Violent Reflections: Bloody Mary in 1990s Pop Culture

Mac Godinez

Abstract: The final decade of the 20th century transformed the folk figure of Bloody Mary into a recognizable character on television screens through media like the 1992 film *Candyman* and the *X-Files* episode "Syzygy." This paper explores the extent to which the Bloody Mary character provided a narrative tool to discuss U.S. state violence and brutality. The first section summarizes early academic writing on Bloody Mary to understand how this legend took hold in the United States. The second section traces the contours of the Bloody Mary figure to understand her narrative utility, as well as consider the history and anxieties around children's divination games in the age of Satanic Panic. The third section looks at the dual nature of 1990s state violence through an increase in militarized police forces alongside disinvestment in social support systems. In the conclusion, this paper analyzes *Candyman* alongside "Syzygy" to understand how the two approach a fear of vengeance from different ideological attachments to police authority. Throughout the course of this paper, these sections demonstrate how mainstream anxieties about police violence and potentially violent retribution are presented through the familiar and fantastical folk figure of Bloody Mary.

Major Department: History

"Oh Helen," Trevor whimpers, face pressed against his bathroom mirror. "Helen…" He raises his face to meet his reflection's eyes. "Helen." He turns off the lights. "Helen." His voice deepens. In the kitchen, his student-girlfriend accidentally cuts herself, drawing blood. Helen appears behind Trevor in a flash. She brings with her a soft moonlike light which illuminates the folds of her burned scalp, and her red lips erupt from a dead complexion. He turns around to meet her. Her low voice multiplies, echoing in a chorus amidst flashing light. "What's the matter, Trevor?" the voices ask: "Scared of something?" The camera shifts its angle, and the viewer can see her carrying a hook. Trevor lifts from the ground with a pained groan, impaled by her. As her hook pierces him, she sighs. Again and again, she stabs. Blood pools in his mouth. Helen throws her head up with eyes closed, rapturous. The girlfriend, finally, is aware of some disturbance and runs to Trevor. She enters the bathroom screaming, seeing him collapsed into the bathtub, gutted. Blood drips from ceiling to floor. The girlfriend screams, still brandishing the knife from the kitchen.

In the 1992 film *Candyman*, Helen morphs into Bloody Mary, a figure from a constellation of legends in the United States dating back to at least the 1970s. This sensual, gory scene of revenge utilizes the folk figure of the Bloody Mary ghost-witch as a narrative tool to discuss racial and sexual violence. The 1996 *X-Files* episode "Syzygy" also uses the specter of Bloody Mary, but within an apolitical framework where young female troublemakers disrupt the overall peaceful balance of their suburban town. Both of these stories were concerned with policing and brutality in a time period where state violence and rebellion took center stage in the national consciousness. In 1990s pop culture, the Bloody Mary legend circulated as a means to articulate competing anxieties about U.S. state violence—and the specter of vengeance.

The first section of this paper, "The Legend, Rebellion, and the Release of *Candyman*," summarizes early academic writing on Bloody Mary in the 1970s to understand how this legend took hold in the United States across localized contexts. This section also includes some background on the acquittal of Rodney King's assailants and the subsequent Los Angeles rebellion, events which occurred in the same year as *Candyman*'s release. The second section, "Vengeful Women and Occult Children," traces the contours of the Bloody Mary figure to understand her narrative utility, as well as consider the history and anxieties around children's divination games in the age of Satanic Panic. "State Violence and Neoliberalism" looks at the dual nature of 1990s

state violence through an increase in militarized police forces alongside disinvestment in social support systems. Finally, "Haunting and Copaganda" analyzes *Candyman* alongside "Syzygy" to understand how the two approach a fear of vengeance from different ideological attachments to police authority. Throughout the course of this paper, these sections demonstrate how mainstream anxieties about police violence and potentially violent retribution are presented through the familiar and fantastical folk figure of Bloody Mary.

The Legend, Rebellion, and the Release of Candyman

The legend of Bloody Mary has roots in earlier girls' divination rituals in the United States and transformed into a broad complex of local legends by at least the late 1960s. The first academic writing on Mary came from folklorist Jane Langlois' 1978 article "Mary Whales, I Believe in You."[1] Langlois interviewed and recorded the stories of Indiana children from different social circles, finding that participants in the Mary Whales ritual were mostly young girls. In the Mary Whales legend, schoolchildren reported that Mary was a victim of a car accident who died with a gash on her face; to enact her revenge, she would cut the faces of the children who summoned her. One child, Gia, recounted a nightmare about this ghost-witch after completing the ritual:

> All by myself, I called her a hundred times, and I was saying, 'I do believe in you.' And I was by the light switch and she came and her eyes started bleeding and then I cut on the light real fast. And then, all that night, I had a dream about her and I dreamed that she was right by my bed. She was about ready to touch me.[2]

Langlois writes of similar stories elsewhere in the U.S., including a "Mary Loud, Mary Johnson, Mary Weathersby, Mary Worthington and Mary Worth," as well as an iteration of La Llorona in L.A. who also emerged from mirrors. [3]

---

[1] Janet Langlois, "'Mary Whales, I Believe in You': Myth and Ritual Subdued," *Indiana Folklore* 11, no. 1 (1978): 5-34.
[2] Langlois, "Mary Whales," 6.
[3] Langlois, "Mary Whales," 9-10.

Bill Ellis traces older roots of the mirror as a portal for young women's ritual games in "Table Setting and Mirror-Gazing."[4] Ellis describes several Halloween postcards which reference folk practices; in these postcards, young women look into mirrors to catch a glimpse of their future husbands. One scene depicts a young woman happily searching for a future husband while a witch's shadow lurks behind her.[5] At times both playful and cautionary, these postcards suggest that there was already a burgeoning imaginary of the contours of the Bloody Mary complex that Langlois writes about in the late 1970s.

Ellis locates the Bloody Mary ritual in its contemporary form in the mid-1960s in both the U.S. and in Europe, where the American incarnation of the ritual is almost exclusively practiced by young women and girls. The history of young girls' mirror rituals provides some answer for this; however, Ellis argues that girls' divinatory games took on a new flavor in the 1970s as a form of rebellion against oppressive gender roles. He writes of earlier practices, stating, "The prevalence of mirrors in rituals intended to reveal the participant's future husband likewise suggests a world like ours, but inverted in important ways to allow women significant power in the marriage game."[6] In the 1970s, a concern over young women's behavior (likely in response to the social upheavals in sexual mores, civil rights, and women's rights of the decade prior) spread concern over young women's private spiritual transgressions. Disdain for these practices heightened a desire to rebel.

In the early 1990s, social upheaval again took hold of the national consciousness after a majority-White jury acquitted the Los Angeles police officers who brutally attacked Rodney King, and rebellion surged in the city. On March 13, 1991, these police pulled King over and attacked him as 17 other officers watched. A bystander filmed the attack and passed it on to a local news station—from there, the footage entered the international news cycle.[7] On April 29, 1992, the court acquitted these police, sparking an L.A. rebellion against police brutality and racist economic conditions—one of the largest urban rebellions in U.S. history. Max Felker-Kantor describes the rebellion as a "bread riot" because of the centrality of economic oppression in addition to police

---

[4] Bill Ellis, "Table-Setting and Mirror-Gazing," in *Lucifer Ascending* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004): 142-173.
[5] Ellis, "Table-Setting," 147.
[6] Ellis, "Table-Setting and Mirror-Gazing," 168.
[7] Max Felker-Kantor, "The Chickens Have Come Home to Roost: Police Violence and Urban Rebellion Redux," in *Policing Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 223.

brutality and ability to manipulate and criminalize the lives of Black and Latino residents.[8] Felker-Kantor writes, “The trial of the LAPD officers for beating King became a judgment on the police, racism and justice in the city.”[9] The international attention on the trial and the federal government’s actions to contain the rebellion’s participants underscores the significance of the trial and rebellion as a judgment on police, racism, and justice in the United States as a whole. The state and federal governments sent thousands of troops from agencies including the FBI and INS; over the course of the rebellion, these state forces arrested over 16,000 participants and others caught in the fray. Responding to the national attention, the city made the case that the violence of the rebellion was not warranted and diverted attention away from policing to the actions of organizers and dissenters whom city officials characterized as “criminals” and “gang members.”[10]

The popularity of *Candyman* in turn brought renewed interest in Bloody Mary. Early internet forums dedicated to folklore repeatedly brought up the legend in relation to *Candyman*, as in a 1995 Usenet forum wherein users responded to a question about literary roots for the film with childhood recollections of Bloody Mary and her violent hauntings. “Say her name five times and she appears,” one user wrote, “Then she cuts you to ribbons. Sound familiar?”[11] The 1996 *X-Files* episode “Syzygy” used the Bloody Mary legend for a comparatively simplistic cautionary tale about the dangers of the occult. By the turn of the millennium, Bloody Mary as a shared national character began to appear more regularly on screens in shows like *Charmed*, in the 2000 episode “Chick Flick,” and *Supernatural’s* “Bloody Mary” episode in 2005. [12]

Vengeful Women and Occult Children

Children and youth in the United States have used divinatory games for fun and to explore the boundaries of acceptable social behavior. Langlois writes of the Mary Whales ritual that

---

[8] Felker-Kantor, “The Chickens Have Come,” 218.
[9] Felker-Kantor, “The Chickens Have Come,” 228.
[10] Felker-Kantor, “The Chickens Have Come,” 231.
[11] Avram D. Piltch, “Candyman question,” Alt.horror, Usenet, March 4, 1995, https://groups.google.com/g/alt.horror/c/L9eL5_XP7FU/m/CqM8pGItxQQJ.
[12] *Charmed,* season 2, episode 18, “Chick Flick,” directed by Michael Schultz, written by Constance Burge, Chris Levinson, and Zack Estrin, aired April 20, 2000 ; *Supernatural*, season 1, episode 5, “Bloody Mary,” directed by Peter Ellis, written by Eric Kripke, Ron Milbauer, and Terri Hughes Burton, aired October 11, 2005.

children engage in legend-tripping (acting out and situating themselves within the legend) because they themselves are in a transitional state and/or because they desire a transformation.[13] In "Satanic Tourism: Adolescent Dabblers and Identity Work," Jefferey Victor and Gary Alan Fine caution against paranoia concerning adolescent occult interest, explaining that young people can use these rituals to test out new identities for themselves and their relationships to others.[14] Rather than an earnest form of "Satanism," they write that children traverse boundaries of acceptability "often with the goals of shocking adult sensibilities and testing adolescent anxieties about challenging adult authority."[15]

Ellis expands on the exploration of social boundaries to argue that young people use the occult to construct what the author calls "antiworlds," alternative realities that reaffirm or contradict the prevailing cosmology of the community.[16] Exploring deep into this unknown world (for example, seeing or receiving a cut from Bloody Mary) can afford girls a level of heroism among their peers and expand the folk knowledge of the antiworld itself. In the case of gendered divinatory practices, antiworlds give young women a chance to explore a world beyond patriarchal mandates. Central to the Bloody Mary complex is the idea of a woman who is wronged through violent means. Through the act of summoning, girls can assert some power, as Langlois writes, "Calling Mary Whales has the important difference that the girls are *in control* of the entrance while, in other cases, they are not."[17] This ritual offers young girls the chance to construct antiworlds where they can exert control over gendered brutality and reanimate (and banish) the perspective of the abused.

The ghost-witch of the Bloody Mary complex is a woman who is the victim of violence, and her prevalence among young girls in the 1960s and 1970s suggests an anxiety about gendered violence and femicide. Alan Dundes presents one function of the Bloody Mary ritual as a means for young girls to process anxieties about what they will experience during puberty, primarily in the form of menstruation. Anxieties about sexuality and violence are also embedded in the legends,

---

[13] Langlois, "Mary Whales," 11.
[14] Jefferey Victor and Gary Alan Fine, "Satanic Tourism: Adolescent Dabblers and Identity Work," *The Phi Delta Kappan* 76, no. 1 (1994): 70-72.
[15] Victor and Fine, "Satanic Tourism," 72.
[16] Ellis, "Table-Setting," 167-168.
[17] Langlois, "Mary Whales," 12.

as in a story he recounts from Middletown, PA.[18] This Bloody Mary was a young girl found in the woods behind an elementary school, murdered. To summon her, the children chanted "We believe in Bloody Mary" until she appeared.[19] Bloody Mary's status as a peer and the words of the chant itself suggest an identification with Bloody Mary; her experiences as a brutalized child are as much a source of terror as her haunting. Bloody Mary, motivated by the injustice against her, returns through the mirror portal to enact revenge on her summoners.[20] Perhaps in response to increased discussion about the oppression of women in the midst of the social movements of the 1960s, young girls of this period exert control over misogynistic violence by summoning and banishing Bloody Mary.

In the context of the Satanic Panic of the late 1970s through the early 1990s, children's proximity to witchcraft was a widespread national security concern among suburban parents, evangelical leaders, and law enforcement agencies alike. In "A Satanic Panic," Kembrew Mcleod argues that a conspiratorial worldview rooted in preexisting anti-Semitic fantasies allowed evangelical Christians to understand the social change of the 1960s in a way that did not challenge their logics — through Satanic worship.[21] Evangelical media proficiency and the aid of sensational news transmitted a connection between Satanism and "counterculture," especially after the panic over the Manson murders in 1969. The police aided this connection, informing news outlets that "hippie types" were using psychedelic drugs and blood magic as a basis for their spiritual practice.[22] As Mcleod argues, evangelical and fundamentalist Christians' emphasis on devil worship to explain social change speaks to a conservative anxiety about the dangers of collectivism.

In the 1980s through the early 1990s, anti-Satanists (including police forces) crusaded against what they perceived as a widespread spiritual attack, particularly against children. In the 1980s, another Los Angeles police officer who patrolled Beverly Hills noted an increased danger

---

[18] Alan Dundes, "Bloody Mary in the Mirror: A Ritual Reflection of Pre-Pubescent Anxiety," *Western Folklore* 57, no. 2/3 (1998): 120.
[19] Dundes, "Bloody Mary," 120.
[20] In one iteration of the legend recounted in Langlois's work, Bloody Mary is known as Mary Worth and remembered as one of the murdered witches in Salem.
[21] Kembrew McLeod, "A Satanic Panic," in *Pranksters: Making Mischief in the Modern World* (New York: NYU Press, 2014), 183-216.
[22] McLeod, "A Satanic Panic," 188.

in the neighborhood from an "influx of Satanist dope fiends."[23] Allegations of Satanic Ritual Abuse (SRA), especially against teachers, invigorated an old fear of witchcraft. Fantastical testimonials reminiscent of witchcraft allegations centuries prior ruined the lives of many, some of whom were even incarcerated for their impossible crimes.[24]

State Violence and Neoliberalism

Alongside the physical violence of police brutality laid bare in the video of the LAPD's attack on Rodney King, the state increased economic violence and fortified carceral institutions through new neoliberal policies. These policies intensified the logics of harsh punishment and disinvestment in the social apparatus. In their analysis of the "crimesploitation" genre, cultural criminologists Daniel LaChance and Paul Kaplan write that neoliberalism, an economic and ideological movement which emerged into prominence in the 1980s, encourages a reduction in spending on social welfare and an increase in harsh policing.[25] Academic institutions like the University of Chicago, which pioneered this ideology, produced a new facet of carceral logic through imagining crime as a matter of "personal responsibility."[26] This strategy allowed the government to provide less in the way of social welfare while containing supposed criminals in carceral spaces like prisons and overpoliced, substandard housing.

One such example of substandard housing as a result of state negligence is present in *Candyman.* Jon Towlson writes that the Chicago Cabrini-Green projects were used in the film because, by the early 1990s, they became "a symbol for the worst of public housing in the United States."[27] Police and city officials created these conditions from the outset, when, in response to Chicago protests following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., the city contained the

[23] McLeod, "A Satanic Panic," 185.
[24] Joseph Laycock, "Carnal Knowledge: The Epistemology of Sexual Trauma in Witches' Sabbaths, Satanic Ritual Abuse, and Alien Abduction Narratives," *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 1, no. 1 (2012): 118.
[25] Paul Kaplan and Daniel LaChance, "Crimesploitation," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (2017).
[26] Kaplan and LaChance, "Crimesploitation," 7.
[27] Jon Towlson, "Urban Legends, Urban Myths: Adapting Candyman," in *Candyman* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), 41.

projects away from the wealthy Gold Coast and Lincoln Park neighborhoods.[28] Alongside this racial containment, the Chicago Housing Authority ceased maintaining the housing projects.

Haunting and Copaganda

The urban gothic landscape of *Candyman* is filled with carceral actors who create the conditions for violence to flourish, and, in turn, are unable to quell the horror which unfolds. For the residents of Cabrini-Green, the police are an always-present threat. When Helen and her colleague Bernadette enter the complex to investigate the Candyman legend, a group of men outside believe them to be police and yell out to alert their neighbors. Alex Vitale notes that Bill Clinton's expansion of the War on Drugs allowed, in particular, for militarized SWAT teams to heavily police housing projects due to a designation of these spaces as "high-crime."[29] Later, when a man known as Candyman attacks Helen, the police bring the man in as part of a line-up for Helen to choose her attacker from. This does not stop the violence, however, as the ghost Candyman (or Helen, depending on one's reading of the film) continues to murder and kidnap. The police in this film are threats to the Cabrini-Green tenants and can neither prevent nor stop the Candyman's violence.[30]

Helen herself acts as a carceral agent in her association with the University of Chicago, the ideological birthplace of neoliberalism. Eric Lott employs a Marxist analysis to argue that White institutions (such as the University of Chicago) appropriate Black culture as a "symbolic surplus value" to enrich White producers materially and ideologically, "maintain[ing] a system of symbolic value-creation that transcends any single agent and that therefore awaits further activation for good or ill."[31] Academia, in its function as a producer of carceral logics, is a space which offers an inverse setting to the Cabrini-Green projects in *Candyman*, reliant on the social and economic disinvestment in Black communities for its prestige. This cultural mining is the

[28] Towlson, "Urban Legends," 42.
[29] Alex Vitale, *The End of Policing* (London: Verso, 2017), 127.
[30] The psychiatrist and medical staff who keep Helen in custody work in collaboration with the police, and also do not quell violence. Shortly after these characters take Helen into custody, a vision of Candyman comes to attack her. The medical response to drug Helen into submission is unable to stop Candyman or Helen.
[31] Eric Lott, "States of Fantasy and Symbolic Surplus Value," in *Black Mirror: The Cultural Contradictions of American Racism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 23.

reason that when two Black women cleaning staff tell Helen about Candyman's murders at Cabrini-Green, Helen pushes ahead into the housing project, intensifying the violence for residents. When she and her Black colleague Bernadette enter an apartment where Candyman murdered someone, Bernadette asks Helen not to climb through the mirror into Candyman's lair; yet, driven by a desire for academic prestige, Helen climbs through heedless of Bernadette's pleas. Helen leaves Bernadette alone and in danger, which Lott writes, "establish[es] quite clearly the way Helen's gain capitalizes on black endangerment."[32] Later, Bernadette comes to check on Helen, but Candyman (or perhaps, Helen) murders her; in her desire to publish, Helen leaves a trail of death and destruction behind her.

Candyman and Helen both experience and enact violence in revenge, and throughout the movie become more identified with each other, so much so that it is unclear whether Candyman or Helen is doing the killing. In his role as a 20th-century Gothic villain, J. Halberstam writes, Candyman "condenses various racial and sexual threats to nation, capitalism, and the bourgeoisie in one body."[33] As the ghost of a Black man who died at the hands of White supremacists, Candyman represents a threat to the state which operates under a racist, carceral logic that renders the source of the violence invisible. Helen, too, reflects a failure of state institutions by intensifying the violence through her role as an academic. By the end of the film, she too becomes a mirror-witch, meting out vengeance by murdering her cheating ex-boyfriend (a university professor). Ultimately, Helen is valorized within the film through defeating Candyman, becoming a White savior-like figure (lending support to a reading of the film as a neoconservative text). Regardless of the political utility of the film, it reflects concerns about state violence and an anxiety that the recipients of this violence may in turn seek revenge.

The *X-Files* episode "Syzygy," on the other hand, involves no return of the repressed. This episode uses Bloody Mary as part of the occult toolbox of two White teenage girls, Margi and Terri, who murder their classmates due to astrological forces.[34] This episode depicts the White suburban residents of the small town swept into a frenzy of anti-Satanist fear, turning on their

---

[32] Lott, "States of Fantasy," 29.

[33] J. Halberstam, "Parasites and Perverts: An Introduction to Gothic Monstrosity," in *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 77.

[34] *The X-Files*, season 3, episode 13, "Syzygy," directed by Rob Bowman, written by Chris Carter, aired January 26, 1996.

neighbors to seek vengeance against perceived cultists in their midst. Terri and Margi are not suspected by their neighbors and are even understood by the townspeople as victims due to their positions as young blonde women and presumed virgins (the embodiment of idealized White femininity).

The FBI is positioned in this episode not as perpetrators of violence, but as responsible bulwarks against Satanic Panic. When a local police officer informs the agents that the town believes cultists are to blame for the murders, Scully and Mulder inform her that the FBI has conducted extensive research debunking claims of widespread Satanism. In reality, police and the FBI took claims of Satanist conspiracy seriously. In addition to local police who warned the media about the dangers of cultist drug users, the FBI held open cases regarding supposed Satanist activity for years after receiving scientific evidence debunking these claims. In declassified files regarding animal mutilation reports, the organization recorded scientific explanations for the cases in 1974. In 1979, however, they maintained earnest correspondence on the matter with Senator Harrison Schmitt. In a letter from former Attorney General Griffin Bell to Senator Schmitt, Bell assures Schmitt that he will have the head of the Criminal Division Philip Heymann explore the FBI's jurisdiction over the case. To Heymann, Bell writes, "Please have someone look into this matter at an early date. Sen. Schmitt is our friend and there have been about 60 mutilations in New Mexico in recent months."[35] Far from a position of reasonable skepticism, the FBI took these claims seriously, at least insofar as there was a political incentive to do so.

When Margi and Terri call upon Bloody Mary, she does not have the ability to speak. At their shared birthday party, the girls beckon their distraught classmate Brenda into the bathroom as they chant "One Bloody Mary, two Bloody Mary…" When Brenda refuses, the door slams behind her; the camera cuts to partygoers in the living room who hear her screams. The political and social commentary that Bloody Mary could bring as a victim of unjust violence is here defanged. Even Margi and Terri have no reason for their violence. When the clock strikes midnight and releases the girls from their violent urges, the two appear clutching each other, terrified of their manipulation by external, supernatural forces. In the context of "Syzygy," the framework of the

---

[35] Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Animal Mutilation Part 2 of 5,* 1979, https://vault.fbi.gov/Animal%20Mutilation/Animal%20Mutilation%20Part%201%20of205/vie (accessed April 22, 2022), 18.

show robs Bloody Mary of her revenge. Instead, *The X-Files* acts as a form of copaganda, where the FBI is able to locate and contain violence. Far from creating the conditions for violence or meting it out themselves (as the organization did in aiding the city of Los Angeles to conduct mass arrests in the 1992 rebellion), Scully and Mulder save the day by keeping the townspeople from mob violence and sequestering the girls in a closed room until the day passes.

While the landscape for television and film in the horror and science fiction genres have morphed since the release of *Candyman* and "Syzygy," a cultural fascination with witches remains intact. Throughout the 2000s, popular media continued to feature the specter of Bloody Mary in supernatural shows like *Charmed* and *Supernatural*; contemporary shows like the Netflix program *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina* (first aired in 2018) portray more sympathetic representations of witches and the women who seek vengeance from beyond the grave. Meanwhile, concerns about state violence and reactionary paranoia of social movements among the evangelical right continue to dominate national debates and news cycles. Children, who are the inheritors of these struggles, may incorporate these tensions into their play, refiguring Bloody Mary to fit contemporary fears. Adults, meanwhile, will undoubtedly revisit Mary and her descendants on their screens and in their nightmares.

Works Cited

Burge, Constance, Chris Levinson, and Zack Estrin, writers. *Charmed*. Season 2, episode 18,"Chick Flick." Directed by Michael Schultz. Aired April 20, 2000.

Carter, Chris, writer. *The X-Files.* Season 3, episode 13, "Syzygy." Directed by Rob Bowman. Aired January 26, 1996, on Fox. https://www.hulu.com/watch/5f6d861c-b959-4013-9637bee9f602815b.

Dundes, Alan. "Bloody Mary in the Mirror: A Ritual Reflection of Pre-Pubescent Anxiety." *Western Folklore* 57, no. 2/3 (1998): 119-135.

Ellis, Bill. "Speak to the Devil: Ouija Boards and Deliverance." In *Raising the Devil: Satanism, New Religions, and the Media*, 62-86. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000.

Ellis, Bill. "Table-Setting and Mirror-Gazing." In *Lucifer Ascending,* 142-173. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. *Animal Mutilation Part 2 of 5.* 1979, https://vault.fbi.gov/Animal%20Mutilation/Animal%20Mutilation%20Part%201%20of205/view (accessed April 22, 2022).

Felker-Kantor, Max. "The Chickens Have Come Home to Roost: Police Violence and Urban Rebellion Redux." In *Policing Los Angeles,* 217-238. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

Halberstam, J. "Parasites and Perverts: An Introduction to Gothic Monstrosity." In *Skin Shows: Gothic Horror and the Technology of Monsters*, 1-27. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

Kaplan, Paul, and Daniel LaChance. "Crimesploitation." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.34.

Kripke, Eric, Ron Milbauer, and Terri Hughes Burton, writers. *Supernatural*. Season 1, episode 5, "Bloody Mary." Directed by Peter Ellis. Aired October 11, 2005.

Langlois, Janet. "'Mary Whales, I Believe in You': Myth and Ritual Subdued." *Indiana Folklore* 11, no. 1 (1978): 5-34.

Laycock, Joseph. "Carnal Knowledge: The Epistemology of Sexual Trauma in Witches' Sabbaths, Satanic Ritual Abuse, and Alien Abduction Narratives." *Preternature: Critical and Historical Studies on the Preternatural* 1, no. 1 (2012): 100-129.

Lott, Eric. "States of Fantasy and Symbolic Surplus Value." In *Black Mirror: The Cultural Contradictions of American Racism*, 1-32. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017.

McLeod, Kembrew. "A Satanic Panic." In *Pranksters: Making Mischief in the Modern World,* 183-216. New York: NYU Press, 2014.

Piltch, Avram D. "Candyman question." Alt.horror, Usenet, March 4, 1995. https://groups.google.com/g/alt.horror/c/L9eL5_XP7FU/m/CqM8pGItxQQJ

Rose, Bernard, dir. *Candyman*. 1992; United States: Tristar Pictures.

Towlson, Jon. "Candyman and '90s Horror." In *Candyman,* 9-16. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018.

Towlson, Jon. "Candyman and the Return of the Repressed." In *Candyman,* 59-94. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018.

Towlson, Jon. "Urban Legends, Urban Myths: Adapting Candyman." In *Candyman,* 33-46. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018.

Victor, Jeffrey, and Gary Alan Fine. "Satanic Tourism: Adolescent Dabblers and Identity Work." *The Phi Delta Kappan* 76, no. 1 (1994): 70-72.

Vitale, Alex. *The End of Policing*. London: Verso, 2017.