

1 Introduction

‘Modernity’ is an ambiguous concept that ‘has come to signify a mixture of political, social, intellectual, economic, technological, and psychological factors’. These factors include ‘the emergence of the autonomous and rational subject; the differentiation of cultural spheres; the rise of liberal and democratic states; the turn to psychologism and self-reflexivity; and the dominance of secularism, nationalism, capitalism, industrialism, urbanism, consumerism, and scientism’.¹ Modernity is also often conceptualised as ‘disenchanted’. In its broadest definition, ‘disenchantment’ maintains ‘that wonders and marvels have been demystified by science, spirituality has been supplanted by secularism, spontaneity has been replaced by bureaucratization, and the imagination has been subordinated to instrumental reason’.² The Protestant Reformation is often regarded as a landmark moment in European disenchantment when religious reformers eliminated key assumptions about the intervention of immaterial, magical, and supernatural forces in the universe. This religious revolution was regarded as a stop on the way to the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, which marked an even greater triumph of rationality over ignorance and superstition.³ When sociologist Max Weber appropriated the phrase ‘the disenchantment of the world’ from Friedrich Schiller in the early twentieth century, he created a way of looking at modernity and its relationship with enchantment (including the perceived decline of magical culture) that historians, sociologists, and philosophers have only (fairly) recently begun to problematise and challenge.⁴

In the past three decades or so, historians have increasingly argued that there was no decline in magic, or indeed an eclipse of belief in a moral and magical universe, in western Europe, including Britain, during the Enlightenment. It has been demonstrated that widespread belief in witchcraft and fear of witches continued after the end of European witch-hunting in the late eighteenth century, up until at least the early twentieth century. The harmful magic of witches continued to be fought using a wide array of anti-witch measures, ranging from protective or apotropaic magic to simple incantations and rituals to the more complicated counter-magic of skilled practitioners. Suspected witches were also threatened verbally and (often violently) attacked by individuals or mobs.⁵ Historians increasingly find it difficult to maintain that

¹ Saler, ‘Modernity and Enchantment’, p. 694. ² Saler, ‘Modernity and Enchantment’, p. 692.

³ Walsham, ‘Disenchantment’, p. 497.

⁴ See Jenkins, ‘Disenchantment, Enchantment and Re-Enchantment’, pp. 11–32; Storm, *Myth of Disenchantment*; Meyer and Pels, *Magic and Modernity*.

⁵ See, Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture*; Davies, *America Bewitched*; Davies, ‘Reverse Witch Trials’; Davies and de Blécourt, *Beyond the Witch Trials*; Davies and de Blécourt, *Witchcraft*

scepticism and belief in witchcraft and magic were binaries that inevitably replaced one another, arguing instead that they often shared the same intellectual and mental space and worked to mutually reinforce one another.⁶ Karl Bell has recently adopted an ‘alternative conceptualisation of adaption and transformed continuation’ to challenge this traditional, magic/modernity dichotomy. Magical beliefs and practices are shown to have enabled people in Victorian Britain, from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds, even those living in towns and cities, to negotiate the challenges and uncertainties of modernity. Bell’s model of adaptive, transformative continuation rejects the ‘Weberian paradigm’ while avoiding ‘the false breakages that accompany the enchantment/disenchantment/re-enchantment trichotomy’.⁷ This trichotomy is often seen to comprise three stages of magical evolution: an enchanted medieval and early modern period, where belief in magic and witchcraft was widespread; a period of decline in magic and witchcraft in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; and a re-enchantment of elite culture, marked by occult revivals in the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries. This trichotomy is able to incorporate a continuation of magical belief and behaviour among ordinary people when it suggests that decline and re-enchantment chiefly affected literate elites.⁸ Thomas Waters has employed a similar approach to Bell in his study of witchcraft and harmful magic in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain, arguing that ‘Throughout its long history, witchcraft has always altered and developed. But it has been particularly mutable during the last two hundred years, as the pace of cultural and social change has quickened.’⁹ He has shown that witchcraft was believed in, feared, and fought by individuals, mobs, and unwitchers (notably cunning folk and fortune tellers) across Britain, throughout the nineteenth century. Cunning folk were magical practitioners who provided a wide range of services – including divination, love magic,

Continued; Henderson, *Witchcraft and Folk Belief*; Tallis, ‘Which Craft?’; Waters, ‘Belief in Witchcraft in Oxfordshire and Warwickshire’, pp. 103–5; Hutton, ‘Manx Witchcraft’; Suggett, *Magic and Witchcraft*, pp. 128–33, 142–54.

⁶ Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, pp. 195–213; Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities*, pp. 188–9; Taussig, ‘Viscerality, Faith and Scepticism’.

⁷ Bell, *Magical Imagination*, p. 79.

⁸ A good example of the trichotomy model, which discusses re-enchantment in relation to the revival of occult thinking among British literate elites in the late eighteenth century: Monod, *Solomon’s Secret Arts*. For a recent articulation of the view that a decline of magic occurred in eighteenth-century Britain, among male elites, if not the population as large: Hunter, *Decline of Magic*. For the occult revival of the later Victorian period (an era also marked by secularisation and increasing prominence of scientific naturalism), which saw the rise of spiritualism, psychical research, theosophy, and the establishment of secret magical societies, such as the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn: Waters, *Cursed Britain*, pp. 139–55; Owen, *Place of Enchantment*; Owen, *Darkened Room*; Leeder, *Modern Supernatural*; Butler, *Victorian Occultism*.

⁹ Waters, *Cursed Britain*, p. 262.

and the detection, countering, and curing of witchcraft – for a small fee or payment in kind. While, in the late nineteenth century, the avant-garde elite of the Victorian occult revival increasingly explored the existence of supernatural harm and healing, and British colonisers returned home from Africa, India, and the Caribbean less dismissive of the power of witchcraft and magic.¹⁰

This new-found respect for the magical beliefs of indigenous cultures should not be overplayed. In the nineteenth and (for much of the) twentieth centuries, anthropologists used magic to distinguish modern Western rationality from the ‘primitive’ or ‘savage’ ‘other’, ‘by exposing the backwardness or delusions of shamanism, fetishism, magic and witchcraft’.¹¹ According to Waters, the early to mid-twentieth century witnessed ‘witchcraft’s decline’ in Britain ‘from a majority belief to a fringe credo’. This was largely the result of cultural changes, including a decline in oral storytelling, a downturn in popular Christianity, and the fact that witchcraft lost its *raison d’être* to explain and help people cope with uncertainty and misfortune in the ‘increasingly comfortable and less dangerous’ world created ‘by the growth of the welfare state and massive advances in scientific medicine’. The primary reason, however, given for the collapse of witchcraft was that ‘the British state used regulation to eliminate the cunning-craft, the ancient trade of the white witches, who had previously propagated this belief system’. Belief in harmful witchcraft however revived in the liberal environment of late twentieth-century multicultural Britain.¹² Witchcraft in this period ‘developed in ways that brought them more into line with the changing intellectual climate and new regulatory structures . . . an example of maleficent witchcraft’s acculturation or modernization’. For example, ‘some hues of witchcraft belief incorporated thoroughly modern pseudo-scientific and psychological terminology into their conceptual vocabulary’, while ‘others developed new, more religious, and ultimately more law-abiding counter-witchcraft therapies’.¹³

This Element charts belief in witchcraft and magic in Ireland beyond the point at which previous studies stopped, in the early 1920s,¹⁴ when Ireland was partitioned and the new jurisdictions of the Irish Free State (which became the Republic of Ireland in 1949 and comprised twenty-six counties) and Northern

¹⁰ Waters, *Cursed Britain*, pp. 9–187 (quote at p. 262).

¹¹ Pels, ‘Introduction: Magic and Modernity’, p. 6.

¹² Waters, *Cursed Britain*, pp. 187–260 (quotes at pp. 262, 263).

¹³ Waters, ‘Maleficent Witchcraft’, pp. 117–8. For more on maleficent witchcraft and magic in twentieth-century Britain: Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture*; Davies, *Supernatural War*; Davies, ‘Reverse Witch Trials’.

¹⁴ See Fulton, ‘Clerics, Conjurors and Courtrooms’; Sneddon and Fulton, ‘Witchcraft’; Sneddon, *Witchcraft and Magic in Ireland*.

Ireland (containing six counties in the province of Ulster) were created. It demonstrates that modern Ireland was neither ‘disenchanted’, nor did it experience a decline in belief in witchcraft and magic. It suggests that the British model of adaptive, transformative continuation is also applicable to Ireland. Irish belief in witchcraft and popular magic in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was nevertheless distinct from that of Britain and evolved in different ways and at a different rate of change. In doing so, this Element acts as a further corrective to the once pervasive practice of excluding the Irish experience from summaries of witchcraft and magic in early modern and modern Europe. In doing so, an incredibly rich body of source material, from official documents, pamphlets, folklore to literature and historical writing, has been overlooked.

This Element also provides the first analysis of Irish historical writing on witchcraft and suggests it represents an important but overlooked part of the wider historiography of the subject. Through a systematic exploration of the ways in which Irish historians interpreted salient, historic cases of witchcraft and magic, it is argued that Irish witchcraft historiography began in the early nineteenth century and comprised published transcriptions of original documents as well as interpretative narrative histories. This latter work may have lacked the standards of presentation or historical contextualisation of the academic histories of Irish witchcraft that first appeared in the 1990s but was nevertheless based on primary-source evidence; in many cases, on the original documents that demonologists, antiquarians, and local historians had made widely available from the late seventeenth century onwards. This historiography (which was still being written up until the early 2000s) has been incredibly influential in shaping wider perceptions of Irish witchcraft and magic. Influenced by the Enlightenment rhetoric of Protestants of the Anglican Ascendancy in the eighteenth century, Irish historians of witchcraft distanced themselves from early modern witch-hunting in a particular way, through Irish exceptionalism: Irish witch trials were regarded as aberrations, occurring in a largely witchcraft-free country. This idea of a largely disenchanted past was matched to a disenchanted present, and the fact that many people still believed in witchcraft in modern Ireland was overlooked, denied or ignored. These histories also gendered witchcraft as female to articulate and maintain gender norms. This picture of Irish witchcraft first painted by nineteenth-century historians was weaponised and taken to a wider audience by nineteenth- and twentieth-century journalists. Irish witchcraft was gendered to an even greater extent and used to articulate politically and culturally nuanced views of Irish identity. This reimagining of Irish witchcraft occurred against a backdrop of war and political crisis, when the map of Ireland was redrawn and Irish identity refashioned. In the twentieth century, Irish dramatists, poets, and novelists were

influenced by this historical writing and often incorporated published primary sources in their work. The gendering and politicisation of Irish witchcraft trials were challenged in the very late twentieth century by historians, artists, and creative writers willing to break age-long stereotypes of the Irish witch figure.

The Witchcraft Cases

Irish representations of witchcraft and magic (by historians, artists, journalists, and creative writers) studied in this Element are viewed through the lens of three principal trials and prosecutions: the trial and conviction for witchcraft of Florence Newton in 1661 in County Cork; the trials of the ‘Islandmagee witches’ in County Antrim in 1711; and the prosecution of Mary Butters (the ‘Carmoney witch’) for murder in 1808. Butters was an infamous magical practitioner who specialised in curing bewitched cattle and fortune telling. Two other Irish cases are touched upon but are not dealt with in as much detail. The first of these took place in Antrim town, County Antrim, in 1698, when a nine-year-old girl accused an elderly woman of her bewitchment by means of demonic possession. Traditionally regarded as a witch trial by historians and folklorists,¹⁵ this case was in fact an extrajudicial killing: the nameless old woman in question was apprehended, strangled, and burned by her neighbours without due legal process being followed.¹⁶ The second case occurred in Kilkenny in 1324, two centuries before malefic witchcraft became a crime in Ireland. It centred on the politically motivated prosecution of Anglo-Irish elite colonists, Alice Kyteler and her associates, for heresy, demonic conspiracy, and the use of harmful magic by Richard de Ledrede, English Franciscan Bishop of Ossory. Kyteler evaded arrest by fleeing to England and was tried and convicted in absentia. Her co-conspirators were banished, flogged, or excommunicated, while Petronella de Midia was tortured and burned alive.¹⁷

Florence Newton, Cork, 1661

Sixty-five-year-old Florence Newton, from Youghal, County Cork, was convicted of witchcraft in Autumn 1661.¹⁸ At that time, the English settler port town of

¹⁵ Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, pp. 194–8; Lapoint, ‘Irish Immunity’, p. 77; Croker, ‘Witchcraft in Kilkenny’, p. 341.

¹⁶ Sneddon, ‘Medicine, Belief, Witchcraft’, pp. 81–6.

¹⁷ Sneddon, *Witchcraft and Magic in Ireland*, pp. 16–17, 71, 112; Sneddon, ‘Templars, the Witch, and the Wild Irish (Review)’; Goodare, *European Witch-hunt*, pp. 38–9; Lapoint, ‘Irish Immunity’, p. 78. Some historians have argued that the Kyteler case was the first European witchcraft trial: Riddell, ‘First Execution for Witchcraft in Ireland’; Callan, *Templars, the Witch, and the Wild Irish*, pp. 77–148.

¹⁸ The following description of events leading up to and during the trial of Newton is based on: Sneddon, ‘Florence Newton’s Trial’, pp. 298–319. For more on Newton’s trial: McAuliffe,

Youghal contained around 2,300 inhabitants. Just prior to Christmas 1659, Mary Longdon, a servant to gentleman and future mayor, John Pyne, refused to give Newton some of her master's beef. Newton had known Longdon for four years and was extremely angry at this refusal and left the scene grumbling. A week later, the women met once more, and Newton spilled a bucket of water Longdon carried on her head before violently kissing her and uttering a veiled threat. In the days that followed, Longdon reported being visited by the Devil and Newton in spirit form, and together they (unsuccessfully) tempted her to become a witch. Longdon then began to display symptoms that the local community readily recognised as demonic possession. She exhibited paranormal strength, experienced fits and trances, vomited household objects, and reacted badly to the touch of the Bible. Mysterious stones were also hurled at her master's house by unseen hands. Longdon also claimed to have been attacked by Newton in spectral form. The evidence against Newton mounted as she consecutively failed several traditional tests for witchcraft, including the ability to say the Lord's Prayer. She was further tested in prison while awaiting trial, before being accused of killing her jailor David Jones by kissing his hand through the bars of her cell. Florence Newton pleaded not guilty on 11 September 1661 at County Cork summer Assizes to two indictments: the bewitchment of Mary Longdon, which carried a maximum sentence of one year's imprisonment under the 1586 Irish Witchcraft Act, and the murder of David Jones, a capital crime for which the punishment was execution by hanging.¹⁹ Historians have speculated that given the evidence against Newton, along with the fact that she was accused of a capital crime, it is probable she was convicted of witchcraft and executed shortly afterwards.²⁰ It has also been speculated that Newton may have died during the trial itself.²¹

Trial of Islandmagee Witches, County Antrim, 1711

The Islandmagee witches (eight women and one man) were tried and convicted in 1711 for the bewitchment of eighteen-year-old Mary Dunbar in two separate trials held in Carrickfergus at the spring and summer sessions of the County Antrim Assizes.²² On 21 February 1711, in Islandmagee, an eight-mile-long peninsula on the east coast of County Antrim, which was home to 300 Presbyterians of Scots

'Gender, History and Witchcraft'; Lapoint, 'Irish Immunity', p. 82; Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, chapter 5; Elmer, *Miraculous Conformist*, pp. 127–32.

¹⁹ Sneddon, *Witchcraft and Magic in Ireland*, p. 27; 'An Act against Witchcraft and Sorcerie', 28 Eliz. I, c. 2 [Ireland] (1586).

²⁰ See Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, pp. 107, 127; Lapoint, 'Irish Immunity', p. 75; Sneddon, *Witchcraft and Magic*, p. 78.

²¹ Sneddon, 'Florence Newton's Trial', p. 304.

²² The following narrative is based on: Sneddon, *Possessed by the Devil*; Sneddon, 'Witchcraft Belief, Representation and Memory', pp. 254–5.

descent, Mrs Ann Haltridge, the elderly widow of the local minister, Revd John Haltridge, died suddenly after months of supernatural attacks by a demon on her body and the home (Knowehead House) she shared with her servants, her son, his wife, and their young children. Five days after Ann was buried, her niece, Mary Dunbar, an educated, gentlewoman from Castlereagh, County Down, visited the mourning family in Knowehead House. Shortly after her arrival, Dunbar discovered the method of old Mrs Haltridge's bewitchment: image magic in the form of an apron bound tightly with string and containing the dead woman's missing flannel bonnet. Almost immediately, the demonic activity in the house reconvened, and a demon entered and possessed Dunbar, causing her to levitate; experience convulsions, fits, loss of speech, and appetite; and vomit household objects. In March 1711, Dunbar accused eight Presbyterian women of orchestrating her possession using witchcraft: Janet Liston (wife of William Sellar), Janet Carson, Catherine McCalmund, Margaret Mitchell, Janet Main, Janet Millar, Elizabeth Sellar (daughter of Janet Liston and William Sellar), and Janet Latimer. The Anglican-Whig Mayor of Carrickfergus, Edward Clements, then 'bound over' and jailed the accused women until their trial at the spring Assizes. Dunbar's symptoms continued up until the day of their trial and deprived her of speech and consequently the ability to give evidence in court. Despite pleading not guilty, on 31 March 1711, all eight women were convicted under the 1586 Irish Witchcraft Act for a first offence and were sentenced to one year's imprisonment and four appearances in the pillory on market day for six hours. Unlike most demoniacs, the incarceration of the accused did not lead to an improvement in Dunbar's health. Dunbar claimed this was because William Sellar had begun bewitching her. During the week that followed (early April 1711), Sellar was charged with bewitching Dunbar and on 11 September 1711 he was found guilty of witchcraft. Mary Dunbar died of unknown causes on 24 April 1711, three weeks after the first trial. Dunbar's death turned William's original crime of bewitchment into a capital offence for which the sentence was death by hanging. It is assumed that the sentence was carried out.

Mary Butters, County Antrim, 1807–1808

In the summer of 1807, in the small, Presbyterian, rural parish of Carnmoney, County Antrim, Alexander Montgomery, a tailor who lived close to the meeting house, began to panic when milk from his only cow could not be churned into butter.²³ Alexander's wife, Elizabeth concluded that the cow had been bewitched. Her suspicions were confirmed when she spoke to older women in the community who were able to recount similar tales. Elizabeth's female

²³ This account is based on: Sneddon, *Witchcraft and Magic in Ireland*, pp. 133–7. For more on Butters: Fulton, 'Clerics, Conjurors and Courtrooms', chapter 6.



Figure 1 John Boyne (c. 1750–1810), ‘A Visit to a White Witch’, 7 April 1800. Boyne was an engraver and watercolour painter born in County Down, Ireland, who worked in England and exhibited several works at the Royal Academy.

Image courtesy of Karen Taylor Fine Art

network of knowledge was also a repository for amateur magical knowledge that could be used to deflect and fight unexplained forces that threatened life and limb. She was instructed by her network to tie branches of Rowan trees (also known as mountain ash and widely believed to have inherent magical properties) to the cow’s tail and hang protective amulets in the cowshed. Elizabeth then gathered together twelve local women to bless the cow, which was then fed the ancient, herbal remedy and detoxifier and perennial flowering plant, vervain. When these actions failed, a professional cunning woman, Mary Butters, was called upon.²⁴ Irish people referred to cunning men and women (see Figure 1) in a variety of different ways. In English, they were known as wise men, wise women, fairy men, fairy women, fairy doctors, and elf doctors, while in Irish, they were called *doctúirí na síofraí* (fairy doctors), *bean chumhachtach* (woman with supernatural powers), *mná feasa* (wise women), and *bean feasa* (wise woman).²⁵ Confusingly, some of these terms were also used to describe charm-ers. Charmers differed from cunning folk in that they did not charge for their

²⁴ Hutton, *Witch*, p. xi. ²⁵ Jenkins, ‘Biddy Early’, p. 165.

services and specialised in curing naturally occurring illnesses or diseases in humans or animals; although some did provide charms to deflect or cure fairy or witch attacks.²⁶ *Cailleach*, which translates from Irish as ‘supernatural old woman’ or ‘hag’, in Irish folk tradition could, depending on context, refer either to a cunning woman or healer or to witches who stole milk and butter.²⁷

Mary Butters from nearby Carrickfergus was thirty-seven years old in 1807 and made a good living by curing bewitched cattle, telling fortunes, and finding stolen horses by divinatory methods. Butters arrived in Carnmoney on 18 August 1807 with a retinue of anti-witch measures at her disposal, which she employed consecutively to cure Montgomery’s cow. She first churned its milk while repeating an incantation softly to herself, before drawing a circle around the churn and washing it in south-running water. When Elizabeth Montgomery found she was still unable to churn butter, Butters announced at nightfall she would try another charm that would not fail. She advised Alexander Montgomery and a local younger man, Carnaghan, to stand guard at the head of the bewitched cow with their waistcoats turned inside out. They were to remain there until Butters returned at midnight. Butters then went back to the Montgomery house with Elizabeth and her married, twenty-year-old son, David, and their elderly lodger, Margaret Lee. Butters then placed a large pot on the fire containing milk, sulphur, needles, large pins, and crooked nails. She then shut the door and sealed the chimney, windows, and doors with green turf. This counter spell was a type of sympathetic magic that worked in a similar way to seventeenth-century English witch bottles. The pan of milk was symbolic of the bladder of the witch deemed responsible for stealing Montgomery’s butter, and the heat and sharp objects placed in it were designed to cause them intense pain. This pain would ultimately force them to reveal themselves while attempting to break the counter spell by overturning the milk pan. The openings in the house were sealed to prevent the witch from secretly entering the dwelling. Carnaghan and Alexander remained with the cow as Butters had instructed, but when she did not return as promised, the men left their post and returned to the house only to find Elizabeth and David dead. Montgomery’s neighbours then brought Butters and Margaret Lee out of the house and into the fresh air. Butters made a full recovery, but Lee died shortly afterwards. An inquest was held into the deaths of Elizabeth, David, and Lee on 19 August 1807 by district coroner, James Stewart, before twelve jurors. It heard evidence from Alexander and his neighbour, William Greer, before ruling that all the deaths were the result of suffocation occasioned by the actions of Butters. In

²⁶ Sneddon, ‘Magical Healing’; Wolf, ‘Ortháí and Orthodoxy’; Moore, ‘General Practice’.

²⁷ Ó Cruailaoich, *Cailleach*; Lehane, ‘Cailleach’, pp. 189–90.

the hands of the legal system of the time, Butters' activities were viewed as unlawful killing, and she was arrested by local constables and placed in Carrickfergus jail to await trial for murder. On the day of her trial, in April 1808, the grand jury tasked with reviewing the evidence decided that it did not warrant grounds for a full trial before senior judges and a petty jury, and the case against her was discharged. According to local people interviewed in 1839, Mary Butters was still living in Carrickfergus and working as a cunning woman.²⁸ Local oral tradition suggested that she died in the town 'at an advanced age; some say she was 90'.²⁹ Alexander Montgomery did not spend long grieving for his wife and son. In November 1807, he married a sixteen-year-old woman, Miss Henderson, in Carnmoney. He was sixty years of age.³⁰

2 Witchcraft and Magic in Modern Ireland

This section will suggest that belief in the supernatural, in particular witchcraft and harmful and beneficial magic, did not decline in Ireland between the eighteenth and late twentieth centuries. The legal position of magic certainly changed, and there were those who were sceptical of its existence, but belief continued, changing and developing in ways that often cut across established religious and political fault lines. It also continued to shape people's behaviour and the way they interacted with the world. Modern Ireland was therefore far from being disenchanting.

Witchcraft and Magic in Ireland, c. 1586–1922

In medieval and early modern Europe (c. 1420–1780), around 40,000–50,000 people were executed for witchcraft (of which 80 per cent were women), albeit in differing rates of intensity, at different times, for different reasons, and under different legal, political, and religious systems.³¹ Ireland held only four trials under the 1586 Irish Witchcraft Act, some of which have already been mentioned: Marion Fisher, convicted (later pardoned) at County Antrim Assizes in Carrickfergus in 1655; Florence Newton, convicted in 1661; and the Islandmagee witches convicted in two trials held in 1711. These trials arose in late seventeenth-century Protestant (English and Scottish) settler communities, where belief in harmful, demonic witches formed part of a wider magical

²⁸ 'Fair Sheets by Thomas Fagan', Ordnance Survey Memoirs, Carnmoney, County Antrim, February–April 1839 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), MIC 6C/Reel 2/Box 6, Antrim VI, Carnmoney, p. 38).

²⁹ McGaw, 'Tragic Occurrence', p. 115. ³⁰ *Dublin Evening Post*, 26 November 1807.

³¹ Any summary of early modern European witchcraft is an oversimplification, but the following works provide excellent surveys: Goodare, *European Witch-hunt*; Gibson, *Witchcraft: The Basics*; Levack, *Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft*.