

Common Scottish Fairy Beliefs: An Examination of *The Secret Commonwealth* and Witch Trial Transcripts

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Introduction

THESE Siths, or FAIRIES, they call Slah Mah, or the Good People, it would seem, to prevent the Dint of their ill Attempts, (for the Irish use to bless all they fear Harme of;) and are said to be of a midle Nature betuixt Man and Angel, as were Day-mons thought to be of old[...].¹

- Robert Kirk, Minister at Aberfoill, 1691.

The emergence of witch hunts in Scotland during the early modern period posed a danger to the sanctity of fairy belief. Fairies existed outside of the bounds of Christian cosmology, or the Christian understanding of the world. Some Christians were able to reconcile this in their minds, but others pushed against it. Those who aligned more strictly with Christian belief—typically, wealthy political and religious authorities—might have seen similarities between fairies and both witches and demons. Fairies were able to shapeshift and fly through the air; they kidnapped children and hosted revels at night.² These were traits also attributed to witches, and, while fairies might have not been witches themselves, they might have empowered witches much like demons did. To religious authorities spearheading the hunt for malevolent forces, spirits fit into one of two categories: angelic or demonic. In their perspective, fairies did not fit into the angelic mold—due to the aforementioned traits—so they must be demons.

Religious and political elites explained the belief in fairies among the common people as the work of the Devil, a notorious trickster feared for his ability to lead people astray. One of the few elites who consciously sought to document the beliefs of the common people was Robert Kirk. A theologian looking to incorporate fairies into the Christian cosmos without demonizing them, Kirk traveled the Scottish Highlands collecting the stories and ideas people shared with him.³

The Scottish sources regarding fairy belief during the early modern period differ by region and the manner in which they describe the common beliefs. Kirk, who focused solely on

¹ Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth Of Elves, Fauns And Fairies*, (London: David Nutt, 1893), 25.

² J.A. MacCulloch, "The Mingling of Fairy and Witch Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Scotland," *Folklore* 32, no. 4 (Dec 1921), 229.

³ Julian Goodare, *Between Humans and Angels: Scientific Uses for Fairies in Early Modern Scotland*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), 179.

the Scottish Highlands, emphasized two key aspects of fairies. The first was that fairies were a secretive and underground-dwelling race. The second was that fairies were almost human in their nature, succumbing to the same vices to which the Scots were susceptible. In the Scottish Lowlands and Midlands, the witch trials abounded,⁴ dominating any narrative related to fairies. The ideas discussed by Kirk were present but not as prominent in these regions. The trials were documented through an elite perspective that opposed certain aspects of common fairy belief. The elites believed fully that fairies were demons, and thus not a secret commonwealth of supernatural almost-humans. Because of the dissonance between the views of the common lay people and the religious and political authorities in Scotland, the elites who were running the trials altered and influenced the testimonies of the accused to fit within their own understanding of the world. This paper separates elite interpretations from common perspectives to better understand fairy belief in the Midlands and Lowlands, where witch hunts were prevalent. A cross-analysis of witch trial transcripts and Kirk's *The Secret Commonwealth* reveals that salient aspects of fairy belief in the Highlands—namely, the idea of fairies living in secret underground societies and their nature as both sinful and humanlike—were also present in the Midlands and Lowlands, pointing towards a universal conception of fairies across Scotland.

Historiography

Scottish witch hunt scholars have focused primarily on elite perspectives, due to the ready availability of such sources. Those writing demonologies and conducting the trials did not set out to create an unbiased and accurate documentation of fairy beliefs in Scotland. “Educated people did not usually believe in fairies,” observed historian Julian Goodare, “but they certainly believed in demons, and knew that demons were deceptive and dangerous.”⁵ The elites drew on a cosmology that categorized behavior as Godly or demonic. Scottish Christian elites establish control over errant regions, and witch trials were a way to do that. The elites would see the presence of fairy belief as a threat to Christian dominance or evidence that the common people were being tricked by demons. The witch trials were a way to stamp out this apparent demonic influence and non-Christian belief. By relying solely on elite sources, scholars limit their understanding of Scottish folklore. This paper seeks to broaden the understanding of fairy belief in Scotland by focusing on the perspective most historians have chosen to disregard: that of the common people. By using the trial transcripts of three convicted “witches” from the Scottish Midlands and Lowlands—Bessie Dunlop (1576) from Ayrshire, Andro Man (1597) from Aberdeen, and Isobel Gowdie (1662) from Auldearn, as well as Robert Kirk's

⁴ Witch trials were more common in the Scottish Lowlands and Midlands because of a higher population and increased English influence. Trials would occur in areas with a stronger judicial and Christian presence, meaning that they occurred more commonly in the lower regions of Scotland, where the government and church had more of a foothold. The Highlands had a more well-preserved semblance of Celtic culture, which is where fairy beliefs originated from.

⁵ Julian Goodare, *The European Witch-Hunt* (London: Routledge, 2016), 123.

Highlands-centered *The Secret Commonwealth*—I will identify commonalities and determine the existence of a universal conception of fairies amongst the common people of Scotland.

This paper reads the trial transcripts not at face value but against the grain. Although prosecutors may not have adequately pursued lines of questioning related to fairy belief, bits of common belief remain hidden in the text. A thorough understanding of the beliefs of Scottish commoners—whether in the Highlands or the Midlands and Lowlands—requires an analysis of two folkloric themes: fairies as a secretive, subterranean society and the sins of fairies.

Fairies as a Secret Underground Commonwealth

The Subterraneans

To Robert Kirk, the most important aspect of fairies was their secret and underground-dwelling existence. He opened his piece, “The Nature and Actions of the Subterranean (and, for the most Part,) Invifible People, heretofore going under the name of elves, faunes, and fairies[...].” In fact, when referring to what was conceptualized to be a fairy, Kirk largely preferred to use the word “Subterranean” rather than “fairy.”⁶ Kirk believed that the underground nature of fairies was definitive to their existence.

It is important to identify where exactly the Scots believed fairies lived. Commoners and the elite agreed that fairies did not dwell in the same plane of reality as humans. Instead, they occupied an “otherworld,” an in-between realm through which fairies, and sometimes humans, could cross.⁷ This was sometimes called “fairyland” or “Elphame” and served almost as a mirroring of human society. Fairies, according to Kirk, had “ariftocraticall Rulers and Laws,” and their “Apparell and Speech is like that of the People and Countrey under which they live.”⁸

Fairies lived in what the Scots called “fairy hills.”⁹ Frequently across accounts of fairies, elites and commoners alike referenced hills as a place of meeting, a sort of gateway to the otherworld. Humans could be brought through this gateway into fairyland, but more frequently, it was fairies who crossed the border. This was mostly due to the physical nature of the fairies: their “Bodies of congealled Air” allowed them to “enter into any Cranie or Clift” they chose.¹⁰ It was far easier, therefore, for fairies to cross the boundary between worlds than for a human, unless the human was accompanied by a fairy. This was the view of Robert Kirk and the Scottish Highlanders. However, the elites of the Midlands and Lowlands took this concept a step further. If a supposed witch were to attempt to connect with a fairy, they would go to the place where a fairy is most likely to appear: the gateway between worlds.

⁶ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*.

⁷ Emma Wilby, *The Witch's Familiar and the Fairy in Early Modern England and Scotland*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 200), 291.

⁸ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 28.

⁹ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 30.

¹⁰ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 25.

This notion is evident in the trial of Isobel Gowdie, an accused witch who stood trial in the early 1660s. In her third confession in 1662, Gowdie described a moment in one of the gatherings of her coven: “We went in to the Dovmie-hillis ; the hill opened, and we cam to an fair and lairge braw rowme, in the day tym.”¹¹ The hill mentioned here is a fairy hill, and demonstrates the gateway into fairyland, through which Gowdie and those with her were able to pass. On the other side of the hill, she met the King and Queen of the Fairies.¹² The confessions of Andro Man and Bessie Dunlop also make similar mention of fairy hills as places of meeting. Based on repeated mentions across different sets of trials, it stands to reason that the idea of fairies living underground was a commonly accepted one.

The Secret Commonwealth and the trial transcripts are in agreement on the subterranean nature of fairies, meaning this was a key aspect of common belief. This is supported by the fact that witches did not elaborate on the underground-dwelling nature of fairies, simply mentioning it with no further explanation. Additionally, these brief mentions hint that the elite did not question the accused on this concept further. The idea of fairies living underground was not treated with gravity by either the accused or those questioning them. It was a notion that was commonly understood and relatively accepted.

The Secret Nature of Fairies

To Kirk, fairies were meant to live in near secrecy. “If invited and earneftly required,” he wrote, “theſe Companions make themſelves knowne and familiar to Men.”¹³ If Kirk’s interpretation of Highland fairy beliefs was correct, Scottish people of that region did not expect to interact with fairies on a daily basis. If they wanted to contact a fairy, humans had to initiate it. Additionally, a fairy did not have to reciprocate this interaction and could instead deny the human. Because they would have to seek out the fairy themselves and might not receive any response upon doing so, most people did not attempt to communicate or deal with fairies.

In the transcripts of the witch trials, on the other hand, fairies were active initiators. Across the three selected trials, as well as the larger database, it was the fairy who approached the human. The Bessie Dunlop case is the clearest display of the complexity of human-fairy relations in the Scottish witch hunts. In her confession, Dunlop shared that Tom Reid, the familiar spirit who would become her gateway into the supernatural world, had appeared to her three times during a vulnerable point in her life.¹⁴ Dunlop had a sick husband, a sick baby, and a sick cow; on all three occasions Reid claimed that each would die, unless Dunlop were to “mend to [God].”¹⁵ Dunlop provided no details regarding the exact nature of Reid, though he is considered by scholars to be a ghost, due to the fact that Dunlop claims he died in a battle prior

¹¹ Robert Pitcairn, “Confessions of Issobell Gowdie, Spouse to John Gilbert, in Lochloy,” in *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1833), 611.

¹² Pitcairn, “Confessions of Issobell Gowdie,” 604.

¹³ Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth*, 27.

¹⁴ Wilby, “Walking with Spirits,” X.

¹⁵ Wilby, “Walking with Spirits,” X.

to their meeting.¹⁶ Whatever his supernatural form, he played an important role as Dunlop's familiar, her companion in her magical endeavors, and as the bridge between Dunlop and the broader supernatural world. Even if Reid was not a fairy himself, Dunlop's testimony suggests Reid was in cahoots with them. Eventually, the third time "he appeared in her own house to her," Reid introduced her to the fairies.¹⁷ The fairies asked Dunlop to go with them, to which she refused and they left her.¹⁸ She asked Reid who they were, as they appeared in the form of regular men and women, and Reid referred to them as "gude wychtis that dwelt in the Court of Elfame."¹⁹

In Dunlop's account, the "gude wychtis," or fairies had the human brought before them rather than the human approaching on their own. Additionally, it is Dunlop who denied the fairies and not the other way around. This is a reverse of the human-fairy relationship described by Kirk. One might conclude that Dunlop only portrayed her interactions with supernatural spirits in this way to avoid harsher judgment, but a similar scenario played out in both the Andro Man and Isobel Gowdie cases.

The Man and Gowdie cases are interesting in the way they portray their fairy characters in an almost mediary role. Andro Man testified that the Queen of Elhame approached him when Man was a child, and the two continued to have dealings for decades.²⁰ The Fairy Queen served as Man's bridge to Christsonday, her consort, and Man's true master. Man claimed, "the Quene of Elphame hea a grip of all the craft, hot Christsondy is the gudeman, and hes all power vnder God."²¹ It was the Fairy Queen who brought Man into service of Christsonday, her consort, and was the catalyst for Man's venture into witchcraft.

Isobel Gowdie's case was a reverse of Andro Man's. According to Gowdie, it was the Devil that approached Gowdie, struck a deal with her, and brought her to the Queen of the Fairies on occasion.²² A supernatural entity still instigated the interaction, though.

Kirk claimed that fairies "nather can nor will eafily converfe with [humans]."²³ Across the Scottish witch trials, however, we see that was not the case. Fairies were frequently shown to easily and willingly interact with humans and set them on the path of maleficium. The origin of this disagreement between Kirk and the trial transcripts might lie in the possible stronger retention of the original Celtic belief in the Highlands, where Kirk collected the folklore that informed his writings.²⁴ The Lowlands and Highlands, on the other hand, had a greater blending

¹⁶ Julian Goodare, "Scottish Witchcraft in its European Context," in *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller, (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 33.

¹⁷ Wilby, "Walking with Spirits," X.

¹⁸ Wilby, "Walking with Spirits," X.

¹⁹ Wilby, "Walking with Spirits," X.

²⁰ Edward J. Cowan, "Witch Persecution and Folk Belief in Lowland Scotland: The Devil's Decade," in *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller, (London: Palgrave MacMillan), 84.

²¹ John Stuart, "Precepts for the Summoning of Ane Assise Upon Andro Man," 121.

²² Pitcairn, "Confessions of Issobell Gowdie, 604.

²³ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 25.

²⁴ Ronald Hutton, "Global Context of the Scottish Witch-Hunt," *The Scottish Witch-Hunts in Context*, ed. Julian Goodare (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

of belief systems, with the incorporation of more elements of Christian cosmology. As established previously, the elites believed all spirits, including fairies, that were not clearly angels were demons. A key trait of a demon is their tricking and tempting of humans, something that could have been ascribed to fairies. A demon would draw in humans and actively interfere in their lives. Kirk's "secret commonwealth" does not fit this narrative, and so, may have been changed to better suit Christian ideology.

Vices and Sins of Fairies

When Kirk set out to document the beliefs of the Highlands, he did so intending to find a place for fairies in the Christian cosmology. To establish some sort of connection between fairies and Christian belief that did not disregard or demonize fairies, he might have more success in establishing a positive Christian foothold in the Highlands. Thus, Kirk believed that fairies held moral complexity and could not be simply categorized as good or evil. His portrayal of fairies likens them more to humans than any other form of spirit. Fairies were something "betuixt Man and Angel."²⁵ They were classified as spirits, but their vices made them more akin to humans than to the alternatives of angels and demons. Their ways of life were quite similar to humans: "They are diftributed in Tribes and Orders, and have Children, Nurfes, Mariages, Deaths, and Buriall."²⁶ Only a few things separate fairies from humans: their airy bodies and magical qualities. The parallels between fairies and humans extended into the vices fairies fell prey to. On the sins of fairies, Kirk writes that they had "Cotroverfies, Doubts, Difputs, Feuds, and Siding of Parties."²⁷ Fairies, as intelligent creatures, were bound to fall to sin. This prevented them from being viewed as angels, who were meant to be without sin, but it did not equate them to demons. As noted previously, the fairies Kirk researched did not seek out humans, a notable trait of demons. While they committed sins, they did not look to corrupt others, and they fit the role of a mirrored version of humans rather than of evil spirits serving the Devil.

The trial transcripts, however, show a demonized version of fairies. In Bessie Dunlop's case, Tom Reid, her familiar, asked her to renounce Christianity in favor of serving the Fairy Queen, which Dunlop refused to do.²⁸ When examined more closely, however, Dunlop's admittance that she was asked to reject Christianity seems out of place. It is just one line in a larger confession full of examples of Dunlop proclaiming that she was given the ability to heal the sick by Reid in service of the Fairy Queen.²⁹ Dunlop was never encouraged to act in a wicked way, which a demon likely would have done. Reid, and by proxy, the Queen of the Fairies, continued to help her and give her herbs for healing after her initial refusal to renounce Christianity, never asking her to renounce it again.³⁰ Coupled with Dunlop's continued dealings

²⁵ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 25.

²⁶ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 26.

²⁷ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 27.

²⁸ Wilby, "Walking with Spirits," X.

²⁹ Wilby, "Walking with Spirits," XI.

³⁰ Wilby, "Walking with Spirits," XI.

with Reid and fairies, this confession likely arose from the elites asking questions aimed at discovering demonic dealings. Dunlop seems not to have hesitated in accepting the help of fairies, which, based on her rejection of Reid's request to abandon Christianity, would not follow if she believed them to be demonic in some way. So, based on Bessie Dunlop's case, it is possible that others like her had views of fairies that aligned more with Kirk's than with those of the elites who tried them.

Kirk did address the relationship between fairies and Christianity. Fairies had "no difcernible Religion, Love, or Devotion towards God."³¹ Instead, they reportedly disappeared when they heard God's name invoked.³² Perhaps this is why Tom Reid asked Bessie Dunlop to renounce Christianity—the very name of God would cause his mistress, the Fairy Queen, to disappear. This also would suggest why Dunlop admitted to being asked to renounce her baptism, as she knew fairies had no love of God. However, Kirk still distinctly separates fairies from demons and does not seem to completely villainize the fairies for this. Fairies' relationship to God as lined out by Kirk adds another interesting layer to their morals and could potentially have allowed elites a jumping off point for the demonization of fairies.

Andro Man's case was similar to Bessie Dunlop's. Man was also a healer and was never described as harming anyone with magic.³³ Man's primary dealings were with the Queen of the Fairies, with whom he claimed to have had sex and several children, and Christsonday, her consort. Christsonday is an especially interesting aspect of these trials. The precepts for summoning Man read "the Devill, thy maister, quhom thow termes Christsonday, and supponis to be ane engell, and Goddis godsone[...] is rasis be the speking of the word Benedicite[...]."³⁴ The elite author of the precepts equated Christsonday with the Devil. However, in his confession Man never made that connection himself. He described Christsonday in an angelic fashion and called him God's grandson. This could be interpreted as the Devil tricking Man in an angelic form, but even then, it does not seem like Man assumed that was associated with demonic forces. With Man only ever calling Christsonday by his name and the greater emphasis on his own relationship with the Fairy Queen, it is likely that Man gave a confession emanating from a set of beliefs differing from the beliefs of those who were interpreting it. The elites saw Christsonday as the Devil, and thus, Man as engaging in satanic practices. Man saw Christsonday as the consort of the Fairy Queen, and thus himself as interacting with fairies, not demonic powers.

Isobel Gowdie's case is especially striking. Unlike the other two cases, she willingly made a deal with the Devil before she had any dealings with fairies. She mentioned feasting with "the Qwein of Fearrie" in "the Downie hillis" but did not mention receiving any power from her.³⁵ Not only was Gowdie different in that she got her power more explicitly from the Devil, but she was also a far more malevolent force. In her confession, Gowdie stated she was "killing

³¹ Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 28.

³² Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*, 28.

³³ Stuart, "Precepts for the Summoning of Ane Assise Upon Andro Man," 120.

³⁴ Stuart, "Precepts for the Summoning of Ane Assise Upon Andro Man," 120.

³⁵ Pitcairn, "Confessions of Issobell Gowdie," 604.

persons with the arrowes which I gott from the Divell.”³⁶ These arrows that Gowdie shot were elf-arrows, a concept rooted in fairy lore.³⁷ It was believed that humans could serve as archers for fairies, much like Gowdie did.³⁸ Fairies were involved in the process of making the elf arrows: Gowdie claimed “Elf-boyes” were the ones who whittled them.³⁹ However, it was the Devil who directed all the shots. In Gowdie’s confession, fairies were portrayed as servants, or at the very least, compatriots, of the Devil. Her frequent mentions of hill-dwelling fairies and elf shots show that she had an understanding of the common belief, even though her testimony suffered from the extreme demonization of fairies.

Transcripts of the three trials illustrate the theme of the demonization of fairies. Scholars agree that elites viewed fairies as servants of the Devil. Elites likely carried this perspective into the interrogations and trials they ran. They asked questions from which lines could be drawn between fairies and demons. While the accused relayed information based on common belief, the elites overlaid it with their own views. In the case of the moral nature of fairies, it is likely that the average person did not view the spirits to be demonic. If put on trial, however, commoners could be pressured into making such a connection.

Succubi and Changelings

While Scots may not have viewed fairies as demonic, they assumed that fairies sinned. One such sin Kirk mentions is the habits of the succubi, “who tryft with Men.”⁴⁰ Andro Man may have been one such man, as he confessed that “he lay with the Quen of Elphen.”⁴¹ Bessie Dunlop and Isobel Gowdie made no claims of having intercourse with a fairy, though Gowdie did lie with the Devil. Sex with the Devil was a common theme in witch trial transcripts, and so sex with fairies was seen as an imitation of that.

Outside of sex, the other vices ascribed to fairies, as Kirk described it, is “ftealling of Nurfes to their Children, and that other fort of Plaginifm in catching our Children away.”⁴² Because human milk was supposedly better at nurturing fairy young, fairies kidnapped young human women or stole a human baby and switched it with a fairy.⁴³ In some cases, the kidnappee survived, and in others, they were killed.⁴⁵ Kidnapping is the fairy vice that Kirk discusses most. However, it is not mentioned extensively in the Scottish witch trials. Never once does it come up in the transcripts of Dunlop, Man, or Gowdie’s cases, and it is only mentioned nine times out of 113 trials dealing with fairies in the University of Edinburgh’s database.⁴⁶

³⁶ Pitcairn, “Confessions of Issobell Gowdie,” 611.

³⁷ In fairy lore, fairies would shoot elf-arrows that caused illness or pain.

³⁸ Wilby, “Walking with Spirits,” 143.

³⁹ Pitcairn, “Confessions of Issobell Gowdie,” 615.

⁴⁰ Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth*, 31.

⁴¹ Stuart, “Confession of Andro Man,” 124.

⁴² Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth*, 31.

⁴³ Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth*, 31.

⁴⁴ That is to say, a changeling

⁴⁵ Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth*, 34.

⁴⁶ Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller, and Louise Yeoman, *The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft*. University of Edinburgh, 2003).

A possible reason for the scarce mentions of changelings in the witch trial transcripts is that they did not conform to the narrative the elites attempted to tell. Sexual relations with fairies aligned a lot better with sexual relations with the Devil or demons. When a witch swore an oath to serve the Devil, she slept with him and received her powers. Babies and women getting kidnapped and replaced did not have any similar counterpart in demonology; consequently, the elites conducting the interrogation did not push for the degree of information they may have in other areas of fairy sin. Regardless of the beliefs of the person on trial, fairy vices highlighted in each trial were those that aided the narrative pushed by the elite, the narrative equating fairies with demons due to apparent similarities in their wicked practices.

Conclusion

In a comparison of Robert Kirk's *The Secret Commonwealth* with the Scottish witch trial transcripts, the differences far outweigh the similarities. These differences can be explained through an understanding of the elite perspective on fairies and their goals in the Scottish witch hunts, which also provides a clearer understanding of how interrogation and transcription warped the beliefs of common Scots. The elites believed that fairies were demonic, and they may have attempted to warp the narrative of the accused to prove these alleged demonic qualities. Additionally, the elite often ignored or failed to explore bits of commoner folklore, like the hills fairies lived in. This means these are perhaps the purest parts of the transcripts.

Reading the transcripts against the grain illuminates the connections between Kirk's descriptions of fairies and the confessions of accused witches. There were salient similarities in both the Highland and Midland/Lowland accounts. These common trends potentially point toward an almost universal system of folkloric belief regarding fairies across Scotland.

The discrepancy between the apparent strength of fairy belief across the regions of Scotland could possibly be tied to the settlement of the Gaelic people, with higher concentrations of ancient Celtic belief hanging on in the upper parts of Scotland and tapering off in the Midlands and Lowlands, where English influence was greater.⁴⁷ Potentially, the lack of strong English presence in the Highlands allowed for the original fairy beliefs of Scotland to persevere. In the Midlands and Lowlands, the more rigid laws, customs, and religious beliefs of the English minimized or covered up the preexisting fairy folklore. The connection between regions and the strength of Celtic folklore necessitates further exploration before a definitive answer can be found, but the evidence is enough to provide a basis for investigation. Until then, continued exploration and acknowledgement of the importance of common belief will continue to reveal the truth about fairies hidden beneath the surface in the Scottish witch trials.

⁴⁷ Ronald Hutton, "Global Context of the Scottish Witch-Hunt," *The Scottish Witch-Hunts in Context*, ed. Julian Goodare (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

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