

# Historiography: Witchcraft

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## Keywords:

The Devil in Massachusetts, Witchcraft at Salem, Religion and the Decline of Magic, Salem Possessed, A Search for Power, Entertaining Satan, The Devil in the Shape of a Woman

## Introduction

Witch-hunting, as a subject, has drawn enormous attention from historians and produced quite a number of books. There seem to be as many different interpretations of the phenomenon as the number of books. The phenomenon extends far back in time, covers a variety of regions, and involves so many factors of individuals and community, that it is very difficult to form a clear picture of the subject. In her book published in 1987, Carol F. Karlson mentions the difficulty of reaching an agreement on even such a basic factor as the number of executions. "Estimates of the number of people executed ...are only guesses; too many records have been lost, or destroyed and too little work has been done on particular regions and time periods. Responsible scholars disagree about what constitutes a reasonable guess."<sup>1)</sup>

However, some factors are found in common in every witchcraft case.

The main characters usually involved people who fell into one of three set categories: the *accused* (those who were accused of being witches, some of whom later confessed to being such or to having practiced witchcraft); the *afflicted* or the *possessed* (those who felt they had been influenced or harmed by witchcraft); and the *accusers* (those who brought the charges of witchcraft against others and who, themselves, were often among those thought to be afflicted or possessed). Very often clergymen and magistrates played important roles in the development of cases. And in all cases, the belief systems, ambiance, and socio-economic conditions of the community were important catalysts.

This paper discusses seven books on witchcraft and looks into their different understanding of the subject. The books include *The Devil in Massachusetts* (1949), by Marion L. Starkey; *Witchcraft at Salem* (1969), by Chadwick Hansen; *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), by Keith Thomas; *Salem Possessed* (1974), by Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum; *A Search for Power* (1980), by Lyle Koehler; *Entertaining Satan* (1982), by John P. Demos; and *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* (1984), by Carol F. Karlsen.

The books differ in the range of regions and periods covered. Thomas talks about Old England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Starkey, Hansen, and Boyer and Nissenbaum focus on Salem in Essex County, Massachusetts between 1692 and 1697. Koehler, Demos, and Karlsen look at witchcraft cases in New England in the late—seventeenth century.

## Witchcraft in Old England

In his book, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, published in 1971, Keith Thomas describes the magic—oriented culture of the sixteenth— and seventeenth—century England. He argues that the Protestant Reformation brought

an end to the popularity of medieval Catholicism's declarations of supernatural power, e. g., the worship of saints, and relics, and the special prayers, which were exercised to relieve the anxiety experienced by people in their daily lives. Subsequently, secular magic, such as witchcraft, astrology, and magical healing, flourished in England as a means to explain misfortune and to help people in distress. Referring to the fact that "nearly all the executions for witchcraft in England took place during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first three-quarters of the seventeenth,"<sup>2)</sup> Thomas argues that the Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century "drastically reduced the degree of immunity from witchcraft"<sup>3)</sup> and that "such defenselessness led inexorably to the final remedy—the execution of the witch, as the only certain way by which the maleficium of the sorcerer could assuredly and legitimately be brought to an end."<sup>4)</sup>

Thomas argues that the origin of witchcraft accusations in England derived from a popular fear of black magic which existed in the medieval days. In late-Elizabethan England, which was isolated from the Continent, Protestant writers began to emphasize the concept of "witch as pagan." The notion was developed by Roman Catholics in late Middle Ages, and it attributed the power of witches to their having made a covenant with Satan and, thus, a heretical character was attached to witches. Paradoxically, this concept of witches as heretics spread to intellectuals and theologians, and the practice of witchcraft became a statutory offense in sixteenth-century England. However, the public continued to regard witchcraft as the power to do harm to others, which was sometimes associated with daily misfortunes and which sometimes reflected personal hatred against neighbors.

Thomas states that the accused were usually poor, the people at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and usually female. He argues that the poor and helpless often resorted to witchcraft, such as cursing and banning, as "the

only method of bettering one's condition when all else had failed."<sup>5)</sup> At the same time, these lowly people were the most often accused because of their defenselessness in a society which was looking for some explanation for mishaps and preventive measures against future recurrence. In the same vein, he argues that the accused were usually women because they "were the most dependent members of the community, and thus the most vulnerable to accusation."<sup>6)</sup>

Protestants denounced ecclesiastical magic as irrelevant to individual pursuit of salvation, and, as a result, secular magic thrived among those who found the Protestant notion of "self-help" too difficult. The decline of magic had to await the development of modern science, medicine, and technology, which enabled people to accept uncertainty.

## Witchcraft in Salem

Marion L. Starkey's work, published in 1949, describes what happened at Salem in 1692, casting a light on the afflicted, the accusers, and the social and political problems of the time. She thinks the witch accusations in Salem were personal and local events, but she also attempts to find a universal truth relevant to tragedies in the mid-twentieth century.

Applying theories of the Freudian school, Starkey gives a psychoanalytical explanation to the whole phenomenon. She argues that the witch trials originated in the "childish fantasies of some very young girls,"<sup>7)</sup> which were kindled by other, older girls, whose suppressed "natural high spirits"<sup>8)</sup> found an outlet in the event, and then were further fanned into deadly incidents by adults frustrated with their lives. Starkey touches upon the contentious nature of Salem Village and the bitterness of the time; among the unsettling factors were smallpox, Indian raids, and the near loss of independence in Mas-

sachusetts. In her analysis, people who were suffering from “the devils they could not reach,”<sup>9)</sup> found the outlet for their frustration in witch-hunting. She argues that “a people whose natural impulses had long been repressed by the severity of their belief, whose security had been undermined by anxiety and terror continued longer than could be borne, demanded their catharsis.”<sup>10)</sup> She sees witch-hunting as one kind of “full-scale lynching,” and the witch as a scapegoat for society in difficult times.

Starkey explains the psychology of the afflicted and accusers. In the case of Betty Parris, the village minister’s daughter, the affliction was caused by the “conflict between her conscience and the unhallowed craving,”<sup>11)</sup> as was reflected in her behavior of taking hidden pleasure in the voodoo rites practiced by a Caribbean servant-woman, Tituba. Also Starkey suggests the possibility of hysteria as the cause of the affliction of some other girls.

Accused witches, scapegoats of the community, could be anyone who threatened to overthrow the girls’ exciting status as informers against the Devil. Starkey argues that among those accused of witchcraft there was as wide a variety in race, religion, and class, as existed in the population of Massachusetts. “There were whites, ...Negroes, ...church members of good standing, members of no church, ...Europeans, ...pauper witches and propertied witches.... There was, in short, a democracy among witches not to be found among law-abiding theocrats.”<sup>12)</sup>

Starkey depicts clergymen, like Samuel Parris and Nicholas Noyes, as instigators of the tragedy, who reflected their anxiety and dissatisfaction in the event. Cotton Mather, likewise showed a great curiosity in the event and was more or less reluctant to stop the tragedy. Starkey thinks that Mather’s publishing of *Wonders of the Invisible World*, which was a full account of the examination and trials of five representative witches, and which entertained the public, made it difficult to “negate the fact that Mather had lent his hand to

fabricating that most dangerous of falsehoods, the half truth."<sup>13)</sup>

Hansen's work, published in 1969, is another narrative history of the Salem witch-hunt and challenges Starkey on several points. He attributes the Salem incidents to the fear of witchcraft shared among the colonists of New England. In his interpretation, the afflicted were pathological, but the accused really were practicing witchcraft. He argues that witchcraft really worked in those days "as it works in witchcraft societies like those of the West Indies, through psychogenetic rather than occult means, commonly producing hysterical symptoms as the result of the victim's fear."<sup>14)</sup> The hysterical response by the afflicted to such witchcraft was then carried further to its deadly climax by the colonists because of their intense fear of it. He states "our forefathers believed in witchcraft, ...because they were men of their time. They shared the feeling and beliefs of the best hearts and wisest heads of the seventeenth century. What more can be asked of them?"<sup>15)</sup>

Also, Hansen differs from Starkey in the understanding of clergymen's role in the event. In his analysis, clergymen, as men of their time, shared the fear of witchcraft; but "the clergy were, from the beginning to end, the chief opponents to the events at Salem. In particular, Cotton Mather was anything but the wild-eyed fanatic of tradition."<sup>16)</sup> Hansen thinks "Mather was convinced that the Fiends were real,"<sup>17)</sup> but, as a "witchcraft scholar", he continually called for restraint and cautioned against the use of "spectral evidence."

In their work, *Salem Possessed*, published in 1974, Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum argue that Cotton Mather regarded witchcraft as symptomatic of deeper social problems, and that his main concern was to cure the problems within the community. In their analysis, Mather utilized the witchcraft accusations to call people's attention to the social and religious ills of the times. Referring to Mather's attitude towards one afflicted girl, Mercy

Short, they state that Mather treated the witchcraft accusations "as an opportunity for the religious edification of the community."<sup>18)</sup>

Unlike Starkey and Hansen, Boyer and Nissenbaum conduct a community study of the seventeenth-century Salem Village and attempt to look at the lives of "the ordinary" in a socio-economic and historical context. According to them, Salem's witch-hunt was a "counter-offensive" by declining "back-country farmers" against emerging mercantalists.

They argue that Salem Village never formed the harmonious community usually associated with colonial New England. From the early days of settlement, there was a confrontation between the villagers who lived in the west, closer to Salem Town, and who identified their interests with the thriving merchants of the town, and the farmers who lived in the hinterland remote from the town and whose interests lay in a yeoman-type subsistence economy. As Salem Town became steadily more mercantile, the back-country farmers strived to gain ecclesiastical and political autonomy, but the villagers who enjoyed prosperity resisted such movements. The village was granted the right to appoint its own minister and to build its own meeting house, but "for every purpose other than support of the ministry, it remained a part of Salem Town."<sup>20)</sup> Over the appointment of Samuel Parris, a failed businessman, as the new minister, the contentious community found another reason for confrontation. Being semi-autonomous, Salem Village lacked institutions to effectively mediate between contentious factions.

As the town developed into a commercial port, villagers living to the west strengthened their ties with the town and shared its prosperity; however, the farmers in the hinterland were isolated from the commercial benefits of the town and suffered from increasing land scarcity for their sons and grandchildren without any means of improving their situation. Failing to represent their interests in the Town meeting and to form their own village government,

the back-country farmers felt helpless to protect their interests. Frustrated by their economic conditions, as well as threatened by the advent of commercial capitalism and the new social style attendant on it, back-country farmers resorted to witchcraft accusations. Boyer and Nissenbaum argue that, "unable to relive their frustrations politically, ...(the back-country farmers) treated those who threatened them not as a political opposition but as an aggregate of morally defective individuals."<sup>21)</sup> The people whom the farmers confronted were "a group of people who were on the advancing edge of profound historical change."<sup>22)</sup> By associating these enemies with witchcraft, farmers "chose to proceed as if nothing fundamental had changed in New England society."<sup>23)</sup> In their analysis, witch-hunting at Salem was a catharsis of the farmers' frustration and anxiety.

However, Boyer and Nissenbaum argue that, "with only one or two exceptions, the accusations did not fall on those men who were surely the most tempting targets."<sup>24)</sup> Instead of the lineal offspring of the Porters, the leading family taking advantage of the growing mercantile economy, villagers who were linked with them, but who were more vulnerable to attack, or the outsiders who were little known to the villagers, tended to be the victims of accusations.

## Quantitative and Demographic Studies of Witchcraft

It is a very difficult task to estimate the number of witchcraft cases, but John Demos has made a quantitative study of witchcraft in Western culture. Starkey believes that the number of cases were minimal in Salem in comparison with England and Europe. She states "Only twenty witches were executed, a microscopic number compared to the tens of thousands who had been put to death in Europe and England in the course of similar outbreaks in the late

Middle Ages."<sup>25)</sup> However, Demos looks at annual rates of witchcraft cases per one hundred people and concludes that there were a "good deal more" cases in New England than Old England. He states "if one imagined a spectrum of premodern communities, arrayed from the most to the least deeply preoccupied with witchcraft, early New England holds an intermediate position."<sup>26)</sup>

Also from his quantitative estimates, Demos emphasizes that witchcraft in New England reached its peak later than in Old England. He argues, "New England's contribution to witchcraft history came relatively late. Its earliest cases coincided with the last real peak of England witch-hunting, and Salem was virtually the finale for 'panic witchcraft' anywhere in the West."<sup>27)</sup>

Demos, Koehler, and Karlsen analyze the demographic characteristics of accused witches in New England. They all agree that the majority were women; 90 out of 112 (80.4%) in Demos's study,<sup>28)</sup> 72.7% to 76.7% in Koehler's study,<sup>29)</sup> and 267 out of 342 (78.1%) in Karlsen's study.<sup>30)</sup>

Also, they would agree that the typically-accused witch was a middle-aged married woman of disagreeable personality. Demos and Koehler state that accused witches were more likely to be of low social positions, but Karlsen does not agree with the two on this point. She points out that evaluating the economic status of the accused, who were mainly women, from the remaining documents of a paternalistic society is very difficult. On this point, from their study on Salem witches, Boyer and Nissenbaum argue that "the overall direction of the accusations remains clear: up the social ladder, fitfully but perceptibly, to its very top,"<sup>31)</sup> and that "the Salem witch trials cannot be written off as a communal effort to purge the poor, the deviant, or the outcast."<sup>32)</sup>

The afflicted was usually described as a young girl in her teens or early twenties and Karlsen reported that 40 out of 67 (59.7%) possessed accusers

were females in their teens or twenties.

Demos and Karlsen disagree on the profile of accusers. Demos argues that "a large portion of witchcraft charges were brought against women by other women,"<sup>33)</sup> but Karlsen points out that non-possessed accusers were mainly men; 262 out of 424 cases. (61.8%)<sup>34)</sup>

## Witchcraft in Seventeenth Century New England

Demos' work, published in 1983, is a detailed examination of witchcraft allegations made in New England between 1638 and 1697. Taking biographical, psychological, sociological, and historical points of view, he attempts to draw a rounder picture of the witchcraft phenomenon.

Demos emphatically attributes the witch-hunting to the repressive nature of New England's Puritan society with its rigid hierarchy, corporate interdependence, and densely personalized relationships. He says, also, that Puritan cosmology made New Englanders "regard themselves as participants in a cosmic struggle between the forces of God and of Satan for control of the universe."<sup>35)</sup> Applying the psychoanalytic view of Heins Kohut, he argues that the suppressive nature of Puritan society in New England, which tended to repress children's autonomous strivings under the name of social harmony and consensus, underlay the phenomenon of witch-hunting. In Puritan communities, children experienced conflict between their desire for autonomy and the repressive values of their society, and this conflict took the forms of beliefs in and the afflictions of witchcraft in their later years.

Taking a historical point of view, Demos analyzes relationships between the cycle of witchcraft accusations and the socio-political conditions of the time, including illnesses, weather, economics, astronomical signs, controversies at local and colonial levels, wars, the policies of England, and so

on. He concludes that, while not a causal relationship, a correlation existed between these factors and the occurrence of witchcraft incidents. He argues "Witchcraft was no meandering side-show, isolated from the larger history of early New England. On the contrary: it belonged to – and in – that history virtually from beginning to end."<sup>36)</sup>

The witch accusations disappeared with the weakening ideational, social, and psychological structures which had supported the belief in witchcraft. However, Demos sees that "as witches disappeared from view, other figures were obliged to take their place. Blacks, Indians, immigrants of various kinds, Jews, Catholics, Mormons, atheists, Masons, anarchists, Communists: around these new targets 'witch-hunting' in the figurative sense of searching out and punishing one's supposed enemies, has been repeatedly revived all throughout American history."<sup>37)</sup>

### Witchcraft and Women in Seventeenth-Century New England

Demos sees early New England as a male-dominated society, in the sense that men controlled politics and headed the family and the church. However, he denies that male-dominance in the society was an important cause of witch-hunting. Demos argues that "in private life there was considerable scope for female initiative. Considered overall, the relations between men and women were less constrained by differences of role and status than would be the case for most later generations of Americans."<sup>38)</sup>

Koehler and Karlsen have views different from Demos'. Both of them look into women's role and status in early New England and conclude that Puritan communities were male dominated. They attempt to find answers as to why witches were mostly women in Puritan society.

In his book, *A Search for Power*, published in 1980, Lyle Koehler argues

that the monolithic and repressive creed of Puritanism made both men and women helpless. Men's search for power deprived many women of control over their own lives; they were deemed inferior to men, and were expected to be submissive to their husbands. Some women, dissatisfied and frustrated with such a role, took to deviant actions, such as adultery, crime, running businesses, hysteria, and so on. In his analysis, such untraditional behavior of women reflected their desire to gain some control over their own lives.

The confessed witches or those accused as such were identified as women in search of power. The witch role permitted a woman to "imagine that she can exercise some sort of power."<sup>39)</sup> The women who took to "eccentric or contentious" behavior, in contradiction to their status, were targeted for accusation.

As for the reasons why accused witches were mostly women, Koehler points out the following factors: 1) Puritans presumed that "the innately weaker sex" were more susceptible to devilish temptation; 2) witchcraft accusation provided opportunity for displaced aggression toward undesirable women for Puritan minds; 3) the self-punishing fear of Puritans, who believed in "sex as materially good but spiritually evil,"<sup>40)</sup> helped brand the weaker sex as witches. Koehler believes "many witchcraft accusations reflected Puritans' sexual anxieties."<sup>41)</sup>

Koehler sums up the functions of witchcraft accusations as designed to maintain the anxiety-ridden and repressive social structure of late seventeenth-century Puritan society. He argues that witchcraft was a way to explain the mishaps of people's daily lives, an outlet for neighborhood resentment and repressed sexuality, and a means for women to express resentment and to assert their power, although at the same time, a way to keep rebellious women in line.

In her book, *The Devil in the Shape of a Women*, published in 1984, Carol

F. Karlsen also thinks women's expected role in Puritan society was an important factor for witch-hunting. Her argument is based on her strong feminist viewpoint. In her analysis, Puritanism set women's image as good wives, mothers and helpmates, but male views of women also maintained the late-medieval popular misogynist tradition. Karlsen utilizes the concept of anthropologist, Mary Douglas; "human societies relegate certain information to the category of self-evident truths. Ideas that are treated as self-evident, 'as too true to warrant discussion,' constitute a society's implicit knowledge." She argues that "woman as a witch or witch as a woman" was part of the "implicit knowledge" of colonial New England. Thus, those women who did not fit the expected image were associated by this "implicit knowledge" with witches.

Karlsen has constructed a demographic and behavioral profile of accused witches, and describes witches as older women who lacked male protectors and often who had inherited estates that normally would have gone to males. Although possessed accusers were also mainly women, she looks at the profile of non-possessed accusers and estimates that there were twice as many male non-possessed accusers as female ones. In her analysis, those women who inherited property seemed the most intolerable obstacles to men who were experiencing difficulty getting land in the increasingly land-scarce society of late seventeenth-century New England. Witchcraft accusations provided males an outlet for their resentment against those lucky women, and reflected their anxiety and frustration.

Karlsen regards many of the clergymen as guilty of inciting witch-hunts. Referring to the theology developed by Protestant thinkers in England, which claimed that "witches entered into a contract, or covenant, with Satan,"<sup>43)</sup> she argues that New England ministers considered witchcraft as Satan worship, and, thus, they were worried about the Devil gaining success in their churches. Some of them insisted on their view, resorting to their position of au-

thority, and thereby, according to Karlsen, causing an escalation in witch hunting.

## Some Thoughts on Witch Accusations

Every society in any era needs some measures to relieve people's frustrations and anxieties during times of crisis or difficulty. (In this sense, witch accusations and McCarthyism are comparable.) In the tightly-knit rural community of the seventeenth century, which was without "much of the modern concept of privacy and private life,"<sup>44)</sup> some vent for personal adversity or neighborhood contention must have been necessary. For the mind-set of seventeenth-century New Englanders, witchcraft was a capital crime and witch accusation was a legitimized measure. Retrospectively, however, while this system could alleviate the difficulty and tension of Puritans, it scapegoated innocent people. The repressive nature of Puritan society, combined with friction among groups of people who had differing interests in the emerging capitalism, decreasing land availability, and wars all made New England in the late seventeenth century a place with mounting tensions among the people, and it seems undeniable that their frustrations were released through witch accusations. But why did women have to play the role of scapegoats ?

In seventeenth-century Japan, where farmers bore a collective responsibility to pay land tax, there was a publicly-accepted means called *mura-hachibu* (an ostracism exercised upon the agreement of village leaders) which functioned as an outlet for farmers' frustration and tensions, and which victimized innocent villagers during hard times. Also in Japan, specters, which were believed to be the spirits of the deceased who had held a strong grudge in this world, were associated with women who were less capable of paying off the grudge in an ordinary way. In seventeenth century Japan, it consti-

tuted an "implicit knowledge" that specters really existed and were female. However, the belief; in "women as a specter or specter as a women" was not integrated into a system of social tension alleviation, thus, the victims of the ostracism were not necessarily associated with specters nor with women.

Karlsen's argument, that "women as a witch or witch as a women" was part of the "implicit knowledge" of seventeenth-century Europe and New England, sounds persuasive. But the tragedy of women in seventeenth-century New England lay partly in the fact such "implicit knowledge" was combined into the legalized system of social tension relaxation. Here, may be found one of the reasons why many innocent women were executed as witches.

#### NOTES

1. Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 266.
2. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 454.
3. *Ibid.*, 493.
4. *Ibid.*, 497.
5. *Ibid.*, 522.
6. *Ibid.*, 568.
7. Marion L. Starkey, *The Devil in Massachusetts*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), xiii.
8. *Ibid.*, 14.
9. *Ibid.*, 30.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, 21.
12. *Ibid.*, 133.
13. *Ibid.*, 247.
14. Chadwick Hansen, *Witchcraft at Salem*, (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1969), x.
15. *Ibid.*, xiii.
16. *Ibid.*, x.
17. *Ibid.*, 178.
18. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 25.
19. *Ibid.*, xiii.
20. *Ibid.*, 42.

21. Ibid., 109.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 187.
25. Marion L. Starkey, *The Devil in Massachusetts*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), xiii.
26. John P. Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 13.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 61.
29. Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 276.
30. Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 47.
31. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 33.
32. Ibid.
33. John P. Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 64.
34. Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 184.
35. John P. Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 310.
36. Ibid., 386.
37. Ibid., 400.
38. Ibid., 63.
39. Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 273.
40. Ibid., 277.
41. Ibid., 272.
42. Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Women*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 154.
43. Ibid., 4.
44. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 527.

## ウィッチクラフト (Witchcraft)

植民地時代のアメリカ社会についてはこれまでに色々な研究が成されており、その解釈は、時代とともに、また心理学・人類学・社会学的手法の導入によって変化してきた。この小論は、魔女狩り (Witch-hunting: 政敵を中傷・迫害する) に関する7冊の著書をもとにその多様な解釈を紹介するとともに、17世紀ニューイングランド社会の思想や構造を明らかにしようと試みるものである。

この小論では次の7つの文献をとりあげる。1. マリオン・L・スターキー (Marion L. Starkey) の *The Devil in Massachusetts* (1949), 2. チャドイック・ハンセン (Chadwick Hansen) の *Witchcraft at Salem* (1969), 3. ケイス・トーマス (Keith Thomas) の *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1969), 4. ポール・ボイヤー (Paul Boyer) とステファン・ニッセンバウム (Stephen Nissenbaum) の *Salem Possessed* (1974), 5. ライル・コエラー (Lyle Koehler) の *A Search for Power* (1980), 6. ジョン・P・デモス (John P. Demos) の *Entertaining Satan* (1982), 7. キャロル・F・カールセン (Carol F. Karlsen) の *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* (1984)。

これらの著書で対象としている年代や地域は異なり、トーマスはピューリタンの祖国である16世紀から17世紀のイングランドについて、スターキーやハンセン、ボイヤーは1692-1697年のマサチューセッツ州エセックス郡のセーレム (Salem) について、コエラー、デモス、カールセンはセイレムでの魔女狩りを含む17世紀後半のニュー・イングランド地方について述べている。

注：安武留美さんは1990年9月まで本学の非常勤講師として勤務され、現在、カリフォルニア大学ロサンゼルス校 (UCLA) の大学院博士課程在学 (アメリカ史専攻)