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*Satans invisible world
discovered*

George Sinclair, Thomas George Stevenson





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Discovered**

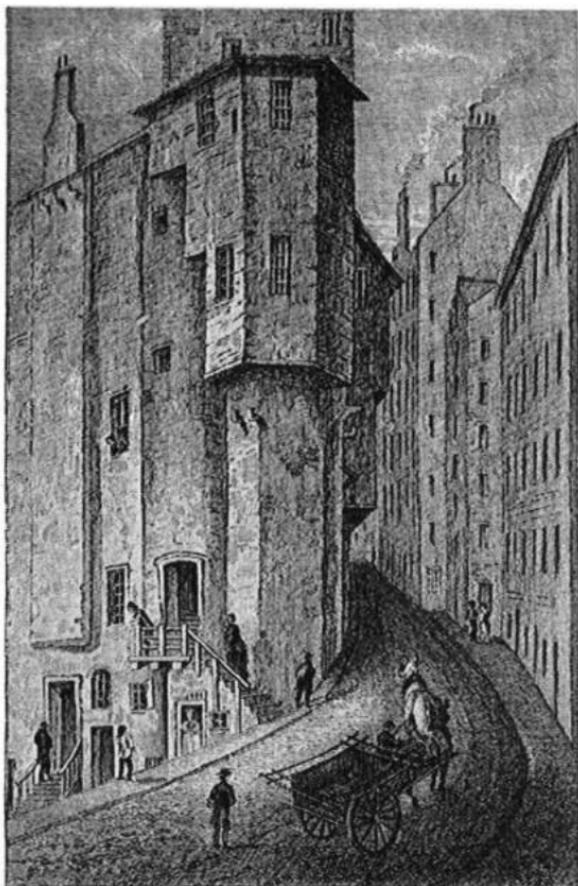
M.D.C.LXXXV.



Impromptu.

“My little Book, I send thee forth into the World where some will welcome thee, some mock thee, some contradict thee, be not discouraged, though thou be the youngest of five. Thy Brethren before thee, have met with foul and malepart Censures.”

G. S.



J. Skene of Rubislaw del.

Banks & Co' Edin' Sculpt.

THE WEST BOW, EDINBURGH.

House of Major Weir.

Thomas George Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1877

**Satan's
Invisible World
Discovered.**

By
George Sinclair,

Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the University of
Glasgow, 1684-1696.

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.

"The number of persons who were suspected of having dealings with Satan was enormous; so great, that when the success of an enemy, or of a bold plot, seemed otherwise inexplicable, it was at once set down to Satanic agency."—ALBERT REVILLE, D.D.

"There is no witchcraft where there is no faith in it; do not believe in it, and it will cease to be. . . . Get rid of all these silly, old wives' fables, and exercise yourselves in godliness."—

BALTHAZAR BREKER.

[Entered in Stationer's Hall.]

TO THE REVEREND

William Stebenson, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, F.R.S. EDIN., F.S.A. SCOT.

This Reprint

OF A

HIGHLY CURIOUS AND INTERESTING LITERARY

Rarity

IN TESTIMONY OF ADMIRATION, RESPECT, AND ESTEEM,

IS MOST

SINCERELY INSCRIBED

BY HIS

TRULY MUCH OBLIGED SERVANT,

The Editor.



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Prefatory Notice.



F the parentage, place of birth, or early life, of that singular character but well-known mathematical writer **GEORGE SINCLAR**, who was Professor of Philosophy and afterwards of Mathematics, in the College of Glasgow in the latter part of the seventeenth century, no particulars have been ascertained. His brother, John Sinclair, A.M., Regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, was presented to the church and parish of Ormiston in East Lothian in 1646, and admitted 1647; he was a member of Assembly in 1648; and was appointed one of the visitors to the University of Edinburgh, 1649. He was one of those who adhered to the Protestors in 1651, and was named by the Protector in the Province of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, for visiting the Universities and authorising godly and able men to enjoy their livings, 1654. He seems to have been con-
nived at until the Test was put in operation in 1681, when he was deposed by public order of the Bishop of Edinburgh in December 1682. He removed to Holland, and commenced an academy where he prepared many of his countrymen, while sojourning there, for the University.

He was elected to the congregation at Delft, 1683, but only admitted in 1684, having been interrupted by official authority on account of his offending the Government in Scotland, who had raised against him, for treasonable practices, a process, which ended in his forfeiture in September 1684. His incumbency there, however, was of short duration, for he died in 1687, aged about 69 years. His son John was minister of Kirkpatrick-Irongray in 1690, and died in 1693. He was much given to mathematical studies, but unfortunately disposed to melancholy.*

Sinclar was elected 'Master' in the College of Glasgow on the 18th October 1654.†

In the seventeenth century, the recovery of sunk vessels and their contents was a favourite project among ingenious and adventurous men. The late Marquis of Argyll had obtained from the Duke of Lennox, Lord High Admiral of Scotland, a formal gift of the *Florida*, a large vessel of the Spanish Armada of 1588, which had been blown up and sunk in the Bay of Tobermory in the Island of Mull. The guns, treasure, and other valuable things, known or supposed to have been on board, made the incident a memorable one and induced a desire, if possible, to

* "Scott's *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*." 4to, 1867.

† "Concerning our Colledge-affaires, this year (1655), we had nothing but quietness. . . . At the begining of the year, when Mr. Robert Makquard, being unable to deal more with his charge, had dimitted, I made the Toune-Councell deall yet againe for Mr. John Glen with Mr. Patrick, but he would not bear of him, but brought one from St. Andrewes, a *pedagogue*, Mr. George Sinclaire, and admitted him without all competition. . . . The matters of our Colledge this yeare (1656) were peaceable; our gallant Building going on vigorously. . . . The Bacheller Regent, Mr. George Sinclaire, almost the whole year, was dangerously sick, to the great hurt of the classes."—*Baillie's Letters and Journals, by Laing*. Vol. iii., pp. 285, 315, 8vo, 1842.

weigh up the vessel, or at least to fish up from it such things as might be accessible to divers. In 1655, a more vigorous attempt to get up some of its treasures was made by the then Earl of Argyll, the immediate operator being apparently MAULE of *Melgum*, a Forfarshire gentleman who had invented an apparatus precisely of the nature of what was a century later revived as the *Diving bell*. Another person engaged in the business was the almost sole active cultivator of physics in Scotland during this age,—the celebrated George Sinclar, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Sinclar, in his work '*Art Nova et Magna, &c.*' tells us that on this occasion they brought up three pieces of ordnance, one of brass, one of copper, and one of iron. Two of them were eleven feet in length, and more things might have been recovered but for the coming on of tempestuous weather. He says they were surprised to find that the bullets employed for these guns were of stone, instead of metal.

In his subsequent work, '*Hydrostatical Experiments*,' Sinclar describes a kind of diving-bell of his own invention, which he called an *Ark*.

Sinclar, in 1656, gave towards the 'Building of the College of Glasgow' the sum of 'A Hundreth Merkes,—£86, 13s. 4d.'

On the 9th December 1659 there was passed 'An Act of the Moderators anent the repayment to the Masters of the several sums they had advanced for the New Buildings at the Colledge of Glasgow, in which they doe therefore appoynt and ordeane the soume of Five Hundreth Merkes lent equally betuixt Mr. Andrew Burnet and Mr. George Sinclar be thankfully repayed by the Colledge to them, with the Interest.' Sinclar's first known work, 'Tyro-

‘*cinia Mathematica, in Quatuor Tractatns, viz., Arithmeti-
cam, Sphæricum, Geographicum et Echometricum Divisa,*
with a Dedication to the ‘*Nobiliss. et Illustriss. Domino,
D: Joanni Lauderis Comiti, Vicecomiti Metellano, D. à
Thirlstane, Boltoun, &c.*’ was published at Glasgow in
1661. 18mo. This was *re-issued* with a *new* title-page
as ‘*Principia Mathematica, Editio Secunda Priori correc-
tior.*’ London, 1672. 18mo.

On the 24th June 1662, an ‘*Act of Parliament was
passed concerning Masters of Universities, Ministers, &c.,*
in which it was declared ‘*That from this time forth no
Masters, Principall, Regents, nor other Professors in
Universities or Colledges within this Kingdome be ad-
mitted or allowed to continow in the exercise of any
function within the same, but such as are of a pious, loyall,
and peaceable conversation submitting to and owning
the Government of the Church by Archbishops and
Bishops now satled by law, and who haveing given satis-
faction therein to the Bishops of the respective Diocesses
and patrons, and haveing in their presence taken the Oath
of Alledgeance, shall procure their attestation of the
same, . . . that they have taken the oath of
alledgeance, and that they are persons who submit to and
oun the Government as now settled by law, &c.*’

On the 18th October 1665 an Act was passed assigning
a house to him,—‘*The whilk day the Facultie, being coun-
veined with the express advyce and consent of the Arch-
bishop of Glasgow, have thought fit for Mr. George
Sinclar’s encouragement, that he should be allowed the
use of one of the dwelling-houses belonging to the Pro-
fessours of Divinitie, and that only during the Masters of
the Universitie ther pleasure; it being always provyded*

' that the Professor of Divinitie, whose place is now
 ' vacant, shall at his entrie have the choyse of any of the
 ' two lodgings, as also that quhat expense shall be bestowed
 ' by Mr. George in repairing and rectifying the said house,
 ' the Colledge being always oblidge to keep his house
 ' watertight, shall be upon Mr. George's own proper
 ' charge.' On the 6th January 1666, 'The Moderators of
 ' the Colledge of Glasgow being ordourlie convened in the
 ' Facultie House. Efter prayer, my Lord Archbishops of
 ' Glasgow produced ane Act of his Majestie's Commissione
 ' for visiting of Universities, dated at Edinburgh the 14
 ' day of Februar 1665, ordaining the Professors, Princi-
 ' palls, Regents, and other Masters of the Universities to
 ' take the oath of Alledgeance in the presence of the Arch-
 ' bishops or Bishops of the Diocess. . . . as lik-
 ' wayes another Act dated at Edinburgh the Sixt of
 ' December 1665, ordaineing the former act to be putt to
 ' den executions betuixt and the thrid Tuesday of Januar
 ' 1666, and that all persones who refuse to give obedience
 ' thereto betuixt and the forsaid tyme be . . . de-
 ' pryved of ther functiones and benefices, and to be maid in-
 ' capable of exercesing any functione heirefter withein any
 ' of the Universities, &c.' On the 17th March 1666, 'The
 ' whilk day being convened in the Faculty House, my
 ' Lord Archbishops, &c., &c., my Lord Archbishops, accord-
 ' ing to the ordinations of the Commissione for Visitations
 ' of Universities, requyred Mr. George Sinclar to give obe-
 ' dience to the Actis of the said Commissione relating to the
 ' taking of the Oathe of Alledgeance, and subscriyveing
 ' his submitting to and owneing the Churche Government,
 ' as it is now established by law. Master George desyre-
 ' ing ane delay till Tuesday nixt, the Faculty granted it

' to him on this condition that if he did not give obedience
 ' to the said actis betwixt and Tuesday next . . . he
 ' shall be actually deposed the said day without any further
 ' prorogations or delay, according to the ordinations of the
 ' said visitation.' On the 17th June 1666, his Demission
 is received and recorded as follows:—' I, Master George
 ' Sinclair, Regent in the Colledge of Glasgow, grants me
 ' by thir presents to have demitted . . . my office of
 ' Regency in the said Colledge, and resignes the same into
 ' the hands of the Masters of the said Colledge, to be
 ' provyded as they shall think expedient. In witness
 ' wherof, I have subscribed thir presents with my hand at
 ' Glasgow, the 21 day of March 1666. (Signed) Geo.
 ' Sinclair.' He having thus declined to comply with the
 Episcopal form of Church government, then thrust upon
 the people of Scotland, was *ejected* from his office of Pro-
 fessorship in the College. It is reported that afterwards
 he betook himself to the business of a mineral surveyor and
 practical engineer, and was employed in that profession by
 several proprietors of mines in the southern parts of Scot-
 land, and particularly by Sir James Hope who, having sat
 in Barebone's Parliament, was probably nowise averse to
 his Presbyterian principles.

Sinclair was among the first in Britain who attempted to
 measure the heights of mountains by the Barometer. It is
 said that Hartfell, near Moffat, was the first hill in Scot-
 land of which the height was thus ascertained. In the
 years 1668 and 1670, he observed the altitudes of Arthur's
 Seat, Leadhills, and Tinto, above the adjacent plains. He
 followed the original mode of carrying a sealed tube to the
 top of the mountain, where, filling it with quicksilver, and
 inverting it in a basin, he marked the elevation of the sus-

pended column, and repeated the same experiment below ; a very rude method, certainly, but no better was practised in England for more than thirty years afterwards. To the instrument fitted up in a frame, Sinclar first gave the name *Baroscope*, or *Indicator of weight*,—a term afterwards changed for *Barometer*, or *Measurer of weight*. In these rude attempts at measuring Heights by the mercurial column, the atmosphere was regarded simply as an homogeneous fluid and as possessing the same density throughout its whole mass, a supposition which, it is needless to point out, must have led the observer wide of the truth where the elevation was considerable. In 1669, his ‘*Ars Nova et Magna Gravitatis et Levitatis, sive Dialogorum Philosophicorum Libri Sex De Aeris verè ac reali Gravitate, &c.*,’ was published at Rotterdam, Sm. 4to, with a eulogistic ‘*Epistle Dedicatory to Domino Georgio a Wintonio, Comiti Domino Seton, Baroni a Tranent, Westnidre et Hartside, &c., E tuo hospitio Tranentensi Calend. Janua. 1668* ;’ and having as a Frontispiece a fine large engraving of the Seton arms.

In 1672, he published in Edinburgh his ‘*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.*’ With a highly eulogistic ‘*Epistle Dedicatory to my very Honourable, and Noble Lord, Robert Viscount of Oxfuird, Lord Mackgill of Cousland, &c.* ; and Notices to the Reader,’ Sm. 4to. Copies of this singular publication occasionally turn up, having an Engraved Titlepage, and Plate of the Arms of Lord Ox-

‘ fuid ; with a ‘ POSTSCRIPT.’ Such, however, are exceedingly scarce.

The self-complacency of Sinclar, and his Presbyterian principles, appear to have provoked an attack from a quarter least expected.

In December 1671, he had issued Proposals for the Publication of this work with an outline of the subjects to be treated, and solicited the assistance of subscriptions towards defraying the expenses thereof. This procedure seems to have led to some rather severe attacks upon him and his intended new Book, chiefly from St. Andrews, in the form of letters ; some of them anonymous, and others from ‘ Mr. Patrick Mathers, Arch-Bedale to the University of St. Andrews.’ In the ‘ Address to the Reader, ‘ May 20, 1672,’ he remarks—‘ When this Book was first committed to the press, I sent an intimation thereof to some of my friends, for their encouragement to it, a practice now common, and commendable, which hath not wanted a considerable success, as witness the respect of many worthy persons, to whom I am obliged. But there is a GENERATION, that rather, than they will encourage any new invention, set themselves by all means to detract from it, and the authors of it ; so grieved are they, that ought of this kind should fall into the hands of any, but their own. And, therefore, if the author shall give but the title of new to his invention, though never so deservedly, they fly presently in his throat, like so many Wild-Catta, studying either to ridicule his work altogether—a trade that usually, the person of weakest abilities, and most empty heads, are better at, than learned men ; like those schollars, who, being nimble in putting tricks, and impostures upon their Condisciples, were

‘ dolts, as to their lesson, or else fall upon it with such
‘ snarling and carping as discover neither ingenuity, nor
‘ ingeniousness, but a sore sickness called, ENVY. In the
‘ intimation, I affirmed that the Doctrine concerning the
‘ Weight and Pressure of the Water was NEW. This one
‘ word, like a spark of fire falling accidentally among powder,
‘ hath been the occasion of so much debate. Their ground
‘ is, because they look upon the Hydrostaticks as a Science
‘ long ago perfected. . . . They affirm, likewise, that
‘ all the Theorems and Experiments that are here, are
‘ either deduceable from Archimedes and Stevinna, or
‘ are the same with theirs. If these Gentlemen had sus-
‘ pended their judgment *till this book had been published*,
‘ I suspect they would not have spoken so confidently. .
‘ . . My Antagonists affirm they are able to deduce all
‘ my Theorems, and the events of all my Experiments
‘ from the grounds of Archimedes and Stevinus. If they
‘ take not their word again, I hope they will do it; for
‘ now I put them to it. And though they should, (which
‘ I am not afraid they shall do in haste) yet they must
‘ prove next, that these Theorems and Conclusions, so de-
‘ duced, are not new, which all their Logick will not prove.
‘ But what if we do more, (say they), even overthrow
‘ many of all your Aerostatical and Hydrostatical Experi-
‘ ments, in this, and in your last piece? I give you liberty;
‘ and for your hire, a Guiny for each Theorem, or experi-
‘ ment you are able to ransack, in either of the two Books,
‘ though they come near to an hundred. But, ye most
‘ oblige your selves (my masters) to do it with reason,
‘ laying aside your sophistry and Canina eloquentia.
‘ And this I offer, reader, that I may reduce them to a
‘ better humour, and encourage them to leave off flying,

‘ and only use reason. Neither must they be like the
 ‘ Wasp, that only lights upon the sore place. But if they
 ‘ love to kindle any more fire, they will find me proof
 ‘ against it. If it burn them, it shall not heat me. Never-
 ‘ theless, if they love to juik under deck, like Green-horns,
 ‘ having no courage in themselves, or confidence in their
 ‘ cause; they must excuse me, if at last, I write their names
 ‘ upon a Ticket and bring them above deck. This is all
 ‘ I have to say, at present (Reader), and I bid thee
 ‘ farewell.’ Apparently at this time Sinclair was not
 acquainted with the names of his opponents, who shielded
 themselves under the shade of ‘ such a poor pitiful fellow as
 ‘ the Bedale.’ The attacks upon him being continued, he
 issued, in the form of a ‘ *POSTSCRIPT*,’ a vindication of him-
 self and his works, remarking to the reader, ‘ That thou
 ‘ mayest know the rise and occasion of this *Postscript*, .
 ‘ . . . I shall give thee this short account:—‘ When
 ‘ this Book was first committed to the press, I sent an in-
 ‘ timation thereof to several persons, whom I judged would
 ‘ encourage it, yet to none but to such in whose kindness I
 ‘ had confidence, and whom I judged my real friends.
 ‘ Among others, I sent over to *Saint Andrews* one of my
 ‘ Edicts; to one or two there in whom I trusted, but
 ‘ instead of a kindly return from them—to whom I had
 ‘ written most affectionately—they wrot back a Letter,
 ‘ wherein they superciliously condemn the purposes of this
 ‘ Book, *before ever they had seen them.*’

This is followed by his printing ONE of the letters which
 he had received from *St. Andrews*, with his reply, remark-
 ing, ‘ I returned a most discreet answer, thinking to conquer
 ‘ their humour with civility and kindness, but not long
 ‘ after, hearing of their clamour against the Intimation

‘ and of their dissuading others, who would willingly (I suppose) have condescended.’ He then proceeds, at some length, to justify himself from the ‘Barbarous railings, passing all bounds of civility,’ to which he had been subjected, never having imagined that ‘*his friend* Professor ‘Gregory’ was really his sole opponent, and the cause of all this mischief! He complains that ‘the Arch-Bedale endeavoureth to put Mr. James Gregory between him and me also; and bringeth him in speaking of my writings with such a deal of disdain and sauciness, *ut nihil supra*. What? was Mr. James Gregory such an eminent person, that he could not speak his thoughts himself, but needeth you, sir, for a Proxy, and Chancellour to speak for him. If Mr. James Gregory will speak to me, what you have spoken in his name, he shall have an answer. But I have no mind to gratify so far your *dolū* and *fallaciae*, as to fall on any man upon your word, having so little confidence of your common honesty. . . . I desire to live peaceably with all men. Neither shall I be soon provoked, so long as they keep within the bounds of civility. If that be observed, I shall thank them, for any mistake they shall let me see in my writings, if done with reason, and without railing.’

The Publication of this ‘POSTSCRIPT’ appears to have done no good, but quite the reverse; for there was printed at Glasgow in 1672, a small 18mo volume under the rather quaint title of ‘The Great and New Art of Weighing Vanity; or, A Discovery of the Ignorance and Arrogance of the Great and New Artist in his Pseudo-Philosophical Writings. By M. Patrick Mathers, Arch-Bedal to the University of S. Andrews. To which are annexed some Tentamina de motu penduli et projectorum.’

Under this assumed name this little piece of satire was written to expose the ignorance of Sinclar in his Hydrostatical Writings, by JAMES GREGORY, a most eminent mathematician, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews, and afterwards at Edinburgh.— He was the indisputable inventor of the reflecting telescope. Born in Aberdeenshire in 1638, he died at Edinburgh in October 1675. On returning home late one evening, after showing some of his students the satellites of Jupiter, he was suddenly struck blind, and in three days afterwards expired.

The 'Preface to the Reader' prefixed to this work is really so very clever and amusingly severe, that, for its preservation, I here subjoin it:—

' READER,—I doubt not but thou art surprised to find
' me in print: and I assure you, that it is not more above
' your hope and expectation, than it is contrair to my former
' designs and resolutions: But as *Atis* his dumbness from
' the womb could not keep him from bursting into speech
' against those souldiers whom he saw ready to have killed
' his father; so my general insufficiency in all things else,
' cannot keep my natural affection in longer silence, when I
' see my bountiful Mother, this ancient and famous Uni-
' versity, and all her beautiful Daughters, the other Univer-
' sities of this Kingdom, in hazard to be murdered by one
' of their unnatural children.

' And finding that he with whom I have to do, hath given
' but a very lame and partial account of the occasion of
' our debate, I judge it both thy interest and mine, that I
' correct it by a more full, perfect and impartial one: For
' as the Magicians feigned miracles found greater belief
' with the *Egyptians*, then the true ones of *Moses*; so a

‘ false information having nothing to contradict it, oft
 ‘ times prevails as true with us.

‘ Thus then it is. My adversary having published his
 ‘ *Tyrocinia Math.* and his *Ars Magna et Nova, &c.*, one
 ‘ here who well understands those things, intending to
 ‘ oblige the Author, and redeem his Countrey from further
 ‘ injury by his writings, friendly represented to him some of
 ‘ his failings in them. And another, whose judgement he
 ‘ ought to have esteemed much, with the same intention,
 ‘ expressed to one of his nearest friends, his dislike of those
 ‘ Books, and his regrate for the loss which the Author put
 ‘ himself and his Countrey to by them. But this was not
 ‘ sufficient to convince him of his weakness, for he proceeds
 ‘ to give the world another instance of his folly, in printing
 ‘ his *Hydrostaticks*; and notwithstanding what had past
 ‘ he yet fancies that the Masters of this University have
 ‘ as high an esteem of his sufficiency, as he himself: And
 ‘ therefore, not doubting of their encouragement to so noble
 ‘ a work, he confidently sends his petitory letters to some
 ‘ of them, intreating their own concurrence, and their as-
 ‘ sistance for procuring the encouragement of others thereto.
 ‘ With his Letters, he sent this following Edict:—

‘ Forasmuch as there is a Book of Natural and Ex-
 ‘ perimental Philosophy in English, to be printed with-
 ‘ in these four months, or thereabout; Wherein are con-
 ‘ tained many excellent and new purposes: As first,
 ‘ Thirty Theorems, the most part whereof were never so
 ‘ much as heard of before: in which are proposed briefly
 ‘ the chiefest and most useful principles of that new Doc-
 ‘ trine, anent the wonderful weight, force, and pressure
 ‘ of the water in its own Element. There are next, Twenty
 ‘ Experiments in order to that Doctrine, not only most

‘ pleasant, and most easie to all capacities, but most use-
‘ ful likewise, which are set down after this method. First,
‘ each particular Experiment is briefly and clearly dis-
‘ cribed, by its own distinct Schematism and Figure.
‘ Secondly, the curious Operations, and natural effects of
‘ it are shewed. Thirdly, the true causes of these natural
‘ effects are searched into, and most evidently explicated,
‘ and demonstrated; not only by the force of reason, but by
‘ the evidence of sense also. And lastly, at the close
‘ of each Experiment, you will find most naturally de-
‘ duced from the preceeding Demonstrations, many excellent
‘ and new conclusions (hitherto unknown) and these for
‘ the advancement of natural knowledge, and practice,
‘ among which, mention is made of a new and more com-
‘ modious way of Dyving. After all which, there is a
‘ number of Miscellany Observations; some whereof are
‘ Experiments made in Coal-sincks, for knowing the power
‘ of Damps, and ill Air, by killing of Animals. Some
‘ made for knowing the variation of the Compass here: and
‘ an excellent way for knowing, by the eye, the Sun or
‘ Moon’s motion in a second of time, which is the 3600
‘ part of an hour, and many others of different kinds, use-
‘ ful and pleasant.

‘ These are therefore to give notice to all ingenious Per-
‘ sons, who are lovers of Learning, that if they shall be
‘ pleased to advance to Gedeon Shaw, *Stationer*, at the foot
‘ of the Ladies steps, three pounds Scots, for defraying the
‘ present charges of the said Book, they shall have from
‘ him, betwixt the date hereof and April next to come,
‘ one of the Copies: And for their further security in the
‘ interim, the Author’s obligation for performing the same.
‘ Edinburgh, the 14 of December, 1671.

‘ Which so exposed to my Masters the vanity of that
 ‘ confident man, that they were forced plainly to let him
 ‘ know their mind, as is expressed in the *first* Letter of his
 ‘ *Postscript*.

‘ To this he returned an answer, which, although it as
 ‘ little deserved his superlative commendation, as their
 ‘ censure, was abundantly discreet for obliging them to
 ‘ silence, until his Book should come to light. But to
 ‘ show how contrair to his nature this was, it quickly re-
 ‘ pented him of his discretion ; and a little after, without
 ‘ any such provocation, as he alledges, he alarmed this
 ‘ place with a flood of his fury, whereof he dischargeth him-
 ‘ self in the *second* letter of his *Postscript*.

‘ My Masters thought it unworthy of them to give any
 ‘ reply to this, lest by engaging themselves in a debate
 ‘ with one who had nothing wherewith to entertain them,
 ‘ except railing and calumnies, they had stained their re-
 ‘ putation, and gained to themselves nothing but the name
 ‘ of foolish persons, for speaking to a fool in his folly :
 ‘ but I (to be ingenuous) having no much greater reputa-
 ‘ tion for learning than himself, was content to hazard it
 ‘ against him : and knowing well his bragging humour to
 ‘ be such, as would make him insult and erect Trophies, if
 ‘ nothing were replied, I sent to him a Letter, which, to
 ‘ my best remembrance, was in the words following :—

‘ SIR,—I admire exceedingly the forwardness of your
 ‘ humor (I will call it no worse) in your last to ——— :
 ‘ he is a person not concerned in you or in your books,
 ‘ neither will he ignorantly commend anything, as it
 ‘ seems ye expected he should have done, when ye
 ‘ sent him these papers. Ye might have known long ago,
 ‘ that he had no veneration for what ye had formerly pub-

lished; for he made no secret of his mind, when he was put to it. Ye may mistake him, if ye think that any by-and will cause him speak what he thinks not: nevertheless he delivered your commission, and was willing to be unconcerned, expecting their answer. They pressed him to know his judgement of your last piece: he told ingenuously the truth, that there was none of them had less esteem for it than himself. He hopes ye are so much a Christian, that ye will not be offended with him for speaking what he thought, when he had a call to it; and yet, albeit ye seem to favour him more than others, he hath ground to look upon himself as one of the Sophistical rable, for they only are such who condemn anything ye do, the rest of the University continuing always learned persons. It is to no purpose to apologize for themselves, ye take all for granted, which ye have heard: I shall not put you to the pains of proving it; yet it seems ye would hardly have believed it so easily, had not your conscience told you, that they had some reason for their judgement, which really was this following: That they see nothing in your last piece, new and great, (albeit it be *Ars nova et magna*) save errors and non-sense; as your demonstrations of the Pendulum, your Nihil spatiale, your Gravitatas circularis & horizontalis; your question, Whether or no a body may be condensed in a point? &c. too many to fill several letters: for ye must not call experiments new inventions, otherwise we are making new inventions every day; neither must ye call different explanations new inventions, else the same thing might be invented by almost every Writer. I admire how ye question the R. Society; for I desire to know one point of doctrine, which ye or they either pretend to, concerning

' the weight of the air, the spring of it, or anything else in
 ' your book, save mistakes, which was not received by all
 ' Mathematicians, and the most learned of Philosophers,
 ' many years before any of you put pen to paper. Ye
 ' have been at much pains to prove that by experiment,
 ' which all the learned already grant, and some have dem-
 ' onstrat à priori from the principles of Geometry and Sta-
 ' tics, and many à posteriori from experience, if sense
 ' may be called a demonstration: Yet ye are the only man
 ' who produceth the *Ars novà & magna*, when all others
 ' are out of fashion. But more to your commendation, it
 ' seems ye do all these wonders by *Magick*; for ye have
 ' the ordinair principles of none of these Sciences: Euclid
 ' is as much a stranger, as reason in all your Books: and
 ' for this, *Perque Mathematicos semper celebrabere fastus!*
 ' At last ye come to prove a new doctrine, which before now
 ' was near 2000 years old, with thirty new Theorems,
 ' which must not be named, because they are of such a
 ' tender and delicat complexion, that the very naming of
 ' them will make them old. There are also many other
 ' excellent things, which will be all new when they were
 ' printed but yesterday. It is like, some of these dayes, we
 ' may have an *Ars nova & magna*, to prove that a piece of
 ' lead is heavier than so much cork. I know not where-
 ' fore ye undervalue any man, because he hath not as great
 ' esteem for your notions as your self: Have not we as
 ' much freedom to speak our mind of you, as ye have to
 ' write yours of the R. Society, and the University of
 ' Glaagow? The greatest hurt ye can do us, is to make
 ' *Dromo famulus* one of our Principals. I think it not
 ' strange that ye using only demonstrations of sense, should
 ' admire the force of our imagination, in affirming no me-

'thod of Dying so good as that of Melgim. I am sure
 'that the man dying for a continual time, if he be not
 'also of your invention, must breath of the air; and this
 'air must either be kept close by it self, as in Melgims
 'way, or communicat with the air above. If the latter be
 'your invention, I doubt ye must also have some Chir-
 'urgical invention to apply to your Dyver at his return,
 'if he go to any great deepness: If the former, it is the
 'same with Melgims; and you cannot, neither any man
 'else help it, but in circumstances (which alters not the
 'method) and perchance to little purpose. As for Arch-
 'imedes, I am sure he wanted no necessary requisit to
 'prove the weight of water in its own Element. I know
 'not what else ye intend to prove: always I am as sure
 'that he had two great requisits, which ye want; to wit,
 'Geometry, and a sound head. As to what ye write con-
 'cerning the imperfections of Sciences; the scientificall
 'part of Geography is so perfected, that there is nothing
 'required for the projection, description and situation of a
 'place, which cannot be done and demonstrat. The scien-
 'tificall part of Opticks is so perfected, that nothing can be
 'required for the perfection of sight, which is not demon-
 'strat, albeit mens hands cannot reach it; and these being
 'the objects of the fore-said Sciences, your authority shall
 'not perswade me, that it is altogether improper to call
 'them perfect. In the Hydrostaticks, it were no hard
 'matter to branch out all the experiments that can be
 'made, into severall Classes, of which the event and reason
 'might perfectly be deduced, as consecutaries (I speak not
 'here of long deductions, as ye seem to rant) to something
 'already published: if it be noticed but rudely (as ye, not
 'understanding what niceties of proportion means, must

do) only considering motion and rest : And I believe there
is none ignorant of this, who understands what is written
in this Science. Upon this account writing to you, I
might call it perfect ; albeit I know there are many things
relating to the proportion and acceleration of the motions of
fluids, which are yet unknown, and may perchance still
be. Ye shal not think that I speak of you without
ground ; for in your *Ars magna & nova*, ye bring in your
great attempts for a perpetual motion ; all which a novice
of eight days standing in *Hydrostaticks* would laugh at.
I do not question that this age hath many advantages
beyond former ages ; but I know not any of them, it is
beholden to you for : only I admire your simplicity in
this. Astronomers seek always to have the greatest in-
tervals betwixt observations, and ye talk that ye will
give an excellent way for observing the Sun or Moons
motion for a second of time ; that is to say, as if it were
a great matter that there is but a second of time betwixt
your observations. I wonder ye tell me the eye should
be added ; for the invention had been much greater, had
that been away. I do confess that a good History of
nature is absolutely the most requisite thing for learning ;
but it is not like that you are fit for that purpose, who
so surely believe the Miracles of the West, as to put
them in print ; and record the simple meridian altitudes
of Comets, and that only to halves of degrees, or little
more as worth noticing. However, if ye do this last part
concerning Coal-sinks well, and all the rest be but an
Ars magna & nova, ye may come to have the repute of
being more fit to be a Collier then a Scholar. Ye might
have let alone the precarious principles and imaginary
wordles of Des Cartes, until your new inventions had

‘ made them so: For I must tell you Des Cartes valued
‘ the History of Nature, as much as any experimental
‘ Philosopher ever did, and perfected it more with judi-
‘ cious experiments, then ye will by all appearance do in ten
‘ ages. Ye are exceedingly misinformed, if ye have heard
‘ that any here have prejudice or envy against you; for
‘ there is none here speaks of you but with pity and com-
‘ miseration: neither heard I ever of any man who com-
‘ mended you for what he understood. As for your Latin
‘ Sentences, if they be not applied to your self, I under-
‘ stand them not; for here we are printing no Books, we
‘ are not sending tickets throughout the Countrey to tell
‘ the wonders we can do: We are going about the employ-
‘ ments we are called to, and strive to give a reason for what
‘ we say. Where then are our *doli & fallaciae, tabulae*
‘ & *testes, sapientia ad quam putamus nos pervenisse?*
‘ &c. In these things ye publish, ye know there is no
‘ Sophistry, but clear evidence: If ye had done such great
‘ matters in *Universale & ens rationis*, ye might have had
‘ a shift; but here ye must either particularize your inven-
‘ tions, or otherwise demonstrat your self derogatory to the
‘ credit of the Nation: For what else is it to confound R.
‘ Societies and Universities with an *Ars magna & nova*;
‘ and yet when ye were put to it in print, to show your
‘ inventions, all ye could say was, that the publisher should
‘ have reflected upon the wisdom of the Creator, &c. so
‘ that the Poet said well of Demoorites, &c. of which I
‘ understand not the sense, except ye make your self the
‘ *summus vir*, and us all the *Verveces*. I suppose this
‘ may be the great credit that ye say ye have labored to
‘ gain to your Nation; to wit, to get us all the honorable
‘ title of *Wedders*. No more at present, but hoping this

‘ free and ingenuous Letter shal have a good effect upon
 ‘ you (for I am half perswaded, that the flattery of scornors
 ‘ and ignorants, hath brought you to this height of imagin-
 ‘ ary learning) and that when ye come to your self, ye will
 ‘ thank me for my pains. I rest,

Your humble Servant.

‘ After this I had no notice of him or his Book, until a
 ‘ copy of it came to my hands: which, when I had
 ‘ opened it, I found dedicat to a *Noble Person*; whose
 ‘ very name being there, did creat in me a greater respect
 ‘ for the Book, then I thought my self capable of for any of
 ‘ the Authors works; and made me fear some finer things
 ‘ in this, then any other of his Books would suffer me to
 ‘ expect. For having known his Lordship an ornament to
 ‘ this Place, when his Vertue was but in blossom, I have
 ‘ easily given credit to that universal testimony, which re-
 ‘ ports him to have gained to himself an high esteem among
 ‘ Strangers, by those excellencies, which are the glory of
 ‘ his Family and Name; and therefore I could not but ap-
 ‘ prehend this present, offered to his Lordship on so solemn
 ‘ a day, to be something extraordinar.

‘ But having read over his *Theorems*, I admired the pre-
 ‘ sumptuous arrogance of the Author, in concerning the
 ‘ authority of so Noble a Name in so worthless a trifle:
 ‘ And having returned to the Dedication, to see what he
 ‘ said for himself, I justified his first application for *Par-
 ‘ don*, that he had perfixd his *Lordships Name* to the
 ‘ baffle and abuse of a *Noble Subject*. Then I considered
 ‘ the *motives* of the Dedication, and found them *great*;
 ‘ yea so great, that I wonder they did not fright him from
 ‘ so daring an attempt: For his *Lordship*, I hope, hath
 ‘ not given *security* to Strangers abroad, that he might

' draw upon himself *injury* from his Country-men at home;
 ' his *vertues* have not made an *Italian shelter* under his
 ' *Patrocin*y, that this bold Scribler might be encouraged to
 ' send his *Lordship* through the world, as a Protector of
 ' falsehood, and countenancer of such as cannot handle truth
 ' without corrupting and defiling it. Could not his *Lord-*
 ' *ships Heroick vertues*, and *understanding mind*; could
 ' not the *learning* and other excellent endowments of his
 ' *Lordships Father, Grand-father, and Great-Grand-father*;
 ' could not the *Dignity* of their famous *Ancestors*, and the
 ' *Antiquity* of their *Illustrious Family*, preserve him from
 ' the importunity of this impudent man, who will needs en-
 ' lighten his dark ignorance with the *splendor of his Lord-*
 ' *ships Name*? Was not his *Lordships* being an encour-
 ' agement to learning; sufficient to have kept this arrogant
 ' pretender thereto, from soliciting his *Lordships authority*,
 ' to his folly and infirmity? Surely, when he addressed
 ' this Book, he either little considered his *Lordships* abil-
 ' ities to judge thereof, or else he intended to court his
 ' friendship and affection, for a defence against the power
 ' of his understanding; & if he gain his design, he hath
 ' reason to say, that his *Lordships goodness* is proportioned
 ' to his other accomplishments.

' After this view of the *Dedication*, I went through the
 ' rest of the Book unto the *Postscript*, where I find men-
 ' tion made of the Letter which I sent to the Author, who
 ' was wiser then to print it, lest thereby he had published
 ' his own shame; but he lets it not pass without a cast of
 ' his craft: For finding that by it his *ignorance is discovered*,
 ' he foams and rages, he is troubled in spirit, because he is
 ' disturbed in the *exercise of his Art*; that is, because he
 ' is not permitted to call *other mens truths, his own*, and

' his own *falsehoods and follies*, rare and useful truths, and
 ' obtrude them upon the world as such; and being fettered
 ' with that *reason* which opposeth him, he, in the *bitter-*
 ' *ness of his spirit*, vomits out his *spight* against her, call-
 ' ing her *Sophistry, Non-sense*, and whatever his anger
 ' suggests to him: and breathing nothing but *revenge*, he
 ' calls together his choicest virtues *Fury, Malice, and*
 ' *Boldness*; and having got them to joyn with his *Ignor-*
 ' *ance*, he endeavors by these *united forces*, to uphold his
 ' cause: Nor was any of them wanting to him, as may ap-
 ' pear from their particular achievements, which are re-
 ' markable in that review of *my Letter*, which summeth up
 ' his *Postscript*; and in sum, equally betrayes his *Inuffi-*
 ' *ciency and Insincerity*. For therein he treateth the
 ' *Masters of this University* so unworthily, (as he had
 ' done in the *second Letter* of his *Postscript*, in answer to
 ' that *Gentle-man*, who, by direction, wrote unto him their
 ' mind) that I know nothing like it, except the *spirit of its*
 ' *Author*, and that entertainment which he in the *Preface*
 ' to his *Arts magna*, and *pag. 472.* gives to the late Arch-
 ' Bishop of *Glasgow* (who had been most kind to him) and
 ' *Masters of the Colladge* there, in which some then were,
 ' & yet are, who may be *his teachers* in any thing he pre-
 ' tends to.

' But this *Postscript* doth not sufficiently discover the
 ' *Authors virtues*, and therefore he spends a part of his
 ' first *Epistle to the Reader*, in such flat and *vulgar rail-*
 ' *ings*, as prove him fitter for nothing, then to hold the
 ' *principality among the Street-scollders*. And moreover,
 ' that the provocation may be compleat, he gives a *formal*
 ' *appeal* to any who dare state himself his *adversary*: and
 ' makes such ostentation of his *strength and courage*, that,

‘ rather than want a combatant, he will purchase one with
 ‘ gold; for he offers a *Guinea* for every *Theorem* which
 ‘ shall be everted, either in this, or his last Book. And
 ‘ such is his generosity, that I cannot doubt, but he will
 ‘ also be as noble in requiting the labor of any, who shall
 ‘ give him some *Tyrocinia*, whereby he may correct his dis-
 ‘ covered errors.

‘ Sure I am, there may be as much gained here as would
 ‘ tempt my *Adversary* once again, to blot a great many
 ‘ sheets of paper, if to boot, he could be assured of a *Crown*,
 ‘ or *Rix-dolar*, or (rather than lose his market) a *Legged-*
 ‘ *dolar*, for every Book that should stand himself no more
 ‘ than *two Merks*.

‘ Now, *Reader*, I am confident thou thinks me further
 ‘ engaged after all these provocations, then that I can re-
 ‘ treat with honour; and so think I my self: And there-
 ‘ fore I have accepted my *Adversaries Challenges*. I have
 ‘ examined all his *Books*: I have weighed them in the bal-
 ‘ lance of *reason*, and have found them so *light*, that they
 ‘ deserve no better name then *Vanity*. I have displayed
 ‘ the *Authors infirmity and folly* in every one of them,
 ‘ without other *design* then to protect my *Countrey*, and
 ‘ particularly all such as he endeavours to concern in his
 ‘ *Writings*, from the *mean thoughts and misapprehensions*
 ‘ of those who have no other *character* of both, then they
 ‘ receive from them.

‘ Yet in this *Review* I have not displayed all the *enor-*
 ‘ *mities of this Arrogant pretender to Knowledge*; for this
 ‘ should have made my Book swel as far above a just
 ‘ measure, as his *Arrogance and Insolence* is above every
 ‘ thing, *except his Ignorance*; seeing every period of his
 ‘ *Writings* is either pregnant with *falsehood*; or if it contain

‘ a *truth*, which he hath taken from some other, his probation thereof is either from false principles, or management: so *silly and childish*, as makes it appear *ridiculous*. Neither have I taken notice of all the *impertinencies* whereof he is guilty, lest thereby I had hazarded the reputation of my good nature: But I have only exposed some of his *groser failings*, to let the world know, that he hath not *so much wit*, as himself presumes; and discovered his *inveterat malice*, to undeceive those who think him a man of much *sincerity*.

‘ And this I have done with so much evidence and demonstration, that I fear not thy censure, if thou be *intelligent*: Nor have I sent this book to your hands, under any other *Patronage*, than that of *Reason*; for she is able to recommend it to the favour of *my Friends*, and protect it from the *Fury and Malice* of my *enemies*. But if it were not, that the meanness of my person and station should have made my address as indecent, as the *naughtiness of my Adversaries Present* made his, I would have offered it. (as a *testimony of my humble duty, and sincere respect*) to that *Noble Person*, to whom he hath dedicated his *Hydrostaticks*; and as earnestly have solicited his *Understanding* to judge of my *Truths*, as my *Adversary* hath done his *Lordships Friendship* to accept, his *Favour* to protect, and his *Name and Authority* to convoy his *falshoods* through the world. Nor should I either have precipitated or suspended my address for finding so craving an opportunity, as the day of his *Lordships Birth and Majority*.

‘ From my Chamber in S. Andrews;
‘ the 24. day of July 1672.’

It is curious to observe that with all his eagerness to heap ridicule on his antagonist, Gregory never once touches on what would now appear the most vulnerable point, the episode about the witches. After a long interval, Sinclair wrote an answer to Gregory, entitled, 'Caucus pulled out of his den by the heels; or, The pamphlet entitled, The New and Great Art of Weighing Vanity examined, and found to be a New and Great Act of Vanity.' But this production was never published: It remains in Manuscript in the University Library at Glasgow, to which the Author appears, from an Inscription, to have presented it in 1692.

Considerable attention seems to have been paid by Sinclair to such branches of Hydrostatics as were of a practical nature; and it has been said that he was the first person who suggested the proper mode of Draining the Water from the numerous Coal Mines in the east and south-west of Scotland. Between the years 1673 and 1674, he was employed by the Magistrates of Edinburgh to superintend the introduction of water from Comiston into the city, a convenience with which the capital of Scotland had not previously been furnished.* In the 'City Accounts 1673-

* 'The Edinburghers in the year 1621, having formed a design, to bring sweet water from the country, to supply themselves in the city with that precious element, applied to Parliament for a power to enable them to accomplish so desirable and necessary a work; which, though readily granted, nothing was further done therein till the 10th of May 1672, when the common council resolved to put the same in execution. . . The Edinburghers having succeeded in their application to Parliament, they sometime after contracted with Peter Branks or Bruschi, a German, for the sum of two thousand nine hundred pounds sterling, to bring the water of Tod's Well at Comiston to Edinburgh, in a leaden pipe of a three-inch bore, to be laid an inch deep in the ground, . . . to a reservoir to be made on the Castle-Hill. The Lords of the Privy Council

'1674,' it is recorded, 'Item to Mr. Geo^r. Sinclair, School Master at Leith, by Gratuitie for his attendance and advice in the matter of the Waterworks, £86, 13s. 4d.'

Apparently the 'ARCH-BEDAL's' castigation had been highly prejudicial, and must materially have injured the sale of the work on 'Hydrostatics,' issued in 1672; for in 1683 it was re-issued with a *New Title Page*, but wanting the 'Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Viscount of Oxfaird,' and the 'Postscript,' under the designation of 'Natural Philosophy improv'd by New Experiments. Touching the Mercurial Weather-Glass, the Hygroscope, Eclipsa, Conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter. By New Experiments, touching the Pressure of Fluids, the Diving-Bell, and all the Curiosities thereof. To which is added, Some New Observations and Experiments, lately made of several kinds. Together, with a True Relation of an Evil Spirit, which troubled a Man's Family for many days. Lastly, there is a large Discourse anent Coal, Coal-Sinks, Dipples, Risings, and Streaks of Coal, Levels, Running of Mines, Gases, Dykes, Damps, and Wild-fire.' Edinburgh, Sm. 4to. With a Dedication to 'Sir James Fleming, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and remanent Members of the Honourable Council of the said Burgh: In all Humility offers and dedicates this *Philosophical Trans-action*,' in which he says, 'I present you with a
 issued a mandate, prohibiting all persons from impeding the work, and threatening with the highest penalties those who should lift or demolish the pipes or cisterns. . . . And as an encouragement for Bransa, the engineer, to proceed in the work with care and diligence, the Council promised him a gratuity of fifty pounds sterling, which was paid to him in the year 1681, which I take to be the time when the water was brought into Edinburgh.'—*Maitland and Arnott's Histories of Edinburgh*, 1763-88.'

' mean oblation, less than the Widow's Mite, but with
 ' a willing mind. 'Tis all I can afford at present. . . .
 ' I have sometimes offered more to others, who were not
 ' so deserving. I still remember how kindly the Council
 ' treated me for some years ago, when I taught the
 ' Mathematicks at Edinburgh; and what a singular ob-
 ' ligation they conferred upon me after, when I was em-
 ' ployed to search out a well, which by good providence
 ' I lighted upon, which is now a Well-spring of hap-
 ' piness to the Good Town. I made several Observations,
 ' with a most accurate, and exact level; but especially one
 ' from the highest ground in the Castle, in the evening to-
 ' wards the Fountain, by the help of a light there, on the
 ' 29. of May 1674, which gave infallible assurance to the
 ' Magistrates, that the source was 200 foot higher than the
 ' Weigh-House, and great encouragement to the Council
 ' to begin the work. . . . This work will be extant
 ' among the Annals and Chronicles of the City, of things
 ' done from year to year to all Generations, which is the
 ' glory also of the succeeding Magistrates. But your wis-
 ' dom and prudence in governing the City, and composing
 ' all differences, and settling all matters every day so hap-
 ' pily, is of far greater moment. . . . Leith, January
 ' 9, 1683.'

In his Explanation of the 'Hygroscope,' he remarks that
 ' Christopherus Sturmius, a German, a great Virtuoso, and
 ' famous Mathematician, makes honourable mention of it,
 ' in his writings, which he hath taken from my '*Ars Nova*
 ' '*et Magna*,' as he hath done many other curiosities, and
 ' published them to the world, not as his own, *but as mine*:
 ' which, by the way, gives a notable check to my old Ad-
 ' versaries, who, with the '*Bedells gown*' about their

‘heads, endeavour’d to make the world, in their *beggariy pamphlet* believe, that all my Philosophical Experiments were Untruths and Lies. . . . There is no cure or remedy against the biting of Slanderers. . . . This, perhaps, may be lyable to the *Pharisaick* Censure, of some *Mathematical Rabbi!*’

Sinclar’s writings, in the opinion of a very able judge, are not destitute of ingenuity and research, though they may contain some erroneous and eccentric views. The last named contained a rather strange accompaniment to a scientific treatise,—An Account of the Witches of Glenceluce,—which if there had been no other evidence of the fact, shows the author to have not been elevated by his acquaintance with the exact sciences above the vulgar delusions of his age. It must be recollected, however, that other learned men of that age were guilty of like follies.’

In 1684 Sinclar published at Edinburgh another work, under the title of ‘Truth’s Victory over Error; or, An Abridgment of the Chief Controversies in Religion, which since the Apostles days to this time, have been, and are in agitation, between those of the *Orthodox Faith*, and all adversaries whatsoever, &c. A Treatise most useful for all persons, who desire to be instructed in the True Protestant Religion, &c.’ 12mo, *as his own*, but which was shortly afterwards *discovered* to be merely a *Translation* of the ‘Praelectiones in Confessionem Fidei.’—The heads of the Lectures delivered in the Divinity Chair by DAVID DICKSON, Professor of Divinity, first in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards at Edinburgh (born 1583; died 1662.) Prefixed there is an ‘Epistle Dedicatory to George Drummond of Milneab, Lord Provost, and remanent

‘ Members of the Honourable Council of the Ancient City
‘ of Edinburgh,’ in which he remarks—‘ My first applica-
‘ tion is for pardon, that I should adventure to prefix your
‘ Names to the Frontispiece of this small Fabrick. . . I
‘ have sometimes appeared in publick, though not with the
‘ *Gold of Ophir*, and *Tyrian Purpure*, . . . yet with obla-
‘ tions suitable to my ability as now, though unsuitable to
‘ your honour and dignity. . . The commemoration of
‘ favours which I have received from the Council, these
‘ many years bygone, have had no small influence upon me, to
‘ make this publick, yet humble address. . . I have made
‘ some small attempts, during the twelve years I taught
‘ Peripatetick, and Experimental Philosophy, and since for
‘ the advancement of learning among others, which have
‘ not wanted success, whereby the author hath been en-
‘ couraged ; especially by the kind acceptance his writings
‘ have met with from the greatest Philosophers and Mathe-
‘ maticians in this age, in England, Holland, Germany, and
‘ France. . . I do not mention this for applause, or out
‘ of vanity, but for some peculiar reasons hinted below.
‘ . . . I move in a distinct sphere from Masters of Uni-
‘ versities. They teach in Philosophy, the causes and
‘ reasons of things. What I write is but Practical and
‘ Mechanical, for the promoting of Natural Knowledge and
‘ Learning, as do the Virtuosi. But instead of such I pre-
‘ sent your honours with a small bundle of Orthodox Trutha.
‘ . . . I cannot but now after these weighty perswasives,
‘ make my next application for acceptance, and seriously
‘ entreat, that this little Book, if not for the value of the
‘ thing offered, yet for its design, which is that *Truth may*
‘ *have victory over error*, and for the ingenuity and affec-
‘ tion it flows from, may be received into the tuition of your

‘favour, and get a full protection against the Champions
‘of the uncircumcised Philistines, and being enlightened
‘with the splendor of your Lordship’s name, and receiv-
‘ing the impression of the Councils authority upon it, may
‘by the Lord’s blessing, be useful to young students in re-
‘ligion, and others too.’ Prefixed there is also ‘The
‘Epistle to the Honest Hearted Reader,’ in which he goes
‘on to remark, ‘As to what relates to the present Treatise,
‘I am not ignorant, that many eminent and learned Divines,
‘far beyond whatever I could profess, have beaten this
‘path, and travelled round the world of Polemick Divinity.
‘But their writings being so Voluminous and large, that
‘he who desires to have a full sight at one look of the
‘chief controversies, can no more have it, than a man
‘from the Peak of Teneriff, can get a clear sight of the
‘whole Globe of the Earth. . . Therefore I have imitated
‘Geographers, who after they have surveyed the whole
‘Globe of the Earth, draw Universall descriptions thereof,
‘and comprehend the whole image . . within a narrow
‘circumference of a Card or Mapp. In so doing, I may
‘perhaps contribute somewhat towards the satisfaction of
‘some, who neither can nor are able, to trace the wearis-
‘some footsteps, of those eminent Divines, who have
‘written fully. This Treatise being Historical, none can
‘expect, but I must have consulted others, and gleaned off
‘their writings what things were needful. . . The Design
‘of this Treatise is good. The method is plain and easy,
‘so is the stile. . . Let no man blame me for speaking
‘somewhat for the truth, because another man hath spoken
‘better. If I have said little in defence of it, I am sure I
‘have said nothing against it. . . If I cannot please all
‘men, I shall endeavour at least to please some. And if I

' can please none, I shall not displease myself. I hope my
 ' friends will censure favourably, if my enemies censure
 ' maliciously. I expect as many adversaries of one sort,
 ' and of another upon my top, as a travelling man hath
 ' midges and wasps about his head in a warm summer even-
 ' ing. There are escapes in authors, whose knowledge is
 ' far beyond any thing I can profess. No marvel then,
 ' if a malicious Critick, like a Viper from the fire of con-
 ' tention fasten upon a mans hand. For the author being
 ' intent upon all, cannot lay out his whole industry upon
 ' every line, which a snarling Cor will bark at. I shall
 ' take it as a favour to have Learned and Judicious men to
 ' censure me. . . . Some perhaps may look awry upon me,
 ' because I have medled with some ticklish Questions, and
 ' been too positive in my Judgment. If any such Questions
 ' are, they have occur'd to me in the Road, which I could not
 ' pass by, without a Salutation. But as all of them have
 ' been weighed in the Ballance of the Sanctuary, so these
 ' likewise, which some may call ticklish. I durst not for
 ' a world have been positive If I had not judged them
 ' consonant to Truth, therefore let all men, whatever per-
 ' swasions they be of, judge charitably: for I have said
 ' nothing upon the account of fear or favour, nor any thing
 ' which may cause division or offence. . . . It is pro-
 ' bable, I may be less noticed by the common Adversaries,
 ' than by some who are so vain that they glory in injuring
 ' the Merit of a Book. . . . As the method is plain
 ' and easy, so is the stile. I use only the common and
 ' plain Arguments. Some perhaps might have expected
 ' a dilution, or answering of Adversaries Reasons. It
 ' is hard to propose them to their Palate. They com-
 ' plain their arguments are enervate and clipped.

' In confuting the Adversaries, I use no worse language
 ' than do not they err. . . . Anno 1662, I published
 ' a little Book intituled 'Tyrocinia Mathematica,' for the
 ' use of my Schollars, and young Students, which was dedi-
 ' cated to that great Hero, John Duke of Lauderdale. Anno,
 ' 1669, I had a large Book printed in Holland, dedicated
 ' to the Earle of Winton. In the year 1672, a third was
 ' published intituled the 'Hydrostaticks.' Though some en-
 ' deavoured to ruin the reputation of my Writings at home,
 ' yet they were not able to do it abroad. But least this peece
 ' may meet with the like welcome into the world, I shall
 ' beg liberty to cite one passage of a letter from a most in-
 ' telligent gentleman, in vindication of that Book intituled
 ' 'Ars Nova & Magna,' against which so many flate con-
 ' tradictions were uttered, which the other two likewise
 ' met with.—' Ostend, October 10, 1670, I must not forget
 ' to tell you a passage anent your late peece. When we
 ' were at Breda, we had occasion to see Collonel Lanther,
 ' who fell in regrating that *Scots Spirits* were not encour-
 ' aged. And told he had seen a Book lately published by
 ' one *Sinclar*, whereof he had a great esteem, and that
 ' many others as well as he esteemed it highly. For ex-
 ' ample, he told of a *Dutchman*, who is one of the *French*
 ' *Virtuosi*, that said he had seen nothing on that subject
 ' comparable to it; and it was esteemed so in *Franco*. If
 ' you have any other thing to publish, I pray you hasten
 ' it, for it will not want acceptance. . . . In going
 ' thorow this Book . . . If any be too curious to in-
 ' quire, why the author hath touched so many Controversies
 ' in Religion, and yet hath medled nothing with the
 ' great Controversie of the time. I answer, I had been
 ' both officious and impertinent to have touched matters,

‘ which lay not in my way. For in all the Confession,
 ‘ which is the onlie Road I walk in, there is not one Mum
 ‘ or Syllable of the one Government, or of the other.

‘ The Book for Paper and Character may compare with
 ‘ many from abroad. The Printer (*John Reid*) a person of
 ‘ special skill, hath done his dutie sufficientlie in correcting;
 ‘ so that I find it needless to prefix or subjoyn Errata Cor-
 ‘ rigenda. If there be any literal faults, which the most
 ‘ skilful Author, and best of Printers cannot prevent, let the
 ‘ Reader impute them only to invincible necessity.’

In 1688, another edition of this Work was issued. But the FIRST EDITION, with the author's own name, was only printed at Glasgow in 1726, and has prefixed to it a *Memoir of the Author* by WODROW, who remarks, ‘ The Printer of this Edition of *Truth's Victory over Error,*’ finding the Preface to the former Edition unfit to stand before this, as containing several Things perfectly extraneous, and personal, to the Author of it; and other Things agreeable enough to the Disguise under which it formerly appeared: Yet not so to what the printer would now have the Reader to know: He determined with himself to leave it out, and earnestly desired me to form something, that might stand in the place of it. . . . I shall drop a few Hints, as to the former Edition of this work. . . . This Book was first published in the year 1684, by G. S. that is Mr. George Sinclair, well enough known by his several books published both in Latin and in English. What led him to translate another Man's Book, and send it abroad under the initial Letters of his own Name, I shall not determine. I am willing to leave the ashes of the Dead in quiet, especially those of a Person, who, in his Time, was taken Notice of with some

‘ Applauses by Learned Men Abroad, as well as at Home;
 ‘ and wrote several Things in Philosophy, Mathematicks, and
 ‘ History, in his own Way, not without their Use in the Time
 ‘ when they were published. I knew him in his old Age
 ‘ and declining Years, when much decayed, yet still retain-
 ‘ ing the serious and religious Dispositions I hope he had
 ‘ thro’ his whole Life; and tho’ I cannot intirely vindicate
 ‘ this low and mean Piracy, in publishing the Work of
 ‘ another, in such a manner; yet I hope it was his Regard to
 ‘ the great Truths in our excellent Confession of Faith, and
 ‘ his Desire that common People, in a Time when we were
 ‘ in imminent Hazard of Popery, a bigotted Papist being on
 ‘ the Throne, should be guarded against the Errors thus
 ‘ breaking in like a Flood upon us; that put this Good Man
 ‘ to take the Pains to Translate the Dictates of the Learned
 ‘ Professor *Dickson* from *Latin* to *English*. If he had the
 ‘ poor View of a little Glory to himself, by publishing
 ‘ these in his own Name, it happened to him as generally
 ‘ it does to self-seeking and private-spirited Persona, even
 ‘ in this present State their Naughtiness is discovered, and
 ‘ they miss their Mark: But we shall charitably suppose
 ‘ he had higher and better Aims. There were several
 ‘ Copies of what the Revd. Mr. *Dickson* had dictated to his
 ‘ Scholars, in Latin, upon the Confession of Faith, in the
 ‘ Hands of Ministers and others; and it came soon to be
 ‘ known, that ‘ *Truth’s Victory over Error*’ was only a
 ‘ *Tránslation*, and the Venerable Author’s Name sup-
 ‘ pressed. This made one to dash down the following
 ‘ Lines upon the Running Title before the Title Page in the
 ‘ former Edition, in pleasantry:—

‘ *Truth’s Victory over Error.*’

‘ No Errors in this Book I see,
 But G. S. where D. D. should be.’

In 1685 Sinclair published at Edinburgh, ‘Satan’s Invisible World Discovered; or, A choice Collection of Modern Relations, proving evidently against the *Saducees* and *Atheists* of this present Age, that there are *Devils*, *Spirits*, *Witches*, and *Apparitions*, from Authentic 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*.’ 12mo. To this, the FIRST EDITION, there is prefixed a curious ‘Epistle Dedicatory to the Right Honourable GEORGE EARL OF WINTON, LORD SETON and TRANENT, &c.,’ and a singularly interesting ‘Preface to the Reader,’ neither of which are to be found in any of the latter Reprints.

Shortly after publication, the Lords of the Privy Council granted to Mr. Sinclair the copyright in the Sale of this, his curious and precious production:—‘Apud Edinburgh, 26 Feb. 1685.—The Lords of his Majesty’s Privy Council, Having considered ane Address made to them by Mr. George Sinclair, late Professor of Philosophie at the Colledge of Glasgow, and author of the Book intituled *Satan’s Invisible Works [World] Discovered, &c.,* Doe heirby prohibite and discharge all persons whatsoever, from printing, reprinting, or importing into this Kingdome any copy or copies of the said book, dureing the space of eleven yearis after the date heirof, without licence of the author or his order, under the pain of confiscation thereof to the said author, Besydes what farder punishment we shall think fitt to inflict upon the Contraveeners.’

This little volume has since been frequently reprinted. In the Edition of 1764 there appeared ‘Some Additional Re-

'lations which have happened in the Shire of Renfrew, ' Towns of Pittenweem, Calder, and other places.'

To maintain the efficacy of Witchcraft and the reality of Spirits and Apparitions was at that time (1885) a part of the external Christianity of the country, and it was a recognised part of 'Atheism,' as all freedom of judgment was then called, to entertain a doubt about either. The work of Mr. George Sinclar was an example of a series in which the popular beliefs on these subjects were defended as essential to Orthodoxy. For in the Language of its own Titlepage, it contains '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.' One of the most remarkable of these treatises was the '*Antidote against ' Atheism*,' published by Dr. Henry More in 1653; in which we find, first, a most ingenious, and, for the age, well-informed exposition of the arguments for a God, from the remarkable adaptations and provisions seen throughout animated nature—next, and in close connection, a deduction of Theism and Providence, from examples of Bewitched persons, ghosts, vampires, guardian genii, &c. The heading of one of his Chapters is: 'That the evasions of Atheists ' against apparitions are so weak and silly, that it is an evident argument that they are convinced in their own judgment of the truth of these kinds of Phenomena, which ' forces them to answer as well as they can, though they ' be so ill provided.'

In 1688 Sinclar published at Edinburgh, 'The Principles of Astronomy and Navigation; or, A clear, short, ' yet full Explanation, of all Circles of the Celestial, and

‘ Terrestrial Globes, and of their Uses, being the whole
 ‘ Doctrine of the Sphere, and Hypotheses to the Pheno-
 ‘ mena of the Primum Mobile. To which is added Protens
 ‘ Bound with Chains: or, A Discovery of the Secrets of
 ‘ Nature which are found in the Mercurial-Weather-Glass,
 ‘ &c., as also A New Proposal for Buoying up a ship of
 ‘ any Burden from the Bottom of the Sea.’ 12mo. With
 an ‘ Epistle Dedicatory to Magnus Prince, Lord Provost
 ‘ and remanent Members of the Honourable Senate, of the
 ‘ Antient City of Edinburgh,” in which he says, “ I owe
 ‘ all I have, and myself too, to your Devotion and Ser-
 ‘ vice. I chuse rather to be doing somewhat Amiss, than
 ‘ doing Nothing. ’Tis the Widow’s Mite, which I have
 ‘ shelter’d under the Wings of your Protection. If I
 ‘ should endeavour, but to recapitulat, what Sentiments,
 ‘ of your Kindness I have found, both Time, and my
 ‘ Memory would fail me. None can think, that there is
 ‘ any Deserving in me, which can be proportionable to
 ‘ those unvaluable Acts of your Bounty. If there be any,
 ‘ I am confident, it is too too scanty to Oblige. When I was
 ‘ able to do more, none were found more willing. I en-
 ‘ deavoured indeed, according to my Capacity, to contri-
 ‘ bute my Assistance for promoting that great and noble
 ‘ Design, which was accomplish’d; for which the Genera-
 ‘ tions to come, shall call you Happy, whom you have En-
 ‘ riched, with Refreshing-Streams of Cooling-Waters, more
 ‘ advantagious and Useful to the city, than the Fruit of the
 ‘ Vine. I cannot satisfie all the Obligations to Duty, which
 ‘ ly upon me. The more I was inclin’d to offer this Trifle,
 ‘ the more I was overcome with Reasons perswading to
 ‘ the contrary. But the uprightness of my Intention, to
 ‘ beautify this trivial Subject, with the Splendor and Glory

‘ of your Names, will excuse the failings of my Understand-
‘ ing.’ . . .

It is curious to find science and superstition so intimately mingled in the life of this extraordinary person, and it is hardly possible to censure delusions which seem to have been entertained with so much sincerity, and in company with such a zeal for the propagation of real knowledge. At the Revolution, 1688, Mr. George Sinclair was recalled to the Charge in the University of Glasgow from which he had been expelled in 1666. At a meeting of the Committee for visiting the College of Glasgow, held on the 29th August 1690, ‘The Committee ordaint the
‘ Maisters of the Colledge to be called upon who all ap-
‘ peard . . . before whom the Committee ordaint their
‘ Instructions to be read which was accordingly done and
‘ thereafter the Masters removed and were again callit for
‘ one after one.’

‘ Mr. George Sinclare declarit himself willing to swear
‘ the Oath of Allegiance and subscribe the assurance and
‘ confession of faith and submit to the Church government,
‘ and also declarit that he was not as yett installed regent,
‘ and the Committee declarit they would recommend him
‘ to the next generale Meeting of the Visitation.’ On the
3rd March 1691, at a meeting of the Faculty, it is recorded that, ‘The faculty considering that many of the tacks of
‘ the Monklands and Calder are expired, and that there
‘ may be so much money gotten for grassums for renew-
‘ ing of the said tacks as may be a fond the interest where-
‘ of may pay six hundred merks yearly, therefore the
‘ faculty allow to Mr. George Sinclair, Professor of the Ma-
‘ thematioka, six hundred merks yearly, to be paid out of the
‘ rents of this University, which is all that during the pre-

' sent state of the College the faculty can allow him for his
 ' being Professor of the Mathematicks, hereby declaring
 ' that so soon as the revenues shall be bettered, they will be
 ' ready to augment the said salary. The faculty taking
 ' into consideration the statutes and customs of this Uni-
 ' versity in regard to removing masters, and that Mr.
 ' George Sinclar was a regent of this Colledge from the
 ' year 1654 to the year 1666, and forced to demit his
 ' charge because of his non-compliance with prelacy, and
 ' that now having these two years exercised the said charge
 ' of a Regent of this Colledge, and having this day
 ' demitted the same and accepted of the Professor of the
 ' Mathematicks, which hath a far lesse salary and profite
 ' attending the same. . . . And the faculty being de-
 ' sirus to manifest their gratitude to one of their number
 ' who hath so long faithfully served this University, ap-
 ' point that so soon as Mr. George Sinclar shall be re-
 ' moved by death or otherways . . . and that there-
 ' by there fall halfe ane years profits of his place due to
 ' him over and above the time he shall serve, that the said
 ' Mr. George Sinclar, or his assigneyes shall have payed to
 ' them for the same nine hundred merks Scots money.' . . .

On the 23rd March 1691, there was received and re-
 corded the Demission of his office of Regent:—' I, Mr.
 ' George Sinclar, one of the Regents of the University of
 ' Glasgow, considering that the Moderators of this Univer-
 ' sity have by their call of this day and date, called and
 ' presented me to the profession of Mathematicks and Ex-
 ' perimentall Philosophy in this University, and that I
 ' cannot undergoe the charge of a Regent, together with
 ' these other professions, and for deverse other good causes
 ' and considerations, have voluntarily and freely demitted,

‘ . . . My said charge and office of being one of the
 ‘ Regents of this University to and in the hands of the said
 ‘ Moderators of this University to be filled and sup-
 ‘ plied by them with any other person, as they shall think
 ‘ fitt: hereby quitting any claim I had, have, or can pre-
 ‘ tend to have to the said office of Regent, or to any salary
 ‘ belonging to the same (excepting the salary belonging to
 ‘ me for this present current year) for now and ever. In
 ‘ testimony whereof, I have subscribed these presents
 ‘ written by Mr. William Dunlop, Principall of the Uni-
 ‘ versity, with my hand at Glasgow, this twenty-third day
 ‘ of March J^m vj^o fourscore and eleven years. Before thir
 ‘ witnesses, Mr. Hew Fawcayd, Student of Divinity; and
 ‘ James Hall, Servitor to the said University. (Signed)
 ‘ Geo. Sinclair; Hew Fawcayd, witness; James Hall, wit-
 ‘ ness.’

In the ‘ Account of Mr. Alexander Tran, his Intromis-
 ‘ sions with the Personage Teinds of the Subdeanrie, A.D.
 ‘ 1685-1691,’ it is recorded that he paid, ‘ A.D. 1691, to Mr.
 ‘ George Sinclair, Professor of Mathematicks, his half
 ‘ yeirs cellarie, fra October 1691 to Appryll 1692. 200l.’

On the 19th December 1692, ‘ The faculty determined
 ‘ that Mr. George Sinclair, professor of the Mathematics, have
 ‘ his publick Prelections once a week in the laigh Common
 ‘ Hall, on the Tuesdays, at three o’clock in the afternoon.’

And I find that on the 21st April 1696, he signed the
 ‘ Bond of Association by the Chancellor, Rector, Princi-
 ‘ pall, Dean of Faculty, Professors of Theology and Philo-
 ‘ sophy, Students, and others of the University of Glasgow,
 ‘ for defending King William’s Person and Government
 ‘ against all foreign invasions or intestine insurrections.’

It is understood that he died in 1696, but on what day

or month in that year, I have been unable to discover. In 'Principal Dunlop's accounts of the Annual Expenditure of the College, A.D. 1690-1698,' it is recorded, 'A.D. 1697, By Ballance which Mr. Sinclar was due at his Death, which the Colledge looseth, *he having nothing.* He had been a Regent from 1654, and *was an honest man.* 170*l*, 16*s*.'

Sinclar is now best remembered by his work 'Satans Invisible World Discovered,' of which it has been said, 'This important Discovery of the old Gentleman's Cellarages and Colleauges was long a favourite with the lower classes, but it is now less popular, as its marvellous descriptions are now less credited;' and that 'This is a Treatise on Witches, Ghosts, and Diablerie, full of Instances, Ancient and Modern, and altogether forming a curious Record of the popular notions on those subjects at the period when it appeared. It was for a long time a Constituent part of every Cottage Library in Scotland.'

The 'ORIGINAL EDITION' issued in 1685 has for these last fifty years been a work of EXTREME RARITY. Indeed, of the various REPRINTS published during the eighteenth century down to that one which was issued so lately as in 1814, they have all been long very scarce and difficult to procure.

In confirmation of this, I found from personal enquiry made, that no copy of either the FIRST EDITION, or even of any of the various Reprints was to be found in any of the large Public Libraries established in Edinburgh!

In the latter end of the year 1830, my father—JOHN STEVENSON, *Antiquarian Bookseller*—purchased, at a sale of Books in the old town of Edinburgh, a very nice clear copy of the FIRST EDITION, which he offered to SIR

WALTER SCOTT, Bart., at the price of FOUR GUINEAS. But Sir Walter declined the purchase, thinking it was too high in price. Afterwards it was sold to CHARLES KIRKPATRICK SHARPE, *the Celebrated Antiquary*, on the 12th February 1831, for the same sum. Sir Walter having apparently reconsidered the matter, sent my father the following note which is now in my possession:—‘DEAR JOCK,—I believe I could get you a Merchant for your Satans Invisible World, dear as I think it is; and who might perhaps learn the way to your shop. If it still remains a shop-keeper, it will be worth while to send it to me.—I am, with the best wishes, Your humble Servant,
‘WALTER SCOTT.’

ABBOTSFORD,
17th February 1831.

Addressed ‘Mr. John Stevenson, Bookseller.’*

On receipt of this communication, my father being then confined to his bed, I replied thereto, informing Sir Walter that the book had been sold, a few days before the arrival of his note, to his friend Mr. Sharpe. My father having died on the 24th of February 1831, this was the last letter he received from his very old friend and patron.—Sir Walter Scott died on the 21st of September 1832.

Mr. Sharpe shortly after made an exchange of his book with Mr. David Laing for a collection of prints; and I understood that the said work found its way eventually—either in the form of a gift or by purchase—to Sir Walter’s possession. It is now in the Library at Abbotsford.

* ‘The publisher, Mr. John Stevenson, long chief clerk to John Ballantyne, was usually styled by Scott ‘TRUE JOCK,’ in opposition to one of his old master’s many aliases, viz.,—‘*Levin Johnnie.*’—*Lockhart’s Life of Scott*, vol. iv., p. 136.

I may here remark that originally my father was bred a Bookbinder with Mr. Watt, Binder to the British Linen Company's Bank, in Tweeddale Court, Netherbow, Edinburgh. On his bench or table was laid the body of William Begbie, the Bank porter, who was fatally stabbed in the close or entry leading to the Bank, on the afternoon of the 13th November 1806. He afterwards became a Bound Apprentice, as '*Warehouseman*,' to John Ballantyne & Compy., Booksellers, Publishers, and *latterly* Auctioneers, No. 4 Princes Street, Edinburgh, on the 12th of May 1809, for a period of Six Years. The Indenture has engrossed on the back of it the following attestation, viz:—'I, John Ballantyne, 'hereby discharge the inclosed ' Indenture, John Stevenson having served me for the full ' period of its duration, with honesty, fidelity, and a degree ' of assiduity rarely met with in an apprentice; not only ' to my own satisfaction, but so especially to that of my ' customers, that I may safely refer to Sir Walter Scott, ' Baronet, (*my chief employer*), were it needful, to substantiate this fact by his high authority.

(Signed) ' JOHN BALLANTYNE,
for John Ballantyne & Coy. and Self'

He was afterwards promoted, and continued in the business as confidential clerk, &c. until it was broken up by the death of Mr. Ballantyne, which happened at No. 10 St. John Street, Canongate, Edinburgh, on the 16th of June 1821, aged 47 years.

At the Sale of the Library of GEORGE CHALMERS (*the Author of 'Caledonia,' &c. &c.*) in London, November 1842, I purchased a very fine copy of the ORIGINAL EDITION of Sinclar's work, in russia binding, by Kalthoerber, which I sold in the December following to JOHN WHITE-

FOORD MACKENZIE, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh, for the sum of THREE GUINEAS AND A HALF, in whose Library it stills forms one of the many—very many—rich rarities in Bibliography which are to be found in his remarkably fine and extensive collection.

In the preparation of this Notice, I have experienced much courtesy from Prof. William Stevenson, D.D.; John Whitefoord Mackenzie, Esq., W.S.; David Laing, Esq., of the Signet Library; Samuel Halkett, Esq., of the Advocate's Library; John Small, Esq., of the University Library; Rev. John Laing, of the Free Church College Library, J. D. Marwick, Esq., City Clerk; and Robert Adam, Esq., City Accountant. I accordingly beg to return my best thanks to them for their kind assistance.

To this REPRINT of the 'FIRST EDITION' I have appended the 'ADDITIONAL RELATIONS' which appeared in the Edition issued in 1764; and, as a 'SUPPLEMENT,' a few Notes illustrative of some of the 'Interesting and Extraordinary Authenticated Narrations,' which I have considered well worthy of a place in such a collection as this now is.

The IMPRESSION printed has been EXTREMELY LIMITED, chiefly to gratify the wishes, and to supply the known wants, of a few Friends, Patrons, and Collectors of all such like out-of-the-way, rare, valuable, and interesting relics,—'The true Lovers of curious little old smoke-dried volumes,' which are to be found in the 'well-known shop' of the publisher.

T. G. S.

EDINBURGH, *January 1871.*



Satans
Invisible World
Discovered.



Satans Invisible
WORLD

DISCOVERED;

OR,

A Choice Collection of Modern Relations, 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.

TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE
EARL of
WINTON,
Lord SETON and TRA-
NENT, &c.

*And One of His MAJESTIES most Ho-
nourable Privy Council.*

My Lord,



PRESENT
*Your Lo: with
an Oblation,
both Lame and
Imperfect. 'Tis
all which my
Ability can af-
ford. I must
Sacrifice with
Barley-Meal
because I want
Frankincense.*

Farre litabit qui non habet thus.

* 2

Dut

The Epistle

But what Imperfection is in it, I supply it with the Sincerity of my Respects, who presents it. 'Tis a Subject, that the Learndest Prince, and greatest Monarch in His time was not ashamed to treat of. I seriously implore your Lordships Protection, for, I have to do with many Adversaries of this Visible World, who will not fail to ride tills at me, with Bul-rushes and Windle-strawes. As for those of Satans Invisibile World, in the Name of the LORD, I defy them. I know the acuteness of your Lordships Ingine and Profoundness of your Knowledge, in all such and other Matters, that there is no Theme which I am able to treat of, or Thesis which I am able to publish, but your Lordship is able by your Power and Authority to protect it, and by your Reason to defend it.

*I am the more encouraged to offer this to your Lordship, A Noble Patrician, because I have seen Tracts of this Subject consecrated to Kings, Dukes, and Princes. I have sure Experience of your Lordships Bounty and Favourable Aspect, which gave Wings to my New Philosophical Experiments, to flie thorow Holland, France
and*

. Didicatory.

and Germany, which have made them so acceptable to Strangers.

Neque Phæbo gratior ulla est.
Quam sibi quæ Vari præscripsit pagina
nomen.

If my Writings had such good Fortune and Success abroad, by the auspicious Conduct of your Lordships name upon the Frontispice, what must they have at home, where your Power, Interest, and Relations are so considerable? Where your Ancestors are so famous, having been useful to their Countrey, in Peace and War; others of them employ'd in Publick Affairs at home and abroad, and all of them most eminent for their unstained Loyalty to their Prince, and Zeal for his Interest; and that since Malcome the third, six hundred years agoe, to your Lordship, who is the twentieth and fifth, Lineally descended from Dougald the first of the Family.

*What a Faithful Achates, and Companion was Christopher Seton the third, to King Robert the Bruce, in all his troubles? whose love to his King, was like the love of Jonathan to David, for which, and his valiant Atcheivements, he bestowed his Sister
Christin*

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Christin upon him in Marriage, and the Flower-de-Luce to his Coat of Arms, one of the chief Ornaments of the Royal Badge.

—Patruo te Principe celsum,
Bellipotens illustrat Avus.—

Was not Alexander Seton, the second Son of Lord William, and Lady Katharin Sinclar, or rather, Saint Katharin, who builded the famous Chappel of Seton, for his excellent endowments of Body and Mind, made Head of the noble Family of Gordons, by marrying the Heretrix of Huntly; and that three hundred years ago? And was not his Sister Isabel, by the same Mother, bestowed in Marriage upon that most Princely Youth John Stuart of Darnly, from which two, the Royal Race is descended; So that I may say without Flattery, your Family is come off Princes, and reciprocally, Princes are come off your Family.

Quis venerabilior sanguis, quæ major
origo

Quam regalis erit?—

What was that illustrious Knight Alexander the third, who during the time of John the Balliols Usurpation, three hundred and fifty

Dedicatory.

fifty years ago, was made Governour of Berwick, whom the King of England, while he was besieging the Town, could neither by Threatnings, nor fair Promises, inveigle or perswade to betray his Trust. The Garrison labouring under great penurie of Provision, a Truce was made upon this Condition, That if Relief came not before such a limited day, the Town should be delivered up. The Scottish Army approaching, under the Conduct of the Valiant Douglas, and King Edward fearing that the Town might be releived, sent to the Governour, certifying him (though the dayes of Truce were not yet expired) that if he did not render it forthwith, both his Sons, the one an Hostage, the other a Prisoner of War, should be crucified immediately before his eyes.

But the magnanimous Father, and incomparable Mother, being driven to this insuperable Dilemma ;

Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implacata Charybdis

Obsidet—

*Love to their Dearest Children perswading,
* 4 and*

The Epistle

and Love and Respect to their Countrey, and Familie dissuading, carrie like two invincible Hero's, and by admirable Resolution, and Constancy, beyond what Roman Histories can parallel, they prefer their Countrey to their dearest Pledges, Fidelity to Treachery, and Glory to Shame. On which barbaritie, the Famous Poet Johannes Johnstonus Aberdonensis, writteth thus in his Book intituled, The SCOTS Hero's,

Huc averte oculos, neu tristia fata tuorum,

Respice——

Vincit amor Patriæ constansque in pectore virtus,

Omnia pro Patria sustinuisse valens.

This strange Tyrannical, Barbarous, and Monstruous Fact, is suppressed in the Histories of England, and buried in silence, not unwise, it being capable neither of defence, nor Excuse.

My Lord,

Neither can I pass over in silence Lord George, the fifth of that Name,

Claros inter habent nomina clara viros.

Your

Dedicatory.

Your Great Grand-Fathers Father, who being Master of the Royal Oeconomy to the Queen, was sent by Order of Parliament to France, to make up a Match between Francis the Dolphin, and Mary Queen of Scots. And after, was sent by King James her son, to Henry the third, for confirming the ancient Alliance, whose third Son Alexander, for his Knowledge and Skill in Juris-Prudence, was manie years a Senator of the Colledge of Justice, and thereafter President to the Senate, and one of the Kings honourable Privy Counsellors, and at last made by King James, Earl of Dumfermling, and Lord High Chancellour of SCOTLAND; from whom, by his two Daughters he had two Grand Children, two matchless Hero's, John Duke of Lauderdale, and John Earl of Tweeddale, both of them, as was said of Julius Cæsar and Cato, Ingenti Virtute, Men, of most eminent Parts and Edowments.

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis
Est in Juvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus: nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

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I come at last to your Lordships Father and Grand-Father, who imitating their Noble Ancestors, were notable examples of Love and Piety towards their Sovereign : both of great Humility and Goodness. Your Grand-Father was admirable, even to excess for Liberalitie to his other Children, and Hospitality to Friends and Strangers, more becoming a Prince, than a Subject. Your Mother of the Renowned Gordons, a Paragon of Nature for her matchless Beauty and Goodness,

Rara quidem facie, forma pulcherrima
Dido.

My Lord,

I have touched a little the Historie of your Familie, but cannot relate all it deserves. It is well done by others, and augmented by the Learned Notes of Sir Alexander Seton of Pitmeden, Knight Baronet, that honourable Gentleman, one of the honourable Senators of the Colledge of Justice.

But for what end (my Lord) have I celebrated the praises of your Predecessors? Is it because I have nothing to say of Yourself? Far be it. Your large Possessions purchased by the Pru-

Dedicatory.

Prudence and Heroick Valour of Your Fore-Fathers, are managed with Frugalitie and Moderation.

Non minor est virtus quam quærere,
parta tueri :

Casus inest illic, hic erit artis opus.

*The ancient Honour and Dignitie of Your Familie is preserved without the least stain or spot of Disloyalty ; so that I may truly say, as is engraven upon the Frontispiece of Your statelie Palace, **Deus decori addis abito.***

*This Treatise is called **Satans Invisible World Discovered**, but I am ascertain'd, that by Your transcendent Skill, you have discovered an Invisible World, far beyond what any of your Ancestors could do ; I mean your subterraneous World, a work for a Prince, and a Subject to Write of, by that great Philosopher Kircher. What Meanders and Boutgates are in it, are rather to be admired then beleived. There Dædalus for all his skill would mistake his way ? What running of Mines, and Levels ? What piercing of Gæs ? What cutting of impregnable Rocks, with more difficultie, than*
Han-

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Hannibal cutted the Alpes.

—Qui montes rupit aceto.

What Deep-Pits, and Air-holes are digged! What diligence to prevent Damps, which kill Men and beasts in a moment! What contriving of Pillars, for supporting houses and Churches, which are undermined! What floods of Water run thorow the Labyrinths, for several miles, by a free Level, as if they were conducted by a Guide! How doth Art and Nature strive together, which of the twain shall advance Your Lordships Interest most! What curious Mechanical Engines has Your Lordship, like another Archimedes, contrived for your Coal-works, and for draining of Coal-sinks! What a moliminous Rampier, hath Your Lordship begun, and near perfected, for a Harbour of deep Water, even at Neip-Tides!

Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus &
ingens.

How bountiful has Nature been in forming a choice Coal under ground, within a stone-cast of your New-haven?

Your

Dedicatory.

Your Experimental Skill in improving your Coal, for making of Salt, is praise worthy. Your defending of the Salt-pans against the imperious Waves of the raging Sea, from the N.E. is singular. Your renting of Rocks, for clearing of Passages into your Harbours, which none of your Predecessors were able to do, is stupendious.

As the Result of the wise Government of your Affairs, redounds to your self, so does it to the publick Advantage of the Countrie, and others, so that men may say,

—Te toti genitum se credere genti.

How manie hundreds of Young and Old have their Being and Liveli-hood, by their dependence on your Lordships vertuous Actions about the Coal and Salt, and things belonging thereunto, who art your self the greatest Coal and Salt-Master in Scotland, who is a Nobleman, and the greatest Nobleman in Scotland, who is a Coal and Salt-Master; Nay, absolutelis the best for skill in both, of all Men in the Nation. What fruitful Corn-fields, where Ceres hath her chief habitation lye within the prospect of your dwelling house at Seton? Which per-

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persuades me to maintain this Paradox, There is no Subject in Britan has so much Casual and Land-Revenue within a mile of his house, as your Lordship has.

In a word, your Affability in Converse, your Sobriety in Dyet and Apparel, your Friendship and Kindness to Your Friends, your Candor and Ingenuity, with the prudent management of your Affairs, have endeared all Men to You; So that I may say, If your Predecessors were famous of Old for their Feats of War, in the time of War, so is your Lordship famous for your Arts of Peace, in the time of Peace. But, my Lord, I fear I am wearisome, and therefore I shall close as I began, imploring your Patrocination to this small Enchiridion. And as I have been long since Devoted to You in all Dutie and Love, so shall I ferventlie pray for Your Preservation and Happiness here and hereafter, while I live, and shall think my self happie to be under the Character of Your Lordships,

Most Dutiful and

Obedient Servant,

GEORGE SINCLAR.

In Auctorem & Opus, Encomiasticon.

Miramur tam multa tui monumenta *Georgi*
Ingenii & claram famam, quam scripta per
orbem

Conciliant docta dum lucubrata quotannis
Conspicimus tot missa manu : dum falsa refutas
Dogmata divini pandens mysteria verbi ;
Et monstras rectum per tanta pericula callem,
Quo sacrae veritatis amans, incedere possit
Tutus iter, sacro firmatus lumine mentem :
Et vero faciles non flectat tramite gressus.
Nunc aliud conaris opus, regniq; recludis
Atria Tartarei, qualisque potentia *diti*
Sit permessa *Dei* rerum cui summa potestas
Consilio sapiente doceas, & quanta sit ejus
Impietas, quae dira paret, semperque minetur
Exitia humano generi, quae funera aevus
Ediderit, miserisque animas demiserit *arca*.
Mira etiam sed vera refers simulachra per urbes
Visa per obscurum noctis errantia passim,
Horrendum dictuque nefas animasque Sepulchris
Excitas, notos, questu implevisse penates
Confessasque suae non ullis cognita vitae
Crimina, *Medeas artes*, aut saedera diri
Servitii stygio se cum pepigisse tyranno
Aut caedem graviusve nefas. Nec longe petitis
Uteris exemplis, sed quae vicinior aetas
Protulit, & nostris etiam conspeximus oris.
Esse igitur manes, & subterranea regna.
Et flumina & stygio ; stagnantem sulphure lacum
Atque animas, quae posse mori natura negavit
Qui dubitent cum haec mira legant, atq; affore tempus
Quo tandem notis redeant corporibus omnes
Spiritus, exactis capiant & praemia vitae.
Ergo homines horum memores, dum certa facultas

Dum

Dum ratio tempusq; sinunt, & carpitis auras
Æthereas, properate gradum, pacemque verendi
Numinis, & veniam vestris exposite factis.
Tu quoque de vera sic religione mereri
Perge modo quo cepisti *Sinclare*, tuisque
Non deerit laus digna piis conatibus unquam :
Postera sed vestros celebrabit fama labores.

Patricius Sinclairus.

R *Eader, if thou call in question, what I have said in the Preface, anent the Number of these absurd Tenets, maintained by the Cartesian Philosophers abroad. I refer thee, for full satisfaction, to Petrus van Mastrick, that famous Professor of Theology at Utricht, who in his late Book entituled Gangræna Cartesianismi, has set them all down, and for more than I have mentioned, citing Author, Book, and Page, and has notably confuted them. For proof of what I have written anent these other Tenets, mentioned in the last Page of the Book, see Malebranche his Books, La Recherche de la Verite. De la Nature, & de la Grace, and his Meditations Chrestiens, together with Mr. Arnaulds Book de Vraes, & de Fausses Idees, where all these opinions are ridiculed, and most rationally confuted.*

THE
PREFACE
To The
READER

MY Purpose is only by some few *Collections* to prove the existence of *Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions*. The *Philosophical Arguments*, which are brought for this end, though very cogent, yet many of them are so profound and speculative, that they require a greater attention and sagacity, than many learned men, that are not used to consider, will allow. Neither can the common and vulgar sort of Readers, reach the understanding of such *Reasonings*. Therefore I judge they are best convinced by proofs which come nearest to *Sense*, such as the following *Relations* are, which leave a deeper impression upon minds and more lasting, than thousands of subtile *Metaphysical Arguments*.

The *Essay* considered in it self, is but mean and of small moment, but taking it as it relates to one of the *Out-works of Religion*, which the bold, and too much daring Infidelity of some have assaultd, it will be thought reasonable, especially now, while *Atheism*, and *Quakerism* that sink of, *Folly and Madness* (as one calls it) out of which there is no great leap into the other, doth now so much obtain. And while Parties venting there animosities one against another and men scrambling for *Conceits*, and their own private advantages, do not see how this damnable evil, a lesson never believed in Hell, *Nullus in Inferno*

A

Atheus

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Atheus est, ante fuit, comes on by large *Strides*, and enters the *Breach*, which they have made. If this prevail, farewell all *Religion*, all *Faith*, all *hope* of a life to come. *Let us eat and drink for to morrow we must die*. Sober and wise men have often said, if they did not believe to live again, they would not desire to live a *Moment*.

The *Relations* are plain and easy, and all of them may be attested by *Authentick Records*, or by famous witnesses. There are here, no old *Wives trattles about the fire*, but such as may bide the *Test*, and *strick trial* of any mans examination. What belief can be given to any human histories, and matters of *Fact*, related by famous *Writers*, as much may be given to these following *Relations*. I have collected some of them from *Saducismus Triumphatus*, that excellent Book composed by *Doctor Glanvil*, and *Doctor More*, and the rest are purchased from Persons of eminent honesty and Faith. This Book is not the worse, but the better, that I have transcribed some of the choisest *Relations* there, and insert them here. It is not possible to write a Book of this Nature, but the *Author* must collect, since it depends, not upon a Mans own *Invention*, but essentially upon Information from others. The advantage lays here, that a man may have this Book for a small Price, though no other *Relations* had been in it, but what are there. Whereas that other Book cannot be sold in the *Shops* under six or seven shillings. There is one *Relation* here, viz, the *Devil of Glentuce*, which I have been at great pains to be informed of, which *Doctor More*, hath so much valued that he hath taken it word by word from my *Hydrostaticks*, and has thought it worth his while to insert it among his *Relations*. It is now enlarged by many excellent Additions, and published

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publishd here again. None yet, that ever I heard of had the confidence to say, that it was but a *Trick*, and an *imposture* to amuze and wonderstricke simple and credulous persons. I believe, if the *Obduredest Atheist* among men, would seriously and in good earnest consider that *Relation*, and ponder all the *Circumstances* thereof, would presently cry out, as a *Dr. of Physick* did, hearing a *Story* less considerable. *If this be true, I have been in the wrong Class all this time, I must begin my Account a new. This one Relation is worth all the price that can be given for the Book.* Some indeed have also said, that the *Dæmon of Tedworth*, was but an *imposture*, and that *Doctor Glanvil* confessed so much himself, but he hath sufficiently vindicate that, Men only speak as they would have it. Glad would many be, if all such *Relations* were acknowledged to be but *Tricks* and *Waggeries*, that they might live as they list; Because men are horribly a-frayed to believe there should be any *Spirit*; lest there should be a *Devil*, and an account after this life: They are impatient of any thing that implyes it, that they may with a more full swing, and with all security from an after reckoning indulge their lusts, living like *Brutes*, and dying so. I have insert likewise a notable *Story* of the *Devil* that troubled a *Protestant Ministers* house, at *Mascon* in *France*, to let see, that none can plead a protection from his malice. The *Devil* endeavours more to smite the *Shepherd*, than any of the *Flock*, though he be an utter enemy to both. Many worthy *Ministers of the Gospel* have been the Butt of the *Devils* malice, an instance whereof is clear from the twentieth and first *Relation*.

But what are the *Reasons*, why there is so much disbelief of *Devils*, *Witches*, and *Apparitions*? There

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is first an affected humour in many to Droll, Scoff, and Mock at all such Relations, and are rather willing to believe a *World in the Moon*, than the truth of such a Narrative. And, Witchcraft being a large Subject to expatiate upon, men find ample occasion to speak of Cheats and Impostors, of Jugling Tricks, of Melancholious fits of distempered Persons, of old *Wives Fables*, which they talk of at an high rate, and so conclude by their Frolick and wanton Fancy, that whatever is spoken by sober men, anent the reality of witches, and Spirits, are but ridiculous, and inconsistent with reason. And to this purpose the *Drolling Wagge* actuating and elevating his *Scoffing Vein*, especially with a Glass of good Claret, quibbles luckily, and by making others laugh, they think him, and he thinks himself, a *third Cato fallen from Heaven*. Whereas he is but a man like his Neighbours. And though at first, he only intended to play the Wanton, yet by such frequent Merriments (as a man by lying in sport, comes at last, by an habit, to lye in earnest) his reason becomes an obedient slave to his Fancy, and concludes in seriousness, there are neither Devils nor Witches. The half-witted hearers admire him, and take every Jest for an Argument, and his loud laughs upon an idle tale of a Devil or a Witch for Demonstrations, that no such Creatures are. The other reason, why Folk disbelieve Witches and Spirits, is Atheism. For if a man take good notice, he will find there is of it lurking at the root of the *Saducean Principle*. 'Tis probable that the *Saducees* in Christs time, were as great Patrons and Advocates of Witches, as either *Scot the Englishman*; the *Father of the Witch Patrons*, whom *King James* mentions in his *Demonology*, or *Webster, Wagstaff*, or the *Author of the Name Pamphlet*. Printed Anno 1659.

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A third Reason is, Because it is commonly believed that many innocent Persons have suffered as *Witches*, especially such as have been *Tortur'd* to a Confession. Let it be so, but will it follow, that all suffer after that manner, And though many of their Confessions seem ridiculous, as their *Transformation* into *Catts* and *Hares*, and their *Transportation* into far *Countreys* which is evident enough; Yet such things as their renouncing their *Baptism*, and *giving up themselves from Top to Toe, to the Devils service* and receiving his mark (they willing to take it) and *injunctions to do all manner of evil, cannot be thought ridiculous*. If we can believe, that the Devil can speak with an audible voice, and come under a visible shape, as is very probable, he appeared to our Saviour, why should it be thought incredible, that he may not do the like to Men and Women. Satan offered to make a fair bargain with Christ; if thou wilt fall down (says he) and worship me, *I will give thee all these Kingdoms*. Why (much more) may he not make compacts with men and Women? If Witchcraft, were but a new Trade, which had never been heard of before, and but a few in a country-side, that profest their skill in it, and told such foolish stories of themselves, that man might be esteemed singular, that would believe them. But since this employment hath been verified by Millions in all ages, in all places, and hath obtained the general approbation of all sober judicious men, but especially so well verified from holy Scripture, why should any man as *Webster* and *Wagstaff*, judge all Witchcraft but delusions. *Samuel* said to *Saul*, that *Rebellion was like the sin of Witchcraft; that is, the one is as great a sin as the other*. Would ever the *Spirit of God* compare *Rebellion*, especially against himself, to a

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non-ens, to a thing that is not, or to *Jugling Tricks*, or *Legerdemain*, such as the *Hocus Pocusses* play. Were *Jannes* and *Jambres* the *Egyptian Magicians*, who withstood *Moses*, only two *Juglers* or *couzening Rogues*, that cast down before *Pharoah* carved and painted *Serpents* instead of real ones. They have been very artificially done, that the true *Serpents* mistook them for real ones. It was a victory to brag of indeed, that *Moses* obtained over *Pharoahs Magicians*, if they were but *arrant Cheats*, who had no more to do with evil spirits, or evil Spirits with them, then evil Spirits have to do with other Sinners. There is that well known place, *Exod. 22. 18.* *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*, which would be a Law of extream severity, or rather cruelty against a poor Jugler for his tricks of *Legerdemain*. Why is Witchcraft call'd a *Work of the Flesh*, and reckoned up among the rest of these damnable sins, *Gal. 5.* The Greek word is *Pharmakeia*, *veneficium*, *Sorcery*, or the *Art of poysoning*, whereof they had great skill from the old *Druggist* their Master. Not that they mischieve people ordinarily by natural poyson, as *Arsenick*, or the like, but rather by some hellish malignancy infused into things, by the art and malice of the Devil. It is such a poyson, that no *Alexipharmacoon* or *Oreicton* can be an *Antidote* against. Men and Women have been wronged by the touch of a Witches hand, by the breath, and kiss of their mouth, as is well known of late. By their looks, which is called *Fascinatio phynica*, a *Forelook* or *Ill eyes*. The Greek word is *Bascania*, from *Bascaino* to bewitch or envy, *quasi phasei kaino, oculis interficio*, as when a Witch sendeth forth from her heart thorow her eyes venomous and poysonful Spirits, as *Rayes*, which lighting upon a man, will kill him. The *Basilisk* killeth

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killeth this way. But the Devil and the *Basilik* are both *Serpents*. What was *Simon Magus*? But especially that notable *Magician Apollonius Thianus*, one beyond most that ever the World knew. And that *Damsel* possessed with a Spirit of *Divination*: in the Greek a Spirit of *Python*, by which name *Apollo* (the Devil) was called by the Heathens.

The Witch of *Endor* is so notable and evident an instance of Confederacy with the Devil, that the Witch Patrons to find an evasion, have set their wits upon the Rack. But it is such a *Choak-pear* to them as that they shall never be able to Chew or Swallow. *Doctor Glanville* maintains, it was the true *Samuel* that appeared to *Saul*. But it is far more probable that it was the Devil in *Samuels* lickness. For it is most incredible, that GOD who had just now refused to answer *Saul*, by the means which himself had appointed, would answer him, or suffer *Samuel* to answer him, by the use of those means, which GOD detested. Secondly, if it had been the true *Samuel*, or some *Good Spirit*, he would not have received that worship from *Saul*, which *Good Spirits* would not suffer; *Rev.* 19. 10. and 22. 8. 9. Thirdly, Among the other sins, for which he condemneth *Saul*, he omitteth this of asking counsel of one that had a Familiar Spirit to enquire of it, for which transgression with others he is expressly said to have died; *1 Chron.* 10. 13. Which the true *Samuel* who was so zealous for GODS honour and so faithful a reprover of sin, would never have neglected, especially now, when he took *Saul*, in the very fact. Lastly, he pretends himself to be disquieted and brought up by *Sauls* instigation, and the *Witches Art*, which is most false, impious, and absurd to imagine concerning those blessed souls who are returned to their

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God; *Ecc.* 12. 7. *Isa.* 57. 2. *Luke* 16. 22. *Rev.* 13. 14.

Many in all Ages have written of Devilry and Witchcraft, Men of eminent Knowledge and Parts, as we may see by one instance of King James his *Demonology*, a piece as far beyond all other mens writings on that subject, as himself was beyond all Princes in his time. I cannot omit to mention the opinion of His *Majesties* present *Advocat*, (Sir George Mackenzie,) a Gentleman of great knowledge and experience in all such matters, in his 16. *Pleading* for *Mevia* accused of Witchcraft; *I am not of their Opinion* (sayes he) *who deny that there are Witches, though I think them not numerous, and though I believe that some are suffered by Providence, to the end that the being of Spirits may not be denied, &c.* And in his *Criminals*, he acteth the part both of a Divine, a Lawyer, and a good Philosopher, in order to Witchcraft.

But what can be the reason of so much *Atheism* in the World! There are many, but I shall only touch at two: First, there are a monstrous rable of men, who following the *Hobbesian* and *Spinosian* Principles, slight Religion, and undervalue the Scripture, because there is such an express mention of Spirits and Angels in it, which their thick and plumbeous capacities cannot conceive. Whereupon they think, that all contained in the Universe comes under the notion of things matterial, and bodies only; and consequently, no GOD, no Devil, no Spirit, no Witch. *Hobbs* the *Englishman* is too well known by his *Atheistical* writings. *Benedictus Spinosus*, or rather *Maledictus*; a stranger abroad, a profain abuser of the Scripture: will have all those Devils, which CHRIST and his Disciples cast out, to be

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be but Diseases in mens Bodies.

There is a second Reason, namely the absurd Principles of the *Cartesian Philosophy*, eagerly maintained by *Cartes* his Followers, in their publick Writtings and Disputations abroad. They do not indeed assert, there is no GOD, but rather seem to prove so much especially by his *Idea*, which is Con-natural to all men. This may seem a plausible reason, but when its put to the *Test*, or *Touchston*, it, with others of that kind, are not found sufficient, nor able to convince *Atheists*. That their Principles are absurd, and dangerous, I shall mention a few of them, which are owned and maintained publickly abroad, especially in Holland.

As (1) that we must doubt of all things, before we can come to any clear distinct knowledge of them. We must suppose (they say) *there is no God, no Heavens, no Earth*; nay which a man ought to tremble at to speak of, that GOD is a deceiver. (2) They inroach upon the sound *Orthodox Religion*, and the *Articles of our Faith*, and go quite contrary to all *Christian*, and *Protestant Divines*, and would have the *Orthodox Theology* reformed by their fanatical *Philosophy*. (3) That *Philosophy* is not subservient, or an Handmaid to Divinity. (4) That *Philosophy* is as sure, as Divine, and also revealed as the *Scripture* is. (5) That the *Scripture* in things Natural, speaks according to the erroneous opinion of the Vulgar. That *Philosophy* and *Philosophers* are the *Interpreters* of the *Scripture* in things Natural. (6) That the *Scripture* in things *Moral* and *Practical*, speaks according to the erroneous Judgment and Opinion of the Vulgar. (7) That the *Scripture* in matters of *Faith* speaks also according to the erroneous opinion of the vulgar. (8) That *Philosophy* is the infallible Interpreter
of

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of the Scripture. (9) That the *Cartesians* their Clear and Distinct Perception is the only Rule of all Truth. (10) That there is in every man an *Idea* of GOD, without the Consideration of which, no man can attain to the knowledge of Gods Existence, and Nature, though he were never so well furnished with the light of Nature, and the knowledge of the works of Creation and Providence. (11) That GOD may be properly defined. (12) That the *Divine Essence* consists only in Cogitation. (13) That GOD cannot properly be called a Spirit; because (say they) a Spirit, to speak properly, denotes some corporeal thing. (14) That the life which the Scripture attributes to GOD, and whereby he is called the *Living GOD*, is nothing else but his Understanding and his Will. (15) That GOD by his power can make one thing contradictory to another. (16) That GOD can deceive, if he please. (17) That GOD can make an *Infinium*, both as to bulk and number. (18) That God is From himself, not only Negative, but also Positive. That is, he is not only Independent from all things whatsoever, but is from himself, as if he were the cause of himself both prior and posterior to himself. (19) That his Omnipresence, is nothing else, but his most Efficacious Will, by which he sustains and governs all things. (20) That the *Mysterie* of the Trinity, may be demonstrat by Natural Reason. (21) That the Communicability of the *Divine Essence*, doth not arise from its infinitness. (22) That the three Persons of the God-head are neither distinguished among themselves, *Really*, nor *Modaliter*. (23) That the three Persons, are neither distinguished from the *Divine Essence*, *Really*, nor *Modaliter*, nor *ratione ratiocinatâ*. (24) That in Explaining the

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the *Work of Creation*, we may lawfully make use of false Suppositions. (25) That the first Chaos, was able of it self, to produce all things material. (26) That God did not creat all things for Man. (27) That the World hath a Soul. (28) That the world as to its bulk is indefinite, but may be infinite. (29) That there is a world in the Moon. (30) That the Angels might have existed and been; before the world was made. (31) That the Essence of Angels consists only in Cogitation. (32) That what marvellous works have been performed by Angels (as *killing an hundred fourscore and five thousand of the Assyrians*) wer done by their bare thought and Cogitation. (33) That the Essence of the Soul of man consists only in Cogitation. (34) That every man hath two Souls, one *Rational* the other *Animal*. (35) That the *Rational Soul* may be absent, and yet the Bodie living, by vertue of the *Animal Soul*. This (by the way) is a brave invention to let see how Witches may be transported to Balls of Dauncing, and far countreys, and their Bodies tarry at home. For the Devil may put their *Rational Soul* into some *Aerial Vehicle*, or a Body made of condensed *Air*, and carry it whithersoever he pleases, while the *Animal Soul* may keep life in the Body at home. (36) That it is proper only to the Will to affirm, and deny. (37) That the will is infinite after its own manner, and that it can will all things which God can will. (40) That the *Idea* of God in man, belongs to the Image of God in man. (41) That Brutes want life, sense and Perception. (42) They confound Gods Omnipresence with his Providence. (43) That the explication of Original sin, is to be sought for, from the inmost Cabins of the *Cartesian Philosophy*. (44) That the Intellect doth not err, nor can err. (45) That

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That it is in the Will of Man, not to assent, but to things clearly and distinctly perceived. (46) That the Decree of God leaves the free actions of men, indetermined. (47) That the Personal Subsistence, namely, that Subsistence, by which the Humane Nature subsists is but a meer figment of Divines. (48) That the Divine Nature cannot be present, or united to the humane Nature, but by an external operation. (49) That Grace in the Conversion of a man is not irresistable. (50) That Faith is not Knowledge. (51) That Faith doth not belong to the Understanding. (52) That Faith consists only in hungering and thirsting after Righteousness. (53) That Death is not the separation of the Soul and Body. (54) That the Resurrection is not the re-union of the Soul and the Body. (55) That the Souls of the Righteous do not properly pass immediatly into heaven. (56) That the Souls of the wicked do not presently pass into hell. These are a part of the *Cartesian Tenets*. What dangerous Principles they are, and what dreadful consequences may be drawn from them, is evident to all sober men. *James Arminius*, and his followers called *Remonstrantes* bred much trouble to the *Belgick Churches*, but not comparable, to what this man, *Cartes*, especially his *Followers*, have done. The *Arminian Tenets* were but five in number, as to heads and had some shaddow of Reason. But the *Cartesian Novelities* far exceed the number of heads, which the *Hydra* or *Lernean Serpent* had. They are big with, and ready to be delivered of *Vaninianism*, *Arianism*, *Socinianism*, *Vorstianism*, *Nestorianism*. *Novitates Cartesianae* (says a learned man) *multis parasangis superant Arminianas*, the *Cartesian Novelities* go far beyond, for number and weight the *Arminian Tenets*.
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They not only gnaw about (*arrodunt*) as a *Gangren*, but (*exedunt*) they eat up the most part of the whole body of *Theology*, to the utter ruin of the *Christian Faith*. Let no man mistake me, for its not my design to discourage any man that teaches or learns new *Philosophy*. *Ego ipse amo novam Philosophiam; verum non quia est nova, sed quia est bona*. It is very fit, that *Students* in *Philosophy*, should have *ex omni aliquid*, should know all the different *sects* and *opinions* of learned men, for their accomplishment, providing first, as the *Great Philosopher* says, this *Axiom* be observed, *Quicquid movetur aliquo quiescente movetur*. There ought to be layed down some sure principles, as a foundation upon which *Students* may walk surely, which for their *evidences* and *certainity*, may never be called in *question*. *Archimedes* said well when one asked him, *If he was able to move the Earth with his Mechanical Engines?* *da ubi stabo & terram movebo*. *Give me a place to stand upon* (says he) *and I shal move the Earth*; intimating, that no desing how small, or how great soever can be accomplished without sure grounds layed down first as a foundation: otherwise men might resolve to build Castles in the Air.

To put an end to this matter, I shall inquire at the *Witch Patrons*, why *Pharo's Magicians*, were not able by their *Inchantments* to turn the *dust of Egypt into lice*, as *Aaron* did with his *Rod*. They cast down their counterfeit *Serpents*, turn water into blood, brought up *Frogs* upon the *Land of Egypt*; and yet were not able to produce *Lice*, the meanest of all *Vermin*. It is said, the *Magicians* did so with their *Inchantments*, that is, they endeavoured by their *Magical Art* to do it, but could not, for say they to *Pharo*, *the Finger of God is in this*; for neither we nor
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the Devil our Master can counterfeit this Miracle. It must be said, that either the *Lord* laid an inhibition upon these *Evil assisting Spirits*, that they had no power to withstand *Moses* any longer, or (if these Sorcerers were onely men, that used *Legerdemain* and *slight of hand*) that he restrained them from playing their tricks any more. If the first be granted then there must be wretched *Wights*, that do strange Miraculous things by the assistance or consociation of *evil Spirits*, and consequently Wizzards or He-Witches. If the second be said, Viz, that the Lord only restrained these Juglers from using bare *slight of hand*, then what will not follow. First, that poor *Jugling Fellows*, were able to contend and debate with *Moses*, who was immediately assisted by the power of GOD. Secondly, that this victory, which *Moses* obtained over these men, was but mean and small, but not to be boasted of, which is the basest Derogation to the glory of that victory, and the vilest reproach against the *God of Israel*, and his Servant *Moses*, that ever was heard of. It is evident that this conflict was between the *Kingdom of light*, and the *Kingdom of darkness*, and the evil Spirits thereof. And it is likely that the Spirit of GOD, would compare seducers, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the Faith, nay the worst of men. (2 Tim. 8. from the first to the 9. verses.) to *Jannes* and *Jambres*, if they had been but Cheats, and Juglers. They have been famous at that time for their *Sorceries*, that they were remembered many years after as witnesses *Numenius* the *Pythagorean Philosopher*, that mentions *Jannes*, and *Pliny* that mentions that same Wizzard. The Lord put such an affront upon the Devil, and his instruments, while they were not able

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able to produce a Louse, that they never compeired again with their enchantments. This was a part of that Glorious Victory.

Speaking of the *Cartesian Philosophy*, I forgot to Relate that Mr. *Forbes* one of the *Regents* of the *Kings Colledge* of *Aberdeen*, has this year in his publick *Theses*, confuted the chieftest points of the *Cartesian Philosophy*, both *Judiciously*, and *Modestly*.

My little Book, I send thee forth into the World where some will welcome thee, some mock thee, some contradict thee, be not discouraged, though thou be the youngest of five. Degeneres animos timor arguit. Thy Brethren before thee, have met with foul and maleapart Cenures.

Tunc cede malis; sed contra audentior
ito,
Quam tua te fortuna sinet.

Say with valiant Æneas, when the Prophetess Sibylla was shewing him what bad fortune he was to meet with—
—Non ulla laborum

O Virgo, nova mi facies inopinave sur-
git
Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante
peregi.
Per varios casus per tot discrimina re-
rum
Tendimus in Latium.

Carmen Steliteuticon.

EUGE SY GERYONOS RHOPALO TRIA
SOMATA RIPSAS,
AMPHITRIONIADÉS HOS MEGAS ALLOS
ESE,
HEIMATI T'ALLÓTRIO SEO CERBERE
KEUTHE KARENON.
OU DYNATON PHOREEIN EELIOIO
PHAOS.

SATANS INVISIBLE

World

DISCOVERED:

Or,

A choice Collection of Relations anent
Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Ap-
paritions.

RELATION I.

Touching the Troubles which Sir *George
Maxwel of Pollok* met with from the
Devil and his Haggs.

Pollok 24 of June, 1684.

Sir,

I Send you herewith the true Account, my
Father caused me write from his own
mouth, which is the surest Relation I
can give, either of his own trouble, or
what concerns Jennet Dowglas, the first dis-
coverer of these Pictures. There fell out some
less material circumstances in the Family
during her abode there, whereby it fully ap-
peared,

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peared, that she knew what was done in distant places, and understood Languages. For instance, when a Chapter in the Greek New-Testament was read, she made us understand by signs what the purposes were, (for at that time she was dumb, whether really or counterfeitsly, its hard to determine) and did exactly give an account to my self, what we did at two miles distance from the place where she was, without any information given to her, which I know of.

I rest your affectionat Friend,
John Maxwell.

Upon the 14. of October, 1676, my Father was surpris'd at Glasgow, in the night time, with a hot and fiery distemper; and coming home the next day, he was fix'd to his bed. The Physician fearing a Pleurisy, and a Fever, opened a vein, and the application of Medicaments being made, the fiery heat was abated; he remaining for seven weeks together under a great pain chiefly in his right side, though not fix'd to his bed. There had come to Pollok-town a young dumb Girl, but from whence was not known, who had remained there

there for four weeks before, but seldom frequenting Sir George Maxwels house, till at length she came to some more familiarity, and converse with his two Daughters. And having observed Sir George sick, and weak in his body, she signified unto them, That there was a woman, whose son had broke his fruit-yard, that did prick him in the sides.

And seeing this woman one day in the Hall of Pollok amongst a great many other company, she assured his Daughters that this was the woman. And the day following, she told the Gentlewomen, That this woman (whose name was Jennet Mathie, relict of John Stewart, under-Miller in Schaw-Mill) had formed an Wax-Picture, with pins in the side, which was to be found in her house, in a holl behind the fire, offering to bring it unto them, providing she were accompanied with men to protect her from violence. At first, they hardly understood her, till she went to one of the Gentlewomens closets, and bringing thence a little Bee-wax, she plyed it before the fire, shewing the dimensions and quantities of the Picture. The Gentlewomen not regarded the information, because they thought it fabulous; yet his two servants

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Laurence

Laurence Pollok, and Andrew Martine, knowing how much the Girl loved their Master, and knowing that his life was in hazard, if this picture were not found; resolved at all adventures to try whether the information were true or false; and therefore going alongs with her to the said Jennet Mathies house, one of them planted himself on the one side of the fire, and the other on the other side, while in the mean time, the little Girl coming quickly by Laurence Pollok, putteth her hand in the holl behind the fire, and then slips into Andrew Martine, beneath his cloak the Waxen-*effigie*, which had two pins in it, one in each side, but that in the right side, so long as to pierce thorow to the other; that in the left was not so long, nor so deeply thrust in. This picture being brought to Pollok, Sir George his Son, without acquainting his Father, apprehended Jennet Mathie, procuring the next day, the Lord Ross his order for conveying her to prison. She being interrogat touching the Picture, after several subterfuges, alledges, It was the deed of the dumb Girl.

It was also enquired, whether Sir George or his Lady had given her at any time provocation to this malice? But it was well known, they had been courteous to her, and upon
her

her complaints, had rebuked some for spreading bad reports upon her name, as not appearing sufficiently well founded to a conviction. Only upon the 14 of October, above specified, before Sir George went to Glasgow, he had called before him a servant in Pollock-toun, that had broken his Orchard in harvest last, who confest the fact, and that Hugh-Stewart a son of Jennet Mathies, was his complice. But a bystander declared, that he was not now in Pollok-land, but in the Darnlie. To whom Sir George replied, I hope my fingers may reach him in Darnlie. This was all, which could be thought a provocation to Mathie. No harms being done in the mean time to her son, whom Sir George to this hour doth not so much as know by the face, but hath suffered him all the time of his sickness to live in his mothers house, even since her imprisonment. In the mean time Mathie remaining obstinat, was searched for insensible marks, before the Sheriff Depute of Renfrew, and many famous witnesses at Paisley, and very many found upon her.

After the finding of the Picture of was fore-said, there was some abatement of Sir George his sickness, but not to any observable degree,

so low was he brought. But upon the fourth of January following, his sickness recurred with that violence, that for four or five days, his friends and relations had no great confidence of his life. But they were more amazed on the 7th. of January, being the Sabbath day when they had an express from the dumb Girle, who was at Pollok-town, but could not get over the water to the house, (the River being so swelled at that time) signifying, that John Stewart, Mathies eldest Son, had four days since formed an Effigie of clay, for taking away Sir George his life. And when she was called for, she declared, it was in his house, beneath the bolster among the Bed-straw.

The next day following, James Dunlope of Houshill, and Ludowick Stewart of Achinhood, with some of Sir George his servants, and tennents, went to Stewarts house, taking the little Girle with them, resolving to make a very exact trial, that it might not be said, that the dumb Girle had brought any thing hither. Wherefore, they caused John Stewart himself to light a candle and hold it, while Ludowick Stewart, and another did in his sight, lift the Clay Effigie from among the bed-straw, beneath the bolster
(the

(the little Girl, all the while standing at a distance from the place) but the picture having been made, only three or four dayes before, and not sufficiently hard, did break into two pieces. In it were three pins, one in each side, and one in the breast. Stewart had nothing to say for himself, but that he knew not, who had put that thing there. He was instantly apprehended, and so was a little sister of his lately entered into the fourteenth year of her uge, named Annabil Stewart, who was said to have whispered before, some-what of the waxen Effigis. This poor creature proved thereafter through Gods favour a key to the detection of making both the Pictures.

At first, she was very obstinate, but the next day she confessed, that being present in her brothers house, the fourth of January while the clay picture was formed, the black Gentleman being present (which was the name she gave the Devil) together with Bessie Weir, Marjorie Craig, Margaret Jacksone, and her brother John: but when confronted with her brother, she did not with confidence adhere to her confession. Upon the finding of this picture, Sir George did very observably recover in his health, and all the pain, which was

was in his side did by degrees wear away.

John Stewart remained, notwithstanding his sisters confession above measure obstinat, untill he was searched the next day for insensible marks, whereof he had great plenty. At the finding whereof, he was so confounded, that immediatly he confest his paction with the Devil, and almost all the other heads exprest in his judical confession afterwritten; And declared that his complices who formed the Effigie with him were the same, his sister had named. She also came to a free and full confession of her paction with the Devil, and her accession to the forming both of the waxen picture in her mothers house, and of the clay one in her brothers house.

Upon information of the premisses, the Earle of Dundonald and the Lord Ross, granted a warrant for apprehending Bessie Weir, Margaret Jackson, and Marjorie Craig, who had been fellow sisters in the fore-said sorcerie.

Margaret Jackson, a woman aged about fourscore of years, after a day or two, confessed paction with the Devil, and her accession to the making of both the Pictures, and condescended upon the complices above named. Many insensible marks were found in her body.

Up-

Upon the 17 of January last a third portrait of clay was found under Jennet Mathies bolster in the prison-house of Paisly, which the dumb Girl had given information of. But it seemed to be the picture of some Woman, and probably of some of the Family of Pollok. For Annabil Stewart did freely declare, that their malice was against the whole Family of Pollok. For turning to young Pollok, and his Lady, she said, and against you also. This portrait was found before four famous witnesses.

The Lords of His Majesties Privy Council, being informed of these Pictures and Effigies, the depositions of three confessing Witches being sent, did grant a Commission for their trial, and also for the trial of the other three, that were obstinat. And in regard of the singularity of the case, they ordered the Process to be very solemn, Commissionating for the trial some judicious Gentlemen in the Countrey, viz. Sir Patrick Gauston of Gauston, James Brisband of Bishoptoun, Sir John Shaw younger of Greenock, and John Anderson younger of Dovehill. To whom they added Mr. John Preston Advocat (a Gentleman well seen in Criminals, and who
ex-

exercised the office of a Justice-Depute for several years) a Sine quo non, in the Commission. And that the whole Process might be the more exact, they appointed George Lord Ross Assessor, with power to Vote, and Decide. And further ordered Mr. Robert Martine Clerk to the Justice Court, to be Clerk to the Process, which was to be recorded in the publick books of Adjournal.

*The Commissioners of Justiciarie held their first Court at Paisly, the 27 of January; before whom Annabil Stewart deponed that in Harvest last, the Devil in the shape of a black man, had come to her Mothers house, and required the Deponent to give her self up to him, and that the Devil promised, she should not want any thing that was good. That being enticed by her Mother Jennet Mathie, and Bessie Weir, who was Officer to their several meetings, she did put her one hand to the crown of her head and the other to the sole of her foot, and did give up her self soul and body (whole seal here is bad seal) to the devil. That her mother promised her a new Coat, for the doing of it. That the new name the Devil gave her, was Annippy. That he took her
by*

by the hand, and nipped her arm, which continued to be sore for the space of half an hour. That the Devil in the shape of a black man lay with her in the bed, under the Cloaths. That she found him cold. That thereafter he placed her nearest to himself. That she was present in her mothers house, where the Picture of wax was made, and that it was made to represent Sir George Maxwel of Pollok. That the black man, Jennet Mathie her mother, whose name was from the devil Lands-lady; Bessie Weir, whose name was Sopha, Marjorie Craig, whose new name was Rigeru, Margaret Jackson, whose new name was Locas, were all present at the forming, and making of the said effigie. That they bound it on a spit, and turned it about before the fire. And that it was turned by Bessie Weir, saying as she turned it, Sir George Maxwel, Sir George Maxwel, which was exprest by all of them. That this Picture was made in October last.

That upon the third day of January following, Bessie Weir came to her Mothers house, and advertised her to come to her brother John Stewarts house, the following night by twelve a clock in the night. And that accordingly she came to the place, where she found

found Bessie Weir, Marjorie Craig, Margaret Jackson, and her brother John Stewart, a Man with black cloaths and a blew band, and white handcuffs, with hoppers on his feet, and that his feet were cloven. *That she sat down at the fire side with them, where they made a Picture of Clay, and placed pins in the breast, and in the sides. That they did place pins in the Picture of Wax, one in every side. That the black man did put the pins into the picture of Wax, but is not sure, who did thrust them into the Picture of Clay. That the Pictures produced, are the Pictures she saw made. That the black mans name is Ejoall.*

This declaration was made before famous witnesses, subscribed by the two Notars publick for her, Robert Park younger, Patrick Carswel in Paisley, and subscribed by the Commissioners.

John Stewart did judicially depone before the Justices, that upon the third day of *January* instant, Bessie Weir in *Pollok-toun* came to him late at night, he being without doors at his own house. That she did intimate unto him, that
there

there was a meeting to be at his house, the next night; and that the Devil in the shape of a black man, Margaret Jackson, Marjorie Craig, and the said Bessie Weir, were to be present, and that Bessie Weir, required him to be present which he promised to do. That the next night, after he had gone to bed, the black man came in, and called him quietly by his name, upon which he arose from his bed, and put on his cloaths.

That Margaret Jackson, Bessie Weir, and Marjorie Craig, did enter in at the window, in the Gavil of his house. And that the first thing, which the black man required was, that he should renounce his Baptism, and deliver up himself wholly unto him, putting one of his hands, on the crown of his head, and the other to the sole of his foot. And that he was tempted hereunto by the Devil, promising he should not want any pleasure, and that he should get his heart sythe on all that should do him wrong. That the new name given to him by the Devil was Jonas. That thereafter the Devil required every one of their consents, for the making an effigy of clay for taking away the life of Sir George Mancel of Pollok,
to

to revenge the taking of his mother Jennet Mathie. That every one of the Persons above named, did give their consent to the making of the said Effigie. And that they wrought the clay, and that the black man did make the figure of the head and face, and the two arms to the said Effigie. That the Devil set three pins in the samine, one in each side, and one in the breast. And that the said John did hold the candle all the while the Picture was a making. That he observed one of the black mans feet to be cloven, and that the black-mans apparel was black, and that he had a blew band about his neck, and white handcuffs, and that he had hoppers upon his legs without shoes, and that the black mans voice was hollow and ghoustly. That after they had begun to the forming of the Picture, his sister Annabil (a child of 13 or 14 years of age) came knocking to the door, and she being let in by him, stayed with them a considerable time, but that she went away before the rest, he having opened the door unto her. That the rest went out at the window, thorow which they entered. That the Picture was placed by Bessie Weir, in his Bed-straw. Further confessed, that he had envy and malice against the said Sir George. Her quarrel being, as he conceived, that Sir George

George, had not entered her husband to his harvest service. That the Effigie was made upon the fourth of January last. And the Devils name amongst them was Ejoal. That the new name given to himself was Jonas, and Bessie Weir her name, who was Officer, was Sopha. That Margaret Jacksons name from the Devil was Locas, and that his sisters name was Annipy, but doth not remember what Marjorie Craigs name was. This confession had the same solemnities, which the former had.

Margaret Jackson, did the same day judicially confess, That she was present at the making of the first Effigie, which was made in Jennet Mathies house in October last, and that the Devil in the shape of a black man, Jennet Mathie, Bessie Weir, Marjorie Craig, and Annabil Stewart were present at the making of the said Effigie which was made to represent Sir George Maxwell of Pollok, for taking away his life. That 40 years since, or thereby, she was in Pollok-Shaws croft, with some few sticks on her back ; that the black man came to her, and that she did give up her self to him from the top of her head, to the sole of her foot, having first renounced her Baptism.

And

And that the new names she had from the Devil was Locas. That about the third or fourth of January last, or thereby, in the night time when she had wakened, she found a man in the bed, whom she supposed, had been her husband, who had died twenty years before, or thereby, and that the man did immediately disappear. And that this man was the Devil, and that this was the first time she knew him. That upon Thursday the fourth of January last, she was present in the house of John Stewart at night, when and where the Effigy of clay was made, and that she saw the black mans cloaths were black, and that he had white handcuffs, and that Bessie Weir in Pollok town, and Annabil Stewart in Shaws, and Marjorie Craig were present the foresaid time and place at the making of the foresaid Effigy of clay. That she gave her consent to the making of the samine. That the Devil, who had appeared in the shape of a black man, his name was Ejoal. This confession had the same solemnities, which the two former had.

Upon the fifteenth of February 1677, the Justices being convened again in Court at Paisley, John Stewart, and Annabil Stewart, with Margaret Jackson, did adhere to

to their former judicial confession. But Jennet Mathie, Bessie Weir, and Marjorie Craig did obstinately deny. One remarkable passage there was concerning Jennet Mathie. The Justice upon the 27 of January commanded the Jaylour to fix her feet in the Stocks, that she might not do violence to her own life. The Man declared, That the next morning he found her bolster, which the night before was laid at least six yards distant from the Stocks, now placed beneath her; the Stocks being so heavy, that two of the strongest men in the Countrey could hardly have carried them six yards. He wondering, did ask her, how she had win to the bolster? She answered, That she had crept alongs the floor of the room, drawing the Stocks to the same place. And before the Court, she said, she had gotten one foot free out of the holl, and with the other had drawn the Stocks, a thing altogether impossible, the Stocks being so weighty, nor she able to take out her foot out of the hole.

The Justices having examined all witnesses in matters of fact, touching the Effigies, Sir George his sickness, and the recovery of his health, upon the finding of the same: considering also the bad fame of those who were obstinate

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and

and having confronted them with the confessing Witches, who in their faces avowed their accession, in manner express, in the confession above written. Considering lastly, all other circumstances of their case, committed them to the trial of a Judicious Inquest, who being found guilty were condemned to the fire to be burnt, and their Effigies with him. Only Annabil, in regard of her Nonage, and the evidences she seemed to give of her penitencie was reprimed by order of Council, but to remain in Prison. In the mean time both she, and her brother John, did seriously exhort their Mother to confession, and with tears did Annabil put her in mind of the many Meetings she had with the Devil in her own house, and that a summers day would not be sufficient to relate what passages she had seen between the Devil and her. But nothing could prevail with her obdured and hardened heart.

It is to be noted, the dumb Girl, whose name was Jennet Douglas doth now speak, not very distinctly, yet so as she may be understood, and is a Person that most wonderfully discovers things past, and doth also understand the Latine Tongue which she never learned.

Relation

RELATION. II.

Being a Wonderful Discovery of
Murder by an Apparition.

A Bout the year of our Lord 1632. near unto Chester in the Street, there lived one Walker, a yeoman of good estate, and a Widower, who had a young woman called Anna Walker to his kinswoman, that kept his house, who was by the Neighbours suspected to be with child, and was towards the dark of the evening one night sent away with one Mark Sharp who was a Collier, or one that digged Coals under ground, and one who had been born in Blak-burne-Hundred in Lancashire, and so she was not heard of, for a long time, and no noise, or little was made about her. In the Winter time, one James Graham, being a Miller, and living about two miles from the place where Walker lived, was one night alone very late in the Mill grinding Corn. And as about twelve, or one a clock at night he came down the stairs, from having been putting Corn in the Hopper, the Mill-doors being shut, there stood a Woman upon the midst of the Floor with her hair about her head hanging down, and all bloody, with 5. large wounds,

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on

on her head. *He being much affrighted and amazed, began to bless himself, and at last asked her, who she was, and what she wanted? To whom she answered, I am the Spirit of such a Woman, who lived with Walker, and being got with child by him, he promised to send me to a private place, where I should be well lookt to, until I was brought to bed, and well recovered, and then I should come home again, and keep his house. And accordingly said the Apparition, I was one night late sent away with one Mark Sharp, who upon a Moor (naming a place which the Miller knew) slew me with a Pick (such as men dig Coals withal) and gave me these five wounds, and after threw my body into a Coal pit hard by, and hid the Pick under a bank: and his shoes, and stockings being bloody he endeavoured to wash: but seeing the blood would not wash forth, he hid them there. And the Apparation further told the Miller, that he must be the man to reveal it, or else that she must still appear and haunt him. The Miller returned home, very sad and heavy, and spoke not one word of what he had seen, but eshewed as much as he could to stay in the Mill after night without company,*

pany, thinking thereby to escape the seeing again of that frightful Apparition.

But notwithstanding, one night when it began to be dark, the Apparition met him again, and seemed very Fierce and Cruel, and threatened him, (that if he did not reveal the Murder she would continually pursue and haunt him.) Yet for all this, he still conceal'd it, until some few nights before Christmas, when being soon after Sun-set walking in his Garden, she appeared again, and then so threatened him, and affrighted him, that he faithfully promised to reveal it the next morning.

In the morning he went to a Magistrate, and made the whole matter known, with all the circumstances. And diligent search being made the body was found in a Coal pit, with five wounds in the head, and the pick and shoes and stockings yet bloody, in every circumstance, as the Apparition had related to the Miller. Whereupon Walker & Sharp were both apprehended, but would confess nothing. At the Assize following, (viz. at Durham) they were arraigned found guilty, condemn'd, and executed, but would never confess the fact. There are many persons yet alive that can remember this strange murder, and the discovery of it: for it was, & some-

times yet is, as much discoursed of in the North of England as anything, that almost hath ever been heard of, and the Relation was printed, though now not to be gotten.

RELATION. III.

Touching the Witch-Craft of
Agnes Sympson.

T*Hough this be of too old a date, to comply with the title of our Stories, yet being a true copy of Record so Authentick, though not so fresh, it may haply not be amiss briefly to name some effects, kinds, and circumstances of her Sorcery; as her skill in Diseases, that the sickness of William Black was an Elf-shot. Her taking the sick Parties pains and sicknesses upon her self for a time, and then translating them to a third Person. Her use of long Scriptural Prayers and Rhymes, containing the main points of Christianity, so that she may seem to have been not so much a white Witch, as an holy Woman. Her using of such Nonsensical Rhymes, for the instructing of ignorant people and teaching them to pray, as these two prayers, the Black and White Pater Noster in Meter, in set Forms*

Forms to be used Morning and Evening, and at other times, when occasion offered.

White *Pater Noster*,
 God was my Foster.
 He fostered me
 Under the Book of Palm Tree.
 Saint *Michael* was my Dame,
 He was born at *Bethlehem*.
 He was made of flesh and blood,
 God send me my right food :
 My right food, and dyne two,
 That I may to yon Kirk go.
 To read upon yon sweet Book,
 Which the Mighty God of Heaven shoop,
 Open, open, Heavens Yaits,
 Steik, steik, Hells Yaits.
 All Saints be the better,
 That hear the *White Prayer, Pater Noster*.

The Black *Pater Noster* runs thus.

*Four newks in this house for haly Angels,
 A post in the midst, that's Christ Jesus,
 Lucas, Marcus, Matthew, Joannes,
 God be into this house, and all that belongs us*

But when she sought for an answer from the Devil upon any occasion, he appeared to her in the shape of a Dog, but the way of dismissing, and Conjuring him to goe was thus, I charge thee to depart on the law thou lives on, as she did, when she dismiss him, after her consulting him about the old Lady Edmiston's sickness. But the manner how she raised the Devil, was with these words, Elva come and speak to me; who came in the likeness of a Dog. Her sailing with her Cummers, and fellow withes in a Boat to a ship, is very remarkable, where the Devil caused her and them to drink good Wine and bear without money, she neither seeing the Mariners, nor the Mariners her. And after all, the Devil raised a wind, whereby the ship perished. Her Baptizing, and using other Ceremonies upon a Cat, with other Witches, to hinder Queen Ann, from coming into Scotland. Her raising of a Spirit to conjure a Picture of wax for destroying of Mr. Iohn Moscrope.

But to be more particular, I shall give you her own confession to King James. Item fyl-ed and convict of sameckle, that the Devil in mans likeness met her going out to the fields from her own house at Keith, betwixt five and

and six at even, being alone and commanded her to be at 'North-berwick Kirk the next night. To which place she came on horse-back, conveyed by her Good-son, called John Couper, and lighted at the Kirk-yard, or *q.* little before she came to it, about eleven hours at even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, Geilie Duncan playing on a Trump, and John Fein mussiled led the Ring. The said Agnes and her daughter followed next. Besides, there were Kate Gray George Moillis his wife, Robert Grierson Katharin Duncan, Bessie Wright, Isabel Gilmore, John Graymail, Duncan Buchanan, Thomas Barnhil and his wife, Gilbert Mackgill, John Mackgill, Katharine Mackgill with the rest of their Oumers above an hundred Persons, whereof there were six men, and all the rest women. The women made first their courtesy to their Maister, and then the men. The men turned nine times Widder-shines about, and the Women six times. John Fein blew up the Kirk doors, and blew in the lights, which wer like Mickl black candles sticking round about the Pulpit.

The Devil started up himself in the Pulpit like a mickle black man, and calling the
Row

Row, every one answered Here, Mr. Robert Grierson being named, they all ran hirdie girdie, and were angry: for it was promised he should be called Robert the Comp-troller, alias Rob the Rower, for expriming of his name.

The first thing he demanded was, if they kept all promise, and had been good servants, and what they had done since the last time, they had conceived. At his command they opened up three Graves, two within, and one without the Kirk, and cutted off from the dead Corps, the Joints of their Fingers, Toes, and Niese, and parted them amongst them, and the said Agnes Sympson got for her part, a Winding-sheet, and two Joints. The Devil commanded them to keep the Joynts upon them while they were dry, and then to make a powder of them, to do evil withall. Then he commanded them to keep his commandements, which were to do all the evil and mischief they could. Before they departed, and were dismiss, they behoved to kiss his Arse, with reverence to the Reader. He had on him, an gown, and an Coat, which were both black. And they that were assembled, part stood, and part sat. John Fein was ever nearest the Devil at his left Elbock, Graymail keeped the Door.

That

That which is observable in John Fien is, that the Devil, appeared to him, not in black, but in white raiment, but proposed as Hellish a Covenant to him as those Fiends that appear in black. His Skimming on the sea in a boat, is remarkable, with those of his complices, and his foretelling the leak in the Queen's Ship by the help of the Devil. His raising Winds with the rest, when the King sailed into Denmark, by casting a Cat into the sea, which the Devil delivered to them, and taught them to cry Hola, when they first cast it in. His raising a Mist, at the King's return from Denmark, by getting Satan to cast a thing like a Footbal, (it appearing to John like a Wisp) into the sea, which made a Reek to arise, whereby the Kings Majestie might be cast upon the coast of England. His opening of locks by Sorcery as one by mere blowing into a Womans hand, while he sate by the fire. His imbarquing in a boat with other Witches, and all of them sailing over sea, and entering within a Ship, and drinking Good Wine and Ale there, and sinking the Ship, when they had done, with the Persons in it. His kissing Satans Arse, (with reverence) again at another Conventicle. His being swiftly carried above in the Air in chasing of a Cat to catch her, to cast

cast into the sea, thereby to raise winds, according to the prescription of Satan. His pretending to tell any man how long he should live, if he told him but the day of his birth.

RELATION IV.

A Proclamation over the Mercat
Cross of *Edinburgh*, at twelve
a clock at night.

After that King James the fourth, had mustered his Army in the Borrow-Moor, being at that time a large spacious Field, and most Pleasant and Delightful, by reason of many stately Oaks, which overshadowed the place; about midnight, in the Moneth of July, there is a Proclamation heard at the Mercat Cross of the Town, Summoning a great many Burgesies, Gentlemen, Barons, Noblemen, to appear before the Tribunal of one Plot-Cock. The Provost of the Town standing in his own Fore-stair, or Gallery, having heard his own name cited, cryed out, That he declined that Judicatory, and appealed to the Mercy of GOD Almighty. This was the Army which the King led into England, and

and were defeat at Floudon, on that Fatal day, Tuesday the 9th. of September, 1513. where the King, with near about five thousand of the Noblest and Worthiest Families of the Kingdom did fall.

RELATION V.

A Miraculous Cure of a Dutch-Woman, accompanied with an Apparition.

THE Narrative taken by a Dutch-Merchant from her own mouth, Begins thus, *A Miraculous Cure upon Jesch Claes, a Women about fifty years of Age, for these many years, well known to my self and the Neighbours. This Woman for fourteen years had been lame of both her legs, one of them being dead and without feeling, so that she could not go, but creep upon the ground, or was carried in peoples arms as a child, but now through the power of GOD Almighty, she hath walked again, which came to pass after this manner, as I have written it from her own mouth.*

In the year 1676 about the 13. or 14. of this

this Moneth October, in the night between one and two of the clock, Jesch Claes being in bed with her husband, who was a Boatman, she was three times pulled by the arm, with which she awaked, and cryed out, O Lord! What may this be? Hereupon she heard an answer in plain words: Be not afraid, I am come in the name of GOD, to tell you, that your Malady which hath been for many years upon you shall depart, and it shall be given you from GOD Almighty, to walk again. But keep this to your self till further answer. Whereupon she cried aloud, O Lord! That I had a light, that I might know what this is. Then had she this answer, there needs no light, light shal be given you from God. Then came a light over all the Room, and she saw a beautiful youth about ten years of age with curled yellow Hair in White Rayment to the feet, who went from the beds head to the Chimney with a light, which a little after vanished. Hereupon did something gush from her hip, or diffuse it self through her leg as a water to her great Toe, where she found life rising up, and feeling it with her hand, she cries out, Lord give me now again my feeling, which I have not had for

for so many years. And further she continued Crying and Praying to the Lord according to her weak measure.

Yet she continued that day, being Wednesday, and the next day Thursday, as before till evening at six a clock. At which time she sat at the fire, dressing the food. Then there came as like a rushing noise in both her ears, with which it was said to her, Stand, your walking is given you again. Then did she immediately stand up, that had so many years crept, and went to the door. Her Husband meeting her, was exceedingly afraid, drew back. In the mean while, she cryed out, My dear husband, I can walk again. The man thinking it was a Spirit, drew back saying, you are not my Wife: But his Wife taking hold of him, said, my dear Husband, I am the self same that hath been married these 30 years to you. The Almighty God hath made me to walk again. But her husband being amazed, drew back to the side of the Room, till at last she clapt her arms about his neck, and yet he doubted, and said to his daughter, is this your Mother? She answered, yes Father, this is my Mother indeed, I have seen her walk also, before you came in. This Person dwells

dwells upon Princes Island in Amsterdam. This Relation, is attested by many famous witnesses.

RELATION VI.

Strange Franks plaid by the *Devil* at
Wood-Stock in England, Anno
1649.

THe Commissioners, October 13. 1649.
with their Servants being come to the
Mannor-house, they took up their lodging
in the Kings own Rooms; the Bed-Cham-
ber, and withdrawing-Room: the former
whereof, they also make their Kitching, the
Council-Hall their Brewhouse: the Cham-
ber of Presence, their place of sitting to dis-
patch business, and a Wood-house of the Din-
ing-Room, where they laid the wood of that
ancient Standard in the High-Park, known of
all, by the name of the Kings Oak, which
(that nothing might remain that had the name
of King affixed to it) they digged up by the
Roots. October 14 and 15 they had little
disturbance: but on the 16 there came as they
thought somewhat into the Bed Chamber, where
two of the Commissioners, and their Ser-
vants

vants lay, in the shape of a Dog which going under their beds, did as it were, gnaw their Bed-cords. But on the morrow finding them whole, and a quarter of Beef, which lay on the ground untouched, they began to entertain other thoughts. October 17- Something to their thinking removed all the Wood of the Kings Oak out of the Dining-Room into the Presence-Chamber, and hurled the Chairs and Stools up and down that Room. From whence it came into the two Chambers, where the Commissioners, and their Servants lay, and hoisted up their Beds-feet so much higher than their heads, that they thought they should have been turned over and over : and then let them fall down with such a force, that their bodies rebounded from the bed a good distance, and then shook the Bedsteads so violently, that themselves confess their Bodies wer sore with it.

October 18. Something came into the Bed-Chamber, and walkt up and down, and fetching the Warming-pan out of the Withdrawing-Room, made so much noise that they thought five Bells could not have made more.

And October 19. Trenchers were thrown up and down the Dining-Room and at them

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who

who lodged there, whereof one of them being wakened, put forth his head to see what was the matter, but had Trenchers thrown at it.

October 20. *The Curtains of the Bed in the Withdrawing-Room, were drawn to and fro, and the Bedstead much shaken, and eight great Pewther-Dishes, and three dozen of Trenchers thrown about the Bed-Chamber again. This night they also thought whole armesful of the Wood of the Kings Oak, were thrown down in their Chambers, but of that in the morning they found nothing had been moved.*

October 21. *The Keeper of their Ordinary, and his Bitch, lay in one of the Rooms with them, which night they were not disturbed at all. But October 22. though the Bitch kenneld there again, to whom they ascribed their former nights rest, both they and the Bitch were in a pitiful taking, the Bitch opening but once, and that with a whining fearful yelp. October 23. They had all their cloaths pluckt off them in the Withdrawing-Room, and the Bricks fell out of the Chimney into the Room. And on the 24. They thought in the Dining-Room that all the Wood of the Kings Oak had been brought thither, and thrown down close by their*
Bed-

Bed-side; which being heard by those of the Withdrawing-Room, one of them rose to see what was done, fearing indeed that his Fellow Commissioners had been killed, but found no such matter: whereupon returning to his Bed again, he found two or three dozen of Trenchers thrown into it, and handsomely covered with the Bed-cloaths.

October 25. *The Curtains of the Bed in the withdrawing-Room, were drawn to and fro, and the Bed-stead shaken as before, and in the Bed-Chamber, Glass flew about so thick (and yet not one lozen of the Chamber windows broken) that they thought it had rained money. Whereupon they lighted Candles, but to their grief they found nothing but glass.*

October 29. *Something going to the window opened and shut it: then going into the Bed-Chamber, it threw great stones, for half an hours time, some whereof lighted on the High-bed, others on the Truckle-bed, to the number in all of above fourscore. This night there was also a very great noise, as if forty Peece of Ordinance had been shot off together. At two several knocks*

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it astonished all the Neighbouring Dwellers which is thought might have been heard a great way off. During these Noises which were heard in both Rooms together, both Commissioners and their Servants were struck with so great horror, that they cryed out to one another for help: whereof one of them recovering himself out of a strange Agony he had been in, snatcht a Sword, and had like to have killed one of his Brethren coming out of his Bed in his Shirt, whom he took for the Spirit that did the mischief. However at length they got all together, yet the Noise continued so great and terrible, and shook the Walls so much, that they thought the whole Mannor would have fallen on their Heads. At its departure, it took all the Glass of the Windows away with it,

November first, Something as they thought walkt up & down the Withdrawing-room, and then made a noise in the Dining-Room. The stones, which were left before, and laid up in the Withdrawing-Room, were all fetcht away this night, and a great deal of Glass (not like the former) thrown about again. November the second. There came something into the withdrawing-Room treading as they conceived much like a Bear, which first only walked

walked about a quarter of an hour: at length it made a noise about the Table, and threw the Warming-pan so violently, that it quite spoiled it. It threw also a Glass and great Stones at them again; and the bones of Horses, and all so violently, that the Bed-stead and the Walls were bruised by them. This night they planted Candles all about the Rooms, and made fires up to the Rantle-trees of the Chimneys, but all were put out, no Body knew how, the Fire and Burn-wood, which made it, being thrown up and down the Rooms, the Curtains torn with the Rods from their Beds, and the Bed-posts pulled away, that the Tester fell down upon them, and the feet of the Bed-stead cloven into two. And upon the Servants in the Truckle-Bed, who lay all the time sweating for fear; there was first a little, which made them begin to stir, but before they could get out, there came a whole Tub full, as it were of stinking Ditch-water down upon them, so green, that it made their Shirts and Sheets of that colour too.

The same night the Windows were all broke by throwing of Stones, and their was most terrible noises in three several places together, to the extraordinary wonder of all that lodged near them. Nay the very Rabbet Stealers,

who were abroad that night, were so affrighted with the dismal Thundering, that for haste they left their Ferrets in the holes, behind them, beyond Rosamonds Well. Notwithstanding all this, one of them had the boldness to ask, in the Name of GOD, what it was, what it would have, and what they had done, that they should be disturbed after this manner? To which no answer was given, but it ceased for a while. At length it came again, and as all of them said, brought seven Devils worse than it self. Whereupon one of them lighted a Candle again, and set it between the two Chambers in the Doorway, on which another fixing his eyes, saw the similitude of a Hoof, striking the Candle, and Candlestick into the middle of the Bed-Chamber, and afterwards making three scraps on the snuff to put it out. Upon this, the same person was so bold, as to draw his Sword, but he had scarce got it out, but there was another Invisible-hand, had hold it too, and tugged with him for it, and prevailing, struck him so violently, that he was stunned with the blow.

Then began violent Noises again, insomuch that they calling to one another, got together, and went into the Presence Chamber, where they

they said Prayers, and sang Psalms, notwithstanding all which, the Thundering noise still continued in other Rooms. After this, November 3d. they removed their Lodgings over the gate; and next day being Sunday, went to Ewelme, where, how they escaped, the Authors of the Relation knew not. But returning on Munday, the Devil (for that was the name they gave their nightly Guest) left them not unvisited, nor on the Tuesday following, which was the last day they stayed.

RELATION VII.

An Apparition to King James the Fourth,
and his Courtiers, in the Kirk of
Lithgow.

W*hile the King stayed at Lithgow, attending the gathering of his Armie, which was defeat at Flowdon, being full of Cares and Perplexity, he went into the Church of Saint Michael, to hear Evening-Song, as then it was called. While he was at his Devotion, an Ancient Man came in, his Amber coloured Hair hanging down upon his Shoulders, his forehead high, and inclining to Baldness, his Garments of Azure colour, somewhat long, girded about with a Towel, or Table-Napkin, of a Comely and very Reverend Aspect. Hav-*

ing enquired for the King, he intruded himself into the Prease, passing through, till he came to him, with a clownish simplicity, leaning over the Canons-seat, where the King sate. Sir, said he, I am sent hither to entreat you, to delay your Expedition for this time, and to proceed no further in your intended Journey: for if you do, you shall not prosper in your Enterprize, nor any of your Followers. I am further charged to warn you, not to use the Acquaintance, Company, or Counsel of Women, as you tender your Honour, Life, and Estate. After this Warning, he withdrew himself back again into the Prease. When Service was ended, the King enquired earnestly for him, but he could be no where found, neither could any of the Bystanders (of whom diverse did narrowly observe him, resolving afterwards to have discoursed with him) feel or perceive how, when, or where he passed from them, having in a manner vanished in their hands.

RELATION VIII.

Anent the *Major* who returned from Death, to tell the *Captain*, whether there was a GOD or not.

C Concerning the Apparition of the Ghost of *Major George Sydenham* (late of *Dulverton*)

verton in the County of Somerset) to Captain William Dyke (late of Skilgate in this County also, and now likewise deceased:) Be pleased to take the Relation of it, from a Worthy and Learned Gentleman, Doctor Thomas Dyke, a near Kinsmans of the Captains thus. Shortly after the Majors death, the Doctor was desired to come to the house to take care of a Child, that was sick there, and in his way thither he called on the Captain, who was very willing to wait on him to the Place; because he must, as he said, have gone thither that night, though he had not met with so encouraging an Opportunity. After their arrival there at the house, and the Civility of the People shewn them in that Entertainment; they were seasonably conducted to ther Lodging, which they desired might be together in the same bed; where after they had lyen a while, the Captain knockt, and bids the Servant bring him two of the largest und biggest Candles lighted, which he could get: Whereupon the Doctor enquires what he meant by this? The Captain answers, You know Cusin, what Disputs my Major and I have had touching the Beeing of GOD, and the Immortality of the Soul. In which points, we could never yet be resolved, though we so much sought

sought for and desired it. And therefore it was at length fully agreed between us, that he of us who dyed first, should the third night after his Funeral, between the hours of twelve and one, come to the little House which is here in the Garden, and there give a full account to the *Surviver*, touching these matters, who should be sure to be present there at the set time, and so receive a full satisfaction. And this says the *Captain*, is the very night, and I am come on purpose to fulfill my promise. *The Doctor disswaded him, minding him of the danger of following strange Counsels, for which he could have no warrant, and that the Devil might by some cunning device make such an advantage of this rash attempt, as might work his utter ruine. The Captain replies, that he had solemnly engaged, and that nothing should discourage him. And adds, that if the Doctor would wake a while with him, he would thank him, if not, he might compose himself to rest: but for his own part he was resolved to watch, that he might be sure to be present at the hour appointed. To that purpose he sets his Watch by him, and as soon as he perceived by it, that it*
was

was half an hour past 11, he rises, and taking a Candle in each hand goes out by a back door, of which he had before gotten the key, and walks into the Garden-House, where he continued two hours and an half, and at his return declared, that he neither saw nor heard any thing more than what was usual. But I know said he, that my Major would surely have come, had he been able.

About six weeks after, the Captain rides to Eaton to place his Son a Scholar there, when the Doctor went thither with him. They lodged there at an Inn, the Sign wherof was the Christopher, and tarried two or three nights, not lying together now as before at Dulverton, but in two several Chambers. The morning before they went thence, the Captain stayed in his Chamber longer than he was wont to do, before he called upon the Doctor. At length he comes into the Doctors Chamber, but in a Visage and Form much differing from himself, with his Hair and Eyes staring and his whole body shaking and trembling. Whereat the Doctor wondering, presently demanded, what is the matter, Cousin Captain? The Captain replies, I have seen my Major. At which the Doctor seeming to smile, the Captain confirms it, saying, if ever I saw him in my life ;
I saw

I saw him but now. And then he related to the Doctor what had passed thus. This morning after it was light, some one comes to my Bed-side, and suddenly drawing back the Curtains, calls Captain, Captain, (which was the term of Familiarity that the Major used to call the Captain by) to whom I replied, what my Major? To which he returns, I could not come at the time appointed, but I am now come to tell you That there is a GOD, and a very just and terrible one, and if you do not turn over a new leaf (the very expression, as by the Doctor punctually remembered) you shall find it so. The Captain proceeded. On the Table by, there lay a Sword, which the Major had formerly given me. Now after the Apparition had walked a turn or two about the Chamber, he took up the Sword, drew it, and finding it not so clean and bright as it ought, Captain, Captain, says he, this Sword did not use to be kept after this manner, when it was mine. After which words he presently disappeared.

*The Captain was not only thoroughly perwaded of what he had thus seen and heard, but was from that time observed to be
very*

very much affected with it. And the Humour, which before in him was brisk and jovial, was then strangely altered. Inasmuch as very little meat would pass down with him at Dinner, though at the taking leave of their Friends, there was a very handsome Treat provided. Yea, it was observed, that what the Captain had thus seen and heard, had a more lasting influence on him, and it was judged by those who were well acquainted with his Conversation, that the Remembrance of the passage stuck close to him, and that those words of his dead Friend were frequently sounding fresh in his ears, during the remainder of his life, which was about two years.

RELATION. IX.

A Remarkable Story of discovered
Witch-Craft at Lauder, anno 1649.
 and of the Wyls which the
 Devil used in deceiving
 poor Creatures.

I*N the beginning of the year 1649, a common report passing up and down in all Mens and Womens mouths, of an eminent Warlock whose name was Robert Grieve, alias Hob Grieve*

Grieve, trafficking in these parts of the Country, and deceiving many simple People, he was at last discovered, apprehended, and imprisoned, at the Town of Lauder, and after long shiftings, and denial, wherein he had learned of his Hellish-master, to be most subtile; by the great Goodness of GOD, he was at length brought to a serious acknowledgement of his Guilt, and Confession of his being the Devils Officer in that Country for warning all Satans Vassals to come to the Meetings, where, and whensoever the Devil required, for the space of eighteen years and more. He acknowledged also, that his Wife (who twenty years, or thereabout before, was burnt at Lauder) was the occasion of his coming into that snare: for they being poor, and having little or nothing to live upon, he began to grudge under that Condition, and to complain of his Lot; which his wife perceiving, desired him not to be troubled, but shewed him, that if he would follow her counsel, she should acquaint him with a Gentleman, who would teach him a way how to become rich. To which motion he hearkned, and at her desire went down with her to a haugh on Gallow-water, near to the Stow, where she trysted the Gentleman: and when they had come to that place, and tarried a considerable space, seeing no body, he began to wearie,

wearie, and tell her, that he would be gone; but she pressing him to stay, and assuring him, that the Gentleman would not fail her: At length there came a great Mastiff bigger than any Butchers Dog, and very black running upon him, which put him into such a Confusion, and Astonishment of Spirit, as that he knew not where he was: But his wife laboured to comfort him, under that consternation, assuring him, that the Gentleman would come presently and perform what he had promised to him.

And accordingly in a short space the Devil appeared in the shape of a Black-man, and fitting his discourse to the mans temptation, made many promises to him, that if he would become his servant, he would teach him wayes, how to be rich, and how to be much made of in all the Countrey. Unto which demand of the Devil, he acknowledged, that he consented to, not so much for any hopes of future riches, as for fear least he should instantly be devoured by him, (for he suspected in the very mean time, that it was the Devil,) and then he gave him that charge, to be his Officer to warn all to the meetings; (as was said before,) in which charge he continued for the
space

space of eighteen years and more, untill he was apprehended. He was most ingenuous in his Confession, an great Evidence whereof was this, That there was neither Man nor Woman delated by him; But were all Confessors, when apprehended; and confronted with him, and dyed confessing. One instance is remarkable, and worthy of observation, which is this. After he had delated many, and as many of those were apprehended, as the Prison could conveniently contain and the Keepers attend, he gave up another Woman in the town of Lauder, whose name the Magistrates resolved to conceal for a time, till the Prison should be emptied of some of those, who were already apprehended, and had confessed; and accordingly Secrecy was engaged unto. But the Devil, came that same night unto her, and told her, that Hob Grieve had fyled her for a Witch, but assured her, that if she would rise up and go and challenge him for it, and never come away, till he and she were confronted, that then he would deny it. Whereupon she arose and came to the Prison Window, and railled upon Hob Grieve, calling him Warlock and slave to the Devil, and all evils which her mouth could utter: and
when

surely none but the Devil, thy old Master, and mine has told thee so much. *She replied,* The Devil and thou perish together, for he is not my Master, though he be thine. I defy the Devil, and all his works. *Whereupon he says to her,* What needs all this din, Does thou not know, that these many years, I have come to thy house, and warned thee to Meetings, and thou and I have gone alongs together. *And thereafter he condescended to her upon several places, and Actions done in these places by her, and others, to all which I am (said he) a witness. By this she was so confounded, that immediately in presence of the Bailly, the Preacher, the School-Master, and many witnesses, she cryed out,* Oh now, *says she,* I perceive that the Devil is a lyar, and a murderer from the beginning; for this night he came to me, and bade me come and abuse thee, and never come away, till I was confronted with thee, and he assured me that thou would deny all, and say, thou false tongue thou lyed. *And having said this, she with many tears confessed, that it was all truth which he had said, and prayed the Minister, that he would entreat GOD for her poor Soul, that she might be delivered out of the*

the hands of the Devil. Under this confession she continued even unto the day of her death.

Another evidence of ingenuity in him was this, that after five or six men and women, whom he had delated, were also convinced, and had confessed their Witch-craft, he earnestly desired that he and they might be taken to the Church, on the Lords-day, to hear the Word of GOD; which being granted, and they conveyed with a Guard to the Church, all of them sat down together before the Pulpit. The Preacher lectured on these words, Mark 9. 22. And oft times it hath cast him into the fire, and into the water to destroy him, &c. The Father of the Lunatick-child complained to Christ of the Devils cruelty towards his son. And the Preacher briefly noted, that Observation from the words, That what ever the Devil did to such as he had gotten any power over, his aim and end was always to destroy the poor Creature both Soul and Body. This truth being seriously applied, and spoken home by the Preacher to the said Hob Grieve, and the rest of the confessing Witches, and Warlocks, they were all immediately so confounded, that all of them cryed out with a dreadful and lamentable noise, Alace! that

is a most sure truth; Oh, what will become of us poor Wretches? Oh, pray for us. *But Hob Grieve especially bare witness to that sad truth, by a general Declaration, in the face of the Congregation, that he had Experience of the truth thereof.* For, said he, there is no trusting to his promises: for in *Musselburgh* water, when I had a heavy Criel upon my back, he thought to have drowned me there; and since I came into prison, he did cast me into the fire, to destroy me, as is well known to the present Preacher, and Magistrates of the place, and many others; *And concluded with an Exhortation to all, to beware of the Devil;* For whatever he says or doth, his purpose is to destroy you, and that you will find to be the end of his work, as we know to our dolefull experience this day. *Another evidence of the Devils art in studying the destruction of the poor Creature, was manifest in that same place, and year 1649. A certain woman in the town of Lauder was fyled (not by Hob Grieve, but by some other) and for a long time denied. The Magistrates of the place for this cause, were loath to meddle with her, but adjudged to death all the rest, who had confessed; and ordained them to be*
burnt

burnt upon the Munday after: She hearing of this, and that she alone was to remain in prison, without hopes of escape, was prompted by the Devil to make up a confession in her own bosom, as she supposed might take away her life, and thereupon sent for the Minister, and made that confession of Witch-craft which she her self had patcht up before Witnesses; and in the close she earnestly intreated the Magistrates, and the Ministers, that she might be burnt with the rest upon Munday next. Her confession was, That she had covenanted with the Devil, and had become his servant, about twenty years before, when she was but a young Lass, and that he kissed her, and gave her a name, but since, he had never owned her, and that she knew no more of the works of the Devil, as she should answer to GOD, but what she said was true. But intelligent persons began to be jealous of the truth of that confession, and began to suspect, that out of the pride of her heart, in a desperate way, she had made up that confession to destroy her life, because she still pressed to be cut off with the rest upon Munday. Therefore much pains was taken on her by Ministers, and others, on Saturday, Sunday, and Munday morning, that she might recile

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from

from that confession, which was suspected to be but a Tentation of the Devil, to destroy both her soul and body, yea it was charged home upon her by the Ministers, that there was just ground of Jealousie, that her confession was not sincere, and she charged before the Lord to declare the truth, and not to take her blood upon her own head. Yet stiftly she adhered to what she had said and cryed always to be put away with the rest. Whereupon on Munday morning being called before the Judges, and confessing before them, what she formerly said, she was found guilty, and condemned to die with the rest that same day. But being carried forth to the place of Execution, she remained silent, during the first, second and third Prayer, and then perceiving that there remained no more, but to rise, and go to the Stake, she lift up her body, and with a loud voice cryed out, Now all you that see me this day, know that I am now to die as a Witch by my own confession, and I free all men, especially the Ministers and Magistrates of the guilt of my blood. I take it wholly upon my self: my blood be upon my own head. And as I must make answer to the GOD of Heaven presently, I declare I am as free of Witch-craft, as any child

child: but being delated by a malicious Woman, and put in Prison, under that name of a Witch, disowned by my husband and friends, and seeing no ground of hope of my coming out of Prison, nor ever coming in credit again, through the temptation of the Devil I made up that confession, on purpose to destroy my own life, being weary of it, and choosing rather to die than live, and so died. *Which lamentable story, as it did then astonish all the Spectators, none of which could restrain themselves from tears, so it may be to all a demonstration of Satans subtilty, whose design is still to destroy all, partly by tempting many to presumption, and some others to despair. These things to be of truth, are Attested by an Eye and Ear witness who is yet alive, a faithful Minister of the Gospel.*

RELATION. X.

A True Narrative of the *Drummer of
Ted-Worth.*

*In the year 1661, about the middle of March
a Gentleman named Mr. Mompesson, in*

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*the County of Wilts, being at a Neighbouring town called Ludgarshal and hearing a Drum beat there, he enquired of the Bailly of the town, at whose house he then was, what it meant. The Bailly told him, that they had been for some days troubled with an idle Drummer, who demanded money of the Constable, by vertue of a pretended Pass which he thought was counterfeit; Upon this Mr. Mompesson sent for the Fellow, and askt him by what authority he went up and down the Countrey in that manner with his Drum. The Drummer answered, he had good Authoritie, and produced his Pass with a Warrant under the hands of Sir William Cawly and Collonel Ayliff of Gretenham. Mr. Mompesson knowing these Gentlemens hands, discovered that the Pass and Warrant were counterfeit, and thereupon commanded the Vagrant to put off his Drum, and charged the Constable to carry him before the next Justice of the Peace, to be further examined, and punisht. The Fellow confessed the Cheat, and begged earnestly to have his Drum. Mr. Mompesson told him that if he understood from Collonel Ayliff, whose Drummer he said he was, that he had been an honest man: he should have
it*

it again, but in the mean time he would secure it. So he left the Drum with the Baillie, and the Drummer in the Constables hands who it seems was prevailed on by the Fellows intreaties to let him go.

About the midst of April following when Mr. Mompesson was preparing for a Journey to London, the Bailly sent the Drum to his House. When he was returned from that Journey, his Wife told him that they had been much afrighted in the Night by Thieves and that the House had been like to have been broken up. And he had not been at home above three nights, when the same noise was heard, that had disturbed his Family in his absence. It was a very great Din and knocking at his Doors, and the outsides of his House. Hereupon he got up and went about the House with a Brace of Pistols in his hands. He opened the Door where the great knocking was, and then he heard the noise at another Door. He opened that also, and went round his house, but could discover nothing, only he still heard a strange noise, as a thumping and Drumming, on the Top of his House, which continued a great space, and then by degrees went off into the Air.

After this the noise of Thumping and Drum-

Drumming was very frequent, usually five nights together, and then it would intermit three. It was on the outsides of the house, which is most of it, of Board. It came constantly as they were going to sleep, whither early or late. After a months disturbance without, it came into the Room where the Drum lay, four or five nights in seven, within half an hour after they were in bed, continuing almost two hours. The sign of it just before it came was, they still heard an hurling in the Air over the house, and as its going off, the beating of a Drum, like that at the breaking up of a Guard. It continued in this room for the space of two months, which time Mr. Mompesson lay there to observe it. In the fore part of the night it used to be very troublesome, but after two hours all would be quiet.

Mistris Mompesson being brought to bed, there was but little noise that night she was in Travail, nor any for three weeks after, till she had recovered strength. But after this civil Cessation, it returned in a ruder manner than before, and followed and vexed the Youngest Children, beating their bedsteads with that violence, that all present expected when they would fall in pieces. In laying hands on them, one should feel no blows, but might perceive them

them to shake exceedingly. For an hour together it would beat on the Drum, Round-heads, and Cuckolds, and Tat-too, and several other points of War, as well as any Drummer could. After this they would hear a scraping under the Childrens bed, as by something that had Iron talions. It would lift the Children up in their beds, follow them from one room to another, and for a while haunt none particularly but them.

There was a Cock-loft in the house, which had not been observed to have been troubled, thither they removed the Children, putting them to bed, while it was fair day, where they were no sooner laid, but their Troubler was with them as before.

*On the first of November 1662. it kept a mighty noise, and a Servant observing two boards in the Childrens room seeming to move, he bid it give him one of them; upon which the board came (nothing moving it, that he saw) within a yeard of him. The man added, nay let me have it in my hand; upon which, it was shoved quite home to him; he thrust it back, and it was driven to him again, and so up and down, to and fro, at least twenty times together, till Mr. Mompesson forbad his Servant such Familiarities. This was in the day time, and seen
by*

by a whole room full of people: That morning it left a Sulphurous smell behind it, which was very offensive. At night the Minister one Mr. Craig, and diverse of the Neighbours came to the house on a Visit. The Minister went to Prayer with them, kneeling at the Childrens Bed-side: during Prayer-time, it withdrew into the Cock-loft, but returned as soon as Prayer was ended, and then in sight of the Company; the Chairs walkt about the Room of themselves; the Childrens shoes were hurled over their head, and every loose thing moved about the Chamber. At the same time a Bed-staff was thrown at the Minister, which hit him on the Legg, but so favourably, that a lock of Wool could not have fallen more softly; and it was observed that it stopt just where it lighted, without rolling or stirring from the place. Mr. Mompesson perceiving that it so much persecuted the young Children, he lodged them out at a Neighbours house, taking his eldest Daughter, who was about ten years of Age, into his own Chamber, where it had not been a Moneth before. As soon as she was in bed, the disturbance began there again, continuing three weeks drumming, and making noises; and it was observed that it would exactly answer in drumming any thing that was
was

was beaten or called for. After this, the house where the Children were lodged out, happening to be full of Strangers, they were taken home, and no disturbance having been known in the Parlour, they were lodged there, where also their Persecutor found them, but then only pluckt them by the Hair, and Night-cloaths, without any other disturbance.

It was noted, that when the Noise was loudest, and came with the most sudden and surprising violence, no Dog about the house would move, though the knocking was oft so boisterous and rude, that it had been heard at a considerable distance in the Fields, and awakened the Neighbours in the Village, none of which live very near the house. The Servants sometimes were lift up with their beds, and then let gently down again without hurt, at other times, it would ly like a great weight upon their feet.

About the latter end of December 1662. the Drummings were less frequent, and then they heard a noise like the gingling of Money, occasioned as it was thought, by somewhat Mr. Mompessons mother had spoken the day before to a neighbour, who talkt of Fairies leaving money, viz that she would like it well, if it would leave some to make amends for their trouble.

The

The night after the speaking of which, there was a great gingling of money over all the house. After this, it desisted from ruder noises, and employed it self in little Apish, and less troublesome tricks. On Christmas-even a little before day, one of the Boyes arising out of his bed, was bit on a sore place on his heel, with the latch of the door, the pin that it was fastned with, was so smal that it was a difficult matter to pick it out. The night after Christmas-day, it threw the old Gentlewomans cloaths about the room, and hid her Bible among the Ashes. In such silly Tricks it was frequent. After this it was very troublesome to a seroant of Mr. Mompessons, who was a stout Fellow, and of a sober conversation. This man lay within during the greatest disturbance, and for several nights something would endeavour to pluck his cloaths off the bed, so that he was fain to tug hard to keep them on, and sometimes were pluckt from him by force, and his shoes thrown at his head. And now and then he should find himself forcibly held, as if he were bound hand and foot: but when ever he could make use of his Sword, and struck with it, the Spirit quitted its hold. A little after these contests, a son of Sir Thomas Bennet whose workman the Drummer had sometimes been, came to the house, and told Mr. Mompesson.

person some words that he had spoken, which it seems were not well taken. For as soon as they were in bed, the drum was beat up very violently and loudly; the Gentleman arose, and called his man to him, who lay with Mr. Mompeissons servant, just now spoken of, whose name was John. As soon as Mr. Bennets man was gone, John heard a rustling noise in his chamber, and something came to his bed-side, as if it had been one in Silk. The man presently reacheth after his sword, which he found held from him, and it was with difficulty, and much tugging that he got it into his power: which as soon as he had done, the Spirit left him; and it was alwayes observed, that it still avoided a Sword. About the beginning of January 1662. they were wont to hear a Singing in the Chimney, before it came down. And one night about this time, Lights were seen in the house. One of them came into Mr. Mompeissons chamber which seemed blue and glimmering, and caused stiffness in the eyes of those who saw it. After the Light, something was heard coming up the stairs, as if it had been one without shoes. The light was seen also 4 or 5 times in the Childrens chamber; and the Maids confidently affirm, the doors were at least ten times opened and shut in their sight, & when they were opened

Satans Inbisible

opened they heard a noise, as if half a dozen had entered together. After which, some were heard to walk about the Room, and one Ruffled as if it had been in Silk. The like Mr. Mompesson himself once heard.

During the time of the knocking when many were present a Gentleman of the company, said, Satan, if the Drummer set thee to work, give three knocks and no more, which it did very distinctly and stopt. Then the Gentleman knockt, to see if it would answer him, as it was wont, but it did not. For further trial, he bid it for confirmation, if it were the Drummer to give five knocks and no more that night, which it did, and left the House quiet all the night. This was done in the presence of Sir Thomas Chamberlain of Oxford-shire, und diverse others.

On Saturday morning, an hour before day, January 10. a Drum was heard beat upon the outsides of Mr Mompessons Chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the house, where some Gentlemen strangers lay, playing at their door, and without, four or five several Tunes and so went off into the Air.

*The next night, a Smith in the Village,
lying*

lying with John the Man, they heard a Noise in the Room, as if one had been shoeing of an Horse, and some what came, as it were with a pair of Pincers snipping at the Smiths Nose most part of the Night.

One morning Mr. Mompesson rising early to go a journey heard a great Noise below, where the Children Lay, and running down with a Pistol in his hand, he heard a voice crying a Witch, a Witch, as they had also heard it once before. Upon his entrance all was quiet.

Having one night played some little Trick at Mr. Mompessons Beds feet, it went into another Bed, where one of his Daughters lay. There it passed from side to side, lifting her up as it passed under. At that time, there were three kinds of Noises in the Bed. They endeavoured to thrust at it with a sword, but it still shifted, and carefully avoided the thrust, still getting under the Child when they offered at it. The Night after it came panting like a Dog out of breath. Upon which one took a Bed-staff to knock, which was caught out of her hand and thrown away, and Company coming up, the Room was presently filled, with a bloomy noisome smell, and was very hot though without fire, in a very sharp and severe

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winter

winter. It continued in the Bed panting and scratching an hour and a half, and then went into the next Chamber, where it knockt a little, and seemed to rattle a Chain: this it did for two or three nights together.

After all this the old Gentlewomans Bible was found in the Ashes the Paper side being downwards. Mr. Mompesson took it up, and observed that it lay open at the third Chapter of Mark, where there is mention of unclean Spirits falling down before our Saviour, and of his giving power to the twelve to cast out Devils, and of the Scribes Opinion, that he cast them out through Beelzebub. The next night they strewed Ashes over the Chamber, to see what impressions it would leave. In the morning they found in one place, the resemblance of a great Claw, in another of a lesser, some Letters in another, which they could make nothing of, besides many Circles, in the Ashes.

About this time (says my Author) I went to the house on purpose to inquire the truth of those passages of which there was so loud a report. It had ceased from its Drumming, and ruder Noises before I came hither, but most of the more remarkable circumstances before related, were confirmed to me there, by several of the neighbours together, who had been present

present at them. At this time it used to haunt the Children, as soon as they were laid. They went to Bed that night I was there about eight of the clock, when a Maid-servant coming down told us it was come. The Neighbours that were there and two Ministers who had seen and heard diverse times, went away : but Mr. Mompesson, and I, and a Gentleman that came with me went up. I heard a scratching, which was very strange, as I went up the Stairs, and when we came into the Room, I perceived, it was just behind the Bolster of the Childrens Bed, and seemed to be against the Tyking. It was as loud a scratching, as one with long nails could make upon a Bolster. There were two little modest Girls in the Bed between seven and eleven years of age, as I guess. I saw there hands without the Cloaths, so that they could not contribute to the Noise, that was behind their heads. They had been used to it, and had still some body or other in the Chamber with them, and therefore seemed not to be much afrighted. I standing at the Beds-head, thrust my hand behind the Bolster, directing it to the place, whence the noise seemed to come. Whereupon the noise ceased there, and was heard in another part of the Bed. But when I had taken out my Hand, it returned,

and was heard in the same place as before. I had been told, that it would imitate noises and made trial by scratching several times upon the Sheets as 5 and 7 and 10 which it followed, and still slept at my number. I searcht under, and behind the Bed, turned up the cloaths to the Bed-cords, graspt the Bolster, sounded the Wall behind, and made all search that possibly I could to find if there were any Trick, Contrivance, or common Cause of it: the like did my Friend, but we could discover nothing. So that I was then verily perswaded, and am so still, that the Noise was made by some Dæmon or Spirit. After it had scratcht about half an hour or more, it went into the midst of the Bed under the Children, and there seemed to pant like a Dog out of Breath very loudly. I put my hand upon the place, and felt the Bed bearing up against it, as if something within had thrust it up. I graspt the Feathers to feel, if any living thing were in them. I looked under, and every where about, to see if there were any Dog or Cat, or any other Creature in the Room, and so we all did, but found nothing. The motion it caused by this panting, was so strong, that it shook the Room and Windows very sensibly. It continued thus more then half an hour, while my Friend and

I stayed in the Room, and as long after, as we were told. During the Panting, I chanced to see as it had been something (which I thought was a Rat or Mouse) moving in a Linning Bag, that hung up against another Bed, that was in the Room. I stept and caught it by the upper end with one hand, with which I held it, and drew it quite through the other, but found nothing at all in it. There was no Body near to shake the Bag, or if there had, no one could have made such a Motion, which seemed to be from within, as if some living Creature had moved in it. My Friend and I lay in the Chamber, where the first and chief disturbance had been. We slept well all night, but early before Day in the Morning I was awaked (and I awaked my Bed-fellow) by a great knocking just without our Chamber door. I askt who was there several times, but the knocking still continued without answer. At last, I said, In the name of God, who is it, and what would you have? To which a voice answered Nothing with you. We thinking it had been some servant of the house, went to sleep again. But speaking of it to Mr. Mompesson, when we came down, He assured us, that not one of the house lay that way, or had business,

F 3 thereabout

thereabout, and that his Servants were not up till he called them, which was after it was day. Which they confirmed, and protested, that the Noise was not made by them. Mr. Mompesson had told us before that it would be gone in the middle of the night, and come again divers times earlie in the Morning about four a Clock, and this I suppose was about that sametime. There came one Morning a light into the Childrens Chamber, and a voice crying a Witch a Witch, for at least an hundred times together. Mr Mompesson at another time (being in the day) seeing some Wood move that was there, as of it self, discharged a Pistol into it, after which they found several drops of Blood on the Hearth, and in divers places of the Stair. For two or three nights after the discharge of the Pistol, there was a calme in the house, but then it came again, applying it self to a little Child newly taken from the Nurse, which it so persecuted, that it would not let the poor Infant rest for two nights together, nor suffer a Candle in the room, but carry them away lighted up thorow the Chimney, or cast them under the Bed. It so scared this Child, by leaping upon it, that for some hours, it could not be recovered out of the fright.

fright. So that they were forced again to put the Children out of the house. The next night after, some-thing about Midnight came up the Stairs, and knockt at Mr. Mompessons door, but he lying still, it went up another pair of Stairs to his Mans Chamber, to whom it appeared standing at his Bed-foot. The exact shape and Proportion he could not discover, but he saith he saw a great Body with two red glowing, or glaring eyes, which for some time were fixed steadily upon him, and at length disappear'd. Another night strangers being present, it purr'd in the Childrens Bed, like a Cat, at which time, the Cloaths and Children were lift up from the Bed, and six men could not keep them down: hereupon they removed the Children, intending to have ript the Bed. But they were no sooner laid in another, but the second bed was more troubled than the first It continued thus Four hours, and beat the Childrens leggs against the Bed-posts, that they were forced to arise, and sit up all Night. After this it would empty Chamber Pots into their Beds, and strew them with Ashes from the Hearth, though they were never so carefullie watcht. It put a long picked Iron in Mr. Mompessons Bed, and into his mo-

Mothers a naked knife upright. It would fill Porrengers with Ashes, throw every thing about the Room, and keep a noise all day.

About the beginning of April, 1663. a Gentleman that lay in the house, had all his Money turned black in his pocket. And Mr. Mompesson coming one morning into his Stable, found his Horse, he was wont to ride on, laying on the ground, having one of his hinder Leggs in his mouth, and so fastened there, that it was difficult for several men to get it out with a Leaver. After this, there were some other remarkable things; but my Account goes no further. Only Mr. Mompesson write me word, That afterwards the house was several nights beset, with seven or eight in the shape of Men, who as soon as a Gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into an Arbour.

The Drummer was tryed at the Assizes at Salisburg upon this occasion. He was committed first to Gloucester-Gaol for stealing, and a Wilt-shire man coming to see him, he askt, What news in Wilt-shire? The Man answered, He knew of none. No, saith the Drummer! Do you not hear of the Drumming at a Gentlemans house at Tedworth. That I do enough, said the other.

I

I quoth the Drummer, I have plauged him, and he shall never be quiet, till he hath made me satisfaction for taking away my Drum. Upon information of this, the Fellow was tryed for a Witch at Sarum, and all the main circumstances, which I have related were sworn at the Assizes by the Minister of the Parish, and diverse others of the most intelligent and substantial Inhabitants, who had been eye and ear Witnesses of them, time after time for diverse years together.

The Fellow was condemned to Transportation, and accordingly sent away: but I know not how (it is said by raising storms, and affrighting the Sea-men) he made a shift to come back again. And it is observable, that during all the time of his restraint, and absence the house was quiet, but as soon as ever he came back at libertie, the Disturbance returned.

He had been a Souldier under Cromwell, and used to talk much of Gallant Booke; which he had of an odd Fellow who was counted a Vizzard. Upon this occasion, I shall here add a passage, which I had (saith my Author) from Mr. Mompesson, but yet relates to the Main purpose.

The Gentleman, who was with me at the house
Mr. Hill

Mr. Hill, being in Company with one Compton of Summer-set-shire, practised Physick and pretends to strange matters, related to him this Story of Mr. Mompessons disturbance. The Physitian told him, he was sure it was nothing but a Rendezvous of Witches and that for an hundred pounds, he would undertake to rid the house of all disturbance. In pursuit of this discourse, he talkt of manie high things, and having drawn my Friend into another Room a part from the rest of the company, said, he could make him sensible, he could do something more then ordinary, and askt him whom he desired to see. Mr. Hill had no great confidence in his talk, whose wife was then manie miles distant from them at her home. Upon this Compton took up a Looking-glass that was in the Room, and setting it down again, bid my friend look at it which he did, and there, as he most solemnly and seriously protested, he saw the exact image of his wife in that habit, which she then wore, and working at her Needle in such a part of the Room, (there represented also) in which, or about which time she reallie was, as he found upon enquirie, when he came to his own house.

The

The Gentleman averred this to me, and he is a very sober Intelligent, and credible Person. Compton had no knowledge of him before, and was an utter stranger to the Person of his Wife. Thus I have written the sum of Mr. Mompessons disturbances, which (saith my Author) I had partly from his own mouth related before diverse, who had been witnesses of all, and confirmed his Relation, and partly from his own Letters, from which the order and series of things is taken. The same Particulars he writ also to Doctor Creed; then Doctor of the Chair in Oxford.

RELATION. XI.

The Devil of *Glenluce* enlarged with several Remarkable Additions from an *Eye* and *Ear* witness, a Person of undoubted Honesty.

T*His is that famous and notable Story of the Devil of Glenluce, which I published in my Hydrostaticks, anno 1672, and which since hath been transcribed word by word by a Learned Pen, and Published in the late Book Intituled Saducismus Triumphatus, whom nothing but the truth thereof, and usefulness for refuting Atheism could have per-*

perswaded to transcribe. The Subject matter then of this Story, is a true and short account, of the Troubles, wherewith the Family of one Gilbert Campbells, by profession a Weaver in the old Parish of Glenluce in Galloway, was exercised. I have adventured to publish it De Novo in this Book, first because it was but huddled up among purposes of another nature. But now I have reduced it, to it's own proper Place. Next, because this Story is more full, being enlarged with new Additions, which were not in the former, and ends not so abruptly, as the other did.

It happened (says my Informer, Gilbert Campbells Son who was then a student of Philosophy in the Colledge of Glasgow,) that after one Alexander Agnew, a bold and sturdy Beggar, who afterwards was hanged at Drumfries for Blasphemy had threatened hurt to the Familie, because he had not gotten such an Almes, as he required, the said Gilbert Campbell was often times hindered in the exercise of his calling and yet could not know by what means this was done. This Agnew, among many blasphemous expressions had this one, when he was interrogate by the Judges, whether or not, he thought there was a God, he answered; he knew no God, but Salt, Meal, and

and Water. When the Stirs began first, there was a Whistling heard both within and without the House. And Jennet Campbell going one day to the Well, to bring home some Water, was conveyed, with a shril whistling about her ears, which made her say, I would fain hear thee speak, as well as Whistle. Hereupon it said, after a threatening manner, I'll cast thee Jennet into the Well. The voice was most exactly like the Damsels voice, and did resemble it to the life. The Gentlewoman that heard this and was a witness, thought the voice was very near to her own ears, and said the Whistling was such, as Children use to make, with their smal slender Glass Whistles.

About the middle of November, the Foul Fiend came on with new and extraordinary Assaults, by throwing of Stones in at the Doors, and Windows, and down the Chimney-head, which were of great quantity, and thrown with force, yet by Gods Providence, there was not one Person in the Family that was hurt. This did necessitate Gilbert Campbel, to reveale that to the Minister of the Parish, and to some other Neighbours and Friends, which hitherto he had suffered secretly. Notwithstanding of this, his trouble
was

*was enlarged ; for not long after, he found of-
ten-times his Warp and Threeds cut, as with
a pair of Sizzers, and not only so, but their Ap-
parel were cut after the same manner, even while
they were wearing them, their Coats, Bonnets,
Hose, Shoes, but could not discern how, or by
what mean. Only it pleased GOD to preserve
their persons, that the least harm was not done.
Yet, in the night time, they had not liberty to
sleep, something coming and pulling their bed-
cloaths, and Linnings off them, and leaving
their Bodies naked. Next, their Chests and
Trunks were opened, and all things in them
strawed here and there. Likewise the parts of
their Working-Instruments, which had escaped
were carried away, and hid in holes and bores
of the house, where hardly they could be found
again. Nay, what ever piece of Cloath, or
Household-stuff was in any part of the house, it
was carried away, and so cut and abused, that
the Good-man was necessitate in all haste and
speed, to remove and transport the rest to a
Neighbours house, and he himself compelled
to quite the Exercise of his Calling, whereby he
only maintained his Family. Yet he resolved to
remain in his house for a season ; during which
time, some persons about, not very Judicious,
counselled him to send his Children out of the
Family,*

Family, here and there, to try whom the trouble did most follow, assuring him, that this trouble was not against the whole Family, but against some one person or other in it, whom he too willingly obeyed. Yet, for the space of four or five dayes, there were no remarkable assaults, as before. The Minister hearing thereof, shewed him the evil of such a course, and assured him, that if he repented not, and called back his Children he might not expect, that his trouble would end in a right way. The Children that were nigh by being brought home, no trouble followed, till one of his Sons called Thomas that was farrest off came home. Then did the Devil begin a fresh for upon the Lords day following in the afternoon, the House was set on Fire, but by the help of some Neighbours going home from Sermon; the Fire was put out, and the house saved, not much loss being done. And Munday after being spent in Private prayer, and fasting, the house was again set on Fire upon the Tuesday about nine a clock in the morning, yet by the speedy help of Neighbors it was saved, little skaithe being done

The Weaver being thus vexed, and wearied both day and night, went to the Minister of the Parish, an Honest and Godly man desiring him, to let his Son Thomas abide with him for a time, who condescended, but withal assured him
that

that he would find himself deceived, and so it came to pass, for notwithstanding that the Lad was without the Family, yet were they that remained in it, sore troubled both in the day time, and night season, so that they were forced to waks till Mid-night, and sometimes all the night over, during which time, the persons within the Family suffered many losses, as the cutting of their Cloaths, the throwing of Piets, the pulling down of Turff and Feal from the Roof, and Walls of the house, and the stealing of their Cloaths, and the Pricking of their Flesh, and Skin with Pins.

Some Ministers about having convened at the place, for a solemn Humiliation, persuaded Gilbert Campbel to call back his Son Thomas, Notwithstanding of whatsoever hazard might follow. The Boy returning home, affirmed that he heard a voice speak to him, forbidding him to enter within the House, or in any other place where his Fathers calling was exercised. Yet he entered, but was sore abused, till he was forced to return to the Ministers house again.

Upon Munday the 12 of February, the rest of the Family began to hear a voice speak to them, but could not well know from whence it came. Yet from Evening till Mid-night too
much

much vain discourse was kept up with Satan, and many idle and impertinent questions proposed, without that due fear of God, that should have been upon their Spirits under so rare and extraordinary a Trial. They came that length in familiar discourse, with the Foul-Thief, that they were no more afrayed to keep up the Clash with him, than to speak to one another. In this they pleased him well, for he desired no better, than to have Sacrifices offered to him. The Minister hearing of this, went to the house upon the Tuesday, being accompanied with some Gentlemen, one James Bailie of Carphin, Alexander Bailie of Dunraged, Mr. Robert Hay, and a Gentlewoman called Mistris Douglas, whom the Ministers Wife did accompanie. At their first in-coming the Devil says, Quum Literarum, is good Latine. These are the first words, of the Latine Rudiments, which Schollars are taught, when they go to the Grammar School. He crys again a Dog. The Minister thinking that he had spoken it to him, said, he took it not ill to be reviled by Satan, since his Master had troden that path before him. Answered Satan, it was not you, Sir, I spokt it to, I meant by the Dog there, for there was a Dog standing behind backs.

G

This

This passing, they all went to Prayer, which being ended, they heard a voice speaking out of the ground, from under a Bed, in the proper Country Dialect, which he did counterfeit exactly, saying, Would you know the Witches of Glenluce? I will tell you them; and so related four or five Persons names that went under a bad report. The Weaver informed the Company, that one of them was dead long ago. The Devil answered, and said, It is true, she is dead long ago, but her Spirit is living with us in the World. The Minister replied saying (though it was not convenient to speak to such an excommunicat and intercommuned person) the Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and put thee to silence; we are not to receive Information from thee, whatsoever fame any person goes under; Thou art seeking but to seduce this Family, for Satans kingdom is not divided against it self. After which all went to Prayer again, which being ended (for during the time of Prayer no noise or trouble was made, except once, that a loud fearful yodel was heard at a distance) The Devil with many threatnings boasted and terrified the Lad Tom, who had come back that day with the Minister, that if he did not depart out of the house, he would set all on fire

Sir. The Minister answered, and said, the Lord will preserve the house, and the Lad too, seeing he is one of the Family, and hath GODS Warrant to tarry in it. The Fiend answered, he shall not get liberty to tarry; he was once put out already, and shal not abide here, though I should pursue him to the end of the world. The Minister replied, the Lord will stop thy malice against him. And then they all went to prayer again, which being ended, the Devil said, give me a Spade and a Shovel, and depart from the house for seven days, and I will make a Grave, and ly down in it, and shall trouble you no more. The good man answered, not so much as a Straw shal be given thee, through Gods assistance, even though that would do it. The Minister also added God shal remove thee in due time. The Spirit answered, I will not remove for you, I have my Commission from Christ to tarry and vex this Family, The Minister answered, a Permission thou hast indeed, but God will stop it in due time. The Devil replied, I have Sir, a Commission, which perhaps will last longer than your own. The Minister died in the year 1655 in December. The Devil had told them, that he had given

his commission to Tom to keep. *The Company enquired at the Lad, who said, there was something put into his pocket, but it did not tarry.*

After this, the Minister and the Gentlemen arose, and went to the place, whence the voice seemed to come, to try if they could see, or find any thing. After diligent search, nothing being found, the Gentlemen began to say, We think this voice speaks out of the children, for some of them were in their beds. The Foul Spirit answered, you lie, GOD shall judge you for your lying, and I and my father will come and fetch you to Hell with Warlock Thieves: and so the Devil discharged the Gentlemen to speak any thing, saying, Let him speak that hath a Commission (meaning the Minister) for he is the servant of GOD. The Gentlemen returning back with the Minister, sat down near the place, whence the voice seemed to come, and he opening his mouth, spake to them, after this manner, The Lord will rebuke this Spirit in his own time, and cast it out. The Devil answering, said, It is written in the 9th. of Mark, the Disciples could not cast him out. The Minister replied, What the Disciples could not do, yet the Lord having
hightned

hightned the Parents Faith, for his own glory did cast him out, and so shall he thee. *The Devil replied,* It is written in the 4th. of *Luke*, and he departed and left him for a season. *The Minister said,* The Lord in the dayes of his Humiliation, not only got the victory over Satan, in that assault in the wilderness, but when he came again, his success was no better, *for it is written,* *John* 14. Behold, the Prince of this World cometh, and hath nothing in me, and being now in glory, he will fulfil his promise, and GOD shal bruise Satan under your feet shortly, *Rom.* 16. *The Devil answered,* It is written, *Matth.* 25. There were ten Virgins, five wise, & five foolish; and the Bridegroom came, the foolish Virgins had no oyl in their lamps, and went unto the wise to seek Oyl, and the wise said, go and buy for your selves; and while they went, the Bridegroom came, and entered in, and the door was shut, and the foolish Virgins were sent to Hells fire. *The Minister answered,* The Lord knows the sincerity of his servants, and though there be sin and folly in us here, yet there is a fountain opened to the house of *David* for sin and for uncleanness,

ness, when he hath washen us, and pardoned our sins, for his Names sake, he will cast the unclean Spirit out of the land. *The Devil answered, and said, Sir you should have cited for that place of Scripture, the 13 chap. of Zech. and so he began at the first verse and repeated several verses, and concluded with these words, In that day I will cause the Prophet, and the unclean Spirit, pass out of the land, but afterwards it is written, I will smite the Shepherd, and the Sheep shal be scattered. The Minister answered, and said, well are we that our blessed Shepherd was smitten, and thereby, hath bruised thy head, and albeit in the hour of his sufferings, his Disciples forsook him Matth. 26. Yet now having ascended on high he sits in glory, and is preserving, gathering in, and turning his hand upon his little ones, and will save his poor ones in this Family from thy malice. The Minister returning back a little, and standing upon the Floor, the Devil said, I knew not these Scriptures, till my Father taught me them. Then the Minister conjured him to tell whence he was. The Foul-Fiend replied, that he was an evil Spirit, come from the bottomless Pit of Hell, to vex this house,*

and

and that Satan was his Father, and presently there appeared a naked hand, and an arm from the Elbow down, beating upon the Floor till the house did shake again, and also he uttered a most fearful and loud cry saying, come up Father come up, I will send my Father among you, See there he is behind your backs. The Minister said I saw indeed an hand, and an arm, when the stroak was given, and heard. The Devil said to him, Say you that? It was not my hand it was my Fathers: my hand is more black in the loof. O said Gilbert Campbel, that I might see thee, as well as I hear thee! Would you see me, says the Foul-Thief; Put out the Candle, and I shal come butt the house among you like fire balls. I shall let you see me indeed. Alexander Bailie of Dunraget says to the Minister, let us go ben, and see if there be any hand to be seen. The Devil answered, No, let him come ben alone; he is a good honest man, his single word may be believed. About this time the Devil abused Mr. Robert Hay a very honest Gentleman very ill with his Tongue, calling him Witch and Warlock. A little after the Devil cryes (It seems out of purpose and in a purpose) a Witch, a Witch, Ther's

Ther's a Witch sitting upon the Ruist, take her away: *he meant a Hen sitting upon the balk of the House.*

These things being Past, all went to Prayer during which time he was silent. Prayer being ended, the Devil answered and said, If the Goodmans Sons prayers at the Colledge of Glasgow, did not prevail with GOD: my father and I had wrought a mischief here ere now. To which Alexander Bailie of Dunraged replied, well, well, I see you confess there is a God, and that prayer prevails with him, and therefore we must pray to God and commit the event to him. To whom the Devil replied, yea Sir, you speak of prayer with your broad lipped Hat, (for the Gentleman had lately gotten a Hat in the fashion with broad lipps) Ile bring a pair of Shears from my Father, which shal clip the lipps of it a little. Whereupon he presently imagined, that he heard and felt a pair of Shears, going round about his Hat, which caused him lift it, to see if the Foul-Thief had medled with it.

During this time, several things but of less moment passed, as that he would have Tom a Merchant, Rob a Smith, John a Minister, and Hus a Lawier, all which in some measure

measure came to pass. As to Jennet the Goodmans Daughter he cryes to her, Jennet Campbell, Jennet Campbell, wilt thou cast me thy Belt. Quoth she, what a widdy would thou do with my Belt? I would fain (says he) fasten my loose bones closs together with it. A younger Daughter sitting busking her Puppies, as young Girls use to do, being threatned by the Fiend, that he would ding out her harns, that is brain her, answered without being concerned, no if God be to the fore, and so fell to her work again. The Good Wife of the house having brought out some bread was breaking it, to give every one of the Company a Piece. Cryes he, Grissel Wyllie, Grissel Wyllie; give me a peice of that hard bread (for so they call their Oat Cakes) I have gotten nothing this day, but a bit from Marrit, that is as they speak in that Countrey Margaret. The Minister said, beware of that, for it is a sacrificing to the Devil. The Girle was called for, and asked if she gave him any hard bread, no says she, but when I was eating my due peice this morning, something came and clicked it out of my hand.

The Evening being now far spent, it was thought fit, that every one should withdraw, to his

his own home. Then did the Devil cry out fearfully, let not the Minister goe home, I shall burn the house if he go, and many other ways did he threaten. After the Minister had gone forth: Gilbert Campbel was very instant with him to tarry, whereupon he returned, all the rest going home. When he came into the house, the Devil gave a great guff of laughter: you have now Sir done my bidding. Not thine, answered the other, but in obedience to God, have I returned to bear this man companie whom thou doest afflict. Then did the Minister call upon God, and when prayer was ended, he discharged the Weaver, and all the Persons of the Familie, to speak a word to the Devil, and when it spake, that they should only kneel down, and speak to God. The Devil then roared mightily, and cried out, What? Will ye not speake to me, I shall strike the bairns, and do all manner of mischief. But after that time no answer was made to it, and so for a long time no speech was heard. Several times hath he beat the Children in their Beds, and the claps of his loof upon their Buttocks would have been heard but without any trouble to them. While the Minister and Gentle-men were standing at the Door readie to go home, the Ministers
Wife

Wife, and the Good-Wife were within. Then cryed Satan, Grissel put out the Candle. Says she to the Ministers Wife, shall I do it? No says the other, for then you shall obey the Devil. Upon this he cries again with a louder shout, Put out the Candle. The Candle still burns. The third time he cries Put out the Candle, and no obedience being given to him, he did so often reiterate these words, and magnify his voice, that it was astonishment to hear him, which made them stop their ears they thinking the sound was just at their ears. At last the Candle was put out. Now says he I'll trouble you no more this Night. I must insert here, what I heard from one of the Ministers of that Presbytrie, who with the rest were appointed to meet at the Weavers house, for prayer, and other exercises of that kind. When the day came, five only met. But before they went in, they stood a while in the Croft, which layes round about the house, consulting what to do. They resolved upon two things, first there should be no words of Conjuratiion used, as commanding him in the Name of GOD to tell whence he was, or to depart from the Familie, for which they thought they had no call from GOD. Secondly that

that when the Devil spake, none should answer him, but hold on in their worshipping of GOD, and the duties they were called to. When all of them had prayed by turns, and three of them had spoken a word or two from the Scripture, they prayed again, and then ended, without any disturbance. When that Brother who informed me had gone out, one Hue Nisbit, one of the company, came running after him, desiring him to come back, for he had begun to whistle. No, sayes the other, I tarried as long as GOD called me, but go in again I will not.

After this, the said Gilbert suffered much loss, and had many sad nights, not two nights in one week free, and thus it continued till April; from April till July, he had some Respite and ease, but after, he was molested with new assaults; and even their Victuals were so abused, that the Family was in hazard of starving, and that which they eat gave them not their ordinary satisfaction, they were wont to find.

In this sore and sad affliction Gilbert Campbell resolved to make his Addresses to the Synod of Presbyters, for Advice and Counsel what to do; which was appointed to convene in October 1655. namely, whether to forsake the house or not? The Synod by their Com-
mittty

mittedly appointed to meet at Glenluce in February 1656, thought fit that a solemn Humiliation should be kept through all the Bounds of the Synod; and among other causes, to request GOD in behalf of that afflicted Family; which being done carefully, the event was, that his troubles grew less till April, and from April to August, he was altogether free. About which time the Devil began with new assaults, and taking the ready Meat that was in the house, did sometimes hide it in holes by the door-posts; and at other times did hide it under the Beds, and sometimes among the Bed-cloaths, and under the Linnings, and at last, did carry it quite away, till nothing was left there, save Bread and Water. This minds me of a small passage, as a proof of what is said. The Good-wife one Morning making Pottage for the Childrens Break-fast, had the Tree-plate wherein the meal lay, snatched from her quickly. Well says she, let me have the plate again. Whereupon it came flying at her, without any skaith done. 'Tis like, if she had sought the meale too, she might have got it; such is his civility when he is entreated. A small homaige will please him ere he want all. After this he exercised his malice and cruelty against all persons in the Family, in wearying them

them in the Night time, by stirring and moving thorow the house, so that they had no rest for Noise, which continued all the Moneth of August after this manner. After which time the Devil grew yet worse, by roaring, and terrifying them by casting of Stones, by striking them with staves on their Beds in the Night time. And upon the 18. of September about Midnight he cryed out with a loud voice, I shall burn the house. And about 3. or 4. Nights after, he set one of the Beds on fire, which was soon put out, without any prejudice, except the Bed it self.

Thus I have written a short and true account of all the Material Passages which occurred. To write every particular, especially of lesser Moment, would fill a large Volum. The Good-man lived several years after this, in the same house: and it seems, that by some conjuration or other, the Devil suffered himself to be put away, and gave the Weaver a peaceable habitation. This Weaver has been a very Odd man, that endured so long these marvellous disturbances.

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RELATION. XII

Anent *Mother Jackson* her Witch-
Craft.

T*His Story hath as much certainty with it, as any Human Story can have. The Author that writes it is a Famous Minister of the Gospel, and attested by famous Witnesses. This Woman was arraigned and condemned at Newgate for bewitching one Mary Glover a Marchants Daughter in Themes-Street. One Doctor Boncraft did inform Judge Anderson then Lord Chief Justice, that the said Mother Jackson was wronged and that the Maid did counterfeit. Whereupon the Lord Chief Justice gave order to Sir John Crook then Recorder of London to make trial of them in his Chamber at the Temple. The Maid being sent for came with her Mother and divers of her Neighbours: and about an hour after, the Witch was sent for, and was brought in disguised like a countrey-market-Woman, with a mufflet hiding her face, and an old Hat, and a short Cloack spattered with mire. When she entered the Chamber the Maid suddenly fell down backward upon the floor, with her eyes drawn into her head, her tongue toward*
her

her Throat, her Mouth drawn up to her Ear: her Bodie became stiff, and senseless. Her Lips being shut close, a plain and audible voice came out of her Nostrills, saying Hang her, Hang her. Then did the Recorder call for a Candle, and a sheet of Paper, and held the paper flaming to her hand, till her hand did blister. The blister did break and water came out, which dropt down upon the Floor, the maid lying still and senseless as a dead body, with the voice coming out of her Nostrills saying hang her, hang her. Then the Recorder called for a long Pin, which he held in the flame of the Candle, till it was very hot, and thrust the head of it into her Nostrills to see if that would make her Neese, Wink, or bend her brows, or stir her head, which she did not, but lay still as one dead, and senseless, Then I told the Recorder (saith my Author) that I had often prayed with the Maid, and that when I did conclude with the LORDS Prayer, the Maid, as soon as I said (but deliver us from all evil) was tost up, and shaken as if a Mastive Dog should take a little Curr into his mouth, and shake him. Then the Recorder bad the Witch say the Lords Prayer, which she did till she came to these words, But deliver us from evil, which she

she slept over and would by no means be brought to say them. Then they bad her rehearse the Articles of the Christian Faith, which she did, till she came to these words (our Lord) but would by no means be drawn to confess that Jesus Christ was Our Lord. I told the Recorder also that when the Maid was in her senseless and dead fits, if the Witch did but lay her hand upon her, she was tost and thrown towards her. Thereupon the Recorder caused the Maid to be taken up, and layed upon a Bed, and cloaths to be layed upon her, especially her head, because she should not see, nor hear. Then he made signes to the women to stand round about the Bed, and that the Witch should stand among them and that every one should lay hands one her softly, which they did, and the Maid did not stirr, till the Witch laid her hand upon her. Then all the Cloaths were thrown off, and the Maid tost towards her. Whereupon the Recorder looking upon the Witch said, Lord have mercy upon thee, Woman, and sent her to New-gate. Then as soon as she was gone, the voice that came out of the Maids Nostrils ceased, and she came to her self, and went home with her Mother.

About 3 Weeks or a Moneth after the Witch

H was

was condemned, the Maid continued every second day in most strange and fearful Fits, and Torments. The Recorder hearing of it, did blame me, and all the Ministers of London. And told me, that we might all of us be ashamed to see a Child of God in the Claws of the Devil, without any hopes of deliverance, but by such means as GOD had appointed, Fasting and Prayer.

Within few days after, it pleased GOD to make me an instrument to draw five Ministers, and other good Christians together to set a day apart, and to joyn with me, in that holy exercise, wherein we continued from morning till after Candle lighting. Then on a sudden after a fearfull conflict which did much amaze some, and caused them to cry with a confused Noise, Jesus help, Jesus save, the Maid did start up out of a Wand-Chair, where she sat, and with her strength did lift me up with her, I kneeling behind her, and holding her in my Arms, she did throw white Froth out of her throat and mouth round about the Chamber, and on a sudden fell down into the Chair, as one truly dead, with her head hanging down into the Chair, her neck, arms limber and souple, which before were stiff as a frozen thing; Then suddenly life came into her whole Body, and her
eyes

Saint Helens. *Which then was my living. This Relation was publisht in the year 1642. by the Minister, whose name is Lewes Hughes and is yet to be seen in Print.*

RELATION XIII

**King Duff the 78 King of Scotland
Bewitched.**

T*hough this be well known to all who read our Scots Histories, yet it will not be amiss to insert it here, as in its own place, for their sake especially who have not heard of it. While the King was about the settling of the Countrey, and punishing the Troublers of the Peace, he began to be sore afflicted in his Body with a new and unheard of Disease, no Causes of his Sickness appearing in the least. At length, after that several Remedies and Cures were made use of to no purpose, a Report is spread, the Authiors thereof being uncertain, that the King was brought to that sickness and Trouble by Witches. This suspicion arose, from an unusual Sweating he was under, his Body pining and withering away by little and little and his strength failing day by day. And since all his Physicians ; had done their utmost, and yet*

yet no appearance of recovery, it was supposed his case was extraordinary, therefore all men being vehemently intent upon the Event, news came to Court that Night-meetings were kept at Forres a Town in Murray, for taking away the life of the King. This was presently received and believed for truth, because no other thing did occur for the present more probable. Whereupon Trusty and Faithful men are presently sent away to one Donald Governour of the Castle there, in whom the King had the greatest Trust and Confidence. This man having gotten some knowledge of the business from a certain young Wench, whose Mother was under a bad report of being skilful in this Black-Art, found out and discovered the whole matter. The young Harlot is taken, because she had spoken some words rashly anent the Kings sickness, and that within a few dayes his life would be at an end. Some of the Guard being sent, found the Lasses Mother, with some Hagggs, such as her self, roasting before a small moderate fire, the Kings Picture made of Wax. The design of this horrid Act, was that as the Wax by little and little did melt away, so the Kings Body by a continual sweating, might at last totally decay. The Waxen-Image being found and broken, and those old Hagggs be-

ing

ing punished by death, the King did in that same moment recover. Compare this with the first Relation, and you will find them jump and agree exactly.

RELATION XIV.

The Apparition of *Edward Avon*, to his Son in Law *Thomas Goddard*.

THOMAS Goddard of Marleburgh in the County of Wilts, Weaver; on the ninth of November 1674 going to Ogburn, at a Style on the Highway about nine in the morning, met the Apparition of his Father in Law, one Edward Avon of this Town Glover, who dyed in May last, having on to appearance, the same Cloaths, Hat, Stockings, and Shoes he did actually wear when he was living, standing by, and leaning over that Style. Which when he came near, the Apparition spake to him with an audible voice, these words, Are you afraid? To which he answered, I am, thinking on one who is dead and burried whom you are like. To which the Apparition replied with the like voice. I am he you were thinking on, I am Edward Avon your Father in Law, come near to me, I will do you no harm. To which Goddard answered, I trust in him that bought my Soul with his precious blood, you shall do me

meno harm. *Then the Apparition said, How stand Cases at home? Goddard askt what Cases? Then it askt him, how do William and Mary, meaning as he conceived his Son William Avon, a Shoe-Maker here, and Mary his Daughter, the said Goddards wife. Then it said, What? Taylor is dead, meaning as he thought one Taylor of London, who married his Daughter Sarah, which Taylor dyed about Michaelmas last. Then the Apparition held out his hand, and in it as Goddard conceived, 20. or 30. shillings in Silver, and then spake with a loud voice. Take this money and send it to Sarah for I shut up my Bowels of Compassion toward her in my life time, and now here is somewhat for her. And then said Mary (meaning the said Goddard's Wife, as he conceived) is troubled for me, but tell her God hath shewed me Mercy contrary to my deserts. But the said Goddard answered in the name of Jesus I refuse all such money. Then the Apparition said I perceive you are afraid, I will meet with you some other time. And immediately it went up the Lane to his appearance. So he went over the same Style, but saw it no more that day.*

He saith, the next night about 7. of the Clock, it came & opened his Shop windows and stood in

in the like Cloaths, looking him in the face but said nothing to him. And the next Night after, as Goddard went forth into his Back-side with a Candle light in his hand, it appeared to him again in the same shape, but he being in fear, ran into his house, and saw it no more then.

But he saith, that on Thursday the 12. instant as he came from Chilton, riding down the Hill between the Mannor-house and Axfoord-Farm-Field, he saw some what like a hare crosing his way, at which his Horse frightened, threw him into the Dirt, and as soon as he could recover on his Feet, the same Apparition there met him again in the same habit, and there standing about eight foot directly before him in the way, spake again to him with a loud voice: Source (a word he commonly used when living) you have stayed long, and then said to him, Thomas, bid William Avon take the Sword that he had of me, which is now in his House, and carry it to the Wood, as we go to Alton, to the upper end of the Wood, by the way side, for with that Sword I did wrong thirty years ago, and he never prosper'd since he had that sword. And bid William Avon give his sister Sarah

rah twenty shillings of the money which he had of me. And do you talk with *Edward Laurence*, for I borrowed twenty shillings of him several years ago, and did say I had payed him, but I did not pay it him; and I would desire you to pay him twenty shillings out of the Money which you had from *James Elliot*, at two payments. *Which money the said Goddard now saith was five pounds, which James Elliot a Baker here owed the said Avon on Bond, and which he the said Goddard had received from the said Elliot since Michaelmas of two poyments, viz. 35. shillings at one, and 3 pound 5 shillings at another payment. And it further said to him, tell Margaret (meaning his own Wife as he conceived) that I would desire her to deliver up the little money which I gave to little Sarah Taylor the Child, or any one she will trust for it. But if she will not, speak to Edward Laurence to perswade her. But if she will not then, tell that I will see her very suddenly. And see that this be done within a twelve moneth, and a day after my decease, and peace be with you. And so it went away oer the Rails into the Wood there in the like manner, as any man would*

would go over a Style to his apprehension, and so he saw it no more at that time. And he saith, that he paid the twentie shillings to Edward Laurence of this town, who being present, now doth remember, he lent the said Avon twentie shillings about twentie years ago, which none knew but himself and his Wife and Avon and his wife, and was never paid it, again before now by this Goddard.

And this Goddard further says, that this verie day by Mr. Majors order, he with his Brother in Law William Avon went with the Sword, and about Nine a Clock this Morning, they laid down the Sword in the Copse near the place the Apparition had appointed Goddard to carry it: and then coming away thence, Goddard looking back, saw the same Apparition again in the like habit as before. Whereupon he called to his Brother in Law, and said, Here is the Apparition of our Father, who said, I see nothing. Then Goddard fell on his knees, and said, LORD open his eyes that he may see it, if it be thy blessed Will. And the Apparition to Goddards appearance, beckned with his hand to come to it. And then Goddard said, In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what would you have me to do?
Then

Then the Apparition said to him, Thomas take up the sword and follow me. To which he said, should both of us come, or but one of us? To which, it answered, Thomas, do you take up the Sword. And so he took up the sword and followed the Apparition about ten Poles in length further into the Copse, and then turning back, he stood still about a Pole and a half from it, his Brother in Law staying behind at the Place where they first laid down the Sword. Then Goddard laying down the Sword upon the ground saw something stand by the Apparition like a Mastiff-Dog of a Brown Colour. Then the Apparition coming towards Goddard, he stepped back about two steps. And the Apparition said to him, I have a permission to you, and a Commission not to touch you: And then it took up the Sword, and went back to the place, at which before it stood, with a Mastiff-Dog by it as before, and pointed the top of the Sword into the Ground, and said, In this place lies buried the Bodie of him, whom I murdered in the year 1635. Which is now rotten and turned to Dust. Whereupon Goddard said, I do adjure you in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost

Ghost, when did you commit this Murder. *And it said, I took Money from the Man, and he contended with me, and so I murdered him. Then Goddard askt him, who was Confederate with him in the said Murder? And he said, None but my self was accessory thereto. Then Goddard said, What would you have me to do in this thing? And the Apparition said, This is, that the World may know that I murdered a Man, and buried him in this place in the year 1635.*

Then the Apparition laid down the Sword, on the bare ground there, whereon grew nothing but seemed to Goddard to be as a Grave sunk in. And then the Apparition rushing further into the Copse, vanished, and saw it no more. Whereupon Goddard his Brother in Law Avon, leaving the Sword there, and coming away together, Avon told Goddard he heard his voice, and understood what he said, and heard other words distinct from his, but could not understand a word of it, nor saw any Apparition at all. Which he now also present affirmeth, and all which the said Goddard then attested under his hand, and affirmed, he will depone the same, when he shall be thereto required.

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RELATION. XV.

Some observable Passages of GODS Providence to a Godly Minister, in giving him full clearness concerning *Bessie Graham*, suspect of Witch-craft.

SHE was apprehended about the end of August 1649. upon some threatening words, she had spoken in her drunkenness to John Rankins Wife in Kilwinning. Whereupon the poor Woman ten dayes after took Sickness, and shortly died. She was imprisoned in the Steeple, for the space of thirteen weeks, all which time I (the Minister) repared to her, but found her still more and more obdured. In all her discourses she was so subtile, that not only I could get no advantage by her words, but sometimes she made me think, that she was an innocent Woman; so that I was much grieved for her hard usage, if it could have been helped, and had my own secret Wishes, she had never been medled with. Yea, if she could have made an escape, I being innocent of it, I could have been glade: for I feared much, that all we could get proven on her, would not have been

been a sufficient ground, for the Civil Magistrate, to give a warrant, for putting her to an Assize. Or if they had given a warrant I feared the Assize would not condemn her unless I had advised them thereto, wherein I was not clear, so that she should have been set at Libertie, and I blamed for it, by reason of mynot advising the Assize to condemn her. At this nick of time one Alexander Bogs skilled in searching the Mark, came, being often sent for, and finds the Mark upon her ridge-Back, wherein he thrust a great Brass Pin, of which she was not sensible: neither did any blood follow, when the Pin was drawn out. I lookt upon this but as a small evidence, in respect of what I found afterwards: yet this some-what inclined the Judges to send the Process to Edinburgh, though there were small hopes of obtaining a Commission for putting her to an Assize. My fears deceived me, for I was informed that a Commission was granted, though with difficulty. But here my strait was augmented, for the chiefest man in the parish refuseth to meet professing he thought all that was proven on her, were but Clatters. And I was informed, that others of the Judges did say little less. However, I, my self could not but think her guilty: Yet if the Assize had
put

put her to it, I was not so clear to advise them, by Reason, that the things were proven but by one Witness. This put me to many thoughts and Prayers, wherein I did engage my self to GOD, that if he should find out a way for giving me, and the Assize full clearness, either by her own Confession or otherwise, I should remark it as a singular Favour, and special Mercy. This Resolution I did often reiterate, Lord make me mindful of it. After a short time Providence brought to light the unexpected Presumption of her guiltiness, which did convince me more, than any of the rest. Upon Wednesday 28 of November in the evening I went to exhort her to a confession, with Alexander Sympson the Kirk-Officer, and my own servant with me: After labouring with her in vain, we leave her. But when I came to the stair-head, I resolved to halt a little to hear what she would say. Within a very short space, she begins to discourse, as if it had been to some body with her. Her voice was so low, that I could not understand what she said, except one sentence, whereby I perceived, she was speaking of somewhat I had been challenging her of, and she had denied. After she had spoken this, after a little while I hear another voice, speaking and whispering; as it were

were conferring with her, which presently I apprehended to be the Foul-Fiends voice: but being uncertain, if those who were with me had heard it, so as they could give testimony concerning it, & not daring to ask them, least she hearing our whisperings should have spoken no more, I resolved to stand a little longer, she having kept silent a time, upon occasion, as I thought of some little din amongst us, at our hearing of an uncouth voice. She began to speak again, and before she had well ended, the other voices speaketh as it were a long sentence, which though I understood not what it was, yet was so low and ghoulie, that I was certainly perswaded that it was another voice than hers. Besides, her Accent and manner of speaking was as if she had been speaking to some other, and that other voice to my best remembrance, did begin before she had closed, so that two voices were to be heard at once.

By this time fear took hold on Alexander Sympson, being hindmost in the Stair, and thereby he cries out. I did exhort him with a loud voice not to fear; and so we came all of us down the stair, blessing GOD that had given me such a clearness in the business. They both who were with me declared, They had heard the uncouth how voice, both the

the times. *Within a quarter of an hour I go up again, with two or three able men with me, and brought her down to the School, having placed six men to watch, where she remains at the time of my Writing hereof, November 30. obstinate and obdured, and I fear she shall be so to her death.*

Some special Providencies I observed
in all these.

First, That however we know nothing at our first apprehending of her, but only that she was of a bad report, and had some boasting words to John Rankings wife, after which she dyed shortly, yet partly more and more light brake up untill so many Presumptions were proven on her, as the Civil Magistrate did judge it equitable to put her to an Assize. (2) That Alexander Bogs came and found the Mark upon her, at that very nick of time, when there was an inclination to let her go free: which though it did not say much, yet it was a mean to keep her still in Prison. (3) That a Commission was granted upon more slender grounds, than any which had been granted before: and that the Lord kept up the greatest evidence of her guilt, untill the Commission was obtained, and

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the day for the Assize appointed. (4) That the Commission being granted, I was in a great Strait, what to do, no less being presented to me than her Blood-guiltiness, if I should advise to condemn her, and the sparing of an enemy to GOD, if I should not advise. This made the mercy, in giving me so full clearing the more acceptable. (5) That GOD did make all other means misgive which I did use, untill he should clear me by these, wherein more of himself was soon. (6) That before he gave me clearing, I was made to engage my self, to a special Observation of his most remarkable Providences towards me. (7) That I had often thoughts to use these means of trying her, by going to watch in the night, if I could hear the Devil and her conferring together, but was always hindered until this time, having no such resolution, when I was coming out from her, but only a present purpose to stand but a little, not thinking to hear any thing of this kind, and if she had not presently begun to speak, I would have gone away. (8) That I myself was present at the hearing of their conference. If it had been any other, I would neither have been so fully satisfied myself, nor yet others who should hear of it. (9) That not only I, but two with me did hear also, which will make a legal proof. (10) That I

was

was born up with courage all the time acting Faith in GOD, that the Foul Spirit should not have power to do us harm, though he was so near unto us. (11) That I heard as much as did give full clearing, that it was another voice, though I could not get any of the words understood. The Lord thinking it sufficient to loose me out of my strait, though he would not satisfy my Curiosity. (12) Though I could not get the words understood, yet there was as much evidence as made it clearly appear, it was another voice than hers.

As first, that we heard twice. And (2) that three of us did so think. (3) That I was in courage, and so my judgement not jumbled by any fearful apprehensions. (4) That the Accent and way of her discourse, and in what we did understand of it, was not after the manner, how one regrates a thing to himself, but of one conferring with another. (5) That the other Voice was to my certain hearing of a different Accent from hers, so hollow and ghoustonie, that it was as easie to me to put a difference between them in the mean time, as between the Voice of a Man and the Voice of a Child. (6) That to my best Remembrance the Uncouth Voice began before she ended, so that two Voices were to be heard at

once. Lastly, Alexander Sympson, understood their language, and afterward did depone the words judicially.

It is good (1) For folk to hold on in doing of dutie, though they foresee insuperable difficulties before they come to the end of it. Let a man go on till he come to the difficulty, and ere he come that far on, GOD will remove it. (2) Its good in asking Mercies to engage the heart to some duties of thankfulness, upon the granting of them. (3) How zealous is the Devil to get Souls damned. That though he be of an excellent substance, of great natural Parts, long Experience, and deep understanding, yet he will so far enslave himself to poor Miscreant Bodies, as to be ready at their call, to discourse and keep Company with them, that at the last he may get them. (4) How serviceable and trustie so ever the Devil seems to be unto Witches, yet he cares not to insnare them at the last: for he could not but know, that we were waiting on to hear him and her: so that on purpose he hath entered in discourse with her, that she might be taken in the Grin.

I come to some other remarkable passages concerning Elizabeth Graham before her death, giving evidence that she was most guilty of Witchcraft, though she died obstinate, and would not
con-

confess. Upon Saturday night, November 13. she seemed to incline to a Confession, and promised to William Wat to tell me to morrow after sermon all that was in her heart. At which time, I had none with me, but William Wat. When I spake to her, She regrated her mispent time, but especially her malice towards myself; which she affirmed the Devil tempted her to. All which time she spake with a very low voice, that although I desired her to speak out, we could scarcely hear her. Whereupon, I enquired the Reason, why she was not able to speak louder? She replied, that when she set her self to speak any thing that was for her Souls good, she dought not get spoken. These were her words. But if she would scold and flyte, as she used to do, the Devil would give her strength enough to speak as loud as ever she did. Within a little I posed her, if she was guilty of Witch-Craft? She stareth with her eyes by me, first to the one side, and then to the other: at which time, I think certainly she saw the Devil. For immediately after, she began to rail upon me, although she had confessed her malice at me, was partly the cause of her greatest grief, and still as she went on in railing, her voice became stronger and strong-

er, till at last, she spake as loud as ever she did.

Upon Munday before noon, she was most bitter in her Language. I posed her, what grounds of confidence she had, if it would be well with her Soul? She answered, she had no grounds yet; for she had lived a wicked woman, and had not yet repented; but she hoped, she would get Heaven, and get repentance, and a change wrought in her: and though she was to live but a short while, she was sure of it, and that I would soon see it. I thought in the mean time she had spoken that in her rage. But after, I perceived the Devil and she had an further design in it, as appears by what follows. That same day afternoon they came, and told me, that she had fallen to pray, and had many gracious words, expressing her own vileness, and the sense she had of GODS Mercy, and with tears, in which strain she continued till after supper. I came then to see her, at which time she was continuing still as before in aggreging her sin, and guilt, and shewing her hopes of Salvation, and her desire to die, and all alongs she had such pithy expressions, and Scripture so often, and plentifully cited, that I was put to wonder; considering that I had ever found her

her altogether ignorant of the grounds of Religion, both before and after she was put into Prison.

After I had wondered at it a while, without speaking to her, considering what she had foretold so confidently before noon, I concluded in my own mind, that it was a draught between the Devil and her, to fenzie Repentance in such an odd way, that we might be deceived; being made to think, that she was not a Witch, else she would confess it, seeing GOD had given her Repentance.

Whereupon I seriously considering the matter, I posed her of guiltinesse, she confessed all the particulars of the Processe, which did not certainly conclude her to be a Witch, but for the rest of the particulars, she denied, as also the Crime of Witch-craft it self. However, she said, she knew she would die, and desired not to live; and she thought we would be free before GOD of her blood, because, that however she was free, yet there were so many things deposed against her, that though it was hard for us to think otherwise of her than we did, yet she knew well enough her own innocency.

Thus I have written all these particulars, as I found them in the Authentick Record written by the Ministers own hand. She was soon after executed, and died without any acknowledgement of Witchcraft.

RELATION XVI.

Anent the Apparition of Sir George Williers.

Some few days before the Duke of Buckingham went to Portsmouth where he was Stabbed by Felton, the Ghost of his Father Sir George Williers appeared to one Parker, a religious and sober man, who had been a servant to the said sir George, but now servant to the Duke his Son, he appeared to him (I say) in his Morning-Chamber-Gown, and charged him to tell his Son that he should decline that Employment and Design, he was going upon, or els he would certainly be murdered. Parker promised to the Apparition to do it. The Duke making preparations for his Expedition, the Apparition came again to Parker, taxing him very severely for his breach of Promise, and required him not to delay the acquainting his Son of the danger he was in.

Then

Then Parker the next day tells the Duke that his Fathers Ghost had twice appeared to him, and had commanded him, without any further delay, to give him that warning. The Duke slighted it, and told him, he was an old Doting Fool. That night the Apparition came to Parker a third time, saying, Parker thou hast done well in warning my Son of his danger, but though he will not yet believe thee, Go to him once more however, and tell from me by such a Token (naming a private token) which no body knows but only He and I, that if he will not decline this Voyage; such a Knife as this is (pulling a long Knife out from under his Gown) will be his Death. This Message Parker also delivered the next day to the Duke, who when he heard the private Token, believed he had it from his Fathers Ghost. Yet said he, that his honour was now at the Stake, and he could not go back from what he had undertaken, come Life come Death. This passage, Parker after the Dukes Murder communicated to his fellow Servant Henry Celey, who told it to a Reverend Divine a Neighbour of mine (saith my Author) from whose Mouth I have it. This Henry Celey has not been dead above,

twenty years, and his habitation for several years before his death was at North-Currie, but three miles from this place. My friend the Divins aforesaid was an intimate Acquaintance of this Henry Celey's, and assures me he was a Person of known Truth and Integrity.

RELATION XVII.

Anent Hattaraik an Old Warlock.

T*His mans name was Sandie Hunter, who called himse'f Sandie Hamilton, and it seems was called Hattaraik by the Devil, and so by others, as a Nick-name. He was first a Neat-herd in East-Lothian to a Gentle-man there. He was much given to Charming and cursing of Men and Beasts by Words and Spels. His Charms sometimes succeeded, sometimes not. On a day herding his kine upon a Hill side in the Summer time, the Devil came to him in form of a Mediciner and said Sande, you have too long followed my trade, and never acknowledged me for your Master. You must now, take on with me, and be my servant*
and

and I will make you more perfect in your Calling. Whereupon the man gave up himself to the Devil, and received his Mark, with this new name. After this, he grew very famous thro' the Countrey, for his Charming and cursing of diseases in Men and Beasts, and turned a vagrant fellow, like a Jockie, gaining, Meal, Flesh, and Money by his Charms, such was the ignorance of many at that time. Whatever House he came to, none durst refuse Hattaraik an alms, rather for his ill, than his good. One day he came to the Yait of Samuelstoun, when some Friends after Dinner were going to Horse. A young Gentleman brother to the Ladyseeinghim, switcht him about the ears, saying, You Warlok Cairle, what have you to do here? Whereupon the Fellow goes away grumbling, and was overheard say, you shall dear buy this ere it be long. This was Damnum Minatum. The young Gentle-man conveyed his Friends a far way off and come home that way again, where he supt. After supper taking his horse, and crossing Tine-Water to go home; he rides thro' a shadowy piece of a Haugh, commonly called the Allers, and the evening being some-what dark, he met with some Persons there that
 began

begat a dreadful consternation in him, which for the most part, he would never reveal. This was malum secutum. When he came home, the Servants observed terror and fear in his Countenance. The next day he became distracted and was bound for several days. His Sister the Lady Samuelstown hearing of it, was heard say, surely that knave Hattaraik, is the cause of his Trouble. Call for him in all haste. When he had come to her, Sandie, says she, what is this you have done to my Brother William? I told him, says he, I should make him repent his striking of me at the yait lately. She giving the Rogue fair words, and promising him his Pock full of Meal, with Beaf, and Cheese, perswaded the Fellow to cure him again. He undertook the business, but I must first (says he,) have one of his Sarkes, which was soon gotten. What Pranks he plaid with it cannot be known. But within a short while the Gentleman recovered his Health. When Hattaraik came to receive his wadges, he told the Lady, your Brother William shal quickly go off the Countrey but shall never return.. She knowing the Fellows Prophezies to hold true, caused her Brother make a Disposition to her of all his Patrimony,
to

to the defrauding of his younger brother George. After that this Warlock had abused the Countrey for a long time, he was at last apprehended at Dunbar, and brought into Edinburgh, and burnt upon the Castle-hill.

I have insert this story, which I had from the Gentlemans own Brother, a thing well known at that time thorow the Countrey, not so much for any great matters in it, as that it may be an occasion to me to speake a little of Charms. The word Charm, or Incantation comes from the Latine word Carmen, signifying a verse, because the Roman-Southsayers gave their Charms in Verse. It is only a strange composure of words to blind the Understanding of People, pretending that by vertue of Words great matters may be brought to pass. But words of themselves, either spoken or written, (as these charms) have no force to bring any thing to pass. It is only the power of Almighty God. Charming is much practised by the Pope, and the Romish-Church. Their whole form of Religion both in private and in publick consisting of Charms of all sorts. Pope Leo had a Charm, which he said he had from an Angel, who taught him, that whosoever carried that Charm in writ about him, and said every day three Pater

Pater Nosters, three Aves, and one Creed, shall not that day be conquered of his enemies, nor be in other danger ghostly or bodily, but shall be protected by these holy names of Jesus Christ written, with the four Evangelists, and Crosses between them, as † Jesus † Christus † Messias † Soter † Emanuel, &c. It is still a common practice among the Papists to carry Charms about them, to make them Shot-Free when they go to War, as also hath been found by experience in the late Irish Wars, many of the Idolatrous Irish being found with Charms in their Pockets, composed by the Popish Clergy. They make their Holy Water by a Charm or Conjunction thus. I conjure thee, thou Creature of Water; in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, that thou drive the Devil out of every Corner of this Church and Altar; so that he remain not within our Precincts, which are Just and Holy. This is used in the Dedication of their Churches. Thus by Holy Water, they not only conjure the Devil from their Churches, but from dwelling Houses, from Meat and Drink, from Salt upon the Table. They dedicate their Bells in Steeples, which have power to clear the Air from Devils. It is likewise a sort of
CHARM

Charm, which many Witches have prescribed namely to cut the Rouan-Tree between the two Beltan days. If any Man or Woman, Horse, or Cow shall have a piece thereof upon them, no Devils or Fairy shall have power, to medle with them. An old Woman whom I read of, used this Charm, when she went to Bed.

Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
The Bed be blest that I ly on.

Another Old Woman taught her Neighbour this Charm, when the Butter would not Churn.

Come Butter come,
Come Butter come,
Peter stands at the Gate,
Waiting for a Butter'd Cake,
Come Butter come.

RE-

RELATION. XVIII.

The Appearing of the Ghost of
Mistress Bretton.

Doctor Bretton late Rector of Ludgate, at Deptford, lived formerly in Herefordshire, and married the Daughter of Doctor Santer. This Gentlewoman was a person of extraordinary Piety, which she expressed as in her life so at her death. She had a Maid, that she had a great kindness for; who was married to a near Neighbour, whose name as I remember, was Alice. Not long after her death, as Alice was rocking her Child in the evening, she was called from the Cradle by one knocking at the Door, which being opened, she was surprised at the sight of a Gentlewoman, not to be distinguished from her late Mistress, neither in Person, nor Habit. She was in a morning Gown, the same in appearance with that she had often seen her Mistress wore. At first sight she expressed very great amazement, and said, were not my Mistress dead, I should not question but you are she. She replied, I am the same that was your Mistress, & took her by the hand which Alice affirmed was cold as a Stone.

She

She added, that she had business of great importance to imploy her in, and that she must go immediately a little way with her. Alice trembled and beseeched her to excuse her, and entreated her very importunately to go to her Master, who must needs be more fit to be employed. She answered, that he who was her Husband, was not at all concerned, but yet she had a desire rather to make use of him, and in order thereunto had several times been in his Chamber, but he was still asleep, nor had she power to do more than once uncover his feet towards the awakening of him. And the Doctor said, that he did hear a walking in his Chamber in the Night, which till now he could give no account of. Alice next objected, that her husband was gone a Journey, and she had no one to look to her Child, that it was very apt to cry vehemently, and she feared if it awakened before her return, it would cry it self to death, or do it self mischief. The Apparition replied, the Child shall sleep till your return.

Alice seeing there was no avoiding it, sorely against her will followed her over a Style into a large Field, who then said to her, observe

K how

how much of this Field I measure with my Feet. *And when she had taken a good large and leisurely compass, she said, all this belongs to the Poor, it being gotten from them by wrongful means, and charged her to go, and tell her Brother, whose it was at that time, that he should give it up to the Poor again forthwith, as he loved her, and his deceased Mother. This Brother was not the Person, who did this unjust act, but his Father. She added, that She was the more concerned, because her name was made use of at some Writing, that related to this Land.*

Alice *askt her* how she should satisfy her Brother, that this was no Cheat or Delusion of her Fancy. *She replied,* tell him this secret which he knows, that only himself and I are privy to, and he will believe you. *Alice having promised to her to go on in this Errand, she proceeded to give her good advice, and entertained her all the rest of the Night, with most heavenly and divine discourse. When the Twilight appeared they heard the Noise of Horse-Bells. Whereupon the Apparition said, Alice, I must be seen by none but your self, and so she disappeared.*

Immediately Alice in all haste runs home,
being

being thoughtfull for her Child, but found it as the Apparition had said, asleep as she left it. When she had dressed it and committed it to the care of a Neighbour, away she went to her Master the Doctor, who amazed at the account she gave him, sent her to his Brother in Law. He at first hearing Alice's Story and Message, laughed at it heartily. But she had no sooner told him the secret, but he changed his Countenance, and told her, he would give the Poor their own, and accordingly he did it, and they now enjoy it.

This with more circumstances many times has been related by Doctor Bretton himself, who was well known to be a Person of great goodness and sincerity. He gave a large Narrative of this Apparition of his Wife to two of my Friends, saith my Author. First to one Mistris Needham, and afterwards a little before his death to Doctor Whichcöt.

RELATION XIX.

Touching an *Apothecaries* Servant that returned to the Shop, after he had been dead.

T*His is a known passage, which happened in the year 1659, at Crossen in Silesia. This is a part of Germany, which long since was under the Polonians, but is now subject to the Crown of Bohemia. The chief Magistrate of that town at that time was the Princes Elizabeth Charlotta, a person famous in her generation. In the Spring of the aforesaid year, one Christopher Monig, a Native of Serbest, a town belonging to the Princes of Anhalt, servant to an Apothecary, died and was buried with the usual Ceremonies of the Lutheran Church. A few dayes after his decease, a shape exactly like him in face, cloathes, stature, meen, &c. appeared in the Apothecaries shop, where he would set himself down, and walk sometimes, and take Boxes, Pots, Glasses from the Shelces, and set them again in their places, and sometimes try and examine the goodness of the Medicines, weigh them*

them in a pair of Scales, pound the Drugs with a mighty noise in the Mortar. Nay serve the People, that came with their Bills to the Shop, take their Money, and lay it up safe in the Counter. In a word, do all things that a Journey-man in such cases uses to do. He looked very ghastly upon these that had been his Fellow-servants, who were afraid to say any thing to him. And his Master being sick at the time of the Gout, he was often very troublesome to him, would take the Bills that were brought him, out of his hand, snatch away the Candle sometimes, and put it behind the Stove. At last, he took a cloak that hung in the Shop, put it on, and walked abroad, but minding no body in the Streets, entered into some of the Citizens houses, and thrust himself into their company, especially of such as he had formerly known, yet saluted no Body, nor spoke to any one, but to a Maid servant, whom he met with hard by the Church yeard, and desired her to go home to his Masters house, and dig in a ground chamber, where she would find an inestimable treasure. But the Maid amazed at the sight of him, sounded, whereupon he lift her up, but left such a mark upon her flesh, with lifting her, that it was to be seen for some time after. The Maid having recovered her

self, went home, but fell desperately sick upon it, and in her sickness discovered what Monig had said to her: and accordingly they digged in the place, she had named, but found nothing but an old decayed Pot with an Hematites, or Bloodstone in it. The Princes hereupon caused the young mans Body to be digged up, which they found putrified with purulent Matter flowing from it: and the Master being advised to remove the young Mans Goods, Linnens, Cloathes, and things, he left behind him, when he died out of the house, the Spirit thereupon left the House, and was seen no more. And this some People now living will give their Oath upon, who very well remember they saw him after his decease, and the thing being so notorious, there was instituted a Publick Disputation about it in the Academy of Leipsig, by one Henry Conradus, who disputed for his Doctors degree in the University. And this puts me in mind of an Apothecary at Reichenbach in Silesia, about fifteen years ago, who after his death appeared to diverse of his acquaintance and cryed out, that in his life time he had poisoned several men with his Drugs. Whereupon the Magistrates of the town took up his Body and burnt it; which being done, the Spirit disappeared, and was seen no more.

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RELATION. XX.

A Wonderful Story of one *Robert Churchman*, inveigled in *Quakerism*, and possessed by a *Spirit* and how he was recovered: written by way of Letter by *Doctor John Templar*.

SIR, Your desiring to be acquainted with some Passages concerning the Quakers in this Town of *Balsham*, obligeth me to give you the following account. At my first settlement here in the Ministry, I found them very busie in enticeing my People to a complyance with their persuasions in Religion. This desinge they did attempt to accomplish by dispersing their Papers among them. Two of my Parishioners I had a particular eye upon, namely, *Robert Churchman*, and his Wife, they being persons of a very good life, and a pleasant estate. I was under a fear, that their departure from the Church, might be a means to induce others to the same practiss. The first, in my discourses I had with him, did manifest a very strong inclination to the Principles of the Quakers. The second was so far engaged, (meaning the said *Roberts wife*) that the Quakers did commonly

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report

report, that a Principle was begun in her.

As I was one day in conference with the said Robert Churchman, I desired him, that when any of their Books came to his hand, he would do me the kindness to bring them to me, that we might read them over together, assuring him of no unwillingness in me to hearken to what soever should appear reasonable. What I desired he performed not long after. When I had received the paper into my hand, before I began to read, I suggested to him, that it would be convenient, that the Person who had been the cause of his seduction should be sent for, and hear what was replied to the Contents, which he willingly consented to. When the Quaker was come, one branch of our discourse was, Whether the Scripture is to be owned as a Rule, which the Quaker denied, asserting that the Rule was with in them. After the expence of two or three hours discourse about this and other matters, I desired Robert Churchman to take notice, that the Quakers did not own the Scriptures for their Rule. Which before this conference I had intimated to him, but found him unwilling to believe it.

It pleased GOD so far to bless what was spoken that the next time he met his Brother Thomas Churchman, he told him of what had

had passed at my house, and that now he was assured that the Quakers did not acknowledge the Scripture for their Rule; and for his Part he would not be of that Religion, which doth disown the Scripture in that Particular.

Not long after, the wife of the forementioned Quaker coming to his house to visite his Wife, he met her at the Door and told her she should not come in, intimating that her visit would make division betwixt them. After some Parley the Quakers Wife spake unto him in these Words, Thou will not believe except thou see a sign, and thou mayest see some such. Within a few nights after, Robert Churchman had a violent storm upon the Room where he lay, when it was very calm in all other parts of the town, and a voice within him, as he was in Bed, spake to him, and bid him Sing Praises, sing Praises telling him, that he should see the New Jerusalem, about which time a Glimmering light appeared all about the Room. Toward the morning, the Voice commanded him to go out of his Bed naked, with his Wife, and Children. They all standing upon the Floor, the Spirit making use of his tongue bid them to
ly

lye down, and put their mouths in the dust which they did accordingly. It like-wise commanded them to go, and call his Brother, and Sister, that they might see the New Jerusalem, to whom he went naked about half a Mile. When he had delivered his Message, that which spake within him charged him to denounce wrath against them, and declare that Fire and Brimstone would fall upon them as it did upon Sodom and Gomorrah, if they did not obey, and so he returned to his own house. Where, upon the Floor of a low Room, he stood naked about three or four hours. All that while, he was acted in a very unusual manner. Sometimes the Spirit within forced him to Sing, sometimes to Bark like a Dog. When his Brother and Sister who followed him, were very importunate with him to resist it, it bid him to kill them, making use of these words, These my enemies which would not, that I should reign over them, bring and slay them before my face. It made him to utter with great readiness many places of Scripture, which he had no knowledge of before. The drift of what was spoken was to persuade him to comply with the Quakers, and it named some, who live in the Neighbouring towns. About
three

three or four hours being thus spent, he came to himself, and was able to give a perfect account of what had befallen him.

Several Nights after, the same trouble returned upon him. His Wife was tortured with extraordinary pains. The Children which lay in the Room complained that their Mouths were stopped with Wool, as they were in Bed. The disturbance was so great, that he had thoughts of leaving his house for a time, and made it his desire, to be with me at mine. I prevailed with him, not to be so sudden in his removal but to make some further trial. It pleased GOD upon a continuance with him in Prayer every day in the house, that he was at last perfectly free from all molestation. The Quakers hearing of his condition, gave it out, that the power of God would come upon him again, and that the wound was but skinned over by the Priest, which made me the more importunate with him to keep close to the publick service of GOD, and have nothing to do with them, or their writings.

Which direction he observed till Novem. 1661 and perusing one of their books, a little after, on the 10 of that Moneth his troubles returned. A voice within him, began to speak after the former manner. The first sentence it uttered was,

Cease

Cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils, for wherein is he to be accounted? *The design which he discerned, that it did aim at was this, to take him off from coming to the Church, (where he had been that day) and from hearing the Word of GOD. It suggested several other Scriptures, in order to the persuading him to a compliance with the Quakers, and told him, That it would strive with him, as the Angel did with Jacob. Upon Wednesday at night, he was peremptory in his resisting of it. When it began to sollicite him, he replied, That he saw it was a Spirit of delusion, which he would not obey. Upon which the Spirit denounced a curse against him, in these words, Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, and so left him with a very great heat in his body.*

After this, he was in his own apprehension in a very comfortable condition, and while he was considering what had happened, a Voice within him spake to him saying, That the Spirit which was before upon him, was a Spirit of Delusion, but now the true Spirit of GOD was come unto him. Now Satan is turned into an Angel of Light. It acquainted him that the Doctrine of the Trinity was true, and that God had an
Elect

Elect People, and that those whom the Father had Elected, the Son had Redeemed, and whom Christ Redeemeth, the Holy Ghost Sanctifieth. *And told him, That the Minister of the Town would further instruct him about the truth of these things. Upon Thursday morning about break of day, it set him upon his knees, as he was in bed, and bid him Farewell. The same day it came upon him in the Fields, as he was going to, and coming from the Mercat, and pressed upon him to believe that it was the Good Spirit which he was Acted with, which he still doubted of. One night that week amongst many Arguments, which it used to that purpose, it told him, if he would not believe without a sign, he might have what sign he would. Upon that Robert Churchman desired, if it was a Good Spirit, that a Weir-Candlestick which stood upon the Cup-board might be turned into Brass, which the Spirit said, he would do. Presently there was a very unsavoury smell in the Room, like that of the snuff of a Candle newly put out ; but nothing else was done towards the fulfilling of the promise.*

*Upon the Lords-day following, he being
at*

at Church it came upon him. When the Chapters were named, he turned to them in his Bible, but was not able to read. When the Psalm was sung, he could not pronounce a syllable. Upon Munday morning his speech was wholly taken from him. When I came to him, and asked him, how it was with him? He moved his head towards me, but was not able to speak. I waited an hour or two in the Room, hoping that his speech might have returned unto him, and that I might have gained from him some account of his condition. But finding no alteration, I desired those who were present to joyn with me in Prayer. As we were praying, his Body with much Violence was thrown out of the bed, and then with great vehemency he called to me, to hold my tongue. When Prayer was done, his tongue was bound as before, till at last he brake forth into these words, Thine is the kingdom, thine is the kingdom, which he repeated above an hundred times. Sometimes he was forced into extream Laughter, sometimes into Singing. His hands were usually employed in beating of his breast. All of us, (there present) who stood by could discern unusual heavings in his Body. This distemper did continue towards the morning of the next day, and then the Voice within him

him *signifying to him*, that it would leave him, bidding him to get upon his knees in order to that end which he did, *and then presently he had a perfect command of himself.*

When I came to him, he gave me a sober account of all the passages of the Day before, having a distinct remembrance of what the Spirit forced him to do, and what was spoken to him by those who stood by. In particular he told me, he was compelled to give me that disturbance in prayer which before I mentioned, the Spirit using his Limbs and Tongue as it pleased, contrary to the Inclination of his own thought and mind.

Upon the *Thursday* following the Spirit began to rage after its former manner, as I was praying with him, it was very discernable how it wrought upon his Bodie, forced him to grate his Teeth, and draw his Mouth awry. He told me, after I had done that it bid him to denounce woe against me. It pleased GOD *pon continuance in Prayer with him, to release him of all his trouble, and so*
far

far make it advantageous to him and his Wife, and some others, which were too much byassed with the Principles of the Quakers, that now they have a perfect dislike of that way, and do diligently attend upon the publick service of GOD in the Parochial Church.

Sir, you may be confident of the Truth of what is here related by your assured Friend John Templar, Basham. Jan. 1. 1682.

RELATION XXI.

Touching Isabel Heriot.

THis Woman was born at Peaston in the Parish of Ormiston, and was for several years a very useful Servant to the Minister there, for all manner of Out-House-Work. She was of a low stature, small and slender of Body, of a Black Complexion. Her head stood somewhat awry upon her neck. She was of a drolling and jeering humour, and would have spoken to Persons of Honor with great confidence.

After several years service, the Minister began to dislike her, especially upon the account of her not profiting in the knowledge of GOD, she having so much opportunity and occasion to know and learn. Therefore she was put away,
and

and went to other service, for a long time. After which, she returned to Ormistoun town, and was sometimes haunting the Ministers house, but without his knowledge. She took sickness about the beginning of Winter 1680. and about the time of her death, her face became extremely black. Within three or four nights after she was buried, one Isabel Murray Relick of William Craig the Kirk-Officer, saw her Apparition about twelve a clock at night, in her White Robes upon her, such as she was put into her Coffin with, walking from the Chappel towards the Ministers Louping-on-Stone, where (according to her customs when she was alive) she halted a little while with her Elbow leaning upon it. After this, she observed her to walk in at the Ministers back-yait, toward the Stable. We have onely the bare testimony of this one Woman for it. Within some few nights after, there was a throwing of stones over the Ministers house, and some thrown at the Hall-door and Windows. The stones were found in the Oloss the next morning. When they lighted, they fell softly for the most part. The Minister coming in one night, (against whom the Devils malice chiefly was) at the back-door, and shutting it after him, had a great stone cast after him,

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which

which hit the door very smartly, and left a mark and impression behind it. This she did, (or rather the Devil) in imitation of a prank she had plaid, while she was alive. For the Minister having caused the other Servants thrust her out at the same door, she threw a great stone at it with Violence, out of wrath and anger. The foresaid Isabel Murray coming out of the Ministers house one night, or going into it, was hit very sharply with a stone upon her back. The Servant-man that kepted the Horses, after he had been at his Devotion, and was going into his bed in the Stable, was by somewhat gripped by the heel, to his great amazement. He giving a great and loud cry, the Mistris of the Family and others came into the Stable, and found the Lad under a great afrightment. This night several clods and stones were thrown, but no person touched. One thing remarkable was, that an old Horse-comb which had been a wanting for several years, was thrown at the Lads Bed stead with great violence; yet wronged no Body. The Horses would have been found the next Morning standing and lying disorderly, and sometimes all in a great sweat.

While this Servant-man had been dressing
the

the Garden he hath found several Stones thrown at him, but was never touched, save by one, which hit him very favourably. The house was sometimes troubled within with some small Noise and Din.

One time there was a burning Coal thrown under one of the Beds. One of the Family upon a night, had his Night-Cap taken off his Head in the Bed, and found the next morning full of Sinders and Ashes, lying under the Chimney. If the Devil could have done more, surely he would have done it. This is the most part of the trouble, which the Family met with, which continued for eight or nine Weeks, not every night, but now and then. During which time frequent and fervent Prayers were sent upto God, by those of the Family, and others out of it, which wanted not success. There was much talking of this Ghost, and things spoken rashly, and some out of malice did invent lies and untruths. One jeeringly said, now let the Minister, and his brethren with all their Prayers, drive away the Devil. 'Tis very remarkable, that after that time there was no more trouble found about the Family.

For what follows, we have only the simple

L 2 word

word of the foresaid Isabel Murray, who coming home from the Church between Sermons to the Town of Ormistoun, to visit her house, and Kail-yard, for fear vagrant Cows had come over the Dyke; and going down her yeard, she saw in the Ministers yeard, being next adjacent, the Apparition of Isabel Heriot, in that same very habit she was laid into her Coffin with. Never was one Egg liker to another than this Apparition was like to her, as to her Face, her Stature, her Motion, her Tongue, and Behaviour. As like was the Devil to her, as Apollo was to old Butes, whom Virgil excellently describes in the 9. Book of his Æneiods, bringing him down from Heaven, to wait upon Ascanius.

*Ascaniumque petit, forma tum vertitur oris
Antiquum in Buten.—— Ibat Apollo
Omnia longævo similia, vocemque colo-
remque
Et crines albos, & sæva sonantibus arma.*

*Apollo went, and from the Heaven descends,
And in old Butes forme, to Ascanius bends.
In all points like the old man still he went,
Whom then to wait on's Son Æneas sent.*

Such

*Such his White-hair, Complexion, and his
Voice,
And dreadful Arms, rattling with mighty
noise.*

Her face (said the woman) was black like themoutensoot, (one of her own expressions) the very colour which her face had when she died. She saw her walking under the Fruit-trees, and over the Beds, where the Seeds had been sown, bowing her body downward, as if she had been seeking somewhat off the ground, and saying to her self, A stane, a stane, for so she pronounced the words. For she had gathered a considerable number of small stones in her lap, which the woman saw her throw down at a Bush-root, near to the foot of the yeard. Some may apprehend that these were the stones, which she frequently cast in the night time. This woman seeing her, says with very great confidence, Wow! Whats thou doing here, Isabel Heriot? I charge thee by the Law thou lives on, to tell me? See the like expression, page 24. She replies, or rather the Foul-Fiend in her likeness; I am even come again, because I wronged my Master, while I was his servant. For it was I that steeled his Shekel,

(*This was a Jewish Shekel of Gold, which with some other things, had been stollen from him several years before*) which I hid under the Hearth-stone in the Kitching and then when I flited took it into the *Canongate*, and did offer to sell it to a *French Woman* who lodged where I served, who askt where I got it. I told her, I found it between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*. One night (*says she*) I was riding home late from the Town, and near the head of *Fauside Brae*, the Horse stumbled, and I said, the Devil raise thee, whereupon the Foul Thief appeared presently to me and threatned me, If I would not grant to destroy my Master the Minister, he would throw me into a deep hole there, *which (I suppose) is yet remaining*, or if I could not get power over my Master, I should strive to destroy the School-Master. *It was very remarkable, that one of the Ministers servant-women, had given to the School-Masters servant-woman some Linnings to make clean among which there was a Cross-Cloath of strong Linning, which could never be found, though diligent search was made for it, till one morning the Master awaking, found it bound round about his Night Cap*

Cap, which bred admiration both to himself and his Wife. No more skaith was the Devil or the Witches able to do him. What way this was done, or for what end, it cannot be well known, but it is somewhat probable, that they designed to strangle and destroy him in the night time, which is their usual time in working and doing of mischief. This happened about the time (I suppose) that the Devil had charged Isabel Heriot to destroy this honest man. Yet within two days a young Child of his, of a year old fell sick, which was quickly pulled away by Death, none knowing the cause or Nature of the Disease.

But I proceed. She confest likewise, how the Devil met with her, a second time at Elfiston mill, within a quarter of a mile of Ormiston, and told what the Devil did to her.

And (says she) I was coming home one night from Hadington Mercat with Horse-Corn, and met with the Devil at Knock-hills, who bad me destroy Thomas Anderson, who was riding with me. And because I refused, he threw the horse corn off the horse. This Thomas Anderson was a Christian man. It is well remembred yet, that she went the next morning timously, and brought home her Oats, which had layen

L 4 there

there all the night. And moreover says she, I cheated my Master when I went to the Mercat to buy Oats, for I made him believe, I gave more money for the Boll, than I did. And do not you remember, Isabel Murray, that one night, you coming out of the Ministers house, got a sore knock upon the back with a stone? It was I, but it was not for your own sake, but for your Good-mans sake Willy Craig, who threw me one day into the Jaw-hole, and abused me. She told this Woman likewise, that she would fain have spoken a word with her Master. After this conference, the Woman began to be feared; and came running home in haste.

During all this time, there was no person in the Family, that met with any hurt, or skaith, or saw anything, such was the Lords kindness to them all. One Isabel Elliot a Witch, confest to the Minister, that many nights his house and yeard would have been beset with Witches. The same woman askt the Devil one time, why they could not get a mends of him? He told her, he was locked up.

This Woman Isabel Heriot, was never reputed a Witch, nor delated by anie, for Witch-craft. Some jeeringly would have called

called her so. She was indeed ignorant of Religion, notwithstanding of the excellent opportunities she had for gaining of knowledge. Next her riding and travelling from far places in the country, in the night, as well as in the day time and coming home late without fear, and her stunkard and ill Nature bred suspicion. If she had confess a Compact with the Devil, before her death, it might have been a good ground. But this trouble happening to the Family immediately after her death, and her Apparition being seen, gave all occasion to say she was a Witch. But these things, do not infallibly conclude. But what could her Apparition be? It behoved, either to be her reall Body informed and acted by the Devil (for her soul could not be brought back) or only the Devil taking upon him her shape and form, acting and imitating her to the life, which is more probable.

I have adventured to publish this without his knowledge, presuming so much upon his Goodness, and love of Truth, and useful instruction of the World, though I should displease his own humour, whilst haply I may, upon his better consideration, gratify some more noble principle in him. For I know nothing in the thing, that can turn to his dishonour,
For

For the best of Men, and Families have suffered from the Devil in extraordinary ways, and it has been their Glory, that by their Faith and Courage, and confidence in the Arm of GOD they have overcome him. If I have erred in some circumstances, or in any other thing, I am to be excused, since I was not an eye witness. And what I have written, anent the Apparition, was most part from the womans own mouth.

RELATION. XXII.

Anent a Magician at Antwerpe.

Mr. Tindal, the first Translator of the Scripture into English, after the Reformation, being at Antwerpe whilst the Persecution was hot in England against the Truth, he was showed by some English Merchants there, of a notable Magician in the place, whose use was at Feasts, or when they used to meet at Supper, to bring to the Table, whatever Wines, or delicious Fruit, the Company would desire, and set presently before them, with other amazing proofs of the power of the Devil. Mr. Tindal perceiving what a snare this might be to some, desired that when they met together with him, he might be present, without

without being known what he was. And after they were met, and at Table, this wretched Magician after his manner, began to try his Black Art, but it would not do with him. For whilst he had wearied himself, in observing his Spells, Charms, and Incantations, and what the furthest that Hellish skill and power could do, to satisfie the Company, he was at last enforced to that Confession before them all, which he spake with great wrath and anger, That their was one in the Company that hindred his work, by Reason of whom he could get nothing done at that time.

I may add to this a strange Providence of GOD. Master John Craig, that was a Minister to King James here in Scotland, being, when he was a Young Man, apprehended at Room, for venting Heresie as they called it, was shut up in prison. In the mean time, Paul the fourth dies. The Banditi that night broke up all the Prison doors, and set at Liberty all the Prisoners. Mr. John Craig escapes, with an intention to go to Bononia. But fearing hurt there, he set his mind towards Millain. When he had travell'd
some

some days, declining the High-ways out of Fear, he came into a Forrest, a wild and desert place, and being sore wearied, lay down among some Bushes, at the side of a little river, to refresh himself. He lay their pensive, and full of thought. For neither knew he in what place he was, nor had he any means to carry him out the way. In the mean time, there came a Dog fawning upon him, with a purse in his teeth, with Money, and layes it down before him. He stricken with fear, rises up, but construing the same to proceed from GODS favourable Providence, he accepted of it, and held on his way, till he came to Vienna in Austria.

RELATION XXIII.

Anent a great Doctor of Divinity, that raise out of the Bier, and spoke to all that were present.

I*T is written in the life of one Bruno, that a Doctor of great note for Learning and Godliness being dead, and being brought to the Church to be buried, while they were in their Popish Devotions, and came to these words, Responde mihi, the Corps arose in the Bier, and*

and with a terrible voice cried out, Justo DEI judicio accusatus sum, I am accused at the just Judgement of GOD. At which voice, the people ran all out afrighted. On the morrow when they came again to perform the Obsequies, to the like words as before, the Corps rose again, and cried with a hideous voice, Justo DEI judicio condemnatus sum; I am Judged at the Righteous Judgement of GOD. Whereupon the People run away amazed. The third day almost all the City came together, and when they came to the same words as before, the Corps rose again, and cried with a more doleful noise than before, Justo DEI judicio condemnatus sum, I am condemned at the just Judgement of GOD. The consideration whereof, that a man reputed so upright, should yet by his own confession be damned, caused Bruno, and the rest of his Companions, to enter into that strick order of Carthusians. The Author and Relator makes this use of it. If the voice of the dead man could afright them into Superstition, should not the warning of GOD afright us into True Doctrine ?

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RELATION XXIV.

Touching some Drunkards destroyed
by the Devil.

THIS hath been published in a Sermon by a Godly Minister. But I must insert it here in its own proper place. On the 8 of February (saith my Author) in the year 1578, a company of Drunkards, whose names are recorded as followeth, Adam Gibbons, George Keepe, John Keyse, Peter Horsdroff, John Warner, Simon Heamkers, Jacob Hermons, and Hermon Frow. These eight Drunkards in contempt of the blessed Sabbath, agreed to go to the Tavern on the Lords day to be merry: and coming to the house of one Antony Hodge, an honest Godly Man, they called for Burnt-Wine, Sack, Clarat, and what not. The Good man refusing to give them any, advised them to go to Church to hear the Word of GOD; but they all save Adam Gibbons, refused, saying, they loathed that Exercise. Whereupon the Host departed, who being gone to Church, they began to curse and ban, wishing, he might brake his neck, ere he returned; and wishing the Devil might brake their own

own necks, if they went from hence, till they had some wine.

Whereupon the Devil in the likeness of a Young-Man appeared unto them, bringing in his hand a Flagon of Wine, and so drank unto them, saying, Good Fellows be merry, you shall have Wine enough, you seem to be lusty Lads, and I hope you will pay me well: who answering said, They would either pay him or engage their Neck for it. Yea, rather than fail, their Bodies and Souls. Thus these men continued drinking, and swilling so long till they could hardly see one another. At last the Devil their Host told them that now they must pay for all, at which their hearts waxed cold. But the Devil bid them be of good chear, for now they must drink Fire and Brimstone with him in the Pit of Hell for ever. At which the Devil brake their Necks assunder and destroyed them. And thus ended these drunkards, their miserable dayes. This by the way, may serve for a Document for all Drunkards for ever, and to perswade folk, that the Lord has the Devil for his Executioner, when he pleases to execute his vengeance upon Notorious Sinners.

RE-

RELATION XXV.

Touching one *William Barton a*
Warlock.

A *Bout thirty years ago, more or less, there was one William Barton apprehended for Witch-Craft. His confession was first, that if he had twenty Sons, he would advise them to shun the lust of uncleanness. For said he, I never saw a beautiful Woman, Maid, nor Wife, but I did covet them, which was the only cause that brought me to be the Devils Vassal. One day says he, going from my own house in Kirkliston, to the Queens Ferry, I overtook in Dalmeny Muire, a young Gentlewoman, as to appearance beautiful and comely. I drew near to her, but she shunned my company, and when I insisted, she became angry and very nyce. Said I, since we are both going one way, be pleased to accept of a convoy. At last, after much entreaty she grew better natured, and at length we came to that Familiarity, that she suffered me to embrace*

brace her, and to do that which Christian ears ought not to hear of. At this time I parted with her very joyful. The next night, she appeared to him in that same very place, and after that which should not be named, he became sensible, that it was the Devil. Here he renounced his Baptism, and gave up himself to her service, and she called him her beloved, and gave him this new name of Iohn Baptist, and received the Mark. She likewise bestowed fifteen pounds scots upon him in the name of Tocher-good, and so parted.

After he had gone a little way off, she calls him back and gave him a Merk-piece in good and sufficient money which She had him spend at the Ferry, and desired him to keep entire and whole the 15. pound, which he declared was real and true Money. He confess that they never met together, but they plaid their Pranks. After this Confession he begged Liberty to sleep a little, which the Judges granted to him. After he had slept a short time, he awakened with a great Laughter. The Judges inquired the reason. He replied, being seriously urged, that the Devil had come to him, and rebuked him with anger, and threatened him most furiously, that he had confessed,

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and bad him deny all, for he should be his Warrant.

After this, he turned obdured, and would never to his dying hour acknowledge any thing, for the Devil had perswaded him, even from his first ingaging, that no man should take his life, Which promise he firmly believed, to the very last. When they told him in the prison-house, that the Fire was built, and the Stakes set up, and the executioner coming to bring him forth: he answered he cared not for all that, for said he I shal not die this day. But the Executioner got presently orders to lead him forth, and he steping in at the Prison door in an instant shot to dead, as they say, and never stired again, In this strait, they appointed the Executioners Wife to strangle him, which she did willingly, a reward being promised to her. When the Warlock heard this, that a Woman was to put him to death, O, crys he, how hath the Devil deceived me? Let none ever trust to his Promises. All this was done at Kirkliston before famous witnesses. The Executioners name was Andrew Martain and his wifes name Margaret Hamilton, who when her Husband died clapt her hands, and cryed

ed often, Dool for this parting, my dear burd Andrew Martin. This Bartons Wife had been likewise taken with him, Who Declared, that She never knew him to have been a Warlock before; And he likewise declared, That he never knew her to have been a Witch before. She confest that malice against one of her Neighbours, moved her to ingage in the Devils service. She renounced her Baptism and did postrat her Body to the Foul-Spirit, and received his Mark, and got a new name from him, and was called Margaratus. She was asked, if ever she had any pleasure in his company, never much says she. But one Night going to a dancing upon Pentland-hills, he went before us in the likeness of a rough tanny-Dog, playing on a pair of Pipes. The Spring he played (says she) was, The silly bit Chiken, gar cast it a pickle and it will grow meikle. And coming down the hill when we had done which was the best sport, he carried the candle in his bottom under his tail, which played ey wig wag, wig wag. She was burnt with her husband.

There is one thing remarkable in this Story,
M 2 *that*

that he bestowed so much money upon the Warlock, which proved good and sufficient Coin? 'Tis seldome he is so liberal. But surely he would be more liberal if the Lord would suffer him to steal, or make use of Treasures lying hid in the Ground, or in the Bottom of the Sea. If this liberty were granted, he might deceive the most part of men and women in the world, with his gifts. The next Relation, shall be in confirmation of this.

RELATION XXVI.

A Wonderful and Strange Accident
which fell out at Lions in
France.

A Lieutenant of a Guard called Jaquette having supped one night in a rich Merchants house, was passing home and by the way, said, I wonder what I have eaten and drunken at the Merchants house, for I find my self so hot, that if I met with the Devils Dame this night, I could not forbear using of her. Hereupon, a little after, he overtook a young Gentlewoman masked, whom he would needs usher home to her Lodging, but discharged all
his

his Company except two. She brought him as to his apprehension, to a little low house hard by the City wall where there were only two Rooms. After he had enjoyed her he desired that according to the custom of French Gentlemen, his two Comerads might partake also of the same Pleasure. So she admitted them, one after the other. And when all was done, as they sat together, she told them, if they knew well, who she was none of them would have adventured upon her. Thereupon she whistled three times, and all vanished. The next morning, the two Comerads, that had gone with the Lieutenant Jaquette were found dead under the City-wall, among the Odure and Excrements, and Jaquette himself a little way off half dead, who was taken up and coming to himself again confessed all this, and presently dyed. This may verify the preceeding Relation.

RELATION XXVII

A Marvellous Prank plaid by the Devil at Hamelen, a town in Germany.

THis City was annoyed with Rats and Mice. It happened that a Pied-Coated-Pyper, M 3 came

came thither, who covenanted with the Chief Burgers for such a Reward, if he should free them from the said Vermine, nor would he demand it, till a twelve Month and a day after. The Agreement being made, he began to play on his Pipes, and all the Rats and Mice followed him to a great Lough hard by, where they all perished; so the town was infected no more. At the end of the year the Piper, returned for his reward. The Burgers put him off, with slightings and neglect, offering him some small matter, which he refused. And staying some days in Town, on a Sunday morning at high Mass, when most People were at Church, he fell to play on his Pipes, and the Children up, and down, followed him out of the Town, to a great hill not far off, which rent in two, and opened, and let him and the Children in, and so closed up again. This happened about 250. years since. And in that Town they date their Bills and Bonds, and other Instruments in Law, to this day from the year of their going out of their Children. Besides, there is a great pillar of stone erected, at the foot of the said hill, where this Story is engraven.

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RELATION. XXVIII.

A Relation of the Strange Witch-craft discovered in the Village. *Mohra* in *Swedeland*.

THe News of this witch-craft coming to the Kings Ear, his Majesty was pleased to appoint Commissioners some of the Clergy, and some of the Laity, to make a Journey to the Town aforesaid, and to examine the whole business; and accordingly the Examination was ordered to be on the 13. of August; and the Commissioners met on the 12. instant, in the said Village, at the Parsons House, to whom both the Minister, and several people of fashion complained, with tears in their Eyes, of the miserable condition they were in, and therefore begged of them to think of some way, whereby they might be delivered from that Calamity. They gave the Commissioners very strange instances of the Devils Tyranny among them; how by the help of Witches, he had drawn some hundreds of Children to him, and made them subject to his power,

power, how he hath been seen to go in a visible shape through the Countrey, and appeared daily to the People, how he had wrought upon the Poorer sort, by presenting them with Meat and Drink, and this way allured them to himself, with other circumstances to be mentioned hereafter. The Inhabitants of the Village added, with very great Lamentations, That though their Children had told all, and themselves sought GOD very earnestly by Prayer, yet they were carried away by him; and therefore begged of the Lords Commissioners, to root out this Hellish crew, that they might regain their former Rest and Quietnesse; and the rather, because the Children, which used to be carried away in the County or District of Elfdale, since some Witches had been burnt there, remained unmolested.

That day, i. e. the 13th of August, being the last Humiliation-day instituted by Authority for the removing of this Judgement, the Commissioners went to Church, where there appeared a considerable Assembly both of Young and Old: the Children could read most of them, and sing Psalms, and so could the Women, though not with any great Zeal or Fervour.

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There were preached two Sermons that day, in which the miserable case of those people, that suffered themselves to be deluded by the Devil, was laid open; and these Sermons were at last concluded with very fervent Prayer.

The Publick Worship being over, all the people of the Town were called together in the Parsons House, near three thousand of them. Silence being commanded, the Kings Commission was read publickly in the hearing of them all, and they were charged under very great Penalties to conceal nothing of what they knew, and to say nothing but the truth; those especially, who were guilty, that the Children might be delivered from the Clutches of the Devil. They all promised obedience, the guilty feignedly, but the guiltless weeping and crying bitterly.

On the 14th. of August the Commissioners met again, consulting how they might withstand this dangerous flood, after long deliberation, an Order also coming from his Majesty, they did resolve to execute such, as the matter of Fact could be proven upon. Examination being made, there were discovered no less than threescore and ten in the Village aforesaid, three and twenty of which confessing their Crimes, were condemned to dye, the last

rest, one pretending she was with Child, and the other denying and pleading not guilty, were sent to Fahluna, where most of them were afterwards Executed.

Fifteen Children which likewise confessed that they were engaged in this Withery, died as the rest. Six and thirty of them between nine and sixteen years of age, who had been less guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet. Twenty more, who had no great inclination, yet had been seduced to those Hellish Enterprises, because they were very young, were condemned to be lashed with Rods upon their hands, for three Sundays together, at the Church Door, and the aforesaid six and thirty were also doomed to be lashed this way once a Week for a whole Year together. The number of the seduced Children was about three hundred.

On the twenty fifth of August, execution was done upon the notoriously guilty, the day being bright, and Glorious, and the Sun shinning, and some thousands of People being present at the Spectacle. The order and Method observed in the examination was this.

First, the Commissioners and the Neighbouring Justices went to Prayer: this done,

done, the Witches, who had most of them Children with them, which they had either seduced, or attempted to seduce, some seven years of age, (nay from four) to sixteen were set before them. Some of the Children complained lamentably of the Misery and Mischief they were forced sometime to suffer of the Devil and the Witches.

The Children being asked whether they were sure, that they were at any time carried away by the Devil? They all declared they were; begging of the Commissioners, that they might be freed from that intolerable slavery.

Hereupon the Witches themselves were asked, whether the Confessions of these Children were true, and admonished to confess the Truth, that they might turn away from the Devil unto the living GOD. At first, most of them did very stily, and without the least shedding the least tear, deny it, though much against their will and inclination. After this, the Children were examined, every one by themselves, to see whether their Confessions did agree or no, and the Commissioners found that all of them, except some very little ones, who could not tell all the
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Circumstance, did punctually agree in the Confession of Particulars.

In the mean while the Commissioners, that were of the Clergy examined the Witches, but could not bring them to any Confession all continuing steadfast in their denials, till at last some of them burst out into Tears, and their Confession agreed with what the Children had said. And these expressed their abhorrency of the Fact, and begged Pardon. Adding that the Devil, whom they called Loeysa, had stopt the Mouths of some of them, so loath was he to part with his prey. And had stopt the ears of others : and being now gone from them they could no longer conceal it, for they had now perceived his Treachery.

The Confession which the Witches made in Elfdale, to the Judges there, agreed with the Confession they made at Mohra : and the Chief things they Confessed, consisted in these three Points. First, whether they used to go ? Secondly, what kind of a place it was they went to ; called by them Blockula, where the Witches, and the Devil used to meet ? Thirdly what Evil and Mischief they had either done, or Designed there ?

First

First, of their Journey to *Blockula*.
The Contents of their Confession.

We of the Province of Elfdale, do confess, that we used to go to a Gravel-Pit, which lays hard by a Cross-way, and there we put on a Vest over our heads, and then danced round, and after this ran to the Cross-way, and called the Devil thrice, first with a still Voice: the second time somewhat louder: and the third time very loud, with these words, Antecessor come and carry us to Blockula. Whereupon immediately he used to appear, but in different Habits: but for the most part, we saw him in a Gray-Coat, and red and blew Stockings. He had a red beard, a high crowned Hat, with Linnen of diverse colours, wrapt about it, and long Garters upon his Stockings. It is very remarkable, that the Devil never appears to the Witches, with a Sword at his side.

*Then he asked us, whether we would serve him with Soul and Body? If we were content to do so, he set us on a Beast, which he had there ready, and carried us over Churches, and High Walls: and after
all*

all, we came to a Green Meadow, where Blockula lies. We must procure some scrapings of Altars and fillings of Church-Clocks: and then he gives us a horn with a Salve in it wherewith we do anoint our selves, and a Saddle, with a Hammer, and a Wooden Naile, thereby to fix the Saddle. Whereupon we call upon the Devil, and away we go.

Those that were of the Town of Mohra, made in a manner the same Declaration. Being asked, whether they were sure of a real Personal Transportation, and whether they were awake, when it was done, they all answered in the Affirmative, and that the Devil sometimes laid something down in the place, that was very like them. But one of them confessed, that he did only take away her Strength, and her Body lay still upon the Ground: Yet sometimes he took away her Body with him.

Being asked how they could go with their Bodies through Chimneys, and broken pans of Glass, they said, that the Devil did first remove all that might hinder them in their flight, and so they had Room enough to go.

Others were asked, how they were able to carry so many Children with them, They answered

answered, that when the Children were asleep they came into the Chamber, and laid hold of the Children, which straightway did awake, and asked them, whether they would go to a Feast with them? To which some answered, yes. Others no, Yet they were all forced to go. They only gave the Children a Shirt, a Coat, and a Doublet, which was either Red or Blew, and so they did set them upon a Beast of the Devils providing, and then they rid away.

The Children confessed the same thing: and some added, that because, they had very fine Cloaths put upon them, they were very willing to go.

Some of the Children concealed it from their Parents, but others discovered it to them presently.

The Witches declared moreover, that till of late, they had never power to carry away Children, but only this year and the last, and that the Devil did at this time force them to it: that heretofore it was sufficient to carry but one of their Children, or a Strangers Child with them, which happened seldom, but now he did plague them, and whip them, if they did not procure him many Children, insomuch that they had no Peace, nor Quiet for him: And whereas that
formerly

formerly one journey a week would serve turn, from their own town to the place aforesaid, now they were forced to run to other towns and places for Children, and that they brought with them, some fifteen some sixteen Children every night.

For their journey, they said they made use of all sorts of Instruments, of Beasts, of Men of Spits and Posts, according as they had opportunity: if they do ride upon Goats, and have many Children with them, that all may have room, they stick a Spit into the Back-side of the Goat, and then are anointed with the aforesaid Ointment. What the manner of their journey is, GOD alone knows. This much was made out, that if the Children did at any time name the names of those, either Men or Women that had been with them, that had carried them away, they were again carried by force either to Blockula, or to the Cross-way and thereby beaten, in so much that some of them died of it. And this some of the Witches confessed, and added, That now they were exceedingly troubled and tortured in their minds for it.

The Children thus used lookt mighty Bleak Wan and Beaten. The Marks of the Whips the Judges could not perceive in them, except
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in one Boy, who had some wounds and holes in his Back, that were given him with Thorns. But the Witches said, they would quickly vanish.

After this usage, the Children are exceeding weak. And if any be carried over Night, they cannot recover themselves the next Day; and they often fall into Fits, the coming of which they knew by an extraordinary paleness, that seizes on the Children. And when a Fit comes upon them, they lean on their Mothers Arms, who sits up with them, sometimes all night. And when they observe the paleness coming, shake the Children, but to no purpose.

They observe further, that their Childrens Breasts grow cold at such times; and they take sometimes a burning candle, and stick it in their hair, which yet is not burned by it. They swoon upon this paleness, which swoon lasteth sometimes half an hour, sometimes an hour, sometimes two hours, and when the Children come to themselves again, they mourn and lament and groan most miserably, and beg exceedingly to be eased. This the old men declared upon oath before the Judges, and called all the inhabitants in the Town to witness, as Persons that had most of them experience,

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of the strange Symptome of their Children.

A little Girle of Elfdale confessed, that naming the name of Jesus, as she was carried away, she fell suddenly upon the Ground, and got a great hole in her side, which the Devil presently healed up again, and away he carried her, and to this day the Girle confessed, she had exceeding great Pain in her side. Another Boy confessed too, That one day he was carried away with his Mistris; and to perform the Journey, he took his own Fathers horse out of the Meadow, where it was feeding, and upon his return she let the horse go in her own Ground. The next morning the Boys Father sought for the horse, and not finding it gave it over for lost: but the Boy told him the whole Story, and so the Father fetcht the horse back again: and this one of the Witches confessed.

We come next to the Place, where they used to assemble called Blockula, and what they did there. They unanimously confessed, that Blockula is Situated in a large Meadow, like a Plain Sea, wherein you can see no end. The Place or House they met at, had before it a great Gate painted with many diverse colours on it; through

through this Gate they went into a little Meadow distant from the other, where the Beasts went, which they used to ride on. But the men whom they made use of in their Journey, stood in the House by the Gate in a Slumbering posture, Sleeping over against the Wall.

In a huge large Room of this House, they said, there stood a very large long Table at which the Witches did sit down. And that hard by this Room, was another Chamber, where there were some lovely and delicate Beds.

The first thing they said, they must do at Blockula was, That they must deny all, and devote themselves Body and Soul to the Devil, and promise to serve him Faithfully, and confirm it with an Oath. Hereupon they cut their Fingers, and writ their Name in his Book. They added, that he caused them to be Baptized too, by such Priests as he had there, and made them to Confirm their Baptism with dreadful Oaths and Imprecations. Hereupon the Devil gave them a Purse, wherein there were fyllings of Clocks with a big Stone tyed to it, which

they throw into the Water, and then were forced to speak these words. As these fyllings of the Clock do never return to the Clock, from which they are taken, so may my Soul never return to Heaven. To which they add Blasphemy, and other Oaths and Curses.

The mark of their cut Fingers is not found in all of them. But a Girle who had been slashed over her Finger, declared, that because she would not stretch out her Finger, the Devil in anger had so cruelly wounded it.

After this they sat down to Table, and those that the Devil esteemed most, were placed nearest to him; but the Children must stand at the Door, where he himself gives them meat and drink.

The Dyet they did use to have there, was, they said, Broth with Colworts and Bacon in it, Oat meal Bread spread with Butter, Milk and Cheese. And they added that sometimes it tasted very well, and sometimes very ill. After Meals, they went to dancing, and in the mean while swore and cursed most dreadfullie, and afterward went to fighting one with another. Those of Elfdale confessed; That the Devil used to play upon a Harp before them, and afterwards

wards to go with them that he loved best into a Chamber, where he committed venereous acts with them. *And this indeed all confessed, that he had carnal knowledge of them, and that the Devil had Sons and Daughters by them, which he did marry together, and they did couple, and brought forth Toads and Serpents.*

One day the Devil seemed to be Dead, whereupon there were great Lamentations at Blockula: but he soon awaked again. If he hath a mind to be merry with them, he lets them all ride upon Spits before him; and he takes afterwards the Spits, and beats them black and blue, and then laughs at them. And he bids them believe that the day of Judgement will come speedilie, and therefore sets them a work to build a great house of Stone, promising that in the house he will preserve them from GODS fury; and cause them to enjoy the greatest delights and pleasures: but while they work exceeding hard at it, there falls a great part of the Wall down again, whereby some of the Witches are commonly hurt which makes him laugh, but presently he cures them again.

They said, they had seen sometimes a very
N 3great

great Devil like a Dragon, with Fire round about him, and bound with an Iron-Chain: and the Devil that converses with them tells, that if they confess any thing, he will set that great Devil loose upon them, whereby all Swedeland shall come unto great danger. They added, That the Devil had a Church there, such another as in the town of Mohra. When the Commissioners were coming, he told the Witches, they should not fear them, for he would certainly kill them all. And they confessed, that some of them had attempted to Murder the Commissioners, but had not been able to effect it.

Some of the Children talked much of a white Angel which used to forbid them what the Devil had bid them do: and told them that those things should not last long; what had been done, had been but permitted because of the Sin and wickedness of the People and their Parents, and that the carrying away of the Children should be made manifest. And they added, that this white Angel would place himself sometimes at the Door betwixt the witches and the Children: and that when they came to Blockula, he pulled the Children back, but the witches went in.

Wee

Wee come in the last place to show the Mischief and evil, which the witches promised to do to Men and Beasts. They confessed, that they were to promise the Devil, that they would do all thats ill: and that the Devil taught them to Milk, which was after this manner. They used to stick a knife in the wall, and hang a kind of a Label on it, which they drew and stroaked, and as long as this lasted, the persons they had power over were miserably plagued, and the Beasts were milked that way, till sometimes they died of it.

A Woman confessed, that the Devil gave her a wooden knife, where-with, going into houses, she had power to kill anything, she touched with it. Yet there were few, that would confess, that they had hurt any Man or Woman. Being asked whether they had murdered any Children. They confessed that they had indeed tormented many, but did not know, whether any of them died of those plagues.

And added that the Devil had shewed them several places, where he had power to do mischief.

The Minister of Elfdale declared, that one night these witches, were to his thinking, upon the Crown of his head, and that from thence, he had a long continued pain of the head.

One of the Witches confessed too, that the Devil had sent her to torment that Minister ; and that she was ordered to use a Nail and strike it into his head, but it would not enter very deep; and hence came that Head-ach. The Minister said also, that one night he felt a pain, as if he were torn with an instrument, that they cleanse Flax with, or a Flax-comb, and when he awaked, he heard some body scratching and scraping at the Window, but could see no Body. And one of the Witches confessed, that she was the person that did it, being sent by the Devil.

The Minister of Mohra declared also, that one Night one of these Witches came into his house, and did so violently take him by the Throat, that he thought, he should have been choaked, and awakeing, he saw the Person that did it, but could not know her, and that for some weeks, he was not able to speak, or perform Divine Service.

An old Woman of Elfdale confessed, that the Devil had helped her to make a Nail, which she struck into a Boys knee, of which stroke the Boy remained lame a long time. And she added, that before she was Burnt, or executed by the hand of justice, the Boy would recover.

They

They confessed also, that the Devil gives them a Beast about the bigness and shape of a young Cat, which they call a Carrier, and he gives them a Bird too, as big as a Raven, but white. And these two Creatures, they can send any where, and where-ever they come they take away all sorts of Victuals they can get, as Butter, Cheese, Milk, Bacon, and all sorts of seeds, whatever they can find, and carry it to the Witch. What the Bird brings, they may keep for themselves; but what the Carrier brings, they must reserve for the Devil, and that's brought to Blockula, where he doth give them of it so much, as he thinks fit.

They added likewise, that these Carriers fill themselves so full sometimes, that they are forced to spew by the way, which spewing is found in several Gardens, where Colworts grow, and not far from the houses of those Witches. It is of a yellow Colour like Gold, and is called the Butter of the Witches.

The Lords Commissioners were indeed very earnest, and took great Pains to persuade them to show some of their Tricks, but to no purpose; for they did all unanimously confess, that since they had confessed all, they found that all their Witchcraft

craft was gone, and the Devil at this time appeared to them very terrible, with claws on his hands and feet, and with horns on his head, and a long tail behind, and shewed to them a Pit burning with a hand out: But the Devil did thrust the Person down again with an Iron-fork, and suggested to the witches, that if they continued in their confession, he would deal with them in the same Manner.

The above Relation is taken out of the publick Register, where all this is related with more circumstances. And at this time through all the Countrey there are prayers weekly in all Churches; to the end that Almighty GOD would pull down the Devils power, and deliver those poor Creatures, which have hitherto groaned under it.

The Lord Lyon bergh Envoy extraordinary for the King of Sweden confirmed this, at London March 8. 1682. And gave it under his hand, that the matter of Fact mentioned here, is true.

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RELATION XXIX.

Anent an Apparition seen in *Gladesmuire*, with some other *Gleanings*.

I Find among some of my Notes, written in the year 1666, that Richard Chaplain, and his Brother George both of them Merchants in Hadington, coming home late from Edinburgh upon a Saturday Night, being the fourth of November 1666, and riding off the Muire at a place called the Two-Mile-Cross, within two mile of their own home, saw four men in Gray Cloaths, and Blew Bonnets standing round about a dead Corps laying swaddled in a winding-sheet. Their Dog was so feard that he durst not go forward but came running back among their horse Feet. The one Brother is yet living, a sober and Christian man, who can attest this. If I have varied, it is only in some small Circumstance, which doth not alter the thing it self. It is the more remarkable, because it was about 20 days before *Rullian Green*.

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There was one Alice Duke an English Woman, that was taken Anno 1664, and confest before the Judges, that after their meetings, all the Witches make very low obeysances to the Devil, who appears in Black Cloaths, and a little Band. He bids them Welcome at their Coming, and brings them Wine, Beer, Cakes, and Meal, or the like. He sits at the higher end, and usually Anne Bishop sits next him. They eat, drink, dance, and have Musick. At their parting they use to say, Merry meet, Merry part, and that before they are carried to their meetings, there foreheads are anointed with Greenish Oyl, that they have from the Devil, which smells raw. They for the most part are carried in the Air. As they pass they say, Thout, Tout, a Tout, Tout, throughout and about. Passing back they say, Rentum Tormentum, and another word which she does not remember.

I read of an old Gentleman an excellent Justice of Peace in England, who did always dispute against the immortality of the Soul, and its distinction from the Body, and of the existence of Spirits. No reason could convince him, but palpable experience. He being a bold man, and fearing nothing,
used

used all the Magical Ceremonies, he could to raise the Devil, or a Spirit, and had a most earnest desire to meet with one, but never could do it. But while his servant is one Night drawing off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible hand gave him such a Clap upon the Back, that it made the Hall ring again. He went immediately to his Field to try if any Spirit had called him to converse with him; but found none. When neither rhyme, nor reason could persuade him that there were Spirits, says the Gentleman, that debated with him, Well well, do you remember, the clap you received upon your back one Night? Yes, said he. Assure your self, said the other, that Goblin will be the first that will welcome you into the other world. Upon this his countenance changed most sensibly, and was more confounded with this, than with all the Philosophical, or Rational Arguments, that could have been brought against him.

There was one Julian Cox an English woman apprehended for witch-craft. The first that deponed against her was an Hunts-man, who swore that he going out with a pack of Hounds, to hunt a Hare, did Start one not far from Julian Cox her house
The

The Dogs hunted her very close, and the third Ring hunted her in view, till at last, the Hunts-man perceiving the Hare almost spent, and making towards a great Bush, he ran on the other side of the Bush to take her up, and preserve her from the Dogs. But as soon, as he layed hands on her, it proved to be Julian Cox, who had her hands groveling on the ground, and her Globs (as he exprest it) upward. He knowing her, was so affrighted that his hair on his head stood on end. She was out of breath, so that she could not speak. The Dogs came up, and smelt her, but did no more. This narrative saith my Author, hath the most authentic confirmation that human affairs are capable of Sense, and the sacredness of an oath.

RELATION XXX.

Anent one *Spalding* in *Dalkeith*.

A Bout the time, that the Earle of Traquair, was his late Majesties Commissioner in Scotland, it happened at Dalkeith, where he resided, that one Spalding a townsman killed his neighbour one Sadler. The
Murderer

Murderer fled and absented himself, for a year and more. Yet sometimes, came home in the Night time, finding that no man pursued him. After he had been wearied of this way of living, he resolv'd to cast himself upon the Commissioners Mercy. He coming one day near to the town of Dalkeith in Coatch, Spalding came in a most humble manner, and prostrat himself before him, and begged mercy. The Commissioner enquired what the business was? The Servants told him, he was such a man, that had killed his Neighbour a townsman. Thereupon, he appointed him to be conveyed to Prison, where he lay for a year and more. At last an Assize found him guilty, and appointed him to be hanged. When he heard this sentence, he cried out, Oh must I die like a Dog! Why was not I sentenced to lose my head. After he came to the Scaffold, and Prayer was ended, he goes up the Ladder, and the rope being put about his Neck, he cries with a loud voice in the Audience of all. Lord (says he) let neither this Soul of mine depart from this Body till it be reconciled with thee. And having said this, the Executioner threw him off the Ladder. When he had hung the ordinary time sufficient to take away any mans life he

he was out down, and his Body put into a Bier, and carried to the Tolbuith to be Woon. When they had opened the lid of the Bier; the man bangs up upon his Bottom, and his eyes staring in his head, and fomeing at the mouth, he made a noise and roared like a Bull, striking about him with his Fists, to the great consternation of all. The Magistrates hearing of it, gave orders, that he should be strangled better. The Executioner fell to work, and putting the Rope about his neck, stood upon his Breast, and strained his neck so hard, that it was no bigger about than his Wrist. And he continuing after this manner for a sufficient time, was carried to the Grave: and covered with earth. Notwithstanding of all this, he made such a rumbling and tumbling in it, that the very Earth was raised, and the Mules were so heaved up that they could hardly keep them down. After this his house at the East end of the town (as I am informed) was frequented with a Ghost, which made it stand empty for a long time. Whether any have dwelt in it since I know not. This I have from a very creditable Person, who being a Schollar there, at that time, was an eye and ear witness, who is yet alive.

RE-

RELATION XXXI

Of the Devil of *Mascon* in
France.

A NNO 1612 one Monsieur Perreaud a Protestant Minister there, being from his own house one night, and his Wife being in bed, she was much troubled with noise, and din in the house: the next night, she felt somewhat that pulled the blankets from the bed; and the same night, all the Pewter Vessel, and Brass Candlesticks were thrown about the Room. The Minister coming home, was told this, who carefully searched every corner of the house before he went to bed, and secured all the Doors and Windows, to prevent suspicion of Imposture: He was scarce well in bed, when he heard a strange noise in the Kitchen, like the rowling of a great Iron Bullet, beating against a partition of Wainscot: upon this the Minister went to the Room, but found nothing; The next morning he made it known to the Elders of the Church, and a publick Notary, one Francis Tornous, who sate up with him every night till Midnight, but they heard nothing till September 20. At which

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time

time about nine a clock at night in the presence of all, who were there, the Devil began to whistle three or four tunes, with a loud and shril voice (though somewhat hoarse) which seemed to be about three or four steps from them, singing a little tune of five notes, which Birds are taught to whistle, and after, he often repeated this word Minister, Minister, to which Master Perreaud said, Yes indeed, I am a Minister, and servant of the living GOD, before whose Majestie thou tremblest. Said the other, I know nothing to the contrary. I have no need of thy testimony, says he. This being done, he says over with a loud voice, the Lords prayer, the Creed, the ten Commandments, and the morning and even Prayers, and sings the eighty and first Psalm. He told the Minister, that his Father had been poisoned, and named the man that did it. He told him, that as he came by his elder brothers house that night, he saluted him, and asked if he had any service to command him with to Mascon, to his brother : and told that they were very kind to him, and remembred their Love to the Minister. It was told him afterwards by those who were present, that a fellow of strange shape came riding on a very lean horse, hanging down his head,

head and spake to that purpose. At another time the Devil began to mock GOD, and all Religion, and said over the Doxology, but skipped over the Second Person, and made a foul horrible, and detestable Equivocation upon the third Person. He also earnestly desired them to send for Mr. Du Chaffin the Popish Priest of St. Stevens Parish, to whom he would confess himself, and withal he desired him to bring some Holy Water along with him, for that (said he) will presently send me a packing. That great Mastiff (said he) dare not bark against me (this was the great House Dog) because I have made the sign of the Cross upon his head.

Then he fell a scoffing and jeering, and told how he did fall off the Ladder into the Ditch among the Frogs while the Savoyes, were scalding the walls of Geneva: and did most exactly imitate their croaking: At another time, he told them with a lamentable voice, that he had a mind to make his Latter-Will and Testament, and bid the Maid call for Mr. Tornous the publick Notary, and declared to him what Legacies he would leave, and to one present he said, he would bequeath five hundered pound; but he answered, I will have none of thy money, thy

O 2

money

money perisheth with thee.

At another time, while he was speaking, a man who was present rushed into the place, whence the voice seemed to come, and searched it strickly, but found nothing except a small bottle, which he brought forth, at which the Devil fell a laughing, and said to him, I was told long since, that thou wast a fool, and I see now thou art one indeed, to believe that I am in the Bottle. I should be a greater Fool my self to go into it; for so I might be caught by stopping the mouth of the Bottle with ones Finger.

At another time, the Minister said to him, Go thou cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels, To whom he replyed in great wrath, Thou lyeest I am not cursed, I hope yet for Salvation by the Death and passion of Jesus Christ.

The Devil threatned the Minister, that he would pull him out of his Bed by the feet, and pull the Blankets off him. He answered, I will lay me down and sleep, for the Lord maketh me to dwell in safety, thou canst have no power over me, but what is given thee from above. Whereupon he said, it is well for thee, it is good for thee. And at last he confessed, that he could not prevail against

few years; O what mischief is intended against you!

A Popish Officer, that belonged to a Court of Justice being a Lawyer, came out of curiosity to the Ministers house, to ask some Questions concerning many matters. The Minister forbid him; but he would not forbear. And after the Devil had resolved him many things, anent absent Friends, private Business, News and State affairs, and Questions in Law, he says to him, now Sir I have told you all, you have demanded, I must tell you next, what you demanded not, that at this same very time such a man (whom he named) is taking a word of your wife at home. And then he discovered many secrets and foul practises of the Lawyer. And at last sayes, Now Sir let me correct you for being so bold, as to question with the Devil, you should have taken the Ministers Counsel. Then upon a sudden, the whole Company saw the Lawyer drawn by the Arm into the midst of the room, where the Devil whirled him about, and gave him many turns with great swiftness, touching the ground only with his toe, and then threw him down upon the floor with great violence, and being taken up, and carried to his house

house, he lay sick and distracted a long time.

The last ten or twelve dayes, the Devil threw stones about the Ministers house continually, from morning to evening, and of great quantity, some of them being of two or three pound Weight. One of those dayes, the publick Notary Mr Tornous had a great stone thrown at him, which falling at his feet, he took up, and marked it with a coal, and threw it into the backside of the house: but presently the Devil threw it at him again. When he took it up, he found it to be very hot, thinking it had been in Hell, since he handled it last. The next day upon the 22 of December the Devil went quite away, and to morrow after, there was seen a great Viper going out of the Ministers house, which the Neighbours about seized upon with a pair of pincers, and carried it all over the town crying, here is the Devil that's come out of the Ministers house. It was found by an Apothecary to be a true and Natural Viper, a Serpent rarely seen in those countreys. Compare this with the twentieth and first Relation, and you will find a notable proof of the Wonderful kindness and mercy of GOD to these two Religious Ministers, and their Families.

RELATION XXXII.

Anent Margaret Wilson.

T*His is a true Narrative of what happened to her one Night, while some persons were attending her. For what Past other nights I cannot relate, since I want Information. They say, that the Gentleman her Uncle, in the Parish of Gallashiells, came one Sunday after Sermon to the Minister there, Master Wilkie, and told him, that the Devil was at his House, for, said he, there is an odd knocking about the bed where my Niece lyes. Whereupon the Minister went along with him and found it so. She rising from her bed sat down to Supper, and from below, there was such a knocking up, as bred fear to all that were present. This knocking was just under her Chair, where it was not possible for any Mortal to knock up. Supper being ended, they went all to Prayer, and she rising from her place, went and kneeled down in another place, and there also a knocking was heard below her, even during the time of Prayer. When she was put to bed, many Persons attending, she fell into a deep sleep. Then her body was*

so lifted up, that many strong men were not able to keep it down. Sometimes her body would have made such a motion in the Bed, as if something had been gripping her by the feet, and pulling her up and down. In the mean while, they heard a loud noise scratching upon the Feather-Bed, as with long Nails. And likewise the Minister affirms, that he heard a loud riscing at her heart, such as riscing-Irons make upon Wood or Timber. When she awaked, she told him of many things the Devil had been speaking to her, offering her Gifts and Presents. She was hardly perswaded to pray; nay could not, when even the words were put into her mouth. The Minister desired her to enter into a Personal Covenant with GOD, which he drew up, but finding one composed already to his hand, in that little Treatise, called the Christians Great Interest, he made her subscribe it. When she had done this the Devil perswaded her with many Arguments to break it. This was the Method, the Devil observed ordinarily every Night, during her long trouble.

That same Night about twelve a Clock, the Minister took her Uncle out to his own Garden, to take a turn or two, and began to bear

bear in upon him, the sense of this sore affliction which was upon the Family, and exhorted him to reflect upon his wayes, and consider, if he had done any thing that had provoked the Lord against him, and particularly he charged him with one thing, whereof there was a loud report. He solemnly protested, and that with dreadful imprecations, he was innocent of that particular, which was said of him, and absolutely denyed it. She confest, that she had seen the devil in a mans likeness, but especially once going to Church, when he forbad her to go and hear Sermon. After much trouble of this kind, and much noise and talking, the young Woman, being but twelve or thirteen years of age, came to Edinburgh, and tarried with a friend there, and from thence she went to Leith, where she served a Mistriss. At last she went to Easter-Didiston (it seems) and married there a Husband with whom she lived some years at the Magdalen-Pans, where she died. I do not hear that ever she was molested after. If all the particulars of this business were truly collected, they would amount, to a far longer Relation, than I have set down.

RE-

RELATION XXXIII.

A Short Information anent
Jennet Douglas.

Edinburgh, Octob. 8th. 1684.

For Mr. Sinclair.

Sir,

When I was at Glasgow in the Summer, 1677. I was desirous to see the Dumb Girl, whom you mention in your first Relation. At my first incomming she declined to entertain discourse, but by friendly expressions, and giving her some money, I gained her. I first inquired anent her Parentage? I do not remember (says she) of my Parents, but only that I was called by the name of Jennet Douglas by all People who knew me. I was keeped, when I was very young by a poor woman that proved cruel to me, by beating, and abusing me, whereupon I deserted the Womans house, and went a begging. I enquired next, how she became Dumb? She told me, by reason of a sore swelling she took in her Throat and tongue; but afterwards, by the Application of
Album

Album Græcum, which I thought said she was revealed to me, I recovered my speech. I asked her, how she came to the knowledge of Witches and their practises? She answered, that she had it only by vision, and knew all things as well this way, as if she had been personally present with them, but had no revelation, or information from the voice of any Spirit. Nor had she any communication with the Devil, or any Spirit of that kind: only (says she) the Devil was represented to me, when he was in company with any of the Witches, in that same shape and habit he was seen by them.

She told me, she was altogether ignorant of the Principles of Christian Religion, but had some smattering knowledge of the Lords Prayer, which she had heard the Witches repeat (it seems by her vision) in presence of the Devil; and at his desire (which they observed) they added to the word Art, the letter W, which made it run, our father which wart in heaven, and made the third Petition thus, as on earth, so it may in heaven, by which means the Devil made the application of the Prayer to himself.

I remember, that one day, there was a woman in the town who had the curiosity, to give her a visit, who asked her how she came to the
the

the knowledge of so many things? *But the young Wench shifted her, by asking the Womans name. She told her name. Says the other, are there any other in Glasgow of that name? No says the Woman. Then said the Girle, you are a Witch; Says the other, then you are a Devil. The Girle answers, the Devil doth not reveal Witches. But I know you to be one, and I know your practises too. Hereupon the Woman run away in great confusion, being indeed a Person suspected of Witchcraft, and had been some time imprisoned upon that account.*

Another Woman, whose name was Campbell had the curiosity likewise to come and see her, and began to ask some questions at her. The Wench shifting to give her an answer, says I pray you tell me, where were you yesternight, and what were you doing? And withall (says she) let me see your arm. She refusing, the Land-Lord, laid hold upon the Woman, with some others of the house, and forced her to make bare her arm, where Jennet Douglas showed them an invisible mark, which she had gotten from the Devil. The poor Woman much ashamed run home, and a little time after, she came out and told her Neighbours, that what Jennet Douglas had said

said of her was true, and earnestly entreated them that they would show so much to the Magistrates, that she might be apprehended, otherwise the Devil (says she) will make me kill my self. But the Neighbours judging her to be under a fit of distraction, carried her home to her house. But early the next morning, the Woman was found drowned in Clyde.

The Girl likewise told me at Glasgow, being then under no restraint, that it was revealed her, she would be carried before the Great Council at Edinburgh, imprisoned there, and scourged thorow the town. All which came to pass: for about a year after she was apprehended, and imprisoned in the Tolbuith of the Canongate, and was brought before the Council. But nothing being found against her, she was dismiss. But thereafter for several crimes committed within the town of Edinburgh, she was taken again, and imprisoned, scourged, and sent away to some forrainge Plantation, since which time, I have not heard of her.

There are several other remarkable passages of her which I cannot inform you of, which others perhaps may do, therefore I shall abruptly break off, and say no more, but that I am your affectionat Friend. This information I have

have from a discreet understanding Gentle-man who was one of my Scholars at Glasgow several years agoe.

RELATION XXXIV.

Anent *Helen Elliot* burnt at
Culross.

For Mr. Sinclair, *Edinb. Octob.*
18. 1684.

Sir,

I Cannot but much approve your design in publishing Satans Invisible World Discovered, especially at this time, when there are so many, that deny the existence of Devils, Spirits and Witches, and will credit nothing, but what they see with their eyes. I shall informe you, with three remarkable Stories, which may be attested by famous Witnesses, many of which are yet living.

I had the curiosity, when I was a Scholar, to pass over from Borrowstonness to Culros, to see a notable Witch burnt. She was carried to the place of Execution in a Chair by four men, by reason her Legs, and her Belly were broken, by one of the Devils cunning tricks which he plaid her. This Woman was watch-
ed

ed one night in the Steeple of Culros, by two men, John Shank a Flesher, and one John Drummond, who being weary went to another Room, where there was a Fire, to take a Pipe. But to secure her, they put her Leggs in the Stocks, and locked them, as well as might be. But no sooner were they gone out of the Room, but the Devil came into the Prison, and told her he was obliged, to deliver her from the shame she was like to suffer for his sake; and accordingly took her out of the Stocks, and embracing her, carried her out of the Prison. At which she being terrified made this exclamation by the way, O GOD whither are you taking me! At which words, he let her fall, at the distance from the Steeple, about the breadth of the street of Edinburgh, where she brake her Leggs and her Belly. I saw the impression and dimple of her heels; as many thousands did, which continued for six or seven years upon which place no Grass would ever grow. At last there was a stone dyke built upon the place.

My second Relation shall be of some Witches of Borrowstonness: which were the occasion of much inquiry after them there. Anno 1644. A certain Woman in the town, came about eight a clock in the morning into her Neigh-

Neighbours house, after a most furious manner, and assaulted her, by scratching her face, and pulling the hair out of her head, saying, thou traitour Thief, thou thought to have destroyed my Son this morning, but it is not in thy power. The Ship wherein the young man was a Sailler, had been under a dreadful tempest aff and on, with Saint Abbs head, that morning. With the violence of a Sea, which came in upon the Deck, he was cast over-board on this side of the Ship, and to the admiration of all, he was cast in upon the Deck again, upon the other side, without harm. This marvellous business being reported about eight a clock at night by the Mariners, when they came a shoar, and being compared with what the one Woman said to the other that morning, both of them were apprehended, and after their confession were both burnt, many hundreds being Spectators whereof I was one.

The last, Which is more remarkable, shall be anent the Wife of one Goodaile a Couper in the Parish of Carrin. This Woman was about thirty and two, or threesand thirty years of age, a most beautiful and comely Person as was in the Countrey about. She was often

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tyll dand delated by many, who had been burnt. They told, that amongst them all, she was the Person, whom the Devil at their Meetings, did most court and embrace, calling her constantly my dear Mistris, setting her alway at his right hand, to the great discontent of his old Hagg, whom, as they conceived, he now slighted. She was apprehended, and committed to Prison. At this time there was one James Fleming a Master of a Ship there, a Person of great courage, strength and resolution, who had it insinuat to him by her, when he was exhorting her to confess, that in respect she understood, he was to be upon her Watch the next night, if she got no deliverance, as she expected before one a clock in the morning, she would lay her heart open to him before others. At which he being apprehensive of what might fall out, as indeed he had reason, went to his Uncle, a grave and experienced Person who advised him to take all his Ships Company, to the number of fourteen able men and keep watch, not forgetting the Reading of Scripture, and earnest Prayer to GOD. The Night was still and calme, as an Summers evening, without the least appearance of Change, when upon a sudden at midnight, as James Fleming himself was coursing her too
and

and again, as the custome was, holding her by the hand, I say upon a sudden, a terrible tempest, like an Hurricano came on, which took the Roof from the house, to their great consternation. And a voice was heard three times, calling her by a strange name to come away. At which she made three several lumps upward increasing gradually, till her feet were as high as his breast. But he held her by both her armes, and as he used to say, when he spoke of it) he betooched himself strongly and earnestly to God, though with great amazement, his hair standing Widdershins in his head. And after the third call, he prevailed against the greatest Effort, which ever he felt, and threw her on the ground, she groveling and fomsing like one having the falling-sickness, where she fell into a profound sleep, for the space of two or three hours. When she awaked, she declaimed most bitterly against the Devils treachery, and perfidiousness, who had promised to carry her to Irland before four a clock in the morning, and to touch at Paisley where she might see her sister in passing. She made a free and full confession, and delected many Women, some of them of good repute, who afterwards confessed, and died so. The Author of this letter is a Person of great honesty and sincerity

From the First Relation of his, we have an evident instance that the Devil can transport the Bodies of men and Women thorow the Air; 'Tis true, he did not carry her far off, but not for want of skill and power. Neither was he afraid to hear the name of God spoken; but purposing to destroy both the Soul and the body of the poor creature, he has pretended so much, to excuse himself, at her hand.

The first Story puts me in mind of one Craich a Witch put in prison, in the Steeple of Culross, to whom several years agoes, Mr. Alexander Colvil, Justice Depute came, a gentleman of great sagacity and knowledge as to Witches. He asked if she was a Witch. She denyed. Dar you hold up your hand and swear that you are not a Witch? Yes sir said she. But behold, what a remarkable Judgement of God come upon her. While she is swearing with her arm listed up, it became as stiff as a tree, that she could not pull it in again, to the amazement of all that were present. One person yet living there, was a witness and can attest this. The Gentleman seeing the vengeance of God upon her for her wickedness falls down presently upon his knees, and entreated the Lord in her behalf, who was graciously pleased to hear him.

Some

Some are of Opinion, that the Devil cannot raise winds and storms upon the Sea and Land. This is evident from the last relation in the Letter. Which puts me in mind of a terrible tempest of wind in the Firth, that day when Bessie Foulter was burnt at Musselburgh in May anno 1661. The Devil (it seems) had promised to her, that she should not die at that time whereupon she looking out at the Prison Window spake very confidently to the folk below, You think to see me burnt the day, but you will all be deceived. The Hirricano did so prevail, that in effect, everie body suspected that she should not have died that day. The morning and the forenoon were very calme.

RELATION XXXV.

Anent some Prayers, Charms and
Avies, used in the Highlands.

I*N the time of ignorance and superstition, when the darkness of Paganism was not dispelled by Gospel light; Spirits kept a more familiar converse with families, and even in the time of Popery, what was more frequent in houses than Brownies whom they employed in many services. It were unseasonable and to-*

dious, to rehearse all the Stories, which have been told of Brownies, and Pharies, commonly called our Good-Neighbours, how there was a King and Queen of Pharie, of such a Court, and train, as they had, and how they had the teind and dutie, as it were of all corns, flesh, and meale, how they rode and went alongs the sides of hills, all in Green apparel. I verily believe many have seen such spectres, but what were they? Nothing but the delusion of the Senses of sundry simple people, whom the Devil made believe they did see and hear such things. Brownie was a Spirit, that haunted divers houses, (familiarily) without doing any evil, but doing necessary turns up and down the house, and frequently was found working in the Barn, threshing the corn in the night time, who appeared like a rough hairy man. Such then was the ignorance of many, that they believed their house was all the sonsier that Brownie was about it. As K. J. says in his Demonology.

I will not speak of ridiculous Friets, such as our meeting with a Lucky or unlucky foot, when we are going about important business; these unquestionably are the Devils lessons for the most part, and a denying of Gods Providence. The practise of the Heathen was
to

to attribute good or evil luke to the slying of Birds as Virgil sayes, Sæpe sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice Cornix.

Whether there be any Magic in the practise of some young Women too curious, who upon Allhallow even goe to bed without speaking to any, having first eaten a cake made of soot, and dreaming, see in their sleep, the man that shall be their husband, I shall not determine. But it looks like a very bad practise. I heard of a Woman, who dipt her smock in South-running-water, on that night, and hanged it up before the fire to dry. One comes in, in the likeness of the man, who was to be her husband, and turns it, and went immediately to the Bed, where she was attending the event, and kist her. It seems she did not believe it was the Devil. To speak of the second sight I cannot, till fuller information be given. I am undoubtedly informed that men & Women in the Highlands can discern fatality approaching others by seeing them in Waters or with winding-sheets about them. And that others can lecture in a sheeps shoulder bone a death within the Parish, seven or eight days before it come. It is not improbable but that such preternatural knowledge comes first by a compact with the Devil and is derived downward

by succession to their posterity, many of such I suppose, are innocent, and have this Sight against their will and inclination.

Charms and Spells have been first taught to men and Women in confederacy with the Devil, many of which are received by Tradition, and used by Witches and ignorant persons too. The vertue of curing, must be from the Devils, active invisible application of them, to such or such a disease, as the curing of an Universal Gout by this unintelligible Charm.

Etter sheen etter sock, Et ta le-
 ur etta pachk Wipper si caan easemitter in
 shi, fo leish in shi corne, orn sheip twa till
 ane curht mach a mainshore.

There is in some part of Galloway a Charm for curing a disease called the Ling, in these words, Cathari Duni Chini Brini. Another there is, which some use for effectuating that, which others do by casting three knots, far si far, fa far fay u, far four na forty Kay u Mack straik it a pain four hun creig weil Mack smeoran bun bagie. Tis language cannot be interpreted.

Besides this, there are Prayers and Avies among the Highlanders, wherein they think, there

*there lays great vertue, as in repeating the
Lords Prayer in Latine thus.*

Paidder nohter kish in sheali sanctishetar
noman du, ta renada, ta langa tu, quidi
honum aicht in dearrich, an dingas, an
dangis, a nipis a nopis, nduramis indaramis,
indittimis, indattamis, shecli she-
clorum, Amen.

Their Avi Mary runs thus.

Avi Mari crashi plena du na tek-
amis penedicata tus anti willi yeramis,
Penedicata rucata shendri Esum Chrisum
Amen.

*At night in the time of Popery when
Folks wen to Bed, they believed the
repetition of this following Prayer
was effectual to preserve them
from danger, and the
house too.*

Who sains the house the night,
They that sains it ilk a night:
Saint *Bryde* and her Brat,
Saint *Colme* and his Hat.
Saint *Michael* and his Spear,
Keep this house from the Wear.
From running Thief,
And burning Thief;

And

And from a ill Rea,
 That be the Gate can gae,
 And from an ill wight,
 That be the gate can light.
 Nine reeds about the house ;
 Keep it all the Night,
 What is that what I see,
 So red so bright beyond the sea ?
 'Tis he was peirc'd through the hands,
 Throw the feet, throw the throat,
 Throw the tongue ;
 Throw the liver and the lung.
 Well is them that well may,
 Fast on Good-Fryday.

*Another Prayer used by the Thieves and
 Robbers on the Borders after Meat,
 in order to stealling from their
 Neighbours.*

He that ordain'd us to be born,
 Send us mair meat or the morn,
 Part of't right and part of't wrang,
 God let us never fast ov'r lang,
 God be thanked and our Ladie,
 All is done that we had ready.

*A Country man in East Lothian
used this Grace always before and
after Meat.*

Lord be blest for all his Gifts
I defy the Devil and all his shifts
God send me mair Silver, Amen.

As the Devil is originally the Author of Charms, and Spells, so is he the Author of several bawdy Songs, which are sung. A reverend Minister told me, that one who was the Devils Piper, a wizzard confest to him, that at a Ball of dancing, the Foul Spirit taught him a Bawdy song to sing and play, as it were this night, and ere two days past all the Lads and Lasses of the town were lifting it throw the street. It were abomination to rehearse it.

RELATION XXXVI

*Anent one Elizabeth Mudy at
Haddington.*

T*His Woman was a Servant to Margaret Kirkwood there, a Woman of good repute once, who before her death took some trouble of mind, but upon what account, I cannot determine.*

termina. She made some insinuation (it seems) to some of her Friends, that she inclined to put hand in her self; whereupon she was attended and waited upon; but had her own Liberty to retire her self to private Prayer, in which exercise she was frequent. Upon a Sabbath forenoon, when all were at Church and she at home, none with her save only a Servant-Maid, she went into some high Room or other, as she was wont to do to her Devotion; and there before the Maid could know, she hanged her self. In this very moment of time, this Lissie Muidy, her old servant being in Church was observed to number upon her fingers 50. or 51. which number being ended she cries out with a loud voice in presence of all, now the turn is done. She was presently taken away as a distracted Person, and news coming to the Church, that such a Woman had hanged herself, her old Mistris, she was taken away to Prison, but what her confession was, it is not well known. There are many other things reported, whereof I cannot give an account. This Tragedy was acted within these few years at Hadington.

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THere is a young man that goes under the Authors name, that pretends to be a Poet, that for money, has presented his Verses to several Persons of Qualitie. Let no Person think that *Mr. Sinclair* has any interest in that man, or his Verses ; as indeed he makes many believe. This is subjoynd to the end of his Book, by *Mr. Sinclars* affectionate Friend who knows this to be true.

J. S.

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If any Gentlemen, and others, will be pleased to send me any Relations about Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions, in any part of the Kingdom; or any Information about the Second Sight, Charms, Spells, Magie, and the like; they shall oblige the Author, and have them publisht to their satisfaction.

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Satans Inbisible

Lieutenant in Ireland long since. *What way he came to get some publick command in the City of Edinburgh, in the year 49. and 50. I know not; but it seems he has been alwayes called Major Weir, since that time. Many things might be narrated of him, which for brevities sake I cannot meddle with; since I intend to speak only of his Sorceries, and other things relating therunto. It seems, he had, before he was burnt, some charge over the Waiters at the Ports of the City, being as it were a Check to them. Coming one day as his customs was, he found some of them in a Cellar, taking a cup of Aile, neglecting their Charge. After a gentle reproof, one of them replied, that some of their number being upon duty, the rest had retired to drink with their old Friend and Acquaintance Mr. Burn. At which word, he started back, and casting an eye upon him, repeated the word Burn four or five times. And going home, he never any more came abroad, till a few weeks after, he had discovered his impieties. It was observed by some, that going to Liberton sometimes, he shunned to step over that Water-brook, which is ordinarily called Liberton-burn, but went about to shun it. Some have conjectured, that he had advise to be*
swore

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ware of a Burn, or some other thing, which this equivocal word might signify, as burn in a fire. If so, he has foreseen his day approaching. A year before he discovered himself, he took a sore sickness, during which time he spake to all who visited him like an Angel, and came frequently abroad again.

This man taking some dreadful tortures of Conscience, and the Terrours of the Almighty being upon his Spirit, confessed to several Neighbours in his own house, and that most willingly, his particular sins which he was guilty of, which bred amazement to all persons, they coming from a man of so high a repute of Religion and Piety. He endeth with this remarkable expression, Before GOD (sayes he) I have not told you the hundred part of that I can say more, and am guilty of. These same very abominations he confessed before the Judges likewise. But after this, he would never till his dying hour confess any more, which might have been for the glorifying of GOD, and the Edification of others, but remained stupid, having no confidence to look any Man in the face, or to open his eyes.

When two of the Magistrates came to his house in the night time, to carry him to prison, they asked, If he had any money to secure?

Satans Inbitchle

He answered, None. His sister said, there was. Whereupon to the value of five Dollars, in parcels here and there, were found in several clouts. His Sister advised the two Magistrates to secure his Staff especially; for she also went to Prison. After he was secured in the Tolbooth, the Bailies returned, and went into a Tavern, near to Weirs house, in the Westbow, a street so called there. The money was put into a Bag, and the clouts thrown into the fire by the Master of the house, and his wife, which after an unusual manner made a circling and dancing in the fire. There was another clout found with some hard thing in it, which they threw into the fire likewise; it being a certain root, which circled and sparkled like Gunpowder, and passing from the Tunnel of the Chimney, it gave a crack like a little Cannon, to the amazement of all that were present.

The money aforesaid, was taken by one of the two Bailies to his own house, and laid by in his Closet. After Family Prayer was ended, he retired into the same Closet, (where I have been) during which time his Wife, (who is yet living) and the rest of the family were afrighted, with a terrible noise within the Study, like the falling of an house, about three times together. His Wife knocking gave a fearful

World Discovered.

full cry, My Dear are you alive. The Bailie came out unafraid, having, (as he said) heard nothing: whether he concealed this upon the account his Wife was with Child, or otherwise, it cannot be well known. The money was presently sent away to the other Bailies house, a great distance from Weirs, where, as was reported, there was some disturbance, but in broken expressions.

During the time of his imprisonment he was never willing to be spoken to, and when the Ministers of the City offered to pray for him, he would cry out in fury. Torment me no more, for I am tormented already. One Minister (now asleep) asking him, if he should pray for him? was answered, not at all. The other replied in a kind of holy anger. Sir I will pray for you in spite of your teeth, & the Devil your master too: Who did pray, making him at least to hear him: but the other staring wildly, was senseless as a Brute. Another, who is likewise at rest, demanded, if he thought there was a God. Said the Man, I know not. That other smartly replied. O man the Argument that moveth me to think, there is a God, is thy self, for what els moveth thee to inform the world of thy wicked life. But Weir answered let me alone. When he peremptorly forbid one of his own Parish

Satans Invisible

Ministers (yet alive) to pray. One demanded, if he would have any of the Presbyterian persuasion to pray. He answered, Sir, you are now all alike to me. Then said the Minister to him, I will pray with you. Do it not said the other upon your Peril, looking up to the beams of the house. But Prayer was offered up, so much the more heartily, because the company about expected some vision. It is observable, that in things common, he was pertinent enough; but when any thing about Almighty God, and his souls condition came about, he would shrugg, and rub his Coat and Breast, saying to them, torment me not before the time. When he was at the stake to be burnt, the City Ministers called to a Church-man there, looking on, being one of that persuasion, whereof Weir was formerlie deemed to be, to speak to him; but no sooner he opened his mouth, than he made a sign with his hand and his head to be silent. When the Roap was about his neck to prepare him for the fire, he was bid say, Lord be merciful to me, But he answered, let me alone, I will not, I have lived as a beast, and I must die as a Beast. The fire being kindled, both He and his Staff, a little after fell into the flames. Whatever Incantation was in his Staff, is not for me to discuss

World Discobered.

discuss. He could not officiate in any holy duty without this Rod in his hand, and leaning upon it, which made those who heard him pray, admire his fluency in Prayer. Its falling into the fire with him (let others search out the disparity) minds me of this Passage. In Shetland a few years agoe. A Judge having condemned an old Woman and her daughter called Helen Stewart for Witch-craft, sent them to be burn'd. The Maid was so stupid, that she was thought to be possessed. When she had hung some little time on the Gibbet, a black Pitchy-like ball foamed out of her mouth: and after the fire was kindled, it grew to the bigness of a Walnut, and then flew up like Squibs into the air, which the Judge yet living attests. It was taken to be a visible sign that the Devil was gone out of her. I shall make no application of this, as to Major Weirs Staff.

I know from good hands, that if this man repented of anything in Prison, it was for causing a poor maid to be scourged, who affirmed, She had seen him commit beastiality going to Newmiles to a solemn meeting. This poor Woman lived about two years after his death, and heard of his fatal end. His incest with his own sister, was first, when she was a young Maid. The place, where this abo-

Satans Insubtle

mination was committed, was cursed, for contrary to nature, it remained always bare without Grass. A reverend Minister told me (I mention this as from my self, not from the author of the Letter) that Major Weir confessed so much to him, and told him, that the place layes off the road-way between Kirkaldy and Kinghorn, upon a little hill side, which he had the curiosity to goe and see, and found it so. This was done the matter of fifty years agoe. Many other things he confessed, which Christian ears should not be defiled with.

Before I come to his Sister, take this notable remark from two persons yet alive, dwelling at the foot of the Westbow, at the head whereof dwelt Major Weir. This Gentlewoman, a substantial Merchants wife was very desirous to hear Him pray, much being spoken of his utterance, and for that end spoke to some of her Neighbours that when he came to their house, she might be sent for. This was done, but could he never be perswaded to open his mouth before her, no not to bless a cup of aile, he either remaining mute, or up with his staff and away. It troubled her then, but I suppose both her husband and she smiles at it now.

Some few dayes before he discovered himself, this Gentlewoman coming from the Castle-hill
where

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where her husbands Neice, was laying in of a Child, about midnight, perceived about the Bow-head three Women in windows, shouting, laughing, and claping their hands. The Gentlewoman went forward, till just at Major Weirs door, there arose as from the street a Woman above the length of two ordinary femells, and stepped forward. The Gentlewoman not as yet excessively feared, bid her maid step on, if by the Lanthorn, they could see what she was; but hast what they could, this long legged Spectre was still before them, moving her Body with a vehement Cackinnation, a great unmeasurable Laughter. At this rate the two strove for place, till the Giantess, came to a narrow Lane in the Bow, commonly called the Stinking-closs, into which she turning: and the Gentlewoman looking after her, perceived the closs full of flaming torches, (She could give them no other name) and as it had been a great multitude of People, Stentoriously laughing and Gapping with Tahies of laughter. This sight at so dead a time of the night, no people being in the Windows, respecting the Closs, made her and her servant haste home, declaring all, which they saw to the rest of the Familie, but more passionatly to her husband. And though

Satans Invisble

though sick with fear, yet she went the next morning with her Maid, to view the noted places of her former nights walk, & at the Closs, inquired who lived there! It was answered Major Weir. The honest couple now rejoycing, that to Weirs devotion they never said Amen. I know there are some, who precariously assert the unreasonableness of believing such Visions and Apparitions, but you have made them sufficiently evident from your Relations foregoing. These in all probability, have been a presage to his approaching death, and of the manner of it, Links and Torches signifying an honourable interment, which perhaps has been promised to him. There was one Minister in the city, that could never be perswaded to speak with him in Prison, but no sooner was he dead, but he went to the Tolbooth, and called for his Sister, who had some remorse, of whom I shall now speak. He told her, that her Brother was burnt, and how he died (though he saw him not execute, as I heard from himself) She believed nothing of it, but after many attestations, she asked Where his staff Was? for it seems, she knew that his strength and life lay therein. He told her it was burnt with him. Whereupon, notwithstanding of her age, she nimbly, and in a furious rage

Words Discobered.

rage fell on her knees, uttering words horrible to be remembered. And in rising up, as she was desired, her raging agony closed with these words. 'O Sir, I know he is with the Devils, for with them he lived. She intreated that Minister to assist her, and attend her to her death, which at her violent importunity he yeilded unto, though it was not his course to wait upon condemned Persons. What she said in private to himself, he says must die with him. She avouched, that from her being sixteen years of age, to her fiftieth, her Brother had the incestuous use of her body, and then loathed her for her age. She was pretty old at this time, and he when he died was about seventy. He asked her, if ever she was with Child to him? She declared with great confidence, he hindred that by means abominable, which she beginning to relate, the Preacher stopped her. Some bystanders were desirous to hear the rest, but saies he (Gentlemen) the speculation of this iniquity is in it self to be punished.

In often and returned visits, she was interrogat if she had any hand in her Brothers Devilry? She declared, but in a passive way, and gave this for an instance. A fiery Chariot, or Coatch, as she called it, coming
to

Satans Invisibile

to his door, at broad day, a stranger invited him and her to goe visit a friend at Dalkeith, a small town some four miles from Edinburgh. They both entered, and went foreward in their visit, at which time (says she) one came and whispered something in his ear, which affected him. They both returned after the same manner, that they had gone out. And Weir going after, to make some visits, told them he had strong apprehensions, that that day, the Kings Forces were routed at Worcester, which within two or three days was confirmed by the Post. She affirmed that none saw the Coatch, but themselves. *The Devil hath wrought far greater Farelies in his time than this.*

She knew much of the enchanted Staff, for by it he was enabled to pray, to commit filthinesse, not to be named, yea even to reconcile Neighbours, Man and Wife, when at variance. She oft hid it from him, and because without it, he could do nothing, he would threaten and vow to discover her incest, fearing which, she would deliver it again.

Being asked the cause of her much spinning, which she was famous for ? She denied any assistance from the Devil, but found she had an

ex-

World Discovered.

extraordinary faculty therein, far above ordinary Spinners: Yet owned, that when she came home, after her being abroad, she found, there was more yarn on her wheel than she left. And that her Weaver could not make cloath thereof, the yarn breaking or falling from the Loom.

Once there came a stranger to her, while she was at her Wheel, and proposed a way to her to make her rich, for they both lived almost upon Alms. The way was this, Stand up and say, all Crosses and Cares go out of this house. She answered, GOD forbid I say that, but let them be welcome when GOD sends them. After two or three visits more, she asked this stranger, where she dwelt? She replied, in the Potter-raw, a street in the Suburbs of that City, but finding neither such a house, nor such a woman, I judged, said she, it was the Devil, one of my brothers acquaintance; for I know, he had familiarity with the Devil.

*His poverty minds me of a Wizzard accused and execute in Shetland, before named, for Witchcraft several years ago, called Luggie, to a nick name, who being a Fisher, had a trick at any time, when hungry at Sea, to cast out his line, and would out of Neptuns lowest Kitching, bring cleverly up fish well
boiled*

Satans Inbisible

boiled and roasted. And his Comerades by a Natural Courage, would make a merry meal thereof, not questioning who was Cook. He had another piece of Art, at any time in the year, or in great storms, to go up to an high hill near his own house, whereupon there was a deep pit, out of which with his lines he drew up Oodling, or Keeling for his provision, which never man could do but himself. This story is true, being yet to be seen in the Criminal books of that Countrey.

She was asked anent her Parents? She was perswaded her mother was a Witch; for the secretest thing that either I my self, or any of the family could do, when once a mark appeared on her brow, she could tell it them, though done at a distance. Being demanded what sort of mark it was? She answered, I have some such like mark my self, when I please, on my forehead. Whersupon she offered to uncover her head for visible satisfaction. The Minister refusing to behold it, and forbidding any discovery, was earnestly requested by some Spectators to allow the freedom. He yeilding, she put back her head-dress, and seeming to frown, there was seen an exact Horse-shoe shaped for nails in her wrinkles. Terrible enough I assure you to the stoutest beholder!

In

World Discovered.

In the morning before her execution, she told the Minister, she resolved to die with all the shame she could, to expiate (under Mercy) her shameful-life. This he understood to be an ingenuous confession of her sins, in opposition to her brothers despair, and desperate silence, to which he did encourage her. At her parting with him, she gave him hearty thanks for his pains; and shaking his hands, (offering to kiss them) she repeated the same words, which he bade her perform. Ascending up the ladder, she spake somewhat confusedly of her sins, of her brother, and his enchanting-staff; and with a ghastly countenance, beholding a multitude of Spectators, all wondering, and some weeping, She spake aloud. There are many here this day, wondering and greeting for me, but alace, few mourns for a broken ——— At which words, many seemed angry. Some called to her to mind higher Concerns. And I have heard it said, that the Preacher declared, he had much ado to keep a composed countenance. The Executioner falling about his duty, she prepares to die stark naked: then and not before, were her words relating to shams understood. The Hangman struggled with her, to keep on her cloaths, and she struggled with him to have them off.
At

Satans Inbisible

At last he was forced to throw her over open-fadd, which afterwards he covered with a cloath.

So much from the Gentleman, that gave me this Information, to which I shall add, that this is not published with a design to reflect upon men of this, or that Perswasion. Far be it. The Devil can counterfeit what Religion he pleases, and ordinarily a good one. True Religion can never suffer any prejudice from a Hypocrite his wearing a cloak of it, more than the good Angels can suffer a stain from Satans transforming himself into an Angel of Light. The Devil hath his Laikies, and Pages with CHRIST'S Livery upon them. Was not Judas, who was but one of the twelve, a vile Hypocrite? It is a wonder where there are a thousand professing OHRIST in a Congregation, that a hundred of them are not as bad. His glistening cloak of Religion dazzled all Mens eyes. This was needful, foul faults must have a fair Cloak to cover them. The Apostle Jude speaks of some, that go after Sarkos heteras, which may be understood, not only of that sin mentioned, Rom. 1. 27. but of another sort of flesh, not to be named.

He was a demonstration proving evidently that there is a GOD; viz by the terrours and

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terroure of his Conscience. It is evident also, there is a Devil, that hurries men on into sin. He had this expression to two Ministers that came to see him in prison ; There was no temptation which the Devil could propose to him, but he was capable to accept of it. It is evident also, there is either an Explicite or Implicite Compact between some men and the Devil. Horrible sins covered with Religion, bring utter despair at the last. Desperation is Hell in fieri. Some men as well as Devils are tormented before the time. Let us not count the loss of Religion, that its made a cloak for covering sin. Let us beware that such a mans fall prove not a neck break to us ; Let us idolize no man for his Profession, or that he is of this or that Perwasion, or of such a Party: Let no man rest in a bare Profession of Religion. Men in compact with the Devil, may be assisted both to Preach and Pray. The Devils servants are well rewarded at the last. Profession and Practise must go together. A Olinking Profession with an unbridled tongue, is a vain Religion. Pure Religion and undefiled before GOD, and the Father, is to visit the Fatherles and the Widows in their affliction ; and for a man to keep himself unspotted from the World.

Major Weir was burnt between Edinburgh and Leith, at a place called the Gallow-lie, on Thursday, 14. of April, 1670.

¶ ¶

An

Satans Inbisible

An Apparition seen in a Dwelling house
in *Mary Kings Closs*, in *Edinburgh*.

Sir, *Within these few years, there was one T. C., by profession an Agent about the Session-house, who about fitting-time was removing his furniture from a lower part of the City to an higher. One in the afore-said Closs seeing his Maid on the Saturday carrying some light furniture to such a house, asked her, if she was to dwell in that house. Yes said she, for I am hired for this half-year. Her friend told her, if you live there, I assure you, you will have more Company than your selves. And after twice or thrice, more going up and down, and several informations anent the business, she was perswaded to tell her Mistris, she would not tarry a servant in that house, it being haunted with a Spirit or Ghaist, and gave her the ground of her intelligence.*

The Mistriss informed her husband, desiring him to forbear that house, least she might be afrighted, even with apprehensions. But he out of a natural courage and fortitude of mind smiled at the Relation, and resolved to tarry, lodging there that same very night.

To

World Discobered.

To morrow being the Sabbath-day, they went both to Church in the forenoon. But in the afternoon, he being indisposed, fitted himself for a sleep. His Wife took the Bible, and at the head of the Table near the Bed, resolved to spend the time in reading of the Holy Scripture, appointing the Maid-servant to go to Church, which she did, but came no more to the Family.

As the Mistriss was reading to her self, she chanced to cast her eye to a little Chamber Door just over against her, where she spied the head and face of an old man gray headed with a gray Beard, looking straight upon her, the distance being very short. At which sight, she endeavouring to awaken her husband, fell a sown and fainted, and lay in that posture till she heard some of her Neighbours open their doors, after sermon was ended. Then she told her husband what was done, and what she had seen, the Apparition being vanished. He pleaded it was some fancy or delusion of her Senses, and bad her be of good courage.

After Supper, both being alone, the good-wifes fear still continuing, she built on a large Fire, and went to bed. After a little time, the Good-man casts his eye toward the Chimney

Satans Inbistble

ney and spyed that some old-mans-head in the former place. He told his Wife, who was like to fall into her former passion. He riseth, lighteth a candle, setteth it on the Table, and went to his Bed again, encouraging themselves in the Lord, and recommended themselves to GODS care and protection. After an hour and more was spent thus, they clearly perceived a young child, with a coat upon it, hanging near to the old mans head. At which sight, the Good-man Tom flew out of his Bed, and his wife after him. He taking her in his armes kneeled down before the Bed, and with fervent devotion they entreated the Lord to be freed from that temptation. He lighted a second candle, the first being spent, and knocked upon his Neighbours, but getting no answer, they both returned to their Bed, where they both kneeled, and prayed, an excessive fear and sweat being upon them.

By and by a naked Arm appears in the air, from the elbow downward, and the hand stretched out, as when one man is about to salute another. He then skipt out of his bed, and kneeling down begged help from heuven. The Arm had now come within its own length to him as it were to shake hands with him. Whereupon he immediately

World Discover'd.

mediatly goes to his Bed again, and at the opening of the Curtain, it offered another salutation to him. The man and his wife embracing one another through fear, and still eying the naked arm, they prayed the more earnestly. But the Cubit offering to touch him, he was in such a consternation and amazement, that he was as one distracted, but taking some courage from GOD, he boldly spake to it after this manner. In the name of the living GOD, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, tell me why thou troubles my Family? To my knowledge, I never wronged any man, by killing or cheating, but hath lived honestly in the World. If thou hast received any wrong, if I can right thee, I shall do my utmost for thee, but trouble me no more. Notwithstanding of this, the Arm and hand came nearer than before, still after a courteous manner, with an offer of acquaintance. They fell to prayer again, both of them being drowned with sweat, and in the mean time they saw a little Dog come out of that little Room aforementioned, which after a little time looking about, and towards the Bed, and the Naked Arm, compos'd it self upon a Chair, as it were with its nose in its tail to sleep. This some-

Datans Inbisible

what increased their fever. But quickly after, a Cat comes leaping out from the same Room, and in the midst of the hall began to play some little Tricks. Then was the hall full of small little creatures, dancing prettily, unto which none of them could give a name, as having never in nature seen the like.

It is not possible to narrate the hight of Passion, and Fear these two were under, having all these Apparitions at once in their eye, which continued a long time. The honest couple went to their knees again within the Bed, there being no standing in the Floor of the Room. In the time of prayer, their ears were startled, with a deep, dreadful, and loud groan, as of a strong man dying, at which all the Apparitions and visions at once evanished, and as the honest couple thought, they retired to the little Room, whence they came, and the house was quiet.

*After this, they both went hand in hand to the little Room where the Drink stood and refreshed themselves therewith. After they had taken a second draught, the husband said my Dear, God hath made me this night to bear, that which would have afrighted
to*

World Discovered.

to death the stoutest of them all. *The day approaching, they dressed themselves, and made no secret of it. But looking back upon what happened, they wondred that none of them had the wit to open the Door, and to flie from the house, which had been easier to have done, than to light the first Candle. But they behoved to undergoe this Trial, having no power to escape it. And by this means, the Goodman had the courage to dwell in the house after till he died: yet would never want some Good-fellows or others with him, concluding the worst was over as indeed it was.*

A few weeks after, he on a Sabbath day went with his wife to Carstorfin, a Village two miles from Edinburgh, to hear Sermon. In the evening he took some refreshment there, at a publick Inns: and stepping to the Door, to ease nature, he was instantly surprised with a vehement Shivering and trembling in all his joynts. Coming from the end of the aforesaid Village, with a purpose to come home, he was accompanied with some crows flying above him, and almost keeping pace with him, till he came to Portsburgh, a part of the surburbs of the City, Where they left him, and returned to their own lodging. These Crows (my dear says he) do prognostick

Satans Invisible

tick that I must die shortly. *He fell sick of a pain in his head, with an excessive aiking. But before I go further on in this narration, I must make a visit to the Countrey.*

A Gentle-man near Tranent or in it, a town about seven miles from Edinburgh, whose Agent this man was, in managing his Law affairs, and kepted his Papers for that effect, had a singular kindness for Thomas, as he had for him. This Gentleman being in Bed one morning with his Wife, his Nurse and a Child laying in a truckle Bed near them, the Nurse was afrighted with something like a cloud moving up and down the Room, but not shaped as such. She called to her Master, and his Wife, and awakned them. He seeing the Cloud figured like a man, nimbly skipt over the Bed, and drew his sword. And going to Bed again, layed it by his side, and recommended the Family to God. For a time it continued in the forementioned dark form, but anone they all saw perfectly the body of a man, walking up and down. The Gentleman behaved himself more like a Christian, than a combatant. At last this Apparition looked him fully and perfectly in the face, and stood by him with a ghaistly and Pale countenance.

At

World Discovered.

At which the Gentleman with great courage said to the Spectre, what art thou? Art thou my dear Friend *Thomas Coltheart*? for so was the Agent called. Art thou dead my friend? Tell me, if thou hast any commission to me from Almighty God, tell it me and it shall be welcome? The Ghost held up its hand three times, waving and shaking it towards him, and immediatly disappeared. *This was done about the very hour (as was guessed) of the Agents death.*

The Sunday after his death, among many accompanying his Corps to the common burial place, some of the Town Ministers were there, and by chance a friend of his, thanked one of them for his attendance: and said (sir) it was a pity, that some of you saw him not before he died. The Minister asked him, if any remarkable thing was the cause of his sicknesse? So much was told, as gave the Minister ground to make a visit to the Widow, who made him very welcome with many tears in her eyes. After she had composed her self, he prayed. Prayer being ended, she began the fore-related story, and told it from the beginning. But when she came to the Dogs part, she telling him, that

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that he was just now sitting upon the Chair, where the Dog lay asleeping, the Minister rises up, and taking the Mistris by the hand, come (said he) if I have seen his Chair: in the name of Almighty God, I will see his Chamber too; and so went in to see the little Room from which the Apparitions came, and to which they returned, in which Room she gave the Minister an account of what followed the Dog. In the mean time a Gentleman came in, whom she knew by his voice, and running to him with great fervor, they embraced one another affectionately with tears. To make an end, this stranger was the Gentleman, to whom the Ghost of the deceased husband appeared, about Tranent, the very hour, when he was expiring at Edinburgh. He told likewise, that, that morning the Ghost appeared to him, he was resolved to attend the Duke of Lauderdale from Lithingtoun to Edinburgh, but this Apparition discomposing his Wife, he could not. But with his first conveniency, (he told her) he had come in, to see her, and get an account of his papers, being touched with what he saw at his house. These things coming to the Duke of Lauderdale's ears, as remarkable Stories, he called for that Minister, and had the same account
of

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of the Particulars, before many of the Nobility narrated to him.

An Apparition of a deceased Wife to
her husband, at *Edinburgh.*

S*ir, That which I narrated to you the other day, I have now sent it under my hand, as a thing very certain and sure. I know a servant Maid that served a Gentlewoman in the Old Provosts Closs, as they call it, who was married to a Butcher called Iohn Richy about twelve years agoe. She lived about five years with him, and bore him four Children, and then died. Within a few dayes after her burial, he went in suit of a young Woman, courting her for Marriage. He had a Comerade of the same trade, to whom he revealed his Intention, & desired him to meet at such a house, near to the Court of Guard, down some Closs or other, that he might see his new Mistriss. The appointment is keeped. The two Lovers sat down together on a Bed side, and the Comerade sat opposit to them, there being a table between them, and a Window or shot at the head of the Room, that gave them light. The Closs or Wynd was*
narrow

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narrow to which they had a sight. And while the two, are dallying together in the Bed, the other smiling at them, behold while this man is casting his eye about the room, he perceived distinctly the body and face of the dead wife, in her dead cloaths, looking towards them from an opposit window. At which, this man, his Comerade, rose up afrighted, saying to the other, *John* whats that? Whereupon all stood up looking, and saw perfectly the buried woman, lifting up her hands (*as appeared*) to take the dead dress from her head, but could not reach it. The man threw her out of his Arms, with a purpose to be gone quickly. But his Comerade vowed he would not stir, till he get something to comfort his heart. They got a little Brandy and then went away, not without wondering and fear. *Upon this the man took sickness for three or four days, and his Comerade coming to give him a visit, counseled him to delay, or wholly to desist from that purpose of marriage. But affection would not suffer him to forbear, and though not jully recovered of his Frenzie, he made a new address to his Mistris. But while he is putting on his shoes, his dead wife*
appears

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appears again in her ordinary habit, and crossing the Room in his sight, says, Iohn will you not come to me? and with that evanished. *Upon this, he took sickness again, and called for his Comerade, and told him of this second Apparition, who most freely intreated him to desist, or at least to delay. His sickness increasing, he died. About which time he spake of a third visit his wife gave him, blaming him, as if he had too soon forgotten her. But did not tell it distinctly, and therefore his Comerade could not be positive in it. He was buried within a moneth of his wifes decease.*

One of the Ministers of Edinburgh, who had been acquaint in the house, where she served, hearing some Whisper of the Apparition, sent a servant secretly to call for the mans Comerade, who gave him a just and true narration of all which I have written. Adding, that he having seen the Vision first; some told him, he would quickly die, but he is yet living in the town a Flesher, the Minister having married him to two Wives since. The de-coast wifes name was Helen Brown. I intended to have published another Relation anent the devils coming in the night-time, and knocked throes several times at such a mans door; but I was desired to forbear. Hav-

Satans Invisibile, &c.

Having no kindness for the *Cartesian Philosophy*, I must fall upon it in the close, as I did in the beginning. I will not name nor cite the Author, that maintains the following Blasphemous Opinions, tho I may. 1. That there is an *infinis intelligible extension*, which is GOD, in which we see all Bodies. 2. This Author makes CHRIST, the *Eternal Word*, speak in the quality of a *Cartesian Philosopher*. 3. He destroyes altogether the *Providence of GOD*. 4. He says that GOD hath not made all things for his own *Glory*. 5. That it was necessar that all men should be *Sinners*, that there might be a *diversity of Glory*. 6. Works done without *Grace* are *good-works*. 7. GOD is not the Author of every good thing, that is in us. 8. He destroyes the *Authority of the Scripture*, and exposes it to be despised by the *profane*. 9. The *thoughts of Jesus Christ* are the occasional Causes of the distribution of *Grace*. 10. GOD could have created *Spirits from all Eternity*. 11. All Creatures are full of *Jesus Christ*. 12. He ruins the *nature of sin*, by the *Idea*, which he gives of *Liberty*. 13. That *Liberty* is not *essential to Spirits*. 14. A man transported by his *passion*, doth not sin. 15. Every Habit or *Passion*, or *Temperament*, which we cannot overcome doth make the most ugly and *Enormous Actions*, to be no sins. And thence, *Sodomy*, *Incest*, *Murder*, *Adultery*, *Rebellion*, *Witchcraft*, are no sins, if they be *habitual*. These are but a few of his Blasphemous and *Atheistical Opinions*. This *Philosophy* would please some now a dayes very well, that habituate themselves in murder, in murdering some in their Lodgings, and others on the Kings high-way, as is most unchristianly done by some! *O dementia! Hucine rerum ventimus?*

F I N I S.



SOME
ADDITIONAL RELATIONS,
WHICH HAVE HAPPENED IN THE
SHIRE OF RENFREW, TOWNS OF PITTEN-
WEEM, CALDER, AND OTHER PLACES.

I.—*Concerning some Witches in the Shire
of Renfrew.*

IT was about the end of August 1696,
Christian Shaw, daughter to Shaw of
Bargarran, in the shire of Renfrew, about
eleven years of age, perceiving one of the
maids of the house, named Katharine Camp-
bell, to steal and drink some milk; she told
her mother of it: Whereupon the maid Camp-
bell (being of a proud and revengeful hum-
our, and a great curser and swearer) did, in
a great rage, thrice imprecate the curse of
God upon the child, and uttered these words,
“The devil harle your soul through hell.”
—On Friday following, one Agnes Nas-
mith came to Bargarran’s house, where she
asked the same Christian, how the lady and young
young

young child was ? and how old the young child was ? To which Christian replied, "What do I know ?" Then Agnes asked, How herself did, and how old she was ? To which she answered that she was well, and in the eleventh year of her age.—On Saturday night thereafter, the child went to bed in good health ; but so soon as she was asleep, began to cry " Help, help ;" and did fly over the resting-bed where she was lying, with such violence, that her brains had been dashed out, if a woman had not broke the force of the child's motion, and remained as if she had been dead, for the space of half an hour. After this she was troubled with sore pains, except in some short intervals. And when any of the people present touched any part of her body, she did cry and screech with such vehemence, as if they had been killing her, but could not speak.—Some days thereafter she fell a crying, that Catharine Campbell and Agnes Nasmith were cutting her side and other parts of her body. In this condition she continued a month, with some variation, both as to the fits and intervals.—She did thrust out of her mouth parcels of hair, some curled, some plaited, some knotted, of different colours, and in large

large quantities; and likewise coal-cinders, about the bigness of a chesnut; some whereof were so hot, that they could scarcely be handled. One of which, Dr. Brisbane being by her when she took it out of her mouth, felt to be hotter than any one's body could make it.—The girl continued a long time in this condition, till the government began to take notice of it, and gave commission to some honourable gentleman for the trial of these two, and several others concerned in these hellish practices; (which I shall, for brevity's sake, omit to mention) and being brought before the judges, two of their accomplices confessed the crime; whereupon they were condemned and executed.

II.—*Concerning the Witches of Pittenweem.*

PPETER MORTON, smith at Pittenweem, being desired by one Beattie Laing to do some work for her, which he refused, excusing himself in respect he had been pre-engaged to serve a ship with nails, within a certain time, so that till he had finished that work, he could not engage in any other; that notwithstanding, the said Beattie Laing declared herself dissatisfied, and vowed revenge. The said Peter Morton, afterward

¶ ¶ ¶

being

being indisposed, coming by the door, saw a small vessel full of water, and a coal of fire slockened in the water; so perceiving an alteration in his health, and remembering Beattie Laing's threatenings, he presently suspects devilry in the matter, and quarrels the thing. Thereafter, finding his indispositions growing worse and worse, being tormented and pricked as if with bodkins and pins, he openly lays the blame upon witchcraft, and accuses Beattie Laing. He continued to be tormented, and she was by warrant apprehended, with others in Pit-tenweem. No natural reason could be given for his distemper, his face and neck being dreadfully distorted, his back prodigiously rising and falling, his belly swelling and falling on a sudden; his joints pliable, and instantly so stiff, as no human power could bow them. Beattie Laing and her hellish companions being in custody, were brought to the room where he was; and his face covered, he told his tormentors were in the room, naming them. And though formerly no confession had been made, Beattie Laing confessed her crime, and accused several others as accessory.—The said Beattie having confessed her compact with the devil, and using of spells; and particularly her slockening

sticking the coal in water; she named her associates in revenge, against Peter Morton, viz Janet Corset, Lillie Wallace, and — Lawson, had framed a picture of wax, and every one of the forenamed persons having put their pin in the picture for torture. They could not tell what had become of the image, but thought the devil had stolen it, whom they had seen in the prison.—Beattie Laing likewise said, that one Isobel Adams, a young lass, was also in compact with the devil. This woman was desired to see with Beattie, which she refused: and Beattie let her see a man at the other end of the table, who appeared as a gentleman, and promised her all prosperity in the world: she promised her service to him; and he committed uncleanness with her, (which she said no other had done before) and he put his mark in her flesh, which was very painful. She was shortly after ordered to attend the company, to go to one M'Grigor's house to murder him. He awakening when they were there, and recommending himself to God, they were forced to withdraw. This Isobel Adams appeared ingenuous and very penitent in her confession; she said, he who forgave Manasseh's witchcrafts, might forgive her's also; and died very penitent, and
to

to the satisfaction of many.

This Beattie Laing was suspected by her husband, long before she was laid in prison by warrant of the Magistrates. The occasion was this; she said, that she had packs of wool coming from Leith to her, which she was to sell at Auchtermuchty fair; and they being longsome in coming to the market, he said, "It would not be in time to the fair." She desired him to go to the market, for she was sure her merchant would not fail her. He went off long before her; and when he came to the town, he found her before him, and two packs of very good wool, which she instantly sold; and coming home with a black horse which she had with her, they drinking till it was late in the night ere they came home, the man said, "What shall I do with the horse?" She replied, "Cast the bridle on his neck, and you will be quit of him." And, as her husband thought, the horse flew with a great noise away in the air.—They were, by a complaint to the Privy Council, prosecute by her Majesty's Advocate 1704, but all set at liberty, save one, who died in prison, in Pittenweem. Beattie Laing died undesired, in her bed, in St. Andrew's; all the rest died miserable and violent deaths.

III.

III.—*Concerning the bewitching of a Child
in Ireland.*

AT Antrim, in Ireland, a girl of nineteen years of age, inferior to none in the place for beauty, education, and birth, innocently eat a leaf of sorrel, which she got from a witch, after she had given the begg- ing witch bread and beer at the door: it was scarcely swallowed by her, but she began to be tortured in her bowels, to tremble all over, and even was convulsive; and, in fine to swoon away, as dead. The doctors used remedies on the 9th of May 1698, at which time it happened, but to no purpose. The child continued in a most terrible par- oxysm: Whereupon they sent for a minister, who scarce had laid his hand on her, when she was turned by the demon, in the most dreadful shapes. She began first to roll herself about, then to vomit horse-dung, needles, pins, hairs, feathers, bottoms of thread, pieces of glass, window-nails, nails drawn out of a cart or coach wheel, an iron- knife, above a span long, eggs, and fish shells. And when the wretch (I should have said the witch) came near the place, or looked to the house, though at the dis- tance of 200 paces from the house where
the

the child was, she was in worse torment, insomuch, that no life was expected for the child, till the witch was removed to some greater distance.——This Witch was apprehended, condemned, strangled, and burnt; and was desired to undo the incantation, immediately before strangling; but said she could not, by reason others had done against her likewise: But the wretch confessed the same, with many more. The child was about the middle of September thereafter, carried to a gentleman's house, where there were many other things happened scarce credible, but that several ministers, and the gentleman, have attested the same. The relation is to be seen in a pamphlet printed 1699, entitled, "The bewitching of a child in Ireland."

IV.—*Concerning the Witch of Calder.*

THIS famous witch of Calder is not to be altogether passed by. This horrible slave of Satan was first suspected by her neighbours, and then her horrible witchcrafts were found to the conviction of many, and direful experience of my Lord Torphichen's family.—She had a child died, which she gave to the devil, not only the soul, but the corpse

corpee, without a burying.—She put an incantation upon the aforesaid honourable Lord's son, so that he was the terror, as well as the grief of the family. This child was in a room with his sisters; he told them, he knew what was doing by others absent; the daughters told their Lady-mother. I forbear to tell all I had from an eye and ear witness; but this one I cannot pass. The son was tormented extremely, and at length, his pedagogue sitting up with him one night, and being sleepy, he saw a flash of fire at the window; but thinking the child was asleep, continued to watch more carefully; and, as he thought, in a little time, the same fire appeared at the window; the child was awake in bed, and told him, he had been at Torryburn in the time. This child was several times taken away. He told the family when he was to be taken away at other times; and sometimes, even then, though they waited on him, he appeared to be lifted up in the air, to be taken from them. This witch being taken into custody, she then discovered others, who are all dead.

She was examined by the minister of the parish, and several others; but was brutishly ignorant, and scarce knew any thing, but her witchcraft. There was one day, that
this

this child was waited on, when he was to be taken away, they kept the door and window close; but a certain person going to the door, he made shift and got to the door, and was lifted in the air, but was caught by the heels and coat-tails, and brought back.— There were many and dreadful things happened to this child, which I forbear to mention, on account of the honourable family, and that it is too late, and in every body's head.—When the witch was examined about the corpse of her child, she said, the corpse were buried; but the wright that made the coffin, declared, That she put nothing in the coffin but clouts. Then she said, "The child being long pined, and all flesh taken off by the sickness, it appeared but clouts;" yet, at length she confessed, that she gave the corpse as well as the soul to the devil, which he said he was to make a roast of. She, with all her hellish accomplices, died in custody, after they had confessed many amazing incantations, and horrible unheard of witchcrafts.

F I N I S.



Supplement.

F.—Additional Notices of Major Weir and his Sister, 1641-1670.

HOMAS WEIR, one of the most celebrated Wizards of Scotland, was born near Lanark, in Clydesdale. Of his father, or grandfather, mention is made in the 'Memoirs of the Somerville Family, written by James, eleventh Lord Somerville,' (Edited, with Illustrative Notes, by Sir Walter Scott, and published in 1815, 2 vols. 8vo), who, recording a proffer of alliance tendered by Lockhart of Lee to Gilbert, ninth Lord Somerville, whose daughter Lockhart wished to secure as a wife to his eldest son, says, 'It was supposed that Thomas Weir of Kirktonne, Lee's own brother-in-law, was both the traitor that betrayed, and the person that obstructed the going on of this marriage.' The proofs of Weir's treachery respecting the marriage, and also the sale of Lord Somerville's estate to the Earl of Marr, may be found in the second volume of the

Memoirs, pp. 73-77. Weir, the wizard, was a lieutenant in the Puritanical army sent by the Scottish Covenanted Estates in 1641, to assist in suppressing the Irish papists.* He was also an eminent promoter of the '*Western Remonstrance*,' in the year 1650, and it is recorded, 'To these principles he stuck as close, as to the Devil himself; inso-much, that when the government of the Church was restored, he avowedly renounced the communion of it, and endeavoured to widen the schism to the utmost of his power. He could not so much as endure to look upon an Orthodox Minister; but when he met any of them in the street, he would pull his hat over his eyes in a Pharisaical kind of indignation and contempt.'

In the years 1649-50 he had the great trust of the 'Guards of the City of Edinburgh' committed unto him under the quality of *Major*, and from that time to the day of his infamous death, was always called by the name of *Major Weir*. 'He behaved himself in this office with great cruelty and insolence towards the Loyal party, being very active in discovering and apprehending the

* Weir had been an officer on the popular side in the civil war. In the Registers of the Estates, under March 3, 1647, reference is made to a supplication by Major Thomas Weir, in which he craved payment of 600 marks due to him by an Act of the Committee of Estates of date the 17th of December 1644, and also payment of what might be due to him 'for his service as Major in the Earl of Lanark's regiment by the space of twell months, and his service in Ireland as one Captain-Lieutenant in Colonel Robert Home his ragiment by the space of nineteen months;' further asking 'that the Parliament wald ordain John Acheson, Keeper of the Magazines, to re-deliver to the supplicant the band given by him to the said John upon the receipt of one thousand weight of powder, two thousand weight of match, and an thousand pound weight of ball, sent with the supplicant to Dumfries for furnishing that of the country.' The matter was given over to a committee.

Cavaliers, and bringing them to be arraigned and tried for their lives. He used to insult and triumph over them in their miseries, and persecute them with all manner of sarcasms and reproaches, when they were led out like victims to public execution. In particular, the barbarous villain treated the Heroic Marquess of Montrose, with all imaginable insolence and inhumanity, when he lay in prison, making his very calamities an argument, that God, as well as man, had forsaken him, and calling him *Dog, Atheist, Traytor, Apostate, Excommunicate Wretch*, and many more such intolerable names. This cruel manner after which he used to outrage the poor Royalists, passed among the people for extraordinary zeal; and made them consider him as a singular worthy whom God had raised up to support the *Cause*. He studied the art of dissimulation, and Hypocrisy, always affecting a formal gravity and demureness in his looks and deportment, and employing a vast and tenacious memory which God had given him, in getting without Book such words, and phrases of the Holy Scriptures, as might serve best in all companies to make him pass for an Holy and gifted man. He had acquired a particular gracefulness in whining and sighing, above any of the sacred clan, and had learned to deliver himself upon all serious occasions in a far more ravishing accent than any of their Ministers could attain unto. By these and other Hypocritical arts he had got such a name for sanctity, and devotion, that happy was the man with whom he would converse, and blessed was the family in which he would vouchsafe to pray. For he pretended to pray only in the families of such as were Saints of the highest form; insomuch, that the Brethren and Sisters of these precincts

would strive who should have him to exercise in their houses, and of those that lived at a greater distance, some would come forty or fifty miles to have the happiness to hear him pray. He had indeed a wonderful fluency in extemporary Prayer, and what through Enthusiastical phrases, and what through Extasies, and raptures, into which he would appear transported, he made the amazed people presume he was acted by the spirit of God. Besides praying, he used to exhort, and bless the families in which he prayed; but he never undertook to preach in them, for fear of invading the Ministerial Providence; which certainly would have offended the *Kirk!*

This base hypocrite professed wonderful sanctity; he was known as one of the 'Bowhead Saints,' and used to pray in House-Conventicles; though it appears, that he partially accommodated himself to the Prelatic rulers. According to a contemporary account, 'His garb was still a cloak, and somewhat dark, and he never went without his staff. He was a tall black man, and ordinarily looked down to the ground; a *grim countenance, and a big nose.* At length he became so notoriously regarded among the Presbyterian strict sect, that if four met together, be sure Major Weir was one. He had got himself the privilege, under a pretence of praying and exhortation, to go to their houses, and into their bed-chambers when he pleased; and it was his practice to visit married women at such times especially as their husbands were from home. At private meetings he prayed to admiration, which made many of that stamp court his converse. Many resorted to his house to join with him, and hear him pray; but it was observed that he could not officiate in any holy duty without the black staff, or rod, in his hand, and leaning

Major Weir and his Sister. v

upon it, which made those who heard him pray admire his flood in prayer, his ready extemporary expression, his heavenly gesture; so that he was thought more angel than man, and was termed by some of the holy sisters ordinarily *Angelical Thomas!* He never married; but for many years he dwelt along with his sister, Grisel Weir, in a house near to the Bow Head of Edinburgh. After this manner, and in this mighty reputation, he lived till the year 1670, which was the 70th year of his age. After a life characterised externally by all the graces of devotion, but polluted in secret by crimes of the most revolting nature, and which little needed the addition of wizardry to excite the horror of living men, Major Weir fell stricken, it would appear, with insanity, which affected his mind so much, that he was no longer able to endure the remorse of his awakened conscience; but to ease the inquietudes of his guilty mind was forced to accuse himself, which he first of all did among those of his own party, and desired them to bring him to public justice to expiate for his abominable crimes. But they, considering what a confounding scandal, and dishonour the hypocrisy of such an eminent professor would reflect upon the whole sect, did with all possible care and industry strive to conceal the Major's condition, which they did for several months, till one of their own ministers, whom they esteemed more forward than wise, revealed the secret to Sir Andrew Ramsay, Lord Abbotshall, then Provost of Edinburgh, who judging human nature incapable of such horrid crimes, as the minister told him the Major had confessed, concluded he was fallen into a phrenzy, or high degree of melancholy, and therefore courteously sent some physicians of his own persuasion and acquaintance to visit him, and physic him

for his distempered brain. But the physicians returning to the Provost, assured him that the Major was in good health, and that he was free of hypochondriac distempers, and had as sound intellectuals as ever he had had, and that they believed his distemper was only an exulcerated conscience, which could not be eased till he was brought to condign punishment, as with cryings and roarings he desired to be. Afterwards, the Provost, for his further satisfaction, sent some Conventicle-Ministers to enquire into his condition, and make a report thereof; who, finding it impossible to disguise the matter, which was now town-talk, told his Lordship that the Major was not affected with melancholy; but that the terrors of God which were upon his soul, urged him to confess and accuse himself. The Provost thereupon began to conclude, that he had good grounds to take public notice of this affair; and therefore, without further enquiry, sent the guards of the city to seize upon the major and his sister Jean, who was involved in his confessions, and carry them both to the public gaol.

It is recorded—'When they were seized, she desired the guards to keep him from laying hold on a certain staff, which, she said, if he chanced to get into his hands he would certainly drive them all out of doors, notwithstanding all the resistance they could make.' This magical staff was all of one piece, with a crooked head of thorn-wood. She said he received it of the Devil, and did many wonderful things with it, particularly that he used to lean upon it in his hypocritical prayers; and after they were committed, she still desired it might be kept from him; because if he were once master of it again, he would certainly grow obdurate, and retract the confession which he

Major Weir and his Sister. vii

had so publicly made. She also confessed in prison, 'that she and her brother had made a compact with the Devil; and that on the 7th of September 1648 they were both transported from Edinburgh to Musselburgh, and back again, in a coach and six horses, which seemed all of fire, and that the Devil then told the Major of the defeat of our army at Preston in England; which he confidently reported in most of its circumstances several days before the news had arrived here. This prediction did much increase the high opinion the people began to have of him, and served him to make them believe that, like Moses, he had been with God in the Mount, and had a spirit of prophecy, as well as of prayer. But as for herself, she said, she never received any other benefit by her commerce with the Devil, than a constant supply of an extraordinary quantity of yarn, which she was sure (she said) to find ready for her upon the spindle, whatever business she had been about.'

When in the gaol they were visited by persons of all sorts and qualities, Clergymen, Laymen, Physicians, Lawyers, Conforming and Non-Conforming Ministers, who all flocked thither to see this monster, and discourse with him about his horrible crimes.

While the wretched man lay in prison, he made no scruple to disclose the particulars of his guilt, but refused to address himself to the Almighty for pardon, 'He acknowledged his hypocrisy, by which he had deluded men and mocked God, declaring that in all his life he had never prayed to God in private, nor had he any power to speak when he attempted to do it; although he had such an extraordinary and charming utterance in his solemn conventicle-prayers. He also confessed that he never bowed his knee to God at his own, or other men's prayers;

and none of his own party can remember that at any devotion, even when he seemed most rapturous, they ever saw him kneel. . . . All the while he was in prison he lay under violent apprehension of the heavy wrath of God, which put him into that which is properly called despair ; a despair which made him hate God, and desist from duty to him, and with which the damned souls in hell are reasonably supposed to be constantly affected. In this sense he was desperate, and therefore would admit neither *Church*, nor *Conventicle-Ministers* to pray for him, or discourse with him about the infinite mercy of God, and the possibility of the forgiveness of his sins. Much less could he endure to be exhorted to repent, or be brought to entertain any thought of repentance, telling all the world, that he had sinned himself beyond all possibility of repentance, and pardon ; that he was already damned, that he was sure his condemnation to eternal burnings was already pronounced in heaven, and that the united prayers of all the saints in heaven and earth would be vain, and insignificant, if they were offered to God in his behalf. So that when some charitable ministers of the city, by name the present Bishop of Galloway, and present Dean of Edinburgh, were resolved to pray before him for his repentance, and pardon, against his consent, he was with much difficulty withheld from interrupting of them in their devotions, and the posture he put himself in when they began to pray, was to lie upon his bed in a most stupid manner, with his mouth wide open ; and when prayers were ended, being asked if he had heard them and attended to them, he told them, " They were very troublesome, and cruel to him, and that he neither heard their devotions, nor cared for it, nor could be the better for all the prayers that Men or Angels

could offer up to heaven upon his account." It was his interest to believe there was no God; and therefore to ease the torments of his mind, he attempted now and then to comfort, and flatter up himself into this absurd belief. For he was sometimes observed to speak very doubtfully about his existence; in particularly to say, that if it were not for the terrors which he found tormenting him within, he should scarce believe there was a God.

Being with great tenderness and compassion besought by one of the city ministers, that he would not so resolutely destroy himself, by despairing of God's mercy, which upon repentance had been granted to Murtherers, Adulterers, Sodomists, Bestialists, nay, to those that had denied Christ: he replied in anger, "Trouble me no more with your beseeching of me to repent, for I know my sentence of damnation is already sealed in Heaven, and I feel myself so hardened within, that if I might obtain pardon of God, and all the Glories of Heaven for a single wish that I had not committed the sins, with the sence whereof I am so tormented, yet I could not prevail with myself to make that single wish. And were your soul in my soul's stead, you would find your exhortations impertinent, and troublesome, for I find nothing within me but blackness and darkness, Brimstone, and burning to the bottom of Hell."

They had not been long in prison before they were brought to Trial, which was on the 9th April 1670. They were tried before that learned civilian Mr. William Murray, and Mr. John Prestoune, Advocates; who were made Judges by commission for that time. They were prosecuted by his Majesty's Advocate, Sir John Nisbett, and the Jury by whom they were tried was Gideon Shaw, Stationer; James Penderer, Vintner; James Thomson

Feltmaker; Robert Brown, Stationer; James Brown, Feltmaker; Robert Johnston, Skinner: John Clighorn, merchant; with many more sufficient Citizens of Edinburgh. The Court being set, the Libel or Indictment against the Major was read. After setting forth his disgusting crimes, under four different heads, it proceeds thus:—"It is no small aggravation, if anie can be, of so great wickedness and impietie, that being guiltie and conscions to himself of so great hyneous abominations, and being altogether void of religione and fear of God, he had the confidence, or rather impudence, to pretend to fear God in a singular and eminent way, and did make professione of strickness, pietie, and puritie, beyond others; and did presume and tak upon you to pray publickly in many companies, and in the houses of youre friends, neighbours, and acquaintances; and did affect, and had the reputation and character of a pious and devot man, thereby endeavouring to conceale and palliate his villainies, and to abuse and impose upon the world, and to mocke God himself, as if his all-seeing eye could not see through the slender veill of hypocrisie and formalitie, and could not discover and lay open to the view of the world so great and flagitious lewdness in its own colours, in which it does now appear." It is stated that, "All which crimes particulariz'd in manner aforesaid, he acknowledg'd judicially at the Bar."* But "the Lord Advocate called for further probation." The proof led against him, as to many points, was drawn

* He confessed crimes that it was possible for him to have committed, but he qualified his confession by answering 'that he thought himself guilty of the foresaid crimes, and could not deny them,' and I am convinced of the prisoner having been delirious at the time of his trial.—*Hugo Arnol's Criminal Trials 1536-1784.* 4to, 1788.

from his own confessions. The witnesses were "John Oliphant, William Johnston, and Archibald Hamilton, Bailies, *i.e.*, Aldermen of Edinburgh; also Margaret Weir, his sister, Anne Simpson, Archibald Nisbett, Writer to the Signet, John Alexander of Leith; and Maister John Sinclare, Minister at Ormistounne,* aged fiftie years or thereby, married, sworne, depones, that yesterday Major Weir having sent for him, and that the Major told him he was to speak his conscience to him, and make a frie confessione, and that the Major did accordinglie confess unto him that he was guilty of Adultrie, Incest, &c., and desired the deponer to pray for him as a persone guiltie of the said grievous crymes; and farder declares, that after the Major was brought down out of the Tolbuith, and the deponer being desired to retier with him to the little rounn before the Toune's Councill hona, he did confess again, &c., and the deponer having asked him if he had seen the Deivell, he answered, that any fealling he ever hade of him was in the dark; and this is treuth, &c." The process being thus ended the jury did unanimously find the Major guilty of Incest with his sister, and bestiality with a Mare, and a Cow, and found him guilty of Adultery and Fornication by a plurality of votes. Whereupon the deputed Judges sentenced him to be strangled at a stake betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, on Monday following, the 11th of April, and his body to be burnt to ashes—a sentence executed at the Galla-lee, whers, however, it would seem, that this miserable wretch was actually burned alive. This shameful circumstance is thus recorded, "That the body of this unclean Beast gave manifest tokens of its impurity, as soon as it began to be heated by the flames. In the flames

* Brother to Professor George Sinclar of Glasgow.

along with him was consumed his conjuring staff, carved with heads like those of Satyrs, without which he could not pray, nor work many of his other diabolical feats. Whatever incantation was in it, the persons present own that it gave rare turnings, and was long a-burning, as also himself." *

The sum of the Libel against Jane Weir, his sister, 'is reduceable to two heads. *First*, to the charge of incest, which she committed with her brother, and, *Secondly*, to the charge of Sorcery, and Witchcraft, but most especially of consulting Witches, Necromancers, and Devils; and yet more particularly for keeping and conversing with a familiar spirit, while she lived at Dalkeith, which used to spin extraordinary quantities of yarn for her, in a shorter time than three or four women could have done the same.' When the case came to trial, the proof against her, as to Witchcraft was chiefly her own confession; for she declared, 'That when she kept a school at Dalkeith, and taught childering, one tall woman came to the declarant's house when the childering were there; and that she had, as appeared to her, one chyld upon her back, and one or two at her foot; and that the said woman desired that the declarant should employ her to spick for her to the Queen of Farie, and strik and battle in her behalf with the said Queen, (which was her own words); and that the next day one

* One of the female witnesses deposed as to what she saw him doing near 'New-Mills,' in the West Country, and 'complained of him to Mr. John Nave, the Minister of New-Mills; at whose instance he was brought back to the place by some soldiers, but was there dismissed for want of further probation; and the woman that delated him for the fact near New Mills, was by order of the magistrates of Lanark whipped through the town by the hand of the common Hangman, as a slanderer of such an eminent Holy Man!'

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little woman came to the declarant, and did give her a piece of a tree, or the root of some herb or tree, as she thought, and told her that als long as she had the samen, she wold be able to doe what she should desyre; and then the said woman did lay ane cloth upon the floor near the door, and caused the declarant set her foot upon the samen, and her hand upon the crown of her own head, and caused the declarant reposit these words thrice, viz., " All my croes and trubles goe to the door with the;" which accordinglie she did; and that she gave the woman all the silver she hade, being some few turners, and some meall; and that after the said woman went away, the declarant did spin a verie short tyme, and that she did find more yearne upon her pirne, and good yearne, nor she thought could be spun in so short a tyme; which did so affright the declarant, that she did set bye her wheile, and did shut the door, and did stay within her house for the space of twentie dayes or thereby, and was exceedinglie trubled, and weeped becaus she thought what she had done in manner forsaid was in effect the renouncing of her baptisme; and being interrogata, If she knowes anything if her brother had any correspondence with the deivell? declares that she hes been of a long tyme jealous of him that he hade, bot knows noe certaintie; bot sex or seven years since or thereby, she and her brother having went to visit David Livingstone, wheill-wryht in Dalkeith, as they were in use to doe diverse tymes of befor, and her brother having desyred her to claw his back, she found upon his shoulder, as she thinks the right shoulder, a mark lyk that which they call the divell's mark; and that when she found it she was affrighted.' As for probation against Jaue Weir, the Lord Advocate insisted on her own

declaration, and all the depositions, in which as a party she was involved. All of which she judicially confessed in the face of the Court. The jury unanimously brought her in guilty of Incest with her brother. Whereupon the Judges condemned her to be hanged on the Tuesday following in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh.

In 'LAMONT'S DIARY,'* it is recorded, '1670, Apr. 11. One Major Weyer, who lived in Edb. who had some allowance from the Towne, for waiting or otherways, being ane old man, about 75 or 76 yeirs of age, was brunt att the Gallo-lay, betwixt Leith and Edb. for incest with his sister, bestialitie in laying with beasts, etc. He confest he had lyen with his sister, who was married to another, since she was 16 yeirs of age, and had layin with beasts divers tymes, etc. He was one that had a great profession, and keiped divers of the Conventicals att Edb. He wold not suffer the ministers to spake or pray for him (nether wold he seike God's mercy; but when he was forced to doe it, he said, 'and now what better am I?') And Apr. 12, being Twesday, his sister [Jean] Weyer, being abowt or mors then 60 yeirs of age, was hauged att Edb. She confest Incest, Witchcraft, etc. On the scaffold she cast away hir mantell, hir gown taylor, and was purposed, as was sayde, to cast of all hir cloaths before all the multitude; bot Baylie Oliphant, to whom the business was intrusted, stoped the same, and commanded the execwtioner to doe his office. Bot while he was abowt to throw hir ovir the leather, she amote the execwtioner on the cheike; and hir hands not being tyed

* 'The Chronicle of Fife: Being the Diary of Mr. John Lamont of Newton 1649-1671. Edited by Archibald Constable, 1810. *New Edition*, Edited by George Ritchie Kinloch, 1853.' 4to.

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when she was thrown ovir, she labored to recover hir selfe, and put in hir head betwixt two of the steps of the leather, and keiped that powster for atyme, till she was put from itt. They dyed both impenitent persons, as was supposed be the standers by.'

ANOTHER ACCOUNT says, 'As for Jane, this incarnate Devil's sister, she was very insensible of her great sins, and was so far from remorse of conscience for them, and despairing of the mercy of God, as he did, that she presumed too much upon it; placing a great deal of confidence in her constant adherence to the Covenant, which she called *the cause and interest of Christ*. She confessed indeed as he did that her sins deserved a worse death than she was condemned to die; but she never shewed herself in the least concerned for what might ensue after death. When she was upon the ladder she bespoke the people concerning her sins, her brother, his conjuring staff, and the Solemn League and Covenant, in the following words, "I see a great croud of People come hither to day to behold a poor old miserable creatures death, but I trow there be few among you, who are weeping and mourning for the broken Covenant;" and having so spoken, she threw herself in greater hast off the ladder, than a person should have done, who was no better prepared for another world.*

In 'LAW'S MEMORIALLS,'† it is recorded, 'Aprile 12, 1670, was Thomas Weir, commonly called Major Weir,

* *Ravillac Redivivus*, by Dr. George Hicks. Sm. 4to, 1678.

† 'Memorialls; or, The Memorable things that fell out within this Island of Brittain from 1688 to 1684, by the Rev. Mr. ROBERT LAW, Minister of Kirkpatrick. Edited from the MS., with a Prefatory Notice and Illustrative Notes, by CHARLES KIRKPATRICK SHARPE, Edinburgh, 1818. 4to.—'A collection of perhaps the best selected Tales of Witchcraft and Wizardry which has yet been published.'

son of Thomas Weir of Kirkcoun, put to death at Edinburgh, and brunt for incest with his sister, Jean Weir, laying in it about 40 years; (he himself was of age 70), for incest with his step-daughter, Margaret Burdoun; for frequent adulteries with severalls and diverse persons, and other abominable things; and, notwithstanding of all these flagittious and horrid sins, he was a dreadful Hypocrite and deceiver of God's People, in pretending to the fear of God in a singular and eminent way; making profession of strickness in piety beyond others; presuming to take upon him to pray publickly in many companies; and in the houses of his friends, neighbours, and acquaintances affecting the reputation and character of a pious and devout man. He died obduredly, without any sign of repentance, and would not hear any minister pray to and for him, telling, his condemnation was sealed, and that now since he was to goe to the devil he would not anger him. The said Jean Weir, his sister-German, was put to death at Edinburgh, and brunt for the same incest and witchcraft; she also was under a profession of religion beyond others. The way how he was brought to confession was by torture of conscience; he confessed that he never prayed in privat, but all his prayers were in public; and, beside all his abominations foresaid, he added this to all, that he did ly with his servant Woman, Bessie Weimis, in fornication for the space of 22 years. Thus did the holy justice of God eminently shyne furth in detecting such wretched hypocrites.'

It is certain that no story of Witchcraft or Necromancy, so many of which occurred near and in Edinburgh, made such a lasting impression on the public mind as that of Major Weir.

ROBERT CHAMBERS, in his 'Traditions of Edinburgh,' re-

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marks, 'The conclusion to which the humanity of the present age would come regarding Weir—that he was mad—is favoured by some circumstances. What chiefly countenances the idea, is the unequivocal lunacy of the sister. This miserable woman confessed to witchcraft, and related in a serious manner, many things which could not be true. The case of Weir and his sister immediately became a fruitful theme for the imaginations of the vulgar, and for upwards of a century after Major Weir's death, he continued to be the bugbear of the Bow, and his house remained uninhabited. His apparition was frequently seen at night, sitting, like a black and silent shadow about the street. His house, though known to be deserted by everything human, was sometimes observed at midnight to be full of lights, and heard to emit strange sounds as of dancing, howling, and, what is strangest of all, spinning. Some people occasionally saw the Major issue from the low close at midnight, mounted on a black horse without a head, and gallop off in a whirlwind of flame. Nay, sometimes the whole of the inhabitants of the Bow would be roused from their sleep at an early hour in the morning by the sound of a coach and six, first rattling up the Lawnmarket, and then turning down the Bow, stopping at the head of the terrible close for a few minutes, and then rattling and thundering back again—being neither more nor less than Satan come in one of his best equipages to take home the Major and his sister, after they had spent a night's leave of absence in their terrestrial dwelling; and that 'Plebeian imaginations have since fruotified regarding the staff, and crones will still seriously tell how it could run a message to a shop for any article which its proprietor wanted; how it could answer the door when any one

called upon its master ; and that it used to be often seen running before him, in the capacity of a link-boy, as he walked down the Lawnmarket !”

‘ About fifty years ago, when the shades of superstition began universally to give way in Scotland, Major Weir’s house came to be regarded with less terror by the neighbours, and an attempt was made by the proprietor to find a person who should be bold enough to inhabit it. Such a person was procured in William Patullo, a poor man of dissipated habits, who, having been at one time a soldier and a traveller, had come to disregard in a great measure the superstitions of his native country, and was now glad to possess a house upon the low terms offered by the landlord at whatever risk. Upon its being known that Major Weir’s house was about to be reinhabited, a great deal of curiosity was felt by people of all ranks as to the result of the experiment ; for there was scarcely a native of the city who had not felt since his boyhood, an intense interest in all that concerned that awful fabric, and yet remembered the numerous terrible stories which he had heard respecting it. Even before entering upon his hazardous undertaking, William Patullo was looked upon with a flattering sort of interest, similar to that which we feel respecting a regiment on the march to active conflict. It was the hope of many that he would be the means of retrieving a valuable possession from the dominion of darkness. But Satan soon let them know that he does not tamely relinquish any of the outposts of his kingdom. On the very first night after Patullo and his spouse had taken up their abode in the house, as the worthy couple were lying awake in their bed, not unconscious of a certain degree of fear—a dim uncertain light proceeding from the gathered embers of their

fire, and all being silent around them—they suddenly saw a form like that of a calf, which came forward to the bed, and, setting its fore-feet upon the stock, looked steadfastly at the unfortunate pair. When it had contemplated them thus for a few minutes, to their great relief it at length took itself away, and slowly retiring, gradually vanished from their sight. As might be expected, they deserted the house next morning; and for another half century no other attempt was made to embank this part of the world of light from the aggressions of the world of darkness.

The remains of the house still exist, though in an altered shape, near to the head of the West Bow, in a little court, accessible by a narrow passage, at the first angle on the east or left-hand side of the street, which, as our readers may perceive from looking at the Frontispiece, has a gloomy aspect well suited for a Necromancer. It was at different times occupied as a Brazier's shop, and a Magazine for lint; but no family would inhabit the haunted walls as a residence. This shocking story of the humble Major Weir and his sister seems to have furnished the plot of that magnificent Tragedy of Manfred by Lord Byron.

II.—Relation of an Apparition, and actings of a Spirit which infested the house of Andrew Mackie in Kerrick, 1695.

THE following very singular and laughable Relation is reprinted, as a proper Supplement to this new Edition of "Satans Invisible World Discovered,"

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from the original small quarto pamphlet, now become very scarce; although, in the first year of its appearance, it went through two editions in Scotland, and also came out in London, with many alterations as to style, printed for Andrew Bell, at the sign of the Cross Keys in the Poultry. It has already been *reprinted* as an Appendix to "Law's Memorials," 1818, 4to, and more recently in "Historical and Traditional Tales connected with the South of Scotland," Kirkcudbright, 12mo.

DR. ROBERT CHAMBERS, in his "Domestic Annals of Scotland, 1861," remarks, "There never, perhaps, was any mystic history better attested than that of '*the Rerrick Spirit*.' The tenant of the house, many of his neighbours, the minister of the parish, several other clergyman, the proprietor of the ground, living half a mile off; all gave their testimonies to the various things which they 'saw, heard, and felt!' The air of actuality is helped even by the local situation and its associations. It is in the same parish with Dundrennan Abbey, where Queen Mary spent her last night in Scotland. It is upon the same rock-bound coast which SIR WALTER SCOTT has described so graphically in his tale of *Guy Mannering*, which was indeed founded on facts that occurred in this very parish. Collin, the house of the laird, still exists, though passed into another family. Very probably, the house of Andrew Mackie himself would also be found by any one who had the curiosity to inquire for it; nor would he fail, at the same time, to learn that the whole particulars of this narration continue to be fresh in popular recollection, though four generations have passed away since the event. Few narrations of the kind have included occurrences and appearances which it was more difficult to reconcile with the theory of trick or imposture:"—

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 *Kerrick*, in the Stewartry of *Kirkcudbright*, in *Scotland*. 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.* Verse 12. *For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against Principalities, and Power, &c.* James 4, 7. *Resist the Devil and he will flee from you.* Edinburgh, Printed by *George Mosman*, And are to be sold at his Shop in the *Parliament Close*, 1696.

TO THE READER,—I Assure you It is contrare to my Genius, (all Circumstances being considered) to appear in Print to the View of the World, yet these Motives have prevailed with me, to publish the following Relation (beside the satisfying of some reverend Brethren in the Ministry, and worthy Christians). As 1. The Convic-

* “Chaplain in the year 1687 to Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburne, Bart., whose Diary contains this notice respecting him.—*Item*, William Forest and George Jonstone entered to my service at Whitsunday last 1687; the one to carry the boys, and be Butler; the other, George Jonstone, to serve my sons; and they have offered themselves to my good will for half a year’s tryall of their service.—*Item*, Mr. Alexander Telfair entered at the said term to serve as chappaine, and he is to have yearlie an hundred merk.—As Sir Thomas was of the Episcopal persuasion, it is to be supposed that Mr. Alexander then professed the same creed; but he found it convenient, like several of his brethren, to change his mind on the fiery ordeal of the Revolution.”—*Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe*.

xxii Relation of an Apparition in

tion and Confutation of that prevailing Spirit of Atheism, and Infidelity in our time, denying both in Opinion and Practice the Existence of Spirits, either of God or Devils; and consequently a Heaven and Hell: And imputing the Voices, Apparitions and Actings of Good, or Evil Spirits, to the Melancholick Disturbance or Distemper of the Brains and Fancies of those, who pretend to hear, see, or feel them. 2. To give occasion, to all who read this, To bless the Lord, who hath sent a stronger (even *Christ Jesus*) than the strong Man, to bind him, and spoil him of his Goods, and to destroy the Works of the Devil, and even by these things whereby Satan thinks to propagate his Kingdom of Darkness, to discover, weaken and bring it down. 3. To induce all Persons, particularly Masters of Families, to private and Family-Prayer; lest the neglect of it provoke the Lord, nor only to pour out his Wrath upon them otherwise: But to let Satan loose to haunt their Persons and Families with audible Voices, Apparitions, and hurt to their persons and Goods. 4. That Ministers and Congregations, where the Gospel is in any measure in purity and power, may be upon their guard, to wrestle according to the Word of God, against these Principalities and Powers, and Spiritual Wickednesses, who still seek to marr the Success and Fruit of the Gospel, sometimes by force, and sometimes by fraud, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly (*Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*) And for these Ends learn to know his Wiles, and put on the whole Armour of God, that they may be able to debate with him. And 5. That all who are by the goodness of God free from these audible Voices, Apparitions or Hurts from Satan, may learn to ascribe Praise and Glory to God, who leads them

the house of Andrew Mackie. xxiii

not into Temptation, but delivers them from Evil: And that this true and attested Account of Satan's Methods in this Place, may carry the foresaid Ends, is the earnest Prayer of

An weak Labourer in the Work of the Gospel in that Place, and your Servant for Christ's sake

Edinburgh,
Decer. 21, 1695.

ALEXANDER TELFAIR.

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.

Whereas many are desirous to know the Truth of the Matter, as to the Evil Spirit and its Actings, that troubleth the Family of *Andrew Mackie* in *Ring-Croft of Stocking, &c.* and are lyable to be mis-informed, as I do find by the reports that come to my own Ears of that matter. Therefore that satisfaction may be given, and such mistakes may be cured or prevented: *I the Minister of the said Paroch* (who was present several times, and was Witness to many of its Actings, and have heard an Account of the whole of its Methods and Actings from the persons present, towards whom, and before whom it did Act) have given the ensuing, and short Account of the whole Matter: which I can attest to be the very Truth as to that Affair and before I come to the Relation it self, I premise these things with respect to what might have been the occasion and rise of that Spirits appearing and acting.

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1. The said *Andrew Mackie* being a Meason to his Employment, 'tis given out, that when he took the *Meason-word*, he devoted his first Child to the Devil : But I am certainly informed, he never took the same, and knows not what that *Word* is. He is outwardly Moral, there is nothing known to his Life and Conversation, but honest, civil, and harmless, beyond many of his Neighbours, doth delight in the Company of the best ; and when he was under the Trouble of that evil Spirit, did pray to the great satisfaction of many. As for his *Wife and Children*, none have imputed any thing to them as the rise of it, nor is there any ground, for ought I know, for any to do so.

2. Whereas its given out that a Woman *sub mala fama*, did leave some Cloaths in that house, in the Custody of the said *Andrew Mackie*, and died before they were given up to her ; and he or his Wife should have kept some of them back from her friends : I did seriously pose both him and his Wife upon the Matter, they declared they knew not what things were left, being bound up in a Sack, but did deliver entirely to her Friends all they received from the *Woman*, which I am apt to believe.

3. Whereas one *Macknaught*, who sometimes before possessed that House, did not thrive in his own Person, or Goods : It seems he had sent his Son to a *Witch-wife*, who lived then at the *Routing-bridge*, in the Paroch of *Iron-gray*, to enquire what might be the cause of the decay of his Person and Goods : the Youth meeting with some Forreign Souldiers, went abroad to *Flanders*, and did not return with an Answer. Some years after there was one *John Redick* in this Paroch, who having had occasion to go abroad, met with the said young *Macknaught* in *Flanders*, and they knowing other, *Macknaught* en-

quired after his Father and other Friends ; and finding the said *John Redick* was to go home, desired him to go to his Father, or who ever dwelt in the *Ring-croft*, and desire them to raise the door-threshold, and search, till they found a Tooth, and burn it, for none who dwelt in that house would thrive till that was done. The said *John Redick* coming home, and finding the old man *Macknaught* dead, and his Wife out of that place, did never mention the matter, nor further mind it, till this trouble was in *Andrew Mackie's* Family ; then he spoke of it, and told the matter to my self. Betwixt *Macknight's* death, and *Andrew Mackie's* Possession of this House, there was one *Thomas Telfair*, who possest it some years ; what way he heard the Report of what the *Witch-wife* had said to *Macknight's* Son, I cannot tell ; but he searched the door-threshold, and found something like a Tooth, did compare it with the tooth of Man, Horse, Nolt and Sheep (as he said to me) but could not say which it did resemble, only it did resemble a Tooth ; he did cast it in the fire, where it burnt like a Candle, or so much Tallow ; yet he never knew any trouble about that house by night or by day, before or after, during his Possession. These things premised, being suspected to have been the occasion of the Trouble ; and there being no more known as to them, than what is now declared, I do think the matter still unknown, what may have given an arise thereto. But leaving this I subjoin the matter as follows.

In the Moneth of *February*, the said *Andrew Mackie* had some young Beasts, which in the night time were still loosed, and their Bindings broken : he taking it to be the unrulyness of the Beasts, did make stronger and stronger Bindings of Withes and other things, but still all were

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broken : at last he suspected it to be some other thing, whereupon he removed them out of that place, and the first night thereafter, one of them was bound with a Hair-tedder to the balk of the house, so straight that the feet of the beast only touched the ground, but could not move no way else, yet it sustained no hurt. An other night, when the Family were all sleeping, there was the full of an back-creeel of Peets, set together in midst of the house floor, and fire put in them, the smoak wakened the Family, otherwise the house had been burnt ; yet nothing all the while was either seen or heard.

Upon the 7th. of *March* there were stones thrown in the House, in all the places of it, but it could not be discovered from whence they came, what, or who threw them : After this manner it continued till the *Sabbath*, now and then throwing both in the night and day, but was busiest throwing in the night time.

Upon *Saturday*, the Family being all without, the Children coming in, saw something, which they thought to be a body sitting by the fireside with a Blanket (or Cloath) about it, whereat they were affraid : The youngest, being a boy about 9 or 10 years of age, did chide the rest, saying, why are you fear'd ? let us faine (or bless) ourselves, and then there is no ground to fear't : he perceived the blanket to be his, and faining (or blessing) himself, ran and pulled the blanket from it, saying, be what it will, it hath nothing to do with my blanket ; and then they found it to be a four footed Stool set upon the end, and the blanket cast over it.

Upon the *Sabbath*, being th 11th. of *March*, the Crook and Pot-clips were taken away, and were a wanting four days, and were found at last on a loaf, where they had

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been sought several times before. This is attested by *Charles Mackelane* of *Collins*, and *John Cairns* in *Hard-hills*. It was observed that the Stones which hit any person, had not half their natural weight, and the throwing was more frequent on the *Sabbath*, than at other times: and especially in time of Prayer, above all other times, it was busiest, then throwing most at the person praying. The said *Andrew Mackie* told the matter to me upon *Sabbath* after Sermon; upon the *Tuesday* thereafter I went to the house, did stay a considerable time with them, and prayed twice, and there was no trouble: Then I came out with a resolution to leave the house, and as I was standing, speaking to some men at the barn end, I saw two little stones drop down on the Croft at a little distance from me; and then immediatly some came crying out of the house, that it was become as ill as ever within: whereupon I went into the house again, and I was at prayer, it threw several stones at me, but they did no hurt being very small; and after there was no more trouble, till the 18 day of *March*: and then it began as before, and threw more frequently, greater stones, whose strokes were sorer where they hit: and thus it continued to the 21. Then I went to the house and stayed a great part of the night, but was greatly troubled; stones, and several other things were thrown at me; I was struck several times on the sides, and shoulders, very sharply with a great staff, so that those who were present heard the noise of the strokes: that night it threw off the bed-side, and rapped upon the Chists and Boards, as one calling for access: This is attested by *Charles Mackelane* of *Collins*, *William Mackminn*, and *John Tait* in *Torr*. That night, as I was once at Prayer, leaning on a bed-side, I felt something pressing up my arme, I casting

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my eyes thither, perceived a little white Hand and Arm from the elbow down, but presently it vanished. It is to be observed, that notwithstanding of all that was felt and heard, from the first to the last of this matter, there was never any thing seen, except that hand I saw, and a Friend of the said *Andrew Mackie's* said he saw as it were a young Man, red faced, with yellow hair, looking in at the Window; and other two or three Persons, with the said *Andrew* his Children, saw at several times, as it were a young Boy about the age of 14 years with gray Cloaths, and a bonnet on his head, but presently disappeared; as also what the three Children saw sitting by the fire-side.

Upon the 22 the Trouble still increased, both against the Family, and against the Neighbours who came to visit them, by throwing stones, and beating them with staves; so that some were forced to leave the house before their inclination: This is attested by *Charles Macklelane* of *Colline*, and *Andrew Tait* in *Torr*. Some it would have met as they came to the house, and stoned with stones about the yards, and in like manner stoned as they went from the house; of whom *Thomas Telfair* in *Stocking* was one. It made a little Wound on the said *Andrew Mackie's* brow, did thrust several times at his shoulder, he not regarding, at last it gripped him so by the hair, that he thought something like nails of fingers scratched his skin. It dragged severals up and down the house by the Cloaths: This is attested by *Andrew Tait*. It gripped one *John Keige* Miller in *Achincairn* so, by the side, that he intreated his Neighbours to help, and cried, it would rive the side from him. That night it lifted the Cloaths off the Children, as they were sleeping in bed, and beat them on the hips, as if it had been with ones hand, so that all who

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were in the house heard it. The door-barr, and other things, would go thorrow the house as if a person had been carrying them in their hand, yet nothing seen doing it; This is attested by *John Telfair* in *Achinleck*, and others. It rattled on the Chests and Bed sides with a staff, and made a great noise; and thus it continued by throwing stones, striking with staves, and rattling in the house, till the 2d. of *April*, at night it cryed *Wisht, Wisht*, at every Sentence in the close of Prayer; and it *Whistied* so distinctly, that the Dog barked, and ran to the door, as if one had been calling to hound him.

Aprils 3. It *whistled* several times, and cryed *wisht, wisht*, this it attested by *Andrew Tait*. Upon the 4th, of *Aprile*, *Charles Macklelane* of *Collin* Land-lord, with the said *Andrew Mackie*, went to a certain Number of *Ministers* met at *Buttle*, and gave them an Account of the matter; where upon these *Ministers* made publick Prayers for the Family, and two of their Number, *viz.* Mr. *Andrew Ewart* Minister of *Kells*, and Mr. *John Murdo* Minister of *Cormichael* came to the House and spent that Night in fasting and praying; But it was very cruel against them, especially by throwing great Stones some of them about half an stone weight: It wounded Mr. *Andrew Ewart* twice in the Head, to the effusion of his Blood, it pulled off his Wigg in time of Prayer, and when he was holding out his Napkin betwixt his hands, it cast a Stone in the Napkin, and therewith threw it from him: It gave Mr. *John Murdo* several sore strokes; Yet the Wounds and Bruises received did soon cure: There were none in the House that Night escaped from some of its fury and cruelty: That Night it threw a fire peet amongst the People; But did no hurt, it only disturbed them in time of prayer: And

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also in the dawning, as they rose from Prayer, the Stones poured down on all who were in the House to their hurt, this is attested by Mr. *Andrew Beart* Mr. *John Murdo*, *Charles Macklelane*, and *John Tait*.

Upon the 5th. of *Aprile*: It set some Thatch straw in fire which was in the Barne-yard: At night the House being very throng with Neighbours, the Stones were still thrown down among them; As the said *Andrew Mackie* his *Wife* went to bring in some peets, for the fire when she came to the door, she found a broad Stone to shake under her foot, which she never knew to be loose before: She resolved with her self to see what was beneath it in the morning there after.

Upon the 6th. of *Aprile*, when the House was quiet, she went to the stone, and there found *Seven small bones*, with *Blood*, and some *Flesh*, all closed in a peice of Old suddled Paper, the *Blood was fresh* and bright: The sight whereof troubled her, and being affraid, laid all down again; And ran to *Collins* his House, being an quarter of an Mile distant: But in that time, it was worse then ever it was before; by throwing *Stones*, and *fire-Balls*, in and about the House, but the fire as it lighted did Evanish: In that time it threw an *Hot-stone* into the bed betwixt the Children, which burnt through the bed cloaths; And after it was taken out by the Mans Eldest Son, and had lyen on the floor more nor an Hour, and an half; the said *Charles Macklelane* of *Collins* could not hold it in his hand for heat: this is attested be *Charles Macklelane*. It thrust an Staff thorrow the Wall of the house above the Children in the bed, shook it over them, and Groaned. When *Collins* came to the house, he went to Prayer before he Offered to lift the Bones; all the while he was at Prayer it was most cruel; But as soon

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as he took up the Bones the trouble ceased, (this is attested by *Charles Macklans*) he sent them presently to me; upon sight whereof I went immediately to the house: while I was at Prayer, it threw great Stones which Hitt me; But they did not hurt: Then there was no more trouble that Night.

The 7th Aprile, being the Sabbath it began again and threw Stones, and wounded *William Macminn a Blacksmith* on the Head, it cast a *Ploughsock* at him, and also an *Trough-stone* upwards of three stone Weight, which did fall upon his Back, yet he was not hurt thereby. Attested by *William Macminn*, it set the house twice in fire, yet there was no hurt done in respect some neighboures were in the house, who helped to quench it, at Night in the twi-light as *John Mackie* the said *Andrew Mackie* his Eldest Son was coming home, near to the house, there was an Extraordinary light fell about him, and went before him to the house, with a swift Motion. That night it continued after its wonted manner.

Aprile 8th. In the morning as *Andrew Mackie* went, down the Closs he found a Letter both written and Sealed with blood; it was directed on the back thus. 3 years tho shall haue to repent a net it well. And within was written: No be to the Cotland Repent and tak warning for the door of hauen ar all Kedy hart against the I am sent for a warning to the to filce to god yet troublt shall this man be for twenty days a 3 repent repaent opent scotland or els tow shall. In the middle of the day, the Persons alive who lived in that house since it was Built, being about 28 Years: were conveyed by appointment of the *Civil Magistrate*, before *Colline my self and others* and did all touch the Bones, in respect there was some suspicion of

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secret Murder committed in the place: But nothing was found to discover the same.

Upon the 9th. of *Aprils*, the *Letter* and *Bones* were sent to the *Ministers* who were all Occasionally met at *Kirk-cudbrugh*, they appointed five of their number viz. *Mr. John Murdo*, *Mr. James Monteith*, *Mr. John Mackmillan*, *Mr. Samuel Spalding*, and *Mr. William Falconer* with me to go to the House, and spend so much time in Fasting and Praying as we were able.

Upon the 10 of *Aprils* We went to the house, and no sooner did I begin to open my Mouth; but it threw stones at me, and all within the House, but still worst at him who was at Duty: It came often with such force upon the house that it made all the house Shake, it brake an hole thorow the Timber and Thatch of the House, and poured in great Stones, one whereof more then an Quarter weight fell upon *Mr. James Monteith* his back, yet he was not hurt, it threw an other with great force at him when he was praying bigger then a Mans fist which hitt him on the Breast yet he was neither hurt nor moved thereby; It was thought fit that one of our number, with an other person, should go by turnes; and stand under the hole in the outside: so there was no more trouble from that place: But the Barne being joyued to the end of the House, it brake down the Barne Door and Mid-wall and threw stones up the House; But did no great hurt: it Grippled, and Handled the Legs of some, as with a Mans hand; it Hoised up the feet of others while standing on the ground, thus it did to *William Lennox of Mill-house*, *my Self* and others, in this manner it continued till Ten a Clock at night; But after that there was no more trouble while we were about the house this is Attested by *Mrs. James Monteith*, *John*

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Murdo, Samuel Spalding, Mr. Falconer, William Lennox, and John Tait, The 11. 12. 13. It was worse then ever it was before; for not any who came into the House did escape heavy strokes; There was one *Andrew Tait* in *Torr*, as he was coming to stay with the Familie all night, by the way his Dog Caught a *Thulnard*, when he came in he cast it by in the house, thereafter there were other three young Men who came in also: And when they were all at Prayer the Evil Spirit beat them with the dead *Thulnard*, and threw it before them; The three who knew it not to be in the house were greatly affrighted, especially one *Samuel Thomson a Chap-man*, whom it also gripped by the Side and Back, and thrust as if it had been an hand beneath his Cloaths, and into his Pockets, he was so affrighted that he took Sickness immediatly, this is Attested by *Andrew Tait*.

The 14th. being the *Sabbath*, it set some straw in fire that was in the Barn-yard, and threw stones while Ten a Clock at night, it threw an *Dike-spade* at the said *Andrew Mackie* with the Mouth toward him; But he received no hurt, while an *Meal-sive* was tossed up and down the house the said *Andrew Mackie* takes hold of it, and as it were with difficulty gets the grip keepeed; At last all within the Rim is tern out, thereafter it threw an handful, of the *Sive* Rolled together at *Thomas Robertson in Airds*, who was Witness to this, yet in all thir Actings their was never any thing seen but what I mentioned before.

Upon the 15th *Aprile* *William Anderson a Drover* and *James Paterson* his Son in Law, came to the house with *Collins* in the Evening, *Collins* going Home a while within night, the said *Andrew Mackie* sent his Sones to convoy him: As they returned, they were Cruelly stoned, and the

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stones Rolled amongst their Legs like to break them : Shortly after they came in, it wounded *William Anderson* on the Head to the great Effusion of his Blood, in time of Prayer it *Whisled, Groaned, and Cryed Whisht, Whisht,* this is Attested by *John Cairnes.*

The 16. It continued *Whisting, Groaning, Whisling,* and throwing stones in time of Prayer, it cryed *bo, bo,* and *Kick, Cuck,* and shoke men back and foreward, and Hoised them up as if it would lift them off their knees, this is Attested by *Andrew Tait.*

The whole Family went from the house, and left five Honest neighbours to wait on the same all night but there was no hurt done to them nor the Family where they were, nor to those neighbours who stayed in the said *Andrew Mackis* his house, only the Cattle were cast over other to the hazard of killing them as they were bound to the Stakes; and some of them were loosed, this is Attested by *John Cairnes.*

Upon the 18. They returned to their House again, and there was no hurt done to them nor their Cattle that night except in a little House where there were some Sheep, it coupled them together in paires by the Neck, with Straw Ropes, made of an Bottle of Straw, which it took off an Loft in the Stable, and carryed to the Sheep-house, which is three or four pair of Butts distant, and it made mo Ropes than it needed for binding the Sheep which it left beside the straw in the Sheep-house, this is Attested by *Andrew Tait.*

Upon the 19. it fired the straw in the Barn, but *Andrew Mackie* put it out (being there Threshing) without doing any hurt: it shut Staves thorow the Wall at him but did no hurt.

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The 20. it continued throwing stones, *Whisting* and *Whisting* with all its former words, when it hit any Person, and said, take you that till you get more, that person was sure immediatly of an other, but when it said take you that, the person got no more for a while, this is Attested by *John Tait*.

The 21. 22. 23. It contained casting Stones, beating with Staves and throwing Peet-mud in the faces of all in the House, especially in time of Prayer with all its former Tricks.

The 24. Being a day of Humiliation appointed to be kept in the Parish for that cause; all that day from Morning to Night, it contained in a most fearfull maner without intermission, throwing Stones with such cruelty and force that all in the House feared lest they should be killed.

The 25th. it threw stones all night, but did no great hurt.

The 26th. it threw stones in the evening, and knocked on a Chist several times, as one to have access; and began to speak, and call those who were sitting in the house *Witches*, and *Bukes*, and said it would take them to Hell. The People then in the house said among themselves, if it had any to speak to it, now it would speak. In the mean time *Andrew Mackie* was sleeping, they wakened him, and then he bearing it say, *Thou shalt be troubled till Tuesday*, asked, Who gave thee a Commission? To whom it answered, *God gave me a Commission; and I am sent to warn the Land to repent; for a Judgment is to come if the Land do not quickly repent, and commanded him to reveal it upon his perrill; and if the Land did not repent, it said it would go to its Father, and get a Commission to return with an hundred woes than it*

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self, and would trouble every particular Family in the Land: Andrew Mackis said to those who were with him, if I should tell this, I would not be believed. Then it said, Fetch betters, fetch the Minister of the Paroch, and two honest men upon Tuesdays night, and I shall declare before them what I have to say. Then it said, Praise me, and I will whistle to you, Worship me, and I will trouble you no more. Then Andrew Mackis said, The Lord, who delivered the three Children out of the fiery Furnace, deliver me, and mine this night, from the Temptations of Satan: Then it replied, You might as well have said, Shadrah, Meshah, and Abed-nego. In the mean time while Andrew Mackis was speaking, there was one James Telfair in Buttle, who was adding a word, to whom it said, You are basely bred, meddling in other mens Discourse, wherein you are not concerned. It likewise said, Removes your Goods, for I will burn the house. He answered, the Lord stop Satan's Fury, and hinder him of his Designs. Then it said, I will do it, or you shall guide well: All this is attested by John Tait in Torr, and several others who cannot subscribe.

Upon the 27 it set the house seven times in fire. The 28, being the Sabbath, from Sun rising to Sun setting, it still set the house in fire, as it was quenched in one part, instantly it was fired in an other: and in the evening, when it could not get its Designs fulfilled in burning the house it pulled down the end of the house, all the stonework thereof, so that they could not abide in it any longer, but went and kindled their fire in the stable.

Upon the Sabbath night, it pulled one of the Children out of the bed, gripping him as he thought, by the craig and shoulders, and took up the block of a tree, as great as a

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plough-head, and held it above the Children, saying, if I had a Commission I would brain them: thus it expressed it self, in the hearing of all who were in the house: attested by *William Mackinn*, and *John Corsby*.

The 29. being Munday, it continued Setting fire in the house, the said *Andrew Mackie* finding the House so frequently set in fire, and being weary quenching it, he went and put out all the Fire that was about the House, and poured water upon the Hearth; yet after, it Fired the House several times, when there was no Fire within an quarter of an Mile of the house: this is Attested by *Charles Maclelane* and *John Cairnes*. In the midst of the day, as *Andrew Mackie* was threshing in the Barne, it *whispered* in the wall and then cryed *Andrew, Andrew*, but he gave no Answer to it: Then with an *Auster, Angry Voice* as it were, it said *Speak*: Yet he gave no Answer; Then it said, *be not troubled, you shall have no more trouble, except some casting of Stones upon the Tuesday to Fulfill the promise, and said take away your Straw*, I went to the house about Eleven a Clock it Fired the house once after I went there, I stayed all Night till betwixt Three and Four in the Tuedays morning, dureing which time there was no trouble about the House, except two little stones dropped down at the Fire side as we were siting down at our first entry; a little after I went away, it began to throw stones as formerly, this is Attested by *Charles Mackleland* and *John Tait*.

Upon *Tuedays* night, being the 30 of *April*, *Charles Macklelane* of *Collins*, with several Neighbours, were in the barne, as he was at prayer he observed a *Black thing* in the corner of the barne, and it did increase, as if it would fill the whole house, he could not discern it to have any Form;

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but as if it had been a *black Cloud*, it was affrighting to them all; and then it threw Bear-chaff, and other mud upon their faces, and after did grip severals who were in the house in the middle of the Body, by the Arms and other parts of their Bodies so strait, that some said, for five days thereafter they thought they felt these gripes: after an hour or two of the night was thus past, there was no more Trouble. This is Attested by *Charles Macklelane, Thomas Mackminn, Andrew Paline, John Cairns, and John Tait*.

Upon *Wednesdays* night, being the 1 of *May*, it fired a little Sheep-house the Sheep were got out safe, but the Sheep-house was wholly burnt. Since there hath not been any trouble about the House by night nor by day. Now all things aforesaid being of undoubted Verity, Therefore I conclude with that of the Apostle, *1 Pet. 5. 8. 9. Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the Devil, as a roaring lyon walketh about seeking whom he may devour: Whom resist stedfast in the Faith:*

This Relation is attested, as to what they particularly saw, heard, and felt, by, Mr. Andrew Ewart Minister at Kells; Mr. James Monteith Minister at Borg; Mr. John Murdo Minister at Corsmichael; Mr. Samuel Spalding Minister at Partan; Mr. William Falcouer Minister at Keltoun; Charles Macklelane of Colline; William Lennox of Millhouse; Andrew Tait in Torr; John Tait in Torr; John Cairns in Hardhills; William Mackminn; John Corsby; Thomas Mackminn; Andrew Paline, &c.

“ At Edinburgh, the 7. of January 1696.—The Lords of His Maj. Privy-Council, do hereby allow *George Mos-*

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man, Stationer in Edinburgh, to print, vend, and sell a Book, entitled 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 parish of *Berrick*, in the Stewartry of *Kirkcudbright*. And discharges any other persons whatsoever to imprint, vend, or sell the said book, for the space of one year after the date hereof. Except the said *George Mosman* and his assigneys, under the penalty of having the said book confiscated to the use of the said *George Mosman*, & of paying to him the sum of 40 pounds Scots for each transgression besides the forsaid Confiscation *toties quoties*.—
Extracted by me, GIL. ELIOT, *Cls. Sti. Cons.*"

III.—Additional Particulars as to Christian Shaw of Bargarran, and the Witches of Renfrew, 1696:1697.

HUGO ARNOT, in his "Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, 1536-1784," records that in the year 1697, "An impostor appeared, in the character of a person tormented by Witches, Christian Shaw, daughter of John Shaw of Bargarran, a gentleman of some note in the County of Renfrew. She is said to have been but eleven years of age. And although it is probable that hysterical affections may in part have occasioned her rhapsodies to proceed from real illusion, as well as accounted for the contortions which agitated her body ;

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yet she seems to have displayed an artifice above her years, an address superior to her situation, and to have been aided by accomplices, which dulness of apprehension, or violence of prejudice, forbade the bystanders to discover. This actress was abundantly pert and lively; and her challenging one of the house-maids for drinking, perhaps for stealing, a little milk, which drew on her an angry retort, was the simple prelude to a complicated and wonderful scene of artifice and delusion, of fanaticism and barbarity. Within a few days after her quarrel with the house-maid, the girl was seized with hysterical convulsions, which in repeated fits displayed that variety of symptoms which characterise this capricious disease. To these, other appearances were speedily added, which could only be attributed to supernatural influence, or to fraud and imposition. She put out of her mouth quantities of egg-shells, orange-pill, feathers of wild, and bones of tame fowl, hair of various colours, hot coal-cinders, straws, crooked pins, &c."

"Having by those sensible objects impressed the publick with the most complete and fearful conviction of her being 'greivously vexed with a Devil,' she found herself capable to command the implicit assent of the spectators, in matters that were repugnant to the evidence of their own senses. For this purpose, she fell upon the device of seeming to possess the faculties of seeing and hearing, in a manner opposite to that of the rest of mankind. She would address some invisible beings as if actually present; at other times, in her conversations with those invisible beings, she would rail at them for telling her that persons actually present were in the room; protesting that she did not see them, yet at the same time minutely describing their dress." . . .
When the Sheriff-Depute of the County, accompanied by

a Macer of Justiciary, came to apprehend some of the persons whom her diabolical malice had accused, and were actually in her presence; she addressed an imaginary and invisible correspondent thus:—‘Is the Sheriff come? Is he near me?’ (Then stretching forth her hand, as if to grope, and the Sheriff putting his hand into her’s, she proceeded):—‘*I cannot feel the Sheriff.* How can he be present here? or how can I have him by the hand, as thou sayest, seeing I feel it not? Thou sayest he has brown coloured cloaths, red plush breeches, with black stripes, flowered muslin cravat, and an embroidered sword-belt: Thou sayest there is an old gray haired man with him, having a ring upon his hand; but I can neither see nor feel any of them. What, *are they come to apprehend the gentlewoman?* Is this their errand indeed?’ These reiterated and awful exercises of the dominion of Satan, (for such they were universally deemed,) impressed all ranks with amazement and terror. The clergy, as was their duty, were the foremost to embrace the cause of a disciple that was engaged in *more than spiritual* warfare with the grand enemy. Clergymen by rotation attended the afflicted damsel, to assist the Minister of the Parish, the family of Bargarran, and other pious christians, in the expiatory offices of fasting and prayer. A publick fast was ordained by authority of the Presbytery, and the prayers and exhortations of the Church were speedily seconded with the weight of the secular arm. On the 19th of January 1697 a warrant of Privy Council was issued, which set forth “that there were pregnant grounds of suspicion of Witchcraft in the shire of Renfrew, especially from the afflicted and extraordinary condition of Christian Shaw, daughter of John Shaw of Bargarran.” The Commission-

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ers were Lord Blantyre, Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, Sir John Shaw of Greenock, William Cunyngham of Craigen, Alexander Porterfield of Duchall, ——— Caldwell of Glanderstoun, Gavin Cochrane of Thornlymuir, Alexander Porterfield of Fullwood, and Robert Semple, Sheriff-Depute of Renfrew, and they were empowered 'to interrogate and imprison persons suspected of witchcraft, to examine witnesses, &c., but not upon oath, and to transmit their Report before the 10th of March.' A solemn importance was thus given to circumstances which, if they took place now, would be slighted by persons in authority, and scarcely heard of beyond the parish, or at most the county. It was, however, a case highly characteristic of the age and country in which it happened. Christian had as yet attracted no particular attention from her parents or neighbours, though observed to be a child of lively character and 'well-inclined.' On the 28th of March, while the inquiries of the Commissioners were still going on, Christian all at once recovered her usual health; nor did she ever again complain of being afflicted.

In the Report which was presented on the 9th of March, the Commissioners represented that their were *twenty-four persons, male and female, suspected and accused of Witchcraft*, and that further inquiry ought to be made into this crime." Agreeably to that Report, a *new warrant* was issued by the Privy Council to most of the Commissioners formerly named, with the addition of "Lord Halleraig, Francis Montgomery of Giffen, Sir John Houston of that Ilk, John Kincaid of Corsbasket, and John Stewart yr. of Blinkball, to meet at Renfrew, Paisley, or Glasgow, to take trial of, judge, and do justice upon the foressaid persons; and to sentence the guilty to be burned or other-

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wise executed to death, as the Commissioners should incline." The Commissioners, thus empowered, were not remiss in acting under the authority delegated to them. The crimes charged "were the murder of several children and persons of mature age, the tormenting of several persons, and particularly the bewitching of Christian Shaw, a girl about eleven years of age, daughter of John Shaw of Bargarran."

After twenty hours were spent in the examination of witnesses, who gave testimony that the *malefices* (an act or effect of witchcraft) libelled, could not have proceeded from natural causes, and that the prisoners were the authors of these malefices.—After five of the unhappy prisoners confessed their own guilt, and criminated their alleged associates.—After counsel had been heard on both sides, and the counsel for the prosecution had declared, that "he would not press the jury with the *ordinary severity* of threatening an *assize of error*." (This was an oblique and most scandalous menace). It is alleged that all things were carried on with tenderness and moderation, "yet the result was,—After the jury had spent six hours in deliberation—that the alleged facts were found to be fully proved and a judgment of guilty was given whereby seven of those miserable persons were condemned to the flames!"

The particulars of this comic tragedy were collected by JOHN MACGILCHRIST, *Town-Clerk of Glasgow*, and embodied in a pamphlet written by FRANCIS GRANT, Advocate, afterwards a knight, and Lord of Session, with the style of *Lord Cullen*, entitled 'True Narrative of the Sufferings and Relief of a Young Girl, who was strangely molested by evil spirits and their instruments in the West: Collected from authentic testimonies, with a preface and post-script. Containing reflections on what is most material or

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curious, either in the History or Trial of the Seven Witches who were condemned and Burnt in the Gallow Green of Paisley, Edinburgh 1698, 12mo. *

Mr. CHARLES KIRKPATRICK SHARPE, in his "Prefatory Notice" to "LAW'S MEMORIALS," remarks:—"To sum up a long story in a few words, the young girl, who seems to have been antient in wickedness, having had a quarrel with one of the maid-servants, pretended to be bewitched by her, and forthwith began, according to the common practice in such cases, to vomit all manner of trash; to be blind and deaf on occasion; to fall into convulsions, and to talk a world of nonsense, which the bearers received as the quintessence of afflicted piety. By degrees, a great many persons were implicated in the guilt of the maid-servant, and no less than twenty were condemned, of whom five suffered death on the Gallow Green of Paisley; and one man, John Reid, strangled himself in prison, or, as the report went, was strangled by the devil, lest he should make a confession to the detriment of the service. Yet he seems to have confessed abundantly, for he gave a long account of his first interview with Satan, to whose meetings he and the hags were summoned by a black dog with a chain about his neck, the tinkling of which they followed; and affirmed that the foul fiend gave them a morsel of an unchristened child's liver to eat, as a sovereign remedy against confession when apprehended; but John did not swallow his portion, which, without doubt, was the reason of his subsequent ingenuity. These Renfrewshire witches

* This was Reprinted at Paisley in 1775, and again in 1809, with various additions, under the title of "A History of the Witches of Renfrewshire, who were burned on the Gallow Green of Paisley, from Authentic Documents," 12mo.

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were said to have roasted the effigy of Mr. Hardy, a clergyman, after having dipt it into a mixture of ale and water, a circumstance not general in that sort of cookery."

On the 10th of June 1697, on the Gallow Green of Paisley, a gibbet and a fire were prepared together. Five persons were brought out and hung for a few minutes on the one, and then cut down and burned on the other. And so ended the tragedy of *Bargarran's Daughter*.

This case has usually, in recent times, been treated as one in which there were no other elements than a wicked imposture on her part, and some insane delusions on that of the confessing victims.

The Rev. Mr. BELL, in his MS. Treatise on Witchcraft, says, "I own there has been much harm done to worthy and innocent persons in the common way of finding out witches, and in the means made use of for promoting the discovery of such wretches, and bringing them to justice; that oftentimes old age, poverty, features, and ill fame, with such like grounds, not worthy to be represented to a magistrate, have yet moved many to suspect and defame their neighbours to the unspeakable prejudice of Christian charity; a late instance whereof we had in the west, in the business of the sorceries exercised upon the Laird of Bargarran's daughter, anno 1697, a time when persons of more goodness and esteem than most of their calumniators were defamed for witches, and which was occasioned mostly by the forwardness and absurd credulity of divers otherwise worthy ministers of the Gospel, and some topping professors in and about the city of Glasgow."

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, in his "Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-99," remarks that, "Having acquired a remarkable dexterity in spinning fine yarn, she (Christian Shaw)

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conceived the idea of manufacturing it into thread. Her first attempts in this way were necessarily on a small scale. She executed almost every part of the process with her own hands, and bleached her materials on a large slate placed in one of the windows of the house. She succeeded, however, so well, in these essays, as to have sufficient encouragement to go on, and to take the assistance of her younger sisters, and neighbours. The then Lady Blantyre carried a parcel of her thread to Bath, and disposed of it advantageously to some manufacturers of lace. . . . About this time, a person who was connected with the family, happening to be in Holland, found means to learn the secrets of the thread manufacture, which was then carried on to a great extent in that country, particularly the art of sorting and numbering the threads of different sizes, and packing them up for sale, and the construction and management of the twisting and twining machines. This knowledge he communicated, on his return to his friends in Bargarran, and by means of it they were enabled to conduct their manufacture with more regularity, and to a greater extent. The young women in the neighbourhood were taught to spin fine yarn, twining-mills were erected, correspondences were established, and a profitable business was carried on. *Bargarran thread* became extensively known, and, being ascertained by a stamp, bore a good price." By and by, the work was undertaken by others, and in time it became a leading manufacture of the district.

The newspapers of the time, present the following advertisement:—"The Lady Bargarran and her daughters having attained to a great perfection in making, whitening, and twisting of SEWING THREAD, which is as cheap and white, and known by experience to be much stronger than the

Dutch, to prevent people's being imposed upon by other Threed, which may be sold under the name of 'Bargarran Threed,' the Papers in which the Lady Bargarran and her daughters at Bargarran, or Mrs. Miller, her eldest daughter, at Johnston, do put up their Threed, shall, for direction, have thereupon their Coat of Arms, 'azure, three covered cups or.' Those who want the said Threed, which is to be sold from fivepence to six shillings per ounce, may write to the Lady Bargarran at Bargarran, or Mrs. Miller at Johnston, near Paisley, to the care of the Postmaster of Glasgow; and may call for the samen in Edinburgh, at John Seton, Merchant, his shop in the Parliament Close, where they will be served either in Wholesale or Retail; and will be served in the same manner at Glasgow, by William Selkirk, Merchant in Trongate."

DR. ROBERT CHAMBERS, in his "Domestic Annals of Scotland, 1861," remarks, "That Christian Shaw—the cause of a number of prosecutions for Witchcraft—as she grew up to woman's estate, attained distinction of a better kind, as the originator of one of the great branches of industry for which her native province has since been remarkable. She was actually the first person who introduced the spinning of fine linen thread into Scotland."

About 1718 she married Mr. Miller, the minister of Kilmaurs Parish, (he died in 1725, and was buried in Erskine Church, universally lamented by his parishoners, great numbers of whom attended his funeral); and it is presumed she passed through the remainder of her life much in the same manner as other persons in that respectable grade.

IV.—Additional Particulars as to the Witches of Pittenweem, Fifeshire, 1704.

EARLY in the year 1704 there was a remarkable outbreak of Diablerie—a frightful instance of popular bigotry—at the small seaport Burgh of Pittenweem, in the eastern part of Fife, which excited a considerable degree of interest, as it involved the clerical debates of two Ministers, one Episcopal, and the other Presbyterian, and was marked with the barbarous murder of a poor woman, Janet Cornfoot, who fell a victim to the spite of the clergyman, the indolence of the magistrates, and the fury of a brutish rabble. Her accuser, a fellow who pretended to take fits till he found them no longer profitable, *delated* her, together with Beatrix Laing and other women, for having afflicted him with this disorder. Immediately the witches were seized, and thrown into the jail of the Burgh by the minister and magistrates, with a guard of drunken fellows to watch over them. Janet Cornfoot was put in confinement under a specific charge from Alexander Macgregor, a fisherman and strolling vagabond, to the effect that he “had been beset by her and two others one night, along with the Devil, while sleeping in his bed.” By torture Cornfoot was forced into acknowledging this fact, which she afterwards denied privately, under equal terror for the confession and the retractation, declaring “that the Minister himself beat her with his staff in order to make her speak out.” However, her case beginning to attract attention from some persons of rank and education in the neighbourhood, the minister became somewhat doubtful of it, and by his

connivance she escaped. Almost immediately, an officious clergyman of the neighbourhood apprehended her again, and sent her back to Pittenweem in the custody of two men. Falling there into the hands of the populace, the wretched woman was tied hard up in a rope, beaten unmercifully, and then dragged by the heels through the streets and along the shore. The appearance of a Baillie for a brief space dispersed the crowd, but only to show how easily the authorities might have protected the victim, if they had chosen. Resuming their horrible work, the rabble tied Janet to a rope stretching between a vessel in the harbour and the shore, swinging her to and fro, and amusing themselves by pelting her with stones. Tiring at length of this sport, they let her down with a sharp fall upon the beach, beat her again unmercifully, and, finally covering her with a heavy door, pressed her to death. A daughter of the unhappy woman was in the town, aware of what was going on, but prevented by terror from interceding. This barbarity lasted altogether three hours, without any adequate interruption from either Minister or Magistrates. As respects Beatrix Laing, she steadily refused to confess being a witch, and was subjected to pricking, and kept awake for five days and nights, in order to bring her to a different frame of mind. Sorely wounded, and her life a burden to her, she at length was forced, in order to be rid of the torment, to admit what was imputed to her. The poor woman afterwards avowing that what she had told them of her seeing the Devil and so forth was false, "They put her in the stocks, and then carried her to the Thieves' Hole, and from that transported her to a dark dungeon, where she was allowed no manner of light, or human converse, and in this condition she lay for

five months." During this interval, the sapient Magistrates, with their parish Minister, were dealing with the Privy Council to get the alleged witches brought to trial. At first, the design was entertained of taking them to Edinburgh for that purpose; but ultimately, through the humane interference of the Earl of Balcarres and Lord Anstruther, the poor women were set at liberty on bail. This, however, was so much in opposition to the rabble, that Beatrix Laing was obliged to decamp from her native town. "She wandered about in strange places, in the extremity of hunger and cold, though she had a competency at home, but dared not come near her own house for fear of the fury and rage of the people." It was indeed well for this apparently respectable woman (Spouse to William Brown, Tailor, *late Treasurer of the Burgh*) that she, for the meantime, remained at a distance away from home. After a few months wandering about, beginning to gather courage she did return, yet not without being threatened by the rabble with the fate of Janet Cornfoot; wherefore it became necessary for her to apply to the Privy Council for a protection. By that Court an order was accordingly issued to the Pittenweem Magistrates, commanding them to defend her from any tumults, insults, or violence, that might be offered to her. The matter having thus attracted the attention of the Privy Council, they appointed a Committee to enquire into it; but the ringleaders of the mob had fled, so nothing could be immediately done. After some time, they were allowed to return to the town free of molestation on account of the murder.*

* Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's "Notes to Law's Memorials," and Dr. Robert Chambers' "Domestic Annals of Scotland," *passim*.

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The following "Narrative" is printed from the Original MS. in the Library of the University, Edinburgh. It appears to have been formerly in the possession of W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Esq., Advocate, 1832 :—*

ANE NARRATIVE of the trouble of PATRICK MORTON.
And the confession of some women thairaunt in Pittenweem.

It was about the beginning of March 1704 years, when the first arise and occasion was given (so far as can be known), to the strange things that this young man who is the subject of this narrative : The manner was thus :— Patrick Morton son to Patrick Morton, smith in Pittenweem and an elder of the Congregation, a judicious sensible youth and of good inclinations, about 18 years of age, being employed by his father to make some nails to Alexander Dalycells ship, Beatrix Layng came in to him and desired him to make some nails to her, which he modestlie shifted, telling her there was a necessity of making the nails first for the ship, seeing she was going out of the Harbour : Whereupon the said Beatrix did storm and went to the door in a great discontent, muttering some words which the said Patrick conceived to import a threatening, with which he was moved and did fear hurt from the said Beatrix, a woman of very bad fame.

On the next day he was carrying fish ou a Barrow by the said Beatrix her door, with another woman, and he observed a timber vessel with some water and a Coal of fire amongst it, standing at her door ; which made him strongly

* My thanks are due to the Rev. T. Morris, Edinburgh, for his kindness in the elucidation and verification of this old MS.—*Editor.*

apprehend that this was a charm used by the said Beatrix for his hurt. Nor could he get his mind freed of the fears of it.

After which he was seized with a sudden weakness in his legs that he could not stand, and fell on a languishing distemper whereby his body was brought exceeding low; and all this time told he was fully perswaded that it was by the foresaid charm that all this was come upon him; and continued in this condition much about and till the first of May. All this time physicians and apothecaries were employed, and made use of such means as were judged by them proper to recover him. But (as he foretold) all was in vain; and it was with great difficulty he was perswaded to use any thing prescribed for him.

While he was thus indisposed persons of skill examined his condition* yet though he was brought very low, his appetite gone, his naturall strength much abated and his body much emaciated, yet they could not find the ordinary symptoms of a decay or consumption: therefore they prescribed no more medicines for him.

About the beginning of May, his case altered; he took strange and unusuall fits, which astonished all onlookers: his belly (though clapped to his back, as was observed by Mr. Patrick Arthur), was strangely distended and did swell to an unusuall height and fall suddenly. While his body did swell it did rise up the cloaths of the bed to a strange height, and as the swelling went off there was an unusuall noise heard in his breast. And then he became as one choked by strangling, and wrestled oddly so that if he got not present help in the time of these fits he swooned,

* The MS. here is defective, having been too close cut in the binding.

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which fell out several times. It is to be observed that he took these fits very frequently during the space of four nights, and sometime without intermission. And all this time he was very sensible of his condition, and declared he was fully perswaded that Beatrix Layng had bewitched him, and often pressed an inquiry into it; and because he saw little appearance of this, was extremely discouraged.

On the 14th May being the Lords day at night, the foresaid fits left; and he took a prodigious swelling in his breast, that the very breast bones were evidently bowed and raised up to an admirable height which usually fell as suddenly; so long that spectators did oft imagine he was falling through the bed; and it was found that the back bones were equally distended with the breast when the swelling was falling; his breathing was exactly like the blowing of a pair of bellows, and sometime those fits were also without intromission. As also while he was in those fits, and after them a considerable while, his body became rigede and inflexible that no strength could fold his arms nor move his body. Several times some very strong men, both in the place and strangers also, endeavoured to lift his head and shoulders from the Bed; but not one of them could ever be able to do it. It was evident also and often tried that during the space of nor failings; and yet when he was in those deep swoons his pulse was in good order, and his face and lips lively.

May 1th being Friday, at night the minister of the place Mr. Patrick Cowpar prayed and discoursed with the young man; He told the minister the foresaid charm was the cause of all his troubles, and he could expect no relief except Beatrix Layng were tryed and punished. The Minister told he had discovered several women who were

said to have heard some words from the said Beatrix, that gave ground to suspect her guilty of the foresaid charm: And the women declared they heard the foresaid words; on which William Bell one of the present Baillies and the Minister offered to bring Beatrix to the house and the foresaid women, viz. Catharine Marshall and Nicolas Lawson: who being confronted with the said Beatrix, declared that she said an evil spirit was troubling the youth, and that the youths own tongue was the cause of his trouble, and that she would not indure them to mention the word Witches.

It was noticed by all present that Nicolas Lawson was in a great Consternation, and seemed to speak with a reluctance and fear, though the Magistrates and Minister treated her with all softness and calmness during the time of all the discourse that past; the youth was in most dreadful agony and pain by the distending and falling of his breast, and after his fits neither heard nor felt, which was often narrowly examined; and after ane swerve or swoon he cried out "one of my tormentors is here present." But when asked who it was, his tongue was drawn back in his throat that he could not speak, but pointed to his mouth with his finger; and in all these fits however insensible he was for a while, yet so soon as he awakened what he spoke was pertinent. The Minister did thrice, when he was in a dilaequium, pinch his thumb and arm very sore, after which he lay eight or nine minutes usually and complained not of any pain, but so soon as he was out of the swerve he did cry bitterly of the pain of his thumb and Arm.

He told the Minister that this night he would be sore tormented, because he heard a woman say she would twist about his head that night. The Minister asked if he knew who she was; he answered God Almighty knew, he knew

not but heard her voice. The Minister withdrew and returned about 10 of the clock. He took frequent and very prodigious fitts, the usual swelling of his breast, stiffness of his body after it, and his head twisted about so far that his face was on his shoulders; and after wrestled as if some had been strangling him, and told that some were actually endeavouring to stife and chock him, and a long red stroke as the seal of a cord was seen about his neck; and this befell him severall nights before. After one violent fitt he awakened, and said "he heard his tormentors saying, there are godly folk here this night."

The Minister of the parish with a young man, a probationer for the Ministry, and several other honest people both men and women, spent some time that night in prayer for the tormented youth, at which Satan and his instruments showed no small rage. After another sore fitt he awakened, crying, "O they are pinching my arms, look you will see it;" and all those present saw the marks of the nails on his arm, and after this his tongue was drawn back in his throat; instantly after this his head was twisted about, and often though lying on his back, his head would have risen even up from the pillow as if he had been sitting straight up.

When he awakened out of another fitt he cried "they are saying they shall endeavour," and this he repeated: again within a little having fallen in another fitt, out of which when he did awake he cried "they are saying there is no edification to be had here, but they will get their own time;" After this, again his head was twisted about; and he cried they were biting him. After another fitt he cried they are saying "It is altogether needless to stay here, and they will make their own escape:" he told also he heard them saying "justice will be brought to light;" these

were his own words. Again he cryed they are saying they shall make me hear all the evill. But I shall hear no good that night. While the Minister was reading the account of Balgarrans daughters case in the West, he cryed out they were would not prevail . . . head was twisted about ; after this a little he complained they were pinching his arm and the marks of their nails were seen. Again he fell a startling and moving strangely in the bed, and the spectators saw his breast pinched and he could not speak. He called for a drink of milk and had scarce well taken it, when he fell in one of the most furious fitts he had ever had, and struggled strangely in the bed that there was no keeping him down ; and he cryed he was worried, he fell in another fitt and swerved after it and cryed they are saying, " What needs the halfe of this praying the night," on which his head was twisted about and his breast grievously pinched. Again he cryed out they are saying we will get no access this night. The Minister asked him if he heard prayer or reading ? he answered, " did you not hear them say I should hear all the evill but no good ;" and he declared he neither heard prayer nor reading. And it was observed after this to the date thereof that he heard no part of the worship of God that was performed in the house ; and yet would have spoke sensible both immediately before and after it. He complained they were putting his head in a disorder, and that his head was as if he were drunk. The Minister asked if he should pray for him, he answered yes. And so soon as the Minister was going to do it he fell in a swoon and took a violent fitt after it, and his teeth set together and his eyes were twisted about and fixed staring on the foot of the bed ; this disorder of his eyes did frequently follow several of the fitts he fell in.

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About one o'clock in the morning he fell under several sore fits, and after one of them he cried out, "I adjure you Satan by the living God to depart out of this house this night," and when one bade him pray his tongue was drawn back in his throat and his head and one of his arms twisted about in a strange manner. After another sore agony and a swoon that followed it, he cried they are saying we shall stick fast to our man, turn what way it will; and startled in the bed and pointing to his arm the marks of the nails that had pinched him were seen on his arm. After another sore fit he cried to a gentlewoman sitting beside him, "Mistress have a care of your hands, for I will bite all that come near me." Accordingly he did furiously gnash with his teeth, and they were close set together. After this his head twisted about, and he cried they are saying if we had got our wills he should tell no more stories. Then he said to the foresaid gentlewoman, "Mistress take heed, hold back your hands for if it were my mother I would bite you." And he bounded up in the bed and wrestled sore, and said they were piercing him with swords in the thigh, and that there was a swerve coming on him which fell out. And added "Sirs do you not think the devil may stab folk though it be not visible?" And instantly he was sore stabbed. About 4 o'clock in the morning, when the Minister and those present were communing about having some to attend him when they went away, he (though as a dead corpse) suddenly came to himself and said to the Minister, "You shall not bear me complain of pain from 5 to 9 hours in the morning and I shall sleep all that time." And added "Sir you shall see if I sleep not from 5 to 9, I shall be a great Knave." The Minister asked him how he knew? he replied, "you shall see it when it comes to pass." He was

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sired to pray to God for himself, and he could scarce get his words uttered, "my teeth are closed," which fell out so and ever since. We have observed so soon as he was bid pray for himself, or tell anything aenent his tormentors, his tongue was drawn back in his throat or his teeth so set together that he could not speak; and though all this night he never named Beatrix Layng but once, yet formerly he frequently did and he slept close till 9 o'clock as he foretold.

After he awakened out of his sleep, he seemed to be communing with some persons invisible to bystanders; he said,— "what assurance have you of that? Beatrix says that she has a mind to worry or stick me this day, and hope in God you will be frustrated of your design; the master you serve is ane evil master; stay and I will tell you what wages you will get,—even the torment of everlasting burning is abiding you." With that his neck was twisted about and stuck stiff on his shoulders. Again when he was free of another fitt "what you have to say. You have great need of repentance; you have two great adversaries to do withall. First, you have the God of this world to do withall, for though he be your friend now He will be your adversary hereafter, and he is helping you a black gate. I engage she shall not come in my sight for an hour." And after he had layn an exact hour in a fitt or swoon, he cried,— "why do you appear here before me Beatie, you may be ashamed to appear before me in such an ill cause. Is not your old father a good scholar. Do you not read that without repentance you cannot be saved, Glorify God, and tell the verity. I hope through the Lord's strength to resist you till 2 o'clock in the afternoon." And immediately thereafter, he cried they were pinching his arm whereof the marks were visibly seen. He said also

"it is not through my own strength that I am furnished with words but through the strength of the Lord."

When one asked him why did he shake his head, he replied he was stabbed in the back as with a drawn spear; and immediately his tongue was drawn back in his throat. A little after this he said "they need not say they are putting her in upon suspicion; for it is evidently seen." When one asked him of whom he was speaking, "It is not Beatrix Layng, I think that the best of Pittenweem may be ashamed to plead your cause."

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon he did say, "they are saying we might have shot a speit in his throat; now Beatrix, you are coming to kill me, I observe there is more then one or two along with you; come I will tell you your doom; you are deceiving your own soul. Consider what you are doing. All that you can do will not free you from the torments of Hell; Remember you will stand before God. Who will plead for you then? Will you get a Saviour then? And so without godly sorrow you will never be saved." When one was desiring to send for the Minister he said that, "you need not send for any body. I will not speak for two hours after this," which accordingly came to pass. He added, "I hear them say they will put a speit through his throat," and cried, "O she is biting my arm," the marks whereof were visibly seen; and said "I am bitten when I tell the verity, and they are pricking me and shutting something down my throat;" and instantly his throat turned hard and his head twisted about.

About 2 hours after he cried out, "they are saying we might have got him put out of hands yesternight were it not for the ill favoured prayers." A little after one asked why he was shaking his head; he replied he was choaked

with a rope, and they did stop his eares also ; and further he said " what are you going to do with her ? " One asked what he would have them to do with her. He added also, " why do you suffer her to lye in her bed ? For when she is sleeping she does me much mischief, and if my throat were not stopped you would not all be able to hold me within the bed, " It is to be marked that all this day, being Saturday, Beatrix Layng lay in her bed.

He told, " now you have gotten all the account of my trouble, and if you have a mind to do anything with her, it is now time. " Again, when one said they could bring him no help, he said he feared they which could help would be unwilling ; then he said they were putting a great pin through his heart. When another said to him that they would put him to death, he answered, he hoped to live and see her get the fire about her. He frequently foretold when he would have ease, and when he would have pain. About 8 o'clock the Minister came to visit him ; he wakened out of a sore fitt that he was in, and the Minister and one of the Baillies called for Beatrix Layng into the house. She was no sooner entered the door of the room where the tormented youth lay, but he immediately awakened out of a deep swoon and cryed, roaring and struggling, in a great agony, that one of his tormentors B. L. (these being the initial letters of Beatrix Layng's name) was here ; and there was another that tormented him N. L. Beatrix was not suffered to touch him, and yet his agony continued in a fearful manner till she was removed out of the room, and then he instantly settled.

Then Nicolas Lawsons was called for ; so soon as she came in under the roof, before she entered the chamber where he lay, he fell in as dreadful fitts as formerly ; when

her neighbour and she was removed, and immediately he calmed and fell in a deep swoon: Again she was brought in a second time, which had the same effect. But because she alleged that he saw her, which was altogether groundless, they covered his face with 2 or 3 ply of thick cloath; and yet instantly when she came in he was tormented as before. And the Minister having entered on a serious discourse with Beatrix Layng and Nicolas Lawson ament the effect their presence in the room had upon the youth, and the presumption there was of their being engaged in the devils service, the Magistrats thereupon ordered them both to prison, and the tormented youth said, "there is a man saying he met not with such a loss this many years," and a little after he cryed, "he is blowing wind in my face, and he appears to me like a white cat; and here is a man (saith he) will break some bodies Neck here." It was asked who it was, he said, "it was a mans tongue, and he speakes hoarse-like; he added, he never knew so much of Nicolas Lawson's troubling him as yesternight about 9, and so at night. It was inquired what a man it was that said to him, he met not with such a loss this many years; his answer was that it was Satan, and said he did fly away in the likeness of a Cat. Being again asked what loss the man got that spake to him, he said it was the loss of his two companions.

At that same time he said that two men would not be able to hold him this night, when once day light wore away. After that he said that it was Satans servants that did torment him yesternight, but Satan himself was to torment him this night. He cryed they were piercing him through the pape and through the back, and said no part of him would be free of torment this night.

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A little after this he said he saw a black boy standing in the bed, who said to him he would give him a new coat ; but he answered he would resist him through Gods strength, and would have none of his coats. This was about 10 o'clock at night.

He said afterward there was a man that said to him that he would hold him waking all night. But he answered you are nothing but a chained dog, and you have no more power than God giveth to you. I trust in the Lords strength to defy you, and all the devils in hell this night. Then he said there was not one part of his body but was full of pain with jagging. The devil again appeared and offered him a cravat ; but he answered I shall have none of your cravats nor none of your bribes. He added they were blowing wind in his face.

About twelve o'clock at night he told as he was laying, "pray and read as much as you like, he will have his life." But the tormented youth replied he would resist him if God were with him ; then a little while after the Devil appeared like a sow, and said, "If he had not told this he would have win his life." And the youth replied, "although my body be in your hands, yet my soul is in the hands of the most high." About one o'clock the Devil said he would prick him to death, if he would not deny all that he had said. But he said he would rather dye than deny. When one asked him what it was the devil would have him to deny, he answered, and said, "It was those things he spoke before." And hearing the people speak concerning Nicolas Lawsons, that she had said she could not get her mind opened, he replied that she was the next step to confession when she said that. After this, one invisible to him said "the devil dragg you throw nineteen chambers," and he replied I will not give

twopence for your kindness; for you can do nothing but what God permitts you to do. About 3 hours in the morning, being 21st of May and Lords day, he said the Devil cryed out horribly because he could not get him killed for shaming of his dear children. Now, he told he would rest from 5 to 8 o'clock in the morning; which accordingly fell out.

After this, awakening at 8 o'clock, he said, "You wicked Devil, you think to cut off my toes, and make me renounce my Baptism and vows, and would perswade me that there is not a Saviour. But he trusted in the Lord that he would resist him." About eleven hours in the forenoon, he sat up in the Bed as if he had been under no indisposition, and wrote what follows with his own hand.

He said he saw Satan standing in the Bed, and said unto him, My child I will give you a silver suit and silver tressing about your hat if you will confess that there is no saviour; though two of my dear children suffer punishment, yet it shall be well with you hereafter; He answered, "If I beg of God for a true godly sorrow for sin, then through the Lords strength, no devil shall be able to touch one hair of my head;" and thus far he wrote.

After this the devill said to him that he would not trouble him for Four hours; then the Devil appeared to him about 2 hours after, like a young man, with a black coat, and hat with silver tressing about it, and black stockings with white shoes; and said to him he would cut off his toes, and run a spite through him. But he answered, "you are a liar, and a liar from the beginning; you said you would not trouble me for 4 hours, but you have troubled me sooner. I am not afraid of you. I will not flee from you; though you be a strong adversary, yet there is one stronger than

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you." And he said he would be no more afraid of the devil then for a young child; "you are a cunning dog, but I will not be bribed with you."

It is to be considered that this whole last night in which he spoke much of what is above written, he did not show the least disorder in his judgment while he discoursed, and also that he had frequently terrible fits as formerly; to witt, that astonishing swelling in the breast, the twisting of his head about, swooning, and becoming stiff, and without sense of seeing, hearing, or feeling.

Sabbath, about 10 o'clock at night, after he wakened out of a grievous fitt he cryed, "there he is with a silver call about his neck, and red slippers, and says he will wait on me this night as well as ever he did, though two of his dear children seem to be brought to execution." But he answered, "through the Lords strength I shall defy him."

Having fallen in another fitt he awakened and said, "he said if he had holden a grip of me, I should have given you all your desire. If you have no other Saviour but me I should have pleaded for you."

Beatrix Layng being brought in to see Patrick Morton, she came no sooner into the room but he fell into a horrible and amazing fitt, and roared crying, "there is one of my tormentors here," though immediately before he was lying insensible as a dead corpse. But because she said Patrick Morton had seen her, she was removed and Patrick Morton's face was covered with 2 or 3 plys of a thick cloath; yet she no sooner came in again but his greivous agony re-occurred, and he cryed out his tormentor B. L. was here, and prest vehemently to take her to prison.

Beatrix being removed to prison, they asked him why he only named the initial letters of the two womens names

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yesternight and this night, he told he was afraid; and as they pressed to know why he was afraid, he was struck with a violent fit and swooned. After this when he awakened, he complained they were pinching his thumb, the marks of which was visible to spectators; he told he got all these pinches for telling the truth.

About half an hour after this he cried,—“there is he standing in the likeness of a branded horse; he says he shall make me to Blaspheme and speak words that should not be uttered;” and he replied, “how prove you that Satan shall not go one foot back?” He added further, he had much need to be waited on about midnight, and that he had never more need to be prayed for than about that time.

About 12 o'clock at night he pressed to send for the Minister; for he said, “Satan is tormenting more then ever, saying he will destroy me this night. But I will defy him;” and he turned himself to God, and said, “thou art a sovereign Lord, thou canst bind the strong man and cast him out.” About midnight he took many violent and fearfull fits, crying they were pricking him to the heart. He asked if they had yet confessed that they had his picture tormenting him with; he added,—“he says if they be put to great trial, that more of his children will go that way.” And at 2 o'clock in the morning he said (when people beside him were speaking of the picture),—“the devil said, although you got all the pictures in the world, untill you got those women burnt you shall be no better;” then he added that Satan said the devil takes all that was in the house for they were plotting his ruin. Immediately after this he cried out of dreadful torment, that they were stabbing him. It is to be remembered that those 5 dayes he

had taken no meat nor drink except once a day a little milk, or milk and water, or water alone.

There is nothing in all this Narrative of his trouble, and what he spoke, but what six or seven at least were witnesses of it; the most part of it can be attested by many more of the most judicious of the place, Magistrates, Ministers, Elders, and others; yea, frequently the room was full of people when he had his worst fits, and spoke most.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Kellie, the Laird of Kinconquard, the Laird of Grangemoor, with some other Countrey Gentlemen and some neighbour Ministers, were witnesses to some of his fits, and to what he spoke.

From Tuesday, May the 23rd to Sabbath 28th, his case altered much; he seldom had fits or swerves, and when they did overtake him, they were not violent nor sore, and all this time he heard prayer and reading of the Scriptures. But on Sabbath day foresaid he began to grow worse. He had several sore pinches, the marks of which was seen by spectators after sermon, and was in a deep and long swoon, and very insensible when he was tried.

There was several country Gentlemen who saw him in this condition, and desired that Beatrix Layng might be brought furth, that they might see if he were seized with any strange fits when she did approach; which the Magistrates accordingly did. She was no sooner in at the outter door of the house but he fell in a hideous fit, and struggled most furiously that he could not be kept down, and cryed out,—“one of my tormentors is here;” and this was the more remarkable that he was near a quarter of an hour in a deliquium before this fit, and several sore fits ensued this, at all which the spectators was much moved and terrified; he cryed once at the same time,—“The Devil is blowing a puff of wind in my face.”

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The Gentlemen who were present were Sir Robert Anstruther, Balcormo elder and younger, Grangemoor, with the Magistrates and Minister; and they saw so soon as Beatrix was removed the youth settled. Some of the gentlemen tryed the weight of his body in the swerve, and they could by no means lift his head or shoulders from the pillow.

This night he took several sore fits as he had foretold; after one he cryed that a little warlock was troubling him. After another fearfull wrestling, he cryed,—“there is ane ill favoured hoarse lead warlock troubling me.”

Monday, the 29th of May, in the morning he awakened out of a swerve and cryed,—“there is some rank devils in the loan;” and said he saw Thomas Brown a long glooming dog with a long staff. He said the devil appeared to him in the likeness of Thomas Brown with a broad rule in his hand; and after this he said the devil appeared to him again and said he would let him alone untill 10 o'clock at night, and he answered,—“I do not believe you, you are a Lyar from the beginning.”

Issobell Adame of 20 years of age, being apprehended on pregnant presumptions of Witchcraft, no sooner entered the room where the youth was, but he awakened out of his insensible fits and cryed,—“there is a charmer here;” and though one of the Magistrates covered his face before she entered, and only the said Magistrate and Minister knew of her coming to the house; and so soon as she was removed he settled and swerved as formerly.

This night he said frequently that Thomas Brown and Janet Corfeitt were troubling him, though he never spoke of this woman before as one of his tormentors, but when she was present.

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had taken no meat nor drink except once a day a little milk, or milk and water, or water alone.

There is nothing in all this Narrative of his trouble, and what he spoke, but what six or seven at least were witnesses of it; the most part of it can be attested by many more of the most judicious of the place, Magistrates, Ministers, Elders, and others; yea, frequently the room was full of people when he had his worst fits, and spoke most.

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There was several country Gentlemen who saw him in this condition, and desired that Beatrix Layng might be brought forth, that they might see if he were seized with any strange fits when she did approach; which the Magistrates accordingly did. She was no sooner in at the outer door of the house but he fell in a hideous fit, and struggled most furiously that he could not be kept down, and cryed out,—“one of my tormentors is here;” and this was the more remarkable that he was near a swoon when he heard in a deliquium before this fit, and when he recovered from this, at all which the spectators were amazed and terrified; he cryed once at the same time, “is blowing a puff of wind in my face.”

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May the 30th, Janet Corfeitt was brought out of prison and though formerly he never accused her till she touched him, yet now he awakened out of a swoon, and accused her to be one of his tormentors ; so soon as she entered the room he struggled furiously till she was removed. Immediately after Isobell Adame was brought out of prison to visit him, and she was no sooner at the door of the room where he lay, but he fell in a terrible fit, and cried,—“one of my tormentors is here ;” though the other day he called her but a charmer ; and as was usual in the like case with him : but before and after this he was in a deep swoon.

He had foretold that he would have much trouble about 10 o'clock at night, about which time the Minister was present and prayed ; but the young man heard none at all. A little after he cried,—“thou Thomas Brown thought to hit me in the face with thy rule. Ah, Thomas, you are there at my bed head and all the cummers in the loan. They are saying we will go to the loan, for as long as the Minister is here we will get no access.” He instantly fell in a deep swoon, and was under some unusual fits in the time of it, the upper part of his body moving towards the bed side, and drawing back also strangely, and yet the inferior parts of his body could not be perceived to move. This befell him several times, which was very astonishing to on-lookers. Since Sabbath he hath not eat any, and he said he could not eat till Wednesday at twelve o'clock.
(*The MS. ends here abruptly.*)

These horrible transactions gave rise to several pamphlets, criminating and defending the Minister and Magistrates ; but the Murderers were never brought to justice. The two following Tracts are here given as fully explanatory of the

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whole affair. The **FIRST** is a concise relation of facts, in which the Minister and Magistrates are placed in no very favourable point of view. The **SECOND** is an answer to the first, and seems chiefly intended to obviate the charges that are preferred against the Minister and Baillies; but, in our opinion, with no great success, as the principal facts are admitted, and the only defence set up is, that the women were in reality Witches!

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, 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*, *February 5th. 1705.* Printed in the year 1705.

MY LORD,

I Reckon my self very much honoured by your Lordships Letter, desiring me to write you an Account of that horrible Murder committed in *Pittenweem*; I doubt not, but by this time, your Lordship has seen the Gentleman's Letter to his Friend thereanent: I refer you to it, the Author thereof being so well inform'd, and so ingenuous, that I'll assure you there is nothing in it; but what is generally talk'd, and believed to be true.

All I can contribute to your Lordship's further Information, shall be by way of a brief Narrative of the Baillies' and Minister's unwarrantable imprisoning, and barbarous treating of the Poor Women.

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I need not write your Lordship a Character of *Patrick Morton*, being now sufficiently known for a Cheat.

It was upon his Accusation allennarly the Minister and Baillies imprisoned these poor Women, and set a Guard of drunken Fellows about them, who by pinching and Pricking some of them with Pins and Elisions, kept them from sleep for several Days and Nights together ; the Marks whereof were seen by severals a month thereafter ; this cruel Usage made some of them learn to be so wise, as acknowledge every Question that was ask'd them ; whereby they found the Minister and Baillies well pleas'd, and themselves better treated.

Nothwithstanding of all this, some of the more Foolish, continued, as the Minister said, hardened in the Devil's Service, such as *White, Jack, Wallace, Patrick*, and others : All which, save the first, were ordered to the Stocks, where they lay for several Weeks.

All this, while *Patrick Morton's* melancholly Fancy (to give it no harsher Term) being too much encouraged by severals, and particularly by the Minister's reading to him the Case of *Barrengarran's* Daughter, continued roving after a wonderful manner, accusing for his Tormenters, some of the most considerable Mens Wives in the Town, but such as the Minister and Baillies durst not venture to imprison. By this your Lordship may see, it was only the weakest that went to the Walls.

My Lord *Roths* accompanied with several Gentlemen of good sense and Reputation, came to *Pittenweem*, where finding these poor Women's Confessions nowise satisfying, and *Patrick Morton* a Cheat, informed the Privy Council thereof, who sent an Order to send *Patrick* over to them.

This Turn being given ; and *Patrick* finding, that things

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were not likely to go so favourably with him as he before fancied, began to draw to his Breeches; and in a short time recovered his former Health, in which he still continues. By this time the Baillies began to be as earnest emptying their Prisons, as ever they were forward in filling them: So after a long and serious Deliberation, they set them at Liberty: But that there last Step might be as illegal as there first, obliged each of them to pay the Town-Officer, the Sum of 8 *lib. Scots*: To pay which, some of them were forced to sell some Linnen they had reserved for their Dead-Shirts and Wynding-Sheets.

I beg your Lordships further Patience a little to read these few following Observations. *Obs. 1st.* The Baillies and Minister sent and brought severals of these Women from Places without their Jurisdiction; one from *Anstruther*, and another from the Country at 6 Miles distance.

Obs. 2d. What Good could the Minister propose to *Patrick Mortoun* by reading to him the Book intituled, *The Case of Barrangarran's Daughter*.

Observ. 3d After so much Unjustice done these poor Women, the Baillies and Ministers obliged them to pay the Town-Officer eight Pounds *Scots*, is worthy of your Lordships, and the rest of the Lords of the Privy Council's Considerations: And it would be the height of Charity, to fall on a method to oblige the Minister and Baillies to refund it seven-fold.

Obs. 4th. One *Thomas Brown* the only Man accused by *Patrick Mortoun*, and imprison'd by the Minister and Baillies, after a great deal of hunger and hardship, died in Prison. So as this poor Womans Murther was not the first, neither will it be the last, unless by severe Punishments prevented.

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Obs. 5th. The Baillies in a manner justified these two Murthers by their not allowing them Christian Burial, but burrying them like dogs, scarce covered them from the ravens.

Obs. 6th. You may wonder why all along I should say the Minister and Baillies? The reason is, because during all this Narrative he exercis'd more of the Civil Authority than any of the Baillies, and so continues to do, as you may see by this following late Instance.

The Baillies of *Pittenweem* being conven'd before the Lords of Privy-Council on the 14th or 15th of *February*, I am inform'd, give in to them a subscribed Account of the Murther; and to justify themselves, assert they had imprison'd severals of the Murtherers before they left *Pittenweem*. It is very true they did so, but they were not long from the Town, when the Minister set them at liberty: This I think is exercising the Office of a Civil Magistrate. Perhaps the Minister may say, he did it by the Magistrate's Order left behind them; then I think the Magistrate were mightily in the wrong to give in to the Lords of the Privy-Council an Account they knew to be false.

My Lord, This is not the tenth part of what may be said upon this Subject; I hope some other Person will be more particular.

I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordships most humble Servant.

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An Account of an horrid and barbarous Murder, in a Letter from a Gentleman in Fife, to his Friend in Edinburgh.

S I R,

I Doubt not of your being exceedingly Surpris'd with this short and Just Account I give you, of a most Barbarous Murder committed in *Pittenweem* the 30th. of *January* last. One *Peter Morton* a Blacksmith in that Town, after a long Sickness, pretended that Witches were Tormenting him, that he did see them and know them: And from time to time, as he declared such and such Women to be Witches, they were by Order of the Magistrates and Ministers of *Pittenweem*, apprehended as such, to a very considerable Number, and put into Prison. This Man by his odd Postures and Fits, which seem'd to be very Surprising at first, wrought himself into such a Credit with the People of that Place; that unless the Earl of *Rothes*, our Sheriff, had discover'd his Villany, and discouraged that Practice, God knows how Fatal it might have prov'd to many Honest Families of Good Credit and Respect. Sir, However, at first many were deceived, yet now all Men of Sense are asham'd for giving any Credit to such a Person. But how hard it is to Root out bad Principles once Espous'd by the Rabble; and how dangerous a Thing it is to be at their Mercy, will appear by the Tragical Account I give you of one of these poor Women *Janet Corphat*.

After she was committed Prisoner to the Tolbooth, upon a Suspicion of her being a Witch: She was well guarded with a Number of Men, who by Pinching her, and pricking her with Pins, kept her from Sleep many Days and Nights,

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threatning her with present Death, unless she would confess her self Guilty of Witch-craft, which at last she did. This Report spreading abroad, made People curious to Converse with her upon the Subject, who found themselves exceedingly disappointed. The Viscount of *Primrose* being in *Fife* occasionally, inclin'd to satisfy his Curiosity in this matter, the Earl of *Kellie*, my Lord *Lyon*, the Laird of *Scots-Tarvat*, and the Laird of *Randerston* were with his Lordship in *Pittenweem*. Three of the Number went to the Tolbooth and Discours'd her, to whom she said, that all that she had confessed, either of her self, or her Neighbours, were Lies, and cry'd out, *God forgive the Minister*, and said he had beat her one day with his Staff, when she was telling him the Truth. They ask'd her how she came to say any thing that was not true; she cry'd out, *Alas, alas, I behoved to say so, to please the Minister and the Baillies*: And in the mean time, she beg'd for Christ's Sake not to tell that she had said so, else she would be murdered. Another time, when the Laird of *Glenagies* and Mr. *Bruce* of *Kinross*, were telling her, she needed not deny what they were asking her, for she had confessed as much as would infallibly burn her; she cried out, *God forbid!* And to one of the two she said, that from which he might rationally conclude, she insinuat she had Assurance from the Minister, her Life should not be taken.

A little before Harvest Mr. *Ker* of *Kippilaw* a Writer to the Signet being in *Pittenweem*, Mr. *Robert Cook* Advocat went with him to Prison to see this poor Woman; Mr. *Cook* among other Questions ask'd her, if she had not renounced her Baptism to the Devil; she answered, she never renounc'd her Baptism but to the Minister, These were her Words, what she meant by them, I know not.

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The Minister having got Account of this from Mr. Cook, he sent for her, and in presence of Mr. Cook and Mr. Ker in the Church, he threatned her very severely, and commanded the Keeper to put her into some Prison by her self under the Steeple, lest (as he said) she should pervert those who had confessed. The Keeper put her into a Prison in which was a Low Window, out of which it was obvious that any body could make an escape, and accordingly she made her escape that Night.

Next Day when they miss'd her, they made a very slight Search for her, and promised ten pound Scots to any Body that would bring her back.

Mr. Gordon Minister of *Leuchars*, hearing she was in his Parish, 8 Miles distant from *Pittenweem*, caused apprehend her, and sent her Prisoner, under Custody of two Men, on the 30th of *January*, to Mr. Cowper Minister of *Pittenweem*, without giving any Notice to the Magistrates of the Place. When she came to Mr. Cowper, she ask'd him if he had any thing to say to her? he answered, No. She could get Lodging in no House, but with one *Nicolas Lawson*, one of the Women that had been called Witches. Some say a Baillie put her there.

The Rabble hearing she was in Town, went to Mr. Cowper, and ask'd him what they should do with her? He told them he was not concern'd, they might do what they pleased with her. They took Encouragement from this, to fall upon the poor Woman, those of the Minister's Family going along with him, as I hear; they fell upon the poor Creature immediatly, and beat her unmercifully, tying her so hard with a Rope that she was almost strangl'd; they dragg'd her through the Streets, and alongst the Shoar by the heels. A Baillie hearing of a

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Rabble near his Stair, came out upon them, which made them immediatly disappear. But the Magistrates tho' met together, not taking Care to put her into close Custody, for her Safety, the Rabble gathered again immediatly, and stretch'd a Rope betwixt a Ship and the Shoar, to a great height, to which they ty'd her fast; after which they swing'd her to and fro, from one side to another, in the mean time throwing Stones at her from all Corners, until they were weary: Then they loos'd her, and with a mighty Swing threw her upon the hard Sands; all about being ready in the mean time to receive her with Stones and Staves, with which they beat her most cruelly; her Daughter in the time of her Mother's Agony, tho she knew of it, durst not adventure to appear, lest the Rabble had us'd her after the same manner, being in a House, in great Concern and Terror out of Natural Affection for her Mother: (About which the Author was misinform'd in the first Edition.) They laid a heavy Door upon her, with which they prest her so sore, that she cried out, to let her up for *Christ's* sake, and she would tell the Truth: But when they did let her up, what she said could not satisfy them; and therefore they again laid on the Door, and with a heavy weight of Stones on it, prest her to Death: And to be sure it was so, they called a Man with a Horse and a Sledge, and made him drive over her Corp backward and forward several times. When they were sure she was killed outright, they dragged her miserable Carcass to *Nicolas Lowson's* House, where they first found her.

There was a Motion made to treat *Nicolas Lowson* after the same manner immediatly: But some of them being wearied with three Hours Sport, as they called it, said, It would be better to delay her for another Day's Divertisement; and so they all went off.

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It is said, That Mr. *Cowper*, in a Letter to Mr. *Gordon*, gave some Rise to all this; And Mr. *Cowper*, to vindicate himself, wrote to Mr. *Gordon*; whose Return says, if he were not going to *Edinburgh*, he would give him a Double of his Letter. It's strange, he sent him not the Principal. In the Postscript he assures him, he shall conceal it to Meeting.

'Tis certain, that Mr. *Cowper* preaching the Lord's Day immediately after in *Pittenweem*, took notice of the Murder, which at least makes him guilty of sinful Silence. Neither did Mr. *Gordon*, in his Letter to Mr. *Cowper*, make any Requite for it: And this some construe to be a Justifying of the horrid Wickedness in both.

We are perswaded, the Government will examine this Affair to the bottom, and lay little Stress upon what the Magistrates or Minister of *Pittenweem* will say to smooth over the Matter; seeing it's very well known, that either of them could have quash'd the Rabble, and prevented that Murder, if they had appeared zealous against it.

I am sorry I have no better News to tell you. God deliver us from those Principles that tend to such Practices.

I am

SIR,

Your Humble Servant.

A JUST REPROOF to the FALSE REPORTS and UNJUST CALUMNIES, in the FOREGOING LETTERS.

ABOUT the month of March last year, one *Beatrix Laing*, a woman of very bad fame, who had formerly been under process for using charms, and refusing to be recon-

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ciled to her neighbours, was debarred from the Lord's table, came to one Patrick Morton, a blacksmith, desiring him to make some nails, which he refused to do, because otherwise employed at that time. Upon which she went off muttering some threatening expressions. A little after, the said Patrick Morton, with another person in company, carrying some fish by the said Beatrix Laing's door, they saw a vessel with water placed at the door, with a burning coal in it. Upon which he was presently stricken with an impression that it was a charm designed against him, and upon this a little after he sickened. In this sickness he languished for a long time; physicians that saw him, could not understand his distemper, yet tried various medicines, till at length his trouble increased, and he began to be seized with some unusual fits, which made them give over. He forbore all this while any accusation of the person whom he all along suspected for his trouble, at least he made no mention of it to the minister, who frequently visited him while under it. But his trouble still increasing, he at length began to drop some apprehensions of the cause of it. Upon which Beatrix Laing was called, and by the Magistrates, in the said Patrick Morton's father's house, examined in presence of a great multitude of people, and owned, that she had placed that vessel with water, and the coal in it, there; but at that time would give no account of the reason of it. Being dismissed by the Magistrates, she went home, and that same night, when she was challenged by Katharine Marshal, in her own house, before Nicolas Lawson, about the lad's trouble, she answered, that he might blame his own ill tongue for what had befallen him, and that it was an evil spirit that was troubling him; which was in her face maintained by the said persons next day, in presence of the Magistrates. Then the boy began to complain of her

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tormenting him, and fell into grievous fits of trouble upon her entering the house. Upon all which she being imprisoned, after some time did acknowledge to Magistrates and Minister, in presence of many witnesses, without threat or torture, (of which we shall speak more afterwards) that she was displeas'd with Patriok Morton for his refusing to make some nails; that she designed to be avenged upon him for it; and that she used that charm of the coal in the water against him; and that she renounced her baptism, entered into a compact with the devil some twelve years before; condescending upon time, place, and her inducements to engage in his service; and that she, with Nicholas Lawson had made a wax picture to torment him, and put pins in it; which the said Nicholas likewise confessed afterwards, and so justified the boy's account of the rise of his trouble.

After this the boy's trouble daily increased, in which there were many strange things; first his belly, for some time, then his breast, frequently heaved up to a prodigious height, and instantly went off again, by a blowing at the mouth like a bellows; frequently he cried out that such persons as he named were pinching him in his arms, breast, or some other places of his body, his hands lying all the while above the clothes, at a distance from one another, in the view of many of the spectators; and when they looked the places of which he complained, they saw distinctly the print of nails. Again, he was frequently cast into swooning fits, became insensible, which was tried by exquisite pinching the more sensible parts of his body, of which he complained afterwards when he came out the fits, though he took no notice of them, nor felt them, in the time while he was in these fits. The strongest who essayed to lift his head from the pillow, were not able to move it, though both

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his feet and head were perfectly free of the bed, which was exactly tried: Yea, sometimes while the trunk of his body and his head were thus rigid and could not be raised from the pillow, his legs were loose, and any might move them as they pleased. Sometimes these fits were not so great as at other times, and then, or when he was falling in, or coming out of them, several persons lifted him with little difficulty; but when he was in the depth of the fit, the strongest that essayed it could not raise him up. Again, when any of the women whom he accused touched him, and sometimes on their coming into the room he fell into grievous fits of trouble, and cried out, that such a person was tormenting him, condescending on their names; and this he did very frequently, before multitudes of people of different ranks, ready to attest the same. And commonly such care was taken to prevent his having any notice, either of the womens' entry, or which of them was there, that there was no place left for any rational suspicion of trick or cheat in the matter. He was carefully hoodwinked with several plies of cloth—the women were brought in with the utmost secrecy—innocent persons present in the room laid their hands on him, but yet he never shewed the least concern, save when the accused persons touched him. Several times gentlemen that seemed jealous that there was somewhat of an imposture in the case, were allowed and invited to make the nicest trial, and found it hold. Several pitiful cavils have been used about this, and other instances of the boy's trouble, which proceed either from ignorance of the circumstances of matter of fact, or gross inadvertency in not observing the several variations of the boy's case; which, had they been considered, they would have been so far from giving any countenance to the conclusion aimed at

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by these objectors, that they would strongly have enforced a conviction of something preter-natural in the case.

The author then proceeds to give an account of Janet Corphat, the woman who was murdered. She was a person of very bad fame, who of a long time was reputed a witch, frequently used charms, and was wont commonly to threaten persons who disobliged her, and such consequences sometimes followed, as made her the terror of many, both of the town and country, which might be verified by particular instances, if it were necessary. She was not at first delated by Patrick Morton, though afterwards he complained of her as one of his tormentors; but she, with several others, being in company with the devil, whereof Isabel Adam was one, in pursuance of a quarrel which Beatrix Laing, formerly mentioned, had with one Alexander M'Grigor, a fisher in the town, made an attempt to murder the said M'Grigor in bed; which was prevented by his awakening and wrestling against them. This attempt was acknowledged by Isabel Adam, of whose confession a more full account shall be given afterwards, who had been taken up on that man's delation, and some other informations against her, and not on the lad's. As likewise, the said Janet was accused by Nicolas Lawson, another person present at that attempt; and Nicolas accused her of being at another meeting in the Loan of Pittenweem; at both which meetings they confessed the devil was present.—All which she herself afterwards freely confessed.

The manner of this woman's confession was very remarkable.—After she had obstinately some while denied, and with a subtilty beyond what might be expected from one of her education, shifted all questions put to her, she, with Isabel Adam aforesaid, being brought to the house where

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the tormented lad lay, and he discovering her at her entry into the room, notwithstanding the utmost precaution was used to conceal it from him, and he falling into grievous fits of trouble, did cry out of her as one of his tormentors; at which she was so stunned, that instantly she fell a trembling. The magistrates and minister observing her in such a confusion, asked if she was willing to commune with them, in reference to the matters whereof she had been accused; she declaring herself willing, went with them to another place, and when desired to be ingenuous, she again fell a trembling, and said she would confess all, but was afraid the devil would tear the soul out of her body if she did, and said, if you will pray, and cause all good folk pray for me, I will confess, and she then desired the minister to pray; and, after prayer, confessed she was bodily present at both the meetings aforesaid with the devil and the witches, and gave a circumstantial account of the renunciation of her baptism, naming time, place, and inducements which led her to it, and the shape the devil appeared to her in.—She likewise told the reason of their attempt to murder M'Grigor was, that he did not hire a house which belonged to Beatrix Laing.

Again, on a Thursday, after she had been hearing sermon, she desired to speak with the minister, and sent one to acquaint him with this desire; on which he went to her, and she, before several witnesses, renewed her former confession, and condescended on all the persons the other confessing witches had accused, as being present at the two foresaid meetings; adding withal, that there were others present whom she knew not. This confession she renewed before the presbytery, in presence of a great many country gentlemen, and other spectators; as likewise in the face of a numerous congregation on the Lord's day.

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It is owned, that when Beatrix Laing and Nicolas Lawson were first imprisoned, they were ill used by some of the guard without the knowledge of magistrates or minister of which the women made complaint to the minister, whereof he presently acquainted the magistrates, who, with the minister, went to the prison, and threatened the guard if they offered the least disturbance to persons in custody. And the minister, on the Lord's day thereafter, took occasion in sermon to discover the wickedness of that practice, as being against the light of nature, Scripture, and the just laws of the land. After this, we heard of no more disturbances they met with. Now, it was not till after this precaution used to prevent their trouble, that Janet Corphat was imprisoned; and, from the time of her imprisonment, till the time that she confessed, which was some ten or twelve days, she was not in company with the rest, nor with the guard, save one or two days, but was alone in a separate prison, and nothing to disturb her.

Now, it is remarkable, that neither of these persons who were ill used, of which Janet Corphat was none, did ever make any acknowledgement to these persons who used them ill, nor till some days after they were quite freed of this trouble. And when they did confess, it was to magistrates and minister, whom they owned to be careful to preserve them from such abuses; nor did magistrate or minister ever use any threatening to extort a confession, or any other argument, but what the gospel requires to be made use of to bring impenitent sinners to a confession of their sins.*

The author of the letter tells us, 'she was put in a low

* We should like to know what threatenings the gospel requires ministers to make use of to such impenitent sinners as will not confess sins they could not commit?

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prison, out of which it was obvious that any body could make an escape, and accordingly she made her escape that night.' Here are but two assertions, and both of them false, for the prison was the second story, and her escape was by breaking an old iron grate in the window ; nor was it that night after that she broke the prison, for it was on Friday these gentlemen discoursed her, and on the Lord's day at night she broke the prison. *

Here follows the author of the 'Just Reproofs' way of telling the story of the barbarous and cruel murder of Janet Corphat. She came to town under cloud of night with two men, and went straight to an inn where her daughter was serving. After some stay there, the two men brought her to the minister's house, who was visiting a sick child of one James Cook, a present bailie, where his servant came to him with Mr. Gordon's letter ; and, as soon as he had perused it he bid his servant go tell them, he would have nothing to do with her, but since they had brought her to the town, let them take her to the magistrates ; which answer, two men then present, have attested under their hands. On this, the men brought her to Bailie Cook's house, where the minister was, and the men meeting him coming down stairs, pressed him to take her off their hands, which he refused to do, but called the two next magistrates, and advised them instantly to set her off safe out of the town. On which the two bailies sent for their officer immediately, and the minister went off straight to his own house, and saw no appearance of a rabble, nor did hear of it, till the rabble had gone a considerable length ; and after

* This just reprover begins very fairly by wilfully perverting his opponent's language, 'a prison with a low window,' he makes 'a low prison.' We very much suspect the minister himself had a hand in this pamphlet.

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a little, he heard that the woman was got safe out of their hands, and the rabble dissipate, and he knew nothing of her death till the next morning.

When the officer came to the magistrates, they, on deliberation among themselves, resolved to imprison her till the next morning; and accordingly ordered their officer to do it. And as the officer was executing the magistrates' orders, the rabble gathered upon them, attacked the officer, and took the woman from him, with which, is it said, he did not acquaint the magistrates, that they might have taken other measures for the woman's safety.

This rabble did not flow from the inclinations of the people of the place, which is evident from the peaceful and safe residence two confessing witches had for two months time in the place since they were set at liberty, but from an unhappy occasional concourse of a great many strangers, some Englishmen, some from Orknéy, and other parts, who were forward in it, and have since taken guilt on them by their flight.

As to the assertion with regard to those of Mr. Cowper's family going along with the rabble, Mr. Cowper urged to have his servants examined among the first, and they have declared before the magistrates, that they stole out in a clandestine way, that their master might not know of it, and he indeed knew nothing of it, and they returned very quickly and made no stay; nor do any of the witnesses examined insinuate any accusation of their having the least accession to any injury she met with, nor were they any other way concerned, than by looking on a short while with some hundreds of other spectators.

Again, it is said, 'that they first found her at Nicolas Lawson's house, and that she was killed out-right when

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they dragged her there again,' is as ill grounded as the rest of our author's assertions ; for they found her not at Nicolas Lawson's house, and some of the persons examined have declared, that after she was brought to that door, she arose and put on head cloaths, and called to Nicolas Lawson to let her in ; which, if she had done, she in all appearance had met with no more disturbance ; but after this, we hear *that some few of the rabble stole up secretly and murdered her.*

The author of the Second Letter accuses the minister of encouraging Patrick Morton in carrying on the cheat, by reading to him the case of Bargarrau's daughter. In answer to which, we shall give a short, but candid, account of matter of fact. In the month of May last, the minister, with a preacher, and a great many other people, attending all night in the room where Patrick Morton lay, and he lying meanwhile in a swooning fit, which was then tried by exquisite pinching, the minister and probationer falling into some discourse about Bargarran's daughter, took out the book, and for their own satisfaction, read only two sentences, and stopt. Several weeks after, when the minister was again attending in the night time, the lad being insensible, the minister, for his own diversion, read the preface, and some part of the process, against the witches, but had no reason to think he heard any thing, but on the contrary. And it is to be observed, when the committee of the privy council did accurately examine the boy in reference to this story, he still declared he never heard anything of Bargarran's daughter's case read.

What he says of 'their obliging them to pay eight pound Scots to the town-officer,' is in many ways false. It is false that they were ordered by the magistrates to pay such

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a sum. It is false that they paid all alike. It is also untruth that any of them gave what they had provided for their winding sheets. Nicolas Lawson, one of the confessing witches, her husband voluntarily gave a small piece of unbleached linen to the officer for his fees; and this is all the ground for the story of their winding sheets.

The Author of the Just Reproof then proceeds to give an account of Mrs White and Isobel Adam. The woman brought from Anstruther was a Mrs White, an inhabitant of Pittenween, who, through fear of being apprehended, fled thither to her daughter's house. This woman, whose cause is now warmly espoused by some, with no advantage to her reputation, and who is now insisting against the magistrates in a process for wrongous imprisonment, has been for many years a person of very bad fame. Some eighteen years ago, she pursued a woman before the session, in Mr Bruce the late Episcopal incumbents time, for calling her a witch, and succumbing in the probation. Mr. Bruce urged her to be reconciled with the woman,—she obstinately refused,—using most Unchristian and revengeful expressions, which are to be seen in the session-register. Since the revolution, she desired admission to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was then denied her, because she still refused to be reconciled to that woman. Her scandalous carriage in refusing to cohabit with her husband to this day, who is a sober honest man, is generally known. This woman being accused by the boy as one of his tormentors, and delated by two confessing witches, and other presumptions of her guilt, the magistrates one morning sent their officer to the magistrates of Anstruther, desiring them on these grounds to send Mrs. White to them, and the grounds of her imprisonment were sent in write to her,

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in her daughter Mrs. Lindsay's house; and she being brought to Pittenweem, the two women which delated her, were confronted with her, in presence of the magistrates, a great many gentlemen and ministers, where they did accuse her to her face, and charged her particular with being at a meeting in the Loan with the devil and the witches, and gave some binding tokens to convince her. By all which it appears, how little ground there is to accuse the magistrates for invading their neighbours jurisdiction, or load the minister with any concernment in the matter.

As to the other instance of one brought to Pittenweem at six miles distance, this was the young woman Isobel Adam. About the middle of May, one Alexander M'Grigor delated her for an attempt to murder him in his own house in the night-time, with several others whom he knew not; and there being some surmises of other presumptions of witchcraft against her, the minister hearing she was occasionally in the town, called for her, and advised her, before her father, if innocent, to take proper measures for her own vindication, which she undertook to do, and promised to return for that end ou advertisement, which her father engaged to give. The noise about her still increasing, her father was desired, according to promise, to call her to the place, which he declined, growing jealous of her guilt; on which the minister advertised her, but in case she refused, a letter was sent to be delivered to the gentleman on whose ground she lived, desiring him to send her. So soon as the advertisement was given, she came voluntarily to her father's house in Pittenweem, and so there was no occasion for force.

When she came, she confessed her converse with the devil at Thomas Adamson's house, on the first day of

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January 1704 ; she was confronted with M'Grigor, and he accused her of the above mentioned attempt on him, which she then refused ; on which she was imprisoned, and the two following days, she did with tears, and more than ordinary concern, make a free and large confession.

She said Beatrix Laing aforesaid, a confessing witch, had been dealing with her to engage in her service, which she refused ; and that some time thereafter, this Beatrix came for her, and desired her to go along to her house ; when she came there, they sat down at the fire, and she saw a man in black cloaths, with a hat on his head, sitting at the table ; and Beatrix said to her, since you will not engage with me, here is a gentleman that will fee you ; whereupon he told her, he knew she was discontented with her lot, and if she would serve him, he promised she should want for nothing ; to which she yielded to serve him, and he came forward and kissed her ; and she said, he was fearsome like, and his eyes sparkled like candles, on which she knew he was the devil.

Again, she told, that being employed to spin in Thomas Adamson's house in Pittenweem, while she was lying awake in her bed in the night time, the devil appearing to her, whereshe did expressly renounce her baptism to the devil, by putting her hand on her head, and the other to her feet, the other maid lying in the bed with her being at the time asleep, as the maid declared before the session. About a fortnight after this, Beatrix Laing came to visit her, and asked her, if she had met with the gentleman ? She answered she had, and also engaged with him, on which Beatrix said, I have then got my work wrought, and went away. And she confessed, she came to that meeting at M'Grigor's with the devil and several witches, viz. Beatrix Laing, Nicolas Law-

son, Janet Corphat, Thomas Brown, and several others she knew not, designing to murder M^cGrigor; but since the man awakened and prayed to God for himself, they could not do it. She confessed also converse with the devil at other times. All which is in her two confessions, signed by the magistrates, and transmitted to Edinburgh. Now, we desire to know what the author of this letter can quarrel in the magistrates or minister's conduct in this matter.

As for what he says 'about the magistrates and minister refounded the imprisoned womens' money seven-fold.' We find this author very charitable on other mens' purses, but when the magistrates and minister design to bestow their charity, they will choose more deserving objects. And the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council understands themselves better than to take their measures as to what is just from the daring prescriptions of this author.

What he says about Thomas Brown is also false, he was accused by the lad, and delated by three confessing witches, as being accessory to the attempt on M^cGrigor. It is false he was starved, for his daughter brought him his diets punctually. Our author's fears of more murders are altogether groundless, and we appeal to all men of candour, whether this author's impudent and unjust accusation against magistrates and ministers of murdering Thomas Brown, deserves not severer punishment than any thing he can charge them with.

He again tells us, 'the bailies justified the murder, by denying Christian burial.' The Bailies gave no order thereabout. As for Thomas Brown, his son-in-law, with some others, buried him. Our author by his next may prove, that Janet Corphat, a woman that had so frequently and so solemnly confessed the renunciation of her baptism to the devil, deserved Christian burial.

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We have thus given this author's story in his own words, with such of his remarks as bear upon the Narrative of the other Pamphlet, observing that The CLERGY were generally in the first rank of WITCH-HUNTERS, and through their influence the most of the victims were put to death. In places where the Minister was inflamed with a *holy zeal* against the Devil and his emissaries, (such as Pittenweem and Torryburn),* the parish became a perfect hot-bed for the rearing of witches; and so plentiful a crop did it produce, that it appeared nothing else could thrive. But in places where the Minister had some portion of humanity, and a little common sense, the Devil very rarely set foot on his territories, and Witchcraft was not to be found.

V.—Notice of the Spirits that troubled the House of the Minister of Hutross, 1718.

THE following Paper is here *Reprinted*, as a very suitable addition to *this new Edition* of "Satana Invisible World Discovered," from the Original Broadside which I discovered lately in a folio volume of Miscellaneous Papers, consisting of Dying Speeches, Elegies, and some Addresses of the Tincklarian Doctor, William Mitchel, &c., &c.

* The particulars of the "Torryburn Case," as recorded in the Minute Books of the Kirk Session, 1704-9, have been printed in "A Collection of rare and curious Tracts on Witchcraft, etc.," published by David Webster, Edinburgh, 1820.

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ENDORISM, or a Strange Relation of Dreamers or Spirits,
that trouble the Ministers House of Kinross. [June
1718.]

MANY deny that there are any such as Witches, though we have it expressly contain'd in the Word of God, that there was a Witch at *Endor*, that *Saul* in his distress resorted to, and communed with; but call them Dreamers, these I say Argument not so learnedly as politically; or for fear they or their relations should be sentenced for such. As, for instance, *Bettie Laing* who was reckoned, and confessed herself a Witch in the town of *Pittenweem* before a whole congregation of People on the Sabbath day, was brought off as a Dreamer; for, said she, "If they burn me, both Ladies in Coaches and Sedans, who are equally Guilty, must burn also;" and accordingly she and many others of her accomplices were set at liberty.

However, tho' people should deny both spirit and angel, to be sure there are both spirits and angels, good and bad, and according to scripture there may be witches, seeing there was a Witch at *Endor*; let people say as they list: But what is the Essence of Spirits, or what the Devil makes use of these deluded creatures, or changes them into various shapes on occasion, it's hard to determine; but without further Prefacing, to declare unto the world how the House and Family of *Mr. McGill*, Minister in *Kinross*, hath been for a considerable time troubled by Spirits or such beings, as the more Politick and Refined sort of High-flyers called Dreamers; it's hoped will neither be offensive to this Minister, or any of his relations, or disparagement; seeing the Godly are the only objects of the Devil's fury, for such as the Devil is sure of, he does not heed them untill he has them at once.

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The first occasion then of this Gentleman's House and Family being troubled was, that there was some Silver Spoons then and Knives amissing, (as is reported), which were found in the barn among the straw sometime afterwards, stuck up in the floor, with a big dish all nipped to pieces; after that time they could eat no meat, but what was full of pins: As one day, as the Minister was eating of an egg, he found a pin in the egg; and mostly what meat they eat, they had still abundance of Pins: Wherefore the Minister's wife would make ready a piece of meat herself, that she might be sure, there was no deceit in the matter; but, behold when it was presented to the table, there were several Pins in it; particularly a big Pin the Minister used for his gown. Another day, there was a pair of sheets put to the green, among other peoples, which were all nipped to pieces, and none of the linnings belonging to others troubled. A certain night, several went to watch the house, and as one was praying, down falls the Press, wherein was abundance of lime vessels, all broke to pieces; also at one other time, the Dreamers or Spirits, as they call them, not only tore and destroyed the clothes that were locked up in a coffer to pieces, but the very laps of a Gentlewoman's Hood as she was walking along the floor were clipt away, as also a Woman's Gown-Tail, and many other things not proper to mention: Moreover, a certain girl eating some meat, turned so very sick, that being necessitate to vomit, cast up five pins: also a stone thrown down the chimney wambled a space on the floor, and then took a flight out at the window: Also there was thrown in the fire the Minister's Bible, which would not burn, but a plate and two silver spoons thrown in, melted immediately; also what Bread is fired, were the meal never

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so fine, it's all made useless, and many other things which are both needless and sinful to mention. Now, is it not very sad that such a good and godly family should be so molested, that employ their time no other way but by praying, reading, and serious meditation, while others, who are wicked livers all their lifetime, and in a manner avowedly serve that wicked one, are never troubled.

It's true, these bad Spirits or Dreamers have no power of their bodies, but they exceedingly disquiet the family, which, that the event may redound to God's glory, and this honest families good, ought to be the serious prayer of all good people.

**HK.—Additional Particulars as to the Witches
of West-Calder, Linlithgow, 1720.**

PATRICK SANDELANDS, third son of James, seventh Lord Torphichen, a mischievous and unlucky boy, took it into his head, in the year 1720, under instruction, it is said, from a knavish governor, to play the possessed and bewitched person, laying the cause of his distress on certain old women and a man in the village of Calder, near to his father's mansion. He fell down in trances, from which no horsewhipping could rouse him till he chose of his own time to revive, pronounced prophecies, made urine the colour of ink, was lifted up into the air by invisible hands, and in fine, so worked upon the fears and affections of his family, that Lord Torphichen at length

gave credit to the falsehoods he uttered, and his tormentors was seized. From circumstances, it is probable that the child's brain was disordered. The Minister of the parish, and many others, quickly caught the infection:—a Fast was proclaimed at Mid-Calder, and the Sermon preached on that occasion by Mr. John Wilkie, Minister at Uphall, and afterwards printed by desire of Lord Torphichen. It was entitled, "A Sermon preached at Mid-Calder, on Thursday, January 14th, 1720. Being a Congregational Fast in that place. James iv. 7., by John Wilkie, Minister of the Gospel at Uphall. Edinburgh, 1720." 12mo. In the Notice to the Reader, it is stated that "This sermon was preached on a melancholy occasion, which has made a great deal of noise in the country. At that time two of the persons delated for witchcraft had acknowledged their guilt; three more have since made the like confession, and of a great many mischiefs done by them to several persons in Calder, and in the neighbouring Paroches, which upon examination, have been found to be according to their confession. The world may doubtless expect to have in due time a particular narrative of these, and the other things that are daily coming to light in this case; and I shall presume to offer it as my opinion, that in the meantime, every person who is not resolved to give the world a prejudice against the candour of his Judgment, should beware of denying the Witchcraft, till he has informed himself by sure hands, what evidence may be had for the thing, and find that not to be sufficient. It was not the Author's inclination, but the importunity of that noble person, whose family hath had a large share of the malice of these persons that hath put this discourse into print. . . . May the blessed God make this the fruit of the present sore affliction to

that Honourable Family; and may the same gracious hand make this slender performance useful to them, and to any others, who shall condescend to peruse it." To complete the assemblage of sages, the "*Tincklarian Doctor*," *William Mitchel*, sallied forth from his shop in the West Bow of Edinburgh, in order to exorcise the evil spirits at Calder. In his "*Strange and Wonderful Discourse concerning the Witches and Warlocks in West Calder (a folio broadside)*," he remarks,—“I went to Calder, the 14th day of January, 1720, before day light, long eight miles, in ill weather, fasting, on my foot. I took the sword of the spirit at my breast, and a small wand in my hand, as David did when he went out to fight against Goliath; so I went to cast the devil out of my Lord *Torphichan's* son. So you see that I was not lying in my letter that I write to *Tillohoun*, when I said *Peter* and I were two bold felows. When I went to his house, his servants were eating and drinking, although he had appointed it to be a *fast day*, in order to get the devil out of his house. *I do think they might have fasted untill the sermon was over upon such a weighty business*; and they offer'd me some, but I took neither meat nor drink of his. Some think it a *fast day* when they hear a minister preach for the payment!”

“Then I went to my lord, and said I was sent by God to come to cast out the devil out of his son, by faith in Christ. He seem'd to be like that Lord, who had the charge of the gate of *Samarita*; Then I said to him, ‘My Lord, do ye not believe me?’ Then he bad me ‘go and speak to many ministers that was near by him;’ but I said, ‘I was not sent to them.’ Then he went himself and spoke to them what I said, but they would not hear of it, more than *Lot's* good sons would hear him. There was envy like

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John's when he forbad the man to cast out devils. So I went to three witches and a warlock to examine them in sundry places. Two of them denyed, and two of them confessed. I have not room here to relate all down that I said to them, and what they said; but I ask'd them, 'When they took on in that service?' The wife said, 'Many years;' and the man said, 'It was ten years to him!' Then I asked the wife, 'What was her reason to take on with the devil?' And (she said) '*He promised her riches,* and she believed him,' and then she called him many a cheat and liar in my hearing. Then I went to the man, because he was a great professor, and could talk of religion with any of the parish, [as they that was his neighbours said] and he was at *Bothel-Bridge* fighting against the King; and because of that, I desired to ask questions at him, but my Lord's officer said to me, '*His Lord would not allow me;*' but I said, I would not be hindered neither by my Lord nor by the Devil, before many there present. Then I asked, 'What iniquity he found in God that he left his service?' Then he got up, and said, '*O, sir, are ye the minister?*' So ye see the devil knows me to be a minister better than the magistrates; and he said, '*He found no fault in God, but his wife beguiled him;*' and he said, '*Wo be to the woman his wife,*' and blamed her only as *Adam* did his wife, and the wife blamed the devil; so ye see it is so from the beginning. This is a caution to us all never to hearken to our wives except they have Scripture on their side. Then I asked at him, 'Did he expect heaven?' 'Yes,' (said he). . . . Then I asked at him, 'If he could command the devil to come to speak to me?' But [he said] 'No.' Then I said again, 'Call for him, that I may speak with him.' He said again, '*It*

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was not in his power.' Then my Lord sent more servants, that hindered me to ask any more questions, otherwise I might have seen the devil, and I would have spoken about his son. But his son will be delivered, God told me twice that morning before I went out, I opened the Bible, and my eyes were cast on these words, "*The Lord will deliver us.*" Then I lay'd by the Book with joy, and near half an hour after I took the Bible again, and my eyes lighted up-on the same words. I closed the Book again with joy, and was assured."

This he follows up by declaring, "Gentlemen, ye know I have been an useful man in my time. I studied night and day to give you light. Sometimes I wrote to make you merry, and sometimes I wrote to make you sad, (*because there is a time to be merry and a time to be sad*) says *Solomon*. And now I am turning old and gray-headed; and I am going to leave you. This is my last show in *Scotland*. Altho' I be envy'd both by the Magistrates and Ministers, they dare not challenge a lie in all of my 40 Books."

Although these several persons were apprehended and confined in prison, with the intention of thereby bringing them to a confession of their guilt, yet it does not appear that they were punished, or that anything worse than the "Parish Fast" was launched at the Devil on this occasion. Indeed, the Crown Counsel would not proceed to trial.

In a collection of "PRIVATE LETTERS (*addressed to ROBERT WODROW, Minister at Eastwood*) now first printed from the original MSS., 1694-1732, Edinburgh, 1829," there is one from the Rev. John Williamson, Minister of Inveresk and Musselburgh, in which he says, "It's certain my Lord's [Torphichen] third son has been

dreadfully tormented, thrown up and down the room, candles put out, and endeavours made to get him away. There was a fast on this account. Mr. Brisbane got one of the women to acknowledge an image of the child, which, on search, was found in another woman's house; but they could not know what kind of matter it was made of. Two women who have confessed are since dead, and told the devill would kill them for confessing. The matter is not over, many are still delated by the child. But some who have been of very intire fame being named, its suspected it may be one of Satan's stratagems to bring some innocent persons into suspicion among the guilty. *Muss.*, Feby. 19, 1720."

Shortly afterwards, the noble family also began to see through the cheat. The boy whom the witches were supposed to have tormented was sent to sea, and though he is said at one time to have been disposed to try his fits while on Board, the discipline of the Navy proved too severe for his cunning, and in process of time he became a good sailor, and obtained the command of an East India vessel for his gallant conduct in repulsing a party of the pirate Angria's men, after they had boarded her. He finally perished in a storm.

VII. — Notice of William Mitchel, "The Tincklarian Doctor," Edinburgh, 1672-1740.

OF that singular "Edinburgh Character," WILLIAM MITCHEL, 'The Tincklarian Doctor, who cures Pans and old Lantrens,' (as he chose to be called), a crazed

• *White-Irons-Smith*," whose residence was in the "Bow-Head of Edinburgh, at the south side of the Butter Weigh-house," few particulars are known, except those which are to be gleaned from his various publications. He appears to have been born in the year 1672, and described himself as "a man of a publick spirit, and tells my own mind, and am nothing but a little Black man, dull like, with two scors on my brow, and a mole on my right cheek; with a loving wife and some small children;" remarking, "My wife lives much upon Sense, But I live much upon faith." He seems to have been altogether a strange mixture of Fanaticism, Humour, and low Cunning. He occasionally held forth as a preacher, and imagined himself much wiser than the Archbishop of Canterbury, all the Clergymen of his native country, and even the Magistrates of Edinburgh. He printed various Addresses to their Majesties Queen Anne, old Louis King of France, and King George, also to George Lockheart, *the Laird of Carnwath*, Sir John Law, *Duke of Tanckerfield in France*, Humphry Calchoun *of Tillsuwn*, the Lord Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh, and the noble and wise John Campbell Duke of Argyle, the Pope at Rome, &c., craving for money to help him to print his Divine Books—"which were not to be read as they do Ballads"—or to appoint him to some good post or office, such as a Bishoprick, Corporal in the Foot Guards, Secretary in Scotland, or to be Provost of Edinburgh! To these Appeals he declared "Some of them answered, giving him gold, others laughed at him, and that his Glasgow friend's thick skulls could not understand him.—They are not the people I took them to be."

He had been for sixteen years employed by the Magis-

trates of the City as manager of the lighting of the streets, at the moderate salary of Five Pounds. He represented “that his predecessor in the office had Ten Pounds; but I took but five, *for the town was in debt.*” The Magistrates, doubtless for reasons satisfactory to themselves, and which it is not difficult to divine, deprived him of his post. In 1711 he remarks in one of his Addresses, “I had a post to give light to the Magistrates. They took a fancie in their heads, and turned me off without a fault!” In front of his shop he “erected a *Shovel-Board*, on which he might exhibit his wares,” but the magistrates ordered its immediate removal, on account of its being an obstruction to the street, under the penalty of a fine and imprisonment. Continuing, as he imagined, to be daily tormented and persecuted by his neighbours—“*The Bow-head Whigs*”—and failing to get any redress or justice from the Magistrates and Ministers of the City, he tells us that “he went from Edinburgh to Glasgow to seek justice, but I was out of the Dub in the Mire, I was a fool for my pains, because *Solomon* told me before I went, that there was not a just man about all Glasgow to give me justice.”

In the year 1719 he appears to have been in great trouble in Glasgow, where he had opened a shop “in the Calton without the Gallowgate,” without “A Burghes-Ticket.” His publications, a “Strange and Wonderfull Discourse to the Magistrates of Glasgow,” and “True Description of the People of Glasgow concerning Justice,” give a most extraordinary account of the treatment he received at the hands of the citizens, and of his strange adventures with various men and women while there, declaring that “Before I leave them I have a mind to kill them as dead as a *Glasgow-Brown-Salt-Herring.*” Returning in 1720 to Edin-

cii **Notice of William Mitchel,**

burgh, matters in connection with his household seem to have also gone wrong, for he announces "This to give Notice, to all Messengers and Passengers, that my woman *Barbary Polston* (who was born a Sutors daughter in *Inverness*) has run away with a great cargo of Money of mine, and if any person can apprehend her, they shall have 10000 Pound out of the King's Park of Safer, and the Gentleman's kindness beside that wants her."

He wrote and printed a number of Pamphlets and Single Sheets,—“strange and wonderful books,”—chiefly in Edinburgh and Glasgow, between the years 1711 and 1739, full of very amusing nonsense, and generally adorned them with a wooden cut of the Mitchel Arms. These are now what may be very properly designated “A singular and remarkably rare collection.” Seldom or never found complete.

In various of the Works of this “Eminent Divine and Historian,” he is not forgetful to impress his professional excellence as a white smith, &c. He says, “If any wants my Wonderful Prophecies, they are to be sold at my shop at the head of the *West Boro*. The worth of them will never be fully known untill the day of Judgement;” and that “he had a good pennyworth of pewther spoons, fine like silver, none such made in Edinburgh; and silken pocks for wiggs, and French white pearl-beads,—all to be sold for little or nothing,” also “Good old French Brandie for twopence the gil.”—*Vide* “A part of the Works of the eminent Divine and Historian, Doctor William Mitchel, Professor of Tincklarianism in the University of the Bowhead, being a eysse of Divinity, Humanity, History, Philosophy, Law, Physick; composed at various Occasions for his own satisfaction and the World's illumination, &c.”

“The Tinklerian Doctor.” ciii

One of his latest productions was a pamphlet on the Murder of Captain John Porteous, Edinburgh, which he concludes by saying, in the true spirit of a Cameronian Martyr, “If the King and Clergy gar hang me for writing this, I’m content, because it is long since any man was hanged for religion.” The learned Tinklerian Doctor was destined, however, to die in his bed—an event which came to pass in the year 1740. In the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, there are a few of his “Single Sheets” to be found bound up in various volumes of Pamphlets and Broadsides; and in the Library of the Writers to the Signet, Edinburgh, there is a Collection of various of his publications bound up together in a volume, sm. 4to. At a Sale of Books in London, June 1860, there occurred a collection of *Eleven* of his Tracts, as issued between the years 1731 and 1739. The Auctioneers remarking that “The author appears to have been a Bookseller or petty Chapman in a small way. The most illiterate (and sometimes obscene) language, applied to the Aristocracy, is used in these works, and the most severe animosity is displayed towards the Catholics, because they would not accept, or purchase for a penny, the *Light*, &c.”



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