

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Doctoral Thesis

2024

Lucy Císař Brown MA

Charles University
Faculty of humanities
Historical Sociology



**Civilising the Witch: A Figurational Analysis of Early Modern
Gender and Religion**

Doctoral Thesis

Lucy Císař Brown MA

Supervisor: Prof. PhDr. Jiří Šubrt

2024

Declaration

Hereby I declare that I have written this doctoral thesis by myself, using solely the references and data cited and presented in this thesis. I declare that I have not been awarded other degree or diploma for thesis or its substantial part. I give approval to make this thesis accessible by Charles University libraries and the electronic Thesis Repository of Charles University, to be utilised for study purposes in accordance with the copyrights.

Prague, 24/06/2024



Lucy Císař Brown MA

Abstract [English]

Norbert Elias's seminal text, *The Civilizing Process*, has influenced many subsequent generations of scholars interested in long-term social processes and figurational sociology. While previous analyses of the text have noted limitations regarding the positionality of both women and religion within the Elias's work, the central aim of this research has been to reincorporate both factors into a coherent theoretical framework. Through a combination of theoretical and empirical research, centring around the early modern phenomena of witchcraft prosecutions, this thesis constitutes a revision of fundamental Eliasian assumptions regarding sociogenic and psychogenic processes of European state formation. Regarding gender, the assumption of a transformation in societal violence is reevaluated to position women as the primary unit of analysis. By focusing on women's relations to violence, the dissertation posits a divergence in both the timing and direction of the civilising process between genders. With respect to religion, the potential for the Church to act as an alternative gravitational centre for state formation and psychogenic processes has been evaluated. Given the centrality of religion within the medieval and early modern periods, it is argued that a 'third pillar' of state formation was necessary, constituting a process of religious 'de-centralisation'. Both gender and religion therefore formed interrelated and essential elements of the long-term European civilising process, as demonstrated through the development and decline of the ultimate 'outsider' figure: the witch.

Keywords: Norbert Elias; Figurations; Gender; Religion; Civilising Process

Abstract [Czech]

Zásadní dílo Norberta Eliase, *The Civilizing Process*, ovlivnilo mnoho generací učenců zabývajících se dlouhodobými společenskými procesy a figurační sociologií. Zatímco dřívější analýzy tohoto textu poukazovaly na limitace týkající se pozicionality žen a náboženství v Eliasově díle, ústředním cílem této disertační práce bylo začlenění obou těchto faktorů zpět do uceleného teoretického rámce.

S pomocí kombinace teoretického a empirického výzkumu zaměřeného na raně novověký fenomén pronásledování čarodějnic umožňuje tato práce revidovat základní eliasovské předpoklady o sociogenezi a psychogenezi procesů formace evropského státu.

Ve vztahu k genderu je přehodnocen předpoklad transformace ve společenské násilí tak, aby byla žena ustanovena jako primární analytická jednotka. Prostřednictvím svého zaměření na vztah žen k násilí, postuluje disertační práce odlišné načasování a směřování civilizačního procesu u mužů a žen.

Ve vztahu k náboženství práce vyhodnocuje potenciál církve jakožto alternativního centra mocenské sféry státu a psychogenních procesů. S ohledem na dominantní úlohu náboženství ve středověku a raném novověku přitom chápe proces náboženské „decentralizace“ coby nezbytný „třetí pilíř“ formace státu. Gender a náboženství proto tvoří vzájemně propojené a nutné prvky dlouhodobého evropského civilizačního procesu, což dokládá vývoj a úpadek figury nejextrémnějšího „outsidera“: čarodějnice.

Keywords: Norbert Elias; Figurations; Pohlaví; Náboženství; Civilizační Proces

Contents

Introduction.....	9
Historical Background.....	13
Literature overview	19
Theoretical framework.....	23
Methodology	30
Psychogenesis.....	35
Chapter 1: The medieval mind: women, violence and the church	38
1.1 Medieval Conduct.....	38
1.2 Medieval Violence	51
1.3 Medieval Church.....	60
Conclusion	65
Chapter 2: The Rise of Witchcraft Prosecutions	67
2.1 A History of the Witch	68
2.2 Print Culture	80
2.3 Elite Texts, Popular Narratives	81
2.4 Popular Evidence	85
Conclusion	86
Chapter 3: Characterising the Witch	87
3.1 The Devil Within: Demonising the Witch	88
3.2 Bad Reputation	91
3.3 Hereditary Evil	93
3.4 Witch as Woman, Woman as Witch.....	94
3.5 Inverted Roles.....	99
3.6 'I am a passionate woman'	102
3.7 Male Witch	104

3.8 Bride of Satan	105
Conclusion	108
Chapter 4: Social Regulation and the Charismatic individual	109
4.1 The Good Neighbour	110
4.2 Bonds of friendship.....	111
4.3 Public Slander	117
4.4 Ulterior Motives	120
4.5 Poverty.....	121
4.6 Revenge	124
4.7 Public Conflict	124
4.8 Individualism.....	129
4.9 The Charismatic Individual	130
4.10 Scotland versus England.....	133
Conclusion	135
Sociogenesis	137
Chapter 5: Law, Bureaucracy and Process	139
5.1 Legitimacy.....	141
5.2 Treason	146
5.3 Religion	149
5.4 Clergy	150
5.5 Papists.....	157
Conclusion	160
Chapter 6: God, the King and the crone – the monopoly of violence	162
6.1 The Divine Right of Kings	163
6.2 Murder.....	169
6.3 Mass Prosecutions: State and Religious Turmoil	172

6.4 Civil Unrest.....	177
6.5 Legitimising Violence	178
6.6 Institutional Violence.....	181
6.7 Mob Violence.....	184
Conclusion	187
Chapter 7: The Decline of Witchcraft	189
7.1 Scepticism	192
7.2 Vigilantism	204
7.3 Gender	207
7.4 Religion as the third pillar.....	208
Conclusion	211
Gender	211
State formation	213
Religion	214
Bibliography.....	216
Primary Sources.....	216
Secondary Sources.....	218
Appendix 1: List of witchcraft pamphlets.....	226

N.B. Primary texts have been edited in some instances to standardise or modernise spelling for purposes of clarity. Dates for pamphlets are given in accordance with the date recorded in the pamphlet (Julian calendar) and not updated to reflect the Gregorian calendar.

‘The late Middle Ages’ (here defined as c. 1250-1450) and ‘the late medieval period’ have been used as interchangeable terms throughout this thesis. The early modern period here refers to the years c. 1450 to 1750.

Introduction

The work of Norbert Elias, and most importantly *The Civilizing Process*¹, has been a major influence on the development of the field of historical sociology, with his distinctive 'process-sociological' approach situating him on par with the classical sociologists of the 20th century. The impressive scale of historical research employed by Elias's early work has been a challenge for sociologists to replicate given the extent and scope of historical detail he utilised to assess the long-term processual changes of the medieval and modern periods. Within this research, the purpose is not to reproduce the findings of Elias regarding this transitional period in European history, but rather to interrogate the change through alternative figurational dynamics and interdependencies. These alternative perspectives will be examined through both empirical and theoretical analysis in order to bring greater depth to our processual understanding of the formation 'modernity' in an Eliasian sense.

Elias's description of the transformation from medieval to modern psychogenic and sociogenic processes carefully avoids two major figurations which have since been used by critics to undermine the overall theory of the 'civilizing process'². The first consideration relates to the centrality of religion to both medieval individuals and societal structures. The second consideration relates to whether the transformative processes of sociogenesis and psychogenesis can be applied in the same way to women as were demonstrated within the transformation of the wider patriarchal society. In many respects, both figurations are interdependent, both with each other and the development of modern society, requiring their reassessment through the theoretical assumptions presented within *The Civilizing Process*. In homage to Elias's book, this research has similarly been divided into two major sections as they relate to the development of human figurations: sociogenesis and psychogenesis. A qualitative

¹ *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization* (1994) was originally published as *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation* in 1939 in two separate volumes. They were first translated into English in 1978 and 1982.

² For a critique on religion see: Turner, Bryan. 2004. 'Weber and Elias on Religion and Violence: Warrior Charisma and the Civilizing Process' in Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley (Eds.), *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.: 245–64.

For a critique on gender see: Hargreaves, Jennifer. 1992. 'Sex, gender and the body in sport and leisure: has there been a civilizing process?' in Eric Dunning and Chris Rojek (Eds.), *Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*. London: Macmillan.: 161-183.

analysis of the discourse and presentation of early modern witchcraft prosecutions, as presented through the format of nationally distributed witchcraft pamphlets, has therefore been used as a primary source of data for this reassessment. This is due to the pamphlets' representing a point of confluence between figurations related to gender, religion, localised society and state mechanisms. The national examples of England and Scotland are also examined within a comparative analysis of the long-term processes of gender, religion and witchcraft prosecutions.

In part two of *The Civilizing Process*, Elias identified two fundamental pillars of state formation: taxation and the monopoly of violence. These pillars form an essential, symbiotic relationship underpinning the stability of the modern nation-state (1994, p.346). The researcher's proposed addition to this theoretical framework is that, given the individual, social and historical relevance of religion to humanity, the transformation of this crucial aspect of society must necessarily be incorporated into any theory of social development. This approach to religious transformation differs subtly from both the legal concept of 'secularisation' (which did not occur fully in this period) and Max Weber's concept of 'disenchantment' (1946, pp.138-9). The concept of 'religious decentralisation' is therefore proposed to describe a complex renegotiation of power relations and the uneven distribution of personal belief structures occurring across the period.

Within the parameters of a patriarchally-structured society, the transformation of women is also an under-examined element of the civilising process. What Elias describes as the transformation of sociogenesis and psychogenesis may be considered a transformation of only half of the European population: medieval and early modern women were already embodiments of largely non-violent social interaction. The adoption of non-violent interactional strategies by men in society should therefore be considered within the frame of emulating female-associated diplomatic strategies. Within violent medieval society, evidence suggests that such strategies were effective on a personal level (see Chapter 1 on violent statistics) however the structural disadvantage of non-violence reinforced female subjugation. The adoption of such strategies therefore required a rejection of their feminine associations and as such a negative reappraisal of women as social actors. Such a reappraisal was demonstrated

through the increasing development of binary conceptions of 'good' and 'bad' women during the early modern period and their real-world structural disassociation. Combined with the shifting power relations between the church and state, gendered social processes enacted through witchcraft prosecutions were symptomatic of a society wrestling with the increasing interconnectivity of figurations.

Conflict at the meeting point of the secular and the religious institutions is most starkly witnessed within early modern witchcraft prosecutions. This complicated fusion of secular crime and religious content provides a mirror with which to view this societal-wide transformation from both an individualist and holistic perspective. The potential for this approach as a comparative tool is considerable: the Scottish religious landscape was a constant source of tension and challenge to monarchical power during the early modern period and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1653) had their roots in religious divisions surrounding monarchical supremacy. The tension in Scotland was reflected in the ferocity with which witchcraft prosecutions were implemented and then rescinded by the state and society in relation to the political and religious dominance of a given year. By contrast, England's less consistently contentious relationship between the church and the monarch following the Reformation³ was reflected in the smaller-scale and distinctly less 'religious' character of English prosecutions. Through comparative and detailed study of both nations' witchcraft prosecutions and their presentation within the popular national narratives, a greater understanding of the religious transformation in the early modern period is revealed.

Within the parameters of this research, primary data has been gathered from a range of contemporary sources, with the greatest proportion derived from a qualitative analysis of 96 witchcraft pamphlets published throughout the early modern period and circulated in England and Scotland. Other data sources have also included an analysis of medieval etiquette books aimed at women's behaviour, published contemporary texts on witchcraft and quantitative data collection surrounding medieval and early modern homicides in London. The use of multiple sources of

³ With the obvious exception of the period of the English Civil Wars (1642-48).

historical data is intended to enhance the rigour of the theoretical argument and reflect Elias's own historical data-driven approach to sociological research.

Historical Background

In order to understand the significance of witchcraft prosecutions within the early modern civilising process, it is necessary to understand the wider landscape of religious, political and gender relations across the period. A brief overview of these issues as they relate to England and Scotland has therefore been provided in order to contextualise the following empirical and theoretical analysis.

Early Modern Europe

The European early modern period (the late 15th to late 18th centuries) has been identified by historians and sociologists alike as a period of great historical significance and social change worthy of detailed study in the context of development and modernisation. The transition from the medieval agrarian society towards the early industrialism of the 18th century varied in character across the continent, however general transformative processes may still be identified. Significant features of this period include the gradual increase in population sizes, economic expansion and early state formation whilst also witnessing processes of major disruption such as the Protestant Reformation, the rise of individualism and the decline in the status of women (Scott, 2015, pp.3-4).

The direction of development for these factors was, to varying degrees, hampered by the wider European economic, population and military 'crisis' beginning in the mid-17th century (referred to by some contemporaries as the 'Iron Century' (Kamen, 1971, p.XIV)). Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm described this crisis in terms of a necessary economic phase in the transition towards modernity (Hobsbawm, 1954b, p.44) whilst Hugh Trevor-Roper viewed the crisis in terms of a conflict between the state and society due to a variety of complex problems (religious, political, economic etc.) occurring simultaneously (Trevor-Roper, 1959, p. 34). Within the context of English and Scottish history, the crisis was exacerbated by political and religious disputes such as the English Civil War (1642-1651) and the wars of the Covenanters (1638-1650) which caused significant disruption to all aspects of society.⁴

⁴ An estimated 85,000 people were killed in combat and many more from associated diseases (Atherton, 2018, p.28)

Religious strife

Amongst the most notable of transformations, and intrinsically linked to the later civil wars in England and Scotland, was the rupture in society caused by their respective protestant reformations. Instigated by Henry VIII in 1533 in connection with the annulment of his first marriage to Catherine of Aragon, the English Reformation constituted a complete reconcentration of power in the hands of the monarch and assertion of the divine right of kings. This took place partially through the 1534 *Act of Supremacy* which made Henry the head of the Church (Public Act, 26 Henry VIII, C. 1). *The Suppression of Religious Houses Act* 1535 (followed by others) began the process of religious suppression in earnest across England, confiscating the lands and properties of religious houses into the hands of the Crown (Public Act, 27 Hen VIII, C. 28. (1536: modern date)). Importantly, where most monastic houses were disbanded or forcibly abandoned under the changes, local parish churches and those parishes who worshipped in the churches of monastic institutions remained untouched, causing minimal disruption to the day-to-day worship of the populous. Despite some rebellion, such as the October 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace in the northern counties, this initial severance from Papal influence was a relatively bloodless affair (Loughlin, 2016, p.276). Nevertheless, the events formed a permanent transformation in English religious affairs which started to break the links between church and state. During her brief reign, Henry's Catholic daughter Mary I, tried to reverse the effects of the Reformation however, these forceful attempts were unsuccessful and upon the accession of Elizabeth I, the English Protestant Church (later Church of England) was established (MacCulloch, 2003, p.491).

The Scottish Reformation was a much more politically complex affair which saw, to a greater degree than England, the rise in power and influence of the independent Scottish Kirk (church). Rather than being initiated by monarchical influence, the Scottish Reformation began with the increasing popular Lutheran movement at the beginning of the 16th century. Despite attempts by parliament to ban Lutheran literature (1525) and the martyring of Patrick Hamilton (1528)⁵, Lutheran theology,

⁵ A nobleman and the first Scottish Protestant martyr, Hamilton was influenced by his attendance at German universities where Lutheran theology was rife (Guthrie, 1997, pp.8-9).

which centred scripture as the source of church authority, was taking hold amongst the populous. Unlike his contemporary, Henry VIII, James V did not attempt to make any major changes to the Scottish church, instead choosing to increase crown revenue through heavy taxation of the church which in turn increased calls amongst the nobility for reform (Cameron, 1998, p.260). Upon James' death, the accession of the infant Mary Queen of Scots created a tumultuous period of religious conflict (both literal and theological) exacerbated by French and English interference (Guthrie, 1997, p.10). The inconsistent and half-hearted approach to reforming church affairs by the various subsequent regents allowed Protestantism to expand amongst the nobility through increasing numbers of 'privy kirks' [private churches] (Kirk, 1986, p.155). Under the influence of the theologian minister John Knox, a series of local reformations took place which escalated into conflict between English and French forces and the eventual suspension of the Catholic Regent, Mary of Guise, in favour of a council of Protestant lords. In August 1560, Parliament, without royal consent, approved the 'Reformed Confession of Faith' and effectively abolished Roman Catholicism, Papal jurisdiction and the celebration of Mass in Scotland (Guthrie, 1997, p.13). The process of conversion throughout the more remote areas of Scotland took place gradually and there was no dissolution of monasteries as in England; most were allowed to slowly decay and die out. The return of the adult Mary, Queen of Scots from France in 1561 was marked by an agreement with Parliament that she be the only person allowed to worship as a Catholic and would not be able to impose her religion on her subjects (Goodare, 2005b, pp.56-7).⁶ Mary's son and successor, James VI, despite being brought up Protestant, held episcopalian sympathies and rejected the right of the Kirk to independence and to interfere in governance. Upon his accession to the English throne in 1603, James returned to Scotland only once, apparently preferring the more amenable Anglican approach to monarchy than the overtly hostile Scottish Kirk (MacDonald, 2005).

⁶ Mary solidified her conciliatory stance towards the Protestant domination of Scotland following the arrest of Archbishop John Hamilton and forty-seven other Catholic priests for celebrating mass in defiance of the 1561 ban. This, and other actions, greatly angered Catholic aristocracy which in turn exacerbated the series of crises which dogged Mary's reign and eventually led to a 'second Reformation crisis' in 1567 (Goodare, 2005b).

Witchcraft

Against this religiously significant backdrop, another threat to both church and monarch had appeared: “detestable slaves of the devil” (James VI, 1597, preface) in the form of witches. The history of the witchcraft prosecutions in Europe is one characterised by waves of intensity followed by periods of calm. Whilst the concept of the witch is both biblical and ancient in origin, it was the early modern period which was to be characterised by both their presence and their persecution. The estimated numbers of prosecutions for witchcraft in the early modern period vary greatly, however a conservative estimate of prosecutions for witchcraft is approximately 100,000, with roughly half of those leading to executions (Levack, 2013, p.6). This number does not include those who were accused of witchcraft but were never brought to trial⁷ and those mentioned in archive materials which have not survived to the present day. Such missing data would likely have increased the number of suspected witches greatly and emphasises the limited nature of relying on court documents as the sole source for witch belief in the period.

Despite the limited number of documented prosecutions across Europe as a whole, their distribution was certainly not even throughout the continent. Certain regions, such as those which now form parts of modern Germany⁸, Hungary⁹ and Scotland¹⁰ saw intensive and prolific numbers of prosecutions between the 15th and 18th Centuries whilst others, such as England, the Bohemia and France had comparatively lower numbers of prosecutions per population.

Legal overview

Despite occasional prosecutions for witchcraft-adjacent crimes such as necromancy in the late medieval period, the first English and Scottish statutes against witchcraft were not brought in until the 16th century. Henry VIII’s *Witchcraft Act* of 1542 was a significant piece of legislation as it defined witchcraft as felony to be prosecuted in the English assize courts rather than as a religious crime:

⁷ This includes those named as witches during the trials of other accused witches.

⁸ Particularly in areas which Thomas Robisheaux has described as being “where early modern states were late to develop” (Robisheaux, 2013, p.180).

⁹See (Kristof, 2006, pp.515-520)

¹⁰See (Levack, 1980)

...use devise practise or exercise, or cause to be used devised practised or exercised, any Invocations or conjurations of Sprites witchcrafts enchantments or sorceries, to the intent to get or find money or treasure, or to waste consume or destroy any person in his body members or goods, or to provoke any person to unlawful love, or for any other unlawful intent or purpose, or by occasion or color of such things or any of them, or for despite of Christ, or for lucre of money, dig up or pull down any Crosse or Crosses, or by such Invocations or conjurations of Sprites witchcrafts enchantments or sorcery or any of them take upon them to tell or declare where goods stolen or lost shall become,. – 33 Hen. 8. C. 8

Upon Henry's death in 1547, his son Edward VI repealed the act, with no statute replacing it until Elizabeth I's 1642 *Act Against Conjurations, Enchantments and Witchcrafts* (5 Eliz. 1. C. 16). Elizabeth's act can be seen as a slight softening of the approach, with the death penalty applied only in cases "whereby any person shall happen to be killed or destroyed" (Gibson, 2006, pp.3-4). This act remained in force until its repeal in 1604 by James I who introduced more severe punishment and expanded the scope of felonies in *An Act against Conjuration, Witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits* (1 James 1. C. 12).

In Scotland the *Anetis Witchcraft* was the product of the new Protestant church of the Reformation Parliament, whose meeting in 1563 with the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots was long anticipated as an important moment in the settlement of religion (Goodare, 2005a, p.41). The act itself prohibits, on pain of death, any person:

...to use any maner of Witchcraftis, Sorsarie or Necromancie, nor gif thame selfis furth to have ony sic craft or knowlege thairrof, thairthrow abusand the pepill: – Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 2:539, C.9.

The legal prosecutions were finally brought to an end in both England and Scotland in 1735 by an act of parliament, the *Witchcraft Act 1735* (9 Geo. 2. C. 5). This act made it

illegal to pretend to use magic or claim to be a witch, assuming all who did so were fraudulent opportunists.

In Scotland witchcraft was often described as a crime against God as well as against the law of Scotland which is why the bodies of witches were burned at the stake (following strangulation); mirroring the punishment for heresy (Levack, 2008, p.7). The fortunes of Scottish witches were more closely intertwined with the fluctuating religious landscape than that of English ones, with Scottish clergy actively involved in prosecutions (though limited by jurisdiction). Unification of purpose between England and Scotland did occur during the revolutions of 1640s when English Puritans and Scottish Covenanters justified witch-hunting as part of establishing a Godly society (*Ibid*). Aside from this brief interlude, the religious element of English witch prosecutions was far more understated in terms of religious involvement in the prosecutions.

What was a witch?

When examining the historical context of early modern witchcraft prosecutions, it is important to acknowledge the continuity of witch belief both prior to and after the most intensive period of prosecutions from the 16th to the 18th centuries. What varied was the acceptance or rejection of the threat of witchcraft by authorities and those wielding local power. Even in 'modern' society, witch belief and superstition has never been fully suppressed both within and outside of conventionally religious communities (Doyle White, 2015).

The concept of the 'witch' has existed in some form since before written records began, however the definition of what constituted a 'witch' is less easily stated. In order to consider witchcraft in the figurational sense, it is necessary to distinguish the idea of a 'witch' from other supernatural phenomena present throughout society: namely those of a religious or spiritual nature. Given the modern definition of 'Wicca' as a religion and the ritualised nature of Catholicism, for example, this is easier said than done. Definitions of what constituted 'witchcraft' versus '(good) magic' or 'religion' have also varied both temporally and spatially, however it is this shifting line

of social acceptability which makes witchcraft such a useful litmus paper for social transformations.

The abstract concept of the 'witch' may be interpreted as the embodiment of social deviance, however the act of prosecuting individuals for witchcraft was a more complex phenomenon requiring further analysis than simply the suppression of deviant behaviour. Throughout this research contribution, a necessarily narrow definition of what contemporary publications defined a witch to have been utilised. In the English and Scottish contexts this can be summarised as an individual who was believed to be a practitioner of harmful magic by society, with the understanding that what constitutes 'harmful' will be defined by contemporary legal or societal opinions rather than that of the 'witch' themselves. That is not to say that the intentions of the individual 'witch' are of less concern than the collective response to their behaviour, however the witchcraft pamphlets are a presentation of the 'established' rather than 'outsider' perspective. What is of significance within the scope of this research is not the reality of individual 'witches' and their behaviour, although this will be discussed, but rather their place within the long-term transformative processes of early modern society, their presentation within the publications and the social relations which may be gleaned from the discourse surrounding them.

Literature overview

The extensive research on witchcraft prosecutions of the early modern period has consistently attempted to explain the how and why 'witches' became a target for systematic prosecution in this particular period. Leading historians of the early modern period, such as Keith Thomas¹¹ and Christina Lerner¹², have attempted to explain why such a phenomenon occurred in Europe during this and no other time, yet the question continues to be unsatisfactorily resolved. In addressing this question, the researcher is naturally drawn towards considering more broadly the social changes which occurred from the medieval to modern periods as well as the transformative

¹¹ *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) remains one of the most influential attempts by a historian to explain the long-term social processes which occurred between the medieval and the modern.

¹² *Enemies of God* (1981) offers an alternative to the bottom-up explanations of witchcraft prosecutions, instead focussing on the gendered nature of the trials.

processes which constituted the rise of 'modern society'. Such considerations have inevitably allowed for interdisciplinary perspectives, with many historians touching on, though arguably not fully engaging in, theories of historical sociology.

Sociology:

While a significant focus in historical research, sociological interpretations of witchcraft prosecutions are yet to be extensively investigated. Early anthropological explanations for the presence of witchcraft in modern societies took a decidedly functionalist approach, with the conceptualisation of witches by the likes of Edward Evans-Pritchard (1976) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1948) emphasising the alleviative properties of witch belief on societal tensions. The anthropological approach has been useful in explaining how the contextual rationale behind witch belief may be deconstructed and as such influenced one of the most important accounts of early modern European witchcraft: Alan Macfarlane's 1970 *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional Comparative Study*. Macfarlane's detailed research into the Essex witch prosecutions of the 1640s provided meso and macro-level explanations for witch belief as a vehicle for public relief from 'social strains' related to the disruption caused by the Civil War. Localised behaviours were therefore rooted in national social sources of conflict; an approach, though not acknowledged by Macfarlane, analogous of Elias's long chains of figurational interdependence and Lewis Coser's *Functions of Social Conflict* (1965).

A noted attempt to by a sociologist to analyse the social significance of the development of European witchcraft prosecutions came from Nachman Ben-Yehuda (1980) who considered the trials in terms of the renegotiation of moral boundaries across a period of religious uncertainty. Ben-Yehuda ascribes the timing of the rise in witch prosecutions as the result of the emergence of a new social order following the decline of medieval society in what he terms as a 'differentiation process' (1980, p.24). In emphasising the role of religious ideology and the changing status of women, Ben-Yehuda argues that countries where the church was weak were particularly vulnerable to a 'witch-craze' (*Ibid*, p.25). While a useful broad study of religious contributions to

witch prosecutions, Ben-Yehuda's analysis was undermined by his lack of a detailed analysis of 16th and 17th century European society; in particular the rise of Protestantism and the gradual decline in the status of women which would challenge his hypothesis (Scott, 2015, pp.3-4).

The sociologist Gary Jensen has approached the subject from a critical perspective regarding the consideration of temporality in early modern historical research. Conducting a quantitative and qualitative comparison between potential causal factors and the frequency of witch trials, Jensen suggested that there was a positive relationship between instances of the plague and regional witch crazes (1997, p.56). This link indicated that a one-year lag between plague occurrence and witch hunting was required to generate a significant relationship between the variables and the correlation itself was limited to regional rather than local data (*Ibid*, p.56). By far the most extensive sociological analysis of witch trials, however, comes from Jensen's 2007 book *The Path of the Devil: Early Modern Witch Hunts* in which he considers three theoretical interpretations: functional sacrificial ceremonies, strategic persecution and the concept of the scapegoat. By utilising interdisciplinary theoretical concerns and statistical analysis, Jensen analyses the role of deviance, social control and collective behaviour as integral factors in prosecutions. Kai Erikson has similarly approached the topic of deviance and social control through a dramaturgical position in which the performative elements of sanctions against social deviants follows distinctive phases in order to neutralise the effects of misconduct (1966, pp.137-161). It is this performative character which is the most apparent from the witchcraft pamphlets and will therefore be analysed within the context of the reciprocal structured and structuring nature of discourse.

Regarding the macro-level analysis of witchcraft prosecutions, Steije Hofhuis and Maarten Boudry considered their proliferation in the early modern period from a cultural Darwinian perspective (2019), suggesting that cultural variants characterising witchcraft were reproduced and selected for, leading to a 'viral' phenomenon. The proposed rejection of so-called 'grand explanator frameworks' is justified by the lack of both a visible coordinated strategy regarding the persecutions and an obvious beneficiary to the hunts (Hofhuis and Boudry, 2019, p.25). While this theoretical re-

examination is compelling, an alternative explanation for the lack of cohesion would be that the lack of a single beneficiary is the result of shifting power relations across the entirety of the period. The various ways in which witch prosecutions have been utilised by sometimes opposing social and political figures suggests that the concept of the witch was much more fluid than suggested by the 'selfish meme theory' (*Ibid*).

The overrepresentation of women within the prosecutions have led to some radical feminist interpretations of these events, centring on the patriarchal nature of the violence directed towards suspected witches in their desire to suppress women's sexuality.¹³ While many historians have recently shied away from overtly feminist interpretations due to accusations of a lack of engagement with the source material (Rowlands, 2013, p.452), the gendered element of the trials remains unsatisfactorily resolved.

Symbolic action and gender are the basis for Isaac Reed's analysis of the Salem witch trials in Massachusetts (2007), which attempts to unite the patriarchal control argument with the long term structural factors leading to trials. By suggesting that the Puritan culture of 17th century Massachusetts constructed problems in addition to their proposed spiritual solutions, Reed is centring the cultural experience of gender in relation to early modern authority. A similar approach is adopted in this analysis as the interaction between gender and the developing early modern state is examined through contemporary popular discourse as an expression of social relations.

¹³ See Andrea Dworkin's chapter 'Gynocide: The Witches' in *Woman Hating* (1974); *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts* (1994) by Anne Llewellyn Barstow and most significantly Christina Larner's *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland* (1981).

Theoretical framework

There is a tendency within postmodernist sociology to reject and critique meta-scaled theoretical perspectives because of their lack of applicability to specific meso or micro contexts (Ritzer, Zhao and Murphy 2001, p.113). Such critiques are themselves open to accusations of relativism and as such may not constitute the most effective way to assess grand social theories. To avoid such limitations, this thesis will attempt to reappraise social theory by interrogating the fundamental theoretical and historical assumptions upon-which the theory was developed. This approach will be two-fold: recentring women as the fundamental unit of social analysis and re-assessing the role of religion within social development. Both elements are under-examined within Elias's work and require re-consideration given their integral significance in social development. The early modern witchcraft prosecutions will therefore provide empirical support for this analysis however the primacy of the theoretical reappraisal should be emphasised.

The theoretical framework through which the witchcraft prosecutions will be analysed is Norbert Elias's approach to long-term historical processes and social relations. The influence of Elias on the sociological approach to human history was both profound and not without controversy; requiring sociologists to move beyond the individualism verses holism conflict in favour of considering both as interconnected and interdependent. In centring the processual approach, Eliasian theory offers both a long-term perspective on societal change and a close examination of human social behaviour. Within Elias's oeuvre, *The Civilizing Process* (1994) and *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994) most overtly describe the central tenants of his figurational sociology and as such present the starting point for this analysis. Whilst detailed and comprehensive in terms of many aspects of social development, the limitations of Eliasian social theory informs the fundamental character of this figurational analysis of early modern society. A reformulation of the central pillars of the civilising process, namely the consideration of organised religion as a crucial third element and the transformation of women's sociogenesis and psychogenesis, is therefore the theoretical alternative proposed by this analysis.

Norbert Elias and the Civilising Process

By far the most renowned of Elias's works, *The Civilizing Process* provides a comprehensive and elegant theoretical perspective on the development of European societies. Grounded in historical detail related to the transformation of social manners, Elias's civilising theory sought to describe the increasing complexity of social relations from the medieval period to the modern. These social relations, or 'figurations', become more complex the more interconnected they are and are a continuous process reliant on both internal and external forces to dictate the direction of their transformation. Elias describes the development of figurations through two interconnected and interdependent concepts: the 'psychogenesis' of an individuals' behaviour and the 'sociogenesis' of social relations.

The process of psychogenesis describes long-term changes to an individuals' social and interactional behaviours and internalised standards of self-control in relation to their social environment. As figurations become increasingly interconnected, greater standards of behaviour are required from individuals in order to satisfy acceptable interactions. These standards, at first imposed from the external environment, gradually become internalised norms of behaviour which cause individuals sufficient discomfort when they are transgressed to deter people from doing so. An example of such discomfort given by Elias was that of the transformation in the use of knives as the primary mechanism for transferring food from the plate to the mouth. From the medieval period to the modern, the association between knives and violence became increasingly a source of public discomfort, leading to the development of a taboo surrounding placing a knife blade in the mouth: "Bear not your knife toward your face, for therein lies much dread" (Elias, 1994, p.105). Instances where such taboos were relaxed, such as in the trenches of World War I, Elias attributed to the external pressures of an "inescapable situation" (*Ibid*, p.106). The implication being, therefore, that the direction of development in human behaviour is not unilinear and is subject to changes in societal conditions (a de-civilising process).

These societal conditions are at the centre of Elias's second process, 'sociogenesis', and are crucially why such standards of behaviour could not have developed during

the medieval period. As would become popularised in the wider study of historical sociology from the 1960s onwards, Norbert Elias's main concern with regards to broad historical change was the rise of the European nation-state.¹⁴ According to Elias's model, the process of state-formation began to take place from the 16th century onwards, as rulers began to develop monopolies over the two essential pillars of state control: violence (through armed forces) and fiscal dominance (through taxation). It was these two pillars which Elias considered to be fundamental to the civilising process, without-which the necessary centralisation of power may not occur.

In the medieval period, according to Elias, the lack of a central consolidation of power meant that rulers lacked the ability to compel individuals to behave in non-violent, self-restrained ways (1994). The resulting conflict-driven environment therefore prioritised physical strength as the root of localised power differentials which led to inevitable fluctuations in the strength, size and longevity of medieval territories. In order for these territorial powers to sufficiently stabilise, the victorious territories had to grow in size while at the same time the number of competing rulers must considerably diminish. The result of this transformation was, as determined by Elias, inevitable: power is acquired by a single ruler (most often a monarch) which is both greater than the surrounding territories and centralised enough to become stable (through taxation and the monopoly of violence). The resultant pacification of society by these absolutist rulers is a necessary outcome for the continuation of territorial stability. Those who wished to hold positions of power within the court of the monarch were forced to transition from the 'man-at-arms' warriors of medieval nobility into courtiers able to adopt polite social behaviours to gain political advantage at the discretion of the monarch. The calculated distribution of royal favours along with the increasing subtlety of courtly politics gradually developed 'polite behaviour' as a defining characteristic of social elites which, in turn, was gradually disseminated downwards through the social classes. These externalised forces of sociogenesis reinforced the psychogenesis process whilst at the same time being shaped by the

¹⁴ See Barrington Moore's *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966), Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* (1979) and Charles Tilly's *Coercion, Capital and European States AD 900-1990* (1990)

internalised standards of individuals. A veritable 'chicken and egg' scenario of social transformation.

In Elias's later work, the concept of complex social relations between an individual and their community was developed further through the exploration of the established-outsider figuration. Through a detailed study of a region of Leicester alias 'Winston Parva', Elias and John Scotson (1994) demonstrated how a relatively homogenous community may develop divisions between 'groups' which were reinforced through the domination of the 'established' and the marginalisation of the 'outsiders'. Elias and Scotson identified ways in which figural relations can establish an uneven balance of power between demographically undifferentiated groups which led the exclusion and stigmatisation of the newcomer 'outsider' group (1994, p.xxi). A similar process may be observed in the context of the development of the 'witch' whose culturally constructed character represented the ultimate 'outsider'.

Religion: Weber

Given the ambitious scale of the Eliasian theoretical approach, areas of social relations have inevitably been neglected or deprioritised within the wider framework. As previously discussed, the lack of consideration by Elias around the issue of religion is of significance given the centrality of religion to both the individual and the state during the late medieval and early modern periods. To consider the development of the primacy of the state without consideration of this element is to neglect a crucial element in the development of modern European society: the process of religious decentralisation. The separation of church and state and the increasing religious tolerance characteristic of modern European society was not an inevitable result of civilising forces and as such is worth exploring in greater detail.

Max Weber's interest in the demise of religion in the modern period has been the subject of much discussion due to the distinction between the modern process 'secularisation' in the legal sense and his concept of the process of 'disenchantment'. The genealogical origins of the process of disenchantment, according to Weber, stem from the rise of Protestantism in Europe, suggesting a direct link between secular modernity and religious history (Weber, 2013). For Weber, the increasing

‘rationalisation’ of the modern period did not indicate increased understandings of the conditions of life (Kippenberg in Yelle and Train, 2021, p.10). Elias himself discussed Weber’s theory of the development of rationality within *The Court Society* but was unsatisfied with Weber’s conclusions which lacked context-specificity (Elias, 1983). Criticising the lack of reconciliation between the ‘society’ and the ‘individual’ in Weber’s work, Elias argues his approach is similar to that of his ‘successor’ Talcott Parsons (Elias, 1994, p.201). Yet, as Bryan Turner argues, Weber’s approach to religion does incorporate an analysis of the relations between ‘personality’ and ‘life order’ in emergent capitalist societies (Turner, 2004, p.246-7).

Author’s approach

Within Elias’s analysis of medieval society, the diffusion of power amongst the nobility is a significant stumbling block in the development of strong nation states. Elias tantalisingly argued that “The struggles between the nobility, the Church and the princes” (1994, p.265) are characteristic of the Middle Ages, however instead of investigating further structural possibilities, he adopts a ‘proof is in the pudding’ stance regarding the eventual dominance of monarchical power. Given the potential diversity of outcome implied by the constituent parts of the civilising process and indeed, the rise of contemporary theocratic states elsewhere in the world, it is important to investigate why this very real alternative did not arise in Europe.¹⁵ What is not thoroughly examined by Elias, is the degree to which the hierocracy of the medieval church was also siphoning power from the monarch in less overtly combative, but nevertheless significant, ways. This diffusion of power was directly addressed through the English Reformation: Henry VIII used the opportunity to seize money and assets, as well as to assert his power over the populace, through the dissolution of the monasteries. The Scottish Reformation, by contrast, occurred as a direct challenge to monarchical power and the resulting conflicting relations between the Scottish Kirk and state characterised their unstable state formation (and subsequent absorption into the English-dominated Union).

¹⁵ See the Byzantine to Ottoman Empires and subsequent modern Islamic theocracies of the Middle East (Iran, Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia).

In terms of violence, while less overtly involved in the inter-kingdom wars that were a significant feature of medieval Europe, the dominance of religious belief and institutions were the motivating force behind the bloody and financially costly European Crusades (Claster, 2009). The interconnectedness of the church and the power of a medieval monarch was integral to monarchical authority: the divine right of kings formed the basis for their legitimacy in parallel to that given to the Pope in the pre-reformation period. *Dieu et mon droit* (God and my right) was the motto first used by Richard I of England to justify his various military campaigns within the European continent (Hoveden, 1853, p.429). The institutional transformation instigated by the Reformation, however, used this same concept to assert royal authority over matters of both the church and state.¹⁶ Conceptually, the Reformation meant the power of God was directly in the hands of the monarch and not the church.

On an interpersonal level, the transformation of the conceptualisation of religion amongst the general populace was also one which may be described through the process of the 'We-I' transformation. The structure of medieval religion reflected the structure of medieval society: the collective nature of worship, the deference shown to the church's authority and the concept of societal predestination all reinforced an impersonal relationship with God. In the post-reformation period, an individual's action and their own religious standing was recentred; the I-We relations had shifted towards a more 'personal' relationship to religion. By the 16th century, in the case of witchcraft, the moral behaviour of an individual was subject first and foremost to the laws of the state.

The role of religion therefore constitutes a separate pillar in the development of a nation state: both in terms of the necessity for a state to absorb the church's institutional power and also to assert its primacy over the moral affairs of its subjects. Without this transformation, the state would be in permanent conflict with the church authority, both in terms of the allegiance and behaviour of an individual and the wider diffusion of power. Such tensions can be seen in contemporary examples of highly religious states such as Modern Iran or Afghanistan. Where religious institutions hold a concentration of power over a state's affairs, those institutions also utilise those

¹⁶ See James VI's own works: *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1597) and *Basilikon Doron* (1599).

same mechanisms required within the civilising process in order to achieve stability. This has varying effects given the inherent contradiction between the role of violence and the teachings of the major world religions. Centralised religion causes an imbalance in the relations between sociogenesis and psychogenesis: the external forces of sociogenesis are greater than the formation of psychogenesis can keep up with.¹⁷

Within Elias's theoretical framework, there is potential for a 'de-civilising process' to develop should the balance between internal and external regulation change; a movement away from the more involved perspective towards the detached (Fletcher, 1995, p.286). Stephen Mennell (1990, 1992) and Johan Goudsblom (1989) have both discussed the potential for society to undergo a change in the direction of the civilising process, however it is in the work of Jonathon Fletcher where the concept has most fully been addressed. Fletcher has argued that such a process involves the inversion of parts of the civilising process, with external constraint dominating behaviour and the mutual identification between groups and individuals reducing (Fletcher, 1995). Such changes, according to Fletcher, would result from the undermining of the state monopoly of violence, increasing fear and disharmony in public space and increasing involved thinking. The resulting lack of emotional detachment and subsequent downwards spiral of events caused by an individual's fear was described by Elias in his essay 'The Fisherman and the Maelstrom' (2007) in which one fisherman, imprisoned in inaction caused by emotional involvement in the situation, is drowned. With regard to the proposed inclusion of religion as a third pillar of the civilising process, the re-centralisation of religion within society at the expense of state mechanisms of control would be similarly indicative of a reduction in state powers regarding behaviour. This would thus lead towards a need to externally regulate behaviour through those same religious institutions, with the legitimacy of the monopoly of violence stemming from divine authority similar to pre-Reformation monarchies.

¹⁷ See the case of religious transformation and resistance in modern Iran.

Methodology

Comparative historical sociology

Drawing on the ambitious and detailed model of historical data analysis produced by Norbert Elias in *The Civilising Process*, this research will similarly provide a long-term and comparative analysis of primary documents from the end of the 16th to the mid-18th centuries. The comparison between two early modern kingdoms, England and Scotland, allows an investigation into the transformative processes of European territories. Both kingdoms had similar enough physical, social and political characteristics to make the comparison worthwhile while highlighting potential disparities in the timings of their respective civilising processes. The use of early modern witchcraft prosecutions as a comparative variable through which to analyse the effects of long-term social processes is an appropriate barometer given the discrete temporal nature of the trials alongside their social, political and religious significance across the period in question.

Given the scale of the task regarding the reassessment of Elias's *Civilising Process*, the adoption of the core figuration of witchcraft prosecutions enables a long-term investigation of the interdependencies of gender and religion within a limited frame of analysis. This investigation has adopted a structure similar to Elias's, in which a range of historical sources have been utilised to provide context for what is primarily a discourse analysis of contemporary texts. A limited comparative approach has also been conducted through the use of England and Scotland as case studies, however this is limited by two considerations regarding primary sources utilised in Phase 3 (see below): firstly, fewer Scottish-originated pamphlets were produced and survive; secondly, given the wide circulation of pamphlets between both countries (Raymond, 2003, pp.8-9), it is necessary to acknowledge that distinguishing between pamphlets by country of production does not necessarily represent a distinction in their audience.

Three distinct phases of data collection and analysis took place:

Phase 1:

- Qualitative discourse analysis of medieval court conduct books:
Texts focusing specifically on the conduct of women were selected from the English translations in the Anthology *Medieval Conduct Literature* (Ed. Johnston, 2009).
- Quantitative analysis of homicide data from Middlesex Court Rolls 1350-1650 (Chapter 1):
The Middlesex Court Rolls contain coroners reports which record any unnatural deaths in the Middlesex area. Homicide data was defined as deliberate acts of violence which led to death either immediately or up to a month following the injury (manslaughter inclusive). Comparative data was taken from London City and London Metropolitan crime statistics from 2003 - 2022 in which both murder and manslaughter involving a weapon were included.

Phase 2:

- Qualitative discourse analysis of significant early modern witchcraft sources (chapter 2):
Sources of contemporary significance were identified through secondary reading and analysed to provide contextual background to elite verses popular discourse surrounding witchcraft prosecutions.

Phase 3:

- Qualitative discourse analysis of 96 English and Scottish witchcraft pamphlets (chapters 3-7):
Text from the original pamphlets was digitally transcribed and compiled into a corpus, after which two coding cycles were undertaken and categories of analysis were developed.

The comparative approach for phases 2 and 3 was two-fold, consisting of a long-term temporal analysis and case study comparisons between England and Scotland.

Sources

Popular pamphlets are an invaluable source for understanding both popular attitudes to witchcraft and the intention of learned elites to shape those understandings towards their own theological goals. Witchcraft pamphlets were selected for discourse analysis due to their extensive popular distribution and intended audience. In 1716, Myles Davies' *Athenæ* referred to the pamphlet as:

'signifying a thing below'd by all: For a pamphlet being of a small portable Bulk, and of no great Price, and of no great Difficulty, seems adapted for every one's Understanding, for every one's Reading, for every one's Buying, and consequently becomes a fit Object and Subject of most People's Choice, Capacity and Ability' – (Vol. 1. Section 2. P.1)

Pamphlets served a multitude of purposes ranging from news dissemination, propaganda and polemical discourse. Their sheer numerousness and popularity spawned a flourishing commercial trade from the 16th century onwards and profoundly impacted the circulation of ideas throughout the populace (2004, Raymond, p.16). Beginning in the 16th century, moralising and semi-fictionalised texts known as 'rogue literature' performed the dual function of entertainment and social discourse (*Ibid*, p.18). These texts offered emergent coercive and normative forms of social narratives which were paradoxically made popular due to their salacious details of criminal activities. This genre continued alongside the emergence of witchcraft pamphlets towards the end of the 16th century, with witchcraft pamphlets drawing from many of the narrative and stylistic tropes laid out in rogue literature.

While censorship of and by publishers was certainly a factor, the widespread readership and market demands for pamphlets placed them at the intellectual intersection between the authorities and the general public. This intersection is of great importance when attempting to understand the dialectical quality of elite and popular belief in witchcraft; the discourse reveals the relations of power, domination and violence while also engaging with popular narratives and lateral social regulation. Marion Gibson has demonstrated that witchcraft pamphlets as sources, even those

ostensibly presenting accurate trial transcripts, should be treated as narrative texts rather than reliable documentation of trials (2019, p.317). When considering these texts from a sociogenic perspective, it is not necessary to establish the veracity of the popular narratives contained in them as the intended audience would also not have been able to do so.

Carla Suhr (2002) has proposed that witchcraft pamphlets decreased the communicative distance between the intended audiences and the legal proceedings on which they were based. These attempts to communicate ideas to the masses through printed sources helped to introduce and reinforce religious narratives surrounding witches in a dialectical manner, indicating an existing disconnect between popular and elite attitudes. It is through this perspective of reciprocity that discourse analysis has been employed to assess witchcraft pamphlets.

The majority of primary sources used in this analysis have been English-language witchcraft pamphlets published between the mid-16th and mid-18th centuries. Pamphlets themselves vary in both format and length; typically a pamphlet consisted of one to twelve sheets with a quarto pamphlet (also included) consisting of eight to ninety-six pages. A total of 96 pamphlets were collected through cross-referencing various catalogues, archives and lists of pamphlets in secondary sources. Pamphlets were selected on the basis of their relation to, or account of, a 'witch' or witch trials and processes as forming the primary focus of the narrative. Texts related to possessions or in which a witch was only mentioned in passing were excluded from the analysis as well as multiple editions of the same pamphlet¹⁸ and short treatises on witchcraft in general. While every effort was made to review all known existing pamphlets, issues of accessibility, survival and cataloguing mean that it is unlikely that this thesis represents a complete list of surviving pamphlets.

Original copies of witchcraft pamphlets are held in various repositories such as the National Archives of Scotland, the National Archives at Kew and the British Library as well as other libraries such as the Bodleian in Oxford. Digitisation of these documents

¹⁸ Examples have been included in the analysis where additional text was included or significant changes were made to the original text in order to demonstrate narrative changes or conceptual transformations.

is also increasing, with Early English Books Online (University of Michigan Library) and the Wellcome Collection's online catalogue providing photographs and transcripts of primary documents.¹⁹ Carla Suhr (University of Helsinki) has also kindly provided access to her text corpus of early modern pamphlets which has been used to cross reference the accuracy of transcriptions made in this analysis.

Wales:

Despite the obvious geographic proximity and social significance of the nation of Wales with the history of Britain, a comparative study of Welsh witchcraft prosecutions will be excluded from this investigation. This is due to a number of factors, most significant of which is the limited number of executions for witchcraft which took place in Wales across the period and only a single pamphlet published referencing witchcraft in Wales.²⁰

¹⁹ Where possible, digitised copies of original source material have been obtained from relevant archives.

²⁰ Unknown (1702) *A Sad and Lamentable Account of one Mary Jawson, Born in Kirkcowl in Breaknack shire in Wales*, Glasgow.

Psychogenesis

Elias describes psychogenesis and sociogenesis as interdependent forces happening concurrently: psychogenesis can only occur when society creates the stable environment to do so, whilst sociogenesis can only be created by individuals able to regulate their own violent urges and control their behaviours. As with *The Civilising Process*, this thesis will consider first the transformation of psychogenesis, which will here be redefined within the context of gender and religious figurational considerations. As a vehicle for examining both of these elements within a historical context, early modern witchcraft prosecutions ground the theoretical appraisal in empirical evidence; similar to Elias's own use of etiquette manuals as evidence of changes in psychogenesis.

What is clear, from documentary evidence related to the transformation of violent crime (as discussed further in Chapter 1), is that medieval women were both less likely to be the victims of violent crime and significantly less likely to be the perpetrators (Sharpe, 2016, p.49). Across the early modern period in Europe, both of these areas saw an increase in female victims and perpetrators, reaching its current peak in the 21st century (Sharpe, 2016). The gendered increase in violence indicates that assumed patterns of a general 'decrease' in social violence were more complicated than originally anticipated. This would suggest that the overall trend and direction of medieval to modern European psychogenesis, as described by Elias, requires a degree of reconfiguration in order to incorporate gender figurations. Such a process involves reconsidering the issue of decreasing societal violence within the framework of gender relations and the adoption and/or emulation of existing 'female' interactional strategies into the concept of 'psychogenesis'. The increasing participation of women in early modern public society both exposed them to increasing levels of violence and required the adoption of a number of social behaviours that were still embedded in patriarchal social relations of violent dominance. The oppositional positionality of female-associated non-violent social interaction and its adoption by men in authority, alongside women's increasing presence in public social relations, are here suggested to have resulted in the development of the majority female-coded crime of 'witchcraft'. This crime categorically undermined other characteristics associated with

womanhood in order to reject the notion that non-violent interaction was essentially also female-coded.

The first of two parts of this thesis consists of a detailed analysis of the witch prosecutions as they exemplify the processes of re-negotiated psychogenesis within the medieval and early modern periods. If one were to break down Elias's concept of psychogenesis, the concept of *civilité* is at the root of his description of social processes and yet *civilité* seems, at first glance, the antithesis of witchcraft prosecutions. The brutality and violence of witchcraft prosecutions was a steadily increasing feature of the late medieval to early modern's increasingly formalised behavioural '*civilité*', which occurred both initially inside the court society but swiftly spiralled beyond monarchical influence. Instead, witch prosecution came to symbolise tensions between the monarch, the church and the individual, whose varying involvement initiated fluctuating relational processes.

Understanding the fundamental concept of modern '*civilité*' in Eliasian terms necessitates a description of a less '*civil*' period: namely medieval society. Elias described a society structured around the concept that violence and the threat of violence were the primary sources of power differentiation; the strongest warrior held the most influence (1994, pp.276-7). While certainly male-to-male interaction was based upon some degree of physical superiority, male to female and female to female interaction can be described as more closely related to the concept of '*civilité*'. In addition, the power and might of the early European church was also not solely based around the coercive power of violence (although partially true) but also predicated on the power of spiritual coercion and moral superiority. Both of these examples would later become the battleground for psychogenetic and sociogenetic transformations, as both the assertion of male dominance and centralised state control required the integration and reconfiguration of these characteristics into increasingly complex figurations.

In order to grasp the complexity of witchcraft prosecutions as part of psychogenetic processes, Elias's concept of established-outsider figurations will be applied: the outsider was consistently identified as the '*witch*' however what a '*witch*' meant in societal terms, and therefore who the '*established*' were, was constantly being

renegotiated. Through these shifting roles, a consistent influential factor was the problem of religion: both as a philosophical problem and practical one: religion impacted witchcraft prosecutions yet was certainly not always definably 'established' from the state or monarch's perspective.

The concept of the 'witch' has had varied spatio-temporal social meanings: from a simple magical practitioner to workers of maleficium to "detestable slaves of the devil" (James VI, 1597, preface). In relation to the concept of 'civilisation' in the Eliasian sense, it would be tempting to assume that the concepts of 'witch belief' and 'civilisation' held a straightforwardly inverse relationship in the European context. While broadly-speaking the rise and fall of the legalities of witch prosecutions did follow the pattern of the increasingly interconnected social figurations found in state formation, the psychogenetic meaning of 'witches' is more complex. Witches are indicative of other psychogenetic changes more closely associated with the Weberian concept of 'disenchantment' but also Elias's description of 'civilité' acquiring 'meaning' from the disintegrating unity of the Catholic Church (Elias, 1994, p.43). Elias makes only passing reference to this relationship in *The Civilizing Process*, however the connection between a declining church and the rise of court society are crucial in understanding the requirements of European social formation and its variations. In addition, the adoption of 'civilised' strategies of interaction required the transformation of female subjugation to reflect the newfound threat which they now represented: the threat of social and political parity following the relegation of physical superiority and rise of skilled communication strategies. Just as Elias pointed to the sudden emergence of words as indicative of changes in people's lives (*Ibid*), the sudden emergence of a legal, spiritual and physical threat in the witch (or otherwise 'the other'), is indicative of the centrality of concerns over the moral state of the world. It is arguably a tired historical and sociological trope to analyse society from the perspective of deviance however the 'witch' is a uniquely fascinating character owing to its completely fabricated, but also very 'real' existence. In this regard, reactions to witches are indicative of social processes through which the relationships between individuals, society and the Church were being renegotiated. The witch, put simply, is a reflection of long-term social processes.

Chapter 1: The medieval mind: women, violence and the church

In order to evaluate the social processes of the early modern period and its impact on Europe's long-term civilising processes, it is necessary to first venture into the preceding centuries and evaluate medieval society. At the core of this thesis is the question over the role of women and the church in the civilising process and as such this chapter considers the long-term view of both to be essential points of departure. In order to properly contextualise this long-term analysis, a variety of sources (court books, coroner's reports etc.) have been drawn upon which differ from those used elsewhere in the thesis in order to contribute towards a fuller understanding of the origins of early modern psychogenesis and sociogenesis. We will therefore begin with an assessment of the development of medieval women's psychogenesis surrounding self-restraint and behaviour regulation which will then lead on to the topic of gendered violent figurations as they relate to the development of witchcraft. The second section deals with the significance of the medieval church as an entity with state-forming potential in its own right and its role in the progression of patriarchal figurations leading to witchcraft.

1.1 Medieval Conduct

A fundamental understanding of Elias's *Civilising Process* was that courtly society served a modelling function for social behavioural standards in a top-down direction. According to Elias, medieval societal standards of emotional expression were "expressed more violently and directly" than in later centuries where behavioural regulation formed the primacy of interactional success (1994, p.50). The evidence Elias drew upon for increasing regulation was found in the various conduct books dating to the high medieval period and onwards which served the dual functions of reinforcing social standards for the children of elites and as manuals for the more socially mobile-minded of the bourgeoisie. What Elias explored was the subtle variation in these instructional manuals over the course of the high medieval and early modern periods, which were indicative of transforming standards of social interaction and behaviours.

As Elias convincingly demonstrated, the fundamental basis for medieval to modern transformations was from a less-restrained, more violently infused society to a more restrained society with less publicly acceptable violence. This investigation does not seek to refute that analysis but rather to consider whether such behavioural changes were experienced equally between men and women and whether alternative figurational relations were involved in the development of these long-term social processes. It is therefore necessary, before conducting an analysis of the social process at work during the transitional early modern period, to establish whether male and female psychogenesis were in comparable states during the so-called 'violent' and 'unrestrained' medieval period.

Despite some references to men and women throughout *The Civilizing Process*, medieval courtly conduct and behaviour is treated with a somewhat homogenous lens with understandings of power relations directed primarily towards male interactional strategies. Marta Bucholc has attempted to reconstruct Elias's unpublished theories regarding gender through extracting the symbolic determinants of inequality from his existing oeuvre (2011). Bucholc identified that men and women have adopted different strategies in power relations with the strategies of the weaker party (women) often redefining the entire playing field (*Ibid*, p.427). The necessity for these divergent strategies lies in the need for women to cope with their subjugation, which has arisen as a result of antagonism between the sexes.

The long-term development of social inequality therefore has its origins in micro relational interactions and macro stressors on social behaviours. Elias himself directly addressed the issue of social inequality in his work *The Established and the Outsiders* (Elias and Scotson, 1994) and again in *The Symbol Theory* (1991) but a comprehensive consideration of gender is unfortunately missing.²¹ As a result, there has been some debate over the convergence of feminist and figurational approaches to gender²² especially in the study of gender and sport.²³ Louise Mansfield has argued that such a convergence is possible through the consideration of the concept of involvement and

²¹ According to Stephen Mennell, Elias did in fact produce a manuscript on gender sociology but it was sadly disposed of by an overzealous cleaner of his characteristically untidy office (Mennell, 1989, p.13)

²² See Colwell (1999) and Mansfield (2008)

²³ See Pinheiro (2014) for an overview of the debate.

detachment as a balance both in the theoretical sense and methodologically (2008). The theoretical conflicts surrounding sport are a useful starting point for considering other structural and participatory phenomena: witchcraft prosecutions reflect some superficially similar characteristics related to the experience of gender relations at an earlier stage in the civilising process. Bucholz has argued that the Eliasian concept of 'social force' is therefore a precursor to Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence which necessitates coercion as the embodiment of social relations.

The regulation of women's behaviours and bodies has been a consistent feature of European history and, in many instances, entirely different from the expected behaviours of men. While the regulation of male violence may indicate a more immediate necessity in the consolidation of power, the importance of regulating women's social behaviour has also been a high priority. When interrogating the data surrounding gender and violence from the medieval period to the modern, there are several surprising aspects which indicate not only an unequal social transformation but almost a reversal of expected trends. It is therefore necessary to reject, as Alice Clark did over a century ago, the notion that women are a static factor in social development (Clark, 1919, p.1) and interrogate the implications of the civilising process on the neglected half of European society.

Here it is worth adopting a divergent approach to that of Elias: considering women rather than men to be the fundamental unit of analysis for social relations. Elias's evidence regarding behavioural standards is drawn from inherently male-focused source material which consisted of conduct books designed to educate the next generations of male courtiers in proper conduct and behaviour. While naturally there will be significant crossover between the sexes in the rituals associated with table manners due to the typically communal eating practices of courts, the question of the degree to which women expressed themselves with the same level of directness and violence is worth interrogating. The significance of a divergence in the genders regarding psychogenetic processes is of great concern given that the social processes described by Elias may be experienced in a fundamentally different way by more than half the population.

This may be divided into two points of analysis: firstly, the prevalence of violence directed from or towards women and secondly, the expectations of self-restraint socially imposed upon the women themselves. The first point will be dealt with through a brief quantitative analysis of the statistical data surrounding homicide from the medieval to the early modern period and the second will be a qualitative comparison of medieval conduct books written for a specifically female audience. In investigating these two points of analysis within the initial stage of the thesis, it is possible to evaluate the subsequent transformations in European psychogenesis and sociogenesis through a female-centric lens. From this perspective, the anomalous yet complex and violent phenomenon of witchcraft prosecutions may be partially explained within an emergent gendered and religious theoretical framework.

Woman-centric medieval conduct books

This chapter will be adopting a similar methodological approach to Elias's chapter 'The History of Manners' in *The Civilising Process* in order to offer a comparable starting point for gendered analysis. The relative lack of surviving female-centred texts limits the extent of such an analysis however the overt discussions of self-restraint, behaviour and expression assigned to contemporary female readers offers a useful starting point for our later analysis. A limited selection of medieval conduct books from England, Germany, Spain and Italy are therefore presented in order to elucidate the standards of behaviour and restraint expected of medieval women from across the European continent.

Greater *civilité* and double-standards

Conduct books explicitly directed towards women indicate a difference in inherent values to that presented to male readers; greater focus is directed towards the suppression of emotional and physical expression in women than that of their male counterparts. This is particularly apparent when directed towards interactions between men and women:

From the 13th Century conduct poem, *Die Winsbeckin* [The Lady from Winsbach], (anonymous):

2 Wie die frawen habent unzæm meisterschaft

*Wir frawen haben nu meister me denne uns diu maze schuldik si ir
besem zoh die besten e nu ist uns manges besem bi der selb ist aller
zuhte fri mih muet der niht gemezzen can mit rehter fuoge fuezze dri
daz der den frawen mezzen wil nach cranker ler ir luter leben der
meisterschaft ist gar ze vil*

[2 That women are subjected to inappropriate control

We women now have more masters than moderation owes us. Only the best men once wielded its rod, but now the rod of many a man, who himself lacks all virtue, falls upon us. It troubles me that such a man, who cannot measure even three feet appropriately, wants to measure the pure life of women with his feeble criteria. There is too much of this mastery.] – (Trans. by Rasmussen and Trokhimenko in Johnston, 2009, pp.105-6)

The implied superiority and consistency of the ‘pure life of women’ contrasted against the many ‘feeble’ and ‘virtue-less’ men suggests a consistent standard of self-restraint inherent in the identity of medieval women. In lamenting the increasing ‘mastery’ of these inferior men, the social nexus of power relations experienced by women is recentring not around the monarch but the ‘rod’ of kinship relations: namely the husband. The final assessment of ‘too much mastery’ suggests that such a recentring of marital relations does not equate to an increasing standard in male social behaviours in relation to women: women were tolerating partners exhibiting virtuously inferior behaviours to themselves due to inherent marital power imbalances.

The same text continues on to explicitly name the lack of male self-restraint directed towards women:

21 Wie diu wip solten stæter sin

*Si sagent wir wip haben kurzen muot und da bi alle langez har dem
gelich vil mangiu leider tuot so si daz sprichwort machet war swi ez
um der manne unstæte var wir wip solten doch stæter sin ob ichz in
hulden reden getar und truegen in gemeinen haz die niht ir zuht an
uns bewarent si schonten unser dester baz*

[21 (19) That women should be more steadfast

They say that we women have little wit but long hair, and, unfortunately, many women behave in a way that makes the proverb come true.

No matter how things stand with men's inconstancy, we women should be even more constant and, if I dare say so, bear enmity toward those men who do not exercise self-restraint toward us.] –
(Trans. by Rasmussen and Trokhimenko in Johnston, 2009, pp.108)

The suggestion that women should be more steadfast than men is indicative that, despite the inherent power imbalance, the emulation of unstrained male behaviour is to be actively opposed. By bearing enmity towards such unrestrained men, women may enforce external social pressures on undesirable behaviour from all men. This is despite many women lacking the appearance of enough 'wit' to behave in such an appropriate way. Within these dynamics, women, as unequal social participants, are held to a higher standard of civilised behaviour than men.

These is even to be directed towards women's behaviour at table, as indicated in the late 13th/early 14th century Italian text *Reggimento e costumi di donna* [On the conduct and manners of a woman] by Francesco da Barberino:

*E sia nel suo mangiare ordinata e cortese, e bea poco, e quello sia
temperato, ché, com'ella s'invezza, così vuol poi durare; e quanto che
nell'uomo l'ebriare stia male, sta nella donna troppo più villano.*

[In eating she should be well-behaved and polite, drink little, and only infrequently, because as she gets used to it, she then wishes to

continue; and while among men drunkenness is bad, it is even more vulgar for women.] – (Trans. By Stoppino in Johnston, 2009, p.134)

The expectation of moderation in both behaviour and consumption by women is contrasted with the vulgarity of unrestrained behaviour implied in female 'drunkenness'. Female drunkenness is viewed as an intrinsically worse behaviour than that of male drunkenness due to the greater contrast between socially acceptable female behaviour and the consequences of a lack of restraint due to alcohol consumption. The gendered lens of behavioural expression is overtly stated within the text itself, indicating the uneven figurational relations are in response to the assumption that women are more capable of exhibiting behavioural restraint.

Toleration of these inconsistencies is, according to the ca.1430 edition of *How the Good Wijf Taughte Hir Doughtir*, to be encouraged amongst wives, and which advises:

*That man that schal the wedde bifer god with a ryng, Love thou him
and honoure mooste of ertheli thing; Meekely thou him answeere,
and not as an attirling, And so maist thou slake his mood, and ben
his dere derlynge; A fair worde and a meeke Dooth wraththe slake,
Mi leve child. Fair of speche schalt thou be, gladde, and of mylde
mood,*

[The man who marries you before God with a ring, Love and honour him most of all earthly things; Answer him meekly, and not as a shrew, And so may you keep him in a good mood and be his darling; Pleasing and meek word Can slake anger, My dear child.

You should be pleasing of speech, happy, and mild in mood,] –
(Trans. By Sponsler in Johnston, 2009, p.290)

The management and diffusion of male anger and emotional volatility, which are suggested to be characteristics of a husband's behaviour, is therefore implied to be a wifely responsibility. The ability to maintain a 'mild' temperament in order to deflect anger should take place through the suppression of the wife's own negative emotional expression. The appearance of inauthentic positive emotion is therefore expected of

women within domestic relations where genuine negative emotions are an expected feature of male behaviour. As models of emotional self-control and regulatory practices, it appears that the ideal medieval 'good-wife' is the ultimate example of Elias's concept of *Civilité*.

Violence: explicit and implied

The conspicuous lack of overt references to women and violence within the conduct books should be treated as significant by their absence. The lack of necessity to codify women's violent behaviour (as supported by the below analysis of crimes statistics) suggests that the problem of female physical violent expression was already considered a non-issue for women in courtly society. Where it is briefly referenced, namely in the 15th century English text *How the good wijf taught hir daughter*, women are advised to avoid attending violent sports:

*Go not to the wrastelinge, ne to schotyng at cok, As it were a
strumpet or a gigggelot:*

[Do not go to wrestling matches or to cock shootings, As if you were
a strumpet or a harlot;] – (Trans. By Sponsler in Johnston, 2009,
p.291)

The implication that only those women of loose sexual morals and prostitutes attend informal violent sporting matches suggests a further distancing of acceptable women's behaviour from sites of possible unrestrained male emotional expression. Violence, it is suggested, is not for respectable women to enjoy given its association with non-marital sexuality and female sexual expression.

Where women are expected to exhibit violent behaviour, it is disassociated from emotional outbursts and directed towards behavioural correction of children:

*And if thi children been rebel, and wole not hem lowe, If ony of hem
mys dooth, nouthur banne hem ne blowe, But take a smert rodde,*

*and bete hem on a rowe Til thei crie mercy, and be of her gilt
aknowe.*

[If your children are rebellious, and will not submit, If any of them misbehave, do not curse them or scold, But take a rod and beat them in a row, Until they cry for mercy, and acknowledge their guilt.] – (Trans. By Sponsler in Johnston, 2009, p.296)

The assumed docility of a mother's parenting is not perceived as a wholly positive element in women's behaviour, indicating that the lack of ability express violence when required is also indicative of a lack of behavioural control. Where, it is implied, women would naturally resort to verbal chastisement for wrongdoing, mothers are instead encouraged to adopt a more violent expression of discipline, presumably more closely associated with the parenting style of the father. The suggestion that scolding or cursing is ineffective on children ultimately indicates the continuing dominance of physical violence as a reinforcement of social norms within the domestic sphere in relation to unequal parent-child power figurations.

Alternative interactional strategies

If physical violence and emotional expression were not interactional behaviours available to elite medieval women, alternative and, ultimately more 'civilised', ones were:

*Car, si com es grazitz hom cant es afortitz contra sos mals guerriers,
er grazitz a sobriers vostre pretz ab bo laus, s'es cortes'e suaus et
humil et plazens a totas bonas gens.*

*C'om nous conosc'orguelh, donzela, qu'ieu no vuelh siatz de brau
respos.*

*D'autras defensios podetz far avinens, sieus play, may de cinc cens,
ses dir deschauzimens e ses far falhimens.*

[For, just as one earns praise when he is relentless against his worst foes in battle, so highly esteemed will be your repute, with high

praise, if you are courteous and sweet and humble and pleasing to all good people. So that no one thinks you proud, young lady, I ask that you never respond harshly.

Other defences you can use charmingly, if you wish, more than five hundred, without speaking rudely or committing an offence.] – (Trans. By Johnston, 2009, p. 50)

This 13th century Occitan text titled, *Essenhamen de la donzela* [Instruction for a Young Lady] by Amanieu de Sescás, suggests that for medieval women ‘courtesy’ rather than battle is the ultimate approach for social success. The strategies to be here adopted by women at court bear little resemblance to the ‘warrior society’ of their male counterparts who are ‘relentless against his worst foes in battle’ and yet the resultant high esteem and praise directed towards these successful women is overtly stated. More than ‘five hundred’ charming ‘defences’ speaks to both the abundance and complexity of female social interactional strategies used to avoid conflict in court society and suggests a much earlier incarnation of *civilité* existed in the social behaviour of women than men.

From the same text we can observe the direct results of success in such strategies:

*E de Na Mascarosa d’Astarac aprendetz com d’onor e de pretz creys,
mont’e dertz e pueia. E nulh temps no s’enuia de plazers dir e far, e
sap gen conquistar honor e no si tarda.*

[And from Lady Mascarosa of Astarac learn how in honour and esteem she grows, rises, excels, and ascends. She never tires of speaking and acting pleasantly, and knows how nobly to achieve respect quickly.] – (Trans. By Johnston, 2009, p.58)

Lady Mascarosa’s ascendance within courtly society through ‘speaking and acting pleasantly’ models the behaviours described by Elias as characteristic of the 15th and even more so in the 16th centuries (1994, p.177). Undoubtedly the divergence between male and female courtly ‘success’ was significantly different in terms of

actual power wielded, however the acknowledgement of female excellence in court society without the necessity for the threat of violence suggests that these interactional strategies laid the foundations for male courtly behaviour in later centuries.

In the late 13th/Early 14th century text, *Reggimento e costumi di donna*, Francesco da Barberino comments:

*E quando sta fra gente gli occhi suoi lievi poco, però che nel guardare
si coglie tosto, dall'uom ch'è ben saggio, lo 'ntendimento dell'altrui
coraggio.*

*E quella è saggia che sa ritener sì dentro il parer suo che alcun[o] di
fuor non se 'n possa avedere.*

[When she is among people she should raise her eyes very little, because from a gaze a savvy man understands well the intentions of another's heart.

She is wise who knows how to hide her intentions within so that no one can perceive them from without.] – (Trans. by Stoppino in Johnston, 2009, p.132)

The deliberate concealment of a woman's emotional expression in society is thus presented not only to combat the perceptiveness of interested male parties but also as a politically strategic move for 'wise' participants. The implication that women in particular are susceptible to exhibiting communicative body language indicates that even while avoiding verbal communication, a woman at court was a closely observed entity.

Necessity for self-regulation

Concern for female behavioural standards was most keenly directed, within the conduct books, towards the self-regulation of women's bodies rather than voices. Emphasis was placed on both restricting any expressions of sexuality and controlling bodily functions.

In a 13th century advisory letter (which was publicly circulated) to his daughter, Isabelle the Queen of Navarre, Louis IX of France wrote:

*6 Chiere fille, aiiés grant desirier coument vous li puissiés plus plaire
et metés grant entente a eschiver toutes les choses que vous quiderés
qui li doivent desplaire. Especiaument vous devés avoir cheste volenté
que vous ne feriés pechié mortel pour nule cose qui peüst avenir, et
ke vous vous lais-sériés anchois tous les membres tren- chier et la vie
tolir par cruel martire que vous le fesissiés a ensient.*

[6 Dear daughter, may you greatly desire to please him and try hard to avoid all things that you think would displease him. Above all you must have the will to avoid mortal sin no matter what might happen and to let all your limbs be cut off and your life taken by cruel martyrdom rather than sin knowingly.] – (Trans. By Ashley in Johnston, 2009, p.20)

The mortal sin implied by the text is that of extramarital sexual relations which, Louis IX is keen to emphasise would be utterly unacceptable, and which would require Isabelle to participate in fully and knowingly to constitute a ‘mortal’ sin. This suggestion of sexual impropriety is connected not to the shame it would bring her amongst her peers but rather the sin committed against God, invoking divine legitimacy for behavioural regulation. Louis’ warning against the coercive power of the men surrounding her at court, who may try to lead young women into sin, once again reiterates the difference in expected standards of behaviour; the possibility of male unrestrained behaviours directing the actions of women is considered exceptionally dangerous to the latter and is to be combatted by self-restraint originating from the women themselves. Amanieu de Sescás, by contrast, described the shame of deliberate sexually un-restrained behaviour on the part of women:

13th century *Essenhamen de la donzela* (Instruction for a Young Lady) by Amanieu de Sescás:

*Can vendres, bela res, sobre taul'al maniar, lau queus fassatz portar
aigua fresca denan. Le vi atrenpatz tan que ies nous fassa mal. Car*

*dona res no val, ni donzel'atressi, pus se cargua de vi, ans es mestiers
ontos. El for luxurios nais d'aquel, et assatz d'autres mestiers
malvatz qu'ieu non dic ni diria*

[When you come, pretty one, to eat at the table, I advise you to have fresh water brought before you. Mix your wine so that it will not harm you. For a lady is worthless, and a young lady too, when loaded with wine, which is shameful behaviour. Lustful conduct results from it, and many other evil deeds which I will not and would not mention.] – (Johnston, 2009, p. 47)

The description of a drunken lady as 'worthless' indicates the degree to which a 13th century woman's societal value was connected to her ability to enact bodily self-restraint and avoid the evils of 'lustful conduct'. The suggestion that alcohol leads to the exhibition of lustful behaviour in women would suggest the author views a sober woman's general lack of lustful behaviour as indicative of self-restraint rather than an innate quality of femineity.

The apparent virtues of a modest and moderate woman were starkly contrasted with those whose self-discipline was found wanting, as Barberino's 13th/14th century cautionary tale indicates:

*Odi perché perdeo a Folcachieri una gentil fanciulla lo maritaggio del
duca di Storlich... sicché, a uno accorto ballare ch'ella volse fare
ballando e saltando, cadde sì ch'ella mostrò la gamba; sì che il duce
ne disdegnò e rimase per questo così alto suo onore.*

[Now hear how, in Folcachieri, a noble young lady once lost the opportunity to marry the duke of Austria...it happened that, while trying to dance and leap, she fell, revealing her leg; the duke disdained her, and so maintained his high honour.] – (Trans. Stoppino in Johnston, 2009, p.136)

The clear message to aspiring female social-climbers was to retain complete physical composure at all times even during physical activities. A women's virtue and value at

court was presented as intrinsically connected to their displays of performative moderation; accidental failings in self-control are not to be tolerated and in the most extreme cases, such as the one mentioned above, require severe external regulation. Women's bodies are therefore there to be observed and enjoyed by society rather than used as vehicles of expression by the woman herself, as Baberino goes on to demonstrate:

*E s'egli avien che pianger le convegna per alcuno accidente, sia senza
voce lo suo lagrimare,*

[If it happens that she needs to cry for some reason, she should cry
without a sound,] – (Trans. Stoppino in Johnston, 2009, p.138)

As the female-centric conduct books indicate, the regulation and suppression of female behaviour and emotion within European court society was well established prior to that of their male counterparts. The interactional strategies imposed on women by social standards of conduct suggest that courtesy and non-violent conduct were successfully utilised in court settings during the medieval period. The overt associations between men and unrestrained behaviour, and women and moderation, indicate a significantly different position from which long term social processes may be examined. The adoption of non-violent strategies by male members of the court in later centuries was therefore previously modelled by medieval women. By the 15th and 16th centuries, however, such female associations of restraint within courtly behaviour were no longer apparent. The transition to a courtly society therefore has significant implications for changes in gendered experiences of social processes which, as has been argued, were not necessarily running on parallel timelines.

1.2 Medieval Violence

When considering Elias's long-term historical analysis contained within *The Civilizing Process*, the description of the process of psychogenesis is fundamentally one of the transition in male public behaviour from unrestrained medieval violence towards self-controlled social conduct. Such a transformation was generally corroborated by the

findings in Ted Robert Gurr's 1981 overview of violent crime data from Western societies, which suggested its long-term decline to be an indicator of a cultural increase in behavioural control (p.295). Elias's own research was based around etiquette books aimed at codifying good courtly behaviour, but which focused primarily on that of the young men entering into the increasingly complex courts of the late medieval and early modern periods. This focus is understandable given the observable patriarchal structure of society throughout the period in question, however given that half the population experienced the same social transition, the question remains as to how the civilising process manifested within women's psychogenesis. The regulation of women's behaviours and bodies has been a consistent feature of European history and, in many instances, entirely different from the expected behaviours of men of a similar social background. While the regulation of male violence may indicate a more immediate necessity in the consolidation of power, the importance of regulating women's social behaviour has also been a high priority throughout European history. When interrogating the data surrounding gender and violence from the medieval period to the modern, there are several surprising aspects which indicate not only an unequal social transformation but almost a reversal of expected trends.

Glimpses of this within the work of Elias may be found in the overlap between *The Civilising Process* and *The Established and the Outsiders*, which describe and explain power relations on a local level, presenting micro and macro stressors as fundamental to the development of inequalities. While social and economic inequality are core features of gender relations, a more immediate power imbalance comes in the form of the real or perceived threat of physical violence from men towards women in both the personal and societal sense. The core change in violence across the period was the transference of the monopoly of violence from individual men to the state which was dominated (but not exclusively) by men. Assuming Elias's theory regarding the monopoly of violence is correct, such gendered violence should follow a similar declining trajectory as that seen by violence more generally. As will be discussed further in this paper, this picture is not quite accurate when considering the data surrounding violent crime. While the murder rate per 10,000 population in England

has dropped significantly since the medieval period, there has been a significant proportional increase in the number of its female victims of homicide (from around 8% in the early 14th century to 24% in the early 21st century²⁴). There are many factors contributing to these changes however the rise in gendered violence is certainly a factor worth considering when analysing the degree to which violence was transforming across the period.

In order to investigate the concept of gendered violence from the medieval to the modern period, analysis of available crime data related to homicide has been conducted. Homicide represents the violent crime which was reported with the most consistency from the medieval to the modern periods and therefore provides a limited long-term comparative variable. The historic county of Middlesex (now Greater London) has been selected due to both the survival of its records and its large urban population. Data for the period has been gathered from the *Middlesex County Records* which includes records of all coroner's inquests. These inquests represented the official investigation of any deaths deemed to be non-natural in origin or which took place in unusual circumstances and included murder, suicide and death by drowning. Cases of matricide are also represented within the inquests as well as a few examples of infanticide. Data from the coroner's rolls for London are mostly complete and contain, as a minimum, the name of the victim and the accused, the place where the crime was committed and the method of murder. The limitations represented by the data relate to the mortality rates resulting from physical assault or battery: data from the early modern period indicates that many cases of violent death resulted from injuries which would not necessarily constitute a mortal wound in a modern context. These include injuries to the extremities or relatively superficially wounds which resulted in death through immediate subsequent infection. Despite the potentially higher frequency of mortality resulting from violent assault, for the purposes of investigating self-control and violent behaviour, it should be acknowledged that the potentially fatal consequences of such assaults would have been known by the

²⁴ 10-year sample of data collected from Calendar of Coroners Rolls of the City of London (1321-1340) and Police Recorded Crime Statistics (Home Office Data 2003-2012) (PRCS).

perpetrators and therefore should be considered within the modern categories of intentional homicide or manslaughter.

Elias's theory of the civilising process is predicated on the notion that medieval Europe was characterised by violent figurations and strategies; overt displays of physical strength are key to social and political power and violence forms the primary coercive force in social relations. Using the example of 'warrior knights' transforming into courtly gentlemen, Elias convincingly demonstrates the long-term transition of European societies characterised by almost quotidian violence towards a monopolisation of violence by the modern state (1994). As we have seen, the process of increasing 'civilité', the psychogenic transformation away from the use of physical strength towards self-restrained behaviour, within patriarchal society was already successfully modelled by medieval women.

Interrogation of medieval homicide data (although extremely limited by way of survival bias) supports Elias's conclusions with regards to violent death in the later medieval period: data from the London coroner's rolls during the period 1300-1350 indicates a homicide rate of 5.2 to 3.6 per 10,000 people (Hanawalt, 1976, p.306) compared with 0.15 per 10,000 in 2019 (Office of National Statistics). As previously discussed, contributing factors towards the high murder rate included the lack of emergency medical care available however this is tempered by the higher instance of possible deadly weaponry available during arguments: daggers and knives were carried by all due to their utility, swords were a frequent occurrence and work tools such as staffs, polearms and boat hooks are all present as murder weapons in the coroner's rolls data.

Given the fact that women existed within the 'warrior society', which prioritised physical might over all other characteristics, it would be unsurprising to see women being highly represented amongst the victims of violent crime. Considering the high frequency of homicides related to arguments during the medieval period (84% of urban homicides (Hanawalt, 1976, p.307)), it is assumed that many violent interactions occurred in which the victim was physically weaker than the perpetrator.

The evidence, however, suggests that women were extremely underrepresented as victims of violent crime and even less as homicide victims.²⁵

There are significant gaps in the data related to non-fatal violent crime, given that investigation by the coroner was only guaranteed by the presence of a body or exceptional circumstances (Sharpe, 1848, p.xiv). In the first decade of the 17th century, one such circumstance related to assaults committed by men against another man's wife such as two men brought to court for "misusing a woman great with child and throwing her down-stairs" (Jeaffreson, 1886, p.262). Rape cases also have a low reportage due to issues surrounding early modern ideas of consent, such as the notion that conception could only occur if the woman had orgasmed and therefore any rapes resulting in pregnancy suggested a willingness to participate on the part of the victim (Varholý in Ward, 2008 p.46). The contemporary perception of rape as a sexual act rather than a violent one is suggested by the presentation of the cases in the county records from a frequently detached perspective. One such example is the case of Anne Moore, 'a notorious bawd' who was brought before the county court for tricking another woman into visiting the room of a man where she was raped. The male rapist is named as 'Mr Skorey' but does not appear in the court records indicating deception rather than violence to be the central relational concern (Jeaffreson, 1887, p.7). Aside from the issue of ambiguous criminality, variations in jurisdiction were also factors which impacted the gendered experience violence. Sexual crimes were often dealt with under the purview of ecclesiastic courts rather than criminal ones. It is therefore not the case that violence was not being committed against women, but rather the experience and victimhood of violence was a complex gendered figuration. Linda Woodbridge has noted:

According to the essentialist gender theory of the age, males were aggressive by nature and only men could legitimately commit violence: to commit violence was to be not-female and to be not-female was to commit violence. – (Woodbridge and Beehler, 2003, p.xii).

²⁵ Analysis of the 14th century data by Hanawalt indicates that 90% of homicide victims were male (Hanawalt, 1976, p.307).

Such binary gendered perspectives regarding the perpetrators of violence had significant meaning when it came to coercive control over women's behaviour in the reinforcement of power relations. The implicit threat of domestic violence remained a method by which women's behaviour was regulated due to the inherent responsibility of a husband for his wife's actions (*Ibid*, p.XXV). It would therefore follow that domestic homicide should represent a significant proportion of violent deaths for women in the late medieval period however this is not the case. The data taken from the London sample suggests that between 1300 and 1350, 90% of murder victims were men and, in examples where women and children were also killed, it was most commonly in relation to robbery or burglary rather than conflict or arguments (Hanawalt, 1976, p.307). In the 8% of medieval homicides which involved family members (compared with modern rate of 53%), only 40% of those resulted from husbands murdering their wives (*Ibid*, p.310).

This has significant relevance in terms of violent figurations as it suggests a difference in interactional relations between men and women. Despite strongly defined power differentials and the great potential of male violence, medieval women of all classes were managing conflict successfully through discourse whereas men were doing so through physical competition. This 'success' is defined only within the parameters of violence avoidance rather than power relations due to the overwhelmingly dominant nature of patriarchal structures within medieval society. Nevertheless, in examples of women assuming power in the medieval period, the celebration of female qualities of 'piety', 'wisdom' and 'courage', as demonstrated in the Old Testament by Queen Esther of Persia, were indicative of the success of such strategies beyond only 'coping' with subjugation (Föbel in Bennett and Karras, 2013, p.72.). The dichotomy between the celebration of women and their subjugation was certainly a feature of medieval society, with the scales tipped mostly towards the latter, however this imbalance would be exacerbated to a much greater extent during the early modern period.

Elias has convincingly demonstrated that the rise of courtly society signalled a move away from the social acceptability of violence as an interactional strategy which, given the patriarchal stratification of society, leads to a dilemma regarding the association between non-violence and women. The consensus amongst medieval intellectuals was

of the inferiority of women inherently due to a fully formed conception of what constituted 'woman's nature'. As Joan Scott has noted "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Scott, 1986, p.1067). How, then, could men adopt non-violent interactional strategies in the early modern period without also assuming the femininity associated with such strategies in the medieval period? A new concept of femininity was needed which could encapsulate violent and 'uncivilised' behaviour: the witch.

Witchcraft, violence and the 'new' woman

In order to rectify the place of gender within the figurational process of increasing *civilité*, it is here argued that external pressures, instigated by educated elites, were deployed in order to undermine associations between women and non-violence. The long-term transition towards moderated violence therefore presents as a more complex relationship when considered through the perspective of gender figurations.

The development of the character of the 'witch' was one such example in which the safety of patriarchal power figurations was preserved against the threat of declining social violence. As early modern women increasingly became a visible and active presence in public life, the period also became marked by an apparent increase in both their victimhood from violence instigated by men and the perceived participation of women in extreme acts of violence such as murder (Weisner, 2000, p.37-40). The significance of the character of the witch in relation to these figurations was the emergence of a novel 15th century association between witchcraft and violent crime or murder. Both of these activities were not otherwise commonly attributed to women and yet they became central features of witch accusations and prosecutions, which were themselves primarily directed towards women. The development of these associations consisted of two interrelated elements: contemporary educated scholars and elites were writing about the 'characteristics' of witchcraft, while at the same time legal systems were reinforced to defend against the perceived threat to the state's monopoly of violence posed by witchcraft.

The change seen in the murder rate, along with the social tensions created by emergent female agency across the era is also an observable feature within the early

modern witchcraft prosecutions. As a largely gendered phenomenon, the prosecutions reflect the infliction of violence from state mechanisms towards characters which embodied the ultimate (female) 'outsider' – the witch. This is a complex and subtle figurational process: the process of centralising power within the context of state formation inevitably caused internal social conflicts but the question remains whether gendered violence constituted a part of this process or a byproduct? It will here be argued that witchcraft prosecutions are symptomatic of the redefinition of women into the binary categories of 'good vs evil' in public discourse. This symbolic categorisation, it is argued, was required in order to reinforce gendered power relations in an increasingly pacified society; these relations could be considered to be under threat from the existing embodiment the civilised concepts of non-violent behaviour within the medieval concepts of womanhood and femininity. Such female-coded interactional strategies were now characteristics that were becoming idolised by courtly society and as such threatened to level the playing field.

In this sense, the centralisation of power in the hands of men through their monopoly of violence during the medieval period had enforced a version of self-regulating psychogenesis and sociogenesis amongst women centuries before their male counterparts. During the early modern period, the transition towards the state monopolisation of violence profoundly weakened the male-female power relations regarding violence, with the increasing entrance of women into public spheres (in the Habermas sense) a resulting factor. This was apparent from the many fortuitous circumstances of inheritance which led to women assuming either monarchical power or as advisors to child kings across the period.²⁶ These overt power shifts were the subject of vigorous contemporary debate over the social construction of gender, with Protestants adopting the most hardline approach by arguing that female rulers were 'monstrous' (Weisner, 2000, p.91). As the acceptability of individual violence as coercion declined in the transition from the medieval to the early modern periods, the potential for women to make gains in terms of power relations could have been the result. Instead, however, the reverse occurred; the position of women declined and

²⁶ Weisner lists the following examples: Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, Isabella de Castile, Catherine de Medici and Anne of Austria (2000, p.291)

societal inequalities became further entrenched (see below). A potential explanation for the increasing dominance of patriarchal figurations relates to the increasing centralisation of power relations: simply put, women represent a potential diffusion of power relations at a time when consolidation was becoming increasingly important.

Conversely, the greater numbers of women in public spaces resulted in an increase in their exposure to the kinds of fatal violence experienced by early modern men: that of murder resulting from attempted theft. A key change in the character of murders visible in the coroners rolls from the 14th century to the 17th century was the instance of murders which resulted from arguments: in the 14th century, the majority of murders resulted from public arguments involving assaults with implements such as knives, staffs and other farm implements. By the 16th century, these occurrences were often characterised as by-products of attempted thefts and by the 17th century, especially during the Civil War and Protectorate, the number of female victims had increased significantly (to 37% between 1650-9) due to the incorporation of deaths ascribed to witchcraft into the murder rate from the 1650s onwards. This last point is of significance due to symbolic rise in violence against women which early modern society viewed as stemming mostly from women themselves (see Chapter 2). The violence associated with witchcraft, was, by its indirectly applied nature, socially coercive and transformed the antagonism of violent social relations away from figurations of 'individual male domination - female subjugation' towards 'state domination - female subjugation'.

Gender of victim	1321-40	1550-59	1600-09	1650-59
Male (%)	92	96	83	63
Female (%)	8	4	17	37

Table 1: A sample of available homicide data by gender of victim taken from coroner's reports for Middlesex and PRCS data.

This may be seen in the changes to the public sphere however the notion of increasing levels of "temperate self-control" described by Elias, had been increasingly unequally applied within the domestic sphere (quoted in Wouters, 2008, p.249). The enactment of male aggression on female bodies is a clear feature of modern society, with the female homicide rate characterised by the high instances of domestic homicide by a

spouse or partner (52% of London's female homicides from 2003-2022 (PRCS)). Compared with the early modern data, the percentage of female homicides taking place in the home is similar to that of the mid-17th century (50% in 1600 -1609) whereas the 14th century data is markedly less (8% in 1300-1350).

Societal factors are once again varied but the significance of domestic femicide as being a consistent feature of the private sphere is not coincidentally linked to the rise of a private domestic life in the early modern Period (Amussen, 1995, p.14). Where social toleration of public violence reached its lowest during the 20th century, the toleration of domestic violence has continued to be a private affair.

1.3 Medieval Church

When referring to the construction of medieval society, it is important to acknowledge contemporary divisions of social order; namely the concept of the three estates. The first estate consisted of the *oratores* (clerical class), the second the *hellatores* (military class) and third the *laboratores* (working class) (Dane, 1981, p.283). Within Eliasian concepts of the warrior-king, the sovereign bears closer resemblance to the second estate, with the church occupying the first position in this tripartite social distribution. The presence of both church and secular courts in this period reflects the lack of judicial monopoly by any one estate and suggests, significantly, a lack of clear political dominance by sovereigns (*Ibid*, p.284). Where *hellatores* may have held the physical advantage in medieval society, according to Adam Smith's 1776 *Wealth of Nations*, the *oratores* held the greatest influence over the *laboratores*, able to both pacify and mobilise the masses spiritual and economically (Weingast, 2015, p.3). In terms of the potential for future power centralisation and state formation, the parity of the second and first estates must be broken in order for either one to assume a true monopoly of power. In order for one estate to successfully dominate another, the foundational status of *laboratores* must be incorporated into the power relations in both mind and body. Within the context of early modern Europe, the transformation of spiritual meaning is therefore an unavoidable factor in state formation processes. This long-term process will be described through the concept of religious decentralisation at the state level (sociogenesis) and the personalisation of religion for the individual (psychogenesis).

Elias makes brief reference to the Western European concept of *civilité * deriving its meaning from the disintegration of both the concept of chivalry and the unity of the Catholic church (1994, p.42). Elias hints, although does not explicitly state, that the mechanisms of the medieval church (such as a common language) were a natural predecessor to the ‘civil’ society. It is worth interrogating this concept of the church further as it relates both to social gender figurations but also as a medieval institution of great power in its own right and a potential alternative model of state formation.

As will be discussed further in the sociogenesis section of this work, the centrality of the church in the administration, taxation and economies of medieval Europe cannot be overstated. Monastic institutions in particular were at the heart of many local economies, acting as centres for a ‘universal community’ in which the church provided sometimes centuries-long corporate stability (Roehl, 1986, p.228). Beyond these economic factors, the church also performed roles as both centres of charitable welfare and spiritual guidance which translated into all aspects of everyday life for its respective flocks. The rhythms of daily life in the medieval period were infused with religious significance and symbolism: the dining table acted as a domestic pseudo-altar and the celebration of saint’s days defined the yearly calendar in such a way that religion was placed at the spiritual and practical centre of life (Rider, 2012, p.10).

When considering the power relations between the medieval church and European society, it is useful to consider the period prior the 15th century as experiencing a pseudo-civilising process led, not by monarchs, but by the church. Whilst the development of the early church was certainly a slow and disrupted process beset by internal politics and schisms, the later medieval church emerged as centralised power able to raise taxes and instigate holy wars in its own right (Deanesly, 1990, p.77). This domination was challenged and ultimately broken by the end of the early modern period as a result of the rising power of the nation-state and yet, as with all aspects of the civilising process, this process was not evenly distributed. As monarchs vied for internal power and control over their respective states, the power of the church must necessarily have declined in both the psychogenic and sociogenic sense. As will be explored within this chapter, the centralisation of power in the English and Scottish contexts was greatly affected by the tensions between church and state. These

tensions were clearly visible within the distribution of witchcraft trials which demonstrate the complexity of the phenomenon as both a spiritual and societal concern within the long-term process of state formation.

To better understand the role of the church within the civilising process, it is necessary to examine the church as an entity with similar state-formation potential and pitfalls as its contemporary medieval monarchs. The European medieval church underwent major transformative reforms from the 11th century onwards with the culmination of Papal supremacy taking place during the 12th and 13th centuries. Known as the Gregorian Reform movement, the fundamental disagreement lay in the question of authority over church matters. Pope Gregory VII pushed for a church independent from the influence of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, raising fundamental questions over the authority of the king regarding matters of investiture and the extent of church law (Lambert, 2002, p.44). During this period, the Pope exerted major authority over a wide range of matters beyond merely church doctrine and expanded church jurisdiction into secular matters by 'reason of sin' (*ratio peccati*) (Moore, 2003, p.XV). By centralising church authority, the bureaucratic capacity of the church to raise taxation was expanded within the 'stateless' European lands to a far greater extent than could be undertaken by localised rulers. The expansion of the crusades as well as the church court system also introduced a new threat of violence which required societal participation. The impact of the judicial expansion of the church on the laity was the rise of the medieval Inquisition which, although not as all-powerful as sometimes ascribed, was indicative of the church's movement towards the development of a monopoly of violence and the external regulation of spiritual behaviours.

At the same time as these political changes were taking place, the theological orientation of the church was also undergoing a transformation, with the development of the concept of a 'pastoral church' interested not only in the souls of the elite classes but also the laity (Moore, 2003, p.246). In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council confirmed obligatory confession (Canon 21) at least once a year for every Christian who has reached the years of discretion as well as making many other reforms to daily spiritual life (Tanner, 2016, p.245). In real terms, the church was now

directly involved in the progress of an individual's soul to heaven and able to exercise influence over behaviour to an unprecedented extent. In Eliasian terms, this constitutes an attempt to exert external forces over individual's behaviours through the initial phase of psychogenesis. Compared to the trickle-down effect of psychogenesis 'from above' as described in *The Civilising Process*, the church's direct involvement in the behaviour of the laity had far greater potential to influence the development of internalised behaviours on a wider population scale.

Goudsblom has described the relationship between Elias's civilising process and religion as one rooted in the Lucretian tradition in medieval Christianity (2003). Such an approach situates religion within an almost evolutionary perspective whereby religious belief is the result of people's lack of knowledge about the nature of life on earth (Goudsblom, 2003, p.24). According to Goudsblom, Elias's lack of thorough religious consideration should be read as part of a dialogue between himself and Max Weber whose overt consideration of religion implicitly centred religion as the driving force behind the civilising process. In analysing the oscillating power relations between the early modern church and state, it is possible to navigate a new path between these two extreme perspectives. The footprint of religion on the development of the civilising process is present in both overt and subtle ways, yet the decline of the church still forms only one part of the entire process. In Elias's conception of a modernity abstracted from religion, the very processes by which that was achieved were infused with the example set by organised religion. The development of theocratic states during the medieval period was therefore a potential outcome of the increasing centralisation of Papal power, had monarchs not wrested power (to greater or lesser degrees) from the church through decentralisation. The decentralisation process, in many European examples, was characterised by incorporated religious reformation (as in England and the Germanic states) whilst in others (such as Scotland and Bohemia) the reformed church presented a challenge to centralised power, thereby expediting the need for further suppression (often violent) of religious influence. In both examples, the extent of the process of decentralisation is affected by the extent of the interconnectivity of political and social figurations. The religious reformations in England and Scotland,

though different in terms of process, were deeply significant with regards to their respective state formations and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Church and gender

There is a general consensus amongst gender historians that, from the early medieval period to the early modern, there was a general decline in the status of women amongst European society (Scott, 2015, p.3). Joe McNamra and Suzanne Wemple have argued that the restructuring of society across the medieval period, away from the influence of kinship relations and towards the prioritisation of hierarchical power structures such as the church and universities, structurally disadvantaged high-status women (1973). Such a decline in the status of noble women coincided with an increase in the presence and activity of low-status women in public life and also ran parallel to the declining dominance in political life of the figure of the 'warrior' male, as described by Elias (1994). Thomas Aquinas' revival of the Aristotelian concept of 'women as incomplete men' marked a shift away from the notion of women as legitimate participants in political and public affairs (Bennett and Karras, 2013, p.70).

Similar to the medieval power structures outlined by Elias (formed by warrior strength and infused with violence), the role of women as subservient to men and more susceptible to evil was justified by the religious doctrine which permeated all aspects of later medieval life. As a fundamentally patriarchal authority in both structure and message, the church exuded arguably the greatest influence over gendered ideologies, with particular suspicion directed towards those groups of women who may be considered marginal or 'outsiders'. Hanawalt's analysis of medieval social relations identified two groups of women whose ideological opposition both constituted threats to the church authorities: prostitutes and Beguines (1998, p.71). While prostitutes obviously deviated from church teachings on lust and adultery, Beguines were women who adopted a liminal space between the authority of the church and the husband.²⁷ Even those women, whose religious motivation and piety was fundamental to their lives, were considered as requiring patriarchal coercion and

²⁷ Beguines were women who led pious lives similar to that of a nun but who continued to live in secular households outside the physical and symbolic control of the monastic order thereby contravening expectations of spatial restrictions imposed on other women (Hanawalt, 1998, p. 72).

physical management. The most obvious example of the violent consequences of challenging the authority of patriarchal religious order was the symbolic execution of Joan of Arc whose confident transcendence of male and female spaces to deliver God's message was a deeply divisive religious issue. Sociologist Anne Llewellyn Barstow has grouped all such examples of charismatic medieval women under the term 'active mysticism' in which the danger to the church lay in its lack of control over the fundamental influence of men in women's self-conception (1985).

Religious concepts of patriarchal control were also crystalised within medieval secular literature related to gender relations. The concept of medieval 'courtly love', as outlined in contemporary early medieval secular literature, had previously associated the qualities of great warriors with a respect and devotion to women (Burns in Bennett and Karras, 2013, p.396). The women themselves were often relegated to the position of passive recipients in these stories (although this was contested) and by the end of the period, the dichotomy between 'pure' and 'evil' women had been firmly established in contemporary literature (Elliott in Bennett and Karras, 2013, p.32).

The protestant reformation also marked a particularly significant acceleration in the redrawing of the power balance between the sexes: on the one hand Martin Luther's symbolically significant marriage to the ex-nun Katharina von Bora marked the start of religious reform, while at the same time marriage became the centralised institution of protestant life and roles (Capern, 2020, p.57). These concerns about the increasing participation of women in religious life were therefore deeply rooted in contemporary understandings of insider-outsider relations. Early modern court society was therefore presented with a new conceptual challenge to the power relations that were previously characterised by male supremacy. With women's status potentially given a newly ambiguous character in the new 'self-restraint' of courtly life, the reformulation of the 'woman' became a necessity for the continuation of centralised male power.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to establish the medieval context of Elias's *The Civilizing Process* through a new perspective in order to lay the foundations for the following analysis of early modern social figurations. In raising the question of the

gendering of medieval psychogenic and sociogenic processes, it is possible to ascertain how divergent interactional strategies have informed the development of society from the medieval to the modern and thus provide a theoretical basis on which to ground the following assessment of the process of witchcraft prosecutions. As we have established, the growing association between women and violence (as seen through the rise of witchcraft prosecutions), raises interesting questions as to how sociogenic processes were developed across this crucial transitional period. In this respect, the question of the relationship between the church, the state and women has also been raised through a discussion of changes to the medieval 'three estates' brought about prior to the 16th century. This issue will be discussed further in subsequent chapters however it is important to trace the role of these very crucial figurations into the early stages of witchcraft prosecutions.

Chapter 2: The Rise of Witchcraft Prosecutions

Although the majority of this thesis involves an empirical analysis of contemporary pamphlets as representations of popular discourse surrounding witchcraft prosecutions, it is important to understand the societal and theological context from which such pamphlets arose. Within a long-term processual analysis, the early stages of witchcraft prosecutions have relevance towards the development of the later-stage social conditions in which large numbers of people could be singled out by their communities for prosecution by the state. Given the religious origins of witchcraft prosecutions and the ferocity with which theological understandings were debated, a limited selection of historical sources and events have been presented to illustrate changes in early modern psychogenesis and sociogenesis. While print culture may not be considered fully representative of localised discourse, the distinction between texts published for and by the elite versus those published for the masses is relationally significant. As such, this chapter will briefly investigate the theological rise of witchcraft prosecutions more generally in order to contextualise the subsequent popular discourses found in the English and Scottish pamphlets.

As medieval society and the church were transitioning towards a more 'civilised' and increasingly pacified society, the European psychogenesis was forced to move away from the gender essentialist perspective of "to commit violence was to be not-female and to be not-female was to commit violence" (Woodbridge and Beehler, 2003, p.48). In order to do so without rescinding patriarchal control, and thereby causing a potential increase in power diffusion, the reconceptualization of women, not only as capable of committing violent acts but active instigators of them, must have been established. Such a reconceptualization took place through the co-operation of both the church and the state, whose relations to women were intrinsically matters of power negotiations. Within this transformative process it is possible to identify the development of what Lewis Coser described as an 'internal enemy' which fulfils a scapegoating function for social conflict in totalitarian regimes (Coser, 1965, p.111). While the transition from medieval to early modern society was not totalitarian in the

modern sense, the processes by which internal conflict was utilised by institutions and communities to reinforce social integrity were certainly present. In the instance of witch accusations, this 'scapegoating' function was motivated by supraindividual ideals related to religion which therefore deepened the conflict over gendered power relations through increasingly 'dehumanised' processes (Šubrt, 2017, p.133). Similar to Elias's concept of the 'outsider', Coser identified the social importance of conflict relations in reinforcing social cohesion. While it would be disingenuous to describe the prosecution of witches as representative of a 'nonrealistic conflict' in the motivational sense (as witches were considered a real and present danger) the ability to prosecute witches through institutional mechanisms required the development and characterisation of a concept of the 'witch' through narrative frameworks.

It is from these contributing factors that it is possible to understand how the concept of the witch grew to become such an infamous figure of fear to the early modern population and why their persecution represented both a coercive mechanism for the state and a source of real terror to authority.

2.1 A History of the Witch

Religious magic

As has been identified in numerous sociological texts, a defining characteristic of the European modernisation process was the increasing secularisation or detachment of the church from the state and/or society. Such a process has been imperfectly implemented and certainly does not represent the full secularisation of individuals but, nevertheless, this process may be viewed as a significant feature of the social transformation away from medieval society. The term 'religious de-centralisation' rather than 'secularisation' will be used throughout this thesis in order to encapsulate the continuity of the process without a positivist association (discussed in Chapter 6).

So as to fully understand the long-term social processes of Europe, analysing the change in long-term religious figurations must be considered given its role both in the development of modern state mechanisms and the changes in societal significance of religion at the local and individual level. Max Weber and Keith Thomas have both acknowledged that one of the central aspects of the modernisation process has been

the transformation of the roles of 'magic versus religion' in society. Adopting the definition of the witch as a practitioner of harmful magic, it is possible to trace the changes in 'magic' as an aspect of the process of this religious decentralisation. The concept of the 'witch' as both a religious and secular figure, which existed both before the early modern period and after, may be used to better understand this fundamental element of the civilising process.

In Max Weber's concept of the primacy of the Protestant ethic in modernisation and the rise of capitalism, the development of individualism was one of the most influential aspects to make the interdisciplinary crossing into the works of social historians of the 20th century. Although not uncontroversial, more recently Weber's concept of 'disenchantment' and the development of the parallel concept of 're-enchantment' have also become the focus of increasing academic interest. The latter theory offers a somewhat processual understanding of the relations between society, the individual and the concept of magic in the spiritual sense (Weber, 2013). Both Thomas and Weber addressed the transformation of magic as a key to understanding the transformation of European society towards modernity however Weber's concept of disenchantment has frequently been misinterpreted as synonymous with secularisation (Marotta, 2023). In reality, disenchantment shares many similarities with Thomas' concept of the slow redistribution of magic in society in order to make space for the rising 'intellectualisation' of society.

Such considerations of the transformation of magic and the rise of intellectualisation may be interpreted within Elias's concepts of psychogenesis and sociogenesis despite Elias's lack of consideration of a religious spiritual transformation. To address this aspect the process must begin, as Elias did, with medieval society, where magic was at the forefront of religious, institutional and daily life and where the concept of the 'witch' was already present. Such a beginning must necessarily be caveated by the acknowledgement that this is simply an intellectual starting point of ease: social processes do not have a definable 'start' nor 'end' but rather an "acceleration of observable change" (Mennell, 2019, p.322) and the concept of the 'witch' is not strictly medieval in origin. With this in mind, it can confidently be claimed that the major acceleration in witch prosecutions in Europe began in the 15th century however

the structural, religious and spiritual conditions had been in place since at least the high middle ages.

Continuity of belief in magic is something frequently emphasised in the work of historian Ronald Hutton who has observed that even in the early days of Christianity, the problem of what constituted 'miracles' and what were 'magic' was a topic requiring intellectual debate (2017, p.344). The use of malevolent magic was a present feature in early medieval European society, with the Christian church adopting a rigorously hostile attitude towards practitioners, both theoretically and legally, due to associations with pagan practice and heresy (Jolly et. al. 2005, p.xi).

Early beginnings

The long-standing assumption amongst scholars of witchcraft prosecutions was, however, that such hostility did not translate in any significant way into actual prosecutions prior to the early modern period due to a lack of trial evidence. This perspective has been challenged in recent years by historians such as Wolfgang Behringer who have suggested executions were indeed taking place throughout Europe prior to the 12th century even if they were not consistently recorded by the authorities (2004)²⁸. Nevertheless, the intensity and consistency of trials as being at the forefront of theological and secular battles between good and evil was a distinctly early modern phenomenon.

Indeed, St Augustine had condemned the practice of magic as being demonic as early as the 4th century, ascribing humanity's knowledge of magic as having been directly learned from Satan and his henchmen (Otto and Stausberg, 2013, p.33). The reality of magic as having the potential to exact real and material harm was thus acknowledged within the early Church's legal codes as well as in the secular legislation of the early medieval period, however the latter was less concerned with the conceptual problem of magic as heresy than its real-world harmful effects. Historian Michael Bailey has argued that the reason for the limited number of actual witchcraft trials during the early medieval period was not related to a lack in belief or condemnation but rather

²⁸ Behringer acknowledges that between 1100-1300 there was a significant drop in witch persecution owing to the greater stability provided by the improving climate conditions (2004, p.52-6).

the use of accusatorial procedure in courtrooms until the 12th century (Bailey in Golden, 2006, p.857). The onus of proving the guilt of the accused lay with the accuser; should the accused be found not guilty, then the accuser would instead be subject to punishment. Given the difficulty of providing evidence of magical culpability, it is suggested that the limited willingness of accusers to bring cases against suspected practitioners was related to the potential risks to themselves of the trial process. This explanation provides some context as to why individuals may have been reluctant to prosecute a crime with such ephemeral evidence available however, early modern standards of proof, and indeed the legal system itself, were of a distinctly higher standard than that of the pre-13th century courtroom²⁹. Whilst in general the conviction rates for criminal proceedings were steadily increasing across the medieval period, the instances of witchcraft prosecutions were a significantly later feature and therefore require further motivating factors than only the increasing ease of criminal accusations.

Changing tides

Given, therefore, that both the secular and religious authorities believed and condemned the power of witchcraft prior to the early modern period, why did systematic and widespread prosecution not take place beforehand? The legal and spiritual avenues were open to such practices and yet it did not become a significant concern before the 14th century.

The answer relates to the place of magic within the consciousness of the ruling elite. Prior to the 14th century, the practice of magic was widespread but of little concern to the authorities: charms and rituals were of the mundane variety and often blurred the boundaries between the legitimate invocation of a saint's intervention and the powers attributed to the devil (Page, 2017, p.3.). The everyday nature of magic, while theoretically problematic, did not constitute as much of a threat to authority as other forms of heresy such as the Cathars and Waldensians (Goodare, 2016, p.35).

²⁹ In 1215 the Fourth Council of Lateran effectively abolished the use of the 'trial by ordeal' in felony cases, with the less violent trial by jury becoming its replacement in England (Kamali and Green, 2018, p.52) and an approximation of trial by jury in place by 1230 in Scotland (Simpson and Wilson, 2017, p.74).

A change, however, began to take place from the 12th century onwards where, as a result of the increasing circulation of magical texts³⁰, both ancient and contemporary, magical practice was becoming increasingly intellectualised with the categorisation of certain practices, such as astronomy, as semi-legitimate (Jolly et al., 2002, p.21). This expansion in interest was partially the result of said magical texts becoming increasingly translated into vernacular languages, broadening their potential audiences beyond the Latin-speaking clergy and educated elites (Page, 2017, p.5). As classical texts related to magic such as those by Aristotle or Virgil were being rediscovered and disseminated, the 'magical arts' were becoming increasingly the focus of serious scholarly interest.

At the same time, various church reform movements were attempting to reestablish the primacy of the Church within secular authority (discussed further in Chapter 5) as well as reforming the place of the Church within medieval life more broadly. The emphasis on the behaviour of the 'individual' as central to reformist protestant psychogenesis engendered a significant development in the interpretation of social relations; emotional expressions of anger, revenge or jealousy were reformulated as being the way of the devil (MacCulloch, 2005, p.809). A core feature of this psychogenic shift may be attributed to the rise of protestant concerns over the reality of the presence of the Devil who was able to seduce and delude weaker individuals into turning away from God. Early theological positions, such as Martin Luther's assertion that all witchcraft was heresy and all heresy witchcraft, were later reinforced in John Calvin's view that individuals would only willingly offer themselves to the Devil's service (Peters and Kors, 2001, pp.259-60). While Catholicism also condemned those who practiced witchcraft, the centrality of the concept of free will in the Lutheran tradition presented witches as "devil's whores" for which "there is no compassion" (*Ibid* p.263). Calvinist intensification of this position situated witchcraft also within the secular lens of criminality:

³⁰ The 12th Century is sometimes referred to as having undergone a limited 'renaissance' arising from the progression from Augustinian theology of the Early Medieval period towards an appreciation of Aristotelian logic (Jolly et al., 2002, p.21).

And if magistrates do their duties they will not tolerate witches as they do not tolerate murderers. – John Calvin, Deuteronomy (1583)

Simultaneously, the explosion of print culture (both elite and popular formats) in the 16th century allowed for the dissemination, reproduction and reinforcement of normative behavioural patterns in both a top-down and lateral direction (Raymond, 2003, p.12). Such reforms necessarily entailed the creation of relatively binary concepts of 'insider - outsider' relations related to the appropriate use of magic. Consequently, fears surrounding a possible 'heretical conspiracy' began to come to the fore, with the transformation of un-sanctioned magical practice into one routed in an implied collaboration between the practitioner and demonic forces.

The significance of the Church's role in the development of 'demonic' associations with magic and, later, heresy was indicative of the degree to which the Church could be considered to exert external forces on the medieval psychogenesis as related to power relations. The use of necromancy (the summoning and commanding of demons) was a source of particular fear as it employed the subversion of the church ritual of exorcism which required the knowledge of Latin formulae already known to many priests (Goodare, 2016, p.37). The belief that there was widespread heretical use of necromancy by individual priests beyond the authority of the central church was contributing towards the fears of demonic conspiracies (Rider, 2012, p.148). These conspiracies, or pacts with the devil, would later become the integral narrative behind witchcraft prosecutions but were apparently the preoccupation of the church rather than the laity. It is significant that in the high medieval period, these fears were developed in relation to the 'learned' practice of magic associated with educated males of a relatively high-status (*Ibid*, p.14). The distinctly male-dominated concept of magical practice was a reflection of the great perceived threat to the reforming church establishment: the secular elite. Courtly society, by contrast, had embraced figures such as the astrologer Michael Scot and the alchemist (and possible necromancer) Roger Bacon whose work epitomised the blurred line between medieval science and magic (Haskins, 1921, p.250). Such contrasting attitudes to magic reflect the division between the medieval church and secular powers which would continue to be

enacted throughout the power negotiations of the high medieval and early modern periods.

Good versus evil

When considered within the Eliasian framework of psychogenesis, the significance of witch belief in high medieval society was related to the concept of the individual battle between good and evil. While courtly society had embraced a degree of magical practice within its membership prior to the 14th century, the popularity of magical practices amongst a wider audience had ramifications for the security of the elites (Jolly et al., 2002, p.23). Whereas subgroups such as Jews constituted an obvious and identifiable 'outsider' community within medieval society³¹, witches, sorcerers and necromancers were a danger because of their inherent 'insider' appearance. The fear of those who used 'magic' for political gain or even those who prosecuted magic for political reasons was beginning to become characteristic of later medieval secular magical understandings. The implications of individuals mastering magic and demonic powers were a direct threat to those in power: the nobility, the church and the monarchs were all potential targets with few options for defence.

One of the first recorded examples of a possible witch prosecution in England was that of the dowager queen Joan of Navarre in 1419. In contrast to the later witch-crazes of the 16th and 17th centuries, the early examples of witchcraft prosecutions in England had a distinctly high-stakes political character. Joan's arrest was presented to parliament with treasonous allegations that she had:

*...plotted and schemed for the death and destruction of our said lord
the king in the most evil and terrible manner imaginable -
(Parliamentary Rolls: Henry V: October 1419).*

It is important to note that the contemporary accounts of the case were conflicted over whether or not witchcraft was actually an element of the official accusation, however two contemporary chroniclers described the Queen's attempted regicide

³¹ Living in largely segregated communities, Jews were often the subject of persecution across Europe; blamed variously for misfortunes such as plagues and accused of taking part in heretical crimes such as host desecration and diabolical orgies (Climenhaga, 2012, p.119).

against her stepson, Henry V, as being through 'sorcery' and 'necromancy'³². Joan was never officially charged with treason yet remained under house arrest for the next three years, allowing Henry V to avoid proving her guilt at trial while effectively neutralising her political power (Woodacre, 2023, p.360). While politics may have been a motivation behind the arrest, real fear of witchcraft could also have been a contributing factor: Archbishop (of Canterbury) Chichele had called for the protection of the king from witchcraft only a few weeks prior to Joans arrest and rumour that her father was a necromancer may also have contributed to suspicions (*Ibid*, p.362). Whichever version of events actually took place, Joan of Navarre's reputation as 'the royal witch' would remain with her long after her incarceration and subsequent death, adding a demonic element to the threat of treason and opening a new avenue by which damage to noble reputations may be done.

In these early cases, the primacy of politics in the accusation reflects the comparatively underdeveloped characterisation and meaning of witchcraft in England and Scotland. The threat of a wider demonic conspiracy had not yet been brought to the fore and magic was viewed as a weapon for the individual seeking individualist power relations. The fact that the accused individual was a woman in this, and other, early English cases is indicative of the increasing political threat posed by women to monarchical power relations. Significantly, the taint of witchcraft would continue to dog the royal family with Joan's stepdaughter-in-law, Eleanor Cobham, the next major figure to be associated with the charge of treason by witchcraft. In this case Eleanor was convicted of consulting with a notorious witch (The Witch of Eye) to predict the death of Henry VI (*An English Chronicle, 1377-1461* pp.57-60). The noted medieval toleration of consulting with these so-called 'cunning-folk' was now contested by the symbolic threat they could represent in allowing weaker political entities, namely women, powers to threaten the lives of monarchs. While social processes are by nature unplanned or directed, the fragility of patriarchal non-violent power relations by the end of the medieval period required consolidation. Witchcraft was both a real fear and tool of power relations.

³² See *An English Chronicle 1377-1461* pp.57-60 and *A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483* p.129.

Belief versus disbelief

There is an important distinction to be made terms of the psychogenesis of the early modern population regarding religion: belief in the existence of witches did not necessarily equate to actively hunting them. 'Belief' in the concept of the 'witch' existed within the wider medieval society just as it persists in some corners of the modern.³³ So why then did the early modern period see the extension of witch belief into a process of formalised witch hunting leading to the deaths of thousands? The root cause exists at the interplay between the transformation of individual belief surrounding the nature and character of witches and the wider social formalisation of legal processes over church doctrine.

Within medieval society, magic, both mundane and spectacular, was an acknowledged part of the human experience with both the church and laity interacting with and taking seriously the effects of magical interventions. 'Common magic', such as the use of protective spells and finding lost things, was practiced by a wide array of individuals while harmful magic was acknowledged by the clergy as being a credible threat (Rider, 2012, p.171). The categories of 'sorcerers', 'astrologers', 'magicians' and 'witches', as applied by scholars to the early modern period, were unlikely to be delineated as such by the majority of medieval people (Ostorero, 2019, p.502). Witchcraft in the harmful sense would only come to be associated with the 'sabbat' and demons in the mid-15th century when the term was first introduced in the context of 'evil' spells.³⁴ The intention of categorising such practices as evil was not to disparage all forms of magic but rather for ecclesiastical and secular authorities to identify when practices constituted heresy and/or criminal offences. The necessity to categorise these forms of magical practice are indicative of the extent and variety of magical practice and thus it was the transformation of magic into witchcraft which is most indicative of the changes in belief from the medieval to the early modern. This transformation required a shift in understanding the reasons for magical efficacy: the practitioner's power

³³ For an exploration of modern witch belief and practice see: Ethan Doyle White (2015) *Wicca: History, Belief, and Community in Modern Pagan Witchcraft*.

³⁴ See Pierre Mamoris' *Flagellum Maleficorum* (first published before 1462) for one of the first examples.

stemmed from a pact with the devil or demonic powers (*Ibid*, p.505). Conceptually, those who drew on such powers were no longer classified as individual practitioners but were now part of a sect of (mostly) women whose collective threat was significant. The rise of the 'Sabbat' concept reflected this shift in focus regarding magic as sorcery, which would later be encapsulated in James VI's condemnation of "detestable slaves of the Devil" (1597, p.xi).

Concerns over this new threat were beginning to come to the attention of the most senior political advisors to the crown through meetings of the Privy Council. The tailor, John Throckle, was amongst several mentioned in England's Privy Council proceedings in 1558 against whom the charge of 'conjuring' was laid (Acts of the Privy Council, 1893, p.6). Significantly, the same charge was brought later that year against several unnamed persons in a letter from the Privy Council to the Bishop of London charging him to:

*...procede by suche severe punishment...according to the
ecclesyastical lawes as he shall thinke mete, and to signifye hither
what he shall have doone herein - (Ibid. p.22).*

The deference given towards ecclesiastical law reflected the lack of secular legal grounding regarding the punishment of witchcraft in this period: Edward VI had repealed Henry VIII's Act in 1547 and Elizabeth I's Witchcraft Act would not be brought in until 1604, leaving only the Church Courts with jurisdiction. Despite a lack of legal footing, the Privy Council clearly took the matter of conjuration seriously enough to urge the church's involvement in the punishment of such transgressions, reaffirming the link between witchcraft and heresy along with the collective threat posed by conjurers to the "Cytie of London" (*Ibid*). Such attempts to repress conjuration by the state are indicative of a need to transform practices by individuals which draw upon powers unavailable to the prosecutors.

Rational magic

The process of the demonisation of magic was a shift not only in church doctrine but also in an individual's perception of the world. In order understand such shifts it would tempting to refer to Max Weber's concept of disenchantment however the

rationalisation of magic is key to the shift in belief described previously. Despite numerous interpretations to the contrary, Weber's concept of the disenchantment of the world does not imply that belief in magic was irrational, just as the belief in witchcraft was not irrational in the early modern period (Weber, 1993, p. 2). As Weber discussed in *The Protestant Ethic*, the rejection of magic by wider society in favour of 'scientific thought' was not a genuine denial of the presence of magical forces (Josephson-Storm, 2021, p.41). The very fact that witches were burned in the early modern period is indicative of the convergence between magic, religion and society and which persists in various forms into the modern period. The transformation of the belief in magic into demonic forces should therefore be interpreted as a rationalisation of magic by parties interested in regulating the behaviour of the populous and recentring their role in the spiritual wellbeing of individuals. It is therefore necessary to explore the extent to which belief in witchcraft was the result of a 'top-down' narrative suppressing existing behaviours or inventing new ones to be afraid of.

The rationalisation process of magic between the medieval and the modern is therefore the work of both the church (who focused more on heresy and therefore the theological monopolisation of magic) and the state (who focused on witches and therefore the criminalisation of magic). In focusing on witches in the English and Scottish contexts, the proximity of witchcraft to the general population was an inevitable factor in the ultimate success of the state in repressing the use of magical practices by the wider of the population. Whilst it would be unrepresentative to claim that all suspected witches were participating in some form of magical practice, there were certainly many instances of the employment of charms or rituals by suspects with both harmless and harmful intentions. Janet Boyman (1570) is one such Edinburgh example: consulted on several occasions by locals for her healing abilities, Janet confessed to using shirts for diagnosing ailments by washing them in the 'elrich' (elven) well underneath Arthurs Seat (Edinburgh Records Office, 1570, JC40/1). Her confession goes on to describe experiences of visiting the land of the fairies and other elements related to the presence of spirits and otherworldly experiences. While the extraction of the confession likely greatly impacted the narrative Janet gave to the

authorities, it is clear that her skills as a healer were ascribed by those same authorities (and possibly Janet herself) to her use of magic. Where Janet spoke of invoking the names of 'King Arthour and queen Elspith' (*Ibid*), the authorities interpreted this as a demonic invocation in order to acquire magical healing abilities. The disparity between the two narratives is representative of the deliberate suppression of magic originating from any other source than that of the Devil, thus condemning the behaviour of such practitioners.

Top-down effect

Where certain German-speaking regions of Europe saw witch prosecutions start to gather momentum in the 15th century, in both England and Scotland, relatively few accusations took place during that century. Those few but high-profile cases which were recorded largely involving aristocratic and educated elites and contained a distinctly political character not seen in later trials (Sharpe, 1996, p.24). As Elias has demonstrated, the development of courtly society and power centralisation was a slow and gradual process however, in the English and Scottish contexts, both processes were accelerated by their respective 16th century religious reformations (discussed further in Chapter 5). In England Henry VIII used the opportunity to significantly restructure English society situating himself as undisputed head of the church and centre of all power – both sovereign and spiritual (1534 Act of Supremacy). In 1542, as part of this reassertion of sovereignty, Henry introduced the first piece of legislation specifically targeting witchcraft as a capital offence however this had little re-world impact until the reign of Elizabeth I (Gaskill in Levack, 2013a, p.289). In Scotland, James V took a more moderate approach and avoided major restructuring thereby setting Scotland up for increasingly fraught power struggle between monarch and nonconformist varieties of Protestantism (specifically the Presbyterian Kirk (Church)) throughout the early modern period (Ryrie, 2006, p.8). These two approaches to religious power and authority therefore informed both the speed of their respective state formations but also the intensity with which the threat of witchcraft was feared and dealt with by central authorities. Here we can begin to see attempted reordering of the 'three estates' towards a prioritisation of sovereign power through a monopoly of violence and control over the judicial system.

In relation to the development of the crime of witchcraft, Elizabeth I introduced the 1562 *Act Against Conjurations, Enchantments and Witchcrafts* (5 Eliz. 1. c. 16), which brought the crime out from ecclesiastical purview into the jurisdiction of the English secular courts and primarily under the control of the justice deputy (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 2:539, c.9). There is very little evidence for the secular prosecution of witchcraft trials occurring prior to this change with 'spiritual' crimes being the preserve of the extensive system of church courts. In June 1563, Scotland followed suit however the act in Scotland was probably initiated by the leaders of the Protestant Reformation Parliament who were in the process of negotiating the establishment of religion with Mary Queen of Scots (Goodare, 2005a). As a piece of legislation, the Witchcraft Act was amongst only a handful of surviving religious proposals that made it through a religiously divided parliament. The change is symbolically significant: the state was now primarily in charge of defending the spiritual integrity of the populace against the threat of evil. While in England this was effectively an extension of sovereignty, in Scotland protestant radical John Knox interpreted the act as an attempt by the catholic Mary's courtiers to "have pleased the godly that were highly offended at their slackness" (*Ibid*, p.43). Witchcraft was therefore at the centre of the negotiative power figurations surrounding both the reformed religion and monarchy.

2.2 Print Culture

Following the passing of witchcraft legislation and the increasing discourse surrounding the threat posed by witches to the newly reformed states of England and Scotland, a flurry of publications began to circulate (Chaemsaithong, 2016, p.345). The increasing focus on the dangers of witchcraft in contemporary publications was now a source of fear beyond only elite or educated society; in the societal narrative the witch was now evidence of a greater battle between good and evil to which the spiritually weak were susceptible. This change is evident from the transformations in both the contemporary publications on the subject and the testimonies of those involved in the prosecution processes who, by the mid-16th century were largely drawn from the commoner classes.

A significant social transformation had taken place from the late medieval to the early modern period which historians have identified as a new and more engaged kind of 'public sphere' (Oz-Salzberger in Scott, 2015, p.199). Adam Fox has described this development as taking place most rapidly in Scotland between the 17th and 19th centuries in relation to religious turmoil, urbanisation, political crisis and, crucially, print culture which enabled the development of public opinion and popular culture (2020, p.431). In the development of 'psychogenesis', the external forces of public opinion should not be understated, with the deliberate manipulation of societal norms through the censorship of print culture a significant factor in the direction of developmental processes across the early modern period. It is therefore necessary to consider these two perspectives, the official and the popular, as distinct but interconnected figurations within the transformation of the early modern psychogenesis.

2.3 Elite Texts, Popular Narratives

Similar to the etiquette books Elias utilised in his own examination of the transformation in manners across the early modern period, various contemporary 'witch hunting manuals' may also be examined with respect to a transformation in the prescription of social behaviours for the wider population. These manuals, such as the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum*³⁵, were frequently cited at witchcraft trials and referenced by witch finders and inquisitors in their own publications on the subject.

The most influential text is considered to be the relatively early *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487), as this standardised the characteristics and methods of investigations, while also enjoying multiple editions, translations and reprints across the period. The secular courts (as opposed to ecclesiastical courts which opposed the book and its sexualisation of witchcraft) utilised the text as a manual for identifying witchcraft and are therefore crucial in understanding the development of the judicial responses (Borman, 2014, p.42). By focusing on women as particularly vulnerable to temptation by the Devil, the gendered aspect of witchcraft psychogenesis in intellectual discourse therefore began to come to fore in Europe during the 15th century.

³⁵ Originally published in 1487, the book went through 14 further editions in Germany, Italy and France until 1520 (Schuyler, 1987, p.20).

The early witchcraft publications and treatises considered the problem of the witch as both the antithesis of 'ideal' womanhood while at the same time being deeply rooted in fundamental feminine vulnerabilities. Two of the earliest examples of such texts come from Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus Maleficarum* [Hammer of witches] and Ulrich Molitor's *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus* [On female witches and soothsayers]. Both 15th century accounts were written within the context of continental (specifically the lands of modern Germany) prosecutions however their influence on perceptions of witchcraft was both widespread and long-lasting in the English and Scottish contexts. The *Malleus Maleficarum* in particular influenced the activities of James VI of Scotland in the 17th century with both his personal involvement in the witch trials and his writings on the subject within his own treatise on witchcraft *Daemonologie* (1597). Even Kramer and Molitor's titles reflected the gendered association of the 'witch': *maleficarum*³⁶, *lamiis* and *pythonicis mulieribus* are deliberately declined in the feminine form for emphasis. This overtly female-centric interpretation of witchcraft was certainly characteristic of the texts from the earliest stages of witch prosecutions and, once established within the popular narrative, became supplanted in importance (but remained present in the narratives) by the issue of an individual's relationship to God as the period progressed (Sharpe, 1996, p.170-1). This shift is indicative of development of the 'female' narrative in relation to destructive social forces and the emergence of the reimagining of the woman as 'violent'.

Within *De lamiis*, the development of characterisations of the witch was both textual and visual: all nineteen early editions of the text contain woodcuts images illustrating a temporal transformation in witchcraft iconography.³⁷ Detailed analysis of the iconography contained in the woodcuts versus the text of *De lamiis* suggests not only that the designers of the woodcuts were working from existing visual culture surrounding witchcraft but that there was a disconnect between the visual 'popular' narrative and the new 'educated' narratives held within the treatises (Kwan, 2012, p.496). Both treatises were written in Latin signifying their intellectual authority through the use of the language of the educated and excluding the majority of the

³⁶ A gender-neutral version of the title would be 'malleus maleficorum'.

³⁷ Twenty-one out of a total of thirty-nine editions of *De lamiis* printed between 1489 and 1669 contained imagery or illustrations (Kwan, 2012, p.495).

population. Early imagery tended to reinforce the popular associations between witchcraft and superstition or magical activities such as the use of weather magic and rather than demonological narrative held within the text. This changed by the mid-16th century when the demonological narrative was well established within the popular imagination. The significance of this lies in the fact that there had been a collective transformation in characterisations of witchcraft which corresponded to the domination of elite rather than popular descriptions. This corresponds with the Eliasian concept of the progression of psychogenesis as being largely top-down in character and also indicative of the wider move towards the suppression of all forms of violence, be they supernatural or grounded.

Jean Bodin's 1580 *On the Demon-Mania of Witches* (*De la démonomanie des sorcieŕs*) was the most widely published contemporary commentary on the subject of witches undergoing at least twenty-three editions and being translated into three languages (Scott and Pearl, 2001 p.9). Bodin, who is often credited for his almost 'modern' outlook on the state and society in his other works, viewed the relationship between God, society and the monarchy as being of the utmost importance in the development of a well-ordered state with the responsibility for enforcing God's commands lying firmly at the door of the monarch.³⁸ *Demon-mania* offers not only a call-to-arms to combat those committing abominable crimes against God but a particular emphasis is placed upon the need for monarchs to involve themselves in this process. The development of a comprehensive characterisation of witchcraft had a two-fold re-centring of power effect in relation to processes contributing towards the psychogenesis of violence: the ability to control violence as being a masculine quality dominated by the state and the reinforcement of the strength of the state within both the supernatural and material world.

This second factor is a legitimate form of psychogenetic development as, within the early modern worldview, both the material and the supernatural coexist and intertwine in both the quotidian and the extraordinary senses. A primary demonstration of the secularisation of this battle to defend against the supernatural

³⁸ See Bodin's *The Six Books of a Commonweale* (1576) and *Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime* (unpublished).

threat was the change in narratives surrounding the defence against witchcraft. This shifted from a narrative of religious and collective responsibility towards a legal and personal responsibility. The *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) addresses a third of the work towards those who wished to instigate judicial proceedings, both ecclesiastical and secular, against witches. In practice, the majority of this section is directed towards advising preachers about how best to defend their flocks against the evils of witchcraft for “the sin of one redounds upon all, as though all were one body” (Part I, Question XV). The collective and religious responsibility for the defence against evil was reinforced through the concept of the ‘bad Governor’ which also emphasised a paternalistic responsibility at the local level. Within the *Malleus Maleficarum*, this reference to ‘bad governance’ is made in relation to the fact that the innocent are often punished for the sins of witches just as the son of David, who was born out of David’s adultery, was punished in the Bible (Part I. Question XV).

One hundred years later, James VI’s *Daemonologie* demonstrated a shift in the characterisation of witchcraft. Although not as influential as *Malleus*, Elizabeth Mack has argued that *Daemonologie* represented a distinctly new phase in the characterisation of witchcraft (Mack, 2009, p.181). Instead of producing a manual for witch-prosecution, James was presenting the theological considerations behind witch prosecutions in order to reinforce both his own intellectual and religious legitimacy as King and prosecutor but also to present a non-clerical defence against witchcraft sceptics (*Ibid*, p.186). James’ humanist interpretation of witchcraft is significant as, although more forgiving than Kramer with regards to the innate ‘femininity’ of witch prosecutions, James retained the narrative that women are much more susceptible to becoming involved in witchcraft than men³⁹ due to their being “frailer” and therefore more easily “intrapped in these grosse snares of the Deuill” (1597, p.35). Unlike Kramer however, James’ emphasis was that serving the Devil was a personal choice rather than an innate quality of womanhood. This perspective represented a further example of the transformation in the development of witch belief in the direction of a personal, as opposed to collective, relationship to God.

³⁹ According to James at a ratio of twenty women to every one man (1597, p.35)

2.4 Popular Evidence

While texts such as *Malleus* and *De lamiis* were certainly widely distributed in Europe during the early modern period, it is important not overstate their accessibility within the popular witchcraft narrative. Where the early modern general public was limited in their ability to access the theological texts of the upper classes, the emergence of cheap print-making instigated a veritable boom access to new ideas and knowledge transference (Chaemsaihong, 2016, p.345). Amongst the most significant examples were the production of cheap and nationally distributed paper pamphlets which provided a variety of content including news and information of public interest surrounding witchcraft. Pamphlets were designed to distribute a moral lesson through simple accounts of witchcraft rather than emphasising the theological elements found in more intellectual texts (Suhr, 2011, p.27). Discourse on witchcraft and the entire prosecution process presented within the pamphlets is therefore essential in examining the extent to which psychogenetic processes had been enacted amongst a wider populous. This will therefore form the substance of the analysis within the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Divergence between the elite and popular narratives surrounding witchcraft was in part related to targeting of witchcraft treatise towards educated elites, such as lawyers and the clergy, rather than the populace as a whole (Burke, 2009, pp.99-100). Conversely, this educated classes were themselves also a source of limited popular knowledge dissemination through their real-world application of witchcraft 'norms' within the contexts of trials and sermonising. The transference of knowledge was, therefore, top-down in many respects however an element of greater transference and popular transformative potential was the construction of a normative framework related to 'witches' within popular culture during the early modern period. This popular culture consisted of both manifest and latent elements. The direct reproduction of witchcraft norms within nationally distributed pamphlets, describing the evil characteristics of the witch as well as trial details and outcomes, provided manifest examples of the figure of the 'witch' to popular audiences. Working in parallel to these publications were the characterisation of fictional witches within popular culture, such as in plays, songs and imagery, which provided a more subtle

reinforcement of norms and latent symbolism. These norms underwent transformative processes across this period however their increasing standardisation was an observable feature of this development.

Conclusion

The early stages of witchcraft prosecutions therefore offer a complex and emergent picture of social relations in the beginning of the early modern period. While it has been demonstrated that there was a great deal of continuity in witchcraft belief from prior to this period, changing attitudes amongst the intellectual and religious elite related to increasing fears over the reality of the Devil instigated a widespread psychogenic transformation. While intellectual and religious discourse on witchcraft abounded, psychogenic transformations at this stage were principally a top-down affair in which reformatory religious and gender processes played a central role. The demonisation of magic, with a particular focus on women as practitioners, marked the transition towards a reformulation of gender relations in relation to the violent potential of women. Emergent fears over the significance of witchcraft amongst the upper echelons of society impacted both the written discourse surrounding the threat for witchcraft but also the development of legal mechanisms to combat them. The particular protestant emphasis on the individualist nature of the demonic pact led the monarchs of England and Scotland to seek to situate themselves at the forefront of both the religious and secular defence. As reformist movements became increasingly dominant, the general religious landscape began to shift in favour of decentralised religious power and towards individualised belief. Witches, now both a symbolic and real threat to society and the crown, offered an oppositional balance to this individualist change and marked the beginnings of over two centuries of state and social violence towards 'witches'.

Chapter 3: Characterising the Witch

In considering the role of a witch in the social processes of early modern society, it is necessary to examine the symbolic significance of the character of the witch. Considering the fact that witches were of limited concern prior to the 15th century, a transformation in people's attitude towards the witch occurred both on an individual and societal level. The tension of religious conflict and uncertainty experienced throughout the early modern period, alongside the changing social relations surrounding women's statuses found themselves a new physical manifestation in the form of the witch. Similar to the 'outsiders' described by Elias and Scotson (1994), witches offered no concrete superficial distinctions from other members of society yet the 'established' members identified these 'outsiders' with great certainty. Aside from those who actively adopted the 'white witch' or 'cunning folk' mantle, the outsiders would have had to manage the cognitive dissonance of knowing they were theoretically insiders while being treated as outsiders. While the vast majority of these witch 'outsiders' would not have identified themselves as members of said group, the established, through mediums such as nationally circulated pamphlets on witches, did so for them.

As forms of sensationalist early journalism designed to turn a profit, witchcraft trial pamphlets focused on trials which they deemed to be of public interest, often recording events in great detail and embellishing events with additional narrative elements. The surviving trial pamphlets may therefore be divided broadly into two narrative categories: undoubtedly guilty witches and cases of fraudulent practice. The vast majority of pamphlets fall into this first category and as such crystallised contemporary narratives surrounding popular conceptions of a 'witch' and the social meaning therein. The overt religious character of witchcraft narratives intertwined with marginally more subtle, but ever-present, gendered associations – the witch was an evil woman living in your community. An exploration of these popular characterisations will allow a limited but in-depth analysis of changing social figurations amongst the early modern populous and help to unpick a fundamentally violent turn within the broader trajectory of the civilising process.

3.1 The Devil Within: Demonising the Witch

As discussed in Chapter 1, medieval interpretations of witchcraft were largely void of demonic association, with witches posing less of a symbolic threat to church and state than heretics and apostates. By the 16th century, the religious certainty and inevitable victory over evil offered by the centralised medieval church in England and Scotland had been replaced by a much more tangible threat to daily life: the devil within. In relation to social figurations, this conceptual shift allowed for an interesting new dynamic to develop within both local communities and the national consciousness. The social ties which bound communities were under threat from a powerful omnipresent force working to destabilise from within using both supernatural and distinctly human methods:

*The Witch beareth the name, but the devil dispatcheth the deeds,
without him the Witch can contrive no mischief. – (1579, ‘A
Rehearsall both straung and true...’, W5)*

The will of the devil is presented as the clear driving force behind the actions of witches however the symbiosis of the witch and the devil reflected how actively the devil has “greately multiplied the broude” (E6) in recent years. Fear of the devil’s increasing foothold was fundamentally a concern over the ability for individuals to resist temptation; in other words, a concern over an individual’s self-control.

Anxieties regarding the soul of the witch, resulting from perceived inconstancy of Christian behaviour, was certainly a key feature of the preamble within the first witchcraft pamphlets. Emphasis was placed upon both the persuasiveness of the devil and fallibility of human will:

*In them such power satan had, that Christ they did refuse: his
precious blud shed them to save to much they did abuse. Sin death
and hell did spread their flag, in them they bare the sway: His word
was irksome to their hearts, they walked far astray. – (1566, ‘The
Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde...’,
W1)*

*For hereby not only the simple people have been falsely seduced and
superstitiously lead: but all estates have been sore grieved and
troubled by these their practises of Sorcery and Witchcraft. – (1566,
'The Examination of Iohn Walsh...', W2)*

The significance of the devil's seduction of not only the 'simple people' but also 'all estates' is indicative of the negotiation of religious influence occurring during this crucial period of religious instability; the text is a warning to all of the need for a religious defence against demonic influence.

The consequences for such acts of insubstantial faith are framed not only within the legal parameters of a secular justice (as will mostly occur in later pamphlets) but rather the abject reality of the individual's own personal battle with the collective enemy:

*Our Enemies that we are to fight against are in number three: The
world, the Flesh, and the Devil – (1592, 'A Most Wicked worke of a
wretched Witch...', W9)*

In many cases of witchcraft presented in the pamphlets, all three are represented as motivations for becoming witches and yet the choice to enter into the pact with the devil, where others refused, is fundamentally what separates the evil of the witch from the rest of the 'simple people'.

The late 16th and early 17th century trials recorded in the pamphlets make consistent reference to the witch 'giving' or 'promising' her soul to the devil:

*But tell me, how came you to be such a kind of woman? Maister, said
she, I have forsake my maker, and given my soul to the devil (these
were her very words.) – (1593, 'The most strange and admirable
discouerie...', W11)*

Many of these earlier witch pamphlets describe individuals' attempts to resist the Devil, sometimes only relenting after years of persuasion and often in fear for their lives:

*He asked of me, when he came unto me, how I did, and what he
should do for me, and demanded of me my soul and body;
threatening then to tear me in pieces, if that I did not grant unto him
my soul and my body which he asked of me. – (1579, 'A Rehearsall
both straung and true...', W5)*

Here the message is clear: violent coercion is a tool of the devil to be resisted for fear of damaging the self and society. The very act of promising the soul to the devil should have situated the crime of witchcraft within the realm of the spiritual and the personal yet such crimes imply a threat to the fabric of social relations. According to the Weberian approach, violence external to state mechanisms is a threat to the legitimacy of those same mechanisms and therefore requires state suppression (Weber, 1967, [1925], p.342-3). In publishing the details of demonic pacts, pamphlets were feeding societal fears of the ultimate 'outsider' who could infiltrate the world of the insiders through their weakest or most peripheral links. Real or perceived, the threat of those who chose to side with the Devil was at the forefront of concern for these pamphleteers who recognised the implications of those who have "personal conference with the Devil" (1645, 'The Lawes against Witches, And Conivration.', W32).

By the mid-17th century, the pamphlets describe a more elaborate agreement between the witch and the Devil in which not only the verbal promise of the soul was made but also written contract:

*She further saith, that she gave some of her blood to the Devill who
wrote the covenant betwixt them. – (1645, 'The Examination,
Confession, Triall and Execution', W31)*

Aside from perhaps reflecting the increasingly bureaucratic nature of early modern society, the symbolism of "entring into a solemne league and contract with the Devill" (1645, 'A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations...', W33) is emphasised as being a legally binding contract. The contract's validity in the justice system is without a doubt recognised: the confession of having signed such a contract was enough evidence to convict a suspected witch. In contrast to those early examples

where violent coercion was central to the agreement, drawing up a contract required forethought on the part of the witch as to the implications of the commitment – it is implied that this is no emotionally spontaneous decision but rooted in religious betrayal. The inverted symbolism of the religious pact is yet further emphasised by some cases of renouncing baptisms:

And that the first thing, which the black man required was, that he should renounce his Baptism, and deliver up himself wholly unto him, putting one of his hands, on the crown of his head, and the other to the sole of his foot. – (1685, ‘Satan’s invisible world discovered...’, W70)

Not only do 17th century witches contract themselves into the service of the Devil, but they also symbolically rid themselves of any allegiance to Christendom which should place them above heretics in the religious order of ‘evil’. Yet for the writers of these pamphlets, the diabolical actions of the witch after the pact was made deserve greater narrative space, with particular interest paid towards motivations of ‘the flesh’ as being fundamental to the crime of witchcraft (discussed further in Chapter 3). The Devil, it seems, is making inroads into the minds of the weak-willed rather than the dissenters.

3.2 Bad Reputation

Within Wigston Parva, Elias identified the social function of gossip as being deeply dependent on the communal norms and beliefs which were in turn reinforced or replaced as new incidents arose (Elias and Scotson, 1994). In this respect the witchcraft pamphlets also documented and encouraged the national ‘gossip’ surrounding the witch as an ‘outsider’ but at the same time performed a socially coercive function related to overall standards of acceptable social behaviour. Reputations for witchcraft, given the insubstantial grounds for their development, were the result of repeated examples of village blame-gossip which were abstracted to the national level through the publication of the suspected crimes.

As a socially coercive force, the temptations of the Devil and the inevitable destruction of the witch are amongst the most aggressively stark messages a religious-minded

public could have received and which the pamphlets reiterated was an increasing threat to society. This, however, was undermined by the frequency with which most witches seem to have had a long-standing reputation for witchcraft within their communities:

A very dangerous Witch of long continuance, generally suspected and feared in all parts of the Country, and of all good people near her, and not without great cause: For whosoever gave her any just occasion of offence, she tormented with great misery. – (1613, 'Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed...', W19)

...so that the whole course of her life gave great suspicion that she was a notorious Witch,... – (1619, 'The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts...', W23)

The tolerance with which communities responded to potential associates with the Devil is both surprising and significant. Religious fervour is clearly not the instigating factor behind most witchcraft prosecutions mentioned in the pamphlets but rather the degree to which the witch 'tormented' her neighbours. In fact, the age and long-standing reputation of a witch is presented in the texts as a crucial piece of evidence rather than as a condemnation of a community:

She was a very old woman, about the age of Fourescore years, and had been a Witch for fifty years. – (1613, 'Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed...', W19)

There is clearly a finite level of tolerable suspected witchcraft related to behavioural relations despite public understanding of the nature of a pact with the Devil. Even amongst cases of mass prosecutions, such as with the eighteen witches tried at Bury St Edmunds, the pamphlets are keen to justify where possible the long-standing nature of their diabolical pacts:

Another of the women Witches confessed that she had bewitched a child to death, and that she had been a Witch above five and twenty

years,... – (1645, 'A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eightene Witches.', W34)

In the above confession, the murder committed by the witch was presented as the culmination of years of evil practice rather than simply a crime of momentary passion. The longevity of the suspicions provided a temporal legitimacy which acted as supporting evidence in the face of a lack of physical evidence. The implication was that it is the prolonged existence of the demonic commitment which sets this crime apart from more quotidian examples of violence: the violence committed by witches is, by definition, premeditated.

3.3 Hereditary Evil

In relation to the longevity of witchcraft pacts and their situation within communities, negative transference between family members is a frequently cited characteristic of witchcraft pamphlets. The association between individuals with reputations for witchcraft and the possibility of their having learned the practice from their family members reinforces the potential for justifying established-outsider relations.

...she the said Ioan was skilful and cunning in witcherie, and could do as much as the said mother Barnes, this examinants mother, or any other in this town of S. Osees [St Osyth]. – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

The apparent transference of knowledge between the generations was consistently in the direction of older to younger, with the eldest relative receiving the most blame for corrupting the next generations. Conceptually, the older were transferring both negative reputations and norm transgressions to the younger through modelling negative behaviour and the expected prioritisation of kinship norms:

Thus lived she securely for many years, brought up her own Children, instructed her Grand-children, and took great care and pains to bring them to be Witches. – (1612, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)

Observably strong kinship ties are part of the justification for transferred reputations however blame was still transferred to the younger generations of witches for their passivity:

This Arthur Bill, a wretched poor Man, both in state and mind, remained in a town called Raunds in the County aforesaid, begotten and borne of parents that were both Witches, and he (like a gracious Child) would not degenerate, nor suffer himself to stray from his fathers wicked Counsels, but carefully trod the steps that he had devilishly taught him. – (1612, ‘Witches of Northampton-shire.’

W17)

The sarcasm inferred from ‘like a gracious child’ implies that adhering to familial standards is still illegitimate if the adherent is aware that they contravene social norms. Here the concept of the pact with the devil is the legitimising force for transferring suspicion to the next generation:

...about seven years since, she began to have familiarity with the Devil, by the instigation of her mother Anne Weste; – (1645, ‘A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations...’, W33)

While the mother may lead the horse to water, the daughter must choose to drink. It is therefore the interplay between transgressing behavioural norms, reputation and familial precedence which offer the most significant indicators for witchcraft figurations:

...for that the said Amy hath been long reputed to be a Witch, and a person of very evil behaviour, whose Kindred and Relations have been many of them accused for Witchcraft, and some of them have been Condemned. – (1662, ‘The Power of Witchcraft...’, W53)

3.4 Witch as Woman, Woman as Witch

When coding the texts contained within the witchcraft pamphlets for gender associations, the author identified almost three times as many examples of female

negatively coded language as male negatively coded language. This is unsurprising given the gender imbalance of accused witches (between 75% and 90% across Europe were women (Levack, 2013b, p.141)), however whereas male witches were treated as deceptive (often poor) individuals with agency, female witches were assigned additional categories of social deviance related to collective standards of behaviour. As will be demonstrated, these categories represent not only women whose behavioural self-restraint falls short of expected standards but also those who undermine the very meaning of early modern 'womanhood' and gender roles. While there are many additional forms of gendered social relations in early modern society, those selected and described within the pamphlets are designed to elicit a response from the readership and therefore provide insight into the discourse of conflict surrounding the concepts of women and witchcraft across the period.

...she grew past all shame and Woman-hood, and many times cursed them all that were the cause of this discontentment, and made her so loathsome to her former familiar friends, and beneficial acquaintance. – (1619, 'The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts...', W23)

The first category to consider is one of general negative descriptions of women as further evidence for their guilt of witchcraft:

...the right worshipful Sir Henry Nevell knight being by him examined, and found by manifest and undeniable proofs of her honest neighbours to be a lewd, malicious, and hurtful woman to the people and inhabitants thereabouts,... – (1579, 'A Rehearsall both straung and true...', W5)

The juxtaposition of the 'lewd' woman and the 'honest' neighbours relates to their interactional experiences rather than the innate evil of the witch: 'lewd, malicious and hurtful' women are a clear indicator of transgressed social relations which can, according to the narrator, be significant indicators of evil. Richard Burt's experience with a woman who refused to interact in a socially acceptable manner is thus equated by the author with witchcraft:

I happened the said Richard Burt a month after, meeting her near to his masters barn, and giving her the time of the day, like a perverse woman, like a perilous wasp, like a pestiferous witch, incensed with hate at the sight of him held down hir head, not deigning to speak. –

(1592, 'A Most Wicked worke of a wretched Witch...', W9)

The supposed reasoning for the witch's 'hate' was Burt having publicly denounced her as a witch a month prior. The 'perversity' of a woman refusing to acknowledge the presence of a man is regarded not as an act of emotional control or conflict avoidance by the witch but instead a deeply emotional and socially significant response. Agnes Browne and Joane Vaughan are other such women whose interactional strategies are not considered sufficiently feminine, therefore further reinforcing their statuses as witches:

...of poor parentage and poorest education, one that as she was born to no good, was for want of grace never in the way to receive any, ever noted to be of an ill nature and wicked disposition, spiteful and malicious, and many years before she died both hated, and feared among her neighbours... – (1612, 'The Witches of Northamptonshire.', W17)

This Joane Vaughan, whether of purpose to give occasion of anger to the said Mistress Belcher, or but to continue her wild, and ordinary custom of behaviour, committed something either in speech, or gesture, so unfitting, and unseeming the nature of woman-hood, that it displeased the most that were there present: But especially it touched the modesty of this Gentlewoman – (Ibid)

The 'gracelessness' of Agnes suggests her 'wicked disposition' is related to her failings not only as a Christian but in the values assigned to 17th century women: to be hated by neighbours is akin to being denied grace by God as well. Joane's 'unfitting' womanhood is assumed not only because of her generally 'wild' behaviour but also because of the negative reaction from a 'modest' gentlewoman. Provoking anger in another woman through speech or gesture is overtly unfeminine and yet the

emotional response of the gentlewoman is justified due to her 'modesty'. Emotional expression in social superiors is therefore justifiable in cases of social behavioural transgression by their inferiors.

In overtly Eliasian terms, the witch, as presented in the pamphlets, ultimately represents a lack of self-restraint. The behaviours in question are, however, distinctly female-coded transgressions related to unregulated emotional expression:

This Mary Barber of Stanwicke in the said County of Northampton was one in whom the licentiousness of her passions grew to be the Master of her reason, and did so conquer in her strength and power of all virtue, that she fell in the suppository of goodness, and became diverted, and abased unto most wild actions,...Her education and barbarous nature never promising to the world any thing, but what was rude, violent, and without any hope of proportion, more then only as the square of viciousness. – (1612, 'The Witches of Northampton-shire.', W17)

Here is a clear description of a witch's 'passions' overcoming reason leading to their rudeness and violence: to be a witch is to lead an unrestrained and 'violent' life, to be a woman is to be restrained and peaceful. This is apparent in the few descriptions of why a suspect may not be found guilty:

A Coach-man likewise Swore, that upon his refusing to carry her and her Goods, his Coach overthrew; but she producing Evidence that she had lived honestly, and was a great pains-taker, and that she went to Church, with many other Circumstances, the Jury found her not Guilty. – (1682, 'A full and true account...', W58)

The woman was not only honest and went to church but also produced evidence that she was a 'pains-taker' suggesting a careful and hardworking individual which was apparently enough to contradict the circumstantial evidence of the witnesses. The assumed character and temperament of the witch is therefore the crucial element of whether accusations were successful within the pamphlet narratives.

By the 17th century, the narratives have transformed away from the volatility of women towards a consideration of the 'ignorance' of women as both a reason for and obstacle against their ability to participate in witchcraft.

The apparent inferiority of women is situated within their fundamental nature and exploited by the Devil; yet at the same time, ignorance is not a defence:

In Dialogue manner are here expressed the persons that she murdered, and the cattle that she destroyed by the help of the Devil In this manner was I enforced to speak unto her, because she might understand me, and give unto me answer, according to my demands, for she was a very ignorant woman. – (1621, 'The wonderfull discoerie of Elizabeth Sawyer...', W24)

The disconnect between the witch's ability to successfully murder and destroy at will and her failure to understand the judicial process due to ignorance is portrayed not as undermining the trials but as further proof of wickedness. As a 'very' ignorant woman, the witch mentioned above appears to reinforce the duality of witches as women: moral weakness combined with socially destructive designs. Nevertheless, the apparent connection between the ignorance of women and their capacity for witchcraft clearly required a certain amount of defending:

Many are in a belief, that this silly sex of women can by no means attain to that so vile and damned a practise of sorcery, and Witchcraft, in regard of their illiterateness and want of learning,... – (1643, 'A Most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a Witch.', W28)

Considering the apparent hereditary and learned nature of witchcraft described previously, the 'silly sex' are, according to the pamphleteers, to be treated with greater caution due to their inherent weakness:

...that as Satan in the first Infancy of the World prevailed on Woman to bring his Hellish attempts to pass, so he Still strives with that Sex, as the weaker Vessels to Work their Destructions; – (1690, 'The full tryals, examination, and condemnation...', W68)

3.5 Inverted Roles

The risk that a witch was more likely to be a women is further reflected by the symbolically reversed nature of domestic roles represented in the witchcraft pamphlets. These narratives present the witch as a reverse of the archetypal 'good wife' and an active saboteur of those who occupy the socially acceptable role. Within the complexity of gender relational hierarchies in early modern society, a young(ish) married mother of reasonable means offered the most socially stable position achievable for the majority women (Wiesner, 2000, p.71-2). The crimes of the witches presented in the pamphlets frequently transgress these expectations offering a social 'mirror' from which latent behavioural regulation may be extracted.

The first obvious inversion related to the concept of parenting, as discussed above, but more specifically that of women as natural mothers. Witches cause not only spiritual harm to children but also physical harm to them in order to punish their parents, the community or simply due to their innate evil. Grace Thurlowe is convinced that the cause of death of her own baby was due to her having quarrelled with her neighbour Ursley Kempe, a wetnurse and 'keeper', who 'would not suffer her to have the nursing of that child':

And saith, that she the said Grace nursing the said child, within some short time after that falling out, the child lying in the Cradle, and not above a quarter olde, fell out of the said Cradle, and brake her neck, and dyed. – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

The symbolism of vengeance enacted upon a child within the care of the family home strikes at the heart of fears surrounding transgressed social responsibility and trust within a community. The witch's response reported by the pamphlet underlines further the unnatural callousness of a woman entrusted with the care of other's children:

The which the said Ursley hearing to have happened made answer it maketh no matter. For she might have suffered mee to have the keeping and nursing of it. – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

Ursley's statement is damning: the implication that, had Grace entrusted the care of the child to Ursley it would still be alive, not only suggests malicious intent against the mother but the inclusion in the narrative of her overt lack of sympathy at the loss of the child reinforces her deficiencies regarding a sympathetic maternal instinct. Such outrageous subversion of motherhood is described in no uncertain terms:

Elizabeth Device. Barbarous and inhumane Monster, beyond example; so far from sensible understanding of thy own misery, as to bring thy own natural children into mischief and bondage; – (1612, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)

This deficiency was also a feature of discord within a witch's own marital relations:

...his brother cried out and said, Father, Father, come help me, there is a black thing that hath me by the leg, as big as my sister: whereat his father said to his mother, why thou whore cannot you keep your imps from my children – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

As head of the household, the father above is depicted as having to protect his children from the demonic activities of the mother. Early modern domestic life was the responsibility of the women of the house with mother-centred networks forming a key locus of community figurations (Wiesner, 2000, p.78). The traditionally matriarchal space of the home was thus undermined by the witch's presence and the children were forced to seek comfort from the patriarchal figure rather than the mother. The influence of the witch on children was certainly to be feared:

...she would now begin to amend she said, Her leud bringing up of her Daughter, in suffering her to her Dame, both in controlling of her, and beating of her, which before had been proved to her face, & she herself had also confessed. – (1592, 'The most strange and admirable discouerie...', W11)

The witch has allowed another more senior witch (her Dame) to parent her own daughter through 'controlling' and 'beating'. The lewdness of allowing your child to be influenced and hurt by another woman is condemned as a reflection of her moral

failings and her 'naughty manner of living' (*Ibid*) all of which contributed to forming the character of a witch. The contradiction between those witches who were themselves mothers: "this hateful mother witch" (1619, 'Damnable Practises Of three Lincolne-shire Witches...', W22) and the concept of the good mother is presented throughout the texts as symbolically significant: undermining motherhood is truly "monstrous" (1612, 'The Witches of Northampton-shire.', W17).

The subversion of domestic life by witches was also keenly felt by the victims themselves whose desire to fulfil their expected duties is apparently sabotaged by witchcraft rather than their own failings:

And this examine sayeth, that the second time that his wife went to to churn her Cream, she continued a churning and could have no butter, but that it was as the other, the which he sayeth, his wife was constrained to put it into yule Tub. – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6).

The implication that a witch was preventing a woman from fulfilling essential duties tied to her role as a wife indicated the significance of failing to live up to gender norms: a supernatural explanation was necessary to defend his wife's reputation.

Thus Danaeus in Dialogis suis de Sortiariis, witnesseth, that a Witch touched but the breasts of a woman that gave suck, and her milk dried up: – (1700, 'The Tryal of Witchcraft Of, Witchcraft Arraign'd and Condemn'd.', W75)

The potential for witches to remove the capacity for a mother to breastfeed her child is of grave importance in a period of high child mortality (one in five children died before the age of one (Laqueur, 1990, p.101)). Offering an alternative explanation to what was not an uncommon problem suggests witches offer an outlet for the frustrations of daily life as well as a more tangible explanation for the suffering of 'good Christians'. Women are condemned but also exonerated by the associations between themselves and witchcraft.

3.6 'I am a passionate woman'

The most overt presentation of social regulation within the texts stems from the relationship between witches and 'disorderly' behaviour. Witch-related behaviour is deeply embedded in emotionally charged interactions whereby the expression of negative emotions, by both suspect and victim (see Chapter 3), inevitably leads to negative outcomes. Disordered emotional expression is embedded in the character of witches suggesting their tendency towards social conflict is rooted in the demonic:

...whereupon the said Maid (being a young Woman of a proud and revengeful Temper, and much addicted to Cursing, Swearing and Purloining) did, in a mighty Rage, imprecate the Curse of GOD three times upon the Child; – (1698, 'Saddisimus Debellatus', W73)

General temperament is to be considered the most within the context of discerning witches for, though an insider may display an angry response when provoked, the witch is consistently uncivil:

My Lord asked her, if she did not speak those words: she acknowledged she did: but my Lod, said she, I am a passionate woman, and they having urged me, I spake those words in passion, my Lord, but I intended no such thing. – (1682, 'An Account Of The Tryal And Examination of Joan Buts.', W62)

Witches could even remove the ability of women to express emotions in typically feminine-coded but positive ways:

At which speeches this Examinee used outrageous words, calling the said Ursley whore, saying, she would scratch her: for she was a Witch, and that she was sure she had bewitched her: For that she could not now weep – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

The nature of bewitching a woman into becoming unable to weep is significant in two ways: firstly it reinforces the expected normality of weeping as a form of female expression and secondly that the witch intends to prevent that occurrence. Within the context of a witch trial, appropriate emotional expression signifies appropriate self-

awareness and remorse; being unable to weep is as much abhorrent as being uncontrollable:

Their manner of behavior in this their exhortation to her was, that as for the most part they began with tears, so they continued, and always ended with tears: insomuch that there was not any who heard them, could abstain from weeping, only the old woman was little or nothing moved. – (1592, ‘The most strange and admirable discoverie...’, W11)

Worse still are the instances where the behaviour of the witch forces their victim to be violent against them:

As soon as Jane Wenham spoke to her, her Colour came into her Cheeks, and she started up, crying, you are a base Woman, you have ruined me, and flew upon her to scratch her, faying, I must have your Blood, or I shall ever be well. – (1711 Jane Wenham (E57))

The symbolism of ‘scratching’ a witch in order to counteract the witch’s power was a persistent early modern belief and yet the interaction is rooted in emotional impulsivity on behalf of the victim. The test could be performed at any time and yet the presence of the witch stirs such anger that the victim must act to save herself.

Standards of behavioural restraint are nevertheless expected of the accusers, with those discovered to have fabricated accusations tarred with the similarly ‘uncivil’ brush as the witch:

Whereas one Margret Pryor of Long Stanton in Cambridge Shire, who hath been taken notice of by several Of her neighbours to be a lews vain woman, of evil conversation, that hath been seen uncivilly to behave her self, often times in prophaneness and drunkenness; – (1659, ‘A Lying Wonder Discovered...’, W50)

Margret’s inability to behave in manners acceptable to her neighbours led to her failure to persuade the judge of her claims against “several honest people of good report” (*Ibid*). The juxtaposition of the profane and drunkard woman against the

honest parishioners reinforced the significant value placed upon long-term behavioural patterns and reputations.

3.7 Male Witch

...of diverse as well men as women, that used to do much harm, by Sorcery, witchcraft, & enchantments, – (1579, 'A brief treatise conteyning...', W4)

Whilst the majority of the characteristics presented throughout the pamphlets represent distinctly female-coded behavioural regulation, the presence of male witches should also be considered with regards to the gender relations of witchcraft.

Where male witches appear in the witchcraft pamphlets, they are assigned greater degrees of agency and influence. Significantly, male witches are presented in line with patriarchal power dynamics of dominance and leadership over their female co-conspirators and thus reinforce gender inequalities. Male witches often occupy positions of power within groups of suspected witches:

First, that at the general meetings of those witches, he was always present: that he was Clarke to all those that were in subjection to the Devils service, – (1592, 'Newes from Scotland', W10)

This Examine saith, That she hath a Spirit which she calleth Pretty, which was given unto her by William Berry of Langholme in Rutlandshire, whom she served three years; – (1619, 'The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts...', W23)

The association between the deceptive nature of male witches and their exploitation of 'simple people' is more akin to that of the deceptive nature of the devil, reinforcing the exploitation of power imbalances:

...an eminent Warlock whose name was Robert Grieve, alias Hob Grieve, trafficking in these parts of the Country, and deceiving many simple People, – (1685, 'Satan's Invisible World', W70)

Where a woman is utilising the power of witchcraft as a weapon against her own social disadvantage, men can use their preexisting advantage to exploit further the more vulnerable individuals. As with cases of hereditary witchcraft, those deceived by the male witch into participating are not given less punishment however by recognising the unequal potential of male versus female witches, the pamphlets are signifying a greater transgression of responsibility.

This disparity is overtly evidenced by the more obvious power differentials of the legal frameworks presented in the pamphlets: there are no women occupying legal or judicial positions. Where women occupy a role within the legal narrative, they act as witnesses or aid in the discovery of physical marks of witchcraft. Agency is therefore a presumed male characteristic of domination; women are presented as borrowing said characteristics from symbols of overtly male power – the law and the Devil.

3.8 Bride of Satan

A core example of the regulation of gender relations through the pamphlets comes from their treatment of sexual misconduct by witches. ‘Whore’, ‘harlot’ and ‘lewd’ are consistently used as descriptors for the character of witches who have also frequently given birth to many ‘bastard’ children.

This loane Cunny, living very lewdly, having two lewd Daughters, no better then naughty packs, – (1589, ‘The Apprehension and confession...’, W7)

...the bastard son of Mary Sutton (for it is to be noted, that although she was never married, yet she had three bastards) – (1613, ‘Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed...’, W19)

Her way of living being to sell Biscuits to Baudy houses, where she general got Drunk, and being a very Debauched and Leud Woman, and despised and slighted by the Neighbourhood for this her leud and base course of Life. – (1684, ‘Strange news from Shadwell...’, W64)

Sexual impropriety is reserved for the witches and presented as indicative of the lowest form of female behaviour and character. The fact that such 'lewdness' in women does not implicate the men who have fathered the various bastards is indicative of the gendered nature of sexual relations outside of marriage and yet suggests that such behaviour was 'worthy of note' but not unheard of. The implication that neighbours despised her lewdness suggests that women who exist in the liminal space between the bawdyhouse and the neighbourhood behave outside social spheres of interaction and risk the integrity of the 'insider' group.

Marriage and marital status of witches and other women are frequently included within the trial pamphlets. The unmarried spinster or the widow are of particular concern to the authors as they represent a dangerously liminal position in social relations. The frequency with which witches fall into these two categories implies a vulnerability to witchcraft presumably intended to be associated with their lack of a male family member to regulate their behaviour. Encouraging the social stability of marriage is very much in the interests of patriarchal gender relations, however the desire of women to enter into that contract for nefarious purposes was also to be avoided.

*There was amongst diverse other Gentlewomen that resorted to
Doctor Lambe whilst he was a Prisoner, one Gentlewoman, that was
very earnest with him to know who should be her husband, – (1628,
'A Briefe Description of the Notorious Life...', W25)*

In our earliest trial pamphlet, Elizabeth Frauncis is accused of having been tricked by the Devil into having sexual relations with a man she desired to marry. Once having allowed the man to 'abuse' her, the man refuses to marry her and she therefore exacts revenge upon him through first destroying his property and then murdering him with witchcraft. The final stage of her criminal activities was to be persuaded into aborting the child conceived by the now murdered man.

*Item when this Andrew was dead, She doubting her self with child
willed Satan to destroy it, and he bad her take a certain herb and
drink it which she did, and destroyed the child forthwith. – (1566,*

‘The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at
Chensforde...’, W1)

The symbolic significance of a witch performing an abortion through the help of Satan situates motherhood in opposition to witchcraft in stark terms but also emphasises the sinfulness of unmarried pregnancy. While the instance of pre-marital sex was not uncommon in early modern society (in England between 1/5 and 1/3 of brides were pregnant upon marriage (Wiesner, 2000, p.60)), abortions undertaken by unwed mothers was clearly of social concern. A ‘certain herb’ infers that readers were aware of plants with abortive properties however the impetus for someone to take it, regardless of marital status, originates from the Devil.

The Devil himself knows of the significance of marriage and was happy to exploit the weak position of the unmarried:

*...the Divil appeared unto her again in the shape of a handsome
young man, saying that he came to marry her. The manner was
thus: he took her by the hand, and leading her about the room, said,
I take thee Rebecca to be my wife, and doe promise to be thy loving
husband: till death, defending thee from all harms; – (1645, ‘A True
Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches.’, W29)*

The positive ideal of marriage and the commitment it implied was subverted by the Devil in order to invoke lifelong servitude which again highlights the implied social danger of spinsterhood. Where desire for normative marital relations was a motivation for earlier instances of witchcraft, by 1645 the Devil offered an inverted alternative under the guise of protection. Given the latter example was written during the English Civil War, ‘defending thee from all harmes’ would likely offer a tempting prospect to other unmarried women and therefore the final condemnation of Rebecca suggests a cautionary tale against temptation. The importance of marital relations is both a consistent feature of the pamphlets and source of social conflict in which witches provoke harm through their subversion. The subversions themselves are largely non-supernatural elements, such as having illegitimate children, which are

used as a device to paint the moral character of a witch and crystalise deviant behaviours.

Conclusion

The essential function of the witchcraft pamphlets was manifestly to entertain and describe socially significant events to a broader public, however in doing so the pamphlets have themselves reinforced national-level normative expectations of interpersonal relations. Characterising witches through a combination of manifest and latent components crystalised contemporary fears of an 'outsider' who comes from within while at the same time presenting clearly-defined normative boundaries of behaviour. These boundaries ostensibly derived from religious understandings of good and evil however their socially embedded character brought to life the inherent power imbalances implied by the characterisation of witches. The contradictory factors: the witch as a woman, the witch as a man, the witch as a mother, the witch as a spinster etc. are all contained within the spectrum of acceptable and unacceptable social behaviour. Where the upper classes utilised positive manuals of decorum to regulate behavioural expectations, the lower classes, and in particular women, were exposed to the negative mirror of witchcraft. The character of the witch was, in contemporary terms, the ultimate outsider however the coercive potential of state violence against witches situated their social meaning in much more immediate and vital ways than simply transgressing social norms. The threat of disorderly behaviour was arguably even greater to the witch than to society at large.

The need to blame someone for the increasingly difficult material conditions of the early modern period found both a social and legal outlet in the form of the witch. Where men's interactional strategies related to conflict were characterised by, in many cases, public expression, women were socially constrained to utilise more obscure tactics. The indirect nature of witchcraft was therefore an inherently female-coded strategy characterised by a reversal of power and community relations.

Chapter 4: Social Regulation and the Charismatic individual

When considering the impact of witchcraft prosecutions within long-term processes of social change, the ever-present theoretical debate over the primacy of individualism or holism becomes apparent. Max Weber's concept of the predominance of individual action (2013) can be seen through the motivations of prosecutors or 'witchfinders' as well as in the activities of certain infamous witches themselves. Monarchical interest in witchcraft, in particular that of James VI of Scotland, played a crucial role in shaping the relations between church and state, which ultimately resulted in the proliferation of witch trials. Simultaneously, the Durkheimian holistic approach surrounding the coercive potential of power structures and social pressure is also apparent (1950). The social pillars of religion, law and morality were important contributing factors but also community cohesion, neighbourly relations and concern over gender roles were also evident. The Eliasian processual rejection of the binary between these theoretical principles can alleviate some of these concerns, however the micro and macro processes visible within witchcraft prosecution figurations are rather difficult to unpick. Accused witches were certainly nestled in networks of interpersonal relations and mutual dependencies, while at the same time vulnerable to their own and the prosecutor's agency as individuals. The active social regulation formed by the publicising of witchcraft prosecutions was therefore both reinforced, and at times challenged, by the presence and actions of those exhibiting, as Bryan Turner (2004) has coined it, 'warrior charisma'. Turner's concept is an expansion of Weber's analysis of types of authority (*Ibid*, p.245) however it here suggested that the term 'charismatic individual' may be applied to those who utilised charismatic authority throughout the civilising process in order to disrupt or direct social relations. The authority of bureaucratic processes, which Turner argues is incompatible with warrior charisma, was fragile enough in the early modern period that the potential for individuals to exercise extreme charismatic behaviour was without a doubt present. This chapter will therefore consider both the coercive influence of social regulation as presented in the pamphlets and the potency of charismatic individuals, both witches and prosecutors, to shape psychogenic processes.

4.1 The Good Neighbour

The role of the church within wider social relations was at the front line of power negotiations within the early modern period. Amongst many other expressions of social change, the problem of social solidarity was directly impacted by the increasing poverty of the 16th and 17th centuries (McIntosh, 2012). The Reformation in England had substantially altered the fabric of poor relief, with the more traditionally church-centric administrative bodies replaced by a much more complex system of almsgiving rooted in Protestant values of 'commonwealth' thinking (*Ibid*). In Scotland on the contrary, the Reformation reinforced the presence of the Kirk as the principal providers of poor relief however it also did so through the form of public collections (McCallum, 2018). As will be seen within the motivations for accusations, witchcraft trials reflect the tension between the Christian values of charitable giving and the poor material conditions of communal relations; with the state and legal process acting as a regulatory force against the disintegration of social solidarity.

Aside from the witch herself, 'neighbours' constituted the most prominent voices in the trial pamphlets, forming and shaping the attitudes surrounding the witch. 'Neighbour' is here utilised as a broad term encompassing a sphere of interactional significance within both the public and domestic spaces. Within the context of early modern village life, the concept of 'neighbourly behaviour' formed a crucial nexus of social figurations in distinguishing insiders and outsiders. The pamphlets demonstrate a complex pattern of social relations and necessary tensions, as individuals attempted to navigate the boundaries of acceptable behaviour while faced with potentially lethal consequences for failure. In Eliasian terms, the problem of witchcraft was that of a 'life and death interdependence' (Elias, 1994, 406-7). A dichotomy is presented within the texts in the form of these consequences: transgressing the norms of neighbourly behaviour with witches can lead to negative outcomes whilst at the same time suspected witches who perform neighbourly behaviours towards others may also lead to negative outcomes. In navigating the two, the pamphlets present the tension between social obligations and being exploited for their good behaviour. As a result, the pamphlets present a normative 'middle ground' of social behaviour which is formed as part a dialectical discussion between the audience and author.

4.2 Bonds of friendship

In order to identify these normative and coercive features of the witchcraft pamphlets as they correspond to we-I relations, we must examine the presentation of 'successful' communal relations. In anthropological terms, the concept of gift exchange may be loosely applied to the behavioural context of the witchcraft trials.⁴⁰ Good neighbourly behaviour, as presented within the earliest trials, constituted at a basic level the provision of alms or food to the needy on the understanding of reciprocity:

Examine said, you must needs help me with it now, for this day I must pay the Lordes rent, then she said she must go borrow it, and so went and fetched it, saying, there is your money, whereunto she this examine answered, and said, now I owe you a pint of milk, come for it when you will & you shall have it... – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

Significantly, the above exchange took place between two unmarried women whose apparent poverty entailed a degree of expected financial solidarity. The presentation of their reciprocal arrangement within the expected norms of neighbours ensures the witness is presented as acting in accordance with approved standards of behaviour and asking only for their return when absolutely necessary. While the witch also adheres to the rules of gift exchange, it is presented as being the cause of suspicion: after the witch returns to collect the above-mentioned milk, the rest of the witness' milk begins to fail. If the witness' presentation is to be believed, there was no cause for the witch to taint the ritual of gift exchange and yet the negative outcome experienced by the witness is enough to raise suspicion of witchcraft. The implication is that underlying the gift exchange is a net benefit for society unless bad actors (witches) intentionally subvert it.

There are frequent examples of witches participating in apparent neighbourliness which result in negative outcomes for the recipient:

⁴⁰ See Marcel Mauss' 1925 essay *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1966) and Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) for the earliest iterations of the concept.

*...about seven or eight years paste she brough drink in a crewse
[drinking vessel], and gave it to one John Fraunces servant to
goodman Some of the same parish, shortly after the taking of which
he sickened, and died. – (1579, 'Detection of damnable driftes...',
W3)*

The implication that acts of charity, if given with impure intentions, can have dire consequences is a warning to behave with caution when entering exchange relations – the exclusion of the outsider is necessary to maintain the overall social benefit of neighbourliness. The deceptive qualities of witches to appear as deserving insiders is presented as further evidence of their diabolical nature:

*In this place there was also a widow woman whose name was Perry,
who had two sons; Master Harrison looking upon the woman as an
honest poor woman, took one of her Sons from her, and brough him
up at length to become one of his Household Servants.... – (1662,
'The Power of witchcraft', W53)*

The discovery of the 'divelish and horrid witchcrafts' of the widow and the son leads to their eventual 'sad end and deserved punishment' at the impetus of Master Harrison himself, which the pamphleteer intends to act as a warning to other witches who are presumably reading the pamphlet. It also implies a call to arms for those wronged through the subversion of neighbourly behaviours to bring suspects to justice.

Such expectations of neighbourly behaviour may even be extended to hospitality towards strangers:

*About Six at Night there came an Old Highland Fellow to Bagarren,
who calling himself a Weary Traveller, said, He behoved to Lodge
there that Night; but the Servants refusing him Lodging, gave him
something by way of Almes. – (1698, 'Saddisimus debellatus...', W73)*

Despite having no connection with the highlander and a bewitched child within the household, the servants are obliged to give something to the stranger to whom they

have refused shelter. The social expectation of extending hospitality to strangers therefore forms the central locus of conflict within this narrative; the implication that insufficient hospitality may induce vengeful behaviour from strangers is heightened by the supernatural threat of witchcraft within an already afflicted household. While the highlander is within the house, he is accused by the same child of being a co-conspirator in her bewitching and immediately seized by those present. The contrast between the extension of almes to the weary traveller and his evil intentions within the household underline the danger of the 'outsider' when welcomed in under the auspices of expected hospitality. Even in periods of disruption and difficulty, the norms of hospitality should, it is implied, be upheld.

The contradictory side of neighbourly behaviour is that when un-neighbourliness is exhibited towards a witch it is sufficient justification for witchcraft to be used against them – or at the least for the victim expect retaliation:

*...sent word by the said boy, that his mother would give her the dying
of a pair of womens hose for the sand: But the said Annis knowing
her to be a naughty beast sent her none. – (1582, 'A true and iust
recorde...', W6)*

The implication that gift exchange is conditional on a good reputation suggests that deviant social behaviour is repaid by a lack of access to this crucial form of social support and thus acts as its own regulatory mechanism. The danger occurs when the consequences for the regulator are more severe than that of the regulatee:

*The son of the foresaid Ellen Smithe, of the age of thirteen years, or
thereabouts, came to the house of one John Estwood of Malden, for
to beg an alms, who chid the boy away from his door, whereupon he
went home and told his mother, and within a while after the said
Estwood was taken with very great pain in his body... – (1579, 'A
Detection of damnable driftes...', W3)*

John's rejection of the plea for almes is connected by him and the author to his subsequent sickness which is indicative of the social significance of refusing aid to those who ask for it.

In an unusual first-person narrative case presented by Richard Galis, the witch is able to manipulate social relations in order to create neighbourly animosity as part of their attack on the victim (himself):

...the same upon mee, they stirred up others to be their cruel ministers in the same. First procuring my Friends whom Nature linked in the league of love and Freendship utterly to detest me, shamefully to use me and that which greaved me most maliciously to envy me, – (1579, 'A brief treatise conteyning...', W4)

The fact that his friends now 'use' and 'envy' him where they had previously loved him indicates that the Richard Galis believed he had acted within the norms of social behaviour, yet still witchcraft was used to disrupt the balance of neighbourly reciprocity to the detriment of their chosen victim. Witchcraft can therefore be used to explain the loss of the victim's 'insider' status beyond any failings in the victim's interactional behaviours. Exclusion from friendship can certainly affect the coercive power between neighbours, as is suggested by this 'honest' man's attempt to trick a suspected witch into visiting him for the purpose of testing her:

...his neighbour advised him by some wile to send for her home, yet (that between them both held inconvenient, for that either suspecting her self, or for not being friends she would not come) – (1606, 'The severall practises of Johane Harrison...', W16)

Her refusal to visit was based on either her supernatural knowledge as obtained through witchcraft or, just as likely according to the pamphleteer, her lack of obligation to a neighbour not considered her friend. It was therefore possible, it is suggested, for witches to successfully utilise the apparently well-defined relational obligations of the 'insider' group to their advantage. By contrast, attending too much to one's neighbours also held some suspicion:

Query 3. I would further know, what will one to be a Witch? ... If a persons often enquiring into the disease of the tormented, or their coming to visit them unsent for; yea, after they have been discharg'd

*the house as being suspected persons, will do the business? – (1700,
'The Tryal of Witchcraft Of, Witchcraft Arraign'd and Condemn'd.',
W75)*

Too much interest in a case of witchcraft or visiting the victims without invitation are implied to be indicative of excessive neighbourly involvement and therefore also to be avoided. Where a witch is clever enough to avoid suspicion through appearing to conduct friendly behaviour, they are instead revealed by their excessive interest and lack in appropriate distance from the suffering. Excessive involvement and a lack of detachment are apparent indicators of the 'outsider' which is a behavioural pattern reinforced within the pamphlets' assessments of witch-like behaviour. A balance in social interaction is therefore the acceptable norm within the context of neighbourly figurations.

Overstepping the boundaries of neighbourly conventions could also suggest immorality of a sexual nature by the witch:

*That thereupon she this Informant had some suspicion of one
Susanna Edwards of Biddiford aforesaid Widow, because that she
the said Susanna would oftentimes repair unto this Informants
Husband's house upon frivolous or no occasions at all. – (1682, 'A
True and impartial relation...', W59)*

The overt connection between the witch visiting her husband's house for no reason, and her existing suspicion that Susanna was a witch, clearly situates the behaviour as indicative of immorality. According to the informant, only a witch would dare to so blatantly conduct herself in this way with a married man and transgress the norms of male to female relations.

The impact of such un-neighbourliness could be socially significant even after death:

*...so that as in her Life she was little beloved, at her Funeral she was
as much slighted and scorned by every body, no one offering to
accompany her Corps, as is before rehearsed. – (1684, 'Strange News
From Shadwell...', W64)*

Being shunned at her own funeral as a suspected (but not formally charged) witch was largely the result of her 'ill report' amongst her neighbours. The implication is that the coercive potential of witchcraft accusations did not have to progress as far as a trial if the neighbourhood had internally pronounced them to be an 'outsider'. This was so much the case by the 18th century that even when a case in Guildford was found to be fraudulent and exonerating evidence presented by the local minister, that same minister was subject to social ostracism:

*But when I came to Town, I was abused by many People, both
openly and privately: you have the Blood of that innocent Man to lie
at your Door ; The woman had been hang'd if you had not saved her ;
The Judgments of God will fall on you. – (1702, 'The tryal of Richard
Hathaway...', W78)*

The shunning of the minister for having gone against the weight of neighbourly opinion on the matter of witchcraft indicates the degree to which social relations, rather than religious fervour, dominated the final years of witchcraft prosecutions. It is apparent that, despite the secular process of prosecutions, the witch embodied more than simply a rejection of criminal behaviour:

*Besides the many Felonies she has been suspected to have
committed, there are more than one that she has confess'd that if
the Neighbourhood had been desirous to trouble her, they might
have taken a much easier Course, and have proved her a Thief with
less Difficulty than they have convicted her a Witch – (1711, 'A full
and impartial account...', W85).*

The desire for neighbours to pursue someone for witchcraft above other lesser crimes such as theft is presented as a legitimating factor for the trial in itself; the neighbours are putting themselves at risk of losing the case against the outsider in order to remove their threat forever from their community. Such animosity against an individual, whose guilt was already apparent for serious crimes like theft, requires a collective certainty over the suspect's status as a witch and collective rejection of the 'outsider' within social relations.

4.3 Public Slander

The public announcement of unneighbourly feelings by individuals therefore occupied a complex position within the witch pamphlets. On the one hand calling a witch a witch in public would likely result in retaliation, but on the other it represented a culmination in the social ostracism of an outsider who deserved to be publicly humiliated.

In this example a woman doing her washing accidentally sprays the witch with water as she passes and is confronted by her:

*Do you throw your water upon me gossip, before it be long Ile be
revenged for it. The woman (sorry for the offence) had done,
followed her business, & thought no further of it... – (1606, 'The
severall practises of Johane Harrison...', W16)*

The 'gossip' surrounding the witch in question was defended in the pamphlet as she was "only a little murmured against" (*ibid*) by neighbours. This suggests that while gossip in general was not viewed positively, the response from the witch to gossip was disproportionate given its assumed veracity in this example. The gossip was apparently so well known in the community that the pamphlet presented it within the concept of provocation; the witch could legitimately seek revenge against the gossip, in addition to any other perceived slight caused by the water incident (however unintentional).

*...the Moldiwarpe she then bad go to Anne Dawse of the same town
and bewitch her to death, because she had called this examine
witch, whore, jade &c. and within one fortnight after they both dyed.
– (1619, 'The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts...', W23)*

The result of public gossip or slander, it is warned, can motivate a witch to commit murder, however the necessity of gossip to facilitate social othering or behaviour regulation is also defended:

*Now this Good-fellow (not enduring to look upon a bad face, but his
own, especially when he is Cup-shot) called aloud to her, Do you hear*

*Witch, look tother ways, I cannot abide a nose of that fashion, or else
turn your face ye wrong side outward, it may look like raw flesh for
flies to blow maggots in. – (1606, 'The severall practises of Johane
Harrison...', W16)*

This 'good-fellow's' drunken public humiliation of the witch is apparently justified by the fact that her hideousness is a reflection of her evil nature and yet the narrators also make tongue-in-cheek mention of this man's own unappealing countenance, alongside further references to him as a 'malt-worm' [drunkard] found drinking in a tavern while playing cards. The suggestion of comparably inconstant behaviour between the witch and the victim is unusual within the pamphlet narratives and is incorporated within the social regulatory element of the final narrative. In the end, the drunkard is punished for his lax behaviour by discovering a red lump on his nose and a rumbling belly (both of which would plausibly be the result of drink) for which he blames the witch. The witch's own narrative resolution is brought by the drunkard who brings her to trial and execution in response to her vengeful behaviour. This part of the 'homely tale' apparently caused much amusement to the court; the lightness with which male drunkenness was treated when related to witchcraft accusations suggests the regulatory effects of the threat of witchcraft were reduced in the face of the decidedly male-dominated safety of the alehouse. Witchcraft was in this instance considered of greater threat to weaker individuals than collective social institutions like the alehouse.

In a more serious case from 1613, the repercussions for calling out the witch were much more significant:

*The reason wherefore she this Examinee did so bewitch the said
Robinson to death, was: for that the said Robinson had chidden and
becalled this Examinee, for having a Bastard-child with one Seller –
(1612, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)*

Chastising the witch for sexual impropriety resulted in Robinson's death and as such suggests that the witch was capable of silencing those attempting to regulate their behaviour in the public sphere. The legitimacy of Robinson's 'chiding' is not in dispute

but the public method of regulation is presented as containing great danger to the regulator and likely to provoke retaliation, which itself suggests an ongoing figuration regarding the position of public remonstrance for behavioural transgression. Retaliation could take the form of like-for-like reproofs:

*The Doctor came to her, and told her he knew she had called him
witch, and because she should know, he could understand secrets, he
told her aloud, (which was truth) that she had two bastards; and
named their ages, and the places where they were both brought up.*

– (1628, 'A Briefe Description of the Notorious Life...', W25)

Gender plays a crucial role in this example of witchcraft; the male witch referred to as the 'doctor' is able to exert coercive power over his public accuser by threatening to reveal her own social transgressions, thereby exposing her to the condemnation of her neighbours. Once again behavioural regulation through gendered sexual shame is presented as a potent factor in witchcraft processes. The same doctor was also accused of raping an 11-year-old girl however the effect of such an accusation is much more greatly felt by the victim and the victim's male relatives than the male witch himself:

...you have undone an honest mans child, for well she may recover
her health of body again, but never her credit, for it will be a stain to
her reputation whilst she lives: – (Ibid)

Despite the fact that the assault was committed by a suspected male witch against a child, it is openly stated that this will not save the child from the weight of public social regulation regarding sexual relations. While both male and female witches are condemned for sexual immorality, in all aspects women are the victims of public censure. This acknowledgement of the importance of defending your good name therefore situates the coercive potential of slander as central to public interactions regarding the acknowledgement of witch-like behaviour.

4.4 Ulterior Motives

A crucial part of almost every witchcraft pamphlet is a discussion of why someone might resort to using witchcraft at the cost of losing their immortal soul. While some texts dedicate passages to describing the ultimate 'why', as represented through the devil's motivations to ensnare humanity, far more frequently the concern is related to the designs of individual witches. Detailed description of the motivations for witches reached their peak in the mid-17th century pamphlets where social upheaval in both England and Scotland was amongst the highest due to firstly the Bishop's Wars which were then followed by English Civil War. This is significant given that in early modern society the devil was a supernatural constant whereas individual behaviours were subject to external, and often social, pressures. Witches rarely, it would seem, undertake harm against their neighbours without some form of provocation, indicating that it is a weakness of character that is exploited by the Devil rather than any diabolical intent. The potential for individual temptation it is suggested, is both widespread and for petty reward. In describing a witch's motivation for practicing witchcraft against others, not only are the pamphlets identifying vulnerabilities in the fabric of social cohesion but also warning against behaviours by 'the established' which may provoke dangerous retaliation from 'outsiders'. The regulatory effect is therefore clear: social conflict through unneighbourly interactional behaviour is to be discouraged in order to prevent the prospect of unbalanced expressions of revenge.

In the pamphlets which ostensibly recorded the trial proceedings: where a witch does not offer up a motivation for their actions within their confessions, the prosecutors make direct inquiries.

Upon being asked by the Court what she could say for herself, she only alleged that her great Poverty had occasion all this, and pleaded guilty, desiring Mercy, but the Jury after having received their Charge, Immediately brought her in guilty of Murther And Witchcraft. – (1690, 'The full tryals, examination, and condemnation...', W68)

The court's desire to understand the motivation of the witch was not, it is implied, to offer any reprieve but rather to extract the cause of social conflict and ascertain the degree of validity for the motivations to commit murder and witchcraft.

4.5 Poverty

Regarding external and environmental factors which may induce an individual to practice witchcraft, chief amongst them was a material need arising from poverty or at least the desire for financial betterment.

For what can be more odious or abominable unto God then the deprivation of his divine power, by yielding our selves serviles unto satan for a little worldly wealth, or hatred we have to our neighbours, – (1589, 'The Apprehension and confession...', W7)

The clear 'unchristian' nature of attempting to obtain money from undeserving means is an especially un-protestant approach to life and of particular threat to the emergent 'economic individualism' of the professional classes to which the pamphleteers inevitably belonged (Weber, 2013, p.104).

...the said Spirit unto the said Demdike, which then did speak unto her in this Examines hearing, and said, that she should have Gould, Silver, and worldly Wealth, at her will. And at the same time she saith, there was victuals, Flesh, Butter, Cheese, Bread, and Drink, and bid them eat enough. – (1612, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)

While gold, silver and worldly wealth would be tempting to members of all social classes, the poor are depicted as the most vulnerable and likely to succumb for obvious material reasons:

Temperance Floyd, the most notorious of these Three Witches, being a poor Woman and earning her living by the Sweat of her Brows, the cunning Old Serpent takes hold of her poverty as an opportunity of laying his bait, for tis a Maxim in the Devils politicks always to Fish in troubled waters which course he commonly takes to erect his Trophie

upon the Destruction of such Miserable Creatures. – (1687, 'The Life and Conversation Of Temperance Floyd...', W66)

Poverty and spiritual corruption are presented hand in hand, yet these 'miserable creatures' are regarded as no less guilty of their crimes than those with less need. This conflation of moral failing and poverty is representative of top-down concerns regarding power relations of disaffected outsider group – the witch can reverse material conditions and thus threaten existing hierarchies in favour of the 'miserable'.

Equating religious values and material wants lends many of the pamphlets an unsympathetic tone towards motivations of poverty, especially directed at those witches who took revenge on people for refusing or providing insufficient alms:

Being charged that she bewitched Elizabeth Hough, the wife of William Hough to death, for that she angered her in giving her almes of her second bread; confeseth that she was angry with her and said she might have given her of her better bread, for she had gone too often on her errands, but more she saith not. – (1619, 'The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts...', W23)

Ingratitude on the part of the witch is tempered by the fact that the witch has apparently received insufficient recompense for her assistance, yet the difference between good quality and poor-quality bread is presented as enough motivation to instigate murder on the part of the witch. While the above dispute would be mundanely recognisable to the readers of the pamphlet, the danger lies in provoking a witch's anger into an exaggerated and lethal response. Exaggerated emotional responses are therefore presented as witch-coded behaviours which pose real danger to the population.

Rather than a reduction in the number of poverty-related motivations mentioned within the pamphlets as the 17th century progressed, the trend appears to instead show a continuity of incentives. This is somewhat tempered by the progressively decreasing value of the goods promised by the devil who no longer promises wealth but merely subsistence:

...he hath been seen to go in a visible shape through the Country, and appeared daily to the People, how he had wrought upon the Poorer sort, by presenting them with Meat and Drink, and this way allured them to himself, – (1685, 'Satan's invisible world discovered...', W70)

So little was the apparent price for some poor witches' souls that the devil could enslave them with promises of single objects:

Jean Fulton his Grand-mother awaked him one Night out of his bed, and caused him to take a Black Grim Gentleman (as she called him) by the Hand; which he felt to be cold: And who having enquired if Thomas would serve him and be his Man, and he would give him a Red Coat, he consented: – (1697, 'A relation of the diabolical practices...', W72)

The frequency with which variations of the terms 'poor' and 'poverty' appear in the text suggests a significant increase in concern over the issue of poverty between the 1660 and 1720 publications⁴¹. According to economic and social historians, the end of the 17th century represented a period of increased poverty in England and Scotland, with the systems of poor relief well established to aid the poorest in society and who consisted mostly of the old, sick and widowed (Arkell, 1987). Corpus analysis suggests that throughout all texts 'poor' and 'women' produced the most frequent collocation at a 95.8 likelihood. This suggests that the crossover in demographics between witches and paupers was not an incidental element of the narrative structure and indicates strong associative properties between the threat of poverty and behavioural transgression. The social meaning of poverty with respect to witchcraft is therefore interlinked with the ability of the poorest to manage social relations effectively, so as not raise suspicion from neighbours of their behaviours. Where such negotiations failed, witchcraft was a possible explanation:

Item she also confesseth that mother Devil was a poor woman, and used to go about begging of the almes of her honest neighbours,

⁴¹ With the exception of *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches* (1612) and *A true and iust recorde...* (1582)

which if they did once deny her request: mischief always ensued to them or to their cattle. – (1579, 'A brief treatise conteyning...', W4)

The coercive power held by mother Devell over her neighbours to provide almes or risk mischief ultimately condemns her in the eyes of the pamphleteer, suggesting that neighbours should not tolerate such social manipulation.

4.6 Revenge

Overarching all subcategories of witchcraft motivation is the core figuration of social and personal revenge which was firmly situated within the characterisation of witches. Desire for revenge is presented as an understandable reason for witchcraft and yet the pamphlets clearly present the extreme nature of the revenge as distinctly diabolical. The emotional volatility of the witch is therefore the most shocking part of the entire interaction: good neighbours respond to social conflict through moderation, witches through amplification.

4.7 Public Conflict

As we have seen, public slandering of witches presented a behavioural regulatory figuration towards the witch from the established, yet still public argument and conflict occupied this same ambiguous status within the witchcraft pamphlets. Falling out between neighbours, under normal circumstances, provokes social discontent however the pamphlets present these disagreements at their most extreme extent:

Item falling out with an other of her neighbours and his wife, she willed satan to kill him with a bloody flux, whereof he died, and she rewarded him as before. – (1566, 'The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde...', W1)

Revenge by a witch for disagreements between neighbours could have lethal effects on her opponent, offering the community unnatural explanations for natural phenomenon:

15 Further the same Elizabeth saieth, that her self did kill one Saddocke with a clap on the shoulder, for not keeping his promise for

*an old Cloke, to make her a Safeguard, who presently went home
and died. – (1579, 'A Rehearsall both straung and true...', W5)*

The stark reality of witchcraft is presented to the audience as cause and effect, reinforcing the necessity to identify such internal threats to social order. Revenge itself is presented as deriving from the smallest possible slights as well as more serious rejections of bad behaviour:

*When to the Earle and Countess thus, these just complaints were
made, Their hearts began to breed dislike, and greatly grew afraid:
Commanding that she never should, return unto their sight, Nor back
into the Castle come, but be excluded quite. – (1619, 'The Wonderful
Discoverie of the Witchcrafts...', W23)*

The public expulsion of the three witches above from Belvoir Castle would have been both a humiliating and gossip-worthy event, impacting not only their immediate security but also their future prospects. The social significance of this exclusion is, according to both the pamphlet and the ballad referring to this event, justified by the witches' antisocial behaviour. Nevertheless, their apparent vengeance on the Earl and Countess' family is so severe that it resulted in the deaths of their two male heirs. This example of interclass power reversal is of particular significance to the wider population: witches could target the elite as well as their poor neighbours. Such subversions were not overly common within the pamphlets however they were there which underlines the capacity of witches to work contrary to societal norms.

From the 17th century onwards, the malice of the witch was presented as a partial explanation for the extreme quality of the witches' revenge:

*That she the said Elizabeth Sawyer, not having the fear of God before
her eyes, but moved and seduced by the Devil, by Diabolical help, did
out of her malicious heart, (because her neighbours where she dwelt,
would not buy Broomes of her) would therefore thus revenge her self
on them in this manner, namely, witch to death their Nurse Children
and Cattle. – (1621, 'The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth
Sawyer...', W24)*

Where the godly members of the community would be dissuaded from revenge by the fear of God and from the goodness of their hearts, the witch will retaliate against her marked exclusion through murdering small children and cattle. Both children and cattle were vulnerable to disease and death in the early modern period and therefore the occurrences would be recognisable common to the readership, if no less disastrous for it (Thomas, 1971, pp.5-6). The suggestion that such personal and economic disasters were the result of malicious design reinforces fears around social conflict, encouraging the prosecution of witches over the more traditional forms of social exclusion. The implication that Elizabeth Sawyer committed multiple acts of supernatural revenge against neighbours before being brought to justice suggests that their more localised tactics of (financial) exclusion were considered ineffective in eradicating such threats. The spiralling nature of such crimes becomes apparent: suspected witches are socially excluded thereby creating resentment and thus reinforcing fears surrounding their malice:

Amy Duny came to this Deponents House to buy some Herrings, but being denied she went away discontented, and presently returned again, and was denied, and likewise the third time and was denied as at first; and at her last going away, she went away grumbling; but what she said was not perfectly understood. – (1662, 'The Power of Witchcraft...', W53)

The inscrutable nature of the grumbling is presented as a threatening indication of potential vengeance and suggests another element of antisocial behaviour epitomised by witches: cursing and vocalised threats.

Witches, as presented in the pamphlets, did not shy away from publicly vocalising their threats to exact revenge upon their enemies or curse them to their faces:

And she the said Ursley, seeing nothing to be had of the said Grace, fell out with her, and said, that she would be even with her: – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

This type of evidence of intent is presented as damning within the trial pamphlets indicating the unacceptableness of such public displays of anger, in particular from women:

...that mother Nokes had said that her husband lay with one Tailers wife of Lamberd Ende, and with reproachful words reviled her saying at last; thou hast a Nurse child but thou shalt not keep it long, and presently thereupon the Child died. – (1579, 'A Detection of damnable driftes...', W3)

Publicly accusing a woman of having sexual relations with her husband alone would be a cause of great conflict but publicly threatening the life of her infant is once again an example of witches transgressing gender norms surrounding motherhood and emotional regulation. This is apparent from the fact that witches in the pamphlets rarely express their wrath against only one victim:

Indictments & Evidence for the Kings Majestie against her, for the death of their Children, Friends, and Kinsfolks, whom cruelly and bloodily, by her Enchantments, Charms, and Sorceries she had murdered and cut off; sparing no man with fearful execrable curses and banning: – (1613, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)

Excessive retaliation directed against the community associated with the victim underlined the degree of threat witches represented to kinship and social relations. The fear of witches' curses is presented as not something to be taken lightly within the context of the reality of murder by witchcraft. This once again emphasises the transgression of normative social interactions on the part of the witch.

But she this Deponent was very angry with her, and thrust her forth of her doors, and when she was out of doors, she said, You need not be so angry, for your Child will not live long: and this was on a

*Saturday, and the Child dyed on the Monday following. – (1662, 'A
tryal of witches at the assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds...', W52)*

*...yea some of her neighbours dared to affirm that she dealt with
familiar spirits, and terrified them all with curses and threatening of
revenge, if there were never so little cause of displeasure and
unkindness. – (1619, 'The Wonderful Discoverie of the
Witchcrafts...', W22)*

In the later 17th century pamphlets, the threats provided as evidence of the witches' intent or pre-meditation are decidedly vague:

*...he utterly refused to let her have any; whereupon she went away
murmuring and grumbling, and told him he had as good have done
what she desired, and took her money; – (1674, 'The Full and true
relation...', W56)*

Expressions of malice towards neighbours rather than overt threats of action now appear to be the sufficient grounds for suspicion:

*Whereupon this said Examinant did go, but could not have any;
whereof this Examinant did acquaint the said Susanna Edwards, who
then said that it should be better for her the said Grace if that she
had let this said Examinant to have had some Tobacco. – (1682, 'A
True and impartial relation...', W59)*

By publicly calling out unneighbourly behaviour, the witch is implicated in return, suggesting that by the end of the period less overt methods of social exclusion, such as refusing service, were to be tolerated silently within the acceptable terms of social relations. Vague threatening behaviour as an expression of emotion or in response to perceived slights was tolerated even less by neighbours then than at the beginning of the period.

*...a Child of his, then pointed at her, saying there goes peg the Witch,
upon which the said Margaret turn back and Clap her Hands in a*

Threatening manner, telling her she should Smart for it, – (1690, 'The full tryals, examination, and condemnation...', W68)

The inability of witches to tolerate social slights without some form of verbal retaliation suggests the normative expectations of social behaviour for women, the old and the poor are now more complex. Lacking self-restraint in public interaction was therefore a key component of the artificial construction of the witches' otherness:

She was apprehended about the end of August 1649 upon some threatening words, she had spoken in her drunkenness to John Rankins Wife in Kilwinning. – (1696, 'Satan's invisible world discovered...', W70)

The broader transformation in social relations has occurred in conjunction with the solidification of the concept of the 'witch' as indicated within the pamphlets. Societal pressures, specifically surrounding conflict, were presented through the lens of both gendered expectations and community cohesion, exemplifying both the expectations of neighbourly interactions and transgressions of social behaviour. The prioritisation of witchcraft motivation, over descriptions of the methodology by which a witch may conduct her magical practice, situates witchcraft pamphlets firmly within the framework of behavioural regulation: both reflecting and reinforcing normative values of interaction. Fundamentally the coercive social forces are already extant within the populations, with regulatory factors directed primarily towards the suppression of female-coded forms of conflict or emotional expression.

4.8 Individualism

Having considered the coercive forces of social relations with respect to the presentation of witchcraft figurations, the position of influential individuals within those relations is also of significance. In Elias's analysis found in *The Society of Individuals*, the artificial separation of the concepts of the individual and society are replaced with the concept of dynamic WE-I relations (2001). Elias even refers to the 17th century English Puritans as possibly being the first to make the distinction between the two (2001, p.162), tantalisingly hinting at the role played by religious

transformation in the development of European social relations. Associative properties connecting individuals are not static entities but constantly undergoing processes of integration or disintegration often related to shifting patterns of power transference. According to Elias these patterns in early modern monarchical society were decidedly top-down in character however, as we have demonstrated, the influence of social pressures and power relations shown within the witchcraft pamphlets reflect much more socially lateral negotiations in terms of behavioural regulation. The relationship between the individual and the state in this period is therefore more complex than simply a matter of integration: the organisation of society around religious and gender relations, operating as their own sources gravitational pull, impacted the form and degree by which individualisation developed.

4.9 The Charismatic Individual

Elias's analogy of individuals as representing both a coin and a stamp for society (1993) provides a neat metaphorical explanation for the 'individual as social, society as individuals' conundrum, however the question still remains as to why some individuals stamp so much more than the average. In absolutist states the simple top-down distribution of power is an obvious contributor however even within those scenarios, some individuals extend themselves beyond the bounds of their social status.

In his analysis of Weber and Elias's approaches to violence, Turner described the importance of "charisma, and especially warrior charisma" (Turner, 2004, p.247) in challenging the civilising and rationalising processes. The conflict and eventual suppression of the charismatic individual's disruptiveness by state forces was enacted through the power of bureaucratic processes as well as the power over the individual of the symbolic 'office' (*Ibid*). The suppression of the charismatic individual is also present within two opposing 'characters' of the witchcraft prosecutions: the 'charismatic' witch finder and the 'charismatic' witch. The figure of the 'witch finder', while seemingly part of the growing bureaucratic mechanisms of a centralised state, also contains the potential to undermine and rupture the very civilising processes they represent. This danger is enacted through the potential of a charismatic witch finder to pursue their role beyond the accepted bounds of office into the realms of

fanaticism, resulting in mass witch prosecutions and executions. Religious zealotry and personal advancement, rather than financial gain, appear to be the common motivations behind most examples of prolific witch finders (Gaskill, 2005, p.65).

Across the 17th century, the sporadic distribution of prosecutions in England was disrupted by major mass prosecutions taking place in the county of Essex under the authority of the so-called 'Witchfinder General' Mathew Hopkins. Much has been written about Hopkins however the significance of his status as the son of a Puritan minister and his activities during the English Civil War are of consequence to the conditions of state formation during this period. Where previously the zealotry of religious individuals in England had been held in check by the strength of the circuit court system and the overriding authority of the justices of the peace (Gaskill, 2005, pp.23-5), the disruption caused by the Civil War allowed Hopkins to develop unprecedented momentum.

Within the witchcraft pamphlets, hints of the presence of witch finders are visible as part of descriptions of the trial processes, with some even going so far as to author pamphlets themselves:

*The Discovery of Witches: In Answer to several QUERIES, LATELY
Delivered to the Judges of Assize for the County of NORFOLK. And
now published By MATTHEW HOPKINS, Witch-finder, FOR The
Benefit of the whole KINGDOME. M. DC. XLVII. – (1647, 'The
Discovery of Witches...', W36)*

This infamous pamphlet is situated as a defence against criticism of the practice of witchfinders and provides illuminating insight into the sceptical position of opponents to the process of legally prosecuting witches. Presented in a series of directly critical questions, Hopkins offers reasoned and persuasive answers to these hypothetical sceptics:

*Quer. 11. Oh! but if this torturing Witch-catcher can by all or any of
these meanes wring out a word or two of confession from any of
these stupefied, ignorant, unintelligible, poor silly creatures...*

Answ. He is of a better conscience, and for your better understanding of him, he doth thus uncase himself to all, add declares what confessions (though made by a Witch against her self) he allows not of, and doth altogether account of no validity, or worthy of credence to be given to it, and ever did so account it, and ever likewise shall. – (1647, 'The Discovery of Witches...', W36)

The power and influence of witch finders like Mathew Hopkins in European witch trials is of no doubt in the European context however, as demonstrated above, their practice was certainly not without controversy and their reach in England was specifically limited to a few well-known individuals. Within the context of the witchcraft pamphlets, the individualism of the witchfinder, and indeed all prosecutors, is downplayed and constrained by presentations of the legitimacy of the legal process. Even the excessive praise heaped upon judges by the pamphlets is couched in terms of their legitimacy to perform their duty:

And whose just and upright carriage of causes, whose zeal to Justice and Honourable curtesy to all men, have purchased you a Reverend and worthy Respect of all men in all partes of this Kingdome, where you are known. – (1613, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)

Yet such attempts to depersonalise the processes are not borne out by the reality of the influence of these individuals. Where charismatic public individuals such as Mathew Hopkins stretched the extent of their own personal influence in order to fulfil their own objectives, so too did members of the judiciary. Sir Mathew Hales is one such example: chief Justice between 1609 and 1676, Hale was a renowned judge whose reputation for legal integrity continued throughout his career despite his fervent belief in witchcraft (Robbins, 1959, p.241). Justice Hale presided over the trial of several elderly 'witches' at Bury St Edmunds in 1662 in which the testimonies of children as young as nine were accepted into evidence despite assisting judges proving their 'bewitchment' to be falsified (*A Tryal of Witches at the Assizes*, 1682 p.45). Hale instructed the jury to consider:

“First, Whether or no these Children were Bewitched? Secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were Guilty of it? That there were such Creatures as Witches he made no doubt at all...” – (Ibid, p.55).

The accused women were found guilty of witchcraft and hanged the following week (*Ibid*, p.59). The week following the trial, Hale reflected on his experience with witches and through the publication of a discourse on the “Power and Malice of *Evil Angels*” (Hale, 1693, p.1) outlined his beliefs, emphasising that the Devil cannot harm a person’s body “but by the means of witchcraft” (*Ibid*, p.8). The significance of Hale’s high legal reputation had a direct effect upon other excessive witchcraft prosecutions: the Reverend Cotton Mather made direct reference to Hale’s work in Bury St Edmunds in his own defence of his involvement in the Salem Witch Trials of Massachusetts (Cotton, 1862 [1693], p.83). Such zealotry in legal figures was not a universal feature: Hale’s successor as Chief Justice, Sir John Holt, had endeavoured to acquit an accused witch in the same town and his biographer, writing 20 years later, made no mention of the notorious trial (Robbins, 1959, p.240). This case highlights the vulnerability of the state mechanisms to exploitation by individual motivations however the ensuing rejection of Hale’s zealotry by his successors suggests corrective civilising forces were also present. Nevertheless, Hale’s influence on Salem, and as a consequence, on the long-term anglophone popular understandings of witchcraft, is indicative of the social impact of particular individuals.

4.10 Scotland versus England

The divergence in the progression of civilising forces between England and Scotland illustrates the difference in presence and influence of ‘charismatic’ individuals in the trials. Levack has argued that there was a direct relationship between the lack of centralised control over prosecutions in Scotland and the high instance of convictions (Levack, 2008, p.28). The freedom to pursue witches by individuals, unhampered by rigorous legal oversight, led to many instances of intensive prosecutions being driven further than could be expected in their English counterparts.

Christina Lerner has described the role of the elite, that is, those with powers in the localities, as having a greater influence over the numbers of witch prosecutions in

Scotland than in England (Larner, 1981, p.23). The social structure of early modern Scotland facilitated such an influence to a greater extent than in England due to Scotland's retention of many aspects of feudalism in the form of the 'peasant society' (Larner, 1981, p.41). Within such a social stratification, the role of the Laird takes natural precedence, however the role of the minister is not so clearly defined given their landless statuses but significant spiritual influence. Consensus amongst historians seems to suggest that, amongst the elites, it was individual Lairds and ministers who played the greatest role in the proliferation of prosecutions in their localities (Macdonald, 2002, p.169). In relation to the long-term social processes, the influence of these two categories of people can be considered to be oscillating between being in favour and on the periphery of centralised state power. With both ministers and Lairds, their ability to exert influence over the witch prosecutions was restricted by the extent to which central authorities allowed them to operate unchecked.

John Kincaid is one such example of a 'charismatic individual'. Based in the Lothians of Scotland, in the town of Tranent, little is known of Kincaid prior to his appearance in the trial records, with his first involvement appearing in relation to the 1649 trial of Patrick Watson and his wife Manie Haliburton at Dirleton. Kincaid's own deposition records that he has "some skill and dexteritie in trying of THE DIVELLIS marke, in the personis of such as wer suspect to be WITCHES" (Pitcairn III, p.599). His name is prefaced with the title of 'Witch-finder' (elsewhere variously 'the common pricker' (*Ibid*)) which, along with the fact that his reputation preceded him, suggested that he had been practicing his trade for some time prior to this first reference. The final outcome for Watson and Haliburton is unknown however the subsequent confession by Watson to witchcraft was enough for Haddington presbytery to apply for a commission to both try and judge the suspects (*Haddington Presbytery Minutes*, 1648-1661, p.50). Evidence provided by those who claimed the title of 'witch-pricker' was not always treated with the same credulity by central authorities,⁴² however on a local level, such characters were a significant feature of many trials. John Kincaid's services were once again employed by both the magistrate and minister of Dalkeith to examine

⁴² In 1632 the Privy Council commented upon the work of witch-pricker John Balfour of Corshouse who "goes athort the country abusing simple and ignorant people for his private gain and commoditie" (Neill, 1922, p.206).

Jonet Paiston and, resulting from Jonet's confession, also Jonet Cock on whom he found two witch marks (Neill, 1922, p.208). Kincaid was involved in a total of at least 17 witchcraft investigations with his professional activities successfully leading to his receiving of the 'freedom of the burgh' for Forfar in 1661 (*Ibid*). Aside from Mathew Hopkins, there are not many named witchfinders mentioned within the trial pamphlets, which is perhaps indicative of their controversial public status:

*At this nick of time one Alexander Bogs skilled in searching the Mark,
came, being often sent for, and finds the Mark upon her ridge-Back,
wherein he thrust a great Brass Pin, of which she was not sensible:
neither did any blood follow, when the Pin was drawn out. I looked
upon this but as a small evidence, in respect of what I found
afterwards – (1685, 'Satan's invisible world discovered...', W70)*

While prosecutors and judges such as Mathew Hale used their inherent legal authority and social status to pursue and shape social figurations, characters such as Hopkins and Kincaid offer an alternative form of charismatic individuals who drew from the middling sort but exerted significant social influence. Both were able to do so by utilising and extending existing state mechanisms while also exploiting weaknesses within monopolies of the systems in order to pursue their own interests. Shaped and validated by religious zealotry, witchfinders could take advantage of the religious inconsistencies of the 17th century to exploit widespread fundamental fears of 'the other'. These figures, their reputations and infamy, embedded as they were within the social norms of neighbourly relations, had a direct impact on social figurations surrounding witch trials through both legitimisation and disruption of the state-led prosecutions.

Conclusion

The social regulatory function of the witch, as presented within the witchcraft pamphlets, is a complex figuration; the behaviours of both the witch, the victim and the neighbours are subjected to scrutiny in the establishment of 'insider-outsider' relations. The presence of witchcraft in a community was framed as a 'life and death interdependence' in which the transgression of behavioural norms had real-world

consequences for both the witch and the victim. Deviant social behaviour necessitated ostracism from the support of society which in turn provoked further unneighbourly retaliation, most commonly through extreme expressions of revenge. Unmoderated behaviour is the crucial divide between the presentation of the witch and their community: witches amplify and retaliate against minor offences where others were expected to have tolerated the slight in a manner most reminiscent of the biblical 'turn the other cheek'. This moderation was contradicted by the potential danger posed by the charismatic individual who utilised the emergent bureaucratic processes to pursue their own personal agendas. The overrepresentation of charismatic individuals in Scottish processes is therefore a reflection of the vulnerability of the Scottish state, whose centralised control was less rigorous than their English counterparts and more intertwined with religious and political concerns of social actors. Religious and gender relations therefore complicated the relationship between the individual and society; acting as gravitational centres, these relations both reinforced and at times challenged the longer chains of interdependency. Within the witchfinders and societal pressures surrounding the witchcraft prosecutions, it is possible to identify the weaknesses in WE-I relations during the early modern period. These negotiations between authority, society and the individual will therefore be further explored in the second part of the thesis which refers to Elias's concept of sociogenesis.

Sociogenesis

Having established the significance of gender relations and religion for understanding long-term psychogenic processes, the corresponding sociogenetic factors require further investigation in order to reformulate the concept of the civilising process. In *The Civilising Process*, Elias discusses the process of sociogenesis as being integral to modern state formation and thus indicative of increasing complexity of social relations. The development of state monopolies of legitimate violence, a borrowed Weberian concept, combined with the feudalisation process of states (through taxation) allow, Elias argued, for the stability of states through successfully pacifying their populations (1994). This pacification process, it will be here argued, required an additional universal factor (the de-centralisation of religion) and a European-specific factor (the continued subjugation of women).

An analysis of state formation processes through the example of witchcraft trials provides a lens with which psychogenetic and sociogenetic relations may be revealed during this crucial period of transition. While state formation, in Eliasian terms, stemmed from the centralisation of power in the hands of the monarch, as we have previously demonstrated, the necessary behavioural transformation (psychogenesis) accompanying the change occurred largely in male violent behaviour. With regards to the female experience of state formation processes, as demonstrated through witchcraft prosecutions, the centralisation of power led to an active reinforcement of patriarchal power imbalances. Elias described the processes by which male public behaviour was increasingly regulated by social constraint however it is also necessary to investigate the figural relations of women to state formation processes. While ostensibly long-term processes are fundamentally spontaneous and unplanned, the unequal development or continuation of civilising forces is influenced by existing power differentials. The replication of social processes and their reinforcement of gendered power imbalances was also intertwined with transformations in power structures surrounding religion: the figural relationship between the church and state mechanisms may be examined through changing relations between the 'witch', the church and the state.

The role of the church within society was therefore a significant source of power diffusion during the transitional phases from the medieval to the modern periods. The medieval church, in societal terms, held dual positions of influence: it was both a top-down institution of centralised authority with a definable figurehead and significant political influence, and also a localised institution with immediate impact on individual or community concerns. This impact was naturally of a paternalistic and spiritual nature but also held economic and regulatory properties which were consistent features of life for the masses. Such duality was theoretically denied to monarchs: their positionality as heads of state was authoritative yet disconnected from the personal relationship religion offered to people through their regular (weekly) contact with the church. The development of state mechanisms, such as the legal system, bureaucracy and taxation, during the early modern period therefore developed a new figurational relationship between individuals and representations of the state and, ultimately, the monarch. The relegation of organised religion by the 18th century to a personal rather than collective affair will therefore be suggested as an integral feature of state formation which will be termed 'religious de-centralisation'.

Chapter 5: Law, Bureaucracy and Process

An order will be called law if it is externally guaranteed by the probability that coercion (physical or psychological), to bring about conformity or avenge violation, will be applied by a staff of people holding themselves specially ready for the purpose. – Max Weber
(1967, [1925], p.lvi)

The primary purpose of the law is to reinforce the state's monopoly of power through the above-mentioned coercion however, within the early stages of state formation, the legitimacy of the 'staff of people' to enact coercion or even define conformity was not settled. Early modern society has frequently been described as a period of transition and in many respects, this was due to what Hugh Trevor-Roper referred to as the 'General Crisis' of the 17th century (1959). As European societies dealt with numerous economic and social problems, religious and political conflicts exacerbated the constitutional crises which were besetting monarchs who, in turn, were attempting to consolidate the machinery of governance.

Practically this meant that the law was playing an increasing role in regulating social relations and was thus used to demonstrate promises of stability and security implied by conformity and passivity. The conceptual extreme for this promised security was the legal prosecution of witches who fundamentally represented the threat of the devil to the populous. Examples of murder and damage to property described within witchcraft trials, which might otherwise be attributed to natural causes or accidents, were being presented to and confirmed by the state as further evidence of their prominent role in protecting the population. The social and legal impetus to tackle a crime that was so difficult to produce material evidence for is indicative not only of the level of societal witch belief but also the necessity for the state to be seen to be defending against all forms of 'violations' contained within the early modern worldview.

In order to discern the impact of religious decentralisation within sociogenic and state formation processes in the early modern period, it is necessary to consider how the development of such mechanisms was negotiated. Central to these mechanisms was

of course the development of legal frameworks, both as physical and bureaucratic manifestations of state coercion.

Witch prosecutions exist at the theoretical meeting point between Zygmunt Bauman and Norbert Elias's approaches modernising processes; it would not be possible to have large numbers of prosecutions without a corresponding bureaucracy but at the same time the monopoly of the means of violence was required to enforce the bureaucratic process in the place of physical evidence. The constant tension between the two in this period was also exacerbated by the problem of religion. Similar to Zygmunt Bauman's assessment of bureaucracy and the Holocaust (1989, p.40), the witchcraft trials, and in particular the mass accusations, indicate an institutional violence that was the product of a bureaucratic process. The modernising and civilising trends of the early modern period therefore perversely introduced a system of violent execution and torture that, rather than indicating a decivilising trend, was integral to the overall civilising process used to suppress social deviants. Bauman makes brief reference to the witchcraft prosecutions in relation to fear responses in the construction and maintenance of boundaries in the early modern period (1989, p.40). This association may itself be taken further regarding the concept of the civilising process. While Bauman rejected Elias's concept of the increasing lack of violence in daily life, he did so under the misapprehension that Elias viewed it as a total 'elimination' of violence from individual's social interaction (*Ibid*, p.108). This critique sidesteps the fundamental principle of Eliasian sociology as processual and figurational rather than static and directional. The possibility that abuses of power and mass coercion could exist in a more civilised version of society does not negate the pacification of society and state formation itself. However much it may be presented as such by the 'managers of coercion', state formation does not result from principles of social betterment but rather a centripetal concentration of power. As Bauman himself demonstrated, it is possible for a society to both be broadly 'civilised' in social interaction between themselves and supportive of violence against others in the name of the reproduction of civility. As a process, the constant negotiation between the

internalisation of psychogenic behavioural patterns and the external forces which challenge these aversions to violence are precarious, as Elias had acknowledged.⁴³

5.1 Legitimacy

From a modern perspective it is difficult to accept the legality of the witch prosecutions given that they are inherently unprovable and unevidenced crimes under modern standards. Given that testimonies and confessions from neighbours or other insiders were the primary source of evidence and conviction, it not surprising that social sanctioning formed a core basis for legitimacy. The unique character of witchcraft prosecutions revolved around the fact that many of the accused's actions were either physically impossible or unprovable. The enactment of these laws therefore requires the co-operation of the authorities in charge to impose their version of events – similar to the accusations made towards other marginalised peoples, such as Jews during the holocaust or people living under authoritarian regimes. Based on her analysis of postwar Guatemala, Rachel Sieder described the rule of law as the site for power struggles which take place through the development of definitions over who is included or excluded as beneficiaries of the law (Sieder in Foblets et al., 2018, p.702). Such power struggles over insider-outsider relations (as demonstrated in Chapter 3) and their legitimisation through the state are therefore key features of the witchcraft prosecutions.

While some degree of scepticism towards witch belief appears to have existed throughout the period of witch-hunting (see Chapter 6), contemporary criticism, apparent within the defensiveness of the pamphlets, revolved primarily around violations of legal processes. The legitimacy or illegitimacy of witchcraft prosecutions was therefore not rooted in debating the reality of a witch's supernatural status but rather the adherence of the judiciary to a legitimate notion of institutional violence against actual transgressors of public peace.

In Scotland, the status of witchcraft as a *crimen exceptum* required a lower standard in the burden of proof required for conviction, with an emphasis instead placed on evidence extracted by confession (Willumsen, 2015). Extracting confessions through

⁴³ Elias described the change in behaviour of soldiers living in the trenches during World War One as an example of behavioural regression in the face of greater external forces. (1994, p.102).

both legitimate and illegitimate means was characteristic of the Scottish processes and led to more numerous examples of 'mass prosecutions' than their English counterparts. An early proliferation in the numbers of prosecutions following 1563 Witchcraft Act was substantially slowed in pace by Privy Council order of 1597, which required evidence for all individual cases to be submitted to the Privy Council (Larner, 1985, p.25). The majority of trials continued to take place at the local court level however this was on the condition that commissions from the Privy Council were obtained (Goodare, 2002b, p40). This centralisation of the process, under the control of the Crown, resulted in direct monarchical oversight of local trials. Variations in the numbers of trials often coincided with the negotiations of power between the Scottish crown and rival institutions like the Kirk or English interests. The great Scottish witch-hunt of 1661-2 appears to coincide with the return of jurisdiction over Scottish criminal prosecutions, which had remained under English control for the duration of the protectorate (Levack, 2008, p.82). Leniency shown by English judges over cases of witchcraft prosecutions in Scotland during the protectorate period was rapidly reversed following the regaining of Scottish judicial independence.

The fundamental national differences between the processing of witchcraft prosecutions can be viewed within their relative states of monarchical power centralisation. While the English legal system acted as a mechanism for expanding the monarch's monopoly of violence, the decentralised Scottish legal system was open to overuse, misuse and resistance by its representatives. The use of commissions of justiciary were therefore a convenient mechanism by which local Scottish rulers could obtain and exercise the legal powers normally reserved for representatives or officers of the crown in order to pursue local cases of witchcraft (Goodare in Goodare, 2002b, p.126). In order for any witchcraft prosecutions to take place in Scotland a commission of justiciary, issued by the crown, was required and which enabled an individual⁴⁴ to hold a trial in relation to a specific crime (Goodare, 2002a, p.241). The considerable powers granted to the commissioner by the crown could go so far as to enable the commissioner to act as judge over the trial and pronounce the sentence of death. In

⁴⁴ As well as private individuals, local judicial representatives such as judges, burgh magistrates and sheriffs could also receive these commissions as witchcraft prosecutions fell beyond their ordinary jurisdiction (Goodare, 2002a, p.241)

order for a commission to be granted in the first place, a reasonable amount of evidence would have to be presented during the application which partially explains the high conviction rate in Scotland (Goodare in Goodare, 2002b,). Where most commissions referred to named individuals suspected of witchcraft, occasionally 'general' commissions were issued in order that all possible instances of witchcraft in a locality could be tried within a set time limit. These general commissions thus structurally enabled mass prosecutions to take place within legitimate bureaucratic processes.

Within the witchcraft trial pamphlets, those pamphlets which directly describe the trial processes are keen to reinforce the legitimacy of those processes, through both a celebration of the reputation of the prosecutors and adherence to due process:

The effect of the Evidence against Mother Staunton, late of Wimbishe in Essex, who was arraigned, but not executed, for that no manslaughter, or murder was objected against her – (1579, 'A Detection of damnable driftes...', W3)

Despite the apparent danger to society of a suspected witch continuing to live, the above pamphlet emphasises the letter of the law was adhered to and therefore justice done correctly through the legal framework. By emphasising the legitimacy of process, the resulting outcome may be considered within a 'rational' processual framework rather than arising from sensationalised fears. The clarity of the legal process and its basis in evidence is suggestive of the need to justify the legitimacy of prosecutions and reinforce public trust in the system:

For which she was committed to Northampton gaole the 6 day of May last by Sir Thomas Tresham, and the same (and many other matter being plainly and evidently manifest and proved against her by good evidence, she had the sentence of death, worthily pronounced against her... – (1612, 'The Witches of Northamptonshire.', W17)

The careful collection of overwhelming evidence is therefore a necessary feature presented in the pamphlets. Not only are multiple reliable witnesses accounts and

character assessments required but time taken to search for physical evidence according to the legal processes:

...having been suspected for witchcraft; now (upon just cause) was apprehended, and her house according to the true course of Justice, being searched, there was found in a chest of hers, such sufficient instruments, (which she after confessed were helps to her in her practises) that could there have been no other proof nor evidence against her, they only had been sufficient to judge her unworthy of long life. - (1606, 'The severall practises of Johane Harrison...', W16)

The invasion of the witch's home on behalf of the court is presented not only as occurring with "just cause" thereby symbolically displaying suspected witches as retaining their civil rights until proven guilty and not as victims subjected to overzealous judicial abuses.

In legitimising the trials, the pamphlets are of course legitimising themselves as narrative agents however there are frequent references within pamphlets to the illegitimacy of other pamphleteers. The concerns over these other, less reliable pamphlets were not with their fundamental theoretical approach to witchcraft but rather the accuracy of the details and information they presented:

THE MANIFOLDE untruths which is spread abroad, concerning the detestable actions and apprehensions of those Witches whereof this History following truly entreateth, hath caused me to publish the same in print: and the rather for that sundry written Copies are lately dispersed thereof – (1592, 'Newes from Scotland...', W10)

Legitimising details, it would seem, were considered necessary in persuading the public as to the validity of the trials and therefore reinforcing the right of the state to prosecute in the wake of some scepticism.

Just punishment

The vast majority of witchcraft pamphlets were morally aligned with the views of the accusers and prosecutors of the witchcraft trials, who frequently served as the

protagonists within the narrative arc. In order for the narrative to be satisfactorily concluded, justice against the witch was presented as occurring through the guilty verdict and, in many cases, her execution. The language surrounding executions is particularly positively framed, with this version of state violence requiring validity through both the completion of the necessary bureaucratic trial process and the fairness of the presiding justices.

This was especially crucial to emphasis in the pamphlet relating to James VI whose personal decision making must be validated by his own careful consideration, that of the council and in addition to the correct legal avenues of punishment:

Upon great consideration therefore taken by the Kings majesty and his Councill, as well for the due execution of justice upon such detestable malefactors, as also for example sake, to remain a terror to all others hereafter, that shall attempt to deal in the like wicked and ungodly actions, as witchcraft, sorcery, conjuration, & such like, the said Doctor Fian was soon after arraigned, condemned, and adjudged by the law to die, and then to be burned according to the law of that land, provided in that behalf. – (1592, 'Newes from Scotland...', W10)

Rooting the entire punishment element of the process in the validity of the legal system places both the King's judgement within the law of the land and presents an overtly coercive message to those intending to break such laws in the future.

In the Civil War-era English pamphlets, associations are also drawn out further in relation to sentences being overtly religiously and legally justified:

Many other like instances of like nature might be added, only what here is published and communicated unto the world, may sufficiently discover those strong delusions which these poor soules were given up into, who now according to their demerits, and according to the Lawes of God and this kingdome established, have received their just reward. – (1645, 'A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations...', W29)

This reversal in the priority of religious legitimacy over the state is likely a recognition of the political and religious volatility of the environment surrounding the trials at this particular time. Religious legitimacy for the severity of sentences reinforces the continuation of trials even during the societal fracturing of the civil war and regime change (discussed further in Chapter 6):

*...as here you may perceive in the Story of these miserable Wretches,
who deservedly received the Sentence of Condemnation, as afore-
said; for it is written, Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live. – (1652,
'A prodigious and tragicall history...', W46)*

5.2 Treason

The major difference between medieval and early modern power negotiations between the monarch and the elite was the inclusion of both churchmen and the judiciary in this negotiation. In the development of monopolies over taxation and violence, the development of state legal structures presented a potential rivalry to both church authority (which held their own courts) and monarchical authority (whose autonomy could be challenged on legal grounds). Similar demonstrations of favour and curtailing of jurisdiction were therefore directed towards legal institutions by the crown as well as towards the nobility themselves – the appointment of nobility to these positions is testament to attempts to maintain the delicate balance of power. In relation to the witchcraft prosecutions, such practices are reflected in the initial phase of prosecutions (15th to mid-16th centuries) where treason formed the primary characteristic of trials and in which the nobility and titled gentry occupied a far greater position than in later centuries. Within the pamphlet data, the personal interest of Elizabeth I and James VI is presented at this early stage in the social processes, recognising a degree of fear and therefore vulnerability to the monarch from the threat of witchcraft conspiracies (in particular):

*For so it is, there is a man of great cunning and knowledge come
over lately unto our Queens Majesties, which hath advertised her
what a company and number of Witches be within England:*

whereupon I and other of her Justices have received Commission for the apprehending of as many as are within these limits, and they which do confess the truth of their doings, they shall have much favour: but the other they shall be burnt and hanged. – (1582, 'A true and iust recorde...', W6)

This is reflected in the character of the earliest trials which were more frequently characterised by power relations between the monarch and the aristocracy. The use of witchcraft accusations within a political context rather than as a religious concern is demonstrated in what is believed to be one of the first example of a mass accusation in England. This case, recorded in both the 15th century *A Chronicle of London* and *An English Chronicle* (amongst others), describes the apprehension of Roger Bolingbroke 'Konnyng man in astronomye' and Thomas Southwell 'a chanon of saint Stevenes chapel' at Westminster in 1431 for conspiracy to cause the kings death through necromancy (Siverstone-Davies, 1856, Folio 181b, p.57). John Home, canon of Hereford and St Asaph was also arrested along with a woman without high social status known as 'the wicche of Eye' (Margery Jourdemayne) (*Ibid.* Folio, 182, p.58). The real target of the case was, however, Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester to whom all three had some connection⁴⁵ (Griffiths, 1968, p.387). The character of this accusation was political: the Duke of Gloucester was falling increasingly out of favour and Eleanor had earned public ire by processing through the streets of London splendidly dressed as was the royal fashion (Freeman, 2004, p.347).⁴⁶

The fundamental crime committed in this case was not one of sorcery in isolation but rather the use of necromancy to predict the Kings death which was an act of treason. The presence of various bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury Harry Chiceli, at the various stages of interrogations and trials, increased the spiritual legitimacy of the prosecutions which were taking place on behalf of the King. Where the witch

⁴⁵ Bolingbroke was Eleanor's personal clerk, Home was once her secretary, Southwell an associate and Eleanor confessed to consulting with Margery previously in an attempt to conceive a child (Freeman, 2004, p.344).

⁴⁶ Despite her status as a Duchess by marriage, Eleanor was only born the daughter of a knight and thus the move was perceived as arrogance (*Ibid.* p.347)

posed a threat to the person of the monarch at this early pre-reformation stage, the threat was still considered a matter requiring religious expertise.

Within the limited pamphlet evidence for associations with treason, this narrative is only present within the earliest trials. The treason itself is framed not through an individualistic lens but rather within the sense of a more abstract assault by the Devil on the crown and its subjects:

*The Witch beareth the name, but the devil dispatcheth the deeds,
without him the Witch can continue no mischief. He without the
Witch can work treason to much, to ofte, and to soon... only
afterwards suffered to escape whereby they may renew their
malicious, and treasonable drifts. – (1579, 'A Rehearsall both straung
and true...', W5)*

The significance of the treasonous associations is emphasised within the following pamphlet due to its apparent commission by the Justices of the Peace overseeing the trial itself:

*...as I may justly say of them, as a reverend and learned Judge of this
Kingdome speaketh of the greatest Treason that ever was in this
Kingdome, Quis hoc posteris sic narrare poterit, vt facta non ficta
esse videantur [Who will be able to narrate this to posterity in such a
way that the facts may appear to be not fabricated] – (1612, 'The
Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)*

The literal justification of the association by representatives of the court indicates a clear narrative in which the activities of witchcraft are presented as a direct attack on the monarch and the kingdom.

The most significant example of direct treasonous activity stems from the pamphlet relating the attempt on the life of James VI by a coven of witches:

*Discovering how they pretended to bewitch and drown his Majesty in
the Sea coming from Denmarke, with such other wonderful matters*

as the like hath not been heard of at any time. – (1592, 'Newes from Scotland...', W10)

The pamphlet describes several attempts to murder the King made by the various conspirators who James confronts directly within the witchcraft trial processes, ultimately triumphing against this collection of would-be assassins. The legitimacy of James' ability to defend the country against the supernatural threat of witches, in addition to his own survival, are a reinforcement of the crown as a central to the new battle against evil and thus the defender of the faith.

5.3 Religion

When considering the power relations between the medieval church and European society, it is useful to consider the period prior the 15th century as experiencing a pseudo-civilising process led, not by monarchs, but by the church. Whilst the development of the early church was certainly a slow and disrupted process beset by internal politics and schisms, the later medieval church emerged as centralised power able to raise taxes and instigate holy wars in its own right (Deanesly, 1990, p.77). This domination was challenged and ultimately broken by the end of the early modern period as a result of the rising power of the nation-state and yet, as with all aspects of the civilising process, this process was not evenly distributed. As monarchs vied for internal power and control over their respective states, the power of the church must necessarily have declined in both the psychogenic and sociogenic sense. As will be explored within this chapter, the centralisation of power in the English and Scottish contexts was greatly affected by the tensions between church and state. These tensions were clearly visible within the distribution of witchcraft trials which demonstrate the complexity of the phenomenon as both a spiritual and societal concern within the long-term process of state formation.

In the negotiations between the church and state which characterised the early modern period, the development of defined legal parameters and jurisdictions was a crucial battleground. The secular nature of the crime of witchcraft is significant: the witch is legally framed as a threat to the monarch, the state and its subjects more than

it is to the church. In order to be successful in the civilising process, it is argued, the church must be incorporated or directly excluded from the state to ensure stability of centralisation of power.

The concept of state centralisation, central to the civilising process, varies in intensity between the English and Scottish kingdoms during the early modern period. No aspect is so obvious as that of the legal frameworks underpinning criminal prosecutions, which act as extensions of monarchical power and influence outside the immediacy of the court. This is a key difference between England and Scotland during this period; the kirk involvement in witchcraft prosecutions reflected the fact that the church was still deeply involved in the policing and maintenance of the monarch's power. This involvement suggests that Scotland was functioning at, not only an earlier stage in its state formation processes, but also more generally in the civilising process. In Scotland there was a broader range in prosecutions from different levels of society (including accusations against aristocrats) whereas England's power centralisation was more stable and the power of the monarch more absolute, with the vast majority of prosecutions and victims drawn from the lower levels of society.

5.4 Clergy

The jurisdiction of the Scottish Church over legal matters prior to the reformation consisted of an extensive system of church courts presiding over matters of spiritual concern and extending into issues of marriage, legitimacy and defamation (Smith, 1993, p.2). The spiritual significance of a sworn declaration within a church court was not the only marker of moral church authority: the presence of lawyers acting as judges and procurators occurred more frequently in church courts than in those of the sheriff and burgh (*Ibid*, p.4). These factors underwrote the significance of the church courts on the local level and, following the reformation of the court system in 1560, contributed to the judicial confusion which ensued (Goodare, 2002b, p.125). The balance of power shifted, however, when a new statute of 1563 brought witchcraft within the jurisdiction of the secular courts, requiring a commission issued by the King (and following his departure to England, the Privy Council) in order to try people for witchcraft (Goodare, 2002b, p.129). Judicially, the process for trying witches was far more centralised and bureaucratic than their English neighbours, with co-operation

between the kirk sessions and the Privy Council necessary for trials to succeed. Despite centralised scrutiny, the involvement of the presbytery in the trials was apparent throughout the entire period of witch prosecutions.

Given the secular nature of the crime, ministers were generally restricted in their ability to initiate prosecutions without the support of the Laird or other landowners, however this was not always the case. Ministers, such as those involved in the prosecution of William Chrichtoun at Dunfermline in 1648, played a key role in the initial accusations, pre-trial proceedings and confessions (*Ibid*, p.171). William Chrichtoun, after initially denying his guilt as a witch, was “straitlie posed [severely interrogated] and dealt with be the ministers and watchers” after which he confessed (Henderson, 1865, p.27). The entire process appears to have taken place within the oversight of the Kirk sessions working alongside the criminal courts, with the execution also recorded as a direct result of the confessions made to the ministers. This alliance of purpose is ultimately a diffusion of spiritual authority and power in both a political and sociogenic sense. The kirk sessions contain other such examples: In 1643 Grisell Moreis was tried and executed by the kirk sessions (*Ibid*, p.14) and in 1649 the same council applied for a warrant from the land bailey to apprehend and incarcerate two witches from Morton (*Ibid*, p.31). Such integration between the Kirk ministers and the judicial processes reflected the centralised nature of the Kirk in Scottish society which is reflected within the pamphlet evidence:

*Mr. FRANCIS BROAD, and Mr. GEORGE ATHERLONY two Ministers,
with Doctor STEPHENS a Physician, were with her in diverse of her
last tormenting fits. These words were spoken in the hearing of two
Ministers, and at least a hundred others. - (1650, ‘Wonderfull News
from the North.’, W41)*

The significance and reputation of the word of ministers in presenting evidence to the court supersedes the hundreds of other witnesses who were also present and reinforces the centrality of religious structures.

The weight of ministerial responsibility within the trials was also acknowledged by the ministers themselves as this ‘Godly minister’ recounts:

Or if they had given a warrant I feared the Assize would not condemn her unless I had advised them thereto, wherein I was not clear, so that she should have been set at Libertie, and I blamed for it, by reason of my not advising the Assize to condemn her. – (1685, 'Satan's Invisible world discovered...', W70)

The presentation of the minister's anxiety over the direct impact of the of his advice in matters related to the outcome of a trial both reinforces the legitimacy of his involvement and the gravity with which he treats matters of life and death. The protection offered by the ministerial involvement in combatting witchcraft was also a distinctly Scottish phenomenon:

...soon as the Damsels affliction was observ'd to be extraordinary and preternatural there was (besides former private Prayers and Fasts by the Family) at the desire of the Parents and Minister of the Parish, and by the Presbyteries special order, a Minister or two appointed to meet one day every Week to join with the Family, the Minister of the Parish and other good Christians of the Neighbourhood, in Fasting and Praying. – (1698, 'Sadisimus debellatus...', W73)

The special order from the presbytery, alongside the support of good Christian neighbours firmly places the initial defence against the devil within the hands of the local ministers who will go on to also receive both the confessions of some of the accused and fall indirectly victim to the witch:

Whereupon the Devil and her Father went and talked together apart, but she knew not what. She declares, that in that Meeting was concerted the Tormenting of Mr. William Fleeming Minister of Innerkipp's Childe. – (Ibid)

While there are very few pamphlets from Scotland at the beginning of this period, one of the most influential and widely circulated accounts of witchcraft in England was the 1592 *News from Scotland* in which the central victim, investigator and judge was the monarch himself, James VI. The pamphlet is careful to centre the king in all elements

of power and control related to the formal process, presenting the crown's direct involvement and religious legitimacy in the trials. This is juxtaposed with the principal witch who inverts religious practice and adopts the diabolical version of a Scottish minister:

*Which Doctor was register to the Devil that sundry times preached at
North Barrick Kirke, to a number of notorious Witches.*

*With the true examinations of the said Doctor and Witches, as they
uttered them in the presence of the Scottish King. – (1592, 'News
from Scotland...', W10)*

The significance of the King's involvement in the prosecution of a 'minister' for the Devil and who had targeted the King's person directly was an attempt to publicly assert the centrality of the crown in spiritual matters.

The church court systems in England prior to the reformation were arguably less influential than in Scotland, with widespread abuses of the church system aiding the momentum of the wider reform movement (Jason, 1997). In relation to the crime of witchcraft, Elizabeth I's 1563 Witchcraft Act also brought the crime out from ecclesiastical purview into the jurisdiction of the secular courts, primarily under the control of the justice deputy (APS, 2:539, c.9). There is very little evidence for the secular prosecution of witchcraft occurring prior to this change despite established belief in witchcraft practice and sorcery (with the notable exception of those associated with treason (see below)). The context into which the Act was introduced was also the fragility of English Protestantism and fears over Catholic sorcery being employed to threaten the English throne (Young, 2017, p.87). Rather than devoting much space to the involvement in the trial processes of clergymen, the English pamphlets demonstrate a clear focus and even paranoia surrounding the involvement of papist priests in witchcraft itself. There is nevertheless a clear depiction of 'good' priests in the pamphlets, whose involvement in the judicial processes of the early trials was significant but by the mid-17th century was increasingly characterised by localised and largely discourse-centred activities.

Comfort, if not relief from symptoms of witchcraft, appears to be the extent of the known capabilities of English ministers in the pamphlets from the 1590s:

In the meane while it was thought requisite, that the Parson of the town named M. Smith, and mai. Burbridge of Pinner park gentleman should be sent for, who coming to the dumb man and pitying his plight, the Parson charitably and like himself laboured about him, –
(1592, 'A Most Wicked worke of a wretched Witch...', W9)

This role was, however, ineffective when facing the suffering of the witch herself:

Then M. Throgmorton did send for M. Doctor Dorrington, the Minister of that town, & told him all the matter with the circumstances, desiring him to comfort her, which they all joining together, did so well as they could at that present: yet could not she forbear weeping, & so continued all that night. – (1592, 'The most strange and admirable discoverie...', W11)

Throughout the period, the individual English minister was presented as a trusted individual to which a witch may feel able to confess her involvement in witchcraft. Despite the characterisation of the minister as a confidant, these confessions were nevertheless incorporated directly into the legitimacy of trial process itself:

I will address to inform you of her preparation to death, which is alone pertinent to my function, and declare unto you her Confession verbatim, out of her own mouth delivered to me, the Tuesday after her conviction, though with great labour it was extorted from her, –
(1621, 'The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer...', W24)

The need to induce a confession even after conviction legitimises both the legal and religious nature of the guilty outcome and yet the minister, in publishing the witch's confession, was himself acting as an extension of the state's authority rather than as simply a 'Minister of the Word of God' (*Ibid*).

As an account supposedly written by a minister in 1699 demonstrates, the pastoral element of their position within the communities often compelled their involvement in cases of suspected witchcraft:

June 4th 1699, being Sunday, about eight in the morning I was requested to visit the Widow Comon, many reports representing her as a Witch. At that time she being very uneasy and melancholy, as since suggested, upon the account of her husband lately drowned in her well. – (Boys, J. A Case of Witchcraft at Coggeshall in the year 1699)

In the above example, the minister is desired by the community to intervene in a case of suspected witchcraft which is overtly related to a mental (and likely physical) health crisis of the suspect and who, it is later revealed, has some dispute with neighbours. The minister is an intermediary between the community and the suspect despite presenting himself as an active agent in her interrogation and ultimately not preventing her lynching by the ‘Mob’.

On the rare occasion when the pamphlets describe the clergy as becoming victims of witchcraft, the goodness of their character is not necessarily assumed from their status as ministers and must be stated overtly:

These Wicked Wretches being all of one mind, at last began their exercise their Divilish Arts, and upon one Mr. Hann a Minister in those parts; a person of good Repute and honest Conversation, who sought his souls eternal happiness...– (1682, ‘The Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution...’, W63)

This is significant given that the pamphlet goes on to describe the inability of the witches to harm his body due to the ‘Over-ruling Power’ preventing them. This particular pamphlet is a much more sensationalised version of a trial described in greater detail in another pamphlet (1682, ‘True and Impartial relation...’, (W59)). This other version makes no reference to the apparently untouchable minister, despite the pamphlet being far more detailed and methodical in character and justifying the presented evidence through multiple witness accounts. A third pamphlet describing

this trial and published five years later (1687, *'The Life and Conversation Of Temperance Floyd...'*, (W66)), introduced an unnamed minister of the parish as principal instigator for the apprehension of the suspected witches owing to his "knowing something more than those Countrey Physicians" (*ibid*) about witchcraft. This suggests that the authors of *'The Tryal Condemnation...'* (W63) and *'Life and conversation...'* (W66) are reflecting popular religious narratives surrounding witchcraft whereas *'True and Impartial relation...'* (W59) presents the more legally legitimising but less sensational 'official' narrative in which the place of the 'good' clergy is not considered relevant.

While the 'good' ministers may function within the legal and social apparatus of the witchcraft prosecutions, the 'bad' are representative of the worst manifestations of contemporary behaviour. In a pamphlet published during the first year of the civil war, two ministers are described as having been arrested and convicted for the crimes of murder and witchcraft, having enjoyed the protection of anti-Calvinist Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud. The pamphlet is written as an attack on Laud's legitimacy as the leading figure in the church who allows the abuses of ungodly ministers to continue to impact the community:

The manner how my Lord of Canterbury would keep them in the Ministry notwithstanding the many Petitions and Certificates from their neighbours and others presented unto him, they being the head of the scandalous Ministers, against whom the County of Suffolk have petitioned. – (1642, 'A Magazine of Scandall or, heape of wickednesse...', W27)

The political nature of the pamphlet is apparent: at the time of printing, Laud was in the Tower of London on charges of Treason brought by the Long Parliament (James, 2017, p.146). The coercive narrative potential of witchcraft pamphlets as vehicles for furthering religious conformity was clearly recognised by parliamentary supporters during this brief but disruptive period of English history.

Defenders of religious pluralism were also represented in these critiques of clergy's malpractice, with one pamphlet criticising the handling by priests of a false witchcraft accusation against two Quakers:

*...and we know that if such Priests as knew of the said Pryors
accusation (before the trial) had been clear from her prosecuting of
it, they would have stopped her from proceeding (as the Priest of the
Town might have done if he had been honest) – (1659, 'A Lying
Wonder Discovered...', W50)*

The dishonesty of the local priests alongside their lack of intervention in the miscarriage of justice suggests that priests can be viewed as both morally responsible for their parishioner's legal dealings and lacking in their duties.

As the witchcraft prosecutions began to die down, the role of the priests was also subject to greater scrutiny. In one of the last of our English pamphlets, the author makes reference to the "unreasonable influence" of the clergymen, as well as the inclusion in evidence of the test by common-prayer, on the minds of the jury (1712 Hertfordshire, (E58)).⁴⁷ This is presented in opposition to the practices of the overseeing justice and therefore suggested a greater separation between the professional legitimacy of the legal process versus the exploitation of the "fears of ignorant men" exploited by the clergy (*Ibid*).

5.5 Papists

The peripheral but godly ministers of the English pamphlets were also juxtaposed with the central role of Popish priests in the witchcraft conspiracies described throughout the pamphlets of the period:

*...the examination of John Walsh of Netherbery in Dosetshire,
touching Sorcery and Witchcraft, which he learned (as hereafter is
shewed) of a certain Priest named sir Robert of Dreiton. Wherein*

⁴⁷ The test appears throughout the witchcraft prosecutions and involved the suspected witch reciting the lord's prayer in front of the court. Any mistakes or faltering would be considered evidence of wickedness and therefore guilt (Thomas, 1971, p.146).

thou mayest see the fruits of Papists and papistry, – (1566, 'The Examination of Iohn Walsh...', W2)

The fear of Popish plots was especially present in the 16th and early 17th century pamphlets, with a particular resurgence in the Scottish pamphlets of the turn of the 18th century. The clear association between Roman Catholicism and the devil is a central feature of those earlier trials which reasserted the witchcraft relations within the context of religious polarities.

*The eleventh day one chanced to ask her, or rather the spirit in her:
love you the word of God: whereas she was sore troubled and vexed.
But love you Witchcraft? it seemed content: or love you the Bible?
Again, it shaked her, but love you Papistry: it was quiet... so that
what good thing soever you named, it miss-liked, but whatsoever
concerning the Popes paltry, it seemed, pleased, and pacified. –
(1593, 'The most strange and admirable discoverie...', W11)*

The mention of the 'goodness' of the word of God and the Bible is described as causing the spirit to administer pain to the girl it has possessed, whereas the 'badness' of papistry pacifies and pleases him. A metaphorical and physical battle between the old and the new religion is presented as taking place within the physical body of an innocent girl at the behest of a witch, reflecting the need to incorporate all of society, even the young and weak, into the defence of the new religion. The danger is shown to be evermore present the further from the protection of the state the population is:

*We are now come to the famous Witches of Salmesbury, as the
Country called them, who by such a subtile practise and conspiracy of
a Seminary Priest, or, as the best in this Honourable Assembly think,
a Jesuit, whereof this County of Lancaster hath good store, who by
reason of the general entertainment they find, and great
maintenance they have, resort hither, being far from the Eye of
justice, – (1612, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)*

Being far from the eye of justice allows the Papist threat to spread which, it is warned, manifests harm in the population through witchcraft; tolerating witchcraft and papism are one and the same:

Hus at one time may you behold Witches of all sorts from many places in this County of Lancaster which now may lawfully bee said to abound as much in Witches of diverse kinds as Seminaries, Jesuits, and Papists. – (Ibid)

The Scottish texts offer similarly blunt associations between magic and Catholicism nearly a century later:

Charming is much practised by the Pope, and the Romish-Church. Their whole form of Religion both in private and in public consisting of Charms of all sorts. – (1685, 'Satan's invisible world discovered...', W70)

In condemning charming in addition to the more maleficent witchcraft practices, the texts reveal a concern with the continuing superstitious practices of the population which contradict the teachings of the Presbyterian Kirk. This is situated firmly as the fault of the Catholics who are using superstition to disguise their demonic associations:

Wise Men do justly suspect, and are hardly brought to believe, the Accounts of extraordinary Stories; especially about Witchcraft: Because the frequent Impostures which the Romanists have obtruded on the World in their Miracles and Legends... In the darkness of Popery he was transformed into a more innocent sort of Spirit called Brounie or Fairie, – (1697, 'Saddisimus debellatus...', W73)

Where Popery is much less a consideration for the English texts by the end of the period, the narrative is still central to the Scottish examples which suggests the process of religious decentralisation from state coercive mechanisms in England is further advanced than in Scotland. In terms of sociogenic factors, the need to impress

upon the population the continuing threat of popery in Scotland legitimises this continued religious influence within legal processes and thus the state's ability to protect the population. In England the clergy are presented as clearly defined characters within later trials but their role in combatting Popery is greatly diminished.

Conclusion

With the development of European processes surrounding state formation constituting the principle sociogenic transition, the emergent state mechanisms which underpinned the transformation were fundamentally legal and bureaucratic. In doing so, the regulation of social relations through legal processes was supported through the promise of stability and security which in turn entailed the development of a symbolic and visceral 'other' in the fundamental threat posed by the witch. The figuration of witch prosecutions therefore represents the meeting point of Bauman and Elias's approaches to modernisation: institutional violence was fundamental to, and the product of, bureaucratic processes intended to suppress deviant figures. The disparity between the English and Scottish processes is thus attributed to the variations in the centralisation of the legal and bureaucratic processes through which legal authority may be more or less diffused. The necessity for the pamphlets to legitimise the prosecutions they reported on through a celebration of their legality and clear judicial process is indicative of deliberate psychogenetic processes aimed at reinforcing authorities. Narrative satisfaction was provided through the reporting of almost exclusively guilty verdicts which, while not representative of the proportion of actual guilty verdicts in the trials,⁴⁸ presented a validation of the state's monopoly of violence to a national audience.

The secular positioning of the witchcraft laws presented another angle through which state consolidation was enacted. The wresting of responsibility for the spiritual safety of the people from the centralised church to the monarch through the reformations was the first major step towards religious decentralisation in England and Scotland. Where the threat of witchcraft reflected a threat to all, the central involvement of the

⁴⁸ Estimated to be around 50% in Scotland and 30% in England (Levack, 2008, p.1; Durston, 2019, p.40)

Scottish Kirk in prosecutions and the marginalisation of the English Church reflected the uneven state formation processes at work in this period.

Chapter 6: God, the King and the crone – the monopoly of violence

Of Elias's two central pillars of state formation, the monopoly of violence was a continuous point of negotiation and contention for monarchs and the emergent states of the early modern period. Witchcraft prosecutions, and their portrayal within the public discourse, are demonstrative of this process: the rise of secular witchcraft prosecutions, initially combating the personal supernatural threat to the monarch, reflected the liminal place of monarchy within a highly religious but fractured world. This liminality was reflected in the ability for the monarch to centralise power away from rivals, not only in terms of aristocratic contenders but also religious institutions, which therefore resulted in an unevenly enacted process. The intensification of witchcraft prosecutions in the period extended the meaning of the threat of witches beyond the personal and into a debate over the state's monopoly of violence in both capacities: the physical and the spiritual. The threat of the witch, a fundamentally violent figure, provoked not only violent state responses but also the expression of unauthorised social violence, undermining the validity of structures of legal justice. Detachment is a central concept within the Eliasian approach to violence with the early modern period representing emergent, rather than developed, detachment processes (2007). While the state grappled with the physical threat of violence, the role of the church in defending against the threat of demonic violence was in question, with regional differences in the clergy's involvement in prosecutions reflecting the degree to which it was independently successful.

This chapter will explore the witchcraft prosecutions as a symbolic representation of the personal relationship between the monarch, the state and violence in the early modern period. Particular attention will be paid to the presentation of murder by witchcraft which was central to legitimising the prosecutions and the institutional and social violence which ensued. While the pamphlets broadly aligned themselves with the coercive signals of state formation, the occasional presentation of fundamentally undermined legal processes also represented the fragility of this legitimacy which itself relied on collective assent.

6.1 The Divine Right of Kings

In order to appreciate the transformation of political and social figurational processes across the early modern period, it is necessary to examine the relationship between the crown, the law and the church in this period. The concept of the 'divine right of kings', while not a new idea, was at the heart of Henry VIII's justification for instigating England's religious divorce from Rome. Prior to the reformation Henry was, in real terms, restricted in his ability to exert his monarchical authority: ostensibly he reported to both the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. Henry's political relations with the Pope were consistently a source of frustration and limited the extent to which monarchs could exert true authority (Yarnell, 2013, p.124). This pre-Westphalian system was truly a threat to Henry's divine right of Kings ideal due to the Pope's refusal to grant a divorce from Catherine of Aragon who had been unable to provide him with an heir and thus continue his own line of succession. At the time of Henry's petition, Pope Clement VII was the prisoner of Catherine's nephew the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and therefore, aside from religious concerns, had obvious reason for refusing (Scarisbrick, 1997, p.197). Henry's subsequent actions, intended to break the power of the church through the dissolution of the monasteries and nunneries, were an overt and early example of the initial stages of religious decentralization which constituted a marked feature of the English state formation processes. James VI of Scotland also set out to affirm his divine monarchical credentials through the publication of two works penned by his own hand between 1597 and 1598: *The True Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilikon Doron*. Both tracts established the legitimacy of the divine right of kings and gave readers some indication of his absolutist tendencies. The centralisation of power was a natural consequence of enacting the concept of the divine right of kings and was indicative of the need for monarchs to legitimise themselves in a spiritual sense in addition to asserting political dominance.

This was also reflected in the place of violence in the power and social figurations of the respective Scottish and English courts. Physically, James was both weak and sickly, having been unable to walk during the first six or seven years of his life and spending the rest of his life leaning on an attendant whilst walking (Tyson, 2011, p.1). Despite

the lack of physical health, James' intellect was undoubtedly keen yet, as the French Ambassador to Scotland reported, James was often much cowed by the violence which surrounded him (*Ibid*, p.2). The violence of which the ambassador spoke was very much present throughout the life of James VI/I who was subject to kidnapping by a group of Scottish nobles in 1582 along with the subsequent execution of his mother in 1587 (*Ibid*). This violence towards royal persons was in direct contradiction to James' firm belief in the divine right of kings, which he vehemently demonstrated in his letters to Elizabeth I in an attempt to save the life of his mother, Mary Queen of Scots (Davies, 1941, p.40). Such violent undermining of royal power appears to have had a profound effect on James' personality, further compounding the social stigma of his physical weakness and engendering a paranoia and insecurity which would dog him for the rest of his life (*Ibid*, p.39). The need, therefore, to defend himself from threats both physical and spiritual would come to dominate James' rule and was expressed in particular by his personal interest in witchcraft prosecutions early in his reign.

While England had seen a shift towards building manor-houses designed for comfort rather than defence, at the union of the crowns the Scottish nobility were still constructing castle-like fortified structures replete with armouries and gunports (Smout, 1989, p.94). When considered in comparison to Elizabeth I's court, the court in which James came to primacy was one characterised by almost quotidian violence, with the continuation of bloodfeuding a significant feature of political interactions (Wormald, 1980, p.54). These feuds between families were especially prevalent amongst the highland clans however the customary practices were still apparent when Elizabeth I attempted to make amends in Scotland for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and was presented with the reply that she should offer compensation to the victim's kin and friends (Wormald, 1980, p.54). While feuding did not necessarily mean largescale bloodshed between families, it was characteristic of stateless societies in which the "preservation of law and order is in large part based on the strength of the ties and obligations of kinship" (Davies, 1980, p.341). This continuation of the threat of violence amongst the nobility in Scotland in the 16th century had an impact on the

stability of the crown and its legitimacy in a similar way to that described by Elias in other European states of the late medieval period (1994, pp.281-2).

The complicated nature of the Scottish reformation was thus exacerbated by this incomplete pacification of the Scottish nobility, both of which represented significant threats to Scottish monarchical authority. James VI's fear of the powers of the nobles and clergymen around him was a not insignificant motivation behind the production of James' most infamous work of scholarship, *Daemonologie*, in which he detailed the "fearefull abounding" of "destestable slaves of the Devill, the Witches or enchanterers" (1597, *Preface*). The significance of this text regarding James' personal belief in witchcraft was reinforced by it having been addressed directly at two sceptics of the reality of witchcraft: the Englishman Reginald Scot and the German Johann Weyer. Reginald Scot had published a treatise titled *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* in 1594 in which his scepticism was presented in alignment with Calvinist Reformed Protestantism, condemning witch beliefs as superstition rooted in Roman Catholicism (Scot, 1594, p.xiv). Given James' direct involvement in the North Berwick witch trials of 1590, such associations were threatening to his own religious legitimacy and monarchical leadership. *Daemonologie* represents a vigorous defence of the practice of witch hunting by James which proved to be a popular touchstone within the witchcraft pamphlets of both England and Scotland for the successive century of prosecutions:

Thou mayst at leisure consult the Learned Monarch King James, in his Daemonologia, fol. 91. and the late Tryal of Witches before the Honourable Judicious Great Man, Judge Hales. – (1682, 'A true and impartial relation...', W59)

Daemonologie was greatly influenced by James' involvement at North Berwick which was in turn reported in the 1592 pamphlet *Newes from Scotland*⁴⁹ and provided a popular account of his exposure of 'sundrye witches' who had endeavoured to assassinate the king himself. The pamphlet was undoubtedly designed to reinforce the

⁴⁹ The copy used in this analysis was printed in London however it states that it was "published according to the Scottish Coppie". Copies of the Scottish original remain unaccounted for but its reprinting in London indicates the scale of public interest in witches as would-be royal assassins.

religious significance of the monarchy as being at the heart of the war between Christianity and the devil:

*At which time the witches demanded of the Devil why he did bear
such hatred to the King, who answered, by reason the King is the
greatest enemy he hath in the wordle: all which their confessions and
depositions are still extant upon record. – (1592, 'Newes from
Scotland...', W10)*

The opposition of James and the devil rather than the Kirk is a significant choice in favour of monarchical supremacy in both the spiritual and physical world. Through the witchcraft pamphlet, the king's religious authority is centralised and transferred away from the Kirk's potential power rivalry. The legitimacy of James' involvement in the Scottish processes (as well as the processes themselves) is heavily stressed within this pamphlet both from religious and legal perspectives:

*God of his unspeakable goodness did reveal and lay it open in very
strange sort, thereby to make known unto the world, that there
actions were contrary to the law of God, and the natural affection
which we ought generally to bear one to another...*

*...of whom some are already executed, the rest remain in prison, to
receive the doom of judgement at the Kings majesties will and
pleasure. – (1592, 'Newes from Scotland...', W10)*

Following the accession of James to the English throne in 1603, the contrast in manners and expected behaviour of the English court was a striking reminder that the process of psychogenesis was not equally advanced across both nations. His personality demonstrated a clear lack of self-restraint both in his slovenly appearance and unfavourable manners (Tyson, 2011, p.2). The French ambassador to England remarked that James was unable to control 'immoderate passions' having flown into a furious temper at crowds preventing him from enjoying his hunting (Davies, 1941, p.47). Indeed, the presentation in the pamphlets of James' personal involvement in the brutal prosecutions of the North Berwick witch trials suggests that his behaviour required some justification to an English audience:

This strange discourse before recited, may perhaps give some occasion of doubts to such as shall happen to read the same, and thereby conjecture that the Kings majesty would not hazard himself in the presence of such notorious witches, least thereby might have ensued great danger to his person and the general state of the land, which thing in truth might well have bene feared. – (1592, ‘Newes from Scotland...’, W10)

This early attempt to assert the role of the monarch within the processes for an English audience was certainly carried forward within some of the 17th century pamphlets where the paternalistic role of personal loss was emphasised:

Here then is the last that came to act her part in this lamentable and woeful Tragedy, wherein his Majestie hath lost so many Subjects, Mothers their Children, Fathers their Friends, and Kinsfolks the like whereof hath not been set forth in any age. – (1612, ‘The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...’, W18)

The real and symbolic personal threat of witchcraft to the monarch was therefore a battle in which James was keen to direct the public narrative. James brought with him to England his zeal for prosecuting witchcraft and following his accession to the throne commissioned the republication of *Daemonologie* in London, along with the introduction of his new statute on witchcraft to parliament after only its first sitting (Tyson, 2011, p.6). The new statute went further than the previous law in terms of the scope of felonies considered ‘witchcraft’. While other monarchs certainly took an interest in the prosecution of witches, James’ impact was by far the most publicly visible, with *Newes from Scotland* representing an overt presentation of the connection between the monarch and his defence of the realm against the spiritual and religious threat of witchcraft. This can be seen in later pamphlets through more generic declarations against witches disturbing the peace:

Arraigned for several crimes committed, but especially for the Murther of the said Martha Aspine, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crowne, and dignity, he pleaded to them

*all not guilty, and putting himself upon the Country, was by them
found guilty.* – (1612, 'The Witches of Northampton-shire.', W18)

The above pamphlet is clearly drawing upon the legal language found within the trial records but the reproduction within a popular pamphlet emphasizes this connection with James VI/I in particular. The significance of the monarch's interest in witchcraft prosecutions in England is also reflected, however, in the periods of declining interest. Near the end of his reign, James appears to have retreated from his more hardline positions and his son, Charles I seems to have shown little interest in pursuing the subject (Elmer, 2016, p.68). This is reflected in the relatively few pamphlets during Charles I's reign however those pamphlets which were published reinforced the threat to people of significance as well as the regular demographic of victims:

*Discovering the damnable practises of seven Witches, against the
lives of certain Noble Personages, and other of this Kingdome, as
shall appear in this lamentable History.* – (1635, 'Witchcrafts,
Strange and Wonderful...', W26)

The mortal threat to society, it seemed, had not died down despite waning interest from the monarch. By the second quarter of the 17th century, witchcraft prosecutions were now a well-enough established process that publications were being increasingly drawn towards. This is seen in the proliferation of a more politically-salacious form of pamphlet in the run up to, and during, the English Civil War. Royalists were clearly not the only ones to recognise the significant political potential of witchcraft in furthering the righteousness of their cause:

*A Most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a Witch. Being taken
by some of the Parliament Forces, as she was standing on a small
plank-board and sailing on it over the River of Newbury.* – (1643, 'A
Most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a Witch.', W28)

The political nature of witchcraft is expressed by the witch herself who, after having been both shot at, stabbed and bled out by this group of parliamentary soldiers, exclaimed:

*And is it come to passe, that I must dye indeed? why then his
Excellency the Earle of Essex shall be fortunate and win the field,
after which no more words could be got from her; wherewith they
immediately discharged a Pistol underneath her ear, – (Ibid)*

The overtness of the association between the Royalist cause and witchcraft is hardly subtle and yet the violence with which the Parliamentary soldiers are shown to be dealing with witchcraft is celebrated. This suggests that the revival of publicising witchcraft prosecutions was both recognisable as a political propaganda technique but also as a reflection that the process of centralised spiritual defence was still a matter of concern to the public beyond the issue of monarch versus republic.

6.2 Murder

Regarding the monopoly of violence by the state, protection against murder is arguably the most fundamental factor in the state's legitimisation of the pacification of daily life. As we have demonstrated in Chapter 1, the frequency of murders was on the decline in this period however the centrality of religious faith in both society and to the crown meant that murder was not only restricted to physical violence. Death by witchcraft, although not recognised as such by a modern lens, should be treated as a legitimate expression of early modern violence owing to its recognition as such by both contemporary law and society. Chapter 2 demonstrated the ability for society to tolerate years of suspected witchcraft from its members however, ultimately, murder was the line in the sand which most frequently led to prosecution. Given the emotional significance of the death of family members, it is unsurprising that these moments sparked the commencement of legal proceedings:

*MY dear father by these hellhounds and Imps of the devil, thus bereft
me, and interred in the ground (after whom we must all hie)... –
(1579, 'A brief treatise conteyning...', W4)*

Expressions of grief and anger over untimely deaths were, within the pamphlets, directed towards outsider individuals who had some negative relations to the dead person (or their loved ones). The fact that witchcraft prosecutions were an option for channelling emotional grief enabled expression through a controlled and legitimate

medium rather than through physical conflict or personal revenge. The pacification of grief at untimely death was therefore a byproduct of the legal system; yet no less significant to early modern social processes with respect to the production of fear-based reactions.

The fear of death and the ability to combat it in a visceral way was fundamentally what drew James VI into the North Berwick witch trials, with the popular portrayals of such events enabling others to follow suit in response to their own fears. Despite the forcefulness of James' initial convictions against all forms of witchcraft and the speed by which he introduced his new statute, the majority of cases which resulted in hanging continued to be restricted to those which had resulted in the death of another (Tyson, 2011, p.8). The socially acceptable limitations for the state monopoly of violence were therefore rooted in more immediate concerns over the mortal threat of witchcraft rather than the spiritual significance of it. Murder was the consistent feature of witchcraft pamphlets, situating the witch as the ultimate transgressor of the security provided by a state monopoly of violence. While the violence itself was symbolically perpetrated, the contemporary presentation of it was no less real than physical assault:

This Helen was apprehended for bewitching of a Child to death, and committed to Northampton Gaole the 11 of May last by Sir Thomas Brooke of Okely Knight. – (1612, 'The Witches of Northamptonshire.', W17)

Many of deaths caused by the witches were also afforded a gendered lens; they presented an ultimate inverted form of the feminine 'nature' by way of depicting witches as committing infanticide:

...and saith, that Mrs. Swinow would have consumed the child that Mrs. Moore had last in her womb, but the Lord would not permit her; and that after the child was borne Mrs. Swinow was the occasion of its death, and Mrs. Swinow came riding on a little black Nag to the Spittle with a riding coat, and that she and her sister were also the

*occasion, and had a hand in the death of the said child: – (1650,
'Wonderful News from the North...', W41)*

Targeting innocent children was a particular affront to social relations and its description was intended to illicit empathic reactions to the victims in a period of high infant mortality (Laqueur, 1990, p.101):

*But the child at first refused to play with it, but it coming often, at
the length the Child made much of it till at last the Imp brought the
child to a water side, and there drowned the said child, to the great
grief of the parents. – (1645, 'A True Relation Of the Araignment Of
eighteene Witches.', W33)*

Similar to that social mechanism described by the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard in relation to witchcraft and the Azande people of Central Africa (1976), the acknowledgement of the physical (read: natural) cause of death does not undermine the logic of its supernatural origins. While the child clearly drowned, it was the witch who initiated the drowning by proxy. The intention, and therefore the barbarous state in the psychogenesis of the witch murderer, was the key factor in the transgression of the social relations; the outsider's violent aims were just as dangerous as the physical expression of violence. Infanticide and child murder were present in pamphlets from almost every decade of the period of witchcraft prosecutions. The presentation of the legal prosecution of witches who committed such socially traumatising events emphasised the ability, or at least the intention, of the state to prevent such tragedies occurring. Assigning supernatural causes to natural deaths provides a source of agency for misfortune and therefore the ability for the state to intervene in protecting the most vulnerable:

*And this Examine heard the next morning, that a woman Child of
the said Richard Baldwins was fallen sick; and as this Examine did
then hear, the said Child did languish afterwards by the space of a
year, or thereabouts, and dyed: And this Examine verily thinketh,
that her said Grand-mother did bewitch the said Child to death. –
(1612, 'The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...', W18)*

The cause of death is consistently described as deriving from illnesses, both short and long, instigated by the witch and disrupting the natural course of life for 'good Christians'. Where church teachings regarding life and death placed illness and accidents as God's will, forcing families and society to passively undergo a proscribed grieving process, witchcraft offers grievors an alternative explanation for their suffering.

*...so that his guts and bowels being rotten did issue forth of his belly:
and dyed hereof in most pitiful and grievous manner, the said party
taking it upon his death, that her witch-craft and sorcery was the
cause of his death. After whose death the Townes men made
complaint of her dealing to the Justice, who commanded one Maister
Norwood a Gentleman in the Towne to go search her house: – (1585,
'The severall factes of Witch-crafte...', W7)*

Reframing such deaths as the result of the malice of witches, who they can see and touch, rather than the unknown designs of a deity, presents a legitimate outlet for emotional expression during periods of distress and conflict. The advantage to the state of using the witch as a scapegoat for social distress was its potential to entrench or reinforce existing power relations by acknowledging grievances and suffering without requiring meaningful power redistribution. Religiously motivated laws against behaviour had effectively introduced a process through which the pacification of daily life by the state could be enacted without disrupting the social order.

6.3 Mass Prosecutions: State and Religious Turmoil

Regarding the significance of witchcraft prosecutions in the context of early state formation, the core threat implied by witchcraft was its collective nature: witchcraft was a conspiracy designed to attack the sovereign and those of his majesties subjects who constituted 'good Christians' (and were therefore good citizens). This conspiracy was expressed and combatted by the state through the identification of multiple individuals from the same time and location in mass prosecutions. Mass prosecutions were a prevalent feature of continental European witch hunts, with the frequency of

Scottish witch trials representing periods of intensity both in the numbers of trials and numbers of individuals tried (see Figure 2).

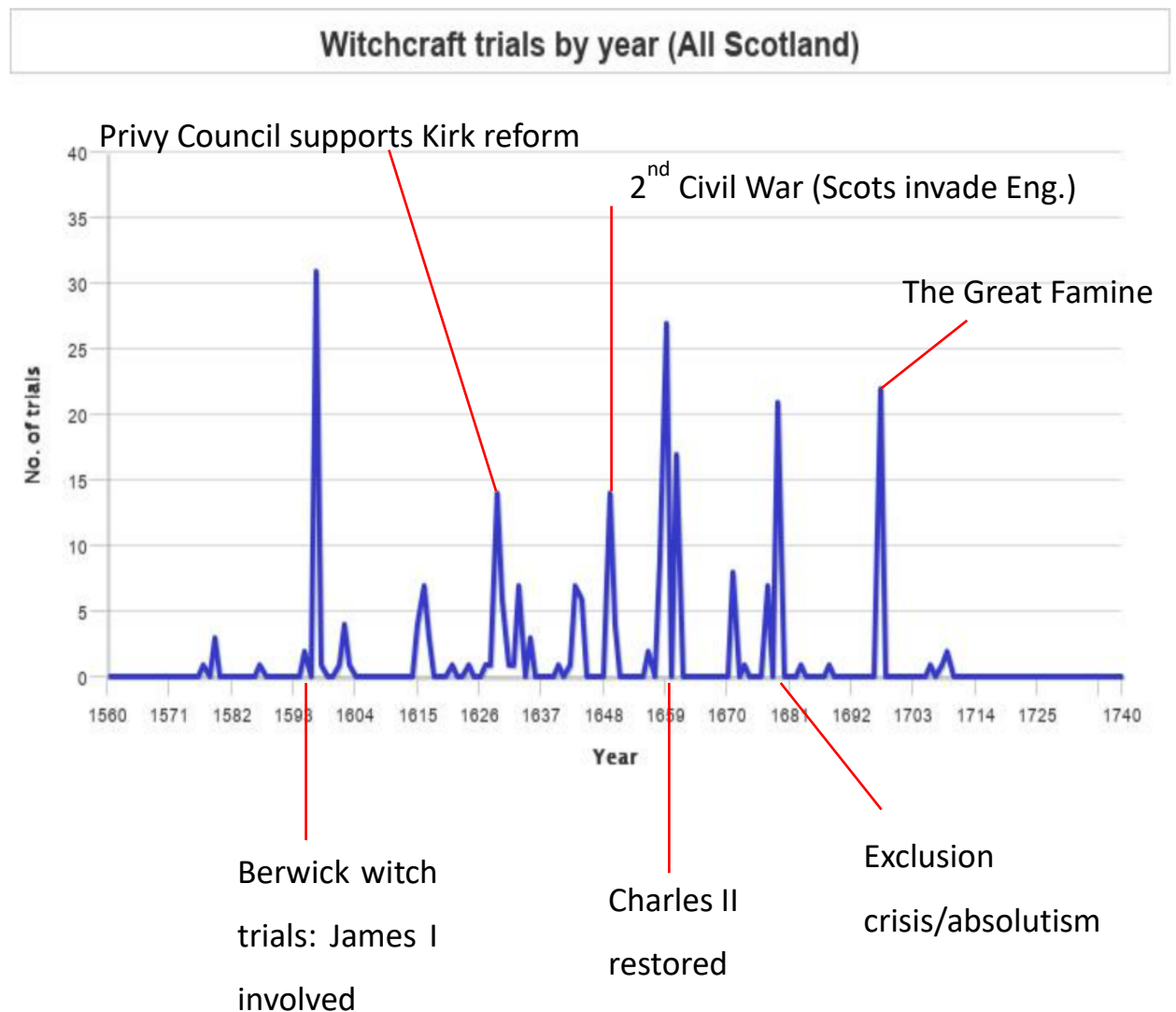


Figure 2: A graph showing the frequency of witch trials per year as they correspond to significant religious and political events (Data Source: Survey of Scottish Witchcraft Database)

As the above graph reflects, the frequency of witch-trials was not related to a single form of national disruption, however the peak numbers of trials do coincide with disturbances in centralised state authority; be they constitutional challenges, religious divisions or monarchical interference. The correlation between the Scottish trial data and crises in the state formation is therefore indicative of direct challenges to the centralised authority and a need to pacify spiritual threats to both that same authority and its rival power centre: the Scottish Kirk. Significantly, the period of 1661-2 referred to by historians as the 'Great Scottish Witch Hunt' involving 664 named individuals does not appear to have produced any pamphlets commenting on the events. This may be the result of problems of source survival but, where English pamphleteers had previously commented on the mass prosecutions in Berwick of 1592, there is a noticeable silence in their reporting for their Scottish neighbours 1661-2. Factors as to why there is an absence of popularly-aimed discourse in Scotland are likely to be the result of the central government's (restored Privy Council) shock at the intensity of the hunting and the obvious abuses of the judicial system which occurred during these trials (Levack, 2008, p.134). The extent of the illegal practices in the trials, as well as the very high death toll, were a contraction of the legitimacy of the state's persecution of the threat of witchcraft and reflected vulnerabilities in the legitimacy of the monopoly of violence.

England, by contrast, experienced only one period of mass witch-hunting, which took place in East Anglia and coincided with the English Civil War. This period of overt civil unrest has been presented as the reason that the charismatic figure of Matthew Hopkins and his associate John Stearne were able to capitalise on judicial, religious and social instability in order to pursue witches in multiple locations across the region (Gaskill, 2005, p.23). Both figures produced their own pamphlets in support of their dealings emphasising the significant numbers of witches to be discovered across the country:

I have learned and observed since the 25. of March 1645 as being in part an agent in finding out or discovering some of those since that

time, being about two hundred in number, in Essex, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge, besides other places, justly and deservedly executed upon their legal trials. – (1648, 'A Confirmation And Discovery of Witch-Craft...', W37)

There is, however, a distinction to be drawn between multiple localised trials taking place in a short period of time (as with Hopkins) and individual trials which involved prosecuting multiple individuals. Where Hopkins and Stearne were keen to uncover witches across the country, the pattern of witch prosecutions in England broadly involved more discrete examples routed in their community relations. These mass individual trials were of particular fascination to the writers of the pamphleteers with the majority of trials presented in the pamphlets involving three or more suspects but who rarely connected them to conspiracies beyond their locality. In contrast, Scottish trials, more commonly initiated by the clergy or local elites rather than community, preserved the collective conspiracy dimension to a greater extent which was reflected in the pamphlets through the connections between witches who were apparent strangers to each other:

And that she had been at several Meetings with the Devil and Witches, and, amongst others, she Accus'd her own Father, and the fore-mention'd High-land Fellow, to have been Active Instruments in the Girl's Trouble; and before she was Confronted with him, gave exact Marks of this Highland Man, tho' she knew not his Name; yet when she saw him did Accuse him, and Affirm'd he was the Person she spoke of. – (1698, 'Saddisimus Debellatus...', W73)

The significance to state formation processes of multiple prosecutions within individual trials was their reinforcement of the effectiveness of the legal process: the successful prosecution of all witches in a particular community reflected state protection to a greater extent than the possibility that undetected multitudes were at large. Whilst the trials of individual witches would often take place at some significant

distance from their communities (normally at the nearest administrative or municipal centre), mass prosecutions were well attended affairs which involved the testimonies of many members of the same community. In these cases, the limitations of this process occurred because the community and those involved were often not distanced, or detached, from outcomes of trials – namely the public executions. With multiple people from the same community being accused and sentenced to death, it was difficult for authorities to maintain the momentum of mass prosecutions in the face of public observation. The effects of the mass processes were immediately seen and felt by the communities, with the sense of fear and paranoia preventing them from becoming a detached and ignored phenomena (as could occur within the smaller-scale processes). Yet these mass trials also required the co-operation of the witches communities in order for suspects to be taken to trial, indicating that whilst the detachment process was not fully developed, in certain circumstances it was still present. The resolution of the threat of witchcraft within the pamphlets came from their presentation of almost exclusively trials with guilty verdicts:

The other Two continued in the Court, and they Affirmed in the face of the Country, and before the Witches themselves, what before hath been Deposed by their Friends and Relations; the Prisoners not much contradicting them. In Conclusion, the Judge and all the Court were fully satisfied with the Verdict, and thereupon gave Judgment against the Witches that they should be Hanged. – (1682, 'A Tryal of Witches...', W60)

Given that a little under half of prosecutions in Scotland and 30% in England ended in a guilty verdict (Levack, 2008, p.1; Durston, 2019, p.40), the selectiveness of the pamphlets is a clear indication of their involvement in sociogenic processes supporting the emergent early modern state. Guilty verdicts supported both the legitimacy of the state's legal processes and their ability to combat spiritual threats and symbolic violence on a large scale.

6.4 Civil Unrest

Conceptual tensions over the spiritual validity of the monarch came to a head during moments of civil unrest in both England and Scotland. In both nations, the divisive question of religious centrality underlay power negotiations between the crown, the people and the political classes. The English Civil War, for example, was essentially a question over the right to enforce taxation; conflict between the monarch and parliament demonstrated the dangers of overextending the royal monopoly of taxation without adequate consultation. This was a significant moment of conflict in the religious role of the civilising process as Charles I believed he had the 'divine right' to rule and therefore no need to consult parliament (Gaunt, 2003, p.20). Ultimately Charles' losses and final execution demonstrated a rejection (although by no means universal) of the divine right principle as a supporting mechanism for state formation legitimacy. Nevertheless, the subsequent Parliament's need to create a leader (Lord Protector) such as Oliver Cromwell, in the absence of a monarch, indicated that England had entered too far into state formation figurations to function effectively without an absolutist head of state. Even during the Civil War, the court systems, which functioned as an extension of state monopolies of violence for the ordinary people, were still largely running. This indicates that the bureaucratic systems were so well established that even the doubtful notion of monopolised and centralised state violence was still all that was required to uphold their legitimacy:

*Besides these are 120. more suspected Witches in prison, at St.
Edmunds-bury, who had all their Trial now: but that the Judge and
Justices were compelled to adjourn the said Sessions till another time
by reason of the near approaching of the Cavaliers. – (1645, 'A True
Relation Of the Araidment Of eighteene Witches.', W34)*

At the same time in Scotland, the Bishops Wars of 1639-40 were an overt challenge to the civilising process through the question of whether the monarch or the Kirk should have primacy regarding the Church of Scotland. The Scottish popular support for the rebelling Covenanters was regionally varied and therefore internal military suppression of royalists took place in addition to their English invasion (Morrill in Morrill, 1990, p.15). The Covenanters' decisive victory and the 1641 settlement,

however, secured the control of both the Scottish Kirk and government within a politically religious framework which continued to characterise Scottish statehood well into the 18th century (Stevenson, 2022, p.290). These close ties between politics and religion, although clearly also present in England (to a lesser degree), set the pace of the Scottish civilising process back by undermining monarchical dominance, which took place through the greater diffusion of power by religious representatives in governance. This religious dominance was reflected in the larger number of witch prosecutions in Scotland led primarily, as we have seen, by local ministers. The church was therefore far more integrated into the bureaucratic legal processes in Scotland, which in turn explains the greater preoccupation with the supernatural threat of witches and suggests that the mass prosecutions were, to a degree, responses to these conflicts.

6.5 Legitimising Violence

In attempting to pacify daily life in the early modern period, the state did not produce a complete aversion to violence; as Zygmund Bauman has suggested, violence may be legitimised in defence of civility (2008, p.28). As we have established in Chapter 2, civility in the early modern sense represented the antithesis of the violent, antisocial and vengeful character of the witch. In the context of witchcraft prosecutions, the violence enacted by both the individuals and the state against witches was overtly celebrated and justified within the pamphlets through presentations of the witch's diabolical associations and her 'uncivil' qualities.⁵⁰ In both scenarios however, the pamphlets feel the need to justify the violence both religiously and legally, indicating that the legitimacy of committing acts of violence against individuals was subject to negotiation. Even within clear examples of violence by committed through witchcraft, reactive or responsive physical violence must still be justified:

The morrow after Master Enger road into the fields where Mary Sutton (the daughter) was, having some of his men to accompany him, where after some questions made unto her, they assayed to bind her on horse-back, when all his men being presently stricken

⁵⁰ With the exception of cases of fraudulent accusations (discussed further in Chapter 7).

lame, Master Enger himself began to remember, that once rating her about his man, he was on the sodaine in the like perplexity, and then taking courage, and desiring God to be his assistance, with a cudgel which he had in his hand, he beat her till she was scarce able to stir.

– (1613, ‘Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed...’, W19)

This overt display of vigilante violence by the “honest and worshipful Gentleman” (*Ibid*) is rationalised by the successful outcome (his men recovered from lameness after her beating), which in turn confirmed his suspicions that she was the cause of his men’s lameness. The illegality of his assault against the suspect and his subsequent extraction of her confession by force is counterbalanced by the fact that Master Enger turned her over to a justice of the peace and she was found guilty on “many other matters” (*Ibid*) of witchcraft at the official assizes. This *ex post facto* legitimacy is not considered to be contradictory given the fundamentally uncivil nature of witches. Similar legitimisation may be seen in the same justification of violence enacted by a gentlewoman towards a suspected witch:

But especially it touched the modesty of this Gentlewoman, who was so much moved with her bold, and impudent demeanour, that she could not contain her self, but suddenly rose up and struck her, howbeit hurt her not, but forced her to avoid the company; – (1612, ‘The Witches of Northampton-shire.’, W17)

The justification that the blow didn’t hurt the witch is again significant; where such violence would otherwise constitute common assault, the contrast between the low-status witch and the higher-status gentlewoman allows the expression of limited ‘painless’ violent anger. The anger itself is justified by the uncivil behaviour of the witch which provoked it and is once again vindicated by the contrast against the violence perpetrated by the witch herself (which was only discovered later through the legal processes).

This is especially so when the violent behaviours were combined with and reinforced by the power differentials of early modern society. By mentioning that Master Enger had beaten her “till she was scarce able to stirre” (W17)), the pamphlet is effectively

condoning this instance of violent behaviour as long as the power dynamic is from a top-down perspective. This is similarly the case with reference to the enactment of the duties public officers:

She came into a Gentlemans ground called Maister Mashe of Stanmore, where she was stealing of Wood, and the Baily taking her with the manor, made her to leave it behind her: and gave her two or three small blows over the Backe not hurting her: whereat she said he should repent it, and so she went her ways. – (1585, ‘The severall factes of Witch-crafte...’, W7)

The bailey⁵¹ is acting as a representative of the law and yet the concept that the woman should be beaten for transgressing the law still required justification that he was “not hurtinge her”. In his capacity as a representative of local justice, the bailey’s violent action is justified in a limited way by the symbolism of public office yet only so far as the violence is not significant. Interpersonal violence, therefore, must have additional social justification in order for the process to be acceptable in cases of dubious legality.

The ambiguity of individual violence towards witches, as portrayed in the pamphlets, is most discernible from attitudes towards ‘scratching’ witches. The concept involved the bewitched individual scratching the face or the body of the suspected witch until blood was drawn in order to alleviate their symptoms of witchcraft. If the symptoms ceased following the scratching, the popular belief was that it was because the witch’s power was broken, simultaneously then confirming the identity of the witch (Sharpe, 2020, p.47). This display of violence was treated with a degree of caution:

...he began to open his mind to him, that he persuaded himself, by such one she was bewitched, and he was as faithfully persuaded, that if he could have but 2 or 3 good scratches at her face, whereby he might draw blood of her, he should recover presently, – (1606, ‘The severall practises of Johane Harrison...’, W16)

⁵¹ Similar to a constable or sheriff.

The root of the violence is one based on superstition rather than consolidating power differentials and borders on witchcraft in its own right, thereby undermining the validity of such practices from a top-down perspective:

*To which place the Brother and the Sister were brought still desirous
to scratch the Witches. Which Art whether it be but superstitiously
observed by some, or that experience hath found any power for help
in this kind of Action by others, I list not to enquire, only this I
understand that many have attempted the practising thereof, how
successively I know not. – (1612, 'The Witches of Northampton-
shire.', W17)*

The practice of scratching continues to make an appearance in the pamphlets which are dated to the end of the period. Scratching, amongst a list of other violent atrocities meted out by mobs towards suspected witches, once again reinforced the power differentials which enabled such acts of violence to occur in the first place. As a method for discovering witches, this test was precariously based on the notion of practicing counter magic and thus is treated with a degree of suspicion throughout the later 17th century, culminating in outright hostility by the authors of some of the early 18th century pamphlets. The divergence between the pamphlet's more 'official' version of physical intervention and the actual community tactics regarding the identification of witches was therefore somewhat misaligned during the later phase of the prosecutions, where true sociogenic pacification was still very much a work in progress.

6.6 Institutional Violence

It would be remiss when discussing early modern witchcraft trials not to make reference to the overt displays of institutional violence suspected witches were subjected to within the prosecutions. The notable difference between England and Scotland on this subject was that torture was a legal (if regulated) avenue for Scottish interrogators to explore whereas in England it was not (Levack, 2008, p.3). That does not mean that English suspects were not subjected to torture by modern standards however it does mean that the legitimising language regarding institutional violence

between England and Scotland differed. Scottish pamphlets overtly described the torture of suspects framed within the legal requirements of the witchcraft processes, with English pamphlets treading a careful line regarding the legitimacy of examples of institutional violence.

...in the person of the said Margaret, our sovereign Lords Justices, in that part particularly abovenamed, constitute be commission, after solemn deliberation and advice of the said noble Lord...concluded with all possible diligence before the doun sitting of the Justic Court, to put the said Margaret to torture. – (1618, 'Trial, Confession & Execution of Isobell Inch', W21)

The emphasis in the above Scottish pamphlet that the decision to torture a suspect was not taken lightly and was integrated in both legal and social hierarchy is a clear attempt to legitimise the process within the public conscience. The publication of such overt examples institutional violence was therefore not without risk at this earlier point in the Scottish trials; the torturing of suspects required justification to the public and the reassurance that the state deemed it necessary.

The English-published pamphlet describing torture within the witch trials of Scotland also legitimised such actions through an acknowledgement of its legality in the Scottish context:

...whereupon they caused her to be conveyed away to prison, there to receive such torture as hath been lately provided for witches in that country: and forasmuch as by due examination of witchcraft and witches in Scotland, – (1592, 'Newes from Scotland...', W10)

There is no overt condemnation of the legitimate use of torture by the prosecutors by the pamphleteer except to describe its severity:

Therefore by special commandment this Agnis Sampson had all her hair shaven of, in each part of her body, and her head thrawen with a rope according to the custom of that Country, being a pain most

grievous, which she continued almost an hour, during which time she would not confess any thing – (Ibid)

The phrase 'special commandment' is a direct reference to the acquiring of a commission to prosecute witches. The commission was issued by the monarch and legitimised the use of torture within the pamphlet despite its use failing to extract a confession from Agnes. The initial torture of Geillis Duncane is described as having taken place in the pre-commission stage of the investigations but is once again justified by the torturing being both by the witches 'maister' and the deputy Bailiff of the town. More subtle criticism of the use of torture comes from the fact that with Dr Fian, the most "grievous pains and cruel torments" (*Ibid*) is not what induces his confession to witchcraft but rather the presence of the king's majesty compels confession. Once again, the monarch is presented as able to defeat the will of the devil with the aid of the legal process, however the usefulness of torture to extract confessions was undermined according to the witch's own testimony:

...what he had done and said before, was only done and said for fear of pains which he had endured. – (Ibid)

Within the English context, the overt illegality of judicial torture (in the contemporary interpretation) led to less manifest descriptions of torture but nonetheless more latent descriptions of the violence inherent in the judicial process are present:

Being carried again before the justice, after a long Examination she did confess, that she fired the aforesaid Barn – (1674, 'Relation of a most remarkable...', W55)

The 'long examination' from the justice leading to the confession is, at the least, suggestive of coercion through the threat of violence, however it is known from other examples of witchcraft prosecutions that sleep deprivation and humiliation practices were not considered torture in the contemporary sense (Levack, 2008, p.73). Nevertheless, the pamphlet is again emphasising the diligence of the prosecution in discovering truth rather than criticisms of the coercive nature of the prosecutions. The legitimacy of forms of institutional violence was, therefore, culturally dependent

however ultimately the sentence against proven witches was violent punishment enacted on their bodies in the true Foucauldian sense.

6.7 Mob Violence

The disconnect between legitimate and popular violence is also discernible from the presentation of collective public violence within the pamphlets, which often adopts both a sympathetic tone regarding the emotional reaction of the public while not overtly condoning their actions. In the below pamphlet, the notorious witch and rapist John Lambe has escaped execution within the legal system but was certainly not forgiven by his community:

Upon Friday being the 13. of Iune, in the year of our Lord 1628. he went to see a Play at the Fortune, where the boys of the town, and other unruly people having observed him present, after the Play was ended, flocked about him, and (after the manner of the common people, who follow a Hubbubb, when it is once a foot) began in a confused manner to assault him, and offer violence...This lamentable end of life had Doctor John Lambe, who before prophesied (although he were confident he should escape Hanging,) that at last he should die a violent death. – (1628, ‘A Briefe Description of the Notorious Life...’,

W25)

The violence committed against this witch by the ‘unruly’ boys of the town was treated with a narrative coherence given the witch’s own prophesied ending. Social justice therefore prevailed where legal justice had not. The ‘lamentable’ nature of this public lynching presents the fragile nature of the early modern legal system as still dependent on the upholding of social norms. Insufficient legal responses to disruptors of social cohesion have direct collectively violent consequences which undermined the monopoly of violence by the state and helps to explain the severity with which witchcraft was dealt with by the legal system. Accounts of witchcraft lynchings indicate that popular narratives surrounding witches and justice formed a not insignificant part of the state structuration, with the coercive force of bottom-up justice impacting the state’s approaches to witchcraft management. While the initial

development of witchcraft as a demonic threat and as integral to the religious frameworks of society was a decidedly top-down affair, the continuation and regulation of witchcraft drew a comparable amount from the normative behavioural expectations of the lower echelons of society.

This is evident from the practice of 'swimming' suspected witches which involved the forcible submerging of suspects in bodies of water to determine whether they would sink (innocent) or float (guilty) as attested in this early 17th century pamphlet:

The justices and other officers (thereby purposing to try the said Arthur by an experiment that (many think) never fails) caused them all to be bound, and their Thumbs and great Toes to be tied across, and so threw the father, mother and son, and none of them sunk, but all floated upon the water. – (1612, 'The Witches of Northamptonshire.', W17)

This practice was a common, if not an official, part of legal investigations (Sharpe, 1996, pp. 218) and was generally approved of by James VI in his text *Daeomonologie* (1597, p.80). This was likely to have influenced the publication of the judiciary's involvement within the pamphlet given its monarchical encouragement. The practice was never officially incorporated into the legal process however, and therefore within the pamphlets such overt acts of violence required common public assent to be considered valid:

There were present above Twenty Persons to Attest the Truth of this, yet could not gain Credit in the minds of People: Therefore, she was had to the Water a second time, and being put in, she swam as at first; and tho there were present above Two Hundred People to see this Sight, yet it could not be believed by many... To satisfy the World, and to leave no Room for doubting, the old Woman was had down to the Water the third time, and being put in as before, she did still Swim. At this Swimming of her, were present, such a Company of People of the Town and Country, and many of them, Persons of Quality, as could not well be Numbered; so that now, there is scarce

one Person that doubts of the Truth of this thing. – (1612, 'The Witches of Northampton-shire.', W17)

The above pamphlet assesses the validity of the act of violence through the number of community observers present and their social quality rather than the justice of the act itself. The public spectacle of swimming the old woman is once again retroactively justified by her subsequent arrest for witchcraft, however the pamphlet is more concerned with the possibility of public 'doubt' about the truthfulness of the accusations than the legality of the process. Social legitimacy rather than legal process is at the heart of this later pamphlet which is perhaps indicative of the general decline in prosecutions by this stage but also suggests that witches are still considered to be a collective concern which required active social participation. This is particularly evident in the case of fraudulent accusations whereby the pamphleteers were condemning collective violence as colluding to encourage a miscarriage of justice:

...several Riots and Assemblies were made, and great numbers of people came together in a body, at several times to Asorduek's House, and in a violent manner entered the same time by force, took her out and carried her away to Defendant's Houfe, where the Defendant scratched her, and the other Defendants also in a very barbarous manner beat her, pulled out her Teeth, tore her Face, Hair and Cloths, threw her on the ground, stamped upon her Belly, and threw her into the street, where she lay as murdered until taken into a Neigh-bours Houfe... – (1702, 'Tryal Richard Hathaway...', W78)

The collective violence is described by the informant, who claims to be both a minister and an eyewitness to the events, as 'very barbarous' while also deeply criticising the lack of action taken by the local alderman when he is informed of the illegal proceedings. The 'barbarity' of the violence and the complicity of the alderman are indicative of the limitations of the monopoly of violence in relation to the protection of outsiders and the ease with which unrestrained behaviour may be exhibited in relation to collective action. The pamphlet was clearly intended to shock and persuade the audience as to the uncivilised nature of these events and yet the shocking nature

in itself is indicative of a perceived increasing rarity in cases of witchcraft; the readers of the pamphlet are supposed to share the ministers disgust with acts of collective social injustice. By the 18th century, the violence of the 'rabble' is to be feared more so than the violence of the witch:

*The Rabble hearing she was in Town, went to Mr Cowper, and ask'd
him what they should do with her? He told them he was not
concern'd, they might do what they pleased with her... they fell upon
the poor Creature immediately and beat her unmercifully, tying her
so hard with a Rope that she was almost strangl'd; they dragg'd her
through the Streets, and amongst the shore by the heels. A Baillie
hearing of a Rabble near his Stair, came out upon them, which made
them immediately disappear. – (1705, 'An answer of a letter...', W82)*

Significantly this extract from a Scottish pamphlet describes not a corrupt representative of the law and a minister defending justice, as with the previous English example, but rather the reverse. The minister [Mr Cowper] is depicted as directly colluding with the mob who in turn are only stayed by the threat of state intervention. This intervention, the pamphlet goes on to explain, was merely symbolic and did not prevent the lynching of the suspected witch which occurred later. In Scotland, the fervour of the minister's witch belief encouraged the transgression of the monopoly of violence whereas in England the minister is simply impotent to influence mob behaviour towards pacification. Once again the centrality of religious influence in Scotland was reflected in the enactment of justice and publicly defended as such.

Conclusion

By the later stages of the witchcraft proceedings, the development of social regulation regarding witchcraft prosecutions had surpassed the role of state intervention, with the condemnation of witchcraft no longer an externalised pressure. It was this internalised response which was, ironically, the first indication of a decivilizing process. As the pamphlets show, the increasing instances of the validity of witchcraft processes being undermined by both vigilante violence and brutality were becoming

more apparent in their presentation to the public. Whereas the prosecution of witches at the beginning of the period served as a centripetal mechanism by which the monarch may consolidate and confirm religious and legal power monopolies through communal fear, the transference and consolidation of fears into both the psychogenesis and sociogenesis of early modern society had shifted the conditioning away from monarchical associations. In the case of Elias's pacification of society described in *The Civilizing Process*, behavioural regulation reinforced the development of the state whereas in the example of witchcraft, which was based upon contemporary symbolic and interactional concepts of acceptable violence, the figurations were vulnerable to cultural drift. The increasing disconnect between popular understandings of acceptable violence regarding witches and the state's approaches were therefore a casualty of this drift. This is discernible from the shift in tone of the pamphlets, which increasingly relied on social, rather than legal, justifications for violent behaviour towards witches by the public or even outright condemnation of 'barbarous' behaviour.

Chapter 7: The Decline of Witchcraft

While the majority of historical research has been devoted to the significant question of why witchcraft prosecutions occurred in the early modern period, less attention has been paid to the question of why it ended in the 18th century. Scholars of the 20th century had generally attributed the decline in prosecutions to a reflection of the rising rationalist tendencies associated with the European Enlightenment (Levack, 2008, p.132). This rather vague assessment of witch belief assumed a general decline in belief stemming primarily from increasing scepticism of the ruling elite, which in turn influenced the wider population. If we were to consider the coercive role of the character of the witch through the Weberian concept of disenchantment, the decline in witch belief would also be in alignment with a cultural rationalisation and increasing secular tendencies. The basis for these assumptions is two-fold: firstly, that early 18th century intellectual discourse surrounding witchcraft was treating the subject with increasing scepticism and secondly, that the frequency of prosecutions had been in a general decline from the end of the 17th century. The notion, however, that the decline in belief and therefore prosecutions was intellectually driven has been challenged in recent years, with an acknowledgement of the contribution of judicial, economic and social factors (Levack, in Levack 2013a, p.442) as well as the continuation of witch belief into the 20th century.

The decline of witchcraft in the context of state formation raises the question of the locus of religion by the end of the period; both in the context of state relations and significance to the population. While it might be tempting to align the decline in prosecutions with a rising secularisation of society as described by Weber, the example of witch belief does not necessarily support this. The very bottom-up nature of the instigation of witchcraft prosecutions and the continuation of religious belief throughout the British state post-union contradicts this assumption and suggests a more complex picture. Instead, it is possible to argue that religious de-centralisation (rather than decline) is both a cause and a consequence of the pacification of society; extreme religious positions such as actively 'not suffering a witch to live' were no longer aligned with moderated 'civilised' social cohesion. As will be discussed, the violence of vigilantism directed towards witches was no longer justifiable within the

later stages of state centralisation, indicating social disruption rather than cohesion. That is not to say that the belief in witchcraft or religion more generally was in decline but rather that religion and belief itself was becoming more moderately expressed by both the wider population and the state. Pamphlet evidence is therefore able to illuminate this complex renegotiation and demonstrate the degree to which the decentralisation of religion was integral to later stages of the civilising process.

Crisis of confidence

The decline in prosecutions across European states during the 17th and 18th centuries did not follow a linear progression from a proliferation of mass prosecutions to a complete rejection of witch belief, but rather took place in fits and starts. Some countries, such as Scotland, experienced a significant drop in prosecutions during the last few decades of the 17th century, only for an intense resurgence to occur at the beginning of the 18th century. England, by contrast, saw a more gradual decline towards the end of the 17th century with the last confirmed executions taking place in Bideford in 1682 (although a pamphlet records a possible later execution of Mary Hicks in 1716 (discussed below)). Whilst there is no definite trend in the statistical data for the decline of witchcraft prosecutions across the whole of Europe, a common occurrence was a period of recession in prosecutions which immediately followed an outbreak of mass and intensive prosecutions (Goodare, 2016 p.260). This can be observed following the Great Scottish Witch Hunt of 1661-62, the East Anglian witch hunt of the 1640s in England and the Northern Moravian witch hunt of 1678-1696 overseen by infamous witch hunter Jindřich Boblig. These mass witch-hunts caused what Erik Midelfort has identified as 'a crisis of confidence' in the authorities charged with undertaking prosecutions, as well as potentially a crisis in the underlying belief in the existence of witches themselves, during instances of mass violence against witches (Midelfort, 1972, 121-163). As a result, the general decline in witchcraft prosecutions predated decriminalisation in the majority of European contexts (Levack, 2013b, p.435).

Following the 1707 Act of Union, which brought England and Scotland under a single government, the British government rode the wave of declining witchcraft prosecutions and in an act of 1735 (enacted 1736) repealed both the English and

Scottish witchcraft statutes. According to the new witchcraft act, it was now considered an offence to “pretend to exercise or use any kind of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment or conjuration or undertake to tell fortunes” (1757: 9 George 2 c.5). This reversed the concept of witchcraft as a crime of deception rather than maleficent magical or diabolical practices, also aligning it with the lesser crimes of conjuring and fortune-telling often associated with marginalised groups such as gypsies or vagrants. The punishment for this crime was imprisonment for one year and, although prosecutions were rare, they did occasionally occur until the act was finally repealed in 1951 (Hutton, 1999, p.107). This statutory unification of opposition to witchcraft prosecutions forced an equalisation of witchcraft processes surrounding the elite rejection of prosecutions across both states, despite differences in their sociogenic positions on the subject. The comparative lag in sociogenic processes related to the civilising process in Scotland could be seen by the opposition in Scotland to repealing the witchcraft act and the continuation of prosecutions (longer than in England). The repealing of the witchcraft act in 1735 is often interpreted as a redundant act given that witch prosecutions had ceased to occur in significant numbers in England (particularly) since the turn of the century.

By contrast, in the Czech lands the Habsburg Monarchy did not reform witchcraft prosecution until 1766 in *An article on Sorcery, Witchcraft, Divination, and Similar Activities*.⁵² This article was part of Maria Theresa’s wider reforms of criminal law and, whilst sceptical of the reality of magic, it still defined the ‘true’ or legitimate magical practice as a crime. Those practitioners of ‘true’ magic were distinguished from those whose practice came from vulgar superstition and were therefore not considered to be a real diabolical threat. The death penalty for *maleficium* through the devil’s power was still possible under this law however the decree effectively prevented prosecutions arising from instances of mental illness and fraud. By 1766 most witchcraft prosecutions within the Habsburg Empire were taking place in Hungary however trials were still taking place within Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia during the 1750s. By focusing on the final stages of witchcraft prosecution within England and

⁵² Published edition [1769]: *Artikel 58: Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana*. Vienna: pp167-73.

Scotland, the question of whether the end of this phenomenon indicated the transition towards 'modernity' may therefore be addressed.

In outlawing witch persecution, states are arguably rejecting an archaic yet complex and integral social process, in which institutionalised violence enabled society to reject abhorrent behaviour, particularly directed towards the regulation of the symbolic potential violence of women. At the same, the implicit lack of belief in witchcraft would suggest a decentralisation of religion from spheres of social interaction in community relations (identified in Chapters 2 and 3). These two perspectives will therefore be assessed within the contexts of the final witchcraft pamphlets which, while to a degree exhibiting the sceptical discourse of the intellectual classes, were also reflecting continued popular belief and engagement with the regulation of suspected witches. The implication of the decline in witchcraft prosecutions in the context of the civilising process is therefore significant: did witchcraft decline as a result of the increasing consolidation of power by the state exhibited through sociogenesis and behaviour regulation or was it necessary to also consolidate the gains made by the centralised state with respect to the question of the centrality of religion in everyday life?

7.1 Scepticism

The transformation in belief cannot be solely attributed to emerging enlightenment ideas about the physical world or religious condemnation: throughout the early modern period there were frequent examples of dissenting voices, both ecclesiastical and secular, regarding both the belief in witchcraft and the need for witch-persecution. Instead, elite attitudes by the 18th century reflected their association between witch-belief and backward superstition, which in turn was a characteristic associated with the lower classes and in particular rural peasantry. One such example can be found in the reprinting of a pamphlet in 1775 (originally printed in 1698) which removed the word 'true' from the original title of 'A True Narrative of the Sufferings...', suggesting a change in attitudes from of their intended audience. Conceptually witch-hunting was becoming connected with the irrational and unrefined behaviours of the lower classes however this transformation, as Levack has argued, did not predate a decline in persecutions but rather occurred after

prosecutions had declined more generally (Levack, 2013b, p.437). This lack of causation is significant as it suggests that broader trends than simply elite scepticism were occurring; the lower classes were regulating themselves independently of elite attitudes and the debate was playing out in the pamphlets.

The significance of the issue of scepticism is therefore worthwhile investigating. In Scotland and England, where Parliamentary power was the overt force of the state rather than the monarch⁵³, the repealing of the Witchcraft Act in 1735 was greeted with laughter by many members of parliament (including the de facto Prime Minister Robert Walpole) who felt that anyone who still believed in witchcraft, such as Lord James Erskine, was “eccentric verging on the insane” (Newton and Bath, 2008 pp 224-5). This response of incredulity at witch-belief from the ruling classes was despite the fact that the last person to be executed for witchcraft in Great Britain was a woman named Janet Horne only nine years previously. Significantly, this execution took place in Scotland which had continued to persecute witches with intensity until the end of the 17th century and in which a belief in witchcraft continued fervently throughout the 18th century amongst the general population. Indeed, many politically involved Scots such as Erskine believed that the statute was specifically targeted towards Scotland in an attempt to curtail Scottish religious and legal independence. This was due to the fact that active belief and prosecution of witches in Scotland had always been much greater than their English counterparts (Levack, 2008, p.133). Belief in the presence and power of witches did, however, continue amongst much of the general populous in England throughout the 18th century despite the official condemnation. The damning attitude of the British government towards continuing beliefs in witchcraft displays a clear dissonance between the attitudes of the majority of the population and the English elite. This is again a reflection of the ruling classes attempting to impose normative values upon the populous which they themselves had previously internalised; while clearly the prosecution of witchcraft was no longer a common issue in 1735, the belief in witchcraft was still evident amongst sections of the wider population. The move by the state to prohibit the prosecution of witchcraft was an

⁵³ Following the English Civil War of 1642-54 and the Act of Union of 1707 the powers of the monarch were considered constitutional.

example of an attempt by the state to regulate the population's sociogenesis in such a way that may be considered to be redundant but may reflect the more general conceptual rejection of witchcraft.

The approach of the new law embodied the sceptical perspective of the pretence of witchcraft which was not yet universally accepted however declining popular and legal will to prosecute suspected witches was certainly apparent. This would suggest that while belief in the reality of witchcraft had not declined, insider-outsider relations regarding the symbolic meaning of the character of the witch had transformed on the community level. The continuation of community participation in the social processes surrounding witch prosecutions appeared to be in general decline in England however the 18th century pamphlets do highlight instances of exceptions to this trend. These exceptions are presented, in both the sceptical and supportive pamphlets, as being led by particularly motivated individuals:

*One John Chapman, a Farmer at Walkerne, had long enterntain'd a
Suspicion, that the strange Deaths of many of his, and the
Neighbours, Horses and Cattle were occasion'd by the Witchcrafts of
this Woman... but not being able to prove any Thing upon her, he did
not inform against her, but waited till Time should present a
favourable Opportunity of Convicting her. – (1711, 'A full and
impartial account...', W85)*

It is apparent that there is not sufficient support for John's immediate suspicions amongst the community and within the law to maintain the momentum of a witch trial even in the face of possible murders. Chapman himself was brought before the town minister by Jane Wenham in order to prevent him from publicly defaming her as a witch, with the minister's response advising them to "live more peaceably together, and ordered John Chapman to pay her a shilling" (*Ibid*). The we-I balance in particular can be considered at the locus of change; the significance of the pronouncement to 'live more peaceably' is indicative of the disruptive rather than cohesive role of witch prosecutions at this point in the civilising process – detachment rather than involvement is therefore the encouraged form of social relations in this instance.

Such plurality in social responses to popular witchcraft beliefs were symptomatic of the changes undergone in the process of interdependence during the early modern period; the coercive potential of witchcraft prosecutions was no longer advantageous in a period where religious decline and gender differentials had been thoroughly enforced. According to Elias, figurational interdependency increased during this period; witch prosecutions were now at odds with the state's "survival function" (1978, p.138), creating and continuing conflict and violence which did not stem from the centralised state itself. The continuation of both the belief in witchcraft and its prosecution could therefore no longer comply with the functional democratisation process. This process was underway towards the end of the early modern period, where the balance of power between groups was finally evening out into recognisable states.

The issue of scepticism is therefore in question regarding the significance of witchcraft as a litmus test for religious transformation. Evidence of scepticism towards the existence of witchcraft is frequently mentioned throughout the preamble of even the earliest witchcraft pamphlets and differs from the later trials due to differences in its religious framing. In particular, the earlier pamphlets presented sceptical beliefs regarding the reality of witchcraft through the lenses of atheism, popery, and ignorance (both wilful and unintentional):

*But thus much you shall understand that no persuasions could
prevail with him that he was bewitched, such was his strong belief in
God, and yet diverse time sighingly complaining, would say: O Lord,
shall a man dye and bee not sick? – (1579, 'A brief treatise
conteyning...', W4)*

In the above passage, Richard Galis is referring to his own father whose apparent untimely death Galis attributes to witchcraft. The victim (his father) was himself sceptical of the association with witchcraft believing instead it to be God's plan for him to die. Such diversity of belief within the same family at this early stage in the prosecutions is demonstrative of the plurality of belief present amongst multiple social strata. This negotiation of local religious figurations was taking place beyond

scope of the intellectual debate over witchcraft taking place amongst the upper classes:

Father, I am sure I am bewitched by the Chattox, Anne Chattox, and Anne Redferne her daughter, I pray you cause them to bee laid in Lancaster Castle: Whereunto this Examinate Father answered, Thou art a foolish Ladde, it is not so, it is thy miscarriage. Then this Examinate Brother weeping, said; nay, I am sure that I am bewitched by them – (1612, ‘The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...’, W18)

The pragmatic opposition to witchcraft presented in the pamphlet by the father of the suspect’s statement “Thou art a foolish Ladde, it is not so, it is thy miscarriage” and the ultimate dismissal of this perspective in the face of the trial itself are used to undermine this avenue of scepticism from below. Community scepticism, while not often emphasised within the pamphlets, is suggestive of a degree of plurality regarding the coercive potential of early witchcraft, which the pamphlets themselves are keen to dispel and is indeed suppressed until the later publications.

Directly addressing scepticism allowed the pamphlets space to both persuade and condemn dissenting voices regarding witch belief in order to strengthen legitimacy from the readers perspective. *Newes from Scotland* was similarly keen to present James I with a healthy degree of scepticism towards the more fantastical elements of the trials, while subsequently explaining the rationale as to why he was persuaded allowed the reader to empathise the process:

Item, the said Agnis Sampson confessed before the Kings Majesty sundry things which were so miraculous and strange, as that his Majesty said they were all extreme liars, whereat she answered, she would not wish his Majesty to suppose her words to be false, but rather to believe them, in that she would discover such matter unto him as his majesty should not any way doubt off. – (1592, ‘Newes from Scotland’, W10)

The presentation of rationality was thus embedded in even the earliest of witch prosecution pamphlets; the alignment of what was 'rational' was dependent on the psychogenetic context as it related to knowledge of the world through the an overarching religious consciousness. The established-outsider binary, as we have demonstrated in Chapter 3, was carefully cultivated and maintained throughout the pamphlets due to this shared consciousness which was threatened and undermined by the disruption of the various civil wars of the mid-17th century.

As the 17th century progressed, the condemnation of scepticism in the pamphlets became more acute:

*Some are of that belief that stories of witchcraft are but idle
Chimeras, but we know that no part of Scripture was spoken in vain,
and one place thereof saith, thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live,
those who are so, I wish them grace to repent, and get out of their
damnable estate, and should admonish all persons whatsoever not
upon any loss or disaster to go to these South-sayers – (1669, 'The
Hartford-shire Wonder...', W54)*

The religious condemnation of scepticism as it related to scripture is a consistent feature of the later pamphlets and indicative of the increasing religious plurality which was present in the aftermath of the civil wars (Gaskill, 2005, p.216). More generally, the language of the later pamphlets was becoming increasingly concerned with reinforcing the belief in witches not only due to concerns over a perceived increase in atheism but also the notion that 'seeing is believing':

*Yet notwithstanding that it was the Heresy of the Ancient Sadducees,
to deny Angels and Spirits, Acts 8 and 23. There is a new sort of them
Started up, who, as they deny the Existence of good Spirits, deny evil
Spirits also, and the Possessing of, and Covenanting with Witches;
Fools who say, That seeing with the Corporal Eye is Believing –
(1704, 'A true and full relation of the witches at Pittenweem.', W80)*

'Seeing is believing' is a significant counter argument against witch belief given that the supposed 'rationalism' of the stance was not applied more generally to the

concept of religion but rather to the elements and symbols more readily associated with collectivist and hierarchical worship. The argument that 'angels and spirits' are invisible and therefore not real (without promoting an atheistic approach) suggests a more individualistic relationship to religion was developing amongst sections of the population. The notion that an individual might be obliged to believe in angels and witches without personally witnessing it suggests that any collective religious consciousness was beginning to wane in the post-civil war years, where the fabric of social relations had been most thoroughly disturbed.

The prominent position (mostly in the preface) of such defences against scepticism in the pamphlets reinforced this shift which became more apparent in the late 17th and early 18th century. In particular, antagonistic phrasing became a significant factor in the Scottish witchcraft pamphlets suggesting a greater intensity of public discourse concerning religious pluralism. One author makes such contradictions apparent from the divergence in credulity of central government (granters of commissions) and the local elites:

My fears deceived me, for I was informed that a Commission was granted, though with difficulty. But here my strait [concern] was augmented, for the chieftest man in the parish refuseth to meet professing he thought all that was proven on her, were but Clatters [gossip]. And I was informed, that others of the Judges did say little less. – (1696, 'Satan's invisible world', W70)

In the years prior to the repealing of the witchcraft act in Scotland, the majority of prosecutions were undertaken by untrained commissioners who were selected from the local lairds and bailies (Levack, 2008, p.136). These local elites, although authorised by the Privy Council to prosecute witches according to the law, were foremost acting in the interests of their own communities and there is very limited evidence to suggest that the Privy Council had ever attempted to control the flow of prosecutions (*Ibid*). It is therefore significant that in this example it is the 'chieftest man in the parish' who is most aware of the harmful nature of witchcraft accusations resulting from gossip. The transformation of witchcraft accusations from coercive

social regulators at the height of prosecutions to an awareness of the potential fracturing of social relations within the community was therefore starting to appear in both the later English and the Scottish pamphlets.

The next morning, which was Wednesday, at nine, Mr. Cox and his Uncle Bufton came to me and having by prayer recommended ourselves to God's protection and grace, we went to her. In the way Mr. Goldsmith and Mr. Grimes offered to go with us. I was the more inclined to accept their steady company as younger people might more easily entertain a belief that there may be "witchcraft." –
(Boys, J. A Case of Witchcraft at Coggeshall in the year 1699)

The above text, written by a local English minister, indicates that it is the younger generation who may be more likely to believe in witchcraft. This suggests that power-balances between the minister and his parish are unevenly distributed; power differentials related to the interdependence between them are not automatically favoured towards the minister, even on overtly religious subjects like witchcraft.

Scepticism towards the motivations for accusations is of course most overtly presented within the pamphlets that were printed as direct criticisms of individual trials and as responses to other pamphlets. This tradition of 'In answer to...' pamphlets, which conducted a public discourse over matters of the day, was not restricted to the subject of witchcraft prosecutions and demonstrated a growing interest in polemical publications more generally at the end of the 17th and early 18th centuries. Some examples of witch trial response pamphlets exist in relation to earlier trials however they tend to focus more on reporting errors rather than fundamental questions over the veracity of witchcraft:

A Lying Wonder Discovered, And The Strange and Terrible Newes from Cambridge proved false. Which false News is published in a Libel, Concerning a wicked slander cast upon a Quaker, but the Author of the said Libel was ashamed to subscribe his name to it. –
(1659, 'A Lying Wonder Discovered...', W50)

In the later response pamphlets, however, the discourse is much more rooted in the fundamental question of the legitimacy of the process itself and in particular the violence applied to those suspected of witchcraft:

*An Answer of a Letter from a Gentleman in Fife to a Nobleman;
containing a brief Account of the Barbarous and Illegal Treatment,
the Poor Woman accused of Witchcraft met with, from the Bailies of
Pittinweem and others. – (1705, 'An answer of a letter...', W82)*

The corresponding response pamphlet makes the author's stance clear regarding the legitimacy of the Gentleman of Fife's reporting on the matter:

*The Trifling Pamphlet we are now to take under Correction,
appeared several Weeks ago. The design of it was so palpably
malicious, so discernible an Air of Partiality, prejudice and ill-nature
every where breath'd in the Paper; – (1705, 'A just reproof, to the
false reports...', W81)*

The above vitriol directed towards the Gentleman of Fife, whose pamphlet had critiqued the approach of the Pittenweem authorities, is indicative of the lively debate over the legitimacy and responsibility the authorities had regarding early 18th century cases. The fundamental argument presented in *A Just reproof*, suggests that the authorities behaved with appropriate restraint and legality when investigating the case, whereas *An answer to a letter* indicates that institutional violence occurred in order to secure a confession. Here the construction of both narratives revolves around whether or not violence was inflicted upon the suspect rather than whether the use of violence was considered legitimate. This indicates that Scottish public discourse surrounding the emergent pacification of daily life also extended towards limiting the legitimacy of publicly acceptable displays of state violence towards the individual. The use of overt physical violence in extracting confessions within the legal system was therefore not uncontroversial at this point in the period.

While we have already established that the English legal process surrounding witchcraft prosecutions was generally less integrally violent than that of their Scottish counterparts, ultimately the exertion of state monopoly of violence applied in both

scenarios through the application of the death penalty. The seriousness of the crime therefore suggests that the open discourse surrounding the existence of witchcraft found in these pamphlets represents both a shift in public opinion towards questioning the existence of witches and the legitimacy of excessive state violence.

An equivalent public debate was raging in a series of English pamphlets related to the trial of Jane Wenham, in which the entire legitimacy of witch prosecutions were called in to question:

*A Full Confutation Of Witchcraft: More particularly of the
Depositions Against Jane Wenham, Lately Condemned for a Witch; at
Hertford. In which The Modern Notions of Witches are overthrown,
and the Ill Consequences of such Doctrines are exposed by
Arguments; proving that, Witchcraft is Priestcraft. – (1712, 'A full
confutation of witchcraft...', W89)*

The case of Jane Wenham is significant given that it was both one of the last cases tried in England and the first guilty verdict after almost thirty years of acquittals (Guskin, 1981, p.59). Significantly the judge, following the guilty verdict, appears to have granted a reprieve immediately following sentencing (later a full reprieve was granted). The various pamphlets (eight known) covering this particular trial are a rare example of the theological debate surrounding the existence of witchcraft being discussed in publications accessible to a wider public audience. The question had been discussed in publications by the elite and intellectual classes throughout the early modern period, however the overt scepticism presented in the oppositional pamphlets of this case is a striking example of the way in which popular demand for sceptical perspectives had developed. In this sense, the sociogenic properties of scepticism were no longer state-subversive: the reprieve granted by the judge in Jane Wenham's trial was presented in both kinds of pamphlets, with the sceptical examples presenting an overt opposition between the "judicious and penetrating" judge against the influence of the local ministers involved in the trial and sarcastically referred to as the "Reverend Divine" (1712 *A full confutation...* (W89)). This opposition is significant given that both the belief in witchcraft was overtly framed within the context of local

ignorance and superstition which was being actively encouraged by local ministers. Particular issue was taken with the continuing use of methods to determine a witch through their inability to repeat the lords prayer:

But drawing off from Conjectures, I would fain to know how the false Pronunciation of that Sentence particularly, came to be the Criterion of a Witch ; I think none of our Rubricks enjoin it as a specific Trial, and I hope, no learned Divine has borrow'd it either from Popish Legend, or found it amongst some Country Receipts for a Strain... –
(1712, 'A full confutation of witchcraft...', W89)

The intellectual criticism of the 'learned Divines' who led such a process are indicative of a shift in the discourse surrounding religion; the 'rational' versus 'irrational' forms of religious belief is now a question for the masses. This had been previously excluded from earlier witchcraft pamphlets which had principally promoted a consistent narrative surrounding generalised belief and scepticism. Given the fact that, with the ministers' encouragement, the jury found the suspect guilty while the judge ordered a reprieve, the presentation of the trial from both sceptical and defensive positions could well reflect the divisions presented within wider society. Belief, it would seem, was now much more individualised and thus decentralised from state mechanisms of social (and of course legal) coercion as this pamphlet would suggest:

It has been a great Controversy among Learned Men, about the possibility of Men and Women being Wizards, witches or no... but we are inclined to adhere to the Opinion of the former, because... if such a thing was not in Nature, why should we in this Kingdom make so many Laws as we have no in force against witchcraft... – (1716, 'The whole trial and examination of Mrs. Mary Hicks...' W94)

This faith in the existence of witchcraft laws as being sufficiently legitimate for witchcraft prosecutions to take places indicates that, for this pamphleteer at least, the coercive potential of the state has become integrated into his psychogenic understanding of the world. A similar argument was presented by the pamphleteer of a defence of the proceedings against Jane Wenham:

*It is a great Argument of the Reality of Witchcraft, that as much as it
has been laugh'd at by the frothy Libertines, yet it has been
maintain'd by the Grave, the Wise and the Learned in all Ages ;
insomuch that there is not a Civilized Nation that ever I heard of,
without its Laws against this detestable Crime. – (1712, 'A defense of
the proceedings against Jane Wenham...', W87)*

The opposition between the serious, wise and civilised believer versus the sceptical 'Libertine' is an integral part in the pamphlet's defence of what was now a controversy over the validity of the state prosecuting an essentially religiously based crime. Notably the pamphleteer takes great exception to the accusation made by another pamphleteer against the involvement of clergymen in the trials:

*And the Author of the Full Confutation (as he calls it) concludes his
Book with a Piece of greave Advice to the Clergy to study Physic
more... – (Ibid)*

This accusation of ignorance on the part of the clergy who maintained their witch belief is countered with the words of a physician who states:

*...how so many Learned Heads should so far forget their
Metaphysicks...Those that to confute their incredulity desire to see
Apparitions, shall doubtless never behold any, nor have the Power to
be so much as witches – (Ibid)*

It is significant that, while one pamphlet attempted to create a binary between the clergy and the learned physician, the counter argument reflects an academic plurality of thought surrounding the 'rationality' of witchcraft. The public nature of the discourse and the no-longer-consistent narrative surrounding witchcraft scepticism is indicative of the diffusion of coercive potential: witches were no longer a universal physical and ideological threat in the public consciousness and therefore no longer represented a balanced established-outsider relationship.

7.2 Vigilantism

The decentralisation of religious belief was particularly apparent when considering the issue of societal discord and vigilante violence towards suspected witches. Earlier prosecutions witnessed the exertion of violent force by community members in relation to the apprehension and identifying of suspected witches, which as we have demonstrated, formed part of the development of social cohesion and reinforcement of sociogenic properties. Within the later stages of the prosecutions, several examples of vigilante justice against witches are presented within the pamphlets as indicative of rare and deplorable behaviour based on what could now be considered inadequate supernatural evidence. As the judiciary became increasingly unwilling to condemn witches towards the end of the 17th century (Sharpe, 2020, p.77), the religious underpinnings to vigilante justice posed a threat to the monopoly of violence and the pacification of the social life.

The 1712 account written by a minister of the parish of Coggeshall describes rather dispassionately his own failed investigations into a suspected witch in 1699 and ultimately his lack of intervention in her lynching by the mob:

But the mob, being headed by James Haines and some others, would swim her, which they did several times, and she always swam like a cork, as hundreds can testify upon oath... Soon after, whether by the cold she got in the water or by some other means, she fell very ill and died. – (Boys, J. A Case of Witchcraft at Coggeshall in the year 1699)

The minister later justifies the mob justice through the post-mortem examination of the body, which apparently confirmed her guilt. The minister, however, makes no mention of any official legal involvement at any stage in the investigation and, had the suspect drowned in the moment rather than died afterwards, murder charges could certainly have been brought against James Haines and the others involved. The fact that the minister did not openly condemn the mob's actions from a moral or legal perspective indicates the disconnect between religious and legal influence.

Both the 1702 pamphlet *The Tryal of Richard Hathaway* and the 1707 *An answer of a letter from Fife* present extreme examples of communal violence directed towards

apparently “honest” women who were suspected by their communities of witchcraft. The English example is clear regarding the severity of the incidents:

...she having occasion to go into Newgate Market a Boy, his name is John Hopkins, called out, saying there goes the Old Witch, whereupon a great Company of People in a riotous manner, flocked about her, and threatened to throw her in a horse-pond and this Informant being got into an Ale-house by the assistance of some women, avoided the fury of the Rabble, otherwise she had been murdered, as she verily believes... – (1702, ‘The tryal of Richard Hathaway...’, W78)

The London ‘Rabble’ was clearly still persuaded as to the reality of witchcraft whereas the author is mostly concerned with the symbolic meaning of such fake accusations:

Mr. Bredrick. My Lord, the discovering and punishing such a Cheat as this, is highly necessary, and not only for the Vindicating the public Justice of the Nation, but for the lake of Religion it self, which suffers by nothing more, than by the countenancing indirect Practices, made use of upon a pretence of Maintaining and Supporting its Credit – (Ibid)

This presentation of the threat to the ‘lake of Religion’ and the legal system by the discovery of false accusations situates the problem of witch accusations still very much at the forefront of contemporary debates over the role of the state and legitimacy of religion in this period. While the narrator has not presented scepticism of witchcraft itself, the obvious association between the lynching of an innocent woman and the continuation of witch belief was framed in order to warn readers against the dangers of participating in such examples of vigilantism in the name of public justice. The condemnation of collective expressions of violence in the name of belief would therefore support the continued individualisation of religion while at the same time demonstrating its incomplete status in this period.

The Scottish example, *An answer of a letter...* (1705) offers a similar perspective to a similar example of vigilante justice against a suspected witch:

*But the Magistrates tho' met together, not taking Care to put her
into close Custody, for her Safety, the Rabble gathered again
immediately... They laid a heavy Door upon her with which they
pressed her so fore...and with a heavy weight of Stones on it pressed
her to Death – (1705, 'An answer of a letter...', W82)*

Again, the Rabble is the cause of the violence and again the judiciary have failed to protect the victim from them, ultimately ending in her murder. The pamphlet in this example is much more overtly critical of the roles played by both ministers and magistrates in the affair and situates their actions and corruption through their ungodliness:

*'Tis certain, that Mr Cowper preaching the Lord's Day immediately
after in Pittenweem, took notice of the Murder, which at least makes
him guilty of sinful Silence – (Ibid)*

When, in 1708, the Scottish Privy council was dissolved and a circuit court system was introduced, this effectively removed the mechanisms by which local elites could exercise any major power or influence over witch-hunting. Through this act and other similar reforms, English lawmakers had effectively seized control from the Scottish localities and consolidated their influence within even the most remote regions of the newly-formed state. The centralisation of power also facilitated the end to the witch-hunting process through a scepticism in witch-belief exhibited by the new judiciary, whose attitudes were heavily influenced by the English ruling classes' rejection of the existence of witches (Sharpe, 2020, p.78). English outrage towards the miscarriages of justice performed under the name of witch-persecution in Scotland enabled the extension of political powers into the otherwise separately governed judicial system and attempted to homogenise behaviour north of the border. In doing so, the relationship between British state-formation and sociogenesis is clearly visible, especially when considering the treatment of moral and legal attitudes to witchcraft within wider attempts to monopolise violence and impose standards of behaviour.

7.3 Gender

While it is apparent that the decline in witchcraft prosecutions had its roots in the personalisation and decentralisation of religion, there is also a gendered aspect to consider. Although the question of women and gender roles were still the subject of intellectual debate by the 18th century and women's involvement in labour and public life had increased, the entrenchment of gender roles limited the degree to which relations had changed over the preceding centuries (Hurl-Eamon, 2010, p.xi). The decline in witchcraft prosecutions can therefore not be tied to any significant increase in the status of women or public perceptions. Indeed, while many of the later pamphlets displayed a degree of sympathy towards the poor and the 'ignorant' suspects, some still contain extraordinarily misogynistic language directed towards women's behaviour regulation:

...but when she arriv'd to the age of 21 she began to be a very lude sort of a person exposing her Bodu to almost every Man that would take the pains to Debauch her, which wicked and loathsome Actions were not only talked of in the Town of Cotterstock... Children would point at her in a Scoffing manner, saying, There goes a Whore, there's Nell the Strumpet – (1705, 'The Northamptonshire witches...', W83)

The evident guilt of the suspect is still presented in this pamphlet as resulting from their subversive sexualised character and anti-social behaviour rather than substantial evidence and appears, in style, to recall the more hysterical pamphlets of the Mathew Hopkins era around fifty years prior.⁵⁴ The continuation of behavioural regulation in the pamphlets through the condemnation of sexual behaviour suggests that the gendered element of sociogenesis continued to be a popular subject despite the significantly waning numbers of trials. Such anomalous pamphlets are a reminder of the continuing patriarchal concern with the threat of female sexuality as a disordering of power relations. If nothing else, the narrative of sexualised witchcraft continued to

⁵⁴ It has been suggested by Wallace Notestein that both pamphlets referring to this particular case are fabrications by the same author who may also have produced the 1716 pamphlet related to the case of Mary Hicks (1909 p.377). There are no documentary accounts related to these two cases which would therefore date the last confirmed English execution to be the Bideford witch trial of 1682.

sell despite the reality of the threat of witchcraft no longer being of great concern to the authorities. This suggests that, with the increasing judicial scepticism over the possibility of witchcraft to inflict actual harm, there was a discrepancy between the official need to regulate women's behaviour and public interest in doing so. With the thorough consolidation of gender roles in the 17th century and the decentralisation of religion from political life by the 18th century, the necessity to reinforce the threat of women's violence was no longer needed in the general pacification of society – to be non-violent was now associated with elite male civility and female physical weakness (Hurl-Eamon, 2010, pp.15-16).

7.4 Religion as the third pillar

While the decline in witchcraft may be interpreted as signifying the beginnings of what Marx determined to be the increasing secularisation of modern society (Marx and Engels, 1975), as we have demonstrated the reality is more closely related to a transformation in the psychogenesis of religion. The concept can be described as a process of the decentralisation of religious institutions and an individualisation of religious belief.

The construction of the visceral opposition between the 'devil' and the 'godly citizens' in the early stages of witchcraft prosecutions enabled the state to assume responsibility for the defence of morality and removed it from the responsibility of the church. The victim of witchcraft turned first to the community and, with their support, asked the state to resolve the problem of the threat of witches, thereby redressing any problems of social disharmony. Whilst the development of this process frequently involved members of the church, in England their involvement was marginal whilst in Scotland it was central. The English pamphlets reinforced a narrative of the state as a defence against witchcraft which largely excluded the church's involvement and increasingly emphasised the failings of the individual as the root cause for their alliance with the devil. While confessions to a demonic pact were a crucial legitimising element of the trials recorded in the pamphlets, the focus of the pamphlets was mostly on the evidence supplied by neighbours of the social transgressions of the

individual against their neighbours. This social regulatory effect was profound; the behaviour of the individual was centralised in relation to a fundamentally religious understanding of witchcraft, whereas the institution of the church was relegated to, at most, an advisory position.

In Scotland, the presence and encouragement of the clergy in the trial processes was a clear feature of the pamphlets and reflected a much more integrated religious presence in the exertion of state power. The severity, intensity and continuation of witchcraft prosecutions in Scotland longer than in England may therefore be considered to indicate a society in which the civilising process was hindered by a greater centrality of religion both in terms of religious institutions and in the psychogenic sense. Monarchical power and secular state authority was undermined by the continuation of a rival power and authority: the Scottish Kirk. Where the late medieval period saw the church offering an alternative source for state formation (see Chapter One), the reformations of the early modern period challenged and reformulated the cohesiveness of the state and were therefore challenged in turn. Such religious de-centralisation could arguably draw parallels with Max Weber's concept of the individualist and capitalistic tendencies of Protestantism (2013) however, rather than seeing Protestantism as the driving force behind the change, it is here argued that the individualisation of religious figurations formed an integral part of the wider trajectory of the European Civilising Process.

The long chains of interdependence described by Elias (1994) were not abundant in medieval European society, not only due to the hierarchical responsibilities of feudalism but also the pastoral, punitive and significantly influential presence of the Church. In order for the consolidation of power by monarchs to occur, the decentring of religious institutions from both political and legal life must also be accompanied by a psychogenetic transformation towards individual and social behavioural regulation rather than external coercion from the church. That is not to say that the coercive potential of individual-centric religion did not also invoke disruptive or threatening behaviours however the increasing religious detachment of the judiciary had a somewhat limiting effect on its wider impact.

The reluctance by some communities in Scotland and England to give up their belief in witches throughout the 18th century despite increasing elite and legal scepticism is representative of the uneven character of sociogenic processes. The overall pattern of persevering belief but declining numbers of prosecutions was indicative of the pacification of religious beliefs: the decentralisation of religion from state processes and the increasingly individualist framing of the discourse in the early 18th century is thus integral to the British state formation process. In terms of wider Eliasian theory, the reduction in the collective coercive power of centralised religious institutions may be considered as necessary 'third pillar' in the state formation process. By decentralising religious institutions, both the monopoly of violence and taxation may enacted by the state; without it, as with the medieval church, these two pillars may have been used to strengthen alternative religious power centres such as the Vatican. The end of the witch hunts was therefore, both symbolically and practically, a marker of the advancement of European civilising processes.

Conclusion

Witchcraft prosecutions, through the coercive medium of popular pamphlets distributed to national audiences, are demonstrative of the negotiated nature of early modern psychogenesis and sociogenesis. Through a gender-specific figuration infused with religious significance, the divergent paths of behaviour and violence amongst men and women have been explored, highlighting the significance of the role played within this transitory period. The results of this investigation suggest not only that the renegotiation of relational gender figurations formed a crucial part in the pacification of society, but that religion also contributed a central tenet of the English and Scottish state formation process. The reformulation of women as violent is demonstrably a European-specific characteristic of its patriarchal state formation process, however the decentralisation of religion has wider implications. Given the potential rivalry posed by mechanisms of religion, the development of centralised power in the hands of a monarchy required religious relegation or reformulation to avoid the potential rise of a theocratic state. Gender and religious figurations may therefore be seen as forming significant relational gravitational centres, with increasing and decreasing 'pull' as they move closer or further away from the centralisation processes of the emergent medieval and early modern states.

Gender

While witchcraft was not the only way in which the patriarchal state formation processes asserted social dominance and pacified society, the question over how to pacify the already pacified (women) was directly addressed through this process. Had women not been redefined as representing a violent threat through witchcraft, the negotiative interactional skills historically utilised by women, who were unable to assert the threat of violence, would have potentially facilitated a gendered advantage in favour of woman in pacified social relations. With patriarchal structures underpinning the development of early modern state formation, such an advantage could have undermined the legitimacy of a centralised system predicated on the pacification of male interaction. Ultimately the pacification of society had the

potential to diffuse power amongst women had patriarchal gender figurations not reinforced the differential through a reconfiguration of sociogenic relations to violence. Given the proportional increase in male to female violence in this period (Chapter 1), it is not possible to argue that state legitimacy could therefore be applied equally along gendered lines had women themselves not also been artificially incorporated into participating in social violence (and therefore necessarily pacified). The incorporation process itself has its roots in the late medieval period however the early modern development of the 'witch as women' narrative in popular culture facilitated the sociogenic and ultimately psychogenic transformation to a 'women as violent' narrative. The co-operation of both the church and state within this development, as witnessed through the rise in witchcraft prosecutions (Chapter 2) was an intrinsic element of this state formation process.

The involvement of women in this redefinition process, as demonstrated in the pamphlet narratives surrounding neighbourly evidence (Chapter 3), is testament to the comprehensive nature of the transformation of the concept of violence and women. The characterisation of witches within the pamphlets represented a development and crystallisation of the concept of the 'outsider', whose transgressions offered the public clear depictions of normative sociogenic behaviours. While the enactment of women's supernaturally-coded violent behaviours was not actually increasing in the ways depicted in the pamphlets, the urge to exact revenge on neighbours was a recognisable feature of social conflict. The 'good' established and the 'evil' outsider were thus presented as socially embedded characteristics in which the witch as an outsider reflected the worst forms of social behaviour. The idea that women in addition to men participated in the prosecution of witchcraft does not necessarily undermine the gendered targeting of accusations: women's desires to uphold community insider-outsider relations are arguably of greater importance given the lack of violent coercion available to women who did not identify themselves as witches. Women, in other words, cooperated with and were condemned by the same social relations as those formulated around the witch.

As the negotiation of the We-I relationship was beginning to take shape across the early modern period, representations of state-individual relations also held increasing

importance. The presentation of the witch within the context of pamphlets held a significant coercive potential due to the implicit state violence behind the development of behavioural norms: witches were to be identified by their community, prosecuted by bureaucratic mechanism and executed by the state. The behaviour of witches and their neighbours was therefore an example of a 'life and death interdependence' (Elias, 1994, 406-7) which facilitated the development of gendered social figurations across the early modern period. Charismatic individuals, whether the witch herself or the so-called 'witch-finder', disrupted the coercive impact of the state through the exploitation of these processes (as seen in Scotland) and as such highlighted vulnerabilities in the balance of figurational power.

State formation

A key element of Elias's civilising process is the concentration of violence into the hands of the state in order to remove violence from the social life. Witch prosecution aligns with this process in three senses: firstly, that the witch was prosecuted on the basis of having committed antisocial or violent acts and their removal from society would provide a perceived increase in social stability within the community. Secondly, as was often the case with suspected witches in more isolated regions, vigilante justice against a suspected witch by their community could be avoided by prosecuting the witch through law courts. This not only reinforced state suppression of mob justice but also legitimised the concerns of the accusers as also being a concern of the state. The third element was the introduction of violence as form of state punishment for witchcraft. Doing so reinforced, to quote Elias, "a continuous, uniform pressure is exerted on individual life by the physical violence stored behind the scenes of everyday life" (1994, p.450). By redistributing violence into the hands of the legal system and away from local communities affected by the witchcraft events, witches were detached from their community along with the violence that is enacted upon them. Practically, the law was playing an increasing role in the regulation of social behaviours through witchcraft prosecutions with the state recentred as the primary defence against supernatural threats.

Elias consistently argued that detachment was the answer to suppression of violence (2007); the bureaucratisation of witchcraft in the 16th and 17th centuries

demonstrated the integration of detachment into the prosecutions. This detachment perversely introduced an increase in state violence (executions) which was integral to the overall sociogenic transformation in the monopoly of violence. Misuse of state mechanisms by social actors, such as in the case of the decentralised Scottish legal system, undermined the legitimacy of the processes, limiting the capacity of the civilising process. The role of the social legitimisation of the processes occupied by the witchcraft pamphlets was clearly evident throughout the period until the final stages of witchcraft prosecutions. By the 18th century, concerns over legitimacy, as reflected in the dialectical nature of the final pamphlets, had undermined the entire process of witch prosecutions, representing a transformation in the psychogenesis of the wider population regarding the legitimacy of violence.

Religion

The three estates of the medieval world described in Chapter 1 demonstrated the necessity for the incorporation of religion into any formulation of the transformation of society from the medieval to the modern. Given the medieval Church had undergone what we have termed a 'pseudo civilising process', the direction of the European civilising process towards monarchical power was not possible without the reformation of the power figurations surrounding religion. Such reformative processes were unevenly implemented however ultimately the centralisation of monarchical power saw the decentralisation of religious institutions across the early modern period.

The secularisation of witchcraft as a crime across Europe was a significant element in the figural relationship between the church and early modern states. Both legally and conceptually, witchcraft and the demonic forces it represented, were positioned in opposition to the monarch rather than the church. The defence of civilians against this fundamental spiritual and physical threat centralised the state in matters of religious psychogenesis. The observable incorporation or exclusion of the church into state mechanisms therefore defined the degree to which the civilising process progressed; the involvement of the Scottish Kirk in prosecutions reflected a dilution of

monarchical power whereas the exclusion of the English Church reflected a reinforcement.

In addition to Elias's two central pillars of state formation, the monopolisation of violence and taxation, it is proposed that a third pillar be incorporated into the theory in the form of religious decentralisation. This process is defined as a 'decentralisation' rather than a Weberian concept of 'secularisation' as it suggests a transformation in both psychogenic and sociogenic relations towards a more individualistic belief system and the decline of coercive collective potential. This does not constitute a general loss of faith but rather a transformation in the responsibility of religion to mediate more general social relations. Such a reinterpretation of the civilising process through the lens of religion has implications for subsequent interpretations of figurations; the centrality of religion to the balance of social power and the functioning of the state provides an additional means by which civilising or decivilising processes may be identified.

The pacification of society, as demonstrated by the rise and fall of witchcraft prosecutions, was intertwined with this process; through the gendered demonisation of the witch to the consolidation of legal bureaucracy, religious understandings were at the core of early state coercion. As the period progressed and the coercive potential of witchcraft declined in the face of increasing plurality, the necessity for the British state to legitimise behavioural regulation through religion was also waning. Judicial religious detachment signified a fundamental shift in psychogenesis surrounding faith and the functioning of civil society. The rise and decline of the figure of the witch, as well deaths of the thousands accused as such, therefore represented significant casualties of the European civilising process.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Witchcraft Acts (Parliamentary Archives):

- 1542 *Witchcraft Act* (33 Hen. 8. C. 8)
1562 *An Act Against Conjurations Enchantments and Witchcrafts* (5 Elizabeth I. C. 16)
1563 *Anentis Witchcraft* (Mary C. 73)
1603 *An Act against Conjuraton, Witchcraft and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits* (1 James 1. C. 12).
1735 *Witchcraft Act 1735* (9 Geo. 2. C. 5).

Archival documents:

- Act of Supremacy*, Public Act, 26 Henry VIII, C. 1. Parliamentary Archives, London.
Reference: HL/PO/PU/1/1534/26H8n1
- A Tryal of Witches at the Assizes held at Bury St Edmonds...* 1682. Cornell University Library Digital Collections. Reference: 5787094
- Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series, of the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, (James I) 1547-1580*, Public Record Office. London.
- Haddington Presbytery Minutes, 1648-1661*. National Records of Scotland. Edinburgh.
Reference: CH2/185/6
- Hale (Justice). 1693. *A Collection of modern relations of matter of fact concerning witches & witchcraft...* Boston Public Library. Boston.
- Home Office, "Police Recorded Crime Statistics for Metropolitan Police and City of London Police." Home Office Data 2003-2012.
<https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/police-recorded-crime-open-data-tables>.
- Mamoris, Pierre. C.1488. *Flagellum Maleficorum*. Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
- Molitor, Ulrich. 1489. *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*. British Library, London.
- Scot, Reginald. 1584. *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*. British Library, London.
- Stearne, John. 1648. *A Confirmation And Discovery of Witch-Craft....* University of Michigan Library Digital Collections: Early English Books Online (Hereafter EEBO). <https://name.umd.umich.edu/A61373.0001.001>
- Stewart James 1597 *The True Law of Free Monarchies*. Library Digital Collections: Early English Books Online (Hereafter EEBO).
<https://name.umd.umich.edu/A78586.0001.001>
- Stewart, James. 1597. *Daemonologie by King VI of Scotland in the form of a dialogue, divided into three books*. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Reference: OTA: A04243
- Stewart, James. 1599. *Basilikon Doron*. British Library, London.
- The Suppression of Religious Houses Act 1535*, Public Act, 27 Hen VIII, C. 28. Parliamentary Archives, London. Reference: HL/PO/PU/1/1535/27H8n57
- Janet Boyman: Witchcraft Papers*. Edinburgh Records Office, Edinburgh. Reference: JC40/1. 1570

Published Primary Sources

- Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*. Edited by Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes. Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House. 1817.
- Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 6, 1556-1558*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 1893.
- An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. Written before the year 1471*. Edited by John Silvester-Davies. London: Camden Society. 1856.
- A Series of Precedents and Proceedings in Criminal Causes, Extending from the Year 1475 to 1640; Extracted from Act-Books of Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of London*. Edited by William Hale. London: Gilbert and Rivington Printers. 1847.
- Bodin, Jean. *The Six Books of a Commonweale*. Translated by Richard Knolles. London: Impenis G. Bishop. 1606. [First published 1576].
- Bodin, Jean. *Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime*. Translated by Marion Kuntz. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1975.
- Bodin, Jean. *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*. Edited and translated by Randy Scott and Jonathon Pearl. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2001. [First published 1580].
- Boys, J. *A Case of Witchcraft at Coggeshall in the year 1699*, London: A. Russell Smith. 1901.
- Calendar of Coroners Rolls of the City of London 1300-1378*. Edited by Reginald Robinson Sharpe. London: Corporation of London. 1848.
- Cotton, Mather. *The Wonders of the Invisible World*. London: John Russell Smith. 1862. [First published 1693].
- Criminal Trials in Scotland, from A.D. M.CCCC.LXXXVII to A.D. M.DC.XXIV. Volumes I-III*. Edited by Robert Pitcairn. Edinburgh: William Tait. 1833.
- Davies, Myles. *Athenæ Britannicæ: Volume I*. London. 1716.
- Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, Volume 1*. Edited by Norman Tanner, Norman. Washington: Georgetown University Press. 2016.
- Hoveden, Roger. *The annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*. Edited and translated by Henry Riley. London: H.G. Bohn. 1853.
- Johnston, Mark. (Ed.). 2009. *Medieval Conduct Literature: An Anthology of Vernacular Guides to Behaviour for Youths, with English Translations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Knox, John. *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland Written by John Knox*, Edited by C. Guthrie. Albany: Books for the Ages. 1997. [First published 1559].
- Kramer, Heinrich and James Sprenger. *The Malleus Maleficarum of Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger*. Translated by Montague Summers. New York: Dover Publications. 1928. [First published 1486].
- Middlesex County Records Vol.1 1550-1603*. Edited by John Cordy Jeaffreson. London: Middlesex County Record Society. 1886
- Middlesex County Records Vol.2 1603-25*. Edited by John Cordy Jeaffreson..London: Middlesex County Record Society. 1887

- Middlesex County Records Vol.3 1667-88*. Edited by John Cordy Jeaffreson. London: Middlesex County Record Society. 1887.
- Parliament Rolls of Medieval England 1275-1504*. 2005. Edited by Paul Brand, A. Curry, C. Given-Wilson, R. Horrox, G.H. Martin, M. Ormrod, JRS Phillips. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.
- Theresia, Maria. *Artikel 58: Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana (Oder der romisch-kaiserl. zu Hungarn und Bohaim u.u. konigl. apost. Majestat Maria Theresia Erzherzogin zu Oesterreich u.u. peinliche Gerichtsordnung)*. Vienna: Johann Thomas Edien von Trattnern. 1769.

Secondary Sources

- Amussen, Susan Dwyer. 1995. 'Punishment, Discipline, and Power: The Social Meanings of Violence in Early Modern England' in *Journal of British Studie*, 34 (1): 1-34.
- Arkell, Tom. 1987. 'The Incidence of Poverty in England in the Later Seventeenth Century' in *Social History*, 12 (1): 23-47.
- Atherton, Ian. 2018. 'Battlefields, burials and the English Civil Wars'. In David Appleby and Andrew Hopper (Eds). *Battle-scarred: Mortality, medical care and military welfare in the British Civil Wars*. Manchester: Manchester University Press: 23-39.
- Barstow, Anne Llewellyn. 1985. 'Joan of Arc and Female Mysticism' in *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 1 (2): 29-42.
- Barstow, Anne Llewellyn. 1994. *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts*. London: Pandora.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. 1989. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Behringer, Wolfgang. 2004. *Witches and Witch-hunts: A Global History*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bennett, Judith and Ruth Karras (Eds.). 2013. *The Oxford handbook of women and gender in medieval Europe*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. 1980. 'The European Witch Craze of the 14th to 17th Centuries: A Sociologist's Perspective' in *American Journal of Sociology* (86): 1-31.
- Borman, Tracy. 2014. *Witches: James I and the English Witch-Hunts*. London: Vintage Books.
- Brammall, Katherine. 1997. *Discussions of abnormality and deformity in early modern England, with particular reference to the notion of monstrosity*. Unpublished: Dalhousie University. PhD.
- Breuer, Heidi. 2002. *Crafting the Witch: Gendering Magic in Medieval and Early Modern England*. London: Routledge.
- Bucholc, Marta. 2011. 'Gendered Figurational Strategies in Norbert Elias's Sociology' in *Polish Sociological Review*, Vol. 176: pp.425-236.
- Burke, Peter. 2009. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Cameron, Jamie. 1998. *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528-1542*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.

- Capern, Amanda (Ed). 2020. *The Routledge History of Women in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- Chaemsaihong, Krisda. 2016. 'Analysis of interactive speaking roles in a paratextual genre: The case of witchcraft pamphlets' prefaces (1566–1621)' in *Language and Literature*, 25 (4): 343-362.
- Clark, Alice. 1919. *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*. London: George Routledge & Sons, LTD.
- Claster, Jill. 2006. *Sacred Violence: The European Crusades to the Middle East, 1095-1396*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Climenhaga, Lily. 2012. 'Imagining the Witch: A Comparison between Fifteenth-Century Witches within Medieval Christian Thought and the Persecution of Jews and Heretics in the Middle Ages' in *Constellations*, 3 (2): 119-129.
- Colwell, S. 1999. 'Feminisms and Figurational Sociology: Contributions to Understandings of Sports, Physical Education and Sex/Gender' in *European Physical Education Review*, 5 (3): 219-40.
- Coser, Lewis. 1965. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. London: Routledge.
- Dane, Joseph. 1981. 'The Three Estates and Other Medieval Trinities' in *Florilegium*, 3: 283-309.
- Davies, Godfrey. 1941. 'The Character of James VI and I' in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 5: 33–63.
- Deanesly, Margaret. 1990. *A history of the Medieval Church, 590-1500*, 9th edition. London: Routledge.
- Doyle White, Ethan. 2015. *Wicca: History, Belief, and Community in Modern Pagan Witchcraft*. Sussex Academic Press.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1950. *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals*. London: Routledge.
- Durston, Gregory. 2019. *Crimen Exceptum: The English Witch Prosecution in Context*, Hook: Waterside Press Ltd.
- Dworkin, Andrea. 1974. *Woman Hating*. New York: E. P. Dutton.
- Elias, Norbert. 1983. *The Court Society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Elias, Norbert. 1991. *The Symbol Theory*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Elias, Norbert. 1993. *Mozart: Portrait of a Genius*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Elias, Norbert. 1994. *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd. [First published (English) 1978].
- Elias, Norbert. 2001. *The Society of Individuals*, New York: Continuum. [First published (English) 1991].
- Elias, Norbert. 2007. *Problems of Involvement and Detachment*. Edited by Stephen Quilley. Dublin: UCD Press. (Collected Works, vol. 8). [First published (English) 1956].
- Elias, Norbert. and John Scotson. 1994. *The Established and the Outsiders: A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems*. London: Sage Publications Ltd. [First published (English) 1965].
- Elmer, Peter. 2016. *Witchcraft, Witch-Hunting and Politics in Early Modern England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Erikson, Kai. 1966. *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

- Evans-Pritchard, Edward. 1976. *Witchcraft, oracles, and magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fletcher, J. 1995. 'Towards a Theory of Decivilizing Processes' in *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 22 (2): 283-296
- Foblets, Marie-Claire, Mark Goodale, Maria Sapignoli and Olaf Zenker (Eds.). 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, Adam. 2020. *The Press and the People: Cheap Print and Society in Scotland, 1500-1785*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Freeman, Jessica. 2004. 'Sorcery at court and manor: Margery Jourdemayne, the witch of Eye next Westminster' in *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (4): 343-357.
- Garrett, Julia. 'Dramatizing Deviance: Sociological Theory and "The Witch of Edmonton"', *Criticism*, 49 (3): 327-375.
- Gaskill, Malcolm. 2005. *Witchfinders: A Seventeenth-Century English Tragedy*. London: John Murray.
- Gaunt, Peter. 2003. *The English Civil Wars: 1642-1651*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing.
- Gibson, Marion. 2019. 'Becoming-Witch: Narrating Witchcraft in Early Modern English News Pamphlets' in *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft*. 14 (3): 317-335.
- Golden, Richard (Ed.). 2006. *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Goodare, Julian. 2005a. 'The Scottish Witchcraft Act' in *Church History*, 74 (1): pp.39-67
- Goodare, Julian. 2005b. 'The First Parliament of Mary, Queen of Scots' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 36 (1): 55-75.
- Goodare, Julian. 2002a. 'The Framework for Scottish Witch-hunting in the 1590s' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, 81 (2): 240-50
- Goodare, Julian (Ed.). 2002b. *The Scottish witch-hunt in context*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Goodare, Julian. 2016. *The European Witch-hunt*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Goudsblom, Johan. 1989. 'Human History and Long-Term Social Processes: Towards a Synthesis of Chronology and "Phaseology"' in Johan Goudsblom et al., *Human History and Social Process*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press: 11-26
- Goudsblom, Johan. 2003. 'Christian Religion and the European Civilising Process: The Views of Norbert Elias and Max Weber Compared in the Context of the Augustinian and Lucretian Traditions' in *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 12: 24-38.
- Griffiths, Ralph. 1968. 'The trial of Eleanor Cobham: an episode in the fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1968-9, 51: 381-99.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 1981. 'Historical Trends in Violent Crime: A Critical Review of the Evidence' in *Crime and Justice*, 3: 295-353.
- Hargreaves, Jennifer. 1992. 'Sex, gender and the body in sport and leisure: has there been a civilizing process?' in Eric Dunning & Chris Rojek (eds.). *Sport and leisure in the civilizing process*. London: Macmillan.: 161-183.
- Hanawalt, Barbara. 1998. *Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Haskins, Charles. 1921. 'Michael Scot and Frederick II' in *Isis*, 4 (2): 250-275.

- Henderson, Ebenezer., 1865. *Extracts from the Kirk-Session Record of Dunfermline: From 1640 to 1689*. Edinburgh: Fullarton & Macnab.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1954a. 'The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Volume I' in *Past and Present*, 5 (1): 44-65.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1954b. 'The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Volume II' in *Past and Present*, 6 (1): 44-65.
- Hofhuis, Steije and Maarten Boudry. 2019. "'Viral' Hunts? A Cultural Darwinian Analysis of Witch Persecutions' in *Cultural Science Journal*, 11: 13–29.
- Hurl-Eamon, Jennine. 2010. *Women's roles in eighteenth-century Europe*, Santa Barbara: Greenwood.
- Hutton, Ronald. 2017. *The Witch: A History of Fear, From Ancient Times to the Present*. London: Yale University Press.
- Hutton, Ronald. 1999. *The triumph of the moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jensen, Gary. 1997. 'Time and Social History: Problems of Atemporality in Historical Analyses with Illustrations from Research on Early Modern Witch Hunts' in *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 30: 46–57.
- Jensen, Gary. 2007. *The Path of the Devil: Early Modern Witch Hunts*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Josephson-Storm, Jason. 2021. 'Max Weber and the Rationalization of Magic' in Yelle, Robert and Lorenz Trein (Eds.). *Narratives of Disenchantment and Secularization: Critiquing Max Weber's Idea of Modernity*. London: Bloomsbury Academic Plc.
- Jolly, Karen, Catherina Raudvere, and Edward Peters. 2002. *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. Volume 3: The Middle Ages*. London: The Athlone Press.
- Kamali, Elizabeth and Thomas Green. 2018. 'A Crossroads in Criminal Procedure: The Assumptions Underlying England's Adoption of Trial by Jury for Crime' in Travis Baker (Ed.) *Law and Society in Later Medieval England and Ireland: Essays in Honour of Paul Brand*. London: Routledge.
- Kamen, Henry. 1976. *The Iron Century; Social Change in Europe, 1550-1660*. London: Cardinal.
- Kirk, James. 1986. 'The 'Privy Kirks' and their Antecedents: The Hidden Face of Scottish Protestantism' in *Studies in Church History*, 23: 155-170
- Kristof, Ildiko. 2006. 'Hungary' in Richard M Golden (Ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc.: 515–20.
- Kwan, Natalie. 2012. 'Woodcuts and Witches: Ulrich Molitor's De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus, 1489-1669' in *German History*, 30: pp.493-527
- Lambert, Malcolm. 2002. *Medieval heresy: popular movements from the Gregorian reform to the Reformation, 3rd edition*. Oxford: Blackwell Pub.
- Larner, Christina. 1981. *Enemies of God: The Witch-hunt in Scotland*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Larner, Christina. 1985. *Witchcraft and Religion: The Politics of Popular Belief*. London: Blackwell.
- Laqueur, Thomas. 1992. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. London: Harvard University Press.

- Levack, Brian. 1980. 'The Great Scottish Witch Hunt of 1661-1662' in *Journal of British Studies*, 20 (1): 90–108.
- Levack, Brian. 2008. *Witch-hunting in Scotland: Law, Politics and Religion*. New York: Routledge.
- Levack, Brian (Ed.). 2013a. *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Levack, Brian. 2013b. *The Witch Hunt in Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge.
- Loughlin, Susan. 2016. *Insurrection Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell and The Pilgrimage Of Grace*. Stroud: The History Press.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid. 2005. *The Reformation: A History*. Penguin Books Ltd, London.
- MacDonald, Alan. 2005. 'James VI and I, the Church of Scotland and British Ecclesiastical Covergence' in *The Historical Journal*, 48 (4): 885-903.
- Macdonald, Stuart. 2002. *The Witches of Fife: Witch-hunting in a Scottish Shire, 1560-1710*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press.
- Macfarlane, Alan. 1970. *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional Comparative Study*. London: Routledge & K. Paul
- Mack, Elizabeth. 2009. 'The Malleus Maleficarum and King James: Defining Witchcraft' in *Voces Novae: Chapman University Historical Review*, 1: pp.181-204
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1948. *Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, London: Routledge.
- Mansfield, L. 2002. 'Feminist and Figurational Sociology: Dialogue and Potential Synthesis', in J. Maguire and K. Young (eds) *Theory, Sport and Society*: pp. 317—35.
- Marotta, Mario. 2023. 'A disenchanted world: Max Weber on magic and modernity' in *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 00(0): 1-19.
- Marx, Karl. and Friedrich Engels. 1975. *Marx and Engels Collected Works, Volume 5*. New York: International Publishers.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1925 *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Cohen & West.
- McCallum, John. 2018. *Poor Relief and the Church in Scotland, 1560-1650*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston. 2012. *Poor Relief in England: 1350-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McNamara, Jo Ann. and Suzanne Wemple. 1973. 'The Power of Women through the Family in Medieval Europe: 500-1100' in *Feminist Studies*, 1 (3/4): 126-141.
- Mennell, Stephen. 1990. 'Decivilizing Processes: Theoretical Significance and Some Lines of Research', *International Sociology*, 5: 205-23.
- Mennell, Stephen. 1992. *Norbert Elias: An Introduction*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Mennell, Stephen and Johan Goudsblom (Eds.). 1989. *Norbert Elias: On Civilization, Power, and Knowledge. Selected Writings*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mennell, Stephen. 2019. 'Book review: Keith Thomas, In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England' in *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 27 (3): 320-322.
- Midelfort, Erik. 1972. *Witch hunting in southwestern Germany, 1562-1684: the social and intellectual foundations*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Moore, John. 2003. *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): to root up and to plant*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Moore, Barrington. 1966. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. London: Penguin Books.
- Morrill, John. 1990. *The Scottish National Covenant in its British context: 1638-51*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Neill, W. 1922. 'The Professional Pricker and His Test for Witchcraft' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, 19: 205–213.
- Newton, John and Jo Bath. 2008. *Witchcraft and the Act of 1604*. Leiden: Brill.
- Notestein, Wallace. 1909. *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718*, Washington: The American Historical Association.
- Ostorero, Martine. 2019. 'Witchcraft' in Sophie Page and Catherine Rider (Eds.) *The Routledge History of Medieval Magic*. London: Routledge.
- Otto, Bernd-Christian and Michael Stausberg. 2013. *Defining Magic: A reader*. Stocksfield: Acumen Publishing.
- Page, Sophie. 2017. 'Medieval Magic' in Owen Davies (Ed.) *The Oxford Illustrated History of Witchcraft and Magic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.: 29-64.
- Pinheiro, Maria Claudia. 2014. 'An analysis of the feminist-figurational debate on the study of gender and sport' in *Movimento*, 20 (2): 757-773.
- Raymond, Joad. 2003. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reed, Isaac. 2007. 'Why Salem Made Sense: Culture, Gender and the Puritan Persecution of Witchcraft', *Cultural Sociology*, 1 (2): 209-234.
- Rider, Catherine. 2012. *Magic and Religion in Medieval England*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd.
- Ritzer, George, Shanyang Zhao and Jim Murphy. 2001. 'Metatheorizing in Sociology: The Parameters and the Potential Contributions of Postmodernism' in Jonathan Turner (Ed.) *Handbook of Sociological Theory*. New York: Springer.: 113-135.
- Robbins, Rossell Hope. 1959. *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology*, London: Peter Nevill Limited.
- Robisheaux, Thomas Willard. 2013. 'Chapter 10: The German Witch Trials' in Brian Levack (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.: 179–98.
- Roehl, Richard. 1986. 'The Ecclesiastical Economy of Medieval Europe' in *The Journal of Economic History*, 46: 227–231.
- Rowlands, Alison. 2013. *Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ryrie, Alec. 2006. *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Scarisbrick, J.J. 1997. *Henry VIII*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Schuyler, Jane. 1987. 'The "Malleus Maleficarum" and Baldung's "Witches" Sabbath' Notes. in *The History of Art* 6: 20–26.
- Scott, Joan. W. 1986. 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' in *The American Historical Review*, 91 (5): 1053-1075
- Scott, Hamish. 2015. *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750: Volume I: Peoples and Place*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Sharpe, James. 1996. *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England 1550-1750*, London: Hamish Hamilton.
- Sharpe, James. 2016. *A Fiery and Furious People: A History of Violence in England*. London: Arrow Books.
- Sharpe, James. 2020. *Witchcraft in Early Modern England*, London: Routledge.
- Simpson, Andrew and Adelyn Wilson. 2017. *Scottish Legal History Volume 1: 1000-1707*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, David. 1993. 'The spiritual jurisdiction, 1560-64' in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 25: 1-18
- Smout, Thomas. 1989. *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*. Glasgow: William Collins sons & co.
- Stevenson, David. 2022. *Scottish Revolution 1637–1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters*, Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd.
- Šubrt, Jiří. 2017. *The Perspective of Historical Sociology: The Individual as Homo-Sociologicus through Society and History*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Šubrt, Jiří. 2019. Individualism, Holism and the Central Dilemma of Sociological Theory. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Suhr, Carla. 2002. 'Speaking to the Masses: Orality and Literacy in Six Early Modern Texts on Witchcraft' in *Helsinki English Studies*, 2: pp.1-22.
- Suhr, Carla. 2011. *Publishing for the Masses: Early Modern English Witchcraft Pamphlets*. (Unpublished) University of Helsinki: PhD.
- Tanner, Norman (Ed.). 2016. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Vol. 1. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Thomas, Keith. 1971. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England*. London: Penguin Books
- Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital and European States AD 900-1990*. London: Basil Blackwell.
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh. 1959. 'The General Crisis of the 17th Century' in *Past & Present*, 16: pp.31-64
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh. 1967. *The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, The Reformation and Social Change*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund Inc.
- Turner, Bryan. 2004. 'Weber and Elias on religion and violence: warrior charisma and the civilizing process' in Steven Loyal and Steven Quilley (Eds.), *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 245–264.
- Tyson, Donald. 2011. *The demonology of King James I*. Woodbury, Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications
- Ward, Joseph (Ed.). 2008. *Violence, Politics and Gender in Early Modern England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Weber, Max. 1967. *Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society* Translated and edited by Edward Shil and Max Rheinstein [1925], New York: Simon and Schuster. [First published (German) 1925].
- Weber, Max. 1946. "Science as a Vocation," in Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Eds.) *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press.: 138–9

- Weber, Max. 1993. *The Sociology of Religion*. Translated by Ephraim Fischhoff. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Weber, Max. 2013. *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.
- Weingast, Barry. 2015. *Adam Smith's Industrial Organization of Religion: Explaining the Medieval Church's Monopoly And its Breakdown in the Reformation*. Available at SSRN.
- Weisner, Mary. 2000. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Willumsen, Liv-Helen. Guest Lecture: 'Witches' Words: Features of Orality in Seventeenth-Century Scottish and Norwegian Court Record', University of Edinburgh, 26/11/2015
- Woodacre, Elena. 2023. *Joan of Navarre: Infanta, Duchess, Queen, Witch?* New York: Routledge.
- Woodbridge, Linda and Sharon Beehler (Eds.). 2003. *Women, Violence, and English Renaissance Literature: Essays Honoring Paul Jorgenson*. Tempe: Arizona State University.
- Wormald, Jenny. 1980. 'Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland' in *Past & Present*, 87: 54-97.
- Wouters, Cas. 2008. *Informalization: Manners & Emotions since 1890*. Sage Publications.
- Yarnell, Malcolm. 2013. *Royal Priesthood in the English Reformation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yelle, Robert. and Lorenz Trein (Eds.). 2021. *Narratives of Disenchantment and Secularization: Critiquing Max Weber's Idea of Modernity*. London: Bloomsbury Academic Plc.
- Young, Francis. 2017. *Magic as a Political Crime in Medieval and Early Modern England: A History of Sorcery and Treason*, London: I. B. Tauris.

Appendix 1: List of witchcraft pamphlets

Code	Year of publication	Short name	Author/printer	City of publication	Reference
W1	1566	The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde...	Printed by Willyam Powell for Wylyam Pickeringe dwelling at Sainte Magnus corner.	London	EEBO - 19869.5 (STC 2nd ed.)
W2	1566	The Examination of Iohn Walsh...	Printed by John Awdely, dwelling in litle Britain streete without Aldersgate.	London	EEBO - 24999 (STC 2nd ed.)
W3	1579	A Detection of damnable driftes...	Printed by Edward White at the little North-dore of Paules.	London	EEBO - 5115 (STC 2nd ed.)
W4	1579	A brief treatise conteyning...	Richard Galis ; Printed by J. Alde.	London	EEBO - 11537.5 (STC 2nd ed.)
W5	1579	A Rehearsall both straung and true...	Printed by Edward White at the little North-doore of Paules.	London	EEBO - 23267 (STC 2nd ed.)
W6	1582	A true and iust recorde...	W. W. ; Printed by Thomas Dawson at the tree Cranes in the Vinetree.	London	EEBO - 24922 (STC 2nd ed.)
W7	1585	The severall factes of Witch-crafte...	John Charlewood.		English Historical Library of Wallace Notestein.
W8	1589	The Apprehension and confession...	Printed by E. Alde.	London	EEBO - 5114 (STC 2nd ed.)
W9	1592	A Most Wicked worke of a wretched Witch...	Printed by R. B. for William Barley in Gracious streat.	London	EEBO - 1030.5 (STC 2nd ed.)
W10	1592	Newes from Scotland...	Published according to the Scottish Coppie. Printed by William Wright.	London	EEBO - 10841a (STC 2nd ed.)
W11	1592	The most strange and admirable discoverie...	Printed by Thomas Man and Iohn Winnington in Pater noster Row.	London	EEBO - 25018.5 (STC 2nd ed.)
W12	1595	The Examination and Confession of a notorious Witch...	T. I. ; Printed by William Barley in Gracious streat.	London	EEBO - 14068.5 (STC 2nd ed.)
W13	1595	The Brideling, Sadling and Ryding, of a rich Churle...	Printed by T.C.	London	EEBO - 19855 (STC 2nd ed.)
W14	1597	The most wonderfull and	Printed by I. O.	London	EEBO - 6170.7 (STC

		true storie...		2nd ed.)
W15	1601	The strange Report of Sixe most notorious VVitches.	Printed by <i>W. W.</i> for <i>T. Pauier.</i> London	EEBO - 20890 (STC 2nd ed.)
W16	1606	The severall practises of Johane Harrison...	Printed by Thomas Purfoot for William Finebrand and John Wright. London	British Library (C.27.c.28.)
W17	1612	The Witches of Northampton-shire.	Printed by Tho. Purfoot for Arthur Johnson. London	EEBO - 3907 (STC 2nd ed.)
W18	1612	The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches...	Thomas Potts Esquier ; Printed by W. Stansby for John Barnes. London	EEBO - 20138 (STC 2nd ed.)
W19	1613	Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed...	Printed by Edward Marchant. London	EEBO - 25872 (STC 2nd ed.)
W20	1616	A Treatise of Witchcraft.	Alexander Roberts B. D. ; Printed by N. O. for Samuel Man in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Ball. London	EEBO - 21075 (STC 2nd ed.)
W21	1618	Trial, Confession & Execution of Isobell Inch	A. Guthrie, Printer, Ardrossan and Salcoats Scotland	Herald Office. 1855.
W22	1619	Damnable Practises Of three Lincolne-shire Witches...	Printed by G. Eld. for John Barnes in long Walke neere Christ-Church. London	English Broadside Ballad Archive
W23	1619	The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts...	Printed by G. Eld for I. Barnes in long walke neere Christ-Church. London	EEBO - 11107 (STC 2nd ed.)
W24	1621	The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer...	Henry Goodcole ; Printed by William Butler in Saint Dunstons Church-yard, Fleetstreet. London	EEBO - 12014 (STC 2nd ed.)
W25	1628	A Briefe Description of the Notorious Life...	Printed by G. Miller London	EEBO - T117160 (estc)
W26	1635	Witchcrafts, Strange and Wonderfull...	Printed by M. F. for Thomas Lambert at the Horshooe neere the Hospitall Gate in Smithfield. London	EEBO - 11107.7 (STC 2nd ed.)
W27	1642	A Magazine of Scandall or, heape of wickednesse...	Printed by R. H. London	EEBO - M248 (Wing)
W28	1643	A Most Certain, Strange, and true Discovery of a Witch.	Printed by John Hammond. London	EEBO - M2870 (Wing)

W29	1645	A True Relation Of the Araignment Of Thirty Witches.	Printed by I. H.	London	EEBO - T2928A (Wing 2nd ed.)
W30	1645	Signes and wonders from Heaven.	Printed by I. H.	London	EEBO - S3777 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W31	1645	The Examination, Confession, Triall and Execution	Major Robert Greenstreet ; Printed by J. G.	London	EEBO - E3712 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W32	1645	The Lawes against Witches, And Conivration.	Printed for R.W.	London	EEBO - L694aA (Wing 2nd ed.)
W33	1645	A true and exact Relation Of the severall Informations...	Printed by M. S. for Henry Overton, and Benj. Allen in Popes- head Alley.	London	EEBO - F23 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W34	1645	A True Relation Of the Araignment Of eighteene Witches.	Printed by I. H.	London	EEBO - T2928 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W35	1646	The Witches of Huntingdon...	John Davenport ; Printed by W. Wilson for Richard Clutterbuck.	London	EEBO - D368 (Wing 2nd ed., 1994)
W36	1647	The Discovery of Witches...	Mathew Hopkins ; Printed for R. Royston at the Angell in Ivie Lane.	London	EEBO - H2751 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W37	1648	A Confirmation And Discovery of Witch-Craft...	John Stearne ; Printed by William Wilson in Little Saint Bartholomewes neere Smithfield.	London	EEBO - S5365 (Wing)
W38	1648	Heare, heare, heare, heare...		London	EEBO - H1306 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W39	1649	The Divels Delvusion	Printed by Richard Williams Stationer at St. Albans.	London	EEBO - D1227 (Wing 2nd ed., 1994)
W40	1650	The strange Witch At Greenwich...	Hieronymus Magomastix ; John Downame. Printed by Thomas Harpe.	London	EEBO - S5920 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W41	1650	Wonderfull News from the North.	John Downame ; Printed by T. H.	London	EEBO - M2581 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W42	1651	We have brought our Hogs to a fair Market...	Printed by George Horton.	London	EEBO - W1178 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W43	1652	The witch of Wapping...	Printed for T. Spring.	London	EEBO - W3137 (Wing 2nd ed.)

W44	1652	A declaration in answer...		London	EEBO - D598 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W45	1652	The tryall and examination of Mrs. Joan Peterson...	Printed for G. Horton.	London	EEBO - T2167 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W46	1652	A prodigious & tragical history...	E.G. (gent) and H.F. (gent) ; Printed by Richard Harper in Smithfield.	London	EEBO - G13 (Wing 2nd ed.) E.673[19] (Thomason)
W47	1653	Doctor Lamb Revived...	Edmond Bower ; Printed by T. W. for Richard Best and John Place at Grays-Inn-Gate and Furnivals-Inn-Gate in Holburn.	London	EEBO - B3869 (Wing 2nd ed., 1994)
W48	1653	Doctor Lambs Darling...	James Bower, Cleric ; Printed by G. Horton.	London	EEBO - D1763 (Wing 2nd ed., 1994)
W49	1658	The most true and wonderfull Narration...	Phisitian Doctor Henry Heers ; Printed by Tho. Vere and W. Gilbertson.	London	EEBO - H1368 (Wing)
W50	1659	A Lying Wonder Discovered...	Printed by Thomas Simmons at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate.	London	EEBO - B3075 (Wing)
W51	1659	Strange & Terrible Newes From Cambridge...	Printed by C. Brooks at the Royal Exchange in Cornhill.	London	EEBO - S5827 (Wing)
W52	1662	A tryal of witches at the assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds...	Annonymous person Attending the Court ; printed by William Shrewsbury at the Bible in Duck-Lane.	London	EEBO - T067314 (estc)
W53	1662	The Power of Witchcraft...	Printed by Charls Tyus at the three Bibles on London-bridge.	London	EEBO - P3109 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W54	1669	The Hartford-shire Wonder...	Printed by John Clark at the Bible and Harp in West-Smith-Field near the Hospital Gate.	London	EEBO - Y3 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W55	1674	Relation Of The most Remarkable...	Printed by Nathaniel Savegde.	London	EEBO - R855B (Wing 2nd ed., 1994)
W56	1674	The Full and true relation...	Printed by D. M.	London	EEBO - F2335 (Wing)

W57	1681	Strange and wonderful News From Yowel in Surry.	Printed by F. Clarke, Seignior at the Bible and Harp in West- smithfield.	London	EEBO - S5869B (Wing)
W58	1682	A full and true account ...	Printed by T. Benskin.	London	EEBO - F2310 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W59	1682	A True and impartial relation...	Printed by Freeman Collins.	London	EEBO - T2502 (Wing)
W60	1682	A Tryal Of Witches...	Printed by William Shrewsbury at the Bible in Duck-Lane.	London	EEBO - T2240 (Wing)
W61	1682	Witchcraft discovered and punished...		London	EEBO -W3138 (Wing CD-ROM, 1996)
W62	1682	An Account Of The Tryal And Examination of Joan Buts.	Printed by S. Gardener.	London	EEBO - A413 (Wing)
W63	1682	The Tryal, Condemnation, and Execution...	Printed by J. Deacon at the sign of the Rainbow a little beyond St. Andrews Church in Holborn.	London	EEBO - T2175 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W64	1684	Strange News From Shadwell...	Printed by E Mallet.	London	EEBO - S5903 (Wing 2nd ed.)
W65	1686	A True Account Of A Strange...	Peter Jenken (Mayor) and John Geose (Justice) ; Printed by George Croom at the Blue-Ball in Thames- Street, near Baynard's Castle.	London	EEBO -T2333 (Wing)
W66	1687	The Life and Conversation Of Temperance Floyd...	Printed by J. W.	London	EEBO - L1990A (Wing CD-ROM, 1996)
W67	1689	Great News from the West of England.		London	EEBO - G1738A (Wing)
W68	1690	The full tryals, examination, and condemnation...	Printed by J.W. near Fleet-Street.	London	EEBO - F2378 (Wing)
W69	1693	A faithful narrative of the wonderful...	Printed by John Harris at the Harrow in the Poultrby.	London	EEBO - P1897 (Wing)
W70	1685	Satan's invisible world discovered...	George Sinclair ; Printed by John Reid.	Edinburgh	EEBO - S3858 (Wing)
W71	1697	Witch-Craft Proven, Arreign'd, and Condemn'd...	Printed by Robert Sanders.	Glasgow	EBBO - B1800A (Wing CD-ROM, 1996)

W72	1697	A relation of the diabolical practices...	Printed by Hugh Newman at the Grasshopper in the Poultry.	London	EEBO - R823 (Wing)
W73	1698	Sadducimus debellatus...	H. Newman and A. Bell ; at the Grasshopper in the Poultry, and at the Crosse Keys and Bible in Cornhill near Stocks-Market.	London	EEBO - C7475A (Wing 2nd ed., 1994)
W74	1698	A True Narrative Of The Sufferings...	Printed by James Watson in Craig's Closs, on the north-side of the Cross.	Edinburgh	EEBO - C7475B (Wing 2nd ed., 1994)
W75	1700	The Tryal of Witchcraft Of, Witchcraft Arraign'd and Condemn'd.	John Bell.	Glasgow	EEBO - B1800aA (Wing 2nd ed.)
W76	1701	A Full and True Account	Printed by John Alkin near Fleet-street.	London	EEBO
W77	1702	Account of one Mary Jawson...		Glasgow	ESTC N024463
W78	1702	The tryal of Richard Hathaway...	J. Holt ; Printed for Isaac Cleave next to Serjeants-Inn in Chancery Lane.	London	EEBO - T077523 (estc)
W79	1704	A Full and True Account...	Thomas Greenwell ; Printed by U Hill Near the Waterside.	London	Kirsten C Uszkalo. 2011. <i>The Witches in Early Modern England Project.</i>
W80	1704	A true and full relation of the witches at Pittenweem.	Printed by John Reid Junior in Labersonns Wynd.	Edinburgh	EEBO - T111617 (estc)
W81	1705	A just reproof, to the false reports...		Edinburgh	EEBO - N018477 (estc)
W82	1705	An answer of a letter...		Edinburgh	EEBO - N016460 (estc)
W83	1705	The Northamptonshire witches...	Ralph Davis ; Printed by F. Thorn near Fleetstreet.	London	EEBO - T198444 (estc)
W84	1705	An account of the tryals...	Ralph Davis ; Printed by F. Thorn near Fleetstreet.	London	EEBO - T198233 (estc)
W85	1711	A full and impartial account...	Francis Bragge ; Printed by E. Curll.	London	EEBO - T071994 (estc)
W86	1712	The case of the Hertfordshire witchcraft consider'd.	Printed by John Pemberton at the Buck and Sun, Fleetstreet.	London	EEBO - T071990 (estc)

W87	1712	A defense of the proceedings against Jane Wenham...	Francis Bragge ; Printed by E. Curll at the Dial and Bible, Fleetstreet.	London	EEBO - T111623 (estc)
W88	1712	Witchcraft farther display'd.	Francis Bragge ; Printed by E. Curll at the Dial and Bible, Fleetstreet.	London	Welcome Collection - T68954 (estc)
W89	1712	A full confutation of witchcraft...	Physician in Hertfordshire ; Printed by J. Baker at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row.	London	EEBO - T071991 (estc)
W90	1712	The impossibility of witchcraft...	Printed by J. Baker at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row.	London	EEBO - N016847 (estc)
W91	1712	The impossibility of witchcraft further demonstrated...	Printed by J. Baker at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row.	London	EEBO - N016850 (estc)
W92	1712	The belief of witchcraft vindicated...	G. R., A. M. ; Printed by J. Baker at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row.	London	EEBO - T110259 (estc)
W93	1716	A tryal of witches...	Printed by D. Brown, J. Walthoe, and M. Wotton.	London	EEBO - T067314 (estc)
W94	1716	The whole trial and examination of Mrs. Mary Hicks...	Printed by W. Matthews in Long Acre.	London	EEBO - T194017 (estc)
W95	1754	The trial of Richard Hathaway...	Printed by R. Grffiths in Paternoster row.	London	EEBO - N013804 (estc)
W96	1775	A narrative of the sufferings and relief...	Printed by Alexander Weir.	Paisley	EEBO - T147026 (estc)