 Gullan. Ray says 120 suffered about this time.  
 278. 1661. Margaret Bryson. Isabel Ramsay. Marion Scott.  
 John Kincaid the pricker, and others.  
 279. 1661. Margaret Nisbet at Spott. Share of the clergy in all these trials.  
 285-291. 1662. Isobel Gowdie at Auldearn, and Janet Braidhead. From Pitcairn,  
 No. 96.

- Vol. II. 293. 1662. Trials in Kilmorack and Kiltarnity of a number of McLeans. Charge got up by the Chisholms.
- 294-295. 1662. Witches liberated. Jonet Howat.
330. 1669. Cases at Aberdeen. Grizzel Jaffray at Dundee. Burnt.
330. 1670. Mary McDonald asked protection against Clanranald and McDonald of Morar—the Castle Tirrim case.
- 332-333. 1670. Major Weir and his sister.
361. 1673. Kirk's *Essay*, printed (?) in 1691.
- 376-381. 1676. Maxwell of Pollok, and Janet Douglas, the dumb girl.
- 385-386. 1677. Lizzy Mudie. Burnt at Haddington.  
David Cowan of Tranent, witch pricker; pupil of Kincaid.
393. 1678. Witches at Prestonpans, Ormiston, Pencaitland, Crichton and Loanhead of Lasswade. Nine were burnt.
396. 1678. Katharine Liddell—pricked and tormented—but she charged her persecutors with defamation, and David Cowan was imprisoned.
- 405-406. 1679. Borrowstounness witches—Annale Thomson and others.
462. 1684. Marion Purdie. Imprisoned for a witch.
475. 1685. *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* endowed with copyright for eleven years.
493. 1688. Witch at Dunbar. Condemned.

## 1861

122. Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion of 1745. By Robert Chambers, F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Sc., &c. (Vignette of Bargarran House.) W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London. MDCCCLXI.

8vo.

- P. 66. 1692. Marion Dickson and others at Dumfries.
- P. 94. 1694. Witches at Coldingham—Margaret Polwart, Jean Hart, and Alison Nisbet.
- P. 109-115. 1695. The Spirit at Ring-croft, in the parish of Rerrick. *See* No. 28.
- P. 135. 1695. Fluctuations in witch prosecutions. Revival at this time. McRorie and McQuicken in Inverness.
- P. 136. 1696. Janet Widdrow in Kilmacolm.
- P. 167-174. 1697. The Bargarran Case.
- P. 193. 1698. Elspeth McEwan and Mary Millar in Kirkcudbright.
- P. 194. 1698. Margaret Laird, Kilmalcolm.
- P. 194. 1698. Mary Morison, Greenock.
- P. 195. 1698. The General Assembly again took up the subject, and appointed a commission to give advice to Presbyteries and ministers on the subject.
- P. 216. 1699. Witches from Ross-shire. Leniently dealt with, on the whole.
- P. 217. 1702. Margaret Myles hanged.
- P. 275. 1703. Marion Lillie at Spott.
- P. 278. 1703. Martin's *Western Islands*—cases of second sight quoted.
- P. 298. 1704. Lillias Adie at Torryburn. Rev. Allan Logan's skill in detecting witches.
- P. 299-302. 1704. Beatrix Laing at Pittenweem; George and Lachlan Rattray at Inverness.
- P. 436-438. 1718. Wm. Montgomery at Scrabster, and the cats. Margaret Nin-Gilbert.
- P. 449-452. 1720. Witches of Calder and Patrick Sandilands. Mitchel's discourse. (*See* No. 168.)
- P. 540. 1727. Witches of Loth burned by Captain David Ross. Last execution in Scotland.
- P. 597. 1736. Repeal of the Acts against Witchcraft. Condemnation of the Repeal by the Seceders in their Testimony, in 1742.



123. Witch Stories collected by E[liza] Lynn Linton, author of "Azeth the Egyptian," "Amygone," &c.

"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."—EXODUS xxii. 18.

London: Chapman and Hall, 193 Piccadilly. 1861.

[The right of Translation reserved.]

8vo. Pp. iv. 428.

The Scottish narratives, pp. 1-176, are arranged chronologically, and are taken from the chief authorities: Pitcairn, Chambers, Sharpe, Hibbert, Dickie, Dalyell, Sinclair, and others. There is, of course, nothing original in the matter of the stories, but the character of them is modified by the interweaving of the authoress's explanations, which are advanced with an air of absolute certainty.

The stories have been told with a certain dexterity, but to that extent they have lost in reliability. I do not feel called upon to criticise or controvert either the narratives or views of the writers enumerated in these Notes, but I have observed that Mrs Linton has allowed her feelings, as displayed in her adjectives, to run away with her accuracy. One example may be given. She has a dislike to King James VI.; there is no harm in that; but why say that he went to Denmark to visit his future queen "in a fit of clumsy gallantry?" Why *clumsy*? Again, on his return the devil raised a great mist "which nearly drove the cumbrous old pedant on to English ground . . ." Again, why *cumbrous*? and, above all things, why *old*? James VI. was born in 1566, and married his queen in 1589-90; he was, therefore, twenty-three years of age when the devil interfered with his home-coming. Is that *old*? *Dæmonologie* was published when he was thirty-one. Is that *old*? Whatever he was, pedantic possibly, he was *not old*. He became old only after he lived in England.

Some discrepancies, caused by want of attention to statements made in other parts of the book, will present themselves to the observant reader. Compare the following:—

P. 1.

"Scotland was always foremost in superstition. . . . Very little of graceful fancy lighted up the gloom of those popular superstitions. Even Elfame, or Faërie, was a place of dread and anguish, where the devil ruled heavy-handed and Hell claimed its yearly tithe, rather than the home of fun and beauty, and petulant gaiety as with other nations."

These two passages do not quite tally.

P. 13.

"Alison Pearson and the Fairy Folk."

"And then she saw piping, and merriness, and good cheer, and puncheons of wine, with "tassis," or cups to them."

#### 1864

124. A History of Peeblesshire by William Chambers of Glenormiston F.G.S., F.R.S.E. William and Robert Chambers Edinburgh and London 1864

8vo.

There are several references to witchcraft.

P. 154 (1628).—The Presbytery of Peebles was much engaged in the examination of witches.

P. 155.—Alexander Veitch was authorised to apprehend Katherine Young, "suspect of witchcraft."

P. 160 (1640).—The Presbytery had several cases before them. Gilbert Robisone, Isabel Cuthbertson, Lilius Bertram, Malie Macwatt, from the Parish of Culter, are mentioned. They were questioned about Graham, a witch burned at Peebles. (See No. 127.)

P. 161 (1641).—Gilbert Robisone was believed to be a notable warlock, and was in ward, "suspect of witchcraft."

- P. 166 (1650).—Four witches “only” in prison (p. 166).  
 P. 165 (1651).—Various indications of witchcraft.  
 P. 166 (1652).—Mr Andrew Watson, vicar of Peebles, was paid £3 Scots as part payment of 100 merks due by the Presbytery for burning witches.  
 P. 274.—Lingering belief in witchcraft about the beginning of the century.

## 1865

125. The Superstitions of Witchcraft, by Howard Williams, M.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

“Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,  
 Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessala rides?”

London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green. 1865.

8vo. Pp. xi. [1] 278. The motto had been used before. See No. 119.

The Witch Act of 1604 is quoted, and reference made to the *Dæmonologie* of 1597. Pp. 171-6.

In Chapter VII. the author considers witchcraft in Scotland, and refers, of course, to Fian, Agnes Sampson, and Euphane Macalzcán, taken from Scott's *Letters*. Sir George MacKenzie's and Sinclair's views are quoted about witch confession. Margaret Barclay and Isabel Crawford, in 1613, at Irvine, are also mentioned, and the interest of Rev. David Dickson therein. See No. 120.

He calculates that in the last forty years of the sixteenth century (? seventeenth) 200 a-year were burned, or say 8000 in all. He does not give any data for such a calculation.

The witch prickers are alluded to, p. 234; and the last execution in 1722, p. 274. He styles Sinclair “Reverend,” and alludes to him as “the pious clergyman” (p. 209)! Of this author also, the statements are not always concordant.

## 1867

126. History of the Burgh of Dumfries, . . . by William McDowall. Edinburgh, A. & C. Black. 1867.

8vo.

Witchcraft is dealt with pp. 427-435. The cases quoted are Janet Burnes, 1664; Janet Thomson and John McQuhan in Ure, 1656; the burning of nine women on 5th April 1659; Agnes Comenes, Janet McGowane, Jean Tomson, &c. The last execution was that of Elizabeth Rule.

127. Biggar and the House of Fleming. An Account of the Biggar District, Archaeological, Historical, and Biographical. By William Hunter, F.S.A. Scot.

“Nescio, qua Natale Solum dulcedine cunctos  
 Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.”

Ov. Ep. Lib. I.

Second Edition.

Edinburgh: William Paterson. Biggar: David Lockhart. MDCCCLXVII.

8vo. Pp. xi. [1] 623 [1 blank].

Chapter xviii. (pp. 376-391) is entitled “The Witches of the Biggar District.” After some preliminary remarks on witchcraft in general, the supposed Biblical injunction about it, Queen Mary's Act, torture and execution, the author describes certain cases.

P. 379 (1641).—Nov. 5—Mali Lithgow tried for incantations.

P. 380 (1640).—Mali M'Watt, prosecuted for witchcraft most pertinaciously by the clergy. She appears to have escaped ultimately. (See No. 124).

P. 384 (1649).—The Presbytery of Biggar became all of a sudden witch-hunters. (Compare No. 162). Case of Janet Bowis.

P. 386 (1650).—George Cathie, employed as witch-pricker. January 10th—Marion Hunter, Janet Birnie, Marion Laidlaw, Janet Coutts.

- P. 387.—March 21st—Archibald Watt, *alias* Sole the Paitlet.  
 P. 388.—Bessie Carmichael.  
 P. 389.—Expenses of witch-burning. A witch at Broughton.  
 P. 390.—Methods of removing spells from bewitched cows.

## 1868

128. Demonology & Witchcraft. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Illustrated with Six Full-page Steel Engravings by Geo. Cruikshank.  
 London: Wm. Tegg. 1868.  
 12mo. Pp. [4] ix. [1 blank]. 396.  
 This is the second edition, with a new title-page and an ornamental cover. "Geo. Cruikshank" is a facsimile of the artist's conceited signature. Besides the six illustrations, it contains (p. 320) the drawing of Major Weir's house. See 1830, No. 93, for other editions.

## 1871

129. Satan's Invisible World Discovered. By George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the University of Glasgow. 1654-1696. Reprinted from the Original Edition published at Edinburgh in 1685. Accompanied with a Bibliographical Notice and Supplement, &c. Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson. M.DCCC.LXXI.

8vo. 4 leaves; 1 to 3 in eights; or pp. viii.; [ix.]-liii. [1 blank] and 1 leaf containing fly-title to the text.

These preliminary leaves contain general fly-title, title, contents, and prefatory notice of Sinclair, by Stevenson. Then follows, in facsimile—as closely as possible—a reprint of the 1685 edition, pp. [32] 220 [34], to which are added the "additional relations" of the subsequent editions. This is paged 255 to 264, thus continuing the pagination of the original edition. Stevenson has increased the value of his edition by adding a supplement of pp. ciii. It contains:—

- I. Additional notices of Major Weir and his sister, 1641-1670 (*see* No. 17).
- II. A reprint of the Glenluce Tract, 1696 (*see* No. 28).
- III. Additional particulars as to Christian Shaw of Bargarran, and the witches of Renfrew, 1696-1697 (*see* No. 31).
- IV. Additional particulars as to the witches of Pittenweem, Fifeshire, 1704 (*see* No. 37). It gives the account from the original MS. in the University of Edinburgh, and reprints of the documents which had been already printed by Webster (*see* No. 79). I made enquiry for this MS. but it could not be found.
- V. Notice of the spirits that troubled the house of the minister of Kinross, 1718. From a broadside.
- VI. Additional particulars as to the witches of West Calder, Linlithgow, 1720.
- VII. Notice of William Mitchel, "the Tincklarian Doctor," Edinburgh, 1672-1740 (*see* No. 46).

There are two issues, on large and small paper respectively, with a frontispiece of Major Weir's house, by Skene of Rubislaw, which was originally prefixed to Sir Walter Scott's *Letters*, 1830 (No. 93).

## 1873

130. Witchcraft. A Lecture by John Inglis, Minister of the United Presbyterian Church. Published at the Request of the Members of the Literary and Scientific Institution of Kendal.  
 Kendal: Printed by Atkinson & Pollitt. 1873.  
 Small 8vo. Pp. 35.



Preliminary sketch of the origin of witchcraft, and the difference between the ancient sorceress and the modern witch, with reference in passing to Alison Pearson, fairies, the papal bull, the practices of witches, the influence of James VI., his examination of Agnes Sampson and Fian, the Irvine trial and burnings in 1613, Margaret Barclay's case, and Sir George Mackenzie's difficulties over the witches' confessions.

Being a mere lecture it does not contain any original matter, but it is a good summary of some of the more familiar phenomena of witchcraft, and some of the best known events.

## 1874

131. Notices Historical, Statistical, & Biographical, Relating to the Parish of Carluke, from 1288 till 1874.

Glasgow: Printed by William Rankin, 192 Argyle Street, 1874.

8vo. Pp. vi. 332.

Pp. 279-288 contain a biography of Major Weir, which gives a fair and reasonable account of the man, as well as what seems to be the true explanation of his confession and self-accusation, namely, senile dementia, and shows that he practically fell a victim to the political and religious strife of his time. Dr Hickey's *Ravillac Redivivus* (No. 19) is characterised as "a production surely the most virulent of that remarkable period of vilification and counter-vilification of professing christians of any age or of any country." It certainly is vitriolic enough to satisfy the most exacting partizan.

## 1876

132. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Sessions MDCCCLXXIV-LXXV.—MDCCCLXXV-LXXVI. Vol. XI.

Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Neill and Company. MDCCCLXXVI.

4to. Pp. 438-445. "An original letter to the Laird of Wishaw (now presented to the Museum [Soc. Ant. Scot.]), relating to the proceedings against James Aikenhead, 'The Atheist,' and the trial of witches at Paisley in 1696. Communicated by David Laing, Esq., Foreign Secretary, S.A. Scot."

The letter is from Rev. Robert Wyllie to the Laird of Wishaw, and is dated "Ham: 16 June 1697." It maintains the existence of witchcraft and the compact of witches with the devil, and says that the author has no doubt that when the accounts of the troubles of Bargarran's child are sent abroad into the world, they "will sufficiently convince such as have not resolved to harden themselves against all conviction." The clergy were apparently determined to be believers in the existence of witchcraft.

Laing refers to Chambers's account (No. 122) of the Bargarran case, and adds a brief note of his own. He did not know, apparently, of the witchcraft execution in 1722.

133. Selections from the Judicial Records of Renfrewshire. Illustrative of the Administration of the Laws of the County, and Manners and Condition of the Inhabitants, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. With Notes Introductory and Explanatory, and Six Facsimiles of Old Documents. By William Hector, Sheriff-Clark.

Paisley: J. & J. Cook, 3 Moss Street. 1876.

8vo. Pp. viii. 358 [2].

Remarks on the prevalent belief in witchcraft in the seventeenth century. Paisley, it is said, occupies a conspicuous place in the history of witchcraft, for in 1697 six people were worried and burnt on the Gallows Green. That, of course, was the Bargarran case, with which the author, apparently, is not familiar. The case he refers to (p. 50) was not one of actual witchcraft, but closely allied to it, for in 1692 certain persons were accused of having "drunken the devil's health."

The persons were examined, and those who brought the charge were convicted of slander and defamation of character, and were punished very severely. Compare 1785, No. 60.

[1876]

134. Demonology and Witchcraft. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. In a Series of Letters addressed to J. G. Lockhart. Illustrated.

London: William Tegg.

8vo. Pp. [iii.-v.] vi.-xi. [1] 406 [2 blank]. Frontispiece in compartments, and three plates by F. Armytage; picture of Major Weir's house, vignette, and tail-piece.

The first plate represents a witch on a broomstick with a cat soaring over the sea; the second, Fian and his covin going round the church withershins; and the third, Geillis Duncan playing the tunes to the king. The king is correctly depicted as a mere boy, but I think Geillis is far too decrepit.

B.M. 8631. aaa. 22. The book has no date, but the B.M. accession date is "14. Au. 76."

1877

135. Illustrations of Scottish History, Life, and Superstition. From Song and Ballad. By William Gunnyon.

London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Edinburgh: Menzies & Co. 1877.

[All rights reserved.]

8vo. Pp. viii. 360.

There is an issue with the imprint: Glasgow, Robert Forrester, Royal Exchange Square. 1879. The issues are identical otherwise.

The section on Witches and Witchcraft (Chapter VII., §2, pp. 317-330) discusses the character of the Scottish witch as compared with the witch in England, and in the authorised version of the Bible. He thinks Macbeth's witches are to a certain extent Shakspeare's creation; that the Scottish witch comes from the Scandinavian mythology; he refers to transformation into animals; and just mentions the confession of Isabel Gowdie. The laws about witchcraft, the *Dæmonologie* (1597 and 1603), witch prosecutions, MacKenzie's views, the tortures, and the last execution, in 1722, are briefly noted.

136. A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire. A New Edition, with an Introduction, embodying Extracts, hitherto unpublished, from the Records of the Presbytery of Paisley.

Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1877.

8vo. Fly title and title. Introduction, pp. xi.-xxv. (misprint for xxxv.). Reprint of title of the 1809 edition; Contents and advertisement, 3 leaves; Text, pp. 5-219; Appendix by David Semple, F.S.A., pp. 6. Frontispiece of Bargarran House. Bargarran Arms on the title-page.

This is a reprint of the 1809 edition. Prefixed, there is an introduction (by (Rev.) J(ames) D(odds)), containing a few reflections on witchcraft in general, and extracts from the Records of the Presbytery: "Paisley, December 30, 1696, to June 9, 1697, regarding Christine Shaw and her bewitching."

The Appendix contains the names and status of those accused, taken from the Poll Tax Rolls.

This is the most complete account of the affair, though it wants the interest and actuality of the contemporary tracts. See also J. Guthrie Smith, *Strathendrick*, 1896, p. 61.

See 1697, No. 31.

1879

137. Illustrations of Scottish History, &c.

Gunnyon's book issued with a new title-page. See 1877, No. 135.

1880

138. The Mysteries of all Nations : Rise and Progress of Superstition, Laws against and Trials of Witches, Ancient and Modern Delusions, together with strange Customs, Fables, and Tales relating to Mythology—Days and Weeks—Miracles—Poets and Superstition—Monarchs, Priests, and Philosophers—Druids—Demonology—Magic and Astrology—Divination—Signs, Omens, and Warnings—Amulets and Charms—Trials by Ordeal—Curses and Evil Wishes—Dreams and Visions—Superstition in the Nineteenth Century. By James Grant.

Leith : Reid & Son, 35 Shore. Edinburgh : W. Paterson. London : Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

[The right of Translation is reserved.]

8vo. Pp. xxviii. 640. Title red and black. No date, but the Preface is dated January 1880.

In this work, which contains a mass of miscellaneous matter about all kinds of superstition and folk-lore, set down without much cohesion, there are recapitulations of a good many of the Scottish witch stories and trials. These will be found chiefly in Chapters LVI.-LXIII., pp. 482-546. Fian's story is told pretty fully in Chapter XXIV., pp. 247-254.

The principal items are the following :—

Legal aspect. Queen Mary's Act, 1563, and King James's of 1604, repealed by the Act of 9th George II., cap. 5. See 1645, No. 12. (See *Scots Acts*, Edinburgh, 1682, p. 321.) Sir George Mackenzie's opinion. Professor Forbes quoted to a considerable extent (see No. 47).

Kinnaird (*sic*), witch finder and brodder.

Scotch clergy very keen witch hunters.

Rev. John Scott's extracts from records of the kirk-session of Perth—quotations. P. 496.

Lilias Adie of Torryburn and the Rev. A.

Logan. She was burnt.

Cost of burning witches at Burncastle. P. 499.

The Glenluce affair. P. 501.

Bargarran case. Pp. 503-510.

Lady Glammis. P. 511.

Lady Fowlis. P. 512.

Colquhoun of Luss. P. 513.

Sir G. Maxwell and the dumb girl. P. 513.

Alison Pearson, 1586. P. 516.

Janet Wood, who lost her hand. P. 517.

Edinburgh witches—Agnes Finnie, dweller in

Potter-row, and others. P. 521.

Major Weir, 1670. P. 522.

Agnes Williamson. P. 522.

Elizabeth Bathgate. P. 523.

Isabella Young of Eastbarns. P. 523.

The Auldearn witches and Isobel Gowdie's confession. P. 525.

Borrowstounness witches. P. 526.

Pittenweem witches. P. 528.

Perthshire witch who cured children by charms.

Aberdeen witches, and the cost of burning

Janet Wischert. Pp. 529-532.

Witches on Speyside—their conventions. P. 533.

Caithness witches—Margaret Olson and Mar-

garet Nin-Gilbert. P. 536.

Mary Lamont of Innerkip, 1662, had power over the elements. P. 538.

Glasgow had witches and burnings, but no actual example is given. P. 545.

Rev. D. Dickson said, "The work goes bonnily on." P. 546. (See No. 120.)

Paisley witches. The author quotes Mr D.

Semple, but does not seem to know that

they were the Bargarran victims. The

charges which he mentions are for the

Paisley witches. P. 546.

139. Soldan's Geschichte der Hexenprocesse. Neubearbeitet von Dr Heinrich Heppe. Stuttgart. Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung. 1880.

8vo. Erster Band : pp. x. [2] 524. Zweiter Band : pp. [4] 410.

The passages already referred to in the first edition (No. 108) will be found in I. 521, II. 27, II. 145. The editor, in the last quoted passage, has added a brief reference to Fian and his tortures—the account of which seems to fascinate every reader—and the share which the king took



in the trials (from Pitcairn). Further on, p. 150, he adds from Buckle, Pitcairn, Lecky, and Dalryell, descriptions of the tortures by which the accused were brought to confess the crime; but, of course, as this is all at second hand, it has no weight or value.

140. Elizabethan Demonology. An Essay in Illustration of the Belief in the Existence of Devils, and the powers possessed by them, as it was generally held during the period of the Reformation, and the times immediately succeeding; with special Reference to Shakspeare and his Works by Thomas Alfred Spalding, LL.B. (Lond.) . . .  
London Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly. 1880. . . .

8vo. Pp. xii. 151.

In his endeavour to ascertain from what sources Shakspeare took the witches in "Macbeth," the author is almost compelled to consider the Scottish witchcraft of the time, and the views published by the king. He accordingly refers in some detail to the story of Bessie Dunlop and Thom Reid, 1576, of Fian and Agnes Sampson, which has thrown so much light on witch practices, and, to the outcome of the latter, King James's book on *Demonologie*, and, probably, the Act that was passed in 1604 against witches.

Compare on this part of the subject Nos. 56, 135, 146, 153, and in general commentaries on "Macbeth."

141. Historic Notices and Domestic History of the Parish of Shotts. By William Grossart, Surgeon, . . .  
Glasgow. Printed by Aird & Coghill, 263 Argyle Street. 1880.

Small 8vo. Pp. vii. [1 blank] 265 [1 blank].

A case of witching or charming was laid before the kirk-session in 1643-44 (p. 48); the accused were brought to trial. Bessie Paterson accused Thomas Farley of fetching witchcraft and laying it on her hen; she was "nipt" by Agnes Henderson, and, in consequence, became half blind; Margery Walker was sick three-quarters of a year, and gave Agnes Henderson the wyte of it; animals died, and people died or were ill, or had the heart fever, and Agnes Henderson was the cause; a great storm of wind blew, and "they thought it was a deid of Bessie Paterson's."

No verdict was passed, and the affair does not come up again, but these were the "thoughts" and suspicions for which women were usually burnt. This witch trial has not been referred to anywhere else so far as I have noticed. It shows how prevalent the belief was over the whole country, and how similar the accusations were. Any misfortune, real or supposed, was ascribed to the ill-will of some neighbour or acquaintance who wrought it by witchcraft, or a compact with the devil. The result must have been to disintegrate society and make each one suspect every one else.

#### N.D. [188-]

142. [The History of Witchcraft in Scotland].

Small square 8vo. Pp. 76. A to E in eights, wanting E 7 and 8. No place or date. The author's name is not given, but it was probably Edmund Goldsmid.

The present work seems not to have been completed; my copy, apparently proof sheets, wants the title-page, and though the essay is complete, it has been deprived of the two last leaves necessary to complete the signature. In all likelihood they were blank, but it is just possible they contained a colophon, or a device, or both. This little tract refers to some of the leading examples of witchcraft, and it contains a reprint of *Newes from Scotland*, taken bodily from Sharpe's *Prefatory Notice* (No. 77), p. xxx.

#### 1881

143. Sketches of Tranent in the Olden Time by J. Sands, author of "Out of the World; or, Life in St. Kilda," &c.

“Man’s inhumanity to man  
Makes countless thousands mourn.”—BURNS.

With Illustrations by the Author.

Printed for the Author by James Hogg, 9-a North Bank Street, Edinburgh. 1881.

8vo. A to N in fours; or, pp. 102 [2].

Chapter III. deals with witchcraft in 1591.

A brief account is given of David Seton, Geillis Duncan, Agnes Sampson and John Fian. He vindicates Fian’s character from the aspersions cast on it by Mackay in his *Popular Delusions*, II. 220 (see No. 106).

King James’s interest in the trials, and his *Dæmonologie* are of course referred to, and the possible acquaintance of both Shakspeare and Burns with the events.

The author makes the unsupported statement that 17,000 persons were executed for witchcraft in Scotland in the first eighty years of the seventeenth century.

The Traient “common-pricker,” John Kincaid, was employed to brod Janet Peaston, and for brodding Margaret Denholm at Burn Castle, near Lauder, he got 6 pounds Scot., besides meat and drink.

The clergy were keen witch hunters, the Rev. Allan Logan of Torryburn being a notable example. See No. 79, No. 149. Compare No. 30, No. 117, No. 129, Suppt. p. xci., No. 132, No. 138, &c.

Lord Grange (who deported his wife to St Kilda), opposed the repeal of the Acts against witchcraft in 1735.

144. The History of Glasgow from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, by George MacGregor Containing thirty-six Illustrations.

Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1881.

From Brown’s *History* (see No. 60) the author quotes the case of the woman Aitken. He mentions also other two cases which came before the Glasgow Presbytery; but in one the accused got off, and in the other they had to do penance at the pillars of two parish kirks.

The author does not refer to the two Glasgow witches, Margaret Wallace and Christian Grahame, alluded to by Arnot, Sharpe, Pitcairn, and Wright.

1883.

145. Witch Stories. Collected by E. Lynn Linton, Author of “Patricia Kemball,” “The Atonement of Leam Dundas,” etc. *A New Edition*.

London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly. 1883.

[*All rights reserved.*]

Square 8vo. [A] to U in eights; or, pp. i-xii., 13-320.

A volume of “The Mayfair Library.” A reprint of the 1861 edition.

146. Folk Lore of Shakespeare. By Rev. T. F. Thiselton Dyer, M.A. Oxon. . . .  
Griffith & Farran (successors to Newbery and Harris), West Corner St Paul’s Churchyard, London, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

8vo. Pp. [ix. 1 blank] 526. No date, but the preface is dated 1883.

The second chapter is about witches, and it contains a discussion on the witches in “Macbeth,” as to whether they were Norns or witches of the type then commonly believed in. The author refers to Gunnyon (see No. 135), Spalding (No. 140), Conway, and other authorities, and, by way of illustrating certain passages, quotes Agnes Sampson’s Confession, and gives proof that the sieve was a recognised witch conveyance. Fian is also mentioned from Stevens’ commentary. Johnnet Wischert’s observation on the growing corn (quoted by Knight) is mentioned in connection with Banquo’s appeal (i. 3) to the weird sisters about the future.

Every Shakspeare commentator may, of course, be quoted on this topic. See Halliwell's edition, 1865, folio, Vol. 14, p. 28. He says very little about the witches in "Macbeth," but on Steevens' authority quotes *News from Scotland*, Wright's edition.

147. The Orkneys and Shetland; Their Past and Present State. By John R. Tudor, "Old Wick," of "The Field." . . .  
London: Edward Stanford, . . . 1883.

8vo.

Pp. 96-103. Witchcraft in the Orkneys.

Jonet Drever, in 1615, fostered a "bairne to the fary folk;" she was scourged and banished. Katherine Bigland, in 1615, transferred sickness from one man to another; she was hanged and burnt. Elspeth Reoch, in 1676, got the gift of seeing anything she desired; she was tried (*see* pp. 271-273 for an account of the scene), convicted, strangled, and burnt. The trials contained in the *Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club* (No. 101) are also referred to.

P. 168, the accusation of Marion Peebles or Pardone, who was burnt in 1644 (*see* Hibbert's *Shetland*, No. 84), is quoted in illustration of the belief that human beings could change themselves into sea-animals.

#### 1884

148. A Historical Account of the Belief in Witchcraft in Scotland. By Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., of Hoddam Castle.

London: Hamilton, Adams & Co.

Glasgow: Thomas D. Morrison. 1884.

8vo. Pp. 268.

A reprint of Sharpe's Prefatory Notice, already referred to (No. 77), made because it is such an admirable *résumé* of the history of Scottish witchcraft, and because the original work is now scarce, and commands so high a price that it is not easily got.

It is a handy volume, for, besides being in 8vo, it is divided into chapters, and at the end there is added an excellent list of the most important Scottish witchcraft books, though it does not describe them in detail from the bibliographer's point of view.

#### 1885

149. Culross and Tulliallan or Perthshire on Forth Its History and Antiquities with Elucidations of Scottish Life and Character from the Burgh and Kirk-Session Records of that District By David Beveridge In Two Volumes

William Blackwood and Sons Edinburgh and London MDCCLXXXV

8vo.

Vol. I. pp. 202-204 (1643).—The kirk session busy with witches. Spalding (*History of the Troubles in Scotland and England, 1624-1645*) quoted about numbers of witches in Fife who were burnt.

Pp. 236-239 (1650).—A man, John Aitkene, accused of consulting with witches anent his wife's sickness. Curious case of charming.

Pp. 288-290 (1656).—Elspeth Craich kept prisoner as a confessing witch. Failure of the Culross Council to bring her to trial, and her consequent dismissal.

P. 318 (1662).—She was again apprehended, and two men set to watch her day and night.

Pp. 348-350.—Witch trials as numerous under the Episcopal as under the Presbyterian sway, but very few occurred at Culross, and apparently no executions. Some of the accused were possessed of property, which the magistrates claimed.

Vol. II. pp. 109-114 (about 1716 or 1717 and later).—Notices of witchcraft and charming at



Torryburn, under the Rev. A. Logan's regime. "He is principally remembered for his zeal in the prosecution of witches, for which the above named parish used to be so famous."

P. 267.—Those accused of witchcraft were imprisoned "in a vast void apartment" in Culross Church tower.

150. Old Church Life in Scotland: Lectures on Kirk-Session and Presbytery Records. By Andrew Edgar, Minister at Mauchline. . . .

Alexander Gardner, Paisley; and . . . London. 1885. Second Series. 1886.

8vo.

These volumes consist of extracts from the Kirk-Session Records of Mauchline and some other places in Ayrshire, with a commentary illustrating the life of the country and the general tenor of belief for a couple of centuries. Among the subjects witchcraft is touched upon (First Series, pp. 261-70), but there is no real case quoted, and no regular witch trial.

151. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. With an Introduction by Henry Morley, LL.D., Professor of English Literature at University College, London. Second Edition.

London: George Routledge and Sons, Broadway, Ludgate Hill.

New York: 9 Lafayette Place. 1885.

8vo. Pp. 320.

Vol. 12 of Morley's "Universal Library." First edition, 1884. The Introduction (pp. 5-8) contains a sympathetic note on the author.

#### 1886

152. An Ayrshire Witch, by A[ndrew] Macgeorge. Reprinted from "Good Words." For Private Circulation.

London: Isbister & Co., Limited. 1886.

Small 4to. Pp. 12. Portrait of the witch, as frontispiece.

An account of Bell McGhie, born 1760, Kelton, Kirkcudbright; died 1836. She used spells for cures, but she was not a witch in the true sense, for she had made no compact with the devil either as a black or white witch.

#### 1888

153. Side-Lights on the Stuarts by F[rederick] A[ndrew] Inderwick, Q.C. With Illustrations

London Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington Limited St Dunstan's House Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, E.C. 1888

[All rights reserved]

8vo. Pp. [8] 434 [2]. 16 Illustrations.

Chapter 17 deals with witchcraft, pp. 123-194.

The Scotch items are:—Fian's and Agnes Sampson's case. The *Demonologie*, which is pretty fully analysed. Janet Douglas, the dumb girl, who was a witch finder in the Maxwell case, p. 170. The Bargarran witches, 175; Major Weir, who, the author states, was burnt in 1700. That date is wrong; it is 1670, and in a note he quotes Scott, that it was on the 12th April 1670, at the Gallowhill, between Leith and Edinburgh (p. 175). Reference also is made to the prickers, p. 170, though Kincaid is not spoken of by name. In the year 1722 was the last burning in Scotland.

The author is very much puzzled over the phenomena of witchcraft, and asks what explanation of it is to be given. He seems to have a belief that there was something queer about it. He

admits, however, that the witch could not be revived at the present day. Is not the question rather, Why did witchcraft so suddenly cease when the penalties were abolished?

The authorities he depends upon are the following:—Sir W. Scott's *Letters on Demonology; News (sic) from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Dr Frain (sic); Demonologie, 1597, 1603*, and the MS. Fonthill Sale, £10, 5s., quoted from Lowndes (under this head he refers to the statement that Bacon wrote "Macbeth" out of compliment to King James, and brought in the witches out of compliment to the *Demonologie*); *Retrospective Review; Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug. 1777; Gough's *Topography of Edinburgh*, ii. p. 672; Sir Geo. Mackenzie, for the confession of witches.

154. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. One Hundred and eighth Session. 1887-88. Vol. x., New Series.

Edinburgh: Printed for the Society by Neill and Company. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

4to.

Pp. 211-241—Notice of Trials for Witchcraft at Crook of Devon, Kinross-shire, in 1662. By R. Burns Begg, F.S.A. Scot. Copy of the Minutes of an Assize Court of Justiciary held at Crook of Devon. This is the first publication of these trials. They are similar to all the others, and most of the women were strangled and burnt. As an original account this is of importance. The clergy are again luridly conspicuous.

Pp. 241-262—The Confessions of the Forfar Witches (1661), From the Original Documents in the Society's Library, By Joseph Anderson, LL.D., Assistant Secretary and Keeper of the Museum. There is some difference in the order of the parts, and there are verbal differences, but all this was already printed in 1848 in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Scotiæ* (see No. 115). It is curious the editor did not know that; but perhaps he did not consider it of any importance to mention the fact, if he was aware of it.

### 1889

155. Witch, Warlock, & Magician Historical Sketches of Magic and Witchcraft in England and Scotland By W[illiam] H[enry] Davenport Adams

"Dreams and the light imaginings of men."—SHELLEY.

London: Chatto & Windus, Piccadilly 1889

8vo. Pp. viii. 428.

The chapter on Scottish witchcraft occupies pp. 303-377, and the author says it is based on the trials in Pitcairn's book.

The chief stories are the following:—Bessie Dunlop and Thome Reid (1576); Alison Pierson and William Simpson (1588); Lady Fowlis and Hector Munro (1590); Fian, Agnes Sampson, Euphame Macalzean (1591); King James's attitude towards the subject. Then follow the Forfar and Kincardine witch trials about 1662, taken from Begg's account in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (see No. 154); the Auldearne witches (1662), as represented by Isobel Gowdie. The case of Janet Wishart, wife of John Leyis (1591), is told at considerable length, and the cost of burning her and another witch is given (see this case in Burton's *Trials*, No. 118). Examples of the kind of accusations upon which witches were arraigned are quoted, especially that against Helen Frazer, 1597, who was found guilty mainly on her own confession. Numbers of burnings took place, and a Dean of Guild of Aberdeen got a grant for his diligence in burning witches, as well as for other good qualities. (See 1841, No. 107.) After the reaction against witch executions began, men of influence, like Professor Forbes, still believed in it (see No. 47).

The last chapter is devoted to books about witchcraft. It is confined, however, mainly to the controversial literature of the subject, and the special tracts which narrate cases of bewitching are not referred to. There is also a list of short titles of the more important histories and discussions on the subject. The only section which requires special mention is that on the *Demonologie* (pp.

399-403). A very brief abstract of it is given. It may not be out of place to mention that there are numerous misprints in the proper names in this book.

## 1893

156. Witchcraft in Kenmore 1730-57: Extracts From The Kirk Session Records of the Parish, Compiled by John Christie, Bolfracks Cottage, Aberfeldy.  
Aberfeldy: Published by Duncan Cameron & Son. 1893.

8vo. Pp. 19 [1 blank].

One of the cases was about a charm to recover milk. The persons "were rebuked and suitably exhorted." This happened so late as 1747. In 1753 a similar case occurred, and the woman was rebuked. In 1757 a man was accused of doing hurt to another on the day of his marriage by enchantments. The record is not complete about the case.

157. Scotland before 1700 from Contemporary Documents Edited by P[eter] Hume Brown Author of The Life of George Buchanan  
Edinburgh: David Douglas 1893 [*All Rights reserved*]

8vo. Pp. xix. [1] 368.

This book contains, pp. 207-217, "A Trial for Witchcraft." It is that of Bessie Dunlop for her intercourse with Thome Reid. The narrative is simply reprinted from Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. 1., pp. 49-58 (No. 96), and contains nothing new.

- 158 The Secret Commonwealth of | Elves, Fauns, & Fairies | A Study in Folk-Lore & Psychological Research. The | Text by Robert Kirk, M.A., Minister of | Aberfoyle, A.D. 1691. The Comment | by Andrew Lang, M.A. | A.D. 1893. | London, M.D.CCCXCIII. Published by David | Nutt, In The Strand

8vo. Pp. lxxv. [1 blank, 1 with a silhouette: "Puss-in-Boots smells a rat." 1 blank] 92 [2, list of the volumes of the Bibliothèque de Carabas, of which the present is Vol. VIII.]. Frontispiece of a Highlander and a Fairy in the Moonlight. On the cover is a picture of Puss-in-Boots reading a book by a window.

In the introduction the editor discusses the history of the author and his book, "The Subterranean Inhabitants," "Fairyland and Hades," "Fairies and Psychological Research," "Second Sight" and "Telepathy." This introduction is devised to bring out the parallelism between the older beliefs and manifestations, and those of quite recent date. The subject is more fully considered in the collection of essays, by the editor, No. 160.

159. Aberdeen Its Traditions and History with Notices of Some Eminent Aberdonians By William Robbie Author of "The Heir of Glendornie," etc.  
Aberdeen: D. Wylie & Son 1893

8vo.

Pp. 159-164 contain a brief summary of the aspects of the witch mania; the belief; the powers of witches; their assemblies; the suspicion, the accusation, the evidence, swimming, pricking, &c., the execution, and the public eagerness for the spectacle. Trials were abolished in 1736. The author says that thirty persons were burned alive during the last ten years of the sixteenth century beside the Heading Hill, and that the victims to the mania in Scotland alone numbered about 4000 persons. He mentions a certain Andrew Man, who, to escape punishment as a warlock, turned witch-finder, and subjected the victims submitted to him to the usual treatment.

## 1894

160. Cock-Lane and Common-Sense By Andrew Lang.  
London: Longmans, Green, & Co., and New York: 15 East 16th Street. 1894.



8vo. Pp. xvi. 357 [3 blank].

This volume deals rather with the phenomena which fall under the term "spiritualistic" than with witchcraft properly so called. It is included in the present list because it contains a chapter on second sight, earlier books on which topic have been already mentioned. This chapter treats of the subject of the preceding volume (No. 158) in a more general way. There are short passing references to the stories of Ringcroft, Glenluce, Bargarran, Torphichen, and others, which are not described, but are introduced in illustration of certain general principles. Compare No. 98.

## 1895

161. The Isle of Bute in the Olden Time . . . By [Rev.] James King Hewison, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.) . . .

William Blackwood and Sons Edinburgh and London MDCCCXCV

Two volumes 4to.

Vol. II. pp. 261-270.—Most of this is occupied with fairies, charming, and superstitious practices, the belief in which and the consulting with those who had the secrets were not far removed from witchcraft, for Jeane (or Janet) Campbell was forbidden to give physic or herbs for "desperate diseases" "under certification that she shall be esteemed a witch if she do so;" and Janet Morison got the same warning. These cautions came from the kirk-session and not from the physicians. The only real case of witchcraft, and of the execution of the victim, was that of Janet M'Nicol. She was accused of meeting the devil in 1661, had been "delated" by other witches (four of whom were executed in 1662), had escaped from prison, and was subsequently apprehended in 1673, tried, and strangled (pp. 262-263).

## 1896

162. A History of Dumfries and Galloway By Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P. Author of "The Topography of Galloway," etc.

William Blackwood and Sons Edinburgh and London MDCCCXCVI. All rights reserved.

8vo. Pp. xv. [1] 411 [1 blank]. 4 maps.

P. 231 refers to the inconsistency of those who, while suppressing "the practices of the Roman Church on the ground of their idolatry and superstition, were indefatigable in framing Acts of horrible cruelty and iniquity against witchcraft." King James's attitude is ascribed to fear. Apparently there was no witchcraft superstition in Dumfriesshire and Galloway till the middle of the seventeenth century. Then witch-hunting was taken up by the authorities of the Presbyterian Church. Compare No. 127, p. 384.

P. 258 (April 2, 1659).—Ten women put on trial at Dumfries. One got off; nine strangled and burnt to ashes.

P. 259 (1698).—Elspeth M'Ewen was charged with bewitching cows and hens. She was tortured in the prison at Kirkcudbright and burnt.

In the case of Maggie Osborne, an elder of New Luce deponed that after she had received the communion in the Moor Kirk of Luce, he saw her spit out the wafer at the church door, and the devil, in the shape of a toad, swallowed it. Maggie was burnt at Ayr.

Since the preceding was completed, my attention has been directed to the following, which may be inserted, even if out of place.

## 1720

163. A Sermon Preached at Mid-Calder On Thursday, January 14th, 1720. Being a Congregational Fast In that Place. By Mr. John Wilkie Minister of the Gospel at Uphall. Edinburgh: Printed by Mr. James M'Euen and Company, and are to be sold at his Shop on the North-side of the Street a little below the Cross. 1720.

Small 12mo. A to D in fours, E two; or, pp. 35 [1 blank].

This sermon on James iv. 7 was preached on the occasion of the Torphichen affair (*see* Nos. 46, 54, 77, &c.). The first part of the sermon is a sound enough exhortation to lead a moral and religious life, couched, however, in a now quite obsolete phraseology and imagery. But in the second part there is an address to the two persons who had confessed that they were "guilty of this Wickedness," namely of having "taken on with the Devil, to serve and obey him," which shows what a real belief the minister and his audience and the accused must have had in the reality of it. The belief was evidently so sincere that, while one may wonder at the delusion and be appalled by the consequences of it, one may respect the earnestness of the man's endeavours to do his best for all concerned.

I am indebted to M'Call's *History of Mid-Calder* (No. 172) for the reference to this.

## 1817

164. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Vol. 1. April-September, 1817. [Vignette of George Buchanan.]

Edinburgh: Printed for William Blackwood, No. 17, Prince's Street, Edinburgh: and Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, Paternoster Row, London. 1817.

8vo.

- P. 167. "Depositionnes of Issoll Haldane suspect of Wychcraft, confessit be her the 10 of Maij 1623." . . . From the records of the Kirk-Session of Perth, 1623. *See* Nos. 96 and 116.  
 P. 497. "Commioun for examinating of Witcheis." "Apud Haliruidhous, Oct. 26. 1591."  
 P. 498. "Commission for trying John Stewart and Margaret Barclay, Accused of Witchcraft.— 1618." *See* No. 120.

165. The Edinburgh Magazine, and Literary Miscellany; A New Series of the Scots Magazine. Vol. 1. August-December, 1817.

Edinburgh: Printed by George Ramsay & Company, for Archibald Constable and Company, Edinburgh; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London. 1817.

8vo.

The October number contains (pp. 199-207) an original article entitled: "Some Account of the Witches of Pittenweem, in the County of Fife, about the Beginning of Last Century."

It opens with some general considerations on witchcraft and with the laws relating to it, and then it goes into the events which led to the murder of Janet Cornfoot, based on the pamphlets printed in 1705 (*see* Nos. 39, 40, 168). There is a copy of the "Act and Protection to Bettie Laing," and also of the "Approbation of the Report of the Committee anent the Murder att Pittenweem," and of the "Report of the Committee appointed to inquire after the Murder committed at Pittenweem."

## 1847

166. The Book of Perth: an Illustration of the Moral and Ecclesiastical State of Scotland before and after the Reformation. With Introduction, Observations, and Notes, by John Parker Lawson, M.A.

Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 87. Prince's Street. M.DCCC.XLVII.

8vo. Pp. [i.-ix.] x.-xl. 318 [2] 4 plates.

Incidentally there are allusions to witches and witch accusations throughout this book, from the Kirk-Session Register.

- P. 135. Dec. 20, 1580. The Assembly ordained the witch to be banished the town. Her name is not specified.
- P. 141. Feb. 12, 1581-2. A Suspected Witch, name not given, warned to appear.
- P. 144. Apr. 16, 1582. James Syme (box-master) to give the witch in the Tolbooth eight doits (8-12ths of a penny sterling) in the day.
- P. 188. Nov. 2, 1589. Guddal Watson falsely accused of witchcraft.
- P. 191. Dec. 1, 1589. Violet Brown or Moncrief accused of turning the riddle with sheers, a point of witchcraft and devilry.
- P. 229. Nov. 23, 1597. Kirk-Session ordains the Magistrates to travel with his Majesty to obtain a commission to execute Janet Robertson, sorcerer. This was ultimately obtained, and Janet Robertson, Marion Macause, and Bessie Ireland were burnt on the South Inch, Sept. 9, 1598.
- P. 270. May 30, 1615. Marion Murdoch accused of witchcraft, to be warded until she be tried.
- P. 298. Dec. 18, 1620. James Stewart, suspected, to be tried by the Town Council and Kirk-Session.
- P. 302. Apr. 16, 1623. Margaret Hornsleuch accused of witchcraft upon cows and a sick child.
- P. 303. June 3, 1623. Expenses connected with witches.
- July 24, 1623. Janet Barry accused for consulting witches about her child's health.
- P. 304. Aug. 11, 1623. Janet Jackson also accused for consulting witches about her child's health; Duncan Tawis and his wife similarly accused; and Grizzel Espline, who sought help of Margaret Hornsleuch for remeid of her disease.
- P. 307. Apr. 26, 1626. Bessie Wright suspected of witchcraft in curing of sick folk—confessed she had a very old book whence she had her skill, and that it was taken from her. She was warned not to attempt to cure people.
- P. 309. Dec. 30, 1634. Robert Thomson accused of allowing his child to be charmed.

The above had been already printed in *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, 1845, No. 113.

## 1852

167. Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds. By Charles Mackay, LL.D. Author of "Egeria," "The Salamandrine," etc. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. Vol. 1. [Vol. II.]

N'en déplaie à ces fous nommés sages de Grèce,  
En ce monde il n'est point de parfaite sagesse;  
Tous les hommes sont fous, et malgré tous leurs soins  
Ne diffèrent entre eux que du plus on du moins.

BOILEAU.

London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 227 Strand. 1852.

8vo. Vol. 1. pp. viii. 303 [1], Frontispiece and extra title. Vol. II. pp. viii. 324, Frontispiece and extra title. Vol. II. pp. 101-191 contains an account of the witch mania. It is a reprint of that in the 1841 edition. See No. 106.



## 1869

168. *Fifiana: or, Memorials of the East of Fife.* By M[atthew] F[orster] Conolly, Author of "Fifeshire Biography," "Life of Bp. Low," "Professor Tennant," &c. [Printer's Monogram.]

Glasgow: John Tweed, 11 St. Enoch Square. MDCCCLXIX.

4to.

Pp. 216-221. The case of Janet Cornfoot and Beatrix Laing at Pittenweem. See Nos. 37, 39, 40, 165. "A large share of the responsibility for these prosecutions rests upon the minister of the parish, Mr Couper, who appears to have been a weak, meddlesome, injudicious man, full of the witch-superstition of his time, and not over scrupulous in his treatment of accused persons." The author says "that prosecutions and death for witchcraft were not confined to Pittenweem. It has been computed that the numbers of persons executed for that crime exceeded in Scotland 4000; in England, 30,000; and in Germany, 100,000." Compare the numbers given in No. 171.

## 1880

169. *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith, Grange, Ruthven, Cairney, and Botriphnie: Events, Places, and Persons.* By the Rev. J[ames] F[rederick] S[kinner] Gordon, D.D., S. Andrew's, Glasgow, Author of *Scotichronicon*, *Monasticon*, *Glasghu Facies*, *Meteorology*, *Sermons*, *Pastorals*, *Letters*, etc., etc.

Glasgow: Robert Forrester, 1 Royal Exchange Square. 1880.

8vo. Pp. xi. [1] 461 [3 blank].

Two or three sections are devoted to the consideration of witchcraft and other superstitions.

- P. 52. The pool in the Isla where the Keith witches were drowned.  
 P. 53. Agnes Sampsone—the wise wife of Keith—mentioned by Arnot, Pitcairn, and others, did not belong to Keith, Banffshire, but to Nether Keith, Midlothian.  
 P. 54. Andro Man, of Tarbrulich, parish of Rathven, Banffshire, a notable warlock, was accused of measuring off certain pieces of land for a Spirit called the *Hynd Knight*, and charming the same. He was also accused of knowing the Queen of Elphin, and *Christsonday* or the *Gudemán*, i.e., the devil.  
 P. 55. General remarks on Scottish witchcraft. Pricking, swimming, &c. Conjurations by Agnes Sampson, Fian, Geilie Duncan; by a witch tried at Inverkeithney, Oct. 5, 1651; by Isbel Forbes, noted by John Ros, Minister at Lumphanan, 1597; Accusation of Isobell Scudder and her daughter, Jan. 29, 1597, before the Session of Dyce; Ellen Gray, Jan. 29, 1597; Margrat Og, April 4, 1597; Isobell Skuddar, Feb. 22, 1597; Katherine Gerrard, accused of putting witchcraft on Walter Innes' Mill, and getting Christen Reid to take it off again.  
 P. 58. Executions in Aberdeen, and the cost of the same. Appearance and shapes assumed by the devil.

For most of the preceding see *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, 1841, No. 107.

## 1885

170. *Aberdour and Inchcolme Being Historical Notices of the Parish and Monastery In Twelve Lectures* By the Rev. William Ross, LL.D. Author of 'Burgh Life in Dunfermline in the olden Time,' 'Pastoral Work in the Covenanting Times,' 'Busby and its Neighbourhood,' etc.

Edinburgh: David Douglas 1885

8vo. Pp. xix. [1] 407 [1]. There is a frontispiece of Inchcolme Abbey, included in the pagination.

Chapter XI. (pp. 315-345) deals with the superstitions of the locality in the seventeenth century, of which the most remarkable was witchcraft. Prosecution of witchcraft justifiable in part from the point of view of the time, pp. 319-20. Michelet's theory; belief in witchcraft common to all classes in every country, and not peculiar to Scotland, p. 321. Witches' prophecy about Queen Mary's marriage; Patrick Adamson's illness; "Kate the witch;" Earl of Angus in his illness refused to consult Richard Graham, a notorious wizard; King James' *Demonology*, and his experiences of the witches of North Berwick, and John Feane, pp. 321-323.

Not much about witchcraft in Aberdour, the chief period being during the incumbency of Mr Robert Bruce, who went into the business very thoroughly. The first burning was in 1649, several witches probably were executed, and on the 5th July 1649 a commission was granted for administering justice upon the witches in the parish of Aberdour, p. 324.

On the 14th May 1650 Janet Anderson complained to the Session that two women had called her a witch, and asked the Session to investigate the matter. There being doubt about the evidence, they tried to get a "brodder," but nothing came of that, and Janet appears to have got off, pp. 325-28.

In 1654 Margaret Cant asked the Session to clear her of being a witch. The Session declined to interfere, p. 329.

In July 1661 Bruce and his elders got Margaret Currie and Catharine Robertson and Margaret Cant apprehended. Cant and Currie confessed, and accused Janet Bell. She was "brodded," and they all in their confession accused Susanna Alexander, who was sent to prison. Cant, Robertson, and Bell were probably burned, pp. 329-30.

Instruments of torture and the final execution, p. 331.

Mr Bruce in 1663 reported to the Kirk-Session that he had got the names of several, who had been accused by dying witches at Auchtertool, but nothing seems to have been done.

In 1681 Bessie Lamb accused Elspeth Kirkland of bewitching her husband. Bessie had to crave Elspeth's pardon, pp. 332-34.

Various superstitions, such as divination by the Bible and key, and the riddle and shears, pp. 334-37.

Witchcraft at Inverkeithing. Zeal for witch-hunting displayed by the minister, Mr Walter Bruce, pp. 337-39.

Case of the lady of Pittadro, who, being accused and imprisoned, committed suicide. Bruce involved in it, pp. 339-42. (*See Tales of a Grandfather*, Chap. XLVII.)

Troubles of the bailies in connection with witch cases. Certain of their wives suspected, but their trials did not progress so actively as those which preceded them. A parliamentary commission appointed on the 31st July 1649 to enquire into the delay, but nothing happened, and there was no more word of the witches of Inverkeithing, pp. 341-43.

Bruce, accused of "gross neglects" of his special duties by reason of his witch-hunts, was deposed on June 26, 1650, p. 343.

In 1597 Janet Smyth was "worriet and brunt to the death" at Burntisland, and in 1598 Janet Allane was "quick burnt to the death." The Rev. John Smith, minister of Leslie, afterwards of Burntisland, was distinguished as a witch-doctor, and tried to deal with the epidemic, pp. 343-44.

## 1891

171. Witchcraft in Scotland, by F. Legge. In *The Scottish Review* for October 1891. 8vo. No. 36. Vol. XVIII. Pp. 257-288.

This is a brief survey of the main features of the witchcraft mania in Scotland. The author notices the unaccountable nature of the outburst, the very early executions for sorcery, the Act of 1563, the action taken upon it by the Reformed Clergy, the case of Fian, King James's attitude and the beginning of the panic. Numerous executions occurred, but at last the King revoked the Commissions. In 1640 the persecutions were renewed, but they were stopped under Cromwell. They broke out again violently at the Restoration, but after 1662 began to decline, and only occasional

executions occur, till the penal laws were abolished. The author calculates from various data that during the time the mania lasted 3400 persons, possibly a good many more, perished. He next discusses the crime for which they were put to death, the procedure at the trial, the use of torture, pricking, swimming (which the author doubts), the want of fairness to the accused in the public trial, the sentence and execution. The clergy, as a body, were more anxious for the conviction of the accused than the lay judges, but individual ministers behaved sometimes with indefensible brutality, themselves pricking the accused. Janet Cornfoot's treatment is specially referred to (*see* Nos 37, 39, 40). The persecutions were equally keen under presbytery and episcopacy, but persons of rank were allowed to pass without accusation. The author is unable to account for the origin of the persecution in Europe, but regards its sudden cessation as due to the study of science. Witchcraft, in his opinion, can never be revived.

The question as to the number of victims discussed in this paper is an interesting one, and answers have been attempted by more than one writer. The results, however, are far from concordant. For example, Ady (No. 13, p. 105) puts the number at 4000, and Robbie (No. 159) calculates the same. Howard Williams (No. 125) assumes 8000 to have been executed in forty years. Mackay (No. 106, Vol. II. p. 227, No. 167, Vol. II. p. 135) speaks as follows:—"Upon a very moderate calculation, it is presumed that from the passing of the act of Queen Mary till the accession of James to the throne of England, a period of thirty-nine years, the average number of executions for witchcraft in Scotland was two hundred annually, or upwards of seventeen thousand altogether. For the first nine years, the number was not one quarter so great; but towards the years 1590 to 1593, the number must have been more than four hundred." There must be something wrong either with the author's data or with his arithmetic, for thirty-nine times two hundred will yield only 7800. Sands (No. 143) gives the same number, but without any data. Legge says that "very wild estimates of the numbers were formerly made:" Ray (compare No. 121) gives 120 in ten days, in 1661; Mackay as above, with 4000 between 1650 (1640?) and the ten years following; Rogers, 1479 to 1735, 7500. Legge himself, under certain contingencies, would be inclined to multiply his total of 3400 by ten, which would surpass even the wildest estimate he has referred to. Such wide variations in the totals, the very admission that on one basis the sum may be 3400, on another 34,000, seem to me to prove that the data are not complete, or are too unreliable for yielding a definite result.

This is not a question of sentiment, but one of fact. Even a single person tortured or executed for witchcraft reveals quite as dreadful a state of the public mind as the actual number, whatever it was. But what was the number? The answers hitherto are not convincing.

## 1894

172. The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Mid-Calder with some account of the Religious House of Torphichen Founded upon Record By Hardy Bertram M'Call, F.S.A. Author of "Some Old Families" etc. [Vignette]  
Edinburgh Richard Cameron, 1 St David Street 1894
- 4to. Pp. viii. 272. Frontispiece, Map, Pedigree, and two plates of the church.
- Reference is made to witchcraft in the parish, p. 31. The Cunnigar, or Witches' Knowe, possibly the place of execution.
- |        |          |       |   |
|--------|----------|-------|---|
|        | Feb.     | 1644. | Agnes Bischope condemned.   |
| P. 32. |          | 1644. | Expenses connected with Jonet Bruce, executed, defrayed by her husband, David Aikman.                             |
|        | Nov. 17, | 1644. | Accusations against Margret Thomson by various persons, some of them witches.                                     |
| P. 33. | Dec.     | 1644. | Complaint by Margret Thomson as to bad usage at the hands of the Tutor and Minister.<br>Patrick Sandilands' case. |



- P. 78. James, 7th Lord Torphichen, in 1706, presided over a commission to inquire into the case of George and Lachlan Rattray in Inverness. They were ordained to be executed. He was the father of the so-called bewitched Patrick.
- P. 127. Rev. John Wilkie, author of a sermon on witchcraft, preached in Mid-Calder church on 14th January 1720, and published in that year. There is a copy in the Advocates' Library. See No. 163. It was "in the main a sensible discourse directed against superstitious influences and beliefs."
- P. 180. Joseph Douglas of Pumprastoun was the person to be poisoned by Euphane M'Calyean, who was executed in 1590 (?) for witchcraft (see Arnot, No. 60).
- P. 225. Rev. Hew Kennedie's crusade against the Calder witches in 1643-44. Case of Agnes  
P. 226. Bischope above mentioned.
- P. 235. It was during the ministry of Mr Lookup, in 1720, that the trouble arose about the Calder  
P. 236. witches. It was confessed to by an ignorant woman, Ellen Fogo. Mitchel (see No. 46) came to exorcise the evil spirit.

§ 10. An analysis of this Catalogue shows that the literature falls into the following groups:—

(a) Original works: *Newes from Scotland*, Sinclar's book (first edition), *Daemonologie*, Telfair's tract, Bell's *Witchcraft*, the early editions of the Bargarran story, the Pittenweem murder, Frazer's *Second Sight*, the Tinclarian Doctor's address, and one or two more recent items.

(b) Reprints from MS. records and reports of trials. These are made from kirk-session, parish, and justiciary records, and are contained in different volumes of the book clubs, in the proceedings of antiquarian and other societies, and in collections relating to the history of the country. Examples of such are afforded by the publications of Sharpe, Pitcairn, the Abbotsford, Spalding, and Spottiswoode Clubs, the Society of Antiquaries, and so on.

These do not appeal as books to the collector, of course, but they are indispensable to the student and historian. They furnish original narratives in a convenient and accessible form, and save the labour of consulting and deciphering the original manuscripts in the localities where they are preserved.

(c) Upon the preceding are based all other works which have been produced on the subject. Such books may be distinguished by a greater or less degree of literary merit, but they cannot possibly add anything to the knowledge derived from the original account. The narratives may be condensed, or pruned, or glossed, or modified to please what is called the "reading public," or to suit the necessities of a publisher, or to enhance the reputation of the compiler; but the student who is desirous of getting at the facts will,

if prudent, confine himself to the original records, and leave the later histories and compilations alone.

§ 11. From the collector's and bibliographer's point of view the original Scottish literature is meagre. The gems of such a collection are not more than a score, and most of them are enumerated in § 10. *a*. These, of course, are difficult to obtain, and are great prizes when they do occur.

Compared with the corresponding literature of other countries, of England, for instance, it offers few attractions. That is due to the manner in which the subject has been dealt with in the two countries respectively. In Scotland the reports of the trials were written down in the kirk-session's minutes, or in the justiciary records, and after the victims were disposed of, their "malefices" were forgotten, and a fresh crop of witches sprang up to absorb the attention of the people. Nobody cared to have the trials to read. In England, on the other hand, the trials and narratives were printed as they occurred, in separate pamphlets or volumes. These seem to have been run after and used, for there is no class of books rarer than these witchcraft reports. Of some of them I have never had the fortune to see a copy in any sale catalogue, or in any collection of books on the subject.

The collector of English witchcraft tracts has a much larger field to cultivate than his Scottish compeer. One may regret that our witch-burning clergy had not printed the account of each case as it came before them. The modern collector would, perhaps, have thought more highly of them than he can well do.

§ 12. The list which I have drawn up does not profess to enumerate all the editions of books therein mentioned, or to include reviews and magazine articles, and the allusions in topographical books to the witch events of their respective districts. Some of these have been quoted, but I have not yet had the opportunity of consulting a topographical library where such references could be exhausted.

There is possibly a good deal relating to witchcraft still in manuscript, which may be printed in course of time. Judging from the examples of such previously unprinted documents as have recently appeared, it is unlikely that any new feature will be revealed. The charges, the tortures, the confessions, and the executions will be of the same kind as those in the trials

with which one is already familiar, and we shall only get further confirmation of the fact that, in Scotland, as in the rest of Western Europe, people were insanè on the subject of witchcraft, and of demoniacal interference with the laws of nature.

CONFESSION OF A WITCH. 1643.

The frontispiece is a facsimile of an original document from a volume of MSS., &c., formed by the late Charles Baxter, Esq., Editor of *Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife, 1611-1687* (Abbotsford Club 1837). It is now in the possession of the Secretary of the Society. The following is a transcript of the Confession :—

At the burgh off craill the penult day off october 1<sup>m</sup> vi<sup>c</sup> & flourtie three yeiris, In presens off ws underscryvand Agnes wallace being in hand as ane witch, ves demandit how long since she entrit the Devillis service, sche ansuerit that as sche thocht about thrie or four and fourtie yeiris for sche being as sche supposit ves witchit be vmq<sup>ll</sup> margaret wood her mother. Sche wes sent to wilmerstoun be Jonnett Inglis relict off vmq<sup>ll</sup> thomas Cunyngham & vmq<sup>ll</sup> Barbara balfour spouis to Jhon Alexr. bailye off Anstrother to ane David Spens and stayit y<sup>r</sup> ane space & come hame weill. Sicylke being inquiryt quha wes Lady vilmerston for y<sup>e</sup> tyme sche ans writ ane very guid honest woman callit Agnes Durie.

MASTER PA. LYNDSEY  
*Witnes.*

GEORGE MELDRUM, *Witnes.*  
 JAMES MONCREIFF, *Witnes.*

C. DINGWALL.



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## ADDENDA.

The two works following have just come into my hands, and are in time to be included as a supplement to the *Bibliographical Notes*. Notwithstanding the difference of their dates, 1697 (two hundred years ago) and 1891, both are rare, though from dissimilar causes. Both are interesting as showing how the topic appeals to readers in very different eras of civilisation and knowledge, and one is instructive as exhibiting the attitude of mind which is possible towards such a topic, after the lapse of two centuries.

1697

173. . MEMORABLE PROVIDENCES, | Relating to | WITCHCRAFTS | and POSSESSIONS : | A Faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising | Things, that have befallen several *Bewitched* and *Pos- | sessed* Persons in *New-England*. | Particularly, a NARRATIVE of the marvellous *Trouble* | and *Relief*, Experienced by a pious Family in *Boston*, | very lately and sadly molested with Evil SPIRITS. | *Where- unto is added*, | A Discourse delivered unto a Congregation in *Boston*, on | the Occasion of that *Illustrious Providence*. | As also, A Discourse delivered unto the same Congre- | gation ; on the occasion of an horrible *Self-Murder* | Committed in the Town. | With an Appendix, in vindication of a Chapter in a | late Book of Remarkable Providences, from the Ca- | lumnies of a Quaker at *Pen-silvania*. | *Written by Cotton Mather, Minister of the Gospel*. | And Recommended by the Ministers | of *Boston* and *Charleston*. |

[Prin]ted at *Boston* in *New-England*, and Re-prin[ted at | *Edinbur*]gh by the Heirs and Successors of *A[ndrew | Ander]son* Printer to His most Excellent [Maje] | sty, *Anno DOM. 1697*. |

Small 12mo. A in 12, B in 8, C in 4, D in 8, E in 4, F in 8, G in 4, H in 4, I in 2 ; or pp. [6] 102.

A1, Title. A2 *recto*, To the Honourable Wait Winthrop (*sic*), Esq.; *verso*, to the Reader, ends A3 *recto*. A3 *verso*, the Introduction. A4 *recto*, the text, to the end of the volume.

It is a chap-book, very badly printed. The title-page is imperfect in the imprint. What seems to be wanting I have enclosed in brackets, and I have marked the apparent divisions of the lines.

The original work was published at Boston, in New-England, in 1689, and as the present edition has the same title, and intimates that it is a reprint, I have little doubt that it was taken from a copy of the original, which had found its way to Scotland, rather than from the edition printed at London, 1691, for Tho. Parkhurst, called "the second impression." The title of this latter is : "Late | Memorable Providences | Relating to | *Witchcrafts* and *Possessions*, | Clearly Manifesting, | Not only that there are Witches, but | that Good Men | (as well as others) | may possibly have their Lives shortned | by such evil Instruments of Satan. |"—which is quite a different version. Moreover, the London edition has a long preface by Richard Baxter, dated London, September 30th, 1690, which is not contained in the Edinburgh reprint ; while the Edinburgh edition contains

"A confession of a Boy at Tocutt," which is wanting in that of London ; otherwise the contents of the books are the same.

All three editions are referred to by Mr Justin Winsor (*The Literature of Witchcraft in New-England*, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., 1896, p. 8), but as he gives no particulars about the Edinburgh reprint, not even its date, I suppose he has not been successful in seeing a copy. I have not noticed one in any accessible library catalogue. At present, this copy is unique.

It may be a question whether this book should have a place in a catalogue of Scottish witchcraft. The only reason for including it is that it was printed and published in Edinburgh, and must therefore have been intended to supply the wants of Scottish readers interested in witchcraft ; as, indeed, who at the time was not ? The similarity of the events would, doubtless, help to confirm the belief of its readers in the cause of the phenomena, and the book must have been a popular one, for the edition has all but disappeared.

## 1891

174. Scottish Witchcraft Trials. By J. W. Brodie-Innes, Master of the Rolls To the Sette of Odd Volumes. Read before the Sette at a Meeting held at Limmer's Hotel, on Friday, 7th November, 1890.

Imprinted at The Chiswick Press, Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, London. MDCCCXCI.

Small square 8vo. Pp. 66 [1 with imprint, 1 blank].

In this copy the fourth leaf has been cut out. It may have contained the name of the member of the Sette to whom this copy belonged.

This is No. XXV. of the Privately Printed Opuscula issued to Members of the Sette, and 245 copies were printed.

The chief cases referred to are Bessie Dunlop's, Alison Peirsoun's, Lady Munro's, and John Fian's ; and the aim of the lecture is to point out analogies between certain of the phenomena of witchcraft and of modern hypnotism.

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 ERRATUM.

No. 46, *note*, line 11. *Epistolæ Obscurorum Vivorum should read Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum.* It is a regrettable misprint.













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