Scandalous Beginnings:

Witch Trials to Witch City

by

Heather Elizabeth Gagnon

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

HISTORY

APPROVED:

Ronald J. Nurse, Chair

Arthur R. Ekirch

Daniel B. Thorp

May 21, 1997

Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords: Salem, Massachusetts, Witches, Witch Trials, Cities

Scandalous Beginnings:
Witch Trials to Witch City

by

Heather Elizabeth Gagnon

Ronald J. Nurse, Chairman

History Department

ABSTRACT

On June 10, 1692, Bridget Bishop was hung as a witch in the community of Salem Village of the Massachusetts colony. Bishop was the first of twenty that died, all of whom professed their innocence. By the end of the madness, more than two hundred persons stood accused of witchcraft. They attempted to prove their innocence or they falsely admitted guilt in order to save their own lives. Citizens did not discuss the episode for many years after the trials were ended. The whole episode was an embarrassing blemish on the history of the state, and there was little atonement for the unjust hangings of those who had proclaimed their innocence.

Three hundred years later, Salem, Massachusetts is very different. The image of the witch on a broomstick has been commercialized, and the city has become known as the "Witch City." The city makes over $25

million a year in tourism and is one of the largest tourist attractions in all of New England.

This change raises some very important questions, such as how did this change occur? Why did it occur? Is Salem unique? How did perceptions change over time, and why? This thesis attempts to answer these questions by examining a variety of sources. This thesis strives to explain how a tiny New England town that experienced the tragic phenomenon of the witch trials and hangings, evolved into the present-day Witch City.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis, first, to my husband, Jason, for his constant love and support throughout the entire graduate school process; and second, to my parents, Elizabeth and Stephen O'Neill, for always believing in me and for being proud of me no matter what.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for all of their help and support in my efforts to complete this thesis. First, the Virginia Tech faculty and staff. Dr. Ronald Nurse, who gave me his time, his knowledge, his help, and his support. Dr. Daniel Thorp, who became my sounding board, my mentor, and my friend. Dr. Roger Ekirch, for his help and his ideas. Jan Francis, for always being willing to drop everything to do something to help me. Rhonda McDaniel, for all of the little things that I bugged you about in the last two years that you never complained about.

Next, my family. Jason Gagnon, the best editor and proof-reader that I could have hoped for. Peter and Marilyn Gagnon, for always letting me vent my frustrations and giving kind words when I needed them. Pierre Gagnon and Robert Gagnon, for the use of their home in Salem, Massachusetts, and for their wealth of knowledge, information, and support. James and Jeannie Higgs and Maryanne Lewis, for their help and their support during my visits to Salem.

Finally, the people who helped me more than they can imagine just by offering their time, help, information, and by doing their job so well: the staff of the Peabody-Essex Museum, the staff of the Salem Public Library, the helpful employees at all of the Salem attractions, Ms. Linda Martin of Christiansburg High School, and Mrs. Carolyn Cox of Blacksburg Middle School.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

According to one historian the Salem, Massachusetts witch trials and hangings have "been one of the most exhaustively studied episodes in American history."[1] There have been a great number of books and studies written about the tragedy that occurred in Massachusetts in 1692. The drama, emotion, and stark reality of this episode make it a popular one for study. A question that has gone unanswered, however, is that of the fate of Salem after the witch trials. When a person views present day Salem, Massachusetts that person sees the "Witch City." Salem is a city whose citizens appear to be proud to acknowledge that Salem is the city where twenty people hung as witches. Salem is the city where more than two hundred people stood accused of being in league with the devil. These victims suffered much more than if they had been simply accused of witchcraft. The tragedy goes much deeper than this. These people suffered public accusations, humiliation, torture, excommunication from their church, and had their property and belongings taken from them. Twenty of them lost their lives.

How did the city of Salem evolve from a small village scarred with one of the most tragic histories in America into a commercialized center of state and national tourism? This question is the focus of this thesis.

---

[1] Mappen, Marc, *Witches and Historians: Interpretations of Salem*, (Melbourne, FL: 1980), p. vi.

There are other, more secondary, questions addressed. For instance, how did people's perceptions of the trials and executions change over time? Why did they change, and is it even possible to determine this? Is Salem unique in its development and use of this tragic historic episode as a tourist center? This thesis examines these questions in detail. It examines how the society of Salem changed over time to enable the acceptance of this particular phenomenon. In addition, this thesis seeks to determine if there were specific events that mark the changes in this society over time. The works of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Arthur Miller were examined to determine what effects they had on the changing perceptions within Salem.

This topic touches on the on-going conversation that surrounds the Salem witch trials, but does not remain focused there. Currently there is a great deal of interest in the social evolution of communities and societies; this is the aspect of Salem's history that will be the main theme. This thesis attempts to make a contribution to this on-going discussion by linking Massachusetts' most notorious scandal to this modern city that has created a booming tourist industry based upon it. As the development of the "Witch City" is studied, it is easier to understand its citizens and their

lives. This knowledge can be used in studying the development of other societies, and other treatments of tragedy on this scale.

This research and analysis uses the social historian's perspective. The work also deals in some cultural history. However, the focus deals with the change of the community of Salem, Massachusetts and its citizens; therefore it belongs in the social history category. There is no particular theoretical framework used in writing this thesis.

This thesis consists of four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter, simply titled "Origins," is a brief background of the trials and hysteria.[2] This chapter provides the groundwork for the remainder of the work.

Chapter Two, "Away From Hysteria," examines the events that occurred in the years following the end of the hysteria. The chapter covers the time span of 1693 to 1792, and details the effects of the whole phenomenon on other witchcraft accusations. In addition, for the period immediately following the phenomenon, this chapter examines how the criminal justice system of the city and state were affected. It also discusses, chronologically, the measures that the government of the

[2] For those interested, there are many fine in-depth studies of the witch trials and the hysteria itself. Refer to Charles Wentworth Upham's *Salem Witchcraft* for the traditional view, and Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum's *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* for a more contemporary view.

colony, and eventually the state, of Massachusetts took to provide restitution for the witchcraft hysteria.

Chapter Three is titled "Gone But Not Forgotten." This chapter spans the years 1792 until 1892. This chapter describes the opinions or feelings held about the trials and witches during these years by studying published travel accounts of New England and the work of author, Nathaniel Hawthorne. In addition, Chapter Three discusses how the anniversaries of the trials were treated by the citizens of Salem. This chapter clearly identifies the changes that Salem was undergoing, and the effects that different authors had on the perception of the witchtrials.

Chapter Four is titled "Changing Perceptions in the Witch City." This chapter focuses on the people of Salem and their perceptions of the trials and hysteria between the year 1892 and the present. The chapter examines how perceptions changed, and what, if any, significant events occurred to spur the changes into occurring. One such event was the publication and production of Arthur Miller's play, *The Crucible*, in 1953. In addition, this chapter discusses how these changes were important to the development of Salem. This chapter also focuses on the city of Salem itself between the same years. It examines the commercialization of the witch trials by the city in detail. Chapter Four specifies the main reasons

behind the commercialization process and the factors that made it possible.

The final section is the "Conclusion". The Conclusion summarizes the analysis made in viewing the changes in people's perceptions over this time. This section will also detail the importance of the location of the hysteria in Salem itself. It will answer, for instance, the question of why this tragedy occurred there as opposed to some other region or location in seventeenth-century America. The accusations being weighed against the people of Salem were not extraordinary, but they were the only ones of their kind taken to the extremes that finally occurred.

This thesis maintains that the development of the "Witch City" had several causes. The first reason identified is the passage of time. Over two hundred years had passed by the time the citizens of Salem were turning their town into a commercialized center. Next, there was, and is now, a fascination with this history. The events were tragic, but they were also dramatic, frightening, and enthrallingly real. These events, though not always the preferred center of conversation, have always held appeal for historians and for others who are interested in history.

In addition, being a descendant of someone involved in the witch trials eventually went from being a mark of shame to a mark of

distinction.[3] It actually became trendy to talk about this heritage in popular society. It held a certain value in social circles.

It was at the time of the emergence of the "Witch City" when a new interest in history began to form. This interest was of the common person, not the scholar or historian, and the interest was not just in Salem, but nationwide. This interest in history led many to begin traveling to discover and learn the history of the United States personally. Many came to New England seeking its rich historic past, and Salem was a part of that.

The final reason that the "Witch City" emerged was probably the also biggest motivator – money. Salem had heavily industrialized during the nineteenth-century and became a manufacturing center. In the latter portion of the twentieth-century, however, industry and manufacturing were on the decline in Salem. Tourism was an industry that was growing nationwide. To Salem, tourism became a very lucrative industry, quickly and relatively inexpensively developed.

Problems arise during any research. There were at least three significant problems that required consideration for this thesis' completion.

[3] It is estimated that today there are over 30,000 descendants of Rebecca Nurse, who was but one of the victims put to death unjustly. It is safe to assume that there are hundreds of thousands of descendants from all those that had a hand in the trials

First, the current state of the literature on this specific thesis topic is sparse. As mentioned before, there are many histories of the trials in existence. As for further literature concerning the development of Salem into the "Witch City," there is not anything specifically devoted to this topic. This is one of the reasons that this topic is so exciting. This thesis shall attempt to provide a bridge to this obvious gap in literature. The lack of literature on this topic means that there was much less use of primary and secondary sources than this writer would have preferred. This lack of literature contributed to the second problem.

Personal interviews with some citizens of Salem and with the owners of the tourist attractions in Salem were relied upon. However, personal interviews come with their own sort of problems. It was necessary for the identity and interests of the person speaking to always remain carefully considered. The questions had to be formed carefully, and the manner in which they were asked was extremely important.

The final problem that had to be overcome to complete this thesis was the physical location of Salem in relation to the author. Admittedly, it was a problem for the author to complete research without full access to the resources that are available in the city of Salem itself; such as old

---

(judges, jurors, as well as victims). This information is according to Charles Sutherland Tapley in his book, *Rebecca Nurse: Saint But Witch Victim*.

Salem and Boston newspapers, and even more recent copies from more contemporary papers. It is hoped that this thesis overcame the problem successfully. The author visited the city twice in order to complete research for the thesis.

As mentioned above, sources have been something of a problem, and, therefore, deserve some attention and discussion. Though there are none that discuss this thesis topic directly, there are some sources that have been especially useful. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum's works have provided a good background to the trials. In addition to Boyer and Nissenbaum's social discussion of the trials in *Salem Possessed*, they are the editors of *The Salem Witchcraft Papers*, which is the actual transcript of the examinations and trials themselves. These volumes are, by far, the best editions of this information. In addition to the information on the trials themselves there is a good deal of information on the twenty years following the episode. It is only after that period that it was necessary to become more resourceful. The types of sources used in this thesis are a combination of tourism information, industry history and information, and the history of the local society. In reading these sources it was necessary to remain careful to watch for any similarities, and the

major differences, over time that indicate changes in societal perceptions.

The most useful primary sources were personal diaries, personal interviews, and newspapers. Secondary sources included local histories of Salem, the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Arthur Miller and their critics, magazine and other media articles, several movies, secondary education textbooks, and books by local Salem authors only found in the Salem area. Included at the end of thesis is a complete bibliography of the literature consulted.

CHAPTER ONE:

ORIGINS

In 1692 the small community of Salem Village[4] was torn apart by a witch-hunt that had no rival in the colonies for its brutality and severity. The citizens of the town endured a hysteria brought on by the thought that the Devil had come to destroy their town. The search for witches, however, was in no way a new or unique phenomenon. This chapter provides more information about witches, in addition to the background information on the Salem phenomenon.

Witch-hunting, though a new occurrence in America, was nothing new in Europe. Witch-hunting there was a popular form of entertainment. Men calling themselves "Witch-hunters" would go out into the countryside and "discover" witches. Of course, all of the witch-hunter's expenses, and a fee for the witch, were paid by the closest town or county government. It was a very profitable business.

It was profitable because everyone in the seventeenth century believed in the existence of witches and witchcraft, not simply the poor, ignorant masses. To doubt would be a direct contradiction to the Bible. Exodus 22:18 says, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Leviticus 20:27 says, "A man also or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, surely be put to death.... Their blood shall be upon them."[5] It is often

[4] The area that was Salem Village is now Danvers, Massachusetts.
[5] Holy Bible, King James Version.

difficult to resign ourselves to the fact that beliefs regarding witchcraft were intense realities to the men and women of earlier centuries.

It is interesting to note that today, many believe the accused witches of Salem burned at the stake, but this is a common misconception. Burning at the stake was "the invention of Catholics and Episcopalians."[6] All but one of the Salem victims died by hanging; this was the proper British and Puritan fashion. The one victim who did not hang died a grisly death by pressing, also a British punishment.

The Salem witch hysteria, which began in the winter of 1691, lasted well into 1692. It started just after the arrival of the new pastor of the village church. From the very beginning, the Reverend Samuel Parris was at the center of controversy. He was a restless and combative person, with an uncontrollable need for control over his parishioners.[7] He found this control in the fear that they felt of the witches. "He gloried in the thought that he was playing the leading role in a great pageant, the struggle to overthrow the Evil One."[8]

The pastor's home became the meeting place of several of the young women in the area in the winter of 1691. It started out with the

---

[6] Robert Ellis Cahill, *The Horrors of Salem's Witch Dungeon* (Peabody, MA: Chandler-Smith Publishing House, Inc., 1986), 51.
[7] Ibid., 36.
[8] Ibid., 36.

Parris' daughter Elizabeth, their niece Abigail Williams, and Ann Putnam, Jr., simply sitting in the kitchen listening to Tituba, the Parris' West Indian slave. Tituba would tell wild stories of witchcraft, voodoo, black magic, conjuring, and fortune telling. Her stories became so popular that soon she had 10 girls between the ages of 9 and 19 sitting in her kitchen.[9]

By the end of the winter, the girls who attended those meetings had begun to suffer great afflictions and fits. They seemed to be under great stress and pain, and the local doctor was at a loss for a medical diagnosis. When called to diagnose the "afflicted" girls, the village physician pronounced that they were "under an evil hand."[10] When asked to identify who had bewitched them, they claimed it was Tituba who was causing the trouble. Tituba admitted that she was a witch only after being severely beaten. Tituba, though, was not completely stupid. She went from being an accused, to being an accuser; and it probably saved her life. She named Sarah Goody and Sarah Osborne as her cohorts. She also said there were two others that she could not identify. She later did identify them, though, after Ann Putnam, Jr. had named them for her. One was Martha Corey, and the other was Rebecca Nurse.

[9] It is important to point out that in 1691 there really was not much for a young woman to do in Salem Village. They had not married yet, so they had no home to attend. Young men were busy with the farms, but the young women seemed at a loss, and they became bored.

During the trials, two leading magistrates presided over the court. The first was John Hathorne[11], and the other was Jonathan Corwin, uncle of George Corwin the High Sheriff of Essex County. The accused could not have any counsel at the preliminary examination or at the trial. The trials in Salem had four main characteristics. First, was the presumption of a grand conspiracy. The witch phenomenon was never questioned, nor doubted. No one asked the question, "Why would this happen?" More importantly, no one asked the girls what they were doing. No one with authority thought for a second that these girls would lie. Second, the actions of the "possessed" or afflicted witnesses in court were accepted as evidence. When witnesses made outcries, the court was convinced that some unseen being was controlling their agony. Third, was the assumption that apparitions, ghosts, or specters should be accepted as evidence in a courtroom. All that any of the "afflicted" had to say was that they saw an apparition, and anything they said was used against the accused. One teenage girl could accuse a multitude of innocent people of wrong-doing. The fourth and final characteristic of these trials was the

---

[10] Tapley, 34.

[11] Hathorne was an ancestor of famed author Nathaniel Hawthorne. Nathaniel changed his name from Hathorne to Hawthorne in 1827. Some believe he did this out of shame because of the role that John had played in the trials. Others claimed it was because he was afraid of the curse which Bridget Bishop, the first woman hung, had

vulnerability of "cunning" people, or persons who practiced herbal healing. Several of the accused treated the townspeople with herbal medicines for the more common ailments. Once in court though, this practice was considered magic and, therefore, the Devil's work.

One of the most grisly deaths by far was that of Giles Corey. His death, even more than the others typifies the shear insanity that overtook the town. As stated earlier, all but one of the executed died by hanging. Corey was the only one who died by pressing. He was an 80 year old man, originally swept up in the wave of hysteria. However, his wife, Martha Corey firmly believed that the accusations of witchcraft were rubbish, and she spoke loudly of her doubts. She was later identified by Tituba and Ann Putnam, Jr. as being a witch. This difference of opinions between the husband and wife caused a serious rift in their relationship.

Giles Corey actually helped to convict his own wife when he became carried away during his testimony against her. After seeing the cell where Martha had to survive, however, he begged to stay with her, saying she was not strong enough to be alone. His plea was denied. However, he would soon join her in the gaol[12] anyhow.

---

placed upon John Hathorne, "I curse you and all your blood forever." In reality, this curse was actually cast upon another trial judge, Nicholas Noyes.

[12] The term "gaol" is an archaic term for "jail."

Later, Giles Corey, himself accused of being a witch, returned to the courtroom. When asked how he pleaded, Corey refused to say anything at all. Corey knew that once he entered a plea, guilty or innocent, the High Sheriff of Essex County, George Corwin, by law could go into his home and appropriate all of his belongings and property.

Corey knew that with his wife already convicted, if he pled either way his eleven children would get nothing from his estate. So he remained silent. According to English law, no man could be tried until he entered a plea. However, this same law provided a way to *encourage* a person to plea; pressing was Corey's inducement. Taken behind the jail and stripped to the waist, the 80 year old man lay down on the ground, had a wooden door placed over his stomach and chest and had stones piled upon it. It took two and half days for Giles Corey to die. At one point, according to a witness, his tongue lolled out of his mouth and Corwin shoved it back in with his cane. Just before Giles Corey died he cried out to the Sheriff, "Damn you. I curse you and Salem!"[13]

As early as June 1692, some of the procedures of the court were beginning to trouble certain ministers and influential laymen. In October, Massachusetts Governor William Phipps returned from warring with Indians

[13] Robert Ellis Cahill, *Witches and Wizards* (Peabody, MA: Chandler-Smith Publishing House, Inc., 1983), 20.

in the North to find his state in an uproar and his own wife accused of being a witch. He immediately stepped in and ordered the trials temporarily suspended. Though the court reconvened in January of 1693, and sentenced three more to death, no further executions occurred. In late January all who were still in prison received a general pardon and were supposed to be released. However, their freedom only came when their families could pay the jailers' fees for keeping them locked in a dungeon. Tituba, the Parris' slave, remained in prison until she was sold to cover her jail costs. Reverend Samuel Parris refused to have anything to do with her.

The evidence that proved if one was a witch during the Salem witch trials fell into four categories. If any one of these categories were positively fulfilled, the accused could be sent to the gallows. The first category was a direct confession from the witch. In Salem the first time a confession came forth was from Tituba, the slave who had told the "afflicted" girls such exciting tales of voodoo and black magic. Of course, this confession only came after Reverend Samuel Parris, her owner, had beaten her. The confessions that came later arose in the hope that the confessor could evade the hangman's noose. None of the

"confessed" witches hung. Only those who maintained their innocence died on Gallows Hill.

The second category was the corroborative evidence of apparitions or ghosts. Any person could simply say that he or she saw an apparition in the form of an accused person, and it could then be used as evidence against the accused. No proof of the existence of the apparition had to be provided; no other person must have seen it; one simply had to accuse.

The third category was the existence of witch-marks. Witch-marks were moles, pimples, birth marks, or any other features that looked to be unnatural. The prisoners in the witch dungeon had to undergo periodic strip searches by examiners looking for these marks. Because the Devil would never make a witchmark easy to find, these searches were always a humiliating experience.

The last category was the evidence of evil effects produced upon the supposed victim. What this meant was that all a girl had to do was fall on the floor, ramble in gibberish, and cry out a name, and the accused person was arrested for being a witch. "If a man's cow ran dry, if his horse stumbled, his cart stuck in the mud, his pigs or fowl sickened; if his child had a fit, and his wife or himself suffered from an unaccustomed pain it

was evidence, acceptable in a court of law, against any old woman who might be supposed within the last twelve months to have conceived some cause of offense against him and his."[14] It was very easy to accuse someone of being a witch. Once accused, however, it was very difficult to prove one's innocence.

In all, nineteen citizens died by hanging, and one was crushed to death. Five others died while in prison; one of these was an unnamed infant. All of the people executed had pled innocent and had refused to confess for fear of damning their souls.[15] In addition, more than 150 persons were imprisoned and at least 200 accused. The hysteria had spread like a wildfire, touching every family in the area. People had accused others out of fear of being accused themselves.

Though no one will ever know for certain why these girls acted in the way they did, there are some theories as to the causes. The first of these theories is that the girls were simply lying. This is the standard theory as put forth in Charles Wentworth Upham's[16] work, *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and*

---

[14] Ibid., 15.

[15] Rosenthal, Bernard, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 180.

[16] Charles Wentworth Upham (1802-1875) was a prominent Salem citizen who served as minister, mayor and as a US Congressman, he also spent much time researching his lifelong interest, the history of Salem. In 1867 he published *Salem Witchcraft*.

Kindred Subjects. His main theme was that the girls were doing their deeds maliciously and for sport. He also suggested that certain adults, Ann Putnam, Sr., and Rev. Samuel Parris for example, were guiding the girls in their accusations. Near the end of the hysteria that overtook Salem Village this somewhat unbelievable scene occurred. "At Salem's Ingersoll Inn, one girl announced that she saw Mrs. Proctor afflicting guests at the Inn. The owner of the Inn, Mrs. Ingersoll, called the young girl a liar. 'But I only said it for sport,' admitted the girl. 'We must have some sport.'"[17]

Some critics reject this thesis on the grounds that a sustained plot by the teenage girls is too improbable. This did not stop Upham's theory from becoming the standard interpretation of the hysteria for many years. This theory stood for generations in the history books of America's school children. However, even "those historians who disagreed with aspects of Upham's argument, by and large shared his belief that some individual or group could be blamed for the Salem tragedy."[18]

Another major theory about the hysteria is that some of the accused actually were witches. Chadwick Hansen[19] raised this idea three

---

[17] Robert Ellis Cahill, *Witches and Wizards* (Peabody, MA: Chandler-Smith Publishing House, Inc., 1983), 20.
[18] Mappen, Marc, *Witches and Historians: Interpretations of Salem* (Melbourne, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1980), 36.
[19] Chadwick Hansen (b. 1926) is a professor of American literature and American studies at the University of Illinois. He published *Witchcraft at Salem* in 1969.

hundred years after Cotton Mather argued that all of the convicted were witches. Hansen maintained that in a society that believed in the power of witches at least some of those accused actually tried to work black magic. If this were true then the some would say the trials were not completely unjust, and the hysterical actions of the villagers might be viewed in a more sympathetic light.

Two historians who are leaders in the field of Salem's witchcraft history are Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum.[20] Their theory of the cause of the hysteria is different still. Boyer and Nissenbaum believe that the community of Salem was ripe for this explosion because of the bitterness between two opposing factions: those that supported the controversial Reverend Samuel Parris and those who did not. Those who supported Parris were led by the Putnams, parents of Ann Putnam, Jr. The dissenters were led by the Porter family, a rather well-to-do family in the area. Ultimately, though, Boyer and Nissenbaum point to a much more fundamental separation, a division over two opposing ways of life. The Putnams' group in Salem Village advocated a continuation of the agrarian and devout traditions from which the community had originated. The Porters' group, who lived in the seaport area of Salem Town,

[20] Paul Nissenbaum and Stephen Boyer are historians at the University of Massachusetts.

advocated a more commercial and secular trend that threatened the old order.

Boyer and Nissenbaum assert that the witchcraft crisis fell along the same fault line. "The accusers, who came from the pro-Parris faction, translated their resentment against their cosmopolitan enemies into accusations of witchcraft."[21] Boyer and Nissenbaum created a map that actually, geographically, divides the area into two distinct groups and patterns that can be superimposed over both the disagreement over way of life and the witchcraft crisis.[22]

There are two prevalent psychological or medical explanations to the Salem tragedy. First, was the psychological argument that Ernest Caulfield submitted.[23] Caulfield attempted to substantiate the relatively new idea (new in the early twentieth century, that is) that the afflicted girls were mentally unbalanced. The word "hysteria" is a psychological term that means, "Behavior exhibiting overwhelming or unmanageable fear of emotional excess."[24] Caulfield claimed the girls were hysterical

---

[21] Mappen, Marc, *Witches and Historians: Interpretations of Salem* (Melbourne, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1980), 115.
[22] Boyer, Paul and Nissenbaum, Stephen, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).
[23] Ernest Caulfield (1894-1972) was a pediatrician and amateur historian. He wrote the article "Pediatric Aspects of the Salem Witch Tragedy," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, vol. 65 (May 1943), pp. 788-802.
[24] *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, Tenth Edition, (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1993).

because of the repressive nature of their Puritan upbringing. However, critics point out that similar afflictions did not arise in other Puritan New England towns. In addition, in non-Puritan areas, where child-rearing practices supposedly were very different, violent episodes of witch-hunting also erupted.

Convulsive ergotism is the second medical condition that some use to explain the tragedy. Linnda Caporael[25] attributed the girls' behavior to this disease. The disease is caused by contaminated grain and causes the victim to have strange fits and visions. Though this theory received much attention when it was first presented, many historians fail to put much credibility behind it.

Though many interpretations do exist[26] as to why the hysteria occurred, the truth probably lies in a combination of Upham, Hansen and Boyer and Nissenbaum's work. There is evidence to support the assertion that the girls were, indeed, lying. However, there is also evidence that at least one of the accused had practiced some mild forms of what the citizens of Salem would have called black magic. This included making a cloth doll and sticking pins in it and casting "spells" on enemies. As for

[25] Linnda R. Caporael was a young graduate student in biology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 1976 when she published her article, "Ergotism: The Satan Loosed in Salem?" *Science*, vol. 192 (2 April 1976), pp. 21-26.
[26] Mappen, p. v.

Boyer and Nissenbaum's theory, they present strong arguments to support the idea that the accusers and the accused fell across the same fault line as those who did not want change and those who did. There was, however, no real evidence produced at any time to prove conclusively that any of the accused was causing the afflictions of the girls.

CHAPTER TWO:

AWAY FROM HYSTERIA

In the last days of the Salem witchcraft hysteria it became evident that some key persons involved with the trials were beginning to doubt the validity of what the girls and the authorities were doing. This chapter details how, even after the executions and trials ended, the episode continued to have a far-reaching effect on the citizens of Salem and the surrounding areas. Apologies and notices begging forgiveness appeared from some of the accusers, jurors, and at least one of the judges.

The effects of the trials went much deeper, however. The colony of Massachusetts, though a little belatedly did attempt to make some reparations for the false convictions. Most of these attempts were unsatisfactory in comparison to the magnitude of the offenses of which the Massachusetts authorities were guilty. This chapter describes, chronologically, the actions of both citizens and the state or colony government of Massachusetts up to the year 1792.

In addition to the effects on the citizens of Salem and Massachusetts, the trials had a lasting effect on the crime system. This chapter discusses certain criteria and evidence that had previously been admissible in a court of law and were subsequently banned from use. Another of the major changes effected through the end of the trials was the treatment of witchcraft and witches.

There is evidence that suggests doubt existed about fits and accusations of the afflicted persons almost from the very beginning of the hysteria. For example, Martha Corey, executed on September 22, 1692, was outspoken in her denouncement of the afflicted as fraudulent before she herself was accused. The lesson many learned from her actions, though, was that her open denunciation left her vulnerable to the subsequent accusation that she was a witch. Others also stood accused after their openly voiced doubt of the afflicted. Sarah Cloyse, who was the sister of the respected (yet executed) Rebecca Nurse, grew so disgusted at some of the afflicted girls' behavior in church that she got up and left in the middle of a service. As she left, the door slammed behind her; one week later she was arrested and charged with having tortured the girls.[27]

One of the first persons of any influence to question the proceedings was the Reverend John Hale, who had been pastor of the church in Beverly since its separation from Salem in 1667. Salem was not Hale's first experience with witchcraft trials, however. In 1648 Margaret Jones of Charlestown, Massachusetts (Hale's birthplace) was the first accused and executed witch in New England. Hale was twelve at the

[27] Tapley, Charles Sutherland, *Rebecca Nurse: Saint But Witch Victim* (Boston, MA: Marshal Jones Company, 1930), 58.

time. Being a faithful servant of God, Hale had no doubts that witches did exist and that it was his responsibility to help root them out and bring them to justice.

Hale had been instrumental throughout most of the proceedings and said of the afflicted girls, "Sometimes they were taken dumb, their mouths stopped, their throats choked, their limbs wracked and tormented so as might move an heart of stone, to sympathize with them." Of their malady he said, "...they were preternatural, and feared the hand of Satan was in them."[28] Four of Hale's parishioners from the Beverly Church stood among the accused.

It is uncertain exactly when Hale began to be suspicious of the proceedings. However, he was seriously and openly doubting the validity of the trials by August of 1692. Then rumors about his own wife being a witch began circulating in November of 1692. At this time he formally withdrew all of his support for the proceedings. Hale began to preach upon the detrimental value of some of the most widely accepted trial evidence, such as spectral evidence.

On September 22, 1692, Mary Easty, another sister of Rebecca Nurse was hung after being tried and convicted of witchcraft. What

[28] Hale, John, *A Modest Inquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft*, Richard Trask, archivist, (New York, NY: York Mail-Print, Inc., 1702), 24-25.

makes her role in the evolution of the trials important is the written plea that she made to the court before her death. In her letter she begged not for her own life, because she knew the court would show no mercy, but for the court itself to make some changes. She charged the court to separate the afflicted accusers to see if their stories matched when they were apart. In addition, she questioned why confessed witches were not being tried and executed when it was they that the Bible warned against.

"For the court in this context to ignore Easty's challenge would be to acknowledge to the critics that the proceedings were fatally flawed – that the hunt was not really for witches after all, but for validating the court."[29] It did not take long for those who previously had confessed to save their own lives, to realize that if they were going to be tried first they would need to re-think their strategy. By January, when the trials had new rules, many "confessed witches" recanted their confessions. Support for the proceedings among the influential diminished greatly as it became more evident that people were confessing out of pragmatism rather than from actual guilt.

On October 3, 1692, the Reverend Increase Mather, son of Cotton Mather, publicly drew attention to the flawed proceedings in his article

[29] Rosenthal, Bernard, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 181.

Cases of Conscience. Governor Phips, who had recently returned from fighting Indians in the North, found his colony in chaos. On October 12, he issued a letter that made it clear he believed that innocent people had been caught in the web of the entire episode, and stopped the proceedings.[30] The Court of Oyer and Terminer ended on October 29. Within one month of Mary Easty's plea and challenge to the court, the process of returning order to the Massachusetts colony began.

In January 1693, another court convened and the remaining arrested persons were tried without the use of spectral evidence. All but three received acquittals, and Governor Phips granted pardons to these last three. All that remained to do was reassess what had happened in the Massachusetts Bay colony.

Though there was a consensus "that something had gone wrong, no formal inquiries into the nature of those errors occurred."[31] Judicially, no one was ever brought to bear responsibility or blame for the horrors of the trials and executions. One of the first to write about the tragedy was, again, the Reverend John Hale. In the introduction to his book, *A Modest Inquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft*, Hale justified his writing by saying,

---

[30] Boyer, Paul and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds. *Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692*, 3 volumes, (New York, NY: DeCapo Press, 1977), v. 3, 861-63.
[31] Rosenthal, 184.

> It might at least give some light to them which come after, to shun the rocks by which we were bruised, narrowly escaped shipwrack upon. And I have waited five years for some other person to undertake it, who might do it better then I can, but find none; and judge it better to do what I can, then that such a work should be left undone. Better sincerely, though weakly done, then not at all...[32]

Though he wrote his book in 1697, it was not published until 1702, two years after his death (this was perhaps by design). Hale noted in his text that suspicion began to brew because of the large numbers of the accused and the quality of some of the accused. He pointed out that all nineteen who had hanged had maintained their innocence until the end. In addition, most had lived completely trouble-free lives before the tragedy. These points, he said, reinforced his belief that the trials had gone too far.

Hale did not believe that all of the executed were innocent, he simply believed "that there was a-going too far in this affair."[33] In chapter seventeen, Hale warned against going to the other extreme of <u>disbelief</u> in the reality of witchcraft. Hale claimed that those who were innocent in Salem were proven guilty because Satan used his powers against them.

---

[32] Hale, 9-10.
[33] Mudge, Zachariah Atwell, *Witch Hill: A History of Salem Witchcraft* (New York, NY: Carlton and Lanahan, 1870), 296.

Satan simply made the innocent look guilty. "Thus, to Reverend Hale, the whole horrible Salem Village witch period was due to the people's not heeding the scriptures of God and instead proceeding along with unsafe and unorthodox methods of discovering witches; and that good in the form of realization of their error and their escape from making the same mistake in the future had come from this near catastrophe."[34]

The Reverend Samuel Parris had a very difficult time with his parishioners after the trials ended. He had played an instrumental role in many of the convictions, and some would say even in the accusations of some of those considered to be innocent. Some parishioners stopped coming to his sermons altogether, and others refused to help pay his salary. In November of 1694, Parris wrote "Meditations for Peace," in which he declared that in the "management of the witchcraft cases he erred with regard to the use of specter evidence, and the use of one afflicted person to ascertain who afflicted another."[35]

Parris passionately begged for forgiveness from God and his parishioners for his being mistaken.

> I do most heartily, fervently, and humbly beseech pardon of the merciful God, through the blood of Christ, of all mistakes and trespasses in so weighty a matter; and also all your forgiveness of

[34] Hale, xiv (in the introduction by Richard Trask).

> every offense in this and other affairs, wherein you see or conceive I have erred and offended; professing in the presence of the Almighty God, that what I have done has been, as for substance, as I apprehended was duty, however through weakness, ignorance, etc., I may have been mistaken.[36]

Parris' parishioners, however, were not of a mind to excuse his ill behavior. After Parris was asked to leave in 1697, the much younger and much revered Joseph Green came in to replace Parris. Green, only 22 years old at the time, did much to uplift parishioners' spirits and spirituality.[37]

At the same time that Parris' *Meditations on Peace* was written, the Reverend Noyes, another local minister deeply involved with the trials, was said to have "come out and publicly confessed his error, never concealed a circumstance, never excused himself; visited, loved, blessed the survivors whom he had injured, asked forgiveness always and consecrated the residue of his life to bless mankind."[38] Unlike Parris, Noyes freely admitted his culpability in the tragedy and he lived with a guilty conscience concerning it thereafter.

In December 1694, twelve ministers of Essex County petitioned the General Court on behalf of those who had suffered, both in name and

---

[35] Mudge, 298.
[36] Ibid., 299.
[37] Tapley, 96.

estate. They called the accusers "young persons under diabolical molestations."[39] In addition, they confessed that innocent people suffered and "that God may have a controversy with the land on that account."[40] One minister from Malden, Massachusetts wrote to the President of Harvard College of the great errors of 1692. He stated that innocent blood had been shed, and that "public and solemn acknowledgment of it, and humiliation for it, is a duty."[41]

On January 14, 1697, the colony's General Court ordered a day for public humiliation, fasting and prayer for the "late, awful tragedy" to be observed.[42] The colony's actions came four years after the end of the trials, and were considered by some to be a late request for absolution.

On this same day Samuel Sewall, an associate justice during the trials, begged for the mercy of God before the congregation of the Old South Church of Boston. The pastor of the church read Sewall's written confession aloud to the congregation. In the letter Sewall expressed his grief at his part in the tragedy. In addition, a letter signed by twelve men

---

[38] Mudge, 299.
[39] Ibid., 300.
[40] Ibid., 300.
[41] Ibid., 300.
[42] Ibid., 301.

who had served as jurors appeared on this day of fasting.[43] It expressed the guilt with which they were torn and said,

> We do therefore signify to all in general, and to the surviving sufferers in special, our deep sense of and sorrow for our errors in acting on such evidence in the condemning of any person; and do hereby declare that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken...

The judges of the trials, especially John Hathorne and William Stoughton, were never condemned. Indeed, Stoughton, who was later Lieutenant Governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony, maintained until the end that what had been done was necessary and that no guilt or blame need be assessed. "Every single judge from the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer was elected to the Governor's Council in 1693...Massachusetts politics after 1692 shows no trace of popular resentment against the judges."[44]

On January 15, 1697, a repentant Cotton Mather recorded his fear that God would punish his family in his diary. He was afraid that because he had not done enough to stop the trials and executions that he and his family would somehow be marked by God for destitution and ruin.[45]

---

[43] Rosenthal, 202.
[44] Hansen, Chadwick, *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York, NY: G. Braziller, 1969), 205.
[45] Mather later decided that he had the "assurance of the Lord, that marks of His indignation should not follow my family, but that having the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ pleading for us, Goodness and Mercy should follow us..." Mather, Cotton,

It was not until August 25, 1706, fourteen years after the hysteria, that Ann Putnam, Jr. came forward to offer an apology. Ann had been the most vocal and active participant of the party of accusers. Though she never confessed to using trickery or fraud, her written apology was read during church services in an effort to gain forgiveness from her neighbors and from God. She confessed that,

> Innocent blood had been lost by her testimony and that of others, that she had been deluded by the devil; that she felt deep sorrow, desired to be humbled and to live in the dust, especially for being the chief instrument in accusing Rebecca Nurse and her sisters. Finally she begged for forgiveness, and claimed that she had never testified against anyone through ill-will.[46]

Ann Putnam, Jr. died at the age of 36, apparently forgiven by her neighbors, but still considered an outcast by most. Nothing has survived that would indicate the reactions of other accusers to this statement. In addition, no other accusers made so public an apology or begged for forgiveness. Historically, Ann Putnam, Jr. seems to bear more guilt for false accusations than the others.

On May 25, 1709, Philip English and twenty-one others whose relations had been executed, or "who themselves or some relations were

---

The Diary of Cotton Mather, 2 vols., (New York, NY: Frederick Ungar Publishers, n.d.), vol. 1, 216.

[46] Mudge, 304.

imprisoned, impaired and blasted in their reputations and estates,"[47] petitioned the General Court to restore their reputations and make amends to their estates. The colony's actions were a long time coming. It was a full year later that the Court established a committee of four to convene in Salem to investigate the matter. The committee did not even submit a report until October of 1711. This report listed those executed and those condemned, and a recommendation for financial compensation according to how much each family had lost. The General Court did authorize these compensatory damages, and most transactions were completed by 1712, but most families felt that they did not receive adequate compensation.[48]

Though the court set up in January of 1693 did not use spectral evidence in the trying and convicting of more accused witches, it was not until 1703 that the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly ordered a bill drawn up that would legally disallow this evidence. It was written to insure that "no specter evidence may be hereafter accounted valid or sufficient to take away the life or good name of any person or persons within this province."[49] This law would affect how witchcraft trials would

[47] Mudge, 305.
[48] Rosenthal, Bernard, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 184.
[49] Moore, G. H. *Final Notes on Witchcraft in Massachusetts*, (New York, NY: 1885), 183.

subsequently be tried. After 1693, there was another woman accused and condemned to die for witchcraft in New England. No execution occurred, however, as she received a royal pardon commuting her sentence to imprisonment.

Though there were further accusations and executions of witches in other countries, accusations of witchcraft in America all but disappeared. In the few incidences where a person (usually a woman) was accused of witchcraft, the charge did not receive serious consideration. In addition, the fear and zealousness of the Salem episode never resurfaced.

The eventual spread of the non-belief in witches and witchcraft did more to end witch-hunting than the trials of 1692-1693. As science moved forward, people believed in witches less and less. Belief in witches came to be viewed as superstition.[50] In 1722, the last witch was executed in Scotland; in 1736 English and Scottish laws prescribing the death penalty for witchcraft were repealed. Witches were last executed in France in 1745, Germany in 1775, Spain in 1781, Switzerland in 1782, and Poland in 1793.

The colony of Massachusetts felt the effects of trials and their legal legacies for many years. These effects went beyond the court cases

[50] Hansen, 221.

seeking restitution for those injured. The courts, in an apparent constant state of awareness of the excesses of that court in 1692, were perhaps shy of appearing too harsh in most cases. The death penalty was subsequently ordered in far fewer instances than had been experienced prior to the witchcraft trials.

New laws were enacted because of the trials as well. Indeed before the trials had even come to an end new legislation passed in Massachusetts to provide lesser penalties in certain cases involving witchcraft. This legislation, passed in December of 1692, sought to differentiate between those who practiced witchcraft and those who *intended* to commit such a crime. This new legislation provided that in the case of enchantment, the accused would receive only one year of imprisonment. Only upon the second such offense would the death penalty be invoked.

New laws concerning the use of evidence also passed in reaction to the trials. As mentioned previously, spectral evidence was no longer admissible in court. In addition, if one accused person made further accusations against another it was no longer considered proof beyond doubt of the newly accused person's guilt. In cases involving witchcraft, one bewitched person could not point the finger at someone who was

supposedly attacking or bewitching someone else. Thereafter, also, authorities separated the accusers making their charges to be certain that their stories and facts matched. These instances prove that, though Massachusetts did virtually nothing to bring justice to the victims, those in positions to make and enforce the laws did learn some sort of lesson from the tragedy.

The years following the restoration of reason to Salem were difficult ones for its citizens. Following Mary Easty's plea to the court for reason, it was not long before the validity of accusation and confession were both being questioned. Soon the time of hysteria gave way to a time of confusion. There were many apologies and pleadings for forgiveness. Yet for all these pleas, most of the judges involved remained untouchable and without remorse. They apparently did not find trouble living with their consciences.

Overall, there was a feeling that the Massachusetts government did not do enough to undo some of the damage that had been wrought by its inability to control the situation in Salem.[51] Many felt that the government responded to all things too late. The government did,

[51] Rosenthal, Bernard, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 185.

however, work to change the laws that had helped to convict and condemn so many innocent victims.

A general fear of the death penalty led to its not being used for eighteen years following the conclusion of the trials. The laws admitting spectral evidence were repealed so that such testimony would be inadmissible. The accusers were separated to insure the reliability of testimony. Finally, laws were enacted to differentiate between those persons who actually practiced witchcraft and those who only intended to practice it but never actually did anything considered witchcraft.

These changes, though too late to save Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Goode, Mary Easty, and the seventeen others who died, did serve to protect other citizens later. In addition, these changes helped to heal some of the pain that remained in the wake of the madness that had overtaken Salem in 1692.

CHAPTER THREE:

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

Popular society and the colony, and later the state,[52] treated the scandal of 1692-1693 as an embarrassment that few openly discussed. It is also arguable that with the coming of the new era of prosperity in the Massachusetts Bay colony, which included advances in the shipping and manufacturing industries, many citizens simply wanted to move on with their lives. This chapter discusses the discourse that existed about the trials and executions in the years after the hysteria and its significance.

Though there were very few persons discussing the hysteria, during the time between 1792 and 1892 there is evidence that attitudes about the witchcraft hysteria began to change. One example of this is the publication of several different histories of the hysteria. Another example is the writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Though his work was fictional, he was still one of the first to begin writing in any capacity about the episode. Additionally, he was the only one who publicly castigated the local government and people for attempting to bury this ugly portion of Salem's history.

Another reason for the changing attitudes was the small group of Salem citizens who refused to forget the tragedy. This group fought consistently for a memorial for those who wrongly died and to have the

[52] The Massachusetts Bay colony became the sixth state in the union on February 6, 1788.

names of the victims cleared in the public eye. These people received little in the way of public acknowledgment, and did not reap any real rewards for their efforts until nearly two hundred years after the start of the trials.

Throughout the eighteenth century, Salem experienced a period of prosperity and growth. Shipping became one of the town's largest industries, and Salem quickly became one of the most important ports on the American coast. The first millionaire in the United States was a shipping magnate from Salem, Massachusetts. The country was changing, and with it the community of Salem changed. The Puritan faith that had led the settlers to Salem Town and Salem Village adjusted to allow these changes. As seeking one's fortune and sailing the seas began to take precedence, religion and faith were no longer the center of citizens' lives. Salem's more affluent homes filled with the finest items from the Orient and other exotic, faraway places.[53]

This period of prosperous growth in shipping lasted until the mid-nineteenth century, when deeper ports, such as that of Boston, began to replace Salem's as the port of choice for major shipping industries. After a brief period of decline, Salem's fortune again began to turn as the

[53] Chamberlain, Samuel. *Salem Interiors: Two Centuries of New England Taste and Decoration*, (New York, NY: Hastings House, 1950), 20.

manufacturing and textile industries took the place of shipping in the economy. Salem's tanneries supplied leather to factories all over New England. Its textile mills supplied cloth to most of the east coast. Salem was to become home to a Parker Brothers game factory and several Sylvania light bulb factories. Even Salem's port experienced a revival as ships sailed in bringing coal to the factories. Salem's growth was reasonably normal and comparable to other towns similar to its size. Its growth was not in any way hindered by the tragedy of the witch trials of 1692. There is no evidence to suggest that Salem's economic boom actually resulted in the decline of interest in the witchtrials. Life just continued, and other things simply became more important. Indeed, many carried on as if the trials and executions had never occurred.

During the nineteenth century people's attitudes about the hysteria did begin to change, however. This is not an uncommon phenomenon, and can be seen throughout history. People's perceptions of events and history do change over time. Evidence of this phenomenon is readily apparent. For instance, Americans today view the British in a completely different way than they did in 1776. Former military enemies of our country are now our allies in war, industry, and economy. Yet it was only

with the passage of time that the new generation of men and women could look upon old enemies and begin to see allies.

The passage of time also played a major role in the way people view the Salem witch trials over the years. As mentioned in Chapter Two, during the first twenty-five years after the trials the colony of Massachusetts openly admitted that some innocent persons died during the trials and executions in 1692 and 1693. The General Assembly ordered a day of fasting and prayer in 1697 that citizens observed for some years afterward. By 1725, however, the colony's appointed committee had submitted its report and findings on the trials, and those deemed by the committee as deserving received payment and redress. At this point the government and people simply wanted to move on and try to re-build their communities.

Until 1867, with Charles Wentworth Upham's publication of *Salem Witchcraft*, the trials were given very little attention in written histories. Though several histories of Salem and Massachusetts usually mention the hysteria episode in passing,[54] none really dedicate any time to discussing the trials and their implications to any great extent.

---

[54] Some of the sources consulted for this information are: Adams, James Truslow, *The Founding of New England,* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 1921); Hutchinson, Thomas, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay,* (New York, NY: Kraus, 1970, three volumes); Brown, Richard D., *Massachusetts: A Bicentennial History*,

It was during this period of time that the citizens of Salem began to experience a change of direction in their lives. The town began to grow, and the Puritan faith was not the faith of all of the newcomers. With this growth, came an increase in commercialization and capitalism; competition and business increased.

The church, once the center of the town and of the townspeople's lives, began to experience a diminishing role with citizens. Though people did generally still believe in witches and witchcraft,[55] the fear that had spawned the tragedy in 1692 no longer existed. The beliefs that had fed the fear of Salem's townspeople began to fade. By 1750, Salem's citizens did not spend their time discussing or writing about the trials, as the lack of written discourse from the era confirms.

Though there is little information about the trials and what people thought of them during this period, there is an overwhelming amount of information on the shipping industry and the growth of the community of Salem and the state of Massachusetts. Journals, diaries, and history books

---

(New York: W. W. Norton Publishing, 1978). Though these books were written at different times about Massachusetts they are all meant to be thorough histories of the region.

[55] Even as late as 1893 the New York Times published articles about the "superstitious" belief in witchcraft. For instance, in "A Carpenter Bewitched," New York Times, January 14, 1881; or "The Horrors of Witchcraft," New York Times, November 20, 1884; or "Firm Believers in Witchcraft," New York Times, December 3, 1893.

from this period all abound in this information.[56] It is difficult to identify the exact meaning of the silence. We are able only to speculate that this relative silence could indicate several things. First, it could mean that the diarists and writers of this community were much more preoccupied with contemporary issues. It could also indicate that no lasting and unending sense of guilt for the loss of the innocent existed on the parts of Salem and Massachusetts citizens. On the other hand, it could indicate that the citizens felt so guilty that they could not admit in public any acknowledgment of the hysteria. Whatever the meaning of the citizens' silence is, the trials were an episode that most were willing to let settle into the past.

Further evidence of the silence of letters on the subject of the hysteria is available in the accounts of visitors to the New England area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During this time it was very popular for travelers to publish the accounts and diaries of their travels. Many such accounts exist from this period from travelers who visited America. It became clear, after examining more than fifty of these

---

[56] Examples of these texts are: *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem: A Picture of Salem Life, Social and Political, a Century Ago* by William Pynchon; *Chronicles of Old Salem: A History in Miniature* by Frances Diane Robotti; *In Olde Massachusetts* by Charles Burr Todd; and *Old Naumkeag: An Historical Sketch of the City of Salem, and the Towns of Marblehead, Peabody, Beverly, Danvers, Wenham, Manchester, Topsfield, and Middleton* by Charles Henry Webber.

published travel accounts, that those who visited were not discussing the trials any more than the citizens of Salem were discussing them. For instance, the Marquis de Chastelleux wrote an account of his visit to Salem in his travel account, *Travels in North America*.[57] He discussed the prosperity of the shipping town but did not mention the trials or hysteria that had swept the region less than one hundred years before.

Again and again the same pattern appeared in the travel accounts and diaries. The traveler would visit New England, or even Salem itself, and yet no mention of the trials or the executions existed. In 1853, Alfred Bunn published his book *Old England and New England.*[58] Bunn gave a full and rich discussion of life in Boston and other significant parts of New England, but did not even mention Salem. Though his book is a comparison of the land and the people of England and New England, Bunn did not include one of the most significant episodes in the state of Massachusetts' brief history.

---

[57] Chastelleux, Francois Jan, Marquis de. *Travels in North America, in the Years 1780-81-82.* Translated by George Grieve. (New York, NY: White, Gallaher & White Publishing, 1827).

[58] Bunn, Alfred. *Old England and New England, in a Series of Views Taken on the Spot*, (London: R. Bentley, 1853).

Also in 1854, William Chambers published his journal of the previous year about his visit to New England.[59] Chamber's discussion about Boston and other points of interest in New England was engaging. He spoke of the people and the places themselves. What he did not do, however, was discuss Salem at all. Chambers did not even mention Salem's booming shipping and industry, as so many other travelers did.

Perhaps the most shocking omission of all occurred at the beginning of the time period being examined. By today's standards, it would be reasonable to expect that some mention of the trials and executions would have appeared at some time upon the hundred-year anniversary of the hysteria. The *Salem Gazette* was a newspaper founded on January 5, 1790.[60] A close examination of the years 1792 and 1793 reveals no mention of the anniversary or the hysteria. This omission is perhaps the most telling about the attempt of Salem's citizens to completely ignore and bury their past. It reinforces the assertion that Salem's citizens were trying to move forward by leaving their past behind.

In 1846, the *Massachusetts Gazetteer* appeared, published by John Hayward. This book is a description of all of the towns and cities of Massachusetts at the time. Under the listing for Danvers it says, "The house

[59] Chambers, William. *Things As They Are in America* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854).

in which the Reverend Mr. Parris lived, when the delusion of the 'Salem Witchcraft' commenced is now standing near the plains on which were quartered the troops of General Gage..."[61] It also lists the pastors of the first churches in the portion of Salem, which has since become Danvers. Here it says, "Mr. Bailey was succeeded by Reverend George Burroughs in 1680; he resigned in 1683, and on the 19th of August, 1692, was executed for witchcraft on Gallows Hill, in Salem."[62] This was followed shortly by, "Mr. Lawson was succeeded by the Reverend Samuel Parris, who was born at London in 1653, and settled here in 1689. It was in the family of Mr. Parris that witchcraft first made its appearance in this country in 1692."[63]

First, although the first entry begins with the fact that Parris' house resided in Danvers, it tells nothing of the hysteria's history itself. What it does say is the word "delusion." By using this term Hayward conveys his belief that the accusations were false, and that those who died in 1692 and 1693 were innocent.

---

[60] *Salem Gazette*, Salem, Massachusetts, 1790-1820.
[61] Hayward, John. *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts: Containing Descriptions of all the Counties, Towns and Districts in the Commonwealth*, (Boston, MA: J. Hayward, 1846), 133.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

Next, the entry concerning Samuel Parris' household is completely false. Though it was in his house that the Salem witchcraft hysteria began, this was not the first appearance of witchcraft in this country. As stated in Chapter Two, Margaret Jones of Charlestown, Massachusetts was the first accused and executed witch in New England. Jones died in 1648.

Under the entry of Salem, the book does describe the hysteria, and it too is indicative of the opinions of the author.

> In 1692, the witchcraft delusion prevailed in Salem, and nineteen persons stood trial and hung as witches. Though designated 'the Salem Witchcraft,' it had pervaded other places, previous to its appearance here... The imputation for a time induced the belief of the reality of the imposition; but time finally detected and exposed the error. The house in which the accused underwent preliminary examination is still standing at the western corner of Essex and North Streets, and the place of their execution is 'Gallows Hill.' The Reverend C. W. Upham wrote and published a full and interesting account of this delusion of the imagination.[64]

This entry is important for several reasons. First, it again asserts the author's belief that the witchcraft hysteria in 1692 was a "delusion." Second, Hayward incorrectly attributes the return of reason to Salem to the passage of time. He mentions nothing of the role played by Governor Phips or the plea of Mary Easty, which were both instrumental in ending the madness. Finally, this entry is important because of its recitation and

support of a theory put forth by Charles Wentworth Upham, the one that would eventually come to be the most prevalent theory of them all. Interestly, this *Gazetteer* preceded the publication of Upham's signature work, *Salem Witchcraft*,[65] by twenty-one years. Hayward was referring to some of Upham's earlier writing, *Lectures on Witchcraft: Comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem, in 1692*, which was written in 1831.[66]

It was in 1867 that Charles Wentworth Upham published his book, *Salem Witchcraft*. In it he fixed certain blame for the tragedy.[67] He placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the "afflicted" girls. Upham's was the first book on the trials written by someone who was not actually there, or that was not simply a transcript of the trials themselves. It was a first real attempt to interpret what had happened there and to analyze the findings. Zachariah Atwell Mudge's *Witch Hill: A History of Salem Witchcraft*, in 1870, and George Miller Beard's *The Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement of 1692,* in 1882, were published shortly after Upham's work.

---

[64] Ibid., 259.
[65] Upham, Charles Wentworth. *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects*, (New York: F. Ungar Publishing, 1969).
[66] Gale, Robert L. *A Nathaniel Hawthorne Encyclopedia,* (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1991), 508.
[67] This is the first time anyone other than the Devil received blame for the tragedy. *Lectures on Witchcraft,* 1831.

An important result of the publication of Upham's book was that his interpretation actually became the standard textbook interpretation. Upham's thesis that the girls had made up all of their accusations and that all of the executed had been innocent, became the prevalent theory. Challenges to this popular notion in school texts have only come very recently.[68]

It was the works of another man that led to other changes of the perceptions surrounding the witchcraft hysteria. This man was Nathaniel Hawthorne. Hawthorne was born in Salem, Massachusetts on July 4, 1804. Hawthorne was the great-great grandson of Jonathan Hathorne, who was one of the presiding judges over the trials in 1692 and 1693. Nathaniel changed his name from Hathorne to Hawthorne. Some believe he did this out of shame because of the role that Jonathan Hathorne had played in the trials. In his essay, "The Custom-House," Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote of his ancestors, "I, as their representative, hereby take shame upon myself for their sakes, and pray that any curse incurred by them may now and henceforth be removed."[69]

---

[68] A discussion of several history textbooks used today is given in the Conclusion.
[69] Cahill, Robert Ellis, *Witches and Wizards* (Peabody, MA: Chandler-Smith Publishing House, Inc., 1983) 23.

Hawthorne published his first book, *Fanshawe*[70], in 1828 at his own expense, and it was not until 1836 that his tales were published by others.

A predominant theme in Nathaniel Hawthorne's work was the acceptance of guilt and righteousness in the present. This theme is clear in such works as *The Scarlet Letter*[71], *The House of Seven Gables*[72], and *My Kinsmen, Major Molineux*[73]. Hawthorne wrote a great deal about good versus evil, right versus wrong, God versus Satan, and about secrets that never stay hidden forever.

Hawthorne dealt also with "casting off the evil of the past."[74] For example, in *The Scarlet Letter* Hester Prynne attempts to deny her past; therefore, she is unable to move forward. It is not until Dimmesdale publicly confesses his indiscretion with her that Hester is able to finally find

---

[70] *Fanshawe, A Tale* is the story of a proud, pale, self-possessed Harley College scholar. He rescues the woman he loves from marrying someone completely wrong for her, but then rejects her proposal and proceeds to study himself to death by age twenty.
[71] *The Scarlet Letter* is the fictional story of Hester Prynne who refuses to reveal the name of the father of her child. She is forced to wear the A (which stands for adulterer) on her clothes.
[72] *The House of Seven Gables* is the fictional story of the Pyncheons of Salem. The story discusses how Matthew Maule, the original owner of the home, was convicted of witchcraft with the help of Colonel Pyncheon who was envious of its location.
[73] *My Kinsmen, Major Molineux* is the fictional story of Robin Molineux, who comes to New England from England to be set up in a situation by his family cousin, Major Molineux. When he arrives he is rebuffed in his attempts to locate his cousin, but finally sees an angry mob with Major Molineux, tarred and feathered, in a pull-cart. He joins in the laughter at his cousin, though he knows it is not right.
[74] Stanton, Robert. "Hawthorne, Bunyan, and the American Romances," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. LXXI, Mar. 1956, 155-165.

peace with herself and her daughter.[75] According to Johannes Kjørven, "Hawthorne had a sense of the past with a deep interest in the operation of moral laws."[76]

In "Shadow of the Past: Hawthorne's Historical Tales," author Robert Fossum is able to show that the "purpose of *My Kinsman, Major Molineux*, *The Gray Champion*, and *Endicott and the Red Cross* is to show the complex relationship between past and present."[77] In essence, an understanding of the past is an absolute necessity for development in the present and future. Hawthorne's preoccupation with the past and the need to have it laid to rest became a common theme for his novels and romances.

Though Hawthorne almost always used a dark setting for his novels, he was never despairing or unrelentingly pessimistic. "Hawthorne believed in free will, hence his emphasis on the sin and guilt in man's will, but not his nature."[78] Hawthorne sought to give his darker characters a way to redemption, a way to reconcile their past.

---

[75] Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Scarlet Letter*, 1850.
[76] Kjørven, Johannes. "Hawthorne and the Significance of History," *Americana Norvegica: Norwegian Contributions to American Studies*. Edited by Sigmund Skard and Henry H. Wasser (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), I, 110-160.
[77] Fossum, Robert H. "Shadow of the Past: Hawthorne's Historical Tales," *Claremont Quarterly*, XI, 1963, 45-56.
[78] Fairbanks, Henry G. "Sin, Free Will, and 'Pessimism' in Hawthorne," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. LXXI, December, 1956, 975-989.

Hawthorne was one of the first to actively use the Salem witchtrials and their characters in his work. He used Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* and his sermon "Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion," to draw some of his characters (the New England Minister in *The Marble Faun*[79]), to draw Puritan punishments (*The Scarlet Letter* and *Maypole of Merry Mount*), and to attribute certain character or personality traits (Mrs. Dabney's vanity in *The Wedding Knell*, and the smug, self-righteousness of the New England Minister in *The Marble Faun*).

In *The House of Seven Gables* Hawthorne made use of a quotation from Sarah Good, who was hanged in 1692. Upon the gallows Good had uttered to a judge a curse: "I am no more a witch than you are a Wizard, and if you take away my life, God shall give you blood to drink."[80] Hawthorne gave this quote to a character named Matthew Maule. The curse was never actually spoken to Hawthorne's ancestor from the trials, Judge John Hathorne. In reality, Nicholas Noyes, another judge, was the recipient of the curse. Noyes, according to popular legend, did indeed

[79] *The Marble Faun* is the story four young artists in Italy. It describes how one woman's past helps to set the course of the future for all of her friends.
[80] Rosenthal, Bernard. *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*, (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 87.

choke on his own blood, much as the Colonel Pynchon character did in *The House of Seven Gables*.[81]

Hawthorne's most witch related story is *Young Goodman Brown*[82], which he published in 1835. Hawthorne relied "on witchcraft folklore to provide local color, cultural unity, and also the underlying horror and concluding moral" to the story.[83] In the story Hawthorne's character becomes misled by the devil's ability to impersonate innocent people, much as people believed he did in Salem 1692. Hawthorne even used the name Goody Cloyse for one of the witches in his story. This he took directly from the trials. Hawthorne claimed that she and the church members were simply "specters or shapes" of righteous citizens.[84] This use of the term "specters" comes directly from the witchtrials.

Though Nathaniel Hawthorne and Charles Wentworth Upham, individually, did much to change the perceptions of people about the witch hysteria, it is interesting to note that, personally, they did not get

---

[81] Gale, Robert L. *A Nathaniel Hawthorne Encyclopedia,* (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1991), 237.

[82] *Young Goodman Brown* is the story Goodman Brown, who had been married but three months to "pretty, pink-ribboned" Faith. Goodman Brown is convinced to go into attending a meeting in the forest. He is joined by Goody Cloyse, who taught him his catechism, and the minister and Deacon Goody, who are all there to induct a young man into their dark community. Though Brown ultimately refused to enter into league with the devil, the memories of that night haunt him and forever change him.

[83] Winkelman, Donald A. "Goodman Brown, Tom Sawyer, and Oral Tradition," *Keystone folklore Quarterly*, Vol. X (Spring, 65), 48.

[84] Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *Young Goodman Brown*, (1835).

along. Hawthorne was a Democrat and Upham was a Whig. They were friendly until Upham hypocritically tried to have Hawthorne dismissed from his Salem customhouse position.

Upham may even have been the anonymous author of an essay in the Boston *Atlas* on June 16, 1849, on the topic of the political "ignorance" of Hawthorne.[85] Upham also called Hawthorne's work at the customhouse his "dirty little extortion racket."[86] Hawthorne had his revenge, however. Upham is widely regarded to be the model for Judge Jaffrey Pyncheon in *The House of Seven Gables*.[87]

Hawthorne and Upham were two of the few people writing about the witchcraft hysteria in the nineteenth century. There was, however, a small group of people who waged a seemingly constant battle in an effort to memorialize the victims of 1692. John Adams described in his autobiography how, in August of 1766, the city set about planting locust trees over the graves of the executed victims. This site was half a mile from the execution site itself. The trees were to serve "as a memorial of

[85] Gale, Robert L. *A Nathaniel Hawthorne Encyclopedia,* (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1991), 508.
[86] Nelson, Truman. "The Matrix of Place," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. XCV, (April, 1959), 176-185.
[87] Gale, 508.

that memorable victory over the Prince of the Power of the Air."[88] At this time, people still believed in witches, but the belief no longer held the power of fear it once had. The significance of the trees, however, was lost within a short time after the planting, and today there is no record of where the trees were planted.

In 1828, Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story thought that "Witch Hill"[89] itself represented a memorial that did "not perpetuate our dishonor, but as affecting, enduring proof of human infirmity; a proof that perfect justice belongs to one judgment-seat only–that which is linked to the throne of God."[90] Nevertheless, a monument never rose there.

In 1835, Nathaniel Hawthorne expressed "regret that there is nothing on its [Gallows Hill] barren summit, no relic of old, nor lettered stone of later days, to assist the imagination in appealing to the heart."[91] In 1867, Charles W. Upham pleaded passionately for a monument when

---

[88] Adams, John, *The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, L. H. Butterfield, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), 2d ed. 1962, vol. 1, 319.

[89] "Witch Hill" is synonymous with "Gallows Hill" and describes the location of the executions.

[90] Upham, Charles Wentworth, *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects*. (New York, NY: F. Ungar Publishing, 1969), vol. 2, 441.

[91] Hawthorne, Nathaniel, "Alice Doane's Appeal," *The Snow-Image and Uncollected Tales*, William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, and Claude M. Simpson eds., (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 1974), 280.

he said, "On no other spot [Gallows Hill] could such a tribute be more worthily bestowed, or more conspicuously displayed."[92]

Even after these pleas for memorials there remains today no monument at the site of Gallows Hill. Indeed, there is even some question as to the precise location of the site. It seems that over time Gallows Hill has become the site that Salem forgot. There are, however, two very likely locations that fit the descriptions given of the execution site.[93]

The fact that citizens have forgotten the site of Gallows Hill indicates at least two important conclusions. First, it indicates a lack of importance placed upon the site by the local governing body. If the citizens attributed any importance at all to it, some effort at maintaining its integrity would have been made. Secondly, it indicates that the locality simply wanted to get past this blemish on its past. Even if some considered it an important part of their history, it truly was not a shining moment for Salem. By simply ignoring its existence, the citizens of Salem seemed to be indicating a need to get beyond this episode.

In 1883, as reported from *The Boston Herald*, nearly two hundred people came together for the first gathering of the descendants of Rebecca Nurse. At this gathering the descendants announced the

[92] Upham, vol. 2, 379-80.
[93] Rosenthal, 207.

formation of the Nurse Monument Association. The fact that Rebecca Nurse's descendants gathered together is interesting; however, what the newspaper wrote about the event was even more so. In the language used in the article it is possible to interpret the perceptions of episode. The title of the article, as re-counted in the *New York Times*, was, "Rebecca Nurse: Reunion of the Descendants of a Victim of the Witchcraft Delusion."[94] By using the word "delusion" the author is clearly supporting Charles W. Upham's theory that all of the accusers in the trials were lying, and that all of the executed were innocent. This, however, is not the only indication of the author's feelings. The writer went on to say, "On July 18, 1692, the saintly wife and mother, who had lived an exemplary life and educated her children to virtue and Christian grace, was murdered by the Puritan fanatics."[95] The use of severe language like "murdered" and "Puritan fanatics" leads the reader to the inescapable conclusion that the author not only did not believe that any real witches died, but a hostility toward the entire episode exists in the writer's mind.

The descendants of Rebecca Nurse held their second annual reunion on July 19, 1884. The group discussed their formal plans for a monument at the Nurse homestead in Danvers, Mass. at this meeting. The

---

[94] "Rebecca Nurse: Reunion of the Descendants of a Victim of the Witchcraft Delusion," *New York Times* 21July 1883: p.3, c4.

group sold "penholders, racks, and napkin rings, &o. made of wood of the old Parris house and from a splinter split by lightning from a timber in the Nourse homestead."[96] The interesting thing about this sale of relics from the witch trial era is that it continues into the present. "That's Peter McSwiggin trying to hawk dirt from Gallows Hill at $2.95 a bag (at least this dirt is, well, dirt cheap). "I prefer to call it soil," McSwiggin now says. He still sees nothing wrong with his entrepreneurial efforts."[97]

This article on the second annual reunion of the descendants of Rebecca Nurse also included a letter sent from noted poet John G. Whittier. Whittier wrote, "In fighting an outside devil these deluded zealots left the evil spirit within them free to lead them into all uncharitableness and cruelty.... The tribute to the worthy woman's memory is well deserved. Were I one of the descendants I should be proud of her martyrdom."[98] It is apparent by his words that Whittier also believed the hysteria to have been nothing more than a "delusion."

In 1885, at the third annual reunion of the Rebecca Nurse descendants, a monument was finally placed. The article describes the monument as "8½ feet high, with a grassed base of 2½ feet high. The

---

[95] Ibid.
[96] "Rebecca Nourse," *New York Times* 23 July 1884: p2, c6.
[97] Stevens, Alexander, "Spell-bound," *North Shore Community News* 30 June 1996: p24-28.

base is of Rockport granite, with a die of Quincy granite, lettered and polished, the apex being of cut Rockport granite."[99] This was the first monument dedicated to the memory of one of the victims of the witchcraft trials.

In 1892, at the two hundredth anniversary of the trials and executions, the Rebecca Nurse descendants added to the monument. They wanted to include the forty neighbors of Rebecca Nurse who had put their lives at stake by signing a petition that Rebecca Nurse innocent of any witchcraft accusations. "The tablet...is 2 feet 9 inches above the base in height, with a length of 3 feet 10 inches. It is of polished Rockport granite, like the monument, distinct from it, but similar in style. The monument itself is a handsome shaft, bearing this inscription:

Rebecca Nurse
Yarmouth, England
1621.
Salem, Mass.
1692.
O, Christian Martyr
who for truth could die,
When all about thee owned the hideous lie;
The world redeemed
from Superstition's sway.
Is breathing freer
for thy sake to-day.
[Reverse]
Accused of witchcraft,
she declared:

---

[98] "Rebecca Nourse," p2, c6.
[99] "The Monument to Rebecca Nourse," *New York Times* 30 July 1885: p3, c4.

"I am innocent and
God will clear
my innocency."
Once acquitted, yet
falsely condemned,
she suffered death
July 19, 1692.

In loving memory
of her
Christian character,
even then attested
by forty of her neighbors,
This monument is erected
July, 1885.

The aforementioned poet, John G. Whittier, wrote this verse.[100] The tablet also listed the names of the forty neighbors who supported Rebecca Nurse.

By examining the language used in the article, the perceptions that the author holds toward the hysteria become evident. In recounting the events that began the hysteria the author says the following, "But it was in the home of the village clergyman that the plague spot first appeared. His nine-year-old daughter, Betty Parris; his niece, Abigail Williams, eleven years old; Ann Putnam, daughter of Thomas Putnam, clerk of the parish; two or three other foolish girls, and the juggling Indian woman, Tituba...."[101] The author calls the accusing girls "foolish" and the slave, Tituba, is referred to as "the juggling Indian woman." The reader receives

[100] "Worthy Witch Memorial," *New York Times* 31 July 1892: p16, c5.
[101] Ibid.

the impression that the author puts no stock in any of the accusations by the girls, and that the slave was highly clever.

At this monument's dedication in 1892 the Reverend A. P. Putnam (a descendant) endorsed the tablet by making yet another plea for a monument at Witch Hill. He said that while Witch Hill "tells of man's frailty and injustice and wickedness, it tells, also, of those who died there for truth and for Christ. Some noble shaft should surmount the summit to do honor to their names and the sacrifice they made."[102]

This chapter has shown that Salem was a changing town in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The citizens were becoming more commercially oriented with the growth of their shipping and manufacturing industries.

Though citizens in general and travelers to the New England area had very little to say about Salem's witchcraft hysteria, there were three sources that helped to sustain the discourse of the tragedy, and who affected how people viewed the phenomenon. The first, Charles Wentworth Upham, wrote a comprehensive study of the trials. He attributed the blame for the tragedy to the young girls who were making the accusations in 1692.

Nathaniel Hawthorne was the second source of change. His fictional writings, in which he used the witchcraft trials, the characters involved in the trials, and the lessons learned from the trials, were widely read. Hawthorne's *The House of Seven Gables*, published in 1851, sold 11,550 copies during its first thirteen years. His *Scarlet Letter*, published in 1850, sold 13,500 copies in a comparable period.[103]

The final source of change of perceptions noted in this chapter was the group of citizens who fought to memorialize the victims of the tragedy. The efforts of this varied group went relatively unnoticed by the majority of society for many years. The dedications of the memorials in 1885 and in 1892 were rewards long awaited by these citizens.

The three of these sources, working in concert, slowly changed how people perceived the witchcraft tragedy of 1692. By writing about it more often, speaking about it more clearly, and by demanding redress from the local government, their work forced people to begin thinking about the hysteria again.

---

[102] Putnam, A. P. "Address at the dedication of a tablet in honor of forty friends of Rebecca Nurse, Salem Village, July 29, 1892," (Boston, MA: Thomas Todd Printer, 1894), 37.
[103] Gale, 241 and 442.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CHANGING PERCEPTIONS IN THE WITCH CITY

It was not until after the start of the nineteenth century that perceptions of the witch trials really began to change both within the community of Salem and nationally. It was the early twentieth century before the trials were publicly acceptable, and even used to distinguish the city of Salem from other New England towns. This chapter discusses how the trials and the condemned have been viewed from 1892 to the present day.

This chapter has two goals. First to indicate the perceptions of people and how they changed in the last century. It also discusses the play, *The Crucible*, by Arthur Miller, and how its production may have spurred the acceptance and popularization of the witch trials. This chapter explains the importance of these changes. The second goal of this chapter is to discuss commercialization of the Salem tragedy within the community. It deals with how Salem, as a city, became the "Witch City."

In 1892, the descendants of Rebecca Nurse recognized the two hundredth anniversary of the tragedy with a small memorial. Time had passed and the area had survived both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. Enough time had passed that the trials no longer seemed to be an important stigma on the history of the area. The citizens of Salem who

had so tirelessly sought a public acknowledgment were at last rewarded. It seemed a proper time finally to clear the names of the innocent victims who lost their lives during the hysteria.

Efforts within Salem to memorialize the witch trials and executions did not end, however, with the erection of the marker at the Rebecca Nurse homestead. In 1931, the Salem City Council debated whether it should appropriate $1,000 for a suitable memorial. The Council eventually decided against it, but their debate is an example of the continued discourse about the witch trials that existed in the early portion of this century.

Even by 1892, the state of Massachusetts still did not accept any of the blame for the actions of its 1692 counterparts. Citizens continued to struggle with the Massachusetts General Court in their efforts to clear the names of the executed legally. It was not until 1957 that the Massachusetts General Court issued an announcement that there was "no disgrace or cause for distress attached to the said descendants or any of them by reason of said proceedings [the trials]..."[104] This was a rather mediocre statement made upon a very violent part of Massachusetts history. However, the fact that the General Court said it at

[104] Levin, David, ed. *What happened in Salem?* (New York, NY: 1960), 141-2.

all was a victory to those who had been fighting for this recognition. The Massachusetts' government finally provided a certain amount of closure to the issue of the witchcraft trials and the executions.

In 1963, six years after the state's actions, a Salem citizen began yet another attempt to get a monument raised within Salem. A local writer named John Beresford Hatch published a monograph and stated that the net proceeds from the first printing would go to the city of Salem to facilitate the erection of a monument in Salem. Hatch's endeavors, though noble, did not succeed in raising sufficient funds, and no monument ever rose in Salem.

Until the three hundredth anniversary of the trials in 1992, the marker at the Rebecca Nurse homestead remained the most visible historic marker to visitors. It remains the only marker erected in part to memorialize those who defended the victims.[105]

It was at the three hundredth commemoration of the witch trials that an official memorial was finally established within the city of Salem. The location of the memorial, though, has been the cause of some local debate because there is no real historical significance attached to the location. The memorial, a set of benches inscribed with the names of the

[105] Forty of Rebecca Nurse's friends and neighbors had signed a petition on her behalf in an effort to get her released from prison, and to try to prevent her execution.

victims who died and surrounded by a stonewall, was placed on a piece of land that was vacant in downtown Salem. The location is conveniently within walking distance to many other historic sites in Salem. However, there are critics who would have preferred the memorial be placed at the suspected site of gallows hill.[106]

Those same critics were much more pleased with the placement of the second memorial dedicated during the tercentennial[107] commemoration.[108] The city of Danvers dedicated the memorial to the victims of the tragedy. The memorial is at the site of the original church and meeting place in what was previously Salem Village.

The publication and production of Arthur Miller's play, *The Crucible*, in 1953 have been one of the most important influences on the perceptions of people in the twentieth century regarding the hysteria. In writing the play Miller used the witch trials of 1692 as a metaphor for Senator Joseph McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee hearings that were, in essence, a political witch-hunt.

Arthur Miller first learned of the Salem witch trials, according to his autobiography *Timebends: A Life*, when taking an American history

---

[106] Tarutis, Robert J. *Days of Judgment: The Salem Witch Trials of 1692*. Video produced by the Peabody-Essex Museum in Salem, MA, 1993.
[107] This term, though it may seem unusual, is the term that the Salem officials and community used when planning their commemoration.

course at the University of Michigan. Later, Miller read Marion Starkey's book *The Devil in Massachusetts*, which is a fictional account that uses history as its foundation. Miller began to see a similarity to the hearings being held in Washington, D.C., where many of his acquaintances and friends were persecuted for having taken part in some early Communist Party activities. The following is a passage from Arthur Miller's autobiography that describe in Miller's own words how he came to choose the witch trials of Salem for his work:

> At first I rejected the idea of a play on the subject. My own rationality was too strong, I thought, to really allow me to capture this wildly irrational outbreak. A drama cannot merely describe an emotion, it has to become that emotion. But gradually, over weeks, a living connection between myself and Salem, and between Salem and Washington, was made in my mind—for whatever else they might be, I saw that the hearings in Washington were profoundly and even avowedly ritualistic. After all, in almost every case the Committee knew in advance what they wanted the witness to give them: the names of his comrades in the Party....The main point of the hearings, precisely as in seventeenth-century Salem, was that the accused make public confession, damn his confederates as well as his Devil master, and guarantee his sterling new allegiance by breaking disgusting old vows—whereupon he

[108] Ibid.

was let loose to rejoin the society of extremely decent people.[109]

Some critics and viewers of Miller's work actually believe that *The Crucible* is historically accurate. For instance, in 1953, an anonymous reviewer of the play in *Booklist* magazine, stated that, though the analogy between the Salem of 1692 and the U.S. of 1953 is not always clear, Miller "intensifies the dramatic values of the play without any sacrifice to historical accuracy."[110] However, the play is not historically accurate. Miller felt he had confirmation of the foundation of his story when he read Charles Wentworth Upham's "masterpiece"[111] *Salem Witchcraft*. In his autobiography, Miller stated that, "the breakdown of the Proctor marriage and Abigail Williams' determination to get Elizabeth murdered so that she could have John, who I deduced she had slept with while she was their house servant, before Elizabeth fired her."[112] Miller openly stated that *he deduced* that John and Abigail slept together when she was working for him. The fact is that John Proctor was a man in his sixties, and Abigail Williams was only eleven or twelve years old when she worked for him. This does not rule out an affair, but there is no hard evidence that there was one, either. In addition, the Proctor versus Williams story that

---

[109] Miller, Arthur, *Timebends: A Life* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1987), 331.
[110] "*The Crucible*," *Booklist*, *49*, May 15, 1953, 299.
[111] Miller, 337.

Miller tells is really not central to what happened in Salem. Theirs was a peripheral story at best.

The anonymous critic from *Booklist Magazine* was not the only one to believe that the similarities between the witch trials and the McCarthy hearings were minimal. Brooks Atkinson, a popular reviewer with the New York Times, found "that contemporary parallels are incidental to the play as a whole."[113] Another critic, G. J. Nathan stated that "the contemporary parallels are propagandistic."[114]

However, there were also many favorable reviews. These reviews applauded Miller's use of the witchcraft hysteria as a metaphor for the trials. For instance, in the April 1953 issue of *Theatre Arts* an anonymous article states that *The Crucible* was perhaps the first successful play about an important social issue since Miller's previous work, *Death of a Salesman*. The author stated that *The Crucible* "is a dramatic statement of a contemporary issue that besets our times."[115]

It is not assuming too much to say that those critics who refused to acknowledge the contemporary parallel between the witchcraft trials and the political 'red-baiting' that was going on in Washington, DC might

---

[112] Ibid., 337.
[113] Atkinson, Brooks, "*The Crucible*," *New York Times*, (February 1, 1953), sec. II, 1.
[114] Nathan, G. J., "American Playwrights, Old and New: Arthur Miller," *The Theatre in the Fifties*, (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf Publishing), 1953, 105-109.

have been doing so out of self-preservation. The House Un-American Activities Committee had a lot of power in the early 1950s. Fear of retaliation for a critical review of their activities would be enough inducement for many to write disparagingly about Miller's work.

Arthur Miller knew that by publishing and producing this play he was taking a big risk; personally, professionally, and politically. Miller was quite familiar with the actions of HUAC. Many of his friends had come under personal fire from the Committee. Elia Kazan, a theatre director, was one such friend. Miller actually stopped to see Kazan on the way to his first research excursion to Salem. Kazan had decided to stop fighting the Committee and wanted to tell Miller that he had revealed the names of those who had attended Communist Party meetings some fifteen years earlier. "I knew that he had no particular political life anymore, at least not in the five years of our acquaintance. I found my anger rising, not against him, whom I loved like a brother, but against the Committee, which by now I regarded as a band of political operators" with little moral conviction.[116]

One thing truly frightened Miller about this episode. This was that if Kazan had known about Miller's own Party activities of many years

---

[115] "*The Crucible*," "*Theatre Arts*, *37*, (April, 1953), 65.
[116] Miller, 332.

before, this man he "loved like a brother" would have given him up to the Committee as well. It was with this episode in mind that Miller arrived in Salem the first time. It is no surprise that the connection between the events in 1692 and contemporary America seemed to speak so loudly and urgently to him.

The Committee did indeed come after Miller because of his work. In 1954 the *New York Times* reported that the U.S. State Department refused to give Miller a visa to visit Brussels to see his play open there. The article stated that the U.S. State Department denied Miller a passport under "regulations denying passports to persons believed to be supporting the Communist movement."[117] Miller denied any involvement or support of the movement. This, however, was not to be the end of his troubles with HUAC.

In 1956, Miller came before the Committee for hearings about his personal involvement in "Un-American" activities. Miller said he tried not to be cynical about this episode, but he fully believes that he was called to the hearings because he was about to wed Marilyn Monroe. By 1956 the Committee was losing some of its clout. It was not as easy to get onto

[117] Anon., "Playwright Arthur Miller Refused Visa to Visit Brussels to See His Play," *New York Times*, (March 31, 1954), 16.

the front pages as it once was, and something was needed to give the Committee a boost in the news.

> The chairman of the committee [at this time] was a congressman from Pennsylvania, Walters. He was a Democrat, I believe. The day before I was to be heard, they called my lawyer, Joseph Rauh, and said he would call off the hearing if he could have his picture taken with Marilyn....When I turned him down, then appeared in front of the committee, he was very angry at me for writing, what he called, so tragically about America.[118]

Arthur Miller's ability to make the connection between the witch hunt of 1692 and the political "witch-hunt" of the late 1940s and early 1950s produced a critically acclaimed play. The play, though, was not an acclaimed success in America until after the McCarthy era. This play has since been in almost continuous production somewhere in the world.[119]

One of the reasons for this is that there is an ominous continuing relevance at the heart of the story. Arthur Miller said, "I think the seeds of that social paranoia can be found in any society in any time. We're never that far removed from Salem."[120] Miller also made reference to some of today's types of "witch-hunts". "In 1692, people were hanged on what was called spectral evidence. Today we call it psychological

---

[118] Miller, 406.
[119] Gates, David and Yahlin Chang, "One Devil of a Time," *Newsweek*, (December 2, 1996), 76.

speculation.... Today you have people accused of sexual abuse on the evidence of 5- or 6- year old children. You have the suspicion that AIDS was generated in a lab by people out to destroy part of the population."[121] The point is, even in today's society there are paranoias, unjust accusations, and trials (real and figurative) based upon very little evidence.

Miller used another example to support the idea that this story is placeless as well as timeless. "I met a woman who went through the Cultural Revolution in China. Nien Chung was her name. She spent six years in solitary confinement. A friend of hers directed *The Crucible* in Shanghai. She went to see it and said she couldn't believe a non-Chinese had written that play."[122]

The Crucible was also a catalyst for changes in the way many people viewed Salem. This was not as much in reference to the citizens of Salem, as to the views of people <u>outside</u> of Salem.

The publicity and light of attention that centered on Arthur Miller also extended to Salem, Massachusetts. Many Americans, who otherwise would never have even heard of *The Crucible*, learned about the play and the witch trials from the media attention given to Miller.

---

[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.

It is interesting to note that only four years after the play's production the Massachusetts General Court was finally persuaded to exonerate the names of the victims and descendants of the witchcraft hysteria. Arthur Miller even commented upon this in his autobiography.

> No Massachusetts legislature had passed so much as a memoir of regret at the execution of innocent people, rejecting the very suggestion as a slur on the honor of the state even two and half centuries later. The same misplaced pride that had for so long prevented the original Salem court from admitting the truth before its eyes was still alive here. And that was good for the play too, it was in the mood.[123]

The effects of the publication and the production of *The Crucible* went beyond mere publicity for Salem, however. It informed people about what had happened in 1692. Even though it was not completely historically accurate, the play accurately described the injustice, fear, and even the madness of the trials and executions.

Arthur Miller's work not only brought publicity to Salem, it also brought visitors to Salem. People who had an interest in history were coming. Some who visited were simply curious about the town where witches died.

---

[122] Ibid.
[123] Miller, 337.

Arthur Miller, however, was not the only factor in the change in how people perceived the trials, though he was an important one. Another factor in the changes in perceptions has been the treatment and belief of witches. In 1692 witches were very real to people. They played an important role in the basic beliefs of the common person. Any persons, but especially strong and independent women, were vulnerable to the accusation of witchcraft. Once accused it was very difficult to get out of because the burden of proof of innocence lay on the accused. The accuser did not really have to prove any guilt.

Much has changed about the belief in witches since the time of the witch trials in Salem. Many people do not believe witchcraft poses any serious dangers to society because witches are no longer widely regarded as "real". Witchcraft is viewed now as superstition rather than reality, and witches are no longer serious threats to the well-being of humanity.

This does not mean that there are no longer any persons claiming to be witches. Contemporary Salem is a community filled with them; more than 2,500 citizens of Salem claim to be witches, these include men and women. They practice the religion called Wicca and profess no connection whatsoever with Christianity or the Devil of the Christian

religion. The witches of the Wicca religion do, however, cast spells and use potions. They claim that the power for these things comes from the earth and the spirit of nature. Salem even has an "official" witch. In 1977, Governor Michael Dukakis named Laurie Cabot the "official" witch of Salem.[124] The Salem Police Department has even used Ms. Cabot's "powers" in several missing persons cases in the last few years.

The city of Salem itself has undergone many changes due to the changes in citizens' attitudes toward the witch trials. The city has commercialized and cashed in on its witch history for more than eighty-eight years. It was in 1908 that the first "attraction" involving witch history opened for public tours. The House of Seven Gables was the subject of author Nathaniel Hawthorne's book by the same title.[125] Hawthorne had lived in the house for some of his life, and had always had a fascination for it. In *The House of Seven Gables*, Hawthorne's characters were descendants from the witch trials, and the original conflict of the story began in the Salem of 1692. The House of Seven Gables was the first "attraction" to charge for tours of the building, but it was by no means the last to do so.

---

[124] Rosenthal, Bernard, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 204.

[125] It is interesting to note that the House of Seven Gables actually has eight gables, and only had five when Hawthorne wrote his popular book.

The commercialization of Salem has two levels. The first level is educational. This level includes the museums, historic sites, and homes that are open to the public. They are educational because they try to tell the story of the 1692 witch trials. All of these attractions charge a fee.

One thing that the reader needs to understand prior to reading this discussion is the definition of the term 'museum' as used in Salem, Massachusetts. According to the *Encarta Encyclopedia*, a "museum is a permanent, non-profit institution housing collections of objects of artistic, historic, or scientific interest. These are conserved and displayed for the edification and enjoyment of the public."[126] In Salem, however, the term museum is used rather loosely. The term 'attraction' would seem to better define many of the places of interest in Salem. The Peabody-Essex Museum is the only traditional museum in Salem.

The Witch House, which opened to the public in 1945, is the only building that has any true or real connection to the trials. This was originally the home of Jonathan Corwin, a magistrate. This was the site of some of the initial interrogations and examinations of the accused. The city of Salem owns this building, and a fee is charged for the tour.

[126] Microsoft *Encarta Encyclopedia 96*, CD ROM version.

Other witch attractions include the Witch Museum, which opened in 1972, and the Witch Dungeon that opened in 1978, both of which charge for tours. These sites attempt to depict the accepted truth about the trials and to convey the magnitude of the tragedy. The 'accepted truth' is that of Charles Wentworth Upham, that the girls were all simply lying.

The second level of commercialization is much more exploitative. The stereotypical image of a witch on a broomstick is evident in most downtown shop windows. There are stores with names like "Witch City Cleaners" and "Witch City Ice Cream." These stores do not attempt to impart any historical information to visitors; owners simply use the image to bring in tourists.

There are several factors that contributed to the commercialization process that occurred in Salem.[127] The first, and most simply, was the passage of time. This exploitation of the tragedy of 1692 did not occur right away. More than two hundred years had passed before the trials were discussed in a more light-hearted manner. This passage of time created a buffer between the reality of the tragedy and the present day interest in witches.

The next factor was that people started talking about the tragedy once more. As previously discussed, in this century the dialogue about the trials has been much more open. The number of books that analyze this period increased significantly. Discussions about family histories ensued. In the early twentieth century, many people began in earnest to study genealogy and their family past.[128] It became noteworthy to lay claim to being a descendant of someone involved in some way with the trials. There are some very notable figures who can lay claim to have descended from figures from the Salem witch trials. For instance Clara Barton, Walt Disney, Joan Kennedy, and New England author Enders Robinson were all descendants. Presidents Taft, Arthur and Ford could also have made this claim.[129]

It was the early twentieth century when the image of the witch riding on a broom stick began to appear with some regularity. This image became popular after a the publication of an advertisement for "Witch Balm," a hand and body lotion. This picture depicted several witches flying on their broomsticks over Salem in the light of a full moon. The

---

[127] It is not my intention to condone or condemn any of the commercialization of the Salem witch trials, but simply to identify the factors which contributed to the build up of this commercialization.

[128] Northend, Mary Harrod, *Memories of Olde Salem*, (New York, NY: Moffatt, Yard and Co., 1917).

original painting now hangs in the Peabody Essex Museum in downtown Salem.

Soon this image began to turn up in some very interesting places including the Salem police department and the local fire department. Both departments have incorporated the image of the witch on a broom into the logos on their vehicles and their uniforms. The local paper, *The Salem Evening News,* incorporated the witch on a broomstick logo on its masthead on April 2, 1969. The newspaper still uses this logo. Even the local high schools contributed to the lightening of the atmosphere surrounding the witch trials. The two local high schools adopted "The Witches" and "The Pirates" as their mascots.

Another factor that contributed to the commercialization process in Salem was a new interest in the general history of the United States on the part the lay citizen. This interest really started forming in the mid-nineteenth century, but it was not until the 1950s that families were able to commonly get out and see historic America.[130] The 1950s were a time of increased mobility and finances. Salem's tourism industry was also

---

[129] Alexander, 8. It is interesting to note that the Virginia Tech History Dept. also has a descendant from the witch trials. Dr. Ronald Nurse is a descendant of Francis and Rebecca Nurse.

[130] Brown, Dona, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 233.

growing.[131] Improved means of transportation gave many people the freedom to explore the country. New cars, buses, trains, and even planes (for those that could afford air travel) took citizens nationwide in their search for America and the country's past.[132]

As these transportation means improved, so too did Americans' income. This meant that more families could *afford* a yearly vacation. Many families came looking for American history[133], and Salem is rich in history. Salem's history contains witch trials and executions, pirates and shipping captains, fine architecture and exotic furnishings, and of course, Nathaniel Hawthorne. All of these historic happenings are a natural draw for families interested in a historical vacation.

In addition to the local history, Salem's physical location could very well have played a large role in this commercialization process. Massachusetts is a small state in contrast to its weighty historical significance. By going to visit Boston or Salem, a traveler is close enough by car to visit any historic spot in the state, as well as some that are in neighboring states. In one visit, a traveler can see much of New England. As America was benefiting from the growth of tourism into a nationwide

[131] Ibid., 245.
[132] Ibid., 209.
[133] Ibid., 106-107, 116-117.

industry, the citizens of Salem began capitalizing on their history and location to develop their own tourist industry.

The term “Witch City," coined shortly after the end of the hysteria, has been a catch phrase for Salem ever since.[134] In the 1970s the “Witch City” kitsch really became popular. The image of the witch on a broomstick began to appear even more frequently. This served to integrate more of the local citizenry into the very history that makes their town so unique.

The distinctive history of Salem is something that many locals are proud of. Not all Salemites know the whole story of what happened in 1692, but if asked about the Witch City many will give you a response of pride at the distinction.[135] This concept is not terribly difficult to understand. The fact that Salemites have this certain distinction makes them different than surrounding towns such as Lynn, Beverly, Danvers, and Peabody. Few outsiders may have ever heard of these other towns, but almost everyone has some ideas, some true and some not, about Salem.

---

[134] It seems that no one can recall the exact date of the first time the term “Witch City” was used. Dr. Philip Lamy, a Professor of Sociology, and one of the makers of the 1996 documentary “Witch City,” says the term originated shortly after the end of the trials when people would refer to Salem as “that witch city.” From there it just became “Salem, the Witch City.”

[135] This conclusion is based upon discussions of Salem with Pierre Gagnon and MaryAnne Lewis. Both have been locals of Salem for more than eighty years.

This moniker sets the city of Salem apart, even from such historic towns as Boston.

However, not everyone appreciates the name "Witch City." There are those who feel that the nickname minimizes the history of Salem. They feel that it presents a stereotypical image of the evil and Satanic witch that many feel has nothing to do with the real Salem tragedy. One of these is Arthur Miller. After one visit, Miller decried the Witch City hucksterism and claimed, "I regret the name Witch City. It trivializes the agony."[136] While it is true that the folk image seems at times to overcome the reality of the tragedy, the folk image has served a purpose. The Witch City is a well-known and often-visited place.

One of the most important reasons that the city of Salem began to build up its tourism industry in the 1970s was because the industry made a great deal of money. As the seventies turned into the eighties new sources of income became very important to Salem. Until the 1980s Salem had been home to many different industries, but by 1985 many of the tanneries and mills had closed. By the end of the decade Parker Brothers had closed its Salem plant, and the German company, Osram, had bought Sylvania. Osram proceeded to close all but one of its existing

[136] Williams, Dan, "Salem Conjures Up it Past With a Mix of Solemn Ceremonies and Frivolous Fun," *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 1992, pp. A-4.

plants in Salem. In this city of 38,000 people, unemployment was skyrocketing, and many people had to look elsewhere to find work.[137]

It is no wonder then that the city of Salem is capitalizing on an industry that has already shown that it can bring in funds. In 1994, the tourism industry brought in $25 million to the Salem community. The industry paid nearly $6 million in salaries for employees of tourism and paid the city $400,000 in tax revenue.[138] At a time when many other industries are failing, the citizens of Salem are investing in one that is succeeding beyond their imagination.

[137] Diesenhouse, Susan, "Salem moves to Build Up its Tourism," *New York Times*, August 1, 1993, V.142, pp. 28(N.
[138] "Salem Tourism Generates $25M per Year," *Salem Evening News*, March 31, 1995, Business p. 5.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to provide information and analysis of the years after the Salem witchcraft trials and executions. By examining the attitudes and perceptions that people have, the thesis bridges the gap in time between the Salem of 1692 and the Salem of the present. In addition, the significance of the changes of perceptions was examined. These changes played a large role in the way Salem has evolved.

There are many differing views and theories as to why the hysteria even happened. The first, and most widely accepted, version of what happened came from Charles Wentworth Upham. Many considered his book, *Salem Witchcraft*, published in 1867, to be the seminal work in this area for many years. Upham's theory also happens to be the most simple, and some critics say it was too simple. Upham believed that the group of accusers were simply lying about all of the victims. He believed that no witches were ever in Salem, and that blame belonged squarely upon the shoulders of the young women who had accused so many.[139] Other critics reject this theory on the grounds that it is too improbable that the girls could have sustained this plot for the many months of the hysteria.

---

[139] Upham, Charles Wentworth, *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects* (New York: F. Ungar Publishing, 1969).

Another popular theory holds that some of the accused actually were witches. Chadwick Hansen maintained that, according to the 1692 definition of witchcraft, some of the accused would have to be considered guilty. He argued that those who study this period may view the hysterical actions of the villagers in a more sympathetic light if they understood that, according to the beliefs of 1692, actual witches were being tried.[140] Hansen did not, however, advocate that all of those executed were witches, as Cotton Mather did shortly after the end of the hysteria.

Two historians whose work is currently popular in the field of Salem's witchcraft history are Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum. They write that the hysteria occurred when two opposing factions clashed together. They point to a fundamental separation, an actual division over two opposing ways of life. The accusers were from families resistant to change and anxious to continue the agrarian way of life. They believed in the devout traditions from which their community had originated. The accused, on the other hand, were those in the community who advocated a more commercial and secular way of life. This group saw change as a positive force for the future. Those in the faction of the

[140] Hansen, Chadwick, *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York, NY: G. Braziller, 1969).

accusers, though, saw this change as a threat to the old order and their very existence.[141]

The truth probably lies in a combination of these three theories. While there is evidence that supports the idea that the girls were lying, there is also evidence that at least one of the accused had practiced what the citizens of that time would call 'black magic'. As for Boyer and Nissenbaum's theory, they present strong arguments to support the idea that the accusers and the accused fell across the same fault line as those who did not want change and those who did.

As mentioned previously, Charles W. Upham's version of what happened became the explanation that appeared in many school textbooks. It is interesting to examine several textbooks used by a couple of today's schools. In *Rise of the American Nation*, an older book now used simply for supplemental information, the authors have included a separate section from the text about the trials. It is a simple telling of the facts and explains the hysteria strictly in terms of Upham's theory. "Then, in the fall of 1692, people came to their senses. The girls had begun accusing people who were obviously innocent, like the governor's wife.

[141] Boyer, Paul and Nissenbaum, Stephen, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).

A terrible mistake had been made."[142] People came to their "senses," which means that they were deluded before. Also, by stating that the girls were accusing people who "were obviously innocent" and by stating that "a terrible mistake had been made" the reader is left to understand that none of the accusations were real, and that all of the executed had been innocent. This text makes no mention of any of the accusing girls names, nor the victims or judges.

One textbook, *America's Story*, used for current high school level general and college-bound history students, only includes one paragraph on the trials. This one paragraph is only mentioned in connection to severe punishments in colonial New England. "The puritan laws were strict, and lawbreakers were punished in ways considered very cruel today. About fifteen crimes carried the penalty of death. One of these crimes was witchcraft, and in 1691 and 1692 a number of men and women were hanged as witches during the Salem Witchcraft trials in Salem, Massachusetts."[143] Very little information to be found here at all.

Another book used by high school general and college-bound history students is *The History of the United States*. This book included

---

[142] Todd, Lewis Paul and Merle Curti, *Rise of the American People*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch Publishing, 1982) 33.
[143] Jakobs, William Jay, Howard B. Wilder, Robert P. Ludlum and Harriet McCune Brown. *America's Story*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1990) 100.

several paragraphs on the trials, but only in relation to Cotton Mather and the Great Awakening.

> The ideas of Cotton Mather, the leading minister in New England at the end of the seventeenth century, reflect the decline of the old and the emergence of the new. Mather's curiosity about the supernatural encouraged people to revive the medieval fear of witchcraft. Faced with bewildering social changes as well as a series of social disasters, Massachusetts' colonists succumbed to a wave of mass hysteria in 1692. As a result, several hundred people were accused of witchcraft. In Salem, nineteen persons were hanged and one pressed to death for the offense. The short-lived outbreak was an example of a society unconsciously expressing its fears by focusing on scapegoats.[144]

Cotton Mather's curiosity about the supernatural never encouraged anyone to believe in witches. Everyone already believed in witches because the Bible speaks about them. The fear of witchcraft was by no means medieval.

The final high school text book examined is currently in use for Advanced Placement history classes. The text, *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, is co-authored by Paul S. Boyer, noted historian in the field of the witchtrials. Needless to say, this book had far more information on the trials and hysteria than any of the other books.

---

[144] DiBacco, Thomas V., Lorna C. Mason and Christian G. Appy. *History of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1991) 65.

Also, the information is given in terms of the theory asserted by Boyer and Nissenbaum in their work, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*. Three pages were devoted to the hysteria of 1692, and one of the maps from Boyer and Nissenbaum was also included. This text was also the only book specifically to mention names of accusers, accused witches, and judges. The text explains the hysteria in two ways: by region and by age and gender. The regional explanation is as follows, "The pattern of hysteria in Salem Village reflected that community's internal divisions. Most charges came from the Village's troubled western division, especially from the Putnam family members, who lodged 46 of the 141 formal indictments, those named as witches lived outside the Village's western half..."[145] The age and gender explanation is even more interesting. Anxieties concerning gender and age also influenced who became victims.

> Two-thirds of all accusers were girls aged between 11 and 20, products of a society that had little sympathy for the emotional complexity of adolescence and that expected children to act like adults well before they possessed the self-control to do so. Those most frequently named as witches were middle-aged wives and widows, the very persons who most closely resembled an adolescent girl's mother. To a large extent, a group of immature

[145] Boyer, Paul S., et al. *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Co., 1990) 61.

> girls were displacing resentment felt toward their mothers (who had the primary responsibility for bringing up daughters) onto other women whose families were viewed by the girls' parents or neighbors with jealousy or hostility.[146]

This particular theory is of particular interest, simply because no one has made much of it in the past, not even Boyer and Nissenbaum.

A middle school history textbook was also examined. *The American Nation* is used by seventh grade history students and included a separate section of about 6 paragraphs entitled "Geography in History" using the witchtrials as an example of how geography can play a role in the making of history. The map used and the reasoning were straight out of Boyer and Nissenbaum, claiming that regional strife was to blame for the hysteria. "Historians have concluded that the witch hunt was in part a subconscious reaction to east-west conflict. Farmers lashed out against merchants and others in the eastern part by accusing them of witchcraft."[147]

By examining these textbooks, it is easy to understand the lingering confusion that surrounds the Salem witch trials and executions. There are many theories and many versions that constantly appear in different

---

[146] Ibid.

[147] Davidson, James West and John E. Batchelor. *The American Nation* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991) 104.

textbooks; so it only stands to reason that the perception of school-aged children would be varied.

By 1725, a number of the judges, jurors, and accusers of the hysteria had offered apologies. In addition, the state had made what it considered to be just compensation for families who had lost loved ones, property, or whose reputations had suffered in the ordeal. This thirty-three year period directly after the hysteria was a time when discussion of the ordeal, both by citizens and by local government, was frequent. Subsequent to these years, however, there is almost no mention of the tragedy.

Between the years 1792 and 1892 the Salem area experienced many changes. Shipping had become the area's largest industry in the eighteenth century, and Salem was one of the most important ports on the American coast. This period of prosperous shipping growth lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. After a brief period of decline, Salem turned to new industries to rebuild the city's economy. Manufacturing and textile industries replaced shipping.

During the nineteenth century, people's attitudes and perceptions about the witchcraft episode began to change, albeit very slowly. Virtually no discourse about the hysteria was taking place, according to

some of the journals and diaries of Salem citizens during this period. By examining the journals and travel accounts of those who visited Salem, and New England in general, it was determined that very few people outside of Salem were discussing the tragedy either.

The work of two men served to urge people to begin talking and discussing the hysteria again. Charles Wentworth Upham's book, *Salem Witchcraft*, was the first real attempt to interpret what had happened in Salem in 1692, and also to analyze these findings.

The other man is Nathaniel Hawthorne, a descendant of one of the original judges from the witchcraft trials. In many of his fictional stories Hawthorne dealt with "casting off the evil of the past."[148] He incorporated some real events from the witchtrial period, including some names, into his stories.

The work of these two authors, in addition to several lesser known authors like John Hayward and George Miller Beard, helped to create a new discourse on the tragedy. This new discourse eventually helped a group of citizens get a memorial established on the Rebecca Nurse homestead. This group had worked to have some sort of memorial in the names of those executed who were innocent.

---

[148] Stanton, Robert. "Hawthorne, Bunyan, and the American Romances," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. LXXI, Mar. 1956, 155-165.

It was in the twentieth century that real changes occurred in the way people thought about the witchcraft trials and executions. Arthur Miller's play, *The Crucible*, in 1953, helped to change the way people thought about the tragedy. He not only publicized Salem and its history, he used the witch trials as a metaphor for the red-baiting hearings of the House Un-American Committee run by Senator Joseph McCarthy. This play, while not historically accurate, displays the fear, madness, and true hysteria that overtook Salem in 1692.

Recently, Arthur Miller wrote and helped to produce the major motion picture based on his play. "Miller has revised his venerable opus, quickening its rhythms for the screen, but what works is what's always worked when this play is well produced: you feel pity, horror, moral outrage."[149] The movie, largely due to the fact that Miller himself wrote the screenplay, is very true to the original play. However, with the movie Miller was able to accentuate the darkness and horror even better. Though the play was written as a metaphor for the McCarthy hearings, after viewing the movie the viewer knows that it is much more. The story, though not historically accurate, is timeless, and correlations can be made to any society and any culture.

[149] Ansen, David. "That Wicked Witchcraft," *Newsweek* 2 December 1996: 80.

Miller's work has had a great effect on Salem's community. The play received a lot of publicity, and this light of attention spread over onto Salem. The Massachusetts state government finally, in 1957, exonerated all of the executed victims, as well as their descendants. In addition to this, people became curious about the town of Salem. The number of visitors to Salem each year began to increase.

Some of the citizens of Salem began to market their tragic heritage by opening so-called museums and attractions that would draw in tourists. The nickname "Witch City" has grown in use and is now incorporated into many different business names, logos, and public office icons. Some of these attractions intend to edify the visitor, but many others simply increase their marketability by using the name "Witch City" or by using the symbol of the witch on a broomstick.

However, the commercialization that has grown in Salem was never, until very recently, planned out. The community did not get together in the middle of this century and decide to create a tourist industry. It happened piece by piece, until by the 1970s the town had quite a profitable little industry growing. It was at this time that Salem had begun to lose some of its other industries. The manufacturing and textile industries began to downsize and to re-locate or close altogether. The

tourist industry was making a great deal of money, and it was at this time that the town officials of Salem formally began to plan their tourist trade.

This trend has continued to the present, and in 1992 the city of Salem planned a large tercentennial commemoration of the 1692 witch trials. They finally erected a lasting monument to the executed victims and invited Nobel Prize winner Elie Weisel to speak at the dedication. In addition, the city planned lectures and seminars conducted by some of the preeminent historians in the field of the Salem witchcraft trials. Overall, the turnout and feedback from this commemoration was positive. The city used the commemoration to try to put a more academic or scholarly light on its efforts to attract tourists.

Not everyone would agree that the city's efforts deserve that more scholarly view. A film-making team of five men who grew up in and around the Salem area released their documentary "Witch City" last June at the Nantucket Film Festival to very good reviews. The film makers were Phil Lamy, Joe Cultrera, John Stanton, Henry Ferrini, and Bob Quinn. The documentary, which took five years to complete, presents a very negative view of Salem's attempts to build commerce out of the 1692 witch trials tragedy. Not surprisingly, many of Salem's citizens were not supportive of the documentary.

One reviewer said that one of the documentary's "greatest achievements is its thorough chronicling of the 'Disnification' of Salem. The film captures the carny atmosphere that invades the city every October."[150] The film-makers have captured everyone from the official witch, Laurie Cabot, to the owner of the Salem Witch Museum, Biff Michaud, on camera. According to the reviewer, Michaud sent the audience at the Nantucket Film Festival into peals of laughter and groans when he observed, "In order to draw people to an area, like an Auschwitz, you need a support system of restaurants—a *raison d'être*, as they say a 'reason to be.'"[151]

The film-makers, though, do not begrudge the citizens of Salem their living. It is not a film that simply condemns commercialism. In the film Mayor Neil Harrington explains that after industries and manufacturers began to leave the area, Salem had to find another way to market itself, and it turned to its history. "'It's so much a part of New England,' says Ferrini. 'You lose those manufacturing jobs, and then what are you going to make your living off of? Off your history.'"[152]

---

[150] Stevens, Alexander. "Spell-bound," *North Shore Community Newspapers*, Arts & Leisure, June 30, 1996, 24-25.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

The documentary “Witch City” was shown in Salem in March 1997. The town’s mayor and the owners of many of Salem’s businesses boycotted the showing.

The recent numerous writings, analyses, and documentaries on the Salem witch trials leads to the interesting question of why this tragedy occurred in Salem, and not somewhere else in America. In addition, why did it happen in 1692? The witch trials and executions in Europe occurred prior to this time and had been far more extensive.

Salem’s physical location seems to be the most common answer to the question of, why Salem? Only in the Northeast did citizens live so close together, a physical trait that lasted well into the nineteenth century. Cities and towns were built very close together for several reasons, but the main reason was for safety’s sake. Indian raids were more unlikely to occur in well-populated areas. The hysteria, though, could have developed in many of the colonies of the Northeast. Many of the accused were not even from Salem Village or Salem Town. They came from some of the surrounding area villages of Lynn and Beverly. The Reverend George Burroughs, executed on August 19, 1692, was not even living in Massachusetts when the hysteria began. Guards from Salem brought Burroughs from his home in New Hampshire to stand trial.

Though Salem obviously had no monopoly on mass hysteria, this particular kind of occurrence would probably not have been possible at the same time period in the South or West because their communities were so very different. Towns and cities were spread out much farther apart in the South and later in the West. Farmers and planters needed the land for crops in the South. It was simply a different atmosphere.

The reason that it happened in 1692 Salem is a little more difficult to ascertain. Those who advocate that the hysteria was a result of a clash of opposing ways of life believe that it came when tensions over change had reached a peak. Undoubtedly, the fact that citizens in Salem Village and Salem Town were at odds with each other economically played a role. It was also, however, a time of change religiously as well. Rebecca Nurse's family had opposed the new minister, the Reverend Samuel Parris, almost from the very beginning. This only served to heighten the tensions between the townsfolk.

Another interesting question concerning the witch trials is if this tragedy had happened somewhere else, would this commercialization have occurred? Ironically enough, it did happen somewhere else. The Salem witch trials did not happen in what is present-day Salem, even

though that is where the commercialization is. Salem Village is now the city of Danvers, and it is the actual location of the witch trials.

The question of whether the tragedy could have occurred elsewhere in New England, however, is more difficult to answer. What happened with Salem's economy in recent decades played a large role in the development of Salem into the tourist spot that it currently is. Would these same economic factors have affected another town in the same way? Would the town's citizens have reacted to those factors in the same way? Would they turn to their history as a way of building a new industry? It is certainly possible, but not likely. Many factors would have to work in concert together to duplicate the development of Salem, Massachusetts.

To conclude on an optimistic note, the future of Salem's tourist industry looks bright. The city's officials are putting more money into the industry, and are attracting more visitors each year. They have revitalized the downtown area once again. During the month of October, when the annual Haunted Happenings events are taking place, many visitors come to the Witch City to experience Salem's Halloween. Salem is likely to maintain its title "The Witch City" for many years to come.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbot, W. W. *The Colonial Origins of the United States, 1607 - 1763.* New York, NY: Wiley & Sons, 1975.

Adams, James Truslow. *The Founding of New England.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 1921.

Adams, John. *The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, L. H. Butterfield, ed., vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961; 2d ed. 1962.

Alexander, Mary Jane. "Family History Proves Bewitching to Descendants of Salem Witches," *Los Angeles Times*, August 29, 1993, p. 8, bulldog.

Allmendinger, David F. *The American People in the Antebellum North.* West Haven, CT: Pendulum Press, 1973.

Ansen, David. "That Wicked Witchcraft," *Newsweek*, December 2, 1996.

Anburey, Thomas. *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America.* New York, NY: New York Times, 1969.

Beard, George Miller. *The Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement of 1692, and Its Practical Application to Our Own Times.* New York, NY: Putnam, 1882.

Bentley, William. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts*. Gloucester, MA: P. Smith Co., 1962.

Boloni-Farkas, Sandor. *Journey in North America, 1831.* Translated and edited by Arpad Kadarkay. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1978.

Boyer, Paul, et al. *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*. Lexington, Mass.: DC Heath and Company, 1990.

Boyer, Paul and Stephen Nissenbaum. *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Boyer, Paul and Stephen Nissenbau, eds. *Salem-Village Witchcraft: A Documentary Record of Local Conflict in Colonial New England.* Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1993.

Boyer, Paul and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds. *The Salem Witchcraft Papers*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1977. Volumes 1, 2 and 3.

Branch, Edward Douglas. *The Sentimental Years: 1836-1860.* New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1962.

Brandon, Jim. *Weird America: A Guide to Places of Mystery in the United States.* New York: Dutton Publishing, 1978.

Bremer, Frederika. *Hemmen I den Nya Verlden. The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America.* New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1856.

Brown, David C. *A Guide to the Salem Witchcraft Hysteria of 1692*. Washington Crossing, PA: D.C. Brown 1984.

Brown, Dona. *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.

Brown, Richard D. *Massachusetts: A Bicentennial History*. New York: W. W. Norton Publishing, 1978.

Browne, Nina Eliza. *A Bibliography of Nathaniel Hawthorne.* New York: B. Franklin Press, 1968.

Bunn, Alfred. *Old England and New England, in a Series of Views Taken on the Spot.* London: R. Bentley, 1853.

Burke, Edmund. *An Account of the European Settlements in America: 1729 - 1797.* New York, NY: Arno Press, 1972.

Burr, George Lincoln, ed. *Original Narratives of Early American History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.

Cahill, Robert Ellis. *New England's Witches and Wizards*. Peabody, MA: Chandler-Smith Publishing House, Inc., 1983

Cahill, Robert Ellis. *The Horrors of Salem's Witch Dungeon*. Peabody, MA: Chandler-Smith Publishing House, Inc., 1986.

Cahill, Robert Ellis. *New England's Cruel and Unusual Punishments*. Salem, MA: Old Saltbox Publishing House, Inc., 1994.

Cameron, Kenneth Walter. *Hawthorne Index to Themes, Motifs, Topics, Archetypes, Sources, and Key Words Dealt With in Recent Criticism.* Hartford, CT: Transcendental Books, 1968.

"Carpenter Bewitched," *New York Times* 14 January 1881: p8, c1.

Carr, Jay. "'Crucible' Bewitches," *The Boston Globe*, December 8, 1996.

Carr, Jay. "Witchy Woman," *The Boston Globe*, December 15, 1996.

Chamberlain, Samuel. *Salem Interiors: Two Centuries of New England Taste and Decoration*. New York, NY: Hastings House, 1950.

Chambers, William. *Things As They Are in America.* Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854.

Chandler, Peleg W. *American Criminal Trials Microform*. T.H. Carter, 1944.

Chastellux, Francois Jan, Marquis de. *Travels in North America, in the Years 1780-81-82.* Translated by George Grieve. New York, NY: White, Gallaher & White Publishing, 1827.

Clark, C. E. Frazer. *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Descriptive Bibliography.* Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978.

Clayton, Barbara and Kathleen Whitley. *Exploring Coastal Massachusetts: New Bedford to Salem*. New York, NY: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1983.

Cooper, Adrianne. *Lara in America. New York, NY: D. McKay, 1976.*

Cooper, James Fenimore. *Notions of the Americans: Notions Picked Up by a Travelling Bachelor.* London: Published by R. Bentley, 1836.

Corliss, Richard. "Going All the Way," *Time*, December 2, 1996.

Cromie, Alice Hamilton. *Restored Towns and Historic Districts of America: A Tour Guide.* New York, NY: Dutton Publishing, 1979.

Cross, Tom Peete. *Witchcraft in North Carolina*. Norwood, Penn.: Norwood Editions, 1975.

Davidson, James West and John E. Batchelor. *The American Nation*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991.

DiBacco, Thomas V., Lorna C. Mason and Christian G. Appy. *History of the United States*. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1991.

Diesenhouse, Susan. "Salem Moves to Build Up Its Tourism," *New York Times*, August 1, 1993, p. R5 (L), p. 28 (N).

Dixon, James. *Personal Narratives of a Tour Through a Part of the United States and Canada: With Notices of the History and Institutions of Methodism in America.* New York, NY: Lane & Scott Publishing, 1849.

Driscoll, Anne. "For Salem, a Reminder of a Dark Past," *New York Times*, Sunday, October 30, 1988, p. 51.

Erikson, Kai T. *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance.* New York, NY: Wiley and Sons, 1966.

Evans, David. *Letters From America: Captain David Evans of Talsarnau, 1817-1895.* Edited by Alad Eames, Lewis Lloyd, and Bryn Parry. Caernarfon, Wales: Gwynedd Archives Service, 1975.

Faux, William. *Memorable Days in America: Being a Journal of a Tour to the United States.* New York, NY: AMS Press, 1969.

Ferres, John H. *Arthur Miller: A Reference Guide*. Boston, MA: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979.

"Firm Believers in Witchcraft," *New York Times* 3 December 1893: p19, c5.

Fitzgerald, Frances. *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 1979.

Fox, Sanford J. *Science and Justice: The Massachusetts Witchcraft Trials.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968.

Gagnon, Peter, interviewed March 11, 1996, in Salem Massachusetts as to his memories of growing up in Salem.

Gale, Robert L. *A Nathaniel Hawthorne Encyclopedia.* New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1991.

Gates, David and Chang, Yahlin. "One Devil of a Time," *Newsweek*, December 2, 1996.

Gildrie, Richard P. "The Salem Witchcraft Trials as a Crisis of Popular Imagination," *Essex Institute Historical Collections: A Selection of Papers From the Tenth Salem Conference - Perspectives on Witchcraft.* October 1992, V. 128, N. 4, p. 270.

Godbeer, Richard. *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Gragg, Larry Dale. *The Salem Witch Crisis.* New York, NY: Praeger, 1992.

Grant, Anne MacVicar. *Memoirs of an American Lady, With Sketches of Manners and Scenes in America as They Existed Previous to the Revolution*

Hall, David D. *Witch Hunting*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1991.

Hall, Michael G. *The Las American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather, 1639 - 1723.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1988.

Handlin, Oscar. *This Was America: True Accounts of People and Places, Manners and Customs, as Recorded by European Travelers to the Western Shore in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and twentieth centuries.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949.

Hansen, Chadwick. *Witchcraft at Salem.* New York, NY: G. Braziller, 1969.

Hayward, John. *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts: Containing Descriptions of all the Counties, Towns and Districts in the Commonwealth.* Boston, MA: J. Hayward, 1846.

"He exorcised the Devil," *New York Times* 21 November 1892: p1, c1.

Hill, Frances. *A Delusion of Salem: The Full Story of the Salem Witch Trials*. New York, NY: Doubleday, 1995.

Hoffer, Peter Charles. *The Devil's Discipes: Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

"Horrors of Witchcraft," *New York Times* 10 November 1884: p5, c4.

Huftel, Sheila. *Arthur Miller: The Burning Glass.* New York, NY: Citadel Press, 1965.

Humphreys, J. R. *The Lost Towns and Roads of America.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961.

Hutchinson, Thomas. *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay.* New York, NY: Kraus, 1970. Three volumes.

Hutchinson, Thomas. *The History of Massachusetts, From the First Settlement Thereof in 1628, Until the Year 1750.* Boston, MA: Thomas and Andrews, 1828. Three volumes.

Jakobs, William Jay, et al. *America's Story*. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1990.

James, Henry. *Hawthorne.* London: MacMillan and Co., 1879.

Jones, Buford. *A Checklist of Hawthorne Criticism 1951-1966: with a Detailed Index.* Hartford, CT: Transcendental Books, 1967.

Kamensky, Jane. "Words, Witches, and Women Trouble: Witchcraft, Disorderly Speech, and Gender Boundaries in Puritan New England," *Essex Institute Historical Collections: A Selection of Papers From the Tenth Salem Conference - Perspectives on Witchcraft.* October 1992, V. 128, N. 4, p. 286.

Labaree, Benjamin Woods. *Colonial Massachusetts: A History.* Millwood, NY: KTO Press, 1979.

Lakier, Aleksandr Borisovich. *Puteshestvia po Sievaro-Amerikanskim Shtatam, Kanadie I Ostrovu Kubie. A Russian Looks at America: The Journey of Aleksandr Borisovich Lakier in 1857.* Translated from the Russian and edited by Arnold Schrier and Joyce Story. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Lee, James F. "Memories of Hawthorne Haunt the Streets of Salem 300 Years After Witch Trials," *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1992, travel p. 3.

Leeflang, Gerard. *American Travels of a Dutch Hobo, 1923-1926.* Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1984.

Lenski, Lois. *Puritan Adventure*. New York, NY: J.B. Lippencott Company, 1944.

Levin, David. "Shadows of Doubt: Specter Evidence in Hawthorne's *Young Goodman Brown*." *American Literature*, November 1962, 344-352.

Levin, David. *What Happened In Salem*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960.

Lewis, Paul Todd and Merle Curti. *Rise of the American Nation*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch, 1982.

Loewen, James W. *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong.* New York: Touchstone, 1995.

M'Robert, Patrick. *A Tour Through Part of the North Provinces of America.* Edited by Carl Bridenbaugh. New York: New York Times, 1935, 1968.

Macdonnel, Archibald Gordon. *A Visit to America.* New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1935.

MacLeish, Archibald. *Land of the Free.* New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938.

Male, Roy R. *Hawthorne's Tragic Vision.* New York, NY: Norton Publishing, 1957.

Mappen, Marc. *Witches and Historians: Interpretations of Salem*. Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, Inc., 1980.

Marryat, Frederick. *Diary in America.* Edited by Jules Zanger. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1960.

Mather, Cotton. *Diary of Cotton Mather.* New York, NY: F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1957 ed. Two volumes.

Miles, Nelson Appleton. *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A, Miles, Embracing a Brief View of the Civil War.* Chicago, IL: The Werner Company, 1896.

Miller, Arthur. *The Crucible*. New York, NY: Dramatists Play Service, 1954.

Miller, Arthur. *Time Bends: A Life*. New York, NY: Grove Press, 1987.

Miller, Perry. *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Minot, George Richards. *Continuation of the History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, Microform: From the Year 1748 (to 1765).* Boston, MA: Manning & Loring, 1798 - 1803.

Miranda, Francisco de. *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda, Tour of the United States, 1783-1784.* Edited and introduction by William Spence Robertson. New York: The Hispanic Society, 1928.

Mohr, Nicolaus. *Ein Streifzug Durch den Nordwesien Amerikas. Excursion Through America.* Edited by Ray Allen Billington. Translated by Lavern J. Rippley and Klaus Lanzinger. Chicago, IL: Lakeside Press, 1973.

"Monument to Rebecca Nourse," *New York Times* 30 July 1885: p3, c4.

Moses, W. R. "A Further Note on *The Custom House*," *College English*. Vol. XXIII, February 1962, 396.

Mudge, Zachariah Atwell. *Witch Hill: A History of Salem Witchcraft*. New York, NY: Carlton and Lanahan, 1870.

Mylne, William. *Travels in the Colonies, 1773-1775: Described in the Letters of William Mylne.* Edited by Ted Ruddock. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1993.

Nelson, Truman. "The Matrix of Place," *Essex Institute of Historical Collections*. Vol. XCV, April 1959, 176-185.

Nesterowicz, Stefan. *Notatki z Podrozy. Travel Notes by Stephan Nesterowicz*. Translated and annotated by Marion Moore Coleman. Cheshire, CT: Cherry Hill Books, 1970.

Nevins, Winfield S. *Witchcraft in Salem Village of 1692*. New York, NY: B. Franklin Press, 1971.

Northend, Mary Harrod. *Memories of Old Salem*. New York: Moffatt, Yard and Company, 1917.

O'Connor, Evangeline Maria. *An Analytical Index to the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne.* Detroit, MI: Gale Research Company, Book Tower, 1967.

Osgood, Charles Stuart. *Historical Sketch of Salem: 1626, 1879*. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1879.

Pachter, Robert G., editor. *Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation, 1776-1914.* Selected by Robert G. Stewart and Monroe H. Fabian. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1976.

Prince, Thomas. *A Chronological History of New England.* Boston, MA: Cummings, Hilliad Co., 1826.

Pynchon, John. *They Pynchon Papers.* Ed. by Carl Bridenbaugh. Boston, MA: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1982.

Pynchon, William. *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem: A Picture of Salem Life, Social and Political, a Century Ago*. Edited by Fitch Edward Oliver. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890.

"Rebecca Nourse," *New York Times* 23 July 1884: p2, c6.

Robin, Charles Cesar. *Nouveau Voyage Dans l'Amerique Septentrionale. New Travels Through North America.* New York, NY: New York Times, 1969.

Robotti, Frances Diane. *Chronicles of Old Salem: A History in Miniature*. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1948.

Root, Edward Merrill. *Brainwashing in the High Schools: An Examination of Eleven American History Textbooks*. New York: Devin-Adair Publishing, 1959.

Rosa, Alfred F. *Salem, Transcendentalism, and Hawthorne.* Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980.

Rosenthal, Bernard. *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Rumsey, Peter Lockwood. *Acts of God and the People, 1620 - 1730*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986.

Russell, Charles Russell, Baron. *Diary of a Visit to the United States of America in the Year 1883.* New York, NY: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1910.

Sala, George Augustus, *America Revisited: From the Bay of New York to the Gulf of Mexico, and From Lake Michigan to the Pacific.* London: Vizetelly & Company, 1882.

Salisbury, Harrison Evans. *Travels Around America.* New York, NY: Walker Publishing, 1976.

Savage, Henry. *Discovering America, 1700-1875.* New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1979.

Sewall, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674 - 1729.* New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.

Silverman, Kenneth. *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*. New York, NY: Haper & Row, 1984.

Smith, Margaret R. and Smith, David Marshall. *The United States: How They Live and Work.* Newton Abbott, David and Charles, 1973.

Spieseke, Alice Winifred. *First Textbooks in American History and their Compiler*. New York: John Adams Press, 1972.

Starkey, Marion L. *The Devil in Massachusetts*. New York: Doubleday Press, 1949.

Stein, William Bysshe. *Hawthorne's Faust: A Study of the Devil Archetype.* Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1953.

Stevens, Alexander. "Spellbound," *North Shore Community Papers*, June 30, 1996.

Stuart-Wortley, Emmeline Charlotte Elizabeth Manners, Lady. *Travels in the United States, etc. During 1849 and 1850.* New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1851.

Tapley, Charles Sutherland. *Rebecca Nurse: Saint But Witch Victim*. Boston, MA: Marshall Jones Company, 1930.

Tarutis, Robert J. *Days of Judgment: The Salem Witch Trials of 1692*. Video produced by the Peabody-Essex Museum in Salem, MA, 1993.

Taylor, J. Golden. *Hawthorne's Ambivalence Toward Puritanism.* Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1965.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Journey to America.* Translated by George Lawrence. Edited by J. P. Mayer. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Press, 1971.

Todd, Charles Burr. *In Olde Massachusetts*. New York: Grafton Press, 1971.

Trollope, Anthony. *North America.* Edited and an introduction by Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth. New York: Knopf, 1951.

Tryon, Warren Stenson. *My Native Land: Life in America; 1790-1870*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Turino, Kenneth C. and Stephen J. Schier. *Images of America: Salem, Massachusetts*. Dover, NH: Arcadia Publishing, 1996.

Upham, Charles Wentworth. *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects*. New York: F. Ungar Publishing, 1969.

Viereck, Phillip. *The New Land: Discovery, Exploration, and Early Settlement of Northeastern United States.* New York, NY: John Day Company, 1967.

Washburn, Emory. *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts from 1630 to the Revolution in 1775.* Boson, MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1840.

Watson, James Wreford. *North America: Its Countries and Regions.* New York: F. A. Praeger Publishing, 1967.

Webber, Charles Henry. *Old Naumkeag: An Historical Sketch of the City of Salem, and the Towns of Marblehead, Peabody, Beverly, Danvers, Wenham, Manchester, Topsfield, and Middleton*. Salem, MA: A.A. Smith & Company, 1877.

Weisman, Richard. *Witchcraft, Magic, and Religion in Seventeenth Century Massachusetts.* Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.

Wheeler, William Bruce and Susan D. Becker. *Discovering the American Past.* Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1994.

Williams, Dan. "Salem Conjures Up Its Past With a Mix of Solemn Ceremonies and Frivolous Fun," *Los Angeles Times*, October 25, 1992, p. A-4.

Williams, Selma R. *Riding the Nightmare: Women & Witchcraft from the Old World to Colonial Salem*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 1992.

Woods, William Howard. *A Casebook of Witchcraft: Reports, Depositions, Confessions, Trials, and Executions for Witchcraft During Period of Three Hundred Years*. New York, NY: Putnam, 1974.

"Worthy Witch Memorial," *New York Times* 31 July 1892: p16, c5.

Wright, Frances. *Views of Society and Manners in America.* Edited by Paul R. Baker. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963.

Zeinert, Karen. *Salem Witchcraft Trials*. New York: Venture Publishing, 1989.

VITA

Heather Elizabeth Gagnon was born in Washington, DC on May 28, 1969. She graduated from Stafford Senior High School in Stafford, Virginia in June, 1987. She received a Bachelor of Arts with a double major in History and Political Science from Virginia Tech in May, 1994. She will receive her Master of Arts in History in May, 1997. During the spring semester of 1997, she taught nine hours of political science at New River Community College. Six of these hours was in a distance learning environment, using compressed video. She hopes to continue teaching history or political science at the community college level.