

B 3323 no 1; witch 025, Jeannotte veuve Claudon Toussaint, de Leintrey.

12 October 1601: Procureur fiscal of Comté de Blamont reports their having 'receu advertisement qu'une nommée Jenatte vefue de feu Claudon Toussaint de Lentrey tenoit des longtemps une teste de chien en sa maison, de laquelle elle usait avec certaines ceremonies pretendues de pieté a guerir de toute sorte de bestail qui le pointry en mal d'enflure et aultres'. Had visited her and enquired: she had given him the head, and he now proposed a full investigation, so that she could be examined 'sur les circonstances et deppendances de tel usage, qui de soy est du tout superstitieux resentant quelque part maling'.

27 October 1601; interrogation

Said she was a native of Rey, daughter of Didier Rey, manouvrier, and of Barbelline his wife. Had lived with them until she was 14, was now more than 80. Had first lived with Didier George at Rey (1 year), then with the Chapelain Hanneze at Senibesange (1 year), with Claudon du Chattel at Grincourt (2 years), with Jan Mulnier at the mill at Lezey (1 year), then to a gagnage called Bozache, where she married her mistress's brother, Claudon Thoussaint de Lentrey. Married for 45 years, widow for 6.

Said she had not used the dog's head, but another woman of village, Margueritte widow of Demenge Vaultrin dite la Jobarde had done so. Margueritte had come and asked her for the loan of the head: she had replied that she had heard that Margueritte herself had one, with which she could heal her sick cow. Margueritte said that their vicaire and the curé of Embermesnil had both refused to bless hers, so she didn't want to use it. She believed that Jennotte's had been blessed - though neither she or her husband had ever sought this.

Asked how head was used, said that those who had 'quelque chevaux ou bestail rouge mallades d'enflures Ilz l'envoyoient querir puis oinct de gresse de porc soit masles ou femelles en frottoient la beste malade sur l'enflure a toutes heures qu'ilz s'appercevroient dudit mal sans distinction.' Asked if it brought healing, said 'qu'aucuns s'en sont bien porté, et les aultres non, ainsi qu'il a pleu a Dieu'. How long had she had it - 'qu'il y a trente ans et plus que son feu mary l'apporta en son logis et dit qu'on luy avoit advertry que cela estoit fort bon et que cela ne vient de son invention.' Added it had also been borrowed by wife of Henry Jacquemin.

18 November 1601; Procureur Fiscal of comté de Blamont orders that depositions be taken. Writes of 'grands abus et superstitions' which might have caused some to 'avoir recours a une idolatrie que de demeurer fermes et constans a attendre l'ayde et confidence de dieu telle qu'en toutes adversitez nous debvons avoir.'

4 January 1602; informations préparatoires

(1) Margueritte veuve Demenge Jacquemin, 60

Had known accused nearly 40 years - always reputed a witch. 7 years earlier her son Claudon had called her so, and she had taken him to court at Blamont. He had returned saying they had been reconciled by M Hanné (Henry Hannot was lieutenant of prévôt), and he was to pay her 2 francs. Same night was taken by fatal illness which lasted a year, becoming all emaciated although he ate normally.

(2) Catherine femme Demenge Mengin Claude, 35

Long reputation.

(3) Nicolas Chartier, 40

18 years earlier his brother had believed that accused had caused death of a horse which strayed into her garden.

(4) Germain Claudin, 30

Long reputation. Had several times heard his mother accuse her of causing death of her first husband, Demenge Mesoillin. This followed a quarrel when his mother accused Jenotte of taking her jewels, and accused replied that she had not 'et qu'elle ne debvroit tant disputer disant tu as un beau mary mais tu ne le garderas guere' - soon after this her husband fell from horse and died of injuries.

(5) Didier Pierson, 40

When Captain Besancon, prévôt of Blamont, and his lieutenant Henry Hannost, were raising troops to send into Germany during previous wars, he had caused his brother-in-law Michiel Jean Thiebault to be exempted. He had corn in fields which needed harvesting, and Colas Thoussaint, son of accused, was sent in his place. Accused said 'que ledit Michiel ne seroit empesché de mettre ses biens dedans' - became ill at harvest time and died within a month.

(6) Thiebault Jean Thiebault, 33

Cofirmed story of last witness - victim had been his brother, and had already been on military sevice in Germany once. Reputation 15 years.

(7) Demenge Colbay, 43

Soon after passage of Bouillon's army he had been collecting levy of 3 gros per conduit, and Jenotte complained that there should have been a worthy man to collect it. He said 'Oh genaxe que tu es Ils sont plus gens de bien que toy d'ung pont, Monsieur le Procureur Fiscal de Blamont en fera sauter de ses genots et Genoxes, et elle repliquant dit ne sera, et les gros et grosses de Blamont nous garderont.' Next day asked him if he had meant her when he spoke of witches, and he told her that he had.

(8) Jean Persin jeune fils, 30

4 years before he and Demenge Marchal had taken pears from her garden, and Demenge fell ill afterwards. Long reputation.

(9) Demenge Marchal jeune fils, 27

Same story - had used flail with which he was threshing to get pears; she saw them but did nothing. Next morning when making soup ate a pear, but felt no appetite - then saw her watching at door. Ill for several weeks, and mother asked Jenotte for a remedy; she said she knew none, but later visited him when he was

alone in house and told him he would recover. Later sent him a grape, after eating which he recovered.

(10) Jean Grand Colas, 43

Long reputation, and many avoided disputes with her in fear of receiving some damage or misfortune.

(11) Nicolas Mongenot alias marchal, 50

Long reputation.

(19 January 1602)

(12) Margueritte femme Nicolas Simon, 24

Story of brother Michiel Jean Thiebault, and dispute over military service. During his illness she had called Jenotte to see him, and asked her to touch him; she refused to do so on grounds that her hands were too cold.

(13) Zabel femme Jean Mongeot, 37

Long reputation - lived some way off, no quarrels.

(14) Meline femme Anthoine Marlier, 40

Around last harvest was sitting with accused, who asked her about illness of Zabey femme Demenge le Grand Colas, dit le Parmentier. Replied that she was very ill, 'et que sy elle venoit a mourir, ses pauvres enffans en auroient encore bien besoing, surquoy ladite Jenotte repliqua qu'elle ne mouroit pas mais qu'elle auroit du beau mal assé.' When in Zabey's house later, discovered they suspected Jenotte as result of quarrel over son stealing pears from tree.

(15) Zabel veuve Vaultrin Jobard, 80

Said that since accused had married her brother Claudon Thoussaint, and been his wife for some 40 years, 'l'on s'est tousjours contregardé de parler devant elle deposante du mauvais bruict et reputation de ladite Jenotte' - although for some years she had heard reports of this. In her husband's lifetime 'comme il a esté detellé de tout par deux a trois fois par la mort de tous ses Chevaux et nonobstant qu'ilz fussent tres beaux et bons - voir des plus vaillans qui fussent lors audit Leintrey Il estimoit tousjours que telles pertes et fortunes luy adviennent par sortilege de ladite Jenotte, avec laquelle (ores qu'il fussent parents assé proches) il avoit ordinairement de la dispute, et de fait ne se pouvant contenir de dire à elle deposante sa femme que cela procedait de sa seorque, auquel elle faisoit response que dieu nous peust bien envoyer des fortunes sans provenir de mauvaises gens.'

Told how some 15 years earlier, leaving church at Laintrey, Jenotte had quarrelled with the late Margueritte femme Demenge Brouard. On being called witch she took a stone and felled Margueritte, who had to be taken home and put to bed. Said that her brother, husband of accused, had to pledge himself on her behalf that she would not flee in consequence of this action; witness reproached him with this, but he said Jenotte had persuaded him to do so. Since her imprisonment had

heard story that when husband sent cart to fetch her from Rey (presumably for wedding) some had said that a fire should be put under it.

(16) Claude Martin, 55

Long reputation. His father Colas Martin, who died 24 years earlier, often had animals dead or ill, over which he suspected her - near neighbours, often quarrelled. Both had sheep with different marks; when one of theirs returned after going missing for some days she tried to claim it, but his mother would not concede it. She said angrily 'Gardez la bien, vous n'en feres guiere proffict', and it died next day.

(17) Jean Claudon Claude, 50

Had heard carpenters building house for husband calling her witch more than 20 years earlier. Long reputation.

(18) Demenge Martin, 44

Story of missing sheep with slight variants; was during mother's widowhood, shepherd told them it was at her house, and dispute was when they went to collect it.

(19) Demenge Jobard, 30

Long reputation.

(20) Zabel femme Demenge Grand Colas (dit le Parmentier), 40

Said that at time of last harvest her seven-year-old son Colas had been with grandson of accused: had found one apple by a tree of Jeanotte's, and eaten it. Other boy had told his grandmother, who had appeared 'en un tres grande colere qu'elle estoit, commenca a jurer et maugrier contre ses voisins, et que c'estoient de meschantes voisines devant lequels l'on ne pouvoit rien contreharder (?')'. Witness reproached her, saying 'que ce n'estoient que jeux d'enfans et qu'elle ne s'en debvoit prendre ny formaliser comme elle faisoit et pour sy peu de chose que d'une pomme. Recommenca plus qu'auparavant à dire que c'estoient beaux jeux d'enfans et que c'estoient des meschants gens. A quoy ne pouvant plus compatir ny endurer, ladite Jenotte et sans occasion, l'appella elle mesme meschant femme de les ainsy scandalliser à tort. Laquelle Jenotte en ses entrefaictes appercevant l'une des filles à ladite deposante de l'age d'environ quatorze ans, l'appella Borne le diable, sans qu'elle luy en eust donné aucune occasion, a laquelle fut respondu par ladite fille qu'elle estoit sa vieille genoise sy elle n'estoit une borne, et voyant par ladite deposante qu'elle n'injurioit ainsy sadite fille (aussi qu'elle) continua a luy dire qu'elle estoit une meschante femme surquoy ladite Jenotte dit qu'elle avoit la Caquet bien hault, mais que possible dans bien peu de temps, il luy seroit bien ravallé. Et luy ayant faict demander sy elle la vouloit faire mourir (ou son mary) ne faict autre response qu'en grondant, a laquelle la fille d'elle deposant l'appella encore vieille genoise sans qu'elle respondit mot.' Within two weeks witness fell severely ill, as if paralysed down one side, and was in bed for 6 or 7 weeks. Came to see her twice during sickness, and also asked others about her state. Believed she might have cured her by 'quelque subtil moyen' during visits. 'Et de fait elle soit tellement

informée ca et la pendant la maladie de ladite deposante que cela luy a fait croire qu'elle procedoit d'icelle.'

(21) Demenge Le Grand Colas (alias Parmentier), 42.

Reputation since his childhood. Told story of ringing bells during storm some 16 years before, and seeing her sitting outside her house making strange signs. Then repeated wife's story in essentials. During sickness had visited twice, but said nothing - he had said nothing to her 'tant il estoit courousé par le soupçon qu'il avoit qu'elle estoit cause de ladite malediction.' When on way to get curé 'pour administrer' his wife [give her last rites], passed by Jenotte - again no words exchanged, but she went and had conversation with his sister, which was reported to him by two 'jeunes garçons' who had been present.

(22) Thoussaint Thirion, 42.

Reputation more than 5 years. Told how his father, Thirion Florentin, had lost various beasts and had blamed Jenotte: they were close relatives, since Thirion's wife was sister to Jenotte's husband. Nevertheless were disputes between them over inheritance of family property. Also told how one day 'entre le fenaçon et moisson dernier' the animals of Jenotte's son Thoussaint Claude Thoussaint had strayed into his meadow, and he had taken the servant's coat as a pledge so he could fine them. Wanted six gros - Thoussaint would only offer 'une voicture', so they failed to agree, and Thoussaint went off 'en grondant'. On way home after Mass passed Jenotte's house, and became ill - in bed for eight days, and 'fut contrainct se faire confesser'. Jenotte brought in half a dozen pears, and he was cured.

Also story of going to well barefoot, being asked by Jenotte to collect some plums, and getting painful 'enflure' between toes. Cured when he removed something like arquebus powder from it - but admitted there was no quarrel involved.

(23) Bietrix femme à Thoussaint Thirion, 24.

Told how at time of wedding feast she had asked husband (15 months earlier) about Jenotte, since she knew her reputation and believed her to be a relative. He explained that she was only an aunt by marriage, and that it would be better not to frequent her. Had therefore declined various invitations to visit her 'et prendre du bien en sa maison'. Told story of husband's illness and gift of pears. Said she feared she might cause her husband 'plus longue malediction, d'autant que l'on disoit a elle deposante que s'il mourroit (n'ayant lors enfans d'eux deux) que tout son bien retourneroit a ceulx de ladite Jenotte pour luy estre cousins paternels'.

(24) Estienne Counot, 56.

9 or 10 years earlier, had been present at quarrel between Jenotte and Claudon, son of Demenge Jacquin (both now dead) over some wood. She had told him 'Qu'il s'en repentiroit et s'en donroit garde' - became sick and swollen, then died. Also claimed that the late Didier Breton, his father-in-law, thought she had killed one of his horses following dispute over 'gages' which he had taken from her in his capacity as maire.

(25) Mengin Godot, 32.

Reputation since he was small child. Around last St. Remy his wife had been sharing sheep outside house when Jenotte came to see her, and asked if she had heard that Thoussainct Thirion l'enchargeoit de sa maladie, de laquelle elle feit response que non et que ce seroient de meschantz gens que donroient du mal aux autres, repliqua en ces motz, Nyon, bedey, nyon, je ne luy ay pas donné, et qu'il n'en craigne pas, et puis s'en alla.'

(26) Jennon femme à Colas Jean Mongeot, 40.

Said that since her marriage 28 (?) years before she had always heard that Jenotte was a witch. Had a younger sister who used to help Jenotte with washing and other household tasks: one day Jenotte accused her of stealing 'une fillée', which was found once washing was sorted out. Jenotte then realized 'que ladite Allison luy en partoit quelque inimitié', and on finding her with other girls, said 'Ces grandes oyseuses cy, il fault sentir sy elles sont grandes', and gripped her around thigh. Became swollen, and was sick for more than 20 weeks before dying, saying at height of sickness 'la genoixe qui m'a donné ce mal Icy ne me veult pas laisser mourir.' Had been reported to witness that while 'les femmes et filles estoient au paillage à filler, et plaignant et lamentant le mal que ladite Allison supportoit et qu'elles avoient entendu qu'elle s'en alloit mourir, ladite Jenotte y estante, prit la parole et dit en soubryant (comme elle a accoustumée) elle ne moeurut pas encore, et qu'aussy elle ne mourut qu'avec grandes langueurs quelques jours apres.'

She herself was now ill, one leg had become shorter than the other, and she could only move with difficulty on a stick - but didn't know if it was Jenotte 'qui luy avoit causé tel accident, ou s'il a pleu a Dieu de l'avoir autrement ainsy affligée.'

29 January 1602: Procureur fiscal asks for further interrogation.

5 February 1602: Interrogation

Admitted to some quarrels, but firmly denied threats etc, while maintaining innocence. Said that Demenge Colbay had spoken to her of late Procureur Fiscal of Blamont, who was supposed to have said 'qu'il les cognoistre entre les deux yeulx, et que sur ce elle luy respondeoit qu'il ne la congnoistroit point pour telle, et qu'elle ne l'estoit' - but absolutely denied having spoken of 'gros et grosses de Blamont.'

Admitted quarrel with Marguerite wife of Demenge Bernard, but said it was her husband she had called a witch: he wanted to beat her, but she dissuaded him, and threw a small stone at Marguerite's back 'qui se laissa aussy tost tomber' - but she was hardly ill. Agreed that carpenters working on house had asked her about reputation as a witch.

Said that Thoussainct Thirion had hurt his foot while carrying wood to the town: agreed she had taken him some pears. Agreed to affair over laundry, and said she might have spoken to Allison in terms alleged, but there was no harm in it.

On arrest said to sergeant that there were people in Leintrey worse than her, and that they were cause of her being taken to Blamont. Said that those who had complained against her were thieves.

Confrontations (same day)

Agreement by Margueritte widow of Demenge Jacquemin, that her son had suffereed from 'mal St. Marcou' - but hadn't died from this. Agreed by both that Jenotte had struck the child.

In respect of Demenge le Grand Colas's deposition, said she might have been outside house to make a noise with a 'bassine', as was the local custom.

Now agreed to having sent a grape to Demenge Marchal. Also admitted to conversation with Mengin Godat's wife.

7 February 1602: Voluntary statement

Brought from prison in belief that she was ready to confess. Told how as girl at 9 or 10 living with parents at Ley, had gone out of house in morning to pee. Saw a young boy near her, and had 'une mauvaise pensée, qu'elle se donnait volontiers a luy, pourvenu toutesfois qu'elle ne mourut jamais' - told boy of this, then feared she had done something bad.

A year or two after marriage a servant from 'Allemagne' was dissatisfied because he wasn't being as well treated as he was used to being - told husband who sacked him. Then made her guard horses in field - was mocked by others, and returned determined to ask husband not to send her again. Found him around 'heure de marande' playing 'quilles' near church - was angry and knocked them all down. He beat her and chased her into the fields 'entre nuit et jour'. She sat down 'et commença a pleurer la rudesse que son mari le faisoit.' Either a black man or 'un tronc de saulce' asked her if she wanted to be taken 'chez eulx' - made sign of cross and he disappeared, then husband came to find her and 'ils alloient aux champs par ensembles.'

Also reported that since husband's death she had experience of a man like him coming into room at night and having intercourse with her. Had also visited her in prison. Then started to 'varyer et desnyer tout son dire, qu'elle a dit estre paraventure songes plustost qu'autrement.'

Said that while Jean Bon Claude of Leintrey had been banished, she had seen him on a horse among a great assembly dancing. Did not, however, make any serious confession - sent back to prison.

8 February 1602: Procureur fiscal asks for question extraordinaire.

9 February 1602: Change de Nancy approves.

13 February 1602: Interrogation under torture.

Appeared not to suffer from first tortures, and made no new admissions: released until after dinner. First tortures were thumbscrews and rack: then followed in second session by strappado - but she was only shown this, and began to confess.

Two years before had been told by young man called Menegou to go to 'rondiat', where a number of masked women were occupied in 'rendoyer et chanter' - but couldn't recall details of 'rondiat ou chansons'. Asked if they had decided to do any evil, said she was too deaf to hear.

Admitted that Menegou had killed cow belonging to Jean and Margueritte Cugin, after quarrel with latter (both now dead). Then admitted to causing death of Alison by pinching her thigh, after supposed theft of 'trois eschevettes' from washing; implied that Alison's sister Jehenne had pretended to recover them from bottom of cauldron. Had still been 'sy couroucée' that she pinched Alison's thigh.

Denied causing death of Claudon son of Demenge Jacquemin, although no suggestion she had not struck him.

Tortured further, agreed to having been seduced at age of 10, but had not seen seducer again until episode 2 years before, and visit to 'rondiat'.

Released for night to 's'adviser'.

14 February 1602.

Continued confessions. Now agreed that shortly after original seduction (2-3 months) the boy had appeared to her in the fields, and after recalling her promise made her deny God and have intercourse with him. Same year, when guarding horses, was 'gagée' by one called 'le petit Mengin' after a dispute - subsequently beaten by her father, then her 'Master' appeared and proposed killing one of Mengin's horses. She didn't want to, but agreed he should do it for her - horse died next day.

No further appearance until 3 and a half years before, when she had been in bed with daughter of her son Claudon. Had then been visited by figure like her dead husband, who had intercourse with her, then left saying 'qu'il n'y retourneroit de longtemps'. Told neighbours, who advised her to say a mass for him, which she caused to be done.

3 years before had been given powders. Agreed that she had killed 3 horses, those of le petit Mengin, of Jean Cugin, and of Henri George; denied killing Michiel Jean Thiebault or making Demenge Marchal sick. Had given sickness to Zabey femme Demenge Parmentier, in anger after quarrel, by using a 'herbe' which was given her by her master, and could only harm the person for whom it was intended. Later repented, since Parmentier was poor and had 5 or 6 children; visited sick woman and gave her remedy (unknown to her - master gave it to her twisted in paper).

2 or 3 years before had killed calf of Jean Mongeot, in revenge for his having fined her son Claudon's horses - used herb called 'Ranemoiche'. Story became more and more confused, as inconsistencies of dates were pointed out to her - eventually interrogation was stopped on these points and shifted to accomplices. Made vague accusation that Marguerite veuve Demenge Vaultin, alias la Jobarde, had told her of being thrown to ground by devil.

When racked again said she had seen Sebille femme Jean Pierson at sabat, along with the exiled Jean Bon Claude. Repeated accusation against la Jobarde, adding that she had been suspected of making a horse sick, and it had recovered after she had been called to visit it.

15 February 1602; procureur fiscal asks for death sentence in usual form, 'le tout a terreur et exemple d'autres'.

18 February 1602; Change de Nancy approves

Goods sold for 35 francs