WITCH HUNT: PERSECUTION OF "THE OTHER" IN REPRESENTATIONS OF WITCHES AND WITCHCRAFT IN BRITISH AND U.S. AMERICAN LITERATURE

by

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ABSTRACT

JACQUELYN SCHAEFLE. Witch Hunt: Persecution of "The Other" in Representations of Witches and Witchcraft in Literature. (Under the direction of DR. BALAKA BASU)

Though it has been established that the concept of the witch is primarily used to demonize strong women whose strength derives from their deviation from the patriarchal norm, I argue the witch's significance in literature and social development goes beyond gender or sex. Labeling a woman as a witch made her into a form of the Other. In many ways, the witch can stand in for any person who diverges from the "majority," which is imagined to be composed of dominant groups such as heterosexual and cisgender people, particularly men, Caucasians, and Protestant Christians, leaving people of other races, cultural backgrounds, and gender and sexual expressions vulnerable to suspicions and accusations of witchcraft. This thesis examines this broad form of othering through a brief survey of literature of the United Kingdom and the United States from the seventeenth century to the present to demonstrate how the role of the witch has shifted over time as attitudes toward the Other has also changed: from that of outright fear and paranoia to a fetishized form of celebration (so long as the status quo remains intact).

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my father, mother, and stepmother for being the longest and most dedicated cheerleaders in my corner. From my dad and stepmother reading *Winnie the Pooh* to me nightly to my mother listening to me complete my reading assignments in childhood and showing excitement for my reading and writing pursuits, my parents have all recognized and encouraged my thirst for reading and love of all things literature. Without you all, I surely never would have embarked on this journey with the level of confidence and passion needed to endure even the most stubborn bouts of imposter syndrome (and if nothing else a quick call home would do the trick, of course).

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INTRODUCTION

The image of the witch is as shifty as the definition of what constitutes "witchcraft." The literary depictions of such figures and their practices date back to the classics of antiquity with Euripides' Medea, Ovid's depiction of Hecate in *Metamorphoses,* and even Thomas Mallory's sorceress Morgan Le Fay of the fifteenth century Arthurian romance *Le Morte D'Arthur.* Scholars who have examined the purpose of the witch archetype in canonical Western literature tend to write about the gendered nature of the witch; all the examples I named above, for instance, are women. In contemporary scholarship regarding the witch figure, critics often focus on the careful distinction between the terms "witch" and "wizard" or "warlock" despite the lack of such rhetorical differentiation between male witches and female witches during the centuries of witch panic.

Today, and for the past few centuries, witches are most commonly assumed to be female. This assumption, and the sociopolitical implications of this assumption, is a popular topic among scholars as the assumed inherent "badness" of the witch, and the motivation for making this "evil" figure dominantly female, mars the connotative quality of certain feminine traits as well as atypical expressions of femininity. For instance, Jungian psychologist Erich Neumann theorizes that the archetypal feminine has "four polar points . . . . the Good Mother, the Terrible Mother, the negative anima (or, more simply, the seductive young witch), and the positive anima (or, more simply, the Sophia-virgin)" (Neumann 75). These four poles, while obviously not capable of representing the full scope of femininity, serve to simplify and generalize the most common ways in which femininity is depicted in literature.

In his work, Neumann provides specific signifiers for each pole: "To characterize this 'indifferent' Feminine archetype on the basis of its coinciding poles, we have the figures of the Mother (M+), of the Virgin (A +), of the young witch (A -), and of the old witch (M -)" (Neumann 77). The positioning for specific literary figures among these poles depends upon the feminine and masculine traits she exhibits — in other words, the female character's alignment within the four subcategories of the archetypal feminine is determined by the way in which she behaves in accordance with or opposition to patriarchal standards of femininity. Neumann breaks down each pole with general descriptors of each sub-archetype and provides

examples from classic literature or various mythologies for each. Even within this break-down, however, there are contradictions which make this particular archetypal system paradoxical, which Neumann himself acknowledges (75). The Greek goddess Artemis, for instance, is spread among all four poles due to the versatility of her character depending upon which story is being told; therefore, Neumann has to parenthetically specify to which "version" of Artemis he is referring in each pole. Much like how the witch figure has traditionally been over-simplified to create a wholly negative association with the figure, Neumann's work, as with many similar archetypes, over-simplifies womanhood and femininity as a whole to showcase one-dimensional views of femininity and womanhood as represented by female characters in classic literature and mythology.

Both Neumann's use of the term "witch" to specifically label negative forms of femininity and the way he equates the witch figure to demons and other monsters (149) serve as a strong indication of the pervasive negative associations between the witch figure and patriarchal views of femininity as a whole. On this point, Anne M. DeLong summarizes:

> the witch manifests primordial female power: aggressive, autochthonous, and, as shall be seen, paradoxically androgynous. . . . Glimpses of goddesslike power, [also] emerge in the witch's gifts of healing and prophecy, suggesting that the archetype retains vestiges of an earlier female deity. (DeLong 1)

The aforementioned shiftiness of the witch figure, her blend of masculine and feminine traits that defy patriarchal assumptions of proper forms of femininity, and her deep-rooted connection to a primordial deity that resonates through the archetype's innate power, all contribute to what makes the witch figure so terrifying. The inherent power of the witch, specifically the superhuman abilities of the female magician, threatens the patriarchal power structure which relies upon the assumption that women are less powerful than, and therefore should be subservient to, men. Thus, in literature, the archetypal feminine has a positive and negative connotation depending upon how the figure is depicted. The archetypal witch, according to Neumann's poles of femininity, however, is always negative; this pattern can be seen throughout literary canon with many examples.

The purpose of Homer's Circe, for instance, was to tempt Odysseus from his journey, meanwhile turning other men on her island into swine. Circe here shows the two major purposes of the witch archetype in one character: she is strong and therefore poses a threat to mortal men due to this superhuman power, and she utilizes her femininity to overpower men via seduction and feminine charm. Classical figures such as Circe illustrate the ways in which the woman is at once represented as dangerous and desirable — and in many cases, it is her desirability that ultimately makes her the most dangerous.

Traditional witch figures utilize their femininity to all at once seduce, fascinate, or otherwise overthrow men, and in many cases also harness masculine traits to emphasize her unsettling gender fluidity in order to become a true force to be reckoned with (specifically by men). The purpose of the witch as a plot device and the sociopolitical implications of the consistent negative messages associated with these figures throughout literary canon has led to an important conclusion as declared by Sarah Appleton Aguiar:

> The Witch embodies malevolence for male writers in several senses. Because she is usually an unattached female, her disregard for male protection rendered her suspect. Her reliance on nature instead of Logos . . . also causes concern in males, especially when her natural sensibilities are successfully employed. (Aguiar 38-9)

This perceived malevolence by the male writer is majorly responsible for perpetuating patriarchal ideas of femininity (the "good" woman compared to the "bad" woman in direct relationship to the woman's power or lack thereof), demonizing powerful, independent, or otherwise generally masculine women, and showing the atypical woman as undesirable, wicked, and by all accounts as Other.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* summarizes Edmund Hesserl's concept of the Other as "To become conscious of by viewing as a distinct entity; . . . to conceptualize (a people, a group, etc.) as excluded and intrinsically different from oneself" ("Other"). The act of Othering, therefore, is the setting apart an entire group of people based on differences from the dominant class of people. Historian and cultural geography specialist JF Staszak explains that Othering is "a discursive process by which a dominant in-group ("Us," the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups ("Them," Other) by stigmatizing a difference — real or imagined — presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential

discrimination. To state it naïvely, difference belongs to the realm of fact and otherness belongs to the realm of discourse. Thus, biological sex is difference, whereas gender is otherness" (Staszak 2). Othering comes when the dominant group uses their power to stigmatize differences through stereotype, to treat these differences as a way of creating a hierarchical preference between implied social binaries within our differences (black/white, male/female, West/East, etc) which enforces discriminatory power structures in society, keeping a certain class of people (white, male, cisgender, heterosexual, and Protestant Christian within the context of this thesis) in the majority in terms of social discourse and power.

The way the concept of the Other and Othering applies to the witch can be explained by cultural geographer Garth Myers' description of the social effects of Othering:

> Psychoanalytic theories suggest that the outside segment of the binaries — self/other and same/different — often is feared, loathed, or held as inferior. Thus, people often seek to expel, reject, abject, or exclude what is taken as other, outsider, or different, for instance, people who are out of place from where the mind's prevailing order wants them. The term *othering* often is used for these exclusionary processes. (Myers 345)

The witch, therefore, through centuries of discourse — oral and textual, non-fictional as well as fictional — serves as a representation of the Other of, depending upon the time and culture: the non-Christian, the non-Westerner, the atypically feminine, the genderfluid or otherwise sexually queer, and so on. Through overwhelmingly negative representations of witches, whether based on gender, sex, religious practice, or geographical origin, the witch figure is herself Other in literature and representative of those who are considered Other in real life.

The literary witch figure on the whole is then the result of male writers' fears of the women who posed a threat to the patriarchal power structures in place through their power of mind and independent nature as well as their resonance with powerful feminine pre-Christian deities. In this way, even Neumann falls into this trope by calling women who act against the patriarchal norm "bad" and women who showcase their femininity through acts of nurture or healing as "good." The Otherness of the witch, therefore, is not a matter of "good" and "evil" or even necessarily masculinity or femininity, but is instead directly related to

power and how that power presents itself. Does the witch use this connection to a primordial deity to better people's lives, specifically men — or to destroy or even to simply use this power for her own purpose? The witch's Otherness is rooted in supernatural (and so greater) power relative to who is supposed to be dominant and therefore assumed to hold primary social power in the mortal world. This Otherness of the witch figure in general correlates with the class of person (non-Westerners, gender non-conforming persons, non-Christians, etc.) being Othered at the time in reality because, as has been established about the witch figure in general, it is the unknown power held by these unknown, foreign people (granted to them due to their foreignness) that makes them frightful and worthy of suspicion.

In addition to the patriarchal implications of these divisions, are various broader cultural implications as well. Neumann's negative Mother and Animus subcategories, for instance, appear even in Eastern culture: "Kali of India, Gorgon of the pre-Hellenic age, and Hecate of Greece, as well as terrible Ishtar, Isis, Artemis, and innumerable goddesses of the underworld and the dead" (80). An impressive number of the figures Neumann has named are of Other mythologies, specifically those of Eastern origin such as Kali, Ishtar, and Isis. By bringing attention also to feminine figures of the underworld, Neumann is further demonizing the performance of, according to Western culture, traditionally masculine roles by female figures. Further, the positioning of Eastern figures and masculine oriented women in the negative poles presents these figures as Other. Even Medea, who Neumann uses as an example of a Terrible Mother figure, is ultimately an outsider despite her significant presence in Greek mythology.

As classical literature scholar Ronnie Ancona notes, Medea can be represented in various ways depending upon the version of her story being told, making her a prime example of how the outsider is made Other: "Some might emphasize her divinity (she is the granddaughter of Helios, the Sun). Others make her quite human. In some [iterations], her foreignness (she is not Greek) is emphasized" (Ancona xxiii). The awesome power Medea holds as an immediate relative to divinity, as well as her home of Colchis in the East, both ensure Medea's consistent foreignness in her story, regardless of the rendition. The most obvious fearsome quality of this particular figure's story is the infanticidal climax which only further sets her apart by presenting this Eastern, magically inclined person as savage and defiant of the Western standard of

femininity and humanity. It is this theme of othering and (mis)representation of the Other through the witch in literature that is the primary focus of my thesis.

While the literary witch's development and purpose is a bit easier to summarize, witches as they are viewed in reality are slightly more difficult to define. First, the assumption that witches are female was not so quickly established. "Witches," "witchcraft," and "magic" all have varying definitions and parameters depending upon the era of history and region of the world. A cultural concept, the definition of what constitutes a "witch" or the act of "witchcraft" is even more shifty than the varying presentations of the witch in literature. The lack of a clear definition regarding the concept of 'witchcraft' and who could be labelled a 'witch' allowed for thousands of murders and numerous hunts for innocent people based on misconceptions and prejudiced opinions of certain groups of people.

The aforementioned Othering of females and women was not necessarily the sole purpose for the literary witch. With the classical witch figures I have already mentioned, there are other aspects to these women that sets them apart as Other from the dominant group of their stories. Medea, for instance, was a foreigner; she originated from Colchis which was located on the opposite side of the Black Sea from Greece and Rome, making her racially and culturally Othered. Medea also serves as an example of how stories and some perceived truth in the real world can contribute to the defining and redefining of a certain group of people.

Often playing the antagonist to child heroes, historically witches have been used to represent evil parents (mostly mothers) and untrustworthy adults in general. However, looking more closely at today's popular media, the role of children in a witch's story depends on the role of the witch herself, as demonstrated by Neumann. In more traditional texts such as the Grimm Brothers' "Hansel and Gretel" or even Charles Kingsley's Irishwoman in *The Water-Babies,* the Terrible Mother pole is applied, playing to the terrifying nature of witches rather than the comedic and hyperbolic evil witches of contemporary media such as the Sanderson sisters of Disney's *Hocus Pocus* (1993), the witches of Roald Dahl's *The Witches* (1983), or the intrusive mother, Endora, on the sitcom *Bewitched* (1964-1972). Medea's infamous killing of

her own children is perhaps the most famous example of the threat the Terrible Mother witch figure poses against children.

This piece of the witch mythos carried on in the real world's perception of witches, possibly due to some real events during the witch panic which then translated to the world of fiction and the make-up of the fictional witch. Willem DeBlécourt describes how pamphlets circulated parts of Europe to spread word of other witch hunts conducted abroad in addition to declarations of demonologists at the time. Clergy and lawyers verbally, as well as through written means, further spread the stories of accused witches, including pointed attacks against Catholics for reasons which will be discussed later. Children, most likely having the inability to read neither the circulating pamphlets nor the demonology treatises from which the pamphlets' information originated, absorbed the words of these vocal people and spun tales of their own abductions (DeBlécourt 96-98). While the child abduction and murdering or feasting on children part of the witch mythos did not begin with these accusations — Medea's tale predating this major witch panic time in Western history, for example — it is plausible that these numerous accusations by children only helped to solidify this narrative about witches into a completed stereotype, adding this element to the witch archetype and mythos which persists today.

As there is ambiguity surrounding the definition of who "witches" are and what "witchcraft" is, the term "magic," also has various interpretations and definitions. In his work on Druidism and magic, religious studies scholar Dudley Wright claims that:

> Confused ideas are often held upon this subject of magic which does not mean deception, or cunning, or a skillful dexterity in hand-manipulation alone, though it is sometimes employed in one or other or all of these ways. Magic proper, however, means the understanding of nature, and it derived its name from the fact that this occult knowledge was supposed to be the exclusive possession of the Magi, or wise men. . . . The Greeks, however, claim that magical arts were invented in Persia, in which country the Magi applied themselves to the study of philosophy and the assiduous search after the most curious works and mysteries of Nature. (92)

In this passage, the term "magic" is shown to have multiple origins and meanings which refer to simple tricks and illusions such as sleight-of-hand card tricks and more elaborate constructions of a professional illusionist, as well as the completely separate brand of magic which requires an understanding and study of the natural world. Though there is also debate as to the origins of the practice of "magic" there is a clear agreement that the practice of magic involves knowledge of nature and utilizing the natural world for the practice, most often of healing and manifesting wishes such as prosperity or good health. This particular understanding of magic has already been observed in this thesis by DeLong and Aguiar, both naming nature as a source for the archetypal witch's power in addition to a connection to a pagan deity. It is commonly understood that historically the views of witches are not so simple and their connection to the natural world and non-protestant deities was not accepted by the masses.

Though King James I was by no means the first nor primary authority on witches or witchcraft, his treatise on the subject, *Daemonologie,* certainly displays a view of these figures that was not uncommon during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Despite the aforementioned broad definition of what constitutes "magic," James I confidently asserts:

> This worde Magie in the Persian toung, importes as muche as to be ane contemplator or Interpretour of Divine and heavenlie sciences: which being first vsed amongs the Chaldees, through their ignorance of the true divinitie, was esteemed and reputed amongst them, as a principall vertue: And therefore, was named vnjustlie with an honorable stile, which name the Greekes imitated, generally importing all these kindes of vnlawfull artes. (James 9)

In James' writing, rather than focus on how the witch uses their knowledge of the natural world or present the term "magic" in a broad sense, James pointedly declares that the practice of magic is based on a false deity, or the ignoring of the "true" deity — this of course being his perception based on his own religious beliefs as a Protestant Christian. This is another form of Othering as James essentially argues that the beliefs and practices of those who perform magic are religiously ignorant or spiritually misguided — a common argument of English colonizers later in this and following centuries toward the indigenous peoples of North America and Africa (Staszak 34-35).

According to early modern historian Keith Thomas, "At a popular level every kind of magical activity, including any unacceptable brand of religion, might be lumped together under the blanket title of 'witchcraft', and there was no special term to indicate maleficent magicians" (436). With the lack of distinction between a "witch" and a "maleficent magician" there also was not a clear "good" witch. Some forms of magic, however, were more widely accepted such as the act of healing and mathematics-based magic such as astrology. Protestant Queen Elizabeth even accepted the advice of astrologer John Dee who was "no back-alley quack, but the confidant of the Queen and her ministers" (Thomas 302), even choosing "an astrologically propitious day for [her] coronation" (290). People like Dee, though not completely free of criticism and scrutiny by more cautious people, were able to practice magic because of the perceived overall benevolent and beneficial nature of the practice. Another aspect that should not be ignored is the fact that "Astrological practice was carried on by men (and in a few cases women)" (300), which suggests that "good" witches and "good" magical practices are those performed by men, leaving women to primarily assume the title of "bad" witch.

The attempt to differentiate between beneficent and maleficent forms of magic ended with King James I, however. Though there is not conclusive evidence to support that the witch panic particularly worsened with James's rule, his personal attitude regarding magic was significantly more strict than his predecessor, Elizabeth I. The previously assumed distinction between a malevolent and "good" witch, though not clearly defined, is:

> One such group [were] specialized magical practitioners, 'cunning folk', whose activities [of] performing beneficent magic — healing rituals, identification of thieves, love magic, and the like— were thought to involve techniques and powers that could be used for malign purposes as well. Another such group was women, particularly quarrelsome or disreputable elderly women, for in most parts of Europe they were held to be particularly prone to *malefic* magic. This association was so strong that relatives of such women were often also suspected of witchcraft, since it was commonly held to run in families. (Bever 53)

This kind of fear of the witch and negative assumptions about witches was certainly not reserved only for literature; however, the relationship between the general public and witches was not quite so one-dimensional. King James, for example, saw no distinction between benevolent witches and malevolent ones. According to James, those who study astrology and the math or science based magical practices were working to satisfy their own curiosities and James predicted these practitioners would eventually reach a time when their discoveries were either not enough to satisfy them or they would reach a roadblock from their own human abilities. The next logical step, according to James, is that those who start as astrologers or cunningfolk and healers will try to overstep their mortal positions to satisfy whatever curiosity or desire they have, which will ultimately lead to them believing themselves to be god-like.[1]

It is well established by now that people once believed witches to not only be real but to be aligned with Satan. Thomas further explains that sixteenth century theologians and demonologists were originally the ones to suggest that "the accused witches were either devil-worshippers or members of a pagan fertility cult," (514); though Thomas quickly asserts that there is actually very little support to prove this to be the case. Still, the mythology of the witch as she is known today spread with various stories and general paranoia, many of which were spread by "Jacob Grimm's suggestion (in his work *Deutsche Mythologie [1835])* that witch beliefs derived from the old Teutonic religion, and was embroidered upon in [the twentieth] century by Dr Margaret Murray in a series of books which have made some influential converts" (Thomas 514). Despite there being a lack of evidence to support that witches were all members of pagan cults or devil-worshippers, the notion persists to this day — present, and even emphasized, in contemporary

[1] "As there are two sorts of folkes, that may be entysed to this arte, to wit, learned or vnlearned: so is there two meanes, which are the first steerers vp & feeders of their curiositie, thereby to make them to giue themselves over to the same: Which two meanes, I call the Divels schoole, and his rudimentes. The learned haue their curiositie wakened vppe; and fedde by that which I call his schoole: this is the Astrologie judiciar. For divers men having attained to a great perfection in learning, & yet remaining overbare (alas) of the spirit of regeneration and frutes thereof: finding all naturall thinges common, aswell to the stupide pedants as vnto them, they assaie to vendicate vnto them a greater name, by not onlie knowing the course of things heavenlie, but likewise to cling to the knowledge of things to come thereby. . . . so mounting from degree to degree, vpon the slippery and vncertaine scale of curiositie; they are at last entised, that where lawful artes or sciences fails, to satisfy their restles minds, even to seek to that black and vnlawfull science of *Magie.* Where, finding at the first, that such diuers formes of circles & conurations rightlie joyned thereunto, will raise such divers formes of sprites, to resolute them of their doubts: and attributing the doing thereof, to the power inseparable tyed, or inherent in the circles: and manie words of God, confusedlie wrapped in; they blindlie glorie of themselves, as if they had by their quicknes of ingine, made a conquest of *Plutoes* dominion, and were become Emperours over the *Stygian* habitacles. Where, in the meane time (miserable wretches) they are become in verie deede, bond-slaues to their mortal enemy: and their knowledge, for all that they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing evill, and the horrors of Hell for punishment thereof, as *Adams* was by the eating of the forbidden tree" (James 10-11).

media and popular culture. This development in our present culture shows a significant shift in not only how the general public perceives witches but how the general public views cultural and biological differences in fiction. Prior to the seventeenth century, a witch's Otherness or differences from what was considered to be the norm was what made her dangerous or worthy of suspicion. Neumann's suggested subliminal connection to a primordial female deity then turned to a loyalty to Satan, making the witch herself a demon rather than powerful for connection to another powerful female. Then, as will be discussed at length in this project, the trend in literature, rather than to demonize the witch figure was to deny her existence altogether and focus rather on the suspicious nature of humans, and the danger of human paranoia. The next step in this progression was to normalize the witch was to make her friendly, approachable, and appear to be just like anyone else, but in a welcoming way rather than fearsome. Somewhere along the way, there has since come a fascination of all sides of the witch: whether to sanitize her and make her powerful so long as her powers are used for good or to have her embrace the darkness of her history for either a horrific or sexy effect (or both simultaneously).

The persecution of the gendered Other has already been explored time and again by historians and literary scholars in the examination of perceived witches and the literary witch figure. The cultural Other, however, is another common victim, though not as commonly discussed. Though witch hunts were by no means exclusive to the North American colonies and what is now the United Kingdom, these are the locations which will primarily be discussed in this project, with common prejudices within each region playing a major role in the analysis of each piece of literature. In England, for example, Celtic prejudice, or the prejudice from British people toward Scottish and Irish people, permeated the culture — and for some it continues to this day. While I am by no means seeking to prove where this bias officially originates or argue that all Celtic bias is related to witchcraft, I do argue that much of the biases held by the British regarding witches and witchcraft dates back to the days of the Druids.

Indeed, the assertion that witches are of Satan has circulated for considerably longer than the Grimm brothers or James. According to Celtic and theological historian Dudley Wright:

> Belief in witchcraft can be traced to Druidism, and some of the practices attributed to witches after all traces of Druidical worship and customs were supposed to have died out are nevertheless exact, or almost exact, reproductions of the practices attributed to the Druids by earlier authorities. More than one writer has stated that the Scottish witch is the direct descendant of the Druidess. (Wright 98)

It has already been established that witches and witchcraft have numerous origins depending upon who is asked. Wright's observation that many of the witch's practices are near identical to that of the Druids, however, indicates that while James and his contemporaries attributed witchcraft to the Persians, it is more likely that the prejudice against their witches in particular was against the Irish. So, while the "blame," so to speak, may be placed upon this Eastern culture for the origin and spread of magic (also seen in literature through such figures as Medea), the prejudice against witches was primarily Celtic. Wright summarizes:

> The Irish Druids of ancient times are said to have been a species of sorcerers, to have been in league with the demons of paganism, and to have been able, through their agency, to do good to their friends and to work mischief upon their enemies. (93)

The emphasis placed on Celtic peoples in fear of witches and witchcraft has evolved over time to encompass various forms of fear of what is Other. For instance, witches are commonly depicted as strong (in supernatural ability and perhaps even physicality), unmarried and childless women who are self-sufficient. A confident woman who does not rely on the presence of a man in her life is considered a threat to patriarchal standards of living and therefore makes this figure one to fear. People, particularly women, from foreign, unfamiliar lands are also feared due to the diverse customs and cultural practices they bring along with them; these alternate practices and ways of life are threatening to the status quo of the dominant culture and therefore that person is considered Other and is feared. These figures, women and people of other cultural backgrounds, are commonly cast in the role of the witch simply due to their Otherness and the dominant culture's fear of what is different. The significance of recognizing the witch as a figure beyond just the gendered or religious scope but also a racial and queer context is to recognize the true depth of the fear behind the witch. The witch was more than just the elder, childless woman living alone in a hut off the

beaten path. She was foreign and strange to what the dominant class determined to be "normal," and with that foreignness was the fear that perhaps this mysterious being could hold more power than the "normal" class. And if these Other people do have some special abilities, could that mean that power could be impressed upon the dominant class to make *them* Other or to oppress *them?* It is the ever-present tug of war of us vs. them that leads to oppression, and fear of being on the losing end of that war is what inspires the one in position of social power to ensure the Other remains othered, by simultaneously showing these people have power and insisting that this power is what makes them dangerous and therefore should be stripped from them.

Today, there are multiple ways in which we view these figures: some may see the archetypal green-skinned, wart-adorned hag wearing a pointed black hat to match an all-black dress and cloak ensemble, riding a broom while cackling, while others may view the witch as an average-appearing (or even extraordinarily attractive) humanoid person but with magical abilities which may be utilized with a wooden wand, other instrument, or most fearful of all: with no instrument at all. Regardless, it is impossible to deny that the witch has received a makeover in the past century. Most visual markers we associate with witches today in our popular culture were commonly used in the real world during the numerous witch trials throughout Europe and North America as well as in literature. Such external markers which were exaggerated by the early twentieth century were usually based on the external markers once sought by witch hunters and persecutors up to the eighteenth century. Though today the witch is not as popularly depicted through such external marks as warts or abnormally tinted skin (with the exception of the enduring popularity of L. Frank Baum's Wicked Witch of the West from *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz,* famously adapted as Elphaba in the hit musical *Wicked* based on Gregory Maguire's novel of the same name), the purpose of such external markers remains: to visually showcase the witch's Otherness. These markers in literature serve as stand-ins for various forms of Otherness, from race to sexual orientation and gender expression.

It is now a popular trend in contemporary fiction and media to offer "explanations" for, or garner sympathy for classically depicted antagonist feminine figures such as Circe, the Wicked Witch of the West,

evil queens in fairy-tales, among other villains. Though these figures have historically been represented as and understood to be negative representations of the archetypal feminine, contemporary authors and film creators are providing other perspectives to explain why these villainesses are as they are. Scholars, too, are recognizing that witches are not inherently negative despite the long-held suggestion that argues otherwise. As DeLong further argues, the true scope of the witch archetype, as applied to Neumann's archetypal feminine poles, provides a more thorough look at the figure, almost as she was viewed in real life: "The Good Mother (M+) pole becomes Witch as Healer, the Terrible Mother (M-) pole becomes Witch as Destroyer, the Virgin (A+) pole becomes Witch as Knower, and the Young Witch (A-) pole becomes Witch as Bewitcher" (DeLong 3-4). DeLong further counters Neumann's overwhelmingly negative view of the witch figure by reminding the reader of the witch's archetypal "gathering of herbs for restorative as well as destructive potions, along with her all-important cauldron symbol, link[ing] her to the vegetation and fertility mysteries of Neumann's M+ pole. . . . [And her] prophecy and wisdom, [which] links her to the Inspiration Mysteries of Neumann's A+ pole" (DeLong 3). As with Artemis in Neumann's own example which he himself confessed was paradoxical to his argument, DeLong shows the ways in which Neumann's four poles of the archetypal feminine may encompass a more thorough look at this archetypal character.

For the purpose of this thesis, the explorations of witchcraft, historically and in the literature being discussed, will be limited to the transatlantic depictions and cultural beliefs held by the British as well as United States Americans, though there is no question that witches and witchcraft exist (folklorically or religiously) worldwide. By considering the historical events, and the general social response to these events, at the times these witch figures were written, this thesis will also consider the ways in which the witch figure has evolved as a reflection of one who is considered "Other," from one of the most famous and popular witch trios, the Wyrd sisters of Shakespeare's *Macbeth,* to the more complex witch figures seen in today's popular culture such as the hit *Netflix* series *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina.* Though Shakespeare was by far not the first to include the witch as a literary figure serving a particular purpose as a plot device, his Scottish tragedy *Macbeth* is where I begin this inquiry as to the evolution of the witch figure due to the persisting popularity of his Wyrd Sisters even to this day.

CHAPTER 1: UK REPRESENTATIONS

Macbeth

On the matter of witches and Othering in literature, there is perhaps no greater, more famous example than *Macbeth* and the Wyrd Sisters. *Macbeth* is still one of the greatest plays for discussing the theme of morality, specifically on the matter of good vs evil, and the ease with which mankind may be tempted into committing evil acts. In their introduction to their Bantam edition of *Macbeth,* Bevington and Kastan contextualize the play as a tale of warring morality and complex psychology:

> [*Macbeth*] is not concerned primarily with preaching against sinfulness or demonstrating that Macbeth is finally damned for what he does. A tradition of moral and religious drama has been transformed into an intensely human study of the psychological effects of evil on a particular man. . . . A perverse ambition seemingly inborn in Macbeth himself is abetted by dark forces dwelling in the universe, waiting to catch him off guard. Among Shakespeare's tragedies, indeed, *Macbeth* is remarkable for its focus on evil in the protagonist and on his relationship to the sinister forces tempting him. In no other Shakespearean play is the audience asked to identify to such an extent with the evildoer himself. (viii)

Macbeth, to a post-modern audience, is clearly not a character with whom to sympathize and yet Macbeth's faults could be (and quite likely were in Shakespeare's time) assigned to the witches for tempting him with the prophecy of potential power and heightened nobility; a temptation which any person could relate to and possibly fall for. The consequences that Macbeth faces for his actions therefore may seem tragic or well-deserved depending on the audience's perspective regarding who is the guilty party: the witches for tempting Macbeth or Macbeth himself for ultimately resorting to murder to force this prophecy to fruition. Jane H. Jack, meanwhile, points out:

> In the early part of the play evil triumphs in the heart of a man naturally good but empty of grace. Without these implications the tragedy of *Macbeth* loses much of its import: it is not merely about a man who succumbs to evil: its subject is Evil itself. (185)

Asking the Elizabethan audience to identify with the sinner in this case may have in fact been impossible if not for the overwhelming evidence of foul play on the part of the Wyrd Sisters. With the presence of the witches, symbols of evil and anti-Christianity to Shakespeare's contemporary audience, there is room for debate regarding who truly is at fault for the tragic and amoral events of this play: the man tempted by figures of "dark forces" and "false prophets" (Jack 184) or these false prophets themselves — and further, could it possibly be the fault of the demanding woman in the man's life, Lady Macbeth. All of these different directions at whom to direct blame, therefore, makes Macbeth a tragic hero, whose moral dilemmas and influences by the women around him make him both empathetic and condemnable, much like the heroes of antiquity from Odysseus to Jason.

The significance of the witches in Shakespeare's play can not be denied; not only in a thematic and plot-related context, but in a historical context as well. Though a post-modern audience is more likely to argue for Macbeth's own responsibility for his actions, it has long been debated that between the Wyrd Sisters and his wife, Lady Macbeth, that their combined temptations, taunting of his manhood, and mad ambition ultimately drove him to commit regicide. The Elizabethan (or Jacobean) audience undoubtedly would have viewed the witches as holding ultimate responsibility for Macbeth's evil deeds through their temptation. Shakespearean scholar Stephen Greenblatt points out in his introduction to *Macbeth's* entry in his edition of the *Norton Shakespeare* :

> The men who persecuted witches in Shakespeare's age were determined to compel full confessions, to pass judgement, and to escape from the terror of the inexplicable, the unforeseen, the aimlessly malignant. In *Macbeth,* the audience is given something better than confession, for it has visible proof of the demonic in action, but this visibility turns out to be as maddeningly equivocal or frustrating as the witches' riddling words. The 'wayward' witches appear and disappear, their promises and prophecies, all tricks, like practical jokes with appalling consequences. The ambiguous language of the play subverts the illusory certainties of sight, and the forces of renewed order, Malcolm and Macduff, are themselves strangely unstable. (2716)

With Shakespeare providing so much evidence right on stage for the witches' legitimate magical abilities (at least by the discretion of his viewership), responsibility for Macbeth's actions is redirected to the Othered beings, the witches. The inclusion of witches in this story in particular can surely be of no coincidence considering who the play was reportedly dedicated to: King James I of England, VI of Scotland.

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth, the English crown transitioned to James VI with a somewhat mixed reception by the English. In his introduction to James' treatise *Daemonololgie,* occult scholar Donald Tyson describes the king as being generally frail in nature, both physically and in the way he carried himself. From his unpleasant voice to his grooming practices, the overall presentation the King provided of himself did not inspire trust in his leadership abilities. Empty promises and an undeserved sense of self-assurance regarding his education and authority (both as monarch and for religious studies) made him generally unpleasant to interact with, and some even supposed him to be homosexual due to his affection with and gifts to male courtesans — yet another reason for the seventeenth century aristocracy and English government to distrust and dislike him. Still, following the death of Elizabeth, the English people "swallowed their distaste and welcomed him in a practical spirit, as the only alternative to a bitter civil war" (Tyson 2).

Despite this general dislike, Shakespeare and his troupe appeared to show, at the very least, respect to their new monarch, going so far as renaming themselves from the Lord Chamberlain's Men to the King's Men in honor of King James' sponsorship of the arts. The famous "Scottish Play," *Macbeth,* for that matter, is often referred to as a dedication of sorts to James (Greenblatt 2709). *Macbeth,* however, seems an odd text to be considered a piece of flattery to anyone, particularly of Scottish lineage. Being of a different nationality and seeking, as his mother before him, to unite Scotland with the English monarchy (which already included dominion over Wales and would soon also include Ireland), themes of ambition and forcing destiny seem to hit a little too close to reality in the case of the Stuart family's contemporary history. The inclusion of witches in a "Scottish" play in particular also seems pointed due to the superstitious nature of Scottish culture and also James' obsession with witch-hunting and eradicating Satanic presence. Greenblatt, in fact, supports my belief that "Shakespeare may have set out to please the king, but it is

difficult to see how the king, if he paid any attention to the tragedy that the King's Men offered him, could be reassured" (2716). Indeed, "Shakespeare's Scottish play is far too complex about the nature of power — and far too frightening — to have served as a simple piece of flattery" (2709). It is exactly how frightening *Macbeth* the play and Macbeth the character are that makes it so difficult to recognize the flattery within the Scottish play. But then, as Greenblatt points out, any flattery James may have felt seems to indicate a lack of attention to the political implications of the story's plotline. This point is especially apparent if one were to consider *Macbeth* as a reference to the Wyrd Sisters' initial prophecy that Banquo would sire kings, with James essentially serving, as a supposed descendent of the real Banquo, as one of those very monarchs he sired.

With the witch panic reaching its zenith and King James' famous war against witchcraft, the significance of the inclusion of the Wyrd Sisters can not be undervalued. Though the "witch craze" is popularly associated with the Salem Witch Trials of 1692 in Salem, Massachusetts, the official witch craze as historians have deemed it started around the beginning of the early modern period. The roots to many witch stereotypes that still circulate today in popular media were originally beliefs people actually held about others who in one way or another stood out enough to warrant the label "witch." The qualifications for a witch, however, expanded over time, the basis for accusations devolving from suspicious practices and behaviors to things of the most frivolous and mundane nature resulting in the potential for nearly anyone to be a witch.

There are many potential factors as to why the witch craze intensified over the course of multiple centuries to the trials in Salem. While there is not a concrete assertion by historians that King James was responsible for furthering the witch panic, I argue that James had a powerful enough impact on the opinions and rising paranoia of the English public to warrant examination of his role in this topic. Tyson further explains that "The Salem Witch Trials were carried out under the statute of James, which was not abolished until 1736" (9). With James' century-old legislation playing a significant role in one of the deadliest independent witch hunts in history, I believe it is worthwhile to give credit (or blame) to James, not only for

the actions that took place in the colonies under laws he enacted, but for the worsening attitudes people had regarding witches and witchcraft following his rise to power.

As previously mentioned, a lot of the blame for the existence of magic was directed to the East by James himself, supported by his contemporary demonologists, pointing to the Persians for the origin and spread of magical abilities and practices. As I have established, the general opinion of what warranted witchcraft suspicion encompassed a variety of people who could be described as Other: non-Westerners (or simply non-English), gender-nonconforming men and women, females, and non-Christians. These factors do play a role in James' methodology for classifications of witchcraft, but his most pointed focus was undoubtedly on religion. While the most obvious victims of religious scrutiny in this context are certainly those who practice rituals of foreign cultures, namely of the East, the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants on the islands of what is now Great Britain provides a plentiful demonstration of how this religious scrutiny and prejudice thrived and had fatal results.

At this point, it is of value to acknowledge the complex development of England's national religion because the echoes of the ancient past maintained their relevance even in James' day, particularly with the prejudices held against certain belief systems. The Irish, for example, are believed to hold significant roots to the Druid peoples, as explained by occultist historian Dudley Wright. The Druid peoples were one of the former ancient inhabitants of the British Isles (particularly England) and were believed to be sorcerers, making them not befitting of proper Christian society which had dominated England long before James or even Henry VIII.

According to ancient civilizations historian Peter Ackroyd, during the Romanization of England, the Romans specifically sought to drive out or convert the many remaining native English tribes, with particular focus on the Druids, for a successful take-over. From their home territory of England's east coast, the Romans drove the Druid peoples westward toward what is now Wales and Ireland and to the northern Highlands of what is now Scotland. Both of these areas contained terrain that the Romans had no interest in venturing (Ackroyd 29-31), forcing the Druidic peoples to re-settle in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and thus giving these portions of the British Isles the reputation for being filled with magically-inclined people.

The overwhelming presence of the Romans established Christianity as the dominant religion of England. The former belief systems and traditions held by the various tribes of England in the Iron Age persisted, though in an assimilative fashion with mere echoes of the previous belief system melding into the new: "The power of the Druids was retained by the bishops of the Anglo-Saxon church, just as the tonsure of early Christian monks may reflect Druidical practice" (Ackroyd 21). Despite the brute power of the Romans and the extreme shift in the dominant belief system, "The process of Romanization was gradual and local. The conditions of the Iron Age still prevailed in the countryside, where the people largely remained faithful to old customs and habitual practice" (Ackroyd 31). Early Christians of England, therefore, retained a certain degree of mysticism with the Celtic, Pagan belief systems that came before; though ultimately "The Roman Church became England's Christian Church, and the old faith of the English withered on the vine" (Ackroyd 58).

While historians like Ackroyd and Diane Purkiss assert that "by the time of the witch trials, the Old Religion was not paganism, but medieval Catholicism" (Purkiss), I maintain, with the support of Ackroyd provided above, that the echoes of the ancient traditions contributed to the foundation of the earliest Christian church. So, while Catholicism may have been the recipient of many witchcraft accusations due to their rituals, many of their practices which were considered suspect were influenced by the work of the Pagan belief systems that came before, and so therefore it is the Druidical and other Pagan peoples who were truly being hunted.

By James' reign, witchcraft and any form of perceived magic was deemed blasphemous to the Church of England and Christianity itself (Thomas 438). The classifications of magic and basis for accusations of witchcraft, of course, lacked the same firm definition as the label "witch," leaving many religious and simple traditional practices — such as healing and the use of good luck charms — open to scrutiny.[2]

[2] "In general, [popular magical traditions] focused on practical solutions to life-problems, particularly those involving health, fertility, and prosperity, rather than on cosmological issues or the moral requirements of salvation. These traditions included both Christian prayers, rituals, and materials appropriated for mundane purposes, and customary beliefs and practices, presumably of pagan origin, that had been Christianized over the centuries, perhaps to avoid reprimand in this world or the next, but perhaps also because Christian elements were assumed to add or ensure spiritual power" (Bever 52).

Ironically, as Thomas describes, the Roman Catholic Church was actually the institution which argued the anti-Christian basis of witchcraft through their "large literature of demonology, outlining the manner in which the witches or devil-worshippers were thought to conduct themselves, . . . [even] laying down the procedure for their prosecution" (Thomas 438). Echoes of Pagan rituals in Catholic practices were what eventually became suspect to the Protestants (especially following the Reformation) and ultimately led to great social and political conflict between Catholics and Protestants. It is popularly believed that King Henry VIII's abrupt shifting of the Church of England from Catholicism to Protestantism was primarily due to the Pope rejecting his marriage annulment request from Catherine of Aragon. Despite this admittedly frivolous motivation for such a radical shift in the nation's united religious following, the subsequent attitudes towards the former most popular belief system surpassed that of spitefulness into complete contempt from "propagandists of the Protestant Reformation" (Thomas 51) due to the space allowed for "magical" practices in the Catholic Church. The most vocal opposers to Catholicism, the "ultra-Protestant Lollards,"[8] had propagated the pagan nature of the Catholic Church starting roughly around 1395, nearly two centuries prior to Henry VIII's decision.

The Lollards at this earlier date listed various Catholic rituals and props used in those rituals as evidence of "the devil's craft," arguing that events and items used by early Christians (Catholics) were tools of Satan such as: "exorcisms and hallowings, made in the Church, of wine, bread, and wax, water, salt and oil and incense, the stone of the altar, upon vestments, mitre, cross, and pilgrims' staves, be the very practice of necromancy, rather than of the holy theology" (Thomas 51). Despite their passions, the Lollards' views of witchcraft and magic were of the minority compared to the general, comparatively apathetic attitudes of the common people at the time (save moments of fear and scapegoating due to unexplained misfortune). By the Reformation, however, such views began to shift as witch panic intensified to encompass more "signs" and qualifications of seemingly random origin. Baptism, of all things, along with "Confirmation, which had already been attacked by the Lollards, was even more sweepingly dismissed by some reformers

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[8] Think Puritans. Though there is certainly a distinction between the two, the voracity with which the Lollards spoke out against Catholicism brings to mind the fervor with which the much more commonly known Puritans denounced nearly everything that was not explicitly of the Bible.

as nothing 'but plain sorcery, devilry, witchcraft, juggling, legerdemain'" (Thomas 56). Thomas further explains, "The Church of England denied the sacramental character of the ceremony and discarded the holy oil and linen band" as these props had been criticized as being particularly Pagan in nature. The Church further conceded to Puritan criticisms, abandoning certain traditions and requiring more invested religious study before taking part in other traditions. Still, the Church could never satisfy the Protestant representatives who continually accused the Church of investing in Devilry. Many of the changes, such as minimum age requirements for certain rites, have continued on to this day and represent rites of passage rather than strict religious doctrination as it did then (Thomas 56-57). Accusations of witchcraft expanded despite the Catholics succumbing to the Reformation, with neighbors pointing fingers for mere coincidental misfortunes which befell a person — usually following a recent negative interaction with the accused (Thomas 564). Until this moment in history, and even, to a degree, for another century following, magic and witchcraft was judged by the degree of maleficence of the enchantment with very few actions resulting in execution aside from attempted assassination of a monarch (Thomas 454).

None of this historical context is to argue that the Reformation progressed or became as ferocious as it did due to the paranoia or fear of witchcraft; rather, it is important to consider how the larger events — religious war and growing animosity between Catholics and Protestants — and the attitudes towards witchcraft coincide. All of this may seem disconnected from King James (and *Macbeth,* for that matter), but all of these religious tensions are incredibly relevant to the development of the English monarchy, fights over who will ascend the throne, and eventually lead to the people's full revolt against who they considered to be an usurper. James' family history shares an eerie parallel to the plot of *Macbeth* which I argue cannot be ignored though the religious undertones may make one see some distinction.

Anti-Catholic sentiment was certainly alive and well before and during Elizabeth's reign, in no small part due to her sister Mary whose marital decisions and Catholic beliefs inspired much bloodshed and prejudiced beliefs between the two religious systems. However, leading up to Elizabeth's reign and even well into her time, the practices which would inspire fear and suspicion were once enjoyed or actively used by Elizabeth herself and her advisors, and superstitions surrounding witchcraft and witches did not result in

severe punishment unless there was evidence of malicious intent (Thomas 455-456). The notion of prophecies, for example, of old traditions and commonly associated with the occult, actually inspired much suspicion and rumor of treason by Elizabeth's cousin, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, alongside her husband the Duke of Norfolk who, according to prophecy, were allegedly plotting to overthrow Elizabeth (Thomas 405).[4,5]

Mary Stuart, being a direct descendant of King Henry V, was an eligible heir to the English throne (some even argued more eligible due to the controversy surrounding Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn). Being Scottish, however, Mary's English cousin naturally ascended the English throne. This debate over which monarch had the proper claim to the throne of England was enough source for tension, but there also was a religious divide between Catholics and Protestants as Elizabeth reigned a Protestant monarch and Mary could feasibly reinstate Catholicism as dominant religion should she gain power over England.

Though Elizabeth was a tolerant monarch — choosing not to criminalize or otherwise persecute practicing Catholics — and did not seek to attack her cousin for her religious beliefs, her closest advisor William Cecil "set out to brand Mary as a witch and sorceress. This was a particularly effective weapon in the context of his contemporary assault on Catholicism as a 'superstitious' religion prone to belief in magical forces, which itself helps to explain the swelling dread of popery" (Parry 30). Cecil's role in encouraging a narrative of Mary's magical nature is ironic due to his own belief in the supernatural from astrology to alchemy to mere spiritual connectivity between philosophers and spirits; nonetheless, as Reformation historian Glyn Parry describes in great detail, Cecil worked hard throughout Elizabeth's reign to convince her and the English Court of Mary's malicious nature. Cecil's actions may reflect that of a 16th century version of a smear campaign, yet mere days after her marriage to James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, "Mary confirmed her real character as a witch. . . . trying to poison her son James in an apple, a strategy which

[4] Regarding this prophecy, historian Glyn Parry actually adds that "Lady Lenox [Countess Margaret Douglas] had raised Darnley [Mary's second husband from whom she inherited the name Stuart and James VI's father] to believe in a prophecy concocted before his birth that he would be King over Scotland and England. That upbringing made him a handsome but spoiled, wilful, petulant eighteen year-old, his excessive self-regard easily manipulated by Mary's enemies to destabilize her rule" (40).

[5] This prophecy "had circulated among northern Catholics since the beginning of the reign, and were employed by the supporters of Mary, Queen of Scots; the conspirator Anthony Babington owned a copy of a prophecy attributed to Merlin. The Welshman Morys Clynnog, when proposing a Catholic invasion in 1575-6, thought that good use could be made of the prophetic tradition that Wales would one day be liberated" (Thomas 405).

Catherine de Medici had used to rid herself of enemies. . . . To educated contemporaries this would explain Mary's reference to herself in one of the infamous 'Casket Letters' as Medea" (Parry 43). So, while Parry does work to showcase the ways in which Mary, Queen of Scots was wrongfully assumed to be a wicked person, it is equally plausible that her character was actually as wicked as rumored, her dedication to her Catholic faith a mere coincidence or justification for genuine anti-Catholic prejudice.

Mary, of course, was eventually executed due to the ongoing rumored threats against Elizabeth's life — magical threats, no less. And so while Elizabeth was by all accounts tolerant of Catholics, the rising favor for Mary as the supposed prophesied reinstator of Catholicism grew to be too much. There is not much information to suggest how James, felt regarding the execution of his mother. His lack of notable comment regarding her execution, lifelong strict adherence to Protestantism, and passionate opposition to all things occult, magical, or somewhat non-Christian, however, speaks volumes on its own to suggest an acceptance of his mother's fate.[6] Despite this undoubtedly complex relationship with his mother, there was a certain belief he held from childhood, likely from Mary's teachings, that contributed to his less than luke-warm reception: his belief in his divine right to rule the British Isles as a whole, thus arguing to unite Scotland and England and its territories under one single monarchy. James, however, would follow in Elizabeth's Protestant footsteps, marrying Anne of Denmark:

> This union between the Protestant monarch and the Protestant princess greatly alarmed the Catholic factions in England and Scotland, who saw their hope for a restoration of the papacy slipping away. Until this marriage, James had done his best to maintain a cordial relationship with both the Vatican and the royal family of Spain, but this choice of bride left no question about his religious leanings. (Tyson 2-3)

While James' clear religious stance was not what particularly turned his subjects against him as James was already rather unliked, it is nonetheless important to note that resentments raised following this action as he publicly took his stance on his religious leanings.

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[6] A reminder here is necessary that James did not know Mary Stuart well as she was imprisoned when he was quite young and she fled to England following a long line of circumstances unrelated to this thesis.

Setting him further apart from his predecessor and his mother, James took many strong stances the various corners of his kingdom did not appreciate. Perhaps due to his mother's alleged involvement in the dark arts, perhaps due to his belief in numerous magical attempts on his life, Tyson asserts, "James was a strong believer in the supernatural and the power of magic, but he ascribed all working of magic to the Devil." James did not recognize any magical or supernatural practice as "lawful;" even the use of herbs had to be used for their scientific rather than metaphysical properties. Otherwise, James referred to them as "infused . . . by the power of Satan." James believed that God's role in the supernatural had "ceased," not producing "prophecies or miracles since the time of Christ" and so therefore they were now in a time where the existence or use of any supernatural forces *had* to be of Satan (Tyson 5). This was a far-cry from the practices of Elizabeth's reign where "those who practiced witchcraft and sorcery were subject to the most severe punishment only if they were found to have used these arts to commit murder or other injuries" (Tyson 6). The degree of harm that the crime inflicted was of primary concern to Elizabethean law, not the means which enabled the crime. James, however, "wanted the practice of any form of magic punished severely, regardless of whether it was used to commit injuries to others, because he held all such practices to be trafficking with the Devil" (Tyson 7).

This is not meant to imply that Elizabeth by any means condoned witchcraft.[7] James simply inflated the significantly more minor offenses to executable crimes and added other executable felonies including being in possession of a familiar (essentially a pet believed to be spiritually connected or elevated) and birth marks if they were suspected to be a witch's mark, specifically placed by Satan when the accused was believed to have made a pact with the Devil (Tyson 7). With these superficial bases for accusations of witchcraft, it is somewhat of a miracle that the death toll for witch hunts only amounted to 50 in England under James' reign, though there were far many more accusations resulting in full investigations involving the most humiliating and torturous tactics (Tyson 10).

[7] "Minor infractions, such as using divination to locate stolen property, making love potions, or damaging property such as laming a cow or causing hail to flatten a crop in the field were still punishable by a year in prison and a term in the pillory, as they had been under the old law. James caused it to become a felony to invoke any evil spirit, or to have any dealings with an evil spirit" (Tyson 7).

With James being raised seeing superstition within his religion, specifically as any superstitious or paranormal activity being a direct defiance of his religion, the more tolerant approach that Elizabeth held through her reign was simply not within James' willingness. For James, the topic of witchcraft and magic was personal. With his own mother executed based on rumors of witchcraft and treasonous plans to wield magic against Elizabeth's life, and several plots against his own life, some of which were free of magical elements and others rumored to be magical in nature, James' fascination with the supernatural makes perfect sense. Between 1590 and 1592, accused witches in North Berwick, Scotland reportedly planned to meet in a local church in order to consort with the devil and devise wicked plans such as the plot to magically sabotage the ship carrying James and his new bride back to England from Denmark. Though James was already not widely well-liked, even among those in his own country as he faced numerous physical attempts on his life rather than magical, this particular new turn in the evident hatred of the king heightened his attention to the phenomenon and practice of witchcraft, becoming personally invested in witch hunts. This personal investment turned to vanity and flattery when one of the accused witches revealed in their confession that Satan supposedly targeted King James because James was Satan's "greatest enemy hee hath in the world" (Tyson 3-4). Such vanity also insisted to James that he had a divine right to rule not only his homeland of Scotland, but also England, Wales, and the island of Ireland. This desire to unify these nations under one monarchy were not received well by the peoples of any of these nations — an added resentment toward James as a ruler.

Though, again, it is inaccurate to suggest a factual correlation between James' ascension to power, his demonology texts, and the rise of witch panic and trials, I do see this connection important to note because the leader of government, and the laws enacted by that government, is usually an indicator of the attitudes of the time — whether because the legislation reflects the popular attitudes of the culture or from subsequent protest of certain legislation revealing an overall disagreement with such a reflection of that society. James' witch-related legislation would not be repealed for roughly another century following his ascension to power, thus showing the acceptance of, or at least indifference to, such laws. With the rise of

Protestantism (and anti-Catholic sentiment) came also the rise in witch panic, in no small part, I'll argue, due to James' own suspicion and eagerness to sniff out witches.

Returning to the context of *Macbeth,* all of the attempted assassinations by and of the Tudors and Stuarts, rumored and confirmed, calls to mind this great conflict between such noble houses as King Duncan's line, the Macbeths, and the Macduffs. It is said that James identifies with Banquo's character in the play, supposedly due to his innocence in the evil-doing and treason, but also because of a popularly believed genetic lineage back to the Banquo of the historical tale upon which *Macbeth* is based, supporting the righteousness of James' claim to the throne. There are many reasons, however, to argue for Banquo being an ill-fitted character for James to relate to, first and foremost being that James is King of Scotland and England respectively, and Banquo was destined to sire kings rather than become one himself. This therefore places James either in the role of Macbeth, King Duncan, or Malcolm within the context of Shakespeare's play. Even if one were to look at the relationship as a suggestion that the Wyrd Sisters' premonition had in fact come true with James being one of the kings Banquo was destined to sire, the parallels between the plot of the Scottish play and James' family history makes it appear that such a reading would be an incomplete look at the underlying message.

Taking the actions of Macbeth and his wife at face value, especially within the context of James' family history, it is impossible to deny that *Macbeth* draws inspiration from contemporary history of which Shakespeare would be familiar, he being so close with both Elizabeth and James. The expansive inclusion of witches (although admittedly inverse from how James seemed to relate to them as a passionate hunter rather than a believer of their prophecy), the supposed intrigues to usurp rulership, James' inherited belief in his divine right to rule, and his goal to unite Scotland and England under his rule, are all present in the play which, indeed, appears to make this piece very personal to James.

In the argument of to what degree *Macbeth* serves as dedication to James, the text appears to contain references to James' own writings and personal beliefs in addition to his potential bloodline relation to Banquo (a bloodline relation which Bevington and Kastan assert is "fictitious," though it was for a time

believed that such a connection existed (184). Whether this was included to show favor for James, coincidence, or perhaps an involuntary addition, Jack writes:

> editors seem to agree that the text has been subjected to some cutting and interpolation: . . . the play is to a considerable extent an *occasional* piece, shot through with compliments to the reigning monarch. . . . [She suggests] that earlier editors were better advised, in accepting the fact that James exerted a considerable influence on *Macbeth:* and [her] thesis is that so far from being a handicap which Shakespeare had to surmount, the writings of the King were a positive help to him as he wrote the play. (Jack 173)

So while Jack will not argue that James' interference in the writing of *Macbeth* was unwelcome by Shakespeare and any others who may have co-authored the piece, the likelihood that James himself played a part in adding such flattery makes it appear that "the Scottish play" would quite likely not be the dedicatory piece it is believed to be today without James' own hand. Jack's words, calling *Macbeth* "an *occasional* piece," while technically a phrase to indicate that the play was written for a specific occasion (similar to Ben Jonson's masques that he wrote for James' court), also supports my suggestion that Shakespeare took contemporary events for inspiration which allows for literal parallels, which I argue ultimately suggests a prejudice against the Scottish. While scholars do argue that "Shakespeare clearly took care that nothing in *Macbeth* should run counter to James' political views" (Jack 178) in *Macbeth,* the Wyrd Sisters are not constructed by James' ideas of what constitutes a 'witch' alone. Essentially, James' writings provide some background for the play, but books of the Bible and *The Holinshed Chronicles,*[8] along with "common Jacobean stock of knowledge and ideas" (Jack 174) formed the role of the witches in the retelling of Macbeth from history. Essentially, though James' work is recognizable within *Macbeth,* much of what would be considered influential to Shakespeare's writings are also supported within the Old Testament and were simply common beliefs of the Jacobean era and so does not warrant attributing sole credit to James for

[8] A historical tome describing the elaborate history of Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, first published in 1577 and often cited as a source for Elizabethan writers.

defining witches or witchcraft.[9]

Still, despite the numerous scholars who suggest the intended tone of *Macbeth* was to be complimentary toward the king, I maintain that such indications of flattery were for mere show, with the play revealing an underlying prejudice against the Scottish peoples. Indeed, the famous nickname for *Macbeth*, "the Scottish play," first and foremost contributes to separating this play from Shakespeare's others (and perhaps marking this one *as* Other). Though the playwright is not unaccustomed to writing about foreign lands, (many of his most famous and beloved plays taking place in Italy, for instance), are not referred to with such emphatically separatist titles — especially not on the basis of nationality or race.[10] It is made abundantly clear that *Macbeth* is a *Scottish* play as opposed to an *English* play, or even just a play. Though one could call this specificity a celebration of James' Scottishness, the degree of resentment that the English had toward James for his desire to unite the kingdoms, and the resulting Civil War which broke out with his son, Charles I, for further asserting his divine right to rule as he was generationally raised to believe, leads me to a confident conclusion that this is not the case. Another reason for the use of this euphemistic title is due to the supposed curse placed upon *Macbeth* by actual witches with the first performance in 1606, for even to this day actors believe that disaster will strike against any theater when a player speaks the name Macbeth outside of a rehearsal or performance (RSC). This curse was supposedly placed on the name *Macbeth* by witches whom Shakespeare observed. This curse is but one explanation for the use of "The Scottish Play," but the dramatic unfolding of historical events just prior to the first showing of *Macbeth,* and the various ways in which one may fit James within the context of *Macbeth*, suggest that there could actually be a criticism or even accusation toward the monarchy of James' homeland and the goals he and his family line had in mind. Assessing the various ways in which James and his family could fit within the context of the play therefore could shine light on the significance of such nationalist specificity with "the Scottish play."

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[9] "Shakespeare probably drew on numerous sources to depict the witches: Holinshed's *Chronicles* (from which he conflated two accounts, one of Duncan and another of King Duff slain by Donwald with the help of his wife), King James's writings on witchcraft, Samuel Harsnett's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures* (used also for *King Lear*), and the accounts of the Scottish witch trials published around 1590" (Bevington and Kastan xiii).

[10] Othello, perhaps, would be the one exception when readers decide to emphasize the Moor identity of the show's titular character in its subtitle "the Moor of Venice."

The alleged presence of real witches in real life further brings the real historical events around and prior to *Macbeth* being written with numerous ways of drawing parallels between figures of England's recent history and the characters of the Scottish Play.

The witches and their relationship to Macbeth as a Scotsman, and the play, *Macbeth,* as a Scottish play, are of great significance due to the potential implications of their involvement (or lack thereof) in the events of the play, their shared Scottish lineage, and the tie to James: "The ambiguities of demonic agency [with the Wyrd Sisters] are never resolved [in the play], and its horror spreads like a mist through a murky landscape" (Greenblatt 2716). The presence of the witches poses a moral question: who exactly is at fault for the death of King Duncan and all subsequent tragedies? The witches, to the Elizabethan audience, are the clear scapegoat having "tricked him into thinking he is invincible when he is not. They have flattered him and he has believed their lies because he wants to (Purkiss), and yet it is their alleged tricking of him that led him to perform these evil acts. According to Greenblatt:

> if the witches could be definitively dismissed as fantasy or fraud, the audience would at least have the clear-eyed certainty of witnessing human causes in an altogether secular world. But instead, it remains fascinatingly difficult to determine how much agency either Macbeth or his wife actually possesses, how much their choices are governed by political calculations in a radically unstable kingdom, how much they are in the grip of forces they barely understand. (Greenblatt 2714)

The inclusion of the witches, and the lack of conclusion regarding whose responsibility it is for the events of the play, allow for various interpretations, including the darker relationship between the supernatural and Scottish culture being of primary responsibility for the treasonous actions. This connection now formed between the Scottish and the supernatural, even more firm due to their generally more supernatural culture, also suggests a moral weakness from how easy it was to tempt Macbeth and his wife to evil. Even Banquo, who will be discussed later on, was momentarily tempted (or at the very least amused) by the gift of prophecy at the initial appearance of the witches. The power the witches appear to wield over the Scottish

creates a sense of moral and spiritual corruption or weakness which, I argue, is a reflection of prejudice held against people of Celtic descent.

To be clear, though I use scholars such as Jack to support this connection, they, and Jack in particular, do not necessarily promote a likely real-world, intentional connection between the work and James or his family (Jack 181). I, however, maintain that such a suggestion exists: a suspicion or prejudiced opinion of Scottish people on the part of the English with the aforementioned political and historical events surrounding the time that *Macbeth* was written (continual rumored regicidal acts, specifically by Scottish nobility and subjects) being too coincidental to be an accident. The fact that a Scottish king obtained the English throne and his passionate concern with witchcraft is also no coincidence.

The actual relationship between James and *Macbeth* depends upon how literally one wishes to analyze the piece and to what degree of contemporary historical context one wishes to apply to the analysis. Due to James' ideologies about his right to rule, foreign nationality to the English, and desire to unite the kingdoms, it is quite possible to see James in the role of the usurper (his connection to the English throne, after all, is four generations removed from Henry VII). Though I do not intend to argue Shakespeare may have included this connection intentionally or as an accusation of either foul play on James' part or being unworthy to serve as England's king, I do wish to point out that such a connection is indeed present, and with rising resentment and ill feelings between the English, the Scottish, and the Irish brewing around this time, a less than favorable reflection of this outsider monarch, and the land from which he originates, is possible. The inclusion of the witches and particularly Macbeth's connection and reliance upon the witches also leads to some nationalist implications.

Due to the numerous attempts on James' life, some assumed to be by means of magical ability, one may, within context of *Macbeth*, identify James with Duncan, murdered by his own subjects for various reasons, not the least of which being the blind and mad ambition of his assassin. The most commonly talked about assassination attempt against James in real life was surely the one which intensified James' passion against witchcraft and has been noted by numerous Shakespearean scholars to influence *Macbeth*

(Purkiss). Regarding one particular attempt on James' life one year prior to *Macbeth*'s opening showing, Greenblatt summarizes:

> The Gunpowder Plot [in which] . . . A small group of conspirators, embittered by what they perceived as James's unwillingness to extend toleration to Roman Catholics, smuggled barrels of gunpowder into the basement beneath the House of Lords and allegedly planned to set off a massive explosion that would blow up the King and his family, along with most of the government. (2709)

The motivation behind the attack on James was not so literally alike to the motivation behind the murder of Duncan in *Macbeth,* however it is popularly agreed that this event inspired Shakespeare's writing. Indeed, the connection here is regarding opinions regarding whose right it is to rule, and the (attempted) assassin's conviction that they knew the correct answer, or believed they were themselves the proper ruler. What the murder of Duncan calls to mind even more closely, with this in mind, is eerily reminiscent of James' own mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, who was rumored to be a part of a plot to murder Elizabeth to ascend the throne, placing her in the position of (Lady) Macbeth. Though some may argue against taking such similarities and potential parallels to heart, I simply see too many of these parallels to find them coincidental.

Ultimately, James saw himself connected to Banquo, so it is with Banquo that we will start the analysis of the role of the witches and the role of the Other in this tale of morality and good vs evil. While Banquo's "stoical attitude towards the witches" (Bevington and Kastan ix) is mentioned by some scholars in relation to the theme of temptation (Jack 181), Banquo is typically regarded for his resistance to the witches as a foil to Macbeth's faith in their word. And yet, what I find to be not so commonly discussed is that, while yes Banquo does eventually become the voice of reason for Macbeth, encouraging him to leave alone the witches' prophecy despite his well-documented marvel at their foreignness,[11] Banquo actually was first to show interest in the witches and what they had to say:

> Good sir, why do you start and seem to fear

[11] Banquo declaring: "What are these, / So wither'd, and so wild in their attire, / . . . That look not like the inhabitants o' th' earth, /And yet are on't?"

> Things that do sound so far? — I'th' name of truth,
> Are ye fantastical or that indeed
> Which outwardly you show? My noble partner
> You greet with present grace and great prediction
> Of noble having and of royal hope,
> That he seems rapt withal. To me you speak not.
> If you can look into the seeds of time
> And say which grain will grow and which will not,
> Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
> Your favors not your hate. (Shakespeare 1.3.51-61)

Banquo's initial reaction to the Wyrd Sisters is that of disbelief, even feigning offense or jealousy at not being spoken to alongside his friend of, at this moment in the play, equal social standing. Not only is Banquo excitedly and fearlessly speaking to the witches in the place of Macbeth's notable silence, but Banquo actually requests of the witches to tell his own fortune! The ease with which he nearly jokes about the witches' presence until there is verification of their prophetic ability shows that at first he did not see the witches as true threats to Macbeth or himself, whether of the Devil or just being strange and foreign. While it is true that the witches tempted Macbeth by providing unsolicited information regarding his future, they also were asked to divulge more by the supposed voice of reason to Macbeth. This exchange calls to mind the many ways in which people who are Othered may at once be celebrated, to the benefit of the one in a position of privilege, but then simultaneously condemned; they are both revered for perceived exoticism and distrusted due to the differences that make them Other to the ones in positions of power.

The fact that Banquo goes from being practically offended at having not been addressed by these beings who are perceived as other-worldly (Shakespeare 1.3.42) to then adamantly arguing that these women were the voices of the Devil with Banquo essentially stating: "The devil can speak true, and his strategy is to invite us into a trap we help prepare. Without our active consent in evil ... we cannot fall" (Bevington and Kastan x), this transition shows a deeper psychological mechanism on Banquo's part than mere suspicion of someone different and rumored to be of a species who are related to devilry. Banquo's suspicion did not come into play until the initial Thane of Cawdor was revealed a traitor and therefore stripped of his power, passing along the title to Macbeth (Shakespeare 1.3.114-117) to verify the Wyrd Sisters' greeting "All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!" (1.3.50).

Banquo, being at first bemused by these figures, to the extent to ask "what about me?" when evidence proves the witches are as they appear and that their prophesying abilities are real, Banquo is forced to believe them and therefore calls them for the tempters they are and the sinful pathway they present. Macbeth, meanwhile, has "ill-placed trust in the weird sisters which is consequent upon his spiritual unpreparedness for strong temptation" (Jack 180). Macbeth's faith in these prophecies, however, is not actually true, nor is his wife's. Macbeth's faith in the future is virtually non-existent in fact as he and Lady Macbeth force the prophecy into fruition through their own action rather than allow the events to unfold on their own — placing them both on the side of evil.

It is discussed in great detail by numerous scholars how Lady Macbeth essentially becomes a witch herself, abandoning her traditional feminine traits as many believed witches to do at the time: "sexual inversion also allies Lady Macbeth with the witches or weird sisters, the bearded women. Their unnaturalness betokens disorder in nature, for they can sail in a sieve" (Bevington and Kastan xiii). This transformation of becoming someone of the same level as the Othered witches is most notably represented by her declaration to some supernatural force listening to "unsex" her (Shakespeare 1.5.41) and further to:

> fill me from the crown to the toe top-full
> Of direst cruelty! Make thick my blood;
> Stop up th'access and passage to remorse,
> That no compunctious visitings of nature
> Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
> Th'effect and it! Come to my woman's breasts
> And take my milk for gall, you murd'ring ministers,
> Wherever in your sightless substances
> You wait on nature's mischief! (1.5.42-50)

In this moment, with only a mere letter from her husband describing the supernatural prediction of one day gaining rank, Lady Macbeth asks of supernatural forces to help her to defy nature, shown in the line "That no compunctious visitings of nature" — in which the word choice "compunctious" I am assuming to be a synonym of "remorse" ("compunctious"). Essentially, Lady Macbeth calls on the supernatural forces that may be listening to prevent her humanity from stalling their ambition for the sake of morality and one of the ways she sees this as possible is by ridding herself of her womanhood and femininity, and thereby assuming

a form of queerness. This blatant gender non-conformity was not the only or even the first thing about her to set her apart as explained by Greenblatt:

> When we first glimpse Lady Macbeth, she is reading a letter. (Reading was by no means a universal achievement for women of the early seventeenth century, let alone the eleventh, when the play's events are set . . .) The letter makes her burn with visions of the 'golden round' that 'fate and metaphysical aid' (1.5.26-27) seem to have conferred upon her husband. But though she speaks the crown as if it were already on Macbeth's head, she fears that he is too full of the 'milk of human kindness' (1.5.15) to seize what has been promised him. She resolves to 'chastise' her husband, to urge him in a phrase taken from archery that has a strong sexual undercurrent, to screw his courage to the sticking plate. (2711)

In this behavior and resolve, Lady Macbeth is at once confirming the archetypal feminine, resembling the temptress figure of the archetypal hero's journey, and voluntarily subverts her own femininity. Even before she cries out to some unknown force to "unsex" her, Lady Macbeth stands apart for merely being educated and with enough gall to confidently boss her own husband around as evidenced by how she speaks about Macbeth before he returns home.

Following her declaration, Lady Macbeth demonstrates a hard edge to her character, apparently even more eager to see this prophecy to fruition. Again, the witches never foretold a murder being how he ascended to kingship, Macbeth and his wife plot this action of their own free will with the mere notion that such a position may soon become available to them. As soon as he enters the scene following her calling for abandonment of her femininity, she encourages him "Your face, my thane, is as a book where men / May read strange matters. To beguile the time, Look like the time; bear welcome in your eye, / Your hand, your tongue. Look like th' innocent flower, / But be the serpent under't" (1.5.60-64). Acknowledging Macbeth's own weakness in his resolve compared to her own, Lady Macbeth commands, "And you shall put / This night's great business into my dispatch, / Which shall to all our nights and days to come / Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom. . . . Leave all the rest to me" (1.5.65-71). Having now abandoned her

gender, Lady Macbeth is fully taking on the role of the masculine to ensure the completion of what they believe to be their destiny. It is her transference of gender roles that has created such a fearsome person, this being the first act we see from her and therefore not knowing another form of Lady Macbeth.

> For the actual murder, Lady Macbeth:
>
> takes the initiative, devising and then carrying out the plan to drug Duncan's chamber-guards with wine. The assumption of the dominant male role by the woman might well remind Elizabethan spectators of numerous biblical, medieval, and classical parallels deploring the ascendancy of passion over reason: Even choosing for Adam, Noah's wife taking command of the ark, the Wife of Bath dominating her husbands, Venus emasculating Mars, and others. (Bevington and Kastan xiii)

In this way, as the editors point out, Lady Macbeth is, indeed, still within the realm of the archetypal feminine. However, an important question to ask is: why are these actions considered negative? Because they are being performed by a woman against a man, or because it is outside of traditional femininity and demonstrates an a-gendered (queer) expression which, if allowed for people to explore, disrupts a well-established system which continues to benefit cisgender, heterosexual men? Though I am by no means attempting to introduce a reading of Lady Macbeth that she is herself genderqueer or anything other than heterosexual and cisgender per se, I do argue that the bending of such gender roles is not viewed as inherently negative simply because it is a woman performing masculine acts, but that it is a queer expression of gender that renders the gendered system suspect and threatens such a binary system. Each time Lady Macbeth taunts her husband's manhood (1.7.49-59) as she goads him on to finally commit the murder, she demonstrates what precisely the audience fears when gender roles are melded, whether as expressions of queerness or not.

While the Wyrd Sisters are the clear Othered figures in this play, Lady Macbeth herself joins their realm of Otherness by her gender non-conforming actions and domineering personality. This adds to the frightening nature of not just witches and witchcraft, but Otherness for people of the Elizabethan/Jacobean era, signifying how dangerous one who is already of the outside class can be if allowed to expand their

power through their difference — Lady Macbeth, for example, being a woman and quite dominant over her husband as she is able to taunt and manipulate him into following her ambition.

For a play that is a product of the witch panic era, the topic of scapegoating is overwhelming because these figures who are different and feared for their difference are the ones often blamed for the faults of others, with disastrous consequences as in the case of the Salem Witch Trials and similar events. It is generally agreed upon that while ultimately the blame for the actions Macbeth takes are his own, his will to stand against wrongdoing was shaken by Lady Macbeth who taunted his manhood until he snapped to action, defying the whole notion of 'divine' or 'fated' rights of monarchs to rule by forcing destiny rather than allowing the prophecy to come true on its own.

Bevington and Kastan agree that the witches are not primarily responsible for Macbeth's actions because they provided a statement of the future.[12] How this future would come to be reality they did not specify, it was Macbeth's own predictable ambition that guaranteed the certainty of this prediction (x), and it was this mere assertion that pushed Macbeth to do what he already supposedly had considered doing before as "Evidently, he and Lady Macbeth have previously considered murdering Duncan; the witches appear after the thought, not before" (Bevington and Kastan ix). Though naturally much of the blame was placed upon the Wyrd sisters for pushing Macbeth to do the unthinkable, ultimately the responsibility for Macbeth's actions fall upon Macbeth and his wife because the witches did not specify how this future would come to be nor did they encourage any violent or amoral means of seeing this prophecy fulfilled.

This is just one of many ways in which literature reveals that witches, particularly as they are written as an archetype, represent all things fearful whether it be specific types of people, or in this situation the thin

[12] In [accounts of the Scottish witch trials], particularly, Shakespeare could have found mention of witches raising storms and sailing in sieves to endanger vessels at sea, performing threefold rituals blaspheming the Trinity and brewing witches' broth. Holinshed's *Chronicles* refer to the Weird Sisters as 'goddesses of destiny,' associating them with the three fates, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, who hold the spinning distaff, draw off the thread of life, and cut it. In *Macbeth,* the Weird Sisters' power to control fortune is curtailed, and they are portrayed as witches according to popular contemporary understanding, rather than as goddesses of destiny; nonetheless witches were thought to be the servants of the devil (Banquo wonders if the devil can speak true in their utterances, 1.3.107), and through them Macbeth has made an ominous pact with evil itself" (Bevington and Kastan xiii-xiv).

social barrier holding us back from absolute savagery and the ease with which one can tear through that barrier for the sake of self-fulfillment and the acquiring of power and status. But surely Shakespeare's audience did not see the Wyrd sisters in quite this light. After all, Shakespeare's was the crowd who believed people were forced to do evil things by demons or Satan himself or that witches sold their souls to the devil in order to gain power — and yet, Macbeth made no such deal nor was he forced into committing any such violent actions that he and his wife committed. The presence of the witches and their prophecy was all it took for Macbeth to consider (possibly not for the first time) murder of his monarch in order to assert himself into that position. Due to the assumed relationship between witches and Satan, and the numerous treacherous acts the witches gleefully conduct on stage such as raising storms (1.3.1-30), this leads me to believe that the audience, and quite possibly Shakespeare himself, believed the witches to still be at fault for Macbeth losing his way. If it were not for the Wyrd sisters' meddling, would Macbeth have committed this murder? Indeed, Bevington and Kastan point out "just when Macbeth resolves to abandon even this unparalleled opportunity" as having Duncan in his home just after being told this great fortune, "his wife intervenes on the side of the witches" (xi) thus placing the responsibility from Macbeth's own shoulders to the women surrounding him. It is thus significant to relate this phenomenon to the audience of Shakespeare's time. There was great fear of witches, and so by extension people treated with great suspicion people who practiced Catholicism or any other "Pagan" religion, or women who expressed their sexuality apart from the norm or were self-sufficient.

Though *Macbeth* is a work of fiction which does not truly have many guiltless victims (among the adults and aside from King Duncan), the Elizabethan audience was still sure to pass responsibility for evil-doing to a person, or group of people, they would consider to be dangerous so as to feel assured that there is minimal risk of anyone they know, or they themselves, becoming such evil. James' eagerness to be recognized within this play is an interesting concept considering how overwhelmingly negative the play is in showcasing Scottish people and politics. The fact, also, that the newest king only acquired the throne due to the encouragement of witches, whom James passionately despised, makes the notion of "flattery" to England's newest monarch suspect. There is a long, cyclical history of suspicion of Celtic peoples which will

certainly be mentioned again in this project, and *Macbeth* is merely one of the most famous pieces which indeed calls into question the nature of the Scottish people and the origin of their monarch's power.

Ivanhoe

Interestingly enough, it is another Scotsman who created the next work of significance in this project. Following the abrupt end to the bulk of the witch trials, most writing regarding witchcraft and magic was also abandoned. The witch no longer held the position of fear over the heads of the average citizen. After all, even James himself eventually lost his passion for witch hunting as it became increasingly apparent that accusers often lied and confessions made by their accused were falsely given to either end the torture they endured or to avoid a death penalty for persistent denial; James even "went so far in his later years to completely repudiate the reality of witchcraft" (Tyson 9). So, while witch trials did not completely disappear as James' interest had — the Salem Witch Trials occurring over half a century after James' death — at a popular level, the intensity of witch panic indeed waned.

The discriminatory bases for these witch hunts and accusations of witchcraft (racism, nationalism, sexism, religious discrimination, etc.), of course, maintained. Sir Walter Scott demonstrates this with his novel *Ivanhoe*. Two centuries following James' ascension to power, Scott penned a piece of historical fiction which most famously contributed greatly to the retelling of the Robin Hood legend as it is most commonly told today. *Ivanhoe* also described a time of great international conflict not unlike the religious conflict during James' day and the continued tensions into Scott's day. Indeed, Scott wrote *Ivanhoe* during a flare-up of antisemitic demonstrations and discriminatory legislation in Europe, the most famous of which called the Hep-Hep riots in Germany (Hyman). *Ivanhoe* is set following the Normans' overtaking of England from the Anglo-Saxons who by no means accepted the transition of power without resentments. But even greater than the rivalry between the Saxons and the Normans of Scott's historical retelling, was the antisemitism which rendered Isaac of York and his daughter Rebecca total victims to the torment and threats of their Christian, Templar captors. Scott, therefore, uses this time in history as a framework to comment on the rising tensions in Europe, particularly Germany, against Jewish people (Ragussis).

The role of the witch, as I have consistently argued, is to stand in for who or of what the dominant culture is fearful or suspicious. Antisemitism is a discriminatory prejudice with an incredibly long, almost cyclical history. Scott's sympathies to the discriminated group are all too clear throughout his text through the descriptions of innocent Isaac's cruel treatment, subjection to stereotype, and unfair demands from his oppressors due to their racist assumptions that he had the wealth to pay their incredible ransom, and finally, of course, through Rebecca's confinement, threat of sexual violence, and accusation of witchcraft from her skills as a healer, and subsequent threat of death. Though the narrator does not necessarily show favor to any character, (even their captors) such impartiality actually emphasizes at once the innocence of Isaac and Rebecca as well as the cruelty and bigotry on the part of the Christian Templar Knights and other populations of England.

It would be an injustice to suggest that Scott advocates for the Jewish people without fault, however, as many scholars point out that Isaac of York is still presented with antisemitic stereotypes making up his character (Blair xviii). This was a practice common of older pieces of literature, and in fact is still recognized today with instances of authors perpetuating the problematic tropes or ideas that they are trying to advocate against; Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* is used as an example by David Blair in his introduction to *Ivanhoe*. Scott's empathy to the discrimination against Jewish people, and his attempt to correct problematic narratives surrounding Jewish characters, may fall short for Isaac, but is given in kind to Rebecca. Though Scott was obviously highly influenced by Shakespeare with references to his work riddled throughout the text and in epigraphs, he diverged from *Merchant's* Jessica, as noted in Blair's introduction:

> Shylock's daughter, Jessica marries a Christian and converts to Christianity. Here in Ivanhoe, Isaac's daughter does not; and the final interview between Rowena and Rebecca, as Ragussis argues, is placed in the novel after the Rowena-Ivanhoe nuptials in such a way as to signify that the problem of English national identity is not simply a (resolved) issue between Saxon and Norman, but also an (unresolved) issue of the position of English Jewry. Thus Rebecca represents 'the blot on the conscience of England in so far as she

> represents the religious and racial question that England cannot solve' (Ragussis, p. 113)" (Blair xix).

This notion of cultural conflict is prevalent in all of the texts referenced in this thesis, in one way or another, as these conflicts almost invariably relate to the Othering that makes the witch figure what it is as a symbol.

For Scott's *Ivanhoe*, the theme of cultural conflict starts at Stonehenge:

> A considerable open space, in the midst of the glade, seemed formerly to have been dedicated to the rites of Druidical superstition; for, on the summit of a hillock, so regular as to seem artificial, there still remained part of a circle of rough unhewn stones, of large dimensions. Seven stood upright; the rest had been dislodged from their places, probably by the zeal of some convert to Christianity. (Scott 5)

Having mere paragraphs before briefly introduced the Saxon-Norman conflict, Scott adds reference to yet another deadly cultural and religious conflict — an addition as if to show the ways in which such conflicts are ever-evolving and ever-present because just as one conflict is resolved (in the case of the Druids, by the eradication of their cultural system), another opens up between the victor of the previous conflict and the next figures to come along declaring their identity now inferior. The Druids were driven out of their homeland and forced to convert to Christianity, or killed for refusing, providing foreshadowing to the threats upon Isaac's life for being Jewish and refusing to convert to Christianity when it was demanded of him later in the novel. This minor detail only helps to further establish the theme of history, and specifically inter-cultural violence, as cyclical. This foreshadowing also introduces the possibility of witchcraft or sorcery appearing in the text due to the mention of the Druids who, as mentioned before, were commonly associated with magic by the early Christians who sought them out.

While the Druids were actively sought out in real life for suspicion of true supernatural abilities, witchcraft in *Ivanhoe* is merely a device to show the ways in which people of Other nationalities or religions may be suspected or even villainized. Scott's overall point about methods of persecution, and the biases against people who are considered Other, takes form in Isaac and Rebecca of York. Isaac is hyper aware of

threats posed against he and his daughter as they travel, with the narrator vouching for the validity of his anxiety:

> there was no race existing on earth, in the air, or the waters, who were the object of such unintermitting, general, and relentless persecution as the Jews of this period. Upon the slightest and most unreasonable pretences, as well as upon accusations of the most absurd and groundless, their persons and property were exposed to every turn of popular fury; for Norman, Saxon, Dane, and Briton, however adverse these races were to each other, contended which should look with greatest detestation upon a people, whom it was accounted a point of religion to hate, to revile, to despise, to plunder, to persecute." (52)

The small family are met by Rowena and her Saxon cohort after departing the tournament that took place during the first third of the novel, though still not without discrimination. Rowena, the archetypal Romantic feminine figure of *Ivanhoe,* must appeal to her guardian: "The man is old and feeble, . . . the maiden young and beautiful, their friend sick and in peril of his life — Jews though they be, we cannot as Christians leave them in this extremity" (156). Shortly after their unification, the group is captured and held captive by De Bracy, Front-de-Boeuf, and, most significant to this point, de Bois-Guilbert who has "fixed on the lovely Jewess as [his] particular prize" (169). The number of items to discuss with a feminist lens during this section is staggering. Sticking to the scope of witches and witchcraft as Other, however, de Bois-Guilbert's fixation upon Rebecca is what ultimately leads to her inquisition in the final section of the book, making Rebecca the most relevant character to examine.

Rebecca's significance not only to *Ivanhoe* but to the literary witch's development both have everything to do with what makes her Other. The exoticism of Rebecca's character comes in three ways: the way she is physically described in the text, her religion and undying devotion to Judaism, and the real-life parallels between her and two real-life figures: Rebecca Gratz, a "passionate philanthropist and educator" and "most prominent Jewish woman in the early Republic period of American history" (Hyman), and one of the most famous Native American women in all history, Pocahontas. Professor Gary Dyer pulls from one of Scott's own letters to aptly make a point about the significance of Rebecca of York's name, comparing

her to the Native American woman famously known as Pocahontas who was stolen from the North American colonies and forcibly baptized to Christianity, taking on the name Rebecca. Scott states "In good hands Pocahontas would make a capital story but it must be written by some one who knows American & Indian manners more familiarly than can be acquired from books" (Scott in Dyer 301). In his paper, Dyer argues that Scott essentially made his way around his hesitations with writing about this famous indigenous woman by inventing another, European version ("even if he was unaware that he had done so" (Dyer 301). It is said that Scott was also influenced by his knowledge of another remarkable woman, Rebecca Gratz. Ultimately, Scott had a clear desire to write about a woman persecuted by the English, whether a Native American woman from the American colonies or a Jewish woman in a dominantly Christian England, the intention was the same. Had Scott chosen Pocahontas, or a character with her background as a non-English indigenous person, her story may have changed as he recognized the amount of research he would have to conduct in order to capture the character properly; but her role in the story would have remained the same: a victim of racism and a desirous item in the eye of her captors and the audience.

Indeed, the "beautiful Jewess" Rebecca is easily the stand-out character from the novel *Ivanhoe.* Readers were so upset, in fact, that Rebecca did not (or could not) end the novel with the titular hero Ivanhoe, who married the Saxon Rowena despite her comparably negligible presence in the story, that one reader produced what is probably the world's first "fix-it" fanfiction, writing a world in which Rebecca and Ivanhoe do end up together (Hyman). Rebecca not ending up with Ivanhoe, however, is quite possibly what makes Rebecca such a dynamic character not just for the discourse of witches, but for the development of women in literature. Unlike Pocahontas, who Scott clearly admired greatly, he did not have her ending come with the abandonment (whether forced or by choice) of her cultural heritage or her religion for the sake of love (or, in the case of Pocahontas, survival). Still, Rebecca's favor with the audience, and the clear fascination that Scott himself had with the Rebeccas who inspired his Rebecca of York, indicates a fascination with, perhaps even fetishization, of what makes a person Othered; and with this fascination in Othering, and in particular an attraction to the differences in a person that makes them Othered, there is a shift in how witches are written and received in literature — a shift that is recognizable even today. In fact,

Rebecca's beauty, desirability, and prominence in the novel is mentioned numerous times by an unknown reviewer for *Ivanhoe* in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, declaring that above the action of King Richard, the hero Ivanhoe, and the Templars, the attention quickly sets upon Rebecca, even suggesting readers to overlook the Romantic feminine figure Rowena in favor of Rebecca because of her beauty and the discrimination she endures (267). This attention to Rebecca appears to be well-intended with Scott showcasing antisemitism and the Othering of Jewish people, primarily through the unfair treatment and imprisonment of both Isaac and Rebecca; but at the same time, Rebecca is almost as often referred to as "the beautiful Jewess" as she is by name. By referring to her as her religious and ethnic identity, especially paired with a complimentary adjective, Rebecca as a person is being dehumanized at the same time as she is exoticized for her difference, bringing specific attention to her figure, her foreign clothing, and her complexion.[18]

The focus on Rebecca by readers — surely the intended response from Scott due to the amount of care he put into her story — indicates a fascination with what is different. This fascination, however, is not only with her story considering the care to describe her appearance as particularly exotic and appealing due to her difference. In fact, it appears that the readers of Scott's day, if evidenced by the contemporary reviewer here, managed to place a distance between themselves and the events of the novel set in the twelfth century. One of the first reviewers for *Ivanhoe* specifies that as Fronte-de-Boeuf and the other Templars abducted Isaac, they "may deal with him [as] the Normans of these days thought it right to deal with Jews" ("*Ivanhoe*" 268). The author specifies "of these days" as though unjust treatment of Jewish people is no longer a common occurrence despite the aforementioned Hep! Hep! riots occurring in Germany just before the novel's release. The discriminatory sentiment and treatment of Isaac and Rebecca is further separated from the sentiments of the contemporary time by describing the torture tactics in the second of

[18] "The figure of Rebecca might indeed have compared with the proudest beauties of England, even though it had been judged by as shrewd a connoisseur as Prince John. Her form was exquisitely symmetrical, and was shown to advantage by a sort of Eastern dress, which she wore according to the fashion of the females of her nation. Her turban of yellow silk suited well with the darkness of her complexion. The brilliancy of her eyes, the superb arch of her eyebrows, her well-formed aquiline nose, her teeth as white as pearl, and the profusion of her sable tresses, which, each arranged in its own little spiral of twisted curls, fell down upon as much of a lovely neck and bosom as a simarre of the richest Persian silk, exhibiting flowers in their natural colours embossed upon a purple ground, permitted to be visible—all these constituted a combination of loveliness, which yielded not to the most beautiful of the maidens who surrounded her" (Scott 62-3).

three books as "the most striking delineation of the spirit of those tumultuous times" (*"Ivanhoe"* 268). The injustice Rebecca suffers (alongside her father, for that matter) due to her Otherness is clearly not lost on the readers who seem to want her to find freedom and survive her ordeal, but what is fascinating here is how even with sympathy being extended to these characters, it is a kind of sympathy that suggests a back seat may be taken and there is no action that can be done in the present to combat any remaining instances of this form of injustice. In this way, the Other is essentially made a figure of the distant past, not unlike how witches on the whole end up treated by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the matter of witches in particular, Scott exposes a simultaneous focus on her sexual appeal and the injustice she suffers due to her religious background and ethnic difference. Would the audience mind so much if she were old or homely, or simply not described in such positive ways as she was? Ulrica, for instance, is described as a "hag" and a "sybil" with supposed jealousy marring her face as she first looks at Rebecca (Scott 190).[14] And even as it is revealed that this witch-like figure[15] experienced serious trauma from her home being overtaken by Normans and imprisoned, she is still characterized as crazy. Despite such an understandable motive for turning to witchcraft, is Ulrica ever actually empathized with by the audience?

Dyer continues his argument that the spirit of Pocahontas' tragic story was included not only in Rebecca's character, but all three major female characters in *Ivanhoe:* Rebecca, Rowena, and Ulrica (Dyer 304). This argument is compelling considering Ulrica's violent past in which she and her Saxon family were overthrown by the invading Normans, her father and brothers slain, and she kept prisoner and likely raped repeatedly as she warns will likely happen to Rebecca (Scott 190-191).[16] Though it takes a considerable amount of time to name Ulrica (or Urfried, as she is initially introduced) as a witch, declaring her a sybil,

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[14] "...and on being thrust into the little cell, [Rebecca] found herself in the presence of an old sibyl, who kept murmuring to herself a Saxon rhyme, as if to beat time to the revolving dance which her spindle was performing upon the floor. The hag raised her head as Rebecca entered, and scowled at the fair Jewess with the malignant envy with which old age and ugliness, when united with evil conditions, are apt to look upon youth and beauty" (Scott 190).

[15] It is of importance to note that Ulrica certainly serves as a foil for Rebecca who is soon to endure the same accusation of witchcraft.

[16] Rebecca asks: "Is it my life they seek, to atone for my religion? I will lay it down cheerfully."

"Thy life, minion?" answered the sibyl; "what would taking thy life pleasure them?—Trust me, thy life is in no peril. Such usage shalt thou have as was once thought good enough for a noble Saxon maiden. And shall a Jewess, like thee, repine because she hath no better? Look at me—I was as young and twice as fair as thou, when Front-de-Bœuf, father of this Reginald, and his Normans, stormed this castle. My father and his seven sons defended their inheritance from story to story, from chamber to chamber—There was not a room, not a step of the stair, that was not slippery with their blood. They died—they died every man; and ere their bodies were cold, and ere their blood was dried, I had become the prey and the scorn of the conqueror!" (191).

however, still gets across the point that Ulrica is a person Pagan in nature, dwelling in magical arts as supported by the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "One or other of certain women of antiquity who were reputed to possess powers of prophecy and divination" ("sybil") and may even be considered a synonym to the word "witch," depending on the usage and time.

As opposed to the usage of the word "witch" against Rebecca as a false use since Rebecca is merely a healer and a person of different religious background to that of the Christian Normans and Saxons, the same accusation against Ulrica is primarily because her "brain was burning with remembrance of injuries and with hopes of vengeance" (239). In other words, the madness and endless bitterness she has spiraled into due to her confinement and the traumatic life experiences she endured is what makes her witch-like to her captors — this and her appearance as she, like Rebecca, cannot be described without somehow mentioning her haggard, angry appearance. Though it is understandable why a person with such traumas would devolve to a life of vengeance and bitterness, it appears as though there is a judgement of sorts for this transformation, as though she has somehow mishandled her own trauma in comparison to Rebecca's grace through everything she has undergone. This is the first of a few times where I find a subliminal indication that Otherness is viewed as having a "correct" and "incorrect" way of experiencing Otherness and navigating Otherness in society surrounded by the dominant group. It is also the first of many instances where a clear line is drawn between an acceptable witch to empathize with and an unacceptable witch with whom to empathize. The constant comparison between the beautiful Rebecca and the comely crone Ulrica shows that even while Scott seems to reject any legitimate claim to the true existence of magic, there is a type of person whose accusation is justified and a type of person who deserves vindication and compassion.

Even potentially viewed as sympathetic to Scott's audience, Ulrica is undoubtedly shown to be a madwoman, taunting Reginald Front-de-Bœuf on his deathbed for what his father did to her family and, it is assumed, the sexual violence he committed against her as well. In fact, even as Ulrica gains her justifiable vengeance, burning down her old home which had been stolen and bastardized in her captivity, she is described as being driven by madness for this, with imagery that gives her a frightening last appearance to the audience as a representative of the witch figure and as an archetypal negative feminine figure:

> The fire was spreading rapidly through all parts of the castle, when Ulrica, who had first kindled it, appeared on a turret, in the guise of one of the ancient furies, yelling forth a war-song, such as was of yore raised on the field of battle by the scalds of the yet heathen Saxons. Her long dishevelled grey hair flew back from her uncovered head; the inebriating delight of gratified vengeance contended in her eyes with the fire of insanity; and she brandished the distaff which she held in her hand, as if she had been one of the Fatal Sisters, who spin and abridge the thread of human life. Tradition has preserved some wild strophes of the barbarous hymn which she chanted wildly amid that scene of fire and of slaughter. (267)

Even with her having freed herself from decades-long captivity along with the Normans' other victims, and successfully killing a majority of her captors, Ulrica is ultimately left with a negative description, focusing on her madness:

> The maniac figure of the Saxon Ulrica was for a long time visible on the lofty stand she had chosen, tossing her arms abroad with wild exultation, as if she reined empress of the conflagration which she had raised. At length, with a terrific crash, the whole turret gave way, and she perished in the flames which had consumed her tyrant. An awful pause of horror silenced each murmur of the armed spectators, who, for the space of several minutes, stirred not a finger, save to sign the cross. (Scott 269)

Being left with such a vision of her, wild and atop what could aptly be described as an altar for sacrifice (her own home serving as the altar surface for the ritualistic sacrificing of herself and the lives of her family's murderers), leaves a particular impression of her character; she is the crazed witch represented in such stories as contained in the Grimm's Fairy-Tales. Like Rebecca, Ulrica is an outsider, being of the recently dominated Saxons. Unlike Rebecca, Ulrica is no longer beautiful and is old; and while Rebecca is falsely accused of witchcraft due to her religion and her abilities as a healer, Ulrica is considered a witch due to her appearance and her reaction to the wrongs done to her.

Witches as represented by Sir Walter Scott are therefore either outright denied in their realism as with Rebecca, (her actually not being a witch though falsely accused for feeble, even petty reasons), or are contingent on the mental state of the person being accused. Ulrica was not wicked, she was traumatized and set on vengeance for being actively oppressed by her captors and family's murderers. While Rebecca is given the assumption of innocence of such a charge, Scott even seeming to illustrate the absurdity of the accusation due to her helpful nature and beautiful appearance, Ulrica is shown to be a madwoman, almost a Bertha of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. And like Bertha, it appears that Ulrica maintains the reading of being mad even as she herself, as well as characters around her, validate the reasoning for why. So even as Scott seems to reject the legitimacy of true witchcraft, he employs imagery associated with the witch as well as witch stereotype in order to vouch for the innocence of one person while providing a dark look at a person who may be reasonably accused due to how she makes herself appear. Scott may seemingly work to advocate for women who are oppressed due to their ethnicity or religious background, such advocacy falls short when the figure is no longer beautiful and may be identified as a crone — a matronly woman past the age of motherhood and whose value to society, therefore, is contingent on her ties to her community. This shows the start of a complicated and oftentimes paradoxical relationship between the author and the witch figure, specifically with who deserves vindication and who has earned condemnation.

The Lancashire Witches

Whereas Shakespeare used the illusion of witchcraft right on stage to indicate a validation of the existence of such a thing, and Sir Walter Scott seemed to completely reject the presence of magic in reality, William Harrison Ainsworth blends the two: validating the accounts told in the famous witch trial of the Pendle Hill witches while in some ways sticking up for the accused.

In the introductory section to the novel, Abbot Paslew, the last Abbot of Whalley, takes his stance against witchcraft (and for early Christianity aka Catholicism) as he simultaneously faces down the Church of England's switch from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism (and the subsequent forced closures of abbeys still practicing the old religion) and the wizard Nicholas Demdike. Demdike's presence in the introduction

begins as quite understated, merely appearing to the grounds, drawing a circle in the grass and being accompanied by a black dog, supposedly a familiar (Ainsworth Intro. Ch. 1, pg. 9). Despite the odd nature of Demdike's actions and appearance, Paslew describing "his savage features, blazing eyes, tall gaunt frame, and fantastic garb, [which] made him look like something unearthly" (Ainsworth Intro. Ch. 1, pg. 8-9), Demdike's nature is portrayed as reasonable, merely asking for Paslew to hear him out regarding the abbot's negative future should he continue on his path of fighting the shifts in the Church of England (Intro. Ch. 1, pg. 9). When Demdike assures him of his certain failure and the guaranteed loss of his church, Paslew's response is passionate and scornful, claiming "It must be the Demon in person that speaks thus to me" (Intro. Ch. 1, pg. 10). The wizard offers to help him, however, if he "Remove[s] thy ban from [his] wife, and baptise her infant daughter" (Intro. Ch. 1, pg. 10). This seems an odd request of someone who is widely believed to have sold his soul to the ultimate anti-Christian figure. Ainsworth shows through the progression of the introduction, however, that the wizard's past is not so straight forward as the Elizabethan and Jacobean people during the time of this novel's setting would believe.

Paslew, now imprisoned for his role in opposing the removal of Catholicism in England, and Demdike having escaped the notice of law enforcement, is forced to hear Demdike's history. Ainsworth then establishes a more complicated origin story for the witches of Lancashire than women merely being seduced by the Devil or other common beliefs for the development of witches. It is revealed, indeed, that the last abbot of Whaley only earned his title because he buried Demdike (originally known as Borlace Alvetham) in a dungeon where he was never to be seen or heard from again. Demdike reminds Paslew that he was his rival for the coveted title of abbot, exposing the darkest form of corruption: attempted murder for personal gain. While imprisoned, Demdike did his best to survive his circumstances and he eventually became so psychologically overcome that when the shadowy figure of Satan pulled him out of his dungeon, "grasped by an iron arm, against which all resistance would have been unavailing, even if [Demdike] dared offer it" (Intro. Ch. 6, pg. 5), he accepted the proffered freedom and the chance at vengeance in exchange for fealty to Satan. And so, despite his pious beginnings and initial devotion to the church, Demdike accepted freedom in the only way it would be granted him and embarked on a path of magic, freedom, and

vengeance. Paslew, therefore, is the ultimate instrument for setting the events of the novel into motion; much like the Frankenstein's Monster effect, it is the actions of one that actually creates the assumed evil in another.

The remainder of the novel is also set forth by Paslew who, before being imprisoned, cursed[17] Bess and Demdike's child who would grow up to become Mother Demdike (Intro. Ch. 4, pg. 3). Even though Bess, the infant's mother, pleads with the abbot to curse her in her child's stead,[18] he refuses, calling her "impious" and declares: "I have pronounced the dread anathema, and it cannot be recalled. Look at the dripping garments of thy child. In blood has it been baptised, and through blood-stained paths shall its course be taken." (Intro. Ch. 4, pg. 3).

Ultimately, therefore, it is Paslew who brought on the surge of witch population in Pendle Forest with his own curse. His own refusal to baptize the witch's child (and by all of their perspectives, save her from a life of servitude to Satan) is what creates an entire generation and genetic line of witches. In this way, Ainsworth challenges the proposed origin stories of witches by first making Demdike, the original witch to start this bloodline which would trickle down to multiple generations in the later part of the text, a victim of circumstance. But also Ainsworth plays to the theme of revenge within Demdike, a common theme of the Victorian writers whose revenge narratives often contained complex characters who were all at once guilty of wicked actions, but due to understandable circumstances. The unreasonable hatred from Paslew is also played up by Ainsworth who makes it clear that the man of God is the unreasonable one in this scenario; so while Demdike and Paslew may both be in the wrong for their actions, one has clearly been led to this life of wrongdoing through circumstances beyond his control as direct contrast to the other who committed evil acts for selfish and avaricious purposes.

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[17] "By the holy patriarchs and prophets; by the prelates and confessors; by the doctors of the church; by the holy abbots, monks, and eremites, who dwelt in solitudes, in mountains and in caverns; by the holy saints and martyrs, who suffered torture and death for their faith, I curse thee, witch!" [...]cried Paslew. "May the malediction of Heaven and all its hosts alight on the head of thy infant—" (Intro. Ch. 4, pg. 3).

[18] "'Oh! holy abbot,' shrieked Bess, breaking from her husband, and flinging herself at Paslew's feet, 'curse me, if thou wilt, but spare my innocent child. Save it, and we will save thee" (Intro. Ch. 4, pg. 3).

The love Bess feels for her child, her desire to protect her children from hers and Demdike's fates, is shared later in the novel by Elizabeth Device for Jennet and Alice Nutter for Alizon. In the woods after the Mayday festival in Book 1, in fact, the witches of Pendle Forest gather in the woods to fulfill their duty of offering up a new witch for their master who specifically "bade [Mistress Nutter] bring thy daughter here, [but] in place of her thou offerest [him] the child of [Elizabeth], who is [Satan's] already," which Satan further declares: "I am not to be trifled with. Thou knowest my will" (Bk 1, Ch. 10, pg. 17). The resistance each mother shows, Elizabeth crying out that Jennet is too young (Bk 1, Ch. 10, pg. 15) and Mistress Nutter pleading for Alizon to leave so she is not found by their master (Bk 1, Ch. 10, pg. 16), shows that even with both of these women being witches, dedicated to Satan, they each want better, pure lives for their children. This indicates knowledge that their way of life is wrong — an interesting notion considering the typical representations of witches in other literature, and Ainsworth's previous vouching for Demdike's lack of agency in this alignment in the introduction. Ainsworth blends this understanding of wrongness in some of the witches, particularly Elizabeth Device and Mistress Nutter, with the stereotypical natural devious natures of other witches, specifically Mother Chattox, Mother Demdike, and Jennet Device. This is another complicated step in the development to how witches are shown today as the author seemingly vouches for some witches but completely acknowledges the innate evil nature in others.

Despite her young age, little Jennet was already marked for a witch, so much so that Satan did not count Jennet as a true recruit in the woods because her joining his ranks was an inevitability with her likely finding her way to this point on her own volition anyway. From her facial difference, usually referred to as "the Demdike eyes" (Bk 1, Ch. 9, pg. 15), to her outspoken jealousy of Alizon's beauty and likability, Jennet was simply destined, it appears, to become a loyal follower of Satan. Even as Alizon is determined to show Jennet her love for her, Jennet can not escape her resentment: "Why is Alizon always to be thrown i' my teeth? . . . Ey come fro' th' same stock as Alizon, onny how" (Bk 1, Ch. 9, pg. 5). It appears, then, that Ainsworth is making a complex argument: the witch experience is diverse, not all witches are evil by nature or by choice as with Nicholas Demdike being forced to accept help from the Devil; but some, like with Mother Demdike and Chattox, and Jennet Device, are actually, simply, born this way. The differences

between Jennet and her sister are of significance in many points in the novel displaying two things: the resulting preferential treatment granted to Alizon over Jennet due to the visible differences between them and Jennet's jealous nature (justified as it may be) aligning her with one of the popularly understood malignant features of a witch. Ainsworth uses many of these parallels to show a broad representation of witch stories. It is as though Ainsworth simultaneously seeks to verify the many accounts of what happened during this trial and the townspeople's fears as he also argues for a morally complicated story countering the passionate declarations of inexplicable evil and devil worship of the time. Like with Rebecca and Ulrica, this picking and choosing of who is condemnable and who is empathetic comes down to appearance. While for Scott it was primarily with age, Ainsworth is mostly concerned with outward appearance with the Demdike eyes serving as the most pronounced indicator of a naturally malignant nature, even from birth.

This duality of vouching for certain witches and acknowledging historical accounts is achieved in a few ways. Mistress Nutter's dispute over property with Roger Nowell, for example, provides such a twist of two narratives that Ainsworth's ultimate message becomes muddied somewhat. This is but one of many mentions, in this project, of land playing a significant role in witchcraft accusations: one neighbor determines that they have the right to another neighbor's property or that the property line is being improperly managed and should be moved — sometimes, in order to gain traction on such complaints, this complaining neighbor may accuse the other of witchcraft in order to gain their claim or even leave the entire property up for grabs. In this situation, while such accusations for the sake of land were likely faked, Mistress Nutter is a confirmed witch by this point, being clearly recognized in the first book offering up little Jennet and one of Alizon's friends in the forest to protect her daughter. So, even as Mistress Nutter demands that Nowell recant his accusation, and even knowing that many of the false witch accusations were due to greed for a neighbor's land, Ainsworth chooses to verify that sometimes such accusations are correct as, in this instance, Nowell is in fact correct in his accusation. Rather than asserting her innocence or calling out such greedy motivations as were common in these times, Mistress Nutter actually threatens to use her abilities to silence him:

> in any case I can, if I choose, wreak my vengeance upon you. I am glad to have ascertained your intentions, for I now know how to treat with you. You shall not go hence, except on certain conditions. You have said you will proclaim me a witch, and will come back with sufficient force to accomplish my arrest. Instead of doing this, I advise you to return to Sir Ralph Assheton, and admit to him that you find yourself in error in respect to the boundaries of the land. . . . in which case I will not only lay aside all feelings of animosity towards you but will make over to you the whole of the land under dispute. (Bk 2, Ch. 10, pg. 2-3)

Despite this generous offer, Nowell refuses and so she conjures a double who "will prove more tractable. He will go forth and do all I would have you do, while I have but to stamp upon the floor and a dungeon will yawn beneath your feet, where you will lie immured till doomsday" (Bk 2, Ch. 10, pg. 3). The reader has now seen Mistress Nutter at her most loving with Alizon and her most cruel both in the forest and with Roger Nowell. Rather than characterizing Mistress Nutter with an overall fearsome nature as in *Macbeth,* or the conditional, total innocence or guilt of witchcraft in *Ivanhoe* between Scott's two witches, Ainsworth paints a much more complicated picture in which motivations are called into question and only some witches are truly as evil as once believed.

Ainsworth complicates the witch narrative further by essentially supporting what witch hunters of the early modern period believed, that devil-worship and service was optional and can be renounced, while also showcasing how servants to his will were completely trapped once promised. In the case of Mistress Nutter, for instance, she resolves herself to quit her service, but this leaves her vulnerable with even her own familiar ignoring her commands until she recommits herself to her master:

> "'You are mistaken, madam,' he replied; 'you had never more occasion for me than at this moment; and, so far from intruding upon you, I have avoided coming near you, even though enjoined to do so by my lord. He is perfectly aware of the change which has just taken place in your opinions, and the anxiety you now feel to break the contract you have entered into with him, and which he has scrupulously fulfilled on his part; but he wishes

> you distinctly to understand, that he has no intention of abandoning his claims upon you, but will most assuredly enforce them at the proper time. I need not remind you that your term draws to a close, and ere many months must expire; but means of extending it have been offered you, if you choose to avail yourself of them.'
>
> 'I have no such intention,' replied Mistress Nutter, in a decided tone." (Bk 2., Ch. 13, pg. 3)

Despite her brave intention to break her contract with Satan, regardless of the consequences to herself,[19] her love for Alizon leaves her with no choice but to recommit so as to prevent Mother Demdike's forced offering of her services: "'So be it, madam,' replied the [familiar]; 'but you will not preserve your daughter, who is in the hands of a tried and faithful servant of my lord, and what you hesitate to do that servant will perform, and so reap the benefit of the sacrifice'" (Bk 2., Ch. 13, pg. 3). Indeed, in just the previous chapter, Alizon bravely stood her ground against Mother Demdike, who Alizon had been raised to believe to be her grandmother, who cruelly taunts and jeers at Alizon's stubborn commitment to her Christian faith, even lying "Ay, thou! . . . No choice was allowed [Alice Nutter], and the offering must be made to-night. After a long and painful struggle, thy mother consented.' 'Oh no! no — impossible! you deceive me,' cried the wretched girl. 'I tell thee she consented'" (Bk. 2, Ch. 13, pg. 5). And despite the reader having seen that her beloved Richard came to rescue her, Mother Demdike does everything in her power to not only keep them apart but force Alizon to lose faith in his ability to save her.[20] The most complicated part of this novel is that Ainsworth's advocacy shifts considerably from his initial sympathetic tone toward Nicholas Demdike to the incredibly cruel natures of Mother Demdike, Mother Chattox, little Jennet Device, and even Alice

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[19] Mother Demdike establishes: "Thou know'st not what thou talk'st about, foolish wench," rejoined the hag. "Our. Master would tear us instantly in pieces if but a thought of penitence, as though callest it, crossed our minds. We are both doomed to an eternity of torture. But thy mother will go first — ay, first. If she had yielded thee up to-night, another term would have been allowed her; but as I hold thee instead, the benefit of the sacrifice will be mine" (Bk. 2, Ch. 12, pg. 7).

[20] "Alizon — dear Alizon! I am come to free you,' he exclaimed.
But in the place of answering him she uttered a piercing scream.
'The talisman, the talisman?' cried the hag. 'I cannot undo my own work. Place the chain round her neck, and the gold near her heart, that she may experience its full virtue.'
Richard unsuspectingly complied with the suggestion of the temptress; but the moment he had parted with the piece of gold the figure of Alizon vanished, the chamber was buried in gloom, and, amidst a hubbub of wild laughter, he was dragged by the powerful arm of the witch through the arched doorway, and flung from it to the ground, the shock of the fall producing immediate insensibility." (Bk. 2, Ch. 11, pg. 9)

Nutter before she decides to repent. It is of no coincidence, then, that all three women who are irredeemable and committed to their natural wickedness also share some sort of characteristic that sets them apart, be it the Demdike eyes or their severely old age. Mistress Nutter is not so similarly described, indicating a type of prejudice related to outward appearance and age that suggests wickedness is indeed tied to appearance.

Imprisoned in the final book of *The Lancashire Witches*, Mistress Nutter has fully come to embrace the Bible and repent her years of dedicated service to Satan and the art of witchcraft.[21] It is debated whether it is too late for Mistress Nutter considering her years of cruelty and devotion to anti-Christianity. Alizon argues that it is never too late and maintains this perspective throughout the entirety of the novel. For young Jennet and her grandmother, however, they refuse to repent or reject their life choices because they truly were not given the opportunity to help otherwise. Ainsworth overall relies heavily on witchcraft stereotype in order to weave a convincing historical tale of the Pendle Hill witch trials. While he appears to try advocating for each side of the argument and reconstruct the witch figure as being diverse in character (all evil, all good, or a remarkably human mixture of evil and good), the stereotypes he employs still contribute to the furthering of the Othered nature of what visually constitutes a witch. Even Bess, the mother of Mother Demdike and great-grandmother of the doomed Jennet Device, is characterized as beautiful "though of a masculine and somewhat savage character, and with magnificent but fierce black eyes. Her skin was dark, and her hair raven black, contrasting strongly with the red band wound around it" (Intro., Ch. 3, pg. 7). Once again, as with Rebecca before her, the witch is merely a person who could be described as exotic, having a different appearance to the typical look of the inhabitants of the British Isles. Bess, being beautiful and all around victimized by Paslew's actions, is easily sympathetic and serves as a

[21] "Here is a terrible text for you, Nicholas," she said, regarding him, mournfully. "Listen to it, and judge of its effect on me. Thus it is written in Deuteronomy:—'There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch.' A witch, Nicholas—do you mark the word? And yet more particular is the next verse, wherein it is said;—'Or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.' And then cometh the denunciation of divine anger against such offenders in these awful words:—'For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord: and because of these abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee.' Again, it is said in Leviticus, that 'the Lord setteth his face against such, to cut them off.' And in Exodus, the law is expressly laid down thus—'THOU SHALT NOT SUFFER A WITCH TO LIVE.' There is no escape for her, you see. By the divine command she must perish, and human justice must; carry out the decree. Nicholas, I am one of the offenders thus denounced, thus condemned. I have practised witchcraft, consulted with familiar spirits, and done other abominations in the sight of Heaven; and I ought to pay the full penalty of my offences." (Bk 3, Ch. 2, pg. 2)

subtle, though important contrast to her own bloodline. Though she was but an infant, Bess's child who would grow up to become Mother Demdike was given no opportunity to become anything other than how she did because she was cursed to a long life "beyond the ordinary term of woman — but it shall be a life of woe and ill. . . . Children shall she have,' continued the abbot, 'and children's children, but they shall be a race doomed and accursed — a brood of adders, tht the world shall flee from and crush. A thing accursed, and shunned by her fellows, shall thy daughter be" (Intro, Ch. 4, pg. 4).

Further, the "Demdike eyes"[22] that I have referred to as a facial difference throughout this section, served as a marker from birth for both Mother Demdike in the arms of her mother, Bess, and Jennet Device who would likewise be given no chance to a normal life or hope of escaping Paslew's curse. In fact, Jennet's entire body is a sort of indicator that something is not right for "even for her age, and her smallness was increased by personal deformity, occasioned by contraction of the chest, and spinal curvature, which raised her back above her shoulders; but her features were sharp and cunning, indeed almost malignant, and there was a singular and unpleasant look about the eyes, which were not placed evenly in the head" (Bk. 1, Ch. 1, pg. 3). Though it appears that these differences in form are told as a means of predicting her evil nature, this post-modern reader interprets instead that Jennet was never given a chance but to develop resentment for those who treated her differently and it thus fueled a fire of jealousy and anger that would turn to contempt for human life and all that her peers stood for. Right away, after all, Jennet remarks "Eigh, there it is. . . . My high shoulthers an sma size are always thrown i' my feace. Boh ey'st grow tall i' time, an get straight — eigh straighter than yo, Suky, wi' your broad back an short neck — boh if ey dunna, whot matters it? Ey shall be feared at onny rate — ay, feared wenches, by ye both" (Bk. 1, Ch. 1, pg. 4). Even at only ten years old, Jennet Device has recognized that no matter how she grows up, even her own family who do not share her "mark" and who are accepted by their town will fear her: her witchiness is predestined and no one is doing anything to tempt her into resisting. Jennet, even in her young age, is cast off as a "Poor, predestined child of sin, branded by nature from her birth, and charged with wicked passions, as the snake

[22] "And as she spoke she pointed to the infant's face, which was disfigured as she had stated, by a strange and unnatural disposition of the eyes, one of which was set much lower in the head than the other" (Intro., Ch. 7, pg. 4).

with venom. [One] cannot but pity her! . . . Compassion is entirely thrown away. . . . The poisonous fruit must, however, be nipped in the bud. Better she should perish now, even though comparatively guiltless, than hereafter with a soul stained with crime, like her mother" (Bk 3, Ch. 3, pg. 5). Just as in the first book, Jennet is met with little sympathy from her neighbors and peers, believed to have been marked for evil from her facial difference.

A mischievous girl, and with her resentments toward her sister well documented, it comes as no surprise when Jennet follows the events of history and reports Alizon for mysteriously killing her love, Richard Assheton, (Bk. 3, Ch. 11, pg. 3) who likely died of a heart attack or stroke (McGee).[23] As with the historical account, Jennet does not lift a finger to help her family (though according to McGee's summation, Jennet actually played an active role in the executions of her family members) which finally solidifies the truth to what everyone had always believed about Jennet: she is a wicked child who cannot be helped or saved. While Mistress Nutter managed to escape the literal clutches of her demon who tried to repossess her for abandoning her contract with Satan (Bk 3., Ch. 7, pg. 4-5), with the sacrifice of Alizon, Ainsworth makes the decision to recognize the darkest aspect of human nature that not everyone can be saved once they have committed themselves to a certain life.

The Other in Ainsworth's tale is given a pass to a certain extent in the beginning, and a subsequent sympathetic backstory to convey a more complex explanation behind why such people turn out the way that they do; and yet there comes a time in the story where the advocacy falls away and the actions of the individuals, despite the generational trauma, are wholly villainized. In particular, Mother Demdike and Jennet are represented as especially crazed and devious while Mistress Nutter, the mother to a Christ-like figure, is given the opportunity to redeem herself. Dark-skinned Bess and characters with facial difference are given no such opportunity (though beauty may, indeed, play a role in the audience's sympathy toward one character over another). Considering Alizon Device was actually on record as confessing to witchcraft,

[23] In history, however, the man whose death was charged to Alizon was not her lover, but John Law who was also referenced in Ainsworth's novel. Ainsworth, according to McGee, left out or altered many details, including that Alizon was a beggar herself and that she confessed to sending her familiar out for the deed. Ainsworth, intent on clear lines between good and evil, doomed and redeemable, made Alizon a Christ figure of sorts, having the young woman give her life up for her mother, Mistress Nutter, to save her from the vengeful familiar attempting to reclaim her soul for Satan, before Alizon could be executed.

Ainsworth's choice to at once humanize and villainize these witches (particularly humanizing the male witch, Nicholas Demdike, and vilify the women in the remainder of the novel) becomes suspect as it appears that he reaffirms the connection between the Other and the witch figure.

At this point in literary history, it appears that Ainsworth is an example of another shift in how witches are discussed in literature: the witch is not necessarily inherently villainous and yet there is a justified reason behind why a person might rationally fear someone who is a witch. Without reviews of *The Lancashire Witches,* it is difficult to know how the audience reacted to the novel: were they fascinated and amused? Were they frightened or disgusted? Was this a tale to reaffirm the necessity of faith and to encourage the resilience one should have in their faith? Regardless of the contemporary audience's reaction, *The Lancashire Witches* is one example of how varied the opinions of witches and witchcraft have become by the mid-nineteenth century and yet reaffirms that the Other is absolutely closely tied with the makeup of the witch, for better or worse.

The Water-Babies

While some authors embraced the witch archetype in order to subvert and comment on witch panic, or sympathize with innocent victims of the mob mentality of this time, other authors used the witch mythos *un*-ironically – for the cause of shedding further suspicion upon a specific group of people. English writer and author of *The Water-Babies* (1863)*,* Charles Kingsley, for instance, uses elements from the witch archetype to build a complicated character that, while having positive qualities, is ultimately a fearsome presence for what she directly does. The Irishwoman and the unnamed owner of a cottage that the protagonist, Tom, escapes to, are both kindly-seeming women, and yet their roles in the end of Tom's life and the predatory descriptions of the Irishwoman, in particular, lend a fearsome quality to the characters. The tricky part with this representation is that even though Kingsley appears to align both of these women with the Good Mother pole of Erich Neumann's archetypal feminine, there is an unmistakable predatory nature about the Irishwoman and it is suspicious that the cottage Tom rests in is the last place where he was

alive before never being seen or heard from again. The Irishwoman character is ultimately responsible for the protagonist's death and transformation into a Water-Baby.

Though the Irishwoman is characterized as a generally good figure (by Kingsley's Christian audience's standards), asking Tom if he says his prayers and encouraging him to do so, and defending Tom from his master, Grimes, when he beats him in front of her (Ch. 1, pg. 6-8), she is simultaneously characterized with traits that raise suspicion for anyone who is aware of Celtic superstition. For instance, her "gray shawl over her head, and a crimson madder petticoat" (Kingsley Ch. 1, pg. 6), according to the narrator, identified her as being from Galway, Ireland. Red, as it turns out, is a deeply significant color to the Irish nationality — and not just for red hair being so popularly found among the Irish people. The Encyclopedia of Celtic Mythology and Folklore states:

> There were two colors most often associated with FAIRYLAND or the OTHERWORLD: GREEN and red, with the latter being the more popular color for TROOPING FAIRIES, while SOLITARY FAIRIES tended to favor green. As a result, the color was considered unlucky, even when on clothing or scarves worn by humans. Women wearing red petticoats were avoided in the west of Ireland until recent times. . . . A person dressed in red could prove unlucky if he or she passed in the morning or when one was beginning a project. (Monaghan 392)

Kingsley, likely knowing faerie lore and such superstitions, indeed, had Tom encounter this strange woman first thing in the morning on his way to a job with his master, Mr. Grimes:

> Soon they came up with a poor Irishwoman, trudging along with a bundle at her back. . . . She had neither shoes nor stockings, and limped along as if she were tired and footsore; but she was a very tall handsome woman, with bright gray eyes, and heavy black hair hanging about her cheeks. (Kingsley Ch. 1, pg. 6)

She is all at once described negatively and positively, being poor and hunched from age and tiredness, but also attractive enough with Kingsley opting for black hair rather than red which surely would put her over into an entirely negative position due to the widespread suspicion of red-haired women

(Monaghan 392). Further, her beauty blends the positive and negative traits of all four of Neumann's poles (the virginal anima, the young witch, the good mother, and the terrible mother) by showing her to be matronly but beautiful, a defender of children and yet the means to Tom's end (and further yet the means to Tom's rebirth). The Irishwoman takes an immediate attachment to the child protagonist, Tom, refusing the attention of Grimes and stating "I'd sooner walk with your little lad here.' . . . So she walked beside Tom, and talked to him," (Kingsley Ch. 1, pg. 6). Possibly the first adult in Tom's life to take any interest in him, the protagonist seems excited to be asked about his living situation and even be asked about his prayers. This, too, puts the Irishwoman into a more positively slanted position; almost as though Kingsley argues, much like colonizers who forced Native Americans and Africans to convert to Christianity, that even a suspicious person or someone of a typically undesirable group can be good so long as they adhere to the social constructs of "goodness" according to the definition of the colonizer. The contradicting features of this figure establishes the continued blurring of lines in how witches are represented with Kingsley using witch tropes to warrant suspicion and fear of this figure, specifically grounded in Celtic superstition and therefore inspiring prejudice against Celtic culture, and yet in this fairy-tale things are not exactly as they seem, even with this witch-like queen of faeries.

In the first chapter, it appears that the Irishwoman is a pious, kind woman: showing Tom how to pick and wrap flowers, encouraging him to say his prayers and to wash himself consistently, even stepping in to stop his master, Mr. Grimes, from beating him as Tom states he usually does (Ch. 1, pg. 7-8). When Mr. Grimes challenges the Irishwoman for trying to stop him from mistreating the youth, she declares, like a curse of sorts, "I have one more word for you both; for you will both see me again before all is over. Those that wish to be clean, clean they will be; and those that wish to be foul, foul they will be. Remember" (Ch. 1, pg. 8). Her subsequent mysterious disappearance in a wide-open meadow hints at her supernatural ability, foreshadowing her equally mysterious reappearance later in the chapter. Though Kingsley is thus far characterizing the Irishwoman in a generally positive light, he still provides a hint to the subconscious of his readers to hold suspicion of this figure due to the specified, suspicious color of her petticoat and her sudden attachment to Tom.

Following a horrible misunderstanding at one of his jobs, Tom flees town which brings about the return of the Irishwoman who follows him. Many townspeople chase Tom, having reason to suspect that he had done something wrong due to his panicked departure, but "the Irishwoman, alone of them all, had seen which way Tom went. She had kept ahead of every one the whole time and yet she neither walked nor ran" (Kingsley Ch. 1, pg. 20). While the Irishwoman starts out with primarily positive descriptions, gaining the reader's trust as a defender of sorts for children, she then presents eerily inhuman as well as predatory behavior in how she followed Tom's route several miles out of town and through many different terrains, going "along quite smoothly and gracefully," (Ch. 1, pg. 20) almost as though floating as he followed him.[24] The Irishwoman's predatory quality is emphasized by the narrator who inquires:

> What would Tom have said if he had seen, walking over the moor behind him, the very same Irishwoman who had taken his part upon the road? But whether it was that he looked too little behind him, or whether it was that she kept out of sight behind the rocks and knolls, he never saw her, though she saw him. (Ch. 1, pg. 22)

She suddenly disappears from the narrator's descriptions and a "woman in a red petticoat" (Ch. 1, pg. 24) replaces her. It was actually my initial understanding as I first read that this woman and the Irishwoman were the same, the Irishwoman having transported herself to appear as a different person. She can not be the same lady, as it turns out, as "all the while he never saw the Irishwoman going down behind him" (Ch. 1, pg, 25) as he ventured to the new woman's cottage. This new character is further connected to the Irishwoman through her language, using the word "bairn," meaning "child," to refer to Tom. This word is known to be of North English and Scottish origin, thus aligning her with a Celtic cultural background along with the Irishwoman as well. These two figures then are conveniently placed along Tom's route to his death and exhibit suspicious behaviors and characteristics which counteract their outwardly positive characterization.

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[24] "She went along quite smoothly and gracefully, while her feet twinkled past each other so fast that you could not see which was foremost; till every one asked the other who the strange woman was; and all agreed, for want of anything better to say, that she must be in league with Tom. But when she came to the plantation, they lost sight of her; and they could do no less. For she went quietly over the wall after Tom, and followed him wherever he went. Sir John and the rest saw no more of her; and out of sight was out of mind" (Ch. 1, pg. 20).

The cottage Tom finds, and the lady tending to her garden outside it, fulfills a common motif for witches: surrounded by herbs, the inside of her home equipped with a fireplace with more herbs, and a cat (or two) residing alongside her. In this case, too, Kingsley includes "twelve or fourteen neat, rosy, chubby little children, learning their Chris-cross-row" (Ch 2. pg. 4). Children, as has been established, are closely associated with the witch figure, especially in fairy-tales, as *The Water-Babies* is indeed considered. The woman offers Tom a place to sleep and recover from his frightening journey, and all the while he insists he hears bells, though the woman reminds him that it is not Sunday and so there can not be any bells. These bells that Tom hears inspires him to do as the Irishwoman had said earlier and devote himself to the Christian god, including saying his prayers and attending church. Before he can do so, he realizes he must wash himself of the soot from his chimney-sweep job, cleansing himself of the physical dirt and baptizing himself before attending a church, all the while hearing the clamor of church bells somewhere in the distance. This place, the river by this solitary cottage, becomes Tom's final resting place where he essentially drowns:

> he had not been in [the river] two minutes before he fell fast asleep, into the quietest, sunniest, cosiest sleep that ever he had in his life. . . . The reason of his falling into such a delightful sleep is very simple; and yet hardly any one has found it out. It was merely that the fairies took him. (Ch. 2, pg. 8)

Though the Irishwoman is overall described in positive terms, it is ultimately the Irishwoman who ended Tom's life: following him from town and being the voice who encouraged the baptism that killed him. The exhaustion Tom suffered and the way the Irishwoman hovered over his escape from town as though a spirit of death calls to mind the witches who lure children away from home to their solitary cottage— this connection made especially poignant due to the second red petticoated woman inhabiting the cottage Tom rested at before his death. The Irishwoman makes her final appearance in the water before him, "just before he came to the river side, [where] she had stept down into the cool clear water; and her shawl and her petticoat floated off her, . . . and the fairies of the stream came up from the bottom and bore her away and down upon their arms; for she was the Queen of them all; and perhaps of more besides" (Ch. 2, pg. 7).

The fairies, while remarkably Celtic in origin, are used by Kingsley as tools for communicating his didactic, symbolic explanation for Darwin's theory of evolution — an ironic choice considering Kingsley's derogatory comments about the Irish later in the novel, both explicitly and allegorically. The images associated with witch tropes as well as the suspicious behavior and symbolism create a witch figure within both the Irishwoman and the solitary school teacher

Though the Irishwoman is not explicitly named as a witch, but rather a faerie, the associated imagery and her magical abilities, as well as her power over men, still seat her in the witch category. Though the Irishwoman as a fairie is generally described as being good, from her loving, caring nature toward the protagonist, Tom, to her adherence to Christian ideology, Kingsley on the whole references Irish people as being sly, untrustworthy, lazy, and ignorant. The Irishwoman, while being generally a positive figure, is also a frightening one as she ultimately is responsible for Tom's death, changing his baptism in the river to an eternal under-water sleep with an afterlife as a mythical creature called a water-baby, and chased Tom through the moors to oversee his journey to death.

Further, Kingsley's work shows how, by the mid-nineteenth century, the witch mythos had not only returned, but tropes associated with this specific figure were permeating into other forms of supernaturality. The witch in herself is associated with beings not of the human world and, for better or worse, the tropes associated with the witch were captivating audience's attention and fascination.

CHAPTER 2: TRANSATLANTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SALEM WITCH PANIC IN REVIEW

Between one of the most famous depictions of witches, *Macbeth*, and the rising popularity of witches in literature, there is roughly a two-hundred-year gap. This is not to say witches never made an appearance in any other form of writing in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but that the stories containing witches that are remembered today were mostly from either *Macbeth*, and from various poets and dramatists from the Elizabethan era and before, or following the entry to the nineteenth century. Most online lists of witches in literature, for example, will start as I have in this project: Circe, Medea, Morgan Le Fay, and the Wyrd Sisters, followed by a sudden leap from 1606's *Macbeth* to L. Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in 1900. While there are more, lesser-known works of fiction that I have located (which notably appear with the Romanticism movement, well before the turn of the twentieth century), the fact remains that for the public consciousness, there appears to be a sudden disappearance of the witch figure as abrupt as Glinda's pearlescent bubble. The remaining literary texts that will be examined for the duration of this chapter include: "Young Goodman Brown" (1835) and *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) — Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Lois the Witch* — Elizabeth Gaskell (1859), and *The Crucible* — Arthur Miller (1953). *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* will be discussed in chapter 3 as its form of witchcraft representation deviates from the realistic fiction related to Salem specifically.

Along with noticing the gap between witch stories (and the duration of time from one of the most famous witch hunts in history which will be the primary focus in this chapter), it is also important to notice how the witch figure returns. For instance, the first texts following the release of *Macbeth* in 1606 are the Grimm's fairy-tales and a novel that has already been discussed, *Ivanhoe* — both initially published in 1819. The former is a collection of tales borrowed from German stories passed down in the oral tradition. *Ivanhoe*, meanwhile, breaks the two century witch hiatus in the form of historical fiction; a work set in the past, based somewhat on historical events. The significance of bringing the witch figure back in this manner is the implicit separation between the contemporary time where the reader is currently experiencing the work and the commentary being made on the time in which the work is set. The reader is allowed, due to

the distance in time, to consume the work with the understanding that any actions of injustice taking place, as in the case of *Ivanhoe,* are of the distant past; almost as though allowing the reader to believe themselves to be above such actions, even as direct relationships are being drawn between the historical text and the author's contemporary time, as was thoroughly discussed in chapter 1.

It has been suggested to me that such a break in the use of the witch figure could correspond with the Enlightenment period; an age where reason ruled over superstition, putting an end to witch hunts and, in many cases, the belief in the existence of such figures at all. According to historian Stephen Marrone, "The end of the witchcraft prosecutions ushered in a relative indifference, lasting for several centuries, of the elite toward the culture of those below" (Marrone ix). This indifference could certainly be a product of the Enlightenment period's mandate for rationalism, so much so to the point that "In 1736 Parliament passed an Act repealing the laws against witchcraft, [even] imposing fines or imprisonment on people who claimed to be able to use magical powers. When it was introduced in the Commons the Bill caused much laughter among MPs."[25] (UK Parliament). The word choice "claimed" is significant as it establishes a new focus on the topic of witchcraft: that it is irrational and anyone who claims to be capable of such acts must be punished for their irrationality — this is especially important due to the deadly consequences that arose due to hysteria surrounding magical abilities and so it is likely assumed that anyone making such claims of magical ability is attempting to resume the hysteria. At this time, England has moved beyond acknowledging witchcraft as a rational thing of which to accuse a person, much less to find someone guilty or allow someone to acknowledge it themselves where in the century before it was typically an accused person's denial that would send them to execution and a confession that would save their life.

Along with the age of rationality, authors' sympathies regarding witchcraft and witch trials shift considerably from contributing to the witch mythos and archetype by representing the witch as a fearsome being with legitimate abilities for mortals to fear, to recognizing and advocating on behalf of those who suffered from becoming the victim of scapegoating and stereotypes. Witches, it seemed, had become figures of not only fantasy but of antiquity, a thing of the far-distant past much like Medea, Circe, and Morgan Le

[25] Fun fact: "Its promoter was John Conduit whose wife was the niece of Sir Isaac Newton, a father of modern science, although keenly interested in the occult" (UK Parliament).

Fay. The significance of this in the case of *Ivanhoe* is that the contemporary reader is more likely to empathize with Rebecca being tried for witchcraft when it has been a broad understanding for roughly two hundred years that witches and witchcraft belong in the world of fiction and so it is easier to dismiss the terrible injustice she faces as the silly misunderstandings of an earlier time.

The fact that the witch reemerged as a literary device in two different forms within the same year is undeniably significant. For one form, the witch is consistently used as the antagonist for children's stories, often the deliverer of hard-learned lessons for children; in the other form, the author used the witch to comment on the absurdity of people in the past believing in such things as witches and witchcraft, and also to highlight the hypocrisy of a false sense of moral superiority by a certain class of people in order to oppress another. With the publication of Grimm's Fairy Tales and *Ivanhoe*, this moment in literary history represents a shift in the purpose of the witch, specifically as she is used to represent those who are Othered. In following texts, some authors chose to embrace and further develop the established tropes associated with the witch and her wickedness, specifically due to Otherness, while other writers took those tropes but represented the witch in such a way as to argue for her innocence or even society's complicity in the development of wicked figures. In the matter of the Salem Witch Trials in particular, Hawthorne, Gaskell, and Miller all point to the people surrounding the accused witches, almost as though to teach readers not to trust the historical accounts because the problem was created by Salemites who could not contain their greed or jealousy. This is a direct contrast to Ainsworth who plays to both sides: the potential initial cause of the witches arriving to Pendle Hill, and specifically that corruption and generational trauma bred the eventual problem, and arguing that some of the accusations may have in fact been correct. By Hawthorne's time, much less Miller's, whether due to the age of rationality or personal observation of the dark side of human nature, witches are completely *not* as the townspeople believed and the Otherness of the accused or the town's politics play the primary role in the victimizing of Salem's accused witches.

The works of the early to mid- nineteenth century all follow a particular theme of scapegoating and realism. Some authors chose to represent accusations of witchcraft as absurd or provide an alibi of sorts as to how the accused could not possibly be guilty of witchcraft, turning the reader's attention to misgivings or

wrongdoing of their accusers to show just how easy it was to persecute an innocent person (such as in *Ivanhoe* and, to an extent, *The Lancashire Witches*).

The House of the Seven Gables

American novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne is famous for adding the 'w' to his last name to provide separation from his ancestor John Hathorne, embarrassed by his role in the Salem Witch Trials. Hawthorne is no stranger to novels exploring themes such as human hypocrisy and the fragility of morality structures, but he has also written numerous texts including witches and witchcraft for which he is not quite as famous. His message when including witches or witchcraft in his writing is usually for the purpose of condemning the role people such as his ancestor played in the persecution of innocent people rather than in defense of or condemnation for the witches themselves. In this way, Hawthorne is one of the aforementioned authors who, if not rejecting the legitimacy of witchcraft, does not make the debatable existence of witchcraft the focal point. In *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), for instance, any mention or suspicion of witchcraft is subliminal for the majority of the novel, focusing more on the theme of generational trauma and retribution for oppressive acts committed against innocent people than that of actual witchcraft. In the very first chapter it is blatantly stated:

> Old Matthew Maule, in a word, was executed for the crime of witchcraft. He was one of the martyrs to that terrible delusion, which should teach us, among its other morals, that the influential classes, and those who take upon themselves to be leaders of the people, are fully liable to all the passionate error that has ever characterized the maddest mob.
> (Hawthorne 11)

The narrator clearly states that though Maule was officially executed for witchcraft, the truth is that more prominent people of the town of Salem, in particular the wealthy and people of authority, misused their power, getting caught up in the madness that were the trials. The rest of the novel is filled with nods to witch archetype such as Hepzibah's small sundries shop filled with poppets, herbs, and candies, which she uses to support herself as she is unmarried; and of course the daguerreotypist, Holgrave, who spins much mischief,

intending to avenge his wrongly murdered ancestor who was accused of witchcraft and executed over, as it will be later revealed in the introduction to the novel: land. As Ainsworth presents in *The Lancashire Witches,* land is a common dispute over which one may accuse their neighbor of witchcraft: often times without legitimate merit (especially considering the inconsistent and inconsequential means by which one could be accused) and mostly due to the hysteria which nearly guaranteed their success. *The House of the Seven Gables,* while framed by witches and witch trials, actually serves more as a story of generational trauma and a revenge tale. Hepzibah's ancestry is centered around theft and misuse of power in order to gain what was not theirs to possess and the misfortunes that befall her which requires her to support herself provides a sense of karma for the wrongs of her ancestors.

Hawthorne establishes from page two of the novel that the land on which the House of the Seven Gables was build was not only owned by Matthew Maule before the protagonist's ancestor, but that he *built,* "with his own toil" (Hawthorne 10), a "hut, shaggy with thatch" that "after some thirty or forty years, the site covered by this rude hovel had become exceedingly desirable in the eyes of a prominent and powerful personage, who asserted plausible claims to the proprietorship . . . on the strength of a grant from the legislature." For Hepzibah's ancestor, "After the reputed wizard's death, his humble homestead had fallen an easy spoil into Colonel Pyncheon's grasp" (12). The validity of the accusations against Maule were quickly called into question by the town's people "When it was understood, however, that the Colonel intended to erect a family mansion—spacious, ponderously framed of oaken timber, and calculated to endure for many generations of his posterity over the spot first covered by the log-built hut of Matthew Maule, there was much shaking of the head among the village-gossips." Hawthorne uses the motivation of property, including the details of Maule first building a "hovel" and also establishing the fact that the land was plotted on the outskirts of town, in order to relate Maule to other ways that people at the time suspected a person to be guilty of witchcraft, and reasons that came about later in the witch panic for why accusers would make their accusations. This in turn brings into question other times that people were accused of and executed for witchcraft, and like Ainsworth shortly before him in 1848, this early description of incredible

wrong being done to a family seems to set up the reader to side with the witches later in the story when they seek retribution for the generational trauma they endured since their ancestor's initial trauma.

The purpose of the witch in this instance, therefore, is more a means to criticize the people who Othered and wronged a certain person, accusing them in turn of doing this for greed or some other selfish reason. Much like how Scott calls out explicit antisemitism against Rebecca and her father, and the attempted forced conversion of her to establish a sense of hierarchy by the dominant group, Hawthorne utilizes a power struggle between the wealthy and powerful and the humble stranger off the beaten path with witchcraft as a mere means to achieve what he wants: a common thread when talking about such related topics to Othering as colonialism and imperialism.

"Young Goodman Brown"

Years earlier, Hawthorne had written a story much more overtly connected to witchcraft as it is usually discussed in literary canon, even today: relating to Satan and devil-worship, interactions with nature, and of course power being attained by the surrounding women. Hawthorne's short story "Young Goodman Brown," first published in a magazine in 1835, follows the late-night venturing of a Puritan Salem resident into the forest. The protagonist Young Goodman Brown leaves his wife alone to run an overnight errand in the woods. Brown expresses worry and moral discomfort with the errand, as well as distrust in his companion: a stranger man considerably older than Brown, yet "bearing a considerable resemblance to him, though perhaps more in expression than in features" ("Young Goodman Brown" 25). Hawthorne establishes distrust in the stranger character with his large, black, snake-shaped staff which was "so curiously wrought that it might almost be seen to twist and wriggle itself like a living serpent" (25). The staff's shape serves as an allusion to the serpent from Genesis: the ultimate symbol of temptation with the serpent who tempted Eve in the garden of Eden.

Goodman Brown's struggle with temptation and faith throughout the story develops from the staff, placed in his possession by the stranger who leaves him to venture into the forest alone shortly after their journey began. The protagonist is lured further into the forest by recognizing Salem townspeople, people he

knows well and even admires, travelling deeper into the woods. Similar also to Ainsworth, the scene in the forest is unclear whether or not it is real. As opposed to *The Lancashire Witches* where following events of the story gives the impression that the scene *could* have actually happened (and likely did), Hawthorne leaves it ambiguous even at the conclusion.

The use of notable members of the local community does two things: nods to the central fear of witch panic that anyone can be a witch, even beloved members of the community, and calls to question the protagonist's reliability and even sanity. Hawthorne is a consistent critic of the Salem Witch Trials and there is no doubt, though the story itself appears to conform to witch lore, that Goodman Brown's progression through the woods actually serves to cast uncertainty as to the sanity of the one who believes to have witnessed witchcraft. Unlike Ainsworth, but much like Scott, Hawthorne denies the validity of witchcraft, putting the blame for witch panic, instead, on the average people who believed themselves to be too good for temptation.

The resemblance that Brown sees between himself and the stranger, and the stranger's clear connection to the events transpiring in the woods indicates not only a distrust of his community but of his own ability to withstand temptation — he abandoned his new wife for a night, after all, and actually believed to have seen her participating in the woods. He quickly declared "My Faith is gone!" at having heard her voice and caught her pink ribbon which Hawthorne had carefully included with her description before Goodman Brown set off for his mystery mission. This use of her name, of course, has a purposeful double-meaning: Goodman Brown has literally lost his wife named Faith in the woods and, from no longer knowing who she is for her supposed involvement in whatever non-Christian event is happening as well as the numerous church members he sees excitedly gathering together, he has lost his spiritual faith in God and the church. Brown is so easy to lose his faith, with very little influence pushing him to completely shake his devotion to the Church, crying, "'Let us hear which will laugh loudest. Think not to frighten me with your deviltry. Come witch, come wizard, come Indian powwow, come devil himself, and here comes Goodman Brown. You may as well fear him as he fear you'" (30). The possession of the snake staff, too, encourages a kind of madness in him as he "flew among the black pines, brandishing his staff with frenzied

gestures, now giving vent to an inspiration of horrid blasphemy" (30). As he follows the people deeper and deeper into the forest and witnesses a conversion ceremony, Young Goodman Brown is truly put to the test of his faith and his sanity.

Now that he has seen so many of his friends and clergy involved in this, Goodman Brown's whole faith in his way of life from his relationship with his religion to his relationship with his neighbors is shaken. Hawthorne includes many witch tropes and images that seemingly indicate an assertion, like Ainsworth, that such rituals and claims to Satan did in fact exist for the witches. The focus, however, seems to be on Brown's reactions to these events, and his terror at seeing the familiar faces involved, rather than vouching for or condemning the authenticity of the events. It never leaves the notice of this reader that none of his shaken faith would have come to be had Brown himself not ventured to doing what he clearly felt he should not. It is the fact that he and these people are on the same page, supposedly leading double lives of piety in public and curiosity and blasphemy in the dark, that has Brown so shaken and that Hawthorne seems to find interest in the matter of hypocrisy and the fragility of image. Despite all of the detail Hawthorne provides for this dark, evil rite in the woods, and the torment Goodman Brown endures, the image disappears instantaneously once he cries to his wife to resist the conversion rite. Goodman Brown is essentially confronting his biggest fear with little to no explicit basis for why he fears his peers, his wife, or himself being tempted to the Devil. Perhaps this is a statement by Hawthorne that there is indeed no basis for such fears, made more blatant by his description of the very Deacon, who Goodman Brown believed to have seen leading the ceremony, walking about town the next morning oblivious to what he believes that he has witnessed.

Perhaps from his own guilt at having embarked on this mysterious trip into the woods with an unknown goal or destination, perhaps due to rising witch paranoia, this frightening illusion which the titular character witnessed changes him forever, "A stern, a sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate man did he become from the night of that fearful dream. On the Sabbath day, when the congregation were singing a holy psalm, he could not listen because an anthem of sin rushed loudly upon his ear and drowned all the blessed strain" (34). The role of the witches in the short story is unclear because in fact there were no

witches; Brown only believed to have seen his peers and his own wife consorting with devilry and engaging themselves to darkness, but it is most likely that this event he witnessed was nothing more than a paranoid delusion or a dream. The point therefore is that even with the lack of witches, the mind can make dangerous alterations to a person if they believe their own fears and leave their own assumptions unchecked; the aforementioned hypocrisy of Young Goodman Brown wandering the woods with a stranger and yet panicking when he believes he sees other members of his congregation doing the same is another factor which can not be ignored.

Hawthorne in these two texts demonstrates two new methods of using witches in literature following the conclusion of witch panic yet in both instances he in one way or another engages with the witch mythos while not necessarily encouraging the legitimate belief in actual figures, pointing blame for such atrocious events as witch trials upon the average person who fed into their own fear and panic (particularly when underlying motives are connected to accusations of witchcraft).

Lois the Witch

Following the age of reason, many authors switched focus from that of fear and treating witches as a legitimate source of fear, to vindicating the witch. While some authors, like Hawthorne and Scott work to expose hypocrisy as well as bigotry surrounding accusations of witchcraft, seeming to deny the legitimacy of magical practice and calling out instead the harm of mob mentality, Elizabeth Gaskell focuses even more intensely on the discriminatory nature of witch panic. Much like Arthur Miller's famously explicit reference to racism with Tituba, who will be discussed later, Gaskell focuses on multiple Native American slaves who become the easy targets of witch panic. The ultimate example of how the witch is commonly associated with people who are considered Other, Gaskell's novella *Lois the Witch* exposes not only hypocrisy of the Salem townspeople who quickly point the finger at people who are considered different, but outright bigotry on the basis of race and spirituality.

Lois the Witch follows a recently orphaned English girl, Lois, who must move to live with relatives in Puritan Salem, Massachusetts. Set slightly before the famous Salem witch trials, Lois does not arrive

during the crux of witch panic in this town, yet suspicion and fear of the supernatural was still immediately present. In particular, as this is a story taking place in the American colonies, there is a suspicion of Native Americans for their non-Christian spirituality (and of course the constant tension between the colonizing white settlers and the indigenous Native Americans being violently colonized). It is only within the first nine pages that the daughter of Lois' host, who housed her overnight between her arrival in Boston and the remainder of her trip to Salem, establishes the presence of and general tone regarding the Native Americans in the text. She describes what sounds like an attempted ambush attack on a friend of theirs,[26] followed by the neighbor of Lois' host explaining his impression of the Native Americans and belief that they are in league with Satan (as well as French Catholics, for added indication of discriminatory beliefs based on religion).[27] To most audiences today, these descriptions are seen as monstrous in nature — deeply racist and appallingly ignorant. It is possible that such sentiment would not have shocked even Gaskell's audience, however, though Gaskell appears to set out to defend the Native Americans in their innocence, similar to Miller with Tituba of *The Crucible* who was accused of witchcraft simply because the people of Salem would certainly believe her accuser due to Tituba's skin color and cultural background. Lois, surprisingly, asks her peers, "But is it all true?" (Gaskell xi), rather than immediately accepting their word. The captain who sailed the ship bringing her to Boston confirms "thou hast come to a country where there are many perils, both from land and from sea. The Indians hate the white men" (xi). Even while fully acknowledging the wrongs of the colonizers from England, "taken their lands and hunting-grounds without due recompense, and so raised [in the Native Americans] the cruel vengeance of the wild creatures" (xi), he

[26] "Hannah Benson told us how her husband had cut down every tree near his house at Deerbrook, in order that no one might come near him, under cover; and how one evening . . . when all her family were gone to bed, and her husband gone off to Plymouth on business, and she saw a log of wood, just like a trunk of a felled tree, lying in the shadow, and thought nothing of it, till, on looking again a while after, she fancied it was come a bit nearer to the house. . . . [She awoke her eldest son] Elijah, and he was but sixteen then; but he rose up at his mother's words, and took his father's long duck-gun down; and he tried the loading, and spoke for the first time to put up a prayer that God would give his aim good guidance, and went to a window that gave a view upon the side where the log lay, and fired; and no one dared to look what came of it; but all the household read the Scriptures, and prayed the whole night long; till morning came and showed a long stream of blood lying on the grass close by the log --- which the full sunlight showed to be no log at all, but just a Red Indian covered with bark, and painted most skillfully, with his war-knife by his side" (Gaskell ix).

[27] "Satan bath [sic] many powers, and, if it be the day when he is permitted to go about like a roaring lion, he will not stick at trifles, but make his work complete. I tell you, many men are spiritual enemies in visible forms, permitted to roam about the waste places of the earth. I myself believe that these Red Indians are indeed the evil creatures of whom we read in Holy Scripture; and there is no doubt that they are in league with those abominable Papists, the French people in Canada. I have heard tell, that the French pay the Indians so much gold for every dozen scalps of the Englishmen's heads" (Gaskell x-xi).

still poses their relationship with the indigenous people as the Native Americans being the aggressor or the ones in the position of wrong-doing: "and then others affirm they are all in league with Satan to affright the Christians out of the heathen country, over which he has reigned so long" (xi). Gaskell explicitly calls out the rampant racism in the colonies with Lois further posited against the status quo by questioning the truthfulness of what the captain insists.

Lois is further established as being an outsider and even somewhat of an advocate for those who are also considered outsiders when she admits to her peers, "They are fearful creatures, the witches! and yet I am sorry for the poor old women, whilst I dread them. We had one in Barford, when I was a little child" (xii). She shares with the group that this woman was killed by a panicked crowd who stoned and drowned her and her cat (which "Elder Hawkins shook his head long and gloomily" (xii) at the mention of her pet, assumed to be a familiar). Despite Lois' empathy for the person, and despite the clear paranoia amongst her newest acquaintances, Lois shares that the witch declared a horrid prediction before her death, "'Parson's wench, parson's wench, yonder, in thy dad bath[sic] never tried for to save me; and none shall save thee, when thou art brought up for a witch" (vii). This curse is quite unfair, being against a child, and yet it is this experience that foreshadows Lois' fate. Was it a punishment for standing idly by as someone was discriminated against, as she would once again do in adulthood? Or was it a simple premonition that witches and accusations of witchcraft due to her own difference will become a constant, significant part of her life? Lois' defense of this witch from her childhood, and again for the Native American slaves accused once she is settled in Salem, place Lois on the outside — even more than her British nationality and parents' political ideologies did before she even arrived.

Gaskell continues establishing Lois in the position of the outsider by involving contemporary politics: "His sister Barclay, she that was Henrietta Hickson, and whose husband took the oaths to Charles Stuart, and stuck by his living when all godly men left theirs" (xvi). As mentioned much earlier in this project, Charles' predecessor, King James, was quite disliked as a monarch. There were many reasons for this, most of which have already been discussed. But one particular group of people who disliked him were the Puritans who ventured to the New World in order to practice their religion when James clearly

expressed his dislike for Puritanism and the Puritans dislike for him for his insistence in the divine right for monarchs to rule, including authority over the church. There are many other reasons for the Puritans' dislike for James including his support for the theater and less strict ideas of what was and was not acceptable for certain religious rituals. The people Lois is encountering, and with whom she will shortly live, are these exact people. Lois' family's loyalty to the monarchy, including the Stuart line, is a source of tension between her and her relatives before she even arrives, but then her aunt, Grace Hickson, turns out to have a cold, harsh demeanor (xviii-xix) to which Lois is yet unaccustomed. Indeed, "It was hard work for Lois to win herself a place in this family. Her aunt was a woman of narrow, strong affections. Her love for her. Husband, if ever she had any, was burnt out and dead long ago. . . . and Lois's heart often bled at the continual flow of contemptuous reproof which Grace constantly addressed to her husband" (xxi). Religion, in fact, makes Lois a continual stranger in the Hickson house with Grace incapable of hiding her contempt for their differences (xxi).

Despite Lois' initial questioning of the stories she was told about the Native Americans, Lois did still harbor some prejudice, be it from unfamiliarity, what she had been told in Boston, or her fear of the witch's prophecy coming true. Nattee, the Native American slave held by the Hickson family told stories to the daughters of the Hickson household which "would occasionally make Lois's blood run cold" (xxiii). It appears that Lois' primary fear is that Nattee will in some way double-cross the eager listeners of her stories, they being young and vulnerable women, due to the content of her stories:

> There ran through these stories always a ghastly, unexpressed suggestion of some human sacrifice being needed to complete the success of any incantation to the Evil One; and the poor old creature, herself believing and shuddering as she narrated her tale in broken English, took a strange, unconscious pleasure in her power over her hearers — young girls of the oppressing race, which had brought her down into a state little differing from slavery, and reduced her people to outcasts on the hunting-grounds which had belonged to her fathers. (xxiii)

Much like her previous host, Lois will simultaneously recognize the wrongs that have been committed against Nattee and her people, but it is exactly the wrongs done against her that make her fearful: almost as though she fears revenge. In some ways, Gaskell seems to aim to call out the racism in the colonies to provide another Tituba figure, a true victim due to her skin color and cultural background, but then there are moments such as these where the motivation is called into question.

Gaskell appears to clear this confusion up with an interjection of sorts:

> But it was not Nattee alone, nor young imaginative girls alone, that believed in these stories. We can afford to smile at them now; but our English ancestors entertained superstitions of much the same character at the same period, and with less excuse, as the circumstances surrounding them were better known and consequently more explicable by common sense, than the real mysteries of the deep, untrodden forests of New England. (xxiv)

She even has Lois herself acknowledge her shame at holding such fear and prejudice against Nattee (xlix) but further justifies her fear from the first Native American servant accused in Salem named Hota. The daughters of Mr. Tappau, the pastor, fall into fits and from there the narrator explains "The rumour of witchcraft was like the echo of thunder among the hills. . . . There was hardly a family without one of these supposed victims. Then arose a growl and menaces of vengeance from many a household — menaces deepened, not daunted, by the terror and mystery of the suffering that gave rise to them" (li). When Mr. Tappau's child "moaned out the name of Hota," the many spectators took to mean a legitimate accusation despite the woman's attempts to help the convulsing child (lii). Nattee, for understandable reasons, panics when Hota confesses to witchcraft (likely to save her life) and begs the Hickson family to believe that she is not like Hota and would never do what her friend has done (liii).

This declaration does not stop her from being named, however, as she eventually joins Lois in jail after Lois herself is accused, as both the witch from her childhood and her own cousin Manasseh predicted when neither Grace nor Lois would consent to his marrying Lois.[28] Even Lois herself after her cousin

[28] "'Mother, listen! If I wed not Lois, both she and I die within the year. I care not for life; before this, as you know, I have sought for death' . . . 'but if Lois were my wife, I should live, and she would be spared from what is the other lot. That whole vision grows clearer to me, day by day'" (xliii).

Prudence once pretending a fit in Lois' presence following a girlish telling of English Halloween stories and the madness Manasseh develops in the consistent refusal of his advances, becomes named. Prudence once again names Lois a witch in the midst of a falsified fit, but this time she is in the presence of numerous members of the town and her aunt is disinclined to ignore the accusation (lxix). Her cousin continues to play the role of Abigail Williams in this earlier edition of *The Crucible,* feigning yet more visions and attacks by Lois after Lois calmly and respectfully pleaded her case to the court. In her final moments, with no one who can help her believing her innocence, Lois is left to comfort Nattee who is imprisoned with her following an incredible beating, and distraught at having been accused. Having now experienced true persecution for her own differences, it appears from the way "witch" is included in quotation marks to show Nattee being equally falsely accused as Lois herself was,[29] that the prejudice Lois once had has been effectively challenged, her own differences placing her under suspicion just as frivolously with just as little merit.

Gaskell aptly uses Othering as a means to showcase how frivolously witch accusations are used to target those of an unprotected class. Though Lois as a white, Christian woman certainly has more privilege compared to the Native American women who were hanged alongside her, Lois was still surrounded by American colonizers, people who had left England specifically because they disliked or distrusted the government in place. Lois being a life-long citizen of the very monarchy her Puritan relatives (and their neighbors) set to leave behind made Lois a kind of political minority, being one of few if any other sympathizers to the English crown. Her religious differences between her form of Protestantism and the Puritan church also set her apart in such a way that could make her an outcast of sorts. She was fortunate for a time to settle in as well as she had, but ultimately it was the word of a cousin who determined she

[29] "But God did comfort her, and strengthen her too. Late on that Wednesday afternoon they thrust another 'witch' into her cell, bidding the two, with opprobrious words, keep company together. The new-comer fell prostrate with the push given her from without; and Lois, not recognizing any thing but an old ragged woman, lying helpless on her face on the ground, lifted her up; and lo! it was Nattee — dirty, filthy indeed, mud-pelted, stone-bruised, beaten, and all astray in her wits with the treatment she had received from the mob outside. Lois held her in her arms, and softly wiped the old brown wrinkled face with her apron, crying over it, as she had hardly yet cried over her own sorrows. For hours she tended the old Indian woman — tended her bodily woes; and, as the poor scattered senses of the savage creature came slowly back, Lois gathered her infinite dread of the morrow, when she, too, as well as Lois, was to be led out to die, in face of all that infuriated the crowd. Lois sought in her own mind for some source of comfort for the old woman, who shook like one in the shaking-palsy at the dread of death — and such a death!" (lxxxv)

wanted to cause damage that went against Lois' own word; and it was the lack of weight Lois' word held, as with Hota and Nattee, that led her to unjust execution.

Where some authors in this time period, as I have mentioned, sought to outright deny the existence of magic and witchcraft, Gaskell doesn't even make the validity of the existence of witches or witchcraft the issue. Instead, Gaskell makes the matter about culture and power dynamics. I would argue this makes Gaskell an author well ahead of her time as her own novella shares these themes with Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* which would not be published until nearly a century later. The Other in Gaskell's work, and specifically the voicelessness of the Other when faced with an oppressive and frightened majority, is what brings a new perspective to the topic of witchcraft which Gaskell's contemporaries that have been discussed up to this point have not touched on quite in the same way.

The Crucible

Making another considerable leap between popular witch texts, *The Crucible* becomes an additional work that focuses more on the actions of the dominant than on villainizing the Other. Arthur Miller makes his position on the discussion of witchcraft very clear in his historical note preceding the commencement of the actual play. He first forewarns the reader that he did have to take some creative liberties with the persons involved in the Salem Witch Trials in order to simplify the cast and, such as in the case of raising Abigail Williams' age, add to his intended purpose of writing the play – that is, to expose "the essential nature of one of the strangest and most awful chapters in human history" (Miller 2). He further notes to the reader a clear stance against one of the most significant players in the unfolding of the play's events, Reverend Samuel Parris who Miller describes: "In history he cut a villainous path, and there is very little good to be said for him. He believed he was being persecuted wherever he went, despite his best efforts to win people and God to his side" (3). In particular, Miller notes in his introduction the power that

the children of Salem, or in other words, the silenced population,[80] gained power by turning the majority on who may be considered the Other. The strength of this power, of course, is demonstrated when these children were able to gain the upper hand over well-respected members of the community by first gaining the trust of the court through the persecution of the homeless, the elderly and the desperate, and anyone considered an outsider such as people who do not commonly attend the church.

Famously, of course, the role of the children only came about because they were caught conjuring in the woods which were believed to be "the Devil's last preserve, his home base and the citadel of his final stand. To the best of their knowledge the American forest was the last place on earth that was not paying homage to God" (5). This view is likely due to the endurance of the surrounding Native American tribes who had escaped forced conversion. The conflict within Salem turned into what it was, Miller proposes, because the Salem colonists had lost their opportunity to steal further land from Native Americans of whom they were afraid, especially in thick forests and possibly outnumbered, and therefore it was easier to take advantage of accusations of witchcraft on their neighbors to try usurping *their* land by claiming spiritual attacks (7). There is even an entire historical account of how each owner of land acquired their property, naming a dispute between the Nurses and the Putnams that consisted of land and politics with disagreements over office positions and disagreements in running the church, all which eventually lead to the accusations against Rebecca Nurse on the topic of health.[81] Disputes over property are by this point a

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[80] "[Parris] regarded [children] as young adults, and until this strange crisis he, like the rest of Salem, never conceived that the children were anything but thankful for being permitted to walk straight, eyes slightly lowered, arms at the sides, and mouths shut until bidden to speak" (Miller 3).

[81] "By the time of the delusion, [the Nurses] had three hundred acres, and their children were settled in separate homesteads within the same estate. However, Francis had originally rented the land, and one theory has it that, as he gradually paid for it and raised hi: [sic] social status, there were those who resented his rise. Another suggestion to explain the systematic campaign against Rebecca, and inferentially against Francis, is the land war he fought with his neighbors, one of whom was a Putnam. This squabble grew to the proportions of a battle in the woods be-tween partisans of both sides, and it is said to have lasted for two days. As for Rebecca herself, the general opinion of her character was so high that to explain how anyone dared cry her out for a witch - and more, how adults could bring them-selves to lay hands on her - we must look to the fields and boundaries of that time. As we have seen,

recognizable disagreement during times of witch trials from Ainsworth's depiction of Alice Nutter and Roger Nowell's property dispute to the murder of Matthew Maule for his plot of land.

Miller, like Hawthorne over a century beforehand, also referred to the Salem witch trials as "the delusion" (25) — a strong diction selection which connects these two pieces both as pieces of historical fiction and for their shared theme of advocating against the merit behind accusations that took place in Salem specifically. The delusion, it is argued by Miller, started by the fanatical acting of young girls intent on avoiding punishment for engaging in dark arts. They initially did so by, of course, blaming the one person involved who was more vulnerable than the rest: Tituba, a slave from Barbados and, though beloved and outwardly devoted to a Christian life, was immediately believed to have done as the girls claimed. Abigail, a young woman with a growing reputation for sexual impropriety for being fired from Goody Proctor's service, even shows previous knowledge of her stance within the social hierarchical structure of Salem. When her uncle, Parris, challenges the purity of her name in the village due to her dismissal and the rumored reasons as to why, Abigail declares that Goody Proctor was nothing more than a petty and jealous woman who wanted her to be a slave to which Abigail further asserts: "I will not black my face for any of them" (12) to refer to her unwillingness to be treated as one would treat a slave (like Tituba). This serves as a foreshadow of sorts to her accusation of Tituba. Abigail finally calls out Tituba's name when she becomes overwhelmed by the number of adults in the room and it appears that Abigail and her friends will take the brunt of an increasingly worsening inquisition by Mr. Hale, a professional witch-hunter, who will not accept

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Thomas Putnam's man for the Salem min-istry was Bayley. The Nurse clan had been in the faction that prevented Bayley's taking office. In addition, certain families allied to the Nurses by blood or friendship, and whose farms were contiguous with the Nurse farm or close to it, combined to break away from the Salem town authority and set up Tops-field, a new and independent entity whose existence was re-sented by old Salemites. That the guiding hand behind the outcry was Putnam's is, indicated by the fact that, as soon as it began, this Topsfield-Nurse 'faction absented themselves from church in protest and disbelief. It was Edward and Jonathan Putnam who signed the first complaint against Rebecca; and Thomas Putnam's little daughter was the one who fell into a fit at the hearing and pointed to Rebecca as her attacker. To top it all, Mrs. Putnam - who is now staring at the bewitched child on the bed - soon accused Rebecca's spirit of "tempting her to iniquity," a charge that had more truth in it than Mrs. Putnam could know" (25).

Abigail's denial of the contents of the cauldron found with them or the innocent nature of the dancing Parris witnessed (43-44). Initially backed into a corner, Abigail fingers Tituba in order to clear her name and put an end to the suspicion and threat to her life. The nature of the false accusation, however, still indicates a cruel indifference to the consequences which she is passing on to someone who, being Black and considered property before human at this time, could certainly be executed for less than an accusation of witchcraft. This power dynamic that Miller establishes plays perfectly to show the role of Othering in the witch histories, especially as the fanaticism starts up.

The final portion of act I in which all the girls caught in the woods that night cried out the names of other Salemites shows the hysterical nature of witch accusations and introduces the way in which such girls, once powerless and backed into a corner, reach for any semblance of power by using this opportunity to not only clear their name but also to exact revenge on anyone they dislike personally. In the 1996 film starring Winona Ryder as Abigail Williams, the scene is reminiscent of a rapture with the girls calling out names and the unafflicted townsfolk in attendance of their confessions crying in joy and relief that the blame may be placed on other people *they* do not like either. For instance, Goody Osburn's name is called by a panicked Tituba, doing all she can to prevent being hanged or beaten (already being a slave, and so vulnerable to mistreatment even without witch suspicion). Goody Putnam, who had lost all but one of her children, cries "I knew it! Goody Osburn were midwife to me three times. I begged you, Thomas, did I not? I begged him not to call Osburn because I feared her. My babies always shriveled in her hands!" (47). This accusation satisfies Mrs. Putnam's need for justice (blood) and vindication for her only daughter's involvement in Devil-conjuring. At first, Tituba was the proper scapegoat for Abigail in particular, but then Tituba provides a further scapegoat to relieve the girls who have the power to end her life with their accusations. This scene shows many things all at once: the mass hysteria, a near cult-like draw, of witch accusations and how easy it was to convince others of a person's guilt, the fickleness of human nature from how easy it was to get numerous people involved to turn on other people in the village, and how easy it is to demonize ostracized people (or the Other).

Miller, much like Hawthorne and Scott, seems to completely reject any logical belief in witchcraft or legitimate supernatural presence in the Salem Witch Trials. By compiling a collection of disagreements and resentments between neighbors, Miller constructs a convincing argument that the only devilry taking place in this series of events is wholly man-made from greed, jealousy, and vengeance. Miller further delivers this message with characters like Proctor who attempts to be the voice of reason in a town in decline from panic. Proctor, while a sinner and guilty of adultery, is ultimately the voice of reason in the play, calling out the ridiculousness of the accusations[82] from the start and growing impatient with the hysteria as it continues and he recognizes not only the immaterial basis for these accusations but the theme of who precisely is accused: old women (especially if homeless or begging), women with reputations such as having sex out of wedlock, and people with desirable plots of land. As his servant girl, Mary Warren, argues the Christian, God-ordained position she is in, serving on the court as they sort through the numerous accusations. Proctor declares: "It's strange work for a Christian girl to hang old women!" (58), to which Marry Warren justifies, "But, Mr. Proctor, they will not hang them it [sic] they confess. Sarah Good will only sit in jail some time" (58-59).

Miller has narrowed down the bottom line of the cause for this hysteria. Though Christian zeal and fear of the unknown is of course a driving force for these proceedings, and many similar trials through history, the ultimate cause as Miller poignantly demonstrates with the likes of Abigail Williams and Mary Warren comes down to power. Abigail, in a time and culture where she as a young woman has no power, seizes any ounce that she can by taking advantage of the authority's need for a clear solution and face to their invisible problem. Their problem is simply the fear of the unknown and of the intangibility of such things as power, social hierarchy, and spiritual allegiance. Because she has no power, being a young, unmarried woman in a Puritan township, Abigail has few options afforded to her. Knowing she wants

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[82] Hale: Nonsense! Mister, I have myself examined Tituba, Sarah Good, and numerous others that have confessed to dealing with the Devil. They have confessed it. Proctor: And why not, if they must hang for denyin' it? There are them that will swear to anything before they'll hang; have you never thought of that?

Hale: I have. I - I have indeed. It is his own suspicion, but he resists it. (68-69).

someone she can not have, and that this desire of hers is the one piece of her life that she may have control over, Abigail does what she can to first take the attention off herself for the matter of witchcraft, thereby gaining the trust of her town's authority figures, and then taking further advantage of this trust in order to get what she wants. Though this behavior is inarguably reprehensible, is a demonstration of the underlying theme of witch hunts: in a time where a person feels powerless, or that someone lower on the social hierarchy than themselves may in some way gain an advantage, whether it be by magic, marriage, or land ownership, this person seizes power in the only way they can: by cutting this person down in the most permanent way possible, death.

Mary Warren counters Abigail's power-grab by wearing her appointment to the Salem court as a shield of protection against her employer, Proctor, by refusing to be whipped for her insolence when he challenges her role (59). Though Mary Warren certainly plays a role in the mass hysteria, she is capable of resisting the pull enough to reassure the court of Goody Proctor's innocence because she herself has stake in her survival and because she knows her mistress' innocence. This does not keep her from fully believing in the value of the court's proceedings, however. This is the only ounce of power that she has over a man, even more so when the man is her employer, and she wields it as a way of freeing herself from Proctor's abuse. This clearly demonstrates Miller's argument that witch hunts are merely concerned with power: the powerless attempting to gain power and those in power attempting to maintain theirs, leaving those who are Othered more vulnerable.

It is not until Mary Warren is forced to recognize that Abigail orchestrates this entire hunt, and has dragged Mary Warren into believing the hysteria to make her an integral part to the injustice, that the young servant girl gains the nerve to turn against her friends and speak up with Proctor and Giles Corey, another man in town moved to call out the clear motivation for greed and spite that has his own wife accused. Proctor, usually a man with some power over his life due to his being an ultimate representative of the dominant group that has been described before, has actually been stripped of his power due to the trust the town has put into the word of these young girls: "I - I have no witness and cannot prove it, except my word be taken. But I know the children's sickness had naught to do with witchcraft" (68). Even as Proctor

provides reasonable, logical arguments, however, those in the midst of mass hysteria will not listen; only Hale, who later expresses regret for his role in the events, eventually recognizes the reality of what has happened. Giles Corey and Proctor both, in fact, become victims of the witch hunt in their efforts to prove their wives' innocence, Giles providing evidence that Mr. Putnam would benefit from the execution of one his daughter accused (96) and Proctor forfeiting his life when it becomes clear that Abigail has accumulated too much sway over the court of Salem, that she may convince anyone she chooses that anyone she has named is guilty (120).

The primary theme of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible,* especially within the context of Othering, revolves around power dynamic. Women, being of an Othered category in themselves, were of the most vulnerable population for witchcraft accusation if only due to the solidifying feminine nature of the witch by the seventeenth century. Still, there were those more vulnerable based on cultural differences, racial differences, facial differences, and the like. While Ainsworth reveals such a power dynamic with the Demdike facial difference in Mother Demdike and little Jennet which condemned both of them from birth to be looked at as wicked, Miller exposes, like Gaskell before him, the vulnerability of people of a different ethnicity as well, expanding the risk of witch accusations past just women alone, but anyone who is considered Other. And even within this expansion exists a power hierarchical structure which illustrates how various forms of privilege (determined by the aforementioned categories of the "dominant" group) may save a person from witchcraft accusations above another. Age, housing insecurity, race, religious background or lackthereof, ties to the community and more may all come into question for a witchcraft accusation and a common theme of all of these items is that they relate to the comfortability or the challenging of said comfortability for a member of the dominant group.

CHAPTER 3: POST-MODERN POPULAR CULTURE REPRESENTATIONS

For the United States, and, if Gaskell is any indication, the UK as well, the Salem Witch Trials play a significant part in the development of witches in literature and society's understanding of witches. However, the Salem Witch Trials were only the beginning for the US's fascination with witches. While some authors like Hawthorne kept their fascination to calling out the evil, oppressive measures of the mortal men surrounding accused witches, and this theme persisted into the mid-twentieth century with Arthur Miller, some authors simply could not keep themselves from maintaining the Othered nature of the witch in a way that reaffirms the superiority of the non-witch. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Othered nature of the witch figure has been firmly established. Unlike certain authors who use this characteristic to inspire fear or vindicate the accused witch, some merely use the Otherness of the witch as a feature. As the US American witch transitioned from written format to visual media, her Otherness maintained a focused aspect of her character, her difference often a pointed purpose to her character's development and the story in which she is featured. Such emphasis on difference in the witch from this moment forward serves as a driving force to where we are today: idolizing difference with mixed results from celebration to fetishization.

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz

At the turn of the nineteenth century, L. Frank Baum released what is considered today to be the American fairy-tale, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz.* The differences between this children's novel and the film starring Judy Garland are well documented, particularly the severe age difference between 16 year old Judy Garland and the prepubescent Dorothy Gale of the novel; but then there are the political and cultural commentaries that are eliminated in the translation between text and film.

In the 1939 film, *The Wizard of Oz,* for instance, the existence of witches is merely explained that "only bad witches are ugly," by Glinda, the good witch of the North. In Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz,* however, there is a more post-colonial lens to be applied: when Glinda announces her witch identity, Dorothy is in disbelief because "Aunt Em has told me that the witches were all dead — years and years ago"

(Baum 8), to which Glinda inquires "is [Kansas] a civilized country?" Upon confirmation that it is, Glinda declares, "Then that accounts for it. In the civilized countries I believe there are no witches left; nor wizards, nor sorceresses, nor magicians. But, as you see, the Land of Oz has never been civilized, for we are cut off from all the rest of the world. Therefore we still have witches and wizards amongst us" (Baum 9). Baum choosing this distinction between civilized nations and uncivilized nations is clearly based upon his turn-of-the-century perspective. By the year 1900, after all, most of non-European countries were under the control of Western Europe: England, France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. JJ Sutherland writes for *NPR*, "When Baum heard of the killing of Sitting Bull and the massacre at Wounded Knee, he wrote editorials [in the newspaper he ran in South Dakota] calling for killing each and every last Native American." Indeed, Sutherland attaches a passage from the editorial where Baum celebrates the "fall" of the Native American leader, Sitting Bull, further calling the surviving Native Americans "what few are left ... a pack of whining curs who lick the hand that smites them. The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlements will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians" (Baum in Sutherland). With this overt declaration of a belief in white superiority, it is therefore no surprise that Baum asserts an authoritative definition of what constitutes "civilization," and uses this term specifically to explain away the lack of existence of witches in the United States and the presence of them in this Other land, Oz. At this time, after all, "civilization," was primarily connected with Christianity (particularly Protestantism) and in acts of imperialism and colonialism, "civilizing" other nations typically consisted of forced religious conversion and assimilation into European governmental and societal structures.

It appears, then, that Baum has crafted an American fairy-tale of imperialism, colonialism, and white saviorhood; from Dorothy being celebrated for "freeing" the Munchkins from their oppressive ruler, the Wicked Witch of the East, to descriptions of the Munchkins' way of life being simple, even primitive, as "Evidently the Munchkins were good farmers and able to raise large crops" (13), there is an obvious racial slant involved with Baum's fantasy world that is, thankfully, remarkably absent in the beloved film. It is not completely clear whether the connection between the Munchkins is being drawn to the Native Americans

whom the English colonized centuries before, seeing as Baum has made notable horridly derogatory views of them, or perhaps the Africans being colonized by Europe and whose oppressive place in the slave trade with the United States had only ended the very year of Baum's birth. The role of the Other in Baum's work, however, is very clear; even as Dorothy is the minority in the land of Oz, she is still the dominant, having saved the Munchkins from the Wicked Witch of the East, even when Glinda could not and the Wizard would not. In Baum's presentation of the witches as Other, their powers are limited in contrast to the other witches in literary canon who are nearly indomitable unless by the will of an entire collection of mortals. Glinda even admits that her powers are no match for the wicked witches, revealing Baum's understanding of magic to be solely maleficent in nature, as though the wickedness of the magic is what gives the supernatural abilities their power. In other words, the less connected, or less "civilized" a magic wielder is, the stronger their threat is against society at large and the dominant group. This point is emphasized even further when Glinda explains of Oz that "He is more powerful than all the rest of us together" (9). Famously, however, the Great Wizard of Oz is a sham. As he is characterized as both a good man and a powerful one with supernatural abilities, this further emphasizes Baum's stance that true magic can only be of evil or wicked origin and intention, and therefore only the people who are Other, who are "uncivilized," can have this unnatural power which should be feared and eliminated. Without even bringing Satan or religion into the conversation, whether it be because this is a children's book or due to the time difference between the novel and more religiously-based texts from centuries prior, Baum still establishes that magic or witchcraft and witches on the whole are inherently negative, further hammering this in to the witch mythos and archetype for the modern audience.

The visual media incarnations of Baum's legacy further show the progression in how the witch is viewed, from the aforementioned wholly good or wholly wicked witches in *The Wizard of Oz,* to the mixed natures of both Galinda and Elphaba in the hit musical *Wicked* which brings to life a novel inspired by Baum's work. Though Baum himself used witchiness as a metaphor for uncivilized natures, by the time of Judy Garland's hit movie and, further, the work of Gregory Maguire, the witch is merely a character that *is.* A witch is as diverse in nature as humans themselves with magic being an extension of who the person is.

While the 1939 film uses the Wicked Witch of the West's green skin to visually establish her wicked nature in addition to her title and antagonistic actions throughout the plot, Maguire in his novel, *Wicked,* and the creators of the musical based on the novel, use Elphaba's green skin as a metaphor for difference and to show, like Ainsworth with Demdike, how the mistreatment of someone due to difference is sure to make one vengeful and turn them into the very thing they were feared to be. *Wicked* even touches on disability as a form of Otherness as Nessarose, Elphaba's younger sister who, while of "normal" skin-tone, uses a wheelchair that visually sets her apart from the other students at Shiz University. Just between these two pieces inspired by Baum's work, there is a stark contrast in how wickedness functions, especially as it relates to visual markers of difference; this development between these two works demonstrates how over time difference (or Otherness) has gone from a means of justifying an assumption of badness (as in the 1939 film) to a thing to defend and source of empowerment even as people inexplicably fear and hate such difference.

The Wizard of Oz, therefore shows a progression of the mixed-nature of witches that Baum touched on (though contradicted with his comment on "civilization,") and Ainsworth thoroughly explores in *The Lancashire Witches,* while *Wicked* demonstrates a new view of witches that no one, not even the ones marked by characteristics which once automatically aligned them with innate evil, is completely good or completely evil. This trend continues for multiple decades, though, as will be explored in this chapter, does not finish progressing as viewers of visual media progress from preferring a sanitized view of the witch, to a morally varied, inconsistent make-up, to an embracing of darkness in its entirety and morality illustrated in its most perverse, yet most righteous way.

The Addams Family (1960s)

While novels took readers on a journey within their own imaginations for centuries, the development of the film and eventually television industries of the twentieth century allowed viewers to combine imagination with real images on a screen, seeming to bring the fantastical images from books to life. Numerous scholars of various disciplines have reviewed some of the oldest films and the earliest TV

shows in order to construct the history of these industries including the role of television and film in the average American home, the messages and themes being presented in various eras of history, the roles of certain groups of people in media such as gender queer people, Black and non-white people, women and femme presenting people, disabled people, etc. Today, it is commonly discussed amongst these different communities how they and their communities are represented in media from negative stereotypes to erasure or misrepresentation to use as an instrument in storytelling rather than treated as a representative of the very real people existing on and off the screen. This discussion of visibility (or lack of visibility) closely ties to the topic of representation. For the purpose of this thesis, two categories of representation that will be discussed are that of celebration and that of fetishization.

The earliest, most popular depictions of witches in television are undoubtedly Morticia Addams of *The Addams Family (*1964) and Samantha of *Bewitched* (1964). *The Addams Family* rose to popularity due to the heavy use of irony within the macabre as the family remained blissfully unaffected by the horror of their neighbors to the Addams family's unusual ways. The show's premise originates from a cartoon published in *The New Yorker* featuring odd depictions of a dark, unusual (however very American) family conducting their family dynamic in an amusingly unorthodox manner. Morticia Addams in particular is depicted as a witch figure complete with ravens, jet black hair, and a connection with nature as in the pilot to the TV series she is introduced in a greenhouse tending to her most unusual plants. Indeed, the US television industry had developed a fascination with normalizing, or perhaps "Americanizing," the abject: families of monsters (such as *The Munsters* which also premiered in 1964), complete with children and in-laws who delight in everything opposite to the standard way of living — all for the amusement of the average American family, of course.

Though this fascination with the unusual could be an indicator of American culture coming to terms with the simple fact that many people are, in fact, different, and that differences can be celebrated, it is nonetheless important to recognize that until more recently, such shows as *The Munsters* and *The Addams Family* were primarily comedies with the audience laughing at the macabre. Even as such families satirize the American way of life, the American audience, it seems, the differences in these families which

created such satire seemed to be the focus of laughter rather than deep thought or appreciation of difference. For Morticia in particular, the witch and mother was certainly a figure aligned with the Good Mother pole from the way that she listened to her children's concerns and worked with her husband, Gomez, to develop solutions as opposed to the stereotypical family dynamic of subservience of the wife. Most iconic about Morticia, however, her thin, however curvy, physique, particularly exaggerated in Anjelica Huston's portrayal in the 1991 and 1993 films and in the more recent cartoons depicting the matron with an unrealistic body shape that can only be described as alluring. The shifts in Morticia's body shape, though always conventionally attractive, becomes steadily more and more sexualized as the decades progressed — as the public's interest in the supernatural as a whole evolved. The positivity of Morticia's character, therefore, isn't so much wrapped up in her abilities as a mother (or as a wife and witch), but perhaps have more to do with her dark and alluring appearance along with the cultural shift from fear of the witch to a fascination with all things supernatural. This, I argue, is the beginning to a major shift in the American perception of witches and witchcraft that has turned the witch panic of nearly 250 years ago completely on its head.

Bewitched (1960s)

Serving as what can only be described as a foil to *The Addams Family,* which seemed to operate as a means to laugh at what was once fearsome and had changed to just strange and bewildering to the mid-twentieth century audience, *Bewitched* took a completely different approach from the dark and grim to the bright and all-American aesthetic. Premiering in the same year, *Bewitched* clearly sought to also comment on the nature of the American family, but rather than the audience being able to point and laugh at the entire family as a unit from them being cut from the same cloth, Samantha was the clear odd one out as the witch and her husband Darrin as the mortal, the representative of the audience themselves. The very first episode introduces the couple, as a "typical American girl," and a "typical, red-blooded, American boy." The narrator introducing the audience to them, however, indicated from the start that what brought them together was passion more so than any actual concrete similarities; this is evidenced by the sarcastic lilt when describing that "They became *good* friends," and the fact that there were four instances of them kissing as the narrator listed their "interests in common." This of course is nothing new for American culture which

has become infamous for its simultaneous aversion to sex and sexuality and common over-use of sex in its media. The problem here, of course, is not that the show laughs at a young couple getting married due to passion, but because of the long history of witch-belief being linked to sex and enchantment or bewitchment being related to charming young men into acting out of their senses for sex. Though *Bewitched* does not embrace counter-culture to the extent of the loudly macabre *Addams Family*, the series still demonstrates some of the less favorable aspects of witch stereotype in order to make a joke. This feature of the show, however, actually turns into the show's ultimate strength in how it talks about witches, giving Samantha the ability to call out blatant stereotype as "prejudice," and, being a beautiful white woman, is able to speak her mind about such things in a way that non-white women and queer folk were not quite allowed at the time (at least not with such positive reception as *Bewitched* received).

Immediately following a wedding between a mortal and witch, the show initiates the concept by having Samantha tell her husband of her identity, showing "little things" such as igniting a faulty lighter, moving Darrin's ashtray around the coffee table, opening a window, and fixing Darrin a drink to his liking all without moving to demonstrate the extent of her powers and prove herself to her disbelieving husband.

Even with Samantha calling out Darrin's prejudice, however, she is all too quick to abandon this entire side of herself in order to become a "normal suburban housewife." Even without Darrin knowing her identity and abilities, Samantha had decided she would stop using witchcraft for him. This level of eagerness to assimilate makes Samantha all the more palatable to the 1960s audience, demonstrating the "right kind" of difference: she is white and blonde, she is agreeable and eager to please her husband, and she is willing to bottle her power in order to make her mortal husband feel more comfortable as the man in their relationship. This is reminiscent to immigrants to the United States who abandon their home language in order to make their American peers more comfortable and to fit in with the new culture as opposed to the bilingual people, whether natural-born Americans or immigrants, who have received hateful responses from (usually) white Americans for speaking their home language in public. It is the ability to hide an aspect of someone's identity for the comfort of the dominant category (white, cis-gender and heterosexual, male, and usually Christian) that allows the Other to somewhat navigate the world more peacefully, and yet there is

always their difference looming over them; whether it be skin color, religious affiliation, language, or, in Samantha's case, magic that could ultimately make *her* the dominant figure in their relationship should she choose to use it; these differences are always apart of them even if they choose to suppress it. In a 1960s context, difference is being used to reassure that while some aspects of difference may be frightening or uncomfortable, there are usually enough similarities to make cohabitation possible — so long as the person with these differences is willing to erase what it is that makes them Other.

Multiple times throughout the first season alone Samantha and Darrin encountered mortal problems which exposed Samantha's struggle with assimilation (and Darrin's developing trust in Samantha as his wife and as a witch). For instance, there are a few episodes in which Darrin calls into question Samantha's true feelings for him (and his feelings for her) because magic is innate to her; he found himself suddenly concerned that she had truly bewitched him with magic rather than allowing either of them to develop true feelings over time. These suggestions are always understandably hurtful to Samantha. When Darrin struggles to liven up his marketing proposals for work, Sam offers slight changes that Darrin himself considers to be significantly better. He quickly distrusts her creativity, however, and insists that her solutions for his unsatisfactory marketing proposals were actually brought out by magic rather than her own innovation. Samantha, offended by his lack of trust in her abilities and her devotion to severing her reliance of magic, leaves home to rejoin her mother, once again claiming her witch side. The episode ends with Darrin apologizing for not believing that she came up with the ideas on her own, which he realized only when his client still did not like her ideas either.

Of course, for anyone attempting to repress a part of their identity, that part is bound to escape in some moments. The premise of the show, after all, calls for some magically-driven hijinks. For Samantha, it is sometimes too easy to use her abilities, such as in the first episode where she uses her magic to combat Darrin's ex's natural inclination for passive-aggression. The woman was quite accomplished at making Samantha feel separate from others in the group, first from giving Darrin a misinformed notion that the party she was hosting was casual, causing Samantha to stand out for her plain dress compared to everyone else's extravagant garb, then by seating Samantha all the way at the opposite end of the table from herself

and her husband, reminiscing loudly of the good times she and Darrin had back when they dated in order to rub her history in Samantha's face, and finally from insinuating that Samantha had received plastic surgery on her nose (a practice much more scandalous at the time compared to the twenty-first century). Having had enough, Samantha uses her own abilities to restore her power in the uncomfortable situation, much to Darrin's shock and displeasure.

It is significant to note that other witches who have been discussed here have needed scepters, wands, or an explicitly stated alignment with Satan in order to achieve and utilize their magical abilities, Samantha and her mother are simply *born* witches with their powers naturally flowing through them just as the blood and other life forces flow through everyone. They can move objects without even a gesture, or sometimes a simple nod of the head or wave of the hand (or Samantha's iconic wrinkling of the nose). The notion that a witch has unlimited powers that she is simply *born* with is a reasonably frightening one — and yet, by the 1960s such a notion does not even seem to register for the general audience. Part of allowing such a version of the witch figure in which the character has relatively unlimited power is lessening the threat of such a notion by making her familiar and making it part of her character to reject this side to herself. At the end of the day, Samantha is a young, white, attractive, blonde woman with a husband-appeasing, can-do attitude. Despite the clear power imbalance between Samantha the witch and Darrin the mortal, Samantha lessens such an imbalance by allowing herself to submit to a typical 1960s marriage dynamic in order to not only appease her husband but to lead what was at that point a "normal" life.

At this stage in the development of the witch mythos there is clearly a fascination with the dark, but also a desire to tame what has traditionally been understood to be dark. *The Addam's Family* truly is an average family with a satirically abnormal method of conducting their daily lives; the family dynamic on the whole, however, is completely normal: man and wife with love and respect for one another trying to raise their children to be respectable (to their definition of the word) people. Creating comedy out of the darkness is what allows for an exploration of the dark that is comfortable to the 1960s audience, and is what ultimately leads to the further development of such fascination to not only a celebration of difference but a fanatical relationship with difference.

Charmed (1990s)

By the 1990s, there is a sizeable array of supernatural media in books, film, and television, to suggest not only an interest in the supernatural, but an enamoring that approaches idolization. The witch is no longer an instrument of fear nor solely a tool of comedy, but role models and fascinating characters for the audience to relate to. Willow of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and the entire world of *Harry Potter* opened the scope of witches and witchcraft to the turn of the century audience. *Charmed* in particular embraced many myths of various cultures in their recreation of how magic and witchcraft function while also centering on the lives of these particular sisters for a broadly relatable, comfortable addition to the witch mythos within the viewing experience.

As the creators of *Bewitched* made Samantha into a beloved, remarkably *un*-frightening figure through the show's comedic nature and Samantha's, not only willingness, but *eagerness,* to repress her witch side, the creators of *Charmed* altered their witches to have checks and balances to their powers as well as limits to their abilities. Unlike any of the other witches discussed in this project, the Halliwell sisters and their witch peers, with few exceptions, only have one particular gift to utilize: freezing time, premonition, telekinesis, fire summoning, electrokinesis, control over elements, and more. Witches in the world of *Charmed* also can not use their powers for selfish gain such as when Phoebe attempts to use her premonition to win the lottery and her winning ticket magically wipes itself clean. Even though it is clear by now that the US has developed a deep fascination with magic and the supernatural, there is still an implied distrust of free-use magic and all-powerful wielders.

The concept of an all-powerful super-being who can either use their unlimited power for good or evil is ultimately too much at this time in contemporary history. This apparent stipulation is interesting further because of the juxtaposition between the developing obsession with the supernatural and developing presence of superheroes in film and television leading to the current obsession with whole film studios like Marvel and DC. While many superheroes are still limited in their abilities, their restrictions are even less so than that of the witches of *Charmed,* and yet even for the superheroes who have unlimited powers, they gain the audience's appeal due to their inherent heroic and moral purity of their nature (at least at this time).

The world of *Charmed,* however, much like the world of *Harry Potter,* is very much concerned with good and evil usage of gifts and magical abilities which warrants such checks and balances or restrictions to power. This is also seen in the world of *Buffy* where the show's first introduction to a witch is entirely negative with jealousy as the driving motivation of the witch in the many cruel and despicable things she does. Willow, on the other hand, becomes the show's primary witch and her experience with magic is much like that of addiction which essentially requires her, and any other "good" witches in this world, to be cognizant of their magic usage, preventing her and anyone who desires to be considered "good" to avoid using magic in excess.

So, though the US has moved on from outright fear of magical beings on the whole, as of the 1990s there is still a degree of fear with the fascination, a need for the knowledge that though these beings are super-human in some way, they are safe because they are on the side of good or at the very least they are not all-powerful. This is very similar to the ways in which the United States (and many other Western societies) look at immigrants or people of Other cultures: there are many circulating, harmful beliefs regarding the Other but there are "exceptions" to these rules so long as they use their differences for the benefit of the dominant group or as long as the person who is Other behaves in ways cohesive to the dominant's perception of "right" or "moral" or "correct."

Though visually tied to Celtic tradition with the use of the triquetra in its props and some promotional photos, *Charmed* uses many examples of difference for villainous characters as well as victims of supernatural tragedy. For instance, in episode 5 a disabled man uses his ability to stalk people in their dreams (a Freddy Kreuger power of sorts as he can also frighten someone to death in these dreams) in order to get revenge on women who turn down his romantic advances. As a wheelchair user, he perceives every rejection as being due to his disability, though in Prue's case the audience knows she turns him down because she is in a relationship at this time. The disabled have often been used in ways similar to the ways already discussed with the Other in literature and media: from the Phantom's disfigured face in *The Phantom of the Opera* to the exploitative treatment of disabled people, or people with visible differences, in freak shows — fascination with *this* form of Othering is evidenced by the show *American Horror Story*

which features an entire season centering around such events and circuses. Such representation, adhering to some of the most basic of negative tropes of witchcraft — jealousy — appears to be a villainizing tactic — though representation is never a simple topic. While some disabled people may find such representation — especially with a lack of representation of either positive or negative variety — troubling or problematic, others may actually enjoy being represented at all.

The new incarnation of *Charmed* (2018), actually recreated this storyline, but in an even more divisive way. Once again, a male wheelchair user is found out to be committing violence against women. Instead of it being a response to jealousy or assumption of an ableist slight, the professor misuses his position of power to escape punishment for multiple sexual harassment claims. Mel, one of the main witches for this version of *Charmed,* takes up her mother's cause following her death to see this professor fired and charged for his sexual misconduct. The professor's actions, it turns out, were mere cover for the true villainous nature of his character, being a demon rather than a simple mortal man, disabled or otherwise. Though again it would be narrow-minded to insist how a whole community must feel about such representation when visibility of people with disabilities on screen is still as lacking as it is today, the "us" vs "them" dynamic that comes with pitting a sexually vengeful man against women and having this man appear to be disabled visually pits Othered figures against each other. So, while the role of the Other in the witch mythos is shifting, there still exists this distinction between "good" and "bad," or, more accurately, "appropriate" and "inappropriate" as was noted for Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* between Rebecca and Ulrica.

The appeal of shows like *Charmed* is not only the relatability to the characters but the idea that these abilities that make these women, and their male and female peers, "special" are used for the betterment of the people around them. Returning to the comparison of the US American superhero, the Halliwell sisters are not extraordinarily wealthy like Bruce Wayne or Tony Stark and their powers don't make them anything more than exactly who they are as Aquaman, Superman, and Wonder Woman may even be compared to deities with the extent of their powers and the nature of how they aquired these powers (as a result of parentage and environment). While the show absolutely follows the every day mundane problems of each Halliwell sister, it is the sisters' collective decision to use their powers to help

people and work around the checks and balances of their abilities that makes them endearing to the audience. One episode in particular makes this point perfectly clear: the fourth episode of the first season in which Piper in particular makes it her mission to help a recently murdered man's ghost escape notice of a grim reaper of sorts so that he may be put to rest. This is the first time in the series that the sisters have worked to help a mortal person and, with this ghost being of Chinese-American nationality, the witches have to not only use what they can find in the Book of Shadows to help this man but also use what he knows of his own culture's spiritual lore in order to help him. At the same time as Piper works to help this departed soul achieve his final rest, Prue struggles with her personal life and mixed feelings about her upcoming birthday while Phoebe uses her powers for premonition to accept a job as a fortune teller at a fancy hotel (complete in an *I Dream of Jeanie*-esque costume, no less). Phoebe claims that her job is selfless because the money is being earned to pay for a gift for Prue's birthday and yet she sees consequences for this line of work: one customer is angered at an embarrassing Weight Watchers meeting that she sees, her boss tries to pressure her into using her powers to manipulate customers into extending their stay for the hotel's monetary gain, and another hotel customer is angered by her attempts to warn him that he will be hit and killed by a car in the near future. The theme of personal gain and consequences for the misuse of powers (karma, of sorts) is prevalent throughout the series with the sisters mentioning the concern nearly every episode to drill in the point, perhaps to assuage any remaining fearful viewers, that the point of these witches in this particular world is to use their powers constructively, against the stereotype of the Devil-aligned witches up until the 20th century.

Despite how remarkably unrelated these three storylines are, the sisters always come together at the end of the episode to help the one who was primarily working on the supernatural crisis. In a typical episode of *Charmed,* each sister has her own independent storyline with one sister picking up on the needs of someone else in distress or trouble.[88] The show blends the magical world with their mortal lives in order to maintain a semblance of normalcy which was achieved through the recognizable American household

[88] in another episode, for example, Prue is reached out to via Ouija board by a boy in trouble, gifted with electrokinesis, and so her storyline is primarily with helping him until her sisters are able to help her while Phoebe discovers a supernatural secret about Piper's love interest and Piper deals with an incompetent manager at her job

dynamic of *The Addam's Family* and Samantha's desire to assimilate in *Bewitched*. The sisters' continual service of others, inside and outside of their own family unit and magical community, makes them a kind of superhero without the spandex or metal suits and gadgets. Instead, they only have the abilities that they are born with and have to learn how to integrate both sides of themselves to function in the normal world as well as the magical world they were thrust into.

In this way, *Charmed* demonstrates a need to normalize magic as a constructive thing which does not need to be feared and is but one of numerous examples that emerge around this time as well. The theme of constructive use (or "good" vs "evil") use of magic is the most consistent message in the 90s, mollifying any remaining concerns about the supposed inherent nature of magical abilities by showing magic users as having limits to what they can do, constrained by either their own limits of magic or their moral codes of how magic should be used properly. The witches of such movies as the *Halloweentown* (1998) franchise also explore this theme with a clear divide drawn between magic that is being used properly and improperly, with there being more witches who are willing to stand up for what is right against the one or two who misuse their powers for personal gain or dominance over the mortal majority. Essentially, even as recent as the 90s, the dominant group needed reassurance that the Other whom the witch symbolizes, while playing an active role in society and having features about them that make them more powerful than once believed, are ultimately capable of or willing to follow the rules set out by the dominant group. Such fascination with this expression of Otherness was safe.

In more recent times, however, fascination with Otherness has deviated the realm of what is safe and moves toward what could potentially be described as a vengeful form, where at last the viewer is okay with, and even desirous, of witnessing the Other take back their power, asserting dominance over the people who have oppressed them despite their extraordinariness.

The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina (2018)

The final piece of media which brings this project to a close is *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* (2018), a show that, in numerous ways, brings the topic of witches and witchcraft and Othering full-circle. This teen drama pays homage to the horror genre and is packed with religious references. It also acknowledges and embraces certain stereotypes surrounding not only witches from a historical context, but from a theological one too. While this *Sabrina*'s predecessor, *Sabrina the Teenage Witch* starring Melissa Joan Hart was devoid of obvious religious references, though chock full of playing with witch stereotypes stemming from myth, religion in this newest horror-themed incarnation is almost the entire point. The way in which religion functions in this series, however, is entirely the problem.

The way that *Sabrina* represents witches and witchcraft, and specifically the way that the show inaccurately equates Satanism, devil-worshipping, and various forms of paganism and witchcraft as one and the same actually appeals to a Christian viewer of the show, S.D. Kelly, who writes for *Christianity Today* that *Sabrina* provides a "great gift" in the way they represent witchcraft. In their review for the Christian periodical, Kelly writes:

> The real world [Wicca documentarian] Alex Mar is never confronted [in her exploration of neo-paganism] in the same way as the fictional Sabrina Spellman: No one asks [Mar] to pledge her soul to the Prince of Darkness himself. But she does come to realize that she is being asked to *believe*. The practice of witchcraft is to take on and attempt to channel the power of a force outside of ourselves, one we cannot understand.

Kelly commends *Sabrina* for being "realistic," so to speak, about the dangers and darkness surrounding witchcraft in contrast to other contemporary representations which idealize and give an attractive appeal to witchcraft (not to mention a common emphasis on "good" versus "evil" witches and witchcraft) such as the world of *Harry Potter,*

> This truth, in a way, is the great gift that *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* is offering to a culture increasingly enamored of witchcraft. The series does not sugarcoat what is happening to the characters; it does not wrap Sabrina's dilemma in a charming veneer of

> quirky house elves and Bertie Bott's Every-Flavored Beans. Sabrina cannot gain the world—in this case, the magical world—without losing her soul.

Kelly has essentially argued that *Sabrina* does well with its representation of witches and witchcraft for its exposing of the inherent evil nature of the practice. Though it has been well established by this thesis that witchcraft and the practice of "magic" is wholly separate from devil-worshipping, clearly the misconceptions that resulted in thousands of murders of innocent people throughout history continue today as Kelly herself makes quite a King James spirited statement: "The practice of witchcraft is to take on and attempt to channel the power of a force outside of ourselves, one we cannot understand." Though antiquated, this serves to show that even in the second decade of the twenty-first century following two centuries of authors exploring witchcraft as a solely fictional practice, there still exists fear of these figures and the stories that persist about their power.

Therefore, what *Sabrina* has actually managed to do is borrow from real, existing religions and meld these elements with persisting tropes associated with witches which in turn Others the very people from whom they borrowed for their content: the Satanists. As the show seems to seek to normalize the Other, make the Other appealing by various means which will be discussed later, it actually managed to once again treat the people they write about and include in their narrative as Other.

First, and most abundantly, is the misrepresentation of Satanism, and further complying to Satanic panic, "one of the most famous, prolonged mass media scares in history [spanning from the 80s through the 90s and even early 2000s]... characterized at its peak by fearful media depictions of godless teenagers and the deviant music and media they consumed" (Romano). Even more relevant to the misrepresentation of Satanists as a group are the murders which took place during this time which were falsely labelled "satanic rituals" (often times by the murderers themselves). This phenomenon through these decades inspired a suspicion and fear of the Gothic subculture and the associated popular music and interest in the occult including the rising popularity of neo-paganism.

The association between true Satanism and these murders were undeterred by the fact that neither the Church of Satan nor The Satanic Temple (the two most popular Satanic organizations) support any

such rituals involving human or animal sacrifice or the harm of innocent human beings whatsoever. For either the Church of Satan or The Satanic Temple, the use of Satan as a namesake for their belief system is more about symbolic significance, providing a mascot of sorts to harken back to Lucifer's fall for the sake of valuing the self over God's commands — a symbol alone for a group of people who value science over spirituality of any sort, even dark spirituality. True Satanism is actually an atheistic, philosophical belief system. Rather than the 13 laws proposed by *Sabrina,* the Church of Satan has the eleven Satanic Rules of the Earth while The Satanic Temple has seven Fundamental Tenants. The number thirteen for *Sabrina* is merely the significance of the "unlucky" nature of the number thirteen. Many things in *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* are likewise forcefully included to make itself into an anti-Christianity. This is where, I argue, the fascination of the dark has turned into a fetishizing of the dark that is completely separate from treating such topics as satirical comedy, but rather serious engagement with dark subject matter for the sake of doing so. The problematic nature of this especially comes from he very Satanic Panic which allowed for the reaffirmation in the late twentieth century, an assumed connection between devil worship, witchcraft, and evil. *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina's* world thrives on such assumption, contributing to a desensitization of very serious topics for the sake of entertainment.

The world of *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* is one of intense hyperbole and exaggeration. A safter target of such satirical representations, the Church of Night serves to showcase the humorous and dangerous natures of any form of excessive religious zeal, turning typical Christian phrases and traditions into their abject versions. For instance, Aunt Zelda, the clear zealot of the Spellman family, uses such endearments as "Praise Satan!" in place of "Praise God/Jesus." In a sense, what this iteration of the *Sabrina* world does is explore a Derridean deconstruction of the concept of witchcraft, taking the historical facts with the historically established stereotypes alongside various religious motifs and demonology in order to do what such shows as *The Addams Family* and *The Munsters* did, but much darker. Considering the eyes through which the audience explores this deconstruction belongs to Sabrina herself, the plot points and themes of morality are explored through her definitions of morality. Numerous times throughout this thesis I have noted an apparent "right" and "wrong" way to experience Otherness, as judged by the author (or

their characters). The only thing Other about Sabrina, however, is her half-mortal, half-witch blood and her outspoken nature (though if this constitutes "Otherness" by the 21st century is up for debate): she is white and conventionally attractive, young, and as of the first season assumed to be cisgender and heterosexual. Despite so many aspects to her character aligning with the dominant class (much like was noted with Samantha of *Bewitched)* Sabrina is quite outspoken about prejudice as it relates to herself.

She calls, for instance, the Weird Sisters, a trio of young witches attending the Academy of Unseen Arts with varying forms of Otherness that Sabrina herself does not live with, racist for referring to her as a "half-breed" for her half-mortal side in addition to her witch side. They curse her and threaten her to not attend the Academy of Unseen Arts because they do not want to attend school with someone with mortal world attachments, much less blood. Such indignation at how she is treated for her identity may seem a bit tone-deaf for such a show that tackles various forms of Otherness including gender queerness, disability, and race; and yet, such classification of prejudice may be in order for a world intent on turning all things familiar to the audience upside-down. Also, Sabrina is shown, numerous times throughout the first season alone, to stand up for the needs of her friends such as when her friend, in season 1 called Susie, was repeatedly harassed by a group of athlete boys who insisted on poking at their gender (whether Susie identifies as a boy, a girl, or somewhere in-between). In order to get back at these athletes when the school refuses to do anything about the harassment, and in fact suspends Sabrina's friend, Sabrina enlists the help of the Weird Sisters to trick the boys into a sexually-charged prank in which the boys were made to believe they were fooling around with each of the young women, but were in fact half-nakedly engaging with each other, kissing and so forth. Sabrina uses their own homophobia against them by taking photos of them being with each other as blackmail to make them leave Susie alone. The Weird Sisters, being full-blood witches and therefore, if the events of the show are anything to go by, are unable to contain their desire to cause damage to mortals, decide to take Sabrina's plan for revenge further. Sabrina stepping in and stopping them from actually harming the boys is but one example of her insistence that her moral compass is the most accurate of her coven.

The sexuality of the show is another factor that contributes to my reading of a shift in how audiences view witches these days. Many times throughout the series, despite Sabrina only just turning 16 in the first episode and the other witches she attends school with being particularly young, the aforementioned sexually-charged revenge scene was only the start for incorporating sensuality in with the witch even more closely than in any of the previous texts — though sex and sensuality have certainly been a part of the witch stereotype for hundreds of years. Prudence, a young Black witch who, until mid-way through the first season believed herself to be father-less, is one of the most devout to the Church of Night, demonstrated both in her prejudice against mortals and her exuberance for a, by all accounts, savage ritual with the Church called the Feast of Feasts. During this event, remarked to be like a witchy Thanksgiving due to the close association with eating in excess, one coven member is selected as "Queen of the feast" and is to gorge herself as the rest of the coven fasts, offering her body to the coven to literally eat in memoriam of a time in history when witches starved while hiding from persecution and one witch sacrificed herself to feed her fellow witches. This tradition continued and Prudence, being so devoted to the Church was ecstatic when she was elected to the coveted position. Sabrina was selected to be her handmaiden of sorts, treating her body to whatever she desired — the name of the tradition and the label "Queen" was to make the final week of the witch's life, while her coven fasted, the most fulfilling of her life; which, for a young woman like Prudence included sexual gratification as well where even Sabrina's cousin Ambrose gave in to fulfill her sexual desires alongside some of her friends from school. Throughout the season, magic has been described as being "delicious" by not only Prudence and Zelda, but Sabrina herself, lending the entire world of witchcraft and magic a hedonistic appeal. Adding on to the sexual exoticism of Rebecca and Bess, the bodies of the Other, especially when connected to witchcraft, are particularly sexualized and have been for centuries — in *Sabrina* this sexualized nature is emphasized in a way that only a show of this level of hyperbolic writing can.

Ultimately, Sabrina is able to save Prudence from sacrifice by proving that Prudence was only named Queen of the Feast to eliminate Prudence from the High Priest's[84] bloodline. Until Sabrina was able to prove this point, however, Prudence made passionate arguments to Sabrina about her asserting *her own* moral ideas of what is normal and what is savage, even questioning "who are you to say?" when Sabrina further pushes for Prudence to reconsider. The impact of such an important question is lost, however, considering the literal cannibalism and human sacrifice associated with this discussion, and this is not the only time that Sabrina injects herself into centuries' worth of traditions to force a whole community of people to rethink their established ways based on her morals alone. In this way, Sabrina is a major example of the white savior trope,[85] made especially apparent by another scene that is so racially charged that many critics wrote on the scene in dismay, shock, and many other negative feelings.

When Sabrina does attend the Academy of Unseen Arts, she endures extreme forms of hazing that go beyond being hit by bars of soap in socks or forced excessive alcohol consumption. Sabrina is forced to spend all night in a closet with a demon known to drive witches mad, then in a forest hearing the graphic deaths of her loved ones behind her but being unable to turn around (in a sort of Orpheus and Eurydice-inspired exercise that was actually torture), and finally by being lynched in memoriam of the witches who came before her who were hanged. The most disturbing part of this, at first, seems to be the racially charged element of a Black woman hanging a white woman; but actually, the true horror comes when Sabrina turns the noose back on the Weird Sisters, showing a graphic lynching scene of a Black woman. Surely the show believed, with their racial diversity and generally open talking about racial matters in other episodes of the show from Sabrina's best friend Roz, that somehow this scene would be free from criticism or be less socially horrific than it was (perhaps a misunderstanding that the show has achieved a post-racial message?),

[84] Who happens to be Prudence's father, unbeknownst to her until Sabrina tricks him into confessing it with a truth spell.

[85] I believe it should be noted that *Charmed* in some ways possibly opened the door to this development. Each sister, all three white women, may be considered a supernatural super hero of sorts for mortal and supernatural being alike. Though where the line is draw, I would argue, is the sisters do not assert their own beliefs over top of other established beliefs in the same way as Sabrina does — which is much easier to do since the beliefs that Sabrina is combatting are, by a majority of peoples' opinions, not only savage but inhuman. Still, it would be unfair to name Sabrina as an example of the white savior trope without then also acknowledging the resemblance in the Charmed ones.

but according to numerous television critics[86] such violent imagery, especially on a Black body, can simply not be separated from historical context:

> It feels rare to go a day without seeing some news story about brutality against Black people. Showing it on a fictional TV show as one storyline of many felt like needless insult to injury, and it's a telling marker of whose trauma is considered legitimate, and under what circumstances. The historical evils of lynching is not as distant a memory. (Crumpton)[87]

Though I am certain the show felt justified in doing this, not only because of the aforementioned relatively diverse cast on the show and how racial tension is not necessarily of primary focus between Prudence and Sabrina, but also because Prudence tried to lynch Sabrina first, this level of violence for the sake of personal justice and as a form of self-defense is a level of insensitivity that indicates a, at best, misguided misunderstanding of where the United States is on matters of race and violence. This kind of insensitivity also indicates a preference for Sabrina, a figure who is supposed to be a representative of the Other, by all other accounts listed in this thesis, and yet for all intents and purposes it appears that Sabrina is, indeed, yet another colonizer coming into a new world to dictate write from wrong and make changes for the sake of her own comfort. In this way, *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* manages to create a new Othering within the witch mythos: Othered witches and dominant witches. While witches have always been a member of the outside group, even from as simple qualifications as Lois' British nationality and Protestant Christian faith compared to the dominant Puritan system she was then surrounded by in *Lois the Witch, Sabrina* has somehow managed to not only showcase how views about witches have changed but highlight a new problem within the context of Otherness and witches.

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[86] "It's great that *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* went out of its way to make sure that characters of color like Prudence play such integral parts in its larger plot. But it's important to understand a show involving characters of color should be fully aware of its use of racially charged imagery. These scenes from the first season should have been glaring red flags from the jump--and one can only hope that the show will be more mindful in its upcoming second season." (Pulliam-Moore)

[87] "Over the course of the series, the show softens her — further suggesting that Black women would 'need' to be tamed or contained — yet Sabrina is never required to grow in similar ways. Instead, she seemingly pities Prudence for her beliefs; it's a white savior swooping in to save the Black woman from herself, which no one asked her to do. That blatant disregard for Prudence's autonomy is reminiscent of societal attempts to modify Black women into concepts of white feminism, which historically has allowed white women to abuse Black women based on the power structures of whiteness, in which they fulfill the role of the oppressor. . . . *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* exploited Prudence's identity as a Black woman to fulfill Sabrina's white feminist notions of justice and equality for her community; she comes at the ready when Sabrina asks her to enact revenge on football players and her own sister alike. But Sabrina never returns the favors in kind, and never really pays for her choices the way Prudence does." (Crumpton)

What once was the use of a figure collectively feared to serve as a universal villain has now transformed into someone idolized, first by insisting the innocence of any stereotyped wrong-doing, then by using such stereotypes to explore perceived differences for comedic or moral effect, and finally to actually embrace the figure whole-heartedly. This embrace, however, has turned to a whole new direction as the general social culture has steered away from ignoring differences for the sake of finding commonality between two unlike groups of people and redirected to heightening such differences. In many cases, this is a good thing in order to celebrate cultural differences for cultures that had previously been silenced (and in many cases still are), but is perhaps turning into something more like fetishizement of the stereotype rather than uncovering the true nature of what lies beneath the stereotype. With the most recent representation of where the witch figure is heading, *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina,* it also indicates that there is a degree of teaching that needs to be done to correct witchiness (or Otherness) and bring these figures into a more well-rounded, idyllic versions of how one might dream of a witch actually being.

The concept of the Other is almost always present in witch-related media whether it be the accused witch themselves, people surrounding the witch, or even a redefinition of what it means to be Other within a twenty-firest century context; this consistent inclusion of this sociological phenomenon indicates a fascination that has evolved over so much time that it borders on some sort of idolization which, I argue, has lead us to this point where witches can even be the moral guide to both the dominant group and people of the outsider, Othered, groups. The problem here, of course, being the notion that there is a "correct" and "incorrect" way to be Other and to experience difference, and that there is a person who may assert authority over how one may feel about what makes them different. Finally, with the twenty-first century, it appears that there is an attempt to blend celebration of the Other with established, persistent societal norms; such a blend, if *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* is any indication, is not only impossible but the attempt to do so harmful.

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