UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN QUEENSLAND

WITCH IMAGES IN AUSTRALIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

A dissertation submitted by

Penelope M. Young,
BA, GradDipEd(Secondary)

For the award of

Master of Philosophy

2001

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation it is argued that the European witch trials that took place between 1450 and 1700 have resulted in a legacy of stereotypical themes in Australian children's literature. Those accused of witchcraft were almost always women who were old, without protection, and physically ugly. They were accused of consorting with the devil, making harmful spells, flying through the night on a magic staff and exhibiting malevolent intent towards others. An analysis of this period forms the contextual framework for identifying themes that appear in contemporary Australian children's literature. A survey of twenty-three books, identified as stories about witches, was conducted to ascertain whether the stereotypical witch from the European witch-hunts continues to be characterised in Australian children's literature.

The findings suggest that the witch figure in Australian children's literature mirrors the historical evidence from the European witch trials, but has evolved into a more powerful and proactive character than that identified in the historical literature. The characterisation of the witch in the books for older readers is powerful and evil, compared to the witch as a trivial and diminished figure in the books for younger readers. Gender is also a major influence in the characterisation of the witch, with all readers exposed to themes that may influence their expectations regarding the behaviour and role of women. The representation of the witch in the books reinforces the misogyny of the witchcraft era, and weaves patterns of meaning in the texts that construct undesirable female images. Readers of all ages can link these images to the social world beyond the text.

CERTIFICATION OF DISSERTATION

I certify that the ideas, experimental work, results, analyses and conclusions reported in this dissertation are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award.

_____ _____

Penelope M. Young Date

ENDORSEMENT

_____ _____

Associate Professor Geoff Bull Date
Principal supervisor

_____ _____

Ms Lesley McAuley-Jones Date
Associate Supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my Principal Supervisor, Associate Professor Geoff Bull, Faculty of Education, University of Southern Queensland, for his continual advice, support and endless patience. In addition I would like to thank Ms Lesley McAuley-Jones, the Associate Supervisor of my dissertation, for her encouragement and advice, particularly in relation to the historical background to the study.

Special thanks are included to Jeanette Hamilton and Geoff Bull, for their commitment to the study and for reading and discussing the books with me. Their insight and perseverance was appreciated and highly valued.

I would particularly like to acknowledge the ongoing support and encouragement I have received from the University of Southern Queensland and in particular the Faculty of Education, to enable the completion of this study.

And last, but most importantly, I would like to acknowledge the sustained encouragement and assistance of my family. To my husband Frank, for his helpful and ongoing support, and to my children Kate and Paul, whose interest and enthusiasm for the study kept me on task!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

John Gaule, writing in 1646 in the face of the Matthew Hopkins trials:

> *...every old woman with a wrinkled face, a furr'd brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye, a squeaking voyce, or a scolding tongue, having a ragged coate on her back, a skull-cap on her head, a spindle in her hand, and a dog or cat by her side; is not only suspected, but pronounced for a witch.*
> (Sharpe, 1991:182)

> *Have you noticed that when people are labelled, their faces disappear?*
> (Fienberg, 1995:90)

> *Children's literature can positively influence gender attitudes.*
> (Trepanier-Street and Romatowski, 1999:158)

1.1 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine, through analysis and comparison, whether stereotypical female images inherited from the European witch persecutions between 1450-1700[1] are represented in Australian children's literature. It aims to establish if female witches portrayed in contemporary children's books reinforce themes of cultural bias, propaganda, superstition, potent forces and misogyny from this era. This analysis, and the comparison of contemporary stereotypical witch images with those of the European witch persecutions in early modern history, will help identify the impact of the witch in Australian children's literature. If proved, these themes might influence contemporary readers in their perceptions concerning the perceived representation of women in Australian society.

[1] For the purposes of this study 1450-1700 will also be referred to as 'early modern history'.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This study attempts to trace the original sources of witch images that have evolved from the witch persecutions between 1450-1700, and investigates whether these images had impacted on contemporary Australian children's literature. Writers acknowledged that a link existed between the historical figure of witch persecutions and contemporary notions of witchcraft. Daly (1978:185) considered that the popular concept of the witch was not unlike the sixteenth century stereotype, and Barstow (1995:148) was convinced that the witch-hunts played a key role in the decline of women's status. This dissertation investigates and reports on the political and religious climate in which the witch-hunts took place, together with the social context of both the witches and their accusers. In addition, the historical origins of popular witch conceptions are identified and an explanation attempted for the end of the witch-hunts. The impact of the witch in children's literature and implications on how gender is represented in children's literature is also investigated.

Ehrenreich and English (1973:6) established that literary images experienced in children's formative reading encouraged and reinforced negative values, concepts and behaviours. "An aspect of the female has ever since been associated with the witch, and an aura of contamination has remained…". Thus, stereotypical witch images absorbed by readers might be unconsciously formed at an early age through books, language and especially fairy stories.

> *Auntie Gloria had all the qualifications to become a witch:*
> *she was old*
> *she had a broom*
> *she made cackling noises*
> *and she had a cat!*
>
> (Condon, 1992:18)

The present study sought to establish the impact of stereotypical witch characters in the way women were represented in Australian children's literature. Both Goodman and Smith (1996:10) and Luke and Bishop (1994:109) had established a strong link between readers' responses to textual images and how exposure to such texts shaped an understanding of society. Kamler (1994:129-33) also revealed the ideological operation of texts and cultures. She argued that patterns of meaning could emerge in the syntax, linking the text and the social world, and was particularly concerned with ways women were represented in texts by the constant use of word association.

1.3 FOCUS OF THE STUDY

The focus of the study is the textual images of witches inherited from the European witch-hunts that took place between 1450-1700. These images were established by identifying recurring themes in the review of the historical research literature of that period. The historical evidence showed that a high percentage of women were accused of witchcraft, and that misogynistic[2] witch images had survived from that period. This study acknowledged and examined these misogynistic witch images, but did not link the discussion and analysis to current feminist discourse as this subject was outside the parameters of this dissertation.

This study is confined to identifying textual witch images, thus the analysis of visual images (including illustrations) is not undertaken, although the historical precedents for illustrated images are discussed. It does not, however, undertake a textual analysis, as the focus of this study is to identify images and themes in children's literature, rather than analyse the plot, narrative or characterisation exhibited in the

[2] *misogyny* - hatred and harmful intent towards women (refer sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4).

individual books surveyed. The study also focuses on the European witch-hunts, and no other witch cultures were considered (e.g. African, or American).

1.4 STUDY QUESTION

Following identification of stereotypical European witch images in the Review of Literature the following question was generated which formed the research procedures and analysis of witch images in Australian children's literature:

> **Do women portrayed as witches in Australian children's literature reflect the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts?**

This study question, in turn, generated a research hypothesis that was tested within the study.

1.5 STUDY PARAMETERS

The twenty-three books surveyed[3] within the study were selected from the 'Witches and Warlocks' section in Kerry White's Australian *Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide* (White, 1993:175) and Kerry White's *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide Update* (White, 1996:78) (refer Appendix E). This selection consisted of fictitious stories written by Australian authors, or authors living in Australia. The target audience for the books surveyed consisted of early primary aged readers through to adolescent readers. This selection of short stories and novels provided a cross-section of literature in the fiction genre for different age groups.

[3]Twenty-seven books were originally selected for survey, but four were subsequently withdrawn. Refer section 3.3 for genre excluded from the books surveyed.

1.6 STUDY METHODOLOGY

Quantitative and qualitative analyses are conducted in this study. Limited quantitative analysis records the frequency of certain characteristics in each book. The principal methodology is theme analysis, which is chosen as it uses qualitative data considered most suitable to identify witch images within the sample of twenty-three books. This method of data analysis was established by Steinfirst (1986), Behr (1992), Stephens (1996) and Stewig (1995) who showed it was possible to analyse themes in children's literature and to classify these themes according to set schemata.

> *Understanding of a text, as a product of both the text's own discourse and a reader's prior knowledge, is mediated by the schemata societies use to organise concepts about the world. Schemata represent the concepts which underlie objects, situations, events, sequences of events, actions, sequences of actions, character types, patterns of behaviour, participant interactions and narrative closure.*
>
> (Stephens, 1996:18)

This methodology is adopted to provide a theoretical framework for examining links between stereotypical witch images and contemporary social values and culture.

Following the work of Steinfirst (1986), Behr (1992) and Stewig (1995) the theme analysis aims to identify witch images in children's literature and investigates the evidence of certain ideas, attitudes and patterns in books. The data show that stereotypical witch images inherited from the past were recurring themes in Australian children's literature. Three 'judges' were involved in the theme analysis of this study, and identified witch images were accepted following consensus between the judges. Data collected was subjected to quantitative and qualitative analysis to test the hypothesis of this study.

1.7 REPORT OF THIS STUDY

The report of this study is given in the following pages. Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature, identifies the witch images from the historical evidence of the witch-hunts and provides a definition of witches. This chapter also examines the impact of the witch and the social construction of gender in children's literature. Chapter 3 outlines the parameters and design of the study, and gives an overview of data collection methodology. The background to the theme analysis is also presented. Chapter 4 presents the quantitative and qualitative findings of data analyses used to test the study hypothesis. Chapter 5 concludes and discusses the implications of the report. It also discusses limitations to the study and suggests future research arising from the study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

> *The Europeans did three things which set them far apart from most other peoples at most other times and places. Between 1500 and 1700 they set sail in tall ships and explored and colonized the far corners of the globe. They made stunning strides forward in the sciences. And they executed tens of thousands of people, mainly women, as witches.*
>
> (Green & Bigelow, 1998:199)

This chapter attempts to define witches, trace the original sources of textual witch images that have evolved from the witch persecutions in early modern history, and investigates whether these images are repeated in contemporary children's literature. For the purposes of this study the 'early modern period' referred to throughout is identified as 1450-1700 AD. Section 2.2 examines the historical background of the witch-hunts and Section 2.3 discusses the impact of the witch in children's literature, both in relation to the stereotypical witch in fairy stories and the social construction of gender in children's literature, particularly the witch figure. Section 2.4 identifies the research question resulting from the review of the literature.

An authoritative definition of witches, reflecting the perceptions of early modern society, is given in the Contents page of the *Malleus Malificarium* (the *Malleus*) (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:5-7) (refer Appendix B and section 2.2.4 for full discussion of the *Malleus Malificarium*). The *Malleus* gives credence to witches being able to fly, cause illness, create harmful magic and have sexual relations with the Devil. Midwives are also specified as killing children and offering them to the

Devil. Although the text refers to both sexes, the authors of the *Malleus* managed to "erase this idea whilst retaining papal support in their war against women" (Daly, 1978:189/90) and their narrative reveals a strong bias against women. A question reflecting this bias in the *Malleus* is

> *Question VI. Concerning Witches who copulate with Devils. Why is it that Women are chiefly addicted to Evil Superstitions.*
> (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:27)

The adjectives used in the text also reveal bias, e.g. honest labourers (male) and quarrelsome woman (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:120, 166, 215). (Further examples of gender bias in the *Malleus* are given in section 2.2.4.) There are instances given which often refer to revengeful acts by women (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:122, 125) and it is clear that men were encouraged to declare their wives to the authorities if they suspected them of practising witchcraft (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:130, 133).

Witches were also defined in the historical literature as being elderly females who were usually single and without family protection. They were women who were physically unattractive and had assertive, quarrelsome and loquacious personalities. Their malevolence manifested itself through menace and harm to others by magical force. The church identified them as heretical, being servants and sexual partners of the Devil. These definitions of witches will be justified in the following review of the literature.

2.2 HISTORICAL DETERMINANTS OF TRADITIONAL WITCH IMAGES

2.2.1 Historical context

The European witch-hunts were a time-bound phenomenon, beginning in the fifteenth century and ending by the early eighteenth century (Levack, 1987:118 and Scarre, 1987:19-20) and "constitute perhaps the greatest enigma of the least understood era in modern history" (Klaits, 1985:8). Between 1100 and 1300, the stereotype of the witch emerged in the European consciousness but no witch trials took place during this period. After 1300 explicit accusations of witchcraft appeared and over the next two centuries the image of the witch emerged (Klaits, 1985:26), but for nearly all regions of Europe the intensity of witch-hunting peaked dramatically between 1580 and 1650 (Easlea, 1980:18) (refer Appendix A).

The witch-hunts were one of the few instances when women's history was recorded, although not by the women themselves. The state judiciary, church and popular pamphlets, all made records of the witch accusations and prosecutions, thus providing a textual image for future generations. However, little reproduced evidence existed of what the women involved felt or thought about their torture, persecution and coming execution. "Unfortunately, the witch herself - poor and illiterate - did not leave us her story. It was recorded, like all history, by the educated elite, so that today we know the witch only through the eyes of her persecutors" (Ehrenreich and English, 1973:8). Except for a few witch-hunting specialists, "historians generally follow a policy of almost total erasure, wiping out the witches again and again through the subterfuge of silence" (Daly, 1978:205). Subsequent generations have, therefore, gained their knowledge of this era through

official records and popular pamphlets. The textual images contained in these records have served to reinforce and magnify female witch images.

The rise of witchcraft accusations coincided with the increasing vulnerability of working women in the sixteenth century and was linked to a number of economic and political factors. At mid fifteenth century crisis gripped Europe, based on a population growth that had reached saturation point, exacerbated by a flood of wealth from the new colonies in the Americas. The influx of silver and gold from the American colonies drove prices up and created a vast, poor underclass. As the rich grew richer and the poor grew poorer, tension between them rose (Barstow, 1995:99-101). Overpopulation created a land shortage, followed by the inevitable food shortages, hunger, unemployment and unrest. Many single women, formerly self-supporting, were plunged into poverty in the period 1550-1700. The economic situation accounted for the alarming increase in female beggars in Western Europe, "who so discomfited their more prosperous neighbours" that they accused them of witchcraft in order to eliminate them (Barstow, 1995:103-4). Women were the marginal workers of Europe, kept on the fringes of the economy and serving as the main source of cheap labour in a society with few serfs or slaves. The decline of the feudal system and the cottage industry and the spread of the capitalist system across Western Europe during the sixteenth century markedly affected women's work and was a direct factor in the spread of witch accusations (Barstow, 1995:103-4). Witchcraft accusations became a method by which a poverty-stricken underclass resolved social tensions. Barstow also argued that imperialism, colonisation and misogyny reinforced one another. As European men exerted control over other people, they began to exert more control over their own women (Barstow,

1995:148). All of these issues played a key role in the decline of women's status and the increase in witchcraft accusations.

Stone (1981:184-185) advanced three reasons for witchcraft reaching a higher level of consciousness in the sixteenth century than it had in the Middle Ages. Firstly, there was a belief in the enormous increase in the powers of the Devil brought about by the Reformation. The Protestants strengthened claims that the Devil was responsible for all the forces of evil in the world. Secondly, Reformation theologians abandoned the only approved remedies against the machinations of the Devil, namely exorcism, holy relics and the sprinkling of holy water, thus officially removing means of cure. Thirdly, social and economic change was breaking down village values and poverty became too widespread to be handled on a voluntary basis.

> *For the bulk of the population the sixteenth century brought a sharp worsening of their living standards, with virtually all the indices reaching record low points in the 1590s, improving only very slowly thereafter. Wages declined in real terms, work became harder to find, pauperization spread inexorably, while beggars and vagrants multiplied. Social tensions, riots and crime were associated with these trends, as the gap between rich and poor widened.*
>
> (Briggs, 1996:289)

This resulted in constant friction between increasingly reluctant alms-givers and "increasingly exigent poor old women" (Stone, 1981:185). If the guilty refuser of charity then suffered a misfortune, he immediately suspected that the rejected alms-seeker had bewitched him. Both Stone and Klaits (1985:15) made gender specific inferences in their writing, Stone inferring that the receiver of alms was female, and the giver of charity was male. Lastly, Europe accepted the conspiracy theory, invented by priests and intellectuals, which had a notion of secret societies of

witches assembling in covens, making pacts with the Devil, copulating with him at Sabbaths, to which they travelled on broomsticks.

Another factor that generated the climate for witch-hunts was the increase in religious activity by the peasantry. Larner (1984:88-9) pointed out that "The wandering preachers of the pre-Reformation church, the Reformation and the Counter-reformation, effectively Christianised the peasantry for the first time". She further suggested that "...the development of printing, the break-up of the universal church and the development of the nation state led to a new role for Christianity … failures in Christianity - heresy, apostasy or witchcraft ... became political crimes" (Larner, 1984:128). The prosecution of witches was influenced by all these parameters.

Klaits (1985:49-51) maintained there were important differences between the witch-hunts of the late medieval era and early modern witch persecutions, with a definite change in the type of witchcraft persecutions around 1475. Prior to this accusations centred on sorcery and maleficent magic (harm inflicted by spells and potions) and the accused was usually an isolated individual. From the 1480s and the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* there emerged the image of evil doing and Devil worship (see section 2.2.4 for full discussion on the *Malleus Malificarium*). Witches were accused of being the Devil's sexual slaves, worshipping Satan, and attending sabbat meetings to express this sexuality and across Western Europe women became the prime targets of the witch-hunting authorities (Barstow, 1995:23).

Gage (1893:109) summed up the three most distinguishing features of the history of witchcraft as the enrichment of the church, the advancement of political schemes and the gratification of private malice.

> *In looking at the history of witchcraft we see three striking points for consideration. First: That women were chiefly accused. Second: That men, believing in woman's inherent wickedness, and understanding neither the mental nor the physical peculiarities of her being, ascribed all her idiosyncrasies to witchcraft. Third: That the clergy inculcated the idea that woman was in league with the Devil, and that strong intellect, remarkable beauty, or unusual sickness were in themselves proof of this league.*
>
> (Gage, 1893:112)

To recapitulate, the witch-hunts in Europe peaked between 1580 and 1650 and were recorded in trials of that period, however no known records were left by people accused of witchcraft. Modern writers have linked the rise in witch-hunts with economic hardship, which especially rendered women vulnerable. Imperialism, colonialisation and misogyny reinforced one another, men gaining more influence and power with a corresponding decline in women's status. The onset of the Reformation linked the Devil to evil forces and targeted deviant women, who were believed to be conspiring with the Devil, attending sexual orgies at which he was present and practicing malevolence. All these historical events worsened the status of women and increased their vulnerability to witchcraft accusations.

2.2.1.1. Witch images identified in 2.2.1

At the end of each section key witch images are identified that have emerged from the literature. These images are used to form the basis of the theme analysis of the texts. (For a full discussion concerning the way these words connote particular stereotypes and carry gender and cultural bias, refer to section 3.2.4. This section also explains the categorisation of these images for subsequent data analysis.)

The images from 2.2.1 are:

Poor
Illiterate
Low social status
Vulnerable
Old
Isolated
Malevolent
Devil worshipper
Sexual slave
Satan worshipper
Sabbat attender

2.2.2 Demographic considerations

Dissension existed among writers regarding the numbers involved in witch persecutions. Klaits (1985:1) stated there were no exact statistics of European witch-hunts due to incomplete records, but maintained that at least ten thousand cases had been verified. Quaife (1987:79) wrote that, at the most, 200,000 people died in Western Europe between 1450 and 1700 as a result of formal investigations, and eighty percent of these were female (refer 2.2.3). Referring to the Scottish persecutions, Larner (1984:25) stated that "they reached the proportions of a major hunt (that is, 200-300 in a year) in 1649 and again in 1660-1...". Gage (1893:106-7) asserted that historical records showed nine million people were put to death for witchcraft after 1484, or during a period of three hundred years and further elaborated that

> *During the reign of Francis I more than 100,000 witches were put to death in France alone. ... The Parliament of Toulouse burned 400 witches at one time, ... Remy, judge of Nancy, acknowledged to having burnt eight hundred in sixteen years ... five hundred were executed at Geneva in a single month. ...Thirty thousand persons accused of witchcraft were burned to death in Germany and Italy alone.*
>
> (Gage, 1893:98-100)

These figures must be interpreted within the context of the population numbers of the time. As Laslett (1971:10) pointed out "Lilliputian, we must feel, when we compare such details with the crowds we meet in our society. The largest crowd recorded for seventeenth-century England, that is the Parliamentary Army which fought at Marston Moor, would have gone three, four or even five times into the sporting stadium of today". The relatively large numbers involved meant the witch-hunts impacted on society and created negative images of women that were reinforced by court records, pamphlets and word of mouth (refer section 2.2.7.2).

The ferocity of the witch-hunts differed from country to country (refer Appendix A). Midelfort (1981:21) identified the Holy Roman Empire and Switzerland as executing more witches than any other part of Europe, but also referred to a "German holocaust of witches". Larner (1981:33) agreed with these reports, placing Scottish witch-hunts as "less intense than the German hunts but slightly more intense than the French or the Swiss. England should be placed fairly far down the scale, level with Denmark and Russia". The witch persecutions also arrived later in England, having raged in Europe before they crossed the channel to England in the 16th century (Green and Bigelow, 1998:205). Both Douglas (1991:730) and Hulton (1986:168) agreed that different societies pursued and prosecuted witches with varying degrees of vehemence, ranging from intense attack in France and Southern Germany, weaker persecutions in Britain, Netherlands, Russia and Spain, with almost no persecutions experienced in Ireland.

While the literature attempted to differentiate between countries regarding the numbers involved in witch prosecutions, and the style of torture, trial and execution

conducted, there was limited analysis on the reasons for such differences. Midelfort (1981:27) described German witchcraft accusations as a mainly social offence that was feared as a practical threat to the fertility of field, flocks and families and noted that successful German persecutions depended on torture. Larner (1981:34-36) made the distinction that in Scotland and on the continent witchcraft was essentially diabolic, while English witchcraft was essentially about local malice. "The Scottish system was Roman, inquisitorial and theoretical; the English based on statute law and pragmatic". Witchcraft in Scotland was centrally controlled, but in England witchcraft control was localised. Witches' meetings were of greater importance in Catholic countries, while in Calvinist countries the demonic pact and the devil's mark, the individual aspects of witch belief, were more important, and witches were accused in smaller groups. "The shock and horror exhibited by the Cromwellian military government in Scotland at the tortures inflicted on women awaiting trial there illuminates the difference between the countries" (Larner, 1981:36). European witch trials concentrated more on heresy than in England, and French witchcraft was heavily involved with the contest between the Catholic Church and the civil authorities. In Italy accusations tended to be made by the clerics against rival religious practitioners (rural cults) and in Spanish Basque country the Inquisitors found that the clergy themselves were denounced by peasant women, the original victims of accusations (Douglas, 1991:730). In English trials, the emphasis of the charge was on the *maleficia* allegedly performed by the supposed witch, rather than on any contract with the Devil. However, a common charge against English witches (less often raised against their European counterparts) was that they kept 'familiars' - imps or demons in the form usually of small animals such as dogs, cats and toads.

These 'familiars' did their bidding in return for nourishment from a special nipple concealed on the witch's body, and known as their 'witchmark' (Scarre, 1987:23).

While records did not supply accurate figures for the number of witches persecuted, writers estimated between 200,000 to 9 million people (eighty percent of whom were women) were executed as witches over a period of approximately 300 years. The ferocity of the witch-hunts differed in each country and did not have demographic consistency or pattern.

2.2.2.1. Witch images identified in 2.2.2

Devil's mark
Demonic Pact
Maleficia
Familiars
Witchmark

2.2.3 Misogyny and the witch-hunts

Historians agreed that the witches persecuted were predominantly female and Klaits (1985:51) maintained that witch trials exemplified men's inhumanity to women. Midelfort stated (1981:28) that "...one cannot begin to understand the European witch-hunt without recognising that it displayed a burst of misogyny without parallel in Western history". The witchfinder's work brought him almost exclusively into contact with women (Marshall 1995:12) but the ratio of men to women accused of witchcraft is subject to debate. Levack (1987:124) stated that in most regions of Europe female witches exceeded 75 per cent of people prosecuted for witchcraft. Quaife (1987:79/81) agreed with this but added that women were four times (and in England and Basle nine times) more likely to be formally charged with witchcraft

than men. Klaits (1985:17/51) asserted that the witch figure was nearly always portrayed as a female and claimed the preponderance of women as four-to-one. Larner (1984:85) also agreed that "... in Germany, France, Switzerland and Scotland, 80 per cent of the accused were female. For areas in the periphery - in England and Russia for example - the proportion of females was nearer 95-100 per cent." Others, Sharpe (1991:179) and Scarre (1987:25), both concurred that records suggested 80 per cent of witches were female.

Easlea (1980:33-34) asserted that the Christian church created a tradition of misogyny unequalled before or since the witch-hunts. For two centuries following the publication of the *Malleus Malificarium* in 1486 (refer section 2.2.4) the female sex became the chosen scapegoat, especially if living outside the immediate control of men. "What was termed magic, among men, was called witchcraft in women. The one was rarely, the other invariably, punished." Gage (1893:108) and Barstow (1995:145/149) maintained that the sixteenth century reinforced men's control over women by publicly executing women as witches. The full horror of these executions is described when Anna Pappenheimer was executed in Munich. Her "arms (were) burnt with hot tongs, her breasts cut off, her body burnt alive" (Barstow, 1995:149). Public execution, which assaulted and demeaned the female body, illustrated the low value held by European society of certain women.

A recurring theme in the literature concerning this period (1450-1700) was women's unruliness and specifically her sexual unruliness. Physical anatomy and the biological process were little understood and much feared. Women's bodies, with their power of birth and procreation, mystified and increased male anxiety.

Menstruation was a magical act that mystified and frightened many males and through this ignorance women were associated with "...evil, with mystery, passion and pollution; the male with ethics, rationality and sacredness" (Quaife, 1987:83). Barstow (1995:16) linked females and witchcraft, stating that "having a female body was the factor most likely to render one vulnerable to being called a witch". Easlea (1980:16) quotes Jean Bodin, a sixteenth century writer who reinforced the need for hunting witches. Commenting in his *Demonic Madness of Witches* (published in 1580) Bodin stated that it was well known that women were healthier than men as once a month they were able to expel "bad blood". Women were in a no-win situation; they were "inferior yet dangerous, disgusting and yet powerful, and it was their bodies that chiefly made them so" (Barstow, 1995:136). Larner (1984:84) maintained that "All women threaten male hegemony with their exclusive power to give life; social order depends on women conforming to male ideas of female behaviour". Witchcraft was an illustration of this threat to society, as women were perceived to be acting outside normal social and cultural boundaries and undermining the male hegemony.

The increasing economic dependence of women in early modern times (1450-1700) exacerbated hardship and increased their alienation in society. During this time women almost never received formal training for work and no woman was allowed to hold public office anywhere in Europe. "The centuries from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment broadened the possibilities for men, giving men access to education and choices in occupation. They did the opposite for women" (Barstow, 1995:102/147). Stone (1981:189) suggested that the practice of witchcraft was one of the very few ways in which a woman could impress herself on a patriarchal

world, at a time when economic opportunities were limited, the structure of the family was changing and when feminine eroticism was strongly condemned. This premise suggested witches paid the ultimate price for their assertiveness, an issue that is discussed in section 2.2.7.1.

To summarise, misogyny practised by the church was extended to include the prosecution of women for witchcraft, and Biblical references were used to reinforce its stand. Men were intimidated by women's bodies with their power of birth and procreation and protected themselves by constructing women as socially and sexually inferior. Women became increasingly alienated in society, denied training or the right to hold public office. These parameters all compounded and assisted in the rise of women as targets for the prosecution of witchcraft, and historians and writers agreed that as a result of these constructs, females formed the large majority of people accused of witchcraft.

2.2.3.1 Witch images identified in 2.2.3

Threat to male hegemony
Socially alienated
Revengeful
Sexually unruly
Prone to evil
Easily misled

2.2.4 The *Malleus Malificarium*

Whatever else it is, the Malleus Maleficarium is a misogynist's textbook.

(Easlea, 1980:8)

The pursuit and punishment of witchcraft had a long history that was reinforced by biblical injunctions such as 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live', a credo that justified death by stoning (Exodus 22:18 and Minowski, 1992:294). However, it was the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (the *Malleus*) in 1486 that provided impetus to the legalised, systematic extermination of witches. The *Malleus* was written by two Dominican monks in response to the Papal Bull *Summis desiderantes affectus* issued in 1484 by Innocent VIII and was published in 1486. It "was a document of the highest authority, giving the support of Rome to 'Our dear sons', the Dominican Inquisitors, Sprenger and Kramer" (Daly, 1978:189). Pope Innocent VIII became concerned about an outbreak of witchcraft which was said to have taken place in Northern Germany (Smith 1989:78) and the *Malleus* became an 'encyclopaedia of witchcraft' transmitting an entire set of beliefs to a larger audience. It also provided theological support for the ideals it was advancing, legal advice on how to bring witches to trial and claimed that those who denied the reality of witchcraft were heretics. The *Malleus* was published in at least thirteen editions up to 1520, and revised in another sixteen between 1574 and 1669. In addition to being published in Germany there were editions in France, Italy, and later, in England. Summers (translator of the *Malleus*) states

> *Largely as a result of the Malleus popular and judicial fanaticism was fanned all over Europe, and heretical 'witches' were hunted, tortured, burned, or hanged. The practising of country superstitions, personal malevolence, queerness, or sheer chance in offending a panic-stricken community were enough.* (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:220)
> Annotation by M. Summers, translator, 1968

The *Malleus* dealt with procedure; the Church was a complex institution, with many layers of authority, all competing with one another. The Holy Inquisition, in which both Sprenger and Kramer were involved, was an elite force aimed at reinforcing the

anti-heretical activities in Germany of the regular clergy. The *Malleus* detailed the alleged power and activities of witches and made the crucial observation that they were in league with the Devil (who was always referred to in the masculine gender) rather than innocuous village eccentrics. Quaife (1987:97) wrote "The fantasies developed over centuries reached an extreme form in the *Malleus Maleficarium...* A woman was an imperfect animal in whom lust was insatiable ... she was a willing partner of the Devil." Prior to this witches had been punished for their injury to man rather than their affront to God, and by ranging witches against God (through the Devil), their threat to the establishment demanded action by the Church (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:15).

Barstow (1995:172) asserted that the witchcraze attacked women, and especially their sexuality, and pointed to the *Malleus* as an important contributing factor. The *Malleus* inferred that witches were female and made constant links between women and witches. Modern writers generally agreed the *Malleus* revealed a strong bias against women - what Levack (1987:49) referred to as "a misogynistic overemphasis on the susceptibility of women to the crime". Fantasies developed over centuries reached an extreme form in this treatise. A woman was an imperfect animal in whom lust was insatiable and dominated by bestial lust she was a willing partner of the Devil (Quaife, 1987:97). The *Malleus* itself stated that the very word femina (woman) meant one wanting in faith, for *fe* meant faith and *mina* less (Gage, 1893). "…*Malificarium* is the feminine form of the word for evil-doer and witch ... (and) contributed mightily to the overwhelming focus on women during the following centuries" (Daly, 1978:188). The implicit language used by Sprenger and Kramer in the *Malleus* extended and emphasised this philosophy:

"*... a certain honest labourer spoke roughly to a certain quarrelsome woman."*

(Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:120)

"... for men, being by nature intellectually stronger than women ..."

(Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:166)

"... for women are easily provoked to hatred..."

(Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:215)

"...all witchcraft comes from carnal lust which is in women insatiable".

(Daly, 1978:180, quoting from the *Malleus*)

"...when a women thinks alone she thinks evil."

(Ehrenreich and English, 1973:10 quoting from the *Malleus*)

For three centuries the *Malleus* was the reference book for every judge and witch-hunter, and became a book of rare ecumenical power in an era of bitter doctrinal warfare (Ehrenreich and English 1973:9, Klaits 1985:45, Minowski 1992:294).

> *If facts were unclear they should be interpreted in a way that would convict the accused. Those who complained of such assumptions were witch lovers and enemies of God. An inwardly coherent and logical system developed. The accused were guilty. The evidence proved it. Those who objected were witches.*
>
> (Quaife, 1987:25)

No-one was exempt from prosecution and men were encouraged to denounce their wives if they suspected them of being witches (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:130-133). However, Sprenger and Kramer argued that the Devil's work was through God, and that God allowed the Devil to afflict sinners more than the just. Afflictions were therefore a sign of sin and only occurred to those who did not live in a state of grace. This gave the Church authority to prosecute the source of the malevolence. Witches were alleged to be in league with the Devil and thus became a prime target of accusation and suspicion (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:174-5).

The *Malleus* was an uncompromising document and was "written with firm conviction and a fervent zeal which made the authors totally anaesthetic to the sight of wounds and blood, or to the smell of burning flesh" (Green and Bigelow, 1998:214). No conciliation or negotiation was advanced as Sprenger and Kramer stated that witchcraft was a permanent state and those inflicted must be disposed of by death. A cure was impossible as it could not be invoked without the help of the Devil. An examination of the contents page (refer Appendix B) reveals the powers the authors attributed to witches, which included

1. the ability to transport themselves mysteriously from place to place (by flying);
    - having sexual intercourse with the Devil;
    - causing serious illness;
    - midwives killing children and offering them to the Devil;
    - causing lightning, hailstorms and tempests to damage man and/or beast;
    - the power to cast spells which would:

      cause ill to happen;

      prevent conception or cause abortion;

      cause impotence, or

      change men into beasts (animals).

By stating the above as idiosyncratic to female witches, the *Malleus* identified the parameters of suspicion against women, then, having stated the above as fact, outlined the remedies needed to destroy and cure witchcraft. The *Malleus* also set out the judicial proceedings for witch trials, including "what points the judge should look for in the torture chamber, and how torture should proceed" (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486:217). For judges, the practical value of this was invaluable, as it

supplied an authoritative step-by-step guide to conducting witch trials (Klaits, 1985:44).

In short, writers and students of the witchcraft era all referred to the critical role the *Malleus Malificarium* played in escalating witch persecutions in early modern history. Witches already existed in society as part of the folklore or legend, or were tolerated as an innocuous eccentric of the community, but the *Malleus* set down the parameters for the prosecution and torture of witches and furnished the misogynistic images that linked women with witchcraft. It created the judicial framework for their prosecution and set down exact procedures not only for their trial, but also the torture of the accused. By attributing witches powers directly linked with the Devil, they constituted a threat to the church authority. After the *Malleus* was printed the witch-hunts not only spread down the Rhine, but through Italy, Spain, France and countries in northern Europe (Daly, 1978:190).

2.2.4.1 Witch images identified in 2.2.4

Malevolent
Queer
Offensive
In league with the Devil
Intellectually weak
Easily provoked
Sexually active
Killer of children
Ability to cast harmful spells

2.2.5 Religion, the church and witchcraft

A close parallel had existed between religion and magic in medieval times that still lingered in early modern Europe. Stone (1981:180) wrote "In the Middle Ages

magic and religion were inextricably confused...". The church's preoccupation with the Devil reflected this.

> *Academics knew that all magic involved the co-operation of the Devil. The church had for a century or more successfully equated high magic with heresy. It now identified peasant sorcery with the greatest heresy: apostasy, the renunciation of the faith in order to serve the Devil. This development potentially gave Satan agents in every village. It was the awareness of this new menace that provoked the Malleus.*
>
> (Quaife, 1987:52)

The culture of the Middle Ages was constructed on deep religious foundations. Religion explained each person's destiny and told them how to live and religious authority underlay all social and political arrangements (Quaife, 1987:22). Peasant midwives and healers in every village were especially vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft, and Ehrenreich and English (1973:13-4) believed that the Church saw its attack on female peasant healers as an attack on *magic* not medicine - "The greater their satanic powers to help themselves, the less they were dependent on God and the Church ..." .

The Reformation undermined the church's authority and removed the stability from people's beliefs and worship practices. The movements of Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter Reformation touched every aspect of life and thought. In seeking to spread their messages to previously untutored rural Europeans, the reformers engaged in a vast struggle against popular religious practices, which they interpreted as satanic in origin. Thus, the witch-hunts were in part a by-product of the evangelising ideology of religious reform (Klaits, 1985).

> *Before the Reformation, people had all sorts of spiritual comforts, which the Reformation took away from them. They had candles on the altar, confession, sacramental deathbeds, exorcism, dramatic performances and ecclesiastically sanctioned magic and incantation. ... After the Reformation, the people were deprived of ecclesiastically sanctioned magic for controlling their own lives and turned more to sorcerers.* (Larner, 1984:129)

The Protestant rejection of priestly exorcism and other protective rituals employed by medieval Catholicism made villagers feel less secure in the aftermath of the Reformation. No longer could the ordinary householder be confident that he was protected from evil by priestly benediction. At the same time, the Protestants did not re-establish the Catholic welfare institutions and seemed to lend support to an ethic of capitalistic individualism (Klaits, 1985). This uncertain environment helped create the conditions under which women became vulnerable to accusations of magic and witchcraft as there was no welfare umbrella on which they could depend in times of need (see discussion in 2.2.7.1 concerning beggars and charity). Moreover, Christianity had long held that disease had its origins in sin, in possession by Satan, or in witchcraft and that its most effective treatments lay in prayer, penitence and saintly assistance (Minowski, 1992:294). However, Macfarlane argued (1970:186-8) that witchcraft did not necessarily reflect religious tensions "...Matthew Hopkins, the most vehement man in Essex in his denunciation of witches, cannot be shown to have been a Puritan, or particularly interested in religion at all". Neighbours were not accused of witchcraft out of religious fervour, although he noted that church authorities treated witchcraft as a breach of Christianity. Larner (1984:89) however, maintained that witches' meetings were of greater importance in Catholic countries and, together with inquisitorial forms of legal process, produced the worst panics (refer Appendix A). In Calvinist countries, the demonic pact and the Devil's mark, the individual aspects of witch belief, were more important. "Borders were staked out not with fences but with churches. Christianity had become a political ideology ... it was necessary to the governing class that the individual members of the populace adhered to the correct version. In

this context, witches represented the most extreme form of deviance" (Larner, 1984:89).

Both Catholic and Protestant religions accused witches of heresy, not evil-doing. "Witches are not anti-Christian. It is the Christians who are anti-witch" (Valiente, 1989:84-5)**.** Easlea (1980:35) stated that "Christianity, in adding the Devil to witchcraft beliefs, turned witches into heretics and apostates." The witch served and invoked powers that were not Christian powers. All the stories of evil wrought by witches were simply propaganda to bolster up this central accusation. "Puritans believed that Satan attacked the soul by assaulting the body, and that because women's bodies were weaker, the Devil could reach women's souls more easily, breaching these 'weaker vessels' with greater frequency. ... Among witches, the body clearly manifested the soul's acceptance of the diabolical covenant" (Reis, 1995:15). A generally held view was that the Devil was loose in the world and was working through the weaker half of humankind, "old peasant women ... only too readily allied themselves with the Devil in his indefatigable attempts to spread death and desolation among God's people" (Easlea, 1980:2).

Church hegemony was uncompromisingly patriarchal and mirrored society. This was not confined to Christianity but followed a general trend in other religions. Smith (1989:71) stated "Judaeo-Christian men have always had trouble coping with women. In Orthodox Jewish ritual, men have traditionally been required to start the day by giving thanks for not being made a woman". Within the Christian church, women were strictly controlled and even feared.

> *..Catholic application of St. Paul's dictum that women must remain silent in church ... De Lancre's horror at female participation in religious services*

> *betrayed a characteristic tendency of mainstream church and secular authorities of Reformation times to associate women with religious deviance. This association reinforced traditional Christian fears of women and helped to fuel the misogyny that underlay witch-hunting.*
>
> (Klaits, 1985:71)

Gage (1893:97/106) maintained that the church not only degraded woman by destroying her self-respect, and teaching her to feel consciousness of guilt in the very fact of her existence, but that the humiliation and torture of women increased in proportion to the spread of Christianity.

> *Three centuries before the witch craze was under way the Abbot Conrad of Marchtal voiced a scarcely atypical sentiment: 'We and our whole community of canons, recognising that the wickedness of women is greater than all the other wickedness of the world, and that there is no anger like that of women, and that the poison of asps and dragons is more curable and less dangerous to men than the familiarity of women, have unanimously decreed for the safety of our souls, no less than for that of our bodies and goods, that we will on no account receive any more sisters to the increase of our perdition, but will avoid them like poisonous animals.'*
>
> (Easlea, 1980:34)

The influence of the church impacted on the increased tempo of witch-hunts. "In general, the religious strife of the Reformation probably had the effect of increasing fear and hatred of women" (Klaits, 1985:70). In 1648 John Stearn explained witchcraft as a female phenomenon on the grounds that women were more easily displeased and revengeful than men, due to Satan "prevailing with Eve" (Fraser, 1984:105). People who testified against witches were involved in a process that was manipulated by the clergy as part of their general concern to sustain and propagate their theological conception of witchcraft (Holmes, 1993:77). Biblical passages reinforced misogyny by the church. God's commandment to Moses, (Exodus 22:18) stated "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" and women in general were elsewhere referred to as "the weaker vessel" (Peter 3:7). Smith (1989:71) stated "In Ecclesiastes we read: 'The wiles of a woman I find mightier than death; her heart is a trap to catch you and her arms are fetters.' St. Paul said: 'It is a good thing for a man

to have nothing to do with women.'" Quaife (1987:84-5) agreed that Christianity contained the seeds of misogyny. Women were seen as a temptation, prone to evil and easily misled - deadly sins were given female characteristics. By the fifteenth century many academic clergy were remote from women and viewed them either as guardians of social order in their role as mothers and wives, or as wicked temptresses in the form of prostitutes, wantons and witches. It was against this theological background that Sprenger and Kramer wrote the *Malleus Malificarium* in 1486.

The church increased control over society in 1085 when matrimony became a sacrament of the church and again in 1415 when extreme unction was instituted. Each of these dogmas "threw more power into the hands of the church" (Gage, 1893:96). This power is exemplified by Barstow (1995:19) who explained that after being executed as a witch "All her goods and estate went to the bishop's treasury". However, this would not have been a strong motive, as although the estate of the accused and her relations had to meet the cost of the trial, including the fees for torture (Daly, 1978:216), the stereotypical witch was usually female, poor, single and without protection. It is unlikely that material gain would have been the main incentive to prosecute for witchcraft (refer section 2.2.7).

To recapitulate, religion and magic had a long history of parallel association that still lingered in early modern history. However, the Reformation had a huge impact on the stability and authority of the Protestant and Catholic churches, which were forced into a struggle against religious practices that they believed satanic in origin. In an attempt to reinforce their authority the churches linked magic and heresy to

any behaviour they deemed deviant. Church hegemony controlled women's role in religion, and this misogyny was channelled into identifying deviant women who could then be accused of witchcraft and heresy.

2.2.5.1. Witch images identified in 2.2.5

Demonic pact
Devil's mark
Deviant
Heretical

2.2.6 Torture, Trial and Execution

The torture, trial and execution of witches were carried out under the authority of the church and secular courts. All followed predictable and predetermined actions that were underpinned and supported by the popular beliefs held at that time, and "Religious authority underlay all social and political arrangements." (Klaits, 1985:22). The legal system was staffed entirely by men (Hester, 1992:200 and Barstow, 1995:142) and their role was to obtain convictions within an established legal framework.

Torture was the main method of extracting confessions. Humiliation was a critical tactic of the torturers, hand in hand with inflicting pain (Marshall, 1995:55). Huge numbers of women were tortured to such an extreme degree that they confessed to anything and everything their tormenters desired, and thus became living proof of these fantasies (Daly, 1978:181). The accused under torture could not hope for mercy. "If she contorted her features with pain she was laughing. If she lost consciousness she had bewitched herself into silence" (Quaife, 1987:31).

> *There were eye-gougers, branding irons, spine rollers, forehead tourniquets, thumbscrews, racks, strappados, iron boots for crushing legs, heating chairs, choking 'pears'. The torturers cut off hands and ears of their victims, imposed artificial sleeplessness, unendurable thirst (by feeding salted foods and refusing liquids), and 'squassation,' which completely dislocated hands, feet, elbows, limbs and shoulders. I have already alluded to the fact that humiliation, stripping and the usual gang rape were not counted as 'torture'.*
>
> (Daly, 1978:214)

Writers agreed that torture played a large part in the escalation of panics, producing a snowballing effect as each victim was forced to name accomplices (Klaits 1985:5 and Scarre 1987:27). Many English judges feared that witches might employ sorcery to help them withstand pain and would permit extreme forms of torture to overcome this possibility (Levack, 1987:75). Gage (1893:96) maintained that it was believed that a woman would only speak the truth under torture, and that the testimony of one man was held to be equal to that of two or three women. Death by torture was the method by which woman's intellect was repressed and "few women dared to be wise..." (Gage, 1893:105). The dynamics of the witch trials were a manifestation of the deep seated misogyny in early modern times and were a symptom of the rise in fear and hatred of women during the era of the Reformation (Klaits, 1985:52).

An important means of identifying a witch was to locate a secret mark on her body, which, it was claimed, was proof she had consorted with the Devil. "A whole profession grew up, willing to travel around and search out witches for a fee" (Larner, 1981:35). Women suffered extreme humiliation and pain while they were examined for these marks and it is alleged that men satisfied their sexual desires and fantasies whilst carrying out these tasks (Barstow, 1995:15).

> *The development of a profession of male prickers who made a living by examining every inch of a woman's body, particularly her vagina, anus and*

> *breasts, certainly raised questions, even among some contemporaries, as to its propriety and the individual motivation involved.*
>
> (Quaife, 1987:105)

Needles or sharp instruments were driven into suspected parts to determine a Devil's mark. If the women felt no pain, she was guilty. Enright (1995:104) reported that such was the zeal of some examiners that they used retractable needles or blades that didn't pierce the skin and therefore caused no pain. Fraser (1984:103) commented that the bodies of old women, marred perhaps by protuberances and growths of different sorts including harmless warts and lumps and dangerous tumours, (which when pricked may not have hurt) would have been targeted as having the witch's mark.

Various laws were passed over the centuries to provide the judicial system with authority to prosecute witches. The first Act was passed in 1542 with witchcraft being finally repealed in 1951. The declining influence of the church meant that after 1550, trials were usually held in the secular courts (Levack, 1987:1). Both Levack (1987:149) and Klaits (1985:25) wrote that except in England, the inquisitorial procedure became the normal and most effective method for the trial of heresy and witchcraft.

> *Once heretics and witches were charged ... the judge was able to use his powers of investigation to build up a dossier regarding the alleged crime ... it was absolutely necessary for judges to have conclusive proof of guilt before passing sentence.*
>
> (Levack, 1987:68-9)

Witchcraft trials depended upon witnesses, so normal legal requirements were waived to enable anyone to give evidence. Thus, the accused's children could testify against her. Indeed, virtually no one was turned away as being unsuitable to testify against a witch (Dolan, 1995:86-7 and Daly, 1978:197).

The male legal system sought to obtain convictions, however tenuous, within an established legal framework. "The accusation can be completely outrageous; it will be credible essentially if the political system which it backs is accepted. The process of formally accusing, testifying, verifying and remedying play a crucial part in entrenching the system" (Douglas, 1991:726). Klaits (1985:3) maintained that judges and accusers sincerely believed that by executing witches society was cleansing itself of dangerous pollution. The law was predictable and tenacious; Anne Hauldecoeur was barely seven when she was imprisoned for witchcraft. Five years later on July 11, 1619 (her twelfth birthday) she was executed, thus obeying the local decree protecting girls under twelve from execution (Marshall, 1995:61).

The execution of witches was a great public event, and signified that the victim and community were freed from the hostile force of the witch (Larner, 1984:136). Burning witches was not only a ritual of purification but also provided guarantees that they would not return from the dead by means of sorcery (Levack, 1987:83). People wanted to see "the absolute eradication of the witches' bodies, even down to the scattering of the ashes" (Barstow, 1995:156). The public torture and execution of witches officially conveyed strong messages about the expectations and limits of women in society, and displayed the absolute power of the state over the individual woman (Barstow, 1995:146/9).

In summary, the social alienation of women accused of witchcraft was absolute. Rejected by their next of kin, almost universally hated, they died in extremes of physical agony and mental anguish after experiencing protracted suffering in custody and knowing they may have condemned innocent people to a similar ordeal (Easlea, 1980:3).

On the continent of Europe, and also in Scotland a heavy reliance was placed on torture to extract confessions of witchcraft. This played a big part in the escalation of the witch-hunts, as under torture those accused were forced to implicate others. Women were subjected to enormous pain and humiliation when being tortured and examined for the Devil's mark, which if found was proof they had consorted with the Devil. Public executions of witches were a ritual of purification that freed the community from the witch's malevolent force. The dynamics of all the torture, trial and execution of witches, conducted solely by men, reflected the deep seated misogyny in early modern times and during the Reformation.

2.2.6.1 Witch images identified in 2.2.6

Limited intellect
Devil's mark
Wart
Sorcery
Devil's consort
Malevolent

2.2.7 The Social Context of the Witch

2.2.7.1 Victim

Those accused of witchcraft were mainly women who tended to be older, unmarried or widowed, and poor (Hester, 1992:198) and (Klaits, 1985:20). "A crone without protection was a potential witch" (Fraser, 1984:104) and unmarried women, and particularly widows, were more vulnerable to witchcraft accusations. Scarre (1987:25-6) noted that defendants against witchcraft charges were typically over 50 and records show a large number of widows among the defendants. Women became

wholly dependent on the parish for support if their husband's died or deserted them. "...if widowed they could be in either a threatening or vulnerable position, sometimes unable to carry out a trade or craft left them by their husbands ...(and) more likely to be dependent on others for financial support." (Hester, 1992:143). Remarriage for widows was discouraged, for the woman who married again had a number of groups to appease. "First she had to placate her dead husband and his kin; then there were the children whose property expectations might be compromised and third, the young single women in the community may resent her from taking an eligible husband from the pool" (Hester, 1992:148). The wicked stepmother was also often seen as the cause of misfortune, as a manifestation of evil, as a witch. "Mothers, mothers-in-law and stepmothers were susceptible to witchcraft activity and accusation due to the tension created by the unfortunate marriages of their children" (Quaife, 1987:183/5). Barstow pointed out (1995:29) that "the old woman was an ideal scapegoat: too expendable to be missed, too weak to fight back, too poor to matter." It was also believed that the longer a witch lived, the greater her power was supposed to be (Macfarlane, 1970:161-2).

Physical defects and abnormalities were viewed with suspicion. "A bearded woman was a prime suspect. A squint, squeaky voice, limp, hairlip, club foot, retarded speech or contorted face increased concern. ... A witch was expected to be 'bent to a hoop', having her chin and knees meeting" (Quaife, 1987:168). Old people, and especially old women, were hated for the way they looked. "In an age that worshipped outward beauty and equated it with inward virtue, an ugly old woman was seen as evil, and therefore as a witch" (Barstow, 1995:137). It was also declared that no witch looked a person steadily in the face, and the present belief of

a connection between guilt and a downcast look originates from this time (Gage, 1893:103).

In poverty-stricken villages the women accused of witchcraft were often beggars who provoked resentment and guilt. Klaits (1985:5) linked this to present day Halloween, explaining that "when children ring doorbells and announce 'trick or treat', they are recreating ...the fearful role attributed to charity seekers at the time of the witch trials. Villages believed that the beggar's trick, if refused her treat, might be to curse the household by means of witchcraft." The breaking point in relations with beggars seems to have been reached when they had demanded, and been refused charity, and had gone away cursing (Scarre, 1987:41). A witch was usually a relatively dependent member of society and this explained why witches were so often women and especially widows. The position of such people had been weakened by the decline of customary manorial arrangements for the support of the elderly, and the introduction of a national Poor Law had made the householder's role essentially ambiguous. The clergy still insisted on the duty of local charity, whereas local authorities were beginning to forbid householders to give indiscriminate alms at the door. This resulted in a conflict between resentment and a sense of obligation and the resulting guilt became "fertile ground for witchcraft accusations" (Thomas, 1970:64/67).

Unexplained misfortune following the refusal of alms led to witches regularly being held responsible for sudden death due to illness, accident, failure of crops, inclement weather and sudden and unexplained illness, both in humans and animals. Within the household witchcraft might be invoked to explain difficulties between husband

and wife. "Impotence, failure to conceive, miscarriage, stillbirth and infant death were ... attributed to the witch's curse. In short, witches were blamed for nearly every kind of personal calamity" (Klaits, 1985:2) (refer Appendices C and D).

Assertive women were also linked with witchcraft. Women accused of witchcraft were viewed as rebels who did not conform to the social expectations of that time and Quaife (1987:174) stated that a woman's failure to keep her place was critical in witch labelling.

> *...the witch was the quintessential rebel... the important consideration here is that theologians, magistrates and authors of witchcraft treatises viewed them in this way. As a heretic and apostate the witch was considered guilty of ... treason against God; as a Devil-worshipper she was part of an enormous political conspiracy; as a lower-class peasant she was part of a movement that was striving to turn the world upside down.* (Levack, 1987:58-9)

Villagers suspected anyone who had a divisive and defiant personality. A woman who was "devilish of her tongue" and "...noted to be of an ill nature and wicked disposition, spiteful and malicious" (Quaife, 1987:171) would often be targeted as a witch. A woman was viewed as a 'scold' if she spoke out, had a bold tongue, an independent spirit and was quarrelsome, or refused to be put back down. "They talked back to their neighbours, their ministers, even to the judges and executioners" (Barstow, 1995:27). Fraser (1984:103) stated that the scold was by definition female and older women were frequently notorious as scolds; those no longer beholden to father, husband or children felt able to express themselves and often said just what they thought (Barstow, 1995:27). The typical witch was the wife or widow of an agricultural labourer or small tenant farmer, and she was well known for a quarrelsome and aggressive nature (Scarre, 1987:26).

Women who were wise in the ways of folk medicine, midwifery and the disposal of the dead also became vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft. Minowski (1992:293) stated that "Women who had been called physicians in the 13th century were branded as charlatans and witches in the 14th and 15th centuries". In the three centuries preceding the Renaissance, the role of women as healers was heightened by two developments. The first was the evolution of European universities and their professional schools that systematically excluded women as students, thereby creating a legal male monopoly of the practice of medicine. Ineligible as healers, women waged a lengthy battle to maintain their right to care for the sick and injured. The second development (Minowski, 1992:288) was the campaign (promoted by the church and supported by both clerical and civil authorities) to brand women healers as witches. Perhaps the church perceived these women, with their special healing skills, as a threat to its supremacy in the lives of its parishioners. The result was the brutal persecution of unknown numbers of mostly peasant women (Minowski, 1992:294). Midwives were especially vulnerable to charges of witchcraft, especially when the authorities linked the supposedly murderous midwife with the devil-worshipping servant of Satan (Klaits, 1985:97). "Hiltprand's *Textbook of Midwifery*, published toward the close of the 16th century, unabashedly stated that 'many midwives were witches and offered infants to Satan after killing them by thrusting a bodkin into their brains'" (Minowski, 1992:294). Quaife (1987:92) referred to those accused as 'witch-healers' who were the repository of traditional lore. They were counsellors and comforters, yet their role was dangerous. If they failed, distraught and angry clients could interpret their activities as harmful. Women healers came into conflict with the church. "They used ergot for the pain of labour at a time when the Church held that pain in labour was the Lord's just punishment for Eve's original

sin" (Ehrenreich and English, 1988:37). Throughout the witch-hunts the Church lent its authority to the doctor's professionalism ... "If a woman dare to cure without having studied she is a witch and must die. (Of course there wasn't any way for a woman to attend a university and go through the appropriate study)" (Ehrenreich and English, 1988:39). The witch trials placed the male physician on the side of God and law, while it placed the woman healer on the side of darkness, evil and magic. Female healers constituted a threat to the emerging male physician. They had developed the art of healing, and knew much about herbs and remedies and cures. "This gave them an area where they could *act*, where their work could be 'owned' by them ... for patriarchy, this was a danger" (Spender, 1982:328). Barstow also noted (1995:13) that "The midwife's role was interpreted as a crime because of professional jealousy; the midwife usurped the role of the parish priest. Her favoured position as female healer meant she was able to seize the child first and 'baptize' it in the name of the devil, while the priest ran from the rectory, arriving too late".

To summarise, victims accused of witchcraft tended to be older, unmarried or widowed women who were usually alone, without protection and vulnerable. Remarriage was socially discouraged, and a stepmother was often regarded as the cause of misfortune and represented as an evil witch. Ugly old women were viewed as evil and shifty, and village beggars were often targeted as witches, especially if they cursed upon being denied charity. Unexplained misfortune following such curses could lead to allegations of witchcraft, and any independent and assertive woman with a divisive and deviant personality, not afraid to speak out, was viewed as a scold and rebel. Women healers were also vulnerable to accusations of

witchcraft, and midwives were targeted by the church and accused of killing new-born babies to give to Satan. Midwives' knowledge of herbal remedies and cures made them prone to witchcraft accusations, particularly if their treatment was unsuccessful. They also constituted a threat to the emerging, exclusively male, medical profession.

2.2.7.2 Accuser

Community acceptance of the existence of witches was crucial to their successful prosecution, and the witch-hunts were dependent upon the belief that witches had the power to do evil. Briggs (1996:4) described a world thought to be full of hidden and potent forces that ultimately referred back to the two great antagonists … "God and the Devil". He also drew an analogy between witches and snakes, both essentially reacting and striking only after provocation, and while there was no logical basis for this view, it revealed the deep structural patterns of witchcraft belief (1996:137).

Klaits (1985:15) reported that documented accounts showed that psychosomatically induced symptoms ending even in death resulted from the victim's conviction that he or she was bewitched. The educated vigorously asserted the reality of cults devoted to Satan, and by transmitting their fears to the uneducated majority helped deepen the suspicion of magic into a real fear of devil worshippers (Klaits, 1985:16-7). Scarre (1987:41) agreed that the peasantry was influenced by the educated classes and this assisted in the spread of witch accusations.

> *...the common folk were most worried by witches' maleficent magic, the educated by their relations with the Devil ... But what all classes shared was a belief that witches existed, detestable and threatening creatures ... and full of hatred for decent folk. When pressure for witch trials came from both above and below, as it often did, the results were inevitably deadly.* (Scarre, 1987:48)

Village tensions triggered many witch accusations. Holmes (1993:53) wrote that the bulk of witch accusations appeared to have been undertaken entirely within a neighbourhood, and Scarre (1987:41) noted that stresses and anxieties at village level typically underlay the accusations. Stone (1981:190) stated that "...most prosecutions were launched not by learned professional witch-finders but by ignorant neighbours in the village." Villagers throughout Europe believed that some of their neighbours were witches and this belief directly linked to any misfortune they experienced. At village level the accusers of witchcraft were very often neighbours who had nursed a grudge for sometime and looked on misfortune not with sympathy but with dangerous speculation as to the underlying causes of God's visitation and were obsessed to uncover who had caused it.

> *To accuse another of witchcraft enabled action to be taken against the perceived source of personal misfortune. God could not be dealt with, the witch neighbour could. Major elements in this positive accusation were aggression, anger and hostility. This tension manifested itself in spiritual terms in a society in which the spiritual world was very real and all-embracing.*
>
> (Quaife, 1987:180-82)

Macfarlane (1970:168) agreed that "There is no doubt that witchcraft prosecutions were made between people who knew each other intimately. Very few accusations were made against people who lived far away. ... Thus accusations seem to have been limited to the area of intense relationships between individuals. The power of the witch ... reached as far as their social contacts".

This was reflected in the attitude of village communities towards the poor in the conflict between resentment and obligation. In denying assistance to beggars, those with a guilty conscience went on the offensive. Macfarlane (1970:197) stated that "an accusation of witchcraft was a clever way of reversing the guilty, of transferring

it from the person who had failed in his social obligation under the old standard to the person who had made him fail. Through the mechanism of the law, and the informal methods of gossip and village opinion, society was permitted to support the accuser." He also stated that witchcraft accusations were not merely the result of tensions between two individuals, but rather between a group of villagers and an individual (Macfarlane, 1970:206). As previously discussed in 2.2.7.1 the refusal of alms to beggars was pivotal in many witch accusations. "Those with a guilty conscience for refusing assistance may often have sought relief by trying to convince themselves that the refused beggar was a wicked witch, unworthy of charity" (Scarre, 1987:41). Quaife (1987:181) also pointed out that the motivation of accusers was the need to protect and enhance the ego. The act of accusation reversed village attitudes and attracted to the accuser popular support and sympathy instead of suspicion. Accusers sometimes became leaders of village opinion and while normally dependent and powerless, through their witch accusations exercised real power.

A common belief was that of the bewitching of the husband by the wife (Macfarlane, 1970:169-70). It was believed possible for a witch to attack her husband, just as it was possible for her to attack her child. An added pressure on children was the knowledge that if they refused to support charges against their mother, they in turn might be accused of being witches. "It is clear that there was a strong popular belief that witchcraft was hereditary". Gage (1893:99) also pointed out that witch accusations impacted on the accused relatives, who would seek safety by accumulating proof against the accused in order to evade similar charges.

Historians have linked the introduction of printing with the escalation of witchcraft accusations. Easlea (1980:35) described information being disseminated all over Europe by the new art of printing and pamphlets (the pre-runner to newspapers) reported the witch cases in detail (O'Connor, 1996:215-7). The publishers were acutely aware of the emotional impact of images and very often published graphic illustrations of the accused that played greatly on the emotional quality of the trials and the opinions they reported. This publicity made people far more aware of witch accusations and created a mythology, which generated its own evidence and became established folklore (Trevor-Roper, 1967:116-17). The pamphlets had pretensions to rationality, prefacing the actual report with essays on the reality of witchcraft. The presumed verbatim quality of the pamphlets gave credence to the spread of sorcery and encouraged enforcement of strict laws and were quite possibly a palpable aid to the spread of the mania. They also featured woodcuts depicting the physical appearance of the accused, establishing a precedent for the physical stereotype of the witch. One pamphlet featured a woodcut depicting "three women with grotesque, evil countenances, garbed in aprons and headressses…" (O'Connor, 1996:225). Another writer reported that English and Scottish pictures often showed female witches wearing pointed hats (Valiente, 1989:82). The impact of these pamphlets was profound, as they were circulated and read by people from every social level.

> *... functional literacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was far more widespread than the literacy industry of the last ten years would have us believe. ... It is now becoming clear that reading and writing were totally separate and distinct skills. Many could read and regularly read the Bible, chap-books, and what were known as small godly books, but could not write their name. Reading may have been a common peasant skill.*
>
> (Larner, 1984:122)

In short, successful witch accusations relied on a society in which all classes believed in the power and evil of witches and the majority of accusations took place

within the village community as a result of long standing feuds and tensions. Accusations were often triggered by the refusal of alms to an old woman; guilt by the refuser then precipitated an accusation of witchcraft, particularly if harm subsequently befell the person who refused assistance. Witchcraft was considered hereditary, and children gave evidence against their mothers to protect themselves from prosecution. The invention of printing assisted in the escalation of accusations by disseminating details of trials and providing graphic textual images to all levels of society, creating a negative mythology and folklore about witches.

2.2.7.3 Witch images identified in 2.2.7

Single, unmarried
Old women
Alone
Vulnerable
Crone
Wicked stepmother
Ugly
Beggar
Curser
Rebel
Scold
Assertive
Healer
Evil power
Magical power
Halloween

2.2.8 Mediaeval magic and heresy: shaping the image of the witch

This section of the Review of the Literature discusses how the image of the witch was shaped by mediaeval beliefs regarding magic and heresy. From the 1490s, and particularly following the publication of the *Malleus Malificarium* (refer section

2.2.4), there emerged the belief that witches were in league with the Devil. It was also accepted that witches had magical powers, mixed harmful potions and cast spells.

2.2.8.1 Sexuality, the Sabbat and the Devil

By the fifteenth century the notion of devil-worshipping heretics was deeply imprinted on the imagination of Europeans. "By signing the demonic pact, thereby renouncing God and Christianity, she became the devil's servant, a partner in his universal war against all that was good in the world. ... (at) witches' sabbats, the devil's human servants were said to worship him by blaspheming against God, copulating with their master, and indulging in orgies of sexual promiscuity" (Klaits, 1985:25/2). As discussed in section 2.2.6, it was claimed that all who consorted with devils had some secret mark about them, in some hidden place of their bodies, from whence Satan drew nourishment. If any woman possessed a mole or other blemish upon her person, it was immediately pointed to as Satan's seal and as undeniable proof of having sold herself to the devil (Gage, 1893:107). Searching an accused woman's body for the devil's teat was one of the chief proofs of witchcraft, and this lewd scene set the tone of sexual terror and brutality at the heart of the witch-hunts (Barstow, 1995:15) (refer section 2.2.6).

The sabbat was accepted as a real and dangerous meeting of the enemies of society (Quaife, 1987:61). Klaits described a contemporary report on what allegedly took place.

> *De Lancre (prosecutor in Bordeaux) portrayed the sabbat as a lurid affair attended by numerous witches who flew in from considerable distances on broomsticks, shovels, spits, or a variety of domestic animals. ... The devil might appear to his congregants as a three-horned goat, a huge bronze bull,*

> *or a serpent, but, whatever his guise, de Lancre's informers rarely failed to mention his large penis and scaly testicles. ...proceedings began with the witches kissing their master's rear. Then each witch reported malefice she had carried out since the last sabbat. Those with nothing to report were whipped. The business meeting concluded, a work session followed, during which the women industriously concocted poisons and ointments out of black bread and the rendered fat of murdered infants. ... they then banqueted on babies' limbs and toads, followed by a black mass. Finally, the social hour, first dancing then a sexual orgy that continued to dawn, including incest and homosexual intercourse.*
>
> (Klaits, 1985:52-3)

An essential part of the sabbat was the sexual elements. Klaits claimed (1985:53) that the powerfully sexual nature of the dominant imagery began with the broomstick ride, continued with whippings, the display of huge sexual organs, baby-eating, and finally, the frenzied orgy itself. He explained that society believed that no women was content without sex, and those most deprived, the isolated and elderly, would do anything for sex - even selling their soul to the Devil. It was also accepted that the Devil deliberately chose the old, and by implication, the ugly for his sexual pleasure, and women became more evil the older they got. Fantasies developed over centuries reached an extreme form in the *Malleus Maleficarum*; a woman was an imperfect animal in whom lust was insatiable, and dominated by bestial lust she was a willing partner of the Devil (Quaife,1987:94-7). Klaits (1985:67) explained that in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, women were consistently portrayed as the more lascivious of the sexes, forever dragging men into the sin of lust and away from the ascetic spirituality of which they might otherwise be capable. "'Whore and witch' was the standard characterisation of accused women from the villages of Luxembourg, and whore meant a woman who indulged in sex for pleasure, not for money" (Klaits,1985:77). Barstow also agreed (1995:29/133) that "Another complaint against women, especially old women, was what was seen

as their over-assertive sexuality ... old women especially were seen as oversexed (and) widows were seen as all the needier".

2.2.8.2 Broomsticks, Spells and Cats

The *Malleus Malificarium* stated that witches really flew and named a chair or a broomstick as a mode of transport (Easlea, 1980:9). Flying at night was not an alien concept - angels and devils flew - and many witches were certain that they flew to the sabbat on a broomstick, or on the back of an animal. "An overdeveloped imagination of the witches turned their ritual dances using broomsticks into a belief that they were actually flying, a belief validated perhaps by genuine cases of levitation" (Quaife, 1987:61). Klaits (1985:11) explained that tales of flying to the sabbat were the result of visions induced by hallucinogenic substances, and trance-inducing plant derivatives may account for the uniform accounts of flying and devil worship. The recipes for some of these flying unguents have survived and have been shown to contain such substances as atropines that have a mind-altering or hallucinogenic effect (Levack, 1986:16). It is quite possible that some of the women who confessed to attending the sabbath either had experienced something like flight under the influence of drugs or had entered a deep, drug-induced sleep in which they had experienced fantastic or depressing dreams. The content of such dreams could easily have been transformed, under questioning, into a stereotypical account of what went on at the witches' sabbath. "...many women believed that they flew at night and copulated with demons, beliefs which reinforced the conviction of inquisitors that the same women engaged in these activities at the sabbath" (Levack,1987:16-18).

Baldung Grien was probably the first artist to give visual form to these activities. His pictures represented "two sensational aspects of the developed witch stereotype: the supposedly unrestrained sexual appetites of witches and the flight-inducing power of their magical potions" (Hoak,1981:23). This was another way in which midwives were also linked with witchcraft, by theorising that an unexpectedly prompt arrival at a distant confinement could only be explained by society believing that the midwife had resorted to using a broomstick (Minowski,1992:294). Levack (1987:44) also stated that of all the witches' means of aerial transport, the most frequently cited was the broomstick that was primarily a symbol of the female sex, and perhaps reflected the large percentage of female witches. "It also served as a phallic symbol and therefore was appropriate in a scene that was suffused with sexuality".

A general belief in magic related to unusual powers that were only available to special people (Larner, 1984:144). Levack maintained (1987:127) that "It is no accident that witches are often portrayed standing over cauldrons, for it was in such vessels that many of the agents of sorcery were in fact concocted" and Grien's pictures reinforced "the streaming vapours of the witches' concoction" (Hoak, 1981:24). A strong link was made between women accused of witchcraft and harmful spells. Larner (1984:134) explained that roof thatch, an article of clothing, or any personal possession of the suspected witch was collected and ceremoniously burnt both as counter-witchcraft and to demonstrate the identity of the witch. If the counter-witch worked, then guilt was established.

Witches were believed to shelter a 'familiar', a demon in animal form, who suckled at her 'witch's tit', the extra nipple given her when she entered Satan's service (Klaits, 1985:2). Black cats became particularly identified as witches' familiars and in one particular witch accusation a woman had a cat called Rutterkin. "Rutterkin was alleged to 'leap on Mother Flower's shoulder and suck her neck.'" (Barstow, 1995:98). Black cats were frequently burned with a witch at the stake and during the reign of Louis XV of France, sacks of condemned cats were burned upon the public square devoted to witch torture. "The proverbial 'nine lives' of a cat were associated in the minds of people with the universally believed possible metamorphosis of a witch into a cat" (Gage, 1893:94).

To summarise, people accused of witchcraft were believed to have renounced God and Christianity and become servants of the Devil. It was alleged that a secret mark on their body was proof of this allegiance, and searching for this mark formed an important part of the torture and trial of witches (refer section 2.2.6). Those accused of witchcraft were believed to be able to fly to the Sabbat on a broomstick, where they met the Devil, gave account of their evil doings, mixed harmful potions and indulged in sexual orgies, which included intercourse with the Devil. All witches were believed to shelter a demon in animal form, and black cats were generally accepted as taking this shape.

2.2.8.3 Witch images identified in 2.2.8

Sabbat/satanical meetings
Moles or blemishes
Broomstick rides
Oversexed
Magical powers
Spells

Cauldron
Black cats

2.2.9 The End of the Witch-hunt

In 1600 most respectable people believed in witches but by 1700 this was no longer true (Fraser, 1984:117) and in a span of one or two generations, witchcraft went from a source of obsessive dread to a matter of apparent indifference (Klaits, 1985:172). The decline of witch-hunts took place gradually over a period of time, but it is difficult to state at which point in history the terror and fear of witches turned to indifference or cynicism. The decrease in witch accusations is attributed to a number of different factors. Levack (1987:21) listed these as: a series of significant changes in European judicial systems; the mental outlook of the educated and ruling classes; the religious climate and the general conditions in which people lived.

> *In 1500 educated people in Western Europe believed themselves living at the centre of a finite cosmos, at the mercy of (supernatural) forces beyond their control, and certainly continually menaced by Satan and his allies). By 1700 educated people in western Europe for the most part believed themselves living in an infinite universe on a tiny planet in (elliptical) orbit about the sun, no longer menaced by Satan, and confident that power over the natural world lay within their grasp.*
>
> (Easlea, 1980:1)

Nineteenth century historians saw the decline in witch-hunts as a contest between superstition and reason, with the eventual triumph of the latter (Douglas, 1991:730). There was a definite shift in how people viewed things and a less ready acceptance of authority. People questioned previously accepted dogmas (Levack, 1987:219) and as the seventeenth century advanced, the old paradigms gradually gave way to new parameters (Scarre, 1987:55). While the witch beliefs of the lower classes were

slower to die, these were simply reclassified by the elite as 'superstition' and treated with contempt. Sceptics used to win support for their views by ridiculing the beliefs of the "silly rustic shepherds" and other peasants who continued to claim that witches were active in their communities (Scarre, 1987:222-3).

The new thinking was particularly influenced by the scientific theories being advanced, which demanded rational proof and demonstration (Stone, 1981:192). "...it was science, as it became more and more deeply absorbed into the fabric of consciousness, that was finally to convert scepticism about Satan and the reality of witchcraft into firm disbelief" (Scarre, 1987:61). Science provided a powerful tool for criticising expert demonologists of the past and traditional ideas about the kingdom of Satan. "The European elites simply lost interest in persecuting heretics of all kinds" (Klaits, 1985:173).

Religious beliefs and attitudes were also changing and linked to the decline of witch prosecutions (Macfarlane, 1970:189). Stone (1981:191) maintained that the decline of witch persecution in the seventeenth century was lead by the lay and clerical elite, who were the first to lose faith in the system of beliefs upon which the persecutions were founded. Levack (1987:225) agreed that religious zeal and enthusiasm diminished in Europe after 1650 and one illustration of this was the decline of religious warfare that was replaced with national self-interest and dynastic aggrandisement rather than religious ideology. "But the most important effect of the new religious outlook was a decline in the commitment of God-fearing Christians to purify the world by burning witches". Scarre (1987:58) pointed out that in the Middle Ages people "believed in the poverty of human resources, the helplessness of

men in a hostile world through which the Devil wandered, seeking whom he might devour." In the eighteenth century, the menace of Satan was no longer possible for educated people, and it was increasingly common to regard talk of the Devil as a symbolic expression of the evil tendencies within human beings. "In this environment the scientific study of nature flourished; witch prosecution did not". Social and economic changes also impacted on the decline of witch persecutions. The full implementation of the poor-law system in England by the end of the seventeenth century eliminated some of the guilt that villagers experienced when they refused to dispense charity and as Levack (1987:226) suggested "Instead of viewing such persons with fear and suspicion, people chose rather to ignore them". Scarre (1987:58) also pointed out that it is significant that in this period more complex banking, trading and commercial relationships developed, which necessitated a more cooperative existence between individuals and groups of people.

> *...during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the combination of a less collectivist religion, a market economy, greater social mobility, and a growing separation of people through the formation of institutional rather than personal ties would have serious effects on such beliefs.*
>
> (Macfarlane, 1970:202)

The role and status of women began to improve, and Stone linked the rise and fall of witchcraft with different stages of rising female expectations, generated in turn by the growth of literacy and the rise of the individual, all brought about by the Reformation (Stone, 1981:189). Changes in family life increased affection between spouses and men began to take an interest in their roles as husbands and fathers. These transformations in attitudes improved the lives led by many women, at least among the upper classes. In the process, fear of female sexual appetites generally began to fade (Klaits, 1985:172-3).

Changes within the judiciary system assisted in eliminating witchcraft persecutions. The demand for conclusive evidence regarding *maleficium*, stricter rules regarding the use of torture and new decrees either restricting or banning prosecutions all impacted on the number of women being accused of witchcraft (Levack, 1987:215). The abandonment by the establishment of the witch by the end of the 17th century did not kill a belief in witches at the popular level and "… Lancashire housewives continued into the twentieth century to slap a cross on dough left to rise to keep the devil at bay ..." (Hulton, 1986:170). Mass hysteria subsided, although individual prosecutions and lynchings continued and the Victorians accepted witchcraft, along with ghost stories, as a pleasantly tingling ingredient of literature (Sprenger and Kramer, 1486: Introduction by editor, p.13). Witchcraft as an offence was quietly dropped from the statute book where its presence offended a generation educated in rationalist principles and where the relationship between church and state had lost its force.

To conclude, the end of the witch-hunts was due to a number of factors. The advance of scientific theories demanded rational thought and objective analysis, and was in direct conflict with previous superstitions and fear of the Devil, who came to represent evil, rather than being a powerful deity. Religious zeal waned and became replaced with national identity and control. The economic environment became more complex and forced a more cooperative existence between people. Family life was more cohesive, with increased affection between spouses and an improvement in the role and status of women. Finally, changes in the law discouraged witch prosecutions, and the witch gradually became relegated to being a figure in of the past.

2.2.9.1 Witch images identified in 2.2.9

There were no witch images identified in 2.2.9.

2.2.10 Summary of 2.2

Witch-hunts in Europe peaked between 1580 and 1650 and were recorded in trials of that period. The rise in witch-hunts was linked to economic hardship, which especially rendered women vulnerable. Imperialism, colonialisation and misogyny reinforced one another, men gaining more influence and power with a corresponding decline in women's status. The Reformation targeted deviant women, who were believed to be conspiring with the Devil, and as the status of women declined their vulnerability to witchcraft accusations increased. Over a period of approximately 300 years between 200,000 to 9 million people (of whom 80% were female) were accused and executed for witchcraft. The ferocity of the witch-hunts differed between countries, without displaying demographic consistency or pattern.

Women formed the large majority accused of witchcraft as traditional misogyny practised by the church was extended to include their prosecution for witchcraft. Men were intimidated by women's bodies with their power of birth and procreation and protected themselves by constructing women as socially and sexually inferior. Women became increasingly alienated in society, denied training or the right to hold public office.

The *Malleus Malificarium* played a critical role in escalating witch persecutions in early modern history by providing misogynistic images that linked women with

witchcraft and creating a judicial framework for their torture, prosecution and trial. By attributing the witches' powers as a direct link with the Devil, they were established as a threat to church authority. Following the printing and distribution of the *Malleus* the witch-hunts spread throughout Western Europe.

Religion and magic had a long history of parallel association but the Reformation impacted on the stability and authority of the Protestant and Catholic churches and they reinforced their authority by linking magic and heresy to any behaviour they deemed deviant. Church hegemony controlled women's role in religion, and this misogyny was channelled into identifying deviant women who could then be accused of witchcraft and heresy.

The use of torture to extract confessions of witchcraft was crucial in the escalation of the witch-hunts, as those accused implicated others. Women were subjected to enormous pain and humiliation under torture and public executions of witches was a ritual of purification that freed the community from the witch's malevolent force. The dynamics of all the torture, trial and execution of witches, conducted solely by men, reflected a deep seated misogyny in early modern times and during the Reformation.

Victims of witchcraft tended to be older, unmarried or widowed women who were usually alone and vulnerable. Remarriage was socially discouraged, and a stepmother was often regarded as a cause of misfortune and represented as an evil witch. Physical defects were looked upon with suspicion, and an ugly old woman was viewed as evil and shifty. Village beggars were often targeted as witches, especially if they cursed upon being denied charity. Unexplained misfortune

following such curses could lead to allegations of witchcraft, and any independent and assertive woman was viewed as a scold and rebel. Women healers were also vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft, and the church accused midwives of killing new-born babies to give to Satan. Midwives knowledge of herbal remedies and cures made them prone to witchcraft accusations, particularly if their treatment was unsuccessful. They also constituted a threat to the emerging, exclusively male, medical profession.

Successful witch accusations relied on a society that believed in the power and evil of witches. Accusations were often triggered by the refusal of alms, particularly if harm subsequently befell the person who refused assistance. Witchcraft was believed hereditary, and children gave evidence against their mothers to protect themselves. The invention of printing provided graphic images to all levels of society, creating a negative image of witches.

Witches were believed to have renounced God and become servants of the Devil. A secret mark on their body was proof of this allegiance, and searching for this mark formed an important part of their torture and trial. Witches were believed to be able to fly to the Sabbat on a broomstick, where they met the devil, gave account of their evil doings, mixed harmful potions and indulged in sexual orgies, which included intercourse with the Devil. All witches were believed to shelter a demon in animal form, and black cats were generally accepted as taking this shape.

Witch-hunts gradually diminished for several reasons. Scientific theories demanded rational thought and objective analysis, and were in direct conflict with previous

superstitions. Religious zeal waned and became replaced with national identity and control. The economic environment became more complex, resulting in a more cooperative existence between people. Family life was more cohesive, and the role and status of women improved. Finally, changes in the law discouraged witch prosecutions, and the witch gradually became relegated to being a figure of the past. The impact of this figure in European children's literature is discussed in 2.3.

2.3 THE WITCH IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

The previous section of the literature identified the historical precedents of witch images, and established that those images had emerged from the European witch-hunts between 1450-1700. Thus, the images have been identified as having a European basis. The first part of section 2.3 of the Review of the Literature examined the witch image in children's literature from a European perspective in order to establish whether Australian children's literature has been influenced by witch images in European children's literature.

In the second part of section 2.3, consideration is given to how textual discourse on gender, and the consequent stereotyping of the witch, may have influenced the social construction of gender in children's literature.

2.3.1 The impact of the witch in European children's literature

Researchers of children's literature have identified strong contemporary textual images in European children's literature that have been inherited from the European witch persecutions between 1450-1700. The witch figure of early modern history survived as a legacy of official records and oral folk traditions arising from the

witchcraft trials. "The trials and cases were reported in pamphlets … illustrated the likeness of the witch and ... played greatly on the emotional quality of the trials and the opinions they reported. This fed an appetite for sensationalism in the average citizens..." (O'Connor, 1996:215). However, the witch portrayed in children's fiction, though historical in origin, became a useful character for writers to mould and manipulate to suit their story. Greenway (1996:20) maintained that although these events were retold by each generation, the resulting stories of fantasy were set by historical precedent and "...rooted firmly in fact". Lehr (1995:198) proposed that their emergence as a fantasy figure provided a buffer zone to protect the reader from the menace of the witch character. The oral tradition contributed to the witch images, providing a body of knowledge, stories and descriptions of past events that were quite different to the written record. Oral history and folklore provided "details of feelings, moods, tensions, intimacies, idiosyncrasies of personalities and the quality of relationships that were simply not recorded in official documents" (Marland,1998:5).

The literature surveyed considered that witches were strongly represented in children's literature. Folklore and historical evidence (refer section 2.2) had provided writers of children's fiction with a diverse and rich resource to be incorporated into their narratives. Witches were sometimes the protagonists, but often they were given important secondary support roles, linking them with nagging wives and passive heroines (Goodman and Smith, 1996:11). Literary adaptations of the witch motif also employed the demonic association as a means to create suspense and drama (Hanegraaff, 1995:217).

> *Witches are everywhere in modern children's literature. Sometimes they retain their old character, representing evil in its most virulent form, but*

> *more often they have become either harmless tricksters of repositories of ancient wisdom. Such trends remind us how easily the pliable figure of the witch can be manipulated to fit the spirit of each age.*
>
> (Briggs, 1996:5)

The adaptation by modern writers of these 'pliable figures' have effectively linked readers with the witch persona identified by historical precedent and reinforced the characterisation of the witch. From being a menace to society the witch became a powerful figure in literature that continued to be transmitted in children's stories (Hourihan, 1997:16). The female power of the witch was often central to the story, and witches in children's literature suggested a dangerous, and implicitly sexual, female power that was intrinsically evil. In *Hansel and Gretel* the stepmother's power "...is shown to be out of control in the private world of home, while the witch is loose in the forest and her intentions are murderous" (Hourihan, 1997:182-3). This witch was presented as a hunchbacked outsider and "is symbolic of the many who were burned at the stake" (Lehr, 1995:207). "*Hansel and Gretel* is about nothing but eating ... Witches are always offering children food... Cooking after all is a form of magic, because you convert food from one state to another" (Enright, 1995:165).

Lurie (1971:6) raised questions about the negative links - "underground connections" - between fairy tales and modern fiction - between the first stories that children read (or heard) and their subsequent impact on later reading. She argued that children's initial literary experiences were frequently linked to nursery rhymes and fairy tales, in which the witch figure often occupied a central role. In *Cinderella* and *Snow White*, the witches were also presented as the wicked stepmother, and these stories reinforced the statement that the fairy tale was the literary home of the wicked witch (Hourihan, 1997:180). Strong links existed between witches and popular rhymes and fairy tales. The rhyming *Mother Goose* question 'Old woman,

old woman, oh whither, oh whither so high? To sweep the cobwebs from the sky, and I'll be back by and by,' doubtless owed its origin to the witchcraft period (Gage, 1893:95).

The Brothers Grimm stories tended to portray old and middle-aged women as evil, witch-like figures, dangerous and threatening to innocent young women. Their "... elderly females tend to be driven by their natural malignancy. They require no motive" (Boebel,1992:318) but are reminiscent of the character of witches established in section 2.2.

> *... the step-mother and her evil influence is so conspicuous a feature of the fairy tales and of the literature as a whole, that it seems to correspond to something important in the lives of those who repeated them. The lonely old widowed woman, witch in possibility and sometimes in fact, is a familiar figure too.*
>
> (Laslett,1971:100)

Moore (1975) believed that children exposed to these fairy tales at a formative age had images and values presented to them which revealed serious flaws in the quality of that literary experience. He maintained that children accepted these stories at face value, making no distinction between fantasy and reality.

> *One of the most obvious and pervasive negative aspects of fairy tales is their sex-role stereotyping. Females are usually portrayed as princesses or poor girls on their way to becoming princesses, fairy godmothers or good fairies, wicked and evil witches, jealous and spiteful sisters, proud, vain and hateful stepmothers, or shrewish wives.*
>
> (Moore, 1975:1)

In accepting Moore's position, it can be argued that the literary images young readers experienced in their formative reading encouraged and reinforced negative values, concepts and behaviours. These images then impacted on their understanding and concept of characters with witch-like characteristics read about during their young and adolescent years.

2.3.2 Gender in children's literature: social construction and misogyny

A strong symbiosis exists between people and their language, and this section reviews how language is influenced by, and reflects the culture and society it serves. It also discusses how gender is depicted in children's literature, and how some textual images may portray misogyny and negative role models for young readers, particularly when characterising witches.

Kamler (1994:129-33) pointed out that all texts are socially produced and reveal an ideological operation of texts and cultures. Thus, patterns of meaning emerge in the wording, providing links between the text and the social world beyond. Stephens (1996:19) endorsed this statement, maintaining that generic discourses readily evoked gender stereotypes because characters were caught up in events that tended to have gendered forms and outcomes. For example, male career patterns usually follow a structure of anxiety, doubt, conflict, challenge, temporary setback, then final success and triumph. However, there is a social absence of a female 'career' structure comparable to this male pattern in fiction.

Rhedding-Jones (1993:52) argued that gender was not just about biological sex differences, but incorporated social differences and Trepanier-Street and Romatowski (1999:155) maintained that gender stereotypic thinking could limit children's choices, interests and abilities. "Gender images are never the product of isolated texts. Any text must be read in terms of its relationship with other texts of the culture" (Moon, 1990:56). Different textual images promoted different responses depending on the cultural and socio-economic attitudes and values of the

reader, and people constantly exposed to such texts had their understanding of society shaped accordingly (Luke and Bishop,1994:109).

McConnell asserted that "...literacy plays a fundamental role in empowering people" (1992:12) but when viewing literacy as a social construct there could be little doubt that literacy and literacy education could also be used to reinforce subordination (1992:126). Viewed from this perspective it could be seen that literacy could be used to malign and oppress people and an example of this were the negative witch images from the witch-hunts of 1450-1700 that perpetuated images of certain types of women. An extension of this was the notion of 'double negative power' that was found in the roles given to women in some fairy tales, for instance the role of witch/stepmother in *Snow White* (Warner 1995:222). Gilbert (1993:329-30) also regarded gender as a social construct held in place by a range of social practices (including language practices) and maintained that this process provided a window to explore the link between social and language practices. This assertion by Gilbert could be connected to possible social constructions perceived by young readers when presented with texts containing witch images. For example, the physical attractiveness of some characters could be regarded as a social construct that also affirmed the value people placed on themselves (Stephens, 1999:5). If accepted, this argument would work conversely when reading stories containing witches and evil women, as they would present stereotypes that devalued self-identity.

Dixon (1992:380) reported that in an article on medieval misogyny, R. Howard Bloch suggested that so persistent was the discourse of misogyny that the uniformity of its terms furnished an important link between the Middle Ages and the present.

Such terms still governed (consciously or not) the ways in which the question of woman were conceived. However, misogyny in literature could be subtle. Rogers (1966:preface) described how innuendo and contrived plots could encourage negative attitudes. He recounted how authors could use characters to put forward their own views to condemn certain women and this condemnation would then spread, implicitly or explicitly, to the whole sex. Plots could also be contrived to initiate misogyny. One example was "when there was no wicked female character whose behaviour could be used to provoke a misogynistic tirade, the playwright made an opportunity by setting up a situation in which the misjudgement of a good women could provoke one" (Rogers, 1966:120). There was also evidence that embedded in chivalric texts were images of women as monsters and witches. Any beautiful lady, these romances hinted, might be a sorceress.

> *In the medieval tale of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, for instance, the hero is tested by a temptress whose wiles threaten his destruction and whose charms force him to confront his own mortality. Similarly the medieval Tristan documents Tristan's death at the hands of a false Isolde even while it dramatizes the joys of the Cave of Love …*
>
> (Gilbert and Gubar, 1985:7)

Kamler (1994:132) expressed concern regarding the textual representation of women by the various wordings associated with them.

> *To understand how texts participate in the exercise of social power that results in gender inequality, we need to understand the notion of discourse and how discourses operate in text.*
>
> (Kamler, 1994:131)

Discourse was the "underlying social meaning" of what is written, with the central theme being power (Rhedding-Jones 1993:52). As people become socially conscious as readers, they developed an awareness of the implications of the text and became affected by the powerful images presented to them. The power of discourse

thus increased when witch images portrayed in children's books were placed in an environment easily recognised by the readers, which reinforced the influence of such images. Lehr (1995:195) made this connection, stating that "If fantasy is a mirror reflecting the social issues of our times, then the stories of these harried female heroes are vital voices in fantasy books because they offer diverse perspectives and options for children to consider". Despite social change, negative witch imagery continued to be employed, reinforcing the historical influence of the witch and the conscious or subconscious desire by writers to maintain that influence.

Luke and Bishop (1994:109) felt that a core question when studying any text should ask how society, culture and people were portrayed, and what attitudes and values did these images promote? For example, themes could be demonstrated in children's literature through the physical appearance of a female character. Clothing and physical features were used to draw cultural stereotypes of the witch or prostitute (Mallan, 2000:26-7) and the 'good' woman was usually presented as blond, whereas evil was portrayed as dark. Yeoman stated (1999:438) that "…white images of goodness and beauty are still vastly more pervasive … Darkness, on the other hand, is still equated with the exotic, the occult and often, with evil".

Witch images from the European witch-hunts were reinforced in children's literature through fairy tales, and these stories were accepted by readers based on a range of individual preconceptions, formed quite unconsciously by their backgrounds, ages and experiences of reading in many contexts. Factors such as race, class, age, nationality, sexuality, ethnicity and language influenced the way any text was read and certainly preconceptions about gender impacted on the way witches were

viewed. Goodman and Smith (1996:10) state that "...gender does matter in reading literature, at least in so far as it influences our expectations about texts…".

2.3.3. Summary of 2.3.1 and 2.3.2

The literature reviewed acknowledged that the legacy of written records from the witchcraft persecutions of the early modern period had impacted on the characterisation of the witch in children's literature. Witches were strongly represented in children's fiction, and the witch figure had developed from a social problem in the Middle Ages to a powerful figure in children's literature. The writers questioned the quality of this literary experience for children, as witch characters were usually anti-social and provided negative role models to young readers.

Several writers strongly endorsed the notion that texts were a social product, reflecting the attitudes and values of each culture. Reader assumptions were formed by their background and experiences, which influenced their expectations about texts. This would impact on how they interpreted the patterns of meaning revealed in the texts, promoting ideological or stereotypical texts. These powerful discourses could reflect on gender and promote misogyny.

2.4 THE RESEARCH QUESTION RESULTING FROM THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The research question to be addressed within this study is as follows:

Do women portrayed as witches in Australian children's literature reflect the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the research methodology and describes the data collection techniques used. The literature review generated the study hypothesis and established the following sections within this chapter to describe the methodology, viz

- The study design, parameters and implementation used to test the hypothesis.
- The research design of the study, including the use of theme analysis and group consensus.
- An examination of the children's literature used within the study.
- Information regarding variables within the research and how they were accommodated.
- The analysis of the research methodology.
- A summary of the methodology theory and application.

The methodology employed was considered the most appropriate to test the hypothesis and provide validity and reliability of the study outcomes. Limitations to the methodology are discussed in section 5.3.

3.2 DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to determine the degree stereotypical female images, inherited from the European witch-hunts between 1450 to 1700, were portrayed in Australian children's fiction. From the research question presented in Chapter 2, a

hypothesis was generated to be tested in this study and hence define the methodology.

HYPOTHESIS

That women portrayed as witches in Australian children's literature reflect the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

The children's literature surveyed within the study was selected from the 'Witches and Warlocks' section in Kerry White's *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide* (White, 1993:175) and Kerry White's *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide Update* (White, 1996:78) (refer Appendix E for full list of books surveyed). This selection consisted of fictitious stories written by Australian authors, or authors living in Australia and provided a cross-section of relevant literature consisting of short stories and novels for primary school readers and novels for secondary school students. The analysis of the selected books identified and categorised the witch images within each book using the criteria of historical images established in section 2.2 (refer section 3.2.4).

The twenty-three books (refer footnote[2]) selected for analysis (refer section 3.3) were read by a panel of three judges, which included the researcher. Following a set of training sessions on presentation of analysis and consensus reached, each book analysis was presented to the three judges (refer section 3.4) and accepted on the condition of group consensus (refer section 3.2.5). The images identified by the judges were the result of an extensive Review of Literature from which the witch

images were recorded from the historical evidence. The witch images were clustered into four descriptors: Social Indicators, Traits, Physical Appearance, and Activities and Roles (refer section 3.2.4) and were used as the basis of the survey instrument (refer Appendix F). The images, if found, could also be linked to author, protagonist, or character gender.

A descriptive research approach was adopted, with data gathered by the reading treated both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative data was recorded from the first page of the survey instrument to record the frequency of certain characteristics regarding each book. The major research focus was qualitative methodology: these data were generated by recording, collating and analysing the images recorded on the second and third pages of the survey instrument.

3.2.1 Quantitative data analysis

Data collected on page one of the survey instrument was analysed using the computer software package Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Frequencies were run on all the variables and cross-tabulations conducted to compare the relationships and trends between the author's gender and total witches and the author's gender and protagonist's gender. On pages two and three of the survey instrument the number of images in each descriptor were also counted to determine the popularity with the authors of certain witch images.

3.2.2 Qualitative data analysis

A qualitative research method had two particular aspects regarding its validity. The first was that it was a process of discovery (i.e., a research method that achieves its

aims). Secondly, the image categories themselves should be recognisable by other researchers (new literature images) or identifiable (past literature images) (Marton, 1988:183 and Laurillard, 1990:3). Validity was established at the beginning of the research by defining the key traits and images and maintained throughout the data-gathering process. In addition, consensus was reached on the revealed images and their relevant category in each book by the three judges.

3.2.3 Theme analysis in children's literature

The main research methodology adopted by this study was theoretically informed by previous research using theme analysis in children's literature. A variety of methods to analyse literature had been used but there was a general lack of consensus on how this research into literature should be conducted (Steinfirst, 1986:626). This study did not include a textual analysis of the texts (e.g., the plot, narrative or characterisation), nor did it undertake a content analysis. Theme analysis was chosen in preference to content analysis as the latter was purely quantitative and did not allow for qualitative judgements to be made. Content analysis was a popular research method but previous research had established that most of the current research activities carried out was not really content analysis, but theme analysis-descriptive research. In a content analysis conducted on the fantasy genre (Dowd and Taylor, 1992:178) the analysis was broken down into nine major characteristics (e.g., character, conflict, setting, etc.) which in turn each had a number of sub-genre that reflected the parts of each characteristic. However, despite the research methodology being identified as content analysis, the sub-genres listed reflected themes, rather than content, and in fact were referred to as 'themes' by the authors in their findings.

Theme analysis of the fantasy genre has been a popular method of criticism since it was introduced by Ernest B Bormann in 1972 (Behr, 1992:2). Steinfirst (1986:629) stated that this approach analysed the content of literature in order to investigate certain ideas, attitudes, and patterns in books. This methodology was based on "*comparing* the vision of a group to some objective measure" (Behr, 1992:4). Behr stated that Bormann's theory operated *within the context* of an objectively *real* world and this real world impinged on the process of chaining fantasy themes and forming rhetorical visions. "To put it simply, fantasy themes are about reality, particularly a social reality (Behr, 1992:7).

Theme analysis as a methodology was chosen for this study as the qualitative nature of the data offered opportunities to investigate historical themes and ascertain whether they were linked to contemporary culture and beliefs. Text was a powerful method for understanding the ways in which all sorts of realities are constructed through language (Birch, 1989:20).

> *Different cultures, societies, and individuals classify and understand the world in different ways and this recognition needs to be a crucial part of the thinking involved in a dynamic textual interpretation. As readers/critics ... we make choices about the way we order our lives, our political positions.*
>
> (Birch, 1989:25)

This study analysed witch images in children's literature that had been inherited by historical precedent. These images in turn had created social values that reflected the life reality, expectations and experiences of the reader. When writing about images and events from the past it was the responsibility of writers to "...determine what influenced past events and what, if any impact that knowledge has for the present" (Steinfirst, 1986:627). By using theme analysis as a methodology, realistic

perspectives offered a strategy "...for understanding such notions as social reality, intersubjectivity, and social constructivism" (Behr, 1992:11).

> *In other words, the benefit of conceiving fantasy, theme analysis as a perspective realist theory is that it can tell us not just about linguistic fantasies that are about linguistic fantasies, but that it can tell us about linguistic fantasies that are the life and experience of the persons involved in the fantasy. It can tell us about how persons relate, not just to language, but to the complex world of reality in which they live.*
>
> (Behr, 1992:8)

Steinfirst (1986:629) argued that the majority of research reported in periodical literature was theme analysis, and revealed that a survey of current research indicated that it dealt primarily with how social and cultural values were reflected in literature for children. Images reflected different aspects of family life, the elderly, sexism, racism, ethnic and minority groups and issues about death and dying, with fantasy being the most popular genre studied. Steinfirst also referred to research carried out by Joe B. Hurst who concluded that role models in children's books tended to create and reinforce stereotypes.

> *Hurst analysed 20 Caldecott winners and 20 non-award winners over a 20-year period to determine what images were being projected to children in these books. He found that the books distort the images of women, minorities, and the elderly, while generally portraying these groups in traditional, limited roles with statuses inferior to white males.*
>
> (Steinfirst, 1986:629)

Stewig emphasised the importance of the witch figure, either at the plot's centre, or at least as an important character and referred to witches in contemporary children's literature as the most interesting, recurring figures in recent fantasy for young readers.

> *Sometimes these women use physical powers; at other times they use mental powers. Sometimes they work alone; at other times they work with someone. Sometimes their abilities are good, and at other times, evil. In most of the*

> *books, there are finite limits to the powers, despite the magical nature of the characters.*
>
> (Stewig, 1995:119)

He conducted a theme analysis comparing three books in which the witch was the main character, identifying their current literary importance. "In these fantasies (*The Ghost Drum, The Earth Witch* and *Snow-Eyes*) ... we find an impressive array of abilities, making the witch/wise woman one of the most interesting characters in this genre" (Stewig, 1995:131).

To summarise, books are a powerful source by which the emotions can be influenced and minds educated. The importance of literature lies in its ability to "...submerge the student in a context (and perhaps a culture) quite different from his or her own" (Solomon, 1986:55). Books remain an important component of contemporary culture and are a powerful vehicle through which images were constructed and perpetuated. The witch figure had been established as an important character in children's fiction, either as a central figure or an important secondary character, and writers of children's literature should acknowledge any historical precedents and use such events to produce positive characters and outcomes. Literary theme analysis was conducted by researchers to investigate certain ideas, attitudes and patterns in books; the current study aimed to conduct a theme analysis which reflected images of the past in current children's literature. It was important that this methodology was conducted in the context of the real world to strive for an understanding of social and cultural values.

3.2.4 Categorisation of Witch images identified in the historical sources

This section explains and justifies the categorisation of the witch images for data analysis. The historical evidence (refer section 2.2) from the witch-hunts between 1450-1700 identified a number of themes or images that were linked to the identification of witches (Fraser, 1984:112-3, Hester, 1992:198, Klaits, 1985:16-7 and Quaife, 1987:62-3). These images reflected the cultural bias and influences of that period. The majority of people accused of witchcraft were women, and most of the images identified from the literature were implicitly gender specific. That is, while the images could be linked to males or females, reality confined their association with women (Klaits, 1985:59, Levack, 1987:125-6, Midelfort, 1981:29, Stone, 1981:189, Quaife, 1987:81 and Barstow, 1995:16). The contemporary picture of a witch comes from this era ... "our common picture of the witch as an ugly old hag, living alone, and known for her eccentricities is not unlike the sixteenth or seventeenth century stereotype" (Daly, 1978:185). The witch themes identified in the historical sources, therefore, evolved as a result of the culture and beliefs of that era, and were used in this study as variables to survey the children's literature for similar images. An investigation was undertaken to ascertain whether those images were being carried forward to contemporary life, despite the different social context in which they would now occur.

Once the witch images were identified in the historical literature they were evaluated by the researcher to determine specific theme groupings for investigation and analysis. These groupings were discussed by the panel of judges (refer 3.4.2) who agreed that the witch images should be grouped into four areas, or descriptors. These descriptors reflected the social status of the witches, their personality and

characteristics, their physical appearance, and the activities and roles believed to be conducted by people accused of witchcraft (refer section 2.2). The four descriptors, each listing a set of images (variables), were used as criteria to collect data on the survey instrument (refer Appendix F).

The data gathered from the children's literature were compared with these groups of images and analysed using theme analysis (refer 3.2.3). The study aimed to identify witch images in children's literature and, following the work of Steinhurst (1986), Behr (1992) and Stewig (1995), investigated the evidence of certain ideas, attitudes and patterns in the books.

A justification for the grouping of images within each of the four descriptors now follows. Each separate image (variable), used as data collecting criteria, is identified in *italics*.

3.2.4.1 Social indicators

These images reflected the low veneration in which people accused of being witches were held by the prevailing cultural norms at the time of the witch-hunts. This descriptor reflected the social status of witches, e.g., their socio-economic status, level of education, age, marital status and domestic arrangements (refer section 2.2.7).

As established in section 2.2, the Reformation created religious tensions between Protestant and Catholic churches, creating pockets of poverty in society. Women who were *poor* (Barstow, 1995:26, Easlea, 1980:20, Hester, 1992:143, Levack,

1987:16/133 and Midelfort, 1981:28) *alone* (Daly, 1978:185, Fraser, 1984:100, Hester, 1992:143 and Quaife, 1987:162) and unprotected (often *old* (Dolan, 1995:90, Fraser, 1984:104, Klaits, 1985:72, Levack, 1987:16, Quaife, 1987:94 and Midelfort, 1981:28) and widowed) became *socially alienated* (Quaife, 1987:163) from mainstream society. Their limited education (sometimes rendering them *illiterate* (Daly, 1978:192, Easlea, 1980:20 and Ehrenreich and English, 1973:8)) *low social status* (Minowski, 1992:294 and Midelfort, 1982:146) and *single* (Briggs, 1996:264, Daly 1978:184, Levack, 1987:130 and Midelfort, 1981:28) state rendered them *vulnerable* (Hester, 1992:143) to the need of charity and set the scene for accusations of witchcraft by people who had denied them charity (refer 2.2.5).

3.2.4.2 Characteristics/personality (traits)

The images in this descriptor grouped behavioural patterns expected of witches (identified in section 2.2). The characteristics and personality, or traits, of people accused of witchcraft linked to the expectations based on cultural norms regarding witch behaviour between 1450-1700 and most of these expectations were levied against women (Klaits,1985:59, Levack,1987:125-6, Midelfort, 1981:29, Stone, 1981:189, Quaife,1987:81 and Barstow,1995:16). It also reflected a society who believed that these patterns of behaviour placed the women outside society and the church (Smith, 1989:71 and Ehrenreich and English,1973:13-4). Society believed that certain *offensive* (Quaife,1987:177) attitudes and traits displayed a predisposition to being a witch. Women were assumed to be witches if they were *assertive* (Quaife, 1987:174, Barstow, 1995:27/29 and Larner, 1984:84) and were viewed as *rebels* (Quaife, 1987:63) against society. If a woman was *easily provoked* (Macfarlane,1970:173) and unafraid to speak out, or was spiteful or *malevolent*

(Quaife, 1987:177 and Ehrenreich and English, 1973:19) she was assumed to be a witch. If a woman had a bold tongue she was viewed as a *scold* (Fraser, 1984:103). If *cursing* (Easlea, 1980:20, Fraser, 1984:104, Klaits, 1985:87, Macfarlane, 1970:1987:201 and Quaife, 1987:173) when denied charity a woman would be considered a *revengeful* (Macfarlane, 1970:173) witch when subsequent mishap occurred to those cursed. Society believed that witches were *deviant*, *divisive* (Daly, 1978:185 and Quaife, 1987:171) and *evil,* (Barstow, 1995:137 and Boebel, 1992:318) had the *ability to cast harmful spells* (Hoak, 1981:26) and wield *magical power* (Ehrenreich and English, 1973:10 and Stone, 1981:180-1). Evil tendencies also linked to their affiliation with the Devil, and targeted them as *heretics* (Easlea, 1980:2, Klaits, 1985:40, Levack, 1987:32-35 and Quaife, 1987:22).

3.2.4.3 Physical appearance

The third descriptor grouped images that section 2.2 identified as describing the expected physical appearance of witches. Western European culture in the early modern period viewed physical defects with suspicion. Beauty was admired, and linked with virtue, while old women we seen as *ugly* (Daly, 1978:185) and evil, and *blemished* with *warts* and *moles* (Daly, 1978:199 and Fraser, 1984:103). Old age was a dominant feature of those women accused of witchcraft and a witch was often identified as being a *crone* (Fraser, 1984:104) who was *bent* (Quaife, 1987:168) or *stooped* (Fraser, 1984:102). Physical defects and disabilities were considered manifestations of the stereotypical witch, and disfigurements, especially the *devil's mark (*Daly, 1978:199, Fraser, 1984:103, Gage, 1893:122, Klaits, 1985:2, Quaife, 1987:55, Barstow, 1995:15, Larner, 1984:77 and Larner, 1981:35) were considered proof that she was a witch and had consorted with the Devil.

3.2.4.4 Activities and Roles

This descriptor grouped the activities and roles of the witches to represent those images that were identified in section 2.2. The activities and roles of the people accused of practising witchcraft reflected a strong Judeo/Christian belief bias and the superstitious beliefs between 1450-1700. As discussed in section 2.2.5, there were close links between religion and magic; people believed that magical acts linked to co-operation with the Devil, and it was accepted that the Devil worked against the church. Thus, by implication, magic (and therefore witches) worked against the culture and society of that time and *threatened the male hegemony* (Larner, 1984:84).

Witches were also accused of being the *Devil's sexual slave*s (Daly.1978:180, Klaits, 1985:73-4, Quaife, 1987:52/94/99) and *attending sabbat meetings* (Klaits, 1985:53, Quaife, 1987:26 and Valiente, 1989:81/88) to participate in sexual orgies. These meetings were usually held at distant locations, and it was accepted that the witch's mode of travel to these venues was by *riding through the air on a broomstick* (Easlea, 1980:9, Gage, 1893:95, Klaits, 1985:52-3, Levack, 1987:44, Minowski, 1992:294, Quaife, 1987:61 and Valiente, 1989:83).

There were also tensions resulting from the Reformation, which undermined the traditional church's authority and removed beliefs and worship practices. Villagers felt less secure after the Reformation, and were not confident they were protected from the Devil, believing that witches were in league with and *worshipped Satan* (Klaits, 1985:53 and Quaife, 1987:22). The protestant church did not re-establish welfare, and a gender bias grew against women in need of charity, who became

beggars (Easlea, 1980:20, Klaits, 1985:102 and Macfarlane, 1970:151). They were also vulnerable to accusations of *magical powers* (Ehrenreich and English, 1988:36-7, Hoak, 1981:26 and Stone, 1981:180) and the ability to *mix harmful spells* (Stone, 1981:182 and Valiente, 1989:82/86). "The key point is that magic was a way of making sense of the universe ... magic fulfilled the social role that science plays in the modern world" (Klaits,. 1985:33). The Elizabethan world picture was thus one in which misfortune was the work of spirits, demons and fairies, who had to be entreated, threatened, or conjured by spells, rituals and charms. To a Shakespearean audience there was nothing the least bit surprising about Caliban or Macbeth's three witches or the ghost of Hamlet's father (Stone, 1981:182).

Society also believed that any successful treatment of illness was attributed to magical power*s*, and a midwife (always female) was also suspected of being a witch if a baby did not survive birth. Thus, midwives, believed to be *killers of children* (Easlea, 1980:8, Klaits, 1985:97-8 and Minowski, 1992:294) were also viewed as witches.

Remarriage for a female was discouraged by society, as it impacted on the deceased spouse's family, affected property expectations by existing children, and triggered social tensions by taking an eligible man from the marriage pool. Thus, the role of *wicked stepmother* (Laslett, 1971:100 and Quaife, 1987:185) was seen as the cause of misfortune, as evil and as a witch.

Black cats (Fraser, 1984:106-7, Gage, 1893:94, Quaife, 1987:56 and Valiente, 1989:90) were also identified as witches' pets and the church hegemony endorsed

the view that heretics adored Satan in the form of a black cat. Society believed that all witches kept a black cat, or some kind of pet, who assisted them to carry out their activities.

The data collected from the pilot study (refer section 3.4.3) focused the attention of the Panel of Judges (refer 3.4.2) on the complexity and diversity of the variable *'Magical powers'*. To aid analysis the judges agreed to divide the '*Magical Powers*' variable into four sub-variables. Four types of magical activities were identified, and these were '*Tangible Objects*', '*ESP/6th Sense*', '*Word/Phrase*' and '*Alternative Worlds*'. A brief description of each of these sub-variables follows.

Magical Powers - Tangible Objects

The magical powers sub-variable *Tangible Objects* identified anything used as a channel for magic to happen, e.g., wands, or books of spells. Spells that made people change shape or become invisible were also included in this sub-variable (refer Appendix G: Chart 12).

Magical Powers - ESP/6th Sense

The magical powers sub-variable *ESP/6th sense* involved the psychological powers of witches to influence events, e.g. telepathic power, visions, engendering feelings and exercising power or forces (refer Appendix G: Chart 13).

Magical Powers - Word/Phrase

The magical powers sub-variable *word/phrase* involved oral spells and chanting, e.g. magical words, rhymes or verses (refer Appendix G: Chart 14).

Magical Powers - Alternative Worlds

The magical powers sub-variable *alternative worlds* involved the passage through the barrier between reality and the supernatural, e.g., time travel, or time suspended. It also included dreams and shadows, invisibility, memory patterns and inhabiting minds and bodies.

3.2.5 Using group consensus to analyse qualitative data

After reading each book it was necessary for the three judges to reach a group consensus on the images they had identified (refer 3.4.1 for selection of judges). A wide range of research had investigated the efficacy of group consensus. These investigations indicated that agreement, satisfaction and commitment were important dimensions of the group (DeStephen and Hirokawa, 1988:236). It was also important to operate in a low stress environment and have a "shared sense of social reality" while maintaining uniformity on matters of consequence to the group (Bliese and Halverson, 1998:563-4). Consensus revolved around group goals and there was a strong correlation between levels of consensus and the average well being of group (Bliese and Halverson, 1998:575-6).

In order to achieve consensus it was important that the group

- demonstrated a high level of trust with each other
- encouraged discussion of ideas
- built upon common ground
- shared information
- were honest
- trusted each member of the group
- was prepared to give each member the benefit of the doubt.

It was also important the group took care to avoid

- personality conflicts
- dominating behaviour
- anger
- withholding information
- unwillingness to compromise.

(Scott & Flanigan 1996:56,93-96)

If these criteria were followed and a consensus reached, then a valid outcome would be achieved.

Pressures within the group to establish and maintain uniformity were avoided and consensus was reached through democratic and open discussion. Differences in opinion were reached by group acquiescence to the images under discussion. Possible limitations arising from pressure within the group due to the possible influence exerted by the researcher are discussed in section 5.3. The judges followed the conclusions of De Stephen & Hirokawa (1988:236), experiencing the freedom to participate in decision making, resulting in higher involvement and stronger support for the group decision. There was considerable social support and bonding within the group which assisted in the deliberations to reach a group consensus (refer section 3.4.4).

3.2.6 Method of data analysis

3.2.6.1 Data collection

The results of each theme analysis were recorded on the survey instrument. Page one of the survey instrument listed the title of the book, year published, publisher,

author, author's gender, main protagonist and protagonist's gender. The total number of witches in the book was also identified, together with their names and gender. The time, place and genre of the story were noted, and space was allocated for recording any gender assumption of witches in the texts. Pages two and three of the survey instrument recorded negative female images relating to witch characteristics that had been identified in the books surveyed, together with the page on which they appeared. These images were grouped into four separate descriptors, Social Indicators, Traits, Physical Appearance and Activities and Roles (refer section 3.2.4). The judges were asked to make a special note if the negative image referred to the male gender.

3.2.6.2 Categorical analysis

Following the theme analysis, data were collated according to the images recorded in each descriptor of Social Indicators, Traits, Physical Appearance and Activities and Roles (refer 3.2.4). Each descriptor contained separate images, and each image was collated, recorded and analysed to determine the most popular and dominating factor relied on by the authors. When a judge identified an image in a book text, it was noted, together with the page on which it appeared. When all the data had been collected, the data for each image were recorded separately to determine the frequency, nature and trend of each image.

3.2.6.3 Statistical analysis

Data from page one of the survey instrument was entered on SPSS statistical software and frequency tables constructed for each of the following variables.

- author's gender

- protagonist'(s) gender
- total number of witches stated and identified from within the text
- time in which each story was placed (past/present/future/combination)
- place of each story (Australia/overseas/reality/alternative world)
- genre of the story (fantasy/science fiction/realistic/other)
- gender assumption of witches in the text

Cross-tabulations were also conducted to establish relationships and trends between the author's gender and total witches, and the author's gender and protagonist's gender.

3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOOKS USED IN THE STUDY

The twenty-three children's books used within the study were selected from books that had been identified as having the theme 'witches and warlocks' (refer Section 3.2 and Appendix E). The books identified as able to be categorised under the fiction genre were listed as 'Short Stories', 'Young Novel' and 'Novel'. Exceptions to the selection criteria were those books deemed to be non-fiction or those that did not address the specific topic of witches. Those books excluded from the survey were listed as 'Picture Book', 'Picture Book/Poetry', 'Drama collection', 'Anthology', 'Poetry Collection', 'Illustrated Storybook', 'Jokes Collection', 'Riddles Collection' and 'Long Picture Book'. Of the twenty-seven books identified as fiction from *The Subject Guide* (White, 1993:175) and *The Subject Guide Update* (White, 1996:78) a further three were discounted. Sally Odgers' *Expelled* (newspaper media/poetry), and Michael Page's *Out of this World* (encyclopaedia/reference) were the wrong genre, and Ruth *Holmes' War Wizards of Zanfree* did not contribute to the data collection as it dealt only with wizards.

3.4 RECORDING THE VARIABLES

3.4.1 Judge selection

Three judges, including the researcher, conducted a theme analysis of the study sample of books. Three judges were chosen to analyse the books in order for the data to be triangulated and to enable the themes to be identified in an equitable and impartial manner. It was necessary for the researcher to be directly involved in the analysis of each book due to her knowledge and understanding of the witchcraft era. The researcher acted as mediator during points of disagreement, although this was generally not necessary due to the consensus model discussed in section 3.2.4. Due to the significance of gender within the study, it was necessary to select a male and a female judge. This minimised gender bias in categorising the witchcraft images and effectively enhanced the reliability of the judges' classifications.

The judges were also selected on the criterion of familiarity with children's literature. One judge was the teacher librarian at a local primary school with both a professional and personal interest in children's literature; the other judge worked within the Education Faculty at a tertiary institution where his main teaching and research interests were focused on literacy and children's literature. Both judges exhibited depth of understanding and familiarity in relation to children's literature.

3.4.2 Judge briefing

All judges read the Review of the Literature (section 2.2), before commencing reading of the children's literature. This provided them with background historical information and explained the criteria by which the witch images had been defined before their training sessions in theme analysis and witch image identification. The

judges were also consulted regarding the grouping of the witch images into four separate descriptors (refer 3.2.4). The design of the survey instrument was determined from the images which had been identified in the Review of the Literature and at an initial briefing session the panel of judges discussed and reached a consensus on the additional data to be collected on page one of the survey instrument. This briefing session also acted as an information and training session for the judges, who became familiar with the task of identifying and clarifying witch images in the books and addressing the practical aspects of collecting and entering data. Subsequent to the pilot study (refer section 3.4.3) a further briefing session was held and each section and descriptor in the survey instrument was further clarified. Due to the range of magical data it was decided to split the Magical Powers variable into four separate separate sub-variables, which were Tangible Objects, ESP/6th Sense, Word/Phrase and Alternative Worlds (refer 3.2.4.4).

3.4.3 Judge training

A pilot study was conducted in order to

2. train the judges in identifying and entering data;
3. identify and clarify themes in the books for data collection
4. trial and, if necessary, modify the survey instrument.

The three judges read copies of Margaret Mahy's *The Changeover* and identified the categories and witch images within the book, recording their results on the survey instrument as described in section 3.4.4. The judges then met to compare and moderate their findings and as a result of these discussions the questionnaire was modified to include additional information which it was felt was relevant to the study. It was decided to record the names of the witches in each book and identify

any assumption of gender in the text. This established the agreed criteria for entering data on the survey instrument. The revised survey instrument would also include more space for note taking by the judges.

3.4.4 Scoring procedures

For each book read every judge completed one survey instrument. These three survey instruments were then collated onto one final survey instrument, representing the consensus of the three judges on the witch images for each book, and triangulating the data. The judges met as a panel to compare and discuss findings once each log had been completed independently. Full consensus on all facets of the logs was required. The judges needed to agree on the main protagonist(s), identify the witches in the text, their gender, the time/place/genre of the story, and whether there was any gender assumption of witches in the text. They also had to agree on the witch images in the four descriptors. Lack of consensus would have resulted in questionable reliability and validity of the research findings.

The judges met as a panel initially once a week to compare and discuss theme analysis and to arrive at a consensus on their findings. Subsequent meetings were held when required to resolve any difficulties in reaching a consensus on a particular image. Once the twenty-three books had been read and analysed, the judges found it necessary to review the completed survey instruments. This was a result of the refinement over time of the judges' ability to distinguish between discrete issues, situations and long range issues. This procedure served to enhance the reliability of the panel's findings, and subsequently the validity of the theme analysis.

3.5. ANALYSIS OF METHOD

3.5.1 Parameters

The range of Australian children's fiction books selected within the study covered books which had been identified as having the theme 'witches and warlocks' (refer section 3.2). The witch images identified in the books were relatively even and adequate for the purposes of analysis.

3.5.2 Design

The theme analysis took longer than anticipated and initially was problematic, as it was necessary for the panel of judges to reach consensus on certain images. The differences between the images in the four descriptors had to be carefully defined. For example, in the descriptor Traits, the images of 'Evil' and 'Malevolent' were one example of the judges having initially differing perceptions of meaning. Another area where consensus had to be reached were the different types of magical powers listed under the descriptor Activities and Roles.

3.5.3 Identifying themes in children's literature

The three judges demonstrated their capability of successfully completing accurate theme analysis, and drew upon specialised knowledge of children's literature within discussions. The initial training and pilot study carried out was sufficient preparation for reading the selected books and completing the survey instrument. Following modifications to the survey instrument and clarification of definitions and study purpose, the three judges reached consensus on 1211 witch images within the sample books. These images were recorded against the thirty-nine images recorded on pages 2 and 3 of the survey instrument (refer Tables 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10 and 4.11).

3.5.4 Scoring procedures

The logbook and theme analysis survey instrument proved efficient for entering and gathering the data. Each judge recorded the data on a separate survey instrument for each book. The three survey instruments for each book were then collated onto one survey sheet for analysis. The data from page one of the survey instrument was entered into SPSS for analysis. The witch images recorded from pages two and three of the survey instrument was combined individually and each image recorded on a separate sheet. A record was also made of the book the image appeared in, what the image was, and the page in the book that it appeared.

3.6 SUMMARY

The study analysed Australian children's fiction to determine the degree stereotypical female images, inherited from the European witch-hunts between 1450 to 1700, were being portrayed in contemporary Australian children's literature. The sample of books were selected from the 'Witches and Warlocks' section in Kerry White's *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide* (White, 1993:175) and Kerry White's *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide Update* (White, 1996:78). Quantitative data analysis was used to identify the number of authors, protagonists and the time, place and genre of each book. Qualitative data (theme analysis) was used to identify witch images within each book. The judges recorded the data on the survey instrument. Judge training involved a pilot study, discussion, consequent amendment to the survey instrument, and proved effective.

Data collected on page one of the survey instrument were treated quantitatively, with frequencies being run on each variable. Cross-tabulations were conducted to

establish relationships and trends between the author's gender and total witches, and the author's gender and protagonist's gender. Data collected from pages two and three of the survey instrument were treated qualitatively using theme analysis. Witch images identified in the historical review of the literature were recorded in the children's literature surveyed to investigate the evidence of stereotypical ideas, attitudes and patterns in the books. The purpose of these analyses was to test the hypothesis posed by the study. Results are presented in Chapter 4, which outlines the findings of the study

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the results of the quantitative data collected and theme analysis methodology used in the study and discusses witch images identified in the sample of books outlined in Chapter 3 (refer section 3.3 and Appendix E). Section 4.2 presents quantitative data from page one of the survey instrument (refer Appendix F). Section 4.3 describes the qualitative data (theme analysis) from pages two and three of the survey instrument. In the concluding summary the findings are used to test the study hypothesis and the results for the hypothesis are presented.

4.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

This research analysed the data using a theme analysis qualitative methodology. However, to underpin this approach and to clarify and quantify the data, a sufficient but limited quantitative analysis was performed. For each book read every judge completed one survey instrument; the three survey instruments were then collated onto one final survey instrument, representing the consensus of the three judges on the witch images for each book.

The three judges collected quantitative data on page one of the survey instrument (refer Appendix F) from each of the twenty-three books used within the study. These books consisted of two short stories, ten young reader novels and eleven novels. The short stories and young reader novels were identified as appropriate reading for

primary school aged children and the novels were identified as appropriate reading by secondary school aged children.

Data from page one of the survey instrument identified the

- year of publication;
- author's gender;
- protagonist'(s) gender;
- gender and number of witches;
- setting, time and genre;
- gender assumption of witches in the text.

4.2.1 Year of publication

The data from the twenty-three final survey instruments were collated to examine the relationships and trends that existed between different variables. Of the twenty-three books surveyed, eleven were published between 1977 and 1987 and twelve between 1990 and 1995. No clear trends or specific links between publication dates, story themes and world or domestic events were evident (or identified).

4.2.2 Author's gender

A comparison was made between the author's gender and the number of witches each author included in the books surveyed (refer Table 4.1) to consider whether witch images were being perpetuated irrespective of the author's gender. The aim was to establish whether the gender of the author impacted on the number of witches found in each of the stories, and whether the characterisation showed a gender bias by the authors.

Table 4.1
Authors' gender x total witches

Witches per book	1	2	3	4	6	7	9	Total authors	Total witches
Male authors	2	1	2	1	1		1	**8**	**29**
Female authors	8	2	2	2		1		**15**	**33**
Totals								**23**	**62**

The books by the eight male authors contained a total of twenty-nine witches, while the fifteen female authors included thirty-three witches in their stories. These figures show that on average each male author had 3.6 witches per story, while female authors had 2.2 witches per story, suggesting male authors placed a higher reliance (62%) on including the witch figure in their narrative compared to 38% by female authors. However, when the gender of each author was compared to the witche's gender there was a more even distribution (refer Table 4.2).

Table 4.2
Authors' gender x witches' gender

		Witches	
		Female	**Male**
Authors	**Female**	29	4
	Male	25	4

The fifteen female authors had twenty-nine female witches (88%) and four male witches (12%) in their narratives, compared to the male authors, who had twenty-five female witches (86%) and four male witches (14%). It is evident that while each male author included more witches in their stories, there was a similar bias shown by both male and female authors regarding the gender of their witch characters, with female witches featuring more prominently than male witches.

Both sets of data indicated that female and male authors both showed a preference for including female witches (rather than male witches) in their narratives. These trends

reflected the historical precedents outlined in the Review of the Literature (refer section 2.2.3) that people persecuted as witches were predominately female. However, these findings were not linked to the authors' gender, with both male and female authors showing similar trends in the number and gender of their witch characters.

4.2.3 Protagonists' gender

The protagonist in each of the books surveyed was identified to reveal the roles created for witches by writers of children's literature. Twenty-six protagonists were identified, of which nine were male and seventeen were female. However, only a third of those protagonists were identified as being witches (seven females and two males), suggesting that the authors incorporated the witch character in the stories as a secondary, supporting character. The witches' impact on the narrative was, however, powerfully reinforced through the experiences of the main protagonist(s) the majority of whom were children or young adults (twenty child protagonists compared with six adult protagonists). This suggests the themes of witch images could be reinforced more effectively by a secondary character impacting on the protagonist, rather than through a witch protagonist. Evidence in the Review of the Literature (refer sections 2.4 and 2.5) supported this, stating that fictional witches were often given important secondary roles to trigger events, and this also reinforced the male hegemony, redefining and underlining the manhood of the hero.

4.2.4 Witches ' number, age and gender.

A total of sixty-two witches was identified in the books surveyed, together with their gender and age (refer Table 4.3). This data enabled an analysis to determine if witches in children's literature reflected the stereotypical witch themes outlined in the Review of the Literature (sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.7), and particularly whether witches' who were female and old were a recurring theme in the books surveyed.

Table 4.3
Witches' gender and age
(Number of witches = 62)

Book ID	Female Witch		Male Witch	
	Young	Old	Young	Old
1		3		
2	1	4	1	
5		1		
6		1		
7		1		
8		8		1
9	1	1		
10	1	2	1	
11		1		1
12		2		
13		1		
14		1		
16	1	1	1	
17		1		
18	1			
19		3		
21		1		
22		1		
23	1	3		
24	1	1	1	
25	1			
26	5	1	1	
27	1	2		1
Sub-Totals	**14**	**40**	**5**	**3**
Totals	**54**		**8**	

NB Books ID 3, 4, 15 and 20 were withdrawn from the survey as they were judged by the panel to be the wrong genre (ie not fiction or wrong topic).

The witches' gender was divided between 84.1% who were female and 12.9% who were male, with 74% of the female witches classed as old. These figures agree with the evidence revealed in the Review of the Literature (refer sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.7) that described the majority of people persecuted for witchcraft as being old and female. The ratio of female to male witches identified in the survey also matched those identified in the European witch-hunts (section 2.2.3). The books surveyed therefore perpetuated themes from the European witch-hunts, reinforcing the probability of witches being old women. A separate analysis of male witches is discussed in section 4.3.3.

4.2.5 Setting, time and genre

The setting of each story, the time (era) and type of genre of the twenty-three books surveyed were noted and compared (refer Table 4.4). This analysis aimed to discover whether the books surveyed, although written by Australian authors, or authors living in Australia, reflected the European setting of the witch-hunts. It also examined whether the era and genre were influenced by this factor.

Table 4.4
Setting, time and genre of 23 books surveyed

	Type	Number of books = 23
Setting	Australia	15 (65%)
	Overseas	4 (17%)
	Reality	11 (48%)
	Alternative World	10 (44%)
Time (era)	Present	18 (78%)
	Past	4 (17%)
	Future	-
	Combination	2 (8%)
Genre	Fantasy	19 (83%)
	Realistic	13 (57%)
	Scientific fiction	-
	Others	-

Each of the three variables contained four options that could occur more than once in each book, giving a multiple response within each variable. The Table 4.4 comparison showed that:

- 65% of the books were set in Australia, with only 17% taking place overseas.
- Stories were split almost evenly between those in the real world (48%) and those taking place in alternative worlds (44%).
- The majority (78%) of the narratives took place in the present time with 17% set in the past. The two narratives (8%) that embraced two eras were also unique in that they switched between Australia and an overseas country both in time and place. None of the stories was futuristic.
- The majority of the books contained elements that were identified as fantasy (83%) with over half of the books being realistic (57%), indicating that most of the fantasy was at the 'believeable' end of the fantasy continuum. None of the books was science fiction, and no other genres were represented in the books surveyed.

These figures gave no clear indication in the twenty-three books surveyed of any particular direction being followed by authors when writing stories about witches. Australia was the preferred setting for the stories (indicating a natural choice by the authors of creating an Australian setting for Australian readers) but alternative worlds were also included as part of the stories. The alternative worlds created in ten of the books allowed the authors to extend the Australian setting to include magical interludes, but also reflected the influence of an author's origins (e.g., in *Fire in the Sky* (Masson, 1990) Sophie Masson (born in France) switched her narrative between France and Australia). The prominence of the fantasy genre in stories containing witches concurred with the Review of the Literature (section 2.3.1) that fantasy gave

the reader a safety buffer from the menace of the witch. It may also suggest that the authors felt more comfortable placing witches in a situation unrelated to real life. There was an absence of any science fiction genre (suggesting witches did not sit comfortably with modern technology) and none of the stories took place in the future (indicating that witches were perceived as belonging to the past or present).

4.2.6 Gender assumption in text

Eight books (one short story, two young reader novels and five novels) contained text that either inferred that witches were female and/or reinforced the role of the female gender (refer Table 4.5). Gender assumption in the text was explored to see how often the gender of a witch was determined indirectly by assumption or inference. It also ascertained whether the gender roles reinforced the role of women as witches, or the witch image per se.

Table 4.5
Examples of gender assumption in text of 23 books surveyed

Book ID	Text examples
1	"…every decent witch would give her…"
10	"Having a man along could be useful." "I'm not doing the cookin', you're a woman, you can do it."
12	"Standing next to Cagney was the witch … she stamped her foot…"
18	"…it just so happens there are more female witches." "Are all witches women, all sorcerers men?"
23	"I'd be a magician if I was a girl." "Spells passed from mother to daughter."
24	"In girls the power is gentler, easier to control." "The power is uncommon in male children."
26	"…because he's a man." (So cannot be a witch.)
27	"…if he'd been an old woman it would have been different." (He would have been accused of being a witch.)

While this was not a large sample from the total books surveyed, it was significant in demonstrating that the assumption of witches being female was being perpetuated in contemporary children's literature. However, there was also the inference that males were excluded from the powers of witchcraft by their gender, implying that this was a special gift confined to the female gender. This confirmed the trends reported in the Review of the Literature (section 2.3.2) that all texts were socially produced and revealed the ideological operation of texts and cultures. However, despite the 'special powers' of witches, it confirmed the evidence of the Review of the Literature (section 2.3.2) that literacy and texts continued to reinforce the subordinate and secondary roles that females occupied in society.

Further analysis showed that female authors made up 75% of instances in the text where an assumption of gender and/or gender role was made, with male authors making up the balance of 25%. This indicated that female authors perpetuated the images of witches being female, which is surprising, as it could be assumed that female writers would be sensitive to the implications of gender stereotyping in their narratives.

4.2.7 Summary of Quantitative Data Analysis

Page one of the survey instrument identified elements of the twenty-three books surveyed for quantatitive analysis. No significant links could be established between publication dates, story themes and world or domestic events. The majority of the narratives were set in Australia, with alternative worlds also being featured in many of the stories. The prominence of the fantasy genre perpetuated the witch character as unrelated to real-life, and the present was preferred as a timeframe.

While only a small sample of books contained instances of gender assumption, it occurred more frequently in books written by females. Male authors were more likely to include witches in their narratives than female authors, but both genders reinforced the image of the witch being female. Out of a total of sixty-two witches identified in the books surveyed, fifty-four were female (fourteen young, forty old) and eight male (five young, three old), reinforcing the stereotypical image of the witch as being old and female.

Overall, the quantitative data analysised in section 4.1 confirmed that trends identified in the Review of the Literature were reflected in the twenty-three books surveyed.

4.3 TESTING THE HYPOTHESIS

The qualitative theme analysis was applied to each of the images categorised on pages two and three of the survey instrument. A number of tables are presented to summarise and clarify the dominant witch images and themes identified in the books surveyed (refer Appendix E).

HYPOTHESIS

That women portrayed as witches in Australian children's literature reflect the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

4.3.1 Theme analysis

In addition to the data analysed in section 4.1, the panel of three judges conducted a theme analysis of each of the twenty-three books used within the study. The analysis determined the different witch images contained within each book and these were recorded by the judges on pages two and three of the survey instrument. Each image was collated, recorded and analysed to determine the prevalence of witch images in each book and whether each image reflected those identified in the Review of the Literature. This study sought to determine whether the witch themes and images established in the historical literature, reflecting the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts, were replicated in the children's literature surveyed. The thirty-nine witch images identified from the Review of the Literature were grouped into four descriptors (refer Table 4.6 and section 3.2.4).

Table 4.6
Categories of witch images identified in the Review of the Literature

Descriptor	Total number of images	% of Images
Social indicators	7	18.0
Traits	12	30.7
Physical appearance	6	15.4
Activities/Roles	14	35.9
Totals	**39**	**100**

Those descriptors with the largest number of witch images (identified from the Review of the Literature) also revealed the highest number of witch images in the twenty-three books surveyed (refer Table 4.6). Thus, images listed under the 'Activities and Roles' of the witch figures were identified as being dominant (35.9%), closely followed by 'Traits' (30.7%). The images identified under 'Social Indicators' (18%) and 'Physical Appearance' (15.4%) appeared in the books surveyed to a less significant degree. These results indicate that witch themes were best represented in the books by what the

witches did, and their attitudes and personae while carrying out such deeds. The witches' characterisation was one that described a strong commitment to create mischievious and harmful magic, ride a broomstick and own a pet black cat who would double as their accomplice (refer section 4.3.1.4). The witches' personality and idiosyncracies was also a strong characterisation tool by the writers, who fabricated (and perpetuated) witch themes of malevolence and evil, creating characters who cursed, were assertive and had offensive traits (refer 4.3.1.2). These two descriptors (Traits and Activities/Roles) were dominant themes in the books surveyed. The witches' ugly physical appearance was dominant (refer section 4.3.1.3) and their social position was defined through their age and marital status (refer 4.3.1.1). Although significant, both these descriptors (Social indicators and Physical appearance) were used to a lesser degree by the writers and had less impact in representing witch themes in the children's literature. Thus, while the witches conformed to the historical precedent of being old, ugly and unmarried, the prominent witch themes in the books surveyed were those that reflected a dominant evil personality who would (and did) initiate magical action in the narratives.

Each witch image was collated, recorded and analysed to determine the most popular and dominating factor of each image used by the authors. The images within the four descriptors were analysed separately to identify any trends (refer Tables 4.7, 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10). Short stories and young reader novels were combined in Tables 4.7 to 4.11 as there were only two short stories, both aimed at younger readers. One of the short stories was also a chapter in one of the young reader novels.

The themes identified in the books (refer section 3.2.4) were grouped according to the number of times they were found. For the purposes of this analysis witch images were categorised as follows:

- more than forty (40+) images identified in the books were deemed to be **powerful** themes;
- from eleven to thirty-nine (11-39) images identified in the books were deemed to be **moderate** themes;
- less than eleven (<11) images identified in the books were deemed to be themes that were **minimal** or **not sufficiently identified.**

4.3.1.1 Analysis of 'Social Indicators' data

A total of seven witch images were grouped under the descriptor 'Social Indicators' (refer Table 4.7). These images described the cultural and social status of the witches as identified in the Review of the Literature (refer sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.3. and 2.2.7), which identified witches as being old, single and generally ostracised by society. These themes were looked for in the children's literature to determine how closely fictional witches mirrored their historical precedents.

Table 4.7
Total number of 'Social Indicator' witch images identified in the 23 books surveyed

Witch images	Number of images in short stories and young reader novels	Number of images in novels	Total number of images
Powerful images			
Old	13	38	51
Single/unmarried/alone	7	23	30
Moderate images			
Socially alienated	4	9	13
Minimal images			
Vulnerable	2	6	8
Poor		7	7
Illiterate		1	1
Low social status		1	1
Totals	**26**	**85**	**111**

The witch images grouped under 'Social Indicators' occurred more regularly in the novels (76.6%) than in the short stories and young reader novels (23.4%). This reflected the nature of the witch characters in the short stories and young reader novels, who were portrayed as less menacing than the more forceful witches in the novels. The difference in how the witch character was presented in the different categories of books was not identified in the Review of the Literature, either historically, or when discussing the characterisation of the witch in children's literature. Indeed, the literature indicated (section 2.3) that the witch had emerged as a powerful figure in fairy tales, nursery rhymes and children's literature, indicating the same impact on all levels of readers. While this is acknowledged, the data revealed that the menace of the witch character increased dramatically in literature written for older children. There was a marked development in the level of intimidation and fear engendered by the witches' actions in these novels which demanded a maturity of readership that would be able to distance themselves from

the level of horror encountered. (For example both Garth Nix's *Ragwitch* and Dorothy Porter's *The Witch Number* have disturbing themes and images.)

The characterisation of female witches as undesirable role models was presented differently in each category of books. This difference between the two categories of books surveyed indicated that the impact of the witches in the short stories and books for young children was diluted so that readers would be entertained and amused rather than shocked and frightened. In the novels for older readers the images more strongly reflected the stereotypical images of the European witch-hunts, mirroring some of the horror and fear of that period, and indicating that the writers did not exhibit the same reticence. This discussion also refers to 4.3.1.2 'Analysis of Traits' and 4.3.1.4 'Analysis of Activities and Roles' where the same trends were found.

The dominating images, particularly in the novels, were 'old' and 'single' (refer Table 4.7). A discussion follows on the findings for each group of images (powerful, moderate or minimal) in the descriptor 'Social Indicators', with examples given from the texts.

4.3.1.1.1 Powerful Images: old and single

The theme of the witch being old and single was a powerful image in the books surveyed. Fifteen books (seven young reader novels, eight novels) were identified by the judges as containing images of witches who were old, with a total of fifty-one references to 'old' being identified in these books. Sixteen authors (seven young reader novels, nine novels) stated the witch lived alone and/or was single (refer Table 4.7).

Both these images were found to a much higher degree in the novels than in the short stories and young reader novels, indicating that these themes were considered more appropriate and meaningful for older readers.

The age of the witch was identified by the authors categorically stating that the witches were old, and by their description of the witches' bodily features. The advanced age of the majority (74%) of female witches identified was, by implication, linked to certain idiosyncrasies. 'Old' was associated with 'tattered', 'fogey', 'hag', 'spooky looking', 'batty' and 'leering'. The age of the witch was also established by inference in the text (refer Appendix G – Chart 1).

The witches were either spinsters, deserted wives, divorced or widowed, but in every book surveyed all witches were single. The majority lived alone and led a solitary existence. This data indicated a strong correlation between the age of the witch and living on her own as, out of a total of fifty-four female witches, 50% of the young witches lived with someone else, while 95% of the old witches lived alone (refer Table 4.3). These 'witch' women in the children's literature presented a female character who exhibited independence, but displayed anti-social behaviour, presenting mixed messages to all ages of reader. Living alone and outside the 'control' of society may be viewed as a threatening situation to the female gender, making them vulnerable to being identified as possessing witch-like idiosyncrasies. Thus, the desirability of not being single, and living within the social 'norms' is reinforced through the narratives in the books surveyed.

These images correlated with the findings of the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.7.1, which stated that defendants against witchcraft charges were typically over fifty, unmarried or widowed. The witch characters in the books surveyed reflected the age and status of the stereotypical witch of the European witch-hunts. Witches were old, solitary women without partners, and the findings indicated that these images were still being drawn in Australian children's literature, particularly for older readers.

4.3.1.1.2 Moderate Images: socially alienated

The judges identified eight authors (four young reader novels, four novels) who described the witches as being socially alienated. This was defined by the witches being physically separated from society (e.g., living alone in the woods, or up on the top of a mountain) or by community ostracism (e.g., hated and feared, distrusted by villagers) and this linked with the evidence (refer section 2.2.3) that witches were isolated from society. However, this image did not impact sufficiently strongly in the books surveyed to reinforce the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts. The image of a witch being a social outcast was not represented in the books surveyed, enablingd them to closely interact with the other characters in the story.

4.3.1.1.3 Minimal images: vulnerable, poor, illiterate and low social status

Five authors were identified referring to the witches as vulnerable (one young reader novel and four novels). This image referred to either their physical vulnerablity (e.g., 'frail old woman', 'sick and frail', 'poor weak old woman' and 'frail and bent') or to events which rendered them vulnerable to society (e.g., being bullied, tied to a

stake and burnt, or having their house pulled down). The judges identified four books (novels) that contained seven witches who were poor. These images represented witches who dressed shabbily, and who survived by selling herbs, or by receiving social service money.

The aspects of vulnerability identified in the books concurred with the evidence in the Review of the Literature (sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.7) and reflected the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts. This image contrasted with that of 'assertive' (refer Table 4.7) which was strongly represented amongst the witch characters in the books surveyed. Assertive witch characters could impact positively in the narratives, and this may explain why most authors chose not to include vulnerable witches in their stories.

The image of the witch as being poor was inferred through the texts, for example one witch was renting a weather-board house, indicating her inability to either buy a residence or rent a more expensive house. The majority of witches in the books surveyed lived comfortably and supported themselves by earning a living, for example working in a bank or library. For the witches who were placed in an alternative world their means of support was not identified, which in a fantasy situation seemed acceptable. While historically witches were drawn from the ranks of the poor, in the children's literature this was translated into contemporary socio-economic conditions, thus did not link to the evidence in the Review of the Literature, or reinforce the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

The images of witches being illiterate and having low social status were not reinforced in the books surveyed, with only two books (novels) making superficial reference to them by referring to one witch as 'half-witted' and identifying another as having the low social status of a nurse/housekeeper. These images did not reflect the evidence in the Review of the Literature sufficiently to reinforce the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts. It is interesting to note that neither of these images, which by implication are often linked as cause-effect determinants, was present in the books surveyed. Nor was any reference made under 'Activities and Roles' to any of the witches being beggars (refer section 4.3.1.4.3). It may be inferred from this that the writers did not want witches in the narrative who were unable to contribute forcibly to the plot. If the witches had been illiterate and with low social status (or beggars), they would have been difficult to present as powerful.

4.3.1.1.4 Summary of 'Social Indicators' data

The social conditions of the witches' existence were an important theme that described their living environment, with 'old' and 'single' emerging as powerful stereotypical images. Witches were also described as being 'socially alienated', but generally were not considered to be 'poor', 'vulnerable, 'illiterate' or having a 'low social status'. It was of interest that the two latter images had minimal impact in the books, as they are often linked as a cause/effect social indicator.

Both categories of books contained themes that confirmed the social status of the stereotypical witch of the European witch-hunts. However, the images grouped under 'Social Indicator' were reinforced to a much greater degree in the books for

secondary school students (novels), and reflected the social alienation of the witch character from mainstream society as identified in the historical literature.

4.3.1.2 Analysis of 'Traits' data

The personality and idiosyncrasies of women accused of witchcraft were important and consistent means of identification during the historical witch-hunts. This investigation sought to establish whether these themes appeared in children's literature and replicated the historical witch character. A total of twelve witch images were grouped under the descriptor 'Traits'. These images reflected the witches' characters and personalities as identified in the Review of the Literature (refer sections 2.2.3 to 2.2.7), were identified in the short stories and young reader novels, and novels and listed separately (refer Table 4.8).

Table 4.8
Total number of 'Traits' witch image identified in the 23 books surveyed

Witch images	Number of images in short stories and young reader novels	Number of images in novels	Total number of images
Powerful images			
Malevolent	20	43	63
Evil	5	40	45
Curser/scold	13	30	43
Assertive	8	27	35
Offensive	10	23	33
Moderate images			
Revengeful	5	16	21
Easily provoked	6	13	19
Minimal images			
Deviant		7	7
Heretical		6	6
Rebel	3	1	4
Divisive	1	2	3
Easily misled		1	1
Totals	**71**	**209**	**280**

The images that were consistently identified in the books surveyed were 'malevolent', 'offensive', 'curser/scold', 'assertive' and evil'. Again, there was a higher occurrence of these images in the novels (74.6%) than in the short stories and young reader novels (25.4%). As discussed in section 4.3.1.1 the findings for the two different categories of books could be attributed to the anticipated maturity of the readers, with older readers better equipped emotionally to cope with the derogatory witch characteristics found in the novels. The findings for each of the images in the descriptor 'Traits', together with examples from the texts, were discussed separately as follows.

4.3.1.2.1 Powerful Images: malevolent, evil, curser/scold, assertive and offensive

Malevolent, evil, curser/scold, assertive and offensive were all classified as powerful images in the books surveyed. Malevolence was identified in eighteen books (two short stories, five young reader novels and eleven novels); evil in twelve books (one short story, three young reader novels and eight novels); cursers/scolds in thirteen books (six young reader novels and seven novels); assertive in thirteen books (four young reader novels and nine novels) and offensive in eleven books (five young reader novels and six novels). All of these images occurred to a much greater degree in the novels than in the short stories and young reader novels (refer Table 4.8), indicating that the witches created by the authors for older readers were much nastier characters than those featuring in the books for younger readers. This suggested that the authors considered the themes of malevolence, evil, cursing, being assertive and offensive more acceptable for older readers (also refer reader-age images in sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.1.1).

The malevolence manifested itself through the witches' behaviour and personality, and by their actions (refer Appendix G – Chart 3). From the data, the witches' behaviour was grouped into six distinctive areas. For example, witches always cackled, (instead of laughing) and their voices were 'sharp' and 'full of menace'. Their thoughts were described as being 'nasty' and 'dark and evil'. Witches' expressions were rarely pleasant and their personalities were described as 'jealous and angry', 'greedy', and 'cruel'. They precipitated events and actions with malevolent intent, for example locking a child in room, and interfering with a performance, thus creating failure and humiliation.

Evil was reflected through the witches' personalities and expressions, or by their actions (refer Appendix G – Chart 7). The most powerful expression of the witches' evil intent was identified through their facial expressions and their behaviour, which was implicit in the text of the books surveyed. Witches had evil minds, which reflected in their countenance. The witches used the curse as a signal of ill-intent. These warnings were articulated through the language used, or as verbal abuse. This image was demonstrated in the text by the witches' behaviour and the way they spoke to people (refer Appendix G – Chart 5). Assertive witches were portrayed as having no fear, and taking a proactive role in events. They were defined as having power, being unafraid of using this power, and speaking out at all times (refer Appendix G – Chart 6).

Offensiveness was identified by the judges through the witches' physical appearance, the language they used, their behaviour and by events (refer Appendix G – Chart 4). Only a limited number of witches were identified as being offensive, but this image

had a very disturbing impact when used. The physical appearance of the witch was repellent when described as having 'fingers stained with blood' (Prior, 1995:6) or a face that was 'a grey-white, flat sheen, roughened at the eyebrows, dripping slightly at the mouth, covering the slide down to her throat' (Fienberg, 1995:149). The witches' offensive, dirty habits and distasteful idiosyncrasies were identified by the panel of judges: 'everywhere, images or horror and power, arrogance and cruelty' (Nix, 1990:239). There was also reference to menstruation in the comment 'women are witches if they are not bleeding' (Porter, 1993:9-10) which correlates with the post-menopausal age of most witches. (This links to the unease menstruation caused in primitive societies, as discussed in section 2.2.3. Menstruation is further discussed in section 4.2.1.4.2.) Witches being represented as 'offensive' in the books surveyed dispensed unpleasant and inappropriate images for both young and older readers. Their inclusion in the narratives perpetuated the witch images identified in the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.4, and presented disturbing and vivid cameos that influenced the reader against the witch character.

The malevolent and evil images identified in the books surveyed linked to the evidence in the Review of the Literature (sections 2.2.6 and 2.2.7.2) that people's belief in the hostile force of the witch gave credence to acts of malevolence and evil. These images impacted strongly on the narratives and depended upon the reader expectations of the level of malevolence and evil shown by the witches linking to a general belief in the hostile force of witches. Alternatively, the authors may have relied on this expectation by the readers (that witches were malevolent and evil) when reinforcing these images. The malevolent intent and evil thoughts and actions of the

witches in the books surveyed strongly reinforced the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

Assertive and curser/scold were images that also confirmed the evidence revealed in the Review of the Literature (sections 2.2.7 and 2.2.7.1), indicating a scold was by definition an older female, beholden to no-one. Both these images were powerfully represented in the books surveyed and reinforced the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts to readers of children's literature (also refer sections 4.3.1.1). The characterisation of the witches in the literature presented an evil, sometimes repellant personality that provided a strong focus around which the plot revolved. It could also be argued the inclusion of the witch characters in the narratives provided a positive female role model, particularly for older readers, as none of these characters were easily intimated or coerced into acting against their will.

4.3.1.2.2 Moderate images: revengeful and easily provoked

The judges identified thirteen books (one short story, four young reader novels, and eight novels) containing witches who exhibited revengeful traits (refer Appendix G – Chart 2). Nineteen witch characters were identified that were easily provoked, with examples being given in nine books (one short story, three young reader novels, and five novels). These images of the witch being revengeful and easily provoked were not strongly represented across all the books surveyed, but both appeared to a greater degree in the novels. This followed the trend that derogatory images which described the witch's character and personality were confined to books for older readers, indicating a decision by the writers to exclude unpleasant witch traits from the books for younger readers (also refer sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.1.1).

Witches demonstrated revengeful traits both verbally, and by their actions. Verbal threats of revenge were targeted at people, but were not necessarily carried out, the witches relying on the threat of revenge to exact compliance. However, some revengeful deeds were carried out, for example, a landlord's house was burnt (Martin, 1977:19) and a whole family made invisible when the witch mistakenly thought she had not been invited to their party (Bennett, 1993:67). When provoked, witches demonstrated unpredictable tempers, and were given to sudden rages and unreasonable statements. They were described as 'screaming', or 'hissing' and 'snapping' in their fury. This variable linked with section 4.3.1.2.1 'Curser/scold', as verbal abuse was the most common response by witches to provocation.

Both the images 'revengeful' and 'easily provoked' linked to the evidence established in the Review of the Literature, sections 2.2.7.1 and 2.2.4. Witches were easily provoked, and their revengeful actions were blamed for unexplained misfortune, for example following a refusal of alms. The witch stereotypes of the European witch-hunts were reinforced in contemporary children's literature by the inclusion of these images.

4.3.1.2.3 Minimal images: deviant, heretical, rebel, divisive and easily misled

The images of witches being deviant, heretical, rebellious, divisive and easily misled did not appear sufficiently often in the books surveyed to have any significant impact on the narratives. The judges identified three novels with images of witches displaying deviant characteristics; two novels describing witches that were heretics; four books containing witches who were rebellious, and divisive witches in three books. There was only one instance of a witch being easily misled. Once again, these images were

confined almost exclusively to the novels for older readers, suggesting the unsuitability of these themes for young readers. However, an exception to this was the rebellious image, which appeared to a greater extent in books for young readers. This image differed from the others in this category as while rebellious behaviour is something that all children would recognise, as it exemplified defiance against social rules and authority, and the writers may have considered young readers particularly able to relate to this image.

Deviant (conduct not considered normal) images were exhibited through the witches' behaviour, such as cutting a daughter's arms (Porter, 1993: 28) singing hymns and rejoicing as a grandmother was burnt to death and tying up a girl and leaving her in the dark (Porter, 1993: 69). One book described the deviant animal-like behaviour of a witch (Fienberg, 1995:53) and another made reference to people being identified and burnt as heretics (Nix, 1990:20 and 53). In another book a church was desecrated, with chickens sacrificed at the altar, the crucifix turned upside down, and the Lord's Prayer recited backwards as 'Satan likes it that way' (Harewood, 1992:153-157).

Rebellious witches were portrayed as upsetting the *status quo*. One witch participated in a public rally, and threw an egg at the Minister for Education (Prior, 1995:23). Another character was portrayed as being rebellious from the moment she was born, creating disharmony and chaos throughout the story (Orr, 1991). Other rebellious acts had greater social consequence, for example a witch '…cared nothing' about being blamed for the theft of the village harvest (Williamson, 1986:34).

Only three witches were identified as divisive; two witches were identified as creating disharmony and conflict and another was described as having a '…bewitching touch of villainy' (Martin, 1977:16). 'Divisive' linked to the image of 'rebel', as both created disharmony and chaos. Less significantly, only one witch was identified as being easily misled, played the supporting role in the story and did not represent the stereotypical witch in the books surveyed.

All of these images linked strongly to the evidence revealed in the Review of the Literature. The suspected 'deviance' of women, particularly by the religious authorities, was discussed in section 2.2.5. 'Heretical' was not identified as a major witch image in the books surveyed, however these references agreed with images identified in section 2.2.5. The witch as 'divisive' and the 'quintessential rebel' was discussed in section 2.2.7 and 'easily misled' in section 2.2.3. While these images were all disturbing, they did not have sufficient impact in the stories to reinforce the stereotypical witch image of the European witch-hunts in the total books surveyed.

4.3.1.2.4 Summary of 'Traits' data

The themes of 'malevolence', 'offensiveness', 'curser/scold', 'assertiveness' and 'evil' all emerged as powerful themes representing stereotypical images of female witches. These images appeared extensively but the ratio of use between the two categories of books differed for each image. The first four images were represented twice as often in the novels as in the short stories and young reader novels, but the image 'evil' was found almost exclusively in the novels (refer Table 4.8), suggesting this concept was more acceptable for older readers. 'Revengeful' and 'easily provoked' were images

the authors used moderately, while five witch images ('rebel', 'deviant', 'divisive' and heretical' and 'easily misled') were rarely used.

The stereotypical images of witches grouped under the descriptor 'Traits' were reinforced more strongly in the books for older readers, with witch images in the books for younger readers appearing to a lesser extent. The images identified under 'traits' were unpleasant and generally anti-social and this may explain why they did not appear so frequently in the books for younger readers. The witches in the books for older children were generally nastier characters and the authors apparently identified these themes as unsuitable for younger readers. Writers may have relied on older children having certain expectations as to how a witch should behave, and relied on fulfilling these expectations. It could also be argued that some images provided a positive role model for female readers, particularly those witches who were portrayed as assertive. The one image that young children could relate to was 'rebellious' and this was used more often in the books for younger readers.

The derogatory traits drawn for the witch characters were a powerful theme that reflected their personality, character and consequential behaviour in the narratives.

4.3.1.3 Analysis of 'Physical Appearance' data

These images all reflected the physical appearance of the witch and were influential in presenting the witch in an unfavourable light and creating an unpleasant atmosphere and environment. Six images were grouped under the descriptor 'Physical Appearance' (refer Table 4.9). These themes had been identified in the Review of the Literature (sections 2.2.2 to 2.2.8) and closely linked the identification of witches to their

appearance. The analysis sought to establish whether this persona was presented in children's literature, and if authors endowed witches with certain physical characteristics to meet specific criteria when creating witch characters.

Table 4.9
Total number of 'Physical Appearance' witch images identified in the 23 books surveyed

Witch images	Number of images in short stories and young reader novels	Number of images in novels	Total number
Powerful images			
Ugly	21	29	50
Minimal images			
Crone	6		6
Devil's mark		4	4
Moles/blemishes		2	2
Bent/stooped	1	1	2
Wart	1		1
Totals	**29**	**36**	**65**

In contrast to the other descriptors, the witch images grouped under 'Physical Appearance' were more evenly divided between the novels (55.4%) and short stories and young reader novels (44.6%). This reflected a recognition and acceptance by all ages of the witches' physical appearance. Hence, the authors used the witches' features to establish characters that were instantly known to all readers. The dominant witch image identified in both categories of books was 'ugly' (refer Table 4.9). The findings for each of the images in the descriptor 'physical appearance', together with examples from the texts, are discussed separately as follows.

4.3.1.3.1 Powerful Image: Ugly

Ugly was a powerful image in all the books surveyed and there was little distinction drawn between this image in the novels and the books for younger readers, with the witch being identified as having an ugly image in seventeen of the books surveyed (eight young reader novels, nine novels). This trend confirmed that the ugliness of witches was a theme that authors deemed acceptable for any age of reader, the level of ugliness being chosen according to the maturity of the audience.

Ugliness was reflected in the unattractive appearance of the witch (refer Appendix G – Chart 8). For example, their hair was 'stringy' (Orr, 1991:18) and 'greasy yellow' (Nix, 1990:45); their faces were 'sallow and discontented, all cross-hatched with sharp lines and pinched around the mouth' (Jinks, 1995:43). Their nose was described as 'long, pointy, green, dripping' (Peniston-Byrd, 1990:3) and their tongue was 'worm-like' (Nix, 1990::86) in a mouth that was 'sunken and prune shaped' (Shrapnel, 1987:6). This image mirrored the evidence revealed in section 2.2.7.1, that ugly old women were seen as evil and hated for their appearance. It was a powerful image in all the books surveyed, reinforcing the stereotypical witch-images of the European witch-hunts and linking ugliness to witchcraft. This evidence indicated that the authors believed witches would not be creditable unless they were presented as physically repulsive, thus perpetuating the historical theme in contemporary children's literature that witches were ugly.

4.3.1.3.2 Minimal images: crone, devil's mark, moles/blemishes, bent/stooped and wart

The images of 'crone', 'devil's mark', 'moles/blemishes', 'bent/stooped' and 'wart' received negligible attention by the writers of the books surveyed. A crone could be

used as a synonym for old and ugly, but only one book (Shrapnel, 1987:6) was identified as containing this image. None of the books surveyed made reference to the secret marks on a witch's body that were deemed proof she had consorted with the Devil. This absence may be linked to full-length clothes that would have hidden any marks. However, visible disfigurements were not a prominent image either, with few warts moles or blemishes being identified. One witch (Shrapnel, 1987:36) was described as having 'wart spotted knees'. Another witch (Fienberg, 1995:32,45)) had a 'mole beneath the long nose'. One novel (Porter, 1993:3/7/9) alluded to a physical defect in a mother and daughter (both witches) who each had six fingers on their hands. The image of a witch being bent/stooped received scant attention in the books surveyed, with only two books (Williamson, 1986:19; Fienberg, 1995:52) identified as containing a bent/stooped image.

These images linked to the Review of the Literature (sections 2.2.6 to 2.2.8) but did not reinforce the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts. While there was a reliance by the writers on the witch being ugly, they did not embellish her with many of these derogatory features, and these themes did not feature as part of the witches' physical appearance in the survey of contemporary children's literature.

4.3.1.3.3 Summary of 'Physical Appearance' data

The images identified in the descriptor 'Physical Appearance' appeared equally in both the novels and the short stories and young reader novels, indicating that the authors used the physical features of the witches to establish witch themes and reinforce images that would be instantly recognised by all ages. Some images in this

section, 'devil's mark', 'wart', 'crone', 'moles/blemishes' and 'bent/stooped' had negligible representation and did not reinforce the themes of witches as being physically disfigured by growths in the books surveyed.

The witches' physical appearance presented negative images of these characters and the most powerful image adopted was 'ugly', which was used extensively to create a disquieting atmosphere or environment for the plot. This image strongly replicated the stereotypical witches of the European witch-hunts identified in the Review of the Literature, that stated old women were hated for their ugly appearance, and their age and ugliness automatically linked them with witchcraft.

4.3.1.4 Analysis of 'Activities and Roles' data

Eleven witch images were grouped under the descriptor 'Activities and Roles" (refer Table 4.10). To assist analysis, 'magical powers' was split into the four areas of 'tangible objects', 'ESP/6th sense', 'word/phrase' and 'alternative world' (refer section 3.2.4.4). The Review of the Literature identified a diverse range of activities and roles that witches were suspected of conducting. Some of these activities resulted from their suspected collaboration with the Devil, and others from their social status. A strong belief also existed in their ability to create harm through spells and magic (refer sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.4 and 2.2.6 to 2.2.8). This study sought to discover whether witches in children's literature were confined to those activities identified in the historical literature, or if they were given wider powers by the authors to initiate and precipitate events.

Table 4.10
Total number of 'Activities and Roles' witch images identified in the 23 books surveyed

Witch images	Number of images in short stories and young reader novels	Number of images in novels	Total number
Powerful image			
Magical powers: Tangible objects	72	154	226
Mixer of harmful spells/potions	68	75	143
Magical powers: Word/phrase	30	65	95
Magical powers: Alternative world	17	60	60
Broomstick rider	38	19	57
Magical powers: ESP/6th sense	20	29	49
Keeper of black cats/familiars	26	25	41
Satan worshipper		32	32
Moderate image			
Coven member/sabbat attender		11	11
Minimal image			
Sexually active		7	7
Killer of children		4	4
Threat to male hegemony		3	3
Wicked stepmother			0
Beggar			0
Totals	**271**	**484**	**755**

The witch images grouped under 'Activities and Roles' had a higher occurrence in the novels (64.1%) than in the short stories and young reader novels (35.9%) with different images receiving prominence in both groups (refer Table 4.10). This followed the trend shown in previous analysis, but in this descriptor there were notable exceptions where images received equal attention, or were more dominant in the books for younger readers. The themes of witches making spells, and owning a cat (or other 'familiar') appeared in many texts. Both these images could be introduced with safety to all levels of readers and were used in a variety of ways depending upon the needs of the narrative in relation to the audience. The broomstick was one image, however, that significantly dominated the stories for

younger readers. This image received significantly less inclusion in the books for older readers, indicating that young readers would easily recognise the broom as a witch's natural and necessary appendage. While the books for older readers also used many derogatory images, the broom was a theme that the authors could have some fun with, and the witch's antics with a broom was a natural inclusion in the novels for young readers.

Most of the images were present in the novels, excluding 'wicked stepmother' and 'beggar' which did not appear in either category of books (refer section 4.3.1.4.3). The number of images identified in this descriptor increased significantly compared to the number identified in the other descriptors. This indicated that the activities and roles of the witches in the books surveyed were important themes used when creating witch characters within narratives. The findings for each group of images in the descriptor 'Activities and Roles', together with some examples from the texts, are discussed separately as follows.

4.3.1.4.1 Powerful images: magical powers: tangible objects, mixer of harmful spells/potions (sometimes in cauldrons), magical powers: word/phrase/alternative world, broomstick rider, magical powers: ESP/6th sense, keeper of black cats/familiars, Satan worshipper

The two most powerful images identified in the books surveyed were the witch's magical powers involving the manipulation of objects and the use of spells and potions. All the books surveyed (except two), contained diverse accounts of spells which fell into eleven broad categories (refer Appendix G – Chart 12). The authors promoted witches casting spells to engineer unusual or unpredictable events in the story. Much of the magic and spells identified in the books surveyed revolved

around food and drink, including the cooking vessel (cauldron), appearance and smell. The witches exploited the preparation and consumption of food and drink to effect changes in people's size, exact revenge and disrupt normal lives. Drinks were usually referred to as 'potions' and there was a great reliance by the witches on the use of herbs.

Another magical theme included in the stories was the use of specific objects. One of these was a wand, which manifested itself in many forms, appearing as a crutch (Kelleher, 1982) an umbrella (Shrapnel, 1987), paper knife (Jinks, 1995), blackboard pointer (Klein, 1987), rowan staff (Kelleher, 1982) and forked twig (Rose, 1985). All of these 'wands' could be used to create magic and threaten people. Most of the witches owned a book of spells containing magical recipes. Scattered amongst the stories were objects that performed magical tasks, for example a car that needed no petrol;(Rose, 1985:47), a vending machine that ejected live animals (Martin, 1977:57), toothpaste which turned into a snake (Rose, 1985:20) and crystals and stones which could foretell the future (Klein, 1984; Peniston-Bird, 1990; Shrapnel, 1987; Prior, 1985).

Spells and magic that caused humans and animals to change shape occurred frequently. People were turned into toads (Peniston-Bird, 1990:14; Orr, 1991::8) lizards , frogs or spiders (Flanagan, 1990:9). They were also shrunk (Orr, 1991:27), or made invisible (Bennett, 1993:27/59). One spell caused a girl to be changed into an older woman (Fienberg, 1995:107), another spell caused a girl's nose to change shape (Peniston-Bird, 1990:8-9) and make her appear less attractive, presenting a strong cultural message in children's books of what is desirable and undesirable in a

female's appearance.

Many of the spells and magic created discomfort and caused harm. People were rendered mute (Jinks, 1995:41) or changed into zombies (Nix, 1990:125). Witches created headaches and generally caused discomfort for 'troublesome human beings' (Bates, 1987:21) and there was one reference to an animal being harmed when black spots appeared on its' tongue(Porter, 1993:68). These harmful spells supported the evidence of the Review of the Literature (section 2.2.7.1) that reported revengeful women invoked harm on humans and animals, thus leading to accusations of witchcraft.

The magical actions of the witches were numerous and very often mischievous, particularly in the young reader novels. Objects were made to appear and disappear at random (Bennett, 1993:91; Crabtree, 1983:16), jam was turned into marmalade (Nix, 1990:281), and brooms caused to return to their owners involuntarily (Rose, 1980:40). People were changed into different colours (Orr, 1991:43) and a cat's ears turned white (Rose, 1980:94) as camouflage to escape identification. Magic circles were described in the books surveyed, creating a place that was 'safe for magic, safe for spells' (Stanton, 1979:7). Witches wrote symbols in the air, and pointed fingers at people to immobilise them (Nix, 1990:178). These magical acts reflected events that young children would relate to, enjoy and possibly wish for, to help them in their daily lives.

Not all the spells were harmful, with some helping people and protecting them against danger (Peniston-Byrd, 1990:10/18). There were also spells to change the weather (Rose, 1985:73-6), improve physical appearance (Prior, 1995:59) and undo an ancient

curse (Fienberg, 1995:11). In one young novel, set in Australia, Vegemite was rubbed into the children's foreheads to protect them against the witch, thus creating an Australian context for the witch's powers (Shrapnel, 1987:14).

All twenty-three books surveyed contained words and phrases which initiated a magical process or described magic (refer Appendix G – Chart 14). The language in the books surveyed reflected the witches' magical influence in the story. References were made to 'conjuring' tricks, 'witchery', 'magicked', being 'spellbound' and 'bewitched'. The influence of the moon was also incorporated into stories, for example the 'light of the moon' and 'moonbeams in a jar' (Orr,1991:18). One witch was referred to a being 'crow-haunted' (referring to her pet or 'familiar') (Crabtree, 1983:10). Special words produced different magic, for instance 'Callach' was used to immobilise people (Nix,1990:17). Magical rhymes and chants appeared twice as often in the novels as the short stories and young reader novels and had a strong impact in the stories. This is surprising, as rhymes and chants would be expected to especially appeal more to the younger reader and less to the older reader.

In fourteen of the books surveyed time was manipulated and alternative worlds incorporated into the stories. These magical powers were used much more extensively in the novels (60) than in the short stories and young reader novels (17), suggesting that the concept of space and time travel was one best suited to the older reader, whose stage of cognitive development might better rationalise or fantasise such concepts. In one book (Jinks, 1995:18-25) time was suspended on two occasions, the first at a railway station and the second (pp155-170) when a lift descended to an unknown place far below a building. In both these instances alternative worlds were created for the duration that time was suspended. References were also made to 'time travel',

'being outside time' and a 'timeless land'. An alternative world was created by one witch; "I draw my own space around me and inside it … I do exactly what I want to" (Fienburg, 1995). In another book the witch's body and mind became another world in which the protagonist was trapped and held prisoner (Nix, 1990). Two instances of invisibility created an alternative world and another book referred to the 'Land of Dreams and Shadows' (Nix, 1990:73). Other alternative worlds were more recognisable. In two books the characters were literally sent to Coventry (Klein 1987:14; Klein, 1984:10). A visit to Ancient Egypt (Klein, 1987:11), the Kingdom of Yendre,(Nix, 1990:38) a sacred mountain, a magic party at Ayres Rock and Rio de Janeira (Martin, 1977:63-73, and fourteenth century France (Masson,1990:39) were all examples of magical journeys within the stories.

The link between witches, their ability to fly, and owning a broomstick was reinforced continually in the books surveyed. There was a huge reliance shown by the authors on incorporating broomsticks into stories about witch characters. Sixteen books presented many images where witches flew on brooms and used them as props while carrying out different activities (refer Appendix G – Chart 10). As previously noted, there was double the reference to the witch's broomstick in the short stories and young reader novels compared to the novels, suggesting that younger readers would readily identify this image with the witch character. The link between the witches owning a broom and being able to fly was also demonstrated repeatedly in the books. Different methods of parking brooms were described, and the brooms came in various colours and shapes. The image of witches flying on 'broomsticks' agreed with the evidence in the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.8, and positively reinforced the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

Eighteen books contained images that reflected the witches' strong sense of mental power over events and people. The image occurred almost equally between short stories and young reader novels (20) and novels (29) suggesting that this theme was appropriate for all level of readers. The image fell into five categories, 'telepathic power and messages', 'visions', 'dreams', 'feelings' and the 'power' manifested by their magic (refer Appendix G – Chart 13). Witches knew about events at any given time or place, whether they were present or at a great distance. They could communicate with humans and animals using their thoughts and minds and had the power to foresee the future. Dreams were another medium by which they could influence events. Their magical powers could affect people physically, making them 'tingle', feel 'spooky or 'creepy'. This power was part of their self-efficacy and was reinforced by the mind games they played. "If you want the power, you will have it" (Jinks, 1995:25).

Twenty books contained thirty-one animals that were identified as belonging to witches (refer Appendix G – Chart 11). These animals were identified in equal number in the two categories of books, suggesting universal acceptance that a witch always kept a pet of some kind. The majority of these pets were cats (usually black), but there were a variety of other animals that were the witches' 'familiars'. These pets acted as the witches' accomplices, and many could talk, with some being able to perform magic. They were linked closely with the witches, possessing many of their magical powers, and one novel stated that '…pets can do terrible things in the hands of the Devil or a witch' (Porter, 1993:14). The same novel also related that when a witch was burnt to death her black cat shared the same fate, linking to the historical precedents outlined in the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.8.2.

Five novels referred to witches being agents of, or in league with, the Devil. The images identified in this category were confined to books for older children and referred to adult themes of devil worship, sex, and menstruation (refer Appendix G – Chart 9). This was not considered significant as these themes were recognised as being inappropriate in stories for younger readers. This theme links to 'sexually active' as most of the stated sexual activity was associated with the Devil.

In section 2.2.4, the *Malleus Malificarium* identified witches as being in league, and having sexual intercourse, with the Devil. This image was perpetuated in these five novels and the power of the Devil over the witches reinforced. Not only were they enlisted into his services, but also sexual activity between the witches and the Devil occurred. There was also reference to menstruation in one book (Porter, 1993) where unless women were 'bleeding' they were considered witches (also refer section 4.3.1.3.1). This rendered young girls and menopausal women vulnerable to witchcraft accusations, and linked to the misogyny identified in section 2.2.3 of the Review of the Literature. Hence, the witch image identified as 'Satan worshipper/demonic pact' was a powerful image in the books for older children and reinforced the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

These powerful images identified in the books surveyed supported the evidence from the Review of Literature, section 2.2.8. A strong link existed between women portrayed as witches and their ability to practise harmful spells and magic, harm people and animals through harmful spells and potions, and exercise special mental powers. The manipulation of time and entry to alternative worlds by the witches was identified many times in books surveyed. These skills, however, did not mirror the

magical practices discussed in section 2.2.8.2, but could be linked to the evidence relating to the witches' alleged attendances at sabbats (refer section 2.2.8.1) to which, it was believed, they could transport themselves by magic. In this aspect, therefore, this image reinforced the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

The magical words and phrases attributed to the witches in the books surveyed played a prominent role in the stories. However, they did not link to any of the magical practices discussed in the Review of the Literature (section 2.2.8.2). This image did not, therefore, reinforce the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts as no evidence was found of women accused of witchcraft chanting any magical rhymes or verses.

The themes discussed in this section have described the most powerful witch images that emerged from the survey of the books, particularly those images of magical powers and spells and potions. While these images correlate to the evidence of the Review of the Literature they have, in fact, assumed an importance far beyond that defined by the historical literature of the European witch-hunts. The authors of contemporary children's literature have portrayed fictional witches with greater powers than the stereotypical witches of the witch-hunt era, despite accusations at the time of the witch trials and subsequent embellishments within literature. The witch in contemporary children's literature has become a caricature of the original women accused of witchcraft.

4.3.1.4.2 Moderate image: Coven member/sabbat attender

Four novels contained eleven images that referred to witches either belonging to a coven or attending sabbats, with a New Year's party held by the Devil exhibiting a strong analogy to the sabbat (Martin, 1977:65-87). Another novel referred to witches belonging to a network and feeling 'part of the coven' (Jinks, 1995:44). The concept of the coven was not introduced in the books for young readers, once again reinforcing a theme as being more suitable for mature readers and linking to the image of the witch being sexually active (section 4.3.1.4.3). The concept of the coven was also used to infer a close-knit community of women who were protecting their interests, for example in Witchbank (Jinks, 1995). These themes confirmed the historical precedents outlined in the Review of the Literature (section 2.2.8.1)

4.3.1.4.3 Minimal images: sexually active, killer of children, threat to male hegemony, wicked stepmother, beggar.

Despite the evidence in the literature (section 2.2.8) linking attendance at the sabbat to sexual orgies, in the books surveyed few witches were sexually active, with only two novels containing this identified image. Reference was made to a dress being 'seamless for passion and union' (Harewood, 1992:54) and most sexual activity was conducted with the Devil (Martin 1977; Harewood 1992) (refer 4.3.1.4.1 'Satan worshipper/demonic pact'). This image of sexual proclivity, particularly with the Devil, linked to the historical evidence outlined in the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.8.1, but had minimal impact on the books surveyed in reinforcing the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

The image of the witch being a killer of children was not found in the books surveyed, with only one novel referring to a witch's intent to harm a newborn baby (Martin,

1977:28/97/107-9). There was also negligible reference to witches threatening the male hegemony. One entailed a refusal of coercion into marriage (Masson, 1990:18); the other referred to 'frightened little men of no power' (Fienberg, 1995:52). This data suggested that witches were portrayed as disruptive to the social structure, rather than a threat to the male hegemony. Neither of these images linked to the Review of the Literature and did not reinforce the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

No images supporting the witch as a wicked stepmother or beggar were identified in the books surveyed. There was no link to the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.7, or reinforcement of the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

4.3.1.4.4 Summary of 'Activities and Roles' data

The activities and roles of the witches had a strong influence and impact within the framework of the narratives. Although they were more strongly represented in the novels, they also had a strong impact in the short stories and young reader novels. All these images strongly linked contemporary children's literature to the stereotypical images identified in the Review of the Literature. Indeed, the witch character in the children's literature emerged as having a power and influence that far exceeded that of the witch during the European witch-hunts. The category 'magical powers' emerged as an influential image, together with 'Satan worshipper/demonic pact', 'broomstick rider' 'keeper of black cats/familiars', 'mixer of harmful spells/potions' and 'magical powers: tangible objects'.

These images (with the exception of 'broomstick rider' and 'keeper of black cats/familiars') were used widely by the authors in the novels. 'Satan worshipper/demonic pact' appeared only in the novels, confirming that this activity was only suitable for older readers. Magical activities, involving spells and tangible objects, were a popular image in both categories of books, and reinforcing the image of the witches' ability to exert power through magic. However, the level of malicious intent (and effect) by the witches' magic was engineered by the authors to suit the level of each book's audience.

The image of 'Broomstick rider' was twice as popular in the books for younger readers, and the theme of the witch flying on a broomstick, or owning a broomstick, was a popular and easily recognisable character, but was perhaps considered too frivolous and shallow for older readers. The theme of witches being 'keepers of black cats/familiars' was also popular in all the books, indicating that black cats and other pets were an identifiable image to every level of reader.

The image of the witch belonging to a coven and attending sabbats was used moderately in the novels. There was limited reference to 'threat to male hegemony', 'sexually active', and 'killer of children' and no images identified of 'stepmother' or 'beggar'. One image, 'magical powers: word/phrase' was identified widely by the judges in both categories of books, but did not link to any of the magical practices discussed in the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.8.2, nor reinforce the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

In general, the Activities and Roles of the witches were highly significant and impacted strongly on the modern children's literature surveyed.

4.3.2 Summary of witch images in books surveyed

The study focus was to reveal which themes were deemed most important by the writers of children's literature when creating witch characters in their stories, and whether a direct link between those images portrayed and the historical determinants, could be established. A total number of 1211 witch images was identified in the twenty-three books surveyed (refer Table 4.11). Short stories and young reader novels (total twelve books) were combined and together contained 397 witch images. The novels (total eleven books) for older children contained 814 witch images.

Table 4.11
Total number of witch images identified in the 23 books surveyed

Descriptors	Number of images in short stories and young reader novels (32.7%)	Number of images in novels (67.3%)	Total number
Social indicators	26	85	111
Traits	71	209	280
Physical appearance	29	36	65
Activities and roles	271	484	755
Total Witch Images	**397**	**814**	**1211**

In the books surveyed 67.3% of the witch images were found to be more prevalent in each descriptor in the novels for older children, with 32.7% witch images being identified in the short stories and young reader novels. This significantly large number of witch images identified in the novels suggested the authors considered the theme of the stereotypical image of the witch more appropriate for older readers. The witches were generally described as old and ugly, and having a malevolent

disposition. They were also assertive, offensive, evil and cursed profusely. These themes appeared constantly in the books surveyed and reinforced the unpleasant personality of women who were witches to all levels of readers. The majority of the witch images identified in the books surveyed were in the descriptor for Activities and Roles, suggesting the witch was an important trigger to events in the narratives. The witches' talents to create difficulties and change events with magical ease were images that the authors used to maximum effect. There were a significant number of images identified in 'mixer of harmful spells/potions' and 'magical powers' both for young and older readers, although the novels had a greater reliance on magical happenings in the narrative.

The most **powerful** images identified in the twenty-three books surveyed were found in all four descriptors and reflected the witch themes identified in the Review of the Literature from the European witch-hunts (refer Table 4.12). These images reflected the age and marital status of the witch, her personality and appearance, and the main activities she undertook as a witch. These findings suggested that the authors considered the following images would best represent witches, and be easily recognised by readers of contemporary children's literature.

Table 4.12
The number of books containing *Powerful* witch images (total books = 23)

Descriptor	Witch image	Short Stories and Young reader novels (=12 books)	Novels (= 11 books)
Social Indicator	Old	6	9
Social Indicator	Single	6	10
Trait	Malevolent	7	11
Trait	Offensive	5	6
Trait	Curser/scold	9	8
Trait	Assertive	4	10
Trait	Evil	4	8
Physical appearance	Ugly	8	10
Activity and role	Satan worshipper/demonic pact	1	5
Activity and role	Broomstick rider	11	5
Activity and role	Keeper of black cats/familiars	11	8
Activity and role	Mixer of harmful spells/potions	12	9
Activity and role	Magical powers: tangible objects	11	11
Activity and role	Magical activities: word/phrase	12	11

All the above images, with the exception of 'broomstick rider' and 'keeper of black cats/familiars' were found to a significant degree in the novels for older readers. 'broomstick rider' and' keeper of black cats/familiars' featured more prominently in the short stories and young reader novels for younger readers.

Witch images identified to a **moderate** degree in the twenty-three books surveyed were found in three of the four descriptors (physical appearance excluded) and confirmed the witch themes identified in the Review of the Literature from the European witch-hunts (refer Table 4.13). These images reflected the social position of the witch in relation to wealth, security and community status, her personality and

some of the activities she conducted. These findings suggested that the authors considered the following images would convey witch images to the readers of contemporary children's literature to a moderate degree. They were, however, of secondary importance to the powerful images already discussed.

Table 4.13
The number of books containing Moderate witch images
(total books = 23)

Descriptor	Witch image	Short Stories and Young reader novels (=12 books)	Novels (= 11 books)
Social indicators	Socially alienated	4	4
Traits	Revengeful	5	8
Traits	Easily provoked	4	5
Activities & Roles	Coven member/sabbat attender	-	4

All the above images were found to a more significant degree in the novels for older readers than in the short stories and young reader novels for younger readers.

Witch images identified to a **minimal** degree, or **not sufficiently identified** in the twenty-three books surveyed were found in three of the four descriptors (traits excluded) (refer Table 4.14). Four of the themes listed below (threat to male hegemony; killer of children; wicked stepmother and beggar) did not link to the evidence revealed in the Review of the Literature. The images indicated the education and social status of the witch, her physical appearance and two activities she conducted. The findings suggested that the authors considered the following images either inappropriate or not easily identifiable as witch themes to the readers of contemporary children's literature. They therefore only included them to a negligible degree, or not at all.

Table 4.14
The number of books that contained *Minimal* witch images or images were *Not sufficiently identified* (total books = 23)

Descriptor	Witch image	Short Stories and Young reader novels (=12 books)	Novels (= 11 books)
Social indicator	Vulnerable	1	4
Social indicator	Poor	-	5
Social indicator	Illiterate	-	1
Social indicator	Low social status	-	1
Traits	Deviant	-	3
Traits	Heretical	-	2
Traits	Rebel	3	1
Traits	Divisive	1	2
Traits	Easily misled	-	1
Physical appearance	Crone	1	-
Physical appearance	Devil's mark	-	2
Physical appearance	Mole or blemish	-	1
Physical appearance	Bent/stooped	1	1
Physical appearance	Wart	1	-
Activities & Roles	Sexually active	-	2
Activities & Roles	Killer or children	-	1
Activities & Roles	Threat to male hegemony	-	2
Activities & Roles	Wicked stepmother	-	-
Activities & Roles	Beggar	-	-

None of the above images impacted significantly in the twenty-three books surveyed. The images 'wart' and 'crone' were found in the in the short stories and young reader novels for younger readers, and all of the other images were identified in the novels for older readers, except for 'wicked stepmother' and 'beggar', which were not identified in any of the books surveyed.

It is significant that the majority of the images (37 out of a total of 39) were identified in Australian children's literature, whether powerfully, moderately, or minimally, and reflected the stereotypical images of the European witch-hunts.

It is also significant that whether the witch images identified in Australian children's literature were powerful, moderate or minimal, they reflected the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

4.3.3 Male witches in the books surveyed

Male witch themes were examined separately to ascertain whether their characterisation in the children's literature exhibited trends similar to the female witches. While the total number of male witches identified in the books surveyed was significantly smaller than female witches (refer Table 4.3) the study examined whether their influence and role within the narrative had the same or similar impact as female witches.

Out of a total of sixty-two witches identified in the twenty-three books surveyed, eight were male (one short story, three young reader novels, four novels) and the majority of these male witches were young (refer Table 4.15). These numbers reflected the evidence of the Review of the Literature, section 2.2.3, which stated that 75-90% of people accused of witchcraft during the European witch-hunts was female. This stated gender imbalance was restated in the twenty-three books of children's literature surveyed, reinforcing the witch character as a female and continuing to link negative stereotypical images to the female gender.

Table 4.15
Male witches in the 23 books surveyed

Book ID	Number of male witches	Description	Male witch images
2	1	Dracula II – cadet genie. Minor supporting role.	Flew. Concocted spells.
8	1	Diable – chef – teaches 'cauldron cooking'. Minor supporting role.	French warlock. Bad tempered.
10	1	Thomas. Apprentice to the Wizard of the Damp Dark Marshes. Supporting role.	Able to repeat simple spells.
11	1	Mike's grandfather. Minor supporting role.	Recognised, knew and practised magic.
16	1	Derin – protagonist.	Lame foot. Used a crutch with magic symbol. Had a crow as his 'familiar'
24	1	Roberto, 14 year old boy. Protagonist.	Possessed magic powers: created fire; flew and levitated; stopped an avalanche.
26	1	Jaspar, a computer technician. Supporting role.	Practised magic and spells through computers. Malevolent, revengeful. Beat female witches.
27	1	Witch's grandfather. Passing reference only. Dead before story starts.	Helped burn a witch (his wife). Killed for being a witch. No images stated.
Total	**8**		

NB Books ID 3, 4, 15 and 20 were withdrawn from the survey as they were judged by the panel to be the wrong genre (ie not fiction or wrong topic).

Despite the small sample of male witches found in the twenty-three books surveyed, male witches were presented differently by the authors. No reference was made to any of them being ugly. They did, however, exhibit malevolence, assertiveness, were evil and all the male witches knew and practised magic. Their ability to fly concurred with that of the female witches. One male witch had a familiar (a crow), one was reported as bad tempered and another as revengeful. Another male witch

helped to burn his wife to death when she was identified as a witch. One was the protagonist, with the remainder playing supporting roles in the story.

The male witches in the short stories and young reader novels were trivialised and posed little threat to the story or derogatory images to the reader. However, in the novels the male witches had a more powerful impact on the events in the story. For example, one young male witch (Jinks, 1995) felt excluded from a coven of five witches. He placed harmful spells in a computer, was malevolent and revengeful and gained ascendency in the narrative over the coven of female witches. This story reinforced the gender *status quo* within contemporary society that empowered the male hegemony. It also countered the evidence of the Review of Literature, section 2.2.3, that women threaten the male hegemony. Overall, male witches in the books surveyed had generally negligible impact in the narratives, but their minimal influence did, in itself, emphasise that witches are generally of the female gender.

Given the data discussed in the preceding sections it can be stated the Hypothesis I has been supported and that women portrayed as witches in Australian children's literature reflect the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

4.4 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The data supported the Hypothesis and is summarised below:

HYPOTHESIS

That women portrayed as witches in Australian children's literature reflect the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

The twenty-three books surveyed for this study were deemed to be a suitable quantity and representative of the research focus (refer Chapter 2). Published between 1977 and 1995, the selection consisted of two short stories, ten young reader novels and eleven novels. The majority of the stories took place in present day Australia or an alternative, imagined world. The genre was split equally between fantasy and realism.

The author's gender impacted on the number of witches identified in each book, with eight male authors including twenty-nine witches in their stories, as opposed to fifteen female authors having thirty-three witches in their narratives. This data was important as it indicated that female authors were giving emphasis to witch images and themes more frequently than male authors, despite the implications of these negative images for their own gender. The balance between author gender to protagonist gender was evenly distributed, although female authors had a great tendency to female protagonists than male authors. Female authors also made assumptions of gender in the text more frequently than male authors.

Witches were reinforced as female and old in the books surveyed, with 84.1% being female and 74% of the female witches being identified as old. Approximately 50% of the books (for younger readers) reinforced the textual images with graphic illustrations. Eight of the books revealed gender assumption in the text, but generally this was not a significant feature in the books surveyed and, when it occurred, female authors were more prone to exhibit this characteristic.

The following witch images were identified more than forty (>40) times in the books surveyed and were considered to have a **powerful** impact on the narratives:

Social indicator:	Old, Single
Traits:	Malevolent, Offensive, Curser/scold, Assertive, Evil
Physical appearance:	Ugly
Activities and roles:	Satan worshipper/demonic pact, Broomstick rider, Keeper of black cats/familiars, Mixer of harmful spells/potions, Magical powers (tangible objects).

The following witch images were identified from 11-39 times in the books surveyed and were considered to have a **moderate** impact on the narrative:

Social indicators:	Socially alienated.
Traits:	Revengeful, Easily provoked.
Activities and Roles:	Magical powers: alternative world, Coven member/sabbat attender.

The following witch images were identified less than 11 (<11) times in the books surveyed and were considered to have a **minimum** impact on, or **not sufficiently identified** in the narrative:

Social indicators:	Poor, Illiterate, Vulnerable, Low social status.
Traits:	Deviant, Heretical, Rebel, Divisive, Easily Misled.
Physical Appearance:	Devil's mark, Wart, Crone, Moles/blemishes, Bent/stooped
Activities and Roles:	Threat to male hegemony, Sexually active, Killer of children, Wicked Stepmother, Beggar.

Witch images were identified as more prevalent in the novels and were more derogatory to the female gender, providing a negative stereotypical female image

to older readers. The witch characters drawn in the short story books and young reader novels were trivialised as figures of fun, not to be taken too seriously and consequently imposed no serious, lasting effect either on the characters in the story or the reader. Young reader novels also relied on the physical appearance of the witch to project the female witch stereotype, with emphasis on witches being physically ugly. In the novels for older readers the witch characters reflected the stereotypical images of witches established in the Review of the Literature and impacted on the stories by creating a sense of unease, dark power and evil.

These findings suggested that the witch figure of the European witch-hunts continued to be portrayed and reinforced in contemporary Australian children's literature.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The research analysis of Australian children's literature defined specific stereotypical witch images that were consistent with the stereotypical witches of the European witch-hunts. This chapter will discuss the implications of these images in Australian children's literature. Limitations to the study and possible future research arising from this study are also discussed in this chapter.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The discussions centred on the stereotypical female witch images as they continued to be portrayed and reinforced in Australian children's literature. Texts reflected the culture and society in which they evolved, and readers could draw parallels between the texts and how they might influence readers' perceptions of Australian culture.

5.2.1 The witch's role and influence in the narratives

Following the theme analysis investigating certain ideas, attitudes and patterns in Australian children's literature, female witch characters were linked to the stereotypical female images of the European witch-hunts. This witch figure was identified as a powerful and important figure in the books surveyed. Her power was central to the story and her presence important to trigger events. Writers used these talents to create difficulties and steer events to create drama and change, suggesting that writers considered witch images so unique and powerful they would be easily recognised by young and adolescent readers. Many of the witch characters in the

stories were the secondary, supporting characters, but their impact on the narrative was powerfully reinforced through the experiences of the main protagonist(s) (the majority of whom were children or young adults). Female witches were consistently reinforced as important secondary characters in the narratives, influencing events through the protagonist. Women were often portrayed as manipulating events from positions of lesser authority, and these beliefs were reinforced by the characterisation of female witches presented in Australian children's literature.

While the Australian-based writers set the majority of the stories in Australia, the witches portrayed in the stories reflected images from the European witch-hunts. None of the witches was placed in an Australian context, despite their activities being conducted in an antipodean setting. There was also no attempt in the stories to include Australian witches who belonged to another culture, or to link witches to the indigenous population. While the Australian 'bush' is an easily recognised setting for fictitious stories, only two of the books (Shrapnel, 1987; Rose 1985) were set in the Australian outback, and both these stories was dominated by witches who reflected images of the stereotypical European witch. Thus, the absence of indigenous Australian witches in the stories served to underline and strengthen the influence and dominance of the European female witch character in Australian children's literature.

The witch images identified in the books surveyed confirmed the stereotypical images presented in the Review of the Literature (refer Section 2.2). However, the witch images in the stories represented more proactive characters than the women accused of witchcraft between 1450-1700, who were essentially victims of events beyond their control. The witch themes in these books, therefore, did not just

reinforce the images of the European witch-hunts, but developed and expanded these stereotypical images to a character that amplified the historical precedent. The female witch in contemporary Australian children's literature had emerged as a contorted and enlarged version of the original women accused of witchcraft.

5.2.2 Different categories of books

One of the significant results from the study was the different way female witches were presented in the books for younger and older readers, with the stereotypical image of the witch appearing more regularly in books for older readers.

Images of witches being old and ugly, and keeping cats and other pets appeared as a constant theme in both book categories. The effect and intent of the witches' magic was depicted differently depending on the level of readers, ranging from extremely malicious to mischievious or funny, and reinforced the power of the witches to do exactly as they wished. The witch images in all the books indicated an assumption that the witches would be recognised and accepted by all ages of reader. These images needed no explanation, but were synonymous with witch characters, and so presented stereotypical female images that may influence young and adolescent readers' attitudes towards females and how they are constructed in Australian society and culture.

In the novels for older readers, the witch characters reflected the negative stereotypical images of witches established in the Review of the Literature (Section 2.2), and impacted on the stories by creating a sense of unease, dark power and evil. Derogatory witch images occurred more frequently in the novels, establishing the

witch character as ominous, malevolent, evil, cursing, assertive and offensive. Witches had nasty characters and the authors may have considered these themes unsuitable for younger readers. Older children may have certain expectations on how a witch should behave and it was possible the writers tried to support this expectation. In addition, the level of each reader's cognitive development may have been recognised and catered for by the authors.

Older readers were exposed to witches who reflected the stereotypical images of the European witch-hunts, mirroring some of the horror and fear of that period, and indicating that the writers did not have any reticence in exposing older readers to these images. Translated into contemporary society, it could be argued their inclusion in the narratives, particularly for older readers, constructed the witch as an assertive character, not easily intimidated or coerced into acting against her will. However, the desirability of this role model for all readers was questionable, as it also conveyed offensive and malicious behaviour and actions.

Magical powers, including the manipulation of time and alternative worlds, were incorporated into the older stories, suggesting that the concept of space and time travel was one best suited to the older reader. While older children had the age and experience to accept these concepts, it is interesting they were not introduced to the younger readers, who would also relate to fantasies of time travel and different worlds. The data revealed that the themes of devil worship, sex, and menstruation were confined to books for older children. However, the authors of fiction for young readers chose not to include these themes.

Young readers were presented with witches who were less daunting or threatening than those portrayed in the books for older readers. These witch characters were superficial, frivolous and sometimes even humorous. They misbehaved and were sometimes rebellious and rude, but were rarely intimidating or menacing. While important to the narrative as entertaining and amusing, rather than shocking and frightening, they could impose no serious, lasting effect on the young reader. However, these witches were constructed as shallow, trivial figures that offered no positive characteristics to which young readers could relate.

The theme of the witch flying on a broomstick, or owning a broomstick, was a popular and easily recognisable character for younger readers, but was perhaps considered too frivolous and shallow for older readers. Young readers could easily relate to broomsticks and perhaps include them in the context of their games and fantasises.

These findings indicated that the authors chose not to use themes of malevolence, evil, cursing, assertiveness and offensiveness in the books for younger readers. However, it was established (refer section 2.3.1) that young children could be exposed to fairy stories containing images of females who are powerful, evil and dangerous. The implications of these gendered images on the younger readers not only reinforced negative, stereotypical images of women, but also established images that could be translated to future texts read by younger readers during their adolescent years. There is no ready explanation why the witch in the books for younger readers is trivialised, as the readers would probably have been exposed to

wicked characters in traditional fairy stories. It may conform with society's preference concerning adult themes being delivered to the older age group.

The principal difference between the two categories of books was that the older readers were presented with both negative and positive images, while the younger readers received only negative images. While the older readers may have been able to rationalise the difference between the two, the trivialisation of the images to the younger readers suggested the witches' activities and characteristics presented acceptable practice. This in turn reinforced the negative images the witch character presented as undesirable.

5.2.3 The influence of gender

Gender was a major influence in the characterisation of the witch. The reinforcement of witches being female was perpetuated in the children's literature by both the female and male authors, continuing to link stereotypical images to females. As discussed in the Review of the Literature (section 2.3.2), responses to different textual images depended on the attitudes and values of the reader. Readers constantly exposed to stereotypical images of females practising witchcraft would have their understanding of particular women shaped accordingly. This was particularly crucial in relation to readers of children's literature, as it not only influenced their expectations of the role of female witches in the text, but also extended these experiences to their social and cultural environment.

Unexpectedly, it was found that female authors perpetuated the stereotypical image of female witches and gender roles more often than male authors, indicating that

they were not as sensitive to the implications of gender bias in their narratives as would be expected. This would appear to be an unusual and contradictory stance for a female author to adopt given the trend to establish social equality and justice for both genders. There was also the inference that males were excluded from the powers of witchcraft by their gender, implying that this was a special gift confined to the female gender. Despite the 'special powers' of witches, these texts continued to reinforce the subordinate and secondary roles that females occupied in society. This linked, once again, to reader acceptance of these images and roles, and may have particular impact given that the age of the readers ranged from young primary to senior secondary levels. While acknowledging that women were 'special' and held in regard in the books, this could only occur within their role of supporting character. Perhaps the hidden message was that females had been given these unique and special characteristics to perpetuate a secondary role in society; it was not something they had any jurisdiction over and was certainly not something that they should rebel against. This contradicts ongoing social trends and legislature.

Male witches were represented in the books, but to a much lesser degree, and they were presented differently by the authors. In the books for younger readers the male witches were insignificant and posed minimal threat to the story. In the novels the male witches had a more forceful impact on the events in the story. In some instances they appeared more powerful than the female witches, and reinforced the *status quo* of male hegemony within contemporary society, suggesting that even within the culture of witches the male still reigned supreme. The message being conveyed was that whatever the social context, the male influence dominated, even if they were in the minority.

The social construction of the witches in the books surveyed reinforced all the stereotypical images from the European witch-hunts, augmented the misogyny of the witchcraft era and continued to govern the ways in which women were portrayed. Powerful images, particularly in the books for older readers, drew female characteristics that demeaned, patronised, and maligned women, reinforcing the subordination of the female gender. Some positive images were identified in the books surveyed, but overall the patterns of meaning that emerged indicated a strong link between the construction of undesirable female images drawn from children's books and the construction of women in the social world beyond the text.

5.2.4 Summary

This study found that the stereotypical witch figure from the European witch-hunts conducted between 1450-1700 continued to be a powerful figure in Australian children's literature. Their power was central to the stories and the images presented by the writers were perhaps constructed on the assumption that they would be known and recognised by readers of all ages. Although set in Australia, the witches mirrored the European precedent, confirming the strength of the European witch image in Australian children's literature from an early age.

The witches in the books reinforced the stereotypical images of gender, physical ugliness, and demonstrated behaviour that challenged the social structure. The narratives were particularly reliant on the witches' ability to create harmful magic, presenting images of both evil intent and mischievous meddling. The images exhibited to children in the books represented a more powerful and intimidating witch character than that identified in the historical literature. This suggested the

authors portrayed the witch characters, or caricatures, to reinforce the existing social structure.

A large number of negative witch images were identified in the books for older children, portraying the witch as powerful and evil, compared to the witch characters in the books for younger children who were trivialised and diminished by comparison. This presented both negative and positive images to the older readers, but only negative images to the younger readers, reinforcing the witch as an undesirable character. The negative images effectively portrayed characteristics that denigrated females and diminished their self esteem. The positive images, while providing assertive and powerful role models for females, were self-defeating, also reinforcing images that were unacceptable in the Australian social context.

Gender was a major influence in the characterisation of the witch, and readers were exposed to stereotypical female images that would shape their understanding of the expected behaviour and role of women. The male witches did not present any significant threat, but in the texts for older readers their authority restated the male hegemony in contemporary society. There was also a bias against women who were shown to have a predisposition to witchcraft in a much higher proportion than males. The social construction of the witch in the books reinforced the misogyny of the witchcraft era and wove patterns of meaning in the texts that constructed undesirable female images for the readers to translate into the social world beyond the text. While the actual impact and influence on the readers of this type of literature was not evident, the apparent and potential detrimental social influences being perpetuated was established by the research outcomes. The data supported the hypothesis that

women portrayed as witches in Australian children's literature reflected the stereotypical witch images of the European witch-hunts.

5.3 LIMITATIONS

5.3.1 Methodology

Theme analysis was chosen as the main methodology for this study (refer section 3.2.3). However, although a valid research methodology, theme analysis has been criticised as less objective than the quantitative, systematic technique that is used in content analysis (Steinfirst, 1986:629). The theme analysis of the data in this study could have become vulnerable to the judges' beliefs and perceptions, and their impartiality had to be rigorously maintained to avoid the data becoming skewed or tainted. This problem is similar in other qualitative methodology. Consensus between the three judges was reached through discussion, clarification and elaboration of the data. This enabled the judges to reach a consensus on the identified data, and overcame this limitation (refer sections 3.4. and 3.5).

5.3.2 Consensus of panel of judges

The consensus model (refer section 3.2.5) upon which the panel of three judges based their negotiations and decisions was potentially vulnerable to influence by the researcher, who was eager to reach a resolution on each of the data being identified and analysed. It is possible that the two other judges could have felt pressured to comply with perceived expectations of what would be appropriate witch themes. This limitation was averted by the preparation and training of the judges before data analysis commenced. By being familiar with the historical precedents upon which the data was based, the judges became confident in their ability to independently

identify witch themes in the literature. This enabled them to rebutt any undue covert pressure exerted by the researcher, and full consensus was reached without influence being exerted by the researcher, or any individual judge.

5.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has identified witch images in children's literature and drawn conclusions regarding the impact of these images on primary and secondary students as readers. Other studies that would extend this research and its application are suggested.

5.4.1 An investigation on the influence and impact of witch images in children's literature on young and adolescent readers.

The present study established that the character of the female witch in Australian children's literature reflected that of females persecuted for witchcraft in the European witch-hunts. However, the research did not investigate whether readers identified these images and what impact, if any, they had on the readers. An investigation into the readers' emotional response to these images would establish the patterns of recognition by young and/or adolescent readers to the witch character in children's literature. An investigation could also be conducted as to whether the young and/or adolescent readers recognised and identified the influence of gender roles within the narrative, particularly in relation to the witch character. The question of the socialising influence on the reader of the witch's role, with reference to social justice, gender and equity issues could also be investigated. Readers could also be asked how they perceived the influence of the witch's role in the narrative, particularly in relation to the plot.

Further research would also establish whether there was a developmental link between the age of the reader and the portrayal of the witch in the children's literature. This information could also be linked to the gender of the readers to ascertain what differences in perception (if any) there were between male and female readers.

5.4.2 The implications of gender bias when teaching literacy

When planning to teach literacy an investigation should be undertaken on the way gender is presented in children's literature, and how some images can perpetuate misogyny and reinforce negative role models for young readers. All texts were socially produced, and reflected the ideological operation of each culture. Patterns of meaning emerged in the wording, providing links between the text and the social world beyond the text.

Within the context of the classroom, teachers need to discuss the stereotypical witch images in children's literature that portrayed questionable role models for young readers. Efforts to down play negative female images should be encouraged in teaching strategies to limit the perpetuation of inappropriate role models, and opportunities given for students to learn how past events and values can impact on contemporary society. It is important for teachers to act positively when discussing and evaluating the

- witch images in a book;
- implications of such images;
- social roles of witches (perceived moulding);
- messages of inferiority.

Teaching strategies could be investigated and recommended to highlight the implications of the stereotypical witch image and counter them with positive messages that encouraged

- gender equality;
- freedom of role choice in society;
- female confidence building/self esteem;
- the unjust reliance on these images by contemporary writers;
- the impact of past events on contemporary literature.

The witch images portrayed in the children's books explored were often placed in contemporary society, reinforcing the influence of negative female stereotypes.

Careful consideration of these issues when teaching literacy would enhance students' awareness of gender bias in literature. This, in turn, would draw their attention to gender implications within their own peer groups and the wider community.

REFERENCES

Bates, D. 1987 *Worst Cook in the World*, Methuen, North Ryde, NSW.

Barstow, A. L. 1995 *Witchcraze A New History of the European Witch Hunts,* Harper Collins, London.

Behr, D. 1992 'Perspective realism and the rhetorical vision: a philosophical foundation for fantasy theme' *78th Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association,* Chicago, 23.

Bennett, T. 1993 *Sean Twigg and the Witch*, Random House, Milson's Point, NSW.

Bible. n.d. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Birch, D. 1989 *Language, Literature and Critical Practice: Ways of Analysing Text,* Routledge, London.

Bliese, P. D. and Halverson, R. R. 1998 ' Group consensus and psychological well-being: a large field study' *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 28(7):563-580.

Boebel, D. M. H. 1992 'A middle-aged witch me: Anne Sexton's revision of misogyny in the Brothers Grimm' *Misogyny in Literature: An Essay Collection* (ed Ackley, K. A.) Garland Publishing, New York, 315-326.

Briggs, R. 1996 *Witches and Neighbours The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft,* Harper Collins, London.

Condon, B. 1992 *Auntie Spells Trouble*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.

Crabtree, J. 1983 *Stolen Magic*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Daly, M. 1978 'European witchburnings: purifying the body of Christ' *Gyn Ecology The Metaethics of Radical Feminism,* Beacon Press, USA,179-222.

DeStephen, R. S. and Hirokawa, R. Y. 1988 'Small Group Consensus: stability of group support of the decision, task process and group relationships' *Small Group Behaviour,* 19:227-239.

Dixon, B. 1992 'What to do about misogyny? Three science fiction answers' *Misogyny in literature: An essay collection* (ed Ackley, K. A.) Garland Publishing, New York, 379-393.

Dolan, F. E. 1995 'Ridiculous fictions: making distinctions in the discourse of witchcraft differences' *A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies,* 7(2):82-110.

Douglas, M. 1991 'Witchcraft and leprosy: two strategies of exclusion' *Man,* 26(December):723-736.

Dowd, F. A. and Taylor, L. C. 1992 'Is there a typical YA fantasy? A content analysis' *Journal of Youth Services in Libraries,* 5(2):175-183.

Easlea, B. 1980 *Witch hunting magic and the new philosophy: An introduction to debates of the scientific revolution 1450-1750,* The Harvester Press, Sussex.

Ehrenreich, B. and English, D. 1973 *Witches Midwives and Nurses A history of women healers,* The Feminist Press, New York.

Ehrenreich, B. and English, D. 1988 *Witches Healers and Gentleman Doctors For Her Own Good 150 years of the Expert's' advice to women,* Pluto Press, London.

Enright, D. J. 1995 *The Oxford Book of the Supernatural,* Oxford University Press.

Fienberg, A. 1995 *Power to Burn*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, NSW.

Flanagan, J. 1990 *The Witch's House*, Houghton Mifflin.

Fraser, A. 1984 *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's lot in seventeenth-century,* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

Gage, M. J. 1893 *Woman Church and State. The Original Expose of Male Collaboration Against the Female Sex.,* Persephone Press, Watertown, Mass.

Gilbert, P. 1993 '(Sub)versions: using sexist language practices to explore critical literacy' *The Australian Journal of Language and Literacy,* 16(4)323-331.

Gilbert, S. M. and Gubar, S. 1985 'Literature of the middle ages and the renaissance' *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women The Tradition in English ,* W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1-15.

Goodman, L. and Smith, A. 1996 'Literature and Gender' *Approaching literature: Literature and Gender,* Routledge in association with The Open University, London.

Green, K. and Bigelow, J. 1998 'Does Science Persecute Women? The case of the 16th-17 Century Witch-hunts' *Philosophy* 73:195-217.

Greenway, B. 1996 'The morphing of Mollie Hunter or folklore as the root of all fantasy' *The Alan Review,* 23(3)20-21.

Harewood, J. 1992 *Metal Skin*, The Text Publishing Co., Melbourne.

Hanegraaff, W. J. 1995 'From the Devil's gateway to the goddess within: the image of the witch in neopaganism' *Female Stereotypes in Religious Traditions* (eds Klopenborg, R.I.A. and Hanegraaff, W.J.) E.J. Brill, Leiden, 213-242.

Hester, M. 1992 *Lewd Women and Wicked Witches: A Study of the Dynamics of Male Domination,* Routledge, London.

Hoak, D. 1981 'Witch-hunting and women in the art of the renaissance' *History Today,* 31(February):22-26.

Holmes, C. 1993 'Women: witnesses and witches' *Past and Present,* 140:45-78.

Hourihan, M. 1997 *Deconstructing the Hero,* Routledge, London.

Hulton, O. 1986 'Christine Larner and the Historiography of European witchcraft' *History Workshop Journal,* 21(Spring):166-170.

Jinks, C. 1995 *Witchbank*, Puffin, Ringwood, Victoria.

Kamler, B. 1994 'Lessons about language and gender' *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy,* 17(2):129-138.

Kelleher, V. 1982 *Master of the Grove*, Puffin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.

Klaits, J. 1985 *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts,* Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Klein, R. 1987 *Don't Tell Lucy*, Methuen, North Ryde, NSW.

Klein, R. 1984 *Thalia the Failure*, Ashton Scholastic, Sydney.

Kress, G. 1988 'Language as a Social Practice' Chapter 4, *Communication and Culture An Introduction*, (ed. G. Kress) New South Wales University Press, Kensington, 79-129.

Larner, C. 1981 'Witch beliefs and witch-hunting in England and Scotland' *History Today,* 31(February):32-36.

Larner, C. 1984 *Witchcraft and Religion The Politics of Popular Belief,* Basil Blackwell Ltd., Oxford.

Laslett, P. 1971 *The World We Have Lost,* Methuen & Co. Ltd., London.

Laurillard, D. 1990 'Phenomenographic research and the design of diagnostic strategies for adaptive tutoring systems' *NATO Advanced Study Institute on Instruction and Cognitive Science presentation*, University of Calgary.

Lehr, S. 1995 'Wise women and warriors' *Battling Dragons: Issues and Controversy in Children's Literature* (ed Lehr, S.) Heinemann, Portsmouth, 194-211.

Levack, B. P. 1987 *The Witch-hunt in Early Modern Europe,* Longman, London.

Luke, C. and Bishop, G. 1994 'Selling and reading gender and culture' *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy,* 17(2):109-119.

Lurie, A. 1971 'Witches and fairies: Fitzgerald to Updike' *The New York Review of Books,* 17:6-11.

McConnell, S. 1992 'Literacy and empowerment' *The Australian Journal of Language and Literacy,* 15:123-138.

Macfarlane, A. 1970 *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Mallan, K. 2000 'Witches, Bitches and *Femme Fatales*: Viewing the Female Grotesque in Children's Films' *Papers* 10(1):26-33.

Manzor-Coates, L. 1993 'Of witches and other things: Maryse Conde's challenges to feminist discourse' *World Literature Today,* 67: 737-744.

Marland, P. (ed) 1998 *Good Times, Hard Times: Reflections on Teaching in the 1930s,* USQ Press, Toowoomba, Qld.

Marshall, R. 1995 *Witchcraft: The History and Mythology,* The Book Company, Sydney.

Martin, D. 1977 *The Devilish Mystery of the Flying Mum*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne.

Marton, F. 1988 'Phenemonography: exploring different concepts of reality' *Qualitative Approaches to Evaluation in Education: The Silent Scientific Revolution* (ed, Fetterman, D. M.) Praeger, New York, 176-205.

Masson, S. 1990 *Fire in the Sky*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde NSW.

Mahy, M. 1994 *The Changeover*, Puffin Books, New York.

Midelfort, H. C. E. 1981 'Heartland of the witchcraze: central and northern Europe' *History Today,* February, 27-31.

Minowski, W. L. 1992 'Women healers of the middle ages: selected aspects of their history' *American Journal of Public Health,* 82, 288-294.

Moon, B. 1990 *Studying Literature: Theory and Practice for Senior Students,* Chalkface Press, Scarborough, WA.

Moore, R. 1975 'From rags to riches: stereotypes, distortions and antihumanism in fairy tales' *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin,* 6(7):1-3.

Newlyn, E. S. 1992 'The function of the female monster in middle Scots poetry: misogyny, patriarchy and the satiric myth' *Misogyny in Literature: An Essay Collection* (ed Ackley, K. A.) Garland Publishing, New York, 33-66.

Nix, G. 1990 *Ragwitch*, Pan Books (Australia), Sydney.

O'Connor, P. J. 1996 'Witchcraft pamphlets in renaissance England: a particular case in which the tale was told' *The Midwest Quarterly,* 37(2):215-227.

Orr, W. 1991 *Bad Martha*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.

Peniston-Byrd A. 1990, *Miranda the White Witch*, Dellasta, Surrey Hills, NSW.

Porter, D. 1993 *The Witch Number*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Prior, N. J. 1995 *Tasha's Witch*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Quaife, G. R. 1987 *Godly Zeal and Furious Rage: The Witch in Early Modern Europe,* Croom Helm, London.

Reis, E. 1995 'The devil, the body and the soul in puritan New England' *The Journal of American History,* June:15-36.

Rhedding-Jones, J. 1993 *Fantasy and Feminism in Children's Books,* Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria.

Rich, A. 1986 *Of Woman Born Motherhood as Experience and Institution,* W.W. Norton & Co., New York.

Rogers, K. M. 1966 *The Troublesome Helpmate A History of Misogyny in Literature,* University of Washington Press, Washington.

Rose, M. 1985 *Witch in the Bush*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.

Rose, M. 1980 *Witch Over the Water*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.

Scarre, G. 1987 *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe,* Macmillan Education, London.

Scott, J. and Flanigan, E. 1996 *Achieving Consensus: Tools and Techniques,* Crisp Publications, Menlo Park, California.

Sharpe, J. A. 1991 'Witchcraft and women in seventeenth century England: some northern evidence' *Continuity and Change,* 6(2)179-199.

Shrapnel, P. 1987 *Meannie and the Min Min*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.

Smith. J. 1989 *Misogynies: Reflections on Myths and Malice*, Faber and Faber, London.

Solomon, R. C. 1986 'Literacy and the education of the emotions' *Literacy society and schooling* (eds De Castell, S., Luke, A. and Egan, K.) Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 37-58.

Spender, D. 1982 *Women of ideas and what men have done to them,* Pandora, London.

Sprenger, J. and Kramer, H. 1486 *Malleus Maleficarium: The Hammer of Witchcraft,* (translated by the Rev. S. Summer in 1928 and published by The Folio Society, London in 1968).

Stanton, S. 1979 *Rise of the Morpeths*, William Collins, Sydney.

Stephens, J. 1996 *Gender, genre and children's literature*, Bell & Howell, Toronto.

Stephens, J. 1999 'Construction of Female Selves in Adolescent Fiction: Makeovers as Metonym' *Papers* 9(1):5-13.

Steinfirst, A. (ed) 1986 *Research in Children's Literature,* Scott, Foresman & Company, London.

Stewig, J. 1995 'The witch women: a recurring motif in recent fantasy writing for young readers' *Children's Literature in Education,* 26:119-133.

Stone, L. 1981 'Magic religion and reason' *The Past and Present Revisited,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Thomas, K. 1970 'The relevance of social anthropology in the historical study of English witchcraft' *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations,* Tavistock Publications, London, 47-79.

Trepanier-Street, M. L. and Romatowski, J. A. 1999 'The influence of children's literature on gender role perceptions: a re-examination' *Early Childhood Education Journal,* 26:155-159.

Trevor-Roper, H. 1967 *The European Witch Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* Harper & Row, New York.

Valiente, D. 1989 *The Rebirth of Witchcraft,* Robert Hale, London.

Warner, M. 1995 *From the Beast to the Blond On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers*, Vintage, London.

White, K. 1993 *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide,* Jacaranda Wiley, Milton, Qld.

White, K. 1996 *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide Update,* Jacaranda Wiley, Milton, Qld.

Williamson, R. 1986 *The Stolen Harvest*, Julia MacRae Books, Lane Cove, NSW.

Yeoman, E. 1999 'How Does It Get into my Imagination? Elementary school children's intertextual knowledge and gendered storylines' *Gender and Education* 11(4):427-440.

APPENDIX A

AREAS OF WITCH-HUNTS IN EUROPE

Location	Estimated Number of Executions	Years of worst panics (overall these occurred in the 1590s, around 1630 & 1660s.)
Territories of the Holy Roman Empire		
Swiss Confederation	5000	
Austria	Slightly fewer than 5000.	
Bavaria	Relatively few scares.	
Lower Rhine	Relatively few scares.	
Lotharingia	1000+	
Westaphelia	800	
Schaumburg-Lippe	500+	
Electorate of Trier	Many hundreds.	
Wurzburg	900	
Bramburg	300+	
Southwest Germany	3229	1561-1670
Ellwangan	200 in one panic	1611-1612
Lorraine	900	1580s
Franche-Comte	Bad panics.	1628-9/1657-9
Duchy of Luxembourg (then under Spanish rule)	358	1580-1600 and 1615-1630
Namur (low countries)	200	1509 and 1646
France		
Pyranees	Areas most	1580-1610
Languedoc	badly	
Alps	affected.	
North East		
Burgundy		1630s
Champagne		
Normandy		1670
Bearn		
Guyenne		
Italy and Spain	Few witchcraft trials; usually in northern country as a result of influence from over the border.	Peaked in 1550
Basque & Venetian territory		1507/1517/1520s
Poland] Occurred	Worst period came late, between	1675-1720
Hungary] later, freer	Suffered badly in	18th century
Sweden] of persecution.	Greatest scares after	1650
England	Not known; estimated at 300-1000	
Scotland (lowlands)	1000-1600; Fife and the Lothians badly affected.	1590-1692
Largely unscathed:		
Ireland - catholic, remote		
Holland - calvinist	Last witch burnt in	1610
Russia	99	1622-1700
Scandinavia	Free of large-scale trials.	

(Scarre 1987:20-24)

APPENDIX B

MALLEUS MALEFICARIUM CONTENTS

THE FIRST PART

TREATING OF THE THREE NECESSARY CONCOMITANTS OF WITCHCRAFT WHICH ARE THE DEVIL, A WITCH, AND THE PERMISSION OF ALMIGHTY GOD.

THE SECOND PART

TREATING OF THE METHODS BY WHICH THE WORKS OF WITCHCRAFT ARE WROUGHT AND DIRECTED, AND HOW THEY MAY BE SUCCESSFULLY ANNULLED AND DISSOLVED.

QUESTION ONE: OF THOSE AGAINST WHOM THE POWER OF WITCHES AVAILETH NOT AT ALL.

CHAPTER i.	Of the several methods by which devils through witches entice and allure the innocent to the increase of that horrid craft and company.
CHAPTER ii.	Of the way whereby a formal pact with evil is made.
CHAPTER iii.	How they are transported from place to place.
CHAPTER iv.	Here follows the way whereby witches copulate with those devils known as Incubi.
CHAPTER v.	Witches commonly perform their spells through the sacraments of the Church. And how they impair the powers of generation, and how they may cause other ills to happen to God's creatures of all kinds. But herein we except the question of the influence of the stars.
CHAPTER vi.	How witches impede and prevent the power of pro-creation.
CHAPTER vii.	How, as it were, they deprive man of his virile member.
CHAPTER viii.	Of the manner whereby they change men into the shapes of beasts.
CHAPTER ix.	How devils can enter the human body and the head without doing any hurt, when they cause such metamorphosis by means of prestidigitation.
CHAPTER x.	Of the method by which devils through the operations of witches sometimes actually possess men.

APPENDIX B (Continued)

MALLEUS MALEFICARIUM CONTENTS

APPENDIX B (Continued)

MALLEUS MALEFICARIUM CONTENTS

THE THIRD PART

RELATING TO THE JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS IN BOTH THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL COURTS AGAINST WITCHES AND INDEED ALL HERETICS.

(Sprenger & Kramer 1486) (Translated M. Summers, 1968:5-7)

APPENDIX C

ALLEGED MOTIVES OF WITCHES TRIED AT THE ESSEX ASSIZES IN 1582

Name of Accused	**Alleged motives**
Ursley Kemp	was refused nursing of a child was refused a promised payment was refused a loan of 'scouring sand' had been called 'whore' and other names was physically attacked
Joan Pechey	a food dole given to her not of sufficient quality
Alice Newman	was refused 12d. for her sick husband
Elizabeth Bennet	was cursed, maligned, and her cattle cursed, her swine beaten and pitchforked
Elizabeth Ewstace	her daughter, a servant, threatened her geese driven off a neighbours land and hurt
Cicely Celles	was denied 'mault' at the price she wanted her cattle hunted off a neighbour's land was refused the nursing of a child
Alice Hunt	was denied a piece of pork
Alice Manfield	a thatcher refused to work for her was refused a 'mess of milk' was denied 'curdes' a 'green place' in front of her house made muddy
Margaret Grevell	was denied 'Godesgood' was denied mutton
Anne Herd	was not offered sufficient support at church court bough she placed over muddy patch removed it was implied that she would keep a borrowed dish money she had borrowed demanded back a promised pig given to another by victim was accused of stealing ducklings
Joan Robinson	was denied a 'hayer' was denied the hire of a pasture was denied the use of another 'hayer' was refused the sale of a pig was refused a cheese was refused a pig was refused payment for goods

(Macfarlane 1970:173)

APPENDIX D

NATURE OF THE INJURIES BLAMED ON EIGHTEEN ESSEX WITCHES 1566-89

	In the indictments	**In the pamphlets**
Humans:		
death	21	32
sickness	4	17
Animals (usually death of)	3	14
Miscellaneous:		
burning a barn	1	1
spoiling beer	-	7
spoiling butter	-	3
preventing spinning	-	1
cattle give blood	-	1
knocking down tree	-	1
knocking down wood-pile	-	1
mysterious rocking of cradle	-	1
cat stuck fast	-	1

This table shows that the supposed activities of witches were far more diverse than the indictments would suggest. Causing the death of humans, though still the most important single category, only accounts for about 40 per cent of cases instead of roughly 70 per cent. Witches were blamed in an increased number of cases for agricultural misfortunes; the injury of animals, the loss of butter and beer, mysterious accidents to carts and piles of wood. In only one case, where spinning was prevented, did witches attack 'industrial' activities.

(Macfarlane 1970:153-4)

APPENDIX E

BOOKS SURVEYED

List taken from THE WITCHES AND WARLOCKS section in

White, Kerry, 1993 *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide,* Jacaranda Wiley, Milton, Queensland, p175.

and in

White, Kerry, 1996, *Australian Children's Fiction: The Subject Guide Update,* Jacaranda Wiley, Milton, Queensland, p78.

Short stories

ID	
1.	Bates, D. 1987, *Worst Cook in the World*, Methuen, North Ryde, NSW.
2.	Klein, R. 1987, *Don't Tell Lucy*, Methuen, North Ryde, NSW.

Young readers novels

ID	
5.	Condon, B. 1992, *Auntie Spells Trouble*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.
6.	Crabtree, J. 1983, *Stolen Magic*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
7.	Flanagan, J. 1990, *The Witch's House*, Houghton Mifflin.
8.	Klein, R. 1984, *Thalia the Failure*, Ashton Scholastic, Sydney.
9.	Orr, W. 1991, *Bad Martha*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.
10.	Peniston-Byrd, A. 1990, *Miranda the White Witch*, Dellasta, Surrey Hills, NSW.
11.	Shrapnel, P. 1987, *Meannie and the Min Min*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.
12.	Williamson, R. 1986, *The Stolen Harvest*, Julia MacRae Books, Lane Cove, NSW.
13.	Bennett, T. 1993, *Sean Twigg and the Witch*, Random House, Milson's Point NSW.
14.	Prior, N. J. 1995, *Tasha's Witch*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Novels

ID	
16.	Kelleher, V. 1982, *Master of the Grove*, Puffin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
17.	Martin, D. 1977, *The Devilish Mystery of the Flying Mum*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne.
18.	Masson, S. 1990, *Fire in the Sky*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde NSW.
19.	Nix, G. 1990, *Ragwitch*, Pan Books (Australia), Sydney.
21.	Rose, M. 1985, *Witch in the Bush*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.
22.	Rose, M. 1980, *Witch Over the Water*, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde, NSW.
23.	Stanton, S. 1979, *Rise of the Morpeths*, William Collins, Sydney.
24.	Fienberg, A. 1995, *Power to Burn*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, NSW.
25.	Harewood, J. 1992, *Metal Skin*, The Text Publishing Co., Melbourne.
26.	Jinks, C. 1995, *Witchbank*, Puffin, Ringwood, Victoria.
27.	Porter, D. 1993, *The Witch Number*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

APPENDIX F

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

BOOKLOG AND THEME ANALYSIS OF WICKED WOMEN IN AUSTRALIAN ADOLESCENT LITERATURE

JUDGE **TITLE OF BOOK**

YEAR PUBLISHED **PUBLISHER**

AUTHOR **AUTHOR'S GENDER**

MAIN PROTAGONIST **PROTAGONIST'S GENDER**

IN YOUR OPINION (AS THE JUDGE) CAN YOU IDENTIFY A WICKED PERSON IN THE TEXT? YES/NO

IF 'YES' HOW MANY?

NAME THEM (indicating gender and whether they have a leading or supporting role

	Name	Gender	Leading Role	Supporting Role
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				

NUMBER TOTAL OF WITCHES STATED/IDENTIFIED IN TEXT (by book character/s) **M** [ ] **+ F** [ ] **= Total** [ ]

List witches identified above

TIME/PLACE/GENRE OF STORY (tick one or more for each section)

TIME - Present
Past
Future
Combination

PLACE - Australia
Overseas
Reality
Alternate World

GENRE - Fantasy
Science Fiction
Realistic
Others

GENDER ASSUMPTION OF WITCHES IN TEXT(give examples and page numbers)

ARE THERE WITCH IMAGES ILLUSTRATED EITHER ON THE COVER OR IN THE BOOK?

IF 'YES' IDENTIFY THEM

APPENDIX F

SURVEY INSTRUMENT (Continued)

Female Negative Images Identified

1. Social indicators	**Notes (specify if male) and page numbers**
Poor	
Illiterate	
Low social status	
Vulnerable	
Old	
Socially alienated	
Either single/unmarried/alone	

2. Traits

Revengeful	
Malevolent	
Offensive	
Easily provoked	
Curser, scold	
Rebel	
Assertive	
Deviant	
Divisive	
Evil	
Heretical	
Easily misled	

APPENDIX F

SURVEY INSTRUMENT (Continued)

3. Physical appearance **Notes (specify if male) and page numbers**

Devil's mark
Wart
Crone
Ugly
Moles or blemishes
Bent/stooped

4. Activities and roles

Satan worshipper/demonic pact
Coven member/Sabbat attender
Threat to male hegemony
Sexually active
Killer of children
Wicked stepmother
Beggar
Broomstick rider
Keeper of black cats (and other familiars)
Mixer of harmful spells/potions (sometimes in cauldrons)
Magical powers: Tangible object
ESP/6th sense
Word or phrase
Entry into alternative world

APPENDIX G

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 1 - 'Old'

Physical	By Implication
Old hands, face or body	'For 143 years Ybona had won'
Old and tattered	Too old to work
Old fogey, hag or woman	Arrived in gold rush era
Blind old woman	Treated as old
'Rich, batty, old '	'Old people do that sometimes'
'Very old, very potent … an ancient force'	Too old to travel
'Leering old woman'	'Old age is making her difficult'
'Spooky looking old woman'	Bedridden old lady
Rude old woman	Grandmother

Chart 2 - 'Revengeful'

Verbal threats of revenge	Revengeful actions
'…that'll teach you.'	Sets fire to landlord's house
'…have your eyeballs for earings.'	Turns two men into lizards.
'I'm going to get them, I'm, going to burn all their houses down.'	Turns family invisible when not invited to their party.
'Screw with me and you'll regret it.'	
'I'll make him pay alright'.	
'Tomorrow will be death and ruin, and the sun will sink all bloody in a sky as red as fire.'	
'But he shall pay for resisting me.'	
'They have dared to attack Me! And now they will answer for it.'	
'…so cross she nearly turned Thalia into a silverfish.'	
'I used my rage to weave a spell.'	
'She wants … revenge.'	
'My darkness will be cold and terrible and it will ice their bones.'	
'The home of the vengeful witch'	
Wishing harm on father.	
Don't … or I'll turn you into a frog.	

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 3 - 'Malevolent'

	Body language and personality
Personality	Jealous and angry, greedy, cruel, complain, sulk, vicious, 'frozen hatred sat in heart like ice', cold anger.
Expression	Smirked, peered angrily, terrible stare, wicked gleam, 'eyes as cold and glittering as winter stars', unfriendly, sour, discontented.
Voice	Sharp, full of menace, low and hissing, cold.
Cackled	Obscene, chilling. Cackled instead of laughed.
Noise	Hiss of hatred
Thoughts	Nasty, mean, unclean, dark and evil, cold and biting.
Events and Actions	
Locks girl in room.	
Interferes with public performance, creating failure and humiliation.	
Black vapour that causes death.	
Terrorises airline pilot by flying alongside cockpit.	
Orders rat to be burnt.	
A malevolent atmosphere exists in the church after it has been desecrated.	
Brings sorrow to newborn baby.	
Uses rage to make a spell.	
Causes cockroaches appear in soup.	
Snake appears in breadbox.	
Murderous, Prepared to kill, Killing Soren.	
Pierces waxen doll (effigy) with skewers to harm priest.	
Threat – 'Ill will befall you if you go.'	

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 4 - 'Offensive'

Theme	Image
Physical appearance	A grey-white, flat sheen, roughened at the eyebrows, dripping slightly at the mouth, covering the slide down to her throat.
	Ugly old soul
	Looked meaner and angrier
	Sour expression
	Spittle dripping from red painted lips
	Awful sounds
	Fingers stained with blood
	Drenched in blood
	Horrible old hag
	Bony fingers quivered with greed
Dirty Habits	Disgusting dirty sock and underwear
	Messy house
Idiosyncrasies	Weird, rusty voice
	Yelled and screeched all day
	Deep, ill-tempered voice
	Harsh voice
	Spoke sourly
	Snorted in that peculiar way of hers.
	Cracked her knuckles
	Spittle blowing as she spat
	Critical
	Bad tempered
	Greedy
Events	Mother (witch) physically attacks protagonist
	The bleeding (menstruation). Women are witches if they are not bleeding.
	Everywhere, images of horror and power, arrogance and cruelty.
	It's gross – a headsman's axe.

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 5 - 'Curser/scold'

Theme	Image
Ill-intent	Threat to place curse on soldiers
	Mumbling curses/muttering under her breath
	Great Ancient Curse was powerful
	Horse curse
	Muffled, terrible curse
	Evil eye (curse)
	Collecting hair and fingernails prior to placing a curse on someone
	Strong curse
	Curse placed in the computer software
	Meanest curse
	Peter! Cried – in a terrible voice, cursing her next door neighbours.
	Fool – little fool!
Bad language	Terrible scream
	Screech of fury
	Ranted/raved/screamed
	Cursing like a drunken convict
	With an oath …
	Stream of bad language
	Mad cursing and moaning
	'…the witch snapped.'
Implied threat	There's seldom anything YOU can do.
	Snoring? – your ears are as useless as the rest of you.
	You meddlesome child
	Why can't you do as you are told?
	Most people are nincompoops
	You will ALL go.
	'It matters to me!' Said – fiercely.

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 6 - 'Assertive'

Behaviour/actions	Verbal statements
Cracked the whip over the children's heads	'…you thieves … give it to me!'
Radical demonstration in the streets	'She's positively insolent.'
Both had the same streak of flint under a velvety manner	'Screw with me and you'll regret it.'
Her resolute will	'No!' – stand against parent
Refusal to speak	'Don't forget – three times!'
Power increased	'You gave me no help at all and I owe you no explanations.'
Leading the attack	'Wrong! I should say so!'
Leader by fear	'Mind your own business … and stop ordering me around.'
A withering smile	'They won't … I guarantee it.'
A terrible stare	'Come along … it's all arranged.'
Strong and hard	'If you leave trays around that's your business.'
Withstand bullying and attacks	'Come back here at once and pick up that stick.'
Stamps her foot to reinforce statement	'Nonsense … I can't stand ingratitude.'
	Her grandaughter would be slave to no man!
	'You monster, look at what you have done!'

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 7 - 'Evil'

Expression/personality	Action
EYES - Snooping, beady, gleamed,	Bending to an old evil (Devil)
THOUGHTS - … of blood and killing/images of past slaughters, Vicious and ugly, Dark and evil, Cold and foul,	With a child-soul in keeping
MIND - Horrible, mean and nasty, Horrible/evil mind, Mean, greedy, cowardly deceitful, Evil hearted missions, Grim mind, Full of hate and destruction, The darkness within Lucenzia	Stealing the radishes
VOICE - Menace in soft voice, 'I've had enough of you' in quiet old voice (threateningly)	Cat and grandmother burnt alive
FACE - Evil features, Malign pointed face, Evil face	'Burn her' – command
Nasty old woman	Wax doll effigy burnt
A witch is always evil	Death and ruin
It's evil and horrible (doll that grows into a witch)	Obedient because they fear evil mistress
Evil embrace, power, look	Death and darkness rolling like a cloud before her
Loathsome monster	Blood and fire, death and destruction
Images of horror, power, arrogance, cruelty, rage and hatred, abuse destruction	Evil presence (unknown but felt)
	Mora, murderous killer
	Service of Evil

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 8 - 'Ugly'

Body Part	Description
Body	Foul; Wrinkled and careworn; hyena-like; Hideous overgrown doll; Ugly.
Hair	Long unkempt; Wispy black; Stringy; Greasy yellow locks of hair.
Face	Pudding countenance; Wrinkled; Sallow; Discontented; All crosshatched with sharp lines; Thin pinched; Wizened old; Sharp faced.
Nose	Long; Pointy; Green; Dripping; Ugly red peeling thing that glows in the dark; Long pointed.
Eyes	Fiercely glinting; Cast in eye; Flinty; Witchy and black.
Mouth	Sunken; Prune shaped; Pinched; Hideous.
Lips	Withered; Sunken.
Teeth	Irregular stained; Rotten old; Black spots; Needle-like.
Tongue	Wormlike.
Hand	Wrinkled; Dirty; Long fingernails.
Fingers	Bony; Skinny; Thin knobbly; Wrinkled paw.
Voice	Pointed like a goblins.

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 9 - 'Satan worshipper/demonic pact'

Theme	Images
Devil worship	Enlisted to the Devil's services In league with the Devil Sold her soul I knew the Devil had sent you to help me… Call to the Lord of darkness May the power of Satan enter this my magic circle Meat is the flesh of 'the horned one' Sacrifice to Satan
Sex	Satan's sperm The devil hated sex this way (missionary position) Sex with Satan (see also 4.2.5 (a) and 4.2.4 (d)) To attract the Devil she '…became a young, sensuous being.'
Menstruation	They started watching her when her bleeding stopped (menopause) … lots of old women are evil because their blood is going rotten inside. Old women have to be careful that the Devil doesn't climb in and feed on their rotten blood. A woman is only safe from the Devil when she is shedding blood. Making witches bleed.

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 10 - 'Broomstick rider'

Theme	Images
Flying on brooms	…water on my broom at this time in the month will break the flying spell. I'll start a Rent-a-Flying-Broom business! Flew home on their broomsticks Witches from other countries fly on broomsticks (but not Australia) Analogy to air travel Get me a broom – flying is all in the mind. Most grandmothers don't ride brooms! Leapt on to her broomstick Lesson in broomstick flying Take magic and fly (flying ointment)
Parking brooms	Broom propped behind the chair Left her broom by her mailbox. The car park was full of brooms Told not to park broom in street Row of brooms outside school where students had left them
Actions involving brooms	Beat her broom on her cat's tail Eyes that made witches fall off their broomsticks Martha tries out a broomstick Amy waved her broom
Descriptive	Broom with bat wings Just a pink plastic broom! Impressive broomsticks
Analogous with witches	Every decent witch would give her broom… Where's your broomstick? Couldn't you ride on your broom? Are you going to use a broom again? Is there a broom I can borrow? Doesn't have a broomstick. Where's your broom, bitch?

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 11 - 'Keeper of Black Cats/Familiars' data

Pets	Number
Cat	19
Black raven	1
Black crow	1
Barn owl	1
Goanna	1
Toad	4
Rat	1
Bat	1
Dog	1
Demon	1
Total	**31**

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 12 - 'Mixer of spells/potions'

Theme	Images
Food and Drink	Recipes and ingredient to produce food with magical effects when eaten (meringues, yeast). Potions, Witch ale.
Cauldrons	Ingredients placed in a cauldron over a fire and stirred thirteen times Black, evil smelling cauldron A spell in a cauldron, cooking pot
Herbs	Herbs and cures sold to support witch Magic herbal tea Herbs to keep the witch young
Drinks	Moon elixir Powerful sneezle juice (to induce huge sneezes)
Shape change	People into toads, lizards, frogs, spiders Parents shrunk to 10cm tall
Magical objects	Books of spells Wands/crutch/umbrella/paper knife/sword/blackboard pointer/rowan staff/forked twig Skin restoring cream/flying ointment Far seeing crystals/stones, cockatoo fat, emu feathers, dingo fur Vending machine, Computer Necklace/badge/brooch Mirror, Talking picture Invisible ink Car that needs no petrol Coin which links present day Australia to 13 century France
Harmful	Casting spells on troublesome human beings Rendered mute Black spots appeared on tongue of cow Make a wax doll (effigy) She has glazed them (so now her zombie servants) Invisible spell, Headache spell Learning newer, longer and more tiring spells Caretaker's body host to wicked character (male) Fire out of fingers Her spells spread ruin across the country

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 12 - 'Mixer of spells/potions' ' (cont.)

Actions	Whispered a spell Stealing hair and fingernails to make a spell Turning people into certain colours/objects. The rock cracks and releases Oroch Cat becomes alive in museum Word mysteriously appears in dictionary Broom sails up to second storey of house Pictures appear in ring on finger Car changed into toy car Scarf turns into a balloon Appears – ghosts, skeletons Disappears – book, picture of witch burnings, path, Jam turns into marmalade Goldfish created Magic to find gold
Immobilise	She raised both hands and fixed the man Intention of harmful spell (to immobilise) Chant which renders Paul immobile Struck them with a spell that held them fast Sorella rose to her feet, kept there by spells Spell to render bodyguard motionless
Symbols/signs	Fingers rigid and pointing directly at the woman Centre of geometric design, powder ignites. Magic circles/fairy ring/spinifex ring Pisces is a magical sign Wrote symbols of magic in the air A place that is 'safe for magic, safe for spells' Circles and pentagrams of fire Sticks/pyramid/designs round structure in earth 10 point star surrounded by a circle on crutch
Good spells	Spell to heal/remove headaches/warts Fend off deadly vapour Spells to change weather Safety spell, Love spell Forgetting spell, Restore sight One dinner turned into six meals Able to breath under the sea (and thus escape) A spell to undo an Ancient Curse Vegemite protects children from the witch

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 13 - 'Magical powers: ESP/Sixth sense'

Theme	Images
Telepathic power	Mrs. Fizz sensed tears with her back turned. Dragons communicated with their thoughts. 'That extra bit of knowing'. 'It was almost like I could hear Leah'. Martha just knew it was her grandmother's birthday. The witch knew when her cat was in trouble. '..biting into Julia's mind, sending images..' Talking to someone through their eyes. ESP message to third party with request. Using someone inside their mind. Mindlock by one person over another to guarantee a decision. Voice communicating with her inside her head.
Visions	All seeing. She knows: evil omen for battle to come. Get funny feelings and can see things. Haunting visions. Prophesying Joe's murder of his father. Things are not always what they seem.
Dreams	Enforced trance. Contacting children through their dreams. Dreams tell our waking selves things not known
Feelings	Spooky feelings. Gives me the creeps. Burning, rushing and tingly feelings. Magic ring makes finger tingle. Tingle of déjà vu. There is something wrong here today.
Power	Exchanged her heart for power. If you want the power, you will have it. An ancient/sinister force. Every seventy years witches need renewing. Seeing invisible. Power in the wrong hands. Secret magical forces were at work. Let the force flow.

APPENDIX G (Continued)

CHARTS SHOWING EXAMPLES OF DATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4

Chart 14 - 'Magical powers: word/phrase examples of witches' spell-making powers

To make a genie in a bottle	
Camomile oregano	
And a bit of greasy fat	
Dusty earth, moonshine	
and three hairs from a cat	
Green frog, raven's feather	
And half a pint of mud,	
Seven snails and seven worms	
and seven drops of blood	
In my bottle, mix and swirl	
In my bottle mix and slime	
In my bottle genie, GROW!	
Grow and be mine.	(Orr, 1991:21-2)
To make you fly	
Hackkle and babble and giggle and goo	
I'm making a wonderful witches' brew	
It's good on the nose, it's good on the eye	
And just one sip will make you fly!	(Condon 1992:20)
To protect from witch	
Rowan to guard, leaf and tree	
Holly to hide, thee and me.	
Sunfire and greensward sing	
Toward us here within the ring.	(Nix, 1990:103)
To win the competition	
Boil, boil ghastly stuff,	
Make tomorrow's contest tough	
Basil's cooking will be fine	
The winning crown shall be mine!	(Bates, 1987:21)