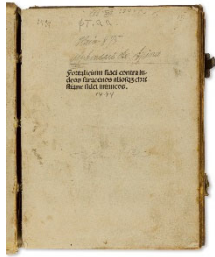
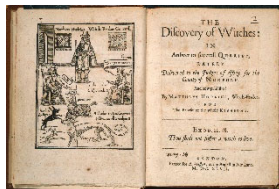


PRIMARY SOURCES



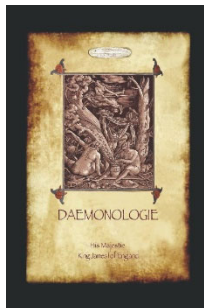
De Espina, Alphonso, *Fortalitium fidei* (1485).

Alphonso de Espina, best known as one of the harbingers of the Spanish Inquisition, published the first printed book to contain references to witchcraft. The five-part work, translated as “The Fortress of Faith,” explores what de Espina, a powerful Spanish Franciscan friar, deemed the greatest threats to Christianity: heretics, Jews, Muslims, and the Devil. De Espina classifies demons into 10 categories including goblins, incubi and succubi, and demons that specifically target old women. De Espina writes about assemblies of women in southern France who were burnt — the earliest printed reference to the burning of accused witches. “Fortalitium fidei” is often credited as a precursor to Western demonology and witchcraft lore, but that isn’t the scariest part of this work. “The Fortress of Faith” is also credited with fueling anti-Islamism and anti-Semitism and reigniting blood libel accusations across Spain. De Espina, who some scholars believe to be a Christian convert, called for the expulsion of all Jews and Muslims from Spain. Less than a decade later, the Inquisition was established, during which scholars estimate hundreds of thousands of people were killed.



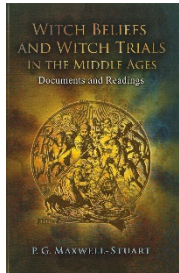
Hopkins, Matthew. *The Discovery of Witches* (1647).

First published in 1647 to defend his actions and inform the public, *The Discovery of Witches* by Matthew Hopkins outlines his witch-hunting methods while addressing the criticisms of non-believers. The book was published in response to a Protestant cleric, John Gaule, who questioned Hopkins’ methods as overzealous and costly. Hopkins answered each of Gaule’s charges and in doing so, was ultimately the object of his downfall. Rumors have suggested Matthew Hopkins ended up as a subject to his own torturous methods in discovering witches, but it is more likely he succumbed to tuberculosis in the same year this book was published.



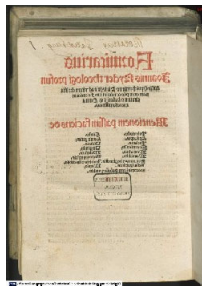
James I, *Daemonologie* (1597). United Kingdom, n.p, 1966.

King James I was heavily involved in the witch trials in 1590, and from his involvement, he wrote his work, *Daemonologie*, with the intent of bringing some understanding to the populace of the practice of witchcraft, necromancy, and other evils and why persecuting a witch was just and right in the eyes of God. He seeks to inform the Christian world to be vigilant in identifying any practices that would go against the natural order of the world and bring swift justice to anyone who is involved. The purposes of the information in these three books seem to be for a few reasons: to inform and make aware, to be on the lookout for evil, and to justify any persecution of those accused or deemed to be actual witches or conduits for the devil. These reassurances give people peace of mind that they would be doing the right thing for informing on a neighbor who may be a Denison of evil. This work goes a long way in providing an example of the government's control over the public and the social framework of the time. This work can be found on Project Gutenberg.



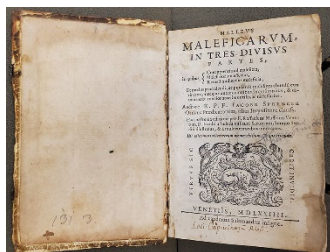
Maxwell-Stuart, P.G. *Witch Beliefs and Witch Trials in the Middle Ages: Documents and Readings*. Continuum, 2011. EBSCOhost, search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=369748&site=ehost-live.

A collection of extracts from documents relating to witch beliefs and witch trials in the Middle Ages (1258 to 1540). Most of the original documents are in Latin, but this collection has been translated. The book offers an eye-opening look into the Middle Ages and their attitudes toward witchcraft. The contributions of these translations are integral to understanding the witchcraft phenomenon in the Middle Ages.



Nider, Johannes, *Formicarius (1436-1438)*. Argentoratum, n.p.

The *Formicarius*, written 1436–1438 by Johannes Nider during the Council of Florence and first printed in 1475, is the second book ever printed to discuss witchcraft (the first book being Alphonso de Spina's *Fortalitium Fidei*). Nider dealt specifically with witchcraft in the fifth section of the book. Unlike his successors, he did not emphasize the idea of the Witches' Sabbath and was skeptical of the claim that witches could fly by night. With over 25 manuscript copies from fifteenth and early sixteenth-century editions from the 1470s to 1692, the *Formicarius* is an important work for the study of the origins of the witch trials in Early Modern Europe, as it sheds light on their earliest phase during the first half of the 15th century. Nider was one of the first to transform the idea of sorcery to its more modern perception of witchcraft. Prior to the fifteenth century, magic was thought to be performed by educated males who performed intricate rituals. In Nider's *Formicarius*, the witch is described as uneducated and more commonly female. The idea that any persons could perform acts of magic simply by devoting themselves to the devil scared people of this time and proved to be one of the many factors that led people to begin fearing magic. The idea that the magician was primarily female was also shocking to some. Nider explained that females were capable of such acts by pointing out what he considered their inferior physical, mental and moral capacity. The work is further of note for its information regarding notably infamous figures of the time, one of whom was the sorcerer Scavius, who reputedly escaped his enemies on multiple occasions by metamorphosing into a mouse. Prior to his death, Scavius was responsible for the tutelage of Stedelen in witchcraft. The title is Latin for "the ant colony," an allusion to Proverbs 6:6. Nider used the ant colony as a metaphor for a harmonious society. A copy of this work is found at the Bavarian State Library in Munich, Germany, and was digitized in 1991. It can be viewed in its entirety on their website.



Summers, Alphonsus Joseph-Mary Augustus Montague, et al.. *Translated with an Introduction, Bibliography and Notes by the Rev. Montague Summers*. Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1970.

This book is one of the most famous treatises on witches. Originally written by an Inquisitor of the Church, the purpose of this book was to educate and refute arguments that claimed witchcraft did not exist. It was to convince people that it was indeed real and that more women than men were witches. It laid out procedures for magistrates on how to find and convict witches. This book will be a great addition to research on how the people perceived witchcraft and what role the church played in the accusations and trials of witches.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Barry, Jonathan, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts, eds. *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief*. Cambridge UP, 1998.

This collection examines witchcraft from the perspective of the accusers, not the accused, as most research does. This perspective will give a unique look at the cultural understanding of witchcraft and what drove the surge in accusations and prosecutions. A different viewpoint will help with understanding the social changes and structures that influenced all the classes in how they viewed and understood witchcraft in Europe throughout the 16th to 18th centuries. This book combines established researchers with new ones to combine their efforts and offer a fresh perspective. Much of the research uses Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* as the starting point. Each contributor has taken a new approach to the research in the field of European witchcraft and proved it was not just an uneducated peasant belief, which led to the increase in accusations and trials. The attention of the researchers is European, with a strong English focus.

Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. "The European Witch Craze of the 14th to 17th Centuries: A Sociologist's Perspective." *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 86, no. 1, 1980, pp. 1–31. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2778849>.

Written by a professor of sociology and anthropology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, this study looks at the medieval social order, how conditions in society determined the demographic of the accused, and why so many happened to be women. Mr. Ben-Yehuda's focus is on social deviance; through that focus, he aims to understand how medieval society was changing and functioning. This could help the understanding of the moral boundaries that were forming and re-forming along with the changes in the Catholic and Protestant churches. The explosion of accusations from the late sixteenth century into the early seventeenth century took over like a plague through Europe. Women, in particular, were hunted and put on trial for causing harm by being in league with Satanic forces. This study looks at the changing demographics in Europe to explain the phenomenon of witchcraft, witch-hunts, and the witch craze.

Douglas, Mary, editor. *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations*. Taylor & Francis, 2013.

This book contains articles from many different historians and anthropologists regarding witchcraft in all areas of the world. Witchcraft was viewed differently in England than in Africa; was this solely a social acceptance of witchcraft? Exploring how witchcraft was considered in other parts of the world during the 16th to 17th centuries could contribute to the social phenomenon of what became known as the witch "craze" in Europe at that same time. This source explores research on the social factors that contributed to the overwhelming growth of accusations of witchcraft and perhaps why most of these accusations were aimed at women.

Frye, Lincoln. *Nobility and Witchcraft in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century England*. 2020. University of North Carolina at Charlotte Master's Thesis. *ProQuest Dissertations Publishing*.

This is a published thesis that looks at some of the same original questions about nobility and politics in the accusations of witchcraft that brought me to my thesis. Social demographics had much to do with most accusations and trials. However, politics was a significant player in the witchcraft arena. Powerful women with power and influence faced such accusations and did not

escape the wrath of their enemies. Many times, these women were used by their male counterparts to re-establish their power or right to rule. This study will help further explore the social stratification of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and also explore what part the demographics of the women who were often targeted in the accusations of witchcraft played. This source is used mainly to lead to other sources in the social demographics of witchcraft in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Gaskill, Malcolm. "Witchcraft, Politics, and Memory in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Historical Journal*, vol. 50, no. 2, Jun. 2007, pp. 289-308. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4140131.

This article covers two incidents: the trial of Anne Bodenham in 1653 and the association of the Duke of Buckingham with Dr. John Lambe in the 1620s. Looking at these narratives together gives a good overview of how the public felt about the Stuart rule and how that public perception was used by activists of the time to fuel support for political factions looking to gain power. Examining the trial is a close look at the social order of the seventeenth century and shows how complex these trials could be. It is a look at how witchcraft was used in the social structure of the era and how it was interwoven into the political system. Malcolm Gaskill is currently serving as Emeritus Professor at the University of East Anglia. Still, he has served as the Director of Studies in History at Churchill College and a lecturer at Keele University, Queen's University, and Anglia Ruskin University. His expertise is in Britain and America's social and cultural history from 1550-1750, the history of crime, witchcraft, magic, and spiritualism. This particular research shows just how steeped in gossip, rumor, libel, vision, and spells these trials were. The use of printed works was used as a means to reach many more people and show how far communications had come in the seventeenth century.

Gibson, Marion. *Witchcraft and Society in England and America, 1550-1750*. Cornell UP, 2003.

Gibson, a professor at the University of Exeter and historian with expertise on witches and magic, has put together this collection of works, including literature and historical documents about witchcraft and witch trials. The purpose is to present a broad view of how witches were represented throughout the period in print. The collected works give context from the points of view of the accused, accusers, magistrates, witchfinders, poets, dramatists, ministers, and more to give a broad picture of how society viewed, lived with, and punished the people they felt were guilty of a heinous crime. This perspective will be useful in my research by letting me see how society operated around the idea of who and what a witch was and why they may have thought it to be an evil thing deserving of punishment. Where did the idea that witchcraft may be evil come from?

Goodare, Julian. "The Framework for Scottish Witch-Hunting in the 1590s." *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 212, Oct. 2002, pp. 240-250. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25529649>.

This paper reviews the framework of the trials of the Berwick witches. These were the witches accused of conspiracy to kill James IV and backed by the earl of Bothwell. Because these trials were so extensively recorded and involved the King so intimately, they provide a good look at the intricacies of how the trials were carried out and the society's mood at the time. These were the trials that influenced the King to go on to publish his book, *Daemonologie*. These trials reveal the nationwide panic around witchcraft and their prosecutions in 1590 and 1597. The King involved himself personally in these trials and questioned the accused himself. The process used to question the accused was included in his later writings and directly influenced the witch-hunts

that followed in later years. Generations referenced James' writings as a guide and justification for their torturous questioning of and prosecution of witches. These trials had a significant influence on later trials and beliefs about witchcraft.

Gregory, Annabel. "Witchcraft, Politics and "Good Neighbourhood" in Early Seventeenth-Century Rye." *Past & Present*, no. 133, Nov. 1991, pp. 31-66. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/650766>.

This work closely examines the Judges who allowed the cases to be prosecuted and promoted witch hunts. Support for Protestant and Catholic churches alike pushed for the prosecution of witches, and each side sought to legitimize itself as ruler in the early seventeenth-century town of Rye in Sussex referred to in this work. As each one rose and fell in power, it describes how each used witchcraft to push the society against one another to gain support. This will examine how the powers that ruled controlled how witchcraft was viewed. A close look at how neighbors were easily influenced to turn on one another or coerced into turning in names of others who may be witches to save themselves. The social framework of this small town is a close study of how this phenomenon of neighbor-against-neighbor could happen so quickly if the socioeconomics were influenced.

Guskin, Phyllis J. "The Context of Witchcraft: The Case of Jane Wenham (1712)." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 15, no. 1, Autumn 1981, pp. 48-71. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2738402

A case of witchcraft involving a pamphlet controversy that allows a glimpse into the changing atmosphere of how people disseminated information. The pamphlets exposed questions about biblical translation and questions of religious freedom. The trial included a vast array of people, uneducated and educated alike. The social atmosphere surrounding this case shows the changes that had developed over the decades and how the phenomenon of witchcraft was no longer a controlling political and social tool.

Hutton, Ronald. *The Witch: A History of Fear, from Ancient Times to the Present*. Yale UP, 2017.

In this book, Hutton traces the history of witchcraft and follows what he believes to be the origins of the fear of witches. This leads him to continue exploring the treatment of suspected witches worldwide. When considering witchcraft from the accuser's point of view and learning why they would target a specific type of person could lead to a deeper understanding of the society in which my research will focus. Medieval Europe tended to target older women as witches, but witchcraft was often used against people in positions of power, not only women but men who could influence as well.

Jones, Karen, and Michael Zell. "'The Divels Speciall Instruments': Women and Witchcraft Before the 'Great Witch-Hunt.'" *Social History*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2005, pp. 45-63. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4287161>.

This paper explores why most women were accused of witchcraft and what it had to do with their social and economic positions. This paper goes back to the great witch-hunts to examine the role of women in witchcraft and explore why it is almost always linked to femininity. I will use this information to help further explore the demographics of those accused of witchcraft, whether

men or women. This article will help to define the idea that poverty played a significant factor in the social phenomenon of witchcraft.

Jones, William R. "Political Uses of Sorcery in Medieval Europe." *The Historian*, vol. 34, no. 4, August 1972, pp. 670-687. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24442963>.

This article looks at several cases of the use of witchcraft or sorcery by prominent political figures against other political figures. It brings in the fact that the societies in which these accusations tended to happen were already steeped in conflict among the citizens regarding witchcraft, which was being used to bolster the church's influence in the region. In this way, witchcraft was used as a tool between political opponents.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500*. U of California, 2021.

This book explores the tradition of witchcraft and how it was learned within a society. Witchcraft itself was not illegal; it was only illegal to use it to harm someone somehow. Kieckhefer takes a broad look at witchcraft in medieval Europe and how society acted and reacted around it as it existed in everyday life. This work will allow me to explore witchcraft as it existed organically in the daily lives of ordinary people.

Larner, Christina. *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief*. Basil Blackwell, 1984.

This book is a publication containing Larner's notes and lectures. She combined her studies in sociology and anthropology with history to cover a vast amount about witchcraft and the persecution of witches, mainly in Scotland, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her work takes her into the realm of medieval England and the differences between English prosecutions being mainly about maleficium, causing harm to a neighbor. Using Larner's studies and her unique look at the sociological aspects of witchcraft, I can research areas such as the economy and politics to determine their influence over accusations and trials.

Rosen, Barbara, editor. *Witchcraft in England, 1558-1618*. Massachusetts, 1991.

This book contains a collection of documents such as pamphlets, reports, and trial accounts that will be invaluable to research by giving insight into the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century society. These documents will examine every aspect of witchcraft, from accusation to trial to punishment. It will help to give a picture of the role religion and politics played in each step of the process and how people's concepts and superstitions were manifested.

Rowlands, Alison. "Not 'the Usual Suspects'? Male Witches, Witchcraft, and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe." *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. 1-30.

This book explores the subject of male witches. This subject is rarely even touched on in other research, and there is little to be found regarding men who were persecuted as witches. This

completely different perspective will shed light on many unanswered questions as I continue to look at the demographics of the people who were accused and brought to trial for witchcraft. This book claims that there were some regions where more men than women were accused.

Trevor-Roper, H.R. *The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Harper, 1969.

In this study, Professor Trevor-Roper reveals the social and intellectual background of the 16th and 17th centuries witch craze. Orthodoxy and heresy had become deeply entrenched notions in religion and ethics as an evangelical church exaggerated the heretical theology and loose morality of its opponents. Gradually, non-conformists and whole societies began to be seen in terms of stereotypes, and witches became the scapegoats for society's ills.

Willis, Deborah. *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England*. Cornell UP, 2018.

This book examines how women were influenced to accuse other women of witchcraft. Willis looks at how literature explicitly influenced society, such as pamphlets and plays that represented women as either the “malevolent mother” or the “betraying servant of Satan.” Willis takes a deeper look at Kings James VI and I’s involvement in the North Berwick witch trials and how that involvement, in turn, had an influence that trickled down into the political arena and eventually into the commonwealth. I will be able to look at how this influence started at the top and worked its way down and how it remained focused on women the entire way.

HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS

Salem

1. <https://ghostcitytours.com/salem/salem-witch-trials/history-witch-trials/>
2. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/a-brief-history-of-the-salem-witch-trials-175162489/>
3. <https://guides.loc.gov/feminism-french-women-history/witch-trials-witchcraft>

Holocaust

1. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230593480_6
- 2.

McCarthyism

1. <https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/research/online-documents/mccarthyism-red-scare>
2. <https://www.britannica.com/event/McCarthyism>
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N35IugBYH04>

Satanic Panic

1. <https://www.senate.mo.gov/LegislativeLibrary/Panic.html>
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=plEImKEIRm8>
3. <https://www.aacts.org/traumatic-stress-library/sociological-views-on-the-controversial-issue-of-satanic-ritual-abuse-three-faces-of-the-devil>

MEDIA (ART, YOUTUBE DOCUMENTARIES, WEBSITES, ETC)

Art

1. Artsy.net: “Why Artists Have Been Enchanted by Witchcraft for Centuries”
<https://www.artsy.net/article/alina-cohen-artists-enchanted-witchcraft-centuries>
2. Daily Art Magazine: “Hags and Slags? A History of Witchcraft in Art”
<https://www.dailyartmagazine.com/witches-in-art/>
3. Artsper Magazine: “Bewitched! Women as Witches in Art History”
<https://blog.artsper.com/en/a-closer-look/bewitched-women-as-witches-in-art-history/>



Websites

The National Archives – England, Wales, and the UK Government:

<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/early-modern-witch-trials/>



The British Library – London.

<https://www.facebook.com/britishlibrary/>

The British Library is the national library of the United Kingdom and one of the world's greatest libraries. We hold over 13 million books, 920,000 journal and newspaper titles, 57 million patents and 3 million sound recordings. Open to everyone, the Library offers events, temporary exhibitions and a Treasures Gallery that displays over 200 items, including Magna Carta, a Gutenberg Bible and lyrics by The Beatles.

YouTube Documentaries

1. YouTube: A reading of “The Discovery of Witches” written by Mathew Hopkins, Witch Finder General, 1647. Matthew Hopkins was a self-proclaimed Witch Finder and
<https://youtu.be/D6HqINfhlU?si=UDjc2B9Bvn33oT2v>
2. YouTube: Chronicle – Medieval History Documentaries - “Hysteria: The Indiscriminate Violence of Witch Finder Britain/Century of Murder.”
<https://youtu.be/Rpic8slh2JM?si=AFY-9XZtjwgN1r23>
3. YouTube: Chronicle – Medieval History Documentaries – “1612: The Disturbing Witch Trial That Shook Britain, The Pendle Witch Child.”
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eQrva6RAkak>
4. YouTube: “Seth Andrews: The Satanic Panic – The Witch Hunt of the Late Twentieth Century.”
<https://youtu.be/iW6UoIjy5F4?si=PQaLHpiofeQ04mG->
5. YouTube: TheUntoldPast – “The Disgusting Crimes of Ilse Koch – The Witch of Buchenwald.” <https://youtu.be/WohHJpu-wSY?si=T0BHlzdqReIer6ws>
6. YouTube: Christopher Williams – “McCarthyism and Salem Witch Trials Connection.” <https://youtu.be/w7ji6otnWrs?si=HUV2SOCq9ddOvKbN>
7. YouTube: ‘A huge pack of witches’: A witch scare in 17th-century Lancashire.
<https://youtu.be/RrKtXuHXEms?si=gjX7JAha6vxTFkDj>

Podcasts

1. The National Archives – “Trials: Ordeal and Combat”
<https://media.nationalarchives.gov.uk/index.php/trials-ordeal-and-combat/>