

Southern New Hampshire University

Magical Feminism:
The Manifestation and Evolution of the Witch Under the Male Gaze

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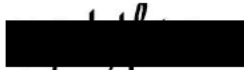
By
Sarah Beth Rapson

Los Angeles, California

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Student: Sarah Beth Rapson

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Witches are written upon women's bodies, and so we must consider how the witch is worn ... As it is so often with witches, the line between villain and victim was smudged with soot.
Pam Grossman, Waking the Witch

Since her fabrication, the Witch has been suffocated by the masculine voice and mode. Beginning with the witch-hunts, her social narrative has been completely dictated by men. All predicating texts were written by men, for men to use against women. From *Macbeth* to the King James Bible, from Glinda to Galinda, from Carrie to Sue, and from Myrtle to Madison, men have defined, silenced, and appropriated Witches' voices in order to maintain social hegemony and hierarchy - man's supremacy over women. Very rarely has a woman's witchy voice been heard when set against overpowering patriarchal domination. While women have written Witches in the shadows, it is the male voice that has historically defined her as a threat to society, i.e., patriarchy. Women critics such as Matilda Joslyn Gage have defended the Witch as a source of Female power and an obvious display of brutal patriarchal persecution, but the literary Witch and her accompanying images that define public perception remain dominated by men, trapping her in a cyclical fallacy of female autonomy, fabricated by men.

Through a Feminist theory of male gaze with New Historicism approach, this thesis will examine the manifestation and evolution of the Witch, starting with the Witch's origin and connection to birth and death through Lilith. Next, it will provide an overview of the Witch in literary and visual mediums during European witchcraze in order to show its influence on William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, the *King James Bible*, and Christian rhetoric, codifying the social perception of Witches' - and thereby all women's - inherent wickedness. Turning to the first modern Feminist wave, Matilda Joslyn Gage's treatise *Women, Church, and State*, brings forward and defends the Witch as an intelligently educated women who threatened the patriarchy by living outside the bounds of male influence and paints Witches as victims of masculine fear. Her treatise proposed an image of a kind, intelligent Witch, persecuted and murdered for her

female intelligence. The legacy of Gage's good Witch lives through her son-in-law's children's book *The Wonderful Land of Oz*. The words asked by the Good Witch of the North upon Dorothy's arrival opened the door to represent women with power and magic as beings of goodness. However, L. Frank Baum's lasting legacy is the Wicked Witch of the West, further solidified by Margaret Hamilton's iconic performance on screen. In the second Feminist wave, this thesis will explore the use of Exodus in *Carrie* to show how the *King James Bible* is still being used to justify and persecute women as Witches out of fear and hate. In the third Feminist wave, the Wicked Witch of the West is reborn through Gregory Maguire's *Wicked: The Life and Times of the Wicked Witch of the West*, which explores the backstory and motivations of the Wicked Witch, exploring both her obsession with her sister's shoes and her green hue. These Witches, echoes of the images of Witches throughout history, are further examples of the Witch under the male gaze. Ushering in the fourth Feminist wave, Witches have finally broken through patriarchal male gaze and limitations, opening new possibilities for a thoroughly Feminine literary structure. Ariel Gore's *We Were Witches* is an extraordinary exemplar of the potential literary creation that happens when a Witch takes hold and fully claims her witchy power and forges an entirely new, magical literary structure - defining the Witch as a figure of women's fortitude, love, and survival.

The locus of Feminist scholarship surrounding the Witch revolves around the Feminist Witch movement, which took its stride during the second wave of Feminism alongside Women's Liberation and Civil Rights movements. While the Feminist Witches do play a significant role in the development of the social perception of Witches, the figure of the Witch, so far as literature and media is concerned, massively lacks academic scholarship. The history of the European witch trials and their lasting social effect is well studying within the academic community.

However, there is very little existing scholarship on the way Witches evolve throughout literature, nor is there research on the influence of the male gaze on the perception of the Witch. Throughout the Feminist waves, the Witch has evolved along with the social standings and image of women. However, social narratives of Witches have been dominated by the male gaze - until now, the fourth magical wave of Feminism. Scholarly studies on how Witches have been used as a symbol throughout history focus on social ramifications; this thesis hopes to fill an academic void. The Witch is the ultimate Feminist, and I believe a scholarly criticism illuminating the history of her evolution within literature and media is far past due.

The Feminist theory of the male gaze aims to examine the way in which the female subject being seen is objectified by male spectators. In her article, “Oppressive Texts, Resisting Readers and the Gendered Spectator: The New Aesthetics,” Mary Devereaux offers a criticism on the male gaze in literature. By examining the objectification of women through the eyes of men, Feminists are able to explore ways in which “[b]oth men and women have learned to see the world through male eyes” and how “seeing the world ‘through male eyes’ . . . equates the male gaze with patriarchy” and furthers women’s systemic social oppression (Devereaux 337). Furthermore, the narrative mode of literature has been dominated by men and the male gaze. Because literature and language are deeply entrenched in phallocentrism, “women, unlike men, do not learn to describe the world from their own point of view,” and while “[c]reating new artistic traditions provides an alternative to the passive reception of dominant traditions,” modern society continually caters to the creative endeavors of men, repudiating the participation and innovations of women (*Ibid* 340, 346). By looking through the history of Witches in literary and visual mediums, the vilification of women at the hands of patriarchal oppression becomes clear. Applying the Feminist theory of the male gaze enlightens how negative generalizations about

women in society are reinforced through the Witch and how erasure of the male gaze through female authorship provides a mode for Witches to subvert patriarchal oppression.

Throughout human history, monsters and creatures of horror have existed to reinforce and undermine hierarchies, and the persecution of people accused of performing witchcraft mirrors the systemic oppression of women throughout history. The predating Roman classification and persecution began in 5th century BCE and grew as Christianity established itself as the dominant religion and legal authority in the 3rd and 4th century CE. Between Papal Bulls and religious publications, the social definition and image of what constitutes a witch and witchcraft solidified to target women throughout Europe for centuries (see Appendix A). As the church approved of torture in religious trials more and more, the witchcraze steadily built momentum until the European witchcraze reached its appalling height between 1542 and 1782. The Witch figure, however, is as old as humanity.

Along with the rise of patriarchal hierarchy and Christianity control, came the need to establish and maintain women's oppression, thus the vilification of women through monsters. Modern society's established trope of the Queen of All Evil, Mother Monster, "Her Satanic Majesty is likely an echo of an earlier monster: Adam's apocryphal first wife, Lilith, who would not lie beneath him during sex, and whose punishment is to wander forever through the desert wastes, perpetually birthing and nursing a horde of demons" (Doyle 123). By not lying obediently under Adam, Lilith represents the recalcitrant wife who does not willfully obey her husband, and this recalcitrance garners her an association with death by womanhood. Because Lilith would not place her hands beneath Adam's feet, fully subjugated, she became the paradigm held up by the church to remind women that disobedience leads to certain death and/or failure in fulfilling their civic duty as a woman to breed; furthermore, Doyle asserts that during

the Medieval era early christians “believed that Lilith was the snake that tempted Eve in the Garden of Eden,” effectively tying her to wickedness, Satan, and earthly temptation (123). As the Mother Monster, Lilith echoes throughout society since early Mesopotamia as “the pregnancy-blighting entity” whose name was evoked, “embod[ying] the powers and dangers of birth . . . If a woman died in childbirth . . . or if a baby did not survive . . . Lilith was said to be responsible” (Doyle 123). Lilith’s association with childbirth and death aligned her with midwives. Since midwifery was outside the bounds of male influence, men within burgeoning patriarchal societies feared the liminal capacity of life and death in the absence of their presence. By unsuccumbing to patriarchal control, Lilith’s unrelenting autonomy earned an association with sexuality, childbirth, and death - vilification of womanhood itself.

The oldest extant visual image of Lilith accompanies her oldest literary appearance. In the article “Lilith: Ancient Demon, Dark Deity or Sensual Goddess?,” author Natalia Klimczak discusses Lilith’s literary debut in Tablet XII of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*. Klimczak explains that Lilith “appears in a magical story, where she represents the branches of a tree. She is described with other demons, [as] a demon or a dark goddess.” Lilith’s association with demons and darkness makes “it is obvious that from the beginning of her existence in the texts she was related to Sumerian witchcraft . . . a devilish spirit, unclean, and dangerous” (Klimczak). The Babylonian “Burney Relief: Queen of the Night” accompanied *Gilgamesh* and visually depicts Lilith. In the relief, Lilith appears naked but for jewelry and a crown of horns, winged with talons for feet, supported by lions and owls, holding a rod and ring in each hand (see Appendix B, fig. 1). Her lions stand for power, her owls, wisdom; furthermore, the ancient Sumerians associated lions and owls with the Goddesses Inanna and Ishtar respectively, suggesting a triad goddess. The rods and rings Lilith holds are potentially the *pukku* and *mikku* given to Gilgamesh

by Inanna in *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu Tree*. However, the young Gilgamesh “does not yet have sufficient consciousness to use them wisely. His vainglorious use of the pukku brings bitterness, lamentation, and tears to the mothers, sisters, and young maidens of Uruk, so that the wet earth opens and the pukku and mikku are lost in the underworld” (Wolkstein and Kramer 143). While the literal translation of Inanna’s *pukku* and *mikku* remains disputed amongst scholars, it follows reason that the fallen objects which caused women, and only women, such sorrow should be taken up by Lilith, Inanna, and Ishtar - the warriors of womanly power - and that these retrieved objects are what Lilith holds in “Queen of the Night.” The “Queen of the Night” relief depicts Lilith palpably exuding confidence, power, wisdom, and sexuality - the ultimate threat to the patriarchal hierarchy, the Mother of Witches. Lilith’s legacy as the ultimate subverter “eventually permutated into the Latin *strix* of Roman lore, which is a supernatural night owl who would prey upon young children while they slept . . . *Strix* eventually evolved into *stiga* or *striga*, words that . . . came to mean any maleficent, magical woman. Ultimately, *strega* became the Italian word for ‘witch,’ and the association of witches with owls remains to this day” (Grossman 75). Through history echoes, Lilith - Mother Monster and the first Witch figure.

The oldest extant visual image of Witches appears in Martin le Franc’s 24,000 verse *Le Champion des Dames* (*The Champion of Women*), illuminated by Peronet Lamy and published ca. 1440. The epic verse *Champion* lambasts the corruption and hedonism within the upper class, enumerating the historical feats of women, attributing “the development of the basic elements of human civilization to women: agriculture and language were created by Ceres, Isis, and Opis . . . realms of government and warfare . . . [by] a number of Amazon queens, as well as queens of pagan and biblical antiquity . . . the arts, from Minerva to painters such as Irene and Marcia . . . [and] literature and scholarship . . . from the Nine Muses to the Queen of Sheba” (Taylor 266).

Le Franc's exploration into the incredible contributions women have made to society and argues women are just as inherently good – not evil – as men. Around 1451, Barthélemy Poignare contributed to *Champion* within the margins, he drew an “illumination depict[ing] two women, one astride a broom and the other sitting upon a stick . . . wear[ing] long-sleeved dresses with scooped necklines, black boots, and white head coverings . . . The inscription above their heads identifies them as *vaudoises*, or Waldensians” (“Feminae,” see Appendix B, fig. 2). These Waldensian Witches are neither evil nor wicked; they simply are. Their white wimples suggest modesty or marriage, as married women covered their hair during the Medieval ages. They are not copulating with Satan, murdering babies, or mixing deadly potions. Poignare's sketch attempts to subvert the image of Waldensians and Witches. Following the preachings of Peter Waldo “who began preaching in Lyon in the late 1170s,” Waldensians were “[n]amed heretics in 1215” by the Church because their teachings “adhered to vows of poverty and, perhaps most threatening to church authority, allowed preaching and consecration of the sacrament [by women] . . . [and] over the next two centuries . . . the Church accus[ed] Waldensians of practicing witchcraft and holding illicit Sabbath celebrations” (*Ibid*). Lorenzo Lorenzi suggests in *Witches Exploring the Iconography of the Sorceress and Enchantress* that Poignare's depictions of Waldensian Witches sought to “change her image, transforming her from a diabolical transcendental subject to an *ens* [metaphysical existence] that was entirely of the earth,” attempting to re-mold the social image of wicked and devious Witches to normative, everyday women who just happen to be magical (57). Nonetheless, Poignare and *Champion* were ultimately unable to sway public opinion, and negative visual depictions reinforcing the image of evil-doing, devil-fornicating Witch dominated the public view, solidifying society's perception.

In 1486, Dominican monk Heinrich Kramer published *Malleus maleficarum* (*Hammer of the Witches*), the witch-hunter's bible. In *Waking the Witch*, Pam Grossman discusses the *Hammer* in great detail. Grossman explains that Kramer's diabolical bible of witch-hunting aimed:

to educate the reader about how to identify witches and their behavior, counteract their magic, and then go about trying and sentencing them, often to their death . . . Kramer emphasizes that women are more susceptible to the lure of witchcraft because of their inexorable libidos . . . because women were born defective, since they came from Adam's bent rib . . . [and because] all women [were] lying whores. (80-2).

Malleus extols the dangers of women and witchcraft, and widespread distribution led to it becoming the official guide to witch-hunting for three-hundred years, justifying the mass murder of women from the Inquisition to the culminating witchcraze. According to Rosemary Ellen Guiley in *Encyclopedia of Demons and Demonology*:

Fourteen editions [of *Malleus maleficarum*] were published by 1520; another 16 editions appeared by 1669. By the end of the 17th century, there were more than 30 editions. The book became the definitive guide by which inquisitors and judges conducted themselves and that subsequent writers used as a foundation for their own works . . . in the centuries since [it stands testament] as a vicious and cruel work, the most damaging book of its kind. (166).

Kramer's hatred of women is palpable throughout *Malleus*, and his hatred spread like wildfire throughout patriarchal societies. *Malleus* gave men permission to brutalize women they saw as Other. Grossman aptly describes Kramer as a notoriously "vile person whose pathological fear of women caused him to create one the most . . . despicable documents of toxic masculinity the

world has ever seen” (80). Kramer’s audience is almost exclusively men and clergymen., and *Malleus* explicitly teaches its readers that in order to keep society safe, men must maintain their gaze on women. The extremity of Kramer’s male gaze gives men official permission to gaze upon women with intention of hatred and vilification because “Three general vices appear to have special dominion over wicked women, namely infidelity, ambition, and lust . . . Therefore they are more than others inclined towards witchcraft, who more than others are given to these vices”” (*Malleus Maleficarum* qtd. in Doyle 227). Men project their fears of not having control over women because she chooses to not be the property of man, beholden only to herself. At this point in history, women were property of men - father, husband, uncle, brother, whomever women could not escape. The women on the outskirts of society, i.e., not the property of a man, therefore, were wicked and dangerous to society’s ‘natural order’.

The male gaze implicitly derives pleasure from his female subject, so it is no surprise that the ultimate subject to gaze upon is Lilith (sexual) and the Witch (seductress). Because history has been based on the male gaze, depictions of sexually liberated and autonomous women are bolstered as examples of wickedness, a demonic force hellbent on destroying society as it is known. Witches are the disrupters of hierarchy.

In 1489, three years following the predicating witch-hunt publication, *Malleus maleficarum*, German legal scholar Ulrich Molitor published the supplementary text *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus* (*On Female Witches and Soothsayers*). The anti-women propaganda treatise includes six woodcut illustrations, by an anonymous artist, of devil-worshipping, sexually-liberated, evil-conjuring Witches (see Appendix B, fig. 2-8). According to Grossman, the *De Lamiis* woodcuttings were “arguably the first illustrations of witches to be widely replicated . . . [meaning] these six pictures cemented the image of the witch as a lascivious shape-shifter, with

loose hair and looser legs (Grossman 83). Furthermore, Grossman continues, the distribution capabilities following the Gutenberg printing press assisted the codification of the [ribald/degenerate/unprincipled] image of Witches. Widely distributed, *Malleus and De lamiis* greatly influenced “[a]rtists of the age, such as Albrecht Dürer” whose interest in “witchcraft writings such as these and the pictures that accompanied them” inspired them to “beg[*in*] including the licentious witch as a figure in their own ‘cabinet art’ . . . work by wealthy men for their private--*very* private--collections” (emphasis Grossman 83). In the 1400s extant art primarily focused on religious subjects. The ‘cabinet art’ Grossman mentions hung in the equivalent of a modern ‘man cave’ in which affluent men, who could afford a home with an extra room, would keep risque art featuring women - allowing space for the ultimate male gaze. Albrecht Dürer’s “The Four Witches” depicts four naked women, save headdresses, gathered in a circle, surrounded by occult symbols - skulls, demons, an occult globe. Their naked bodies offer the male gaze a 360 view for maximum private viewing pleasure. Furthermore, the painting emphasizes the triple goddess image - the maid, the mother, and the crone (see Appendix B, fig. 9). Together, *Malleus* and *De lamiis* wrought an image of Witches as a socially destructive force that must be eradicated and offered a guide on how to identify and punish Witches, inflaming the fear of Witches, contributing to the horrors of European Witchcraze.

Identifying how many victims’ lives were taken during the European witchcraze is substantially problematic. The number of victims is often highly inflated due to predicated research. However, Malcolm Gaskill reminds us in the book *Witchcraft: A Very Short Introduction*, in order “[t]o respect the dead, you have to tell the truth about them. And unless witch-hunts are precisely quantified, they cannot be precisely explained” (69). As academic studies of the history of witches grow, scholars are beginning to come to a common consensus

quantifying the witch-hunts. For a growing majority of witchy scholars, “combined estimates for Europe, Scandinavia, and America vary between 90,000 and 100,000 trials in the period 1400 to 1800,” and “the proportion executed was about half the number of trials . . . somewhere between 40,000 and 50,000” (Gaskill 69, 76). Gaskill, however, does not account for the witch-hunts previous to the 1400’s and following the 1800’s, and scholars cannot come to a consensus regarding how to quantify the number of all victims historically. Furthermore, it is important to note, the staggering amount of victims were predominantly women. Because of the inherent hatred of women in the Christian doctrine, “[w]itchcraft was regarded as a sin almost confined to women;” the predicated, christian, text “The Witch Hammer declared the very word *femina* meant one wanting in faith . . . [the] writer declaring that to every hundred witches but one wizard was found” (Gage 224). While men were not immune to being accused of witchcraft, approximately less than twenty percent of the accused were men, and men were “let off with lighter sentences than women,” if brought to trial at all (Barstow 25). As a marginalized class, women before, during, and following the witchcraze were extremely vulnerable to accusations - regardless of age, status, or wealth, and accusations, once made, more often than not led to horrific imprisonment, torture, and almost certain execution.

William Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* is a predicated drama that continues to inform society’s image of the Witch figure. Officially dated to have been written in 1606 amid the height of the European witchcraze, *Macbeth* draws on society’s inflamed depiction of devil-worshipping, chaos havoking, society annihilating Witches. The play opens with thunder, lightning, and three witches; the witches conspire to meet Macbeth amid liminal return of his warring victories. In one edition of *Macbeth*, editor Thomas Parrott offers some clarification on the Witches’ final couplet: “Fair is foul, and foul is fair:/ Hover through the fog and filthy air” (12-13). Parrott

exerts the couplet “is a confession of their creed,” anchoring the audience’s immediate judgement that “[a]ll that is good, ‘fair,’ to others is evil, ‘foul,’ to them, and vice versa” (ft.n. 2). The Witches’ intention to hex and harm others further “applies to both the physical and the moral world; they revel in the ‘fog and filthy air,’ and in every sort of mischief and evil-doing” (*Ibid*). It is clear, the Witches are entirely up to no good. Their intention to meet Macbeth, therefore, is a direct admission to their supernatural desire to maliciously tempt the honorable warrior returning victoriously and honorably from the battlefield - to create *malleus*. The third scene of the first act gives more evidence of the Witches’ evil, petty deeds often attributed to witches: killing swine, cursing women by murdering their husbands, and controlling the weather, something Witches were often accused of doing (1.3.1-30). The weird sister witches delight in one another’s mischief and evil-doings, offering help and encouraging one another, further reinforcing both the image of witches and sisterly covens as places of evil in the absence of men. This image of the Witch created by Shakespeare aimed to please the patriarchal, Witch-hunting James I.

Shakespeare also is credited with influencing the first edition of the King James Bible, published in 1611 at the behest of the United Kingdom’s newly crowned king James I. In his 2005 article “An Invitation to Murder? A Re-interpretation of Exodus 22:18 ‘You Shall Not Suffer A Witch to Live,’” Donald Bretherton offers a critical, linguistic view point on the many translations and bastardizations of the biblical passage condoning the execution of the people accused of witchcraft. According to Bretherton, the biblical passage has been corrupted through misinterpretation, both purposefully and ignorantly. Ascending the English throne following the death of his great grand aunt, Queen Elizabeth I, James I ascended the throne, “fanc[ying] himself as an authority on witchcraft, while at the same time being much afraid of it,” so upon “authoriz[ing] a new translation of the Bible . . . to gratify the King, unqualified translations

relating to sorcery and witchcraft were retained and further ones stressed,” reinforcing “prejudicial attitudes” and hardening “superstitious beliefs” (Bretherton 145). The passage itself has been questionably translated throughout the ages. Bretherton offers a new angle, suggesting the biblical passage, in its most accurate translation, means ““A woman practising magic must not restore to life (the dead)”” (149). The passage, however, became intrinsically linked with witchcraft when translated from Hebrew to Latin with the insertion of ‘*maleficos*’ - a word with a negative connotation and associated with acts of purposeful maliciousness.

In 1629, Thomas Adam’s sermon “Meditations Upon the Creed” preaches that women are innately wicked and that “wicked women prove the most wicked sinners” (30). Since women are cursed to be wicked when left without male guidance, men must have innate authority over women. Furthermore, Adam preaches that Eve:

was not made out of the earth, which was the matter of man, nor out of the inferior creatures, which were the servants of man: but out of himself . . . for the knowledge of her matter and to show his authority over her, he gave a name to her: she shall be called woman. If she had been made by the request or will of Adam, or with the pain and detriment of Adam, she might afterwards have been upbraided with her dependency and obligation. . . From a rib to a help was a happy change: who was ever a lost by God’s alteration? (emphasis Adams 30)

Eve, birthed from Adam’s rib, was created to capitulate and to oblige. Lilith, made of mud and Earth same as Adam, was too equal to man, and her liberated sexuality threatened the gender binary and the patriarchal hierarchy of Christian society.

In 1646, minister Edwards Thomas’ “Gangraena” reinforces the fear of witchcraft and witch covens through a story of women’s prayer meeting succumbing to devilry. In the sermon,

Thomas retells the story another preacher has told him about a group of women who gathered to study the bible together. In the absence of their male preacher, the women attempt to evangelize; however, Thomas tells his congregation that women cannot preach because, as women are inherently flawed daughters of Eve and Lilith, their preachings will inevitably turn into witchcraft. As the visiting minister made his way to the commotion of the coven:

there was such laughing, confusion, and disorder at that meeting, that the minister professed he never saw the like: he told [Thomas] the confusion, horror, and disorder which he saw and heard there was unexpressible and so he left them fearing least the candles might have gone out and they have fallen to kill or mischief one another. (37)

The moral of Thomas' story is that left to their own, inherently wicked ways, free from male ordination, even women trying to be pious reduce to speaking in tongues and creating mischievous witchcraft.

Aligned with midwifery, the fear of witchcraft is also seen in 1649, R. Garnet's "The Book of Oaths" which lists oaths women would take upon becoming midwives. Two items listed in the midwife oaths explicitly vow to "not, in any wise, use or exercise any manner of witchcraft, charms or sorcery, invocation or other prayers than may stand with God's laws and the king's" and "not give any counsel or minister any herb, medicine or potion, or any other thing, to any woman being with child whereby she should destroy or cast out, that she goeth withal before her time" (213). The resounding echo of Mother Monster Lilith and her pervading association with the liminality of childbirth reverberated through Witch accusations during the height of the European witchcraze, and midwives were the most likely to be accused of witchcraft. The image of the witch solidified as an evil perpetuator of sex, life, and death. From the bible to Shakespeare, the predicated images of the Witch manifest solely through the male

gaze. Outside the bounds of patriarchal society, Witches were the women men couldn't control; Witches were the Feminists.

Feminism itself has been extant and undergone multiple waves since the beginning of recorded history; women in positions of abject oppression have always found the courage to speak out against the forces of oppression through creative expression. Extant writings by Proto-feminist can be found as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when women were given permission to read, write, and interpret the bible in private coteries. Editor Kate Aughterson writes in *Renaissance Woman: Constructions of Femininity in England*, that Proto-feminist “arguments and thought can be discerned in four specific areas . . . education and the debate about the ‘nature’ women . . . awareness of gender as a social construct . . . actual demands made by some petitioners to parliament . . . [and] assertion of a community of women readers and writers with common interests, which are not simply biological” (262). Margaret Cavendish sent the letter “*To the two universities*” along with her book in 1655. She asks the universities to accept her book as they would a man's. In the letter, Cavendish argues for women's education, contending, “in time we should grow irrational as idiots by the dejectedness of our spirits, through the careless neglects and despisements of the masculine sex to the effeminate, thinking it impossible we should have either learning or understanding, wit or judgement, as if we had not rational souls as well as men” (288). The anonymous collection of poetry *Eliza Babes* and the petition to parliament assert the equality of woman and man based upon Christian doctrine of being reborn as equals ‘in heavenly followers of Christ’. Bathushua Makin relied on Christian doctrine in her 1673 treatise “*An essay to revive the ancient education of gentlewomen*” that educating women:

will be a great hedge against heresies: men are furnished with arts and tongues for this purpose, that they may stop the mouths of their adversaries. And women ought to be learned that they may stop their ears against seducers . . . Heresiarchs creep into houses, and lead silly women captive, then they lead their husbands, both their children as the Devil did Eve, she her husband, they their posterity. (188-9)

Makin's use of Eve to argue against patriarchal rhetoric turns the tradition of blame onto men, using *querelle des femme* - a popular rhetorical structure used to support misogynistic "attacks on women usually combin[ing] both the physiological and theological versions of her inferior status, thus giving both historicists and essentialists justification" for mistreatment and oppression (Aughterson 261). Were women to be educated, Makin implies Eve would not have been seduced by the devil had she been educated. Makin concludes for her readers: "We cannot expect otherwise that to prevail against ignorance, atheism, profaneness, superstition, idolatry, lust, that reigns in the nation, than by a prudent, sober, pious, virtuous education of our daughters" (190). Without educating women to see a fallacious argument, women remained susceptible to misinformation and deceit. Men cannot, Proto-feminist insist, blame women for their ignorance while simultaneously excluding them from education. Continuing the push for further educational equality, Mary Wollstonecraft published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1794, likewise arguing for the moral responsibility of society to make sure all people are educated, not just the male population. Wollstonecraft inspired women around her, and her call for women to participate in society reverberated and built into the first modern wave.

The first modern wave of Feminism occurred during the turn of twentieth century when women fought for women's rights and abolition of slavery, ca. 1840's-1920. The Feminist movement grew alongside the Abolitionist movement; the first Women's Convention was held in

Seneca Falls, New York in 1848, featuring speeches from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, head organizer and author of the “Declaration of Sentiments,” and Frederick Douglass, a former slave. The landmark convention drew together more activists, such as Susan B. Anthony in 1851 and Matilda Joslyn Gage in 1852. The suffragette movement grew and fought for 72 before the ratifying of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

An ardent suffragette, activist, and abolitionist, Matilda Joslyn Gage lived her life in constant effort to empower the marginalized and disenfranchised persons of society. Considered far more radical than her contemporaries and comrades Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Gage publically evoked outrage from the patriarchy through her actions, speeches, and publications. Facing “threats of arrest, a \$2,000 fine, and imprisonment,” Gage, her husband, “and their five children openly operated an Underground Railroad depot. . . where a trapdoor at the parlor hearth led to the cellar” (Snodgrass 268). In open opposition to the systemic powers, Matilda Joslyn Gage went so far as to dress her home in mourning of Captain John Brown - a man executed for inspiring slaves to take up arms, leading to several uprisings, and whom Gage’s contemporary Henry David Thoreau penned a pardoning plea. Along with fighting for women and slave’s rights, “Gage spoke out against the brutal and unfair treatment of Native Americans” (“Who Was,” 2009). Furthermore, Matilda Joslyn Gage held the social construct and politics of Native American societies in higher esteem than the United States. Through her activism, Gage “was adopted into the Wolf Clan of the Mohawk nation and given the name Ka-ron-ien-ha-wi (Sky Carrier),” and she was further “[i]nspired by the Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy’s form of government, where ‘the power between the sexes was nearly equal,’ this indigenous practice of woman’s rights became her vision” (*Ibid*). Matilda Joslyn Gage was a true visionary of comprehensive equality because for her equality was not exclusive to the people

who looked like or thought like her. Many of the reasons Gage is so currently fascinating are the same reasons she became and remains a footnote in the greater knowledge of American history.

Matilda Joslyn Gage, while heavily entrenched in liberating movements, is barely extant in historical records. As a trifecta, she, Anthony, and Cady wrote the predicated, multivolume text *History of Woman Suffrage*, yet Matilda Joslyn Gage's name is remiss from history - if not actively omitted, perhaps because systemic scholarship considers one or two women's voices more than enough to understand women's role throughout history. However, discussion of previously suppressed historical female figures is proliferating, and Matilda Joslyn Gage's name is resurfacing along with her contemporaries such as Margaret Fuller, Harriet Jacobs, and Sojourner Truth, who have all been excluded from this crucial moment of women's history - the first wave of feminism.

Gage's critical influence on the suffragist movement cannot be over-aggrandized. From its onset, Gage worked as a triumvirate with Susan B Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. On July 4, 1876, the three women brought their "Declaration of Rights of Women of the United States" and disrupted the men in Congress cosplaying the original Declaration signing. In 1880, "New York's women received the right to participate in school commissioner elections" of their respective districts, Gage personally "led 102 registered women voters to the polls in her town and became the first female citizen to mark a ballot" (Snodgrass 268). Upon publishing her own literature, however, "[t]he increasingly conservative National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) wanted to distance itself from Gage and her radical beliefs about the church and racial equality" ("Who Was," 2018). Gage's direct attack on church doctrine did not sit well with NAWSA not only because it hurt their personal beliefs, but because the leaders' chief concern was passing legislature, and radical, anti-Christianity ideologies would, in their

mind, ultimately be a detriment to the overall cause. The suffragists could not suffer a witch to lead.

During the first wave of feminism, Matilda Joselyn Gage's 1893 treatise, *Woman, Church, and State* embraces the iconography of witches as manifestation of patriarchal fear of intelligent women. Gage was inspired to pen *Woman* because she was greatly “[d]iscouraged with the slow pace of suffrage efforts in the 1880s, and alarmed by the conservative religious movement that had as its goal the establishment of a Christian state,” so she “formed the Women’s National Liberal Union in 1890, to fight moves to unite church and state,” wrote and published her treatise (“Who Was,” 2009). Gage argues throughout her treatise women have been systematically oppressed through Christian doctrine and political authoritarianism. While Gage does not lambaste other religions, she makes it clear throughout her writing that all religions created, regulated, and canonized by men actively seek to oppress women. Furthermore, Gage argues:

‘Christianity . . . has not led to man’s treatment of woman, but has grown out of it, reinforced it, extended it. It is a rationale produced by men in the attempt to explain and make acceptable their violent and barbarous treatment of women; if they did not treat women in this way they would have had no need of Christian ideology.’ (Spender qtd. in Fenton 30)

By writing down why their mistreatment towards women is divine in essence, men legitimized their oppressiveness, codifying social customs for centuries. Because christian, and most religious, doctrine is written by men, it always inherently serves to greater empower men, usually through oppression of the Other, e.g., women. The church seeking total subjugation is not coincidental; the men who compiled the bible and canonized only certain books made sure

the message was clear: women must submit to men because independent women are naturally inclined to commit evil - just look at Eve.

Eve as perpetrator of the 'original sin' allowed the church and subsequently society to classify women as naive and that naivety as socially dangerous. Gage also turns to Eve in her "Address" at the Freethinkers' Convention in 1878, stating:

The foundation is not upon Christ; not upon Paul; not upon the doctrine of immersion; it is not upon any of these, but the Christian Church is based upon the fact of woman servitude; upon the theory that woman brought sin and death into the world, and that therefore she was punished by being placed in a condition of inferiority to man—a condition of subjection, or subordination. This is the foundation to-day of the Christian Church. (213)

The Freethinkers' Convention Gage look at Eve again in her treatise *Woman, Church, and State* in 1893:

The teaching of the church, as to the creation of women and the origin of evil, embodied the ordinary belief of the Christian peoples, and that woman rather than man practiced this sin, was attributed by the church to her original sinful nature, which led her to disobey God's first command in Eden . . . The extreme wickedness of woman, taught as a cardinal doctrine of the church, created the belief that she was desirous of destroying all religion, witchcraft being regarded as her strongest weapon. (226)

As a Christian society, good citizens must not allow another Eve to further separate humanity from divinity; therefore, women need to remain subjugated in all capacities. Gages, however, offers a new critical insight into the church and Eve in her treatise: the practicing of sin, of magic.

Within her later critique of Eve, Gage identifies witchcraft as the ultimate tool against the patriarchal doctrine of Christianity. One major way in which women have been oppressed is intellectually; according to Gage's treatise, "[t]he word 'magic' or 'wisdom' simply [means] superior science" and women have been historically barred from such knowledge based purely on biological sex (233). In her speech to the National Woman's Rights Convention in 1852, Gage argues passionately for the education of young girls to be equal to that of young boys. She urges mothers at the end of her speech to empower their young daughters to strive for independence through education, knowing that true equality will be found in future generations. By learning the rituals of grammar and the chants of algorithms, young witches may grow up to compete equally with boys politically and economically.

It is upon the exact fear of female intelligence, however, that the Christian church has been established, and since Christianity established itself as the dominating authority in society, the prohibition and oppression of female intelligence became imperative. Discussing the European witchcraze, Gage notes that even though "witchcraft was treated as a crime against the state, it was regarded as a greater sin against heaven, the bible having set its seal of disapproval in the injunction 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.' The church therefore claimed its control" through turning its doctrine into legislature (226). Calling upon the biblical passage of Exodus 22:18, Gage critiques and reiterates the church's idea of purging women because they are the root cause of all evil and mortal toil.

Gage's assertion that Witches were fundamentally victims of systemic oppression deeply influenced her writer son-in-law, and her life of radical activism inspired him to create a character - the Good Witch. L. Frank Baum wrote *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in 1900, the first of a trilogy. The novel tells the story of Dorothy, who, after being swelled up into a cyclone,

arrives in a new world by way of unintentionally decimating the Wicked Witch of the East, a homely homicide. Dorothy is greeted by the Good Witch of the North and a couple Munchkins, who thank her for the house-fall; less powerful than the Wicked Witch of the East, the Good Witch tells Dorothy: “[The Wicked Witch of the East] held all the Munchkins in bondage for many years, making them slave for her night and day. Now they are all set free,” making Dorothy an accidental abolitionist (15). Like Gage, the Good Witch of the North was unable to affect change alone. Their efforts as abolitionists were unable to exceed their social position and power; however, both Witches continue fighting in any way they are able. Gage and the Good Witch are able to fill the position of activist because they actively looked for ways to help. Baum’s reliance on Gage’s conception of activism shaped the Good Witch’s compassion for the Munchkins as well as informed the way she approaches Dorothy with an open, non-discriminatory attitude.

Dorothy cannot believe the ‘little old woman’ in front of her is a Witch, firstly because she thinks all Witches are wickedly evil and secondly because “‘Aunt Em has told [her] that the witches were all dead - years and years ago” (16). The Witch of the North assures Dorothy she is in fact real and asks if Kansas, where Dorothy is from, is a ‘civilized country’. The Good Witch explains how “[i]n civilized countries . . . there are no witches left; nor wizards; nor sorceresses, nor magicians” (16-17). In Oz, however, the fantastic still exists. The Good Witch receives a prophetic message to “LET DOROTHY GO TO THE CITY OF EMERALDS,” and after confirming the girl in front of her is Dorothy, the Good Witch gives Dorothy a kiss on the forehead for protection and sends her off alone (19). The Good Witch does not appear again until the end of the story to show Dorothy how to use the slippers to return to Kansas.

Meanwhile, Dorothy finds friends and her way to the City of Emerald. From the City, Dorothy is sent on the quest to kill the Wicked Witch, ends up in her servitude, and when Dorothy unintentionally melts the Wicked Witch of the West, she apologizes to the melting Witch, saying she is ““very sorry, indeed,”” standing there “truly frightened to see the Witch actually melting away like brown sugar before her very eyes” (Baum 127-8). Dorothy is an embodiment of innocence, and her reaction to the Witch’s death - one of fright and sorrow - is how one should react. Returning to the City, Dorothy discovers Oz is actually Oz the Terrible, and he tells them:

‘One of my greatest fears was the Witches . . . had they not thought I was more powerful than they themselves, they would surely have destroyed me . . . you can imagine how pleased I was when I heard your house had fallen on the Wicked Witch of the East. When you came to me I was willing to promise anything if you would only do away with the other Witch; but, now that you have melted her, I am ashamed to say that I cannot keep my promises.’ (Baum 156-7)

Dorothy then accuses him of being ““a very bad man”” to which Oz the Terrible replies, ““Oh, no, my dear; I’m really a good man; but I’m a very bad Wizard”” (Baum 157). Oz the Terrible admits to sending Dorothy to kill the woman on the outskirts of society because he felt the Witch was too powerful. While Dorothy apologizes and feels remorse for her part in the Witch’s death, Baum’s male gaze of the Wicked Witch of the West perpetuates the negative image of the Witch and, subsequently, women.

In the book, images by W. W. Denslow show the Wicked Witch as one-eyed, squat, angry, old woman, wearing masculine clothes and a tall-pointed hat with a face on its front (see Appendix B, fig. 10). She carries an umbrella, which she leans on while sitting, and she is the

pictorial embodiment of a scornful Witch. L. Frank Baum and his illustrator W.W. Denslow cemented the Wicked Witch through their male gaze as non-conforming to the gender binary, and her masculinity stems from autonomy and dress.

The second modern Feminist wave began in the 1960's with the Women's Liberation movement admists the Civil Rights and Labor movements. Along with access to birth control, women also gained further access to careers. The movement owes much of its kindling to Simone de Beauvoir's 1949 *The Second Sex* and Betty Friedan's 1963 *The Feminine Mystique*. Both texts argue that society's box for women is detrimental not only for women but also for society as a whole. Both authors call women to action, the establish careers and representation, to be more viewed as more than just a housewife.

The Witch reappears in various forms during the second wave, but one particular Witch stands out - Stephen King's eponymous Carrie. In the novel, Carrie's latent powers awaken along with her menstruation and being 'stoned' by her peers. King inherently connects the liminal space of puberty and womanhood with witchcraft. At school Carrie is taunted by her classmates and bullied until she finally reaches her breaking point after being drenched with pig's blood at prom. It is only after suffering her town's hatred that she unleashes her full womanly power on her tormentors. King perpetuates the fear-the-Witch narrative by Carrie's reaction to abuse, and the abuse Carrie suffers at school and at home goes seemingly unaddressed. Society's fear of the power unleashed when the Witch is awakened eclipses any room for discussion about not pushing the Witch. Carri's potential for good is beaten out of her little be little, day after day. Her power being her social othering, and through King's male gaze, Carrie is not justified but crucified.

At a crucial moment when Carrie begins to acknowledge and awaken the power within her and demands autonomy, King references the controversial biblical passage condoning vengeance against witches, Exodus 22:18, and reinforces the negative image of the witch figure. When Carrie tells her mother she is going to prom and finally uses her ability to protect herself from her mother's abuse, Carrie's mother calls her "'Devil's child, Satan spawn'" and "'Witch'" and proclaims: "'It says in the Lord's Book: 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live'" (115). In desperation to control her witch-daughter Carrie, Carrie's mother accuses Carrie of *maleficium* and evokes the ancient, manipulated passage. Like an expert witch-hunter, she relies on the doctrine of the church to justify her heinous actions. As Carrie grows stronger, however, she becomes more empowered by her autonomous ability; Carrie "d[oes] not know if her gift had come from the lord of light or of darkness" but is nonetheless "overcome with an almost indescribable relief" in the warm acceptance of her witchy power (116). Carrie ultimately kills her mother in order to find freedom, fulfilling her mother's accusations. Carrie's witchy gene garners autonomy, and it is the same fear of autonomous women that prevails throughout the witchcraze that King evokes and perpetuates.

In relation of the Women's Liberation Movement, Carrie appears liberated as she unleashes her power; however, *Carrie* maintains the negative image perpetuated by the male gaze of the Wicked Witch. Furthermore, the male gaze King uses offers an inaccurate image of female adolescence. Teenage girls are feared by the patriarchy because they hold the liminal power to either conform to or resist the system they have set in place. Under the male gaze, "menstruation is always a kind of witchcraft, a girl's first period--blood shed, simultaneously, by woman, a child, and the moon--rips a hole in the world" (Doyle 10). Coming into womanhood means shedding girlhood through the body's ritual of shedding uterine lining. Through this

waning, however, waxes Carrie's telepathic abilities - her potential tool of autonomy. Power and control over objects around her has the ultimate potential to offer Carrie power over herself. Nevertheless, Margaret White "would rather see her daughter dead than in control of her own body" (Doyle 208). The idea of Carrie being able to control both herself and surroundings places her within the category of radical disruptor, enemy of the patriarchy, hell-bent on destruction of society. King's male gaze suggests that "Margaret is what female power looks like after a life spent in patriarchy: contained, made tiny and petty and bitter with self-hatred, turned to the purpose of rationalizing its own destruction. Margaret is like a trapped animal chewing its own leg off, but what she eats is her heart" (Doyle 209). In a patriarchal mindset single mothers must take on the father's role as well. Within the male gaze, if there is no father and only a mother, the child will not have the moral upbringing necessary to raise a productive member of society. The monster society imagined became the monster they created.

The third wave of modern Feminism began in the 1990's and follows the tradition of postmodern criticism, challenging the ways women continue to be oppressed through patriarchal social manipulation, e.g., representation in media, phallogentric language, unequal gender expectations. Theorists within the Feminist community widely branch out, pulling from other theories as inspiration for creative theoretical blending. The structure of strict, linear, categorical theory was broken apart, deconstructed, and evolved into a growing field, impossible to define through a singular movement or theory. Theories such as Ecofeminism, Post-structural Feminism, and the male gaze all come from this time frame.

In 1995 Gregory Maguire published the novel *Wicked: The Life and Times of the Wicked Witch of the West*. In the novel, the Wicked Witches are first and foremost given names: the Wicked Witch of the West becomes Elphaba - a phonetic version of Baum's initials - of the East,

Nessarose. By “casting this seven-letter spell, [Maguire] transforms her from a generic villain into a fully flushed-out protagonist, with nuance, motivations, and an entire backstory . . . the Wicked Witch’s story becomes one about politics, persecution, and personal pain. It asks us to consider the factors that can turn a good guy into a Big Bad” (Grossman 30). The two Witches are sisters, and Elphaba’s intelligence, activism, and inherent goodness reflect the life of Matilda Joselyn Gage. She fights oppression her whole life due to her green skin; Maguire explains her skin is a birth-defect caused by a drug her mother ingested before being raped by the wizard. Throughout the novel, Elphaba strives to speak up for the oppressed around her despite her own oppressed position. Like Gage, Elphaba sees the inequity around her and instead of writing discrimination off as the normative experience, she demands systemic change, and when change is denied her, she resorts to radical methods. Elphaba’s descent into perceived ‘wickedness’ stems from her inability to effect true, lasting change. Her obsession with the shoes stems from her grief in losing her sister. The shoes’ magical properties allowed Nessarose to walk after living without the ability to do so her whole life. Though Maguire’s novel serves an excellent purpose in re-imagining the Witch, Elphaba falls short of her autonomy under the male gaze.

Elphaba’s main motivator throughout her descent into ‘wickedness’ is the loss of her lover, Fivero. After losing Fivero in a police raid, Elphaba decides to remove herself from society instead of continuing to fight for what she believes in. Instead of being inflamed and actionable, taking her power and autonomy into her own hands, Elphaba confines herself to a life outside the bounds of society, experimenting with lifeforms and playing god. Like men writing Witches before him, Maguire cannot imagine an autonomous woman outside the constraints of male desire. While losing someone you love is tragic, Elphaba’s previous characterization of a radicalism is negated by the explanation of her isolation. According to the male gaze, a woman’s

inner strength can only be found in either the support of a man or once completely removed from the rest of society.

In the novel her removal leaves room for the people in Oz to speak of her more conspiratorially, allowing rumors to fester without seeing the Witch firsthand. Her power-struggle with the Wizard further exacerbating her negative social image. The Wickedness that swells around Elphaba comes from accusations by her fellow Ozians, cementing her reputation. In a 2015 interview with Tufts Alumni, Gregory Maguire discussed his inspirations for exploring the underlying mechanics of evil through discovering the motives behind the Wicked Witch of the West. Maguire specifically wanted to explore how the reputation and fear of the Witch is used to paint a wicked perception. He explains how he saw a headline reading “‘Saddam Hussein; The Next Hitler’” and felt a visceral reaction to the “‘addition of that six-letter word, Hitler, in print’” (“Gregory Maguire” 00:45-48). His reaction made him want to explore the underlying mechanics of reactiveness. He says he asked himself the question “‘What is the nature of evil? . . . What really do I mean when I say somebody is bad, somebody is wicked?’” and contemplated how to go about exploring such a topic (02:50-03:02). Maguire talks about how the vision image of Margaret Hamilton in the film version of *The Wizard of Oz* sprung to mind, sowing the first seeds of Elphaba. Baum’s image of the Wicked Witch persists throughout society as the pinnacle of wickedness and evil, the Good Witch eclipsed by the fear of the Wicked. Under the male gaze, the potential power of the Witch will forever lean towards Wickedness.

The fourth wave of Feminist embraces the inherent magic of womanhood and was ushered by pink pussy hats, hashtags, and self-care in the 2010s. Thanks for the third wave, Feminism has established itself in academia, to the chagrin of many patriarchally inculcated

academics, and is studied globally. With the interconnectedness provided thanks to the internet, women's oppression is being illuminated and battled. While the male gaze still exists, the #metoo movement proved effective in supporting women who have been sexually assaulted and had not previously come forward out of fear of public modern, internet stoning.

However, the witch is shifting to a female gaze, and along with the female gaze comes the erasure of 'evil' and 'Satan-worshipping'. Satan and evil are constructs of men, and - as they have inculcated over hundreds of years - the witch is a woman outside the bounds of male control. Men can keep their Christian doctrine, wickedness, fear, and Satan because Women are not - in any capacity - beholden to men and their constructs.

Ariel Gore's *We Were Witches* accurately represents the magical fourth wave of feminism. Perhaps because Gore herself is immersed in the truth of being a witch, she is more able to define how the modern witch is not at odds with society; the witch is a figure of self-worth. When men of the past created witches, witches manifested as loathsome, fearsome creatures able to give and take life at will, shadowy beings, demonic, on the outskirts of humanity, hiding in plain sight, where the fear of suffering a witch to live outweighed rationality and cut severely community bonds and social support systems. Glinda the good witch was good, but dull. Elphaba and Carrie were multidimensional but defined themselves through their relation to men.

In her introduction to *Waking the Witch*, Grossman tells her readers: "show me your witches, and I'll show you your feelings about women" (3). Gore's witches are women who embrace their inner-power and magical fortitude, women who are mysterious to the world but not themselves, women who use silence as spells and weapons, women who seek empowerment through all forms of knowledge, women who empower other women and are not afraid of

sisterhood; most importantly, Gore's witches are individual women defined by themselves and not by a relation to a male.

Ariel Gore's *We Were Witches* is an exemplar of the shift in women's literary language to pioneer new methods of storytelling outside the bounds of the established, dominating patriarchal structure of 'Canonical Literature'. Gore's novel could be classified as a magical autobiography, like Maxine Hong Kingston's brilliant novel *The Woman Warrior*, also alike in retelling legends within an autobiographical context to subvert the patriarchal ideologies the original legend aims to reinforce - Kingston re-tells the legend of Fa Mu Lan. Ariel chronicles her experience accepting the witchiness of womanhood as she navigates magically washing herself of the internalized shame of single, teenage motherhood. It is only through accepting her witch within that she is able to set herself free. Gore claims her inner Witch, writing outside the bounds of codified novelistic style. She sets herself free to tell the story in a way that sparks emotion as well as intellect. Through stylistic prose, Ariel's magical sojourn breathes as much as it reads, giving life to the witch within.

Ariel's first confrontation with her witch-hood begins when she is chosen to interview the 'town witch' for [newspaper she works for]. Maia is witchy; Ariel begins reading feminist theory to her as a baby to fall asleep. This novel fully, perfectly embodies the witchy fourth feminist wave. Throughout the novel, Ariel confronts and accepts what it means to be a 'witch' in the twenty-first century. She is marginalized by her experiences and the ways society experiences her, and Ariel looks for ways to demarginalize herself the more she learns what it means to *be* a witch. The custody trial to establish parenthood in order to seek a restraining order for fear of safety Ariel goes through similarly parallels the quintessential Absurdist trial - much like any witch trial.

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Appendix A:
Timeline of European Witch Hunts, Trials, and Craze

2000 BCE ancient Mesopotamia; Sumer's "Inana and Enki" the sexually liberated figure of *lilitu*

(Lilith, first wife of Adam who was banished from Eden for refusing to lay under Adam during sex)

5th c. BCE Roman classification of witchcraft

3rd c. CE Rome earnestly persecute and execute 'witches'

297 legal code in Rome: *Veneficium*

389 decree to report any known witchcraft

4th&5th c. Christianity established

5th c. St. Augustine [354-430 CE] maxim: "all magicians, as *de facto* diabolists, be put to death"

because "magicians consorted with demons," and St. Augustine's maxim "became the basis of all laws and edicts thereafter" (Gaskill 75, 63).

8th c. Alphabet of ben sir'a; Lilith as rationale to oppress women

1022 first officially recorded execution of heretics: Orléans, France

12thc-15thc Medieval Inquisition

1184–1230 Episcopal Inquisition

1215 Fourth Lateran Council (Pope Innocent III) approves torture for ecclesiastical trials, *Vineam*

domini Sabaoth; Waldensians declared heretics

1230s Papal Inquisition

1231 predicating text of the Medieval Inquisition published, *Excommunicamus*

1275 trials of heretics cite Sabbot and communing with the devil

1324 Petronilla of Meath burnt for heresy and witchcraft; Ireland

Alice Kyteler tried and sentenced for witchcraft (fled country); Ireland

1326 Pope John XXII, *Super illius specula*;

1327, 58, 73 “burnings of traditional magicians in Lorraine, France” (Thurston 280).

1353 trials begin mentioning gathering at night; Toulouse, France

1401 the first English law to call for the execution of heretics

1419-24 multitude of witches tried throughout Switzerland, specifically Lucerne and Interlaken

1420s over 200 witches tried and burned in Brançon, Dauphine

1431 Joan of Arc executed “for heresy and treason, but with supplementary charges of invoking spirits” (Gaskill 70).

1435 witches recognized as own sect (and therefore in direct opposition to the dominating religion - Christianity) in *Errores Gazariorum*

1459 massive amounts of trials and burnings; Arars, France

1478-1834 Spanish Inquisition

1484 Pope Innocent’s bull *Summis desiderantes*

1486 Dominican monk Heinrich Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum*; inspired by *Summis*

1489 German legal scholar, Ulrich Molitor’s *De lamiis et pythonicis mulieribus*; predicating six illustrations of devil-worshiping, sexually woke witches

1511 Ulrich Tenngler publishes guide to trying witches, *Nour Layenspiegel*

1532 Holy Roman Empire passes the *Carolina Code* which “explicitly forbade witchcraft” (Gaskill 63).

1536-1821 Portuguese Inquisition

1540-1794 Portugese Inquisition burns 1,175 people for heresy and 633 people in effigy

1542-1858 Roman Inquisition

1542 Witchcraft Act in England

1550 peak of the Catholic Inquisition

1580-1630 height of the European witchcraze and mass slaughtering of women under the guise of religious righteousness

1580-90s first large wave; Trier, Germany

1590s worst decade 1.3

1590-1 James VI encourages mass witch hunts throughout Scotland

1597 James VI publishes *Daemonologie*, a public warning against witches and witchcraft

1607 large witch hunts; Ban de la Roche, France

1620-22 “ “

1629-30 “ “

1611 King James Bible published

1628-30 peak of witch hunts in Germany

1630s worst decade 2.3

1645 Essex witch hunts led by notorious witch-hunter Matthew Hopkins

1660s worst decade 3.3

1670s large witch hunts, including children; Sweden

1692 Salem witch trials, “More than 200 people were accused of practicing witchcraft—the Devil's magic—and 20 were executed” (Smithsonian Mag)

1750 decline of ubiquitous European witch hunting

1782 “last known legal execution of a witch” (Thurston 284).

Appendix B:
Images of the Witch



Figure 1. "Burney Relief: Queen of the Night." Babylon, 1800-1750 BCE. *JPEG file.*



Figure 2. Poignare, Barthélemy. "Waldensian Witches." Lyon, 1451, JPEG file.



Fig. 3. Fig. 4. Fig. 5.



Fig. 6. Fig. 7. Fig. 8.

Figure 3-8. Ulrich, Molitor. "Witch Laming a Man." "Three Women Feasting." "Witches Before a Cauldron." "Woman and Devil Embrace." "Male Witch Riding a Wolf." "Flight of the Transformed Witches." *De lamis et pythonicis mulieribus*, Germany, 1489. JPEG file.



Figure 9. Dürer, Albrecht. "The Four Witches." Germany, 1497. JPEG file.



Figure 10. Denslow, W.W. "The Wicked Witch of the West." *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, 1900. *JPEG file*.