

The Possession of Thomas Darling: Adumbrations of a Jungian Psychohistory

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Abstract

Applying Jungian psychology to this microhistorical instance, I try to understand the potential, psychological significance of Darling's possession experience. Using the frontispiece – “The Witch of Endor” – to Glanvill's 1682 text as a springboard, I attempt to locate the contribution of a Jungian approach by critically comparing it with historical perspectives on possession. I argue that Darling's possession may be understood as a *compensation* to his devout Puritan upbringing and that recurring themes of symbolic rebirth – evidenced by the constellation of the *dual mother archetype* – suggest that the ordeal was a manifestation of a process of psychological maturation Jung called *individuation*. I argue that a Jungian interpretation of the individual, possession experience does not contradict certain historical assertions but, in many ways, supports them. The witch symbol – one representing transition and liminality – elucidates the Puritan position during Elizabethan England, where possession was used as a political statement to assert religious identity in the face of persecution.

Introduction

‘The Witch of Endor’ (fig. 1) is the frontispiece to Joseph Glanvill's book, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, published in 1682 after his death. An English philosopher, clergyman and writer, he argues in the text for the reality of witchcraft, criticising those who challenge its existence. The picture depicts 1 Samuel 28: 3-5, where King Saul of Israel – in disguise – consults a ‘witch’ after falling out of God's favour. Ironically, Saul had banished all mediums and wizards from the land after the prophet Samuel's death. Unsure of how to combat the assembled army of the Philistines, Saul requests that the witch resurrect the spirit of the prophet, the advice of whom Saul paid no heed during the former's earthly existence. The woman reluctantly does so, only to realise that Saul – the very monarch who banished her and her kind – was making the request. After ensuring that no harm would come to the necromancer, he asks

her to describe the spirit coming forth. Realising that the 'divine being [...] wrapped in a robe'¹ was Samuel, Saul falls to the ground, prostrating to the spirit of the prophet. His ghost, however, provides Saul with neither comforting words nor the advice he so desperately seeks. Instead, the spirit predicts the death of both Saul and his son during the next day of battle.



Fig. 1: frontispiece to Joseph Glanvill's book, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, published in 1682.

The witch in the frontispiece is haggard and old, holding a candle in her hand. As witches are usually associated with darkness, her possession of fire possibly symbolises her function as a mediating guide, the 'enlightened' possessor of forbidden knowledge.² When initially looking at the picture, however, our eyes fall not to the witch, but to Saul, placed in the centre and the only figure

kneeling. Although his 'sanctity' is depicted by a halo encircling his head, the audience is aware that his piety is ultimately tainted; he has lost God's favour and is now dabbling in the forbidden arts. It is questionable, then, whether Saul's dialogue with Samuel is divine (due to the sanctity of God's prophets) or demonic (because the vision was resurrected by an 'impure' witch). The picture remarkably represents the tension between the demonic and the divine not only present in the narrative specifically but indicative of the cultural atmosphere of early modern England more generally.

Elizabethan England struggled with its religious identity, as those considered Puritans – including Conformists, Presbyterians and Separatists – came into conflict with the government through their varying degrees of opposition to the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. Based on strong, anti-Catholic sentiment and an emphasis on both discipline and frivoly, Puritans believed that the political arrangement – which preserved a Catholic-style hierarchy and departed little from Catholic rituals – did not go far enough in changing the religious structure of England. By 1590, with the death of key Puritans including Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Walter Mildmay, John Field and Francis Walsingham, a campaign to denigrate the Puritan cause was launched. Fuelled by the pro-government message preached by Richard Bancroft, many Puritans were arrested, and some were even examined before the Court in Star Chamber, dedicated to the questioning of traitors. Matters were not helped when extremist Puritans proclaimed that William Hacket was the new Messiah, and called for the deposing of the Queen. After Hacket's execution and the subsequent release of Puritans from prison, few had little strength left to pursue a radical, Puritan cause. One of the subsequent battlefields for this religious conflict materialised in the bodies of citizens.³ The 'Witch of Endor' provides a snapshot not only of early modern English perceptions and collective beliefs, but how these convictions ultimately trickled down to, and pervaded, the concerns of everyday people.

The picture is, essentially, my map. It serves as a guideline to my argument, a central point to which I periodically return throughout this paper. Theoretically, my use of the frontispiece shows how art can encapsulate the concerns of a

specific, historical moment, how we can continue to find meaning in art when viewed from a contemporary perspective, and how art can enrich our study of the past. My interest in 'The Witch of Endor' is threefold: the depiction of a 'witch' in early modern England; the broader themes which I believe are being conveyed through the picture; and, more coincidentally, Glanvill's association with the University of Oxford.⁴ The year 1682 brings me to early modern England, where seventy-nine years prior, a passionate Puritan named Thomas Darling 'was sentenced to lose his ears for having libelled the Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford, John Howson, a vehement opponent of Puritanism.'⁵ If we travel back another seven years to 17 February, we can observe not only the first signs of Darling's possession – one that would ultimately persist for five months – but the curse that allegedly caused it. These 'magical' words were uttered by Alice Gooderidge, the 'witch of Stapenhill'.⁶ The figures in Glanvill's frontispiece, then, serve as the keyholes through which I will view, from an analytical psychological perspective, the possession of Thomas Darling.⁷

Psychohistory has been dominated by Freudian scholarship.⁸ Accordingly, the many devastating critiques levelled at psychohistory have been based on a Freudian interpretation of primary sources.⁹ Since depth psychological approaches can begin from a different conceptual model of the psyche – especially in the case of Freud and Jung – the type of psychohistory each tells will vary. Insofar as 'Jungian psychohistory' remains largely unexplored, my interpretation of this microhistorical instance is a 'test case', considering whether or not the application of Jungian psychology to microhistory yields any insights that would add to our overall understanding of possession.¹⁰ That is not to say that Jungian psychohistory is immune to general critiques of psychohistory. It is even possible that a critical assessment of a Jungian approach may be more devastating. Yet, the possibility remains that the telling of a *different* psychohistory may ameliorate the concerns of those historians who deem psychohistory to be 'pseudo history' at best. This Jungian interpretation neither seeks to confirm the veracity of Darling's possession nor to diagnose it as an earlier manifestation of a psychotic breakdown. On the contrary, claims against the authenticity of Darling's possession were in print as early as 1599.¹¹ Regardless of whether Darling was truly possessed or merely

dissimulating for personal reasons, a Jungian interpretation can begin to assess why possession was chosen as the vehicle of expression.¹² As the branch of depth psychology that emphasises an analysis of the entire life, a Jungian elucidation does not focus on discovering ‘necessary’ childhood traumas, but contemplates Darling’s possible wishes for the future based on a reading of primary sources, and how these aspirations may have affected his use of possession.¹³ I argue that his ordeal may be understood as a *compensation* to his devout Puritan upbringing and that recurring themes of symbolic rebirth – evidenced by the constellation of the *dual mother archetype* – suggest that the torment, real or otherwise, was a manifestation of a process of psychological maturation Jung called *individuation*. I contrast this interpretation with an historical perspective on possession in early modern England. I argue that a Jungian interpretation does not contradict specific historical claims, but supplements them. Historians could argue that my method is anachronistic, that Jungian terminology is unnecessary, and that my contentions are proof yet again that psychohistory cannot move beyond psychobiography. Yet my application of classical Jungian thought to this microhistorical instance does not pretend to convey an irrefutable explanation of events. Rather, I see it as an invitation to historians and others to enter into dialogue, working together to determine whether *all* forms of psychohistory are doomed to fail the test of historical time.

The event

There are two versions of the incident leading to Darling’s possession, occurring on 17 February 1596 at Burton. First, shortly after his fits began, Darling informs his aunt that, as he passed an old woman wearing a grey gown with three warts upon her face in the woods, he accidentally passed wind. Taking offence, the witch says, ‘Gyp with a mischief, and fart with a bell. I will go to Heaven, and you will go to Hell.’¹⁴ The accused, Alice Gooderidge, like her mother, Elizabeth Wright, was suspected of being a witch. Gooderidge was arrested and confined to Derby Jail on 14 April.

On 2 May, Gooderidge was subjected to various tests that would reveal whether or not she was guilty of bewitchment. After the discovery of distinctive 'witch marks' on Gooderidge's body, she is compelled to relay her version of events. She confesses to cursing Thomas as she passed him in the woods, after he called her 'the witch of Stapenhill'.¹⁵ Her curse, however, was not meant for Darling, but for another boy who had previously broken her basket of eggs.¹⁶ Gooderidge then confesses to sending the devil to torment Darling in the form of a little red and white dog named Minny.

Darling was a passionate Puritan, a fact that is expressed throughout the account. During one fit, he accepts that the ordeal may take his life, and his only regret was his inability to become a preacher so that he may 'thunder out the threatenings of God's word against sin and all abominations, wherewith these days do abound.'¹⁷ It was only after a visit from the Puritan exorcist, John Darrell – who officially diagnosed the boy as being possessed – that Darling's two possessing devils, Glassap and Radalphus, were driven from his body through prayer and fasting.¹⁸ Though Darling was almost re-possessed a few days later – an onslaught that Darrell predicted¹⁹ – the boy was able to fend off Satan's attacks.²⁰ In 1600, however, the veracity of the possession was brought into question when Darrell was accused of fraudulently claiming to have dispossessed Darling as well as other demoniacs.²¹

Understanding and interpreting possession: an historical perspective

Philip C. Almond, in his collection of primary sources on possession in early modern England, provides a strong statement illuminating an historical understanding of this phenomenon.²² He writes:

The introduction proceeds from the assumption that the meaning of demonic possession and exorcism is to be found within the context of the social, political, and religious life of early modern England. More specifically, it argues that possession and deliverance is a cultural drama played out by all the participants within the confines of a cultural script known to all of them. And it

suggests that the experiences of demonic possession had by demoniacs, exorcists, and audiences are shaped and configured by their cultural setting.²³

For Almond, the sources show that the divine and demonic played a part in everyday life. Although cases of possession were rare enough to attract a crowd of observers, they occurred often enough to be regarded seriously amongst them.²⁴ Possession reflected social and ideological conflicts within the culture itself and served the purposes of those who mobilised them, including: participants, demoniacs, exorcists, judges, bishops, Catholics, Puritans and Anglicans.²⁵ They supply testaments to the reality of evil, witchcraft and the veracity of the cure, exorcism. Though Almond discusses many interesting ideas, I limit myself to those points relevant to the case of Darling.

Possession as politics of power

Scepticism concerning possession was reinforced by the belief, especially amongst Puritans, that the age of miracles had passed. The only true miracles were performed by Christ, his apostles, and his prophets. Accordingly, it was impossible to claim that a 'successful', contemporary exorcism had been performed. Instead, these claims held a strategic, political purpose. George More, a colleague of Darrell, aptly notes:

If the Church of England have this power to cast out Devils, then the church of Rome is a false Church. For there can be but one true Church, the principal mark of which, as they say, is to work miracles, and of them this is the greatest, namely to cast out devils.²⁶

For Almond, a key feature of the major source outlining Darling's ordeal is its need to voice 'Puritan concerns about Catholic claims that only their priests have the power to dispossess.'²⁷

The Puritan cure for possession was fasting and prayer. This was accompanied by readings from the Bible, which provoked intense outbursts from Darling. Almond interprets Jesse Bee's challenging of Satan through the recitation of biblical passages 'as a way of inspiring due and godly regard for the Bible among the spectators.'²⁸ Though Puritans – especially Darrell – denied the miraculous nature of exorcism, they still yearned to 'own' it, for in so doing they concurrently obtained God's approval of Puritanism. It should be further noted that the central source on Darling – based on the notes of Jesse Bee and edited and prefaced by John Denison²⁹ – was allegedly revised by Darrell before publication so that the account served as a testament to God's partiality for the Puritan cause³⁰.

Profiling the possessed

Almond concludes that the characteristics of possession differed little across both gender and age. On the whole, the behaviour of the possessed does not change much across denominations. He suggests that possession narratives were well-established and known throughout all levels of society. Children and adolescents, however, were more prone to possession than adults.³¹ Almond is not surprised by this, as 'children lived in a supernatural world populated by elves, ghosts, hobgoblins, bogey men and demons.'³² His reading of the sources further show that during this period, two-thirds of the possessed were female children or adolescents, and around one-fifth were boys or adolescent males.³³ Almond's intuition is that possession became for these children a source of rebellion against adult authority and a way of avoiding prayer. 'Possession was a means', he writes, 'by which moral imperatives could be violated, guilt mitigated if not removed, and parental authority avoided'³⁴ as well as '[providing] an excuse for outrageous behaviour [...]'.³⁵ 'Possessed' children were not condemned, but met with sympathy and concern.³⁶ Stated succinctly, this protest against authority turns familial dynamics upside down. Whereas parents were previously in power, possessed children not only demanded centre stage, but in many ways 'possessed' their parents.³⁷ The bodies of the possessed thus became the means through which adolescents could both communicate their powerlessness and, paradoxically, regain it. These bodies,

moreover, were not merely expressions of the demonic, but of the divine. The fortitude with which one resisted the demonic presence – thereby strengthening the faith of others – was seen as either being a reflection of, or proportionate to, one's ability to be an exemplar of faith and piety.³⁸

Though rebellion may be a generally valid claim for possession in early modern England, it does not entirely explain the case of Darling. He was an extremely pious young man, and except for one instance where he was compelled to tear a page out of the bible, it would be unhelpful to see his ordeal strictly in terms of a rebellion against authority.³⁹ That is, of course, if we are assuming that analysing his *conscious* actions is the only method available for understanding his state of mind. If one introduces the notion of the *unconscious*, Darling's possession can be interpreted as a rebellion, but a form of defiance with different characteristics and motives.

The presence of crowds and the possession narrative

Almond recognises the role of crowds in both creating the possession environment and in enacting its stock narratives. The group's expectations dictated the way in which the possessed reacted. As a consequence, crowds became emotionally involved, and in some cases, judged the authenticity of the possession.⁴⁰ Almond characterises these occasions as *numinous*, borrowing Rudolph Otto's term.⁴¹ What observers confronted face to face was the mysterious Other, which simultaneously fascinated and terrified them. This collective thrill, balanced by feelings of sympathy, made possession a popular, public event; a communal drama in which all participated. The central account attests to the regular presence of observers during Darling's fits.⁴² Demoniacs may have had, furthermore, a vested interest in 'prolonging' their possession, which explains why possessions were usually long, drawn-out affairs.

Almond believes that possession was a learned behaviour which was contagious.⁴³ In Darling's case, Darrell told the boy's friends what they should expect of him, all within earshot of Darling himself. Accordingly, he dutifully 'performed' that which was expected of him on the next day.⁴⁴ Samuel Harsnett

posits that possession and exorcism are 'a theatre of imposture.'⁴⁵ It was a carefully scripted performance, the exorcists being both its writers and directors. Though Arnold does not deny the theatricality of possession, he is unwilling to go so far as to equate possession with theatrical fraud. He writes:

But the image of theatricality is less persuasive if [...] the boundary between simulation and authenticity in the possessed is opaque. And there is no logical incoherence in an exorcist's accepting the authenticity of possession, recognising the strategic value of a successful exorcism for one's church, and furthering one's personal ambitions.⁴⁶

In other words, though an exorcist like Darrell can use possession to further his career, this does not rule out the possibility that what he diagnosed was genuine, rather than fraudulent. Almond concludes that it is more precise to call possession a reality play.⁴⁷ His historical perspective is invaluable and will be kept in mind as I explore the insights gained by adopting a Jungian lens to interpret Darling's plight.

A Jungian, Psychohistorical perspective

Possession by a complex

When speaking of 'possession' in the context of analytical psychology, the first theoretical tenet that comes to mind is Jung's theory of *complexes*, as he often discussed the possibility of being 'possessed by a complex'. Andrew Samuels defines Jung's notion of a complex as 'a collection of images and ideas, clustered round a core derived from one or more archetypes.'⁴⁸ When complexes are constellated, they are characterised by a highly charged affective tone, even if one is unaware of it. Complexes can inform and govern one's behaviour, to the point that they can 'behave like independent entities'.⁴⁹ Highlighting their potential, autonomous nature, Jung writes that, 'there is no difference in principle between a fragmentary personality and a complex [...] complexes are splinter psyches.'⁵⁰ Complexes also have a universal tendency

to be represented in dreams and other imaginal processes as personified entities.⁵¹ Jung thus likens them to demonic presences,⁵² contending that the process of splitting and the individual's subsequent identification with the complex is equivalent to what was known as possession in the Middle Ages.⁵³

Jung generally interprets cases of possession to be an overwhelming of the ego by autonomous complexes. The intensity of hysterical symptoms – being indicators of the compensatory perspective developing in the unconscious contrasting the conscious position – is proportionate to the relative autonomy of the complex. The greater the complex's autonomy – which is in turn determined by the strength of its affective quality – the more the individual will come across as being possessed. The belief that insane persons are possessed by demons thus holds some truth. According to Jung, what is being experienced in possession is the power exuded by the independence of the complex, which has the ability to assert its 'quasi-foreign will' upon the individual.⁵⁴

In his paper, 'The Psychological Foundation of Belief in Spirits', Jung notes the varying degrees of severity with which one can become possessed by a complex. The first kinds – initiated by traumatic events – are distressing, emotional, and personal experiences that leave 'lasting psychic wounds behind them.'⁵⁵ Although these negative instances could lead to the crushing of 'valuable qualities in an individual', their content remains personal in nature. The more psychologically damaging instances are those when a negative aspect of a bipolar archetype is activated. Complexes – though 'belonging' to the realm of the *personal unconscious* – still have an archetypal foundation. Each personal experience of father or the father complex, for example, will also contain an archetypal image of father, endowed with the typical patterns of interaction and relationship accumulated throughout human history.⁵⁶ A deleterious manifestation occurs, Jung writes, 'when something so devastating happens to the individual that his whole previous attitude to life breaks down.'⁵⁷ If a complex from the personal unconscious is dissociated, a sense of loss ensues, though psychological equilibrium can be regained when the complex is made conscious again. When a complex of the collective unconscious – i.e., the archetypal foundation of a complex – associates itself with the ego, it is felt as

strange and uncanny. This situation is potentially volatile, producing feelings of alienation. 'The irruption of these alien contents', Jung reflects, 'is characteristic of symptoms marking the onset of many mental illnesses.'⁵⁸ Monstrous thoughts seize the fragile ego, and 'the whole world seems changed, people have horrible, distorted faces and so on.'⁵⁹

In both forms of varying, complex-severity, it is assumed that their cause is some traumatic event. It could be fruitful to consider Donald Kalsched's notion of 'archetypal defences of the personal spirit', which would see Darling's possession – or, at the very least, its demonic aspects – as evidence of the psyche's self-care system in action. In order to preserve the life of the individual who has suffered an early trauma – in most cases linked with the family – the psyche intentionally fragments, splitting the unity of 'mind and body, spirit and instinct, thought and feeling.'⁶⁰ Yet as interesting as this sounds, the primary sources on Darling do not *explicitly* convey a traumatic, familial lack that would merit such an interpretation. In Darling's case, I have found indications of a missing father in the main account.⁶¹ There is mention of Darling's mother, his uncle, Robert Toone, Toone's wife and Darling's grandfather. The presence of these figures during Darling's possession is further confirmed by Harsnett.⁶² The only indication of the father's presence does not come from the main account, but from Harsnett:

Whereupon, being pressed [...] that having appointed the fast, and moved the parents of the boye, with the whole family, to prepare themselves to that holy exercise of fasting, and prayer [...].⁶³

The mentioning of 'parents' is still vague, one could argue, and does not explicitly point to the father. A traditional psychohistorical account, moreover, could say that this evidence is immaterial. The very fact that his father is either missing or uncounted for in Bee's account – arguably an important retelling of a crucial experience in his son's life – is most telling and would poignantly elucidate the importance of the masculine role-model, John Darrell, towards whom Darling showed much affection.⁶⁴ The absent father would constitute

such an early childhood trauma that would both coincide with, and merit, a 'complex-oriented' interpretation of Darling's possession, argued along the lines of Kalsched's notion of an internal defence of the personal spirit. The lack of a father presence would further reinforce the constellation of the *dual mother archetype*, which is crucial to the argument I will present below. It would then be important to discuss the psychology of the father and to ask important historical questions: what were early modern English conceptions of the father and the family? Would it be *inappropriately* anachronistic to measure early modern English conceptions of the father with contemporary psychological perspectives, such as Andrew Samuel's notion of *aggressive playback*?⁶⁵ Although it is tempting to follow a psychological interpretation of possession unfolding along these premises, it would ultimately be based on *coincidences* and conjectures, governed by the presupposition of a pre-existing trauma. Such an exploration would only confirm Stannard's argument that all psychohistories suffer from factual and logical flaws.⁶⁶ The psychohistorian's affinity for coincidences cannot be the basis of good history. *Connections*, and not coincidences, are the building blocks of history, and any historical reconstruction of the past must begin from the former.⁶⁷

In light of these comments, I cannot entertain the possibility of a past trauma – the missing father – as the catalyst to Darling's possession. Furthermore, I am reticent to interpret Darling's possession strictly in terms of Jungian complexes, for this would problematically pathologise the experience. Within the context of early modern Europe and especially within the cosmology of Puritan belief, the devil, and the netherworld he inhabited and controlled, was considered to be a part of one's everyday reality. Lyndal Roper, in her study of early modern Germany, writes that, 'the Devil was a character one might meet on any lonely pathway, who might whisper whom to kill, how to control others.'⁶⁸ What can be interpreted – from contemporary perspectives – as pathology was, in fact, either a divine or demonic intercession, and one cannot simply divorce oneself from a contextual comprehension of how early modern Europeans understood their experience. It would be instructive, then, to seek out an alternative yet equally elucidative analytical psychological concept through which this specific case of possession can be viewed; respected and not reduced. The Jungian notion of

archetypes is one such theoretical tool. Considering the information we have on Darling's possession and looking once again at our frontispiece, it seems that the figure of the witch and what she came to represent were pressing concerns for the population of early modern England. The 'witch', then, is our first keyhole into an analytical psychological exploration of the possession of Thomas Darling.

The dual mother archetype

I argue that a Jungian psychohistorical perspective, when considered alongside historical analyses, can elucidate our overall understanding of possession. A Jungian lens highlights the possible, psychological processes occurring at both the individual and collective levels. Following Almond's idea of possession as a form of teenage rebellion, I suggest that the explanation of parental defiance can only work in Darling's predicament if we recognise that the urge to rebel was unconscious rather than conscious. From what Bee's account reveals, the boy was a devout Puritan with no conscious inclination to rebel. The constellation of the dual mother archetype, furthermore, reinforces the possibility of unconscious rebellion, for it signals a necessary confrontation with the unconscious as a corrective to Darling's conscious state. The curse of Gooderidge – and her significance as a symbol of liminality and transformation – was the 'invitation' Darling needed to enter into his possession experience. The narratives of death and rebirth synonymous with the dual mother archetype further provided a framework that both contained and informed Darling's ordeal. Psychologically speaking, Darling's possession was his way of working through an inner transformation, manifested as both his yearning to become a preacher and his devotion to, and deification of, Darrell. Symbolically, the boy had to 'die' (the possession experience) in order to be 'reborn' (coming out of the possession) as a more 'complete' individual, one who could attain – and indeed, deserved to acquire – the same renown that his puritan exorcist enjoyed. Only after surviving such a Christ-like 'trial by fire' could Darling earn the right to represent the Puritan faith. Stated succinctly, possession was a way he could prove his worth.

The dual mother

Chapter Eight of Part Two of Jung's *Symbols of Transformation* deals specifically with the archetype of the dual mother. The chapter describes not only the significance of this archetype, but the corresponding narrative of the mythological hero's symbolic experience of death and rebirth. The connection between the two, Jung argues, is lucidly expressed both in the Amerindian myth of Hiawatha and Goethe's description of Faust's descent to the realm of the mothers.

Jung starts from the position that the prime object of unconscious desire is the mother.⁶⁹ The danger lies, however, in clinging to the mother for too long. Jung writes: 'When a person remains bound to the mother, the life he ought to have lived runs away in the form of conscious and unconscious fantasies [...].'⁷⁰ In this case, the man or hero develops a 'great longing for an understanding soul-mate' and subsequently wishes to be 'the seeker who survives the adventures which the conscious personality studiously avoids [...]', the one 'who, with a magnificent gesture, offers his breast to the slings and arrows of a hostile world, and displays the courage which is so sadly lacking to the conscious mind.'⁷¹ The unconscious image of the hero's longing for an understanding soul-mate points to an undeveloped conscious position. Over-dependence on the mother (both literal and symbolic) prevents the son from establishing lasting, meaningful relationships with other women. For Jung, breaking free of the paradoxically comforting and suffocating maternal grip is the hero's goal. Although his strength springs from being tied to this 'maternal source', the full potential of this power can only be realised when the link with the unconscious is severed. Only then, Jung writes, can the god be born within.⁷² Psychologically, the goal is to achieve a controlled descent into the unconscious – symbolically represented as the mother – without becoming over-identified with it. If unable to relinquish the ties with both the literal and symbolic mother, the protagonist will suffer an unconscious, symbolic incest, developing unrealistic portraits and illusory expectations of women.⁷³

The imagery employed by Jung serves as an analogy to explain the psychic situation. Mythic motifs are mobilised unconsciously when *libido* – which Jung describes as a general, psychic energy that is not necessarily sexual in nature⁷⁴ – regresses, thus ‘activat[ing] images which, since the remotest times, have expressed the non-human life of the gods [...]’.⁷⁵ If this regression is experienced by a young person who, at that stage, still lacks a sufficiently strong ego to contain these unconscious images, his life becomes a reflection of, and may be even overwhelmed by, a particular ‘divine archetypal drama’.⁷⁶

In Darling’s situation, the regression is shaped by both his personal and social contexts, mainly, that of Puritanism and the religious tension of Elizabethan England respectively. If the archetypal drama of which Jung speaks is applied to Darling, then his confrontation with the unconscious or his ‘descent to the mothers’ takes the form of a possession. ‘It happens all too easily’, Jung reasons, ‘that there is no returning from the realm of the Mothers.’⁷⁷ In order for one to find one’s way back, the conscious mind must discover a way to understand the unconscious contents with which one is engaged.⁷⁸ In terms of Darling’s ordeal, this took the form of active dialogues in his trance states with both the demonic and divine.

Similar to the description Jung gives of his patient, Miss Miller, when exploring the dual mother archetype, Darling’s possession can be interpreted as an unconscious battle for independence made manifest.⁷⁹ In order to achieve psychological maturation, to prove himself worthy of the title, ‘Puritan defender’ – both literal and symbolic – ties to the mother must be broken. The separation, moreover, ‘is proportionate to the strength of the bond uniting the son with the mother, and the stronger this broken bond was in the first place, the more dangerously does the “mother” approach him in the guise of the unconscious.’⁸⁰ Jung draws a comparison to the Amerindian myth of *Hiawatha* to amplify the motifs occurring in the constellation of the dual mother archetype. From the outset, Hiawatha’s father, Mudjekeewis, must slay a bear, which symbolises his feminine component. The first carrier of this feminine image is the mother.⁸¹ In order for the archetypal hero to continue his life’s journey, he must descend to

the depths of hell or, 'the belly of the whale,' both of which are equated to a maternal womb.⁸² This symbolic death is a necessary precursor to rebirth.

In his elaboration of the *Hiawatha* myth, Jung concentrates on Hiawatha's two mothers. The hero 'is not born like an ordinary mortal because his birth is a rebirth from the mother-wife. That is why the hero so often has two mothers.'⁸³ In many hero myths, the protagonist is exposed and then reared by foster-parents. In the case of Hiawatha, his birth mother, Wenonah, dies shortly after giving birth, and her place is taken by Nokomis, Hiawatha's grandmother. Nokomis functions as a symbolic mother rather than an actual, natural mother. The symbolic mother, then, facilitates the rebirth of the hero. The dual mother is accordingly tied to the motif of the *dual birth* (death/rebirth motif).⁸⁴ In undergoing a strange and mysterious second birth, the hero 'partakes of divinity', as is clearly evident in the biblical narrative of Christ.⁸⁵ 'Anyone who is reborn in this way', Jung elaborates, 'becomes a hero, a semi-divine being.'⁸⁶ In the case of Christ, his crucifixion was in fact a form of baptism, a rebirth 'through the second mother, symbolised by the tree of death.'⁸⁷

In light of Jung's analysis of the dual mother archetype, the onset of Darling's possession can be attributed to two different but interconnected psychological processes. First, the ordeal may have arisen as a *compensation* to both Darling's strong adherence to Puritanism and the overall tense, religious climate of Elizabethan England. In order to balance his staunch commitment, the pervading atmosphere of religious distrust and the necessity to prove denominational superiority, the unconscious position manifested itself as the personification of evil, the exact opposite of the conscious situation and climate. Second, following Almond's suggestion of youthful rebellion, the oncoming experience may have been a crucial point in Darling's psychological maturity and development; a necessary, 'ritual experience' that would announce Darling's coming of age to the Puritan community. The constellation of the dual mother archetype – where the respective maternal images were projected onto two suitable candidates – suggests an underlying, hero's narrative pointing to Darling's need for a symbolic rebirth transcending the shackles of religious persecution, i.e., being derogatorily branded a zealous, Puritan dissenter.

Darling's biological mother represents one half of the dual mother dynamic, symbolising the devouring mother preventing the son from breaking his bond with her, thus maintaining the status quo. The other half – the divine, supernatural and extraordinary symbolic mother – was personified as Alice Gooderidge, the accused witch. It was their meeting in the wood and Darling's belief that Gooderidge was indeed a witch that accelerated the conflict within him, giving him both the impetus and means to express it. Gooderidge's ability to hold the projection of that second, spiritual mother set in motion Darling's engagement with the unconscious; his heroic descent and the promised realisation of a desired destiny – a *legitimate* rebirth, both for himself and the afflicted cause of Puritanism. Possession was the vehicle expressing and incubating both an inner and outer transformation.

Darling as hero and champion of Christ

Almond notes that Darling, in retrospect, felt himself to be privileged, for in battling Satan he was comforted and supported by the Spirit of God.⁸⁸ Both the language of battle (used by Darling and Bee) and the employment of certain biblical narratives throughout Darling's possession suggest that the boy was imitating Christ, a theme which will be explored more fully below. In being confronted with an inexplicable situation, the utilisation of biblical narratives or, myths, give meaning to 'meaningless' suffering.

Almond rightfully points out that possession was an expression of the politics of power. Owning the power to exorcise attests to the dominance of one religious view over another. Through his possession, Darling became a Puritan champion; one's who's piety provides a model of exemplary behaviour for others. Darling as hero, then, is an *enantiodromia* opposing his lower position – a child of a dissenting and 'fallen' Puritan tradition – much like the possession itself is a complete reversal and denial of Puritan values.⁸⁹ Darling's future over-identification with the hero archetype – evidenced by his defamation of the Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford – moreover, is evident here in this earlier instance.

In his dialogues with Satan, Darling believes himself to be the mouthpiece of God, showing an arrogance that may not have been acceptable under any other circumstances. I contend that in the midst of his active dialogues with a perceived Other, Darling both over-identifies with, and is gripped by, the hero archetype and the God or *Self* archetype, which will be discussed further below. The two are then projected in varying degrees onto Darrell, the Puritan exemplar of all that Darling wished to be. Although this heroic, Self image was integral to Darling's 'escape' from the grips of the unconscious (his persecuting demons), his inability to ultimately withdraw these projections from Darrell led to the nurturing of a fervently myopic and tyrannical streak – the very characteristics of the extreme Puritanism being persecuted in Elizabethan England. Although his possessing demons 'left' him, the theme of possession never did, as Darling zealously defended the Puritan faith against its enemies. In essence, he came to resemble his own worse nightmare – a personification of his perceived, possessing demons who were both belligerent and unyielding.

Dialogues with the Demonic and Divine

Returning to our frontispiece, the picture conveys the liminality of the realm Saul is entering, complicating simplistic distinctions between good and evil. At one end, the witch – representing the realm of sin and darkness – holds a candle, which I have interpreted symbolically as referring to the light of 'forbidden' knowledge. She is both Saul's guide into the netherworld and his only link back to reality. Her role, then, is not unlike the role of Hermes; a psychopomp and traveller between boundaries, a symbolic catalyst watching over a process of transformation.⁹⁰ At the other end is the ghost or vision of the prophet Samuel. Serving as God's mouthpiece during his lifetime, Samuel's divinity should be unquestionable. Since, however, he has been raised by a witch, his sanctity is compromised. It seems as if Samuel is bowing to a prostrating Saul, thus further blurring the lines between good, evil and the realm where the choice between the two is ultimately made. Both the image of Samuel and the situation depicted in the picture portray a theme of opposites in tension. A halo emanates from Saul, not Samuel. Is this suggesting that the human king is in some way more divine than the prophet's ghost? Or, is the realm of the 'divine',

represented by Samuel's presence, acknowledging humanity's part in an unfolding drama? Saul is caught in the middle. He straddles the ambivalent demarcations between all three realms, and the message relayed here is one of fluidity. The duplexity of the figure Samuel and the placement of Saul 'betwixt and between' representations of good and evil are the gateways into the next theme materialising in Darling's possession.

In early modern England, it was commonly believed that the Devil was only allowed to enter into a body with the divine permission of God. Almond explains that this was simply a consequence of the doctrine of the Sovereignty of God, an ambivalence at the heart of Christianity itself.⁹¹ In Darling's possession, as well as others, the impression is given that God and the Devil were locked in a struggle, which either side had the power to win. Since his ordeal was initiated by a witch and was not the result of a demonic invasion, (for which Darling would then be held responsible), he became a model of piety and morality.⁹² Almond points out that in cases where the demoniac is seen to be a victim, 'the categories of godliness and demonianism often overlapped, and the boundaries between possession by the devil and possession by a spirit of God blurred. Inspiration, both divine and demonic, could exist simultaneously in the one person.'⁹³ Almond's assertion is certainly true in the case of Darling, as evidenced by the debate surrounding the demonic and divine nature of his possession described by Harsnett in his 1599 text.⁹⁴

Though a dual possession places Darling in ambivalent territory, his stature was further enhanced by his staunch devotion to Puritanism. No observers, however, ever heard or saw the supernatural forces with which Darling communicated.⁹⁵ In his first dialogue with the possessing spirits, it is Darling who initiates the conversation. After he 'extracts' from the demons that it was their Mistress (Gooderidge) who sent them, they warn him of oncoming torments. He replies: 'Do your worst. My hope is in the living God, and he will deliver me out of your hands.'⁹⁶ Amidst a fit experienced on the next day, he says: 'Do you say I am your [the Devil's] son? I am none of yours. I am the poor servant of the Lord of hosts.'⁹⁷ Darling continues his dialogue with the controlling spirits in another exchange: 'Do you offer me a kingdom, if I will

worship you? I will none of your kingdom [sic], for it is but earthly. The Lord has reserved for me a kingdom in Heaven.'⁹⁸ Many of Darling's exchanges with the malevolent spirits resemble Matthew 4: 1-11, the narrative of Christ's temptation by the devil in the desert for forty days and nights. Verses eight to eleven of Matthew, chapter four reads:

Again, the devil then took him to a very high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world, and their splendour; and he said to him, 'All these I will give you if you will fall down and worship me'. Jesus said to him, 'Away with you, Satan, for it is written, "Worship the Lord your God, and serve only him"'. Then the devil left him, and suddenly angels came and waited on him.⁹⁹

Christ's temptation in the desert provides a narrative within which Darling's possession can be framed, either by himself or Jesse Bee. In other fits, the similarities with Matthew are striking.¹⁰⁰

At other times, Darling believed he was conversing with the Almighty. After an intense series of attacks, the boy signals to bystanders, '[giving] testimony that the Spirit of God was mightily labouring against his infirmities.'¹⁰¹ Thus, the spirit of God was within him, battling Satan for the right to govern his soul. When lying on his back in a trance, he suddenly proclaims: 'I see the Heavens open. Hearken, I hear a heavenly noise.'¹⁰² On 19 May 1596, after suffering many grievous pains, Darling lays in a trance state until he 'sees' a vision of his 'brother' Job. Darling then glimpses an image of Christ. The account reads:

So lying a while he [Darling] said, 'Heaven opens, Heaven opens. I must go thither.' Then, clapping his hands for joy he said, 'I see Christ Jesus my Saviour. His face shines like the sun in its strength. I will go salute him.' *And indeed he did rise, going apace with such strength that his keepers could scarcely hold him.*¹⁰³

The vision of Christ has the same effect on Darling as does the sway of Satan. His display of supernatural strength is a sign of possession, though one could

argue that this is not a 'definitive' trait.¹⁰⁴ Other signs of divine possession, however, persist throughout the account. On a separate occasion, Darling was overwhelmed with visions of Hell, which were then followed by another vision of Christ.¹⁰⁵ With eyes closed, Darling announces: 'Christ Jesus my Saviour comes clothed in purple'. This is superseded by a fearful dialogue with the evil spirits and then a vision of Christ and his apostles.¹⁰⁶

Nearing the end of Darling's possession, he is thrown into a fit, but is instantly comforted by a vision of an angel.¹⁰⁷ Upon his return to school, Darling experiences fits once again as Satan attempts to repossess him, an event predicted by Darrell. After a dialogue with Satan similar to the ones he experienced before, Darling is overwhelmed by a vision of the Lamb of God: 'Behold, I see a Lamb, hark what the Lamb says. "You did fall and he caught you. Fear not, the Lord is your buckler and defender."' ¹⁰⁸ During this final possession, however, Darling states: 'Away, Satan, you cannot enter into me, except the Lord give you leave, and I trust he will not.'¹⁰⁹ This leads one to believe, as Almond notes, that the spirits were only allowed to enter through God's permission. This scenario resembles the 'divine wager' in the *Book of Job*, where Satan convinces God to sanction the torture of His faithful servant, Job.¹¹⁰ As these instances indicate, Darling is torn between these two forces, his body being both the battleground and prize. The underpinning narratives of Jesus' temptation in the desert and the story of Job's suffering are sources of strength for Darling, tales of perseverance, determination and, ultimately, triumph. Darrell, however, was convinced that even Darling's divinely inspired responses were uttered by Satan.¹¹¹ Jesse Bee believed that Darling was both possessed by malevolent spirits and, in his response to Satan, 'directed by the Spirit of God.'¹¹² Although Darling later confesses that his possession was fictitious, he retracts the admission shortly after.¹¹³ In Almond's opinion, Darling sincerely felt that the Spirit of God was within him during his trials.¹¹⁴ A cloud of uncertainty still shrouds the attainment of clarity. In such situations, a psychohistorical approach offers a tentative way forward.

The ambivalent nature of Darling's possession suggests that at the collective level, notions of good and evil were equally blurred. As one denomination

claimed to be interpreting the bible correctly, dissenters were scapegoated as evil, and vice versa. In Jungian terms, what we are encountering here is the projection of *shadow* at the collective level. This archetype represents ‘the thing a person has no wish to be’,¹¹⁵ namely ‘the “negative” side of the personality, the sum of all those unpleasant qualities we like to hide, together with the insufficiently developed functions and the contents of the personal unconscious.’¹¹⁶ All individuals and groups possess a shadow, and the less this aspect is acknowledged consciously, the darker it will be. If the shadow is continually repressed, it ‘is liable to burst forth suddenly in a moment of unawareness.’¹¹⁷ Jung also states, however, that shadow is not entirely negative, but constitutes anything that has yet to be realised by consciousness. This potentially includes, then, positive aspects of the personality.¹¹⁸

The Duplex Self

Darling’s divinely and demonically-inspired dialogues could be elucidated by Jung’s understanding of the duplexity of the *Self* – the central, guiding archetype in his model of the psyche. The Self denotes an individual’s highest potential, ‘and the unity of the personality as a whole.’¹¹⁹ Kalsched aptly summarises that, ‘[...] the Self is usually described as the ordering principle which unifies the various archetypal contents and balances opposites in the psyche during the analytic process, leading toward the “goal” of individuation [...].’¹²⁰

Samuels emphasises that this archetype is not benign, and that Jung likened it to a daemon, ‘a determining power without conscience.’¹²¹ Ethical decisions are left to each individual, and the capacity ‘of exercising such discrimination is the function of consciousness.’¹²² The Self often appears in dreams as a numinous symbol, thus pointing to the conclusion that this archetype is indistinguishable from the God-image. For Jung, the God-image possesses a dark side, comprised of instinctual drives and ‘extremely powerful energies (love and hate, creation and destruction).’¹²³ Nowhere does Jung make this clearer than in his *Answer to Job*. Here, he radically posits: that Yahweh, the God of the Old Testament, is amoral,¹²⁴ that God possesses a shadow,¹²⁵ and accordingly,

God needs to incarnate as man in order to become conscious of His limitations, thus furthering His own process of individuation.¹²⁶ For Jung, Yahweh exemplifies the primal, bipolar energies of the Self. Job and the rest of humanity are unfortunately caught in the midst of His self-realisation.

A mediation of these unresolved opposites is thus required, whereby 'God [...] is necessitated to [resolve] in human consciousness a contradiction that defied resolution with the divine life itself'.¹²⁷ Although Job is aware of God's evil side and has experienced His wrath firsthand, he never doubts His potential for good. Jung further writes:

He [Yahweh] is both a persecutor and a helper in one, and the one aspect is as real as the other. Yahweh is not split, but is an antinomy – a totality of inner opposites – and this is the indispensable condition for his tremendous dynamism.¹²⁸

Jung's views on the God archetype led to many conflicts, including a heated debate with Martin Buber and the loss of a friendship with Fr. Victor White.¹²⁹ My aim here is not to question or re-interpret the theology behind Darling's possession, but to point out how Jung's psychological theory illuminates Darling's ordeal, especially his divine and demonic dialogues. The psychological ambiguity and numinosity of the Godhead expressed by Jung further provides a reference point for understanding the early modern atmosphere of religious uncertainty, which was paradoxically characterised by a myopic conviction displayed by denominational hardliners. The dissension at the collective level expresses itself at the individual one, using the body as a manifestation of that very diffidence, insecurity and discontent. Obviously, the subjective nature of Darling's case should be emphasised, not under-estimated. As I have argued previously, he certainly had a personal agenda in mind, psychological or otherwise, whether he was conscious of it or not. From an analytical psychological perspective, the divine and demonic dialogues in which he engaged point to an encounter with the duplex Self, simultaneously possessing and guiding Darling along his path of individual self-fulfilment and realisation. What Darling experiences are both the Self's instinctual, baser

aspects, as well as its higher functioning as a teleological beacon towards individuation. Darling was gripped by the numinous Self archetype, his dialogues a way of arbitrating his way out of the unconscious.

Darling's possession, however, should not be strictly viewed in subjective terms alone. The ordeal is also shaped by the concerns, struggles and mentalities of his immediate context. Darling's divine and demonic dialogues express a collective atmosphere of fluctuating uncertainty, structured within a familiar discourse: religion. His torment is simultaneously a personal possession as well as a public one – an individual image or representation of collective, religious upheaval. Control of the body and, by extension, the body politic, becomes a central concern. Possession provides the venue for the negotiating of meaning and, ultimately, partially determines the ownership of political power. The Self's numinousity helps explain the passionate fervour with which groups defended their religious allegiances, and may have also played a part in precipitating this very ardour. The process of persecuting one's religious neighbours – scapegoating them and rendering them Other – can be further elucidated by Jung's theory of shadow projection. By wanting to preserve their own religious views, groups inadvertently persecute others, all the while fighting for their own preservation against persecuting others. An irreconcilable cycle of psychic and physical violence ensues, and its only resolution may have been a plea for God's intercession. Possession may have been – along with the more overt political purposes it served – that tool or medium of divine communication.

Yet amidst these processes of personal and collective meaning making, we cannot forget the catalyst in both Darling's ordeal and the possession cases of many others in early modern England, the 'witch'. As she is pushed to the margins of society and shunned, she is a symbol of alterity. Her perceived 'power' to manipulate an alternate reality populated by both demonic and divine spirits further makes her a symbol of liminality.¹³⁰ She is, then, truly a representation of the religious upheaval and transformation occurring in early modern England. She embodies the scapegoated and abhorred elements of society, and is further caught 'betwixt and between', in the middle of a political, religious battle being played out at different levels of society. The subsequent

'sacrifice' of her life, read symbolically, becomes the catalyst to both individual change and collective, religious transformation.

Conclusion

Pieces of art, made for whatever purpose (be it to produce political effects, to forward religious principles or simply created for aesthetic enjoyment), can become mirrors reflecting the past. They may tell us something about the artist himself/herself, the context in which the piece was created, and may elucidate the concerns of specific sections of society. These images, however, are never perfect reflections of reality, and observers are constantly imagining different ways of accessing that very real – albeit incomplete – historical past.

The frontispiece to Glanvill's text is a simple picture. There is nothing particularly stunning about it. It portrays a biblical narrative, which in turn serves Glanvill's faith-driven purpose – to show the reality of both evil and witchcraft, and to call believers to fight against them. I have utilised this picture and the themes I believe to be represented in it as my gateway into an exploration of a case of possession in early modern England. The witch, the prophet Samuel and King Saul have been used as keyholes allowing me to access these very themes. I contend that the constellation of the dual mother archetype – activated by Darling's meeting of the accused witch, Alice Gooderidge – initiated Darling's engagement with the unconscious, one that was, accordingly, structured and informed by the mythical, hero narrative. His dialogues with both the demonic and divine are further elucidated by a consideration of Jung's theory of the duplex Self. Darling's arduous sojourn not only had personal ramifications, but socio-political ones as well. Possession becomes the vehicle not only for a psychological understanding of Darling's ordeal, but a window to a psychological comprehension of the compensatory dynamics activated by the religious upheaval of early modern England. The symbol of the witch, furthermore, becomes a key representation that epitomises the currents of transformation occurring during this period. Possession and witchcraft, then, *can* be understood as expressions of unconscious processes without falling into the psychohistorical trap of telling stories of intrinsic sickness and psychological

degeneration. It is crucial to assert, however, that a Jungian viewpoint cannot stand alone; it must co-operate with other approaches, each one mutually enriching the other in order to gain a fuller picture of possession and witchcraft in early modern England. Certainly, possession was a role that was taught, learned from earlier cases, and in turn, a behaviour that could be enacted and repeated. It is also undeniable that Darling borrowed from biblical narratives to inform, frame, and give meaning to his ordeals. What history has taught us about possession is invaluable, and these insights are the foundation of any discussion on the topic. A Jungian approach, if mobilised responsibly, provides additional tools that can be used to support historical perspectives without violating their fundamental arguments. By complexifying the historical record, we may gain greater clarity; by adopting a different lens, we may have found another piece to an historical puzzle that can, ultimately, never be completed.

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¹ 1 Samuel 28.13-15 as found in Wayne A Meeks (ed.), *The HarperCollins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1989).

² Donald Kalsched, *The Inner World of Trauma: Archetypal Defenses of the Personal Spirit* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996): 157.

³ Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004):

⁴ Glanvill obtained his BA from Exeter College, and his MA from Lincoln College.

⁵ Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 150.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ A 'keyhole approach' to global history is found in Timothy Brook's *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008). More specifically, my method of analysis – mobilising art as a springboard to asking larger historical questions – is based on his utilisation of objects in Vermeer's paintings as a way of accessing the past. He presents a 'horizontal' view of history, weaving narratives of interconnections pointing to a rapidly expanding world.

⁸ See Petteri Pietikainen and Juhani Ihanus 'On the Origins of Psychoanalytic Psychohistory in *History of Psychology*, vol. 6, no. 2 (May 2003): 171-194; Jacques Szaluta, *Psychohistory: Theory and Practice* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001); William McKinley Runyan, 'From the Study of Lives and Psychohistory to Historicizing Psychology: A Conceptual Journey' in *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 31 (2003): 119-132; Bruce Mazlish, 'The Past and Future of

Psychohistory' in *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 31 (2003): 251-262; Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

Alan C. Elms, 'Sigmund Freud, Psychohistorian' in *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 31 (2003): 65-78.

⁹ Arguably, the two most devastating critiques of psychohistory are David E. Stannard's *Shrinking History: On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) and Jacques Barzun, *Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quantohistory and History* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).

¹⁰ Those who have explored the connection between Jung and History, but who have not necessarily applied the Jungian lens to write history, include: Arnold Toynbee, 'The Value of C. G. Jung's Work for Historians' in *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May 1956): 193-94; Marvin Goldwert, 'Toynbee and Jung: The Historian and Analytical Psychology – A Brief Comment' in *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, vol. 28, (1983): 363-66; Ira Progoff, *Jung's Psychology and its Social Meaning* (New York: Dialogue House Library, 1953); Joseph L. Henderson, *Cultural Attitudes in Psychological Perspective* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1984) and *Shadow and Self: Selected Papers in Analytical Psychology* (Wilmette, Illinois: Chiron Publications, 1990); C. A. Meier, 'The Problems Arising From the Opposition of Introversion and Extraversion in the History of Civilization' in *The Psychology of C. G. Jung, Volume 3: Consciousness*, David N. Roscoe (trans), (Boston: Sigo Press, 1989): 77-93; J. J. Clarke, *In Search of Jung: Historical and Philosophical Enquiries* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992); Susan Rowland, *Jung as a Writer* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); Ruth Meyer, *Clio's Circle: Entering the Imaginal World of Historians* (New Orleans, Louisiana: Spring Journal Books, 2007). Toynbee stands out as the only major historian who has utilised Jungian concepts to tell history. See his 'Higher Religions and Psychological Types' in *A Study of History: Volume VII* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press): 716-36. One Jungian, psychobiographical analysis (of Isabel de la Cruz) can be found in Ruth Anthony El Saffar's *Rapture Encaged: The Suppression of the Feminine in Western Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). For a critical commentary on the significance of Jung's work for both history and the social dimension, see Renos K. Papadopoulos (ed.), 'Part Thirteen: History and the Social Dimension' in *Carl Gustav Jung: Critical Assessments, Volume IV: Implications and Inspirations* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992): 5-91.

¹¹ Samuel Harsnett, *A discovery of the fraudulent practices of Iohn Darrel Bachelor of Artes, in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham: of Thomas Darling, the boy of Burton at Caldwell: and of Katherine Wright at Mansfield, & Whittington: and of his dealings with one Mary Couper at Nottingham, detecting in some sort the deceitfull trade in these latter dayes of casting out devils.* (London: Imprinted by [John Windet for] Iohn Wolfe, 1599).

¹² Ibid: 294-95.

¹³ C. G. Jung, 'Psychoanalysis and Neurosis' in Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler (eds), R. F. C. Hull (trans), *Collected Works, Volume 4: Freud and Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961): paras. 561-64. (Original published in 1916).

¹⁴ Jesse Bee, 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill, who was arraigned and convicted at Derby at the Assizes there. As also a true report of the strange torments of Thomas Darling, a boy of thirteen years of age, that was possessed by the Devil, with his horrible fits and terrible Apparitions by him uttered at Burton on Trent in the County of Safford, and of his marvellous deliverance'. John Denison (ed.) (Printed at London for J. O., 1597), in Philip C. Almond (ed.), *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England: Contemporary Texts and their Cultural Contexts* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press): 159.

¹⁵ Ibid: 163.

¹⁶ Ibid: 162.

¹⁷ Ibid: 158.

¹⁸ Ibid: 183-84.

¹⁹ Ibid: 187.

²⁰ Ibid: 187-91.

²¹ Philip C. Almond, 'The Boy of Burton: The story of Thomas Darling', in Philip C. Almond (ed.), *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 150.

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- ²² There are over one hundred cases of possessed persons from 1550 to 1700. See Almond, 'Introduction', in Philip C. Almond (ed.), *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 1.
- ²³ Philip C. Almond, 'Preface', in Philip C. Almond (ed.), *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: ix.
- ²⁴ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 2.
- ²⁵ Philip C. Almond, 'Preface', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: x.
- ²⁶ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 9.
- ²⁷ Philip C. Almond, 'The Boy of Burton: The Story of Thomas Darling', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 152.
- ²⁸ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 37.
- ²⁹ Philip C. Almond, 'The Boy of Burton: The Story of Thomas Darling', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 151.
- ³⁰ Samuel Harsnett, *A discovery of the fraudulent practises of Iohn Darrel Bachelor of Artes*: 269.
- ³¹ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 22.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid: 23.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Ibid: 24.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Ibid: 26.
- ³⁹ Jesse Bee, 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill [...]', in Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 185.
- ⁴⁰ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 25.
- ⁴¹ Ibid. During possession, Almond continues, an individual encountered a 'mysterious other which [was] both terrifying and fascinating, awe-inspiring but captivating'.
- ⁴² Jesse Bee, 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill [...]', in Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 166-68; 174-75; 177-79; 183-85; 188-89; 191.
- ⁴³ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 40.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid: 41.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid: 42.
- ⁴⁸ Andrew Samuels, Bani Shorter and Fred Plaut, *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge): 34.
- ⁴⁹ C. G. Jung, 'Psychological Factors Determining Human Behaviour', in Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler (eds), R. F. C. Hull (trans), *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960): para. 253. (Original published in 1937).
- ⁵⁰ C. G. Jung, 'A Review of the Complex Theory', in *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*: para. 202. (Original first published in 1934).
- ⁵¹ C. G. Jung, 'Spirit and Life', in *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*: para. 628.
- ⁵² C. G. Jung, 'Analytical Psychology and "Weltanschauung"', in *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*: para. 712. (Original first published in 1928).
- ⁵³ C. G. Jung, 'A Review of the Complex Theory' in *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*: para. 204. (Original first published in 1934).
- ⁵⁴ C. G. Jung, 'On the Doctrine of Complexes', in *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*: para. 1352. (Original first published in 1913).

- ⁵⁵ C. G. Jung, 'The Psychological Foundation of Belief in Spirits', in *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*: para. 594.
- ⁵⁶ Andrew Samuels, *Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*: 34.
- ⁵⁷ C. G. Jung, 'The Psychological Foundation of Belief in Spirits', in *Collected Works Volume 8: The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*: para. 594.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid*: paras. 587-91.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid*.
- ⁶⁰ Donald Kalsched, *The Inner World of Trauma*: 95.
- ⁶¹ Jesse Bee, 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill [...]', in Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*. The theme of an absent father, coincidentally, was a central concern in what is considered the first psychohistorical work, Freud's *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood*. See Peter Gay (ed.), *The Freud Reader* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995): 443-81. (Original first published in 1910).
- ⁶² Samuel Harsnett, *A discovery of the fraudulent practises of Iohn Darrel Bachelor of Artes*: 267 (grandfather); 270 (uncle, Robert Toone); 271 (Toone's wife); 293 (mother).
- ⁶³ *Ibid*: 273.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid*: 290.
- ⁶⁵ Andrew Samuels, *The Political Psyche* (London and New York: Routledge): 155, 159, 162, 174.
- ⁶⁶ David E. Stannard, 'Shrinking History: On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory' (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980): 22.
- ⁶⁷ Professor Timothy Brook, personal communication, 26 May 2008. Jacques Barzun makes a similar point in his critique of psychohistory: 'Facts and truths differ from suggestion, speculation, interesting possibility. Without inquiry into the nature of a fact and of its perception by the mind, it is clear that an attested fact and a suggestive possibility belong to separate orders of belief. One is evidence, the other is atmosphere'. See Barzun, *Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-History, Quanto-History & History* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974): 42.
- ⁶⁸ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994): 1.
- ⁶⁹ C. G. Jung, 'Symbols of Transformation: An Analysis of the Prelude to a Case of Schizophrenia' in Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler (eds), R. F. C. Hull (trans), *Collected Works Volume 5: Symbols of Transformation, Second Edition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series XX, 1956): para. 465. (Originally published in 1912).
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid*.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid*.
- ⁷² C. G. Jung, 'Symbols of Transformation': para. 522.
- ⁷³ *Ibid*: para. 553.
- ⁷⁴ C. G. Jung, 'The Theory of Psychoanalysis' in Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler (eds), R. F. C. Hull (trans), *Collected Works Volume 4: Freud and Psychoanalysis* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series XX, 1961): para. 273. (Originally published in 1913).
- ⁷⁵ C. G. Jung, 'Symbols of Transformation': para. 466.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid*: para. 468.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid*.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid*: para. 470.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid*: para. 473.
- ⁸¹ *Ibid*: para. 484.
- ⁸² Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968): 36.
- ⁸³ C. G. Jung, 'Symbols of Transformation': para. 321.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid*: para. 494.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid*.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid*.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid*.

- ⁸⁸ Philip C. Almond, 'The Boy of Burton: The Story of Thomas Darling', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 154.
- ⁸⁹ Andrew Samuels defines *enantiodromia* as follows: "Running contrawise", a psychological "law" [...] meaning that sooner or later everything turns into its opposite [...] If an extreme, one-sided tendency dominates conscious life, in time an equally powerful counter-position is built up in the psyche. This first inhibits conscious performance and then, subsequently, breaks through ego inhibitions and conscious control'. See his *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*: 53.
- ⁹⁰ Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, John Buchanan-Brown (trans), (New York: Penguin Books, 1996): 499-501. On the topic of the woman necromancer at Endor, and her function as a symbol of liminality, see Ann Jeffers, "Nor by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets": The Story of the Woman at the Pit in 1 Samuel 28', in Patrick Curry and Angela Voss (eds), *Seeing with Different Eyes: Essays in Astrology and Divination* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007): 137.
- ⁹¹ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 14.
- ⁹² Ibid: 17.
- ⁹³ Ibid: 18.
- ⁹⁴ Samuel Harsnett, *A discovery of the fraudulent practises of Iohn Darrel Bachelor of Artes [...]*: 280; 284; 289-90; 292.
- ⁹⁵ Jesse Bee, 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill [...]', in Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 165.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹⁹ Matthew 4: 8-11, *The HarperCollins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version*: 1864.
- ¹⁰⁰ Compare especially fits described on pages 166 and 167 of 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill [...]' with Matthew 4.
- ¹⁰¹ Jesse Bee, 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill [...]', in Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 178.
- ¹⁰² Ibid: 179.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid: 180, emphasis added.
- ¹⁰⁴ Philip C. Almond, 'Introduction', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 26-34.
- ¹⁰⁵ Jesse Bee, 'The most wonderful and true story of a certain Witch named Alice Gooderidge of Stapen Hill [...]' in Philip C. Almond, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 180.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid: 180-81.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid: 184.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid: 188-89.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid: 189.
- ¹¹⁰ Job 1: 6-12, *The HarperCollins Study Bible*: 751-52.
- ¹¹¹ Philip C. Almond, 'The Boy of Burton: The Story of Thomas Darling', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 152. See also Samuel Harsnett, *The discovery of the fraudulent practises of Iohn Darrel Bachelor of Artes [...]*: 289; 292.
- ¹¹² Philip C. Almond, 'The Boy of Burton: The Story of Thomas Darling', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 154. Jesse Bee is later on record as saying that he felt Darling was purposely casting himself into fits when the devil did not force him to: '[...] the boy was very willing to fall into his fits, because thereby he might show the graces of God in himself'. See Samuel Harsnett, *The discovery of the fraudulent practises of Iohn Darrel Bachelor of Artes*: 287.
- ¹¹³ Samuel Harsnett, *The discovery of the fraudulent practises of Iohn Darrel Bachelor of Artes*: 295.
- ¹¹⁴ Philip C. Almond, 'The Boy of Burton: The Story of Thomas Darling', *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England*: 154.
- ¹¹⁵ C. G. Jung, 'Psychology of the Transference', in Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler (eds), R. F. C. Hull (trans), *Collected Works Volume 16: The Practice of*

Psychotherapy: Essays on the Psychology of the Transference and Other Subjects (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954): para. 470. (Originally published in 1946).

¹¹⁶ C. G. Jung, 'The Psychology of the Unconscious' in Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler (eds), R. F. C. Hull (trans), *Collected Works Volume 7: Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953): para. 103n5. (Originally published in 1917).

¹¹⁷ C. G. Jung, 'Psychology and Religion' in Sir Herbert Read, Michael Fordham and Gerhard Adler (eds), R. F. C. Hull (trans), *Collected Works Volume 11: Psychology and Religion: West and East* (London: Routledge and & Kegan Paul, 1958): para. 131. (Originally published in 1937).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*: para. 134.

¹¹⁹ Andrew Samuels, *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*: 135.

¹²⁰ Donald Kalsched, *The Inner World of Trauma*: 96.

¹²¹ Andrew Samuels, *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*: 135.

¹²² *Ibid*: 136.

¹²³ Donald Kalsched, *The Inner World of Trauma*: 97.

¹²⁴ C. G. Jung, *Collected Works Volume 11: Psychology and Religion*: para. 574.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*: para. 567.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*: para. 568.

¹²⁷ John P. Dourley, 'The Religious Implications of Jung's Psychology' in *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, vol. 40, no. 2 (April 1995): 186.

¹²⁸ C. G. Jung, *Collected Works Volume 11: Psychology and Religion*: para. 567.

¹²⁹ For the debate between C. G. Jung and Martin Buber, see 'Religion and Modern Thinking' in Judith Buber Agassi (ed.), *Martin Buber on Psychology and Psychotherapy: Essays, Letters, and Dialogues* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999): 34-59. See Ann Conrad Lammers, *In God's Shadow: The Collaboration of Victor White and C. G. Jung* (New York: Paulist Press, 1994) and Ann Conrad Lammers and Adrian Cunningham (eds), *The Jung-White Letters* (London: Routledge, 2007).

¹³⁰ Ann Jeffers, "'Nor by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets": The Story of the Woman at the Pit in 1 Samuel 28': 133-37.

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