**Sociology and causes of the European witch-hunts**

One theory for the number of Early Modern witchcraft trials connects the [counter-reformation](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Counter-reformation) to witchcraft. In south-western Germany between 1561 and 1670 there were 480 witch trials. Of the 480 trials that took place in southwestern Germany, 317 occurred in Catholic areas, while Protestant territories accounted for 163 of them.[[82]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-autogenerated1-81) During the period from 1561 to 1670, at least 3,229 persons were executed for witchcraft in the German Southwest. Of this number 702 were tried and executed in Protestant territories, while 2,527 were tried and executed in Catholic territories.[[83]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-82) Nineteenth-century historians today dispute the comparative severity of witch hunting in [Protestant](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Protestant) and [Catholic](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Catholic) territories. “Protestants blamed the witch trials on the methods of the Catholic Inquisition and the theology of Catholic scholasticism, while Catholic scholars indignantly retorted that Lutheran preachers drew more witchcraft theory from Luther and the Bible than from medieval Catholic thinkers.”[[82]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-autogenerated1-81)

Other theories have pointed out that the massive changes in law allowed for the outbreak in witch trials. Such laws established criteria for determining heretical nature, and punished all aspects. Another theory is that rising number of devil literature popularized witchcraft trials, in which the German market saw nearly 100,000 devil-books during the 1560s.[[84]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-83) Another assumption is that climate-induced crop failure and harsh weather was a direct link to witch-hunts. This theory follows the idea that witchcraft in Europe was traditionally associated with weather-making.[[85]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-84) Scholars also imply that a connection between witchcraft trials and the [Thirty Years’ War](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Thirty_Years%E2%80%99_War) may also have a direct correlation.[[86]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-85)

While the previously mentioned theories mainly rely on micro level psychological interpretations, another theory has been put forward that provides an alternative macroeconomic explanation.[[87]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-86) According to this theory, the witches, who often had highly developed [midwifery](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Midwifery) skills, were prosecuted in order to extinguish knowledge about [birth control](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Birth_control) in an effort to repopulate Europe after the population catastrophe triggered by the [plague](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Bubonic_plague) pandemic of the 14th century (also known as the [Black Death](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Black_Death)).[[88]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-87) Citing [Jean Bodin](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Jean_Bodin)'s "On Witchcraft", this view holds that the witch hunts were not only promoted by the church but also by prominent secular thinkers to repopulate the European continent.[[89]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-88) By these authors, the witch hunts are seen as an attempt to eliminate female midwifery skills and as a historical explanation why modern gynecology—surprisingly enough—came to be practiced almost exclusively by males in state-run hospitals. In this view, the witch hunts began a process of [criminalization](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Criminalization) of birth control that eventually led to an enormous increase in birth rates that is described as the "[population explosion](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Population_explosion)" of early modern Europe. This population explosion produced an enormous [youth bulge](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Youth_bulge) which supplied the extra manpower that would enable Europe's nations, during the period of [colonialism](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Colonialism) and [imperialism](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Imperialism), to conquer and colonize 90% of the world.[[90]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-89) While historians specializing in the history of the witch hunts have generally remained critical of this macroeconomic approach and continue to favor micro level perspectives and explanations,[[91]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-90) prominent historian of birth control [John M. Riddle](http://www.enotes.com/topic/John_Riddle) has expressed agreement.[[92]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-91)

As this theory has an alternative macroeconomic explanation some scholars oppose it. [Diane Purkiss](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Diane_Purkiss) argues "that there is no evidence that the majority of those accused were healers and midwives; in England and also some parts of the Continent, midwives were more than likely to be found helping witch-hunters."[[93]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-92) Also the fact remains that most women used herbal medicines as part of their household skills, and a large part of witches were accused by women.[[94]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-93)

Another theory, proposed by the prominent American anthropologist, Marvin Harris, in his work, 'Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches' (1973), is that the witches were scapegoats victimized by the Church and secular lords to focus and divert public furor at a time of economic dislocation: "The practical significance of the witch mania therefore was that it shifted responsibility for the crisis of late medieval society from both Church and state to imaginary demons in human form." (Harris, 1973, 205) Religious and secular authorities, argues Harris, in leading the witch hunts, not only exonerated themselves but made themselves indispensable, cementing their power.

While the modern notion of a "witch hunt" has little to do with gender, the historical notion often did. In general, supposed "witches" were [female](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Female). Saith noted [Judge](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Judge) [Nicholas Rémy](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Nicholas_R%C3%A9my) (c.1595), "[It is] not unreasonable that this scum of humanity, [witches], should be drawn chiefly from the feminine [sex](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Sex)." Concurred another judge, "The [Devil](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Devil) uses them so, because he knows that women love carnal pleasures, and he means to bind them to his allegiance by such agreeable provocations."[[95]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-94)

Gender

The vast majority of the victims of the European and North American witch trials were women. Estimates of the fraction of women among the victims range between 75% and 85%.[[*dubious*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia%3ADisputed_statement) *–* [*discuss*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk%3AWitch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period)][[96]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-95)[[97]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-GibbonsRecent-96)

Barstow (1994) claimed that a combination of factors, including the greater value placed on men as workers in the increasingly wage-oriented economy, and a greater fear of women as inherently evil, loaded the scales against women, even when the charges against them were identical to those against men.[[98]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-97) Thurston (2001) saw this as a part of the general [misogyny](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Misogyny) of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods, which had increased during what he described as "the persecuting culture" from that which it had been in the Early Medieval. He noted that at the time, women were generally considered less intelligent and more susceptible to sin than men.[[99]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-98)

Whilst not all of those who condemned witchcraft in this period specifically condemned women as well, there were those who did, for instance, in the [*Malleus Malificarum*](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Malleus_Malificarum), Sprenger and Kramer stated that:

All wickedness is but little to the wickedness of a woman ... What else is woman but a foe to friendship, an inescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic danger, a delectable detriment, an evil of nature, painted with fair colours![[100]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-99)

In a few countries however, men accounted for the majority of the accused. In [Iceland](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Iceland), for instance, 92% of the accused were men,[[97]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-GibbonsRecent-96) and in [Estonia](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Estonia) 60% of the accused victims were male, mainly middle-aged or elderly married peasants, and known healers or sorcerers.[[101]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-100)

Modern scholars agree that the witch hunts cannot be explained simplistically as an expression of male misogyny, as women were frequently accused of witchcraft by other women,[[102]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-101) and female midwives and ‘white witches’ were particularly responsible.[[103]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-102)[[104]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-Gibbons_1998-103)[[105]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-104)[[106]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-105)[[107]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-106)[[108]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-107)[[109]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-108)[[110]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-Iceland.2C_Finland_p._39-109) It is also recognized that the supposedly misogynistic agenda of works on witchcraft has been greatly exaggerated.[[111]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-110)[[132]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-131)

Feminist interpretations

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, various [feminist](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Feminism) interpretations of the witch trials have been made and published. One of the earliest individuals to do so was the American [Matilda Joslyn Gage](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Matilda_Joslyn_Gage), a writer who was deeply involved in the [first-wave feminist](http://www.enotes.com/topic/First-wave_feminism) movement for [women's suffrage](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Women%27s_suffrage). In 1893, she published the book *Woman, Church and State*, which was "written in a tearing hurry and in time snatched from a political activism which left no space for original research."[[133]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-Hutton_1999_Page_141-132) Likely influenced by the works of [Jules Michelet](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Jules_Michelet) about the Witch-Cult, she claimed that the witches persecuted in the Early Modern period were pagan priestesses adhering to an [ancient religion venerating a Great Goddess](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Great_Goddess_hypothesis). She also repeated the erroneous statement, taken from the works of several German authors, that nine million people had been killed in the witch hunt.[[133]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-Hutton_1999_Page_141-132)

The next prominent feminist interpretation that saw the trials as a way to persecute women came from the [propaganda](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Nazi_propaganda) of [Nazi Germany](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Nazi_Germany) during the 1930s. The Nazi propagandists used witches as a symbol of northern [*völkisch*](http://www.enotes.com/topic/V%C3%B6lkisch) culture, as opposed to Mediterranean or "Semitic" Christianity. One notable example of this came from [Mathilde Ludendorff](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Mathilde_Ludendorff) in her 1934 *Christliche Grausamkeit an Deutschen Frauen* ("Christian cruelty against German women"), where she again repeated the figure of nine million victims.[[134]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-133)

In 1973, two American second-wave feminists, [Barbara Ehrenreich](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Barbara_Ehrenreich) and [Deirdre English](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Deirdre_English), published their own pamphlet examining the witch trials, *Witches, Midwives & Nurses: A History of Women Healers*, in which they put forward the idea that "the women persecuted as witches had been the traditional healers and midwives of their communities, and that their destruction had not merely been a blow against female power but against (wise and effective) natural medicine and therapies. The witch trials were therefore a victory for both patriarchy and a flawed, male-dominated, modern science."[[135]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-134) Although they had initially self-published the work, they received such a positive response that the Feminist Press took over publication, and the work then began worldwide distribution, being translated into French, Spanish, German, Hebrew, Danish and Japanese.[[136]](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_note-135)

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Notes

Footnotes

* 1. ↑ [82.0](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-autogenerated1_81-0) [82.1](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-autogenerated1_81-1) H.C. Erik Midelfort, Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany 1562–1684, 1972, 31
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	3. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-83) H.C. Erik Midelfort, Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany 1562–1684, 1972, 69–0
	4. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-84) [Wolfgang Behringer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolfgang_Behringer), Witches and Witch-Hunts,2004,88
	5. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-85) H.C. Erik Midelfort, Witch Hunting in Southwestern Germany 1562–1684, 1972
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	7. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-87) Gunnar Heinsohn/Otto Steiger: The Elimination of Medieval Birth Control and the Witch Trials of Modern Times, International Journal of Women's Studies, 3, May 1982, 193-214
	8. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-88) Gunnar Heinsohn/Otto Steiger: "Birth Control: The Political-Economic Rationale Behind Jean Bodin's "Démonomanie"", in: History of Political Economy, 31, No. 3, 423-448
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	10. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-90) Walter Rummel: 'Weise' Frauen und 'weise' Männer im Kampf gegen Hexerei. Die Widerlegung einer modernen Fabel. In: Christof Dipper, Lutz Klinkhammer und Alexander Nützenadel: Europäische Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für Wolfgang Schieder (= Historische Forschungen 68), Berlin 2000, S. 353–375, [historicum.net](http://www.historicum.net/themen/hexenforschung/thementexte/rezeption/art/Weise_Frauen/html/ca/b14c768f43/)
	11. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-91) see John M. Riddle: "The Great Witch-Hunt and the Suppression of Birth Control: Heinsohn and Steiger's Theory from the Perspective of an Historian", Appendix to: Gunnar Heinsohn, Otto Steiger (2004). *Witchcraft, Population Catastrophe and Economic Crisis in Renaissance Europe: An Alternative Macroeconomic Explanation.* Discussion Paper, University of Bremen 2004 ([full text](http://www.scribd.com/doc/54474527)); also see John M. Riddle: "Eve's Herbs: A History of Contraception and Abortion in the West", Princeton: Harvard University Press 1999, [ISBN 0674270266](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/0674270266), esp. Chapters 5-7
	12. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-92) Diane Purkiss, "A Holocaust of one's own," 8
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	15. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-95) According to R. W. Thurston, 75–80% of the victims across both Europe and North America were women, [Thurston 2001](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Thu01). p. 42. According to Anne Llewellyn Barstow, 80% of those accused and 85% of those executed in Europe were women. Barstow, Anne Llewellyn (1994) *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts* San Francisco:Pandora. p. 23
	16. ↑ [97.0](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-GibbonsRecent_96-0) [97.1](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-GibbonsRecent_96-1) Gibbons, Jenny (1998) ["Recent Developments in the Study of the Great European Witch Hunt"](http://web.archive.org/web/20070203210023/chass.colostate-pueblo.edu/natrel/pom/old/POM5a1.html) in *The Pomegranate* #5, Lammas 1998.
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	18. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-98) [Thurston 2001](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Thu01). p. 42-45.
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	20. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-100) Madar, Maia. *Estonia I: Werewolves and Poisoners*. pp. 257–272
	21. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-101) 'the theory that witch-hunting equals misogyny is embarrassed by the predominance of women witness against the accused', Purkis, 'The Witch In History', p. 92 (1996); Purkis provides detailed examples, and also demonstrates how some documents have been misread in a manner which attributes accusations or legal prosecution to men, when in fact the action was brought by a woman
	22. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-102) ‘More numerous than midwives among the accused were women who were engaged in caring for other women’s children. Lyndal Roper has shown that many witchcraft accusations in Ausburg in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century arose out of conflicts between mothers and the lying-in maids who provided care for them and their infants for a number of weeks after birth. It was not unnatural for the mothers to project their anxieties about their own health, as well as the precarious health of their infants, on to these women. When some misfortune did occur, therefore, the lying-in maids were highly vulnerable to charges of having deprived the baby of nourishment or of having killed it. What is interesting about these accusations is that they originated in tensions among women rather than between men and women. The same can be said regarding many other accusations made against women for harming young children.’, Levack, ‘The Witch-Hunt In Early Modern Europe’, p. 140 (2nd edition 1995)
	23. ↑ [104.0](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-Gibbons_1998_103-0) [104.1](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-Gibbons_1998_103-1) [Gibbons 1998](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Gib98).
	24. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-104) 'In Lorraine the majority were men, particularly when other men were on trial, yet women did testify in large numbers against other women, making up 43 per cent of witnesses in these cases on average, and predominating in 30 per cent of them.', Briggs, 'Witches & Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft', p. 264 (1998)
	25. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-105) 'It appears that women were active in building up reputations by gossip, deploying counter-magic and accusing suspects; crystallization into formal prosecution, however, needed the intervention of men, preferably of fairly high status in the community.', ibid., p. 265
	26. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-106) 'The number of witchcraft quarrels that began between women may actually have been higher; in some cases, it appears that the husband as "head of household" came forward to make statements on behalf of his wife, although the central quarrel had taken place between her and another woman.', Willis, 'Malevolent Nature', p. 36 (1995)
	27. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-107) 'In Peter Rushton's examination of slander cases in the Durham church courts, women took action against other women who had labeled them witches in 61 percent of the cases.', ibid., p. 36
	28. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-108) 'J.A. Sharpe also notes the prevalence of women as accusers in seventeenth-century Yorkshire cases, concluding that "on a village level witchcraft seems to have been something peculiarly enmeshed in women's quarrels."14 To a considerable extent, then, village-level witch-hunting was women's work.', ibid., p. 36
	29. ↑ [110.0](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-Iceland.2C_Finland_p._39_109-0) [110.1](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-Iceland.2C_Finland_p._39_109-1) 'The widespread division of labour, which conceives of witches as female, and witch-doctors male, can hardly be explained by Christian influence. In some European countries, like Iceland, Finland, and Estonia, the idea of male witchcraft was dominant, and therefore most of the executed witches were male. As Kirsten Hastrup has demonstrated, only one of the twenty-two witches executed in Iceland was female. In Normandy three-quarters of the 380 known witchcraft defendants were male.', Behringer, ‘Witches and Witch-Hunts: a global history’, p. 39 (2004)
	30. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-110) 'On the whole, however, the literature of witchcraft conspicuously lacks any sustained concern for the gender issue; and the only reason for the view that it was extreme and outspoken in its anti-feminism is the tendency for those interested in this subject to read the relevant sections of the Malleus maleficarum and little or nothing else.', Clark, ‘Thinking with Demons: the idea of witchcraft in early modern Europe’, p. 116 (1999)
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	34. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-114) [Keith Thomas](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Keith_Thomas_%28historian%29) 514-7, Hutton passim.
	35. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-115) [[1]](http://www.history.com/encyclopedia.do?articleId=214411) European population, 16th century.
	36. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-116) See [Hutton, Ronald](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Ronald_Hutton). *Triumph of the Moon*. chapter 18 for his exploration of their ideas.
	37. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-117) *Witchcraft Today* p. 52.
	38. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-118) [Hutton, Ronald](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Ronald_Hutton). *Triumph of the Moon*. pp. 141. ; (German) Behringer, Wolfgang: *Neun Millionen Hexen. Enstehung, Tradition und Kritik eines populären Mythos*, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 49. 1987, pp. 664–685, extensive summary on [[2]](http://www.historicum.net/themen/hexenforschung/thementexte/rezeption/art/Neun_Millionen/html/ca/0e43e9dea3/)
	39. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-119) *Nach diesem Verhältnis würden in jedem Jahrhundert in Quedlinburg 133 Personen als Hexen verbrannt worden seyn.* [[3]](http://histor.ws/seppdepp/028.htm)[[4]](http://histor.ws/hexenforschung/006.htm)
	40. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-120) [[5]](http://www.historicum.net/themen/hexenforschung/thementexte/rezeption/art/Neun_Millionen/html/ca/0e43e9dea3/)[Behringer (1998)](http://www.irf.ac.at/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=90)
	41. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-121) [Gage, Matilda Joslyn](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Matilda_Joslyn_Gage) (1893). *Woman, Church and State*.
	42. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-122) Poole, Robert (ed.) (2003) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. [ISBN 0719062047](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special%3ABookSources/0719062047). p. 192.
	43. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-123) the records of the survey were re-discovered in Poland by German historian Gerhard Schormann in 1981
	44. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-124) Michael David Bailey, *Magic and Superstition in Europe* pp. 236–238
	45. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-125) Cooper cites Annemarie Dross, *Die erste Walpurgisnacht: Hexenverfolgung in Deutschland* (1978), p. 171 and Soldan, Heppe and Bauer, *Die Geschichte der Hexenprozesse* (1900, revised edition of Soldan's 1843 work), vol. 1, p. 514.
	46. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-126) Wilhelm Havemann, *Geschichte der Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg für Schule und Haus*, 1838, [86f.](http://books.google.com/books?id=BOZEAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA86&dq=Osnabr%C3%BCck+1589++Hexen&hl=en&ei=MMDrTN-8EsGUswaJxoGkDw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CC4Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Osnabr%C3%BCck%201589%20%20Hexen&f=false)
	47. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-127) an inscription in the Osnabrück Marienkirche dated 1591 records 121 witches burned in 1583, compared to a total of 44 over the period of 1584 to 1590. Sabine Wehking, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Osnabrück*, Wiesbaden 1988, 135-141 (Nr. 162).
	48. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-128) See for instance [Hutton 1999](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Hut99). pp. 142–148 and [Magliocco 2002](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Mag02).
	49. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-129) [Heselton 2004](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Hes04).
	50. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-130) [Gardner 1954](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Gar54). p. 139.
	51. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-131) [Simpson 1994](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Sim94). p. 95.
	52. ↑ [133.0](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-Hutton_1999_Page_141_132-0) [133.1](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-Hutton_1999_Page_141_132-1) [Hutton 1999](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Hut99). p. 141.
	53. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-133) [Bailey 2006](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Bai06). pp. 236–238.
	54. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-134) [Hutton 1999](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Hut99). p. 342.
	55. [↑](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#cite_ref-135) [Ehrenreich and English 2010](http://www.enotes.com/topic/Witch_trials_in_the_Early_Modern_period#Ehr10). pp. 12–13