Witchcraft, magic and culture 1736-1951

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Abstract
While much scholarly time and energy has been dedicated to the history of the early modern witch trials, it is only in recent years that serious attention has been given to the continued belief in witchcraft and magic in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe and America. The so-called Enlightenment may have heralded a sea change in intellectual thought, but it did not supplant the occult mentalities of the majority of people. Over the last three decades work by historians, folklorists and anthropologists has shown that the analysis of witchcraft accusations, and the continued resort to cunning-folk and diviners, can tell us much about social, cultural and religious developments in modern Europe and America.

The history of European witchcraft beyond the early modern witch trials has only recently emerged as a serious branch of witchcraft studies.[2] The reason why it has taken so long for historians to pay more attention to the widespread continued relevance of witchcraft in the modern era can be attributed in part to the institutionalised scholarly tradition of historic periodisation: witchcraft equalled early modern. It also had much to do with implicit and explicit adherence to notions of the Enlightenment and societal progress, whereby the historical significance of magic and witchcraft was relegated as a consequence of a small, educated elite adopting 'rational' religious and scientific modes of thought.[3] These chronological and conceptual barriers had to be overcome for the subject to be taken seriously. That is not to say that the subject remained completely neglected. Folklorists paid some attention to the legends and tales of witchcraft recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[4] The broader subject of popular magic as a tradition and a practice also attracted sporadic attention amongst historians of medicine.[5] In France in particular, there was a long tradition of institutional medical interest in the psychiatric aspects of witchcraft belief, and in the 'problem' of competition from magical healers in the medical market place.[6] The study of witchcraft accusations, vital to understanding the dynamics of the witch trials was, however, largely ignored until the 1970s when the anthropologist Jeanne Favret-Saada began to explore witchcraft disputes in contemporary rural France.[7] So, while this article is framed by the period between the British Witchcraft Act of 1736 and the Fraudulent Mediums Act of 1951, I felt it important to assess recent developments in Britain in relation to how the historiography has developed in Europe and the United States.

The period following the decriminalisation of witchcraft in the eighteenth century in England was, until the last couple of decades, seen by historians as primarily the domain of folklorists and antiquarians. There were a few exceptions, such as the desultory collection of cases provided by R. Trevor Davies in his book *Four Centuries of Witch Belief* (1947), and in the populist histories of witchcraft and supernatural written by Eric Maple.[8] W. B. Carnochan's textual analysis of several pamphlets recording the fatal swimming of a suspected witch in Hertfordshire in 1751 broke new ground.[9] It was largely overshadowed though by the publication around the same time of two hugely influential studies of early modern witchcraft and magic, Alan Macfarlane's *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (1970) and Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). Amongst several pioneering aspects of Thomas's book was the attention he gave to exploring the decline of witch beliefs. Along with increased education, industrialisation and urbanisation, he highlighted the growth of the insurance industry and the increasing efficacy of the Poor Law in the eighteenth century as key developments. Within the context of Thomas's central thesis that tensions between begging, charity and individualism, provided the setting for most witchcraft disputes, his arguments were persuasive.

Karl Bell, in an informative survey of recent work on magic and modernity, has suggested that, 'Thomas's comprehensive analysis of the decline of magical mentalities seemingly robbed the subject of a place in modern history.'[10] Throughout the rest of the 1970s and 1980s discussion on eighteenth and nineteenth century witchcraft and magic was certainly largely confined to religious history, primarily in reference to the growth and influence of Methodism.[11] These studies at least confirmed that belief in witchcraft continued to have currency beyond the uneducated poor, providing a corrective to the conviction that it was in terminal decline during the eighteenth century.

In *Instruments of Darkness* (1996), the first major study of early modern English witchcraft since Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, James Sharpe highlighted the wealth of sources available for the post-trial period, and noted that a book remained to be written on the subject.[12] As it happened, while Sharpe was working on his important revisionist survey, I had completed a PhD that went beyond the confines of religious history to look at how witchcraft and a range of magical beliefs continued to permeate English and Welsh urban and rural society after 1736. This was achieved by using newspapers, folklore records, pamphlets, sermons and popular literature.[13] Key sources of information were 'reverse witch trials' – that is court cases where the plaintiffs were accused witches and the defendants those who had physically and verbally abused them. As a study of twenty-six such prosecutions in the county of Somerset during the nineteenth-century underlined, the same fears, anxieties and troubled lives that characterised early modern witchcraft accusations

continued to be played out up until the early twentieth century.[14] This work showed that the long-held assumptions about traditional beliefs in the supernatural crumbling in the face of popular education and urbanisation were deeply flawed. Various magical practices, astrology and other forms of divination in particular, thrived in the urban environment.[15] Reasons for the decline of witchcraft could be found in changing social structures, the divorce from agriculture and the increasing security brought by growing welfare provision and personal financial security. The latter point echoed part of Thomas's thesis but placed its impact a century later.

Another area of concerted research in the 1990s concerned the role and influence of cunning-folk, those multi-faceted practitioners of magic whose influence Keith Thomas and Alan Macfarlane had done so much to unveil. As work by myself and Ronald Hutton showed, the significant role of cunning-folk in people's experience of healing, witch-doctoring, crime detection, and divination was maintained right through until the end of the nineteenth century.[16] Hutton's reason for studying cunning-folk was primarily concerned with assessing if there was a shared heritage between them and modern neo-pagan witches, some of whom claimed to be part of a continuous British tradition of pagan magic.[17] As well as general surveys, several detailed biographies of nineteenth-century cunning-folk have recently appeared. Richard Allen has investigated the famed Welsh family of magical practitioners, the Harries of Cwrt-y-Cadno, whose reputation extended across the border, while Jason Semmens has pieced together the life and times of the Cornish cunning-woman or 'pellar' Thomasine Blight. My own detailed examination of John Harrison, the 'Leeds Wizard', reveals the extent to which cunning-folk thrived in rapidly urbanising England. Harrison, a cynical con man, thief and bigamist, briefly became the most notorious and reviled magical practitioner in England due to his involvement in a sensational murder trial.[18]

America

Interest in the continuance of witchcraft beliefs in the eighteenth-century has a longer historiographical pedigree in America. As far back as 1869 the American witchcraft historian Samuel G. Drake had complained that due to the preoccupation with Salem, 'what had occurred in the Country before and since 1692 is, and as has been, overlooked or almost entirely lost sight of.'[19] It took another century before someone took up Drake's challenge. In his groundbreaking book *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment*, published in 1976, Herbert Levanthal traced the continuing popular strands of witchcraft and magic in intellectual and religious thought in so-called 'Enlightenment' America. Musing on why he was the first historian to do so, Leventhal suggested that fellow historians had been overly influenced by the 'Enlightenment' thesis, while social scientists' had unfairly dismissed anecdotal material that could not be data analysed like trial records.[20] Leventhal's presentation of a range of sources from journals, memoirs, newspapers and pamphlets clearly demonstrated

the continued, widespread influence of witchcraft beliefs across the social scale. Three years later Jon Butler's article, 'Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1760' complemented Leventhal's findings and ensured that subsequent studies of American eighteenth-century religious cultures could not ignore the continued significance of witchcraft and magic.[21] This awareness would soon stir up a major controversy with regard to the early history of Mormonism. Right from the inception of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints its founder Joseph Smith and his followers were accused of magical practices, mostly in relation to treasure hunting. In the 1980s several historians revisited these accusations. The historian Michael Quinn, a practising Mormon, profoundly disturbed the Church leaders with his single-minded, meticulous exploration of the magical beliefs of the Smiths and the occult influences on the content of the Book of Mormon. Others, such as John L. Brooke, confirmed the Mormon occult heritage albeit in a less confrontational manner.[22]

The Mormon controversy seems to serve as a full stop in the historiography of America's European magical tradition. Some historians' have expressed brief awareness of the continued manifestation of witchcraft accusations and magical practices.[23] They are, however, portrayed as a relatively insignificant aspect of popular culture and religion in industrialising nineteenth-century America. Instead, the focus has shifted to exploring the magic heritage of African-Americans. Studies by Jeffrey E. Anderson and Yvonne Chireau have mapped the creolization of magic in the American South during the nineteenth century. This process involved the fusion of European, African and Native American beliefs and practices into the distinct traditions of 'conjure' and hoodoo. Anderson and Chireau then chart how, with the mass migration from the rural south to the industrial urban north during the early twentieth century, these traditions diffused across America. [24]

Europe

While the American social science and psychological approaches to witchcraft accusations, developed respectively by Boyer and Nissenbaum in their analysis of Salem and in John Putnam Demos's broader study of witchcraft in New England, greatly interested British historians of the witch trials, the advances made by Leventhal and Butler provoked little attention. When, in the early 1990s, British historians returned to the subject of witchcraft, and began to peer beyond the early eighteenth century, they turned to European rather than American comparisons. It is understandable, considering the language barriers, that the most widely cited continental study was Judith Devlin's exploration of witchcraft, magic and astrology in nineteenth-century France, *The Superstitious Mind*, which relied heavily on the wealth of relevant material to be found in legal gazettes and ethnographic accounts.[25] However, a couple of other more focused studies of magic and witchcraft in France during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, published around the same

time, went largely unnoticed. Bernard Traimond's study of several court cases from southwest France, in the years between 1750 and 1826, revealed in detail the social dynamics behind a series of witch 'grilling' episodes and the role of magical healers in determining their course. Eloïse Mozzani's book explored the myriad ways in which magic, divination and spiritualism continued to permeate French society through the upheavals of the Revolution and Napoleonic era.[26]

Similar work was also going on elsewhere in Europe. In 1988 the Danish folklorist and historian Gustav Henningsen published a lengthy article on the continued persecution of suspected witches in Denmark from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.[27] During the 1980s Dutch scholars formed an interdisciplinary study group 'Witchcraft and Sorcery in the Netherlands'. Its members engaged in the first concerted effort to study the continuation of witchcraft and magic beliefs in the modern period. Crucially they examined the subject as part of the *long durée* history of witchcraft accusations, and the activities of and authoritarian responses to cunning-folk. Using newspapers, slander cases, and prosecutions under laws for illegal medicine and fraud, they demonstrated that modern sources could be just as informative regarding the dynamics and social meaning of witchcraft as witch trial records. Some of the fruits of this collaboration were published in English in 1991, and an influential, wide-ranging paper, 'On the Continuation of Witchcraft', by one of the group, Willem de Blécourt, appeared in a major collection of essays on early modern witchcraft.[28]

While historians were extending the history of witchcraft into the modern period European anthropologists and sociologists were finding that witchcraft accusations were not only an historic phenomenon but also a continuing reality. In *Witchcraft, magic and culture* I stated that traditional witchcraft was essentially defunct in Britain by the time the Fraudulent Mediums Act was passed in 1951, though aspects of the magical tradition continued in old and new forms. That is not to say no one was still thinking in terms of witchcraft, rather that the dynamics of witchcraft accusations identified in previous centuries were not being played out at a community level, and very rarely at a private level. In other words, an English anthropologist in the early 1970s attempting to emulate Favret-Saada's immersion in the world of witchcraft in Normandy would have been disappointed.[29] Those working in southern and central Europe fared much better. At the same time as Favret-Saada was out in the field, the folklorist Inge Schöck, and sociologist Hans Sebald, were, for instance, exploring ongoing witchcraft disputes in southern Germany.[30]

Material Culture

The material culture of magic and witchcraft in the modern period has intrigued British antiquarians and folklorists for a century or more. Inspired, in part, by the work of Ralph Merrifield it has also begun to attract the scholarly attention of historians in the last few years.[31] The

physical remains of magical practices, such as witch bottles, pierced hearts, ritual building depositions, written charms, and amulets, which were employed to ward of witches, spirits and ill-health, provide the only extant evidence of some traditions. The deliberate placement of shoes in chimneys and wall cavities, for instance, was evidently a widespread ritual building practice but reference to it is absent from historical records. Moreover, the material culture of magic can be used to trace the ways in which immigrants maintained their beliefs and practices in new lands and environments. Recent work has examined the physical remains of European and African-American conjuration in eighteenth and nineteenth-century America.[32] The archaeological record assumes more importance with regard to another former colony. There is hardly any evidence in the archives of Australian settlers expressing belief in or practising magic. It seems highly unlikely that this paucity reflects the actuality of experience. It is hard to believe that witchcraft accusations did not occur in the new continent and that magical practices, which were widespread in early nineteenth century urban and rural Britain, suddenly became redundant. Some cunning-folk and charmers must have found there way there either as prisoners or voluntarily. Research by Ian Evans, an expert on early Australian buildings, is now revealing that the ritual protective building practices found in Britain were also being practised in nineteenth and early twentieth century Australia.[33]

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The study of witchcraft and magic in the modern era is now becoming firmly rooted in the mainstream of historical research. Eric Midelfort, reviewing the recent four-volume *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*, concluded, 'With the history of the major witchcraft trials now almost accomplished, we also seem ready for a new assault on the ancient world as well as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, periods that bristle with interest'.[34] Two of the six volumes that make up the *Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* are dedicated to the post-trial period, and contain Europe-wide surveys by Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Willem de Blécourt.[35] In 2004 contributors to a two-volume collection of essays edited by Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt, *Beyond the witch trials: witchcraft and magic in Enlightenment Europe* and *Witchcraft continued: Popular magic in modern Europe*, presented a variety of multi-disciplinary approaches to the topic. In the last few years monographs have appeared examining various aspects of the subject in different parts of Europe. They range from the work of the Inquisition in Portugal to Devil's pacts in eighteenth-century Scandinavia, and from a major witch panic in nineteenth century Sweden and Finnish magical practices to demonic possession in Imperial Russia.[36] The new assault on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has begun in impressive fashion.

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[2] For recent, substantial historiographical overviews of the witch trials see Jonathan Barry and Owen Davies (eds.), *Witchcraft Historiography* (Basingstoke, 2007); Thomas A Fudge, 'Traditions and Trajectories in the Historiography of European Witch-Hunting', *History Compass* 4/3 (2006): 488-527; Marko Nenonen, 'Witch-Hunt Historiography from the 18th Century Encyclopaedias to the Present Research: A New Geography' in Aradas and Pappas (eds.), *Themes in European History* (Athens, 2005).

[3] This argument been outlined in more detail in Owen Davies and Willem de Blécourt, 'Introduction', in Davies and de Blécourt (eds.), *Beyond the witch trials: witchcraft and magic in Enlightenment Europe* (Manchester, 2004).

[4] See, for example, Alan Bruford, 'Scottish Gaelic Witch Stories: A Provisional Type List', *Scottish Studies*, 11 (1967): 13–47; more recently, T.R. Tangherlini, '"How do you know she's a witch?" Witches, Cunning Folk, and Competition in Denmark', *Western Folklore*, 59 (2000): 279-303.

[5] Hansen, H. P., *Kloge folk: Folkmedicin og overtro I Vestjylland*, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 1960–61); N.C. Hultin, 'Magic and Medicine in the Eighteenth Century: The Diaries of James Woodforde', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 30 (1975); Jones, G. Penrhyn, 'Folk Medicine in Eighteenth-Century Wales', *Folk Life*, 7 (1969): 60–74. More recently, Matthew Ramsey, *Professional and popular medicine in France, 1770-1830* (Cambridge, 1988), 195-204.

[6] See Owen Davies, 'Witchcraft accusations in France 1850-1990', in Willem de Blécourt and Owen Davies (eds.), *Popular Magic in Modern Europe* (Manchester, 2004), 112-3.

[7] See Willem de Blécourt, Willem, 'The Witch, Her Victim, the Unwitcher and the Researcher: The Continued Existence of Traditional Witchcraft', in Willem de Blécourt, Ronald Hutton, and Jean La Fontaine, *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Twentieth Century* (London, 1999), 141–219.

[8] Eric Maple, *The Dark World of Witches* (London, 1962).

[9] W.B. Carnochan, 'Witch-Hunting and Belief in 1751: The Case of Thomas Colley and Ruth Osborne', *Journal of Social History*, 4 (1970-1): 389-404. See more recently Paul Muskett, 'A Late Instance of English Witchcraft: Some questions concerning evidence', *Hertfordshire's Past*, 48 (2001): 12-24.

[10] Karl Bell, 'Breaking Modernity's Spell – Magic and Modern History', *Cultural & Social History* 4/1 (2007): 115.

[11] See, for example, Jonathan Barry, 'Piety and the Patient: Medicine and Religion in Eighteenth-Century Bristol', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners* (Cambridge, 1985), 145-75; James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75* (Oxford, 1976); Geraint H. Jenkins, 'Popular Beliefs in Wales from the Restoration to Methodism', *Bwletin y Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd* 27

(1977): 440-62. More recently see Owen Davies, 'Methodism, the Clergy, and the Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic', *History*, 82 (1997): 252-65; Jason Semmens, '"I will not go to the Devil for a Cure": Witchcraft, Demonic Possession, and Spiritual Healing in Nineteenth-Century Devon', *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, 2 (2004): 132-55.

[12] James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (London, 1996), pp. 278-94.

[13] For example, Owen Davies, *Witchcraft, magic and culture, 1736-1951* (Manchester, 1999); Owen Davies, 'Newspapers and the Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic in the Modern Period', *Journal of British Studies* 37 (1998): 139-66.

[14] Owen Davies, *A People Bewitched: Witchcraft and Magic in Nineteenth-Century Somerset* (Bruton, 1999).

[15] See Maureen Perkins, *The Reform of Time: Magic and Modernity* (London, 2001); Patrick Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets: Victorian and Edwardian Astrology* (London, 1992).

[16] Owen Davies, *Cunning-folk: Popular Magic in English History* (London, 2003); Owen Davies, 'Cunning-folk in the Medical Market-Place during the Nineteenth Century', *Medical History*, 43 (1999): 55-73; Owen Davies, 'Female healers in nineteenth-century England', in N. Goose (ed.), *Women's Work in Industrial England: Regional and Local Perspectives* (Hatfield, 2007), 228-50; Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford, 1999), ch. 6.

[17] See also Helen Cornish, 'Cunning Histories: Privileging Narratives in the Present', *History and Anthropology* 16/3 (2005): 363-76.

[18] Richard C. Allen, 'Wizards or Charlatans, Doctors or Herbalists? An Appraisal of the "Cunning-Men" of Cwrt-y-Cadno, Carmarthenshire', *North American Journal of Welsh Studies*, 1 (2001): 67–85; Jason Semmens, *The Witch of the West; or, The Strange and Wonderful History of Thomasine Blight* (Plymouth, 2004); Owen Davies, *Murder, Magic, Madness: The Victorian Trials of Dove and the Wizard* (London, 2005).

[19] Samuel G. Drake, *Annals of Witchcraft in New England and Elsewhere in the United States* (Boston, 1869), viii.

[20] Herbert Leventhal, *In the Shadow of the Enlightenment* (New York, 1976), 66-8.

[21] Jon Butler, 'Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600-1760', *American Historical Review* 84/2 (1979): 317-46; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), ch. 3. See more recently Erik R. Seeman, *Pious Persuasions: Laity and Clergy in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Baltimore, 1999).

[22] Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City, 1987); John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844* (Cambridge, 1994).

[23] John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (Oxford, 1982), 387-92. See also Peter Benes,

'Fortunetellers, Wise-Men, and Magical Healers in New England, 1644-1850', in Peter Benes (ed.), *Wonders of the Invisible World: 1600-1800* (Boston, 1995), 127-42.

[24] Jeffrey E. Anderson, *Conjure in African American Society* (Baton Rouge, 2005); Yvonne Chireau, *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition* (Berkeley, 2003).

[25] Judith Devlin, *The Superstitious Mind: French Peasants and the Supernatural in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, 1987).

[26] Bernard Traimond, *Le pouvoir de la maladie: Magie et politique dans les Landes de Gascogne, 1750–1826* (Bordeaux, 1988); Eloïse Mozzani, *Magie et superstitions de la fin de l'Ancien Régime à la Restauration* (Paris, 1988).

[27] Gustav Henningsen, 'Witch persecution after the era of the witch trials', *ARV. Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore*, 44 (1988): 103-53.

[28] Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Willem Frijhoff (eds.), *Witchcraft in the Netherlands from the fourteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Rotterdam, 1991); Willem de Blécourt, 'On the Continuation of Witchcraft', in Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts (eds.), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), 335-52.

[29] Jeanne Favret-Saada, *Les mots, la mort, les sorts* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977).

[30] Inge Schöck, *Hexenglaube in der Gegenwart: Empirische Untersuchungen in Südwestdeutschland* (Tübingen, 1978); Hans Sebald, *Witchcraft: The Heritage of a Heresy* (New York, 1978). For an extensive exploration of twentieth century research see de Blécourt, 'The Witch, Her Victim, the Unwitcher'; Richard Jenkins, 'Continuity and Change: Social Science Perspectives on European Witchcraft', in Barry and Davies, *Witchcraft Historiography*, 209-12.

[31] Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual & Magic* (London, 1987); Brian Hoggard, 'The archaeology of counter-witchcraft and popular magic', in Davies and de Blécourt (eds.), *Beyond the witch trials*, 167-87; Chambers, Vanessa, 'A Shell with my name on it: The Reliance on the Supernatural During the First World War', *Journal for the Academic Study of Magic*, 2 (2004): 79-103; Jason Semmens, 'The Usage of Witch-Bottles and Apotropaic Charms in Cornwall', *Old Cornwall*, 12/6 (2000): 25-30; Jude Hill, 'The Story of the Amulet: Locating the Enchantment of Collections', *Journal of Material Culture* 12/1 (2007): 65-87; H. Cheape, 'Charms against Witchcraft: Magic and Mischief in Museum Collections', in Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin and Joyce Miller (eds.), *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (Basingstoke, 2007).

[32] Christopher C. Fennell, 'Conjuring Boundaries: Inferring Past Identities from Religious Artefacts', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 4/4 (2000): 281-313.

[33] Ian Evans has yet to publish his research in substantive form. For some account of his work see <http://www.oldhouses.com.au>

[34] Review of Richard Golden (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft: The Western Tradition*. 4 vols (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clio, 2006), in *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 2/1 (2007): 93.

[35] de Blécourt, 'The Witch, Her Victim, the Unwitcher'; Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, 'Witchcraft After the Witch-Trials', in Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1999), 95-175.

[36] Timothy D. Walker, *Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition: The Repression of Magical Healing in Portugal during the Enlightenment* (Brill, 2005); Soili-Maria Olli, *Visioner av världen* (Umeå, 2007); Kristina Tegler Jerselius, *Den stora häxdansen: Vidskepelse, väckelse och vetande i Gagnef 1858* (Uppsala, 2003); Laura Stark, *The Magical Self: Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland* (Helsinki, 2006); Christine D.Worobec, *Possessed: Women, Witches, and Demons in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, 2001). See also Nils Freytag, *Aberglauben im 19. Jahrhundert. Preußen und seine Rheinprovinz zwischen Tradition und Moderne (1815-1918)* (Berlin, 2003).