Animal Transformation in Early Modern English Witchcraft Pamphlets

Abstract

Animal metamorphosis was a traditional component of witchcraft beliefs during the European early modern witch-hunts, during which it was taken for granted that witches could and did turn into animals regularly in order to easier do evil. It must be noted, however, that the witch-turned-animal motif was much less common in England, where witches did possess the shape-shifting abilities but relatively rarely used them. A likely reason for the difference, explored in the present paper, was the specifically English belief that most witches were accompanied and served by familiar spirits, petty demons that customarily assumed the shape of animals. It seems that the ubiquity of such demonic shape-shifters effectively satisfied the demand for magical transformations in the English witchcraft lore.

Keywords: animal metamorphosis, witch-hunts, early modern European culture, British literature

A belief in the possibility of transforming humans into animals has been an important concomitant of European magic and witchcraft. Such a transformation was considered one of the most wonderful and awesome feats commonly ascribed to magicians and witches. The Greek magical papyri, being the key source documenting the state of the late ancient magic, claimed, for instance, that its practitioners could change “into whatever form [of beast] you want: one that flies, swims, a quadruped, a reptile” (Betz 6). The idea of magical shape-shifting became a well-known cultural motif, thanks also to popular literary works like Apuleius’s Metamorphoses, where the witch Pamphile’s charms not only brought about a transformation of the main character Lucius into an ass, but also enabled herself to turn into an owl whenever she wished, sharing this ability with other Thessalian witches, who could also change into birds, dogs, mice or flies (Apuleius 83, 131–132). Transmitted through time, the idea of animal metamorphosis gained exceptional significance in the period of the witch trials in the 15th–18th centuries. So frequently did it appear in court confessions extracted from witnesses and defendants that it became a well-established constituent of early modern witchcraft.
In the context of the Western European witch-hunts the animal metamorphosis acquired a more definite, sinister character. What had been considered an admittedly dangerous but nevertheless awe-inspiring capability of those with access to the occult became instead a terrifying, purely demonic phenomenon. Whenever this issue was discussed, it was accentuated that the animal shape was a gift from Satan, the Adversary of mankind, who in this way provided witches with a powerful and effective weapon they could use to harm and terrorize their neighbours. Nicolas Rémy – the French judge who tried many witches in Lorraine and then described his expertise in the famous *Demonolatry* (1595) – thus recapitulated the contemporary common knowledge about the magical transformation:

[Apart from] the external physical shape [...] the witch is also endowed with all the natural qualities and powers of the animal into which she is seemingly changed. For she acquires fleetness of foot; bodily strength; ravenous ferocity; the lust of howling; the faculty of breaking into places, and of silent movement; and other such animal characteristics, which are far beyond human strength and ability. For it is a matter of daily experience that Satan does actually so empower them. Thus they easily kill even the biggest cattle in the fields, and even devour their raw flesh, when they descend upon them as swiftly as any wolf or other ferocious beasts; and they enter locked houses at night like cats; and in every way imitate the nature and habits of the animals whose shape and appearance they assume. (112)

According to Rémy and other demonologists, metamorphosing into animals was supposed to be a “daily” occurrence among witches, for whom the habit, as it was emphasised, was a practical means to gain an easy advantage over their victims.

The conviction that in need witches could change their form or appearance produced innumerable stories, which first circulated orally and then were meticulously recorded in contemporary demonologies and treatises on witchcraft. Most of them made use of the common three-fold pattern: witches in animal shape physically attacked their victims – the assaulted parties inflicted wounds on the attacking animals – the latter injuries were discovered on the bodies of women whose identity and guilt were thus revealed. Jean Bodin, for instance, mentioned a trial of witches of Vernon who used to gather in the ruined old *château*, “in the guise of a great number of cats.” When a few men once wanted to stay there for a night, one of them was killed and the rest painfully scratched by a pack of angry felines. The victims managed to injure several animals and afterwards it turned out that some local women had suffered similar wounds. Bodin also recalled an old story from *Malleus malleficarum* (1486) about a labourer in the diocese of Strasbourg who – in self-defence, he asserted – beat three large cats and then ended up accused by three heavily battered matrons of having done harm to them (Bodin 1581, II, vi, 97–97v; Bodin 1995, 123–124; Kramer and Sprenger 126–127). Another great authority on magic and witchcraft, the Spanish Jesuit Martin Del Rio, in his *Disquisitiones magiae* (1595) adduced an account of how a magical
A cat in Ferrara was wounded with a spear and threw itself out of a window high up in the wall. As the beast was really a witch, on returning to her own shape she was confined to bed with all her bones broken. Del Rio’s other example involved an ale-house woman who, in a village in the west of Flanders, turned into a huge toad and in that shape blocked a customer’s boat to prevent him from returning home. It was only when the monstrous amphibian was mutilated with a sword that the boat could be moved. Later it appeared that at the same moment the woman had died of the sympathetically transferred wounds (100–102).

The English writers discussing the question of witchcraft were well aware of the transforming powers ascribed to witches. John Gaule’s long catalogue of their magical achievements included, near the beginning of the list, “their being metamorphosed, or turned into Beasts, Bears, Dogs, Wolves, Goats, Cats, Hares, &c.” (111). Robert Burton’s encyclopaedic Anatomy of Melancholy (1621) also recorded the opinion that spirits “do [turn] witches into cats, dogs, hares, crows, &c.,” and resorted to the example of Agaberta, “a famous witch in Lapland,” who could appear “to all spectators […] now young, now old, high, low, like a cow, like a bird, a snake, and what not?” (117, 132). According to the English sources it was in particular the witches from Ireland that practised animal metamorphosis. In his description of “the manners of the Irishry” William Camden noted that “if they find an hare amongst their herds of cattle on [May Day], they kill her, for they suppose she is some old trot that would filch away their butter” (Camden 146; Brand 6). Much more space was devoted to that issue in William Baldwin’s book Beware the Cat (1561), where one of the key threads of the plot was the story about the spooky cat Grimalkin, killed in Ireland, that must have been really a hag since “witches have gone often in that likeness” (11–21).

It is noteworthy that the continental demonologists discussing magical metamorphosis – like Rémy, Bodin, Del Rio – tended to focus on local examples they knew best. In contrast, the English writers mostly chose accounts from the continent or from such distant regions as Lapland or Ireland (the latter, despite its geographical closeness, being in the eyes of most contemporary Englishmen almost as alien and barbaric as the former). In fact, it must be stressed, they had very little choice, since the witch-turned-animal motif, so common in Europe, was surprisingly rare in the English witch-trials, especially in their early phase. The formal court documents as well as the multiple witchcraft pamphlets – basically relating sensational stories of those accused of, and tried for, practicing demonic magic – hardly mentioned witches’ transformations, which makes the representation of English early modern witchcraft quite unique and exceptional in the European context (Sharpe 82–83). Apparently, the only early case of a human’s metamorphosis was referred to in a witchcraft pamphlet of 1579 and concerned a certain Father Rosimond, a male witch of Farneham, who could “transform himself by Devilish means, into the shape and likeness of any beast whatsoever he will” and who was often seen “sitting in a wood […] under the body of a tree,
sometimes in the shape of an ape and otherwhiles like an horse” (*A rehearsal both straung and true* A₅, A₅v-B; Rosen 88). To this sole example one might also add William Baldwin’s anecdote, which seems to have originated in the beginning of the 16th century, long before the first English witch-trial in 1566. The story – perfectly compatible, by the way, with the continental accounts – was about a witch of Oxford (?), who as a cat “would go into her neighbours’ houses and steal thence what she listed.” She was finally identified “by a place on the woman’s skin, which her accusers (with a firebrand that they hurled at her) had singed while she went a-thieving in her cat’s likeness” (Baldwin 20).

The conspicuously smaller number of witches’ transformations recorded in England may have been a consequence of the fact that in the English witch trials emphasis tended to be placed on the *maleficium*, the magical harm actually done by witches to people and their property. The English law and courts were preoccupied with what specific evil the accused had allegedly done – for which appropriate punishment had to be meted out – rather than with extraordinary supernatural abilities the witches were supposed to possess. However, the decisive factor responsible for reducing the number of human-animal metamorphoses in England was, most probably, the role played there by the witches’ familiars or imps. Those spirits, whose omnipresence was a peculiar feature of English witchcraft, were petty demons that, as it was believed, kept company with their witches, serving them obediently and taking the shape of some small animal (a cat, dog, mouse, rat, toad, etc.). It is possible that the English magical worldview, thus already saturated with the presence of ubiquitous magical/demonic beasts, did not really need a witch figure with the ability and readiness to change into an animal. In the English cultural milieu such a motif could seem both excessive and redundant.

In the early sources the English witches themselves seldom changed their bodily form, being effectively replaced in that respect by their familiar spirits. In the first place, one should note that bodily metamorphosis was written into the very nature of those demons, as each of them was basically, by definition, a spirit turned into an animal. Furthermore, although they usually stuck to the shape they had assumed at the beginning of their service for the witch, they could, and sometimes did, change their appearance at will. In 1566 Agnes Waterhouse’s white cat, at his witch’s command, at once changed into a toad. Moreover, when the witch’s daughter, in her mother’s absence, once summoned the spirit, he came to her but this time “in the likeness of a great Dog” (Phillips [Part I] B²-B³v, B³v). According to a pamphlet of 1579, Ellen Smith’s familiar, sent by her to her neighbour John Eastwood to hurt him, was seen by the victim as a rat that ran up the chimney and a moment later fell down already “in the likeness of a Toad,” which, incidentally, could therefore be quite easily caught and burnt (*A detection of damnable driftes* A⁶). In 1645 when John Wynnick told a story about the demon that would become his familiar, he focused on the curious fact
that on their first meeting the spirit appeared as a bear, “but not above the bigness of a Rabbit,” that later turned into a rat (Stearne 21).

The familiar spirits’ unrestricted changeability can hardly be surprising, as this feature has always been attributed to numerous supernatural creatures – deities, spirits, ghosts, demons, etc. In the context of the European witch-hunts, it should be noted that the familiars shared their shape-shifting abilities with the Devil,7 which was quite natural, as the English witches’ companions were commonly thought to be his loyal servants having their own place in the kingdom and hierarchy of evil spirits. In the early modern period there circulated innumerable tales about how men and women met the Devil, many of which included details of his constantly changing bodily form. In 1569, for instance, Agnes Bowker confessed that she had been approached “divers and sundry times [by] a thing in the likeness of a bear, sometimes like a dog, sometimes like a man,” The climax of the story was that the evil spirit, who at one point changed also into a black cat, “had the knowledge carnal of her body in every such shape” (Cressy 13, 16). The popular late 17th-century ballad Man’s Amazement related how a London coachman Thomas Cox took a devil in the guise of a gentleman to St. Bride’s churchyard where the passenger suddenly turned into a monstrous bear with blazing eyes and assaulted the terrified coachman. Luckily the man had enough courage to lash at the infernal assailant, who at that very moment “vanished away in great flashes of fire” (Rollins 222–224).

Significantly, in England the metamorphoses of the Devil were treated as practically indistinguishable from those of familiar spirits, which is demonstrated, for example, in the account of a possession case from Hartfords hire (1669). Watching a demoniac girl, the eye witnesses could also see, they claimed, a thing that sometimes was “in the shape of a Toad, at other times it resembled a Frog, and at other times again in the form of a mouse.” Importantly, the narrator recorded the observers’ uncertainty as to whether the animal was “the Devil” himself or perhaps merely “[one of] his Imps” sent by a witch to torment the possessed girl (M.Y. 8). The author’s conclusion that “what it was we cannot determine” nicely comments on the peculiarly English identification of the Devil and the familiar spirit, both of which were supposed to assume the very same animal shapes.

The people’s confusion, described in the example above, resulted from their inability to tell the difference between the metamorphosed Devil and an imp. In some cases, however, similar bewilderment followed from a suspicion that an apparently unnatural animal might be really a witch (Kittredge 182). Although in the first wave of English witch trials animal transformation seems to have been ‘reserved’ for familiar spirits, some pamphlets were quite ambiguous in identifying the true identity of suspicious animals that were observed. In 1592, Richard Burt of Woodhall, Middlesex, going to work with his huge mastiff, startled a hare and decided to set his dog on it. To his surprise, “the dog not only refused to follow, but instead of following began to faint, and run round his master, and to whine
pitifully.” Then the man saw the strange animal go straight to the house of Mother Atkins, “whom before that time he knew to be a notorious witch” (G.B. 2–3). Although the narrative appears to have suggested that the hare was really the witch in disguise (Rosen 206), it did so in a rather indirect manner, which means that the animal could just as well have been Mother Atkins’ imp. A very similar story from Milton [Keynes], Buckinghamshire, published in 1613, concerned a black sow, that, from a distance and for a very long time, followed a cart loaded with grain. When the horses suddenly bolted and the vehicle broke down, the coachmen put the blame entirely on the swine and, having watched it, finally found out that it went to the house of Mother Sutton, a town swineherd, already suspected of witchcraft. And again, it was left to the readers to decide whether the uncanny black sow was Sutton herself or her familiar, as both options were equally plausible (Rosen 336–337). The possibility of seeing a witch transformed into a beast was even more clearly pointed out by one of the characters in George Gifford’s *Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts* (1593) that disclosed: “I see now and then a Hare; which my conscience giveth me is a witch, OR some witch’s spirit […]” (A4v) [emphasis mine]. It seems that although in the contemporary witchcraft literature the motif of a human turning into an animal was numerically dominated by references to the demon-animal metamorphosis, a witch’s capability of changing her shape was never entirely disregarded or forgotten.

The situation started changing in the 17th century, when the impact of continental witchcraft ideas was more and more palpable in England and the texts containing unambiguous mentions of witches’ transformations became more common. In 1612, during the famous large-scale witch hunt in Lancashire, Grace Sowerbutts confessed that for years she had been “haunted and vexed” by four women. One of the tormentors, her own grandmother Jennet Bierley, usually “first appeared [to her granddaughter] in her own likeness, and after that in the likeness of a black Dog,” in that shape attempting to hurt the girl and even persuade her to commit suicide (Potts K4v–L). Sowerbutts also claimed that her grandmother, together with her aunt Ellen Bierley, first murdered a baby and then disinterred its body. The two witches, according to the witness, “did seethe the bones of the said child in a pot, & with the Fat that came out of the said bones, they said they would anoint themselves, that thereby they might sometimes change themselves into other shapes” (Potts L²). Sowerbutts’ testimony plainly demonstrates that foreign cultural influences were here at play. The ointment produced from the baby fat was undoubtedly an import from abroad, as the use of such magical shape-shifting substances should be associated first of all with, for instance, French or Italian witches.⁸

The pamphlet about the Lancashire trials was quite exceptional in relying to such an extent on the continental witchcraft notions about metamorphosis. In contrast, other 17th-century English popular texts tended to disregard the methods that made the change possible, and instead concentrated on the transformation
itself, as if accepting it as obvious that witches simply possessed such abilities. In one of the two pamphlets of 1653 on Anne Bodenham – the eighty-year-old cunning woman of Fisherton Anger, Wiltshire – the supposed witch was presented, even in the title, as a person who “could transform her self into the shape of a Mastiff dog, a black Lion, a white Bear, a Wolf, a Bull, and a Cat,” and later in the main text “a Monkey,” “a Horse,” and “a Calf” were also added (Doctor Lambs darling 7). The anonymous author certainly intended to impress his contemporary readers with the witch’s amazing powers and, to strengthen the effect, further emphasised that Bodenham “by her several Charms and Spells […] would [also] convey either man or woman 40 miles an hour in the Air […] undergo to cure almost any Diseases by the said Charms […] undertake to procure things that were lost, and restore goods that were stolen” (Doctor Lambs darling 7). Incidentally, this description provides a clear example of the ancient literary convention that consisted of making a detailed catalogue of extraordinary things a witch or magician could do.

In the Bodenham pamphlets the primary role of animal transformation was to provide a decisive test confirming the witch’s great magical might. According to Anne Styles, the young maid who accused Anne Bodenham of witchcraft, the old woman had tried to persuade her to become the witch’s apprentice. Asked by the curious girl about “what she could do,” the witch was supposed to have answered: “You shall know presently, and forthwith she appeared in the shape of a great Black Cat, and lay along by the Chimney: at which the Maid being very much affrighted, she came into her own shape again […]” (Bower 10). This spectacular demonstration of Bodenham’s power went hand in hand with the sway she held over demons, who, like their mistress, seemed particularly fond of changing their forms. In Anne Styles’ confession there was a really impressive parade of shape-shifting spirits. First, going to the witch, Styles met “a little black Dog” that brought her to Bodenham’s house. Later, during the magical rituals, the witch first summoned five spirits “in the likeness of ragged Boys, some bigger than others […] [that] ran about the house,” and finally she conjured up “a Spirit in the shape of a little Boy […] which then turned into another shape something like a Snake, and then into the shape of a shagged Dog with great eyes, which went about in the Circle […] and then vanished” (Bower 3, 5–6). Although the pamphlet was primarily about the witch’s magical feats, the English predilection for demonic shape-shifting was here given a chance to resurface.

In the popular pamphlets, metamorphosis motifs served then to demonstrate the witch’s mastery of magic as well as to further highlight the sensationalism inherent in witchcraft. In the famous story of Jane Wenham – who in 1712 was the last person in England sentenced to death for witchcraft – one of the most lurid elements of the indictment was that she had harassed her victims “in the Shape of a Cat.” The key witness, Anne Thorn, testified that Wenham had approached her in such a form, and that “she knew it to be her, because the Face of the Cat
was like hers, and she (the Cat) spoke to her, and told her she would torment her.” The uncanny beast with the old woman’s countenance – being an extraordinary human-animal hybrid – was also seen, “several Times,” by Anne Street, who confessed that the cat “spoke to her” and put pressure on her to kill herself. Although the two main victims were sure that the cat they had met and talked to was the witch, other witnesses who also spoke about the cat with a human face were not so certain. Instead they suggested that the cat might have been either the witch’s imp or the Devil (Bragge 29, 32, 35–36).

It is remarkable that although Jane Wenham was accused of physically assaulting her victims – she allegedly caused the tormented girls’ fits and “violently pinched” Anne Thorn – she always hurt them “in her proper Shape.” The maleficium performed by the witch as a human rather than as an animal, interestingly enough, seems to have been a permanent pattern in the English sources towards the end of the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century. The probable reason was that in early modern English witchcraft, a really maleficent magic using animal metamorphosis for an instrument of harm was associated with, and reserved for, demonic forces rather than witches. That the human transformation in England was not so deadly serious a matter was manifested, for instance, in the case of Mary Dore of Beaulieu, Hampshire – she died in about 1750 – who was seen by her neighbours to “convert herself more than once into the form of a hare or cat, when likely to be apprehended in wood-stealing, to which vocation she was somewhat addicted.” It was admitted that “her spells were chiefly used for purposes of self-extrication in situations of danger” and not in order to torment other people (Brand 14). The “private” use of animal transformation by the witch of Beaulieu was quite representative and characteristic of the English tradition of witchcraft.

Although animal metamorphosis was a significant component of early modern European witchcraft, its incidence and uses were not everywhere the same and depended on the local cultural context. In contrast with the relatively common continental cases, the English instances of transformation by witches were notably rarer and did not place emphasis on the baleful function of the shape-shifting. Instead, the English witches tended to resort to transformational magic for purposes that were not so harmful to their neighbours. This should be connected with the distinguishing trait of English witchcraft: the widespread presence of assistant demons assuming the form of animals. It was the witches’ familiar spirits that, together with the Devil, predominantly changed into beasts, thus effectively reducing the number of human-animal transformations. In England, animal metamorphosis was distinctly and distinctively located within the non-human, demonic domain.
Notes

1 For more about the motif of animal metamorphosis in the ancient culture see Veenstra.

2 The shift started with St. Augustine, who in detail discussed the question of animal-human transformation and how it was effected by demons (Augustine 234–238; Veenstra 145–146).

3 In the learned demonological literature one of the recurrent issues discussed was whether cases of witches’ metamorphosis were real physical transformations or merely illusions created by demons to deceive onlookers’ senses. Most contemporary authors – Jean Bodin being one of the few notable exceptions – opted for the latter explanation (Wiseman 58). The scepticism about the reality of shape-shifting resulted from the principal doubt – harboured, for instance, by King James in his *Daemonologie* – about how the devil, seemingly changing a witch into a small animal like a cat, could “contract a solide [human] bodie within so little roome.” It seemed “directlie contrarie to it selfe, for to be made so little, and yet not diminished: To be so straitlie drawen together, and yet feele no paine […] [and] ‘so contrarie to the qualitie of a naturall bodie […]’” (James I 40). It must be noted, however, that the more popular approach towards magical transformation tended to disregard the question of the true nature of the witches’ shape-shifting. In the popular metamorphosis accounts it was not really important whether witches shrank and really changed into beasts or whether it was merely some glamour that deceived others’ eyes. What mattered was that the witch looked and acted like an animal and used that to her best advantage.

4 Another Irish speciality, also mentioned by Baldwin, was the transformation of humans into wolves and red swine. That idea dated back, at least, to the 12th century account in *Topographia Hibernica* by Giraldus Cambrensis (79–84).

5 In contrast, in the French and German trials – although maleficia were not disregarded there – much greater stress was laid on supernatural aspects of witchcraft that included, apart from the metamorphosis itself, the use of magical ointments, flight to the Sabbath, orgies and meetings with Satan, demonic sex, etc.

6 In 1589 Joan Cunny of Stisted testified that her spirits – two black frogs called Jack and Jill – “never changed their colour [i.e. appearance] since they first came unto her” (*The apprehension* A3v). The Yorkshire witch Jennitt Dibbet was supposed to possess a spirit that looked like a great black cat immutably for more than forty years (Grainge 33).

7 In Christian culture Satan was traditionally deemed able and willing to change his appearance to suit his evil ends, which followed, for instance, from St. Paul’s influential warning that the evil spirit can look like the “angel of light” (2 Cor 11, 14). During the continental witch trials Satan, who presided
over the sabbaths, usually turned up in an animal shape, e.g. as a monstrous goat or huge black tomtat.

8 The pamphlet also adopted other elements that came directly from the continental witchcraft tradition. The Lancashire witches were therefore supposed to break into their neighbours’ houses at night and suck blood of sleeping babies; they also feasted, danced and had sex with demons at the Sabbath-like gathering (Potts L2v-L3v).

9 The curious story about John Palmer – the witch executed in St. Albans in 1649, who, after falling out with a young man, “transformed himself into a Toad, and lying in the way where the young man came,” let the latter kick him, “whereupon he bewitched the young man for many years to his great woe and torment” – appears to be an exception to the rule (The divels 5).

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and Spels, send either man or woman 40 miles an hour in the Ayr. The Tryal, Examination, and Confession of the said Mistris Bodenham, before the Lord chief Baron Wild, & the Sentence of Death pronounc’d against her, for bewitching of An Stiles, and forcing her to write her name in the Devils Book with her own blood; so that for five dayes she lay in cruel and bitter Torments; somtimes the Devil appearing all in black without a head, renting her cloaths, tearing her skin, and tossing her up and down the chamber, to the great astonishment of the Spectators. London.


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M. Y. 1669. *The Hartford-shire wonder. Or, Strange news from vware being an exact and true relation of one Jane Stretton the daugther [sic] of Thomas Stretton, of ware in the county of Hartford, who hath been visited in a strange kind of manner by extraordinary and unusual fits, her abstaining from sustenance for the space of 9 months, being haunted by imps or devils in the form of several creatures here described the parties adjudged of all by whom she was thus tormented and the occasion thereof with many other remarkable things taken from her own mouth and confirmed by many credible witnesses. London.*

Phillips, John. 1566. *The Examination and confession of certaine wytches at Chensforde in the countie of Essex: before the Quenes Maiesties judges, the xxvi daye of July, anno 1566, at the assise holden there as then, and one of them put to death for the same offence, as their examination declareth more at large. Imprynted at London: By Willyam Powell for Wylyam Pickeringe dwelling at Sainte Magnus corner and are there for to be soulde. London: William Powell.*

Potts, Thomas. 1613. *The vvonderfull discouerie of witches in the countie of Lancaster VVith the arraignement and triall of nineteene notorious witches, at the assizes and general gaole deliuerie, holden at the castle of Lancaster, vpon Munday, the seuenteenth of August last, 1612. Before Sir Iames Altham, and Sir Edward Bromley, Knights; barons of his Maiesties Court of Exchequer: and iustices of assize, oyer and terminor, and generall gaole deliuerie in the circuit of the north parts. Together with the arraignement and triall of Iennet Preston, at the assizes holden at the castle of Yorke, the seuen and twentieth day of Iulie last past, with her execution for the murther of Master Lister by witchcraft. Published and set forth by commandement of his Maiesties iustices of assize in the north parts. London: W. Stansby.*


Stearne, John. 1648. *A Confirmation and Discovery of Witch-craft, Containing these several particulars; That there are Witches called bad Witches, and Witches untruely called good or white Witches, and what manner of people they be, and how they many bee knowne, with many particulars thereunto tending. Together with the Confessions of many of those executed since May 1645.*
