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Cullender (Rose)
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A

TRYAL OF WITCHES, —
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AT THE ASSIZES

HELD AT

BURY ST. EDMONDS

FOR THE

COUNTY OF SUFFOLK;

ON

THE TENTH DAY OF MARCH, 1664.

BEFORE

Sir Matthew Hale, Kt.

THEN

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

REPRINTED VERBATIM

FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF 1682.

WITH AN APPENDIX

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

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TO THE READER.

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

FAREWEL.

LONDON, 1682.

A Tryal of Witches,

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

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

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

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

give her a Penny: but the said Dorothy Durent desired the said Amy not to Suckle her Child, and laid a great charge upon her not to do it. Upon which it was asked by the Court, why she did give that direction, she being an old Woman and not capable of giving Suck? It was answered by the said Dorothy Durent, that she very well knew that she did not give Suck, but that for some years before, she had gone under the Reputation of a Witch, which was one cause made her give her the caution: Another was, That it was customary with old Women, that if they did look after a sucking Child, and nothing would please it but the Breast, they did use to please the Child to give it the Breast, and it did please the Child, but it sucked nothing but Wind, which did the Child hurt. Nevertheless after the departure of this Deponent, the said Amy did Suckle the Child: And after the return of the said Dorothy, the said Amy did acquaint her, That she had given Suck to the Child contrary to her command. Whereupon, the Deponent was very angry with the said Amy for the same; at which the said Amy was much discontented, and used many high Expressions and Threatning Speeches towards her; telling her, That she had as good to have done otherwise than to have found fault with her, and so departed out of her House: And that very Night her Son fell into strange fits of swoounding, and was held in such terrible manner, that she was much affrighted therewith, and so continued for divers weeks. And the said Examinant farther said, that she being exceedingly troubled at her Childs Distemper, did go to a certain Person named Doctor Jacob, who lived at Yarmouth, who had the reputation in the Country, to help children that were Bewitch'd; who advis'd her to hang up the Childs Blanket in the Chimney-corner all day, and at night when she put the Child to Bed, to put it into the said blanket, and if she found anything in it, she should not be afraid, but to throw it into the Fire. And this Deponent did according to his direction; and at night when she took down the Blanket with an intent to put her Child therein, there fell out of the same a great Toad, which ran up and down the hearth, and she having a young youth only with her in the House, desired him to catch the Toad, and throw it into the Fire, which the youth did accordingly, and held it there with the Tongs; and as soon as it was in the Fire it made a great and horrible Noise, and after a space there was a flashing in the Fire like Gun-powder, making a noise like the discharge of a Pistol, and thereupon the Toad was no more seen nor heard. It was asked by the Court, if that after the noise and flashing, there was not the Substance of the Toad to be seen to consume in the fire? And it was answered by the said Dorothy Durent, that after the

flashing and noise, there was no more seen than if there had been none there. The next day there came a young Woman a Kinswoman of the said Amy, and a neighbour of this Deponent, and told this Deponent, that her Aunt (meaning the said Amy) was in a most lamentable condition having her face all scorched with fire, and that she was sitting alone in her House, in her smock without any fire. And thereupon this Deponent went into the House of the said Amy Duny to see her, and found her in the same condition as was related to her; for her Face, her Leggs, and Thighs, which this Deponent saw, seemed very much scorched and burnt with Fire, at which this Deponent seemed much to wonder. And asked the said Amy how she came into that sad condition? and the said Amy replied, she might thank her for it, for that she this Deponent was the cause thereof, but that she should live to see some of her Children dead, and she upon Crutches. And this Deponent farther saith, that after the burning of the said Toad, her Child recover'd, and was well again, and was living at the time of the Assizes. And this Deponent farther saith, That about the 6th. of March, 11^o Car. 2. her Daughter Elizabeth Durent, being about the Age of Ten Years, was taken in like manner as her first Child was, and in her fits complained much of Amy Duny, and said, That she did appear to her, and Afflict her in such manner as the former. And she this Deponent going to the Apothecaries for some thing for her said Child, when she did return to her own House, she found the said Amy Duny there, and asked her what she did do there? and her answer was, That she came to see her Child, and to give it some water. But she this Deponent was very angry with her, and thrust her forth of her doors, and when she was out of doors, she said, You need not be so angry, for your Child will not live long: and this was on a Saturday, and the Child dyed on the Monday following. The cause of whose Death this Deponent verily believeth was occasion'd by the Witchcraft of the said Amy Duny: for that the said Amy hath been long reputed to be a Witch, and a person of very evil behaviour, whose Kindred and Relations have been many of them accused for Witchcraft, and some of them have been Condemned.

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

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

This is the Substance of her Evidence to this Indictment.

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

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

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

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

SAMUEL PACY a Merchant of Leystoff aforesaid, (a man who carried himself with much soberness during the Tryal, from whom proceeded no words either of Passion or Malice, though his Children were so greatly Afflicted,) Sworn and Examined, Deposeth, That his younger Daughter Deborah, upon Thursday the Tenth of October last, was suddenly taken with a Lameness in her Leggs, so that she could not stand, neither had she any strength in her Limbs to support her, and so she continued until the Seventeenth day of the same Month, which day being fair and Sunshiny, the Child desired to be carryed on the East part of the House, to be set upon the Bank which looketh upon the Sea; and whil'st she was sitting there, Amy Duny came to this Deponents House to buy some Herrings, but being denyed she went away discontented, and presently returned again, and was denyed, and likewise the third time and was denyed as at first; and at her last going away, she went away grumbling; but what she said was not perfectly understood. But at the very same instant of time, the said Child was taken with most violent fits, feeling most extream pain in her Stomach, like the pricking of Pins, and Shreeking out in a most dreadful manner, like unto a Whelp, and not like unto a sensible Creature. And in this extremity the Child continued to the great grief of the Parents until the Thirtieth of the same Month. During this time this Deponent sent for one Dr. Feavor, a Doctor of Physick, to take his advice concerning his Childs Distemper; the Doctor being come, he saw the Child in those fits, but could not conjecture (as he then told this Deponent, and afterwards affirmed in open Court, at this Tryal) what might be the cause of the Childs Affliction. And this Deponent farther saith, That by reason of the circumstances aforesaid, and in regard Amy Duny is a Woman of an ill Fame, and commonly reported to be a Witch and a Sorceress, and for that the said Child in her fits would cry out of Amy Duny as the cause of her Malady, and that she did affright her with Apparitions of her Person (as the Child in the intervals of her fits related) he this Deponent did suspect the said Amy Duny for a Witch, and charged her with the injury and wrong to his Child, and caused her to be set in the Stocks on the Twenty-eighth of the same October: and during the time of her continuance there, one Alice Letteridge and Jane Buxton demanding of her (as they also affirmed in Court upon their Oathes) what should be the reason of Mr. Pacy's Childs Distemper? telling her, That she was suspected to be the cause thereof; she replied, Mr. Pacy keeps a great stir

about his Child, but let him stay until he hath done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine. And being further examined, what she had done to her Children? She answered, That she had been fain to open her Child's Mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals.

And the said Deponent further deposeth, That within two days after speaking of the said words being the Thirtieth of October, the eldest Daughter Elizabeth, fell into extream fits, insomuch, that they could not open her Mouth to give her breath, to preserve her Life without the help of a Tap which they were enforced to use; and the younger Child was in the like manner Afflicted, so that they used the same also for her Relief.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Children would in their Fitts cry out against Rose Culender and Amy Duny, affirming that they saw them; and they threatened to Torment them Ten times more, if they complained of them. At some times the Children (only) would see things run up and down the House in the appearance of Mice; and one of them suddainly snapt one with the Tongs, and threw it into the fire, and it screeched out like a Rat.

At another time, the younger Child being out of her Fitts went out of Doors to take a little fresh Air, and presently a little thing like a Bee flew upon her Face, and would have gone into her Mouth, whereupon the Child ran in all haste to the door to get into the House again, screeking out in a most terrible manner; whereupon, this Deponent made haste to come to her, but before she could get to her, the Child fell into her swooning Fitt, and at last with much pain straining herself, she vomitted up a Two-penny Nail with a broad Head; and after that the Child had raised up the Nail she came to her understanding; and being demanded by this Deponent, how she came by this Nail? she Answered, That the Bee brought this Nail and forced it into her Mouth.

And at other times, the Elder Child declared unto this Deponent, that during the time of her Fitts, she saw Flies come unto her, and bring with them in their Mouthes crooked Pins; and after the Child had thus declared the same, she fell again into violent Fitts, and afterwards raised several Pins.

At another time, the said Elder Child declared unto this Deponent, and sitting by the Fire suddainly started up and said, she saw a Mouse, and she crept under the Table looking after it, and at length, she put something in her Apron, saying, she had caught it; and immediately she ran to the Fire and threw it in, and there did appear upon it to this Deponent, like the flashing of Gun-powder, though she confessed she saw nothing in the Childs Hand.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And this Deponent farther saith, That her said Daughter (being of the Age of Eighteen Years) was then in Service in the said Town of Leystoff, and rising up early the next Morning to Wash, this Rose Cullender appeared to her, and took her by the hand, whereat she was much affrighted, and went forthwith to her Mother, (being in the same town) and acquainted her with what she had seen; but being extremly terrified, she fell extream sick, much grieved at her Stomach; and that Night after being in Bed with another young Woman, she suddenly scried out, and fell into such extream fits as if she were distracted, crying against Rose Cullender; saying, she would come to bed to her. She continued in this manner beating and wearing her self, insomuch, that this Deponent was glad to get help to attend her. In her Intervals she would declare, That some time she saw Rose Cullender, at another time with a great Dog with her: She also vomited up divers crooked Pins; and sometimes she was stricken with blindness, and at another time she was Dumb, and so she appeared to be in Court when the Tryal of the Prisoners was; for she was not able to speak her knowledge; but being brought into the Court at the Tryal, she suddenly fell into her fits, and being carried out of the Court again, within the space of half an hour she came to her self and recovered her speech, and thereupon was immediatly brought into the Court, and asked by the Court, whether she was in condition to take an Oath, and to give Evidence, she said she could. But when she was Sworn, and asked what she could say against either of the Prisoners? before she could make any answer, she fell into her fits, screek-

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

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

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

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

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

As First, during the time of the Tryal, there were some experiments made with the Persons Afflicted, by bringing the Persons to touch them; and it was observed, that when they

were in the midst of their Fitts, to all Mens apprehension wholly deprived of all sense and understanding, closing their Fists in such manner, as that the strongest Man in the Court could not force them open; yet by the least touch of one of these supposed Witches, Rose Cullender by Name, they would suddenly shriek out opening their hands, which accident would not happen by the touch of any other person.

And least they might privatly see when they were touched, by the said Rose Cullender, they were blinded with their own Aprons, and the touching took the same Effect as before.

There was an ingenious person that objected, there might be a great fallacy in this experiment, and there ought not to be any stress put upon this to Convict the Parties, for the Children might counterfeit this their Distemper, and perceiving what was done to them, they might in such manner suddenly alter the motion and gesture of their Bodies, on purpose to induce persons to believe that they were not natural, but wrought strangely by the touch of the Prisoners.

Wherefore to avoid this scruple it was privatly desired by the Judge, that the Lord Cornwallis, Sir Edmund Bacon, and Mr. Serjeant Keeling, and some other Gentlemen there in Court, would attend one of the Distempered persons in the farther part of the Hall, whilst she was in her fits, and then to send for one of the Witches, to try what would then happen, which they did accordingly: and Amy Duny was conveyed from the Bar and brought to the Maid: they put an Apron before her Eyes, and then one other person touched her hand, which produced the same effect as the touch of the Witch did in the Court. Whereupon the Gentlemen returned, openly protesting, that they did believe the whole transaction of this business was a meer Imposture.

This put the Court and all persons into a stand. But at length Mr. Pacy did declare, That possibly the Maid might be deceived by a suspicion that the Witch touched her when she did not. For he had observed divers times, that although they could not speak, but were deprived of the use of their Tongues and Limbs, that their understandings were perfect, for that they have related divers things which have been when they were in their fits, after they were recovered out of them. This saying of Mr. Pacy was found to be true afterwards, when his Daughter was fully recovered (as she afterwards was) as shall in due time be related: For she was asked, whither she did hear and understand any thing that was done and acted in the

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

2ly. One John Soam of Leystoff aforesaid, Yeoman, a sufficient Person, Deposeth, That not long since, in harvest time he had three Carts which brought home his Harvest, and as they were going into the Field to load, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of Rose Cullenders House, whereupon she came out in a great rage and threatned this Deponent for doing that wrong, and so they passed along into the Fields and loaded all the Three Carts, the other two Carts returned safe home, and back again, twice loaded that day afterwards; but as to this Cart which touched Rose Cullenders House, after it was loaded, it was overturned twice or thrice that day; and after that they had loaded it again the second or third time, as they brought it through the Gate which leadeth out of the Field into the Town, the Cart stuck so fast in the Gate-head, that they could not possibly get it through, but were inforced to cut down the Post of the Gate to make the Cart pass through, although they could not perceive that the Cart did of either side touch the Gate-posts. And this Deponent further saith, That after they had got it through the Gate-way, they did with much difficulty get it home into the Yard; but for all that they could do, they could not get the Cart near

unto the place where they should unload the Corn, but were fain to unload it at a great distance from the place, and when they began to unload they found much difficulty therein, it being so hard a labour that they were tired that first came; and when others came to assist them, their Noses burst forth a bleeding: so they were fain to desist and leave it until the next Morning, and then they unloaded it without any difficulty at all.

Robert Sherringham also Deposeth against Rose Cullender, That about Two Years since, passing along the Street with his Cart and Horses, the Axletree of his Cart touched her House, and broke down some part of it, at which, she was very much displeased, threatenng him, that his Horses should suffer for it; and so it happen'd, for all those Horses, being Four in Number, died within a short time after: since that time he hath had great Losses by the suddain dying of his other Cattle; so soon as his Sows pigged, the Pigs would leap and caper, and immediately fall down and dye. Also, not long after, he was taken with a Lameness in his Limbs that he could neither go nor stand for some days. After all this, he was very much vexed with great Number of Lice of an extraordinary bigness, and although he many times shifted himself, yet he was not any thing the better, but would swarm again with them; so that in the Conclusion he was forc'd to burn all his Clothes, being two suits of Apparel, and then was clean from them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

That there were such Creatures as Witches he made no doubt at all; For First, the Scriptures had affirmed so much. Secondly, The wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such Persons, which is an Argument of their confidence of such a Crime. And such hath been the judgment of this Kingdom, as appears by that Act of Parliament which hath provided Punishments proportionable to the quality of the Offence. And desired them, strictly to observe their Evidence; and desired the great God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in this weighty thing they had in hand: For to Condemn the Innocent, and to let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.

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

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

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

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

They were much urged to confess, but would not.

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

END OF THE TRIAL.

Appendix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ Halstead, Aug. 2, 1732.

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

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

“ I am, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

“ SAM. MANNING.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 JA 53

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