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Child Testimonies During an Outbreak of Witch Hysteria: Sweden 1670–1671

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Abstract - Eight hundred and nine testimonies given by children between the ages 1 and 16 to the priests of the parish of Rättvik, and to the Royal commission of inquiry, during an outbreak of witch hysteria in 1670–71 are examined. The result implies that the capacity to separate reality from fantasy as well as the tendency to give stereotyped testimonies are related to age, social influence from other children and sex. The results also suggest that the testimonies were influenced by the person investigating the child.

Keywords: Child testimony, false memories, ritual abuse, conformity

Introduction

On the 24th of January 1670, the 68-year-old churchwarden Nils Persson brought two of his grandchildren and one child of a neighbour to the Vicarage of reverend Gustav Elvius of the parish of Rättvik. The children were three boys aged between 6 and 7 years old, all named “Anders”, and all with very similar stories to tell.

... confessed that Holl Karin took him twice since Christmas but cannot say how much time passed in between. Neither did he know how she took him away until he sat on the little goat. He went up in the air, sitting on the stomach of the goat, with its head behind. He took a bite of the church bell as if it had been a turnip and spat the bite out in a bag. And Holl Karin told him to throw it behind his shoulders and taught him to say: “My soul will not come to the kingdom of God until this comes to the bell.”

God until this comes to the bell.” They came to a big cottage where there were a lot of people. A big man with ribbons on his clothes came to him and gave him a slice of meat: “Eat! This is good food!” And he said: “Do you want to serve me?” But Holl Karin started to smooth down her scarf (?) and then he was brought back by Holl Karin for this time. (Documents from Linderholm 82.)

Examples of witch hysteria where testimonies from large groups of children have played an important part are the events of the Basque provinces - Spain 1610 (see Henningsen, 1980), Sweden 1668–76 and Salem - USA 1692 (Boyer & Nissenbaum, 1975).

The events of Rättvik took place during the great Swedish 1668–1676. In the months before 27 persons had been beheaded and burnt at the stake in the parishes surrounding Rättvik. In Mora hundreds of children had said that they had been taken to the witches' sabbath (Blåkulla) and 14 persons had been burnt in front of the community on land outside the church of Mora, (Rudenmark, 1967).

During the following year about 600 Rättvik children were questioned by Reverend Elvius and his colleagues. Since Rättvik in the year of 1671 had only 644 households (Lagerlöf-Génétay, 1990) this must have been a high proportion of the total number of children in the area. The practical results of the child testimonies of Rättvik were not as devastating as the results of those in Mora 1669. Only three women were sentenced to death and since none of them pleaded guilty in front of the Royal commission of inquiry the witches were set up to confess by a fake execution. Two of the women became seriously ill and one of them died only a couple of days after the faked execution. Only Holl Karin—a 68-year-old woman from the village of Tammeråsen, who was a neighbour and old enemy of the churchwarden Nils Persson, and previously known as a sorceress, seems to have managed the hurly burly pretty well. In spite of this she died (probably in jail) in the town of Falun a couple of years later (Rudenmark, 1967).

The testimonies of the children have been preserved in original in Västerås Stadsbibliotek and in the transcripts made by Prof. Linderholm in the beginning of this century which are kept at the Manuscript department at Uppsala University library.

From 746 testimonies I have been able to identify 588 children by name, age and parents' name. Their first testimonies and 59 testimonies given in front of the Royal commission of inquiry in January 1671 is the dataset this paper is based on.

The witch panic of Rättvik are certainly a very special from an event like this should be judged as different experimental settings.

Nevertheless, the data from Rättvik are particularly interesting because, unlike in most contemporary cases of eyewitness testimony, large numbers of children are involved. This makes it possible to evaluate ideas that have been formulated on the basis of data sets that are either very small or derived in experimental settings.

The idea of the great, perverted Satanic feasts, called the witches' sabbath existed in Europe for several hundred years but in spite of large efforts of both ecclesiastical and secular authorities no substantial proofs of its existence were ever found. Today researchers from all fields concerned with this phenomenon agree that the concept of the witches' sabbath belongs to the world of fantasy, myths and dreams."

As in the introductory quotation, the accounts of these gatherings almost always included fantastic elements such as flying through the air on the stomach of animals, pregnancies resulting in the birth of toads or snakes, after intercourse with the devil, etc. while the flames from hell spurted out from a hole in the floor, etc.

So how come so many children reported what were clearly impossible events? The Rättvik material enables us to investigate some hypotheses that might be part of an answer to that question:

(1) The capacity to separate reality from fantasy is related to age

The idea that young children are less capable of separating facts from fantasy than older children and adults can be traced in Freud's works (e.g. Freud, 1963), or in Piaget's thoughts about the preoperational child's tendency to "materialise" his or her spiritual life (Piaget, 1964).

Experimental studies have found age-related patterns in children's capacity to separate words or actions the child actually said from words or actions they imagined themselves saying (Foley, Johnson & Raye, 1983; Foley & Johnson, 1985). Six-year-old children seem to have greater difficulties than older children managing tasks like this.

Since the priests of Rättvik asked almost all children who testified about their age, this variable is possible to examine in relation to the kind of testimony given.

(2) Social influence from other children

A number of classical experiments have shown that subjects in ambiguous situations often tend to conform to the opinion of a group (Sherif, 1936) or nority, even if this is in conflict with the subject's perception of the world (Asch: 1956) or even to the subject's concepts of morality and decent behaviour (Milgram, 1963).

It has also been shown that peer relations can play an important role in the life of children as young as young as 24 months (Lewis, Young, Brooks & Michalson, 1975), and that popular children tend to agree more with their friends when communicating than unpopular children (Putallaz & Gottman, 1981). In a situation where a majority were sure they had been to the witches' sabbath these mechanisms might have had the effect of strengthening this majority if the children were given the opportunity to influence one another just before being questioned.

The fact that the testimonies are very stereotyped might also point in the direction of social influence (but has also been interpreted as a result of leading questions (Ankarloo, 1984)).

Most of the testimonies in the Rättvik material were either given at prayer meetings in the different villages in the parish or at the private visits at the vicarage. Whether the testimony was given at a prayer meeting or not is quite obvious from the material.

The prayer meetings were large events with many people present which gave great opportunities for the children to confer with each other. One of the accused witches, Mrs Anna, describes it this way: "When a meeting is held and it's time for the children to go in and confess, the ones who are outside talk among themselves and decide what they are going to say and those who come out tell

the others what they have said and say: "Tell them the same, you too..." (Documents from Linderholm 82.)

So even if the priest questioned the children one by one, standing in line outside the interrogation-room influenced the children and made the testimonies less reliable, according to Mrs Anna.

Another area where social influences might have played a special role is among boys. It is a well known fact that there is a culturally universal segregation of the genders among children over the world (e.g. Maccoby & Jacklin, 1987, Schofield, 1981). Maintaining this order seems to have connections with social competence and popularity among children. It has been suggested that group sanctions against boys violating gender boundaries are greater than those against girls (Sroufe, Bennet, Englund, Urban & Shulman, 1993; Thorne & Luria, 1986).

Except on Iceland (Hastrup, 1990) and during certain periods Finland (Heikkinen & Kervinen, 1990) the female domination among accused witches is striking (e.g. Lerner, 1981) and all accused witches in Rättvik were women.

These facts make it interesting to investigate whether there is a male dominance among the accusers.

(3) Influence from the person investigating the child

The child testimonies of the great Swedish witch panic (Ankarloo, 1984) as well as what seem to be similar, contemporary outbreaks of mass hysteria for instance at Orkney-Great Britain (Öhrström, 1994) or Edenton - USA (Hobohm, 1994), have been explained as a result of pressure and leading questions from the interrogator.

However, experimental studies have shown that even though there are some age differences in the capacity to resist leading questions (e.g. Ceci, Ross & Toglia, 1987), children's testimonies are on the whole quite reliable and resistant to the influence of leading questions when dealing with things significant to children's concerns (Goodman, Aman & Hirshman, 1987; Goodman, Rudy, Bottoms & Aman, 1990). Ceci et al. (1987) have shown that part of children's tendency to yield to leading questions is due to their tendency to rely on adult authority. Children's memory does seem to be more sensitive to postevent suggestions than the memory of adults (Zaragoza, 1987).

Apart from the 746 testimonies collected by the priests of Rättvik in January 1670-January 1671, there are also 59 child testimonies from the Royal commission of inquiry. The commission obviously asked questions that differed from those of the priests. This had as a result that several children added accounts of marriages (either to a demon or to another child), having sexual intercourse with this partner, and eating the children that resulted from these marriages. They also started to tell the commission about satanic baptism. Marriages and baptisms and references to sexual acts are very rarely mentioned in the material preceding the inquiry. This could either be the result of new kinds of leading questions or it may be caused by the fact that no one previously had asked the children these questions and that they thus failed to tell the priests about them, which could be consistent with experimental findings (e.g. Saywitz, 1987) about children's difficulties providing complete information about certain aspects of stories, when not explicitly asked about these aspects.

Since the inquiry was conducted between the third of January and the tenth of January it is possible to investigate whether the children's testimonies actually changed during these days, as a result of the confrontation with the new interrogators, or if they were stable over time.

Method

Subjects

588 children aged between 1 and 16 years of age appear in the notes made by the priests of Rättvik 1670–71. All testimonies where the child was not directly questioned by the priest but only referred to were excluded. So were testimonies where name, age, parents' name and/or village have been impossible to certify. One hundred of the children were 1-6 years old, 340 of the children were 7-11 years old and 148 of the children were 12-16 years old. The mean age of the subjects was 9.5 years (SD = 3.1). Three hundred and ten were boys and 278 girls. There were no significant age differences between the sexes.

Five hundred and fourteen of the 588 subjects gave their first testimony at a prayer-meeting whereas 74 subjects gave their first testimony at other places. There were no significant age or sex differences between these groups.

Sixty-three children, between 3 and 16 years of age, testified in front of the Royal commission of inquiry. Their mean age was 11.2 years (SD = 3.0). Forty of them were boys and 33 were girls. To facilitate the calculations, four denying children were excluded.

In connection with these testimonies, all 690 testimonies from the total of 746 testimonies 10m the notations of the Rättvik priests were investigated. Those excluded were 56 testimonies where the children denied.

Biases

Information about name and age concerning children who denied being to the witches sabbath were sometimes excluded from the material in a way that made them impossible to identify. This might make the denying children underrepresented in the material.

Very young children were often represented by parents or peers without speaking themselves. These absent children were also quite often referred to as children who had seen other children at the witches sabbath. This might indicate that young children are underrepresented in the material

It should also be noted that notations of age from the seventeenth century cannot be regarded as exact information the way it can be today since probably some children and parents did not know the exact birthday of their child.

The reading of the notes and protocols gives the impression that the children at prayer meetings often were asked directly if they had been "taken" to the sabbath or not, which means that they had to choose between a total denial or a full "confession". The notations from prayer meetings are often very brief, sometimes no more than the name, age and parent of the child that has been heard, and the name of the which that took the child. The notations from the private interrogations are longer with more details. The different style of the protocols and the fact that many of the subjects had to make the choice between full confession and denial might of course be a bias towards full stereotyped confession in prayer meetings.

Categories

To investigate to what extent age, social pressure and sex influenced the 688 testimonies given to the priests of Rättvik these were examined and judged as belonging to one of the following three categories:

Category 1-"Reality". Children who did not express any reservations concerning the real life quality of their experiences,

Category 2-"Dream" Children who expressed doubt whether their testimony dealt with things that actually took place in real life. (eg Children who said that they were taken to the witches' sabbath in a dream. Children who said that their experience was "dream like" Some children repeatedly qualified their testimony with expressions such as, "Thought she was taken..", "Thought it was NN who did it," etc)

Category 3-"Denying" Children who completely denied being taken to the witches' sabbath (Even though the reason they were questioned was usually the fact that they had been seen there by other witnesses.),

The reliability of this coding scheme as judged by two independent persons was 97% on a 10% stratified sample,

To investigate to what extent age, social pressure and sex influenced the stereotypicity of the 588 testimonies given to the priests of Rättvik these were also judged as belonging to one of the following categories:

Stereotyped, (a) Children who without reservation admit that they have been "taken" (" to the witches' sabbath, (e.g., "Admits that he has been taken" "Admits that he has been fully taken." "Admits that he has been taken but does non remember by whom") Or:

(b) Children who did not use the word "förd" but gave a detailed description that contained at least five of the following six elements (1) Meeting a witch, (2) Riding through the air 3) Coming to a house: (4) Meeting, a man. (5) Being offered lood. (6) Being offered a gift

Nonstereotyped, Children who make some kind of confession without being put into the first category. (e.g., A boy remembering meeting an ugly man that wanted to take him to the witches' sabath but who never got there.)

The reliability of this ending scheme as judged by two independent persone was 90% on a 10% stratified sample,

To investigate the effects of the new questions posed by the Royal commission of inquiry 59 bestimonies given in front of the commission and go testimonies collected by the Rättvik priests before the inquiry were examined and it was noted:

- (1) Whether the child said dat he or she had me through satanic babtism
- (2) Whether the child said that he or she had been married at the witches' sabbath

The testimonies from the inquiry were split into two groups. Testimonies given between the third of January 1671 and the seventh of January belonged to the first group and testimonies given between the ninth and tenth of January belonged to the second group. Mean age of first group was 12.1 years and the mean age of the second group was 10.3 years,

Results

Five hundred and twelve children were sure that their experiences were real, 30 subjects thought that they had dreamt the whole thing and 46 children denied having anything to do with the witches or their sabbath at all.

It seems as if the children of Rättvik were less susceptible the older they were. Of the children aged between 1 and 6 years, 96% were convinced that they had been taken to the sabbath. Only one thought he had dreamt it and three of them denied. (These three were relatives to one of the accused and denied along with her.) Among the children aged between 7 and 11 years of age 5% said that they had dreamt it and 5% denied. In the third group (12-16 years) 7% said that they had dreamt and 18% denied (Table 1.). The differences between the age-groups were significant ($\chi^2(4, N=588)=31.99$ $p=,0001$).

Table 1. Numbers and percentages of the first testimony given to the Rättvik priests 1670–71, divided in categories representing the children's different degrees of belief in the reality of his or her experience of the witches' sabbath

	“Reality”	“Dream”	“Denial”	Total
Boys				
1-6 years	48 (92%)	1 (2%)	3 (6%)	52
7-11 years	173 (92%)	5 (3%)	9 (5%)	187
12-16 years	61 (86%)	4 (6%)	6 (8%)	71
Girls				
1-6 years	48 (100%)	-	-	48
7-11 years	131 (86%)	14 (9%)	8 (5%)	153
12-16 years	51 (66%)	6 (8%)	20 (26%)	77

The same trend was found when stereotyped testimonies were examined. 95% of the testimonies of the youngest children were judged as stereotyped, 2% were nonstereotyped and 3% denied. Among children aged between 7 and 11 years almost 90% of the testimonies were stereotyped, a little more than 5% were nonstereotyped and 5% denied. Among children aged between 12 and 16 almost 74% of the testimonies were stereotyped, more than 8% were nonstereotyped and almost 18% denied. These differences were significant ($\chi^2(4, N=588)=33.502$ $p=,0001$),

Only 3% of the children said that they had dreamt about the witches' sabbath at a prayer meeting while 19% said the same when questioned at other places. Six per cent denied being at the witches' sabbath while questioned at prayer meetings whereas 22% denied at other places.

That means that only 59% of the children testifying at other places than prayer meetings were sure about the real life quality of their experiences of the witches' sabbath whereas as many as 91% were sure about it after standing in line at prayer meetings. The differences were significant ($\chi^2(2, N=588)=59.69$ $p=,0001$).

Similar trends were found among the stereotyped testimonies. Ninety percent of the testimonies given at prayer meeting were judged while only 65% of the testimonies given at other places were. Only 4% were nonstereotyped at prayer meetings while as many as 13% were nonstereotyped at other places. These differences were significant ($\chi^2(2, N=588)=34.625$ $p=,0001$).

While 91% of the boys were sure of the real-life quality of their story 83% of the girls were. Three per cent of the boys thought they had dreamt about it whereas 7% of the girls thought the same. Five per cent of the boys denied having been to the witches' sabbath while as many as 10% of the girls did. These differences in the whole group were significant ($\chi^2(2, N=588)=9.074$ $p=,0107$).

However, the sex differences were not significant within the group of 1-6-year-old children. Of the testimonies of the boys 90% were stereotyped, 4% were nonstereotyped and 6% denied. Among the girls only 82% gave stereotyped testimonies, 8% gave nonstereotyped confessions and 10% denied. These differences were significant ($\chi^2(2, N=588)=8.021$ $p=,0181$).

When the group of children that testified in front of the royal commission of inquiry and the 690 non-denying testimonies given before the inquiry were examined the following results were found.

Before the inquiry only nine individuals (a little more than 1%) of the children said that they had been married at the witches' sabbath. None of the children mentioned satanic baptism. (Although one of the denying children, a 9-year-old boy, called Hans, at first did mention satanic baptism in his testimony, this child immediately took back all he had said about this and about the witches sabbath when Reverend Elvius asked about details of the baptism.)

Among the children who testified between the third of January 1671 and the seventh of January (Group 1), 18% said that they had been baptized while 48% said the same in the group of children who testified between the ninth January and the tenth of January (Group 2). This difference between these two groups was significant ($\chi^2(1, N=59)=6.12$ $p=,0134$). There were no significant relation between age and this variable.

Concerning marriage (and intercourse) no significant difference was found between Group 1 and Group 2. However, there was a significant difference between those who said that they had been married and those who denied having been married ($F(1, N=59)=10.078$ $p=,0024$). While age for the former was 13.133 the mean age for the latter was 10.5 (Mean diff: 2.633) which means that in this case it was the older children that had the more vivid imagination,

Discussion

The witch panic of Sweden 1668-1676 was an extreme situation where a great deal of pressure was put on both ecclesiastical and secular authorities as well as on the inhabitants of the stricken parishes and of course the accused witches. But the greatest burden of responsibility was put on the children, those who were least capable of handling it.

This study has shown that the children of Rättvik had greater difficulties in separating reality from fantasy in their testimonies the younger they were. It has also shown that the children inspired each other to accuse the witches and that boys were more sure about the reliability of the accusations than the girls. This might be the result of "gender boundary maintenance", but could also be due to sex differences in cognitive development (e.g. Eisenberg et al. 1987; Emanuelsson & Svensson, 1990). Leading questions, or at least the subject of the questions appeared to influence the testimonies. It has also been shown that accounts of sexual experiences at the witches' sabbath were more common among older children than younger. This should, according to my opinion, be seen as a result of the development of sexuality.

The results indicate that children's testimony is not always reliable (but that reliability increases with age), if the children are subject to influences from peers and adults. Since there are, of course, many variables that are impossible to measure after 324 years, such as influence from parents, nights in the guard houses (where children were gathered and watched while sleeping), or simple threats or bribes, as well as an unknown number of witnesses that did not appear in the protocols, the result of this investigation should not be regarded as exact, but rather as a somewhat dim picture of factors that seem to have played a role for the reliability of these testimonies. And perhaps they can also remind us to be careful when examining child witnesses,

since mass hysteria and false accusations like those in Sweden in the seventeenth century still remain possible if enough pressure is put on the witnesses.

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Unpublished material

Documents from "Linderholm 82" Kept at the Manuscript Department of Uppsala University Library.

Appendix Examples of categories:

Reality

(12 mars 1670)

Britta à 6 åhr sadhe sigh wara förd af een käring uti backen. Wiste icke hoo then war, hade swart kläde om hufwudh och rödt om kroppen, red een gångh på Nils Pers häst, een gångh på Sefres Mattz Britas kalf. Nils Pers Kerstins Lasse sagt för thenne lilla flicka att hon hade fått häst och sel. Men dockan säger hon sig hafwa i bästefars herberge och går hwart hon wijsar henne, hon leker medh henne om sondagarne, är liten som ett fingers lång och lefwer...

Britta aged 6 years said that she was taken by an old woman from the hill, but she did not know who it was. She had black cloth around her head and red around her body. Once she rode on Nils Per's horse and once she rode on Sefre's Mats' Brita's calf. Nils Pers Kerstins Lasse had said to this little girl that she had been given a horse and harness. She says that she keeps the doll in the shelter of her grandfather and that she goes wherever she tells her to go. She plays with it on Sundays. It is as small as a finger and it is alive.

inquisition

Dream

(12 mars 1670)

Anna à 12 åhr tillfrågades när och huru hon förddh war? Responderat. Tygs som i dröm på een häst fort i wädret, sedan som Nils Pehrssons dotters son Lasse så sagt hade att hon hade warit åstad och fått dockor och häst. Bete Nils Pehrs dotters son Lasse bortdref them die S Matthies när folcket war i kyrkian, modren hustru Kerstin lemnade honom ther. Gossen Lasse slogh effter dockorna och dref uth them, Nekar sigh weta hwem som förer.

Anna aged 12 years was asked when and how she was taken. Answered: Seems as in a dream, on a horse, quickly up in the sky. Then she, as Nils Persson's daughter's son had said, was away and got dolls and a horse. The above mentioned Nils Pehr's daughter's son Lasse drove them away at St Matthew's day when the people were at church. His mother, Mrs Kerstin, left him there. The boy Lasse tried to hit the dolls and drove them out. She says she does not know who took her.

Denial

Den 25 february kom Lars Anders hustru Karin i Röjeråsen medh sin son Anders à 10 åhr, och dotren Britha à 8 åhr, klagandes them wara förde först af Holl Karin och thetta wara sagt wils Perssons barn. Men sedan af een annan ther i byn, wille intet säya hwem thet war.

Thesse två barn Anders och Brita förhördes av migh seerskildt, men nekade alldeles sigh wara förde och icke drömt enn gång ther om.

On 25 February, Lars' Anders wife Karin from Röjeråsen came with her son Anders, (10 years old) and her daughter Britha (8 years old), complaining that they had been taken, first by Holl Karin, which the children of Nils Persson had said, but then by someone else in the village. She did not want to say who it was. I examined these two children separately but they completely denied being taken and had not even dreamt about it.

Stereotyped

...beklände Holl Karin Hafwa fört sigh 2 gånger i Jiolhelgen men icke kunde säja huru war emillan. Wiste icke heller huru han tog åsteden för än han satt på litzle giäten, kom i wedret, sat på buken hufwud effter, beet i klockan som i een rofwa, lade i pungen, och Holl Karin sade han skulle kasta bak öfwer axlerne i siön och lärndan säja: inte skal min siäl komma Gudz rike, för än thetta kommer till klockan. När the kommo fram till een stoor stuga ther det folk war, och kom intill stubben, och een stoor karl medh nog band på kläden kom och honom kiött stycke, ät thet är good maat, och sade wil tu tiäna megh. Men Holl Karin inte på sleehte holfwen och sedan fördes han af Holl Karin tillbaka thenna gång.

This testimony is translated in the beginning of the paper.

Non stereotyped

Den 12 martij kom Petters Anna i Röjeråsen medh lensman Larss dotter ibidem Britta Larsdotter à 10 åhr, klagandes henne wara fördh af Hinders Pehrs dotter Britta och stundom af andra som hon intet känner. Hon bekiänner sigh hafwa fått häst och book, men nu igentagna af satan.

On 12th of March, Petter's Anna from Röjeråsen brought Sheriff (länsman) Lars's daughter, Britta Larsdotter aged 10 years, saying she was taken by Hinder's Pehr's daughter Britta and sometimes by others whom she didn't know. She admits that she has been given a horse and a book but they have now been taken back by Satan.

Example of testimony from the royal commission of inquiry including accounts of baptism and marriage:

(Anno 1671 den 10 januari) Hans Pärsson 12.5 åhr gammal seger att weed tijden Helge trefaldighetz söndagh blef han först af henne tagen, seger sigh fuller intet kunna för den tijden se henne allenast känna känna der af att då hon for af ropade hon nu til helfwitis Malin, men sedan haar han wäll kunnat sedt hånne. Obligerar sigh satan genom dopet sen til all hans dienst och egendom är worden kallader fanen, hafft til hustru en sin grannes flijcka Karin Jonssdotter, med hånne afflat itt foster, som ähr wordet blifwin strax opätit, lärddt der desse lexor, fader vår nederst i helwetit etc. Jagh tror på Gudh fader nederst i helfwetet. Bekommet af satan ett horn, penningar och en häst, seger och att denne Malin ähr kokerska i helfwetet.

Hans Pärsson 12.5 years old, says that he was taken by her for the first time, at the time of Sunday of the holy trinity. He says that he could not see her at all before that time, but that he recognised her all the same because she cried: "To hell Malin!", when she went away. Later he had also been able to see her. He committed himself by baptism to serve Satan and be his property. Is called Devil. As his wife he had the girl of their neighbour Karin Jonssdotter. With her he bred a foetus which was directly eaten. He learned this homework: "Our father who art deep down in hell" etc. "I believe in God the father who art deepest down in hell." From Satan he got a horn, money and a horse. He also says that this Malin is a female cook in hell.