

The 400th Anniversary of the Lancashire Witch-Trials:
Commemoration and its Meaning in 2012.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|---|
| GC | Green Close Studios |
| LCC | Lancashire County Council |
| LW 400 | Lancashire Witches 400 Programme |
| LW Walk | Lancashire Witches Walk to Lancaster |
| PBC | Pendle Borough Council |
| PST | Pendle Sculpture Trail |
| RPC | Roughlee Parish Council |

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Introduction:

Commemorating witch-trials: Lancashire 2012

'But that was then- when difference made ghouls of neighbours; child beggars, feral, filthy, threatened in their crows. Grim skies, the grey remorse of rain; sunset's crimson shame; four seasons, centuries, turning, in Lancashire...'

Lancashire Witches 400 – Tercets 8 and 9, Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy's Lancashire Witch Poem, (2012)¹

This dissertation will explain the events of 1612 and why artists and other people in key locations wanted to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire witch trials. The year 2012 marked the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire witch trials of 1612; to commemorate this anniversary, over twenty commemorative events took place within the Borough of Pendle and in Lancaster between March and October 2012.

A sense of the variety and range of the 2012 events can be gained from the *Pendle Witches Festival* programme leaflet that was put together in early 2012 by Pendle Borough Council as a guide to what happened in 2012²; the events included talks by historians, a one-day 'witch school', plays, art exhibitions, the opening of walking and sculpture trails, and the unveiling of statues, plaques and art installations. These events were planned either by local councils who collaborated with local artists, or by independent organisations which also recruited national and local creative talent, in a planning process that took several years and involved significant sums of money. This dissertation will provide a close analysis of this planning process, explaining who was involved, where the money came from, what it was used for, and what events, installations and artistic

¹ Green Close Studios, *The Lancashire Witches Walk* Booklet (Green Close Studios, Ltd, 2013), pp. 18-19.

² Note: The Pendle (Lancashire) Witches Festival leaflet was available for downloading throughout the commemorative year, probably as early as February considering that the first commemorative event that was listed on the leaflet which was Poole's Witch Talk, was scheduled for March. As of September 2015, the leaflet is no longer available for downloading although the website itself still explains what occurred throughout the year.

outputs were produced. I will also analyse the particular motives or objectives of the various planners in order to explain their purpose for getting involved. I will then undertake a close analyse of five of the key commemorative events, looking at what they were, how they were made, and where they were situated, in order to explore what messages about the Lancashire witch-trials and their victims the creators hoped to convey to the general public through them. This analysis is important because the events of 2012 were the first ever major commemoration of an English witch-trial; it can act as a blue-print for any future commemorations, and also help us to understand more about the links between public history, dark tourism, the heritage/tourism industry, and commemorative practices in relation to the history of early modern witch-trials. Chapter one gives an overview of the 1612 trials and the importance of the pamphlet about them, which was written by Thomas Potts. Chapter Two explores public knowledge of the 1612 witch-trials in various media before 2012; Chapter Three explains how and by whom the 2012 commemorative events were planned, financed, and carried out, and Chapter Four analyses five key commemorative events in order to explore what messages the planners and artists wanted to convey to the public about the witch-trials of 1612.



This is a picture of the Elizabeth Montgomery statue that was installed in Salem, MA in 2005.

³ Trip Advisor, _____, accessed 20 October 2015.

In this research project, there will be certain ideas and theories that will be drawn on from my analysis of the people who planned major commemorative events, how they were planned, and the meanings and objectives of the commemorative events. First, it is important to remember that Potts's records, which were published in 1613 are the only surviving records. For decades, they have been an important source for historians in their research into the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612. However, there is a theory that although the former Clerk of Court Thomas Potts recorded pre-trial statements that included confessions as well as assizes records, his records are not altogether true in regards to the 1612 events because there is evidence that his writings contained elements of anti-Catholicism and there could have been certain issues that motivated him to publish his records of the trials. Also, the manner in which he described accused people suggested that Potts was more concerned about impressing those who had tasked him with writing down the events of 1612. However, Potts's records which were published in 1613 under the title of *The Wonderful Discoveries of Witches in the Countie of Lancashire* has been a resource for historians for the past fifty years. Another theory that will be drawn from my analysis is that momentum for the commemorative year developed by the publishing and re-issues of the Potts pamphlet, by works of fiction by authors such as William Harrison Ainsworth, researchers, and the media. This research will also explain who was involved in planning major commemorative events, why they got involved and how they acquired the financial backing in order to plan commemorative events. The commemorative events that took place in 2012 has, to this day, a specific aim or objective that could either be conveyed directly to the public or could be interpreted by the public, therefore, the aims of the planners and messages that they wanted to convey to the public will be analysed; and, whether certain aspects of their commemorative project could be interpreted in different ways by visitors.

Much of my research was informed by my knowledge of developing trends in tourism, including dark tourism, defined as the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering, and the seemingly

macabre.⁴ Tourism expert, Philip Stone, suggested that this interest in death was in existence as early as the Roman times where the gladiatorial games attracted large audiences.⁵ And we know that people have visited the actual site of the 1612 Lancashire witch trials, Lancaster Castle, since the nineteenth century. Although modern academic interest in the subjects has risen since the publication in 1996 of John Lennon's book, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*; from this point on, there have been intense studies, debates, and academic attention relating to the concept of dark tourism.⁶ One could argue that the sites where the commemorative events occurred could be considered as aspects of dark tourism because even though they are commemoratives sites, they are still linked to death and execution and, if people are visiting these sites which is what was intended by the planners, then according to Stone, Lennon, and Foley, this would be an example or aspect of dark tourism.⁷ However, I will argue in Chapter Four that most of the major commemorative events I analysed were not sensationalised, with the exception of the Pendle Sculpture Trail. Sensationalism can be a common aspect of dark tourism, particularly when planners or businesses commemorate past atrocities in the form of "conceptual dark fun factories".⁸ A good example of this sort of sensationalised (and usually historically inaccurate) dark tourism site is the London Dungeons where visitors pay to view portrayals of past atrocities that caused the deaths of many people in London and other parts of the UK, such as the plague, criminal executions by hanging, and Jack the Ripper, and where visitors can also take a 'boat ride to hell', an act which can be seen as implying that Satan influenced the people responsible for atrocities re-enacted or portrayed.⁹ Another example of how a certain commemorative event could be seen as

⁴ Richard Sharpley and Philip R Stone, 'Shedding Light on Dark Tourism: An Introduction', in Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone (eds), *The Darker Side of Travel: They Theory of Practice and Dark Tourism* (Ontario, 2009), p.10.

⁵ Philip R Stone, 'A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions, and Exhibitions', *Selected Works*, (January 2006), http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=philip_stone , accessed 20 October 2014.

⁶ Sharpley, *The Darker Side of Travel*, p. 6.

⁷ Malcolm Foley and John Lennon, 'Intimations of Dark Tourism', in Malcolm Foley and John Lennon's (eds) *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (Andover, 2010), pp. 3-12.

⁸ Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel*, p. 171.

⁹ Ibid.

sensationalising a particular atrocity (in this case specifically the with-hunts) is the statue of the 1960s and 1970s sitcom *Bewitched* star, Elizabeth Montgomery sitting on the moon with her broomstick, which was installed in Salem Massachusetts, the site of the 1692 Salem Witch Trials which is portrayed above. Although the statue was installed in Salem in 2005, which was thirteen years after the three hundredth anniversary of the Salem witch trials (portrayed above)¹⁰, many would consider this to be offensive to those who were executed in 1692 as it could be suggesting that those who were executed were real witches who rode broomsticks in order to travel to sabbats.

Heritage assets are defined in the *National Planning Policy Framework* as a building, monument, site, place, area or landscape identified as having a degree of significance meriting consideration in planning decisions, because of its heritage interest¹¹. There are examples of national and local heritage. Monuments commemorating witch trials could be classified as both because the event happened in a particular area within a local political entity, such as a county or city. If the event has gained national attention, it can also be considered national heritage. However, there are probably people who feel that sensationalism is important for local heritage because it could strengthen a connection between particular places, (Salem) to an event. Planning officials could fear that people will not become interested in a particular area or lose interest in a particular area that has been a tourist attraction if it is not interesting enough. People often visit Salem because of the witch trials that occurred in the late seventeenth century. By fabricating or reshaping events such as portraying as or associating those who were executed with stereotypical witches as portrayed in the picture above, then the local heritage (Salem) is being preserved. If planners do not do this, there is a chance that interest in Salem's local heritage will decline and if this happens, the local economy would also decline due to money not going into the local

¹⁰ Rebecca Beatrice Brooks, 'The Salem Witch Trials: Facts & History', *The History of Massachusetts: A History Blog*, (18 August 2011), <http://historyofmassachusetts.org/the-salem-witch-trials/>, accessed 20 October 2015.

Salem town officials announced plans for a Salem Witch Trials Memorial in Salem in November 1991. It was unveiled in August of 1992, on the 300th anniversary of the trials.

¹¹ English Heritage, 'Good Practice Guide for Local Heritage Listing', *Historic England*, (May 2012), <https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/good-practice-local-heritage-listing/local-listing-guide.pdf/>, accessed 26 October, 2015.

economy.¹² As we shall see in the case of the 2012 commemorations of the Lancashire witch trials, many visitors would probably have had difficulty linking most commemorative aspects with sensationalism. For example, in Chapter Four, I discuss the opening to the public of the Lancaster Castle dungeons, which is believed to be the place where the accused were imprisoned until their trial. Visitors did not see fake corpses suspended in mid-air symbolising their execution that followed the trial of those found guilty of witchcraft. All visitors saw in 2012 was a bare stone room and nothing more. Therefore, this could give weight to anyone's argument about whether major planners of the commemorative events wanted avoid fabricating the events. Moreover, no-one knows for certain where the accused were kept and this was made clear to visitors in 2012. This supports my argument that the planners of the 2012 events wanted to avoid sensationalism and trivialisation.¹³ However, another aspect of the 2012 commemorative event was the practice of commemorating by naming names. This can be argued as giving the victims of the witch trials the dignity they deserved, especially as certain memorials that were installed in 2012 can be considered to be a grave marker which the victims did not have because they were probably buried in unmarked graves near the gallows. Remembering victims of past wars and atrocities by listing their names in public places and on public memorials is a common and important commemorative practice, which can be seen in several other contexts.¹⁴ The public naming of the victims of the 1612 Lancashire witch-trials in the commemorative events of 2012 can be argued as placing the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 on the same level of seriousness and worthiness as other atrocities and encourages

¹² David Lowenthal, 'Fabricating Heritage', *History and Memory*, 1 (1998), p. 19.

¹³Note: There are possibilities in regards to dramatizing the past without doing it a disservice. In the case of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612, planners of commemorative events would follow original sources as much as possible. The obstacle in this case is that the only surviving document is Potts's pamphlet. Still, as discussed throughout this project, particularly in chapter four, there is evidence that people did do this.

¹⁴ Note: Examples of memorials that commemorate by naming victims are the Vietnam War memorial in Washington, DC, World War memorials such as the one located at Ypres, Belgium, and monument that immortalises those killed in the terror attacks of 11 September 2001.

members of the public to regard the accused as victims who died at the hands by ignorance.¹⁵

Strikingly, the first modern public commemoration of the Lancashire witch-trial victims occurred in 2001, when the north-west Pagan Federation installed a commemorative plaque on the outside wall of the Golden Lion Pub in Lancaster which listed the names of those executed. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, this practice was developed in 2012 with the statue of Alice Nutter and the LW walk to Lancaster Castle commemorating by name the victims executed. This gave the victims the dignity that they did not get when executed and it will help people remember that those who died in 1612 because of superstition, paranoia, and religious persecution deserve the same level of respect, remembrance, and commemorating as those who died in wars.

Below is a picture of the Vietnam War Memorial Wall which is located in Washington, DC. The purpose of the wall is to commemorate those who died by names, which was a common commemorative practice that was employed and developed in the 2012 Lancashire witch commemorations. Also, the monument can be a symbol of controversy; similar to the Lancashire witch-trials and commemorations due to different viewpoints.



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The commemorations of the Lancashire witch trials in 2012 occurred mainly because it was the four-hundredth anniversary of one of England's most important witch trials. Throughout the last four hundred years, people's knowledge was shaped through literature, plays, research, and the media. As mentioned earlier, interest in the witch trials and their commemorations did not occur immediately before the anniversary of the trials as momentum was built up throughout the years. Because of this, it can be argued that the Lancashire witch trials have become part of public and

¹⁵ Note: Old Demdike can be considered to be amongst the victims even though she was not executed because, if she wasn't arrested, she would probably have lived longer and certainly wouldn't have died in the gaol.

¹⁶ A group of tourists admiring the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial in Washington, DC' a colour photograph, Magazine USA, <https://www.google.co.uk/search?q=vietnam+war+memorial+washington&biw=1518&bih=748&source=ifnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0CAYQAUoAWoVChMjZj785dHdYAlVAzGUCh1XpwtI&dpri=0.9#imgcc=ukGtW608z6pM%3A>, accessed 24 October, 2015.

popular history, which is “seen or read by large numbers of people”.¹⁷ However, there are issues that historians may have with popular history.¹⁸ First, the commemorations are planned and installed on sites in order to enable people to remember past events or people as well as to tell the story of the event or person being commemorated. There are however, certain events that have occurred throughout the last century that have been controversial, therefore, there are disagreements surrounding the event. The Vietnam War is a good example of this because according to Ludmilla Jordanova, it has been “so extensively discussed in the press and represented in the media.”¹⁹ This is because of the weapons and tactics that were used, such as the use of Napalm.²⁰ However, even though the war continues to be controversial today, there are memorials that have been planned and installed that tell one particular version of the story such as the picture of the Vietnam War Memorial above portrays. The memorial is described by the National Park Services as The Wall That Heals²¹ and commemorates by chronologically listing the names “of more than 58,000 Americans who gave their lives while in service to their country”.²² The commemorative site does not provide reasons why the United States Armed Forces were involved and did not justify their actions. It also does not offer apologies for the deaths associated with the war. However, the story associated with the memorial is that a significant number of soldiers were killed in this war because the monument conveys the names of those killed in action. The commemorations of the Lancashire

¹⁷ Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London 2000), p. 141.

¹⁸Note: According to http://www.publichistory.org/what_is/definition.html, the term ‘public history’ is the presentation of historical knowledge to a wide audience or large group of people. It could also involve historians working on a project outside of academia. The work that Robert Poole did throughout the planning of the commemorative year of 2012 would be a good example of this. Throughout this dissertation, Robert Poole acted as an advisor and provided knowledge to certain groups who planned commemorative events in 2012 and he did this outside of the university setting. However, the term ‘popular history’ involves a topic being presented by someone who uses sources that have been used frequently, in order to summarise a topic. Popular Historians usually just narrate a topic and the research that they did do is not usually deep. Please refer to <http://www.historymatters.group.shef.ac.uk/popular-vs-academic-history/>. This website explains that people sometimes frown upon popular history because popular historians often narrate a topic without doing a lot of deep research. Therefore, a topic may have presented as on-sided, biased, and not presented to appeal to different sides of an argument. Important information may have been left out.

¹⁹ *ibid*, p. 151.

²⁰ *ibid*, p. 151.

²¹ <http://www.nps.gov/vive/planyourvisit/index.htm>, accessed 26 October 2015.

²² *ibid*, accessed 26 October 2015.

witch trials, like the Vietnam War memorial in Washington, DC, also tells a non-biased version of the story, which was that people were executed for being accused of witchcraft in a time where superstition and persecution were aspects of the legal code. Also, similar to the Vietnam War memorial, most of the commemorations of the 1612 witch trials were planned in order to make the events of 1612 accessible to a wider range of people through the monuments and plaques that were installed at the various locations and through walking trails that has works of art installed along the path that symbolise certain aspects of the 1612 events. The names of victims, the messages about where they lived and their backstories, and key events of the witch trials are being conveyed to the public through art in the form of plaques and other forms of art and for most of the permanent commemorations, and no other version of the Lancashire witch trials are being told, although it can be argued that some features of the commemorations can be interpreted to symbolise other aspects that relate to the 1612 events which will be discussed in chapter two. Also, the commemorative events of 2012 involved schools, as planners worked with educators in order to design a curriculum based around the events of 1612. Second, public history can often be exploited. For example, a tragedy that can be argued public history may be commemorated. However, commemorating to remember the tragedy may not be the only reason why the commemoration may take place. The event may be commemorated in order to mark a specific occasion while at the same time; planners may also want to profit from the tragedy by attracting visitors in order to spend money. This would apply to certain commemorative events that took place in 2012, as discussed in chapters three and four and because of this, historians may question whether the commemorative events exploited a tragedy in order to make a profit and whether certain commemorative events can be classified as part of what Jordanova describes as the heritage industry.²³

²³ Jordanova, *History*, p. 143.



The Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, DC.

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For this research project, I draw on a wide range of sources in this dissertation. For Chapter One, my summary of the witch trials of 1612 is drawn from the lengthy pamphlet, *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, which was written by then Clerk of Court, Thomas Potts, and published in 1613, which continues to be an important source of information about the witch-trials and is often the basis for re-workings of the Lancashire witch trials for television, literature, and film. In Chapter Two I draw on examples from popular fiction that includes re-workings of the 1612 events by William Harrison Ainsworth and Robert Neil. Other sources of literature include research from academic and non-academic researchers. I also drew on examples from the media, including television documentaries, and film. These sources enabled me to show how the story of the 1612 witch-trials has been reworked regularly for the public since the nineteenth century, identifying key texts and moments in this process. Without this longstanding tradition, which has informed local knowledge of the Lancashire witch-trials, it is unlikely that the events of 2012 would have taken place. In Chapter Three I draw on websites from the various organisations that were involved in the commemorative events or linked to them, council meeting minutes and commissioning reports, press coverage, and personal interviews with key members of the planning teams, in order to establish the details of the planning process for 2012. Key individuals with whom I had lengthy contact or who were particularly helpful included were Lancashire-based artists Philippe Handford, Pete and Sue Flowers who not only own art studios but were heavily

²⁴ <http://www.nps.gov/vive/planyourvisit/index.htm>, accessed 26 October 2015.

involved in the commemorative year, and Mike Williams who is the Tourism Team Leader at Pendle Borough Council. In Chapter Four, I analyse some of the key commemorative events and artwork, such as the Alice Nutter memorial statue that was commissioned by Roughlee Parish Council and Pendle Borough Council, and commemorative art work along two walking trails that were commissioned for the commemorative year of 2012. By using the works of art along with accompanying literature and my own personal experiences as a visitor to key commemorative sites, I was able to explore how they commemorated 1612 and their meaning.

Chapter One:

The 1612 Witch trials and the Potts Pamphlet

'With the Arraignment and Trial of Nineteen notorious WITCHES, at the Assizes and general Gaol delivery,

holden at the Castle of LANCASTER, upon Monday, the seventeenth of August last, 1612.'

Thomas Potts, *The Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, London, 1613.²⁵

Compared to the amount of people accused and executed for witchcraft on the continent between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, England experienced fewer accusations and executions. However, major witch trials still occurred. From March to May of 1612, numerous people were arrested in Lancashire on suspicion of practicing witchcraft. These arrests would lead to what is today called the Lancashire witch trials of 1612.

Although other witch trials took place in England before 1612, such as the St Osyth Witch Trials of 1582 and the Witches of Warboys trial between 1589 and 1593, the Lancashire witch trials can be considered to be a significant set of English witch trials for a number of reasons. First, the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 would result in the single largest number of executions for witchcraft in England up to this point. Second, they were the first major set of trials that occurred after James I's more severe Witchcraft Act of 1604 came into force that superseded the Elizabethan law regarding witchcraft, and made even harming someone by witchcraft punishable by death. Third, the only surviving record of the Lancashire witch-trials is Thomas Potts's pamphlet. There are no other records that exist that could give historians more information about the events of 1612. With the exception of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612, the witch-trials that took place in England were not well-documented compared to trials that took place after the enactment of the 1604 Witchcraft Act.²⁶ However, the number of accusations was high. Between March and August 1612,

²⁵ Thomas Potts, *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* (London, 1613).

²⁶ James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2001), p. 15.

approximately twenty-one people were accused of bewitching other people or using witchcraft to cause harm to property, such as cattle. Ten of those people were found guilty and executed. This number is high compared to earlier English trials. Fourth, a significant number of those people that were accused in 1612 were linked to other accused people in terms of accusations. Alizon, Elizabeth, and James were members of the Device family and, Anne Redfearne was Anne Whittle's (Old Chattox) daughter. In addition to these families, John and Jane Bulcock (mother and son) were also accused and eventually executed. Therefore, this set of witch trials had a number of families who were executed.²⁷ In addition to the fact that the number of people and their relatives executed is significant, there are geographical significances as well. Many of the accused were from various communities throughout what is today the Borough of Pendle²⁸. However, not all came from Pendle because at least ten people were from other areas of Lancashire and some of these were not linked at all to events that involved Old Demdike, Old Chattox, and the Malkin Tower meeting. This differs considerably from earlier trials that occurred in England, particularly the Warboys and St Osyth trials where the events and accusations were confined to a particular area. Finally, although this is the first major witch trial that occurred after the 1604 Witchcraft Act became law; concern about witchcraft amongst JPs and other officials were beginning to decline in certain areas of England. In fact, according to Sharpe, it had become rare for anyone to be indicted on grounds of witchcraft by the 1630s even in the south-eastern part of the country before the exceptional and major witch trials took place in East Anglia involving the infamous witch-finders John Stearne and Matthew Hopkins.²⁹ Therefore, interest in witchcraft amongst officials was declining³⁰. According to Sharpe, James I was displaying his knowledge about witchcraft through exposing fraudulent cases of

²⁷ Note: Alizon admitted to causing John Law to collapse when she was questioned by Nowell at his home the same day Law's son reported the incident to him. However, she also implicated her own grandmother in the process. She told Nowell that a dog that was present when Law collapsed had also visited her grandmother. This is one of the reasons why Nowell wanted to investigate further, thus leading to more people being accused.

²⁸ Please see map in appendices that explains where different accused people lived.

²⁹ Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, p. 27.

³⁰ Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, p. 28.

Note: Interest and concern in regards to witchcraft was losing momentum at top levels of the government such as with James I. In 1625 when Charles I came to the throne, witch accusations were rare.

witchcraft rather than hunting and exposing threatening sects of witches.³¹ Also, James I even pardoned some cases of witchcraft.³² Therefore at least in government, concerns about witchcraft were declining. Therefore, it is possible that if James I was not heavily involved with exposing malicious witches, then JPs, who enforced law and order, may have followed suit as well and therefore, there would be less opportunity for major trials that involved people with high status pursuing accusations of witchcraft if concern amongst officials were declining. It was, however, still possible for major witch trials to occur in addition to the 1612 trials, the East Anglian Witch-hunts, and the accusations that took place near Leicester in 1616 if there were zealous JPs who were willing to escalate complaints of witchcraft, however, this was not the case. Nevertheless, there is evidence that as early as 1567, witchcraft prosecutions were becoming rare in northern England as Yorkshire only had 177 cases of witchcraft between 1567 and 1640.³³ Considering that Yorkshire significantly close to Lancashire, this would suggest that concerns about witchcraft were starting to fade in the north although in the south-east, particularly Essex, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent, charges of witchcraft was at its peak at 180 cases in the late sixteenth century and sharply declined by the time the Lancashire witch trials occurred. Therefore, the Lancashire witch trials of 1612, although major, occurred when witchcraft cases were starting to dwindle. There were major witch-trials that took place after the Lancashire witch trials of 1612, including the Leicester boy trial of 1616, the Lancashire witch trials of 1634, and the East Anglian trials. However, since there was a decline in concerns about witchcraft amongst JPs, the chance of significant numbers of major trials occurring at later times became less. What is striking about this is that the major trials did not start until there was a decline in concern amongst officials. However, major witch trials after 1612 and while the number of charges were declining were rare. Another aspect of the Lancashire witch trials is that multiple family members were tried, found guilty, and executed. Therefore, the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 are unusual witch trials that deserve attention by historians and are worthy of research.

³¹ Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, p. 28.

³² Rosemary Guiley, *The Encyclopaedia of Witches, Witchcraft and Wicca* (New York, 2008), p. 184.

³³ Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, p. 27.

When the 1612 summer assizes concluded on 19 August, nine people were found guilty of witchcraft and sentenced to be executed. On 20 August, those found guilty were taken from the Lancaster gaol and hanged near Lancaster Castle.³⁴ Those executed on that day were Alizon Device, James Device, Elizabeth Device, Chattox, Anne Redfearne, Jane Bulcock, John Bulcock, Isobel Robey, Katherine Hewitt. Jennet Preston was tried earlier on 27 July and hanged shortly thereafter. The first incident that led to the witch trials took place that summer occurred in a field near Colne, Pendle. A beggar girl called Alizon asked a pedlar, John Law, for pins. However, when Law refused to give them to her; verbal exchange took place and then Law suddenly collapsed. When interrogated by JP Roger Nowell, Alizon, who lived at Malkin Tower in the Forest of Pendle, answered his questions and confirmed that unnatural events happened on that day and not for the first time. In the process of being interrogated, at Nowell's home³⁵ which was at Read Hall, she also implicated her grandmother, called Elizabeth Sowthern or "Old Demdike", in the involvement of witchcraft.

Between March and May 1612, twenty people were sent to Lancaster gaol after being interrogated or indicted for witchcraft³⁶ due to a combination of statements that people in the community made against people such as Old Chattox and Old Demdike and, statements and confessions from accused people during interrogations that implicated others which caused them to be accused of witchcraft as well. For example, when Elizabeth Device's voluntary confessed at the Forest of Pendle before Justice of the Peace (JP) and magistrate for Pendle, Roger Nowell, on 27 April, she confessed that she along with Alice Nutter "joined together" and bewitched Henry Mitton to death.³⁷ Old Chattox confessed earlier on 19 May in front of William Sands who was the Mayor of Lancaster, to killing a man called Robert Nutter from Pendle.³⁸ She also confessed to bewitching a

³⁴ Philip C Almond, *The Lancashire Witches: A Chronicle of Sorcery and Death on Pendle Hill* (London, 2012), p. xxv.

³⁵ Note: Today, Nowell's former home is located in Read which is in the Ribble Valley, not Pendle. However, local government did not exist in 1612 as it does today, therefore, Nowell's jurisdiction spread outside of the current boundaries that surround the Borough of Pendle.

³⁶ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), page 110.

³⁷ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 126.

³⁸ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 105.

cow to death.³⁹ Elizabeth Device was accused of using charms in order to bewitch a man called John Robinson to death. She was also indicted for using witchcraft to kill James Robinson and being an accomplice in the murder of Henry Mitton by witchcraft. James was indicted of bewitching to death two people, John Duckworth and Anne Townely. In addition to allegations of harmful magic used against people and livestock, people, such as James Device, his mother Elizabeth, and Jennet Preston, were also implicated in attending a Good Friday meeting at Malkin Tower which would further incriminate people already arrested and those who would be arrested once the JPs had gathered enough evidence against them. Under questioning that took place on 27 April, for example, James gave the names of certain people who attended this meeting to Nowell and explained that his mother, Elizabeth, told him the reasons for attending the meeting, which included the “naming of the spirit”⁴⁰ which belonged to Alizon. Nowell may have interpreted this to be a witch’s familiar which linked the meeting with witchcraft.⁴¹ During the interrogation James and his mother told Nowell that approximately twenty people had attended this meeting including themselves and James’s nine-year-old sister Jennet Device.⁴² James and his mother gave Nowell the names of others they claimed had been there, including Alice Nutter, Katherine Hewitt, Jane Bulcock and her husband Christopher.⁴³ By August 1612, after Nowell had gathered enough evidence from the residents of Pendle area along with the statements of accused people which implicated other people, at least seventeen people were imprisoned at Lancaster castle awaiting trial.⁴⁴ Old Demdike

³⁹ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 119.

⁴⁰ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 21.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

Note: Nowell also probably connected the Malkin Tower meeting with witchcraft after hearing from James that a particular woman (Jennet Preston) needed the attendees help in killing Master Lister, Jr.

⁴² Almond, *The Lancashire Witches*, pp. 60-61.

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 156.

Note: According to Philip C Almond, Emeritus Professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Queensland, Margaret Pearson was a significant person imprisoned in the Lancaster gaol because although she was accused of witchcraft under the 1604 Witchcraft Law, she did not use witchcraft to kill a human being, but only accused and found guilty of using it to destroy or impair cattle and/or goods, which in her case was a cow. She arrived at the Lancaster gaol later than the others as she arrived on 9 August, a little over a week before her trial. Also, Pearson was not from Pendle and not connected to any events or accusations in Pendle, as she was from Padiham which is located in the Barrow of Burnley. The Barrow of Burnley is twelve miles from Pendle and this distance would have been a lengthy distance in 1612.

had died in the Lancaster gaol before the trials began. However, the first witch trial took place in York on 27 July where Jennet Preston, one of the alleged attendees of the Malkin Tower meeting, was tried and convicted of killing Master Lister senior to death by witchcraft.⁴⁵ Preston was found guilty and hanged shortly after the trial. Preston was tried and executed at York because this is where she was from originally. The others that would be tried were taken to Lancaster because they lived within the Lancaster court district. The other trials began on 17 August at Lancaster castle and lasted for two days. When the assizes ended on 19 August, ten more people would be found guilty of murder by witchcraft. On 18 August, Chattox, Elizabeth Device and her son James, were found guilty of murder by witchcraft under the 1604 Witchcraft Act. Anne Redfearne was also tried that day but found not guilty for the murder of Robert Nutter. However, on the following day, she was found guilty of using witchcraft to murder Robert's father, Christopher. Alizon Device, Margaret Pearson, Alice Nutter, Katherine Hewitt, Jane and John Bulcock, and Isobel Robey were also tried and found guilty. However, Robey, Pearson, and another group of accused people known as the Salmesbury Witches were not from Pendle and had no connection with the events that were linked to the Devices, Old Chattox, her daughter, or anyone associated with the Malkin Tower meeting. Also, Robey and Pearson were not from Pendle. Robey was from Windle, which is located in the south-western part of Lancashire. Pearson was from Padiham, which is approximately twelve miles from Pendle. The Salmesbury witches were a group of eight people who were accused by a fourteen-year-old girl called Grace Sowerbutts.⁴⁶ Margaret Pearson was accused of using witchcraft to harming a cow but she only had to stand in the pillory on four market days for six hours within the next year.⁴⁷ Isobel Robey on the other hand, was accused of using witchcraft to 'waste, consume, pine, or lame'⁴⁸a Peter Chaddock and Jane Wilkinson. The Lancashire witch trials can be remembered as the witch trial where a nine-year old's statements were used to help convict

⁴⁵ *ibid*, XXV.

⁴⁶ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ Almond, *The Lancashire Witches*, p. 159.

Note: Pearson was found guilty of using witchcraft, but her actions were not punishable by death because under the 1604 Witchcraft Act, using witchcraft is only punishable by death and considered felonious if it is used to kill; causing one to "waste, consume, pine, or lame" by witchcraft.

⁴⁸*ibid*.

members of her own family as well as other people who were accused of witchcraft and attending the Malkin Tower meeting, such as Alice Nutter. On 20 August, Chattox, Redfearne, and Alizon and James, and Elizabeth Device were taken from Lancaster Castle and hanged. Katherine Hewitt along with Jane Bulcock and her son John Bulcock, and Isobel Robey were also executed on this day.⁴⁹

Nowell was a key person in the 1612 events because as JP, his role was to keep order within his jurisdiction. Considering how involved Nowell was in the investigations of various accusations, it appears that Nowell, who was sixty-two at the time of the initial events, had a personal and political interest in witchcraft. What suggests this is how seriously he took the accusations.⁵⁰ For example, Nowell investigated the incident involving John Law on the same day that Law's son Abraham reported the incident.⁵¹ He then proceeded to question Alison Device again along with her brother James and mother, Elizabeth. There were different aspects to the Devices' story, as well as other people's stories, that caused Nowell to want to probe further until he had the evidence he needed in order to make arrests. Therefore, it can be argued that Nowell probably helped to escalate the accusations because Nowell genuinely believed there was a sect of witches living in his district. He began to suspect this when he found out from James Device about the Good Friday Malkin Tower meeting by interrogating him, Jennet, and Elizabeth. This, combined with James's knowledge of crumbled clay pictures and teeth under Malkin Tower caused Nowell to begin making connections between the Malkin Tower meeting, the mysterious occurrences, and James I's *Daemonologie*, which Nowell probably read as suggested by Professor Philip C Almond and Jonathan Lumby.⁵² James I's *Daemonologie* promotes the continental understanding of witchcraft, which features witches' meetings or 'sabbats'. Nowell, after reading the writings of James I, understood the concepts of continental witchcraft which probably caused him to believe that the Malkin Tower meeting was a sabbat. There were certain details in the information that James Device gave Nowell

⁴⁹ Ibid, xxv.

⁵⁰ Poole, *The Lancashire Witches*, p. 8.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Almond, *The Lancashire Witches*, p. 76.

Note: Jonathan Lumby wrote and published *The Lancashire Witch Craze*, which was a study on Jennet Preston.

that probably caused Nowell to connect the Malkin Tower meeting to a witches' meeting as James explained that one of the attendees, Jennet Preston, 'had a spirit with her like unto a white foal, with a black spot on the forehead'.⁵³ Nowell may have assumed that certain attendees had familiars with them, which was also discussed in James I's work.⁵⁴ One other detail about the Malkin Tower meeting that probably caused Nowell to hasten the act of prosecuting more people was hearing from James that Alizon's spirit was to be named⁵⁵. After hearing what the Devises said, Nowell probably began to believe that there were witches living in Pendle and he needed to initiate further prosecutions. However, it is possible that Nowell became more zealous while investigating and interrogating the accused because of anxieties about possible Catholic uprisings.⁵⁶ According to Poole, Nowell 'possessed sound Protestant family connections'⁵⁷ which could suggest that his religion motivated him to move the prosecutions along at a steadier pace. Although this may not have necessarily increased Nowell's motivations in regards to hunting witches, it could however, have meant that Nowell had anxiety about Catholic uprisings and therefore, he used the accusations that people made against Old Demdike and Old Chattox and targeted these individuals for not conforming to Protestantism in order to prevent possible Catholic uprisings. Old Chattox, for

⁵³ Poole, *The Wonderful Discoverie*, p. 22.

⁵⁴ Note: Nowell probably read *Daemonologie*. However, it is important to point out that scholars used to believe that in England, people were traditionally more concerned about witches causing harm at a local level rather than performing weather magic, plagues, and other disasters over wide geographical areas. Therefore, the idea of a Sabbath and witches' familiars were relatively unheard of in English culture, at least up until this point as the English conceptualised witchcraft differently from those on the continent. Please refer to William E Burns, *Witch Hunts in Europe and America: An Encyclopedia* (London, 2003), p. 74. However, according to Malcolm Gaskell, some historians are now starting to believe that English witch-trials and concepts of demonology are variants of continental cases, instead of being completely different to them. Please refer to Malcolm Gaskell, 'Witchcraft in early modern Kent: stereotypes and the background to accusations', in Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester and Gareth Roberts (eds), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe. Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996), pp. 284-86.

⁵⁵ Robert Poole, *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), page 21.

Alizon was confined to the Lancaster gaol and did not attend the Malkin Tower meeting.

⁵⁶ Robert Poole, *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), p. 8.

Although Poole did not mention anxieties about possible Catholic uprisings, he did however mention that Nowell was eager to "move the prosecutions along".

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Note: According to Poole, Jonathan Lumby, who has researched the Lancashire witches, suggested that even though Nowell was a puritan, or at least had connections to Puritanism by family, that does not necessarily mean that he was significantly eager to hunt witches.

example, was accused of having used special words that made things happen magically. For example, Old Chattox was said to have used a special “charm” in order to cure cursed milk. When she did this, it was claimed that she put two sticks together over the dish of milk.⁵⁸ Poole suggests that this “charm” was in fact a “garbled version of an old Catholic prayer.”⁵⁹ Therefore, it can be argued that Nowell wanted to prevent any chance of a Catholic plot by eradicating any chances of possible future uprisings upon hearing certain accusations made against people and, preventing, any kind of a Catholic plot from occurring in the future, similar to the Gunpowder Plot that took place only seven years earlier. In order for him to do this, he would need to target people who possibly held on to the Catholic faith. The foiling of the Gunpowder plot would still be remembered by officials if the event only occurred seven years earlier. However, there is a specific detail in James’s statements to Nowell regarding the Malkin Tower meeting that may have caused Nowell to prosecute further, which was the second objective of the Malkin Tower meeting that took place on Good Friday. The second purpose of the meeting was to the killing of the gaoler and the blowing up of Lancaster castle in order to allow those already imprisoned to escape before the next Assizes.⁶⁰ This statement probably would remind any JP about the Gunpowder Plot because the event was recent and, it involved blowing up a government building. Considering this, Pendle, like the rest of Lancashire, was a Catholic stronghold.⁶¹ Protestant influences took time to penetrate into the County of Lancashire and because of this, many people remained a Catholic for considerable period of time. This could be because of the situation with the roads and bridleways into Pendle, which virtually did not exist at that time and this made travelling to Pendle difficult⁶² which could have prevented lawmakers from getting into Pendle to spread the influence that was needed. Therefore, many people such as Old Demdike and Old Chattox, along with their families, could have remained at least semi-Catholic. According to local Pendle historian, John Clayton, Demdike and Alice Nutter

⁵⁸ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, page 14.

⁶⁰ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 21.

⁶¹ Pendle Borough Council, *Pendle Scenic Road Trail* (Leaflet number 1).

⁶² <http://hoydensandfirebrands.blogspot.co.uk/2013/07/the-state-of-roads-in-17th-century-by.html> , accessed 15 August, 2015.

were both from families with Catholic leanings and, these were two of the people who were accused of witchcraft.⁶³ Therefore, Nowell used the witch-trials to target particular people who still clung to the Catholic faith in 1612. According to Colin Penny who is the Lancaster Castle Museum Manager, there was a “link between the Lancashire Witches and the Lancashire Martyrs due to the Catholicism”.⁶⁴ Nowell may thus have been motivated in his zeal to investigate claims of witchcraft by a strong desire to investigate claims of witchcraft in Pendle by a strong need to eradicate Catholicism from Pendle. However, the problem with this theory is that even though concerns about witchcraft were in decline amongst officials, people still believed in witchcraft as this was a time of superstition. Therefore, it can be argued that any seventeenth century magistrate who cared about his reputation with King James I would want to appear to be doing something about witchcraft as King James was an authority on the subject of witchcraft.⁶⁵ It would be the duty of the JP to investigate complaints of witchcraft since witchcraft was against the law according to the 1604 Witchcraft Act, as JPs are charged with keeping order and enforcing the law. It was through Alizon’s statements that caused other people to be implicated and in the process, more serious events regarding witchcraft were spoken of. If John Law’s son did not report the initial event to Nowell, then he would not have got involved and no one would be implicated at all. But, Abraham did report the incident to Nowell and thus, Nowell investigated. Also, according to Almond, it is widely believed that Demdike’s family was in the witchcraft business because Jennet Device told her interrogators that her mother taught her “two prayers”⁶⁶ by her mother in order to bring drink into the house and to cure those who were bewitched, which can be classified as white magic since

⁶³ John A Clayton, *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook: 1612-2012* (Barrowford, 2012), p. 124.

⁶⁴ Dr Colin Penny interview (phone), 15 July 2013.

⁶⁵ Almond, *The Lancashire Witches*, p. 66.

In 1597, King James I wrote a book called “*Daemonologie*” which supported the persecution of witches. Almond explains that suspected witch and schoolmaster John Cunningham (also called Dr Fian) was interrogated before James who was then King of Scotland, along with Cunningham’s accomplices or “helpers”. According to Almond, accomplice Agnis Tompson confessed that she and two other people tried bewitch the king in the late sixteenth century when he was returning from Denmark with his new wife and Queen.

⁶⁶ Almond, *The Lancashire Witch Trials*, p. 133.

it was used to heal. The prayer to bring milk into the house was, “crucifixus hoc signum vitam, eternam, Amen”.⁶⁷ However, even though Almond suggests that this prayer along with a very long prayer to cure those who were bewitched were drawn from Catholic liturgies and that “Catholic piety and magic were intimately connected”, why was Jennet, who herself from the same family, not executed as well.⁶⁸ Therefore, Nowell was probably doing what he was charged with and not targeting Catholics.

However as mentioned earlier, one of the most unusual and significant aspects of the Lancashire witch trials are that multiple families were implicated and eventually executed as witches which were four members of the Device family, Old Chattox and her daughter Anne Redfearne, and Jane and her son John. It is possible therefore, that during the series of investigations and interrogations that took place between March and May that Nowell started believing that witchcraft corrupts family members. After all, Elizabeth Device did teach her younger daughter two prayers that would supposedly bring good fortune.⁶⁹ Therefore Nowell was eradicating the threat of witchcraft by targeting family members of those accused of witchcraft. There is however, a flaw in this theory and again, it involved Jennet Preston. If Nowell was targeting families of people who were accused of witchcraft, Jennet Device’s I would also probably have been executed regardless of her age. Jennet was nine years old and three years younger than her brother, who was executed for witchcraft.

Another striking feature of the 1612 witch trials was that they formed the subject of a very long and detailed contemporary pamphlet, the authorship of which (unusually for English witchcraft pamphlets) is known. Many, if not most of the assizes records of witch trials that took place in 1612 have been lost, along with most of the other evidence of witch-trials from early modern English Assize records. We are therefore particularly reliant on pamphlet accounts of trials for our

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Note: Even though Demdike and her family did not attend the Catholic services, it is possible that they used traditions that were associated with Catholicism. It is possible that some of their charms were catholic prayers.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

understanding of early modern English witchcraft; this is also the case for the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612.⁷⁰ Thomas Potts, Clerk of the Assize Court, was charged with recording the statements of the accused, confessions, and events of the trials. Potts published his records under the title of *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* in 1613 in the form of a pamphlet. However, it can be argued as to why Potts published his records. It is probable that Potts wanted to convey the efficiency and justice of the legal system.⁷¹ Demonstrating the efficiency and just of the legal system would be important because it would give those who read his pamphlet a sense of assurance that justice was served to the relatives of those claimed to have been bewitched and that the legal system was putting the safety of the people as a top priority. Marion Gibson, an English professor at Exeter University indicated that there was statement in Potts's pamphlet that suggests Potts wanted to glorify the legal system which is "*Here shall you behold the Justice of this Land, truly administered, Proemium and Poenam, Mercie and Judgement, freely and indifferently bestowed and inflicted; And above all thinges to bee remembered, the excellent care of these Judges in the Triall of offenders*". Therefore, Potts went to "great pains"⁷² as described by Judge Edward Bromley⁷³ to ensure that the legal system was efficient at restoring justice, showing the legal system in a positive way, and that the judges were honourable and competent, considering Potts wanted readers to acknowledge the "great care" or understand that the judges took care of the matters relating to witchcraft. Also, Potts was probably tasked to publish the records by officials such as Potts or Judge Bromley in order to inspire confidence in the legal system. This would make sense considering Judge Bromley revised and "corrected" what Thomas Potts had written before the records were published.⁷⁴ This could indicate that officials wanted to be certain that everything that was recorded would be looked upon favourably by readers. However, according to Gibson, since the pamphlet was dedicated to "The Right Honourable, Thomas Lord Knyvet"⁷⁵ who helped foil the 1605

⁷⁰ James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Harlow, 2001), page 24.

⁷¹ Gibson, *The Lancashire witches: Histories and Stories*, page 53.

⁷² Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* p. 98.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ *ibid*, page 99.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, page 96.

Gunpowder plot, officials were concerned with local Catholicism. Therefore, Potts may have published his work and dedicated it Knyvet in order to suggest that another major disaster that involved a Catholic plot had been prevented again but that Knyvet prevented the first. It is just as likely however, that Potts placed threat of witchcraft on the same level of seriousness as the 1605 Gunpowder Plot and that eradicating witchcraft, which people believed in, lives would be saved, just like they were after the Gunpowder Plot had been foiled; Thomas Potts was portraying himself to be a hero.

Modern editions of the Potts's pamphlet have been published by Gibson in her book, *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* in 2000, and by academic and public historian, Robert Poole, who published a modernised version of the pamphlet modernised Potts's records in 2011 under the title *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* No other legal documents from the 1612 trials have survived and without Potts's pamphlet we would have little knowledge of the 1612 events.⁷⁶ The Potts pamphlet is also unusually rich and detailed. This is because he provides records of pre-trial statements as well as evidence of what was said at the Assizes. Therefore, not only are the trials themselves significant, but so are the actual records because they are the only records of the trials. Also, according to Gibson, Potts's records are very detailed so that readers and historians can understand the circumstances and backgrounds of each person accused.⁷⁷ Potts's pamphlet is also well-organised, making it easier to follow than the pamphlet relating to the 1582 St Osyth witch-trial (the largest witch-trial in England before 1612). Potts describes the accused in a way that other pamphlets did not do and they are the clearest example of the accounts that took place in 1612.⁷⁸ For example, when Potts described the accused, he included information about certain people's economic status. However, a negative aspect that

⁷⁶ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), pp 1-2.

⁷⁷ Marion Gibson, *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* (London, 2000), p. 173. Note: Gibson compares Potts's account of the 1612 events to the records of the St Osyth Witch Trials that were prepared by WW/Brian Darcy.

⁷⁸ Marion Gibson, "Thomas Potts's Dusty Memory", in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*, Robert Poole, p. 52.

readers may have, particularly historians, is that Potts blended the accounts with melodramatic descriptions, such as describing James Device in a hostile manner as a “painful steward”⁷⁹ and a “bloody monster”⁸⁰ as if he was trying get people who were likely to be reading his pamphlet, such as Nowell, Judge Bromley, who presided over Jennet Preston’s assizes and the assizes held at Lancaster Castle to deplore those were accused and to incite hatred among them. Poole suggests that Potts had the job of writing the events down and recording what happened in court but, may have been looking for glory and was trying hard to please those who tasked him with writing the accounts of the accused. Poole pointed out that Potts needed praise and recognition from high officials such as judges in order for people to begin taking him seriously and thinking of him as an important writer in addition to his job of being the Clerk of Court.⁸¹ However, a counterargument to Potts seeking praise would be that he had his work imposed on him⁸², which suggests that Potts had a job to do and it was up to him as Clerk of Court who was assigned to record the statements at the assizes, to make it seem that those in authority, particularly Roger Nowell and Judge Sir Edward Bromley were doing a good job of eradicating witchcraft, which King James and other people of the early modern England saw to be a threat. There are those, such as Gibson, who do not consider Potts’s pamphlet to be a perfect portrayal of what happened in 1612 and suggest that it was quite the opposite, regardless of how Potts’s organised his writings for his readers. According to Gibson, certain elements of court cases were omitted, while other parts of the pamphlet, particularly in regards to the Samlesbury witches were “pure anti-Catholic propaganda⁸³ as Potts described priests and Jesuits as people who have “no respect of blood, kindred, or friendship”. This could reflect upon the anti-Catholic feelings of officials and therefore, Potts was trying to convey anti-Catholicism in order to impress those who would read his literature, whether they may be Bromley or King James himself. According to Gibson, Knyvet was a patron of Potts’s pamphlet⁸⁴ as well and given this, readers may

⁷⁹ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 145.

⁸⁰ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 137.

⁸¹ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, pp. 51-55.

⁸² Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p 2.

⁸³ Marion Gibson, *Early Modern Witches*, p. 174.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

wonder about Potts's intentions in regards to explaining what happened at the assizes and before, or if he was trying to build momentum for anti-Catholicism. Therefore, Potts gives historians a sense of what happened in 1612 but readers could also pick up on certain prejudices and propaganda from Potts that could make them wonder if he was trying to convey what happened, impress his superiors, or both.

The Lancashire witch trials of 1612 stand out as not only one of the important witch trials that took place in England, but "the" most important because of the number of people involved in the trials, how the accusations escalated, and because of the enigma that is Thomas Potts. True, historians owe a lot to him because without his records, the Lancashire witch trials would probably not be a part of English history; however, no one can confirm his true intentions when he was writing down the events to be published. Whether the summer assizes records were the writings of someone desperately wanting to acquire fame, or were examples of how superstition was a natural part of England in 1612, Thomas Potts certainly has a place in History books as he recorded events that can not only be considered local history, but English history.

Chapter Two:

Commemoration of the Lancashire witch-trials before 2012

'Deep in the Forest of Pendle, people have been dying in mysterious circumstances. The locals whisper witchcraft, but Squire Roger Nowell, in charge of investigating the deaths, dismisses the claims as ridiculous.'

Robert Neill, *Mist Over Pendle* (London, 1951), back cover.⁸⁵

This chapter will explain how people's interest in the Lancashire witch-trials was shaped from 1845 to 2011. Each section will explain how the Lancashire Witches became a part of public knowledge and how this interest increased over the years. This chapter will also examine five aspects that contributed to re-awakening, maintaining, and increasing public interest in the Lancashire Witches from 1800s to 2011; these are literature, history, the media, modern-day witches, and tourism. The weight of information generated from these sources made the celebration of the 2012 commemorative year increasingly likely.

Literature/Historical fiction



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William Ainsworth, author of *The Lancashire Witches*.

⁸⁵ Robert Neill, *Mist Over Pendle* (London, 1951), back cover.

⁸⁶ <http://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Harrison-Ainsworth> , accessed 15 October 2014.

Potts's pamphlet probably contributed to the knowledge of the 1612 events being maintained throughout the seventeenth century. The pamphlet was re-issued by James Crossley in 1845. A striking feature of the Lancashire witch-trials is that they were the focus of eighteenth century chap books⁸⁷ and also two immensely popular fictional reworking of the 1612 events, one in the 19th and one in the 20th century. The books discussed in this section were selected due to the books popularity which was important in broadening the public's knowledge about the events of 1612. In 1848, William Ainsworth, often referred to as the 'Lancashire novelist'⁸⁸, wrote *The Lancashire Witches* at the suggestion of his close friend, Crossley. Ainsworth was born in Manchester, on 4 February 1805 and died in Reigate on 3 January 1882. Initially, he studied Law but eventually he decided that his passion was literature. In addition to being linked to Lancashire by birth, Ainsworth's work had earned him the gratitude of all Lancastrians because of the way he incorporated Lancashire legends and characters that are associated with the county.⁸⁹ His first successful novel, *Rockwood*, was published in 1832.⁹⁰ Ainsworth was a popular and prolific English novelist once held in such high regard that many of his contemporaries viewed him as a natural successor to Sir Walter Scott⁹¹. At first, his work was serialised in the Sunday Times in 1848, however, the next year, Ainsworth's work was published as a complete novel by Henry Colburn which consisted of three volumes in 1849⁹² along with a subtitle. The title became *The Lancashire Witches: A Romance of Pendle Forest*. Ainsworth's work was re-issued in 1854 and 1878⁹³, both containing illustrations by John Gilbert, an English Romantic painter and illustrator of literary classics. He is particularly famous for his woodcut illustrations for the works of Shakespeare which

⁸⁷ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancashire*, (Lancaster, 2011), p. 71.

⁸⁸ Jeffrey Richards, 'The Lancashire Novelist and the Lancashire Witches', in Robert Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 166-170.

⁸⁹ Jeffrey Richards, 'The Lancashire Novelist and the Lancashire Witches', in Robert Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*, p. 167.

⁹⁰ <http://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Harrison-Ainsworth>, accessed 04 October 2014.

Note: Ainsworth's other novels include *The Tower of London* (1840), *Old St. Paul's, a Tale of the Plague and the Fire* (1841), and *Windsor Castle: An Historical Romance* (1843). He published forty novels.

⁹¹ Steven James Carver, *The Life and Adventures of the Lancashire Novelist* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), <https://eastanglia.academia.edu/StephenCarver>, accessed 15 August 2015.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Jeffrey Richards, 'The Lancashire Novelist and the Lancashire Witches', in Robert Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*, pp. 168-9.

were published by Routledge Publishing Company⁹⁴. Ainsworth wrote his best-selling novel at a time when interest in the occult was growing and this is probably why his book has stayed in print.⁹⁵ Another reason why his book never went out of print is probably because of peoples' interest in the Lancashire witches and the way he reworked Potts's records.⁹⁶ Crossley probably provided Ainsworth with source material. Ainsworth researched the Lancashire witch trials between 1846 and 1847 and visited Pendle for inspiration in order to convey the right mood for his readers⁹⁷ and the way he described Pendle Hill reflects this. Considering that he made numerous trips to Pendle while writing his book, he probably lodged there at least part of the time while he was writing novel, which is probably the reason why Ainsworth was able to emphasise rural Lancashire as well as he did in his novel.⁹⁸ Ainsworth probably reignited public interest in the Lancashire witches in the minds of many people not just by writing a book that featured the witches and the 1612 events but also by creating a romance using the picturesque Lancaster landscape that still exists today. In his book, he describes Pendle Hill as a desolate place. In the valleys there were a "few hamlets" and towns, which included only the villages of Clithero, Colne, and Burnley; Pendle Hill was scarcely populated and "dreary was the prospect of all sides", meaning that Pendle Hill was not very bright⁹⁹ which is still the same today after sundown and in the mist.¹⁰⁰

People who are interested in history in general that are fascinated with Pendle Hill would probably not have a lot of difficulty imagining Pendle Hill in 1612, which was an era before electricity and street lights. A significant amount of economic activity came from farming which meant that poverty was an issue and therefore, it would not be difficult to imagine people such as Alizon

⁹⁴ <http://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Gilbert> , accessed 15 October 2015.

⁹⁵ Steven James Carver, *The Life and Adventures of the Lancashire Novelist* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), <https://eastanglia.academia.edu/StephenCarver> .

⁹⁶ Note: The fact that Ainsworth's novel never went out of print suggests that it was popular within literary circles and probably scholars in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

⁹⁷ Jeffrey Richards, 'The Lancashire Novelist and the Lancashire Witches', in Robert Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*, p. 168.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 168.

Note: Ainsworth's novel emphasised the rural background of Pendle and other parts of Lancashire. His frequent visits to Pendle probably inspired him to do this as well as he did.

⁹⁹ Richard H Ainsworth, *The Lancashire Witches: A Romance of Pendle Forest*, Chapter 1 – B.

¹⁰⁰ Personal visit to Pendle Hill, Pendle, January 2015.

begging for simple items. Also, as pictures number one and two, which are portrayed below, indicates Pendle Hill is still largely rural; therefore, little has changed in terms of landscape and Pendle Hill in 1612 would probably have been miserable and desolate and illustrations in Ainsworth's novel captures this likelihood. For example, there are illustrations of isolated landscapes at nightfall and a remote building which is illustrated as Malkin Tower. Isolated homes, buildings and green fields are major aspects of Pendle today and more so at the time of Ainsworth's writing. However, because there were already chap books and Potts's pamphlet in circulation in the 1840s, people were probably already associating Pendle with the events of 1612 and Ainsworth were possible reflecting upon the stereotype that Pendle already had.¹⁰¹ Therefore, Ainsworth obviously knew the reputation that Pendle had and wanted his story to reflect on the landscape and how people viewed the area. Ainsworth's novel has all the elements of a gothic novel here, from misty forests and witches, to romantic characters which would probably satisfy people who enjoy gothic fantasy novels but would not be helpful to historians as Ainsworth's novel was a mixture of antiquarianism and history, all merged together to create a romantic story. However, it also emphasised the natural locations of Pendle thus encouraging people to develop an interest in Pendle Hill as a location particularly linked to the Lancashire witches. Gilbert's illustrations which are featured below can also be linked to the desolate and rural aspects feature that would greatly describe Pendle Hill in 1612 and probably cause one to be tempted to associate parts of Pendle with witches. Some of Gilbert's illustrations suggest that he himself was familiar with Pendle landscape such as picture number three and eight. Picture number three shows rural landscape and water, which is similar to picture number two. Therefore, like Ainsworth, Gilbert probably familiarised himself with Pendle's rural

¹⁰¹ Edgar Peel, *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches: A study of Seventeenth Century Witchcraft* (Nelson, 1985), p. 9.

Robert Poole, *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* p 196.

Note: Edgar Peel referred to Pendle as being known for its "most notorious inhabitants – the Lancashire Witches" when he was mentioning how he had spent the summer of 1954 as Whitehough Camp School, in 1954, which was a summer camp for young people. It was then that he became interested in or as he described as "being under the spell of" the Lancashire witches. This suggests that Pendle has a reputation as being a place for witches or at least connected with the supernatural, considering that it has been claimed that George Fox had a religious experience and a vision on Pendle Hill which started the branching out of the Quaker Movement, according to PBC Pendle Sculpture Trail leaflet. According to Poole, Reverend Kevin Logan says that Pendle Hill "speaks for itself" and described it as a magnet that attracts witchcraft.

atmosphere before he created his illustrations in order to complement Ainsworth's descriptions of Pendle Hill.

Ainsworth incorporated fictional events to create his story, which were based on Potts's records and key people associated with the 1612 events. The story is set in Pendle and takes place in the later part of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. The story begins with Demdike as an infant whose parents were excommunicated for witchcraft. However, years later after she has become elderly, it is revealed that she too, is a witch and imprisons beautiful Alizon at Malkin Tower. Old Chattox is also a character in Ainsworth's book and was portrayed as Demsdike's enemy which was true, according to Potts. As Demdike's enemy, Old Chattox rescues Alizon. Also, Old Chattox's daughter, Anne Redfearne, Thomas Potts, Alice Nutter, Jennet Device, and her brother James are also characters in the story. However, because Ainsworth's story is only based on the actual people involved in Potts's pamphlet, the situation the characters are involved in is different from Potts's records. For example, Alice Nutter is written as an actual witch and Thomas Potts is written and referred to by characters as the "the "little attorney"¹⁰². He is sent to Pendle in order to investigate a land dispute between magistrate Roger Nowell and Alice Nutter. While he is on this mission, he becomes interested in rumours of witchcraft involving Demdike and sets out to make it his business to investigate. Also, another difference between the actual records and Ainsworth's story is that Alizon is portrayed as a beautiful young girl who is envied by her family, including her sister little Jennet. Ainsworth's novel was handled by a number of publishing companies which enabled his book to reach a wide audience and out of forty books that Ainsworth wrote, his book about the Lancashire witches is the only one to remain in print and was his last masterpiece.¹⁰³

Another way in which Ainsworth probably contributed to or reignited public interest in the Lancashire witches is by allowing Gilbert to portray images of the witches that were a part of Ainsworth's story in the third edition. This edition depicted the witches as ugly old women with long noses and wearing pointy hats, black cloaks, and flying on broomsticks, which today would be

¹⁰² Ainsworth, *The Lancashire Witches*, p. 92.

¹⁰³ Jeffrey Richards, 'The Lancashire novelist and the Lancashire witches', in Robert Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 166-167.

considered a stereotypical way of portraying the witches and certainly was not the way the accused were portrayed in Potts's pamphlet.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that Ainsworth's novel was popular at the time when interest in the supernatural was gaining momentum in Britain and Europe¹⁰⁵. As Poole argues, Ainsworth's story about the Lancashire witches and Gilbert's illustrations probably did more to revitalise interest in the Lancashire Witches in the nineteenth century than anyone else, "both in print and on the stage"¹⁰⁶. Ainsworth's book never went out of print, which indicates people were still reading it well into the twentieth century. Lancaster University's History Emeritus Professor Jeffrey Richards explains how Ainsworth significantly contributed to Lancashire literature by writing the *Lancashire Witches* and provides a detailed background to the Lancashire novelist in regards to his other works as well as information relating to his book about the Lancashire witches.¹⁰⁷ Richards' statements about Ainsworth and how he was a significant contributor to the Lancashire literary world due to his novel could suggest that Richards believe that Ainsworth may be similar to Potts in regards to contributing to the public's fascination about the 1612 events. After all, according to Peel and Southern, it is likely that more people read Ainsworth than they did Potts's pamphlet¹⁰⁸ This may mean that more people may have become familiar with the 1612 events through Ainsworth rather than Potts's pamphlet. If that is the case, there is a question regarding Ainsworth's novel being a major source of information if not 'the' source of information albeit in the form of historical fiction, if Thomas Potts's records did not survive the years.

¹⁰⁴ Steven James Carver, *The Life and Adventures of the Lancashire Novelist* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), <https://eastanglia.academia.edu/StephenCarver> .

¹⁰⁵ Owen Davies, *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture 1736-1951* (Manchester 1999), pp. 250-252.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Poole, *The Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), p 76.

¹⁰⁷ Jeffrey Richards, 'The Lancashire novelist and the Lancashire witches', in Robert Poole (ed.), *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), p. 168.

¹⁰⁸ Edgar Peel and Pat Southern, *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches* (Nelson, 1985), page 146.

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Picture One portrays the Pendle Inn and is located in Barely. The inn, which offers meals and accommodation, sits at the bottom of Pendle Hill. Picture Two portrays Pendle Hill. Both pictures portray the rural landscape that probably inspired Ainsworth. Picture two, which was taken in January 2015, indicates that very little has changed since 1612.

Pictures Three and Four are pictures of John Gilbert's illustrations that were later included in Ainsworth's novel. Picture Three depicts the night ride on a witch's broom stick over a rural landscape. Picture Four is Gilbert's portrayal of Malkin Tower.

The twentieth century saw authors such as Lancastrian Robert Neill re-work Potts's pamphlet

¹⁰⁹ Pendle Hill, Photo taken by Todd Bridges, January 2015.

¹¹⁰ The Pendle Inn, Photo taken by Todd Bridges, January 2015.

¹¹¹ <https://gothictexts.wordpress.com/tag/pendle-witches/> , accessed 05 May 2015.

Note: The illustrations are by John Gilbert and were included in the later editions of Ainsworth's novel. The website provides the illustrations that were included.

¹¹² <https://gothictexts.wordpress.com/tag/pendle-witches/> , accessed 05 May 2015.

Note: The illustration of the eerie meeting by Malkin Tower is also included in the website, which provides the illustrations that were included in the later editions of Ainsworth's novel about the Lancashire witches.

and use key people from his pamphlet in order to create a story about the Lancashire witches. Neill had a lot in common with Ainsworth. Like Ainsworth, Neill was born in Manchester, therefore both authors, linked to Lancashire, contributed to shaping people's knowledge by writing a popular fictional book about the 1612 Lancashire witches. Also, like Ainsworth did while writing his novel, Neill also chose to read source material which in this case would be sources relating to the Lancashire witches; the source material was probably Potts's pamphlet. Also, he often visited the sites that he would be writing about¹¹³, therefore, Neill probably travelled to Pendle frequently while writing his book. Therefore, what took place between the nineteenth and twentieth century is that artists who were linked to the county where the 1612 events took place, published books that re-worked Potts's pamphlet and in the process, people became more familiar with the 1612 events by reading the books that these two Lancashire authors had published. Robert Neill's *Mist Over Pendle*, which was published in 1951, did a lot to keep the interest in the 1612 events alive. There is room for argument as to whether the 1612 events inspired Robert Neill to write his book.¹¹⁴ What would give weight to this argument is that Neil dedicated the book "to the dusty memory of Master Thomas Potts".¹¹⁵ When published, it was an immediate, world-wide best –seller and secured Neill's reputation as a novel writer¹¹⁶. Neill's book is set in seventeenth century Lancashire and focuses on a child called Margery who is sent to live with her cousin Roger Nowell, a squire, near the Forest of Pendle who and was also the hero of Neill's story. They investigate a series of murders that may be committed by a coven of witches. Although good defeats evil in Neill's story with Alice Nutter being arrested, Neill's book can be argued as a reflection of how those who were executed in 1612 were viewed by people in the mid-twentieth century. Like Ainsworth's novel, *Mist Over Pendle* portrays the accused as sinister people. However, there is evidence that suggests that peoples' views about the accused have been changing in literary circles since the end of the twenty-first

¹¹³ <http://www.paperbackswap.com/Robert-Neill/author/> , accessed 15 May 2015.

¹¹⁴ The Daily Mail, 22 August 2007, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/holidaytypeshub/article-587121/Bewitched-spell-Pendle.html> , accessed 24 November 2013.

¹¹⁵ Robert Neil, *Mist Over Pendle* (London, 2011), Title Page.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

century because of books that portray those accused as innocent, rather than evil people. Kate Mulholland's book, *A Cry of Innocence* was published in 1990 and is a book that focuses on Alice Nutter. However, Neill's book made a serious impact on people and like Ainsworth's novel, the book has never gone out of print. The book has nine editions and the most recent edition came out in 2011.¹¹⁷ These two books helped keep the story alive for a wide audience, but also created a myth that Pendle Hill was a sinister place. *Mist Over Pendle* is extremely popular with curious people travelling to Pendle Hill. Maureen Stopforth, who runs the Witches Galore shop in Newchurch-in-Pendle says that Neil's book is her best seller today and that it "flies off the shelf".¹¹⁸ Stopforth's statement certainly suggests that Neill's book continues to be read today, thus probably broadening people's interest in the Lancashire witches.¹¹⁹ Ainsworth and Neill re-awakened and widened public awareness of the events of 1612 with their fictional re-workings of the witch-trials. By doing this, they helped to lay the groundwork for the commemorative events of 2012. However, they also helped to create myths about the witches and the Lancashire landscape, thereby adding to the abundance of folklore that circulated around Pendle Hill.¹²⁰ Literary interest in the trials continue, as seen by the 1990 publishing of Mulholland's *A Cry of Innocence*. The most recent fictional reworking of the events of 1612 however, is by renowned author Jeanette Winterson. Her 2012 book *The Daylight Gate*, was published to coincide with the commemorative year. There are also plans by Hammer Films to produce a film adaptation.¹²¹

Popular and Scholarly History

Interest in the Lancashire witches did not disappear after Ainsworth or Neill published their

¹¹⁷ http://www.goodreads.com/author/show/281295.Robert_Neill accessed 24 November 2013.

¹¹⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-17742852>, accessed 24 November 2013.

¹¹⁹ Edgar Peel and Path Southern, *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches* (Nelson, 1969, third ed. 1985), page 146. Note: Peel and Southern explain very few people probably read Potts's pamphlet but many probably read *Mist Over Pendle* and Ainsworth's *The Lancashire Witches*. Even if this is the case, the history of the Lancashire Witches was known as Potts's pamphlet helped broaden the public's knowledge and possibly interest in the 1612 events and after it was published and re-issued in the 1840s, chap books that were distributed amongst the public helped to increase the public's knowledge and interest of the events.

¹²⁰ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches* (Lancaster, 2011), p. 72.

¹²¹ <http://www.jeanettewinterson.com/hammer/>, accessed 03 June 2016.

books.¹²² Between 1957 and 2011, public interest in the Lancashire witches increased significantly, as seen by the amount of literature published which could be classified as popular fiction, popular history, and scholarly material. *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches* by Edgar Peel and Pat Southern can be an example of how public interest in the Lancashire witches were rising in the middle and second half of the twentieth century and can be considered to be the best account of the Lancashire witch trials of 1612, considering it has gone through four editions.¹²³ Edgar Peele became interested in the Lancashire Witches in 1954, after working as a summer school warden at Whitehough Camp School, which is an outdoor education centre. According to Peel, when he worked there, the facility served only boys and girls from Nelson and Colne. These two towns are now part of Pendle Borough Council. Whitehough Camp School is located near Pendle water, which was within a close proximity to Pendle Hill. It was when Peel was working there that he realised that this area is a site closely linked to the Lancashire witch trials of 1612. After realising that summer that he was in an area of England that has long been connected to witches, he decided to find out more about the events of 1612 and became an authority on the Lancashire witches. He gave talks at presentations at Round Tables, Women's Institute, and various other circles.¹²⁴ Shortly after beginning his lecturing about the Lancashire withes, he became acquainted with Pendle native, Pat Southern. Southern notes in the preface to *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches* that she had become interested in the trials after being given an old copy of Ainsworth's *Lancashire Witches* as a young girl, a point which underlines the importance of the Ainsworth novel in re-awakening and widening public interest in the 1612 events. Later, she chose to write a paper with the Lancashire Witches being her subject.¹²⁵ After collaborating and researching the events linked to 1612 which would include Potts, they put together their book which academics and researchers probably relied on before the events of 1612

¹²² John A Clayton, *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook: History and Archaeology* (Hockley, 2011) p. 18.

Note: Historian Frank Hird published stories relating to Lancashire and the Lancashire witches in 1897 when he published *Lancashire Stories*. In this, there is an essay titled *The Lancashire Witches*.

¹²³ Marion Gibson, *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* (London, 2000), p. 175.

¹²⁴ Edgar Peel and Pat Southern, *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches* (Nelson, 1985), p. 9.

¹²⁵ Edgar Peel and Pat Southern, *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches* (Lancashire, 1985), p. 10.

gained the attention of people within academia in the nineties and new millennium. Since 1969, at least three editions have been published. Peel and Southern, while not formally trained scholars, certainly reached a wide audience, thus educating people about the Lancashire witches. Therefore, Peel and Southern contributed to enhancing people's knowledge of Pendle Hill because they told the story of the Pendle witches and by doing this, they shared what motivated them to write and publish what they did and, explain what is happening with the level of interest in this subject.

The Trials of the Lancashire Witches tries to correct misconceptions about what happened in 1612, such as explaining that Alice Nutter's grave is not located at the village of Newchurch. In addition to explaining what happened in 1612, Peel and Southern link the 1612 events to continental influences and how what happened in 1612 was similar to what happened in Europe during the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries where a significant amount of people were accused and executed. Peel and Southern compared the witch trials all over Europe to persecutions of Jewish people by the Nazis; to them, both atrocities can be examples of purification or cleaning. The book also explains the issue of witchcraft in Pendle during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what took place at the 1612 assizes, and features of certain points of interest, such as the Witches Galore shop that is located in Newchurch, and what the dungeon looks like.¹²⁶ Also, Peel and Southern's book emphasises that what happened in Pendle Forest, such as the deaths and misfortune, were natural, and not to be blamed on witchcraft.¹²⁷ Peel and Southern provided the first widely available and scholarly account of what happened in 1612. Like Ainsworth's novel, their book contains fourteen illustrations that link events of 1612 to real places. These illustrations may have even inspired artists in their work for the 2012 commemorations.

¹²⁶ Note: The Witches Galore Shop is a shop located in the village of Newchurch, Pendle. It sells witchcraft-related merchandise and books. There is a shelf that is devoted to Pendle and Lancashire superstition, and novels about the Lancashire witches. Many of the books are scholarly and popular history books about witchcraft and the mysteries of Pendle Hill. Shoppers who subscribe to New Age, Wicca, and Pagan philosophies can purchase tarot cards, crystal balls, crystals, and objet d'art that is linked to the New Age movement. The store is located at 4 Newchurch Village, Newchurch-in-Pendle, Burnley BB12 9JR. Please refer to <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d5IMeQZEDIA> , accessed 03 June 2016.

¹²⁷ Peel and Southern, *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches*, p 103.

In the 1990s, several academic gatherings as well as local historians began focusing on The Lancashire witches and publishing literature. On 23 and 24 April 1999, an event called 'The Lancashire Witches: History, Heritage, and Representation 1612-1999' took place. It was organised by the Centre for North West Regional Studies, Lancaster University, and St Martin's College. The event was attended by several researchers, including Marion Gibson, Johnathan Lumby, Richard Wilson, and Sarah Lee. They gave papers that focused on various aspects of the Lancashire witch trials of 1612. There were also talks about modern witches which were organised and given by Joanne Pearson and Ronald Hutton.¹²⁸ Interest in the Lancashire witches continued into the twenty-first century. Local Historian and landscape archaeologist John Clayton contributed to popular history and raised people's awareness of the Pendle witches by not only becoming a local expert on the Lancashire Witches, but like Peel and Southern, writing books about them and conveying information that avoids sensationalism. He has researched and written several books about his native area of Pendle, including *The Lancashire Witch Conspiracy* in 2007, and *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook 1612-2012: History and Archaeology Fact and Fiction* in 2011 by Barrowford Press. Clayton also acted as an advisor during the production of the BBC documentary, *The Pendle Witch Child* which was a documentary presented by Simon Armitage about Jennet Device's important role in the Lancashire witch trials that took place in the summer of 1612.¹²⁹ Therefore, he has been relied upon by people who were keen to explain the 1612 events as the four-

¹²⁸ Robert Poole, *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), pp. xi-xiii.

Note: There were other events that took place in the 1990s where the Lancashire witch trials were mentioned and discussed, such as the 'New Religion Today' conference that was held at Lancaster University in 1996. It was organised by the Religious Studies department. The focus was on twentieth century paganism and Wicca and involved papers from Ronald Hutton and Joanne Pearson, who are both experts on witchcraft, particularly modern-day witchcraft. Also, in 1998, Marion Gibson and Kirsteen Macpherson, who had worked on Lancashire witch-related material, was asked to take part in the event. In 1995, Jonathan Lumby researched the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 with a specific focus on Jennet Preston's trial. His research was published as *The Lancashire Witch Craze*. Preston's trial and conviction is unique because she was the only accused person linked with the Malkin Tower meeting, to have been executed somewhere other than Lancaster Castle. Preston, being from York, was tried, convicted, and executed there on 27 July 1612

¹²⁹ <https://www.smashwords.com/profile/view/banjisto>, accessed on 03 December 2013. Please also refer to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HaBPQti_Mk, accessed 03 June 2016.

hundredth anniversary of the witch trials approached. Since Clayton is a native of Pendle, an archaeologist and historian, it is quite likely that the events that happened in Pendle 400 years ago would inspire him to research the events that happened near to where he grew up. His 2007 book, he published *The Lancashire Witch Conspiracy (LWC)*, according to Clayton, was designed to be a reference book for scholars due to the amount of information that it contained about the Lancashire witch trials of 1612.¹³⁰ It seeks to clarify events of 1612 as well as convey information about people linked with the witch trials and where those who were tried lived. His 2011 book, titled *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook* was published to appeal to the casual reader or people interested in popular fiction. Like the *LWC*, Clayton explains to the casual reader what happened in 1612 and explores possible causes of the 1612 events, such as the Gun Powder Plot of 1605, land shortages, and religious tensions due to the Henry VIII's English Reformation.¹³¹

By the end of the twentieth century, academic historians started to become more interested in the Pendle witches.¹³² Marion Gibson included the Potts pamphlet in her 2000 collection of English witchcraft pamphlets, while Robert Poole edited *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* in 2002 which was published by Manchester University Press and contains essays from various academic experts that focus on witch-hunting, politics and religion in the area in 1612. This book consists of eleven essays relating to the Lancashire witches based on 'The Lancashire Witches: History, Heritage, and Representation 1612-1999' conference that took place in 1999. The essays were mostly written by scholars including Jeffry Richards, Joanne Pearson, James Sharpe, and Marion Gibson. Each historian provides information relating to one particular aspect of the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 and would be useful to those interested in studying the events of 1612 because a significant amount of essays were written by scholars. The collection includes Richards's essay about Ainsworth entitled 'The Lancashire Novelist'. Also, Pearson's 'Wicca,

¹³¹ John Clayton, *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook: 1612-2012* (Hockley, 2012), pp. 34-52.

¹³² Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancashire* (Lancaster, 2011), pp. 82-83.

Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' is included amongst the eleven essays, which focuses on certain comparisons between the substantial amount of women killed during the Great Witch Hunt which was the period when a significant amount of people were executed for witchcraft in Europe, and the Nazi Holocaust. Pearson explains that women, like those who were executed by the Nazi's can be considered as victims of atrocity or "victimised" persons or a "holocaust against women".¹³³ Pearson also explains the progress that has been made in regards to how Wiccans and Pagans feel about themselves in regards to how they are perceived by the public. According to Pearson, Wiccans and Pagans are feeling more at ease amongst the general public. However, people should not assume that Wiccans or Pagans should feel at ease with everything associated with witches even though they feel comfortable with people knowing they are. Pearson even explained that there have been Wiccans who dislike particular links to the Lancashire Witch Trials such as Lancaster Castle because it has a sense of oppression or associated with imprisonment.¹³⁴ Therefore, it seems that certain Pagans and Wiccans want people to respect Wicca and Paganism, but not associate it with atrocities that are linked with witches. A reason for this could be that if Wicca and Paganism are associated with the witch trials, Wiccans and Pagans will never be able to rid the stereotype that some people have about these groups, which is that they are associated with evil or Satanism. However, Pearson points out that progress still needs to be made because there are people in the twenty-first century who still link Wicca and Paganism or witchcraft in general, to Satanism.¹³⁵

Poole's research was a major asset for those who planned commemorative events for 2012. In addition to the collection of essays already mentioned, Poole published a new edition of Potts's pamphlet in 2011, which was modernized to make it more accessible to modern readers. As we shall

¹³³ Joanne Pearson, 'Wicca, Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), p 192.

¹³⁴ Joanne Pearson, 'Wicca, Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 196-7.

¹³⁵ Joanne Pearson, 'Wicca, Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), p 195.

see in Chapter 3, Poole's research was drawn on by Green Close, one of the key players in the commemorative year. Poole's book not only provides readers with information about the important events of the witch trials that took place, but also provides information about each of the accused. In addition to this, Poole describes how Pendle was often viewed as a place where the belief in magic and witchcraft was widespread. According to Poole, Pendle remained as a place of witchcraft and magic well beyond the summer assizes of 1612 and explained how people attempted and succeeded to raise the devil and people dying due to unusual circumstances. The popularity of the book can be seen in the fact that, according to Carnegie Publishing, 1,400 books were sold between the date of publishing and November 2013.¹³⁶

Scholarly material and popular history enabled the public to gain more information from researchers and people who are familiar with the Pendle area and the Potts pamphlet. The number of books sold and published between the 1950s and 2011 is certainly proof that interest in the Pendle witches was gaining momentum.

Theatre

The British stage was a very good assessor in judging how popular the Lancashire Witches were with the general public. William Harrison Ainsworth and Robert Neil re-awakened public interest with their best-selling novels that never went out of print. However, Richard Shannon's stage-play titled, "Sabbat", premiered in 1995 and played again in 2009. This is evidence that people maintained a significant level of interest in the Pendle Witches. In Richard Shannon's play, the focus was on Roger Nowell and his wife. What made Richard Shannon write his play was his desire to find a story about a "miscarriage of justice"¹³⁷. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, people, particularly in literary circles such as Shannon and Mulholland,¹³⁸ began portraying the accused as victims instead of evil people. Richard Shannon knew about Potts and it made an impression on him when

¹³⁶ Marilyn Kenyon, email, Carnegie Publishing Company, marilyn@carnegiepublishing.com, accessed 30 September 2014.

¹³⁷ Richard Shannon, *Sabbat*, (London, 2012).

¹³⁸ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Kate Mulholland wrote a book about Alice Nutter, which is called a *Cry of Innocence*. Mulholland's book was published in 1990.

he first opened up Potts' book in the British Library and it is worth noting that the witches in his play are presented in way that should make one feel that they themselves are the innocent ones.¹³⁹

Shannon's play was presented at the Tristram Bates Theatre in London in 1995 and did well. After 1995, production went quiet because Shannon really didn't have the time that was needed to develop the play further, until 2008 when it was presented again in January 2009 and ran over its production run.¹⁴⁰

Television

Television also played on, and helped increased people's fascination about Pendle and Lancashire Witches. In 1977, the BBC produced and transmitted *The Witches of Pendle*, which was written by Barry Collins and produced by Anthea Browne-Wilkinson¹⁴¹ and was a dramatization of the witch trials of 1612. Although this teleplay was never released on DVD, it does however prove that production companies and media outlets such as the BBC were starting to become interested in the Lancashire witches. In 1987 the BBC produced a documentary entitled *Lucifer Over Pendle*, which was about perceptions certain people had about Pendle Hill. The programme focused on Reverend Kevin Logan, who was then Reverend at the now defunct St John's Church in Great Harwood. Reverend Logan described Pendle Hill as a "magnet which draws witchcraft to it".¹⁴² The documentary was broadcasted at a time when satanic abuse was a major issue for the media because causes of alleged abuse that were linked to alleged Satanism were at a high,¹⁴³ particularly in northern England. This programme aired in response to what was perceived to be a crisis due to the number of alleged abuse cases. The documentary was the work of Paweł Pawlikowski, who was then a documentary- maker for the BBC. What the BBC did was transmit the mystery and fear that

¹³⁹ Richard Shannon, *Sabbat*, (London, 2012).

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0400945/>
accessed on 25 November 2013.

¹⁴² Joanne Pearson, 'Wicca, Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), p. 196.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

Note: In the late 1980s, a substantial number of children were removed from their homes due to alleged abuse that was linked with Satanism. Please refer to:

<http://www.users.globalnet.co.uk/~dlheb/jetrepot.htm> , accessed 17 July 2015.

many people have had about Pendle Hill for several years to a national audience. Logan also claimed that there were actual covens in the Pendle area. However, Pawlikowski's documentary can be considered as negative publicity for the area because Logan's comments on the programme suggested that there was a link between Pendle Hill, the Lancashire witch trials, satanic abuse, and witchcraft. It can be argued that the comments were unnecessary because the documentary was not about the events of 1612. Several attempts were made to purify Pendle Hill. For example, one year before the documentary was aired, there was an attempt by Logan to place a 20 foot cross on Pendle Hill on the eve of All Saints in order to "purify" the hillside and surrounding area but this was rejected by local authorities.¹⁴⁴

Reverend Kevin Logan



By 2004, enough people knew about Pendle Hill for the *Most Haunted* series to investigate Pendle. *Most Haunted* was a British series about paranormal investigations into haunted locations such as houses, battlefields, and castles. They used psychic mediums and scientific equipment. It began showing on the "Living" channel which is now called the "Really" channel on SKY and Freeview in 2002 and consisted of seventeen series. The crew of *Most Haunted* which included Yvette Fielding and Paul Ross, travelled to Pendle Hill and filmed for three days, beginning on the 29 October 2004 to 1 November, 2004. The production crew investigate famous haunted places and considering the filmed in October, the production crew wanted to do this in order to celebrate Halloween. Since this was a live television show, a studio for 200 people was created at St Mary's

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ <https://yourspiritualquest.wordpress.com/2012/12/29/lauras-chapter-in-new-book-by-jeff-harshbarger-2/> accessed 01 November 2015.

Centre in Clitheroe. They investigated areas that were believed to be visited by the spirits of Demdike and Chattox. The reason for the investigation was to answer the questions of whether or not these women had supernatural powers or had been executed because of paranoia that got out of control due to the witchcraft laws of the time¹⁴⁶. It was reported that 13 million people logged showing¹⁴⁷. There were also reports of crew members feeling strangled and that ghosts were trying to communicate with them¹⁴⁸. Although the programme may not have convinced everyone that spirits of the dead were lurking in the darkness at Pendle Hill, it did prove, according to the amount of people watching the show, that there are a lot of people interested in Pendle Hill due to being curious as to whether Pendle is haunted.

However, although the hauntings are a myth, the programme could very well have fascinated people who are interested in local and national history to want to research the events of 1612 and find out what really did happen in that year. In 2011, just one year before the commemorative period, the BBC produced a documentary called *The Pendle Witch Child*. Due to the time date of the release, the documentary was probably filmed in order to mark the approaching anniversary of the witch trials. It was televised on 11 August 2011 and was presented by Simon Armitage, who is an English playwright, poet, and novelist.¹⁴⁹ Armitage explained the events leading up to the 1612 summer assizes and emphasised how Jennet Device's words at the 1612 assizes influenced the court and condemned several people to death.¹⁵⁰ While Armitage is explaining what happened in 1612 and how Jennet was a star witness at the summer assizes, viewers will be able to see an animated Jennet Device showing throughout the documentary where the assizes are being discussed. The media presented the public with Pendle locations which is something that books were not able to

¹⁴⁶ *The Clitheroe Advertiser and Times*, 05 Friday, 2004,
<http://www.clitheroeadvertiser.co.uk/news/most-haunted-crew-has-a-spooky-visit-to-pendle-1-1702182>,
accessed 01 November 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Note: Armitage wrote two novels called *The Green Man* and *The White Stuff*, both in the early 2000s. In addition to his novels, he is also a poet and wrote several poems including *The Killing Time*.

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.phoeboswell.com/page21.htm>, accessed 05 June 2015

do. The documentary remains available for the public to see on YouTube.¹⁵¹ This documentary was a different take on the events of 1612 which showcased the involvement of children. This programme could also be seen as a link between art studio Green Close's concerns about child-witches in present-day Africa.



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Simon Armitage narrated *The Pendle Witch Child*, which aired on 11 August 2011.

Modern –day witches and neo-pagans

There is evidence that suggests that towards the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the new millennium, new feelings of sympathy towards the Lancashire witches and modern witches in general, were developing. This changing tide of opinion had the immensely important consequence in Lancashire. In 2004, an event called the Pendle Witch Camp began. The PWC, which is managed by Adrian Lord, is an annual event for Pagans and Wiccans in which they celebrate the summer solstice. The camp is open to witches and non-witches. The camp provides activities, camping facilities, food and merchandise stalls, and sometimes holds Wiccan marriages. There are also guest speakers who give talks about topics relating to modern-day witchcraft. The PWC always meets in Pendle, probably because Pendle is linked with witches due to the accusations. In 2013 and 2014, the PWC met in Trawdon, Pendle, which is a village that faces Pendle Hill. Also, the placing of a plaque on the outside wall of The Golden Lion Pub in Lancaster, commemorated the men and women who lost their lives in the witch-trials of 1612. The plaque was placed by the North West Pagan Federation in 2001. The Golden Lion Pub is rumoured to have been the last stop of the victims before reaching the gallows; here they could take a last drink before being executed. What is so remarkable about what the Pagan Federation did in 2001 was the first attempt to commemorate

¹⁵¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yv-JDUfADiw> , accessed 05 June 2015.

¹⁵² *The Independent*, 23 October 2011,

<http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/reviews/pendle-witch-child-bbc4who-do-you-think-you-are-bbc1celebrity-big-brother-channel-5-2341108.html> , accessed 15 June 2014.

publicly and by name those executed in 1612. The plaque has the names of those executed all ten of those executed at Lancaster Castle except Jennet Preston, who was executed in York. Old Demdike is listed on the plaque because she died in the Lancaster Castle gaol before coming to trial. However, in addition to the plaque symbolising the momentum that has built throughout in the final ten years before the commemorative year in regards to the public being familiar with the Lancashire witches, the plaque itself can be seen as the first time any of the Lancashire witches were commemorated by name, which would not occur again until eleven years later. Not only does the plaque commemorate the event of the Lancashire witch trials, but it also commemorates the Lancashire witches by name, similar to what war memorials often do.¹⁵³ Also, it is probably the first time any of the witches were commemorated by name. The plaque’s inscription concludes with the final words, “in memory of all of those who suffered through prejudice and intolerance”.¹⁵⁴ This last phrase has



It is possible that the north-west Pagan Federation wanted to commemorate “all those who suffered through prejudice and intolerance” because they too were victims of prejudice and intolerance.

¹⁵³ War memorials such as the Vietnam War Memorial stands to pay respect to those who sacrificed their lives while serving the United States. Therefore, the memorials commemorate people who died. The Vietnam Memorial Fund helped to make it possible for certain memorial to be installed, so that the public could remember those who died while in service. For example, The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall is monument is a wall made out granite. It has names of the fallen soldiers, similar to what the North-West Pagan Federation installed in 2001 for the Lancashire witches. However, while those who were executed for witchcraft in 1612 did not die in battle, their lives were cut short, just like those who died in Vietnam. Please refer to <http://www.vvmf.org/memorial> , accessed 17 May 2016.

¹⁵⁴ http://tholeman.blogspot.co.uk/2008_03_01_archive.html , accessed 15 October 2015.

¹⁵⁵ http://tholeman.blogspot.co.uk/2008_03_01_archive.html , accessed 15 October 2015.

significance because not only was early -modern England a time of religion, persecution, and superstition which caused a considerable number of people to be executed throughout this time, but also it symbolises how people have experienced prejudice throughout history. Joanne Pearson, author of *Wicca, Paganism, and History* argues that as many as 60,000 people, many women, could be considered to be a holocaust against women due to so many women being executed during what is known as the Great Witch Hunt.¹⁵⁶ Also, according to Pearson, many people who considered themselves a part of a particular religion, such as Wicca, even after the repeal of the witchcraft law in 1951, feared that having people know they were Wiccan or Pagan because they would be subjected to abuse and discrimination.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, considering that a specific chapter of a national Pagan organisation dedicated the plaque to those who were executed in 1612, the plaque pays tribute to them along with other people including those who consider themselves to be witches and everyone else who were victims of persecution. However, the plaque was put on the Golden Lion pub wall in the same year of the 50th anniversary of the repeal of the witchcraft law of 1736 which was 2001. The repeal was in 1951.¹⁵⁸ The plaque's dedication can be argued as symbolising the rise of the Wiccan or Pagan movement that took place throughout the last half of the twentieth century with Wiccans and Pagans feeling a sense of pride in being witches.¹⁵⁹ As Wiccans and Pagans are becoming open about their religion they are beginning to come to terms with how witches were persecuted in earlier times. They also could be seen as wanting to correct the misconceptions of Paganism and Wiccan being linked to evil and begin associating the witch with goodness and wisdom.¹⁶⁰ As Jacqui Leviston said in her article *The Witches of Pendle* that was published in the Pagan journal *Golden Dawn* to mark the anniversary, "laws have changed considerably since the seventeenth century"¹⁶¹ and as Pearson pointed out, attitudes towards other religions change, as

¹⁵⁶ Joanne Pearson, 'Wicca, Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), p. 192.

¹⁵⁷ Joanne Pearson, 'Wicca, Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), p. 193.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Jacqui Leviston, *The Witches of Pendle*, Golden Dawn Publication, 2001.

well as people's attitudes about who they are. Therefore, the plaque at the Golden Lion Pub could also symbolise this. It is possible that since society began to understand Wicca and Pagans more during the last half of the twentieth century, the need to remember those who were executed for being found guilty of witchcraft such as those in 1612 also deserve more understanding, which would likely build momentum for a commemoration of those executed as witches which the plaque could also be seen as symbolising.

Tourism and Heritage

Tourism and the heritage industry contributed a lot to maintaining the public's fascination with the Lancashire Witches. According to council figures in 2012, interest in the Lancashire Witches brings in eighty-five million pounds to the local economy each year¹⁶². There is evidence to suggest that tourism did more to boost interest than literature or television and create more of a need to commemorate the Pendle Witch trials. Most importantly, Lancashire witch-related tours at Lancaster Castle have been occurring since the nineteenth century. Although they were not featured in early guide books before 1843, Pendle Witch Tours were featured in guide books since the 1880s.¹⁶³ There could be a possible connection between the last edition of Ainsworth's Lancashire Witches of that century, which was 1878 and the beginning of the tours at Lancaster Castle, which started in the 1880s which could indicate that Ainsworth, Potts, and the chap books were indeed causing people to become more fascinated with the story of the Lancashire witches which may have prompted officials at Lancaster Castle to open the castle up for tours so that people could visit one of the last remaining physical links to the Lancashire witch trials of 1612. The more people visited the castle in the nineteenth century, the more knowledge the public in its entirety would have about the Lancashire witches and therefore, expanded into the twentieth century with Neill's 1951 book, and the scholarly and popular fiction research books throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first century. If this is the case, there is certainly a link between the media and the

¹⁶² <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-17742852> , accessed on 03 December 2013.

¹⁶³ Graham Kemp, Assistant Manager at Lancashire Castle, Phone Interview (December 2013).

momentum that was built up during the twentieth century that would eventually lead to a major commemoration of the witch trials of 1612.

Lancaster Castle is where the trials of the Lancashire Witches took place, where they were kept until their trial took place, and where they were executed. One can argue that since the tours have been going on for this length of time, many people would have been educated about the Lancashire Witches or had their curiosity fulfilled by seeing the castle and listening to the tour guides. Today, people who tour the castle are able to see a still- functioning courtroom, hear tales of witchcraft, religious persecution, crime & punishment, and also tour cells and sample what it would be like to be locked in one of the dark prison cells.¹⁶⁴ However, by 2005, Pendle Hill and witches were synonymous because a local bus service that runs from Nelson to Manchester, which is often referred to as Route X43 was renamed “Witches Way” by the Transdev company in August 2005. Each bus had a Pendle Witch on a broomstick painted on the side¹⁶⁵. The naming of a Bus Service after the history of Pendle Hill is proof that people knew the stories of Pendle’s past and knew that the “witch” was the trademark of Pendle Hill.



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The Witch-Way Bus Service as it appeared from 2005 to November 2013. In November 2013, the buses were replaced.

The heritage industry and Lancashire transportation services not only maintain the public’s awareness of Pendle Hill but also educates the curious who want to know more about the Lancashire Witches. Marion Stopforth, who runs the Witches Galore Shop in Newforest-on Pendle,

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.lancastercastle.com/plan-your-visit#tourinformation> , accessed 20 November 2013

¹⁶⁵ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/manchester/4148640.stm> , accessed 20 November 2013.

¹⁶⁶ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/manchester/4148640.stm> , accessed 03 November 2013

says that she gets people visiting from all over the world. Many people often visit while they are walking one of the trails that are linked to the Lancashire witches, or they may have visited after hiking up Pendle Hill. She says that people from Australia, Russia and the United States finds the areas heritage fascinating¹⁶⁷. Maureen Stopforth has been running the shop since 1980 and sells items that are associated with witches, including crystals, plaques, and ornaments. The shop, at the heart of Pendle's witch-themed tourism industry, attracts hundreds of foreign visitors each year ¹⁶⁸. The Burley Citizen Newspaper reported that the shop owners had run the bookshop for 33 years (since 1980) when they did a story about them Halloween 2013.



This is the Witches Galore Shop which is located in Newchurch, Pendle.

Tours, exhibitions, and elements of Dark Tourism which includes ghost walks and ghost hunting are major aspects of the tourist industry in Pendle and have been since 2005, and this brings in people who want to see the ghosts of the Lancashire Witches who were executed as well as hear the dark stories of Pendle's past. Pendle tour guide Neil McDonald has been giving tours around Pendle Hill for nine years. His favourite part of the tour he conducts is the stop at Gisburn Church where a cast iron unmarked grave is thought to be that of Jennet Preston's. It is apparent that McDonald is in the tourist business and enjoys taking people in a mini-bus to various parts of Pendle which are supposed to be connected to hauntings. He is interested in the Lancashire witches and probably began the tours not just to make money, but because he "loves anything to do with cults or anything that is hidden".¹⁷⁰ Neil enjoys doing this because he enjoys anything to do with the unknown. This is

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-17742852> , accessed on 25 November 2013.

¹⁶⁸ *The Lancashire Times*, 31 October 2013, <http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/10776345.display/> accessed 25 November 2013.

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/article-2179419/Pendle-witches-Walking-witches-centuries-Lancashires-landscape-lost-souls.html> , accessed 03 October 2013.

¹⁷⁰ *BBC News*, 18 August 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-17742852> , accessed 11 June 2014.

yet more proof that witches and the unknown is part of Pendle Heritage and people such as Neil McDonald and Maureen Stopforth are proud to admit this.¹⁷¹ However, people become educated and in many cases, want to increase their knowledge of various topics such as the Pendle Witches through these tours. It can however be argued that the fascination of the Lancashire witches that has developed through the heritage industry, literature, and the media is what caused people to begin thinking of those accused as people instead of witches. According to one modern-day witch who was interviewed by Joanne Pearson, she was fascinated that people were interested in the Lancashire witches. However, according to Pearson, she was not pleased with dummies being dressed and decorated as witches¹⁷², which as of January 2015, continued to sit outside the Witches Galore Shop. She also referred to the shop as being stocked with 'ridiculous novels like *Mist Over Pendle*¹⁷³, which suggests that she, along with other modern-day witches, are not happy that those linked with the tourist industry often sensationalise the events of 1612.

Interest in the Lancashire witches developed from several factors including popular fiction, scholarly journals and research, the media, and tours. Not only have these different methods contributed to the public's knowledge of the Lancashire witches, but also built up the momentum for the commemorative year of 2012. As more people became educated of the 1612 events and as society became more tolerant; people began to realise that those who were executed in 1612 were not the stereotypical witches, but human beings that needed to be commemorated as such.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Note: Maureen Stepforth owns and manages the popular Witches Galore shop in Newchurch, Pendle.

¹⁷² Joanne Pearson, 'Wicca, Paganism, and History: Contemporary Witchcraft and the Lancashire Witches' in Robert Poole (ed.) *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 198-199.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ There are different reasons or theories about why witches have become more humanised in society. It is possible to argue that society in North America and Europe are more tolerant towards many subjects that were once considered to be taboo. Regarding witches becoming more humanised in society, it is possible that certain phenomena that took place in the 1950s and 1960s enabled people to become more aware of different cultures, including Wicca and Paganism as people pushed for civil rights. According to Dr Sarah M Pike at the University of California, there was also the interest in UFOs that started in the late 1940s and continued through the 1950s. Also, during the 1960s and 1970s, a lot of people embraced the New Age Movement. These movements and interests probably exposed people to different cultures or at least, allowed them to become more aware of different religions and spiritual movements. Throughout time, people became more tolerant. Please refer to Sarah M Pike, *New Age and Neo Pagan Religions in America*, (NY, 2004), pp. 67-88.

Chapter Three

Planning the events of 2012: key organisations and people

“The aim of the sculpture is to commemorate the leaving of Alice to Lancaster and to raise awareness of the true story of the witches. I hope people will enjoy sitting next to her.”

**Councillor James Starkie, *Statue Commission (2011)*,
http://www.creativelancashire.org/uploads/statue_commission.pdf , accessed 05 March 2014.¹⁷⁵**

This chapter will identify the key people who were responsible for planning and implementing commemorative events that paid tribute to the 1612 Lancashire witches. This chapter will also explain how key people and organisations were able to acquire the financial backing and sponsorship that was needed in order for commemorative events to take place in 2012.

By late 2010, there were people throughout Lancashire who began showing an interest in marking the year 2012 as a special anniversary year where commemorative events would take place that would pay tribute to those who were executed in August 1612 after being found guilty of witchcraft. By January 2011, the Lancashire and Blackpool Tourist Board (LBTB) had announced that the year 2012 was going to be a “record year”, because by that time, the 400th anniversary of the witch trials were “raising the area’s national profile and has already prompted interest from some of the country’s leading edge businesses, as they look for venues which are different and inspiring”.¹⁷⁶ In the spring of 2011 the Ribble Valley Borough Council Tourism & Arts Officer invited organisations and event organisers to get involved and start thinking about how a programme of commemorative

¹⁷⁵ Alice Nutter Statue Commission, 2011, (Roughlee Parish Council), pp. 1-5,
http://www.creativelancashire.org/uploads/statue_commission.pdf.

¹⁷⁶ <http://www.lancashireandblackpoolconference.com/latest-news/2011/1/31/lancashire-and-blackpool-will-bewitch-the-business-visitor-in-2012-a1283>
accessed 25 June 2015.

events could be developed for 2012¹⁷⁷. This invitation was available to anyone interested in commemorating the Lancashire witches and boosting tourism and indicated the likelihood of key players such as Philippe Handford, David Grant of Moorhouse's Brewery, and key officials from Lancaster County and Pendle Borough Councils accepting the invitation.

Lancashire County Council

By June 2011, a Lancashire County Council-led marketing group had been formed to co-ordinate the marketing activity for the anniversary year, with regular meetings with businesses planned for 2012.¹⁷⁸ The idea was to meet with various organisations and people to find out how the anniversary could be marketed to attract people to the area. They collaborated with people and organisations who were likely to become sponsors of commemorative events. LCC was interested in not only commemorating the Lancashire witch trials, but also bringing in tourism and generating revenue by paying tribute to the Lancashire witches. LCC was a key player in the planning and implementing of the 2012 commemorative events. At the time of the planning that took place throughout 2011 and 2012, LCC had departments that were responsible for different sectors of public interests, such as Art and Development, Education, and Business and Development. The Lancashire Arts and Development division of LCC provided funding that went towards organisations that were keen to pay tribute to the Lancashire witches such as Green Close Studios who were awarded £7,500 by the Lancashire Arts Develop Team.¹⁷⁹ Other county agencies such as the Lancashire Environmental Agency (LEA) and Lancashire Arts Council (LAC) assisted independent agencies who planned commemorative events.¹⁸⁰ LCC also worked with the Duchy of Lancaster to

¹⁷⁷ https://www.ribblevalley.gov.uk/download/meetings/id/2964/general_report_-24_may_2011
accessed 25 June 2015.

¹⁷⁸ Report to community services committee, 2011, (Ribble Valley Borough Council), p. 3.
https://www.ribblevalley.gov.uk/download/meetings/id/2964/general_report_-24_may_2011

¹⁷⁹ Lancashire Arts Development annual report, 2012-13 (Lancashire County Council), p. 7.
<http://www.equity.org.uk/branches/north-lancashire-cumbria-general-branch/documents/lancashire-arts-development-team-annual-report-201213/>

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.lancenvfund.org.uk/gci-bin/download.cgi>

Note: This is an attached report that shows how much the Lancashire County Council contributed to major organisers and their planned projects, such as the Green Close studios. Green Close studios planned three major commemorative events that made up the Lancashire Witches 400 project. Green Close received £40,000 from the Lancashire Environmental Fund.

organise events at Lancaster Castle. In 2012, it was arranged for the dungeons of Lancaster Castle to be opened up to the public in August 2012 on certain days after being closed for nearly fifty years.¹⁸¹



¹⁸² **The Lancaster Castle dungeon**

Organisations and people gave various reasons for their interest and desire to involve themselves with the commemorative events. According to Lancaster Castle Museum curator Colin Penny, this was “such an important event in the county. How could it not be commemorated?”¹⁸³

Pendle Borough Council (PBC)

PBC contributed to the 2012 commemorative year in a significant way. In 2013, Mike Williams, Tourism Team Leader for PBC claimed that the borough spent close to £16,000 on planning commemorative events of 2012.¹⁸⁴ PBC collaborated with several people, who lived in or

¹⁸¹ http://www.lancastercastle.com/html/news/default_item.php?id=95 , accessed 18 March 2014.

¹⁸² <http://lancashirewitchcraftnewsandviews.blogspot.co.uk/> , accessed 15 March 2014.

¹⁸³ Phone Interview with Colin Penny, Lancaster Museum Curator (July 2013).

¹⁸⁴ Email from Mr Michael Williams, Tourist Team Leader for Pendle Borough Council, michael.williams@pendle.gov.uk .

According to Mr Williams, the £16,000 that PBC invested went towards guest-speakers, witch-walks, a concert that took place in Barley on the 18th August 2012 and the Pendle Sculpture Trail.

near Pendle, and also with local artists and parish councillors.

Commissioning the Pendle Sculpture Trail was the main way in which PBC marked the four-hundredth anniversary of the witch trials. Local artist Philippe Handford came up with the idea for a natural sculpture trail back in 2010 and travelled to Pendle several times with a view to creating a natural sculpture trail.¹⁸⁵ The approaching anniversary of the Lancashire witch trials gave him that opportunity.¹⁸⁶ Mike Williams, who worked for a council that already had commemorations plans was aware of Handford's enthusiasm for Pendle and asked him if whether he would be interested in creating a permanent walking trail in the Pendle area to commemorate the witch trials. The two initiators came to the conclusion that there needed to be additional attractions that would appeal to both residents and visitors so they decided to incorporate a "Lancashire witch-related" theme into the plans of a new walking trail to give people another opportunity to explore the natural beauty of Pendle and celebrate the local history of Pendle while at the same time, mark the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire witch trials.¹⁸⁷ During the first half of 2011, a survey of potential "end users" was conducted which indicated that "from a sample of 135 people, 93% surveyed said that they would visit the trail, and 76% would take their children".¹⁸⁸ In light of these results Handford and Williams collaborated with Mid Pennine Arts (MPA), an independent art commissioning agency that promotes rural-related art throughout Lancashire, and Pendle Leisure Trust's (PLT) Arts officer, Kirsty Rose, in order to discuss what sculptures would appeal to the general public while at the same time, commemorate the Lancashire witches.¹⁸⁹ It was decided that one of the pieces that would be placed on the trail would be a "criss-cross archway made up of sections of tree trunk". Another artist

¹⁸⁵ The Pendle Sculpture Trail leaflet, Pendle Borough Council.

¹⁸⁶ <http://www.artsmap.org.uk/public-arts/public-art/Pendle-Sculpture-Trail> , accessed 12 March 2014.

¹⁸⁷ Report from: Regeneration Services/ Regeneration Manager, 2011, (Pendle Borough Council), pp. 1-3.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Note: The PLT was involved in promoting leisure and art-related activities throughout the Pendle Borough area. By collaborating with the MPA and the (PLT), the two organisations were able to advise Handford and other supporters about the different pieces of artwork that were to be incorporated into the sculpture trail from various local artists.

would make animals sit in the trees, such as bats, along with a number of individual ceramic plaques attached to tree trunks each representing one of the ten people executed in 1612.¹⁹⁰ Although there was collaboration between Handford, PBC, and other organisations, Handford appeared to be in charge of the artwork. A memo was sent out to local artists about what was to be placed on the sculpture trail. Local artists submitted work to a panel that then chose the best sculptures. As the location of the trail was to be at Aitken Wood, the panel would consist of the owner of Aitken Woods which is United Utilities as well as Handford, PBC, MPA, and the PLT.¹⁹¹ After works were submitted to the panel, the sculptures of Sarah McDade, Steve Blaylock, and Martyn Bednarczuck were chosen for the trail.

By 23 June 2011, Aitken Wood was selected as the most desirable location for the sculpture trail, which is owned by United Utilities, a water company that is based in Warrington, England.¹⁹² This particular site was chosen because of its close proximity to Barley and other surrounding villages. The collaborators envisioned that being so close to the existing visitor infrastructure of Barley would help the local economy of Barley and increase the number of visitors to this particular area. By attracting visitors to this area, it was hoped that they would visit other areas of Pendle as well.¹⁹³

The team of artists who were responsible for creating the sculptures at the Pendle Sculpture Trail had several things in common, which is what probably enabled them to be chosen by the panel made up of the PBC backers. First, they were considered talented local artists who came from the north-western region of England whose art work is well known in that particular region.¹⁹⁴ Philippe

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Note: Pendle Arts Officer Kirsty Rose was involved in getting local businesses together across Pendle and throughout Lancashire, so that ideas for commemorating the Lancashire witch trials could be developed and planned. The "Visit Pendle" website also explained the role that Mid-Pennine Arts and Kirsty Rose had in the sculpture trail. Please refer to <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/10/24/new-sculpture-trail-for-pendle-a60>, accessed 15 June 2015.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ http://www.handforddesign.co.uk/sculpture_commissions.html, accessed 14 August 2014.

Note: Sarah McDade has her own studios and has been providing well-known quality ceramic pieces for over twenty years. Her work has been on exhibits in studios and galleries throughout the UK which is what likely enabled her to have her work chosen for the sculpture trail. She and Philippe Handford have a lot in

Handford is from Colne, Lancashire and owns 'Handford Design', where he specialises in building products made from natural ingredients. He enjoys using natural made ingredients to make made products such as furniture and to create designs. Since graduating with a degree in design in 1982, Philippe has considerable experience with design and making sculptures and furniture. He designs a simple product that arouses the imagination that includes working with what nature provides, such as twigs and trees.¹⁹⁵ Second, these artists either used natural material to make their sculptures or the sculptures were attached to natural features of Aitken Wood; for example, McDade fastened her ceramic plaques to tree stumps.¹⁹⁶ By June 2011, Williams, Handford, PAO, and the MPA calculated the cost of the entire project, which was £39,450, therefore, they needed to investigate sources of funding.¹⁹⁷ PBC had already set aside £16,000 for commemorative activities which meant that a portion of the amount allotted by PBC was not going to cover the entire cost of the project. On 23 June 2011, Williams prepared a report to planning officials at PBC which requested that planning officials "support the development of the Pendle Sculpture Trail subject to finance being in place".¹⁹⁸ Throughout 2012, Handford and his team were busy installing art work for the opening of the sculpture trail.

Not only did Handford respond to PBC's invitation to create a trail to mark the anniversary of the witch trials, he was also commissioned halfway through 2011 by PBC to decorate Pendle Hill with

common in regards to creativity because they are both known for the garden sculptures. Sarah has been commissioned to work on educational projects with all ages and often leads workshops. Refer to <http://sarahmcdade.co.uk/educational%20projects.html> , accessed 14 August 2014.

Steve Blaylock owns Creative Solutions in Harrogate, Yorkshire. Steve's speciality is working with metal. He has created butterflies and birds that are made of metal. In addition to this, he has also produced metal leaves for trees. This sculpture was sold and is now at Westminster which means that Steve's work is often purchased from people all around the country. Refer to <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Metallic-Creations-from-the-hands-of-Steve-Blaylock/268027476548613> http://creationsculpture.co.uk/?page_id=62 , accessed 14 August 2014.

Martyn Bednarczuk is now one of the world's leading wildlife carvers. His reputation as an outstanding wildlife carver may have enabled him to join Handford's team of artists for the sculpture trail. He has been commissioned to create sculptures for public, private, and corporate art collections. Refer to <http://www.martynbednarczuk.co.uk/gallery.html> , accessed 15 June 2015.

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Report from: Regeneration Services/ Regeneration Manager, 2011, (Pendle Borough Council), pp. 1-3.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

the numerals 1612 to mark the actual year that the witch trials took place.¹⁹⁹ In this second project, Handford explained to PBC that he wanted the numerals to be 500 feet high and 1,400 feet long, using white paint.²⁰⁰ The project would cost PBC approximately £1,500²⁰¹, which they were initially willing to spend since they had commissioned Handford in the first place. In addition to the £1,500 that PBC would have to pay for the project, Handford had applied for and received £3,000 grant from the Arts Council of England (ACE). This was awarded to Handford for the sole purpose of the Pendle Hill installation and he received the funding on 13 March 2012.²⁰² Although PBC was going to pay for the installation, it is likely that Handford needed the extra money from the ACE for supplies, considering the amount of paint that would be needed. The numerals were going to be large enough to be seen by people from a distance. However, before Handford could proceed with his plans to, he had to consult a significant number of people, including the Landowners' Association which was keen to see that Pendle Hill retain its natural beauty. Handford explained that he "couldn't plant anything on the hill, couldn't burn the header on the grass, couldn't import or move any stone, dig, and couldn't put up fencing".²⁰³ After Handford discussed his ideas with the landowners, he had to convince Natural England, which is a government agency that helps protect the natural environment of England, that the paint he planned to use would not have any negative effects on Pendle Hill therefore; to this end he tested three large squares.²⁰⁴ This special test alleviated any fears that Natural England had about possible damage on the hillside.

Handford had to get his project approved by the Barrowford and Western Parishes Committee as

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Philippe Handford, May 2013.

²⁰⁰ Universal Life Church Ministries, 'Why did a British town snub a "Witch-hunt" art project?' , *Universal Life Church Ministries*, (11 June 2012), <http://www.themonastery.org/blog/2012/06/why-did-a-british-town-snub-a-witch-hunt-art-project/> , accessed 20 November 2014.

²⁰¹ *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 9 June 2012, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/9752799.Artist_who_wanted_to_paint_1612_on_Pendle_Hill_slams_critics/ accessed 06 July 2015.

²⁰² <http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk/SearchResults.aspx?LA=Pendle> , accessed 07 July 2014.

²⁰³ Interview with Philippe Handford, May 2013.

Note: The Landowners association consists of people who own land on and around Pendle Hill.

²⁰⁴ Interview with Philippe Handford, May 2013.

Pendle Hill is considered to be “access land” and common land.²⁰⁵ However, this committee rejected Handford’s plans when they met on 10 May 2012.²⁰⁶ There were officials who believed the installation was not necessary.²⁰⁷ There was also opposition from church officials.²⁰⁸ After PBC saw the plans rejected by planning officials, it had no alternative but to shelve the idea because they could not fund it if did not pass the planning stage. Handford continued to search for ways to install the historic numerals on the Pendle hillside. At the initial stage of planning for commemorative events throughout the county and district Hanford. This is where he met the manager of the local Moorhouse’s Brewery, David Grant,²⁰⁹ who agreed to sponsor Philippe’s project after council backing was withdrawn. Moorhouses Brewery wanted to get involved because it has a tradition of pride in Lancashire history and of association with the Lancashire witches; one of its three pubs, situated in Manchester, is called The Pendle Witch²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ http://www.openaccess.naturalengland.org.uk/wps/portal/oasys/maps/MapSearch/!ut/p/c/04_SB8K8xLLM9MSSzPy8xBz9CP0os3gfdwMzDyNnA0v_kCBXA08DT38XHy9PQ38DE688Fm8AQ7gaEBAt5d-VHpfOfhLQnnCQzWbxZu4-FoZO_gaWBoF-FpaeFuYmRo4e3eYGxYQeTw2-Xnk56bgF-RGVAYHpCsCAJvk31w!//d3/d3/LOlDU0IKSmDrS0NsRUpD23BSQ1NBL29Ob2dBRUIRaGpFS0IRQUJHY1p3aklDa3FTaFNOQKFOYUeHIS80QzFIOVdfTnlwZ0RFU1p1SJEVRNaTUpRaUlrZmchIS83X0xHMDZIMkMwOU9UUKUwSTBJTORMSkxT0cOL1M2aGVnOTg0MzAwMDIvaWJlLmludl8yOTc1MTAxNzcyNzVvamF2YXguc2VydmlxdC5pbmNsdWRlLnBhdGhfaW5mby8lMGpzCUwT3BlbkFjY2VzcyUwTWFWU2VhcmNoLmpzcA!/ , accessed 20 May 2014.

Note: The link above indicates that Pendle Hill and areas that surround the hill are considered to be ‘access land’. Access land is land that is accessible to walkers, runners, and people watching wildlife. Pendle Hill is also classified as common land, where one landowner owns the land but surrounding farmers have the right to graze their animals on the hillside. However, anything that could leave a permanent mark would not be allowed on the lands, which includes camping. This is why Natural England was very concerned about the Pendle Hill art installation. Philippe had to test the paint that was going to be used before Natural England would allow Philippe to install the numerals.

²⁰⁶ *BBC News*, 11 May 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-18034300> , accessed 15 May 2014.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Please refer to chapter 4, which explains the attitudes that certain officials had towards Philippe’s plans.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Please refer to chapter 4, which explains the attitudes certain people within the religious community had towards the installation.

²⁰⁹ The Moorhouses’s Brewery company is located in Burnley and has existed as a key Lancashire industry and business since 1865.

Although this will be discussed in chapter 4, the council originally agreed to allow environmentally-friendly grass paint on the hillside. However, the council went back on their word and said that no paint could be used and because of this, Mr Handford agreed to peg the site out and use farmyard plastics to show the 1612 artwork. The numerals were only visible for a couple of days rather than the original plan of painted grass which would have been visible for up to three weeks.

²¹⁰ <http://www.moorhouses.co.uk/site/info/contact-information/> , accessed 06 May 2015.

The brewery expresses a tremendous amount of pride in Lancashire history and often associates itself with the Lancashire witches. It started as family business and still maintains the original business ethos that were created over a century ago. Currently, the brewery has three pubs, one which is called “The Pendle Witch” and is located in North Manchester. Involvement in the project was presumably also viewed as an opportunity to generate commercially beneficial publicity for the brewery.

PBC also commissioned a statue of Alice Nutter in 2011. She was one of the accused from Pendle who was executed in 1612. The statue was erected near Roughlee, where it was believed that Alice lived before her execution. A statue commission report was prepared by Councillor James Starkie as Roughlee Parish Councillor and PBC councillor, which he delivered to PBC in the summer of 2011. It stated that the commissioning value of the statue would be between £7000-£10000, which would include “all artist time, travel, and materials for the sculpture and delivery of the community engagement plan”.²¹¹ The proposals were then submitted to the Barrowford and Western Parishes Committee in July 2011 by Mike Williams, Tourist Team Leader, after he had read the commissioning report, and requested £4,000 for the statue.²¹² The funds were allotted on 7 July 2011.²¹³ However, the statue still had to be designed;²¹⁴ it was up to Roughlee Parish to design the statue and appoint a potential artist.

Although this was collaboration between PBC and Roughlee Parish, the actual decisions about planning, location, and designs were left up to Roughlee Parish. The commissioning report by Starkie indicated that plans needed to be in place to allow the residents the chance to discuss and to tender for the opportunity to come up with the best idea for the statue. The report also specified that it had to be something that people could engage with. For example, it stated that the statue must be something that visitors could identify with. It also had to incorporate somewhere to sit and to celebrate humanity. It also needed to portray Alice as a village resident of 1612, who was treated unfairly and unjustly.²¹⁵ The report explained that “Roughlee Parish Council working with the residents of Roughlee wish to commission a sculpture of Alice, the gentlewoman” which suggests

²¹¹ Alice Nutter Statue Commission, 2011, (Roughlee Parish Council), pp. 1-5,

http://www.creativelancashire.org/uploads/statue_commission.pdf.

²¹² Report: Regeneration Services / Engineering and Special Projects Manager, 2011, (Pendle Borough Council), p. 24.

²¹³ Council Minutes, 2011, (Barrowford and Western Parishes Committee/Pendle Borough Council) 2011, p. 3.

²¹⁴ *The Lancashire Telegraph (online)*, 16 November 2011.

http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/pendle/blacko/9366111.Statue_plan_for_Pendle_witch_Alice_Nutter/, accessed 05 May 2015.

²¹⁵ James L Starkie, Statue Commission: Alice Nutter, A Gentlewoman of Roughlee (Nelson, 2011), pp. 1-5. http://www.creativelancashire.org/uploads/statue_commission.pdf.

that this was a mutual agreement that residents and the council had about the statue, since they were “working” together.²¹⁶ According to Starkie, the vision was to “create a lasting memorial to a past resident of the village. It will depict her sitting down and people will be able to rest on benches by her side.” This was the idea that the people of Roughlee had.²¹⁷ After the villagers knew what they wanted, it was time to select an artist who could take on the task of memorialising Alice Nutter and satisfying the wishes that both the residents and council mutually had, as suggested by the commissioning report.²¹⁸

After the residents of Roughlee had submitted their ideas about the design of the statue, local artists had the opportunity to tender designs that best fitted the residents’ aims. The commissioning report gave potential artists until 30 November 2011 to tender designs. The artists needed to have created permanent outdoor artworks previously, submit five images of recent work, and a CV with an application letter. The application letter had to include details of relevant experience, a concept for the artwork, and a community engagement plan.²¹⁹ The best artist to erect the statue was selected from a panel consisting of James Starkie, Kirsty Rose, the Pendle Arts Development Manager, Pendle Leisure Trust, Cathy Hopley, Development and Funding Officer of the Forest of Bowland Area of Natural Beauty (AONB), and Kate Mulholland, local Historian and author from Pendle.²²⁰ The Alice Nutter project was approved in the summer of 2011 but it was not until November that Roughlee Parish and PBC had the funding that they required. The rest of the

²¹⁶ *ibid.*

²¹⁷ *The Lancashire Telegraph (online)*, 16 November 2011.
http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/pendle/blacko/9366111.Statue_plan_for_Pendle_witch_Alice_Nutter/,
15 May 2015.

²¹⁸ James L Starkie, *Statue Commission: Alice Nutter, A Gentlewoman of Roughlee* (Nelson, 2011), pp. 1-5.
http://www.creativelancashire.org/uploads/statue_commission.pdf

The commissioning report indicates that the people of Roughlee Parish and council had a mutual understanding of what the statue was to look like because the report suggested that Roughlee Parish Council “working with” the residents. This understanding probably arose from joint meetings that the parish council had with the residents.

²¹⁹ *ibid.*

²²⁰ *ibid.*

funding was provided by a Sustainable Development Fund²²¹ and the Pendle Hill Fund.²²²

The panel chose local artist David Palmer, who owns and manages DP Structure Ltd which is based in Nelson, Lancashire, to build the statue to resemble what the villagers wanted. Palmer is an experienced artist, whose firm was created in 2004 and won the 'Small Business of the Year' award in 2013; he and his team create unique artworks using a variety of materials including steel, timber, stone, glass and Perspex²²³. Before Palmer could begin creating the statue, he needed to research the history of the events so he could create a likeness of someone from the 1600s.²²⁴ He wanted to get the dress styles right so that the statue could accurately portray a woman from the early seventeenth century. It is also likely that he would need to think about what sort of mood or atmosphere the statue should convey. When researching the time period and the 1612 events, it was likely that he found that accused people were not entitled to fair treatment that would show them any dignity.²²⁵ Therefore, he wanted to make sure that the statue conveyed this in line with

²²¹ *The Clitheroe Advisor and Times* (online), 14 November 2011.

<http://www.clitheroeadvertiser.co.uk/news/nostalgia/statue-plan-to-celebrate-pendle-witch-alice-1-3966722>
accessed 30 May 2014.

Note: The Clitheroe Advertiser reported this story on the 11 November 2012 which gives evidence that the project was certain due to all of the required funding being in place. According to the Forest of Bowland Annual Report of 2012, £3,000 was awarded by a sustainable development fund (SDF), which provides grants to rural based projects.

<http://forestofbowland.com/files/uploads/pdfs/FOB-Annual-Report-2012.pdf>

accessed 30 May 2014.

²²² The Pendle Hill Fund is a fund presumably from Lancashire County Council (considering the information about the fund is from a Lancashire County government website. Pendle Hill is in Lancashire County, therefore it is probable that Lancashire County Council would have funding allotted in order to maintain Pendle Hill. According to the website <http://council.lancashire.gov.uk/documents/s49226/Report.pdf>, the Pendle Hill Fund is to "support community-led projects focusing on heritage and landscape". Site accessed 15 June 2015.

²²³ http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/pendle/9845430.New_statue_gives_Pendle_witch_the_respect_she_deserve
Accessed 30 May 2015.

Note: David Palmer is an experienced artist. His DP Structure firm was created in 2004. It won the 'Small Business of the Year' award in 2013. Palmer and his team can manufacture products and create unique features using a variety of materials which include steel and timber, stone, glass and Perspex. He also liaises with architects in order to complete projects such as kiosks at Church Street Markets and walkway canopies at primary schools. David is very good with using stainless steel. He used this material to make stainless hexagon canopies, and stainless planters. Please refer to: <http://www.dpstructures.co.uk/company-profile/>, accessed 15 June, 2015.

²²⁴ <http://www.roughlee.org.uk/roughlee-commemorate-alice-nutter/>,
accessed 15 May 2014.

²²⁵ Note: There is evidence that suggests that Palmer and those who commissioned the Alice Nutter statue (community and council members) wanted to reflect what society was like in the seventeenth century. The evidence is the style of dress and the information plaque that explains the time period that Alice Nutter lived in. Therefore, they are looking back at the time and comparing to how society has changed over the last four hundred years. This statue symbolises 'what was' because Alice Nutter is described as a 'lady of the times' on the plaque. Today, it is considered fair to have legal representation when accused of a crime. The people in

what his requirements specified, which was to create a statue of Alice as a village resident of 1612 and something that people could identify with.²²⁶ After an extensive period of research into what happened in 1612, Palmer decided that the best materials to use for the statue would be brass and steel.

Green Close Studios' Lancashire Witches 400 Programme

The Lancashire Witches 400 programme was a “diverse creative programme initiated by Green Close in Melling which explored the heritage of the Lancashire Witches, the 400th anniversary of their trial and execution, and the enduring issue of persecution today”.²²⁷ Green Close Studios run by the artists Pete and Sue Flowers is an independent organisation based in Melling, Lancashire. They provide studio space for professional artists and work with the public and private sectors to promote art projects, many of which are rural-based and they bring art to rural communities and get local rural communities to get together to make art. They also work with schools and travel to other countries to familiarise themselves with art and artists, create works of art that reflect the culture of the nation they visit, and help young people who are interested in having a career in art or develop their artistic talents by providing them with workshops and talks.²²⁸ The striking aspect

seventeenth century England were not automatically entitled to this. It is also considered to be fair to the accused to be considered innocent until proven guilty in the twenty-first century. The statue represents what society was like. It did not condemn people such as the lawmakers or the accused but rather remind us what was acceptable. What is unfair or unjust to us in the twenty-first century is different to how society was governed in the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, the law recognised the supernatural, therefore was it was acceptable to execute someone for witchcraft. The statue is showing the differences between then and now but not really making a condemnation of any actual people.

²²⁶ Note: Creating a statue that people could “identify with” probably meant having something that all people would recognise. For example, it is possible and likely that the people of Roughlee are living in an area that was connected to an important event and tragedy. Considering the connection, the statue has with the witch-trials, this is what Palmer and the council were wanting the statue to symbolise mainly while at the same time, letting people know that persecution has and still takes place around the world. After all, the word ‘persecution’ was used in the information plaque. As discussed later in this dissertation, this is what Green Close wanted to acknowledge with their ‘witch walk’. It commemorates the witch-trials but also acknowledges that persecution still exists, such as in Africa where witch accusations still take place. Therefore, it can be argued as a beacon or symbol for different persecuted people.

²²⁷ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#> , accessed 14 July 2014.

²²⁸ <http://greenclose.org/new/education/in-praise-of-our-education-work> accessed 14 July 2014.

<http://greenclose.org/new/recuerdosdemexico> accessed 14 July 2014.

<http://greenclose.org/new/about/1625-arts> accessed 14 July 2014.

regarding Green Close Studios is that they spent the most money on commemorative events and the events that GC planned were more significant in terms of commitments, money, size, and the motivation.²²⁹

What GC wanted to do was commemorate the 1612 witch trials by putting together the Lancashire Witches 400 programme (LW400) and linking the anniversary year to witch accusations that are still taking place in Africa. However, in order to do this they had to work with a significant number of other people and organisations, one of the most important of which was Stepping Stones Nigeria (now called Africa Safe Child). Stepping Stones Nigeria/Africa Safe Child is a non-profit organisation that acknowledges that children are often targeted for abuse worldwide. The LW400 was to consist of a “Lancashire Witches Walk” (LW walk) from Pendle to Lancaster Castle which many would probably argue to be the most important part of the LW400 due to the amount of effort that GC put into the project. This long distance walk was to commemorate the journey the accused were forced to make to Lancaster Castle. However, the exact route that the witches took to Lancaster Castle has not been proven but it was very likely that the accused would have had to pass through Ribble Valley to get to Lancaster Castle and the walking path to Lancaster Castle encompasses the Ribble Valley and Bowland Fell. They recruited suitable artists, organisations, and historians who would be able to contribute to the walk, including Poole,²³⁰ who worked as the “expert historian advisor” on much of the programme.²³¹ GC also wanted to deliver educational programmes for primary school children and also wanted to organise events for the

<http://greenclose.org/new/global-arts-village>
accessed 14 July 2014.

²²⁹ Compared to the other two major planners of the commemorative year (Lancaster City Council and PBC), GC was able to acquire the most funding and plan significant commemorative events, such as a long distance walking trail. The walking trail was to be approximately 51 miles.

²³⁰ Green Close Studios, *The Lancashire Witch Walk* (2013), p. 6.

Note: If there was to be a witch trail from Pendle to Lancaster Castle based on the 1612 events, Dr Robert Poole would be a likely source considering he not only researched the events and accusations, but he also modernised Thomas Potts’s court records. Poole published his information in his 2011 book titled *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster*. The title reflected on Thomas Potts’s own title but is spelt differently as the spelling is the product of seventeenth century writing. Dr Robert Poole not only assisted Green Close Studios with planning the witch trail, but he also gave talks to people who were interested in the 1612 events.

²³¹ Green Close, *The Lancashire Witches Walk*, 2012, Green Close Studios, page 33.

Pendle/Lancaster community that would involve art, guest speakers, and collaboration with small businesses and local talent. Finally, the Lancashire Witches 400 project commissioned Poet-Laureate, Carol Ann Duffy, to create a poem that would pay tribute to those who were executed as witches in 1612 and that would be incorporated into the LW walk. Overall at least fifty artists were recruited in order to work on the project,²³² including Julie Miles, Stephen Raw, Daren Andrews, and Kate Elleston Wirtz, as well as Carol Ann Duffy.

Every event under the LW400 umbrella, including the LW walk was the brainchild of Pete and Sue Flowers.²³³ The LW walk was to be a 51 mile walk trek from Pendle to Lancaster Castle and was intended to commemorate those who arrested and taken from their homes to Lancaster Castle to await their trial. As this was a major project that would involve walking and landscape, GC began to collaborate with people who were associated with walking trails, leisure, and wildlife. They contacted local experience walker Ian Thornton-Bryar who began to design the main route with assistance from John Sparshatt, who was from the Long Distance Walking Association. Additional research was provided by the Burnley Rambler Association and the Lancaster Rambler's Association. These people were familiar with the area, were able to provide suitable routes for walkers, and knew about various areas of natural beauty that would appeal to people wanting to walk the footpath. The walk would need more than just land for people to walk on. Permission would have to be granted by the Lancashire County Council Environmental Community and Project Officers who were at that time, Tarja Wilson and David Padley. Signs for the trail would be necessary so that walkers would know where to walk and also, there would have to be people who would provide the trail's upkeep. Tom Partridge, the PBC Countryside Officer, Wilson and Padley were very generous in providing the necessary environmental expertise, advice, and support for the route development, signs, and upkeep.²³⁴ In addition to remembering those who travelled to Lancaster Castle and never

²³² <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/the-northerner/2012/apr/10/witches-execution-lancashire-bnp-poet-laureate-carol-ann-duffy> accessed 13 October, 2015.

²³³ <http://www.pendletoday.co.uk/what-s-on/reviews/poet-laureate-writes-poem-to-mark-400th-anniversary-of-pendle-witch-trials-1-4926831> , accessed 25 May 2015.

²³⁴ Green Close Studios, *The Lancashire Witches Walk* (2013), p. 34.

returned, the trail was also to pay respect and provide “hope for those accused and still persecuted today”.²³⁵



Green Close collaborated with numerous people, which helped to create artwork for the LW Walk to Lancaster Castle. This picture shows Miles and her team creating other waymarkers that would be placed along with 51 mile trek.

GC studios, along with UK/US artist Kate Eggleston - Wirtz and historian Robert Poole, also worked with three primary schools located along or near the route of the walking trail.²³⁷ Poole developed a special curriculum for the students at these schools which enabled them to learn about Lancashire’s history and particularly the history of the Lancashire witches and trials. The lessons enabled students to work with each other, visit various museums around the Pendle and Lancaster areas, and create with-themed artwork that was put on display at Clitheroe Castle, Lancaster City Museum, and Gawthorpe Hall.²³⁸ Materials were created by Eggleston-Wirtz for classroom use in order to engage pupils in discussions about the Lancashire witches and that witch persecution are not confined to the seventeenth century. Issues relating to stereotypes and persecution still exist. The interactive artwork is actually a box of objects and each object represents something about the Lancashire witches; this was to allow young people to see the significance of the witches.²³⁹ For example, at Quernmore Primary School, students created block prints, which allowed them to explore old methods of printing. This was linked to the old chap-books that were sold in the

²³⁵ Green Close Studios, *The Lancashire Witches Walk* (2013), p. 8.

People in third world nations such as Nigeria are still persecuting people who are believed to be witches.

²³⁶ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/workshops/4564159790> , accessed 14 October 2015.

²³⁷ Note: This can be referred to as a 51 mile walking path and the Witches Walking Trail.

²³⁸ According to <http://lanarts.org/events-for-june-lancashire-witches-400-bowland-arts-festival/> , The children’s art work was on display from March to July 2012 at Gawthorpe Hall. accessed 15 October 2015.

²³⁹ Lancashire Witches 400 website, <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/education/4564159053> , accessed 07 May 2014.

seventeenth century which told the story of the Lancashire witches. Throughout their research, the students from Quernmore School compared the seventeenth century and present-day society by looking at signs and symbols of the period and then later moving on to their modern day usage and contemporary graffiti. Their research included the visiting of important places relating to the 1612 events, which included Lancaster Castle and the Judges' Lodgings.²⁴⁰ The Judge's Lodgings is the building where Thomas Covell, the man who jailed the Lancashire witches in 1612 lived. He lived in the building until the year of his death, which was 1639. He was also a Mayor of Lancaster.²⁴¹

In Slaidburn, Brennands Endowed Primary School students worked with Eggleston-Wirtz while exploring the Slaidburn archives which enabled them to uncover information about their families and explore various stereotypes of witches. They also visited Clitheroe and Lancaster castles and were able to make a connection between Pendle and Lancashire by using shoes as a metaphor. From this, they were able to imagine what it would be like to be in the shoes of the witches travelling from Pendle to Lancaster Castle. Afterwards, the students made drawings relating to their visits.²⁴² Finally, Padiham Green Primary school students created artwork that related to plants. Stones and herbs were significant to healing and magic in the seventeenth century and before.²⁴³ The students' artwork focused on how our knowledge of plants has changed over the years. Instead of having magical powers, various plants contain vitamins and nutrients that aid in the healing process. The idea that herbs can generate spells, whether good or bad is not generally perceived to be correct in today's world of science and technology. This was the message that their artwork was supposed to convey to people.²⁴⁴ Green Close set out to prove that teaching students about their

²⁴⁰ Lancashire Witches 400 website, <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/quernmore-primary-school/4567243737>, accessed 07 May 2014.

²⁴¹ <http://www.lancasterguardian.co.uk/news/nostalgia/man-who-jailed-pendle-witches-1-1173285>, accessed 07 May 2014.

²⁴² Lancashire Witches 400 website, <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/brennands-endowed-burn/4565988351>, accessed 07 May 2014.

²⁴³ Philip C. Almond, *The Lancashire Witches: A Chronology of Sorcery and Death on Pendle Hill* (London, 2012), p. 103.

²⁴⁴ Note: There is evidence that suggests the project's overall theme was using the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612 and allowing students to explore various aspects of the witch-trials. This may have included finding out about different herbal remedies. After all, wise people were consulted in regards to healing before doctors and hospitals became widely available, and before the advancement of science. Those who were accused probably did use herbs to heal and they probably did use primitive techniques to help people. This is what

local history did not always have to involve chalk and talk lessons. Instead, with the help of experts such as Poole and Eggleston-Wirtz, the students were given the opportunity to learn by hands-on activities across the curriculum, appreciate their local history and discover how persecution causes pain and suffering.²⁴⁵

To enable the public to find out more about the Lancashire witches, GC was also involved in a number of miscellaneous projects which included inviting guest-speakers to speak with people interested in the Lancashire witches and helping to sponsor art exhibitions that had “witch” themes and involved collaborating with local businesses. For example, Signs and Wonders was a project that was sponsored by Green Close and Wrights and Sites²⁴⁶ that involved travelling to areas that were linked in some real or imagined way to the 1612 events and walking was the key mode of transportation. Simon Persighetti, Phil Smith, and Katie Etheridge staged a series of walking performances and used “the idea of the pedlar as a carrier of multiple viewpoints – walking and travelling; we will be peddling ideas, through trade, exchange and conversations. Along city streets, in the marketplace and down country tracks we will distribute tokens and wondrous pamphlets”.²⁴⁷ This was a four-day project that involved the artists introducing themselves and separating facts from myths in one location, and then going on to a different location related to the Lancashire

helped them to get into trouble with the law enforcement, which led to their execution for witchcraft. Herbs, charms, and other methods to heal would probably be looked upon as strange today, but was not in the early seventeenth century. Therefore, the herbs and medicines were part of the Lancashire witch-trials, however vague. However, it may be important to realise that the school and Green Close wanted to teach certain aspects of the ‘Lancashire witches’ theme that young people would understand and refrain from what could give the students the idea that the witches were evil. This could have been problematic because modern day witches as well.

²⁴⁵ Lancashire Witches 400 website, <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#padiham-green-school/456724776>, accessed 08 May 2014.

²⁴⁶ <http://www.mis-guide.com/ws/about.html> accessed 15 September 2015.

Note: Wrights and Sites is a group of art specialists who specialise in projects relating to walking and landscaping. Stephen Hodge, Simon Persighetti, Phil Smith, and Cathy Turner made up a team of four artists-researchers that assisted Green Close Studios with Sites and Wonders, which was part of the Lancashire Witches 400 Programme of 2012.

²⁴⁷ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/signs-wonders/4567237608> accessed 14 September 2015.

Note: Green Close and Wrights and Sites wanted the walking and travelling to be symbolic of the “travelling pedlar” who walked and sold items. It is also very likely that it was to also symbolise the trek the accused had to travel in order to get to Lancaster Castle.

witches.²⁴⁸

Hilli McManus was another local artist commissioned by GC. Based in Lancaster, McManus was commissioned in order to engage other members of the Lancashire community in the production of a “quilt”.²⁴⁹ McManus chose to use superstition as the theme of her quilt. Many would consider this to be an appropriate theme considering how superstition and persecution were major aspects of seventeenth century life. The quilt was called the “community quilt” or, the “quilt of personality”. It was made at workshops that McManus held as part of the Lancashire Witches 400 Programme and from cotton and silk batik squares with each contained an image of a superstition created by people who attended the workshops that were held throughout Lancashire in 2012.²⁵⁰ At the workshops, Hilli explained the 1612 events to the attendees and she made sure people understood what had happened once Alizon Device was accused of laming the pedlar. Alizon almost certainly did not use supernatural powers against the pedlar but according to Hilli, the power of believing that magic exists is “as strong in the Niger Delta as ever it was here 400 years ago”. She was making a reference to the continuing persecution of people for witchcraft of present-day Africa.²⁵¹ The quilt is unique in that each square of the quilt was designed as part of the commemoration of the Lancashire witches and each square was edged in green, the colour of the Nigerian flag.²⁵² With each and every workshop that was held, the flag would grow in size. The quilt went on display in Clitheroe in the

²⁴⁸ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/signs-wonders/4567237608>

accessed 14 September 2015.

Note: On the second day of the Signs and Wonders project, the team of artists visited key locations, such as Lancaster Castle. They also visited the Golden Lion Pub what it reputed to be the pub where the witches stopped for a “last drink” before heading up to Lancaster Castle to be imprisoned until their trial. However, this is speculation as there is no actual proof that the witches were given the opportunity to have a “last drink” considering how unjust and primitive the English legal system was by 1612 standards. If the witches were to be chained in a damp dark place with no light and proper nutrition, then being afforded any dignity before reaching the castle would be unlikely. It could have been to allow the riders to have the opportunity for a break. There is no actual proof that the witches took this route as there is no mention of any witches route in Thomas Potts’s records.

²⁴⁹ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/hilli-mcmanus/4571877613>

accessed 22 July 2014.

²⁵⁰ *The Lancaster Guardian*, 15 June 2012,

<http://www.lancasterguardian.co.uk/news/hilli-s-quilt-of-personality-1-4645641>,

accessed 15 January 2014.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

summer of 2012 and was then auctioned at Lancaster Castle.²⁵³



This picture portrays Hilli McManus (right), facilitating members of the community at one of her workshops

As part of their engagement with the commemorative events of 2012, Pete and Sue Flowers also launched the Lancashire Witches 400 website²⁵⁵ which probably went on line after the commemorative events took place, which was late 2012 or early 2013 as the website explains the number of people “throughout 2012” that took part in workshops and attended guest speakers from March 2012 to December.²⁵⁶ The website provides detailed information about the 1612 events and explained the link between commemorating a tragedy and recognising that similar events are still taking place in the world today. According to Pete Flowers, the drive to fight prejudice and discrimination was what motivated Green Close to get involved in the commemorative year of 2012.²⁵⁷ As he put it, “prejudice and racism was the main focus and getting this across to students”.²⁵⁸ GC collaborated closely with Robert Poole.

The information and designs that are on the Lancashire Witches 400 website draw on that Poole’s books, *The Wonderful Discovery of the Witches in the County of Lancaster* and *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*. This is important as it shows that GC was keen to give their engagement with the anniversary year a good grounding in scholarly historical research.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ <https://uk.linkedin.com/pub/hilli-mcmanus/27/292/770> , accessed 15 January 2014.

²⁵⁴ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/#/workshops/4564159790> or <http://lancashirewitches400.org/> , accessed 15 January 2014.

Note: The quilt making photo on the Lancashire witches 400 website indicates that women may have been the main attendees at the workshops. However, there appears to be a man’s arm in the photo that could indicate that some males also attended.

²⁵⁵ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/> , accessed 15 July 2014.

²⁵⁶ Pendle Borough Council, *Pendle Witches: Pendle Witches Festival 1612-2012* (Pendle, 2012).

²⁵⁷ Phone interview with Mr Pete Flowers, 13 August 2013.

²⁵⁸ Phone interview with Mr Pete Flowers, 13 August 2013.

²⁵⁹ Note: Green Close Studios wanted to commemorate the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612 in a way to show that witch-trials still happen today, which is why the teamed with Safe Child Africa. Therefore, this suggests that Green Close believed commemorating the witch-trials of 1612 was a positive move to make as it

Financial Backing

This section provides an overview of the main backers of the events, and where possible summarises the amount of money involved in relation to the different projects.

A. Lancaster Castle

The decision to open Lancaster Castle dungeons and the other areas that were previously off limits in 2012 was made by the Duchy of Lancaster, who manages Lancaster Castle on behalf of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II.²⁶⁰ Because of this, planning applications and funding was unlikely to be necessary.

B. The Pendle Sculpture Trail

The plan for the sculpture trail was partially backed by United Utilities, which is a water

remembered those who were executed according to the law code of 1612. There are different theories about what people were executed for witchcraft in those days. Some people argue people were executed for being witches because it was a time of superstition. Governments certainly acknowledged the supernatural in those days. A lack of tolerance was involved because governments did not tolerate witchcraft. People believed it existed as Potts's pamphlet indicates and therefore, people were punished if they were found guilty of practising it. Governments no longer kill people in Europe or in the United States for witchcraft because they do recognise the supernatural. Many historians would argue that people were put to death for witchcraft in early-modern England and in other places because the advancement of Science had not taken place. However, some Historians may argue against this and claim that witch-hunting occurred for a different reason as those who persecuted and arrested people in earlier times were male. The majority of those who were persecuted were women. Some would argue certain male persecutors were anti-women. However, many historians would argue that because people did believe in witchcraft, even in secular places, the common theory in those days was the women were more susceptible to witchcraft. This could be argued as the reason why so many people were executed and witch-hunts occurred. It was a combination of things, not just a lack of tolerance. Please refer to Anne L. Barstow, *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts: Our Legacy of Violence Against Women* (San Francisco, 1994), page 142. Also, refer to http://departments.kings.edu/womens_history/witch/werror.html.

Safe Child Africa has been campaigning against the cruelty that children in parts of Africa face today. The organisation acknowledged that witch accusations were taking place, according to <http://www.safechildafrica.org/>. It can be argued that witch accusations and trials that take place there occur because priests, who appear to be heavily involved in Nigerian society, are too quick to denounce people who are not similar to others in the environment as witches. It appears that people have no tolerance for people who behave outside of the norms of Nigerian society. It was similar in 1612, where someone who acted odd were often instantly connected to strange events, such as milk going sour or the death of someone.. People in 1612 were too quick to denounce others. Therefore, through commemorative projects, Green Close is acknowledging the executions that took place in 1612 and at the same time, recognising the cruel treatment and hasty accusations that are still taking place, but in another part of the world. Like those who were executed in 1612, the abandoned children in Africa are being abandoned because of the belief in witchcraft and to a certain degree, a lack of tolerance for those who are different, and hasty decisions.

²⁶⁰ BBC News, 04 January 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-16412301>, accessed 03 July 2014.

company. The total cost of the project £39,450.²⁶¹ United Utilities put £2,500 towards the project during the 2011/2012 fiscal year. PBC put £6,000 towards the project over the 2011/2012 and 2012/13 fiscal years. The rest of the funding came from Pendle Council Marketing and the Rural Development Programme for England (RDPE). The RDPE £26,450, which was the highest amount of all funding providers.²⁶² and applying and receiving funding from the RDPE was a lengthy process.²⁶³

C. Philippe Handford's Hillside Installation

PBC originally promised Handford £1,500, towards the installation of the numerals 1612 on Pendle Hillside. This amount was probably part of the £16,000 that PBC spent on commemorative events.²⁶⁴ Handford made a successful bid to the Arts Council of England.²⁶⁵ However, after PBC pulled out of the project, Moorhouse's Brewery filled the funding gap by providing the £1,500.

D. The Alice Nutter Sculpture

After it was discovered that the statue would cost £12,000,²⁶⁶ Mike Williams requested and gained £4,000 from the Barrowford and Western Parish Committee²⁶⁷ on 7th July 2011.

Work on designing and planning the sculpture were supported with a Skills and

²⁶¹ Council minutes, July 2011, (Pendle Borough Council/Report from Mike Williams, Regeneration Manager), p. 2.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/growth-programme-application-form-and-guidance>

The application that was used for applying to the RDPE was likely the one available on the link: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/415706/Outline_application_form_guidance_FINAL.pdf

The purpose of the Rural Development Programme for England is to provide money for rural-based projects in order to improve agriculture, the environment, and rural life. Funding goes to schemes to improve the environment and keep rural areas clean and attractive; increase the productivity of farming and forestry; grow the rural economy. When speaking with the RDPE on 28 May 2015, it was made clear that prospective applicants needed to be specific and clear in regards to their intentions, the benefits it would bring to the countryside, and the exact purpose the grant and project would fulfil. A grant of £35,000 would require the application form the link provides and considering that the planners were awarded no more than £27,000, they likely filled out this particular application form.

²⁶⁴ Note: PBC's Mike Williams explained that the council spent £16,000 on commemorative events. Considering Williams approached Philippe Handford, this project is likely to be a part of PBC's commemorative events and therefore, was likely to be funded by them.

²⁶⁵ <http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk/SearchResults.aspx?LA=Pendle> accessed 07 July 2015.

Note: Philippe Handford applied for and received a grant of £3,000 from the Arts Council of England.

²⁶⁶ Council minutes, 2011, (Barrowford and Western Parish Committee), p. 24.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

Development Fund (SDF) grant of £3,000.²⁶⁸ Other funding came from the Pendle Hill Fund and PBC.

E. Green Close Studios' Lancashire Witches 400 Programme

The cost of the various activities making up the Lancashire Witches 400 programme was approximately £154,000²⁶⁹ Green Close raised this sum for various sources. For example, GC applied for and received a grant from the LCCAD of approximately £10,000 in May 2011.²⁷⁰ Green Close also applied for and received a grant from the Arts Council of England of £98,000 for the LW400 programme. GC also applied for and received a grant of £49,500 from the Heritage Lottery Fund.²⁷¹ Because a significant aspect of the LW400 programme involved the environment, the Lancashire Environmental Fund awarded GC £40,000 to help with the walking trail to Lancaster Castle.²⁷² Because the walking trail would cut through the Ribble Valley district, which borders PBC, GC was also awarded a £3000 Skills Development Fund which they received from the Forest of Bowland, which was in a partnership with the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) organisation.²⁷³ This grant enabled artists working with GC to engage with local communities and primary schools to develop activities

²⁶⁸ Annual Report, 2012, (Forest of Bowland), p. 30.

<http://forestofbowland.com/files/uploads/pdfs/FOB-Annual-Report-2012.pdf> , accessed 15 June 2015.

²⁶⁹ *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 30 August 2011,

http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/pendle/9223534.Walk_the_way_of_the_Lancashire_witches/?ref=rss , accessed 15 January 2014.

²⁷⁰ <http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk/SearchResults.aspx>,

accessed, 17 July 2015.

There is a discrepancy in regards to how much money Green Close initially received. According to the Department of Culture and Media, GC was in fact awarded **£10,000** specifically for the Lancashire Witches trail in the form of a "Rural Development Grant" by the Arts Council of England and not the "Lancashire Arts Development Team". However, the Lancashire Arts Development Team did award GC funds, but according to their 2012-13 Annual Report, they were only awarded £7,500. Also, please refer to:

<http://www.equity.org.uk/branches/north-lancashire-cumbria-general-branch/documents/lancashire-arts-development-team-annual-report-201213/> .

Therefore, it is possible that the Arts Council of England dispersed funds through the LADT or, the LADT is another body, totally independent from the Arts Council of England, who also contributed to Green Close's projects, including the witch trail.

accessed 15 July 2015.

²⁷¹ <http://www.lottery.culture.gov.uk/SearchResults.aspx> ,

accessed 17 July 2015.

²⁷² Projects supported by the Lancashire Environmental Fund data

²⁷³ <http://forestofbowland.com/files/uploads/pdfs/FOB-Annual-Report-2012.pdf> , accessed 15 July 2014.

Note: An Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty is an area in England or Wales that has been marked for protection and preservation due to its outstanding natural beauty.

that commemorated and educated the local community about the 1612 events.²⁷⁴

The main planners responsible for the commemorative events of 2012 put something back into north-west England's economy as they used local talent and created employment. Many people are likely to agree that much of this region's economy was weakened after the drastic economic policies put in place in the 1980s. It can be said that the organisers were helping regenerate the local economy through art, in a similar manner to what happened in Gateshead in the 1990s.²⁷⁵ According to Natasha Vall, Heritage Lottery and other types of funding went into reviving Gateshead and making it more welcoming for the arts.²⁷⁶ In Pendle's case, a similar thing happened, where Lottery funding as well as other sources of funding, brought art to a particular area in Lancashire. Art was used as a tool to bring more life to Gateshead and in Pendle; artwork in the form of poetry, quilting, and especially sculpture was a major feature of the 2012 commemorative year in Lancashire, as was the desire to showcase the local landscape and spaces and places linked to the events of 1612. Also, as the commemorative year of 2012 indicates, it is possible that a lot of projects can be completed with a variety of sources of funding, which does exist in the UK even in times of economic setbacks in which the commemorative events occurred.²⁷⁷

The main organisers of the 2012 commemorative year had something else in common and they relied on grants that were awarded from different source, such as the Arts Council of England the skills and Development Fund. However, obtaining grants from organisations such as these had stringent requirements and therefore, required a significant amount of justification in regards to why the applicant required funding. For example, the National Arts Council of England, required applicants to answer a series of questions about different parts of the proposed activity. For grants over £15,000, the National Arts Council takes into consideration the artistic quality of the project, how the project will engage the public, how the project will be managed, and the budget that will

²⁷⁴ Annual Report, 2012, (Forest of Bowland), p. 24, <http://forestofbowland.com/files/uploads/pdfs/FOB-Annual-Report-2012.pdf> , accessed 15 July 2015.

²⁷⁵ Natasha Vall, *Cultural Region of North East England 1945-2000* (Manchester, 2011).

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ <http://election2015.ifs.org.uk/public-spending> , accessed 13 June 2015.

Note: Spending cuts were taking place in unprotected areas in the United Kingdom from 2010-2015.

be needed.²⁷⁸ The Arts Council invests government money and money from the National Lottery into art projects and art-related activities, which include theatre, digital art, performing art, and crafts. By awarding grants, the NACE are fulfilling their mission of providing art and culture across England.²⁷⁹

Like the NACE, the Heritage Lottery fund requires application to justify why a grant would be needed. When an applicant such as Green Close applies, they fill out an application and have to answer questions such as:

- **Describe what you project will do.**
- **Explain what is needed and the opportunity the project in question will address**
- **Why is it essential for the project to go ahead at this time?**
- **Why is Lottery funding needed and explain the work and consultation that has been undertaken for the preparation of the project?**
- **What difference will the project make for people, heritage, and communities?**
- **What are the main groups of people that will benefit from the project?**²⁸⁰

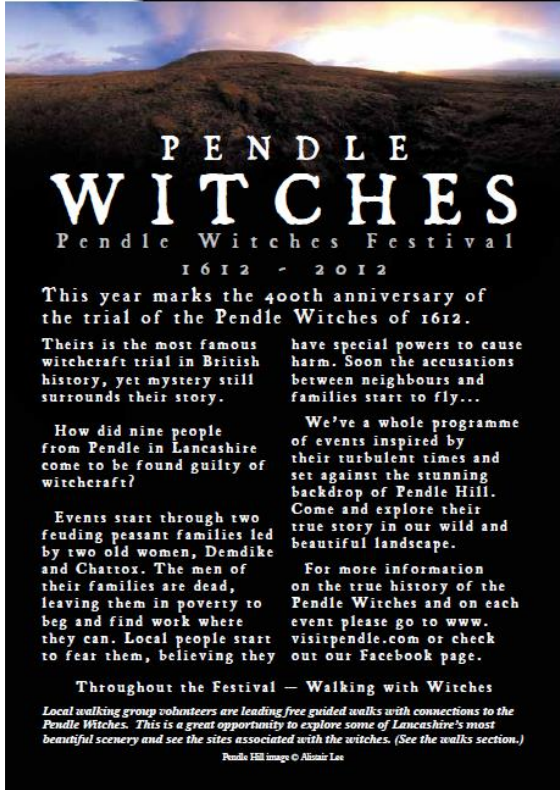
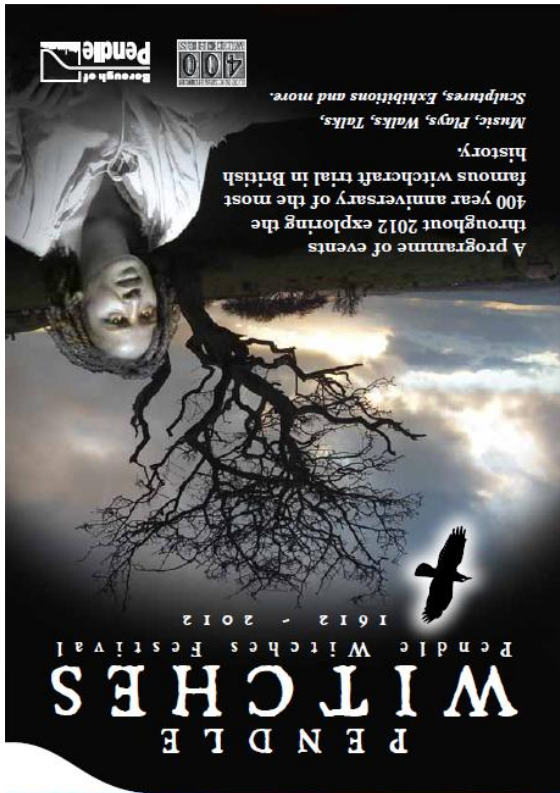
The Heritage Lottery fund uses money that has been raised by National Lottery players across Britain in order to help people explore, enjoy, and protect the heritage they care about and it helps them to promote different aspects of culture.²⁸¹ The fact that the Arts Council and the HLF were willing to fund projects linked to the 2012 commemorative year in Lancashire shows that they believed these projects to be worthwhile and important in furthering public engagement with local history, landscape, and heritage.

²⁷⁸ <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/grants-arts/how-apply/> , accessed 18 June 2015.

²⁷⁹ <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/funding/> , accessed 18 June 2015.

²⁸⁰ <http://www.hlf.org.uk/HowToApply/programmes/Pages/heritagegrants.aspx#.U7q5NcJOXIV> accessed 07 July 2014.

²⁸¹ <http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us#.VXNaJcLbLIU> , accessed 18 June 2015.



Witch way to Pendle
Pendle is well located in the County of Lancashire UK, and is easily accessible.

Witches Tours for Groups
Have your group come and see Pendle. We have a range of tours for groups of all sizes. The tours are led by a local historian and are suitable for all ages. The tours are held on a regular basis and are a great way to see Pendle and its surroundings.

Merchandise
There is a range of merchandise available to purchase. This includes t-shirts, mugs, and other items. The merchandise is available to purchase from the Pendle Witches Experience.

More Information
For more information on Pendle, including accommodation, and to book your place on our website, visit www.pendlewitches.co.uk or call 01282 471936.

Local History Centre
The Pendle Heritage Centre is a museum dedicated to the history of Pendle. It is located in the Pendle Heritage Centre, Pendle, Lancashire. The centre is open to the public and is a great place to learn about the history of Pendle.

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- Pendle Hill Installation**
Throughout 2012
Lead artist for the Pendle Sculpture Trail Philippe Handford aims to create a large scale image on Pendle Hill. Catch this stunning image before it disappears! www.handfordart.co.uk (venue to be confirmed).
- An Archaeological Investigation**
Malkin Tower Farm
Spring 2012
Remains of a building at Malkin Tower Farm are rumoured to be Malkin Tower, the home of witch Old Demdike. An archaeological group started the first ever dig here in 2011 with children from Blacko Primary School. The first dig revealed nothing but a further site has been identified and this will be explored in 2012. If you'd like to join the dig. Tel: (01282) 451129.
- 24th March at 2pm**
Witches Talk
Pendle Heritage Centre
Robert Poole, author of a modernized version of Thomas Roe's original account will be giving an insight into the events of 1612. Tea and cake included £5.00 per person. Booking essential. Tel: 01282 677150.
- 21st April**
Witch School
at Higherford Mill - five events. 10-12pm, 1-3pm.
Come along and have some creative fun based on the Pendle Witches.
Booking is essential. Tel: 07790541659.
- 29th April, 1st July & 28th October**
Witch Experience
Bus Tour
Starting at Barden Mill.
- 23rd - 26th May**
Devilish Practices
A play by Richard MacSween
Performed by Borderline Theatre
Company. 7.30pm at The Muni, Colne (01282) 861234. www.themuni.co.uk
- A fresh and surprising take on the Pendle Witches.
Tickets £5/7
(not considered suitable for children under 12 years, but up to parent's discretion.)
- 15th - 18th June**
Pendle Witch Camp - Festival of Folklore
www.pendlewitchescamp.co.uk
The 6th Annual Pendle Witch Camp will be a family-friendly camping event, offering education and entertainment to all those with an interest in folklore. There'll be talks, music, complementary and holistic therapies, drumming, theatre, story-telling including Ursula Holden-Gill (of ITV's Emmerdale fame) stalls, cafes, kids activities, as well as a summer solstice ceremony. This year's festival will commemorate the 400th anniversary of the trial and execution of the Pendle Witches.
- 10th June, 6th July and 12th August**
Contemporary Pendle Witches at Higherford Mill
Sundays 11am to 4pm at Higherford Mill, Barrowford. Tel: 07707161408.
Exciting open studios events with a contemporary witches theme including alternative wellbeing and with a glass runner making workshop. Open studios events do not require booking and are free but the runes making workshops are chargeable and booking is essential on 07790541659.
- 2nd July - 3rd August**
A Pendle Investigation
works by Joe Hesleth - national exhibition
The ACE Centre Gallery, Cross Street, Nelson, open Mon - Sat 10am - 4pm. Tel: (01282) 661080. www.theacecentre.co.uk
Local artist Joe Hesleth has created a body of new work inspired by the Pendle Witches trial. Her paintings and drawings are based on her walk from Pendle to Lancaster with historian John Clayton, mirroring the journey to trial of the Pendle Witches 400 years ago. The exhibition is an Arts Council touring show. www.joesheleth.co.uk
- 21st June**
Witches Experience
Bus Tour
Starting at Barden Mill.

Above is a programme of events that was published by PBC. It lists all of the commemorative events that took place between March and the end of 2012, along with the date and time of the event. Although there were different organisers of commemorative events, PBC took the initiative to publish those events that were not planned by them.

Chapter Four:

Analysing the events of 2012

“Four hundred years on, Lancashire once more invites attention to its witches.”

Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), p. 84.²⁸³

In this chapter, five key events of 2012 commemorative have been chosen for analysis order to explore what messages the planners and artists wanted to convey to the public. These were chosen because they were major events that required a substantial amount of planning and effort by their backers.

1. Alice Nutter Memorial Statue

The Alice Nutter Statue, one of the ten people executed for witchcraft in the Lancashire witch trials of 1612, is situated on Blacko Bar Road between the hamlet of Crowtrees and the village of Roughlee. It was selected for analysis because it is unusual. It is unusual because it is the first statue of an executed witch ever created in the UK. PBC commissioned a permanent memorial statue of her in 2011; local artist David Palmer was chosen to sculpt the statue and he portrayed her as a woman dressed in early seventeenth-century clothing with her hands chained, symbolising her arrest. The statue was built to last generations, as Palmer used brass and corten. At the statue's unveiling on 28 July 2012²⁸⁴ at 11.00, it was described as a “modern interpretation of what Alice may have looked like”²⁸⁵ when she was arrested. A memorial plaque was placed directly behind the statue which explained basic information about Alice, where she was from, and acknowledged

²⁸³ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), p. 84.

²⁸⁴ <http://www.pendletoday.co.uk/what-s-on/gigs-music/pendle-witch-alice-nutter-statue-unveiled-photo-special-1-4788691> accessed 15 July 2015.

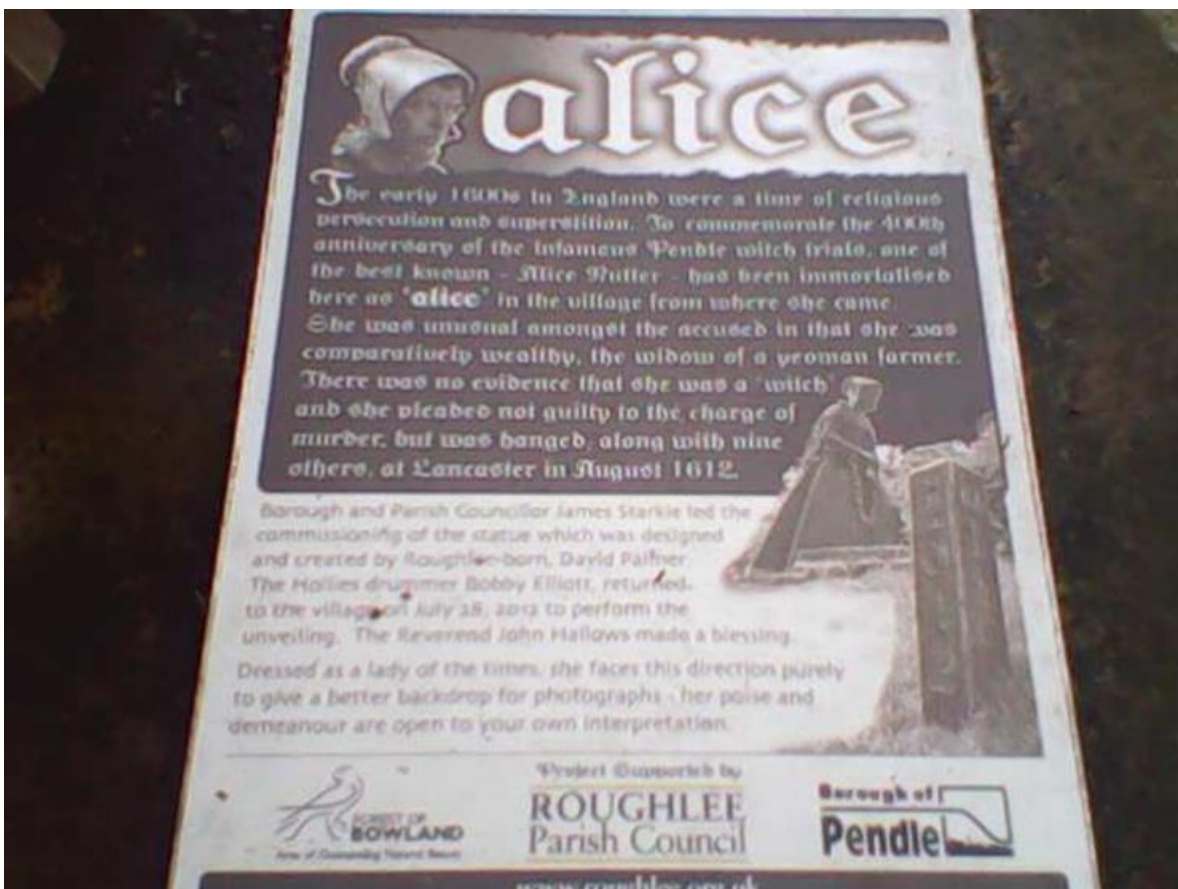
²⁸⁵ *Pendle Witch Walk at The Unveiling of The Alice Nutter Memorial Statue*, (2012), dir. Pendle Witch Walk's Channel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1LDPxpY5DQ>, accessed 15 October 2015.

those connected with the unveiling of the statue; also a brief summary of her trial was inscribed on the memorial plaque.



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This is the statue of Alice Nutter which was placed between the village of Roughlee and the tiny hamlet of Crowtrees. This is what Alice's statue looked like in January 2015. The flowers were put there shortly before the visit. The picture below portrays the memorial plaque that is placed behind Alice's statue.



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²⁸⁶ Todd Andrew Bridges, *Alice Nutter's Memorial Statue*, (Roughlee, January 2015), personal visit.

²⁸⁷ Todd Andrew Bridges, *Alice Nutter's Memorial Plaque*, (Roughlee, January 2015), personal visit.

A transcription of the Alice Nutter Memorial Plaque:

Alice

The early 1600s in England were a time of religious persecution and superstition. To commemorate the 400th anniversary of the infamous Pendle witch trials, one of the best known, Alice Nutter, has been immortalised here as 'Alice' in the village from where she came. She was unusual amongst the accused in that she was comparatively wealthy, the widow of a yeoman farmer. There was no evidence that she was a 'witch' and she pleaded not guilty to the charge of murder, but was hanged, along with nine others, at Lancaster in August 1612.

Borough and Parish councillor James Starkie led the commissioning of the statue which was designed and crated by Roughlee-born, David Palmer. The Hollies drummer Bobby Elliot, returned to the village on July 18, 2012 to perform the unveiling. The Reverend John Hallows made a blessing.

Dressed as a lady of the times, she faces this direction purely to give a better backdrop for photographs, her poise and demeanour are open to interpretation.

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Councillor Starkie was the main speaker at the unveiling and acknowledged the other people who had been connected with the life-sized statue's creation (local parish officials, Palmer, and Bobby Elliot) who is also a Roughlee native. Elliot was probably chosen to unveil the statue and mentioned because he was a celebrity from a place linked to the Lancashire witch trials. Also, planners of the commemorative event such as Starkie may have felt that having a celebrity unveil the statue would attract more attention to the statue. Author Kate Mulholland, who wrote *A Cry of Innocence*,²⁸⁹ and local Lancashire historian, Simon Entwistle, also attended the unveiling and were mentioned. At the unveiling, Reverend Hallows from St. Mary's Church in Newchurch, Pendle

²⁸⁸ The Alice Nutter Statue. Photo of plaque was taken by Todd A Bridges in January 2015.

Note: There is a line on the plaque that reads, "her poise and demeanours are open to interpretation". This probably means that Palmer and the people who commissioned the statue (community and council of Roughlee Parish and Pendle Borough Council) wanted people to interpret certain aspects of the statue. Clearly, they did not want people to think of Nutter as a stereotypical witch. Please refer to <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-19028459>. However, Palmer and the commissioners wanted people to draw their own conclusions about her facial expressions and demeanour. She is not portrayed as reacting or resisting violently, which could indicate that she was confused or disheartened about the accusations made against her and that her nature was good and kind-hearted. Therefore, visitors may interpret Nutter as someone who was good and kind, but even these qualities were not enough to save her from being accused of witchcraft. Visitors may also interpret her as a simple gentlewoman considering how her clothing is portrayed and also, a grim reminder that what we could consider to be an injustice today (although arresting people on grounds of witchcraft was normal and legal in 1612) could befall anyone. Also, it may take society years to change their attitude about the particular situation, as it did with witchcraft and slavery.

²⁸⁹ Note: *A Cry of Innocence* was written by Kate Mullholland and published in 2012 and is a book about the life of Alice Nutter.

blessed the statue.

Starkie the PBC, and Roughlee Parish Council (RPC) wanted to convey the idea that the 17th-century was a time of “persecution and superstition” through the statue. However, the plaque also encourages people to interpret the way Alice is portrayed in terms of her poise and demeanour themselves²⁹⁰, which suggests that the planners wanted to encourage the public to find out more about Nutter themselves.²⁹¹ Nutter was indicted for witchcraft after JP Roger Nowell heard statements from James Device and his mother Elizabeth while being questioned under the suspicion of being involved with witchcraft themselves.²⁹² Nowell found out from Elizabeth that she had joined in with Demdike and “one Alice Nutter” to bewitch Henry Mitton to death.²⁹³ At Alice’s trial, Jenet Device, the youngest member of the Device family, also identified Alice as one of the attendees at the Malkin Tower meeting.²⁹⁴ Several of the prisoners at the summer assizes were accused of attending the mysterious meeting.

Alice’s statue portrays her as a “lady of the time”.²⁹⁵ Palmer had to carry out “much research into her story and studied the costume of the early 1600s to inform the design”.²⁹⁶ She is shown wearing a headpiece called a coif and a long brown dress; Palmer and the statue’s planners also probably wanted to show her as being “comparatively wealthy”,²⁹⁷ this is also described on her

²⁹⁰ Alice Nutter Memorial Plaque.

²⁹¹ Note: If drivers are fascinated by the statue, they may pull over, admire Nutter’s statue, and then notice the memorial plaque and read the basic information about Alice. They may become more interested about Nutter and the witch trials and would later find out more.

²⁹² Robert Poole, *The Discovery of Lancashire Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), pp. 170-1.

²⁹³ Poole, *Discovery*, p. 23.

²⁹⁴ Poole, *Discovery*, pp. 172- 3.

While being interrogated, James Device explained to Nowell that he overheard his grandmother (Demdike) talking about how her daughter Elizabeth and “the wife of Richard Nutter of Roughlee had killed one Henry Mitton of Roughlee by witchcraft” the year before the 1612 events occurred. He also explained how Alice attended a Good Friday meeting at her grandmother’s house often referred to as Malkin Tower, which Nowell believed to be a witch’s sabbat. However, after further interrogations, James’s mother confirmed that she did help bewitch Henry Mitton to death, but with the help of her mother, Demdike and Alice Nutter. This information caused Alice to be indicted for witchcraft and sent to Lancaster gaol.

²⁹⁵ *Pendle Witch Walk at The Unveiling of The Alice Nutter Memorial Statue*, (2012), dir. Pendle Witch Walk’s Channel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1LDPxpY5D0> , accessed 28 July 2015.

²⁹⁶ *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 29 July 2012, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/pendle/9844164.Pendle_witch_Alice_Nutter_statue_unveiled/?ref=rss, accessed 18 July 2015.

²⁹⁷ Alice Nutter Memorial Plaque.

memorial plaque. PBC, RPC, and Palmer wanted to emphasise the fact that someone who did not live in poverty and was, as Potts described in his court records, “a rich woman; had a great estate”,²⁹⁸ could still be executed for the same crime as other, poorer women. Alice’s statue was also intended to be a freeze- frame image of the “pain of what happened on the day”²⁹⁹ when she was arrested. By showing her hand bound by chains, visitors will be encouraged to imagine what Alice may have been feeling and thinking when she was arrested, and what Alice would face in the following months as she was held in Lancaster gaol until her trial. The statue could persuade people to imagine how they would feel if they were in Alice’s position.

The Alice Nutter memorial statue is similar to other commemorations throughout the world, which are intended to enable people to remember tragedies and those who were brave enough to stand up to injustice which was a major aspect of the 1612 events and remember a particular tragedy. However, the statue has other important qualities. Alice Nutter was commemorated by a statue that resembles a human being as it has facial expressions, limbs, and is shown to be wearing clothes. Therefore, planners felt that Alice was worth the effort of being portrayed as a human being and not by plaques alone or what Peter Jan Margry and Cristina Sanchez-Carretero would classify as a ‘grassroots memorial’. A grassroots memorial is a makeshift memorial or a memorial that involves “placing memorabilia, as a form of social action, in public spaces, usually at sites where traumatic deaths or events have taken place.”³⁰⁰ In fact, commemorating anyone accused and executed for witchcraft by statue, rather than immortalising them by erecting only plaques or creating makeshift memorials as portrayed below is rare.

²⁹⁸ Poole, Discovery, p 169.

²⁹⁹ *Pendle Witch Walk at The Unveiling of The Alice Nutter Memorial Statue*, (2012), dir. Pendle Witch Walk’s Channel.

Please refer to <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1LDPxpY5D0> , accessed 28 July 2015.

³⁰⁰ Peter Jan Margry and Cristina Sanchez-Carretero, *Grassroots Memorials: The Politics of Memorialising Traumatic Death* (Oxford, 2011), p. 33.



This is a picture of a makeshift memorialisation of the Christmas Truce.

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Above is a picture of a memorial that was erected to commemorate the terror events of 11 September and those who were killed in the terror attack by naming the victims. The picture below is the World War II memorial which is located in Washington D.C.



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Often, memorials commemorate by naming the names of people who died violently such as those portrayed above. Alice's statue is similar because it too, commemorates by naming a victim (Alice). People can interpret Alice's statue as a memorial that acknowledges a woman and victim of persecution that resulted from religion and superstition. However, it would be possible to argue as to whether or not the statue disrespects the other people who were executed due to injustice and persecution. Alice's statue was meant to symbolise her as a former resident of Roughlee, a lady of the times, who lived in an era of religious persecution and superstition. However, the other executed people also lived in the same period. Therefore, it is possible that people could accuse the

³⁰¹ <http://www.free-project.eu/Blog/page/2> , accessed 15 October 2015.

³⁰² <https://www.911memorial.org/museum-exhibitions> , accessed 15 October 2015.

³⁰³ <https://www.wwiimemorial.com/home.aspx> , accessed 15 October 2015.

planners of singling Alice out because Potts's described her as "a rich woman; had a great estate, and children of good hope: in the common opinion of the world, of good temper, free from envy or malice"³⁰⁴ and, that she and her children were well-respected. The description of other people such as James Device was not as favourable.³⁰⁵ However, if this was the case, Palmer probably would have glamourized her clothing by showing her as wearing long, pointed and stiff bodices with a wide skirt.³⁰⁶ Alice's statue does not have these features and portrays her in a more modest manner with wearing heavy, but neat brown clothing. Alice's clothes are without special designs that would probably be printed on formal attire of the early 1600s.³⁰⁷ Also, Alice was probably chosen because she was a former resident of Roughlee and the others were not so the community would not erect statues of the other executed people.

Another striking aspect about Alice's memorial is that it invites the public to "interpret certain features such as her poise and demeanour as they seem fit"³⁰⁸. She appears to be looking down. This can symbolise her womanly modesty, or her horror at being arrested, or emotionally hurt because she has fallen victim to ungrounded accusations. Alice's demeanour can be interpreted as someone who knew she was innocent but yet, is taken away in chains, knowing that she was innocent and die not use witchcraft to kill anyone. She was described by Reverend Hallows at her unveiling as someone who "probably had a difficult life".³⁰⁹ She was seventy and a widow at the time of her arrest. She married her husband, Richard Nutter at the age of 20 in 1561 but he died in 1584.³¹⁰ Hallows also pointed out that there was the possibility that she did not have a good

³⁰⁴ Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery*, p. 169.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, pp. 123- 164.

Another good example of how Potts's described certain accused people is his description of Elizabeth Device, who is the mother to the Device Children and daughter of Demdike. Potts described as a dangerous person and that she was a danger to men, women, and children (p. 123) which indicates that she probably was not a respected person within Pendle, as the forest of Pendle was a " place fit for people of such condition".

³⁰⁶ <http://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/Tudor-Stuart-Fashion/> , accessed 17 September 2015.

³⁰⁷ <http://www.historic-uk.com/CultureUK/Tudor-Stuart-Fashion/> , accessed 17 September 2015.

³⁰⁸ Alice Nutter Memorial Plaque

³⁰⁹ *Pendle Witch Walk at The Unveiling of The Alice Nutter Memorial Statue*, (2012), dir. Pendle Witch Walk's Channel.

Please refer to <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1LDPxpY5D0> , accessed 28 July 2015.

³¹⁰ Philip C Almond, *The Lancashire Witches: A Chronicle of Sorcery and Death on Pendle Hill* (London, 2012), p. 192.

relationship with her children.³¹¹ The subtle expression that is being portrayed can symbolise that unfairness and innocent people can be executed.³¹² Any person, whether they are wealthy, poor, or innocent can become a victim of injustice, no matter what their station in life is and Alice was no exception. Alice had economic advantages compared to Chattox or some of the other people but yet this did not save her when she was accused by the Devices as taking part in witchcraft; she was arrested and executed regardless and therefore, the statue can symbolise how injustice and persecution ruined people's lives in 1612 and continues to do so.

All the public knows about Alice comes from the Potts pamphlet, which was used as a source by researchers throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, such as Poole, Gibson, Clayton and Almond. These sources explain the significance of Alice Nutter compared to other people tried and executed; that she was indicted by Elizabeth Device as being an accomplice in the murder of Henry Mitton by witchcraft; she was a woman from Roughlee; she was tried, pleaded innocent but found guilty of murder by witchcraft and attending the Malkin Tower meeting, and executed on 20 August, the day after the summer assizes ended.

However, there are theories about Alice Nutter that have developed about her but lack historical substance. First, it has been claimed that Alice lived at Roughlee Hall and had property disputes with another neighbour and it has been rumoured that the neighbour was JP Roger Nowell, which was also incorporated into Ainsworth's novel. However, Clayton disputes this. Alice did not live at Roughlee Hall but probably somewhere near the hamlet of Crowtrees. Alice did however, have a property dispute but it was with Henry Mitton, the person she was accused of bewitching to

Almond revealed the source for his information, which was Gladys Whittaker, *Roughlee Hall, Lancashire: Fact or Fiction* (Nelson: Marsden Antiquarians, 1980).

³¹¹ *Pendle Witch Walk at The Unveiling of The Alice Nutter Memorial Statue*, (2012), dir. Pendle Witch Walk's Channel.

Please refer to <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1LDPxpY5D0>, accessed 28 July 2015.

³¹² John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (Hampshire, 2010), pp. 26-63.

Note: John Lennon and Malcolm Foley provided examples of how innocent people were killed unjustly in *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*, such as the mass killing of Jewish people that occurred in Nazi Germany during the 1930s and 1940s.

death, not Nowell.³¹³ However, the idea that this dispute had anything to do with Alice being arrested could certainly not be ruled out as relatives or friends of Mitton could have persuaded Nowell to act against Alice. Second, it has been claimed that Alice's children did not assist their mother when she was accused of murdering Mitton because they wanted to quickly inherit Alice's estate and land. Clayton dismissed this in his book *The Lancashire Witch Conspiracy*.³¹⁴ According to Clayton, most of the land would go to her son Miles, as he inherited it from his father; therefore, hastening his mother's demise would not have benefitted him as Alice's estate was small and not as grand as Potts described in his pamphlet. Clayton described the likelihood of Miles allowing his mother to be charged and executed for witchcraft as small because gaining such a small estate would not be worth having his mother executed.³¹⁵ However, he does mention the possibility of Jennet Device being bribed or encouraged by Nowell into identifying people, including Alice who supposedly attended the Malkin Tower meeting.³¹⁶ Jennet Device, the youngest in the Device family at Malkin Tower, was probably the most important tool that helped determine the fate of those accused, particular those who were from the Pendle area or accused of attending the Malkin Tower meeting. This is because in court, Jennet identified those who were at the Malkin Tower meeting.³¹⁷

Alice Nutter's memorial statue symbolises local history and heritage which is another important aspect of the statue because it marks a particular location that was linked to a tragic event. Because the Alice Nutter statue is part of a major district-wide initiative to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire witch trials this indicates that there were people in 2011 and 2012 showing their appreciation of their local history.³¹⁸ Without Starkie, the commissioning of the state

³¹³ John A Clayton, *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook* (Hockley, 2012), pp. 124-125.

According to Clayton, Henry's father owned forty acres of land in Roughlee but, Alice's father-in-law was the executor of Henry's father and when he died, Henry only inherited six acres of land from his father. This caused disputes and anger between Alice and Henry Mitton.

³¹⁴ John A Clayton, *The Lancashire Witch Conspiracy: A History of Pendle Forest and the Pendle Witch Trials* (Hockley, 2007), p. 240.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Edgar Peel and Path Southern, *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches* (Nelson, 1985), p. 65.

³¹⁸ Note: The Alice Nutter Memorial Statue was initiated by PBC (Starkie). PBC was also responsible for other

would have been unlikely considering he, a member of two councils, initiated this project. Starkie became interested in the story of the Lancashire witches when he was an art student in Lancaster which is where the witches were imprisoned until their trial. The interest that Starkie had in the Lancashire witch trials probably stayed with him and enabled him to develop the interest in commemorating Alice Nutter.³¹⁹

It is clear that PBC and other planners wanted to attempt to correct any misconceptions about Alice Nutter and probably other people who were executed in 1612. There are a couple of indicators that make it certain that symbolising only factual information was an important aim with the statue. First, the commissioning report that was prepared by PBC and RPC in collaboration with residents of Roughlee indicated that the planners were familiar with myths and legends about Alice Nutter, particularly in regards to location. According to legend, Alice lived at Roughlee Hall. However, recent research that was conducted by local Pendle historian Gladys Whitaker suggests that Alice Nutter lived on a farm closer to the hamlet of Crowtrees but within the Roughlee area, as mentioned earlier.³²⁰ The PBC commissioning report for the memorial statue also indicated that Alice living at Roughlee Hall was a misconception and that at the time of planning, there was greater certainty that she lived in a farm near to Crowtrees.³²¹ Alice's statue was erected on the side of Blacko road between the hamlet of Crowtrees and Roughlee to mark the area that Alice lived instead of an exact location due to no one knowing the exact place where Alice lived. Crowtrees is considered part of the village area but not directly in Roughlee. However, the statue's location symbolises Alice taken from this particular area of Pendle to Lancaster Castle.³²²

There are monuments that exist throughout the world that can be classified as "dark tourism",

commemorative events including the Pendle Sculpture Trail and a Pendle hillside art installation.

³¹⁹ *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 16 November 2011, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/pendle/blacko/9366111.Statue_plan_for_Pendle_witch_Alice_Nutter/, accessed 15 September 2015.

³²⁰ John A Clayton, *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook* (Hockley, 2012), p. 125.

³²¹ Alice Nutter Commissioning Report, 2011 (Cllr James Starkie, PBC, and Roughlee Parish Council).

³²² Note: According to <http://www.pendletoday.co.uk/what-s-on/gigs-music/pendle-witch-alice-nutter-statue-unveiled-photo-special-1-4788691>, Starkie claims that Alice Nutter lived 100 years of the location of the statue.

which often involve the traveling to sites that have themes relating to death.³²³ Alice Nutter's statue can be connected to dark tourism because the statue does represent someone who was executed as a consequence of a tragic event; therefore, her statue can be considered to be an example of dark tourism. However, even though her statue is connected to death, there is nothing about the statue that is sensationalised which the planners clearly wanted to omit.³²⁴ Therefore, the statue would probably not attract certain groups that are interested in death-themed memorials just out of morbid-based curiosity instead of history-related curiosity, but people who are interested in historical events, either local or national. Professor Malcom Gaskill, who is a Professor of Early Modern History at the University of East Anglia, explained that the common stereotype of witches are people who were usually elderly women, not married, and usually lived in poverty.³²⁵ Also, they have been portrayed as wearing a black pointy hat and fly on broomsticks.³²⁶ However, Starkie claims that this is not what people are supposed to see and that she is not supposed to be portrayed as a witch, but someone executed who was from Roughlee according to Starkie³²⁷ and suggests that the planners of the statue wanted people to see Alice as an actual real person and not someone whose portrayal is linked to common stereotypes or someone sensationalised. Starkie's statements at the unveiling also suggest that the statue's planners were well-aware of common misconceptions of witches and people who were accused of witchcraft flying on broomsticks and that this misconception needed to be corrected by showing Alice as a real person. There are people who feel that sensationalising a person or historical event is not right and probably should not take place. According to Professors David Uzzell and Roy Ballantyne, "the interpretation of dark sites should ideally authenticate the events they represent or commemorate in a manner which recognises and

³²³ Richard Sharpley, 'Shedding Light on Dark Tourism: An introduction', in Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone's (eds), *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory of Practice and Dark Tourism* (Ontario, 2009), p. 10.

³²⁴ Alice Nutter Commissioning Report, 2011 (Cllr James Starkie, PBC, and Roughlee Parish Council).

³²⁵ Malcolm Gaskill 'Witchcraft in Early Modern Kent: Stereotypes in the Background to Accusations', in Johnathan Barry, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts (eds), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge, 1996) p. 258.

³²⁶ Ainsworth's novel – give page numbers where particular witch stereotypes are illustrated

³²⁷ *Pendle Witch Walk at The Unveiling of The Alice Nutter Memorial Statue*, (2012), dir. Pendle Witch Walk's Channel. Please refer to <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1LDPxpY5D0>, accessed 28 July 2015.

responds to the emotions of potential visitors or visitor groups".³²⁸ Therefore, there are those who feel that if there is a memorial to be sculpted or a site or event to be commemorated, then it should tell the right story to the public and not sensationalise.

Alice's statue is a permanent statue that commemorates Alice Nutter by name the statue offers something physical and something permanent to the public. They will also be aware that this statue commemorated the ten people who were executed after the 1612 summer assizes which were held at Lancaster Castle. Also, Roughlee is part of Pendle Borough and like many memorials, the statue represents something tragic that occurred in a particular area. For decades to come, people will be reminded of the terrible tragedies that befell ten people of what today makes up the Borough of Pendle.

2. The Lancashire Witches 400 Walking Trail

GC's Lancashire Witches walk (LW walk) was the centrepiece project under the GC LW400 programme. It opened on 17 May 2013, five months after the commemorative year ended. The LW walk was chosen for analysis because of its grandness in size. It is fifty-one miles long, starting at village of Barrowford, and ending at Lancaster Castle. The starting and ending points probably symbolises the transporting of the prisoners from Pendle to the place where they would be imprisoned until their trial. Visitors will see a variety of art work along the trail which consists of milestones, waymarkers, and signposts which were mostly created by artists recruited by GC.³²⁹

GC said that they wanted to commemorate the history of "those who became known as the Lancashire Witches". Ten waymarkers were created for the trail by Manchester-based text artist Stephen Raw,³³⁰ with each one bearing the name of one of the ten people hanged for witchcraft in

³²⁸ David Uzzell and Roy Balantyne, 'Representing the Macabre: Interpretation, Kitschification, and Authenticity', in Richard Sharpley and Philip R Stone (eds), *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory And Practice of Dark Tourism* (Bristol, 2009), p. 112.

³²⁹ Note: The LWWalk was created by a team of collaborators which included GC, the Forest of Bowland, the Ribble Valley Borough Council, Historian Robert Poole, the Lancaster Ramblers Association, the Burnley Rambler Association, the Long Distance Walking Association Research Team, environmental officers from Lancaster County and Pendle BC, artists such as Stephen Raw, Julie Miles, and of Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy.

³³⁰ <http://greenclose.org/new/category/slideshow/page/3>, accessed 17 May 2015.

1612. Each half-ton waymarker has been carefully placed along the fifty-one-mile trail. Although GC wanted to commemorate the victims by name, the tercet waymarkers could also be seen as giving those executed the dignity they deserve. The actual place where the executions took place is widely believed to be the place where all eleven people, which would include Demdike were buried. Also, Lancaster Castle Museum officials are not sure where the site of execution was specifically located. However, according to the museum officials, the gallows were probably located by Williamson Park, which is a public park near the castle, or, the or near the south side of entrance to the park.³³¹ Because the burial locations of the accused are unknown, the waymarkers can be looked on as gravestones, marking the lives of each person executed since they weren't given a proper burial in 1612. This is similar to The Menin Gate memorial in Ypres, Belgium, which is a World War One memorial dedicated to those who have no graves. It also has names of soldiers inscribed on the memorial, similar to how each person executed is named, but on different waymarkers.³³² Also, GC and Duffy's unveiling of the first waymarker, which took place on 17 May 2012 took place at Williamson Park, which is another suggestion that GC wanted to give the executed a proper grave marker, considering Williamson Park is believed to be where the gallows once stood.³³³ The waymarkers encourage people to remember that those executed were human beings and not witches. GC appears to share this feeling about the executed as they themselves referred to those executed as "so-called witches".³³⁴

³³¹ Note: When speaking with an employee of the Lancaster Castle Museum on 08 September 2015, it was discovered that it is common belief among the employees of the Museum that those who were executed were buried where they were executed or within close proximity to the site of execution. Demdike would probably be amongst those in the unmarked graves considering she died at the Castle, probably of natural causes and wasn't executed.

³³² John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (Hampshire, 2010), p. 124.

The Menin Gate memorial is a World War I memorial dedicated to missing soldiers who have no grave. It was inaugurated in 1927. It has the names of allied troops inscribed on it.

³³³ <http://greenclose.org/new/carol-ann-duffy-comes-to-lancaster> , accessed 15 May 2014.

³³⁴ <http://greenclose.org/new/carol-ann-duffy-comes-to-lancaster> , accessed 15 May 2014.

Green Close and Carol Ann Duffy unveiled the first waymarker on 17 May 2012, which was positioned at Williamson Park. When Green Close announced the event on their website, those executed were referred to as the "so-called witches", which suggests that GC wanted to convey the fact that not only do those who were executed were done so without given a proper burial, they also went to their unmarked graves at innocent human beings.



JOAN BRYDEN PHOTOGRAPHY ³³⁵



³³⁶

Every person who was executed in 1612 has a waymarker that pays tribute to them by having the executed person's name on it as portrayed below. Alice Nutter's (tercet 5) waymarker is on top. Anne Redfearne's (tercet 9) waymarker is the bottom picture.

³³⁵ Joan Bryden Photography <http://www.wildcardwalks.co.uk/images/SLAIDBURN-55A--Tercet-5,-Lancashire-Witches-Walk.jpg> , accessed 15 September 2015.

³³⁶ <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/4056895> , accessed 15 September 2015.

A poem written by Carol Ann Duffy

The Lancashire Witches

by Carol Ann Duffy

One voice for ten dragged this way once
by superstition, ignorance.
Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

Witch: female, cunning, manless, old,
daughter of such, of evil faith;
in the murk of Pendle Hill, a crone.

Here, heavy storm-clouds, ill-will brewed,
over fields, fells, farms, blighted woods.
On the wind's breath, curse of crow and rook.

From poverty, no poetry
but weird spells, half-prayer, half-threat;
sharp pins in the little dolls of death.

At daylight's gate, the things we fear
darken and form. That tree, that rock,
a slattern's shape with the devil's dog.

Something upholds us in its palm-
landscape, history, place and time-
and, above, the same old witness moon

below which Demdike, Chattox, shrieked,
like hags, unloved, an underclass,
badly fed, unwell. Their eyes were red.

But that was then- when difference
made ghouls of neighbours; child beggars,
feral, filthy, threatened in their cowls.

Grim skies, the grey remorse of rain;
sunset's crimson shame; four seasons,
centuries, turning, in Lancashire,

away from Castle, Jury, Judge,
huge crowd, rough rope, short drop, no grave;
only future tourists who might grieve.

Commissioned for 'Witches 400' Project.

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Raws's waymarkers also contain one tercet or verse of a very important poem written by Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy. It is titled *The Lancashire Witches* and was commissioned specifically for the LW walking trail. On each of the ten waymarkers created by Rea, there is one cast iron tercet of the poem that has been inscribed on the marker by Raw there are ten tercets to Duffy's poem; each

³³⁷ Carol Ann Duffy, *The Lancashire Witches* (Poem Commissioned for 'Witches 400 Project' Project, 2012).

waymarker has one tercet.³³⁸ Because each waymarker has a tercet inscribed on it as shown below, Raw's waymarkers have been referred to as 'tercet' waymarkers by Green Close. The back of each waymarker also has the entire poem inscribed on the back of the tercet.



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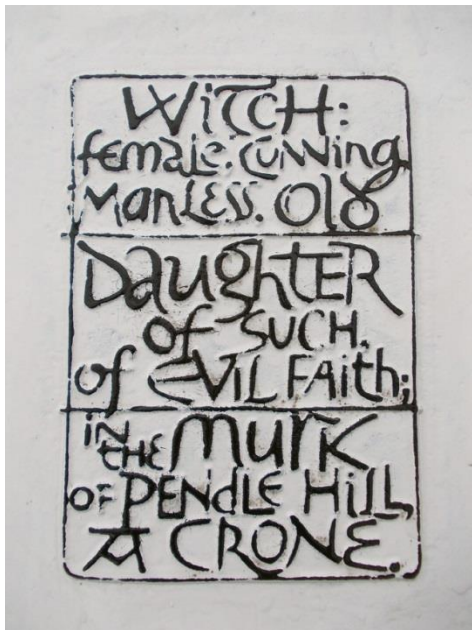
340

Above, are two pictures that show what the 'tercet' waymarkers would look like to walkers upon approach.

³³⁸ <http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:q2a6boTFDu8J:greenclose.org/new/category/lancashire-witches-400+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk> accessed 15 September 2015.

³³⁹ <http://greenclose.org/new/category/lancashire-witches-400> , accessed 15 September 2015.

³⁴⁰ <http://greenclose.org/new/category/lancashire-witches-400> , accessed 15 September 2015.



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Above is a picture of the second tercet of *The Lancashire Witches*, written by Duffy. The picture on the right portrays the entire poem on the back of the waymarker.

Carol Ann Duffy is a Scottish poet and writer. Before committing herself to the Lancashire Witch 400 Project, Carol received recognition for her *Selling Manhattan* and, *The Other Country*. She is the recipient of the Somerset Maugham Award and also received Scottish Arts Council Book Award in 1990 after she finished *The Other Country*.³⁴³



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Poet Laureate, Carol Ann Duffy, author of *The Lancashire Witches* poem, created specifically for the LW walk to Lancaster Castle.

Duffy's poem consists of ten tercets; "The number ten resonates with the fact that there was ten

³⁴¹ <https://thewalkingdiary.wordpress.com/2013/09/07/ogden-reservoirs/>, accessed 15 September 2015.

³⁴² <https://thewalkingdiary.wordpress.com/2013/09/07/ogden-reservoirs/>, accessed 15 September 2015.

³⁴³ <http://www.scottishpoetrylibrary.org.uk/poetry/poets/carol-ann-duffy>, accessed 15 September 2015.

³⁴⁴ Note: According to <http://www.famousauthors.org/carol-ann-duffy>, Poet Laureate Carol Ann Duffy is a famous artist and poet. accessed 15 September 2015.

Pendle Witches”, according to GC.³⁴⁵ Duffy’s poem can be analysed as a work of art that relates to the Lancashire witches as certain tercets, particularly the first and second tercets, can convey significant facts about what happened to those who were accused and why accusations occurred. The poem suggests that those who were executed really were not afforded dignity before and after their deaths. The first tercet, which says, *“One voice for ten dragged this way once by superstition, ignorance. Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live”* conveys a similar message to that of Alice Nutter’s statue conveys, only in not the same words. For example, the fact that people believed in witches and that people were arrested and taken across a long distance to the gaol at Lancaster Castle, probably to be put to death because in early modern England, those accused rarely had access to legal counsel which meant that the chances of being defended would be extremely low. Also, accused people such as those arrested in 1612 were arrested because they were accused of being witches can be described as *superstition* and *ignorance*, which are two important key words in Duffy’s poem. The second tercet says, *Witch female, cunning, manless, old, daughter of such, of evil faith; in the murk of Pendle Hill, a crone*, suggests the stereotypes of witches and the actual cause of someone being accused in early-modern England. According to Malcolm Gaskill, the common stereotypical witch would be someone who was female, often elderly, lived alone.³⁴⁶ Duffy’s poem can also be analysed as linking the events of 1612 strongly to place, and reflecting on the reputation that Pendle Hill has had since the days of Ainsworth, as a place of darkness; reference to “the murk of Pendle Hill symbolises the eeriness of the area considering the lack of development in 1612 and today. However, Duffy also wanted to explain through her poem that because it was a time of

³⁴⁵ The Lancashire Witches Walk, 2011, (Forest of Bowland), http://forestofbowland.com/files/uploads/pdfs/fob_witcheswalksbackground.pdf , accessed 15 September 2015.

Note: The Forest of Bowland, which lies between Lancaster and Pendle, has a website. The website contains important information about special attractions and programmes, with the Lancashire Witches Walk being one of them. On LW walk section of the site, GC explained that the ten tercets symbolises the ten people who were executed.

³⁴⁶ Malcolm Gaskill, ‘Witchcraft in Early Modern Kent’ in Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester, Gareth Roberts (eds), *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 176.

superstition and ignorance, people, often women, were dragged across Bowland Fell to Lancaster gaol to be executed, with “no grave” and, remembered only by “future tourists who might grieve” in the twenty-first century.³⁴⁷ This statement, calls on those who walk the trail and read the tercets to remember and grieve for the people who were tried and executed unfairly in 1612. The simplicity of the way-markers, and the fact that they are made of stone, supports the interpretation that they were intended to act as gravestones for those executed. The waymarkers were not placed in any particular order in regards to the names of the people executed in 1612.

GC probably wanted the LW walk to symbolise the long journey the accused were forced to make after interrogation and their arrest. According to Poole who modernised Potts’s records, nineteen people were arrested. After their arrest, they had to travel to Lancaster Castle in order to be imprisoned at the castle to await their trial, which took place on 18 and 19 of August 1612. The transportation of the accused people took place between April and July 1612.³⁴⁸ The accused, which included the Devices, Demdike, Chattox, Anne Redfearne, Alice Nutter, the eight accused people from Samlesbury, Kathryn Hewyt, Jane and John Bulcock, Isabel Robey, and Margaret Pearson were taken to Lancaster Castle. The reason why it can be argued that the trail marks the journey to Lancaster Castle is because the trail cuts through the Ribble Valley, where the Forest of Bowland is located, in order to get to Lancaster Castle.³⁴⁹ Considering the location of Pendle, which is next to Ribble Valley District, it would be difficult to avoid cutting through Ribble Valley because it is between Lancaster and Pendle. The trail was clearly meant to symbolise the journey the accused took as it goes directly to Lancaster Castle, where the accused were gaoled and tried for witchcraft.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ Note: The “no grave” and “only future tourists who might grieve” were phrases and words from the last tercet of Carol Duffy’s poem, which could be interpreted as people who had no marked grave and are only recognised by tourists four hundred years later.

³⁴⁸ Philip C Almond, *The Lancashire Witches: A Chronicle of Sorcery and Death in Pendle Hill* (London, 2012), pp. xxiv –xxv.

³⁴⁹ See map at appendices

³⁵⁰ Note: Lancaster Castle continues to serve as HM court. Also, Elizabeth Southern, alia Demdike, travelled to Lancaster Castle as a prisoner but was not executed at the castle because she died in prison before her trial.

GC intended the LW walk to be a permanent trail that will continue to educate people about what happened in 1612 for generations to come. People who continue to visit the trail as well as other commemorative sites linked to the witches will be able to learn about atrocity that took place in England, and be encouraged to identify with the victims of the trials. In this sense, the LW walk is similar to other memorials that mark tragedies and injustice, such as the *Captured Africans* memorial which is also located in Lancaster and was intended to commemorate and mark the area's involvement in the transatlantic slave-trade. Another similarity is that there is no "dressing up" or sensationalising in order to make the memorial look even more appealing to the visitor. However, like the 'tercet' waymarkers, there are messages that are inscribed on the monument in order to be conveyed to the visitor. On the *Captured Africans* memorial, there is an inlaid mosaic of the Atlantic triangle with the lines symbolising a ship's movement, travelling its route of the slave trade (Americas, Europe, and Africa). On the memorial, there are blocks that represent ill-gotten goods that came from the slave trade at the expense of human life and dignity.³⁵¹ The memorial is for people to look at and then imagine the horror of slavery just like visitors can read Duffy's poem and imagine what it would be like to be accused like those ten people were in 1612, probably knowing that they would be executed while being locked in the gaol. The LW walk is also successful because



In this picture of the Captured Africans memorial statue is portrayed, which is located on the quay in Lancaster. It immortalises those who were captured and brought to England on slave ships. It also pays tribute to those who died on the ships. The memorial was put up in 2005.

³⁵¹Alan Rice, *The Darker Side of Tourism*, p. 237.

³⁵² <http://www.dreamstime.com/royalty-free-stock-image-captured-africans-slave-memorial-quay-lancaster-part-trade-arts-project-sculpture-lancashire-image32933266> accessed 17 October 2015.



³⁵³

The Anti-slavery medallion, by Josiah Wedgwood, which can be viewed at the Brooklyn Museum. Inscribed on the medallion are the words, “Am I not a man and a brother?”

it symbolises the journey the accused made, commemorates each executed by name, can convey certain aspects about the Lancashire witches and the witch trials such as persecution and superstition, and it is permanent therefore, the waymarkers and will exist for several generations. According to Poole, “At a time when real books and libraries are disappearing and intangible digital texts are multiplying in cyberspace; this is one text that is guaranteed to be physically around for a long time. The poem is composed of short, concrete, expressive Anglo-Saxon words, so it’s ideal to be cast in iron and made part of the landscape”.³⁵⁴ Each waymarker was given a special coat of paint that would protect them from the elements.³⁵⁵ Also, the creativity that was put into the LW walk itself describes how successful the LW walk is, such as how Sue and Pete managed to create a symbolism of an important aspect of the Lancashire witch trials, in this case the LW walk that was clearly made to symbolise the journey and history of the events, and link it to one of the only remaining physical aspects of the 1612 events, which would be the castle.

³⁵³ https://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/a/anti-slavery_medallion_by_jos.aspx accessed 15 October 2015.

³⁵⁴ <http://greenclose.org/new/category/lancashire-witches-400> , accessed 17 May 2015.

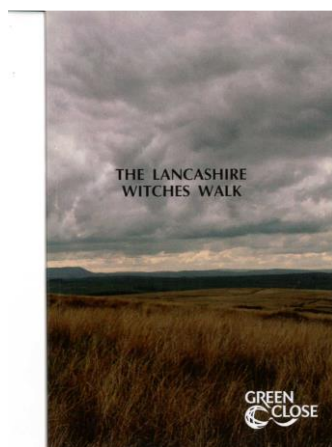
³⁵⁵ <http://greenclose.org/new/category/lancashire-witches-400> , accessed 17 May 2015.



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“At a time when real books and libraries are disappearing and intangible digital texts are multiplying in cyberspace, this is one text that is guaranteed to be physically around for a long time. The poem is composed of short, concrete, expressive Anglo-Saxon words, so it’s ideal to be cast in iron and made part of the landscape”. Dr Robert Poole

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The Lancashire Witches Walk was published by Green Close in 2013. This book provides maps, information about accommodation and dining along the 51- mile trail to Lancaster Castle, and information regarding who Green Close collaborated with.

Above is the cover of *The Lancashire Witches walk* booklet that Green Close put together in 2013 immediately after the opening of the LW walk in the spring of 2013. The booklet provides maps for the trail, a backstory of the Lancashire witch trials by Poole, and Duffy’s poem. This book is also a reflection of the amount of work that went into the trail, and also acknowledges those who helped make the trail a possibility.

3. The Pendle Sculpture Trail

The Pendle Sculpture Trail was chosen for analysis because the planners chose to mix aspects of nature with an important historical event in order to commemorate the Lancashire witch

³⁵⁶ <http://lancashirewitches400.org/>, accessed 17 May 2015.

³⁵⁷ <http://greenclose.org/new/witches-walk-launch-with-carol-ann-duffy>, accessed 15 June 2015.

³⁵⁸ Green Close Studios, *The Lancashire Witches Walk* (Pendle, 2013), front cover.

trials of 1612 so that Art, history and nature could come together in order to artistically represent features of the 1612 events.³⁵⁹

The project was initiated by PBC in collaboration with local and lead artist Philippe Handford. While GC's LW walk to Lancaster Castle incorporates nature into their commemorative project, which was the actual walking trail that enables walkers to see natural England while finding out about those who were executed and the events of 1612, PBC and Handford chose to emphasise nature by creating works of art with natural substances such as wood. After all, nature is what inspired Handford to do what he did with the sculpture trail; linking world events with local history and commemorating local events is what inspired Green Close. The Pendle Sculpture Trail opened in October 2012 and is located in the beautiful Aitken Wood near the village of Barley.³⁶⁰ Visitors are invited to grasp important aspects that are related to what happened in 1612 by viewing the ceramic plaques, sculptures, and wood carvings. PBC published a guide in the form of a leaflet that can either be downloaded from www.visitpendle.com³⁶¹ or collected at one of the visitor centres in Pendle. The sculpture trail, like the Alice Nutter Statue and the LW walk, creates a certain impression of the Lancashire witches through plaques, art installations, and through the leaflet guide. When the sculpture trail opened in 2012, there were fifteen sculptures that visitors could look at, plus ten ceramic witches' plaques, which are portrayed below. Handford's project is similar to the LW walk with its 10 tercet waymarkers, and the commemoration of victims by naming. Some sculptures were created from natural objects already in existence, such as fallen trees. The ceramic plaques that McDade made are installed on tree stumps. Also, some works of art were created in studios and the installed along the trail, which is approximately 1.5 miles long.

³⁵⁹ <http://letswalkinpendle.btck.co.uk/ThePendleSculptureTrail> , accessed 15 May 2015.

³⁶⁰ <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/10/24/new-sculpture-trail-for-pendle-a60> , accessed 15 May 2015.

³⁶¹ Ibid.



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The top picture shows Philippe Handford leaning against the wall, along with ceramic artists Sarah McDade who created the witches' plaques. Also pictured are Martyn Bednarczuk, and Steve Blaylock, who are standing beside Handford and against what is described on the leaflet guide as 'the living wall'. The second picture (above) is of Philippe Handford. The bottom picture is of Handford, Lancaster Castle Museum Curator Colin Penny, and Pendle Tourism Officer Mike Williams who gave the VisitEngland and Marketing Lancashire a VIP tour of the Sculpture Trail on 22 August 2012.

³⁶² *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 12 January 2012, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/9468952.Pendle_Witches_sculpture_trail_to_mark_400th_anniversary/?ref=rss, accessed 13 July 2015.

³⁶³ *Pendle Today*, 5 September 2014, <http://www.pendletoday.co.uk/news/local/40th-anniversary-art-exchange-1-6824103>, accessed 07 July 2015.



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³⁶⁴ <http://www.marketinglancashire.com/news/2012/8/22/olympic-media-visit-lancashire-a2203> , accessed 15 September 2015.

The leaflet below should be downloaded or collected at visitor centres before visiting the sculpture trail as it provides key information about the artists who installed sculptures, along with information about what each artist contributed and what made the sculpture trail become a reality.

The Pendle Sculpture Trail

Walk distance: It is approximately 1 mile to get to the trail from Barley Car Park including one uphill stretch and one steep path. Once in Aitken Wood, which is situated on a slope, you could easily walk another mile walking around. Please wear stout footwear as there can be some muddy stretches after wet weather.

Allow around 2 to 3 hours for your visit.

See back cover for details on how to book a tramper vehicle for easier access to the wood for people with walking difficulties.

Visit the Pendle Sculpture Trail in an atmospheric woodland setting. Art, history and nature come together against the stunning backdrop of Pendle Hill.

Four artists have created a unique and intriguing range of sculptures. Their work is inspired by the history of the Pendle Witches of 1612 and the natural world in this wild and beautiful corner of Lancashire.

Explore the peaceful setting of Aitken Wood to find ceramic plaques by Sarah McDade. She's designed each one individually to symbolise the ten people from Pendle who were accused of witchcraft over 400 years ago. You'll also find an inspiring range of sculptures, large and small, which are created from wood, steel and stone, including Philippe Handford's amazing curving tree sculptures.



The Artists (as pictured here left to right) are Philippe Handford (Lead Artist), Steve Blaylock, Maryn Bednarczuk, and Sarah McDade

Philippe's sculptures include: Reconnected 1, Reconnected 2, The Gateway, Life Circle and Spirits of the Wood (steel figures which are alive inside with holly bushes!). There is also The Quaker Tree which represents the branching out of the Quakers from humble beginnings in Pendle. In 1652 George Fox

had a religious vision on top of nearby Pendle Hill which led him to found the Quaker movement.

Look high in the trees to spot Steve Blaylock's metal bats, owl and a giant spiders' web representing the natural world of the wood at twilight and

after dark. There's even a beautifully carved life-size figure of a witchfinder by Maryn Bednarczuk. This sculpture has overtones of the local magistrate, Roger Nowell, who first interrogated the Pendle villagers who later became famous as the Pendle Witches.



A Witches Plaque



Philippe Handford, the lead artist, who lives in Pendle, says: "I've been up Pendle Hill many times with the view of creating natural sculptures. As a result of this I was approached by the Council to see if I would be interested in creating some

kind of permanent trail. It's great to be involved in this fantastic project. We've all been inspired by the beauty of the area. There are some intriguing shapes in Aitken Wood and we've all been touched by a sense of Pendle's history.



How to get to Barley - take Junction 13 off the M65 and follow the signs for Fence/Barden Mill. About a mile and half up the road (A6068) look for a sign for Barley Plonic site, and turn right at the sign. Continue to follow the brown & white signs for Barley Car park. This will take you up into the village of Newchurch (home of "Witches Galore" emporium) and down again into the village of Barley.

From the A59 Preston - Skipton route: At Gisburn take the road signed for Nelson, and after about two to three miles look for a pub on the left called the Moorcock Inn, after the pub look for signs for Barley Plonic site on the sharp left hand bend. Turn right. This route will take you through the village of Roughlee.

If you've enjoyed this sculpture trail you might like to visit these others:

East Lancashire Panopticon
www.midpeninears.org.uk/panopticon

Burnley - www.tinyurl.com/towneysculptures

Ribble Valley - www.tinyurl.com/ribblevalleysculptures

Irwell Valley - www.irwellsculpturetrail.co.uk

Lancashire - A witches trail is being developed with arts installations along the route. For information go to - www.lancashirewitches400.org

There are many other arts attractions as well and these can be found at:
www.visitlancashire.com

Thanks to: The sculpture trail is part financed by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development: Europe investing in rural areas, with Defra as the Managing Authority and via the Pendle Lancashire Local Action Group. The land on which the trail is located is owned by United Utilities who have worked in partnership with Pendle Council on the trail.

Thanks also to Pendle Leisure Trust and Mid-Pennine Arts for their assistance.

Other things to see and do

There are many other things to see and do in Pendle. The area has beautiful countryside and is popular with walkers and cyclists. There are also a number of great events throughout the year including the award-winning Great British Rhythm & Blues Festival in Colne at the August Bank Holiday and the Pendle Walking Festival in September.

To find out more about the Pendle Witches we have a Pendle Witches Trail which can be done by bike, minibus or car and there is also a walking trail, called Walking With Witches.

Visit the Pendle Heritage Centre in Barrowford for more information on the fascinating history of the Pendle Witches.

For more information on Pendle, including accommodation, and how to get here, please visit our website: www.visitpendle.com

Tramper Route

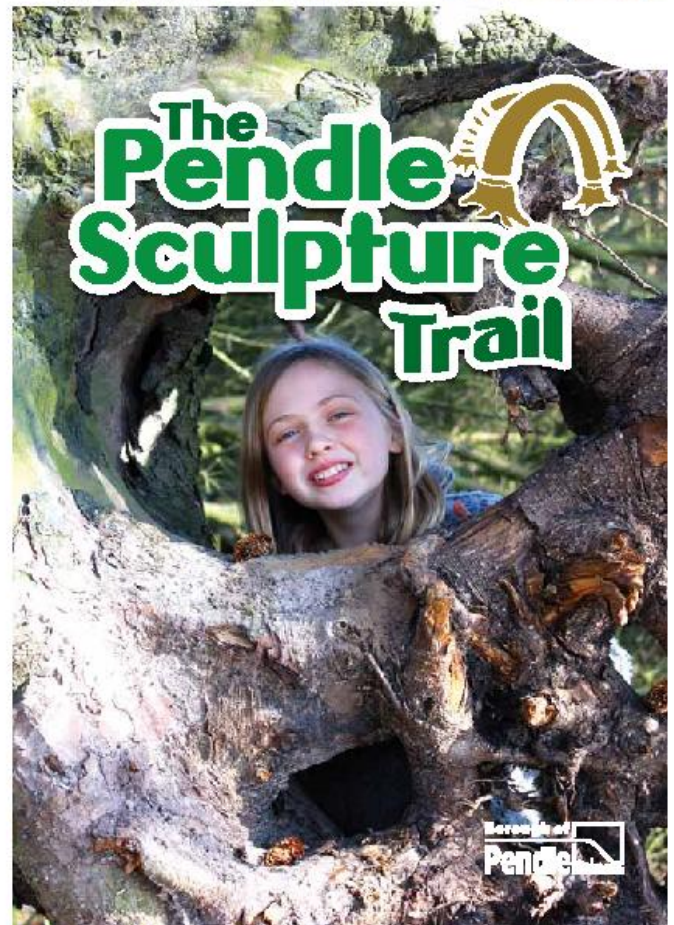
For those with disabilities or for the less mobile the upper part of the trail is accessible with a tramper-type vehicle. Vehicles can be booked by calling The Bowland Experience on 01200 446553 or 07853 996545. 48 hours notice required. Not suitable for normal electric wheelchairs.

Tourist Information

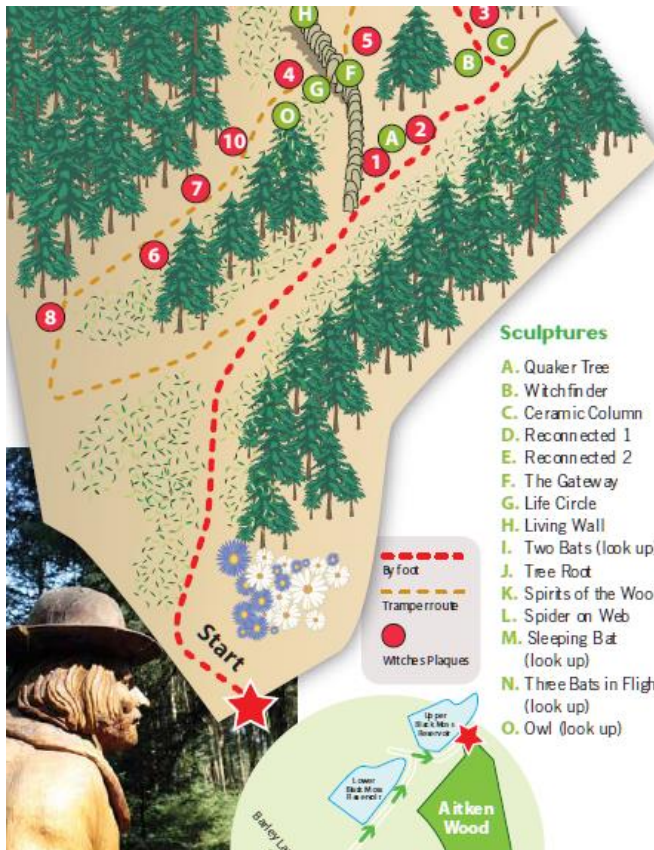
Discover Pendle,
Boundary Mill, Vivary Way, Colne, BB8 9NW
Tel: 01282 856186.

Pendle Heritage Centre,
Parkhill, Barrowford,
BB9 6JQ Tel: 01282 677150.

Photography by Sarah Lee and Lee Johnson. Graphic design by Pendle Council 03164 - updated 10/13



The map and directions is printed on the back of the leaflet, which are portrayed below. The leaflet conveys information about the witch trials and key people as visitors will also be able to read about the ten Lancashire witches along with basic information about the 1612 events and people. However, visitors are tasked with finding the sculptures and ceramic pieces using the map below and try and find the ceramic plaque that symbolises each of the ten witches.



Sculptures

- A. Quaker Tree
- B. Witchfinder
- C. Ceramic Column
- D. Reconnected 1
- E. Reconnected 2
- F. The Gateway
- G. Life Circle
- H. Living Wall
- I. Two Bats (look up)
- J. Tree Root
- K. Spirits of the Wood
- L. Spider on Web
- M. Sleeping Bat (look up)
- N. Three Bats in Flight (look up)
- O. Owl (look up)

year old Jennet Devise, grandchild of Demdike and sister of Allison, took centre stage in court, giving evidence against neighbours and her own family.

On the 20th August 1612 nine of the accused from Pendle were hanged in Lancaster. Jennet and Allison's grandmother, Demdike died before-hand in the terrible conditions of Lancaster Castle's Well Tower.

Which witch is which?! You could win a weekend break in Pendle...

To follow this unique witches in the wood trail we have placed the rough location of each plaque on a map of the wood. Here are some clues on the identity of each witch. All you need to do is match the so called witch to the correct plaque, filling in the coupon.

Elizabeth Southern known as Demdike and head of one of the main families involved, was one of the accused. She was an elderly lady who was imprisoned at Lancaster Castle and died before the trial – Do you see a castle tower?

Allison Devise was the grand-daughter of Demdike and the one it all started with. She was begging on the road to Colne in March 1612 when she passed a pedlar called John Law. She begged some pins from him, but he refused to give her anything. She cursed him and he fell down, allegedly lamed by a spell. Can you spot a handful of pins?

Anne Whittle was one of the old matriarchs of the main two feuding local families accused of witchcraft. Her nickname was Chattox because she was given to chattering with her old decrepit teeth. Somewhere you'll find a jawbone and teeth – but where?

Chattox was the daughter of Chattox. She was accused of making a clay doll or 'picture' as they were called, in order to kill a local man, Robert Nutter. There is evidence from history and from other cultures of the use of clay dolls with pins stuck in them to do harm to people. Can you spot a clay doll on your trip through the wood?

Katherine Hewitt. James Devise implicated Katherine as having killed Anne Foulds, a child from Colne, by witchcraft. Her nickname was Mouldheels and she was more well-to-do than most of the other so called witches. Her husband was a clothier, which meant he was a weaver or supplied yarn. Can you see a textile weave pattern anywhere?

John Bulcock was one of the accused who was said to have roasted the stolen mutton at the Malkin Tower gathering on Good Friday, where the Pendle Witches were said to have plotted to release the four witches that had been taken to Lancaster Castle Gaol. Is there a sheep's head anywhere on the trail?

Jane Bulcock along with her son John, was accused of practising 'devilish arts' on Jennet Deane of Newfield Edge so that her body wasted and she went mad. Jane was on the list of neighbours who were at the Malkin Tower gathering where, it's said, they plotted to blow up Lancaster Castle, kill the goblin and rescue the four women accused of witchcraft. If this was the case she would've needed some slow-matches or fuses – can you see which plaque they're on?



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The sculpture trail leaflet describes the ten plaques as the 'witches in the woods' therefore visitors would probably imagine that they are going to find out about those who were accused and why. The ceramic plaques are scattered amongst the sculptures. According to McDade, each plaque symbolises one of the ten witches and the number of people who died at Lancaster Castle, including Demdike; using the guide and by looking at each ceramic plaque, the visitors will have the names and the individual story of the witches conveyed to them.³⁶⁶ However, the visitor needs to use the guide, and read the description of each of the ten executed witches, which act as clues. Then, visitors are given the task of finding the plaque that matches the clues or description given beside each victim's name on the leaflet. Each plaque has pictures that are associated with the person's backstory. After visitors find each plaque, they should have discovered the ten witches of

³⁶⁵ Pendle Borough Council, *The Pendle Sculpture Trail Visitor Guide* (Pendle, 2012).

³⁶⁶ Pendle Borough Council, *The Pendle Sculpture Trail Visitor Guide* (Pendle, 2012).

Note: Although Demdike was accused and sent to Lancaster gaol to receive her trial, she died in the gaol Before she was tried.

1612 along with information about each person. In addition to this, the leaflet also contains a summary of the Lancashire witches; therefore, visitors will already have clues conveyed to them about the 1612 events in regards to how superstition and scapegoating was responsible for the 1612 trials and executions. However, the visitor needs to see each plaque in order to find out the names of the accused and executed, along with what caused them to be arrested, and the story behind each victim. When the ten plaques have been discovered, visitors will have conveyed to them the events of the 1612 witch trials and probably have more knowledge about important people of the witch trials. The difference as to how the sculpture trail conveys this message is that information gathered at the sculpture trail is task oriented, instead of just conveying facts to be read by visitors from a plaque or on waymarkers, which is the case at Alice Nutter's statue and at the LW walk. At the sculpture trail, visitors may read about what life was like in 1612 along with the initial events of the witch trials of 1612, but will need to follow instructions as to how they could gather information about how the accused and executed, along with what caused them to be executed, similar to a treasure hunt.



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One the left, the entrance to the sculpture trail is portrayed. Below, Picture One is of the entrance to the Aitken Wood and the Sculpture Trail. Picture Two portrays the natural beauty that visitors will see as they are walking along the Sculpture Trail.

³⁶⁷ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

³⁶⁸ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

Sarah McDade, a ceramicist, created the ten ceramic plaques that represent each of the people who were condemned as witches,³⁶⁹ which visitors will see at the Pendle Sculpture Trail. The plaques have clues about each of the ten people in the form of pictures, but nothing else. Sculptor, Martyn Bednarczuk, was responsible for creating the 'Roger Nowell' figure.³⁷⁰ Roger Nowell was the magistrate that interviewed and interrogated the accused. Steve Blaylock, a metal sculptor, was the artist who created the metal bats that are displayed in one of the photographs that were taken at the Pendle Sculpture Trail in January 2015. He also created a giant owl and a spider's web which are portrayed below.



1

³⁷¹



2

³⁷²

³⁶⁹ <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/2/2/new-sculpture-trail-a55> , accessed 15 June 2015.

³⁷⁰ <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/10/24/new-sculpture-trail-for-pendle-a60> , accessed 15 June 2015.

³⁷¹ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

³⁷² Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

The ceramic plaques were placed amongst the installations. However, they have been illustrated and explained on the leaflet in the order they appear on the sculpture trail.³⁷³ The art installations created by Handford, Bednarczuk, and Blaylock are also in order according to how they are mapped out on the leaflet. Because the creation of the sculpture trail was inspired by the beauty of Aitken Wood³⁷⁴ some of these sculptures commemorate nature rather than being Lancashire witch-oriented. Also, one particular installation commemorates George Fox’s religious encounter and the ‘branching out of the Quakers from humble beginnings in Pendle’; in 1652 George Fox had a religious vision on top of Pendle Hill which started the Quaker movement.³⁷⁵ This is why the tree in the picture below is called ‘The Quaker Tree’, which was sculpted from a fallen tree by Handford during 2011. Below are samples of the sculptures that are on display at the trail.



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3

The ‘Quaker Tree’



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4

This is a life-size figure of a witch-finder by Bednarczuk.

³⁷³ Note: The ceramic plaques, all created by Sarah McDade in 2011, are in the order that each of the executed names are in, which is how they have been installed along the sculpture trail.

³⁷⁴ Source needed to back this up

³⁷⁵ Pendle Borough Council, *The Pendle Sculpture Trail Visitor’s Guide*, 2012.

³⁷⁶ <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/4535378> , accessed 20 September 2015.

³⁷⁷ *BBC News*, 3 October 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-19815821> , accessed 12 June 2015.



5

'The ceramic column'

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Handford's 'Reconnected' is made mostly from wood. It is a 'reconnection of a fallen tree to its tree stump.'

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³⁷⁸ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

³⁷⁹ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.



10

Picture Ten is of Handford's 'Reconnected Two' which consists of four tree stumps connected by wood material. Picture Eleven is of 'The Living Wall. There is also an installation at the Pendle Sculpture Trail that is simply a tree root, which is portrayed in Picture Twelve.



11



12

³⁸⁰ <http://laughingsquid.com/reconnected-sculptures-turn-felled-trees-into-outdoor-art/> , accessed 20 October 2015.

³⁸¹ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

³⁸² <https://www.theimagefile.com/?Action=VF&id=9799560602> , accessed 20 October 2015.

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Picture Thirteen portrays an installation called 'The Spirits of the Wood', which consists of steel figures which have live holly bushes inside in order to symbolise the woods being 'alive' with spirits. This 'spirit' is a sample as there are other 'spirits' that have been installed. Handford created this installation. Pictures Fourteen, Fifteen, and Sixteen portray Blaylock's metal bats and a giant spiders' web which are portrayed in the remaining pictures.



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³⁸³ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andyhay/10676412805/meta/>, accessed 12 August 2015.

³⁸⁴ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.



15



16



17

Picture Seventeen is of an installation titled 'Bats in Flight'.

³⁹⁰ <https://dreamboat123.wordpress.com/2014/08/06/black-cats-and-broomsticks/> , accessed 20 November 2015.

³⁹¹ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

³⁹² https://dreamboat123.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/img_0276.jpg , accessed 20 November 2015.



18

Picture Eighteen is of Alice Nutter's plaque. Although the plaque is not named, the Pendle Sculpture Trail guide suggests that this plaque, which pictures crows in a tree, symbolises Alice Nutter. Alice Nutter is believed to have lived near the hamlet of Crowtrees.

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The plaque in Picture Nineteen symbolises Alice Nutter. The plaque has a picture of a tower which refers to Malkin Tower, where Old Demdike lived. The plaque in Picture Twenty symbolises Old Chattox as the plaque has a picture of a bottom jaw inscribed on it. It symbolises Old Chattox because it was claimed that her bottom jaw often chattered.



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The artists who created the Pendle Sculpture Trail each had their own style and theme regarding the art work and sculptures that they created. Handford is a local artist and is from Higherford, Pendle.

³⁹³ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.
³⁹⁴ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.
³⁹⁵ https://dreamboat123.files.wordpress.com/2014/08/img_0315.jpg , accessed 20 November 2015.

He was responsible for making use of steel in order to create spirits of the woods, as seen below. He also created the caterpillar objects that visitors would see. There are two of these on the Pendle Sculpture Trail and are called 'reconnections' because Handford wanted to use vandalism and violence of today (illegal cut trees), and "reconnect" it with" the cruelty of yesteryear victimisation of the supposed supernatural".³⁹⁶ In order to do this, Philippe made use of illegally cut trees in order to create these pieces of art. These trees were not damaged by extreme weather but apparently by vandals cutting down trees being that Philippe described them as "illegally felled".³⁹⁷ He connected the trees to the trunks and described this by "designing a frame for an isolated location brings its own challenges and relies on accurate dimensions and detailed survey of the site. The trunk was sliced before I designed the supporting structure. Each trunk slice is supported by a bracket that is individually bolted to the frame. The two ends of the curved steel are welded to a ring that fits the profile of the trunk".³⁹⁸ Philippe explains that the "illegally felled" trees were hints at 1612 witch trials.³⁹⁹ The photographs below show one tree which has been reconnected to the trunk while the other photograph portrays numerous trees being 'stretched' and reconnected to their trunks. These two installations, both created by Philippe do relate to the Lancashire witches as the 'stretched' trees indicate the hangings of the witches. When a person is hanged, the weight of the body tries to stretch the rope while at the same time, stretches and breaks the neck of the person hanged. Therefore, "the stretched sculptures hint at the hangings".⁴⁰⁰ However, analysing the significance of the single fallen but reconnected tree would be more of a challenge. The reconnection is suggested to have hints at the "shadows of the historical witch hunts".⁴⁰¹ In order to explain the significance, there needs to be a closer look at the tree. The tree fell illegally which suggests that the tree fell before its time. This could certainly symbolise those who were executed

³⁹⁶ <http://www.kuriositas.com/2013/07/reconnected-artist-reunites-illegally.html> , accessed 15 June 2015.

³⁹⁷ <http://www.treehugger.com/culture/pendle-hill-forest-sculpture-reuses-fallen-trees-philippe-handford.html> , accessed 15 June 2015.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

who had their lives cut or severed. This also proves that Philippe again, used something very simple and subtle to symbolise the Lancashire witches, and without a lot of words to explain the meaning, just like he did with his hillside art installation. Philippe also wanted to capture what the trees look like just as they are about to fall.⁴⁰²



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A view that walkers will be able to enjoy on the road to Aitken Wood, where the sculpture trail is located

According to the sculpture trail leaflet, the Pendle Sculpture Trail is “an atmospheric woodland setting. Art, history and nature come together against the stunning backdrop of Pendle Hill. Four artists have created a unique and intriguing range of sculptures. Their work is inspired by the history of the Pendle Witches of 1612 and the natural world in this wild and beautiful corner of

⁴⁰² <http://www.mymodernmet.com/profiles/blogs/philippe-handford-reconnected> , accessed 20 June 2015.

⁴⁰³ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

Lancashire".⁴⁰⁴The Pendle Sculpture Trail commemorates the Lancashire witches in important ways. First, the sculpture represents key aspects of the 1612 events artistically, through sculptures and plaques as shown above in the pictures. However, visitors would probably not be able to make sense of the artwork if they had not studied the leaflet guide or have it in their possession while visiting the trail so that it could be referred to. As discussed earlier, the leaflet not only provides maps and directions that relate to the sculpture trail, it also provides a basic outline about the events of 1612 and lists important people who were accused of witchcraft in 1612, and their backstory, such as why they were accused or locations they were associated with, such as Malkin Tower or the hamlet of Crowtrees. It is the visitors' job to associate this information with a witch's plaque that illustrates through pictures what the information says on the pamphlet. The trail conveys the story of the witch trials through the leaflet, the ceramic plaques, and certain sculptures that relate to key people or details about the Lancashire witches. This suggests that the artists were familiar with the story of the Lancashire witches because key conveyers of the story, which are the leaflet and ceramic plaques by the plaques inscriptions, not only refers to key people who were accused of witchcraft, but they also incorporated features such as drawings on the plaques that symbolises Potts's information about the accused⁴⁰⁵. This suggests that the artists knew the story of the witch trials or at least studied information about the trials, either by reading Potts's records, which certain aspects of the trail relate to, or information published by people who were authorities on the events of 1612, such as Poole or Clayton. This also suggests those pictures and certain aspects such as the witches' plaques were to convey the story of the 1612 events, thereby using fewer words and restricting detail to the leaflet.⁴⁰⁶ Although not confirmed, it is possible that

⁴⁰⁴ Pendle Borough Council, *Pendle Borough Council Visitor's Guide*, (January 2013).

⁴⁰⁵ Poole, *Discovery*, pp. 123-145.

⁴⁰⁶ Note: This portrays a primary difference in regards to how the Alice Nutter statue, the LW walk, and the sculpture trail chose to commemorate the witch trials of 1612 as the artists chose to commemorate using art work and restricting the use of words to only a leaflet. The Alice Nutter statue has a memorial plaque that conveys information, and the LW walk uses a poem and waymarkers along with a booklet that can only be purchased at visitor centres or ordered and not free and as accessible as the sculpture trail leaflet. It also contains more details and information, which Handford and his team of artists did not include in literature or at the sculpture trail.

the artists, particularly Handford, believed that pictures would enable visitors to think more about the events, become more interested due to matching detail with art, and ask questions and research more about the 1612 events.⁴⁰⁷ Another way the sculpture Trail commemorates the Lancashire witches is through nature and art. The Pendle Sculpture Trail can be seen as paying tribute to not only the witches, but incorporates other important facts about Pendle and it links them together with natural beauty which according to the leaflet guide, was the artist's objective which of course was to blend "Art, history and nature"⁴⁰⁸ and use natural materials and nature-related sculptures to complement the story of the witch trials. Handford and his team chose to commemorate various things, such as nature, other important historical events relating to Pendle, and the witch trials of 1612 being the overall theme and having non-1612 related sculptures to link to sculptures and art relating to the Lancashire witches through nature as the many art pieces are made of natural materials and perhaps show that everything at the sculpture trail has something in common because they are within close proximity of Pendle Hill and all part of the Pendle area. Many can argue that wood and other natural ingredients are symbolic of the Quaker movement because the wood can symbolise the "simple life" that Quakers find ideal to their beliefs.⁴⁰⁹ Wood is natural and not made from harmful products that destroy the earth. At the Pendle Sculpture Trail visitors will be able to explore the scenic Aitken Wood and enjoy what the Northern England countryside has to offer. The site is a mixture of natural beauty, storytelling, history, and religion; all wrapped up tightly in a three mile walk. Even though a significant amount of the displays relates to the Lancashire witches, the Sculpture Trail offers something for everyone. Every sculpture that has been created represents the history of Pendle Hill.⁴¹⁰

Historians would probably agree that artists chose a significant landscape for commemorating

⁴⁰⁷ Note: Getting people to ask questions was an objective that Handford had when he installed the Hill-side numerals, which was another commemorative event that took place in 1612 and will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁴⁰⁸ Pendle Borough Council, *Pendle Borough Council Visitor's Guide*, (January 2013).

⁴⁰⁹ Rufus M Jones, *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers* (London, 1949), p. 90.

⁴¹⁰ Note: visitors will see the Quaker Tree, which is a representation of the simple Quaker movement that started in 1652 when George Fox had a religious vision on the top of Pendle Hill.

the Lancashire witches, thus making it a successful because it is located in Aitken Wood, which is located in Barley. Therefore, like many memorials and commemorations across the world the Sculpture Trail is tied to the area where most of the witches lived.⁴¹¹ Many of those executed in August 1612 was from what is today the Borough of Pendle. All but two of the witches that were executed at Lancaster Castle were from what is today known as the Borough of Pendle. The two witches who were not from Pendle were Margaret Pearson and Isabel Robey. Historians do not know the exact location of where Malkin Tower was located in what is today known as the Borough of Pendle and they do not know if the building was indeed a tower. However, Malkin Tower was the home of Old Demdike and her family and historians are certain that the accusations began in Colne.⁴¹² It is likely that Philippe and his team chose Aitken Wood as the site for the sculpture trail because the site faces Pendle Hill. A significant number of those executed lived in Pendle. Also, the entire Pendle area is where the bulk of the commemorative events took place, as will be discussed later in this chapter,⁴¹³ and makes this area significant. Memorials are often erected close to, if not directly erected on a place where important events happened, such as Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre.⁴¹⁴ Also, historians and many visitors would approve of the location as it marks the area where key people who were linked with the 1612 events lived, which is an important aspect of commemorating and memorialising which appeared to be the case in memorials such as the permanent Columbine memorial, which is close to Columbine High School where several students were killed in a school shooting that took place in 1999 by carpenter and son of a Greek Orthodox Priest⁴¹⁵. However, there are arguments that could suggest that the sculpture trail would not be as helpful to historians compared to other memorials or commemorations, such as the Alice Nutter

⁴¹¹ See map in appendices.

⁴¹² Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster 2011), p. 7.

⁴¹³ Pendle Borough Council, *Pendle Witches: Pendle Witches Festival 1612-2012* (Pendle, 2012).

⁴¹⁴ Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone, 'Representing the Macabre: Interpretation, Kitschification, and Authenticity', in Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone's (eds), *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Bristol, 2009) pp. 118-119.

⁴¹⁵ Sylvia Grider, 'Memorialising Shooters with Victims', in Peter Jan Margry and Cristina-Sanchez-Carretero (eds), *Grassroots Memorials: The Politics of Memorialising Traumatic Death* (New York, 2011), pp. 113-119.

statue and the LW walk. Because Handford and his team were “inspired by the beauty of the area”⁴¹⁶ they created pieces of artwork that were related to nature and at the same time, commemorate the witch trials and reflect upon what Handford described as “kind of presence” could be felt in the woodland. There is a lot of unspoilt land around Aitken Wood and visitors will see Pendle Hill, the reservoir, and woods and many would probably appreciate the beauty that these natural aspects of Pendle create. Handford and his team were all motivated by the beauty and remoteness of rural Pendle as shown in the picture and it is possible that Handford’s fascination with Pendle encouraged PBC to choose Aitken Wood as the site for the sculpture trail. In fact, Handford himself may have influenced PBC in choosing Aitken Wood as the site. Handford claimed that there was a “kind of presence”⁴¹⁷ in the wooded area along with a peaceful atmosphere that surrounds the rural landscape. Handford’s comments could be interpreted as spirits or a force guarding the beautiful area which could lead to suggestions as to why Handford and his team chose to create certain sculptures and their titles, such as the “Spirits of the Wood”, which the leaflet describes as figures created by thin steel rods as portrayed above, which have holly bushes growing inside in order to symbolise spirits or ghosts that are alive since the bushes can be interpreted as the actual soul. When looking at the However, it is possible that some visitors may not be able to make this connection and may wonder what sculptures such as these would have to do with the Lancashire witch trials of 1612. As shown at the beginning of this section, the leaflet guide names each sculpture and also provides details regarding the ceramic plaques and how they link to the Lancashire witches, but, apart from listing the names of sculptures on the leaflets, the sculpture trail does not provide much detail about sculptures such as the Spirits of the wood, or certain other sculptures portrayed below, such as the “Reconnected” tree sculptures and the “Life Circle”.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/10/24/new-sculpture-trail-for-pendle-a60> , accessed 20 September 2015.

⁴¹⁷ <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/10/24/new-sculpture-trail-for-pendle-a60> , accessed 20 September, 2015.

⁴¹⁸ Note: In January 2015, there was no sign of information plaques near or attached to the sculptures, except for the statue of the witch-finder, which was labelled as Roger Nowell. However, there was snow on the ground at the time of this visit and certain areas were hard to see due to mud and snow.

The “Reconnected” tree sculptures are fallen trees connected by springy-looking steel coated by wood, to the tree stumps. These trees were not damaged by extreme weather but apparently by vandals cutting down trees being that Handford described them as “illegally felled”.⁴¹⁹ He connected the trees to the trunks and described this by “designing a frame for an isolated location brings its own challenges and relies on accurate dimensions and detailed survey of the site. The trunk was sliced before I designed the supporting structure. Each trunk slice is supported by a bracket that is individually bolted to the frame. The two ends of the curved steel are welded to a ring that fits the profile of the trunk”.⁴²⁰ Handford explains that the “illegally felled” trees were hints at the 1612 witch hunts.⁴²¹ The photograph below show one tree which has been reconnected to the trunk while the other photograph portrays two trees being ‘stretched’ and reconnected to their trunk. According to the Pendle Heritage Centre, people are to use their imaginations in order to interpret their connection to the 1612 events, which Handford intended.⁴²² To some, it probably would not be difficult to interpret the “Reconnected” sculptures or the “Spirits of the wood” installation as symbols of the Lancashire witch trials because with “Reconnected”, the trees appear to be “stretched” which could symbolise the hanging of the witches. When a person is hanged, the weight of the body tries to stretch the rope while at the same time, stretches and breaks the neck of the person hanged. Therefore, “the stretched sculptures hint at the hangings”.⁴²³ The reconnections are suggested to have hints at the “shadows of the historical witch hunts”⁴²⁴ In order to explain the significance, there needs to be a closer look at the tree. The tree fell illegally which suggests that the tree fell before its time. This could symbolise those who were executed who had their lives cut or “fell” before their time. Although not explained in the leaflet, Handford also wanted to capture

⁴¹⁹ <http://www.treehugger.com/culture/pendle-hill-forest-sculpture-reuses-fallen-trees-philippe-handford.html> , accessed 20 September 2015.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Pendle Heritage Centre, Phone call (Richard), October 2015.

⁴²³ <http://www.treehugger.com/culture/pendle-hill-forest-sculpture-reuses-fallen-trees-philippe-handford.html> accessed 20 September 2015.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

what the trees looked like just as they are about to fall”⁴²⁵, which hints at not only commemorating the witch trials of 1612, but commemorating nature and using natural materials to symbolise certain events of 1612, such as the executions. However, the problem that may arise with visitors is that the only explanations and clues given in the leaflet are about the ceramic plaques. As explained by the Pendle Heritage Centre, the idea was for people to use their imaginations in order to connect the sculptures with the events of 1612 events and clarity regarding information about the witch trials do not exist here compared to other commemorations discussed in this chapter. Sculptures such as the “Ceramic Column” and the “Life Circle” could be seen as difficult to link to the witch trials of 1612 or interpret because their features may be difficult to interpret. For example, the “Ceramic Column” which is portrayed in the pictures above is ceramic balls stacked on top of each other and the “Life Circle” is a metal circle that encircles wood. There is nothing on the sculptures or in the leaflet that explains what they are supposed to represent or symbolise, except for a description that explains the sculptures they produced was “inspired by the history of the Pendle Witches of 1612 and the natural world in this wild and beautiful corner of Lancashire”. The “Life Circle” could represent the natural way that humans and animals are born into this world and die. It could also reflect how offspring who are close to their mother as James and Alizon Device were considering they lived at Malkin Tower, can also be involved in the same misfortune⁴²⁶, and then be executed together while other siblings, such as Jennet remain alive, having the opportunity to have children themselves at a later time. The “Life Circle” can also interpret the fact that misfortune happens to both young and old, while they are going through the cycle of life and being young or old sometimes makes no difference in terms of being victims of misfortune or persecution. But, if the sculptures were inspired by nature, visitors would probably question as to what part of nature the “Ceramic column” would symbolise. The title, “Life Circle” gave clues as to what it could mean, which was the

⁴²⁵ <http://www.mymodernmet.com/profiles/blogs/philippe-handford-reconnected> , accessed 20 September 2015.

⁴²⁶ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011) pp. 34-36.

Note: James, Alizon, and their mother all lived at Malkin Tower and were executed after the summer assizes. However, Jennet was spared.

circle of life as people are born, live and age, then die, whether or natural causes or prematurely. One could, using their imagination, link this with the Lancashire witch trials. However, although the Pendle Sculpture Trail was created to use mark the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 and used natural materials to make certain statues, such as the tree sculptures and the plaques, there are some sculptures that visitors may find difficult to relate to or connect to the events to be commemorated, particularly if there is no information provided, whether at the sculpture or in the leaflet guide.

Another issue that people, particularly historians would have with the Pendle Sculpture Trail is that many sculptures can be analysed as being sensationalised or perhaps cater to people who enjoy visiting sites relating to death just for the interest they have in dark travel and perhaps be labelled as a type of dark tourism⁴²⁷ when considering different sculptures that are hanging at the sculpture trail, such as Blaylock's metal bats, owl and the giant spiders' web which are portrayed in the pictures at the beginning of this section. Handford was approached by PCB in order commemorate the events of 1612, therefore, the sculptures that are installed are supposed to this while at the same time, shows that Handford also wanted to commemorate the beauty that Pendle offers people, which inspired him and his team of artists to create sculptures. If sculptures were not intended to reflect upon the 1612 events, then Handford probably would not have allowed Blaylock, McDade, and Bednarczuk to create the sculptures they created. However, because Blaylock's sculptures which are portrayed at the beginning of this section and below, intended to commemorate the witches by "representing the natural world of the wood at twilight and after dark as the leaflet says, historians could see this as sensationalising the events of 1612 and create an unnecessary atmosphere by installing the bats, owls, and spider web as it could darken the mood and theme of the sculpture trail or enable it to become spooky when in fact, nothing in Potts's

⁴²⁷ Philip Stone, *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Bristol, 2009) p. 10.

Note: According to Philip Stone, *dark tourism* is the act of travelling to sites associated with death, suffering, and the macabre.

pamphlet indicated anything significantly spooky about the Forest of Pendle, although he does mention the “Forest of Pendle”, Malkin Tower, and statements relating to those who supposedly attended the Good Friday meeting at Malkin Tower leaving on fowls, there is no mention of spiders or owls in the pamphlet. The leaflet guide explains that Blaylock’s sculptures represent the natural world of the wood at twilight and after dark which could easily be interpreted as commemorating the natural world of the forest after sunset but, connecting this with the Lancashire witches could be seen as sensationalising the events, making the entire sculpture trail darker in theme as bats, owls, and spider webs can be associated with Halloween or more connected to Ainsworth’s novel which is a romance of Pendle Forest, not a story about what actually happened even though the story is based on the characters.⁴²⁸ The spiders, bats, and owl could be seen as unnecessary, particularly since the events took place during a time of superstition, which caused the death of ten people in 1612. If the sculpture trail is sensationalised by adding objects that represent fantasy or horror, one could argue that people may not take the events seriously or perhaps acknowledge the existence of the supernatural, thus illustrating through the bats, owl, and spider web that those executed were executed because they really were supernatural and dwelled in a spooky forest. This could lead to moral issues being connected to the sculpture trail, particularly in regards to the executions which can be argued as murder because they were executed for crimes connected with the supernatural, which today is not a crime unless it involves murder which is still illegal in the UK. Therefore, it is possible that the sculpture trail could be seen as “turning murder into a shameful entertainment”.⁴²⁹ However, it would be possible to counter argue this as saying the sculpture trail not only was to tell the story of what happened in 1612 through visuals, such as plaques and sculptures, but to make sure visitors were able to get a sense of what the forest and surrounding area looked like to early

⁴²⁸ Refer to chapter 2.

⁴²⁹ Philip R Stone, ‘Dark Tourism: Morality and New Moral Spaces’ in Richard Sharpley and Philip R Stone’s (eds), *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism* (Bristol, 2009), p. 57. Note: Stone commented on what Masters referred to in the press murders that occurred in Soham in 2002.

17th century people. The fact that there are bats, spider webs, and owls on display seems to suggest that the artists were trying to display Pendle through ‘old world’ lenses, after all, Handford wanted nature to be the conveyer of information.

It is possible that visitors, particularly historians who have studied Potts’s pamphlet and are familiar with the research of key people who are authorities on the 1612 events, such as Poole, may not approve of the statue that Bednarczuk created which according to the leaflet as a “life-size figure of a witch-finder”, even though he is referred to as Roger Nowell.⁴³⁰ Although the leaflet guide also referred to him as the magistrate who first interrogated the initial events, which involved the pedlar and Alizon Device, he was not a witch-finder. Roger Nowell was only a local magistrate for the Pendle area.⁴³¹ He questioned those indicted of witchcraft which sometimes led from the statements of other people who were accused of witchcraft. Nowhere in Poole’s books or in Potts’s pamphlet was Nowell referred to as a “witch finder”, therefore, historians would probably disagree how Nowell is referred to in the leaflet guide and there is nothing in Potts’s pamphlet that refers to Nowell as having a task of hunting witches throughout Pendle and other parts of Lancashire. Therefore, some Historians are probably going to consider the information about Bednarczuk’s statue as partially incorrect and while analysis of the sculpture trail does suggest that certain parts of the sculpture trail could be useful to historians, such as the ceramic plaques and information on the leaflet that relates to the information about the witches and in initial events, other aspects such as information about Roger Nowell and Blaylock’s sculptures were still hanging in the trees in January 2015, may not convey the message that historians and other visitors may appreciate but may appeal to people who are interested in the sculpture trail because of their interest in death-related themes. Also, there is an issue regarding clarity and easiness to relate certain sculptures with the 1612 events. However, as discussed, the sculpture trail does commemorate and explain information

⁴³⁰ Pendle Borough Council, *The Pendle Sculpture Trail Visitor’s Guide*, (Pendle, 2013).

Note: The statue of Roger Nowell does have his name inscribed on the back of the statue and a picture was Taken of this but due to weather conditions which affected certain areas of the trail, the picture was not clear.

⁴³¹ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), p. 8.

about each key person who was in the Lancaster gaol, which is something the Alice Nutter statue and the LW walk do not do. Historians and visitors would appreciate this.

The Pendle Sculpture Trail will continue to contribute to the general public by keeping the 1612 events in the minds of visitors for a significant amount of time. The general public will be able to visit the sculpture trail, hear the story of the Lancashire witches, and tell their relatives and friends about their visit. At this point, there is no profit that is being made from the Pendle Sculpture Trail. Visitors can walk and enjoy the sculptures without having to pay a fee. This can and does attract more visitors so that more people from other parts of the United Kingdom and the world will learn about 1612. This trail shares an important piece of British history to a lot of people and it is very likely that it will continue to do so, such as the Nazi concentration camps continue to do.



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The Pendle Inn, which is approximately one mile from the Pendle Sculpture Trail. Here, visitors can be provided with accommodation and meals.

⁴³² Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

The Pendle Sculpture Trail has also attracted positive reviews in the media. Paul White, who is one of the Conservative councillors on the Pendle Borough Council said that it is “a fascinating place for visitors and local people to explore”.⁴³³ Not only does this statement prove that there are people in Pendle politics who agree that money should be spent on projects in order to attract visitors to Pendle, but also suggests that the Lancashire witches deserve d to be commemorated as well.⁴³⁴ Williams claimed that this would indeed boost tourism, which indicates that this was a major factor as to why the trail exists. The Pendle Sculpture Trail Tourism is a way that local communities can generate revenue so that the local economy can grow. Tourism is certainly a big business in Pendle and is regarded as a necessity for the local economy. In addition to the positive remarks made by Councillor White, another councillor, Jonathan Eyre, admitted that “hundreds of thousands” of people visit Pendle a year and what attracts them is the history of Pendle.⁴³⁵ Mike Williams, who is the Pendle Tourist Officer referred to the sculpture trail as an addition to what Pendle has to offer and that “it can be a real beacon for tourists”.⁴³⁶ Like Philippe Handford and his team of artists, the Pendle Borough Council, who commissioned Philippe’s team in the first place, also got what they wanted because it attracted people to Pendle and they continue to do so, whether it may be during rain, sleet, or sunshine.⁴³⁷ This gives weight to the argument in favour of the the trail having the support of many people and continuing to be a success with visitors. There is evidence that suggests that families with children are able to get a lot of positive things out of the sculpture trail and that their strategy of conveying the story of the Lancashire witches by matching descriptions of each witch with the ceramic plaques, is working. The *Discover Pendle* visitor guide of 2013-14 published comments that visitors Kathryn and John Halton made about the sculpture trail. According to the

⁴³³ <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/10/24/new-sculpture-trail-for-pendle-a60> , accessed January 2015.

⁴³⁵ *BBC News*, 16 March 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-17385768> , accessed 15 June 2015.

⁴³⁶ <http://www.visitpendle.com/news/2012/10/24/new-sculpture-trail-for-pendle-a60> , accessed 15 July 2015.

⁴³⁷ Personal visit to Sculpture Trail – January 2015

Haltons, "it was great fun hunting for the ceramic plaques and matching the pictures up to the right witch".⁴³⁸ They also said that that the wood was "very atmospheric". Therefore, families are taking advantage of this new addition to the leisure activities and 1612 commemorations that Pendle has to offer.

The Pendle Sculpture Trail also satisfied the desire for more tourism in the business sector as it made it to the finalists in the Winners of the Lancashire Tourism Awards competition of 2013.⁴³⁹ Although the Pendle Sculpture Trail did not win the Tourism Award that year, being involved in the competition does suggest that the project achieved success in attracting visitors to the trail, otherwise it would not have made it to the finalists in the competition. It also suggests that it a major force in "a drive to improve the industry's current £3.4bn contribution to the visitor economy".⁴⁴⁰

4. Placing numerals on Pendle Hill that commemorate 1612

⁴³⁸ Pendle Borough Council, *Discover Pendle (Pendle, 2013-14)*, p. 21.

⁴³⁹ *The Chorley Guardian*, 14 November 2013, <http://www.chorley-guardian.co.uk/news/lancashire-s-best-of-the-best-recognised-at-top-tourism-awards-1-6244101#ixzz3sFp6OxDg>, accessed 15 January 2015.

⁴⁴⁰ *ibid.* <http://www.chorley-guardian.co.uk/news/lancashire-s-best-of-the-best-recognised-at-top-tourism-awards-1-6244101>, accessed 15 January 2015.

Note: Please also refer to:

<http://www.chorley-guardian.co.uk/news/lancashire-s-best-of-the-best-recognised-at-top-tourism-awards-1-6244101#ixzz3sFp6OxDg>, accessed 15 January 2015.



This is an artist's impression of Handford's original installation plans.

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Handford was also involved in a commemorative art installation that was less successful; the portraying of the numerals 1612 on the Barley side of Pendle Hill facing the community of PBC on Saturday 19 August 2012 and lasted five days.⁴⁴² Because the installation gathered a substantial amount of press coverage due to being controversial, this commemorative event was chosen for analysis. Also, unlike other commemorative events discussed in this chapter, this one was different as it was only to be a temporary commemorative event.

Handford has been in the designing and environmental art business for a considerable number of years. According to Green Museum, environmental art is art that helps improve our relationship with the natural world and is usually meant to be temporary and can't be moved to a different location. Environmental art is usually linked to the use of environmentally-friendly ingredients that will not cause damage and will disappear over a short period of time.⁴⁴³

Handford thought that having "1612" on the hillside would be a unique way to remember what

⁴⁴¹ *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 24 July 2012, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/9832878.Plan_to_paint_1612_on_side_of_Pendle_Hill_is_set_to_go_ahead/, accessed 15 November 2014.

⁴⁴² *The Guardian*, 21 August 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/the-northerner/2012/aug/21/lancashire-witches-pendle-hill-art-carol-ann-duffy>, accessed 21 August 2012.

⁴⁴³ http://greenmuseum.org/what_is_ea.php, accessed 20 June 2015.

Note: The Pendle hill-side installation can be considered "environmental art" because it was created by such materials and is also connected to the environment, which would be Pendle Hill as the hill was created naturally.

happened in that year and would also be a chance for people to raise questions relating to why people today are being persecuted⁴⁴⁴ and why prejudice exists in the twenty-first century. Handford intended to generate serious discussions going that would question why injustice happens. According to Handford, there are people who feel that Pendle Hill has the potential to make people want to discuss what happened in 1612. People who are close to him believe that people in Pendle need to do more to invest in their heritage and the Lancashire witches are a major part of the local history of Pendle and Public History. There simply is not enough that relates to that particular aspect of local history. According to Handford, or at least his allies who own businesses in the Pendle area, Pendle should do more to get local facts out to the public.⁴⁴⁵

However, PBC withdrew support from the venture and Handford found a different way to get the numbers on the hill that would spark discussions about prejudice and injustice. The media picked up on the installation immediately after people saw Handford's alternative and was covered by The Guardian and The Burnley Express. There were also YouTube clips that covered Handford's alternative version of the installation on Pendle Hill.⁴⁴⁶ As discussed in chapter three, Moorehouse's Brewery in Burnley ultimately helped Philippe's project go ahead, but in a slightly different way.⁴⁴⁷ Four hundred years passed between 1612 and 2012 and many people would regard some type of commemorative event to be something had to happen to mark the occasion.

⁴⁴⁴ *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 9 June 2012, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/9752799.Artist_who_wanted_to_paint_1612_on_Pendle_Hill_slams_critics/, accessed 15 November 2014.

⁴⁴⁵ Interview with Philippe Handford, May 2013.

⁴⁴⁶ Note: Refer to: <http://www.burnleyexpress.net/news/1612-appears-on-pendle-hill-to-mark-400th-anniversary-of-lancashire-witch-trials-1-4852667> <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/the-northerner/2012/aug/21/lancashire-witches-pendle-hill-art-carol-ann-duffy> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c6iQoRGqNaw>, accessed 15 September 2015.

⁴⁴⁷ Please refer to chapter 3.



To everyone's amazement, Philippe Hanford managed to get the numbers on the Pendle hillside after all. However, the numbers didn't stay visible long. They were gone in 24 hours. The numerals were 300 foot high and made of a special fleece that wouldn't last long.

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It was reported that many within the Pendle community were happy with what Handford wanted to install on the hillside facing Burnley, and the surrounding PBC communities. However, there were other people, such as the Rt Reverend John Goddard and anonymous members of the Pendle community with strong enough voices, who initially prevented Philippe's plan from going through. As a result of this, Barrowford and the Western Parishes Committee, who make planning decisions for the area, voted against Philippe's plans to paint the numbers 1612 on the Pendle hillside.⁴⁴⁹ Because of this, many could consider this commemorative event to be a failure. Another reason why the installation could be considered a failure is because if the plan had been approved, the paint would only have lasted a maximum of three months.⁴⁵⁰

There are different reasons why Handford's original installation plans did not take place. There was a certain section of the community who did not want Pendle Hill spoilt, and conservation issues. According to Philippe, the word 'paint' seems to suggest something permanent, which may not have sat well with the locals. Since the hillside and the beauty that it offers people, it is likely that many people would expect it to remain that way it is, which is a rural location and unspoilt.

⁴⁴⁸ <http://www.moorhouses.co.uk/site/2012/08/23/surprise-artwork-pops-up-for-witches-on-pendle-hill/> , accessed 16 June 2015.

⁴⁴⁹ <http://lancastria.net/blog/pendle-hill-witch-trial-art-rejected.html> , accessed 12 November 2014.

⁴⁵⁰ *BBC News Lancaster*, 10 May 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-18020101>, accessed 14 November 2014.



This is Pendle Hill in 2015, which continues to loom across the Borough of Pendle and the sparkling reservoir. I had the pleasure of visiting Pendle at the very beginning of 2015 and Pendle Hill continues to stand, reminding people of its history. It also reminds people of the natural beauty of the area. It would be difficult for many people to see the area spoilt in any way.

Painting 1612 so that everyone could see the numerals would capture the attention of many people.

A big part of what went wrong with Philippe's original plan was misinformation about what was going to be done and conveyed to the public as resentment against putting the numbers '1612' on the Pendle hillside also came from religious officials as well. The Bishop of Burnley, Reverend John Goddard commented that "the Pendle Witch Trials were a dark period of our history and it was a matter of injustice".⁴⁵² "Do we want the area to be known for the injustice and oppression of perhaps elderly, perhaps deformed, perhaps elderly women?"⁴⁵³ "Some may see it as fun... but there is a fear in my mind we can become immune to dreadful things that happen in history if we allow them to be treated too light-heartedly."⁴⁵⁴ So, according to Reverend Goddard, painting the numbers on the hillside could have placed those who died in a distasteful light and turned something tragic into an advertisement or perhaps a mockery of what happened to ten people in 1612. However, the numerals didn't stay on the hillside and were disappeared in a few days. David

⁴⁵¹ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges, January 2015.

⁴⁵² *BBC News Lancashire*, 11 May 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-18034300>, accessed 15 November 2014.

⁴⁵³ *BBC News Lancashire Online*, 10 May 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-18020101>, accessed 15 November 2014.

⁴⁵⁴ *BBC News Lancashire Online*, 11 May 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-lancashire-18020101>, accessed 15 November 2014.

Grant, who provided funding when PBC withdrew support, said that there should be a more permanent tribute in Pendle.⁴⁵⁵ This statement points to the fact that there were people who had reservations against numerals being placed on the hill because it was not a permanent feature and there needed to be one. The numerals only exist in photographs in people's memories; nothing physical at all.

It can however be argued that Philippe achieved what he set out to do, which was to create discussions amongst the people of Pendle. Comments relating to newspaper articles about Philippe's plans explained that there were people who were proud of the History of Pendle and the publicity that it brings to the area. There are "tourists that want to spend money in local bed and breakfasts, shops, etc." and that it is "money well spent".⁴⁵⁶ This comment suggests that the area needs all of the inflow of money it can get. With more people investing in the Pendle area while touring and walking with-related areas, they are more likely to spend money which of course, would contribute to the local economy. Jeff Gibson, who is the proprietor of Holmfield Bed and Breakfast in Barrowford explained that his business gets people that come in for Halloween that brings in tourists.⁴⁵⁷ Philippe's '1612' plans and installation certainly made headlines from June to August 2012 and if it made headlines, people were probably asking questions about why Handford installed the numerals and for some who are not locals, it is possible that they were asking questions about what the numerals meant. The important thing that Handford wanted to do was create discussion and the reader comments in the newspapers, particularly online news sources, are proof that Philippe achieved what he set out to do. It seemed to have stunned people, according to Grant. He also explained that overall, the installation on Pendle Hill was received well by people in the community.⁴⁵⁸ Websites such as Guardian's The Northerner Blog labelled the installation as

⁴⁵⁵ <http://www.moorhouses.co.uk/site/2012/08/23/surprise-artwork-pops-up-for-witches-on-pendle-hill/>, accessed 15 October 2014.

⁴⁵⁶ *The Lancashire Telegraph*, 24 July 2012, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/pendle/9832878.Plan_to_paint_1612_on_side_of_Pendle_Hill_is_set_to_go_ahead/, accessed 20 January 2015.

⁴⁵⁷ Gibson, Jeff, Phone Interview, Holmfield Bed and Breakfast, Barrowford, 15 January 2015.

⁴⁵⁸ *The Guardian*, 21 August 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/the-northerner/2012/aug/21/lancashire-witches-pendle-hill-art-carol-ann-duffy?commentpage=1>,

“Surprise artwork pops up for witches on Pendle Hill” which is proof that what was placed on Pendle Hill created a shocking moment for people.⁴⁵⁹ People who are surprised by an event generally discusses it with other people. Lesley Chisnell- Helm, who is the proprietor of Lovett Guest House in Nelson commented that the visitors who were passing by would ask, “What do those numbers mean”. People who do not live in the Pendle area may have been driving through, saw the numerals on the hillside, and wanted to ask questions about what the numerals stood for.⁴⁶⁰ Grant said that 2012 had been a particularly busy year for the area, therefore, the numerals were seen by a large amount of people. Therefore, there are some who probably consider Handford’s installation to be a successful commemorative event even though unlike other commemorative events that took place, it was not permanent.

5. Lancaster Castle



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accessed 15 August 2014.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Lesley Chisnell- Helm- interview with Lovett Guesthouse owner, January 2015.

⁴⁶¹ *BBC Lancashire*, 7 June 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/lancashire/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8723000/8723247.stm accessed 15 October, 2014.



Portrayed here in the Witches' Tower. It is claimed that the accused were imprisoned in the dungeons of this part of the castle.

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Lancaster Castle has been attracting tourists since the nineteenth century. One reason for this is because the castle is where the accused were imprisoned until their trial, which was held at the castle. Afterwards, they were executed at nearby gallows hill; however, no one knows the exact location of where the site of the executions took place. Lancaster Castle is the only building that can be concretely linked to the Lancashire witch trials.

To commemorate the 400th anniversary of the 1612 Lancashire witch trials, the Duchy of Lancaster made the decision in early 2012, to open parts of Lancaster Castle that have been off limits for a number of years. The part of the castle shown above is called 'The Witches' Tower' because it is believed that the accused were held in the dungeons until their trial. For the first time in 50 years, the outside of the witch's tower and the doorway into the underground dungeons of the tower was open to the public. Visitors were able to visit the restricted areas on the 7th, 8th, and 9th April.⁴⁶³ On this occasion, the public was still restricted to only viewing the outside of the inner courtyard which was inaccessible to the general public for a number of years due to the high wall around the area. In August, The Duchy of Lancaster opened the Witches' dungeon at Lancaster Castle to the public on 18th, 19th and 20th August 2012 and again on 25th, 26th and 27th August in

⁴⁶² <http://www.matthewpemmott.co.uk/2011/11/lancaster-castle.html> , accessed 20 October 2015.

⁴⁶³ <http://www.duchyoflancaster.co.uk/2012/04/04/unseen-areas-of-lancaster-castle-to-be-revealed/> , accessed 15 October 2014.

order for people to go inside the dungeons. Tickets sold for £2 per person.⁴⁶⁴ However, there are other possible reasons why the Duchy of Lancaster made the decision to open the Witches' Tower up to public. It is possible that The Duchy of Lancaster wanted to enable the visitors to have the opportunity to visualise a completely different legal system from what modern Britain and most developed nations of the twenty-first century are familiar with. However, all visitors were able to see was a room made of stone which was likely to be very cold and damp, even in the summer months. As visitors descended down the dark steps, they were able to get a feel of what it would be like to be bound and chained in a dark room with other people, which of course would very likely be devoid of any lighting as portrayed in the pictures below. Although the use of torture in English witch-trials was rare in England in 1612 compared to the continent, it can be argued that the dungeons could be regarded as a form of torture chamber by people of today's society because of the type of treatment criminals in general endured before their trial. Therefore, the Duchy of



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Lancaster probably wanted the public to visualise a completely different legal system than what exists in the United Kingdom in the twenty-first century. However, there is evidence that suggests that the Duchy of Lancaster also wanted to commemorate the anniversary of the Lancashire witch trials of 1612, and, increase tourism and revenue generated from tourism. The Duchy of Lancaster CEO, Paul Clarke said that the story of the Lancashire witches attracts people from all over the

⁴⁶⁴ <http://www.duchyoflancaster.co.uk/2012/08/06/witches-dungeon-to-open-to-the-public/>, accessed 20 November 2014.

⁴⁶⁵ <http://www.catherinecavendish.com/2015/02/the-witches-tower.html>, accessed 18 June 2015.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

world.⁴⁶⁷ He explained that opening the Witch's Tower up to people to see would boost local tourism. There is evidence that suggests that tourism does contribute to the local economy, especially sites that are considered by many to characteristics of *dark tourism* and according to Dr Philip Stone, who leads The Institute for Dark Tourism Research (IDTR) at the University of Lancaster, believes that Lancaster Castle is an example of what is today known as Dark Tourism or travel to sites where death is the main theme.⁴⁶⁸ Although Mr Clarke was interested in boosting tourism, which in 2006 was responsible for over 10% of the global gross domestic product⁴⁶⁹, he did mention that it would provide people with an opportunity to see how the witches lived while being imprisoned.⁴⁷⁰ The photographs from above suggest that the witches endured harsh treatment and neglect. By opening up the dungeons, it would provide people with an opportunity to see something real in regards to the story and the Lancashire's history. The Duchy of Lancaster's CEO did want to increase tourism but at the same time, provide people with an opportunity to see a genuine aspect of the Lancashire witch story. This is something that cannot be seen in any of the other commemorations that have been discussed, except for the Pendle Hill, which is the area where many the accused lived. The exhibit was "very successful, regarding the numbers of people for anniversary", claimed Dr Colin Penny in 2013. "There were lines out the door. The castle was well attended. Lots of media coverage (radio, magazines, TV). The publicity was at national level".⁴⁷¹ Mr Colin also said that "visitor's numbers are up but it is not entirely connected to witchcraft."⁴⁷² The opening up of the Witch's Tower certainly brought in tourists, and there was a certain authenticity where people were able to see something real, from an event that occurred before what the public today know as media. What is authentic is the actual location where people were imprisoned, even though what was shown to the public may not have been the precise location where those who

⁴⁶⁷ <http://www.duchyoflancaster.co.uk/2012/08/06/witches-dungeon-to-open-to-the-public/> , accessed 20 October 2014.

⁴⁶⁸ <http://dark-tourism.org.uk/faqs> , accessed 15 June 2014.

⁴⁶⁹ Markku Kuukasjärvi, *Dark Tourism: The Darker side of Man Note* (Vaasa Polytechnic, 2006), p. 10.

⁴⁷⁰ <http://www.duchyoflancaster.co.uk/2012/08/06/witches-dungeon-to-open-to-the-public/>

⁴⁷¹ Lancaster Castle Museum Curator, Colin Penny, Interview (Phone), August 2013.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

were brought to Lancaster after being interrogated by local Pendle Magistrate Nowell. However, like with the immortalisation of Alice Nutter, there are misconceptions to be corrected. Dr Colin Penny, who is the Lancaster Castle Museum Curator, explained in a telephone interview that the opening of the Lancaster Castle was to “drive a wedge between fact and entertainment” and to “set the facts straight”.⁴⁷³ After all, there have been books, particularly Ainsworth’s piece of work that romanticised the story of the Lancashire witches. Also, there has been a stereotype that has been in the minds of many people, where witches were old hags who wore dark clothes, and rode magical broomsticks. There are businesses that actually play on this stereotype even though they made do so in an innocent way and to increase their business and, show their pride in their local history, such as the White Hart Inn in Barrowford. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, they do give out pins in the shape of a witch on a broomstick. However, Dr Penny’s statements suggest that the opening of the castle’s dungeons were to show the degradation that humans suffered in the dungeon because of superstition and show that people went to their graves because they were considered to be supernatural creatures. It seems that he considered the supernatural side of the accused was the part that entertained people. The fact that people lost their lives due to accusations were the true aspect of the Lancashire witches and it happened in and also near, the Lancaster Castle premises. The statements from Dr Penny prove that there was a need to tell the story of the Lancashire witches correctly and to let people know what really happened instead of sensationalising the story.

There were important reasons for opening the Witches’ Tower to the public. This event was a small and simple aspect of the commemoration year but yet extremely remarkable and important. It is a small and simple part of the commemorative year because this is the only major act of commemoration that the castle itself did in 2012. There were only the exhibitions of April and August, which was where people were allowed to visit areas that were prohibited for half a decade. However, it was a major aspect of the commemorative year because it allowed people to see the

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

final place that some of the accused saw alive. This is the place where they were kept in darkness until their trials and ten of the accused did not leave the castle grounds alive.



Colin Penny, Lancaster Castle
Museum Curator.

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⁴⁷⁴ <https://lancashirecriminalpast.wordpress.com/2011/06/28/kissing-the-tulip-at-lancaster-castle/>, accessed on 18 July 2015.

Conclusion

Was 2012 a success?

“The fascination with this episode of Lancashire’s history shows no signs of waning.”

Dr Liz Oakley-Brown, senior lecturer in Shakespeare and Renaissance writing, (2014),
<http://www.lep.co.uk/news/witches-cleared-in-re-trial-400-years-late-1-6530006>⁴⁷⁵

The commemoration of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612 took place between the months of March and October. The main backers of the 2012 commemorative year spent a combined total of £206,950.⁴⁷⁶ This includes grants and council money. However, the different organisations that that planned major commemorative events may define success in regards to their planned event, differently. After all, according to Pendle Tourism Team Leader Mike Williams, they had “just over 12,500 people directly coming to the events that made up the festival”.⁴⁷⁷ According to Williams, PBC “calculated a direct visitor spend of just over £2.2million”.⁴⁷⁸ Williams explained that the festival made “a really significant impact into the local economy”⁴⁷⁹ and that “the festival created a real buzz about the area and a great deal of media interest and because of this, we have estimated a further indirect expenditure of around £3.4million, representing an overall impact of over £5.5million”.⁴⁸⁰ Therefore, Williams and other people associated with PBC would probably consider the events that they had planned to be successful and achieved what they had set out to do. However, it can be argued that determining the success of a commemorative event would involve additional factors besides revenue and tourism, such as:

- **Are the people who were executed in 1612 getting the dignity they deserve?**

⁴⁷⁵ <http://www.lep.co.uk/news/witches-cleared-in-re-trial-400-years-late-1-6530006> , accessed 03 October 2015.

⁴⁷⁶ Please refer to the ‘Financial Backing’ section of chapter three.

⁴⁷⁷ Email, Michael Williams, Pendle Tourism Leader (michael.williams@pendle.gov.uk), 13 November, 2014.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

- **What is left on the landscape as a result of 2012 and what exists now, that didn't exist before the commemoration of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612?**
- **Is there evidence that people have a better understanding of the history of the Lancashire witch-trials?**

One can argue that these factors are necessary because commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire Witch Trials of 1612 wasn't only for attracting tourism. Lancaster Castle Museum Curator Colin Penny would probably agree as he explained that one of the reasons for commemorating the 1612 events was to separate fact from myth.

The Alice Nutter statue, PBC's Pendle Sculpture Trail and Green Close's LW Walk are the only traces of the 2012 commemorative year that is left on the landscape in regards to trails and statues. These major commemorative events created an atmosphere around the sites they are attached to that involves nature, art, and the story of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612. Like the Alice Nutter memorial statue, these two commemorative projects were also major projects because all three projects required a significant amount of money to create even though there is a discrepancy in regards to the amount of people that were involved in planning each of the three commemorative events. Therefore, each of the three commemorative projects that were planned and carried out between during the months of 2011 and 2012 are major events because they also involved renowned artists who own their own businesses., they required a significant amount of money and planning, and most importantly, these three events are permanent which means that several generations will learn about the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 through these permanent projects. Also, these commemorative projects show that those executed in 1612 are finally getting the respect that they deserve.

There is reason to believe that Alice Nutter is finally getting the respect that she deserves. In January 2015, Alice Nutter's statue was observed holding flowers, which is portrayed in the picture at the beginning of Chapter Four. This could suggest that people today understand that prejudice and discrimination are social ills that can cause death, pain, and suffering, just as they did in 1612 and, that more people are thinking of Alice Nutter as a victim, not a witch. This could also be

the act of modern Wiccans who are paying tribute to someone executed in a time when black and white magic was illegal. Something similar to this has been occurring in Colchester, Essex for a number of years as it has been reported in the press that Wiccans are paying tribute to those executed during the East Anglian witch trials by placing flowers at the gate of Colchester Castle.⁴⁸¹ Wiccans were placing flowers at Colchester Castle as early as 2007⁴⁸² as Colchester has always had a physical link to the East Anglian Trials. The installation of Alice's statue may have encouraged a similar act of remembrance in Roughlee. However, because the flowers were placed at the statue anonymously, there is no proof that modern-day witches placed the flowers at the statue. Still, the flowers are a symbol of respect, therefore there is proof that people are noticing Alice Nutter's statue, placing flowers similar to the way people visit and place flowers at gravesites. Because of this, people are paying their respects to a woman who was a victim of superstition and persecution, which is something that Alice did not receive when she was arrested, tried, and executed. According to TripAdvisor, the majority of people who visited the statue and commented on their visit rated their visit to the statue as 'excellent'. Also, as the dates of comments indicate, people have been travelling to see the statue continually, since 2012.⁴⁸³ Because the unveiling of Alice Nutter's statue can be viewed on the internet using YouTube, the clip of the unveiling probably motivated people from other parts of England and the world to visit Pendle and the sites that commemorate the events of 1612, including Alice Nutter's statue. Also, because Alice Nutter's statue has a memorial plaque that provides background information about Alice Nutter, people are continuing to be educated about Alice Nutter and certain aspects of the 1612 events. Because Alice's memorial statue and plaque are permanent; people will be educated about an event that can be considered a part of local and national history. Because Alice Nutter's statue is receiving visitors, gaining respect after four-hundred years, and will continue to inform people about what happened to her and the events of 1612, it can be argued that Alice Nutter's commemoration was a success.

⁴⁸¹ http://www.halsteadgazette.co.uk/news/9196574.Essex_Tributes_for_women_accused_of_witchcraft/

⁴⁸² http://www.gazette-news.co.uk/news/1304175.colchester_casting_spells_at_the_castle_gates/

⁴⁸³ http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g7147135-d3954256-Reviews-Alice_Nutter_Statue-Roughlee_Lancashire_England.html , accessed 17 November 2015.

However, while the Alice Nutter memorial statue uses a small area to capture attention over the last three years, the Pendle Sculpture Trail and the LW Walk to Lancaster Castle required a significant amount of space in order to be successful in attracting visitors. They continue to attract visitors and when visitors walk the trails, they are able to see the history of the 1612 events through works of art and sculptures and like the Alice Nutter statue, they will continue to be a source of information for people interested in the 1612 events for several generations. Green Close's Lancashire Witch Walk to Lancaster Castle, which opened in May 2013 was the largest event linked to the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire witch-trials because of the required planning, collaboration with local talent and political entities, and funding. However, while the Pendle Sculpture Trail and the LW walk to Lancaster Castle do give those executed the dignity they deserve by naming the victims or referring to them through ceramic plaques, the commemorative sites are not likely to be sites where people add their own personal symbols or objects that show respect in the same manner that a statue such as the Alice Nutter statue would. This is because Alice Nutter's statue was specifically designed to commemorate a tragedy and is the figure of an actual person with whom people can identify. As mentioned in the PBC minutes, the Pendle Sculpture Trail was planned in order to commemorate the 1612 events while at the same time, provide leisure activities for the residents of Pendle and, increase tourism.⁴⁸⁴ The LW walk to Lancaster Castle was designed to commemorate the Lancashire witch trials and to remember those who are still persecuted today. Also, due to the size of the trails, visitors who wanted to pay their respects by placing flowers or other objects would probably have a difficult time working out where the best place to leave the objects would be. Therefore, Alice Nutter's statue would be the most successful commemoration of the Lancashire witch trials because it is permanent, it continues to educate people about the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612, and the statue is a commemorative site that would probably attract people who wanted to pay their respects and pay tribute such as placing flowers at the site. Alice Nutter's statue can be seen as a commemoration of all of those executed

⁴⁸⁴ Council minutes, 2011, (Pendle Borough Council), pp. 1-3.

as well considering she is linked to the other witches as they were all imprisoned at Lancaster Castle. Also, considering that Old Demdike mentioned Alice Nutter in her statements⁴⁸⁵, Alice probably knew some of the accused who were from Pendle, such as Demdike. Therefore, Alice's statue can be seen as a statue that commemorates the history of the Lancashire witches and every victim linked to the tragedy. Also, because the site is within close proximity to where Alice Nutter probably lived, which was at Crowtrees, it is possible that a grassroots or 'makeshift' memorial may also be established near the site that not only commemorates Alice Nutter, but every accused and executed person as Roughlee is linked to the 1612 events.

It is important to realise that although Green Close was the main driving force behind the commemoration of the Pendle Witches before 2012, other people such as the Mid Pennine Arts were realising that the Pendle Witches should be remembered as well. Like Green Close, Mid Pennine Arts is a commissioning agency that produces high quality art⁴⁸⁶. Around mid-2012, Mid Pennine Arts was awarded £27,900 from the National Lottery to fund a project that was put together by young people in the area called "Lancashire Lost Legends: Witch is True?". The project was commissioned by Mid Pennine Arts in collaboration with Lancashire Museums, St Augustine's RC High School, Marsden Heights Community College, and Huckleberry Films. The purpose was for the youngsters to explore the myths and history of the Pendle Witch Trials while working with professional artists, people in film, and people in television. The young people also met with academics at Lancaster University and explored Pendle Hill. According to the Lancashire Gazette, the youngsters were supposed to present their findings in a Halloween event as well as produce visual art and a film⁴⁸⁷. According to Mr Nick Hunt who is the Creative Director at Mid Pennine Arts, "our own project with young people was funded by Heritage Lottery through Young Roots, a funding

⁴⁸⁵ John A Clayton, *The Lancashire Witch Conspiracy: Histories and New Discoveries of the Pendle Witches* (Hockley, 2007), p. 143.

⁴⁸⁶ <http://midpenninearts.org.uk/about/>, accessed 17 November, 2015.

⁴⁸⁷

http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/9907537.Pendle_youngsters_given_25k_to_compile_witch_report/ Jessica Cree

strand for projects shaped by the young participants. We secured the funds during 2012 and the project ran for nearly twelve months⁴⁸⁸.



The crew of
“Lancashire Lost
Legends: Witch is
True?”

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The opening of the Witches’ tower at Lancaster Castle and Handford’s art installation on Pendle Hill are considered to be major commemorative events. However, these commemorative events lack the qualities that the other major commemorative events continue to offer the public. For example Handford’s art installation, which was “300 feet in length and were visible from miles away”⁴⁹⁰, was a controversial event that was unique because Handford wanted to install significant numerals in an area of Pendle, (Pendle Hill) that would attract a lot of attention. The media coverage the installation received is proof that Handford achieved what he set out to do, which was to get people to ask questions and discuss. In the process, he attracted praise and criticism.⁴⁹¹ However, Handford’s hill-side installation disappeared within a few days.⁴⁹² This particular commemorative project is no longer part of the Pendle landscape and therefore, cannot continue to remind people of the commemorations of 2012 or the history of the Lancashire witch-trials and, because the placing of the numerals on Pendle Hill was only meant to be temporary, it cannot educate future generations about the 1612 events. Also, there is nothing left on Pendle Hill in regards to

⁴⁸⁸ Email, Mr Nick Hunt, email Nick@midpenninearts.org.uk, June 2013.

⁴⁸⁹ <http://midpenninearts.org.uk/lostlegends>, accessed 15 June 2013.

⁴⁹⁰ <http://www.burnleyexpress.net/news/1612-appears-on-pendle-hill-to-mark-400th-anniversary-of-lancashire-witch-trials-1-4852667>, accessed 12 July 2014.

⁴⁹¹ Please refer to Chapters Three and Four.

⁴⁹² <http://www.burnleyexpress.net/news/1612-appears-on-pendle-hill-to-mark-400th-anniversary-of-lancashire-witch-trials-1-4852667>, accessed 15 September 2015.

commemorating the witch trials that would attract people to pay their respects to the victims. The opening of the Witches' Tower was an act of commemoration that is similar to Handford's hill-side art installation because it was only a temporary commemorative event. The only major commemorative event that Lancaster Castle planned was allowing visitors to view the dungeons, which is where the witches were believed to have been kept until their trial.

However, while the major commemorative projects, such as Alice Nutter's statue, the Pendle Sculpture Trail, and the LW walk to Lancaster Castle are the only remaining commemorative projects left in terms of landscape, there are works of art linked to the commemoration year that continue to exist. For example, Hilli McManus's 'Superstition Quilt' was sold through an online auction on 13 December 2012.⁴⁹³ All proceeds from the quilt were donated to Stepping Stones Nigeria, which is now called Safe Child Africa. Safe Child Africa is an international organisation that advocates children's rights in Africa. The money that was donated to the organisation enabled them to benefit financially, so that they would be in a better position to abolish cruelty to children. Therefore, children probably benefited from the sale of the quilt.

We can assume that more people know about the Lancashire witch trials of 1612 today, than they did before the year 2012. This is because people attended unveilings, workshops that were sponsored by major backers of the 2012 commemorative year such as Green Close Studios, and also, because people have walked the commemorative trails and visited sites that are linked to the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612. Also, local businesses are eager to share the history of Pendle with their customers by providing them with souvenirs. For example, local pubs such as The White Bear Inn in Barrowford, which is less than five miles from Aitken Wood, have small witch-on-broomstick pins available for customers which also indicate local businesses are thriving due to the success of local walkers who visit trails such as the sculpture trail.

⁴⁹³ <http://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/superstition-quilt-designed-hilli-420897337> , accessed 03 June 2014.



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Staffs at the White Bear Inn at Barrowford give out pins that symbolise witches on broomsticks in order to show their pride in local history.

It can be argued that the commemoration of the Lancashire witch-trials helped to deliver justice in other ways besides attracting people who want to pay tribute to the witches by placing flowers, or visit sites linked to the Lancashire witches. In 2014, two years after the commemoration year ended, the Lancashire Witches finally got justice with a retrial. Shoppers and on-lookers in the St Nicholas Arcade in Lancaster were given an opportunity to be jurors and “right one of British Justice’s most notorious wrongs”.⁴⁹⁵ Lancaster University’s Campus in the City probably initiated the move since the pardoning was part of the Campus in the City project that took place on 24 March 2014. The Campus in the City is a new enterprise project that is sponsored by Lancaster University, which is designed to bring campus research and activities into the heart of the community of Lancaster⁴⁹⁶. The day offered visitors the chance to learn about Lancaster’s history, the Lancashire witch trials, and the chance to be a part of the jury that pardoned the witches on this day.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁴ Photo taken by Todd Andrew Bridges January 2015.

⁴⁹⁵ <http://www.lep.co.uk/news/witches-cleared-in-re-trial-400-years-late-1-6530006> , accessed 03 June 2015.

⁴⁹⁶ <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass-enterprise-centre/campusinthecity.htm> , accessed 03 June 2015.

⁴⁹⁷ <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/gradschool/event/4836/> , accessed 03 June 2013

Considering the commemorative projects that can still be enjoyed by the public today, it is unlikely that this event or the commemorative year will ever be forgotten and it is also unlikely that interest in the Lancashire witches will ever decline. Considering the amount of events that were planned, both small and large, many people probably realise that people lost their lives due to persecution and superstition. However, the idea of pardoning the Lancashire witches has been debated since 2005. However, there is reason to argue that the commemorative year caused people to think more about the 1612 events, which probably led to enough people believing that those executed should be pardoned. Also, the commemorative years probably enabled people to realise that persecution is still happening in the twenty-first century, considering that major planners such as Green Close studios linked the commemorative year to witch accusations that are still taking place in Africa.

The commemorations of the four-hundredth anniversary of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612 and Dark Tourism⁴⁹⁸ are linked because as discussed in chapter three, certain planners of commemorative events such as Pendle Borough Council hoped that certain commemorative projects such as the Pendle Sculpture Trail and the opening of the Witches' Tower at Lancaster Castle would pay tribute to those executed in 1612 while at the same time, would attract more tourists. Although the commemorative projects were planned and carried out in a way that avoided sensationalism, the term "dark tourism" would still apply to sites such as Lancaster Castle because of its connection with execution and tourism. However, the commemorative year of 2012 could be argued as a beacon for not only future memorials that commemorate atrocities, death, and destruction as the Lancashire witch commemorative projects were planned to avoid sensationalism, but also for future projects that would commemorate other anniversaries of English witch trials. The year 2045 will mark the four-hundredth anniversary of the East Anglian witch-trials. If future planners were to study how the events that commemorated the 1612 trials, it is possible that they would feel the

⁴⁹⁸ Richard Sharpley 'Shedding Light on Dark Tourism: An Introduction', in Richard Sharpley and Philip Stone (eds.), *The Darker Side of Travel: Theory of Practice and Dark Tourism* (Ontario, 2009), p.10.
Note: Dark tourism may be defined as the act of travel to sites associated with death, suffering, and the seemingly macabre.

need to convey the story of Matthew Hopkins and his victims in a way that avoided sensationalism and that sensationalism does not always have to be linked with dark tourism.

The Lancashire Witches

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Place of Residence</u> | <u>Relationship to other witches</u> | <u>Verdict</u> |
|-------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| Old Demdike (Elizabeth Southern) | 80 | Malkin Tower/ Forest of Pendle | Mother of Elizabeth Device, Grandmother to Alizon, Jennet Device, and James Device | Died in gaol |
| James Device | 12/13 | Malkin Tower/ Forest of Pendle | Old Demdike's grandson, Elizabeth Device's son, Alizon and Jennet's brother | Executed |
| Alizon Device | | Malkin Tower/ Forest of Pendle | Old Demdike's grand- daughter, Elizabeth Device's daughter, James and Jennet's sister | Executed |
| Elizabeth | | Malkin Tower/ Forest of Pendle | Daughter of Elizabeth Southern, mother of James, Jennet, and Alizon Device | Executed |
| Old Chattox (Anne Whittle) | | Forest of Pendle | Anne Redfearne's mother | Executed |
| Anne Redfearne | | Forest of Pendle | Old Chattox's daughter | Executed |
| Alice Nutter | 70 | Roughlee, Pendle | No relation to other witches | Executed |
| Jennet Preston | | York | No relation to other witches | Executed (York) |
| Isabel Robey | | Windle, St Helens | Not from Pendle/ No relationship to | Executed |

| Name | Age | Place of Residence | Relationship to other witches | Verdict |
|------------------|-----|--------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Katherine Hewitt | | Pendle | No relation to other witches | Executed |
| John Bulcock | | Pendle | Son of Jane Bulcock | Executed |
| Jane Bulcock | | Pendle | Mother of John Bulcock | Executed |
| Margaret Pearson | | Padiham, Burnley | No relation to other witches | Pilloried and sentenced to a year in prison ⁴⁹⁹ |

The Samlesbury Witches⁵⁰⁰

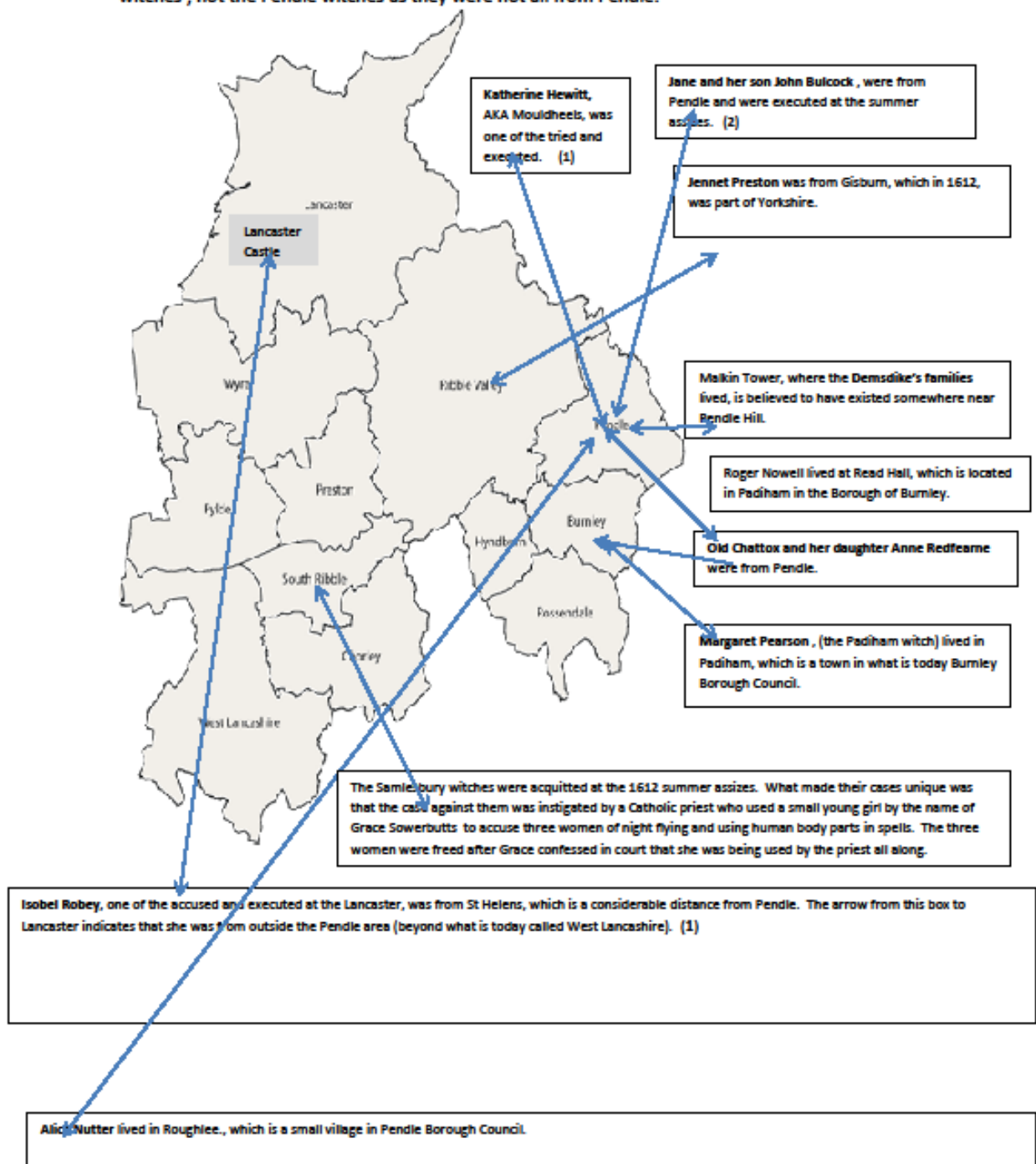
| | | | | |
|------------------|--|------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| Anne Gray | | Samlesbury | No information available | Acquitted |
| Jennet Bierley | | Samlesbury | Grace Sowerbutt's grandmother | Acquitted |
| Ellen Bierley | | Samlesbury | Grace Sowerbutt's Aunt | Acquitted |
| Jane Southworth | | Samlesbury | No information available | Acquitted |
| John Ramsden | | Samlesbury | No information available | Acquitted |
| Elizabeth Astley | | Samlesbury | No information available | Acquitted |

⁴⁹⁹ Note: Margaret Pearson was found guilty of using witchcraft, but not to murder. She was sentenced to be pillory and was to also spent one year in jail.

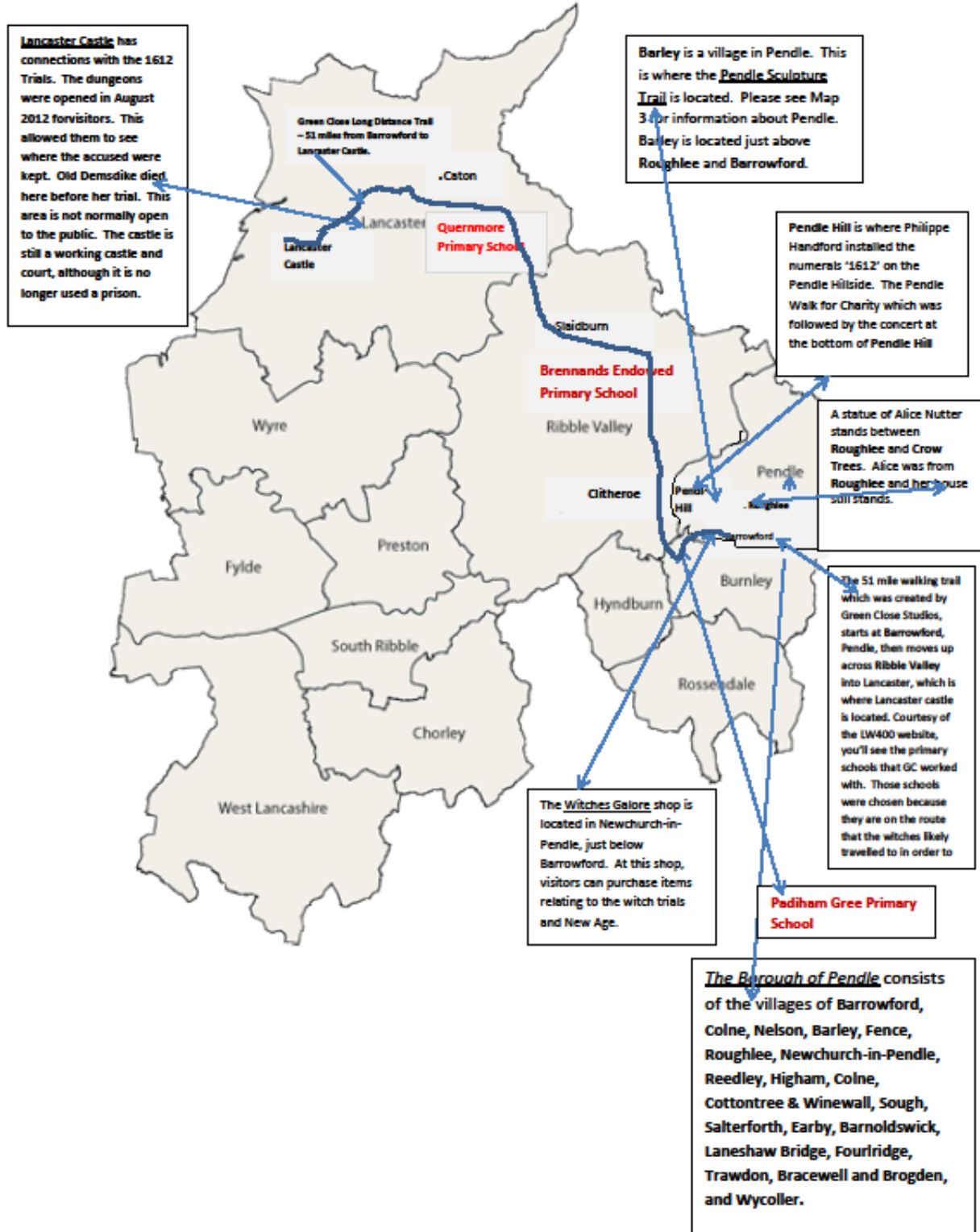
⁵⁰⁰ Robert Poole, *The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster* (Lancaster, 2011), p. 40. Note: According to Poole, Potts did not give any information about these people except their names.

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Place of Residence</u> | <u>Relationship to other witches</u> | <u>Verdict</u> |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| Isabell Sidegraves | | Samlesbury | No information available | Acquitted |
| Lawrence Hay | | Samlesbury | No information available | Acquitted |

Below is a map that contains information about where the accused came from. This map makes it clear that those who were arrested and/or executed should be referred to as the 'Lancashire witches', not the Pendle witches as they were not all from Pendle.



Below is a map of Lancashire County with the boroughs. Each borough has information of the events that took place during the commemorative year of 2012. In each borough, you'll see bullet points that denotes various villages. The schools that are in red are the schools that took part in Green Close's Lancashire witches 400 project. The schools are located along the route that the arrested Lancashire witches likely travelled in 1612 in order to get to goal to wait for their trial. Sadly, this is the last journey that most of these people would ever take.



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