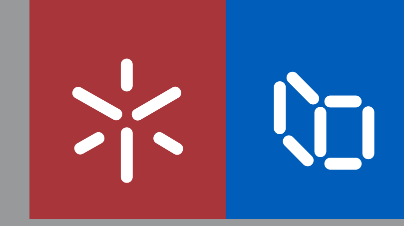
The Woman-as-Witch in Nineteenth-Century American Women's Historical Fiction

Inês Tadeu Freitas Gonçalves

UMinho | 2023

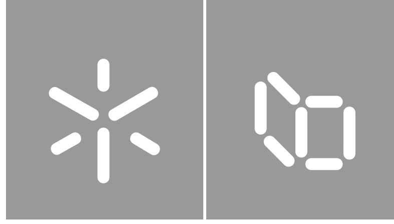


Universidade do Minho
Escola de Letras, Artes e Ciências Humanas

Inês Tadeu Freitas Gonçalves

The Woman-as-Witch in Nineteenth-Century American Women's Historical Fiction

janeiro de 2023



Universidade do Minho
Escola de Letras, Artes e Ciências Humanas

Inês Tadeu Freitas Gonçalves

The Woman-as-Witch in Nineteenth-Century American Women's Historical Fiction

Tese de Doutoramento
em Ciências da Cultura
(Sem Componente Curricular)

Trabalho efetuado sob a orientação dos
Professor Doutor Jaime Becerra da Costa

Professora Doutora Maria Zina Gonçalves de Abreu

janeiro 2023

DIREITOS DE AUTOR E CONDIÇÕES DE UTILIZAÇÃO DO TRABALHO POR TERCEIROS

Este é um trabalho académico que pode ser utilizado por terceiros desde que respeitadas as regras e boas práticas internacionalmente aceites, no que concerne aos direitos de autor e direitos conexos. Assim, o presente trabalho pode ser utilizado nos termos previstos na licença abaixo indicada.

Caso o utilizador necessite de permissão para poder fazer um uso do trabalho em condições não previstas no licenciamento indicado, deverá contactar o autor, através do RepositóriUM da Universidade do Minho.

Licença concedida aos utilizadores deste trabalho.

https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Jaime Costa, Assistant Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities (ELACH) and Senior Researcher at the Centre for Humanistic Studies (CEHUM), an ELACH research unit, at the University of Minho, for allowing me to undertake my doctoral work at this internationally well-ranked institution of higher learning, and for his advice and guidance. Working under Professor Jaime Costa's tutelage was a great privilege and honour. It further provided me with the invaluable opportunity to become a Junior Member of the Centre for Humanistic Studies (CEHUM) with the added benefit of disseminating my doctoral work through their international conferences and peer-reviewed publications.

I also express my deep and sincere gratitude to my most esteemed co-supervisor, Professor Maria Zina Gonçalves de Abreu, Retired Associate Professor at the University of Madeira and Senior Researcher at the research unit at the University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies (ULICES/CEAUL), for her invaluable support, insightful comments and suggestions at every stage of my doctoral work and throughout my academic journey. A journey she launched and fostered by offering me a position as a lecturer at the former Anglistic and Germanic Studies Department at the University of Madeira in 2000 when I graduated.

Thank you to Professor Joanne Paisana, Assistant Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities (ELACH) and Senior Researcher at the Centre for Humanistic Studies (CEHUM) at the University of Minho. As the director of the doctoral degree in Cultural Sciences, without her steadfast backing, completing my doctoral degree might not have been possible.

I must also thank Professor Julia Nitz, Associate Professor at Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Germany, founding member and managing administrator of the research unit Intercontinental Cross-Currents Network: Women's (Net-)Works across Europe and the Americas (1776-1939). She allowed me to become a Junior Member, enabling further dissemination of my doctoral work.

I am also indebted to the University of Madeira, my *alma mater*, for keeping me on their staff and facilitating adequate working conditions to complete my doctoral work. It would also not have been possible without the endurance of my colleagues at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities (FAH) at the University of Madeira, especially all those at the Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures (DLLC). They are a constant source of inspiration.

A special thank you to Professor Jane Spínola, Assistant Professor and my dearest colleague, for always being in my corner and cheering me on.

This doctoral dissertation has been twenty-two years in the making. Thus, I must acknowledge and express my gratitude to several others who also contributed to its successful conclusion.

Thank you to Professor Dominique Castanheira da Costa, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities (FAH), Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures (DLLC) at the University of Madeira; José Manuel Nunes Castanheira da Costa, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Exact Sciences and Engineering at the Unversity and former Dean of the University of Madeira; and Professor Onésimo Almeida, Full Professor at the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at Brown University Rhode Island, US. They promoted a month-long seniors trip in September of 2000 to Brown University, during which life-long contacts were forged, and pivotal information was found.

Thank you to Leonel Teixeira, former Vice-Consul at the Vice-Consulate of Portugal in Providence, Rhode Island, US, and his wife, Doctor Luz Teixeira, for opening their home to me in 2000 and 2002, providing me with accommodation during my research trip.

Thank you to all the staff of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Rhode Island, US; the Rebecca Nurse Homestead in Danvers, Massachusetts, US; the Salem Witch Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, US; the British Library, London, UK; the Museum of Witchcraft and Magic (MWM) in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK and the Pendle Heritage Centre in Barrowford, Burnley, UK, among others, for their invaluable assistance.

On a more personal note, I am most profoundly and sincerely thankful to my partner and best friend, Isiah Vaughn Camacho, for his unending affection, understanding, unwavering support – emotional and financial – and belief in me to complete this doctoral dissertation successfully.

I am also beholden to my two cats – Salem and Tib – for their joy and companionship and for having spent almost as many hours as I have at my desk.

Last but certainly not least, my eternal gratitude to my late parents, Maria Gizela (Cezélia) Vieira de Freitas and Alfredo Vieira Gonçalves, for providing me with the education they could not attain. I hope to make them proud.

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

I further declare that I have fully acknowledged the Code of Ethical Conduct of the University of Minho.

THE WOMAN-AS-WITCH

IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN WOMEN'S HISTORICAL FICTION

ABSTRACT

The counter-memorialisation of the women perceived as witches in the Salem witch hunt of 1692 in New England began soon after the happenings were over, in non-fiction, namely in history tracts. However, it was only by the nineteenth century that the cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of Salem became more broadly memorialised, using American fiction as its medium. This dissertation addresses the question of the counter-memorialisation of the woman-as-witch of Salem as Romantic heroines in nineteenth-century Romantic historical fiction, particularly by lesser-known American women authors. Thereby I aim to bring to light their contribution to advancing and establishing the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of Salem.

A cultural descriptive analysis of the *corpus* of literary mnemonic (re)imaginations is used to outline the transcultural, and counter-memory characteristics of Salem's woman-as-witch as (re)created by the authors studied. Our selected *corpus* includes the following Romantic historicals, listed chronologically: *Delusion, or The Witch of New England* by Eliza Buckminster Lee; *Philip English's Two Cups* by M.B Condit; *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* by D.R. Castleton; *South Meadows* by Ella Taylor Disosway; *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* by Constance Goddard Du Bois; *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* by Agusta Camplbel Watson, and *Ye Lyttle Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft* by Pauline Bradford Mackie.

By complementing the existing comparative and contrasting studies, which assess mainly the historical accuracy of the literary representations of the events and key figures of the Salem witch hunt of 1692, our study goes beyond its history or the fiction about its history. It discusses its cultural memory instead.

KEYWORDS: woman-as-witch, Salem witch hunt, (trans)cultural memory, Romantic historical fiction, mnemonic (re)imaginations.

A MULHER-BRUXA

NA FICÇÃO HISTÓRICA POR MULHERES AMERICANAS DO SÉCULO XIX

RESUMO

O processo de contra-memorialização das mulheres percecionadas como bruxas na caça às bruxas de Salem em 1692, na Nova Inglaterra, teve o seu início logo após o termo dos acontecimentos. Primeiramente, foi apenas em tratados históricos que a memória cultural da mulher-bruxa de Salém se tornou mais amplamente memorializada, enquanto que na ficção Americana a sua memorialização teve o seu início no século XIX. Esta dissertação analisa a contra-memorialização da mulher-bruxa de Salém, recreada como heroína romântica na ficção histórica romântica do século XIX, em obras de autoras americanas menos conhecidas. Procuramos, assim, demonstrar a contribuição destas autoras para o avanço e estabelecimento da memória (trans)cultural da mulher-bruxa de Salém.

Mediante uma análise descritiva cultural do *corpus* de (re)imaginações mnemónicas literárias procurámos sublinhar as características transculturais e de contra-memória da mulher-bruxa de Salém, tal como (re)criada pelas autoras. O *corpus* literário objecto do presente estudo inclui os seguintes romances históricos, listados cronologicamente: *Delusion, or The Witch of New England* by Eliza Buckminster Lee; *Philip English's Two Cups* by M.B Condit; *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* by D.R. Castleton; *South Meadows* by Ella Taylor Disosway; *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* by Constance Goddard Du Bois; *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* by Agusta Camplbel Watson, and *Ye Lyttle Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft* by Pauline Bradford Mackie.

Com o intuito de complementar os estudos comparatistas já existentes, os quais sublinham sobretudo a precisão histórica das representações literárias dos eventos e das figuras-chave da caça às bruxas de Salem de 1692, o presente estudo vai além da mera realidade histórica ou da mera ficção sobre a sua história. Em vez disso, discute a sua memória cultural.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: mulher-bruxa, caça às bruxas de Salém, memória (trans)cultural, ficcção histórica romântica, (re)imaginações mnemónicas.

Contents

INTRODUCTION 1
1. CULTURAL MEMORY 9
1.1. Defining memory 9
1.2. Defining cultural memory 11
1.3. Mnemonic imagination: Remembering vs. Forgetting and Counter-Memories. 14
1.4. Cultural Memory Studies 20
1.4.1. Literature as a medium of cultural memory in a mnemonic and mimetic context 22
1.5. (Trans)cultural memory 27
2. THE TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY OF THE WOMAN-AS-WITCH 30
2.1. In seventeenth-century England. 31
2.1.1. Why a woman-as-witch? 35
2.1.2. Which woman-as-witch? 44
2.1.3. Types of woman-as-witch 52
2.1.3.1. The village witch and *maleficium* 53
2.1.3.2. The demonic witch and diabolism 66
2.1.4. The demonic Lancashire woman-as-witch of the Pendle forest 77
2.1.4.1. The happenings 78
2.1.4.2. Thomas Potts' *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* 84
2.1.4.2.1. The guise of the woman-as-witch from Pendle 85
2.1.4.2.2. The Devil and his familiars in Pendle Forest 86
2.1.4.2.3. The convening of witches at Malking Tower 87
2.1.4.2.4. *Maleficium* versus sympathetic magic 88
2.1.4.2.5. A child's testimony 89
2.2. In seventeenth-century New England 92
2.2.1. Why a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch? 95
2.2.2. Which Puritan demonic woman-as-witch? 96
2.2.3. The Demonic Witch of the Salem Witch hunt of 1692 99
2.2.3.1. The happenings 101
2.2.4. Puritan Demonological and Strixological Idiosyncrasies in the Salem Witch-Hunt. 107
2.2.4.1. Being afflicted 109
2.2.4.2. Spectral Evidence 114

2.2.4.3. Confessing to Diabolism 118
3. COUNTER-MEMORY: REMEMBERING THE SALEM WOMAN-AS-WITCH 123
3.1. Romantic Historical Fiction as Mnemonic Context and Mimesis. 124
3.1.1. 'Novel' or 'Romance'? 128
3.1.2. Historical fiction: mnemonic and mimetic features. 129
3.1.3. Romantic historical fiction as a sub-genre 133
3.2. Nineteenth-Century American women's Romantic historical fiction 136
3.2.1. The "scribbling women" 137
3.2.2. Their Romantic historical "trash" 143
3.3. Not forgetting the Salem woman-as-witch 148
3.3.1. In historiography 149
3.3.2. In historical fiction 151
4. MNEMONIC (RE)IMAGINATIONS OF THE WOMAN-AS-WITCH OF SALEM 156
4.1. *Delusion or The Witch of New England* by E. B. Lee. 157
4.1.1. A Plot Summary 158
4.1.2. Edith Grafton 159
4.1.3. Nanny 163
4.1.4. The Witch of New England 165
4.2. *Philip English's Two Cups or 1692* by M.B. Condit. 170
4.2.1. A Plot Summary 171
4.2.2. Susannah English 173
4.3. *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth-Century* by D.R. Castleton 175
4.3.1. A plot summary 177
4.3.2. The girls and the older women 178
4.3.2.1. The afflicted 178
4.3.2.2. Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn. 182
4.3.2.3. Tituba 188
4.3.2.4. Rebecca Nurse 193
4.3.2.5. Mrs. Hanna (Corwin) Browne 201
4.3.3. The Romantic heroines 206
4.3.3.1. The Campbell Girl: Alice 207
4.3.3.2. The Campbell woman: Elsie 212

4.4. *South Meadows: A Tale of Long Ago* by E. T. Disosway 222
4.4.1. A plot summary 224
4.4.2. The Devil bewitches South Meadows 226
4.4.3. Ruth Fairfax: (not) the afflicted 232
4.4.4. Allison Beresford: (not) the woman-as-witch 242
4.5. *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* by C. G. Du Bois. 250
4.5.1. A plot summary 252
4.5.2. Reverend Parris: the "mercenary schemer" of the Salem witch hunt 255
4.5.2. Martha Corey vs. Lady Beatrice Desmond 264
4.6. *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* by A. C. Watson 273
4.6.1. A plot summary 277
4.6.2. Old Goody Trueman 280
4.6.3. Elizabeth Hubbard of the accusing magic circle. 285
4.6.4. Dorothy the Puritan woman-as-witch 290
4.7. *Ye Little Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft* by P. B. Mackie 298
4.7.1. A plot summary 300
4.7.2. This Puritan plague of witchery 304
4.7.3. The Green Forest witch 314
4.7.4. Deliverance Wentworth: the witch-maid 317
CONCLUSION 333
APPENDIX A 343
APPENDIX B 348
APPENDIX C 408
APPENDIX D 409
APPENDIX E 432
WORKS CITED 467

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Levinia "Liewe Heksie" ("Beloved Little Witch"). 1978-1981 1

Figure 2. Fuseli, Henry. "The Weird Sisters." 1786. 2

Figure 3. Noble, Thomas. "The Salem Martyr." 1869. 3

Figure 4. Gonçalves, Inês. "Salem, MA." July. 2015. Author's personal collection. 5

Figure 5. Grien, Hans Baldung. "Half-Figure of an Old Woman with a Cap." Ca. 1535. 30

Figure 6. Dürer, Albrecht. "Four Witches." 1497. 40

Figure 7. Grien, Hans Baldung. "Three Witches." 1514 41

Figure 8. Dürer, Albrecht. "Witch Riding Backwards on a goat." Ca. 1500. 46

Figure 9. Deutsch, Niklaus Manuel. "Witch." Ca.1518. 47

Figure 10. Goodare. "The village witch." 90. 52

Figure 11. Goodare. "The demonic witch." 77. 52

Figure 12. The Wonderful Discoveries of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Philip Fowers. 1619. 53

Figure 13. Molitor, Ulrich. "Two witches cooking up a storm." De laniis et phitonicis mulieribus. 1496-1500 55

Figure 14. Gonçalves, Inês. Mummified cats and vermin buried in the walls of homes. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 56

Figure 15. Gonçalves, Inês. Recreation of a charm against stillbirths and spontaneous abortions. Museum of Withcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 57

Figure 16. Gonçalves, Inês. Detail of a protective charm against witchcraft for farmers and their homesteads. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 57

Figure 17. Gonçalves, Inês. Examples of clay and wax poppets. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 58

Figure 18. Gonçalves, Inês. Poppet of stuffed fabric with a stiletto dagger through the face. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 58

Figure 19. Gonçalves, Inês. More examples of charms and image magic paraphernalia. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 59

Figure 20. Gonçalves, Inês. More examples of charms and image magic paraphernalia are in the Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 59

Figure 21. "A rehearsall both straung and true, of hainous and horrible actes comitted by Elizabeth Stile." 1579 61

Figure 22. Swimming a witch. Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed. 1613. 62
Figure 23. Gonçalves,, Inês. Witch scale. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 64
Figure 24. Gonçalves, Inês. Witch's bridle. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection. 65
Figure 25. Witch and Devil embracing. Ulrich Molitor. Von Den Unholden oder Hexen. 1490.............. 68
Figure 26. Hopkins, Mathew. A sample of instruments used for pricking and scratching witches.The Discouvery of Witchcraft. 1647. 70
Figure 27. Ziarnko, Jean (Jan). Description et figure du sabbat. Centrefold. Pierre de Lancre. Tableau de l' inconstance des mauvais anges et demons. 1613. 72
Figure 28. Crouch, Nathaniel. A witch performing fellatio on the Devil and other scenes. Frontispiece. The Kingdom of Darkness. 1688. 73
Figure 29. Molitor, Ulrich. Witch riding a cooking stick and embraced by the Devil. Hexen Myesterei. Ein schön Gespreech von den Onholden. 1544. 75
Figure 30. Vintler, Hans. Woman undergoing transformation into a wild cat. Buch der Tugend. 1400-1450. 75
Figure 31. Hopkins, Mathew. “Familiars.” The Discovery of Witches: In Answer to Severall Queries, Lately Delivered to the Judges of Assize for the County of Norfolk. 1647. 76
Figure 32. Rego, Paula. “Straw burning.” The Pendle Witches series. 1996. 77
Figure 33. Pendle Hill. Partial view of the south slope. 2014. Author's personal collection. 78
Figure 34. Gonalves, Inês. Lancaster Castle. The “Witches' Tower.” 2014. Author's personal collection. 80
Figure 35. Gonçalves, Inês. Lancaster Castle. The staircase down to the prison cell. 2014. Author's personal collection. 81
Figure 36. Gonçalves, Inês. Mansknowles Farm. Probable site of Malkin Tower. 2014. Author's personal collection. 82
Figure 37. Demos, Entertaining. Witchcraft cases: Old England vs New England. p. 66 94
Figure 38. Karlsen. Marital status of female witches, New England, 1629-1725. p. 72. 98
Figure 39. Karlsen. Female witches by presence or absence of brothers or sons, New England, 1620-1725 (A). p. 102. 98
Figure 40. Karlsen. Female witches by presence of absence of brothers or sons, New England, 1620-1725 (B). p. 103. 98

Figure 41. Demos, Entertaining. Age of witches - Salem group. p. 65. 99
Figure 42. Gonçalves, Inês. The foundations of Salem Village parsonage. Danvers, MA. 2015. Author's personal collection... 101
Figure 43. Ingersoll's Ordinary in Danvers, MA. Present-day. 105
Figure 44. Gonçalves, Inês. Replica of the Salem Village meeting-house. Danvers, MA. 2015. Author's personal collection... 105
Figure 45. Gonçalves, Inês. Modern-day location of the old Salem Town jail. 2015. Author's personal collection.. 106
Figure 46. The trial of a witch. Harper's Magazine. December 1892. 112
Figure 47. Karlsen. Possessed accusers by sex and marital status, New England 1620-1725. p. 224. 113
Figure 48. Breslaw. Chronological list of the confessions. p. 187.. 118
Figure 49. Dorothy the Puritan 274
Figure 50. "Take care lest you harbour a witch in yonder girl" - Ye Little Salem Maide, 33 300
Figure 51. Ye Little Salem Made, frontispiece 301
Figure 52. “Her ladyship tilted her chin in the air” - Ye Little Salem Maide, 260. 303
Figure 53. “Strangely enough, the old woman seemed like a witch” – Ye Little Salem Made, 194. ... 315
Figure 54. Thomas Lee’s estate was then named the “Holm Lea.” 410
Figure 55.The Little Barefoot. Review. Popular Books. 411
Figure 56. Delusion. Review. The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters, volume II, 108-109 ... 412
Figure 57. Corné, M.F. Ezekiel Hersey Derby Farm. Ca. 1800 413
Figure 58. Portrait of Timothy Fitch. 1760. Photo by Jeffrey R. Dykes. 414
Figure 59. Portrait of Eunice Brown Fitch about 1760. Photo by Jeffrey R. Dykes. 414
Figure 60. Du Bois. Courtesy of The Autry National Centre. 416
Figure 61. Hartford Retreat for the Insane, East view. Ca. 1915-30 418
Figure 62. Du Bois’ gravestone. Riverside Cemetery. Connecticut 418
Figure 63. Review of Martha Corey. The Churchman, March 5 1892, 298 419
Figure 64. Watson’s gravestone. Cedar Grove Cemetery, Connecticut, ... 420
Figure 65. About Watson. Buffalo Commercial, April 26 1895. 420
Figure 66. Dorothy the Purtian. Review. Boston Evening, June 2 1693 421
Figure 67. “Miss Estelle Clayton.” The Morning News, October 17 1897 422
Figure 68. “A Puritan Romance.” Philadelphia Inquirer, October 10 1897. 423

Figure 69. Mackie. Harkins, E F. Little Pilgrimages Among the Women Who Have Written Famous Books. 1902. 281. 424
Figure 70. Hopkins, H. M. in Poems . 1911. Frontispiece – posthumously. 425
Figure 71. Mackie's gravestone. Woodland Cemetery, the Bronx. 426
Figure 72. Mackie. Out West, Volume 16, March 1902, 277. 426
Figure 73. The San Franciso Call , December 11, 1900, 9. 427
Figure 74. The San Franciso Call, December 13, 1900, 6. 428
Figure 75. The Indianapolis News, November 12, 1904, 15. 429
Figure 76. The Baronet and the Butterfly. The Daily News, December 12, 1928. 431
Figure 77. Gonçalves, Inês. Location of Bridget Bishop's home and apple orchard. Author's personal collection. 434
Figure 78. The home of Philip and Mary English. Nineteenth-century recreation. 439
Figure 79. Hathorne's grave. Charter Street Burying Ground. Salem, MA. 443
Figure 80. Pelham, Peter. Cotton Mather. 1727. 447
Figure 81. Van der Spriett, John. Increase Mather. London. 1688. 449
Figure 82. Gonçalves, Inês. The Rebecca Nurse's Homestead, Danvers, MA. Author's personal collection. 2015. 451
Figure 83. House of Sarah Osborne in Danvers, Massachusetts. 1900s. 453
Figure 84. Miniature portrait of the Rev. Samuel Parris. Massachusetts Historical Society. 454
Figure 85. Sir William Phips. Ca. 1691. State House Collection, Maine. 456
Figure 86. Smibert, John. Judge Samuel Sewall. 1733. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA. 459
Figure 87. Unknown artist. William Stoughton. Ca. 1700. 461

INTRODUCTION

"Of all the stereotypes of women in Western culture... perhaps none is so clearly defined, so historically tenacious, and so easily envisioned as the witch."

(Matalene 584-585)

"Every possible decision modern women make or role they occupy, outside of the most rigorous and regressive, can be tied back to the very symptoms of witchcraft: refusal of motherhood, rejection of marriage, ignoring traditional beauty standards, bodily and sexual autonomy, homosexuality, ageing, anger, even a general sense of self-determination."

(Chollet xi)

As a little girl in South Africa, I remember vividly watching a children's TV series, which ran from 1978 to 1981, titled "Liewe Heksie" (Afrikaans for "Beloved Little Witch"). It was based on a children's book written in 1961 by Verna Vels (1933-2014). Though Levinia *looked* like a witch, dressed in all black, wore a pointy black hat, and had a rather prominent nose, she was a harmless witch as she lacked witchcraft skills, except for being able to fly on her broomstick. She also lived alone in a cabin in the forest with her big black caldron and her little grey cat, Mattewis, with whom she talked, and got into trouble whenever she tried to assist the King, the Fairy Queen or her many friends.

Figure 1. Levinia "Liewe Heksie" ("Beloved Little Witch"). 1978-1981

As an undergrad at the University of Madeira, my English Literature Professor challenged me to write a paper discussing the images of female witches in William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. These witches were nothing like the "Beloved Little Witch" Levinia of my childhood. The three witches in Shakespeare's Scottish play, the Weird Sisters, were more like the ones portrayed, for example, in the exhibition presented in 2013 by the National Galleries of Scotland in association with the British Museum. Titled *Witches & Wicked Bodies*, it explored artists' representations of witches from the Renaissance to the present day. Indeed, the exhibition showcased several interpretations of the Weird Sisters, for example, the one below by Henry Fuseli (1741-1825).

Figure 2. Fuseli, Henry. "The Weird Sisters." 1786.

As a grad student undertaking research about the Salem witch hunt of 1692 in Massachusetts at the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University in Rhode Island, I first came across Eliza Buckminster Lee's Romantic historical novel *Delusion or The Witch of New England* (1840). Lee's (re)creation of an accused witch in the context of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 was not that of a hag with a deformed, wicked body like the Weird Sisters, nor did she wear a pointy black hat and fly around

on her broomstick, like “Beloved Little Witch” Levinia. Lee’s female protagonist was an agreeable young woman who overcame the ordeal of being accused of witchcraft by her Puritan community. She was not a demonic villain but a martyr-like heroine, as illustrated below by Thomas Slatterwhite Noble in 1869.

Figure 3. Noble, Thomas. “The Salem Martyr.” 1869.

Though the witches in these examples differ in their composite portrayal in the different media of different periods, they share the same constructed understanding of, as Hults terms it, “the presumption of woman-as-witch,” that is, a witch is primarily envisioned and perceived as a woman. (Hults 13) However, why is it so? Many scholars – anthropologists, sociologists, and witchcraft historians

– have, for many decades, been studying this phenomenon, seeking clarifying answers, as my list of works cited shows.

Through the theoretical framework of cultural memory, this thesis first proposes a systematisation of the constructed understanding, i.e., cultural memory, of the woman-as-witch in the seventeenth century while showcasing the two major witch hunts of this period: the Lancashire (Pendle) witch hunt in 1612 England, and the Salem witch hunt in 1692 New England, that seems to have been a sequel of the former.

Despite three hundred and thirty years having passed, the Salem witch hunt is very much present in today's Salem, also known as the "witch city." The witch-themed tourism unapologetically exploits the sufferings of the Salem witch hunt of 1692, bringing around a million tourists to the city every year.[1] The witch museums with their dioramas recreating the events of 1692; the hourly re-enactments of Bridget Bishops' trial; the historical tours to the many historically-preserved houses of some figures involved; the historical sites and the memorials abound all around the city centre. Salem witch hunt souvenir shops and witchcraft supplies are on every corner for tourists. There is also a flourishing community of Salem modern-day Witches, who practice the pagan religions of Witchcraft and Wicca. Beginning this year, Peabody Essex Museum offers a self-guided audio walking tour. It takes the visitors around the galleries through artefacts such as George Jacobs's walking stick – one of the executed witches – and outside the museum to learn more about the events of 1692. This past October, Ballet Des Moines brought to the stage a new production titled *Salem*. Every October, "Haunted Happenings," the Salem month-long Halloween celebrations, brings droves of Americans who know little to nothing about the Salem witch hunt apart from a couple of paragraphs in their high school history books. Most of them think witches have been burnt to death in Salem. Or they take Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible* for historical fact.

[1] See, for example, Preston, "Reproducing Witchcraft: Thou Shalt Not Perform a Witch to Live."

Figure 4. Gonçalves, Inês. "Salem, MA." July. 2015. Author's personal collection.

Conversely to Salem, neighbouring Danvers – old Salem Village, ground zero of the Salem witch-hunt – is mainly a peaceful residential area where many of the descendants of the accused and accusers of the 1692 witch hunt live. Also, the few memorial sites in Danvers are easily missed and relatively overlooked by tourists.

Nevertheless, the counter-memorialisation of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 and the Salem woman-as-witch, in both twentieth-century Salem and Danvers, is incontrovertible. It began soon after the happenings were over. At first, in non-fiction, as shown, for example, by Gretchen A. Adams. In her work *The Spectre of Salem*, she traces the representational life of Salem witchcraft and how the Salem witch hunt became a common symbolic point of reference in the nineteenth century. Also in fiction, for example, by Marta Maria Gutiérrez Rodríguez. In her comprehensive 2009 PhD dissertation titled *Historia y ficción: la representación de los processos de Salem (1692) en la prosa de ficción anglomamericana del siglo*

xix, as the title suggests, Rodríguez provides a detailed literary analysis of the historical evidence of the representation of the events and participants of the Salem witch hunt in nineteenth-century Anglo-American historical fiction.

Despite the existing comparative and contrasting studies, mainly focused on the historical accuracy of the literary representations of the events and key figures of the Salem witch hunt of 1692, no study went beyond its history or the fiction about its history, namely of its (trans)cultural memory, a gap we aim to cover with the present study, in which we shall address the question of the counter-memorialisation of the woman-as-witch of Salem, with a particular focus on the Romantic witch heroines in nineteenth-century Romantic historical fiction, particularly by lesser-known American women authors. A cultural descriptive approach of the *corpus* of literary mnemonic (re)imaginations is used to discuss the (trans)cultural and counter-memory characteristics of Salem's woman-as-witch as (re)created by the authors studied. Moreover, it is also the objective of the present study to bring to light the contribution of these female authors in advancing and establishing the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of Salem, as well as to demonstrate its counter-memorialised mediality and continuity.

In Chapter 1, we discuss our understanding of the memory studies concepts used in our research approach as postulated, for example, by Paul Ricoeur, Jan Assman, Geoffrey Cubit, Martin Bommas, Emily Keightley, Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning, Ann Rigney, Sarah B. Young and Michael Pickering. Memory is the continuous (re)construction of past experiences and the accompanying feelings, individual and shared, enacted first-hand, witnessed, or only learnt. It is a historically conditioned discourse as it accumulates the residual knowledge of each generation. Cultural memory is the account of how those past experiences are (re)activated, (re)interpreted and (re)presented by successive generations. Through different mnemonic practices, these past experiences can be remembered, recollected, commemorated, represented, recreated, or omitted, all of which require the interaction between memory and imagination. The intergenerational transmission of these constructed memorialisation and counter-memorialisation processes, i.e., mnemonic (re)imaginations, can be actualised, for example, by the mediality of historical fiction.

The defining features of the cultural memory of the woman-as-witch in seventeenth-century England and New England are systematised in Chapter 2. In both seventeenth-century Old and New England, elite and popular witchcraft beliefs predicated the witch as a cumulative, composite and heterogenous entity who resorted to preternatural means, i.e., of the Devil, to cause physical harm and misfortune to others and their belongings – *maleficium* (harmful magic). Witches were also believed to

engage in diabolism by covenanting with the Devil. Though a witch usually signified a person of either sex, witches were mainly perceived and portrayed as a woman of a lower social standing, post-menopausal and predisposed to engaging in inversionary behaviour. Since categorising a witch is hard to define, the present study will be limited to analysing only two types of woman-as-witch, as defined by Goodare: the village witch and the demonic witch. Besides engaging in *maleficium*, the demonic witch has also firmed an elaborate compact with Satan, becoming part of a heretical sect with all it entailed. Both types of woman-as-witch are contextualised in two case studies, namely the Lancashire (Pendle) witches of 1612, which set the cultural memory precedent for the Salem witch-hunt of 1692.

Chapter 3 discusses how reading became crucial in shaping the new nineteenth-century American identity, as a potentially flawless society, with the mnemonic (re)imagination of American historical themes through its nineteenth-century historical fiction. With the increased literacy of American women during this period, women became not only readers but also authors, thus starting to assert their own literary and critical voices. Female writers wanted to highlight American women's experiences and contributions as historical agents underrepresented in the nation's past. Thus, historical fiction was their way to write women back into the country's (women's)story. At first counter-memorialised in its historiography, the Salem witch hunt of 1692 was one of the favourite episodes of Colonial Puritan history explored by several American female writers of historical fiction during the nineteenth century, as the ones in our study testify. They chose to deal with this theme majorly in the Romantic historical subgenre, in which a love relationship is determined by the historical events and characters of the period, and the actual Romantic interest is centred on a central fictional character (or characters) that, for historical verisimilitude, behaves authentically in conformity with their place and time.

In Chapter 4, we analyse how the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 was counter-memorialised through the American nineteenth-century mnemonic (re)imaginations of its historical events and key figures in Romantic historicals by some female writers. Our selected *corpus* includes the following novels, which will be discussed in chronological order: *Delusion, or The Witch of New England* by Eliza Buckminster Lee; *Philip English's Two Cups* by M.B Condit; *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* by D.R. Castleton; *South Meadows* by Ella Taylor Disosway; *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* by Constance Goodard Du Bois; *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* by Augusta Campbel Watson; and *Ye Lyttle Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft* by Pauline Bradford Mackie. With the descriptive analysis of these Romantic historicals, we shall elaborate on the significant aspects of the (re)creation of the main female characters, namely, if

they display any inversionary behaviour or whether they are a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine or not. If the elements of the English village witch, the demonic witch, or the Puritan demonic witch are (re)presented. Finally, how the Puritan demonological and strixological idiosyncrasies of the Salem witch-hunt – such as the afflicted, their torments, their spectral tormentors, and the confession to diabolism – are (re)created.

Lastly, we include several appendixes that will offer a historical overview of the events studied and the key figures involved. We further include bio notes of our selection of female authors for the sake of cross-referencing the period they lived in.

1. CULTURAL MEMORY

"... Imagination and Memory are but one thing ..."
(Hobbes 6)

'Living backwards!' Alice repeated in great astonishment. 'I never heard of such a thing!'
'– but there's one great advantage in it, that one's memory works both ways.'
'I'm sure mine only works one way.' Alice remarked. 'I can't remember things before they happen.'
'It's a poor sort of memory that only works backwards,' the Queen remarked.
(Carrol 44-45)

"The past is never dead. It's not even past."
(Faulkner 80)

"Memory is just like words… . Words no longer present an external reality, they create the external reality."
(Costa 162)

1.1. Defining memory

In the past few decades, memory has increasingly become a scientifically relevant concept worthy of much attention and debate by academia "far beyond the disciplinary boundaries of history, to encompass not only other humanities and social science disciplines such as music and sociology, but cognitive psychology and neuroscience as well." (Tumblety 1-2) Furthermore, "[w]e know it as public history, museum practice and 'heritage'; we spawn from it notions of social Memory, Collective Memory and Historical Memory." (Tumblety 1-2) Ultimately, "[m]emory is the factor that can add consciousness or meaning to a historical event. Whereas history can separate itself from interpretation, meaning and

feeling, memory is inevitably linked with these concepts." (Bijester 6)

Sigmund Freud and Maurice Halbwachs have revealed how individual and social behaviour was shaped by memory as it is "a volatile and malleable property which, on the collective level, had the power to influence the course of world events." (Berger and Niven 3) Moreover, "[w]e preserve versions of the past by representing it to ourselves in words and images." (Connerton 71) So, memory is a requirement in recalling the past "to oneself, to one's close relations, and to others." (Ricoeur 132) It is fluid and diachronically mutable and, in "its various permutations – cultural memory, mnemonic practices, multi-directional memory, politics of Memory, post-memory, prosthetic memory, remembrance, social Memory and transcultural memory – has signified, and continues to signify, different phenomena in different historical situations, and within different theoretical or disciplinary paradigms." (Radstone and Schwarz 7) As such, memory is a constant "site of interaction, tension, even of conflict" of different modes of articulation, that is, "the channels through which memories are revived, constructed [and, in our view, more importantly] reconstructed." (Graves 6-7) Moreover, "[t]he mutability of memory as it is transplanted across time and space [as well as] the different ways in which memories may be mobilised to create new communities between and beyond the cultural boundaries that have traditionally separated different national, ethnic, religious, or social groups." (Bond 5) In short, "memory is more than expression of individual consciousness, and is both socially and culturally constructed." (Pickering 176)

Memory is also the continuous (re)construction of past experiences, individual and/or shared, enacted first-hand, witnessed or only heard of and/or read about. It also encompasses our ensuing feelings about those experiences which occurred in our social groups, even if they are previous to our integration in those groups. Memory is also unavoidably intertwined with the culture, religion or social institution we partake in. (Olick et al. 123)

As a form of discourse, Memory is a narrative. As such, "[t]he codes, conventions and norms of representing the past as a memory can be examined, and in so doing the routine ways that we make sense experience can be investigated. This investigation may centre on how particular social factors such as gender, ethnicity, age or class are enacted through and encoded into memory acts or texts." (Pickering 185) It is thus, a discourse historically conditioned as it accumulates the residual experience of each generation's own context - linguistic, historical, social, national or disciplinary.[2] (Whitehead 4) And, finally,

[2] Michel Foucault, for example, argued that "[t]hings meant something and were 'true'" only within a specific historical context. He did not believe that the same phenomena would be found across different forms of knowledge, objects, subjects, and practices of knowledge, which differed radically from period to period, with no necessary continuity between them. … Knowledge about and practices around all these subjects were historically and culturally specific. They did not and could not meaningfully exist outside specific discourses, i.e. outside the ways they were represented in discourse, produced in knowledge and regulated by the discursive practices and disciplinary techniques of a particular society and time. Far from accepting the trans-historical continuities of which historians are so fond, Foucault believed that more significant were the radical breaks, ruptures and discontinuities between one period and another, between one discursive formation and another." (Hall 46-47)

memory's underlying transculturality "refuses to acknowledge national boundaries and allows us to consider not only cultures that may transcend national borders, but those multiple and diverse subcultures that exist within them." (Graves 4) An example of this is how "British trade and colonialism, the multi-ethnic foundations of the US .... led to ... transcultural sites of memory ... with its focus on the persistence, or working through, of the colonial past." (Erll and Rigney 4) This can also be applied to the concept of the transcultural memory of the woman-as-witch in both England's and American's early modern cultures, as we shall illustrate at a later stage in our work. In short, as Erl and Young put it, memories

> ... are subjective, highly selective reconstructions, dependent on the situation in which they are recalled. RE-membering is an act of assembling available data that takes place in the present. Versions of the past change with every recall, in accordance with the changed present situation. Individual and collective memories are never a mirror image of the past, but rather an expressive indication of the needs and interests of the person or group doing the remembering in the present. (8)

Indeed, "memory is an explanatory device that links representation and social experience." (Confino 1402) Case in point, choosing to write historical fiction about the Salem witch hunt in the nineteenth century filled the cultural need of the North American contemporary society to purge, deal with, (re)frame and (re)construct the memory of those events.

1.2. Defining cultural memory

Our understanding of this term is indebted to several seminal theorists whose definitions we shall henceforth discuss.

For Jeffrey K. Olick and others, cultural memory is the sum of "[t]he memories that a group of people have of the past [are] bound by nationality, culture, religion, gender or any other necessary factor forming their cultural identities." (111)

Erll and Rigney, however, define cultural memory as "a transdisciplinary, [multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary] phenomenon" which can only be successfully studied "if it is based on the cooperation

among different fields." (3) Cultural memory should be understood as an umbrella term used "to describe the complex ways in which societies remember their past [and how their] memories "are shared within generations and across different generations." They "are the product of public acts of remembrance using a variety of media." (Erll and Rigney 111-112) Therefore, cultural memory is "the totality of the context within which such varied cultural phenomena originate." (Erll and Young 7)

Other authors, however, argue that it is the "interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts." As the construction and transmission of memories, cultural memory "describes a process that emerges from distant and collateral events and only appears in standardized forms once a group or society has agreed upon them." (Erll et al 2; Bommas vii) However, we also agree with Confino that what is important about cultural memory "is not how the past is represented but why it was received or rejected [and how] it must become a socio-cultural mode of action." (1390)

Halbwachs' seminal theory on "collective memory" has been expanded and at times "social memory," "collective memory," "communicative memory," and "cultural memory" are seemingly conflicting terminologies which are often used interchangeably.[3] Hence, these concepts should be clarified further, even if briefly.

For Cubitt, cultural memory always stems from either a "counter-history" - historical facts and oral or written collective or personal memory - or alternative, repeated, recreated history. (2) He further provides a clear-cut contrast between "social memory" and "collective memory." "Social memory" comprises a single process and/or a multitude of processes by which "knowledge and awareness of the social past[4] are generated and maintained in human societies... ." (Cubitt 26). While, for Cubbit, "collective memory" is quite simply an ideological fictional product of social memory as it "presents particular social entities as the possessors of a stable mnemonic capacity that is collectively exercised, [which] presents particular views or representations of a supposedly collective past as the natural expressions of such a collective mnemonic capacity." (18)

Olick and others, on the other hand, clarifies that "a collective memory can also include official memory, family memory and vernacular memory [whereas] cultural memory only focuses on the shared

[3] For more on Halbwachs and his ground-breaking theory of "collective memory" see, for example, Halbwachs and Coser 34-35, 37-38, 40, 51-53, 75, 91-94, 108, 119, 124-125, 129-130, 165, 172-173, 189.

[4] Cubitt further details that "[s]ocial memory ... covers the process (or processes) through which a knowledge or awareness of past events or conditions is developed and sustained within human societies, and through which ... individuals within societies are given the sense of a past that extends beyond what they themselves personally remember. ... Social memory needs to be defined in relation to individual memory on the one hand and to conceptions of collective memory on the other ... The processes of social memory are ones which are always cross-weaving the social and the individual ... social memory as a process (or set of processes) ... that are not necessarily neatly bounded by the dividing lines between different human communities, and that within any community are likely to generate a diversity of understandings both of what pasts ought to be evoked or described or celebrated, and of the particular contents that representations or evocations of each of those pasts should incorporate or articulate." (Cubitt 14-16)

social and cultural memories of a particular group." (116)

For Paul Ricoeur, the repetition of history fuels the cultural memory and in each instance of it, something is always added to, taken out, elaborated on or (re)interpreted. Therefore its transmission is a continuously (re)created one. Cultural memory is thus (re)creative repetitiveness. (2004)

Nonetheless, it is Assmann's concept of "cultural memory" that provides the backbone to our methodological approach, as this author emphasises both the conscious and unconscious importance of culture. (Kattago 6-7) He contrasts "cultural memory" to "communicative memory" and emphasises that "[w]hat communication is for communicative memory, tradition is for cultural memory." (Assmann 2006 8)[5] For this author, the first, "encompasses the age-old, out-of-the-way, and discarded; and in contrast to collective, bonding memory, it includes the non-instrumentalizable, heretical, subversive, and disowned." (Assmann 2006 27) As for the latter, it "refers to one of the exterior dimensions of the human memory" which is constantly exposed to the "external conditions imposed by society and cultural contexts" (Assmann 4-6). Cultural Memory also includes the continuous formation, recycling and communication of tradition, of any and all references to the past, and of any form of cultural and intellectual externalisation. As he puts it, cultural memory is "«cultural» because it can only be realized institutionally and artificially, and it is «memory» because in relation to social communication it functions in exactly the same way as individual memory does in relation to consciousness." (Assmann 9) Cultural memory is the cultural transmission of a community and it works through the continuous (re)presentation, (re)construction and hermeneutics of its past. (Assmann 4-6, 16, 25-28) The past is, in short, a "cultural creation."[6] (Assmann 33) And, this "cultural mnemotechnics" can be continuously reiterated in written cultural texts. An example of this is of course fictional (literature) and non-fictional (history) texts and how they are used to (re)create a nation's identity through the cultivation of its cultural memory. (Assmann 71-75)

---

[5] Similar to Assmann's "communicative memory" we should also consider Connerton's "performative memory." What Connerton calls performative memory or "commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices" is when the "attempt to break definitively with an older social order encounters a kind of historical deposit and threatens to founder upon it. The more total the aspirations of the new regime, the more imperious will it seek to introduce an era of forced forgetting. To say that societies are self-interpreting communities is to indicate the nature of that deposit; but it is important to add that among the most powerful of these self-interpretations are the images of themselves as continuously existing that societies create and preserve. For an individual's consciousness of time is to a large degree an awareness of society's continuity, or more exactly of the image of that continuity which the society creates. (Connerton 12) Connerton adds that, it "is not because thoughts are similar that we can evoke them; it is rather because the same group is interested in those memories, and is able to evoke them, that they are assembled together in our minds. Groups provide individuals with frameworks within which their memories are localised and memories are localised by a kind of mapping. We situate what we recollect within the mental spaces provided by the group ... Our memories are located within the mental and material spaces of the group." (37) All in all, "commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices ... leads us to see that images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by (more or less ritual) performances. (Connerton 40)

[6] Here we find that Cubit meets Assmann's view for he also states: "[t]o evoke a collective past is always to annexe earlier experiences to a present social conception, and the language of collective memory tends to obscure the extent to which the perceived relevance of such a path to today's social identities must always be an imaginative or ideological construction. [In other words,] people cannot personally have memory of things that happened centuries before they were born, but also that the notion of a collective memory that passes from generation to generation as a fundamental constituent of social identity masks what are often radical discontinuities in social consciousness." (Cubitt 17)

History and literature are material forms of cultural memory which are thus intimately connected with (mnemonic) imagination. As suggested by Donald R. Kelley and David H. Sachs, it is "the capacity of the mind to form images or concepts of what is not actually present to the senses and to evoke their relations with one another. As such, it can bring into view remote, absent, or previously occurring events as well as purely imaginary ones." (Kelley and Sachs ix) Thus, "acknowledging the historicity of literature, its value as a reflection of bygone worlds not recoverable through conventional documents" takes us next to the mnemonic imagination aspect of cultural memory. (Kelley and Sachs 2)

1.3. Mnemonic imagination: Remembering vs. Forgetting and Counter-Memories.

Quite simply put, cultural memory is the account of the ways in which the past is (re)activated, (re)interpreted and (re)presented today. (Keightley 41) Thus, what is remembered or forgotten relates to the constructive strain between memory and imagination[7] (Ricoeur 7). Individuals isolated or as a group, resort to different mnemonic practices - or mnemotechnics - such as remembering , recollecting, commemorating, representing, recreating and omitting, just to name a few. (Cubitt 18) As Keightley clarifies, all of these

> ... help us integrate memories into a relatively coherent pattern of meaning that informs our sense of a life as we have lived it. They enable us to establish continuities and shifts in the trajectories of our experience over time, and creatively transform memory into a source for thinking about the transactions between past, present and future. ... [M]emory is a vital resource for imagining, and imagining is a vital process in making coherent sense of the past and connecting it to the present and future. ... The remembering subject is faced with far more vacant spaces than spaces filled with available memories, yet it is out of what remains or can be recollected at will that we construct the story of ourselves and our lives. Such a narrative is not built purely and simply out of memory. Life stories are constructed just as much out of how we imagine our memories as fitting together in retrospect. On the other hand, of course,

[7] Ricoeur points out the Greek heritage of the dichotomy memory/imagination. For him, "[t]he problem posed by the entanglement of memory and imagination is as old as Western philosophy. Socratic philosophy bequeathed to us two rival and complementary *topoi* on this subject, one Platonic, the other Aristotelian. The first [...] speaks of the present representation of an absent thing; it argues implicitly for enclosing the problematic of memory within that of imagination. The second, centred on the theme of the representation of a thing formerly perceived, acquired, or learned, argues for including the problematic of the image within that of remembering. These are the two versions of the aporia of imagination and memory from which we can never completely extricate ourselves" (7).

distortion, exaggeration, falsification, even outright invention may exist and these may derive from the imagination as well as from various ideological forms and frames. What we imagine may not necessarily be rooted in any verifiable memory, but the possibility of this does not in itself deny the positive role which imagination plays in the narrative development of a life-story or the reconstruction of past experiences. Our memories are not imaginary, but they are acted upon imaginatively. … [R]emembering [is] a creative process. (1-5)

In short, imagination (re)activates memory and in turn memory stimulates the imagination. From this creative interaction, and synthesis of remembering and imagining results the mnemonic imagination.[8] (Keightley 8) It is through the mnemonic imagination that, for example, the relations between lived first-hand experience and mediated or inherited second-hand experience are (re)constructed and negotiated, taken over from the past and continually revised. (Keightley 8) Or it facilitates the transactional movement of the dialogic and creative process between personal and cultural memory, and the interplay between situated and mediated experience.[9] (Keightley 9) Mnemonic imagination further stresses how remembering is not only a (re)creative experiential process but also an experiential product. (Keightley 10) Thus, it simultaneously generates the continuity with the past and accumulates new experience. (Keightley 63)

Mnemonic imagination underlies cultural memory for it promotes diachronic dialogues between the 'I' of today and distant others from different generations and it subjects the past to attain or regain significance, in a "continually provisional process of reconstruction." (Keightley 12, 20) Remembering is this active and creative process of ongoing (re)construction and (re)arrangement between memory and imagination. It gives meaning and significance to the continuing and dynamic relationship between what we experience and what we learn: "in our thinking of the past we are the continually changing result of processes of remembering over time." (Keightley 25, 50)

Nevertheless, remembering is a process which goes beyond the psychology of the individual and it is more than personal experience. It implicates "the everyday operations of social and cultural

---

[8] Ricoeur clarifies: "the mnemonic phenomenon in that what is remembered is given as an image of what previously was seen, heard, experienced, learned, and acquired. Furthermore, it is in terms of representation that what memory intends can be formulated insofar as it is said to be about the past" (Ricoeur 235). He further highlights the role of mnemonic imagination in the discipline of History: "Mnemonic representation, our vehicle of our bond with the past, itself becomes an object of history. The question was even legitimately raised whether memory, the matrix of history, had not itself become a simple object of history. Having arrived at this extreme point of the historiographical reduction of memory, we allowed a protest to be heard, one in which the power of the attestation of memory concerning the past is lodged. History can expand, complete, correct, even refute the testimony of memory regarding the past; it cannot abolish it" (498).

[9] Keightley and Pickering differentiate between these two types of experience: "experience as process (lived experience) and experience as product (assimilated experience – the knowledge crystallised out of previous experience." (9)

relationships which are performed in the creation of memory narratives and embodied in the resulting cultural texts." (Pickering 176-177) Furthermore, "remembering occurs according to particular social conventions, [which] are constantly being affirmed and re-constructed [and r]emembering can never be performed outside of a social context" (Pickering 177). Thus, the memory text is always a constructed representation, that is, a mnemonic text.

Indeed, forms of 'remembering' themselves may be "time-bound cultural constructs." (Tumblety 6-7) Remembrance (or acts of) is then a cultural practice pertaining to "the public enactment [and re-enactment] of affective and cognitive relations to the past using whatever media and cultural forms are available and appropriate to the particular context." (Hagen 68) Memory is kept alive and culturally significant by means of these repeated acts of recall. As Rigney notes, "[t]he key to memory is .... in the capacity of a particular story to stimulate its own reproduction in a new form: to procreate ... generating new versions of itself [as] (re)emergent memory." (Hagen 68) What is more, "we always remember the past from the perspective of our contemporary world [and] our memories are located in the in-between of the present and ... a meaningful past [which] can therefore change according to the emerging needs of an individual or a group [resulting in] edited versions of the self and it's world." (Caldicott and Fuchs 12-13)

The interactions of memory and imagination in the different cultural contexts in which they occur conditions these very processes of mnemonic (re)organisation and (re)assimilation of the past. (Keightley 84) The intergenerational narrative of cultural memory is thus the shared and inherited remembering achieved by mnemonic transmission, or the communication of non-experienced (cultural) memories. (Keightley 87-88) As a result, "through... cultural practices, [mnemonic transmission] integrate[s] second-hand experiences into the memories of individual subjects and make the rituals and practices themselves become part of first-hand experience.[10] (Keightley 88) It further structures "the imaginative synthesis of experience in the remembering process to produce new, creative engagements with that past. New poetic forms, new modes of working through and new interpretations of the past may be produced in this process." (Keightley 90-91) As, we contend, is the case of with the nineteenth-century historical fiction, about the woman-as-witch and the events of the Salem witch hunt occurred two centuries earlier, because

[10] The notion of second-hand memories relates to "deeply troubling, at times traumatic experiences in whose shadow the next generation's members have grown up; these experiences become interwoven with their own and in some ways come to seem so like memory that they have been referred to as postmemory." (Keightley 89)

> ... even when it involves the almost unimaginable, second-hand experience can be negotiated by mnemonically imagining and confronting the past that haunts the present, creatively arriving at new understandings, stimulating alternative ways of representing or communicating the past in the present, facilitating cross-temporal reinterpretation or generating critique and action based upon it. In more general ways, the synthesising function of the mnemonic imagination allows disparate elements of both first- and second-hand experience to be reconciled into new semantic wholes [such as the cultural media of literature], with other people's pasts being brought into view of our own experienced past and new meanings generated through their interaction. ... [T]he mnemonic 'quest for identity' in which we look to the pasts of others, particularly family members or members of our community, to explain how we have come to be who we are, or more simply, to construct our personal lineage and the story of our forebearers [and/or to perceive it as a cautionary tale].[11] (Keightley 91)

These "semantic wholes" – as for example our selection of novels[12] – are then perceived by viewers, readers or listeners in relation to their own past experience, or not, and with reference to their contemporary cultural frames of reference, thus imagining, (re)creating in their minds what that non-experience may have been and felt like at the time it occurred. (Keightley 106) Paul Connerton further clarifies that

> [i]t is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory. To the extent that their memories of a society's past diverge, to that extent its members can share neither experiences nor assumptions... Across generations, different sets of memories, frequently in the shape of implicit background narratives, will encounter each other; so that, although physically present to one another in a particular setting, the different generations may remain mentally and emotionally insulated, the memories of one generation locked irretrievably, as it were, in the brains and bodies of that generation. ... For images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past [and they] are conveyed and sustained by (more or less ritual) performances. (3-4)

[11] See also Adams, *The Spectre of Salem*.

[12] See sub-chapters 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

The mnemonic (re)imagination of painful pasts, however, is not confined to those who have directly experienced them. It has secondary, intergenerational consequences. Indeed, painful memory can be inherited at the individual and/or at cultural level. (Keightley 167) As Nancy K. Miller and Jason Tougow argues, "[f]or survivors of trauma, the gap between generations is the breach between a traumatic memory[13] located in the body and the mediated knowledge of those who were born after." (71) We find that this is the case with the Salem witch hunt. The representations of the witch trials' in nineteenth-century historical Romantic fiction (as we will analyse and illustrate later on in our work) and in the tourist sites – much more prevalent in Salem (Old Salem Town) than in Danvers, Old Salem Village – reassert the intergenerational aspect of the painful caution any tale of the Salem witch hunt in American culture. The intergenerational gap between the seventeenth-century and nineteenth-century New England's cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt, and the influence of trauma in forming that cultural memory are, and here we must agree with Robin DeRosa, quite different between Salem's touristy markers and Danvers' understated, obscured and easy to miss memorial sites (2009). The contrast between Salem and Danver's memorial landscape illustrates that to counteract the passing of time, the adequate maintenance of the "[i]ntersection between memory and place" is essential to the framing and practice of remembering. (Whitehead 11) Moreover,

> ... memorials can also be used to reinscribe [cultural memory] as they travel (physically and figuratively) across the world – drawing attention to the ... manner in which commemorative practices continue to be imbricated with (and indeed implicated in maintaining) power differentials between individuals and collectives. [In fact,] the diverse ways in which processes of remembrance may simultaneously resist, reinforce, and reconfigure the relations between personal, local, national, and global discourses, [reveal] the centrifugal properties of [cultural] memory and [underscore] its often uncontainable qualities. (Bond 5-6)

As previously discussed, memory is a meaningful, continuous (re)construction of the past always influenced by the present. In the words of Ricoeur, "[t]o remember is to have a memory or to set off in search of a memory. (4) In this process, remembrance and forgetting are mutually inclusive. (Whitehead 48-49) And, in fact, in the context of forming and maintaining a cultural memory, forgetting is as relevant as remembering "for allowing the community to function in the aftermath of social and

[13] For a more recent discussion on what she terms "cultural trauma," see, for example, Astrid Erll, *Travelling Narratives*.

historical catastrophes," or more simply, to process trauma. (Whitehead 14) As Marianne F. H. Hirsch and Valerie Smith note:

> Acts of Memory are thus acts of performance, representation, and interpretation. They require agents and specific contexts. They can be conscious and deliberate, at the same time, and this is certainly true in the case of trauma, they can be involuntary, repetitious, obsessive .... What a culture remembers and what it chooses to forget are intrinsically bound up with issues of power and hegemony, and thus [also] with gender. (5-7)

Indeed, "much of the work on trauma and memory has been resistant to gender differentiation and has not been overtly informed by feminist thinking." (Miller and Tougaw 77)

It is then important to remain attentive to who is doing the writing, and who is doing the remembering has been absorbed into the Canon or conveniently excluded from it, as for example the Romantic historicals in our literary *corpus*.[14] Ricoeur concludes: "The uses of forgetting are still easy to unmask on the plane where the institutions of forgetting, the paradigm of which is amnesty, provide grist to the abuses of forgetting, counterparts to the abuses of memory." (Ricoeur 500)

While remembering assures the dissemination and reception of cultural memory across and within national boundaries, and across different hegemonic cultural contexts, Foucault suggests another way of dealing with painful pasts: the creation of a counter-memory of those events. (Law 8-10) Counter-memories oppose the official narratives. They exist only in relation to the hegemonic cultural paradigms they contest. However, due to a dynamic process of (re)interpretation, incorporation and recuperation counter-memories may end up dissolved in those very same paradigms. In fact, according to Mathew Graves and Elizabeth Rechniewski, few counter-memories "are untouched by national and transnational, and transcultural perspectives." (6) And as suggested by Foucault, "a counter-memory can be fictive in nature, or it can be a form of excessive remembrance of one event at the expense of other events. [It can] fictively romanticis[e] the past so as to promote an agenda in the present." (Law 8-10) We find this is the case with the nineteenth-century proliferation and propagation of the cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt[15] in historical fiction, as well as with the mushrooming of historical markers in the city of Salem

---

[14] See sub-chapters 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

[15] We find pertinent Tumbly's considerations on the evolution of the historicisation of memory in the nineteenth century. During this period, the establishment of print culture contributed to a key shift in the meaning of memory. Indeed, "[n]ot only did mass literacy mean that more people than ever before were processing the world through the written text, but that the extended reach of state bureaucracy led to a proliferation of written records and information." It led to "a greater awareness of the past, and its contemporary uses, among European cultural, political and scientific elites in a period that coincided in many places with the ascendancy of the nation-state and mass education systems. It paid political elites to instil a sense of a specifically national past in citizens

at that time. For "the process of memorialization keeps the past alive in the present." (Cobb 1) The recounting of a traumatic past may heal a stifled memory. It refuses to be consigned to the past, remaining near and present. (Erll et al. 307; Kohlke and Gutleben 3)

1.4. Cultural Memory Studies

The term "cultural memory" was first used in German theory and then in Anglo-American cultural criticism (Hagen 66). Naturally, in the discipline of cultural studies,[16] cultural memory studies is ultimately an interdisciplinary project concerned with doing research on memory in culture (cultural memory) – "not toward the shape of the remembered pasts but rather toward the particular presents of the remembering" and "its ripples on the fabric of remembrance." (Erll and Young 8; Bijster 6; Culler 43) Alternatively, as Marek Tamm puts it, "shared memories of the past are not accidentally produced by social groups but a consequence of cultural mediation, primarily of textualisation and visualisation" (461). Furthermore, studying these transformations and innovations in our cultures of memory is the relevant core object study of cultural memory studies. (Hagen 68)

Thus, cultural memory studies offer a new interpretative context. Focusing on the factual historical past and how much or which of that past is remembered and represented.[17] (Tamm 463) Since "the past actively exists in the present [and] continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form on all its vicissitudes," the field of cultural memory studies "remains open for the exploration of unintentional and implicit ways of cultural remembering." (Gadamer 81; Erll et al. 2)

If one considers that we are cultural beings and that all that we do is culture[18] – "culture as a set of shared attitudes, values and practices that characterizes a group or society" – the study of memory is seemingly pertinent. (Bommas vii) What is culture if not the constant recycling, assimilation or elimination of our individual and collective memories? As Bommas further elicits:

Diverse recollections of the past can deconstruct cultural memory and hamper its integration

and subjects whose partially invented sense of belonging might make them easier to rule." (Tumblety 6-7)

[16] For more on the discipline of Cultural Studies, see, for example, Jonathan Culler, Simon During, Andrew Edgar and Peter R. Sedgwick, Paula Saukko and Ien Ang in works cited.

[17] It is also coined by Assmann as "mnemohistory." Assmann further "forges the link between cultural memory as a research topic and research tool in the distinction between public and private modes of memory." (Pickering 12)

[18] For more on the definition of culture, see seminal works such as Mathew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, T. S. Eliot's *Notes towards the Definition of Culture* and Raymond Williams' *Culture and Society*.

> into a collective past. In order to allow cultural memory to obstruct a collective past, groups of power can encourage and promote remembering, marginalize individual memories, initiate reinterpretation or even actively instruct forgetting. ... The motor of cultural memory is actively practiced memory based on an agreed set of data, rather than tradition. In tracing the shift of meaning within ancient society, both cultural memory and cultural forgetting offer purposeful tools to identify the courses of history through both elite and non-existent perspectives. (vii)

It is this very "heterogeneity of the concepts and disciplinary approaches to possibly identical objects of research" that prompts the ever-growing number of publications in the field of cultural memory studies.[19] (Erll and Young 6) It suggests "the conceptual potential and material richness of an academic field that is still rooted in the seminal theoretical studies of Halbwachs and Nora,[20] but that has long developed into a multifaceted and multivocal paradigm at the crossroads of ever so many disciplines, approaches, and scientific and political interests." (Hebel 1)

Studying such transformations and innovations in our cultures of memory is an integral part of cultural memory studies. (Hagen 68) Recent work in cultural memory studies indicates the need to consider its transnational dimensions and the capacity of mnemonic practices, not just to express existing relations but to help reconfigure the boundaries between imagined communities. (Hagen Tota Rigney 74) Since the 1980's revisionist impulse of the New American Studies, Memory and remembrance have also been productive concepts in American Studies. It is mainly due to "the transnational trajectories, implications, and politics of U.S.-American cultures of memories and sites of commemoration." (Hebel 2) For instance, Hass and Dawes depict how specific locations of national commemoration in the United States may become active sites of spatial (trans)cultural memory.[21] They reconstruct "the interplay of the forces of U.S.-American cultural memory production and the (intended or involuntary) processes of transnational memory formation over the course of one hundred years." (Hebel 5) We propose that this is the case with the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch, from the Pendle witches in 1612 to the Salem witch hunt in 1692 and its later (re)creation in nineteenth-century American historical fiction.

---

[19] See, for example, works cited.

[20] See, for example, Halbwachs and Coser; Nora and Kritzman.

[21] See, for example, Haas, "Remembering the 'Forgotten War' and Containing the 'Remembered War:' Insistent Nationalism and the Transnational Memory of the Korean War;" and Dawes, "Celluloid Recoveries: Cinematic Transformations of 'Ground Zero," in Hebel, *Transnational American Memories*.

1.4.1. Literature as a medium of cultural memory in a mnemonic and mimetic context

Since "cultures themselves operate in mnemonic terms as they manifest certain structures and configurations over time, and are inherited from the past in various ways even as they change," methodological research on cultural memory "attends to the social relations of the interaction between individual and public forms of memory [employing a] methodological ... triangulation with other forms of evidence and accounts in order to ensure the value and determine the status of what memory work provides." (Keightley 12-13, 82) Combining methodological approaches in a dialogical research mode will produce more accurate multi-perspectival results. (Saukko 33) Moreover, these should also be "multi-sited." In other words,

> ... any given phenomenon ... takes shape and transforms across multiple locales or sites. Studying different sites or locations has two aims. First, it draws attention to the way in which a social phenomenon cannot be 'typified' but changes when one looks at it from different perspectives .... Second, it locates a social phenomenon within a wider social and, possibly global, context, pointing at connections that exist between what one is studying and other social processes or locations. ... The art of doing multi-sited research is embedded in piecing together the analysis of various sites and scapes [and] the aim of multi-sited research is to underline that we may perceive this common world in radically different ways in different social, historical and personal contexts. (Saukko 195-196)

All of these contexts may be perceived in literature because

> [l]iterature has always explored the possibilities and limitations of memory. Memory is linked to both identity and the imagination, and therein lies the potential of fiction to help us understand the past and define our relation to it. Literature resides in a grey zone between history and memory, lived and imagined experience. Although it reflects and refracts the real world, fiction frees us from definitive truth claims about reality. Imagined pasts allow us to contemplate alternative interpretations, to question accepted historical truths and to problematise the relationship of society and individuals to past events and even memory itself. Thus, fiction can serve as a catalyst and forum for critical self-reflection. In this and other ways, books are ideal memory companions. (Kattago 197-198)

Any cultural artefact or product, such as literature, or more specifically, a piece of historical fiction, features within it the very memory of how or what it is created and employed, along with the temporally extended meanings and feelings invested in it. Hence,

> [w]hen literature is considered in the light of memory, it appears as the mnemonic art par excellence. Literature is culture's memory, not as a simple recording device but as a body of commemorative actions that include the knowledge stored by a culture, and virtually all texts a culture has produced and by which a culture is constituted. Writing is both an act of memory and a new interpretation, by which every new text is etched into memory space. (Erll at al. 301)

Methods for analysing literature, or "material memories," include the close reading of literary writing as a cultural object and "asking cultural questions of literary works [does not imply] that they are just documents of a period." (Bommas viii, Culler 54) In the research of the (re)creation of cultural memory, literature effectively contributes to "a new perspectivization of extra-textual orders of knowledge and hierarchies of values" (Erll et al. 341-342). Indeed, as Erl and others further enlightens:

> [a]s a medium of cultural self-reflection, literature ... paves the way for cultural change [and] by disseminating new interpretations of the past and new models of identity, fictions of memory may also influence how we as readers, narrate our pasts and ourselves into existence. Fictions of Memory may symbolically empower the culturally marginalized or forgotten and thus figure as an imaginative counter-discourse. By bringing together multiple, even incompatible versions of the past, they can keep alive conflict about what exactly the collective past stands for and how it should be remembered. Moreover, to the extent that many fictions of memory link the hegemonic discourse to the unrealized and inexpressible possibilities of the past, they can become a force of continual innovation and cultural pre-existing memories, fictions of memories have a considerable share in reinforcing new concepts of memory. Literature becomes a formative medium within the memory culture which, on the basis of symbol-specific characteristics, can fulfil particular functions ... which cannot be served by other symbol systems. [Thus], the study of fictional narratives [of memory, supports] culturally admissible constructions of the past. (341-342)

The literary (re)presentation of the cultural memory of the past[22] is, therefore, not "an object that is detachable from its textual reconstruction [but it is] a manifestation of the concrete behavior of its particular author, as itself the expression of the codes by which behavior is shaped, and as a reflection upon those codes" (Greenblatt 3-4). To make sense of the interwoven cultural materials in our selection of historical fiction, and the cultural memory of the Salem woman-as-witch in them (re)presented, we must then not only reconstruct the nineteenth-century articulation[23] in which they were produced but the seventeenth-century articulation of the transcultural memory of the English witchcraft beliefs as well.

One way of accomplishing this is by observing the intersections between different forms of material memory, such as literature and cultural memory. For our study, we shall follow Erll and Young, focusing on only two aspects of the connection between literature and memory: literature's role in cultural mnemonics and literature as a medium of cultural memory, that is, "literature as an active force in memory culture." (68)

The mnemonic role of literature includes mainly "the representation and transmission of knowledge. [It] becomes the bearer of actual and the transmitter of historical knowledge and it construes intertextual bonds between literary and non-literary texts. Furthermore, literature recovers and revives knowledge in reincorporating some of its formerly rejected unofficial or arcane traditions" (Erll and Young 306). We find that this is the instance of the nineteenth-century historical fiction which work as a mnemonic device for the cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of Salem and witchcraft beliefs.

Besides being a medium of cultural memory, literature is also an object of remembrance. The former, when "works of literature help produce collective memories by recollecting the past in the form of narratives [and] how the writing (genre conventions, points of view, metaphors, and so on) shapes our views of the past." When recollecting texts composed or written in earlier periods, the latter is an integral part of cultural remembrance. (Erll and Rigney 111-112)

---

[22] For further considerations on the cultural analysis of a fictional literary text, see, for example, Saukko (106), Campbell and Kean (4), Greenblatt and Payne (5, 12-17), Johnson et al. (187-189), Hall et al. (113-115) and Erll et all (333-335) Also, Erll provides key operating concepts, namely the "different modes of representing the past, the "antagonistic mode" [or l]iterary forms that help to maintain one version of the past and reject another [and the] "reflexive mode" [or] forms which draw attention to the processes and problems of remembering [such as] the explicit narratorial comment" [or] the montage of different versions of the past." (Erll et al. 391-92)

[23] For Stuart Hall, "articulation can also be thought of as a method used in cultural analysis. On the one hand, articulation suggests a methodological framework for understanding what a cultural study does. On the other hand, it provides strategies for undertaking a cultural study, a way of 'contextualizing' the object of one's analysis. However, articulation works at additional levels: the epistemological, the political and the strategic. Epistemologically, articulation is a way of thinking about the structures of what we know as a play of correspondences, non-correspondences and contradictions, as fragments in the constitution of what we take to be unities. Politically, articulation is a way of foregrounding the structure and play of power in relations of dominance and subordination. Strategically, articulation provides a mechanism for shaping intervention within a particular social formation, conjuncture or context. [If you] think of articulation in terms of theoretical and methodological valences, [a]rticulation is, then, not just a thing (not just a connection) but a process of creating connections, much in the same way that hegemony is not domination but the process of creating and maintaining consensus or of co-ordinating interests ..." (Chen and Morley 113-115). Graves further adds that there are "different modes of articulation [that are] the channels through which memories are revived, constructed [and in, in our view, more importantly] reconstructed" (6-7).

According to Erll and Rigney, the study of the literary representation of memory "foregrounds the synchronic, dialogical relation between literature and extra-literary memory discourses. It starts from the premise that literary works refer to cultural memory, 're-present' (or 'stage', or 'perform' cultural remembrance, and thus make it observable in the medium of fiction. [Thus,] memory plays an important role in literature, both structurally and thematically." (2009 77)

This is more obvious in historical fiction, in which the distance between "pre-narrative experience" and the "narrative memory which creates meaning retrospectively" is incessantly made shorter. (Erll and Rigney 78) Though writers are agents of cultural memory, in some cases, historians publicly challenge the truthfulness of historical fiction and offer factual alternatives. Thus, works of historical fiction hallow "a general situation or movement to be depicted through the experiences of a select number of singular individuals with whom viewers or readers can empathize and with whose fate they become involved ... and hence into a memorable narrative. Seen in this way, the depiction itself can be said to have not only conserved, but to have actually produced memory."[24] (Hagen 70)

However, this does not convey that "true histories always succeed in displacing the prosthetic memory generated by the fiction since its aesthetic and experiential qualities may simply have made it more memorable and more accessible than the alternatives. The power of the aesthetic to make things memorable makes it all the more urgent to take imagination seriously, both for its misleading and its enabling qualities... ." (Hagen 74)

The mnemonic imagination promotes a favourable context for a historically situated cultural analysis and aims at a closer inquiry of the socially and historically specific aesthetics of remembering (Keightley 80). For instance, the

> ... responses to painful pasts and to traumatic events, after they have been worked through and assimilated into narrative form, are not limited to those who lived through them. These events reverberate through longer swathes of time. Their residual secondary meanings haunt the memories of those who succeed the victims and survivors. These pasts are inherited and to some degree inhabited by subsequent generations in a long trail of loss. (Keightley 179)

Mnemonic imagination facilitates the exegesis of second-generation narrative accounts about inherited pain.[25] These accounts articulate loss and painful pasts into a transactional relationship between

[24] See also, for example, Rigney's "models of remembrance" in "Plenitude, Scarcity, and the Production of Cultural Memory."

[25] See also, for example, Tomsky and his notion of "trauma economy," in which he notes the use of trauma "as [a] transcultural capital and commodity" (53).

the present and future. (Keightley 180) However, as we always read texts in a cultural context, the mnemonic imagination engages a complex bivalent movement between the (re)presentation of a painful past and what we as readers add to it.[26] Mnemonic imagination operates by getting across between multiple cultural texts and the exegetic agents' responses to them: "The ways in which one representation can generate new meaning in the present is in many ways dependent on our accumulated experiences of other representations." (Keightley 189-190) Because "an active practice of remembering which takes an enquiring attitude toward the past and the activity of its (re)construction through memory... undercuts assumptions about the transparency or the authenticity of what is remembered." (Hirsch and Smith 8)

It follows that, by analysing the (re)presentations of the woman-as-witch in our selected *corpus*, we can identify the accumulated cultural memories about witchcraft in general and the Salem witch hunt in particular of the women authors in their New England nineteenth-century cultural context. Grounded in context, theorising cultural memory through the lens of feminism foregrounds the dynamics of gender and power. It also relates feminist modes of enquiring to the analysis of cultural remembering and forgetting of memory. Public media and official archives address the experiences of those who have the hegemony of the discursive spaces almost exclusively. To find the memories of the disenfranchised, in our case the women-as-witches of Salem, we must recover forgotten or overlooked cultural memory written material – such as our literary *corpus* – and apply to them alternate exegetic strategies.[27]

We agree, then, with Lucy Bond's contention that the various narrative frameworks through which memories are articulated "implicitly encode particular social or political values that become naturalized through repetition." (61) The mediation of cultural memory occurs using the narrative structures in which different versions of the past are expressed, for instance, in "the commemorative practices that attempt to draw connections between events separated in time and/or space." (Bond 61) Bond further argues that "the differences between memory texts can be easily disguised, producing what appear to be memorial master-narratives. Thus, whilst individual representations of the events may not necessarily be hegemonic (or at least, not produced with hegemonic intentions), the frameworks by which they are shaped often are." (62) Furthermore, as Hirsch points out: "forgetting and suppression must be contested by active remembering and ... the practice and analysis of cultural memory can itself be a form

---

He further defines the trauma economy as "a circuit of movement and exchange where traumatic memories 'travel' and are valued and revalued along the way" (Tomsky 49), mediated by "economic, cultural, discursive and political structures that guide, enable and ultimately institutionalize the representation, travel and attention to certain traumas" (Tomsky 53).

[26] See also, as previously mentioned, Cubit on "collective past."

[27] See sub-chapters 4.1. 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

of political activism." (12-13) This we find is a (re)contextualization and (re)framing of the woman-as-witch yet to be attained.

Translated to cultural memory, (re)contextualisation pertains to the reciprocity between the (re)created and the original memory text(s). Namely, how the re-used elements of the memory are inlayed in the message of the new text, in its new form, and how these affect its meaning. (Re)framing refers to how these elements condition and/or alter the re-used element(s) and in turn (re)create the text within a new frame of meaning. Thus, we agree with Mariële Wijermars that

> [t]he way that intertextuality can... simultaneously affect the meaning of the recontextualized element and the new text most certainly applies to cultural memory... . The concept of recontextualization draws attention to the divergent elements, both inside and outside the text, that together influence and shape its meaning. [It is also] flexible enough to assess and describe minor and major interpretations. ... The emphasis on remediation [shows that] cultural memory does not exist in isolated texts or carriers of memory but, rather, is the repeated mediations that disperse a memory among the members of a society and allow them to perceive them as part of their shared past and (collective) identity. The object of analysis, then, is not the individual texts in isolation but in their function as media of circulation [for cultural memory]. (25)

Media of cultural memory such as historical fiction "are characterized by their power to shape the collective imagination of the past ... " However, "[h]istorical accuracy is not one of the concerns [since] they create images of the past which resonate with cultural memory." It is not about the facts *per se* but how these are (re)presented and (re)created, *i.e.*, versions of the past. (Erll et al. 389) Ultimately, as Erll and others concludes: "[l]iterature is a medium that simultaneously builds and observes ... cultural memory." (395) Yet, its observation is not confined to one culture. Quite the contrary, as we shall discuss hereafter.

1.5. (Trans)cultural memory

As outlined by Erll and Young, (trans)cultural memory is

> ... both the category for studying memory and the perspective on memory which allows us to see "the many fuzzy edges of national 'cultures' of remembrance, the many shared sites of memory that have emerged through travel, trade, colonialism and other forms of cultural exchange [- transmission - and] ... the great internal heterogeneity of national culture, its different classes, generations, ethnicities, religious communities, and subcultures, which will all generate different but in many ways interacting frameworks of memory... . (65)

According to Wolfgang Welsch and others, transculturality is also "the most adequate concept of culture today – for both political and normative reasons" (194). Building on Welsch and others' definition of transculturality, Bond suggests that

> ... transcultural memory might best be regarded as describing two separate dynamics in contemporary commemorative practice: firstly, the travelling of memory within and between national, ethnic, and religious collectives; secondly, forums of remembrance that aim to move beyond the idea of political, ethnic, linguistic, or religious borders as containers for our understanding of the past ... [T]ranscultural approaches to the theory and practice of memory demonstrate how shared co-ordinates (be they historical, cultural, political, or economic) may ease competitive claims to history, focusing on the commonality of ideas about remembrance that stretch across communities, reinforced by recurring themes or modes of expression. (19)

Transculturality[28] is a particular research orientation directed at the mnemonic processes unfolding diachronically and geographically between and beyond different cultures. Similarly to Halbwachs' "collective memory," transculturality begs "the creation of shared versions of the past."[29] It is, moreover,

> a theoretical model for the assessment of the process by which transcultural memory arises. [It] provides us with a synchronic and diachronic model for the appraisal of transcultural

[28] For a more recent perspective on transcultural memory and its dynamics across long-term relational mnemohistories, focusing on three different perspectives on memory and relationality: "First, relationality of the remembered describes a dynamics at the basis of the very historical events that will later be turned into objects of cultural memory. ... Second, relational remembering refers to forms of interaction and co-construction in the memory process. ... A third dimension is mnemonic relationality, the relationalities that are consciously (and imaginatively) produced in (creative) acts of memory... [Thus, describing] acts of memory that bring into relation diverse (mnemo-)histories, thus enabling new or transformed memories to emerge." See, Erll, "Homer: A relational mnemohistory."

[29] See sub-chapter 1.2.

> memory via symbolic means of communication with identifiable social frameworks. The role of people's approval or will in the transmission of knowledge and experience of the past is subordinate for even in disagreement some sort of transfer and mutual acknowledgement if not sharing of memories almost invariably takes place. (Bond 55-56)

It includes "cultural transmission," for only "through act[s] of memory [can] the collective memory be observed." (Erll and Young 16) In other words, the formation of memory beyond closed groups. This is also Peter Carrier and Kobi Kabalek's point of view. For them, it is relevant to discern the potential meaning(s) connoted to the prefix "trans" in transcultural, for "the significance of transcultural memory does not lie in the definitions of its terminology, but in the practical studies of memory formation between, across and even beyond the boundaries of closed groups." (Bond 52) We also find particularly pertinent to our work, what Carrier and Kabalek consider as "recent innovative understandings of transcultural memory," one of them being migration. (Bond 52) It is "a process of sharing knowledge of and experiences from the past via symbolic and narrative channels of communication. [Thus] new memorial reference groups may be formed in the present as stories and symbols are actively shared [and] transcultural memory is subject to the willingness of the members of both groups to share memories." (Bond 54) Migration effectuates the interaction and communication of memories between different people bearing different "memorial references." (Bond 52) It is conducive to both inter- and transculturation: "a process by which small or subordinate groups adopt memories of dominant groups and, in turn, whose memories impinge upon and transform those of the dominant group." (Bond 55)

This is the orientation we adhere to in the following chapter of our study in which we illustrate the transcultural – and, in our case, the transatlantic – migration of the memory of witchcraft and the woman-as-witch from Old England to New England. Though the Puritan settlers in New England were aggressively discourajed by the religious authorities from practising sympathetic or counter-magic – they were to believe in the Devil and in witches very much in the gaze of English witchcraft lore and demonology. Indeed though the religious culture of seventeenth-century New England has been extensively explored, a review of the defining characterisitcs of the cultural memory of the woman-as-witch conveyed from Old England to seventeenth-century New England is lacking.

2. THE TRANSCULTURAL MEMORY OF THE WOMAN-AS-WITCH

"A Witch is one who woorketh by the Devill, or by some develish or curious art, either hurting or healing, revealing thinges secrete, or foretelling thinges to come, which the devil hath devised to entangle and snare mens soules withal unto damnation."
(Gifford, *A Discourse*, 6).

Figure 5. Grien, Hans Baldung. "Half-Figure of an Old Woman with a Cap." Ca. 1535.

"[A witch is] an old weather-beaten crone, having her chin and knees meeting for age, walking like a bow, leaning on a staff, hollow-eyed, un-toothed, furrowed, having her limbs trembling with palsy, going mumbling in the streets; one that hath forgotten her paternoster, yet hath a shrewd tongue to call a drab a drab."
(Harsnett 136)

"A witch is a person that hath conference with the Devil to take counsel or to do some act."
(Coke 35)

"[A w]itch is one, who can do or seems to do strange things, beyond the known power of Art and ordinary Nature, by vertue of a Confederacy with Evil Spirits."
(Glanvill 4)

2.1. In seventeenth-century England.

In seventeenth-century England, elite and popular witchcraft beliefs alike predicated the witch as a cumulative, composite and heterogenous extant entity with preternatural[30] powers. A witch usually signified a person of either sex who resorted to preternatural means to cause physical harm and misfortune to others and their belongings – *maleficium* (harmful magic) – and who engaged in diabolism,[31] as argued by James VI and I. Likewise, William Perkins, George Gifford, and Alexander Roberts[32] contended that the Devil was the witch's source of preternatural power through establishing a covenant with him, thus incurring heresy and apostasy by pledging allegiance to the Devil and renouncing God. Roberts cautioned however that the Devil acted under God's omniscience: "God giueth, both the diuell, and his seruants the witches, power sometimes to trouble his owne children." (Roberts 42) As a heretic and an apostate, the witch greatly concerned the early modern English clergy and the educated elite, who saw the witch as a corrupter of Christianity and moral order.[33] (Levack, *Witchcraft*, vii)

Both a mortal sinner and a criminal, the witch embodied and was often liable for engendering most of early modern English societal evils. (Scarre 13; Stein and Stein 234; Matalene 576-578) Thus, it was cathartic and purging for the community when a witch accused of *maleficia* and or diabolism was

[30] Thomas Aquinas distinguished between God's miracles or *miracula* – the supernatural; and the demonic illusions or *mira* – the preternatural. Miracles were 'supernatural' or above nature and were fashioned solely by God, a transcendental being who had created the world and could willingly remaster its rules. The 'preternatural' events were extraordinary and caused by other created bodies rather than directly by God, such as demons. In other words, "[t]hey were accomplished within the laws of nature, but their mechanism was outside human knowledge." (Oldridge, *The Devil*, 2) From the sixteenth century onwards, the concept of a preternatural event became central in demonology. To establish a contrast between divine and demonic power, demonology increasingly attributed preternatural events to conjunctions of natural causes remastered by demons for their ends. Thus, anything witches allegedly did, either in reality or as *mira*, was preternatural and facilitated by a demon or the Devil. (Goodare 61-62; Daston 97, 106-108; Gaskill, *Witchcraft,* 16)

[31] In England, diabolism can be traced back to the medieval period. However, the detailed framework of demonology formulated by Continental theologians during the fifteenth century only influenced the educated English witchcraft beliefs during the Elizabethan period. Only then, witchcraft beliefs such as Devil-worshipping witches, signing covenants with him and attending orgiastic bestial, demonic sabbats, slowly permeated the popular cultural memory through the demonological and strixological treatises authored by learned English clergymen and gentlemen, as well as through witch trials pamphlets and fictional recreations and other media. During the seventeenth century, elements of the Continental conception of diabolism can be found more often in the alleged confessions of illiterate witnesses and accused witches at witch trials. Presumably, they had assimilated such witchcraft beliefs from their local clergymen or public readings from pamphlets. As the learned theological concepts of witchcraft entered the popular consciousness, a new cultural memory of the English witch was established. Thus, many aspects of diabolism were absorbed and conflated with existing English fairy and witch motifs manifesting in a cumulative, composite and heterogenous form in trial depositions and interrogations. (Davies, *Witchcraft,* 179).

[32] The most relevant early English modern demonological and strixological treatises are *Discoverie of Witchcraft* by Reginald Scot; *Daemonologie* by James I and VI; *A Treatise against Witchcraft* by Henry Holland; *A Discourse of the Subtill Pracitises of Devilles by Witches and Sorcerers* and *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcrafts* by George Gifford; *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* by William Perkins; *A Treatise of Witchcraft* by Alexander Roberts; *The Mystery of Witchcraft* by Thomas Cooper; *Select Cases of Conscience touching Witches and Witchcraft*; *Philosophical Considerations Touching the Being of Witches and Witchcraft* and *Sauducismus Triumphatus* by Joseph Glanvill. Elizabeth Carlson argues that though these demonologists helped to inflame the fear of witchcraft in seventeenth-century England, the divergence between their witchcraft beliefs suggests there was not an English demonology *per se*. (E. Carlson 22-23, 26) For more on the intellectual discourse among English demonologists, see, for example, Bostridge, *Witchcraft and its Transformations, c.1650-c.1750*; S. Clark, *Thinking With Demons*.

[33] The use of charges of witchcraft as a means of attacking confessional enemies during the Age of Reformation is discussed by Peter Elmer" in "Saints or Sorcerers": Quakerism, Demonology and the Decline of Witchcraft in Seventeenth-Century England." Elmer notes, "[e]ducated belief in witchcraft and the detailed theories of the demonologists ... was firmly rooted in the early modern preoccupation with order, authority and uniformity. In England, before the civil war, support for the godly commonwealth was thus reinforced by the recognition of its opposite, demonic disorder, which for true patriots took the form of devil-worshipping witches, aided and abetted by Catholic fifth columnists." (Barry et al. 145-148)

fittingly punished for it by death. (Quaife 1; Marwick 54, 57, 60) As James I and VI argued in his *Daemonologie*, only by "pursuing every one, according to [God's] calling of these instruments of Satan [the witches], whose punishment to the death will be a salutory sacrifice for the patient. And this is not only the lawfully way but likewise the most sure ... ." (48-49)

Despite the explicit condemnation by the English theologians and demonologists, the company of a suspected witch in a seventeenth-century English village was more often than not tolerated, particularly in the case of the village witch – a cunning man or wise woman. The cunning folk were the providers of the most affordable and available forms of healing.[34] However, if their charms were ineffective or lethal, tolerance would swiftly afford deprecation against the witch. (Valetta 195) Any subsequent abrupt death, further deterioration of your health, waking up gasping for air due to chest compression, or being visited in your abode by vicious spectres at night might all be credited to the witch with whom you had had angry exchanges. The solution was to identify the suspected witch, ask the witch to visit the infirm, admit guilt and secure some form of remedy to extinguish the evil, in exchange for immunity against criminal charges. Often the desired outcome was not attained. (R. Briggs, *Witches*, 73-76) As a result, more commonly than not, the charges were levied by the community and not the authorities. The prevailing early modern English cultural memory of the witch instigated the people's fear and the conviction that they had been the victims of *maleficium* . The first informal acts of violence against the suspected witch, as well as the subsequent prosecution and conviction at the assizes, were often put in place by the community. (Thomas, *Religion*, 548)

In England, an estimated five hundred to a thousand people were executed as witches, between the first Witchcraft Act of 1542 (33 Henry 8 c.8) and the time when the Witchcraft Act of 1604 (1 James 1 c.12) was repealed in 1736.[35] (Levack, *Witchcraft*, ix) The first Witchcraft Act of 1542 (33 Henry 8 c.8) and the Elizabethan Statute of 1563 (5 Elizabeth 1 c. 16) referred to the crime of conjuring 'evill and

[34] In England between 1200 and 1500, healing charms – apotropaic magic – were common. Charms were found in both Latin medical texts and vernacular remedy books. The charms were another form of therapy equivalent to herbal remedies. Charms were provided as cures for medical conditions and to help overcome everyday adversities. Among many, there were charms for gathering medicinal plants, amulets with charms for conception, secret charms to prevent cramps, for blurred vision and certain kinds of blindness, for fevers, as a sedative for insomnia, as first-aid to staunch bleeding and treat corrupting wounds or sores, as medicine for women during delivery of a child, as a relief or prevention for toothache, a 'worm' in the ear, and as a preventative for falling sickness and attacks of evil spirits, to cure or protect livestock and their feed, to protect your belongings from thieves. (J. Roper 214, 228)

[35] Barbara Rosen highlights that looking "into ecclesiastical records and the background of the pamphlet and instructional literature suggests that a much larger number of English witches [village witches or cunning folk] were never brought to trial by neighbours, as they were regarded as an asset to the community." (Rosen viii)

wicked Spirites.' The Witchcraft Act of 1604 (1 James 1 c.12)[36] made it illegal not just to conjure spirits – commonly known as familiars[37] – but also to keep them. (Millar, "The Witch's Familiar," 117)

The indictments of the English Home Circuit assizes demonstrate that just under ninety per cent of those indicted for witchcraft at the south-eastern assizes were women. (Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 42-44) Seventy-five per cent of the men were acquitted against fifty per cent of the women. Twenty-five per cent of the women were executed, but only twelve and a half per cent were men. Indeed, a seventeenth-century English woman was nine times more likely to be accused of witchcraft than a man and twice more likely to be executed. (Quaife 107) Charlotte R. Millar's analysis of all early modern English witchcraft pamphlets further demonstrates that eighty-seven per cent of witches represented in these texts were female, which suggests that "English witchcraft as an almost exclusively female crime." (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 7) Also, the translation of the Bible passage Exodus 22:18 from Latin to English had a direct impact on the prosecution of women as witches. Though in the source language the neutral word *maleficos* was used, the many English Protestant versions employed the feminine pronouns 'she' and 'her' when referencing a witch. (Quaife 91) The resulting English translation became the infamous evidentiary support: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." (King James Bible, Exodus 22:18)

The English witch was consistently perceived and portrayed as being a woman, usually poor, elderly and with a dissolute reputation. This character trait was believed to be passed down to her descendants, frequently within the same villages and even families.[38] (Rosen 20-30) Gifford, in his *A Dialogue*, highlights that a "witch is the vassall of the devill and not he her servant." (sig. C4) In his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Scot believed that most accused witches were poor old women who were victimised by neighbours and magistrates, who were nevertheless known for their "fury and concupiscence" that stemmed in part from the "venomous exhalations" and "pernicious excrements" they expelled. In his *Treatise of Witchcraft*, Roberts underscored women's feebleness of body and mind, which made it easier for them to believe in and attain preternatural powers. Women were more easily deceived, more inquisitive and drawn to the illicit, more easily seduced by the Devil, more likely to fall from grace, more vengeful, and more "full of words" and "slippery tongues that communicated their illicit

[36] The Witchcraft Act of 1604 (1 James 1 c.12) differed from the Witchcraft Act 1563 (5 Elizabeth 1 c.16) mainly by enforcing harsher penalties for those who caused bodily harm, injured goods and cattle and sought love or gold by resorting to preternatural means. Indeed, two clauses were added, making the digging up of corpses, human skin or bones for sorcery, witchcraft and conjuration a felony. Thus, grave rifling, previously a variety of simple theft in England, was now always sided with accusations of death or injury caused by witchcraft. (Rosen 331) After nineteen years without any witch trials and forty-three years, without anyone being executed for witchcraft, this anti-witch legislation was ultimately repealed in 1736. (Scarre 30)

[37] For more on the importance of the relationship between the witch and her animal familiars in the English early modern witch trials, see, for example, Parish "'Paltrie vermin, cats, mise, toads, and weasils.'"

[38] Case in point, see the Pendle witch trials of 1612 discussed in section 2.1.4.

knowledge to all they knew." Thus, women "in a far different proportion prove Witches than men, by a hundred to one; therefore, the Law of God noteth that Sex, as more subject to that sin." (Roberts 40-45) Though Thomas Cooper, in his *The Mystery of Witchcraft*, clarified that "men, as well as women, may be subject to this Trade; seeing as both are subject to the State of damnation," he consistently used female pronouns when referencing a witch. (Cooper 180; Gasser 23-25) All in all, in England "gendered conceptions of sin"[39] determined who was a witch and who was not. (Gasser 116)

Widely depicted in the different media increasingly published after the 1600 – Protestant and Puritan demonological and strixological treatises, witch trials pamphlets, etchings, paintings, furniture, woodcuts, tracts, sermons, devotional and conduct literature, broadsheets, plays and ballads, in printing and in manuscripts[40] – the cultural memory of the woman as witch was not only compelling but also "symbolically and psychologically capacious" and brought "different cultural registers together, elite and popular, classical and carnivalesque." (L. Roper, *The Witch*, 24) The woman as witch remained an "active and powerful figure, culturally constructed throughout history and easily manipulated to fit each age." (Pearson 157) The cultural memory of dread of witches journeyed with the early modern American colonialists as the 1692 Salem witchcraft trials bear ample witness. More significantly, as Hutton underscores "two hundred years later [the woman as witch and her] witchcraft was still widely feared and counter-witchcraft measures continued to be practised amongst long established European-American communities, as well as amongst the millions of new immigrants that poured into the country from across Europe."[41] (Hutton, *Physical,* 298-299)

[39] Early modern science was based on a gendered system called the humoral system. In this system, human bodies were constituted from four 'humours', namely, hot, cold, wet, and dry. The fluctuation and unbalance of these 'humours' conditioned men's and women's health, personality traits, and mental capacity and were behind any disorderly behaviours such as becoming a witch. (Gasser 27, 58)

[40] In the period in question, there was a generalised interest in witchcraft as a literary subject. The lascivious and defiant woman-as-witch was depicted either to instil fear or as a cathartic carnivalesque figure of jest for the reader or the theatre audience. In 1624, Thomas Heywood published an account of women entitled *Gynaikeion: Nine Books of Various History Concerning Women*, devoting one of them to witches. He also wrote a play with Richard Brome titled *The Lancashire Witches*. Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* contains two poems entitled "The Hagg." The woman-as-witch can also be found in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens*, William Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Thomas Middleton's *The Witch*, Thomas Dekker, William Rowley, and John Ford's *The Witch of Edmonton*, and in Thomas Shadwell's *The Lancashire Witches and Tegue O'Divelly The Irish Priest*.

[41] See, for example, Chris Manning's exhaustive survey of the material evidence for British apotropaic magic from colonial and nineteenth-century America and C. Riley Augé's PhD dissertation on the archaeology of domestic magic in colonial New England, which have established the migration of ritual practices, and their research has generated useful models for the identification and interpretation of magic in historic archaeological contexts. Both studies also raise the issue of tracing the regionality of Anglo-American folk magic. It is not too difficult to discern some distinctly Scottish magical practices in the American folklore archive, but getting to the level of English regions is far more challenging.

2.1.1. Why a woman-as-witch?

A contributing factor to the disparagement of women in early modern English thought was the legacy of Aristotle. In Aristotelian and Galenic terms, women's souls were deficient and their bodies inferior, less fully developed and with uncontrolled emissions, more polluting than men's. For him, women were imperfect men. (Lehmann 210)

In St Paul's ascetic views of sexual intercourse, women were perceived above all as a temptation to be curbed under a divinely ordered patriarchal authority.[42] While the metaphor of women as *janua diaboli* [43] derived from Tertullian's *De cultu feminarum*, St Augustine, following in Aristotle's views, considered women as morally and mentally inferior to men – *femina imbecillitas* – prone to evil and easily led by the Devil. Thus, sin was inherently feminine, and Christian hostility towards women as originators of sin was entrenched in the scholarly works of Thomas Aquinas. Though inferior to men and overrun by their sexual appetite, women were a necessary evil for procreation. According to this scholastic thinker and theologian, women's inferiority was not merely the result of Eve's actions but intrinsic to her original creation. Virginity, not fertility, was the desired state. Only by forsaking their sexuality could women evade devilish lust. So, the Virgin Mary cult became a means of exerting patriarchal control over women's sexual liberty and general behaviour. All 'good women' had to emulate the Virgin, and married women should only have sexual intercourse to ensure procreation.[44]

For Protestant reformers such as Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, and the leaders of the English Puritans, men and women were equally created by God. They could equally be chosen in preference to others for salvation. (Wiesner-Hanks 21-22, 30-31) However, because women were perceived as having to carry out the penance for Eve's disobedience (Gen 3:16), any woman with inversionary behaviour must have conceded to the Devil.

Contrary to the Virgin, the woman-as-witch is the subversion of patriarchal authority. (Quaife 85-86; Lehmann 209, 205-208) This symmetry of inversion and binary thought pattern[45] underlined early modern English demonology and the gendering of witchcraft. (R. Briggs, *Witches*, 284; S. Clark, *Thinking*, 107) Furthermore, the vilification of women was

[42] For more on this topic, see, for example, in Abreu, *O Sagrado Feminino*, pp. 129-134.

[43] In English, "the door of the Devil."

[44] For more on this topic see, "Opção pela vida de celibato" and "A santificação da virgindade," in Abreu, *O Sagrado Feminino*, pp. 151-155.

[45] See, for example, S. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*; and Klaits, *Servants of Satan*.

instrumental to the construction of a new patriarchal order where women's bodies, their labour, their sexual and reproductive powers were placed under the control of the state and transformed into economic resources. This means that the witch hunters were less interested in the punishment of any specific transgressions than in the elimination of generalised forms of female behaviour which they no longer tolerated and had to be made abominable in the eyes of the population. (Federici, *Caliban*, 170)

The woman-as-witch in early seventeenth-century England was, thus, the kind of woman who transgressed by inversion.[46] Inversionary forms or disorderly behaviour such as challenging patriarchal rule or behaving in a wilful and domineering manner ('shrews', 'Amazons'); appropriating male control of language ('scolds', 'gossips', women preachers); and seeking sexual superiority or freedom similar to that of men (whores, seductresses, viragos) – marriage, under the control of the husband, was the only appropriate context for any procreative heterosexual sexual activity. Being perceived as subversive, the woman-as-witch was, at this time, the most life-threatening and treacherous stereotype. (S. Clark, *Languages*, 129-133) Also, the woman-as-witch embodied a deep dread of female emasculating deviance.[47] (Hults 15).

During the reign of James VI and I, about ten per cent of enclosure uprisings included women among the insurgents during the anti-enclosure struggles. Some were all-women protests and usually started and led the food revolts.[48] In the confrontations, women held pitchforks and scythes and fought back against the fencing of the land or the draining of the fenlands, which were essential to their livelihoods. (Federici, *Caliban*, 73, 80-81) Besides the fight against feudal power, many women headed the heretical movements, often formed female associations and posed a mounting challenge to patriarchy and the Church. (Federici, *Caliban*, 184) Thus, "the relation between witch-hunting and the increasing

[46] In his article "Inversion, the Witch, and the Other: Conceptualizing Persecution in the Early Modern Witch-Hunts," Justin R. Niermeier-Dohoney clarifies "[a]s opposed to inversion, [othering] is a more complex attempt by societies and individuals to demarcate themselves as separate from and superior to other ethnolinguistic, national, religious, economic, or gendered groups" while inversion is "a method primarily confined to elite prosecutors and persecutors of these subaltern groups — these binary structures better conformed to their Christian viewpoint of the dual nature between good and evil." (Niermeier-Dohoney 2) Hence, he argues that the notion of inversion should be recast as an extreme version of othering, situated "within the greater dynamic process of defining the ideal Christian against the other" and incorporated into "the broader system of othering." (Niermeier-Dohoney 3, 28)

[47] See, for example, Merry E. Wiesner.

[48] In 1607, thirty-seven women, commanded by a "Captain Dorothy," confronted coal miners working in Thorpe Moor (Yorkshire), claimed by the women to be part of the village commons. Forty women went to "cast down the fences and hedges" of an enclosure in Waddingham (Lincolnshire) in 1608; and in 1609, on a manor of Dunchurch (Warwickshire) "fifteen women, including wives, widows, spinsters, unmarried daughters, and servants, rook it upon themselves to assemble at light to dig up the hedges and level the ditches." Later, in York in May 1624, women destroyed an enclosure and went to prison for it - they were said to have "enjoyed tobacco and ale after their feat" in 1641, a crowd of women aided by young boys broke into an enclosed fen at Buckden. (Federici, *Caliban*, 80-81)

enclosure of the female body through the extension of state control over women's sexuality and reproductive capacity [was] a condition for the construction of more stringent forms of social control." (Federici, *Witches*, vii-viii)

By engaging in the inverse type of activities of the traditionally accepted roles for women, the women who acted independently of male control and were assertive enough to achieve financial independence or retaliated against their male adversaries quickly became the anti-mother, the anti-housewife, the woman-as-witch. (Nenonen and Toivo 98; Jackson 72-73) The woman-as-witch rebuffed her given role as the subservient wife and mother. Instead of quiet, obedient, modest, virtuous and homely, she was foul, outspoken, sexually liberated, dominant and outdoorsy.[49] Simply put, the woman-as-witch "rejected the private world of female domesticity for the public world of men." (Coudert 65) She was a rebellious woman. And "rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry."[50] (qtd. in Coudert 65-66)

For example, early modern women's disruptive behaviour can be found in church court cases. With the increased relevance of property privatisation and economic relations, the question of paternity and the conduct of women became fundamental. (Federici, *Caliban*, 87) Many were criminally punished for bearing illegitimate children and for fornication. (Barry et al. 294-295) Other reproductive crimes, such as sexual perversion and infanticide, were common. The use of contraceptives, though not a crime, was demonised.[51] Female sexuality was condemned as the source of sin. However, it was "the main vehicle for a broad restructuring of sexual life that, conforming with the new capitalist work-discipline, criminalised any sexual activity that threatened procreation, the transmission of property within the family, or took time and energies away from work." (Federici, *Caliban*, 193-194)

Accusing women of witchcraft contributed to delegitimising female agency in the public sphere. (Bennett 149) For example, though socially prominent, some women proved easy marks for politically motivated witchcraft accusations because they wielded an unnatural influence over patriarchal niches like

[49] Descriptions of the woman-as-witch are quite similar to the type of woman represented in the medieval morality plays and the *fabliaux*: impulsive, as aggressive and lusty as men, wearing male clothes, or saddling their husbands holding a whip. (Federici 2004 184) The disobedient wife, the scold, the witch, and the whore were the favourite female villains of English Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, popular writers, and moralists. Some form of punishment for female insubordination to patriarchal authority was the *leitmotif* of many misogynous plays and tracts of the time. For example, Shakespeare's *The Taming of The Shrew* , 1593, John Swetnam's *Arraignment of Lewed, Idle, Forward, Inconstant Women*, 1615, and *The Parliament of Women*, 1646. (Federici 2004 101) See also Abreu, *A Reforma da Igreja em Inglaterra*, pp. 698-700, for more on the ridicule of women engaged in political activism.

[50] 1 Samuel 15:23.

[51] The association between contraception, abortion, and witchcraft first appeared in the papal bull titled *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, issued on December 5 1484, by Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492). In it, witches are singled out for "their incantations, charms and conjurings and by other abominable superstitions and sortileges, offences, crimes, and misdeeds, ruin and cause to perish the offspring of women." (Kors and Peters 178)

governance, commerce, religion, or warfare. Accusing them of witchcraft was a way of enforcing patriarchal gender roles and curbing the inversionary female authority. (Bennett 151-152)

In the seventeenth century, women served as healers, counsellors and therapists, farmers, alewives, spinners, domestic servants, and assistants to their husbands in craftwork. As labouring women, they were among the most vulnerable in the economy. However, they were also in competition with men for work in lucrative areas such as brewing. (Barry et al. 304-305) As healers, women were gynaecologists and midwives. They practised as barbers, chiefly as phlebotomists. They were surgeons, mainly bone-setters. They were also physicians, diagnosticians, and apothecaries or herbalists. By adding to their curriculum, the roles of a diviner, prophetess, necromancer, curser and counter-magician, certain women were suspected of witchcraft because they were seen to have too much power, inversionary to the patriarchal norm. (Barstow 60, 110-111)

Hence, "[t]he crucial question about the relationship of women and witchcraft may not be why early modern women practised harmful magic more often than men, but why they seemed to manifest the malefic power ascribed to witches more often than men." (Parish, *Superstition*, 285–286) Transcultural and transhistorical, demonological misogyny and gynophobia [52] – the association of witchcraft with women – is, according to Christina Larner, "sex-related, if not fully sex-determined." (qtd. in Demos, *The Enemy*, 41) Alternatively, Edward Bever asserts, "women in early modern Europe were thought more likely to be witches because the evidence suggests, they were, in fact, more likely to act like witches." ("Witchcraft," 955) It was because women, the keepers of their family's wellbeing, naturally engaged more in sympathetic magic, counter-magic, midwifery and herbalism than men. All of such activities were often mistaken for witchcraft, particularly in the seventeenth century.

The early modern cultural memory of the woman-as-witch was thus prompted by "religion and the regurgitation of the most misogynous biases against women providing ideological justification." (Federici, *Witches*, viii-ix) It further contributed to the "gendering of witchcraft" and the "feminisation of the witch." (Apps and Gow 118-119) Overall, women were perceived as intellectually and psychologically inferior to men; thus, they sinned more easily. Women were perceived to fail to grasp spiritual matters

[52] The Dominican Inquisitors Heinrich Institoris and Jacob Sprenger authored the *Malleus Maleficarum* in 1487. In the title, the word *maleficarum* is a feminine plural noun suggesting that all witches are female. In this seminal work of demonological misogyny, women's susceptibility to witchcraft was "[b]ecause they are defective in all essences, as much of the mind as of the body, it is no wonder if they endeavour to cause more misfortunes in those whom they envy." (qtd. in Apps and Gow 131-132, 135) In the *Malleus* witchcraft, femininity, and sexual sin were interrelated. Also, witchcraft, adultery, and feminine domination undermined society. Thus, "the relationship between sexual deviance and witchcraft was reciprocal: disordered sexual relationships engendered witches, and witchcraft, in turn, disordered sexual relationships." (Broedel 178-179)

adequately and to be more credulous and impressionable in their beliefs. Women's 'inordinate affection'[53] furthered their defiance of God's divinely ordained patriarchal authority[54] and made them disruptive and wicked. Feebleminded, unhinged, with a yielding faith and intrinsically imperfect, women were evil and depraved. More likely to fall back on superstition, the Devil's *mira* more easily deceived women. Inconstant, ambitious, lustful, curious and loquacious women were more willing than men to know illicit things but less proficient in keeping them to themselves. Women were mendacious, proud, vain, cupidinous, malevolent, resentful, and spiteful, all character flaws that the Devil exploited to allure them into his fold more easily. (S. Clark, *Thinking*, 110-114)

The following figures by Durer convey a cautionary representation of the many dangers of inversionary women and their transgressive sexuality. (Hults 16)

---

[53] In Colossians 3:5, this term is used synonymously with evil, desire and lust: "Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry... ."

[54] For a summary of the intellectual and structural foundations of patriarchy and misogyny in early modern England and America, see, for example, Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy*; Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*; Susan D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, especially chapter 2; Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy*; Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs;* Mary. B. Norton, *Founding Mothers & Fathers*; Sarah H. Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*; Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet*; and Kelly. A. Ryan, *Regulating Passion*.

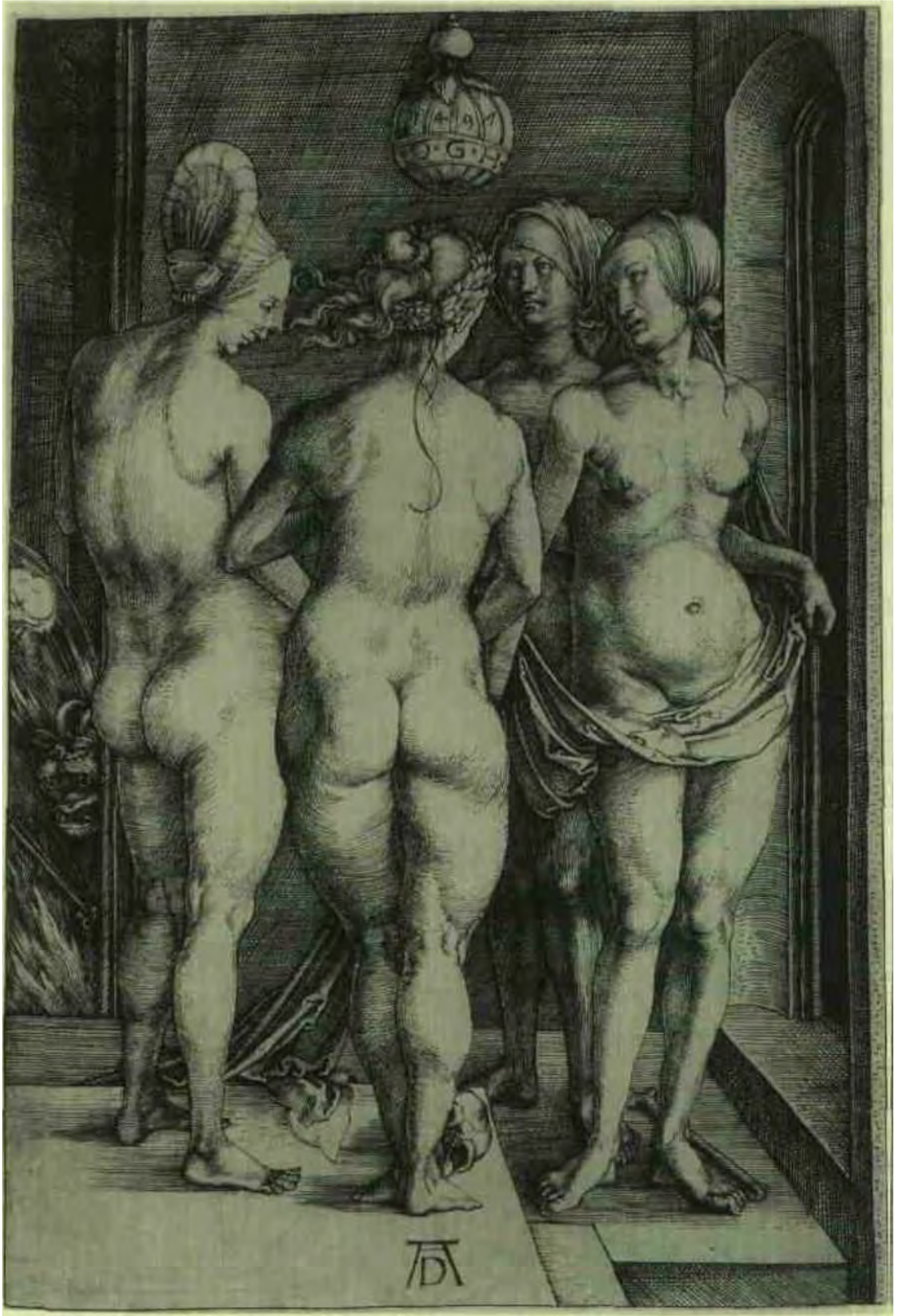


Figure 6. Dürer, Albrecht. “Four Witches.” 1497.

Figure 7. Grien, Hans Baldung. "Three Witches." 1514

In the peasant communities, though popular witchcraft beliefs were perceived as belonging to the female social and cultural spheres, overstepping male-designated boundaries could also ensure witchcraft accusations. Not conforming to her gender identity as a dependable caregiver of nutrition and life exponentially increased the probability of a woman being branded as a witch. The bonds a woman had within her community determined whether a random accusation of witchcraft by a neighbour, friend or relative would lead to a criminal charge of witchcraft or not. (De Blécourt, "The Making," 301, 303-304)

Ignored by religious, judicial and scientific authorities, instead of explicit violence and imbued with natural and cultured assets, like empathy and management of emotional prompts, it fell into the early modern women's social space to resort to indirect aggression. Women used sympathetic magic such as *maleficium* against their antagonists or apotropaic and counter-magic to protect themselves from them. Their accusers, on the other hand, opted for counter-magic or the authorities. Once the religious and civil laws criminalised traditional magic and medicine, many village women became witches, perhaps merely subversive and relatively innocuous. (Parish, *Superstition*, 289, 292-293; Rosen 9; Sharpe, *Instruments*, 188) Witchcraft accusations within the village context rendered a constant negative reinforcement of the censured patterns of female behaviour previously discussed. In many areas, succeeding familial generations, particularly the female members of a family, would live under the systematic suspicion of being witches. (Parish, *Superstition*, 292)

Predictably, women's insecurities as wives and mothers and traumas and disputes between women often resulted in witchcraft tensions, suspicions and accusations. (Sharpe, "Witchcraft," 189, Cameron 115-116) Often they judged themselves as wives and mothers, "their angers, their bitterness, their fears and their failures to live up to the expectation of others." (Levack, *Gender*, 273-274) While for a few women who may have used the opportunity of preternatural agency and concession to shape an identity for themselves, as a form of empowerment and survival, for others, who felt guilt, remorse and shame, warranted or not, it was a negative but self-purging outlet. All the women in a local community were susceptible to being perceived as witches or bewitched. In general, ailment or demise was closely related to daily household tasks carried out by wives and mothers, who also supervised the same domestic goods other women might request, lend and borrow to sustain their families and themselves. (Barry et al. 299-301; Hester 195) Purposefully cultivating a witch-like behaviour and reputation might have ensured the desired outcome, but it nonetheless reinforced the patriarchal *status quo*.

Domestic labour included cooking, churning, spinning, skimming, washing and spinning. When sabotaged by a woman-as-witch, the housewife's expertise and competence to regulate these processes satisfactorily were disrupted. The outcome would be disorder, filth, contamination and inedible food. For instance, milk curdled, ale turned sour and smelled revolting, and cows produced blood-spattered milk. The respectable homemakers were usurped from their control over the processes of housewifery by the woman-as-witch, the anti-wife. (Purkiss, *The Witch*, 97, 102)

In what childcare is concerned, the woman-as-witch was the anti-mother. Other women feared child bewitchment – from foetuses, infants, and toddlers to older children - and were feared above all and still is in many rural communities. It was believed that any woman, with the mere exchange of an object, a look, a touch, an offering of food, showing too much interest or praise would give one woman influence over another woman's child's life and, most importantly, her health. If any abnormal symptoms were exhibited, the mother quickly would endeavour to identify the local anti-mother. The woman-as-witch represented the threat of the mother losing all control over her child's wellbeing and having to experience watching her child's illness, unable to appease her suffering. Thus, a child's bewitchment by a witch mimics the inversion of domestic labour discussed previously. (Purkiss, *The Witch*, 108-110) Expectedly, in the women's stories, the witch was a woman who pursued an improperly close or quasi-maternal kind of relationship with a good housewife and mother and her children. (Purkiss, *The Witch*, 108-110)

Moreover, as a cultural construct, witchcraft may have led some women to feel that, for example, the unexplained death of a child might have been their fault. (Barry et al. 299-301) Perhaps lacking the language to describe or explain their ordeals, or the emotional availability to manage their fear, sense of betrayal and abuse, belief in the preternatural and the Devil's *mira* may have been the only manageable response for many women. As victims, these women could, in turn, victimise others from the confinement of their domesticity, i.e., from their traditionally demarcated female domains like the home, the kitchen, the sickroom, the nursery, the dairy and the laundry, employing "culturally defined female tasks or occupations and their direct opposites - feeding (poisoning), child-rearing (infanticide), healing (harming), birth(death)." (Levack, *Gender*, 263-265)

All things above considered, we thus entirely agree with James A. Sharpe when he concludes that

> [o]n the level of contemporary demonological theory, the connection between women and witchcraft can be traced back to the patriarchal and misogynist attitudes ingrained in male writers. On a village level, this connection rested much more on how female power and female rivalries worked themselves out in a social framework whose values may well ultimately have been patriarchal, but which left ample room for women to interact, to argue, to come into friction with each other, and to develop and follow their own social strategies. (*Witchcraft*, 193-194)

2.1.2. Which woman-as-witch?

As discussed above, women were not accused of being witches because they were women but "because the activities known as 'witchcraft' were closely associated with the kind of moral and physical weakness to which- women were considered to be especially, but not exclusively, prey." (Maxwell-Stuart 62-63) Besides, as Larner also asserts, witch accusations were more often directed against those women who "challenged patriarchal views of the ideal submissive and dependent female." (Breslaw 286) However, not all women were suspected or accused of the crime of witchcraft. Primarily, a woman's age, character traits and behaviour, and socioeconomic status would amplify or abate her susceptibility to being perceived as a witch.

Though some of the accused women were as young as eighteen or even younger, and those executed were not always the oldest, nearly 85 per cent of the women as witches were menopausal and postmenopausal. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 160; Hester 164-165,167) Older women were expected to be more likely to resort to *maleficium* due to "their psychophysical predisposition and the sociocultural pressures on them." (Bever, *The Realities*, 57)

Seventeenth-century humoral medicine emphasised that the female constitution was colder than the male's; thus, women aged earlier.[55] (Rowlands, *Witchcraft*, 178) Furthermore, since disrupting the humoral equilibrium caused disease, older women who were no longer purging their bodies by

[55] For more on seventeenth-century humoral medicine and women's health, see James VI and I's physician Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia*. See also, Botelho, "Old Age and Menopause in Rural Women of Early Modern Suffolk" in Botelho and Thane, *Women and Ageing in British Society since 1500*. For links between age, fertility and witchcraft, see, for example, Bever, "Old Age and Witchcraft Fears in Early Modern Europe" in Stearns, *Old Age in Pre-Industrial Europe*; Rowlands, "Witchcraft and Old Women in Early Modern Germany;" L. Roper, *Witch Craze*; and Ulinka Rublack, "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions."

menstruating were themselves diseased and infectious, releasing from their eyes 'beames & vapors' distressing and contaminating people.[56] The profusion of black bile, clotted blood, and stagnant humours in their bodies would reach the older female feeble brain, distress her mind and taint her imagination, becoming even more defenceless against the Devil's *mira*. (Davies and Matteoeni 15-18) One of the unfortunate consequences of it all was the viciousness recurrently and thoroughly directed against older women's bodies. For example, as it was believed that older women's hardened bodies could withstand any pain, authorities would come up with increasingly inhumane forms of inflicting it on suspected older women as witches. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 173)

The culmination of a woman's reproductive effectiveness and prospects and the associated hormonal imbalances seemingly brought about objectionable changes in personality such as less self-restraint and more aggressiveness, as well as a weathered look, facial hair, bent posture resulting from osteoporosistic bones, and furrowed skin. Other physical changes might include the unusual growth of facial hair, a hump and tooth loss. The latter causes the face to cave in, the nose to appear hooked, and protruding eyes.[57] (Read, *Menstruation*, 178) Moreover, a squint, a squeaky voice, a limp, a hare lip, a club foot, retarded speech or contorted face – probable signs of a stroke – and the generalised effect of the abnormal physical appearance in dictating the stereotypical exterior attributes of a woman-as-witch was sure. (Quaife 168)

Menopause also promoted these women's sexual emancipation due to their newfound sterility.[58] As a woman could no longer conceive, "her sexuality [was] terrifying: desire that [did] not lead to fertility." (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 64) The feminine power of the hag woman-as-witch resided beyond the maternal role, outside the domestic sphere and circumvented early modern gender conventions. (Breuer 117-118, 119,121) In other words, women during the climacteric stage[59] were outwardly more prone to exhibiting

---

[56] The concept of a woman-as-witch's body as an ambulatory source of emanating pollution resulted from the conception of the porosity and permeability of human and animal bodies. It increased exponentially the danger of contamination from bodily fluids like blood, urine and milk, particularly since blood was understood as a means of exchange, contagion and empowerment. (Davies and Matteoni 17-18) Outside medical treatises, the only other text in which menopause was discussed is Scots's *Discovery of Witchcraft*. He asserted that post-menopausal women were particularly at risk of being accused of the crime "upon the stopping of their monthly melancholic flux or issue of blood" since this made them prone to the belief that they could command the Devil. For "as these beames & vapors doo proceed from the hart of the one, so are they turned into bloud about the hart of the other: which bloud disagreeing with the nature of the bewitched partie, infeebleth the rest of his bodie." (qtd. in Read 178) See also, Rublack, "Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Female Body in Early Modern Germany."

[57] Uncommon eyes or an eerie stare was linked to the concept of the 'evil eye'. It was broadly held that a woman-as-witch could bewitch anyone just by looking at them. The stare of a witch instantly triggered upsetting and apprehensive feelings in those on the receiving end. (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 174) This subject is discussed in more detail in the following section.

[58] In favour of sexual equality for seventeenth-century women, see, for example, Jane Anger's *Her protection for Women*; William Heale's *An Apologie for Women*; and *Hic Mulier; or, The Man-woman*; and *Haec-Vir: or the Womanish-Man*.

[59] The changeover from the reproductive to the non-reproductive period in a woman's life. It encompasses two to eight years before and after menopause and corresponds to a multifaceted period in a woman's life due to biological, psychological and social changes.

or purposefully adopting – to enforce deference and ensure survival – the inversionary behaviour associated with witchcraft. (Bever 2008 57-60; L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 161) As Lyndal Roper settles, "women of all ages can be witches, and their witch-like qualities are related to their connection with the old woman, the most terrifying witch of all. Because women's bodies inevitably age, all crones were potential old witches." (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 168) The postulation that witches were chiefly older women was so extensive that in confessions, it is frequently mentioned seeing older women keeping company with the Devil. They were regular yet undesirable guests at the houses of younger neighbours. (Briggs 1996 269) Younger women would admit to having been initiated into witchcraft by other older women. As such, "the post-maternal witch-hag" was a depraved and corrupting mother – "monstrous maternity". (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 173-174; Breuer 116, 128)

One of the most noteworthy depictions of the hag or the crone woman-as-witch in art came from Albrecht Dürer and his *Witch Riding Backwards on a goat* (ca. 1500). It aptly exemplifies the inversionary behaviour of the postmenopausal woman. The "aged female form, presented as an inappropriate, indecorous, and disconcerting spectacle, embodied sial and moral disruption."[60] (Hults 73)

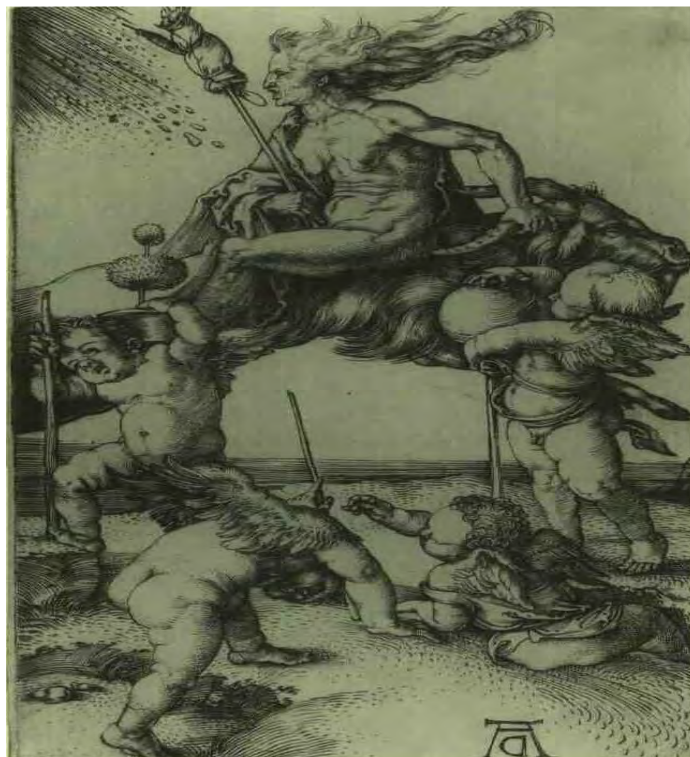


Figure 8. Dürer, Albrecht. "Witch Riding Backwards on a goat." Ca. 1500.

[60] For a detailed analysis of this engraving, see Charles Zika's *Dürer and his Culture*.

In another example, the (un)attractive older woman-as-witch in the picture below denotes an abrasive refusal to curb her inversionary behaviour and to be dismissed as an object of desire. She unapologetically flaunts her hard, dried-up naked body. (Purkiss, *The Witch*, 127)

Figure 9. Deutsch, Niklaus Manuel. “Witch.” Ca.1518.

Equally detrimental to women of any age were their inversionary behaviour and socially transgressing emotions, i.e., the failure or deliberate disregard for controlling their negative emotions and wants in early-modern socially and gender-appropriate ways. (Broomhall 291) For example, being idle, sluttish, adulterous and whorish, and resorting to vituperation, meaning being a scold,[61] were perilous attributes for a woman or a wife. (Walker 101-102) Scolds' verbal abuse and conflicts with neighbours disrupted the peace and harmony of the community. (Amussen, *Gender*, 27-31) From the later sixteenth century onward, the typical scold was a noisy, quarrelsome, brawling, loquacious, sexually insatiable, economically headstrong, backbiting and physically vicious female. Scolding became a crushingly female offence committed by women of lower status against their more fortunate contemporaries or their superiors, thus subverting the expectations associated with them in the social and gender hierarchies. (Fletcher and Stevenson 120-121) As unruly and inversionary women, scolds were branded and punished to assert women's free speech as verbal transgressions. Any woman expressing her views, verbally resisting or obstinately flouting authority in and beyond the household made her dangerously subversive and challenging to the underlying dictate of patriarchal rule. It was also another manifestation of their disordered nature.[62] (Walker 101-102; Amussen, *Gender*, 27-31) Women's unrestricted and raucous diatribes, speaking out heatedly towards neighbours and family in public, were considered perilous and forceful, as wicked or imprudent words could open up people to the Devil's influence. They could also quickly turn into swearing and blaspheming, grumbling, murmuring, defaming, and of course, cursing. (Broomhall 292-293)

Curses could be articulated hot-headedly, or they could be carefully ritualised acts.[63] (Goodare 273-276) Curses were a woman's verbal weapon of significant efficacy. From the recipient's standpoint, angry, threatening or blasphemous words grumbled, muttered or mumbled under a woman's breath might transmute into a physical occurrence. (Millar, *Witchcraft,* 96-97) An unwarranted curse would

---

[61] From the fourteenth century onward, as an adjective, this term was attributed to unsuitable wives and witches alike. It became a strongly pejorative label in its destructive impact, second only to 'whore'. In criminal terms, a scold was an individual liable to prosecution and punishment for continually disturbing the neighbours with contentious behaviour. (Kermode and Walker 50) Scolding was an offence of women that could be prosecuted in ecclesiastical courts, where it was a breach of Christian charity, and in both manorial and royal courts, where it was a disturbance of the peace. When prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, the sentence for scolding was penance. The punishments in local courts could be a fine or being carted through the town and ducked into the cucking stool. (Amussen, *Gender*, 27-31)

[62] In Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome's play *The Lancashire Witches*, the local community is thrown into chaos by the inversion of social and familial norms: overbearing wives rule their husbands, children, and parents, servants their employers. 'This is quite upside-down ... sure they are all bewitched.' The natural order must have been satanically inverted. When the virtuous wife of Mr Generous starts behaving independently, riding abroad alone and concealing her actions from her husband, it is the first step towards ruin. In the end, the witches are brought to justice. The natural lines of marital and social obedience were restored, and the world turned right side up again. (Fletcher and Stevenson 118)

[63] About the religious ritual use of cursing in England and the physical survival of cursing tablets and magical formulae, see, for example, Thomas, *Religion*, pp. 599-611.

rebound against its author. However, the more justified the curser's anger, the more likely the curse would come into effect for the credulous and the guilty.[64] (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 174) If a neighbour or relative entered into economic conflict[65] with a woman and was sent away, perhaps mumbling a malediction, she was perceived as redressing her grievance. In due course, whenever something went wrong with the said household, she would immediately be thought of and summarily held as being responsible. (Thomas, *Religion*, 659-661) As Gifford describes in his *A Discourse*,

> [t]he poore old witch, pined with hunger, goeth abroad unto some of her neighbours, and there begge a little milke which is denied. Shee threatneth that she will be even with them. Home shee returneth in great fury, cursing, and raging, Forth shee calleth her spirite, and willeth him to plague such a man. Away goeth hee. Within few howres after the man is in such torment, that he can not tell what hee may doe. Hee doth thinke himselfe unhappy that he was so foolish to displease her. (48)

It was pretty likely that some women knowingly exploited their reputations for begging purposes or performed minor spiteful acts of retaliation with the intent that they would be construed as witchcraft by their victims. People would not want to taunt, mock or deny charity to a reputed woman-as-witch if forewarned of a retaliatory threat by witchcraft. (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 175-177) Ultimately, a reputation for efficacious cursing could easily lead to a formal charge of witchcraft. As Cooper asserts in his *The Mystery of Witchcraft*: "[w]hen a bad-tongued woman shall curse a party, and death shall shortly follow, this is a shrewd token that she is a witch." (275)

Being branded by their peers, neighbours and relatives as envious, resentful, spiteful, boastful, miserable, scolds, peevish, argumentative and anti-social would increase women's chances of being accused as witches.[66] Their ill repute would make it much more likely for them to be accused, arrested,

[64] It has been demonstrated that the inhabitants of modern primitive societies can afflict their enemies with aches and pains, vomiting and insomnia, by sheer suggestion. Also, the effect of the voodoo curse upon a person who believes in its efficacy is well authenticated. It is also capable of physiological explanation, for shock can decrease blood pressure and produce dehydration. (Thomas, *Religion*, 602, 607-608, 609, 610-611)

[65] Economic conflict comprises several forms of disagreements around borrowing, lending, buying, selling, begging and obtaining work, as well as any other issues relating to one's financial well-being and a breach of charity and neighbourliness. (Hester 195-196) For example, if a woman was not paid for her services or was sent away empty-handed when she came to the door to beg or borrow some butter, cheese, yeast, milk, beer, a piece of equipment or money.

[66] In English witchcraft pamphlets, the majority of English witches were described in print as uncontrolled women who were unable to control their emotions and who gave in to anger to exercise revenge because of their link to the Devil. Women as witches were often described as 'spightfull and malitious', 'monstrous', of a 'revengeful nature' or simply 'ill-natured'. It is significant that of the twenty-three witchcraft pamphlets published between 1566 and 1645,

charged and convicted of witchcraft in the short or long run. (Macfarlane 158-159; Bever, *The Realities*, 40-55) A soiled reputation invited probable cause for many other seventeenth-century criminal activities associated with witchcraft. Some examples include recusancy, church negligence, religious nonconformity, unlicensed healing practices and midwifery, petty theft, assault, fornication, prostitution, bigamy, adultery, rape, buggery,[67] drunkenness, scolding, disseminating discordance, cheating and panhandling, arson, piracy, coining and treason, and infanticide. (Gaskill, *Crime*, 70-72) All in all, the female body was seemingly at the centre of women-associated crimes. (Read 157)

Women often married younger than men, frequently spending significant portions of their lives as widows. Seventeenth-century women's economic status was linked to their reproductive status, older women, such as widows and unmarried women, were the least likely to be self-sufficient, and they made up a significant number of the women as witches. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 156-157; Klaits 94-95; Hester 167; Wiesner-Hanks 286-287) In some villages, the widowed were up to a third of the villagers, and the number of widows was more than double that of widowers. Only twenty-five per cent of women over sixty were married, and one-third of them were married to men a decade or younger than themselves. (Quaife 164-165) Others would probably marry an older man, a widower with children, becoming the often-begrudged stepmothers. If the second husband died, the stepsons or stepdaughters were bound by a legal contract to provide for them. (Wiesner-Hanks 286-287) Many widows were householders who lived with their children, while only a few lived as lodgers or in institutions. (Quaife 164-165) Most of these women, as legal wards, were financially at the mercy of their younger male relatives, living under their roof and supervision.

Women were expected to be both financially dependent on men and remain economically inferior to them. (Hester 195-196) Thus, the occasional affluent widow had to shield her property and privileges from trespass by her younger relatives or neighbours. There is some indication of antagonism toward women who were substantial property owners in their own right, whose socioeconomic status was therefore perceived as abnormal. (Bever, *The Realities*, 57-60; R. Briggs, *Witches*, 273-274) Separated by marriage from their kin by blood, they became almost exclusively dependent on their husband's family

only one fails to refer to witches as malicious or vengeful or to indicate revenge, malice, rage, anger or hate as the main reasons for a witch's choice to resort to *maleficium*. With only three exceptions, in every single one of these pamphlets, a witch takes revenge on her neighbours through the power provided by her diabolical spirits. Post-1645, references to vengeful and malicious begin to decrease and almost disappear in the pamphlets from the 1650s and 1660s, returning in the 1670s and 1680s. (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 92-83, 90-91)

[67] Combined with factors such as marital status, age, whether other kin had been accused, relation with the Devil, and economic conflict, a sizeable number of women accused of witchcraft were equally associated with sexual deviance since they were generally perceived to be prone to do so. (Hester 196-197) For a more in-depth discussion, see Hester, *Lewd Women and Wicked Witches*, Chapter 7: "Gender relations and the Economy," "Ideology and Marriage: Expectations and Social Control," and "The 'Popular Controversy.'"

to protect them. When stepfamily disputes over property arose, these women were left in harm's way. Their husband's family perceived them as outsiders, thus not allowing them the same degree of support. Instead, they would abandon these women if their reputation as a woman-as-witch threatened to blemish the whole family. Also, living somewhat outside the conservative hierarchy of a family or a household and outside standard patterns of control, independent women were anomalies in the patriarchal order. Both kinship conflicts, stepchildren animosity, or the perceived inversionary public behaviour would frequently result in the initial accusations by a relative or in-law, often females, that they were women as witches. (Levack, *Gender*, 52; R. Briggs, *Communities*, 56-60; Sharpe, *Instruments*, 172)

Since women were more likely to be a party to their peers' and rivals' conflicts and incidents of inversionary behaviour, a considerable proportion of women formally testified against other women in witchcraft cases. (Levack, *Gender*, 123) A regrettable instance was the trials of mothers and daughters. Roughly a third of the women as witches stated during their inquiries or trials that they had been introduced to witchcraft by an older woman – mother, sister or another member of their community. (Hester 194) The identification of a daughter by a mother, or vice versa, as a witch revealed a familial network of women as witches. It also pinned down the demonologists' argument that witchcraft was a matrilineal genetic inheritance. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 173-174) More than enough justification for the authorities to condemn many children to death alongside their mothers. (De Blécourt, *Cultures*, 28)

The "cumulative scapegoating" of a woman-as-witch may have initially resulted from a falsehood, unsubstantiated rumour or embellishment.[68] However, because of her inversionary behaviour and socially transgressive emotions throughout her lifetime, she would hardly have escaped the constant scrutiny and the fearmongering about her being a witch, hence becoming a perceptible threat to her family and community. (Quaife 183-184) The types of disruptive women who had long been suspected of being witches were more exposed to formal charges from their relatives and neighbours when clergy, landlords, and judges entertained the legitimacy of the alleges. In brief, only time would firm a significant and ubiquitous reputation of any woman-as-witch. (Klaits 103; Wiesner-Hanks 293)

[68] Martha J. Reineke agrees with René Girard, who argues for the pertinence of sacrificial theory to discuss witch hunts and the women accused of being witches. As scapegoats, they were fatalities of a sacrificial economy. Girard's concept of 'mimetic violence' highlights the failure of personal and social limits when the propagation of pollution markers in communities, such as illness, bourgeoned conflict. A single individual, once identified as the source of pollution, would constitute an absolute destabilising threat to everyone else. The sacrificial theory thus asserts that mimetic violence escalates along with surrogate victimisation or scapegoating. Narratives of the witch hunts confirm the same pattern: witches had to be identified and executed to disseminate the violence they had allegedly instilled and restore peace to the community. (Reineke, 129-130, 150-151) For further information about this topic, see, for example, Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, and *The Scapegoat*.

2.1.3. Types of woman-as-witch

The definition of a witch is hard to settle. Thus, for the present study, we have focused solely on two types of woman-as-witch systematised by Julian Goodare: the village witch and the demonic witch.[69] (*The European*) Its meaning is echoed in the perceived composite inter-relationships of the words used for it in different periods, cultures and languages.[70] Goodare's designation best encompasses the cultural memory of the woman perceived as the "malevolent intermediary," that is, the woman-as-witch. A feature we will be discussing in the literary media about the Salem witch hunt later in our work. (Newall and Briggs x) Goodare's systematisation of the different witch types is outlined in the two diagrams below.

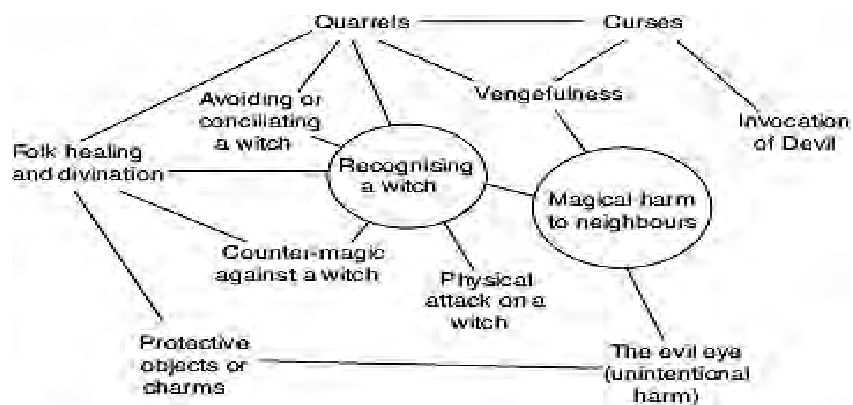


Figure 10. Goodare. "The village witch." 90.

Figure 11. Goodare. "The demonic witch." 77.

[69] Similarly, Millar refers to "malefic witchcraft" versus "diabolic witchcraft" (Millar, *Witchcraft*), and Jensen uses the term "heretic witch," as in league with the Devil.

[70] In English, for example, the word 'witch' comes from the early medieval Old English words 'wicca' (masculine) and 'wicce' (feminine). Both derived from the verb 'wiccian,' which meant to practise harmful magic or divination. As synonyms, we have 'conjurer,' 'diviner', 'enchanter/enchantress', 'magician', 'necromancer', 'sorcerer/sorceress', 'warlock' and 'wizard', 'hag', 'sibyl' and 'pythoness'. (Goodare, *The European*, 17)

As pointed out by Goodare, diabolism is the opposite focal aspect between these two types of witches: the village witch and the demonic witch. Besides engaging in *maleficium*, the demonic witch has also firmed an elaborate compact with the Devil, becoming part of a heretical sect with all that it entailed. We will now discuss these types of witches in further detail.

2.1.3.1. The village witch and *maleficium*

Figure 12. *The Wonderful Discoveries of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Philip Fowers*. 1619.

"Some call me witch,
And being ignorant of my self, they go
About to teach me how to be one; urging,
That my bad tongue (by their bad language made so)
Forespeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,
Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse.
This they enforce upon me; and in art
Make me to credit it."
(Ford et al. 196)

Maleficium, manipulating preternatural powers with malicious intent, was the most elementary form of witchcraft. (Wilby 44-45) However, in his *A Discourse of the Damned Art*, the English demonologist Perkins adds three other forms of *malleficia*. First, juggling, which was fashioning alterations or illusions. Second, divining was revealing events from the past, present, or future. And lastly, enchanting or the use of spells. (E. Carlson 40)

To the seventeenth-century English communities, particularly the more remote ones, *maleficium* was very palpable.[71] Housewives particularly struggled to keep themselves and their households safe[72] from it by employing apotropaic magic and counter-magic, mediation and conciliation methods, unprompted physical retaliation, and ultimately official legal sanctions. Most village witch accusations and trials included charges of *maleficium* . (Bever, *The Realities*, 23-25) In witchcraft trial records, it is possible to find many cases of allegations and counterclaims involving instances of *maleficium* by the village witch.[73] The roster was wide-ranging. For example, the village witch influenced the weather by conjuring storms, floods, wildfires, epidemics, droughts, blunting weapons in battle, shipwrecks and wreckages. It also includes problems associated with farming. For example, the upending of a plough crew, a bad harvest or the destruction of entire crops. The deterioration of goods by magically stealing their essence. The infestation of an unsoiled household with lice. The disruption of household processes like milking, spinning, and brewing of beer went sour, and batches of butter would not curdle. The harming of farm animals or obstruction of their produce, like eggs, milk or wool.

Furthermore, the village witch was also believed to cause erectile dysfunction in men, loss of libido, inability to conceive in women, and ending romantic relationships. She could harm or torment people through illness, induce paralysis, fits, delusions and compulsive behaviours, accidents, nightmares, hallucinations, misfortunes and demise. Moreover, she was believed to bring failure to enterprises, poverty and the deliberate waning of entire families. All in all, "[v]irtually all basic human misfortune may be attributed to the [village] witch, who becomes a scapegoat for almost every ill." (Newall and K. Briggs 204)

---

[71] Bever systematises the varieties of *maleficium* and details the "somatoform disorders - psychophysical ailments including somatisation disorder, conversion disorder, and pain disorder - associated with it." He also further provides a comprehensive overview of beneficent, manipulative and healing magic and other popular magical practices. See Bever, *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe*.

[72] Among other wifely duties, it was a housewife's job to keep the household healthy. She was expected to offer basic medical care to her own families and routinely consulted experienced neighbours or cunning folk healers. (R. Briggs, *Witches*, 270) In his book *The English Housewife*, first published in 1625, Gervase Markham describes the role of the English housewife. It was reprinted at least five times by 1648. Published in 1685, Thomas Tryon's book, *The Good Housewife made a Doctor*, validates that though housewives could not be expected to cure every disease, they should be capable of ending the most common ailments, including the plague, labour pains and re-growing hair. (Read, *Maids*, 5-6)

[73] Not to be confused with the English cunning folk mentioned previously in sub-chapter 2.1.

Figure 13. Molitor, Ulrich. "Two witches cooking up a storm." *De laniis et phitonicis mulieribus*. 1496-1500.

To achieve the bewitchment of her intended victim(s), the village witch would resort to several malefic rituals and artefacts. They involved covertly conjured spells and incantations, as well as ritualised or impromptu actions and gestures. Also indispensable was the preparation of potions, salves and powders. The crafting of charms and trinkets imbued with powerful magic and to which body parts or other objects belonging to the victim could be added. For example, the drawing of a circle, cutting, destroying or piercing of images and the use of wax or clay figures representing the victim (poppets). Alternatively, the village witch's breath, touch, blow, or curses are directly uttered at the victim or written down and buried. (Klaniczay and Pócs 51; Wilby 44-45; Thomas 519; Bever, *The Realities*, 23-25; Darr 101-102; Goodare 99)

The village witch was also believed to release harmful emanations from her eyes. The 'evil eye' of the village witch was a look that impaired the person being gawked. It was brought on by the witch's feelings of jealousy or envy. However, the effect on the victim could be either intended or unintended by the looker. (Goodare 112) Mothers with infants were thought to be particularly exposed to the 'evil eye'.

Both infants and their mothers seemingly attracted the jealousy or envy of infertile (older) women. When these women called at their house, in a too friendly or inquisitive mood, a misfortune occurred. (Goodare 103-104) Because in the popular cultural memory, the village witch persisted as the malevolent mother. (Willis 28-29)

The images below are but a few examples that illustrate the different paraphernalia a village witch would handle.

Figure 14. Gonçalves, Inês. Mummified cats and vermin buried in the walls of homes. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.[74]

[74] See, for example, Brian Hoggard, *Magical House Protection: the Archaelogy of Counter-Witchcraft.*

Figure 15. Gonçalves, Inês. Recreation of a charm against stillbirths and spontaneous abortions. Museum of Withcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

Figure 16. Gonçalves, Inês. Detail of a protective charm against witchcraft for farmers and their homesteads. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

Figure 17. Gonçalves, Inês. Examples of clay and wax poppets. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

Figure 18. Gonçalves, Inês. Poppet of stuffed fabric with a stiletto dagger through the face. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

Figure 19. Gonçalves, Inês. More examples of charms and image magic paraphernalia. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

Figure 20. Gonçalves, Inês. More examples of charms and image magic paraphernalia are in the Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

The village witch also kept animal familiars – spirits or fairies[75] - popularly referred to as 'imps' or 'niggets'. They would metamorphose into humans, but mostly they took the form of small or domesticated animals. Commonly they metamorphosed into dogs, cats, toads, ferrets, hares, hedgehogs, mice, rats, rabbits, squirrels, weasels, polecats, snails, snakes, calves, chickens, turkey cocks, and different kinds of birds and insects. It meant these familiars took the shape of farm animals, vermin and pets easily found in the village witch's surroundings. (Hutton, *The Witch*, 262) In encounter narratives, the familiars seemingly came to the witch's aid when she most needed or asked for it. The type of help was contingent on the nature of the problem and the desired solution. This compact was forged allegedly because the animal familiars alleviate, in some way, the sufferings caused by her struggle for survival. (Wilby 46-51) While some confessed that the Devil gave them their familiars, others told how they had received them from mothers, grandmothers or friends. (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 181-183)

The animal familiars also afforded the village witch journeys to gatherings where she would enjoy the company of her peers, feasting, drinking, dancing, music, transvection[76], animal metamorphosis and learning *maleficium* . In return, among other stipulations, she was expected to pledge her body and soul into indentured servitude to the Devil for most, if not the rest of her life. (Wilby 92-101)

In English encounter narratives, particularly those from the Home Counties, one can find detailed accounts of animal familiars suckling on blood from a 'papp', 'dugg' or 'teat' on the witch's body, namely on her genitalia or anus. By 'scratching', 'pricking', or 'nipping' at the Witch's Mark,[77] the familiars would suckle a few drops of blood to feed themselves. Nevertheless, they generally required nothing more than a bowl of whatever the witch could provide them. (Wilby 106-110; Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 64) The village witch nursed her familiars like infants, and they were often given apparent baby names. In her "monstrous maternity", the witch's teat, an adulterated organ improperly displaced into a part of her body related to effluence, dispensed blood instead of milk. (Purkiss, *The Witch*, 130-136)

[75] Fairies could be dismissed as delusions or reconstructed as demons in disguise. (Oldridge, "Fairies," 2-3) Their appearance and behaviour were consistent from the earliest trials in the 1560s to the end of the legal prosecutions. The later "demonisation" of the fairies may have been an attempt to reconcile the Protestant Devil with the popular cultural memory of evil spirits. (Oldridge, "Fairies," 8) Fairies were rarely depicted as demons in chapbooks and ballads as deceptive and untrustworthy spirits. (Oldridge, "Fairies," 12)

[76] In the early modern period in western and central Europe, some postulated using an ointment of soporific herbs such as henbane and belladonna to explain witches' flight as the deluded visions of older women. Others maintained that the Devil caused bodily flight, while the ointment witches applied on themselves was composed of abominable and inversionary ingredients such as the rendered fat of murdered babies. (Ostling 30-32) See section 2.4.2 ahead.

[77] Not to be mistaken for the Devil's Mark - a spot on a witch's body presumed to be impervious to pain or exsanguination. (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 59) See section 2.4.2 ahead.

Also, trial records mention familiars being concealed in glass or leather bottles, crystals, basket boxes, and pottery lined with wool and hidden under the stairs or by the hearth. Or under borders of foliage in the garden, the roots, or the hollows of trees. (Wilby 59-77)

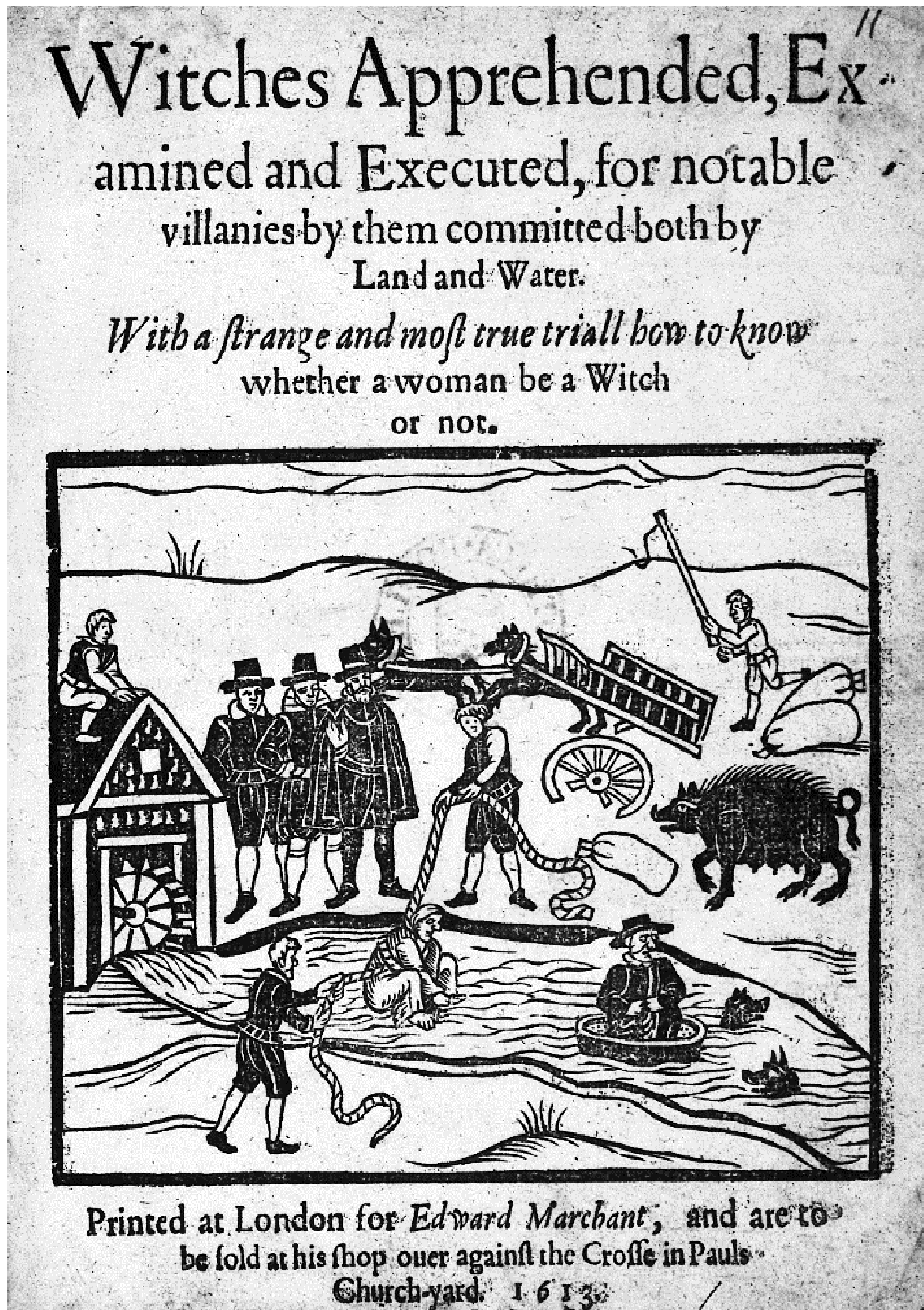
Figure 21. "A rehearsall both straung and true, of hainous and horrible actes comitted by Elizabeth Stile." 1579.

Preternatural signs and circumstantial evidence were required to prosecute a village witch besides aggrieved witnesses attesting to her firm reputation as a witch. Some of the more common methods were, for example, the swimming test, avowing her failure to cry, summoning her presence by burning a personal item and scratching her.[78] By scratching the village witch with nails and drawing blood, the bewitched victim would be exorcised, thus ascertaining the witch's identity and crime. When looking for physical evidence of witchcraft on the witch's body, examiners or the alleged victims searched and pricked the witch's body for the Witch's Mark. (Darr 173-177)

From the sixteenth century onwards, the liturgical trial by water used for the persecution of heretics was readapted as a method to identify witches. The swimming test involved stripping a suspected witch down to her shift, tying her left toe to her right thumb and right toe to her left thumb, passing a line under her armpits, and throwing her into a pond or river. If she floated, she was a witch since water would reject anything impure. The buoyancy of her body was seen as a sign that she was possessed by demons

[78] The swimming test came late to England, being first recorded as a novel practice in a pamphlet of 1613. Never a part of the official process against witches, it was also used in cases of theft, adultery and homicide, and some magistrates refused to conduct these for reasons of illegality. As torture was illegal in early modern England, though swimming and scratching were used as a pre-trial investigation into the crime of witchcraft, even if they were preternatural evidentiary, their results could not be admitted into evidence. (Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 53-55; Darr 158, 171, 195)

or the Devil himself. If they sank, it demonstrated their innocence. Men hanging on to the ends of the rope would quickly remove them from the water. This process differed from the also well-known ducking stool. (Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 53-55; Klaniczay and Pócs 135-136, 145)



Witches Apprehended, Ex-
amined and Executed, for notable
villanies by them committed both by
Land and Water.
With a ſtrange and moſt true triall how to know
whether a woman be a Witch
or not.

Printed at London for *Edward Marchant*, and are to
be ſold at his ſhop ouer againſt the Croſſe in Pauls
Church-yard. 1613.

Figure 22. Swimming a witch. *Witches Apprehended, Examined and Executed*. 1613.

To break the physical and spiritual relationship between the village witch and her victim – the spell or bewitchment – afflicting her body was crucial. Acts of physical assault, or harmful rituals of sympathetic counter-magic, such as the use of witch bottles, were performed to cause witches severe pain remotely.[79] (Davies and Matteoni 18-19, 20,21)

Burning the thatch from a witch's roof would symbolically smoke the victims' suffering. Making a witch cake, with the urine from the bewitched person mixed with some grain, and then burning it on the fire. It would afflict the urinary-genital system of the supposed witch, forcing her to reveal herself. Asking the witch to say the Lord's Prayer, for she could not say the words 'forgive us our trespasses.' (Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 53-55)

Other methods of collecting preternatural evidence and of punishment, torture and public humiliation of the witch also included, for instance, the witch scale and the scold's bridle, also called a witch's bridle, a brank's bridle, or simply branks, similar to the ones in the following pictures.

[79] The bottle symbolised the witch's bladder. In it, pins or any other sharp-edged objects such as tree bark, fragments of wood, blades of grass, thorns or needles were inserted. Then a little white salt and the victim's urine or other body fluids and other organic objects such as nail parings, human hair, bones of small animals such as voles and rats, frog skin, seaweed, stones, masses of lead, insects and small lizards were added. Other image magic objects like small human figures, dolls, effigies, pieces of fabric, and written charms could also be added to the bottle. This concoction was believed to cause excruciating pain in the witch's bladder, forcing her to relinquish whatever spell she had placed on her victim. (Hoggard 10-11)

Figure 23. Gonçalves,, Inês. Witch scale. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

Figure 24. Gonçalves, Inês. Witch's bridle. Museum of Witchcraft and Magic in Boscastle, Cornwall, UK. 2016. Author's personal collection.

2.1.3.2. The demonic witch and diabolism

By the 17th century, a new element became predominant in the cumulative heterogenous cultural memory of the village witch: diabolism.[80] The emphasis shifted from the village witch's *maleficium* to the assault on Christianity led by the Devil and his "collectivity of apostates", the demonic witches. (Johnstone 12-13) The demonic witch became frequently portrayed in English pamphlets as a diabolical co-conspirator, labouring together with her peers as part of a hierarchical heretical society of servants to the Devil, their godlike leader. (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 147-148, 174) As an apostate, the demonic witch's crime is no longer one of *maleficium* but one of treachery.[81] (Willis 15) Indeed, Thomas Vaughan in his *Anthroposophia Theomagica* clearly stated that "a Witch is a Rebel in Physicks, and a Rebell is a Witch in Polliticks' for 'one acts against Nature, the other against Order [and] both are in League with the Devill as the first father of Discord and Sorcerie." (31–2)

The Devil or a demon sent on his behest, loomed over women and lured them into a covenant with him, becoming demonic witches endowed with preternatural powers. In exchange, she had to capitulate her soul to the Devil, renounce God, and cheer others into joining the Devil's legion. In the context of diabolism, the *maleficia* of the demonic witch endangered far beyond her village, the whole of Christianity. (Wilby 46-51) Demonic allegiance was unavoidably connected with defiance, which could ensure disorder in the commonwealth or expose it figuratively. The demonic pact was a parody of feudal service and alliance in this context. (S. Clark, *Thinking*, 89) Perkins, in his *Discourse,* expounds on the perils of Devil's pact as inverting Gods covenant with His people: "as God hath made a Covenant with his Church .... requiring of them ... faith and obedience; so doth Satan indent with his Subjects by mutuall confederacies ... whereby they bind themselves ... to observe his Rules, and he ... to accomplish their desires." (Preface)

The covenant between the demonic woman-as-witch and the Devil was a straightforwardly accredited belief. Since the Devil continuously wanted to corrupt and ensnare human souls, women were an easy target for all the reasons discussed earlier. (Wilby 46-51) The demonic witch's subordinate

---

[80] For more on *maleficium* and its relationship to diabolism, particularly in a European context, see, for example, Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*. For witchcraft in England as primarily malefic rather than diabolic, see this same text.

[81] The idea of the diabolic pact as heresy and apostasy was not contemplated in the English Witchcraft Acts of 1542 (33 Henry 8 c.8) and 1563 (5 Elizabeth 1 c.16). It only entered the English secular witch trials in the seventeenth century. (Jones and Zell 63) The diabolic pact in the Act of 1604 (1 James 1 c. 12) became politicised as a crime of apostasy and rebellion. At the same time, this transition might have made the witch seem less like the Devil's master and more his servant – a reversal of roles which, it has been suggested, signified a reassertion of patriarchal hierarchy through demonology and the law. Furthermore, the literal demonisation of witchcraft was carried to its logical conclusion after the start of the Civil War, with its apocalyptic overtones and godly claims to spiritual warfare on the Parliamentarian side. (Rowlands, *Witchcraft*, 181)

relationship with the Devil is asserted by Gifford in his *A Dialogue*: "it is so evident by the Scriptures, and in all experience, that there be witches which worke by the devil, or rather I may say, that devil worketh by them, that such as go about to prove the contrarie, doe shewe themselves but cavillers." (18)

Though no biblical sources supported the demonic pact's existence, it became fundamental in English demonology, as suggested, for example, by King James VI and I's treatise entitled *Daemonology*.[82] (Sharpe, *Witchcraft*, 18) As it was understood then, the Devil was unable to command people. Thus, the demonic witch willingly relinquished her free will in favour of his sect, renouncing Christianity and electing to worship the Devil, which made her inversionary behaviour an unsurpassed apostasy and heresy. (Quaife 22)

Nevertheless, the Devil seemingly came to a woman's aid when she was frustrated, in despair and at her most vulnerable. He enticed his prospective acolyte with a better economic situation, sexual satisfaction, retaliation against any past wrongdoings, and an overall sense of escapade and exhilaration. (Quaife 176-177) Diabolism was thus established by the palimpsests prompted by the suspected demonic witches. Two pivotal events were particularly scrutinised: the initial ratification of the covenant with the Devil and the witches' sabbat. They will be elaborated on next. (Koslofsky 38-39)

The affirming of this covenant required the sexual ownership of the demonic witch by the Devil. The first instance of intercourse with the Devil[83] was the physical counterpart of the pact with him, a conventional way of verifying the demonic witch's vassalage. Under interrogation, many of the accounts reported are filled with the following idiosyncratic details. It would have been an unexpected nocturnal encounter with a dark, seductive, tender and amusing young man. He would be dressed in black or green, wearing trousers of satin or velvet and a crest of feathers. His virility and sensuality emerged through his well-fitted and striking clothes. Often the Devil is also described as a hybrid man with bestial features: cat's paws, goat's feet, horse's hooves, a snout like a pig, and with odd animal behaviour at times – as illustrated in the images below. However, the language he employed to draw a woman in was that of courtship. Often he would offer her a trinket or a token, like a ring, a coin or a ribbon. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 84-89, 92) However, sex with the Devil was made somewhat disagreeable by the icy rigidity of his

---

[82] For more on how witches' power was seen as a threat to male hegemony in Church and State, a fear which might also have been a source of inspiration to King James VI and I's *Daemonology*, see, for example, Abreu, "Tracking Women's History, and Feminist and Gender Theories: An Introduction." See also sub-chapter 2.1., footnote 30.

[83] Demonic corporeality and sexuality and physical interaction between humans and demons or the Devil is peculiar to European witchcraft between 1400 and 1700. (Stephens 13-14)

penis. It was a rape-like experience often described in gaudy terms.[84] Moreover, as soon as he had his way with the new demonic witch, he would instantly vanish, and all his gifts turned to be merely leaves or horse dung. (Broomhall 333-334; R. Briggs, *Witches*, 25-26)

Figure 25. Witch and Devil embracing. Ulrich Molitor. *Von Den Unholden oder Hexen*. 1490.

[84] For more on the emotional character of the demonic witch/devil relationship, see Millar, *Witchcraft*; Willis, *Malevolent Nurture;* and Purkiss, "Women's Stories of Witchcraft in Early Modern England: The House, the Body, the Child."

The Devil would attribute her a new devilish name, which he would inscribe, or ask the demonic witch to do so herself, in his infamous black rota book of witches. Moreover, once the demonic pact was an inversionary mock of the Christian baptism, the new demonic witch's chrism received at baptism was replaced by a visible mark on her skin – an area impervious to pain or an inaesthetic scar on her body labelled the Devil's mark.[85] This demonic mark could be interpreted as a simulated Old Testament circumcision, a New Testament sign of the cross, and a reversed consecrated stigma. (S. Clark, *Thinking*, 89; Davidson 60-61)

It was usually a wart mole, a scar, a birthmark or other skin growth. It was expected to be found in different parts of the demonic witch's body. Namely, underneath the eyelids, in the armpits, on the breast area, on the hard palate, in the rectum or on the genitalia. Accused demonic witches were subjected to this bodily search. It meant stripping and shaving a woman's entire body before methodically probing and pricking every part. The pricking was carried out by inserting a sharp, slender instrument into any preternatural-looking mark to assess it. Lack of pain or bleeding was a sign that the suspect was, in fact, a demonic witch. The pricking would often continue until a confession was effectively attained. (Darr 113, 118-120, 128-131)

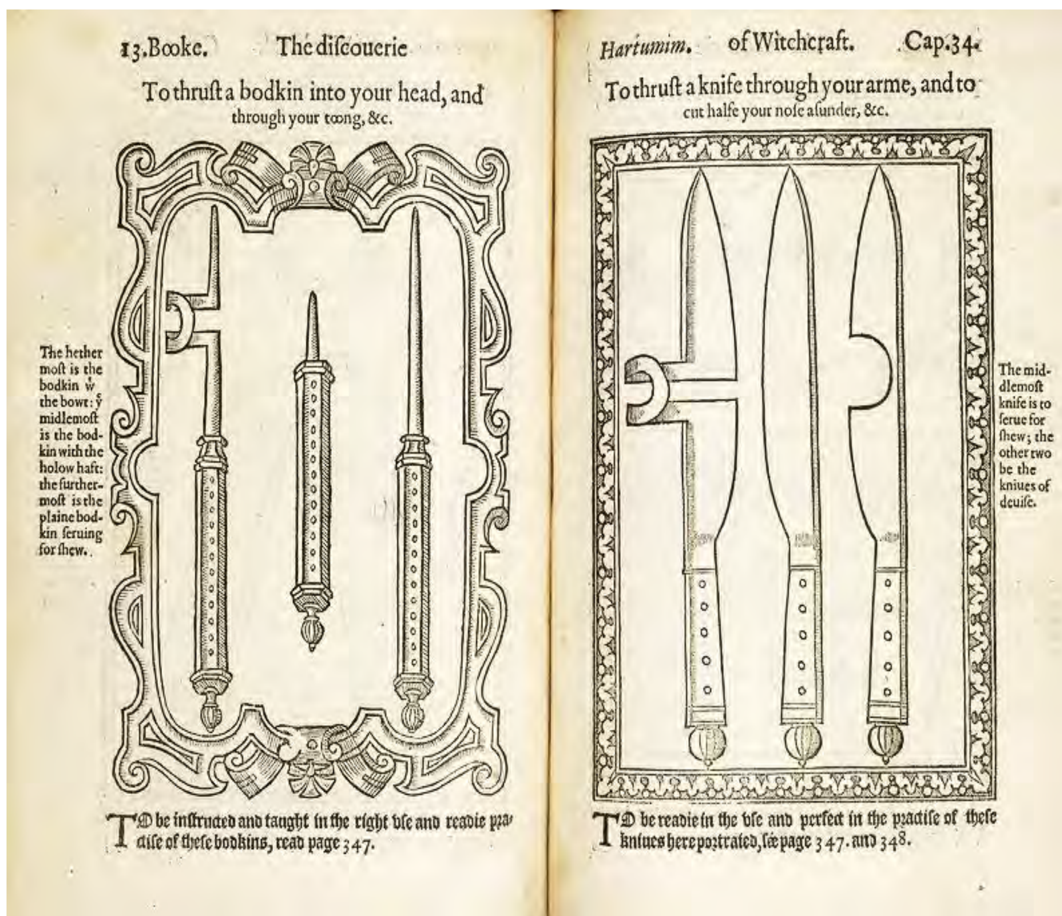
The examinations were habitually conducted by physicians or surgeons, midwives, a panel of two or three respected mature matrons,[86] professional witch hunters, searchers and prickers, or other self-appointed female neighbours. (Klaits 56) They then stated their discoveries to the court under oath. Their incriminatory testimony was decisive in securing a conviction. (Darr 121-122) While it was not part of the official English criminal procedure, it was a standard step of the pre-trial investigation. The whole affair became highly elaborated and institutionalised, almost invariably ordered by JPs, the mayor or other authority figures who conducted and witnessed it. (Darr 113, 118-120, 128-131)

Some of the tools used are illustrated below.

---

[85] Not to be mistaken for Witch's mark discussed previously in section 2.1.3.1.

[86] The active involvement of a women jury of searchers and/or prickers pertained to the English courts. There was a tradition of women jury panels deputised to perform gynaecological physical examinations to attain incriminatory evidence. This procedure echoed and reiterated the asymmetrical power structure: the women, either as suspects or as searchers, complied with the orders from the patriarchal authorities, above them. (Darr 121-122, 138)



13.Booke. The diſcouerie

To thruſt a bodkin into your head, and through your toong, &c.

The hether moſt is the bodkin w the bowt: y midlemoſt is the bodkin with the holow haft: the further-moſt is the plaine bodkin ſeruing for ſhew.

To be inſtructed and taught in the right uſe and readie practiſe of theſe bodkins, read page 347.

Hartumim. of Witchcraft. Cap.34.

To thruſt a knife through your arme, and to cut halfe your noſe aſunder, &c.

The middlemoſt knife is to ſerue for ſhew; the other two be the kniues of deuiſe.

To be readie in the uſe and perfect in the practiſe of theſe kniues here portraied, ſee page 347. and 348.

Figure 26. Hopkins, Mathew. A sample of instruments used for pricking and scratching witches. *The Discouvery of Witchcraft*. 1647.

Essential to their heretical cult, the Devil and his sect of demonic witches gathered habitually on the sabbat. The sabbat was a saturnalian-like antithesis of the early modern orderly world. It was also a liturgical parody of the holy mass, the Catholic processions and local festivities. (S. Clark, *Thinking*, 89, 91) Descriptions of attendance at the witches' sabbat have been found in trial records in different parts of Europe.[87] (Wilby 84-89) The demonic witches in attendance were expected to partake in explicit inversionary behaviour. It meant worshipping the Devil when he presided over the assembly,[88] defiling Christian relics and paraphernalia, experimenting and engaging in all kinds of sexuality, and taking part in a horde of other inverted endeavours and rituals. (Davidson 66-67)

[87] The sabbat may have originated in folk beliefs about travel with the fairies into fairyland. The belief that fairies travelled to these gatherings and that they could carry people through the air with them was a traditional part of early modern folklore. Several contemporary anecdotes recount how anyone could be swept up in 'fairy whirlwinds'. (Wilby 84-89)

[88] While in the torture confessions, the Devil presides over the sabbat and is the protagonist in the orgies of the witches, he is almost altogether absent from the sabbat accounts of the accusers. In their testimonies, it is the demonic witches who perform all the evil deeds. (Klaniczay and Pócs 70)

A witches' sabbat was a celebration of the Devil. These encounters were reported to occur at hilltops, fields, forests, or secluded areas around a village. It was a nocturnal encounter of demonic merriment in which all participants indulged in every conceivable desire with a bottomless appetite. Every imaginable early modern perversion was committed to each other and the Devil himself. There was indulgent, gluttonous fine dining, off gold and silver plates, and copious drinking of alcohol. However, the banquet did not placate the hunger. Often it turned out to be an abhorrent cannibalistic meal,[89] such as dug up or fresh corpses of infants – necrophagy and infanticide. (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 185-186; L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 77-78, 84-89, 92, 104; Rosner 375)

All sorts of *malleficia* were taught and learnt. Ointments and concoctions were made from rare animals, birds and human baby fat. The demonic witches used spells to anoint each other as a caricature of the Church's oleaginous sacraments. (S. Clark, *Thinking*, 89)

The Devil was complimented with a curtsy, human sacrifices, and an obscene kiss on his anus. Candles were offered to him as a sign of homage since, as Lucifer, he was the former light-bearer. (Cavendish 215) The blasphemy and sacrilege of worshipping the Devil culminated in the renewal of the repudiation of the Christian faith. It also comprised the defilement of the host and the baptism in the Devil's fire, or the diabolic baptism. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 108-109, 111)

The music was unmelodious, and the group dancing was frantic and orgiac.[90] The dance climaxed in the copulation between the demonic witches and themselves, the Devil and his demons. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 108-109, 111, 123) They had heterosexual intercourse, fellatio, cunnilingus and anilingus, homosexuality, bestiality, mutual masturbation, group sex and incest sex.[91] These sabbatical orgies oscillated from sadistic and masochistic to brazenly hedonistic. (Quaife 97-98) The amalgamation of illegitimate female sexuality with demonic power contributed to the sinful over-sexualised demonic witch. Quite directly, "[t]he female witch's illicit sexuality was inherently tied to her links with the Devil." (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 139-140) The following images comprehensively depict all that could happen on a sabbat.

---

[89] In English records, no references to the use of human flesh are to be found until the time of James I, when it is evident that some well-grounded suspicion of such practices existed because, by the Witchcraft Act of 1604 (1 James 1 c. 12), exhumation of dead bodies was made a felony. (Ewen 77-78)

[90] This type of dancing was associated with pre-Christian rituals and fertility cults such as the bacchanalia.

[91] The misogynistic view of the demonic witch's non-procreative sexuality highlighted how dominated by the bestial lust she was. (Federici, *Caliban*, 193-194) Nearly fifty per cent of all surviving pamphlets published in England during the seventeenth century depicted witches as over-sexualised beings who engaged in pleasurable sexual relationships with demon familiars. (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 139-140)

DESCRIPTION ET FIGVRE DV SABBAT DES SORCIERS.

Il faut mettre cette Figure au Discours 4. du 2. Liure, entre les pages 118. & 119.

A Satan est dans vne Chaire doree en forme de Bouc, qui presche auec cinq cornes, ayant la cinquiesme allumee pour allumer toutes les chandelles & feux du Sabbat.

B La Roine du Sabbat couronnee à dextre, & vne moins fauorie à senestre.

C Au dessous de sa chaire, est vne Sorciere qui luy presente vn enfant qu'elle a seduit.

D Voila les Conuiues de l'assemblee, ayant chacune vn Demon pres d'elle : Et en ce festin, ne se sert autre viande, que charoignes, chair de pendus, cœurs d'enfans non baptisez, & autres animaux immondes, du tout hors du commerce & vsage des Chrestiens, le tout incipide & sans sel.

E En ce festin ne sont admis, ces spectateurs, qui sont plusieurs poures Sorcieres reiettees aux recoings, & qui n'osent s'approcher des grandes ceremonies.

F Apres la pance vient la danse : car apres auoir esté repeus de viandes, ou fugitiues, ou illusoires, ou tres-pernicieuses & abominables ; chaque Demon meine celle qui estoit pres de luy à table, au dessous de cet arbre maudit, & là le premier ayant le visage tourné vers le rond de la danse, & le second en dehors, & les autres ainsi ensuiuant tout de mesme, ils dansent, trepignent & tripudient, auec les plus indecens & sales mouuemens qu'ils peuuent.

G Ce sont les ioüeurs d'instrumens, & le concert de Musique, au chant & harmonie de laquelle ils dansent & sautent.

H Au dessous se void vne troupe de femmes & filles qui dansent toutes le visage en dehors le rond de la danse.

I Voila la Chaudiere sur le feu pour faire toute sorte de poison, soit pour faire mourir & maleficier les hommes, soit pour gaster le bestail ; l'vne tient les serpens & crapaux en main, & l'autre leur couppe la teste, & les escorche, puis les iette dans la chaudiere.

K Pendant cet entretien plusieurs Sorcieres arriuent au Sabbat sur des bastons & balais, d'autres sur des Boucs accompagnees des enfans qu'elles ont enleué & suborné, lesquels elles viennent offrir à Satan: D'autres partant du Sabbat, & transportees en l'air, s'en vont sur la mer ou ailleurs exciter des orages & tempestes.

L Ce sont les grands Seigneurs & Dames, & autres gens riches & puissans, qui traictent les grands affaires du Sabbat, où ils paroissent voilez, & les femmes auec des masques, pour se tenir tousiours à couuert & incogneus.

M Pres de ce ruisseau sont les petits enfans, lesquels auec des verges & houssines blanches, esloignez des ceremonies, gardent chacun les troupeaux des crapaux de celles qui ont accoustumé les mener au Sabbat.

Outre ce, il y a plusieurs autres choses que la petitesse de ceste figure n'a peu souffrir, qui se pourront entendre commodément par le Discours du Sabbat, qui est au Discours 4. du Liure second.

Figure 27. Ziarnko, Jean (Jan). *Description et figure du sabbat*. Centrefold. Pierre de Lancre. *Tableau de l' inconstance des mauvais anges et demons*. 1613.

Figure 28. Crouch, Nathaniel. A witch performing fellatio on the Devil and other scenes. Frontispiece. *The Kingdom of Darkness*. 1688.

In order to attend a sabbat, the demonic witch would fly or ride through the air at low altitudes. She would achieve it by her means, with the aid of demonic familiars or the Devil.[92] In England, she was also known to ride her bewitched human victims. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 107-108) Though the ability to fly was closely linked to demonic witches, there was an ongoing debate among demonologists whether they physically did so or if it was all just *mira* – demonic illusions. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*, 84-89, 92, 104)

Generally, witches engage in transvection on different vehicles by different means. For example, a piece of wood smeared with an ointment made partly from human baby fat and hallucinogenic herbs.[93] On forked cooking sticks, broomsticks, plain sticks, straws, stools, rods, poles, fencing hurdles, dough covers and grindstones, rode a wicker net or canes after uttering a spell. All in all, "everyday household implement[s] commonly seen in the hands of women." (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 187-189) Some demonic witches were said to ride, saddleless and rearward, all sorts of farm animals, such as a pig, a bull, a black dog, and a horse-horned goat. They would also apply the ointment to their bodies, ride a carriage or stroll. Finally, they could fly by their power, transforming humans into animals or themselves into animals. (Hutton, *The Witch*, 204-206; Goodare 136-137)

The notion that demonic witches could metamorphose themselves and others into animals was another example of "inverting nature". (S. Clark, *Thinking*, 89-93) Seemingly they would shapeshift into cats, hares, dogs, whales, horses, various birds and insects, wolves, magpies, toads and hedgehogs – their preferred animal guises.[94] (Goodare 137-138; R. Briggs, *Witches*, 87-88) In the testimony of victims and the confessions of alleged witches, while in their animal form, namely as cats,[95] demonic witches pressed people on their chests while lying in bed.[96] (Goodare 147-148)

[92] Most witches described how their demonic lover accompanied them on the flight to the sabbat. They held on tight to him, riding in front or behind. Riding bareback with a lover on a sexually connotated animal or phallic apparel was a fantasy of sexual abandon. In images of demonic witches' flight, their hair is dishevelled and streaming out behind them, emphasizing the orgasmic nature of the journey. (L. Roper, *Witch Craze*,107-108)

[93] Older notions were thus surfacing, as the use of an unguent on one's body was attributed to the Roman witches in the fictions of Apuleius and Lucian while the hosts of Diana had ridden on beasts in the canon *Episcopi*.

[94] Shapeshifting can be found in confessions and neighbours' statements. Accounts of witches being chased and injured while in their animal form and then being found with identical injuries when in their human form have often been found in trial records. (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 190) Courts usually accepted shapeshifting accounts as proof of witchcraft. Demonologists tended to highlight that metamorphosis was a demonic illusion which determined the association of the demonic witch with the Devil. (Goodare, *The European*, 137-138)

[95] In demonological and strixological literature, cats were evocative of witchcraft and diabolism and were believed to possess occult powers. There was also a culture of violence towards cats in early modern Europe. It was believed that to mutilate or kill a cat was to release it of its preternatural powers. Visualising the demonic witch as a cat legitimised injuring her to be shielded from evil. (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 70-71)

[96] Sleep paralysis may be experienced by people when they are just falling asleep or just waking up. They believe that they are awake, but they cannot move or speak and experience panic attacks. Some hear buzzing or heavy footsteps, see lights, animals or demons, or feel assaulted by invisible assailants. (Goodare 146) On the topic of sleep paralysis and the demonic witch, see, for example, Owen Davies, "The nightmare experience, sleep paralysis, and witchcraft accusations;" Dudley and Goodare "Outside in or inside out: sleep paralysis and Scottish witchcraft" in Goodare, *Scottish Witches and Witch-Hunters*.

Figure 29. Molitor, Ulrich. Witch riding a cooking stick and embraced by the Devil. *Hexen Myesterei. Ein schön Gespreech von den Onholden*. 1544.

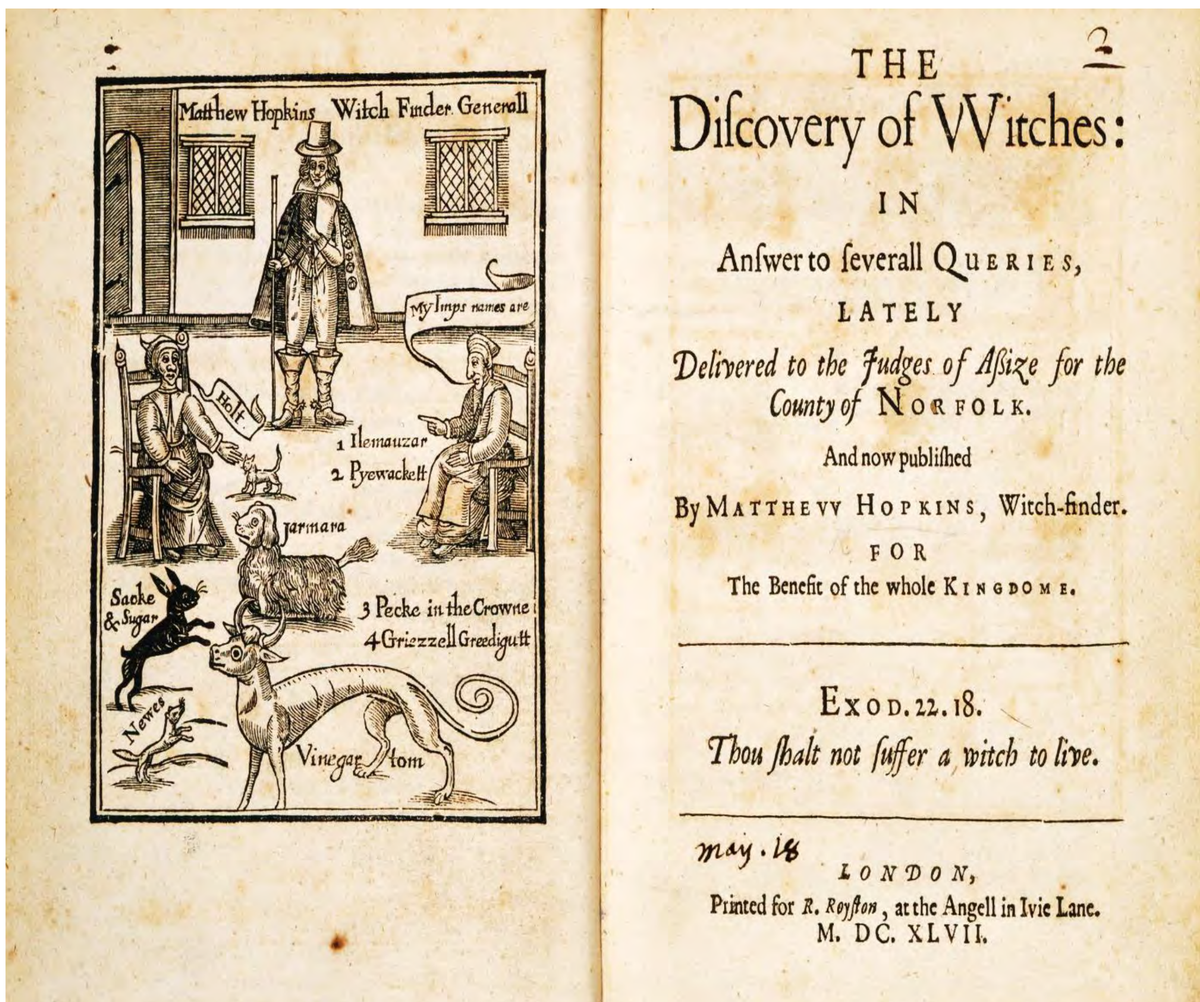
Figure 30. Vintler, Hans. Woman undergoing transformation into a wild cat. *Buch der Tugend*. 1400-1450.

Occasionally at night, demonic witches were also believed to travel in spectral form or to engage in an out-of-body experience by commanding their souls away – astral projection. (Davies, *Witchcraft*, 187-189) The conveyance of a demonic witch's spirit was to bewitch and torment her intended victims, primarily but not exclusively, children. Bewitched children were troubled and called out to the guilty witches. Besides suffering physical convulsions, vomiting odd matters and having visual and auditory hallucinations, the children raved, screamed, roared with laughter, uttered awful blasphemies and could no longer withstand prayer or the scriptures. (Rosen 32-33)

In seventeenth-century England, the rise of the demonic witch and diabolism gave way to the demonisation of the village witch's animal familiar.[97] The demon familiar could either take the form of a small domestic, common animal or a human to copulate with the witch. In their animal form, the demon familiars engaged in foreplay. It included cunnilingus and anilingus with the demonic witches. They also

[97] See section 2.1.3.1.

suckled at the witch's marks on their breasts, genitalia or anus.[98] The demon familiars were identified as the incubi and *succubi* in their human form. The *incubus* was a male demon that had sexual intercourse with women, while a *succubus* was a female demon that had sexual intercourse with men. (Goodare 147-148; Hutton, *The Witch*, 262; Millar, *Witchcraft*, 118) The relationship between the demonic witch and her demon familiars suggests an unnatural convergence between enjoyable sex and the anti-maternal, thus intrinsically diabolical. (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 119-126) In short, the demonic familiars were both demons sent by the Devil to tempt the demonic witch and a physical manifestation of the demonic witch's "emotional desires." (Millar, *Witchcraft*, 82)



THE
Diſcovery of Witches:
IN
Anſwer to ſeverall QUERIES,
LATELY
Delivered to the Judges of Aſsize for the County of NORFOLK.
And now publiſhed
By MATTHEVV HOPKINS, Witch-finder.
FOR
The Benefit of the whole KINGDOME.

EXOD. 22. 18.
Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a witch to live.

LONDON,
Printed for R. Royſton, at the Angell in Ivie Lane.
M. DC. XLVII.

Figure 31. Hopkins, Mathew. "Familiars." *The Discovery of Witches: In Answer to Severall Queries, Lately Delivered to the Judges of Assize for the County of Norfolk*. 1647.

[98] See section 2.1.3.1.

2.1.4. The demonic Lancashire woman-as-witch of the Pendle forest

"The more blind, deaf, lame, arthritic, hairy-chinned, bow backed and incontinent, the greater the power they have."
(qtd. in Petherbridge 125)

Figure 32. Rego, Paula. "Straw burning." *The Pendle Witches* series. 1996.

2.1.4.1. The happenings

In 1612, in the Pendle Forest of Lancashire, Northern England, thrived a village rivalry between two families who seemingly practised popular magic,[99] each led by an elderly matriarch. On the one side, there was Elizabeth Southerns, better known to neighbours and patients alike as 'Old Demdike', who was the head of the Device family. The Devices included her daughter, Elizabeth Device, and her grandchildren, Alice, James, and young Jennet. On the other side, the broken-down and almost blind Anne Whittle called 'Old Chattox' and her daughter Anne Redfearne.[100] The Devices blamed Old Chattox for having murdered Old Demdike's husband using *maleficium* eleven years earlier.

The already tense village dynamics between these two families and their neighbours were further stressed by the refusal to dispense charitable donations when asked.[101] Despite this, the locals and nearby villagers came to these cunning women asking for their help with all sorts of dire day-to-day difficulties. They scraped a living at the foot of Pendle Hill, in the margins of Pendle Forest and decent society. They were reciprocally implicated in crimes such as run-of-the-mill thefts, extortion, and bribery to local officials.

Figure 33. Pendle Hill. Partial view of the south slope. 2014. Author's personal collection.

[99] Also, termed beneficent or manipulative or sympathetic or image magic.

[100]"In 18th-century Clitheroe, anyone who called a woman 'Chattox' or a 'Demdike' was taken to court and fine, for though long after their deaths, they were still remembered by the Lancashire folk as the most feared and fearsome of the Pendle witches." (Lofthouse 60)

[101] As seen in the previous chapter, some historians apply the social accusation theory, i.e. when people turn down requests for charity by begging villagers, particularly cunning people, their guilt facilitates the blaming of any subsequent accidents on the malice of these "witches".

On March 21, 1612, Alison Device came across John Law, a travelling peddler. She allegedly cursed him because he would not part with some pins for her. Upon the appearance of a big black dog, John Law immediately fell under a strange illness, which by modern standards can easily be identified by any layperson as a stroke. Law's family, who were not from the Pendle Hill area, appealed to the local justice of the peace, Roger Nowell. Aged sixty-two in 1612, he was an experienced local JP, a prominent local landholder, and perhaps most relevant in this case, indirectly acquainted with William Perkins – a leading early modern Puritan demonologist and friend of William Whittaker – a relative of Roger Nowell.[102] After a fleeting investigation, Nowell arrested Alison Device, her mother Elizabeth Device, her grandmother Old Demdike, Old Chattox and her daughter Anne Redfearne. They were all imprisoned in the Well Tower (also known as 'The Witches' Tower'), situated on the eastern side of Lancaster Castle. (Goodier 106-107)

[102] Joyce Froome believes that "[i]nternal evidence in *The Wonderfull Discoverie*… strongly suggests that Roger Nowell had studied Henry Boguet's book [*An Examen of Witches*] as well as Jean Bodin's *De la Démonimanie de Sorcieres* and Brian Darcey's *A True and Just Record*." (220)

Figure 34. Gonalves, Inês. Lancaster Castle. The “Witches' Tower.” 2014. Author's personal collection.

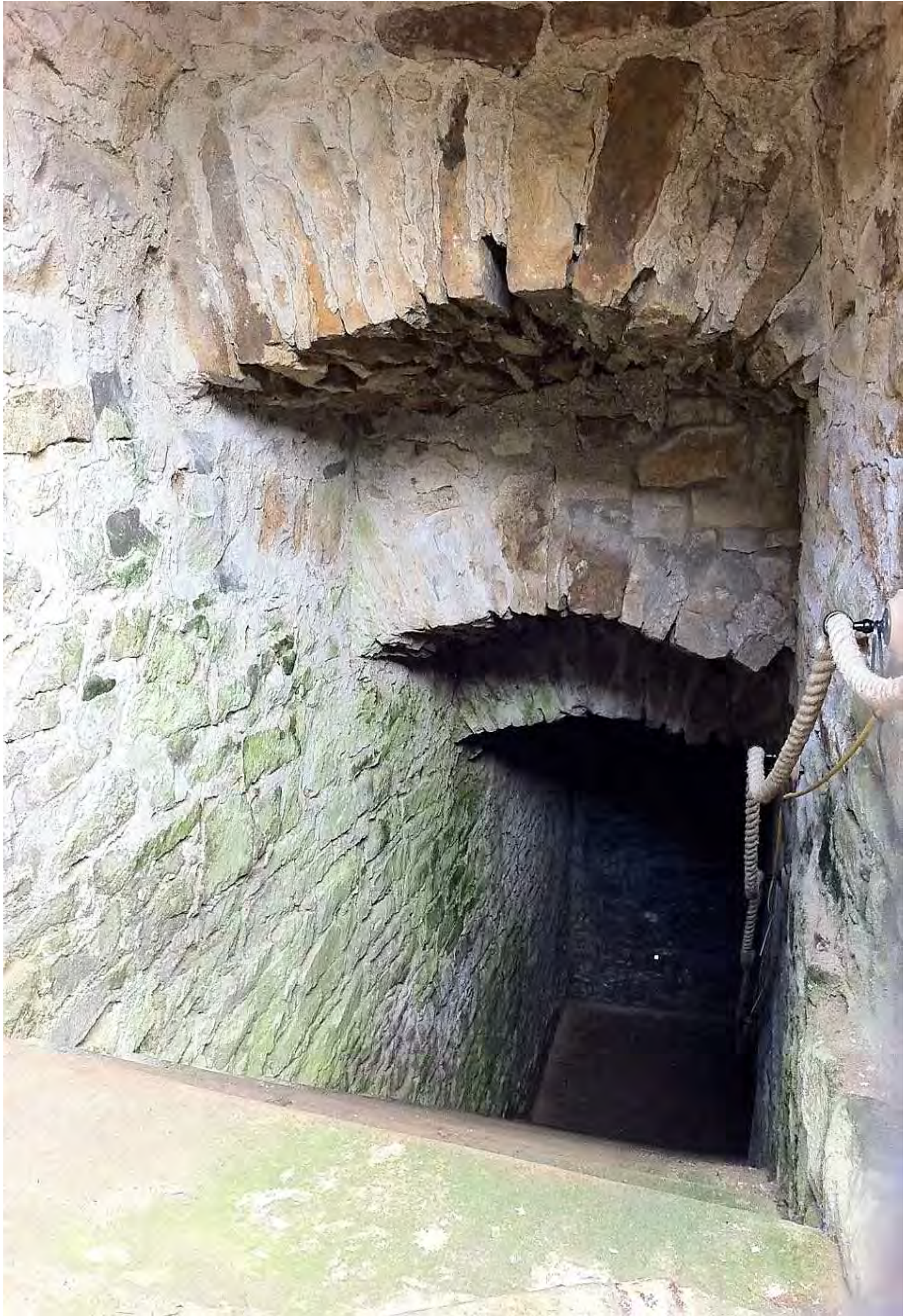


Figure 35. Gonçalves, Inês. Lancaster Castle. The staircase down to the prison cell. 2014. Author's personal collection.

According to Sharpe, "the first approximation to a Sabbat in England" happened in the Lancashire trials of 1612. (*Instruments*, 77) On Good Friday of 1612, shortly after Elizabeth Southern, alias Old Demdike, had been arrested, their village friends and relatives met at Old Demdike's home, then known as 'Malkin Tower.' Allegedly, they met there to plot to free them from prison by blowing up Lancaster Castle. Indeed, according to statements taken from Old Demdike's grandchildren by magistrate Roger Nowell of Read Hall, they admitted to the conspiratorial nature of this gathering. Presumably, the resolve was to use gunpowder to blow up Lancaster Castle, kill the warders and release the prisoners. (Clayton 2012)

Figure 36. Gonçalves, Inês. Mansknowles Farm. Probable site of Malkin Tower. 2014. Author's personal collection.

As the authorities rounded up all the newly identified suspects and the interrogations escalated into torture, they started pointing fingers at each other. Furthermore, in one of the most influenced testimonials by Continental demonology, Old Demdike admitted to having met, many years before, in the forest, a familiar – an animal-shaped demon, in this case, a black cat or brown dog - that took the shape of a boy named Tibbe. He later placed the Witch's Mark on her, a skin tag under her left arm from which he would occasionally suck her blood. Only after their third encounter did she initiate her

practice of *malificium* at his bidding. She further admitted having passed on her *maleficia* teachings to her daughter Elizabeth, older grandchildren James and Alison, and some of her neighbours. Indeed, Old Chattox claimed that Old Demdike had brought the Devil to her in the form of an alluring young man, who gave her imps, Fancie and Tibbe. (Pavlac 1-3)

For the forest (Pendle) folk, many of the small animals around them served the purpose of familiars. Animals include hares, cats, dogs and birds, especially the raven. These were considered earthbound representatives of the underworld and were thought to be the conduit through which humans could converse with the spirit world. The adoption of animals as familiars and their endowment with spiritual powers is an intricate part of Pendle Forest lore. Besides Old Demdike, many of the alleged Pendle witches acknowledged having the companionship of a familiar.

Interestingly, whenever a familiar appears in their confessions concerning the charge of *maleficium*, the accused admit that their familiars were responsible for carrying out their darkest thoughts. The familiars took it upon themselves to harm or kill the intended victim whilst the witch stood by. Also, it is uncertain whether, for example, all the dogs mentioned in their statements belonged to them as pets or if the dogs were semi-strays wandering the neighbourhood and visiting people regularly in search of scraps. It is entirely possible, as it would be unlikely that dogs were kept solely as pets by the poor. They would probably have to earn their living by catching rabbits, hares and game from the surrounding moors. (Clayton 2012)

Several murder charges were laid against these women, from killing cows to killing a prominent local tenant holder, Robert Nutter. The motives included retribution against unsolicited sexual advances, threats of unwarranted evictions, refusal of a much-needed meal, not honouring the parting of a promised shirt, all sorts of complaints, and even revenge for having been nagged, laughed, and muttered at. All such untimely deaths were caused by *malificium,* resorting to their familiars, burning effigies, or smashing clay poppets. (Pavlac 1-3)

On August 19 1612, Sir Edward Bromley and Sir James Altham, experienced judges in witchcraft cases,[103] presided over a short but incisive trial at Lancaster Castle. During it, they heard and accepted all the fanciful evidence and hearsay presented against the accused witches and young Jennet

[103] Brian A. Pavlac highlights that "[i]n another trial, earlier that year in nearby Samlesbury, Judge Bromley had allowed all three of the accused to be acquitted. In that case, fourteen-year-old Grace Sowerbutts had blamed three women for tormenting her and bringing her to a sabbat, a gathering by night of witches where they danced and had intercourse with demons. Judge Bromley found Sowerbutts' testimony not credible, learning that a Roman Catholic priest had fed the girl lurid tales of bloodsucking witches who murdered babies. In a different trial held the previous month, however, he and his colleague, Judge Altham, sentenced Jennet Preston of York to death. Although Preston had been acquitted on a different charge of witchcraft earlier that year, in July the jury found her guilty of killing Thomas Lister by witchcraft. A deathbed accusation by the victim and the bleeding of his corpse when Preston had touched it convinced the jury. Evidence sent by the diligent justice of the Peace Nowell attesting that Preston had been part of the Malkin Tower conspiracy linked the two cases." (1-3)

Device's testimony against her own family. Five accused were acquitted, including the prosecution's principal witness, young Jennet Device. By the time of the trial, her grandmother Old Demdike had already died in Lancaster Castle prison. Anne Redfearne was found innocent of the murder of Robert Nutter (or Nuttle) but convicted for the murder of his father twenty years earlier. Margaret Pearson was sentenced to standing four days in the stocks in four neighbouring towns with a sign on her forehead describing her "crimes" in detail, followed by one year in prison. A total of ten of the accused witches, many of the Device (Demdike) and Redfearne (Chatox) families, women and men alike, were sentenced to death by short drop hanging. Officials hanged them the very next day, on August 20, 1612. (Pavlac 1-3)

Though rare in the English witch trial judicial landscape, such accusations of cunning women meeting up with the Devil and partaking in sabbats as witches, or their practising of *malificium* instead of plain ancestral sympathetic magic, alarming and enraging the local villagers over alleged witchcraft, should not come as a surprise. (Pavlac 126-127) It is also likely that the witnesses, the accused witches, Lancashire Catholics, and "crypto-Catholics" had assimilated Continental witchcraft beliefs from the missionary priests. (Young 149-50) Moreover, latent though residual, Roman Catholic religious factions may have contributed to crafting the conspiratory meeting at Malking Tower to blow up Lancaster Castle as a counterreaction to the rise of Protestants in the region. Indeed, without the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the Pendle witch trials might have never occurred. [104] (Peel and Southern 84)

2.1.4.2. Thomas Potts' *The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*

Potts[105] and published in 1613.[106] It contributed to the widespread notoriety of these witch trials

[104] This is almost a direct reference of the infamous foiled Gunpowder Plot involving the Roman Catholic Guy Fawkes only several years earlier in 1605. Fawkes' attempt to blow up the English Parliament and King James VI and I along with it, did not have the intended outcome merely due to the timely confession of one of his co-conspirators.

[105] Thomas Potts was probably an attorney or perhaps just a lowly clerk. He was admitted to the Inns of Court in London and appointed as the Associate Clerk on the Northern Circuit during the autumn sessions. He was possibly the Clerk of Arraigns on the Northern Circuit in the summer of 1612. He would have been involved with drafting indictments and producing examinations, witness statements and any other pertinent information to the court as required. In the aftermath of the pamphlet publication, under royal patronage in 1615 he was granted the keepership of Skalme Park where the favourite hounds of the king were trained. In 1618 he was granted the 'office of collecting forfeitures on the laws concerning sewers, for twenty-one years.' Having the responsibility of appointing collectors under his keepership Potts became a minor patron.

[106] Besides Thomas Potts' written account, only the following contemporary works have brief or indirect mentions of the case of the Pendle witch trials: *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton* (Vol 14); *The Farington Papers* (Vol 39); *Stewards' House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Smithills and Gawthorpe* (Vol 35, 41, 43, 46); *Materials for the History of Lancashire* (Vol 61) and in J. Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire* (Vol I).

and greater dissemination of the Protestant English views on witchcraft. (Pavlac 126-127)

Thomas Potts' pamphlet *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches* is one of the chief sources for uncovering popular beliefs about witchcraft in early Stuart England and the most famous account of English witches ever written. Although now considered the most famous witch trials in English history, these trials were entirely overlooked until about 1810, when Pott's book was (re)discovered and (re)published in a collection edited and arranged by Sir Walter Scott with the new title 'Scarce and Valuable Tracts." (Peel and Southern 13; Gibson, *Early Modern*, 173-75)

Potts was commissioned to produce an account of the nineteen witches arraigned at the Lancaster assizes of August 1612. He published his first-hand account of the August 1612 Lancaster Assizes' proceedings under the title of *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, with the benefaction of the trial judges Bromley and Altham – who allegedly revised and corrected Pott's work themselves – and his dedicatees Thomas and Elizabeth Knyvet – Sir Thomas Knyvet, who helped foil Guy Fawkes's attempt to blow up the English Parliament in 1604.

Though a (re)presentation of what happened and not a *verbatim* court report of what everyone said, it was "as much a process of mythologising as it is of documentary reportage," which helped to transform the events of 1612 into England's first recorded example of Continental diabolism and the English belief in the sabbat. (Poole 36-37, 42-43; Gibson, *Reading*, 128-129; Millar, *Witchcraft*, 155-156) Potts' work tells us "what he believed early modern readers wanted to read about witchcraft, what his patrons wanted him to produce, and something of what a reasonably well-educated legal official thought of the job he was doing in trying witches... ." (Poole 42-45) It further tells us, about the relevant "connection between fiction and reality in early modern popular culture." (Pallotti 211) Next, we offer examples of Pott's (re)presentation of the Pendle demonic witches.

2.1.4.2.1. The guise of the woman-as-witch from Pendle

By taking into consideration Thomas Potts' portrayals of the elderly women-as-witches from Pendle, one can assert that the "characterization of witches as predominantly [older] females is no more than an accurate description of [early modern] reality." (Broedel 2003) Indeed, the recurrent use of nouns and adjectives which conform to the early modern Continental demonic witch stereotype is recurrent.

Elizabeth Southerns, alias Old Demdike, is described by Potts as an old, most dangerous

"damnable and malicious Witch" given to "furies." (Potts sigs. Ba, Bb) The designation of "Old Demdike" translates as 'Demon Woman.' As an older woman, in her eighties, with a seemingly strong and independent personality, she would have almost certainly made the men within her community rather uncomfortable, particularly those of the lay and church authorities with a Puritan proclivity. This matriarch and cunning woman would have been the bull's eye of contempt and mockery and feared by the community. Conceivably, she became increasingly tetchy with age. She would have lived longer than most other community women, under challenging circumstances, having managed to raise at least two children and helped raise at least three grandchildren. Farmers would have called her to cure their sick livestock and might have assisted women as the local midwife. (Clayton 2002)

About her daughter, Elizabeth Device, widow of the late John Device and probably in her fifties, Potts says she is a "[b]arbarous and inhumane Monster" who spares "no man with fearefull execrable curses and banning." (Potts sigs. Fa2, F2b)

Potts is equally abrasive in his description of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, allegedly the Devices's rival, also "about the age of Fourescore yeares, or thereabouts." She was "a very old withered spent & decreped creature, her sight almost gone" taken away by the Devil. (Potts sigs. Db, D2a1, D2a2, E3a1)

2.1.4.2.2. The Devil and his familiars in Pendle Forest

Until the time of the Pendle witch trials, the Continental demonologists had little impact in early modern England. According to Potts' pamphlet, demonic pacts and witches convening at sabbats occurred for the first time in the Lancashire trials of 1612. Sharpe claims that this is Potts' and the judges' way of justifying their actions, not the existence of any criminal witchery activities in Pendle. (Poole 19-20)

The Devil is not often mentioned in the statements by the accused, and the concrete consort directly with the Devil is markedly non-existent in most cases of English witchcraft trials. The Pendle trials of 1612 were no exception. Nevertheless, the Devil's familiars are prevalent in their statements. For example, Old Demdike claims to have met "a Spirit or Devill in the shape of a Boy" with whom she forged a compact, but there is no mention of any sexual activities. (Potts sigs. B2b1, B2b2, B2b3)

Her grandson, James Device, testifies to having come in contact with "a thing like vnto a black dog". (Potts sig. H3a) And his little sister, Jennet Device, corroborates that "a Blacke-Dogge, which her said brother called Dandy, which Dandy did aske her said brother what he would haue him to doe."

(Potts sig. H3a)

Jennet Device also says about her mother, Elizabeth Device, that “shee had seene her Spirit sundrie times come vnto her said Mother in her owne house, called Malking-Tower, in the likenesse of a browne Dogge, which shee called Ball; and at one time amongst others, the said Ball did aske this Examinates Mother what she would haue him to doe... .” (Potts sig. F4b)

Their sister, Alizon Device, was counselled by her grandmother, Old Demdike,“to let a Diuell or a Familiar appeare to her, and that shee, this Examinate would let him suck at some part of her; and she might haue and doe what shee would.” (Potts sig. R3a)

Anne Redferne, Old Chattox’s daughter, had “a Spirit, called Tibbe, in the shape of a blacke Cat.” (Potts sig. N3b) And, Old Chattox, met a “Spirit or Deuill” in the hape of a man, named Fancie.” (Potts sigs. D3a, D3b1)

According to their statements, they contacted the Devil through a familiar, which does their bidding. Seemingly there was no direct consorting with the Devil. However, Potts carefully underscores that the witches’ familiars have a demonic provenance and agency.

2.1.4.2.3. The convening of witches at Malking Tower

The meeting at Old Demdike’s Malking Tower held on Good Friday 1612 was one of the first instances of a sabbat found in an English source. This “great assembly of the Witches” is referenced over twenty times.[107] It is mentioned several times in detail. (Potts sig. P2a1)

If the meeting indeed occurred, one can only speculate about its purpose. Perhaps it might have been some alert to the remaining villagers already suspected of being witches so that they could conceive the best self-protective strategies as official accusations were to emerge. Alternatively, it might have merely been an accustomed neighbourly Good Friday repast. Despite the inexistence of any real apparent intention for this gathering, the fact is that the choice of language used is suggestive and prejudiced. Whatever occurred, in his account of the gathering at Malking Tower, Thomas Potts (re)represents something considerably more radical and demonic. It is, in fact, a conspiratory *sabbat* (my italics) against both Lancashire’s secular and religious authorities at the time.

[107] See, for example, Potts sigs. C2a, C3A, F4b, G3a, P3a, G4b.

2.1.4.2.4. ***Maleficium* versus sympathetic magic**

We agree with Bardell that studies of English witchcraft beliefs have focused mainly on witchcraft or *maleficium* while disregarding the practices of popular or sympathetic magic by the cunning folk quite widespread in early modern England. Indeed, "[c]unning folk are typically ignored, neglected or placed in the context of the myth of their persecution in the witch trials." (Poole 106) Furthermore, the scholarly work done on the witches of Lancashire so far has primarily followed this trend.[108]

Potts' pamphlet significantly focuses on the stereotypical elements of the Continental demonic witch, as we have seen. But if one looks beyond the biased language employed by the author – for these stories were still framed in such a way as to portray the (cunning) women in a bad light – *The Wonderful Discoverie* suggests that cunning folk in Lancashire were indeed frequently sought after for consults, either as a source of information or for their healing services.[109] Resorting to cunning folk for their expertise in cases of suspected witchcraft can be seen in Potts's *The Wonderfull Discoverie* as well. We shall, therefore, highlight a few examples in which the duality of *malificium*, as opposed to sympathetic or popular magic, is perceived.

It is suggested that both Old Demdike and Old Chattox were cunning women. It means they provided apotropaic and counter-magic services for a price, be it monetary or other. The failure to pay for their services or the unrequited requests for food were met with openly expressed rage. Also, as Potts points out, these women were known for it. (Potts sig. E4b1)

One of the most infamous *maleficium* practices described by Potts suggests the digging up or, more likely, the gathering of human remains from the Saint Mary's church graveyard in Newchurch-in-Pendle. James Device testified about how his grandmother, Old Demdike, had instructed him to "take three scalpes of people, which had been buried, and then cast out of a grave." (Potts E3b)

Clay effigies of a targeted person or people were preferred for causing injury or death. Pins – the very items Alizon begs from the pedlar – could be stuck into these poppets, or they could be burnt or slowly crumbled away, causing their lingering death, just as asserted by Old Demdike. (Potts sigs. D4a, B3b)

Other examples of image counter-magic are mentioned in Potts' *The Wonderfull Discoverie.* For example, when Chattox's daughter, Anne Redferne, formed a cross with two sticks and placed it

---

[108] Except Froome, who covers this topic in *Wicked Enchantments: The Pendle Witches and Their Magic*.

[109] Beyond Potts' *The Wonderfull Discoverie* there seems to be very little recorded evidence of such practices in Lancashire apart from reports in John Harland and Thomas T. Wilkinson's *Lancashire Folk-lore*, published in 1882.

over a can of milk to protect it. (Potts sigs. Fa1, Fa2) This instance also provides further evidence of the use of religious iconography in healing. Thefts of the Host, holy water and communion wine are known to have occurred intermittently at that time. Communion bread was also employed for magical purposes in the post-Reformation period. (Kittredge 150) Demdike asked her grandson, James Device, to bring her a communion wafer from church, for the host blessed by the curate was believed to be endowed with special powers. (Potts sig. H3a)

Another form of counter-magic used was charms and enchantments, in this case, with a wording reminiscent of the old Catholic faith. For instance, Jennet Device and her brother, James Device, were taught by their mother a charm which enabled them "to get drink" and to "cure one bewitched." (Potts sigs. Kb1, Kb2, K2a1 Kb3, Kb4, K2a1, K2a2)

Old Chattox also admitted to healing and practising counter-magic when requested. (Potts sig. E2b) The charms she recites do combine pre-Christian traditional religious terminology. It refers, for example, to the crucifix sign in Latin, which is arranged as a prayer.

These accounts, we believe, show that both Elizabeth Southern (alias Old Demdike) and Anne Whittle (Old Chattox), as well as their relatives, were well-reputed healers in the community of Pendle Forest and neighbouring ones. Although they were associated with healing or blessing activities, cunning women were also believed to be able to cause fatal harm and so were feared for it. It is difficult to find sources about cunning folk as they generally left no records of their activities. We must then resort to, for example, pamphlets such as Potts'. Regrettably, these were usually written by their contemporary lay and religious authorities, who were their harshest critics.

All in all, Thomas Potts' quarto is "a blatantly biased account" and cannot "hide the fact that the defendants suffered an appalling miscarriage of justice." (Froome 1) However, it is also an exceptional (re)creation of the process of a witch trial.

2.1.4.2.5. A child's testimony

Jennet Device, the granddaughter of Old Demdike, daughter of Elizabeth Device, and the youngest (half)sister of Alizon and James Device, was between nine and eleven years old. After her close relatives were sent to Lancaster prison, she was taken in by Justice Roger Nowell, having spent several months in his home at Read Hall. While her brother, James Device, admitted to practising witchcraft and described in detail his and his family's magical doings, as referred to in the previous examples,

Jennet stood on the court bench and denounced all her closest relatives, as well as the other accused friends and neighbours, of being witches. More significant still is her having identified every single one of the participants in the Malking Tower sabbat. In the example below, excerpted from "The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device" as (re)presented in Potts' *The Wonderfull Discoveriie*, Elizabeth Device testified with painstaking and damaging detail. Potts reports:

> being a yong Maide, about the age of nine yeares, and commanded to stand vp to giue euidence against her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre: Her Mother, according to her accustomed manner, outragiously cursing, cryed out against the child in such fearefull manner, as all the Court did not a little wonder at her, and so amazed the child, as with weeping teares shee cryed out vnto my Lord the Iudge, and told him, shee was not able to speake in the presence of her Mother. ... In the end, when no meanes would serue, his Lordship commanded the Prisoner to be taken away, and the Maide to bee set vpon the Table in the presence of the whole Court, who deliuered her euidence in that Honorable assembly, to the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, as followeth. viz. Iennet Deuice, Daughter of Elizabeth Deuice, late Wife of Iohn Deuice, of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid Widdow, confesseth and saith, that her said Mother is a Witch, and that this shee knoweth to be true; ... That vpon Good Friday last there was about twentie persons (whereof onely two were men, to this Examinates remembrance) at her said Grandmothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelue of the clocke: all which persons this Examinates said mother told her, were Witches, and that they came to giue a name to Alizon Deuice Spirit, or Familiar, sister to this Examinate, and now prisoner at Lancaster. ... And shee further saith, That shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said Witches, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargraues vnder Pendle, Christopher Howgate of Pendle, vnckle to this Examinate, and Elizabeth his wife, and Dicke Miles his wife of the Rough-Lee; Christopher Iackes of Thorny-holme, and his wife: and the names of the residue shee this Examinate doth not know, sauing that this Examinates mother and brother were both there. And lastly, she this Examinate confesseth and saith, That her mother hath taught her two prayers: the one to cure the bewitched, and the other to get drinke; both which particularly appeare. (Potts sigs. F4b, G3b1, G3b2)

Little Jennet submitted further detrimental testimony against Alice Nutter, Katherine Hweyt, alias Mould Heels, and John Bulcocke. (Potts sigs. P2a1, Q2a, Ra)

Under normal circumstances, the evidence of young children was not allowed in the English courts because of their implicit lower level of understanding. Therefore, they were considered unfit witnesses, especially those under thirteen. Nevertheless, in witchcraft trials, children were admitted to prove witchcraft crimes, illustrating the degree of severity and extraordinary nature of such offences. King James made it quite clear in his *Daemonology*[110] that witchcraft was a crime *exemptum*. Therefore, children could also be required to give testimony against their parents and relatives, their testimonies being sometimes used as the breaking point of a case. [111] (Darr 198-200)

Moreover, in English trials, one child would typically testify against one single person, usually his or her relative. Yet, in the Lancashire case of 1612, Jennet testified against more than one person: her mother, her brother, and several neighbours. Her testimony was taken as undisputed evidence for the prosecution and vital in initiating broader allegations of witchcraft. (Martin 103) The breakthrough in the Pendle witch trials of 1612 came when Roger Nowell obtained the string of allegations we have previously seen, which hang almost exclusively upon the evidence from his child witness, Jennet Device.

Many details about the Lancashire trials of 1612, as (re)presented in Potts' pamphlet, were used in *The Guide to Grand Jury Men* by Richard Bernard, a Puritan clergyman and religious writer. Considered one of the last seminal works of Protestant demonology, it was first published in 1627 and reprinted not long after, in 1629. In it, Bernard summarised the Lancashire witches' demonic characteristics, powers, compacts with Satan, the familiars and the sabbat – including the nine-year-old Janet Device's testimony. His writings were later integrated into the subsequent editions of Dalton's *Country Justice*, first published in 1618, which became a widely used and many times reprinted judicial manual by the early modern English magistrates and justices of the peace. All those involved in witchcraft prosecutions proceedings, whether as accusers, witnesses, examining justices, jurors or assize judges, after the case of the Pendle witch trials of 1612, were forced to deal with a broader range of ideas of what witchcraft was about, and how it might be legally proved.[112]

Dalton acknowledges that in his later editions of this handbook for working justices, he resorted to two primary sources for the section on investigating witchcraft: Bernard's *Guide to Grand Jury Men*

---

[110] James VI and I takes a stark view concerning the punishment of witches and of those who seek their counsel. Highlighting the serious and extraordinary nature of the crime of witchcraft, he further allows the use of children's testimony, spectral evidence, the pricking of witches to detect the Devil's mark and the swimming of witches.

[111] Before young Jennet Device, in the 1566 Chelmsford trial, 12-year-old Agnes Brown was the first child to testify for the prosecution in a witchcraft trial, and the content of her testimony would be referenced in subsequent English witch trials. Though there were three witches on trial in Chelmsford in 1566, Agnes only testified against two of them, Agnes Waterhouse and her daughter Joan Waterhouse. However, more than just a witness, she claimed to be afflicted with lameness and tormented by the witch's familiar. (Martin 77, 87, 89-91)

[112] For more on the issue of how to prove whether someone was a witch or not, see, for example, Abreu's "Robert Filmer: Discovering What or Who a Witch Is."

and Potts' *The Wonderfull Discoverie*.

Later in 1692, the legal and accusatorial proceedings regarding the crime of witchcraft in New England's Puritan secular courts were identical to the ones in Old England. Like the English JPs, the Puritan magistrates also resorted to Dalton's convenient book of Law, *Country Justice*. They found the legal precedent established with Janet Device's testimony in the Pendle Witch case and how to identify, examine and punish a demonic witch. It reads as follows:

> But for Children, I find in the Book of the Discovery of Witches at Lancaster Assizes, Anno Dom. 1612. That the Son and Daughter of Elizabeth Device, a Witch, were not only examined by the Justices of Peace against the said Mother, and the said Examination certified and openly read upon the Arraignment and Trial; but the Daughter also was commanded, and did give open Evidence against her Mother then Prisoner at the Bar. I farther find in the said Book of the Discovery of Witches, that two Children, the one about nine years of age, the other of fourteen, did upon their Oaths give Evidence against the Prisoners upon their Arraignment. (Dalton 1690 408)

The transatlantic legal precedent established in 1612 Pendle was still in effect in 1692 Salem. It allowed the New England Puritan magistrates to accept all the witchcraft accusations made by the young Salem girls, triggered by eleven-year-old Abigail Williams and her cousin, nine-year-old Elizabeth Parris. Moreover, the Salem judges unquestionably accepted as evidence every statement of the confessed witches, notably the spectre, the possessed-like behaviour, the sightings of the devil himself with his acolytes, the witches' supposed flights through the air on poles to midnight masses in open fields, and every single one of the girls' complaints of punches and pinches delivered by invisible witches. These aspects will be discussed in further detail ahead in our work.

2.2. In seventeenth-century New England

English migration to New England involved the movement of predominantly, but not entirely, people of the Puritan faith.[113] They carried the (trans)cultural memory of preternatural wonders, such as sympathetic magic, witchcraft and demonic witches, which coexisted alongside Protestant Christianity. (Gasser 100-103) Besides ecclesiastical magic having no place in the religious context of seventeenth-

[113] On the migration to New England, see, for example, Foster, *Their Solitary Way*, Cressy, *Coming Over*, Anderson, *New England's Generation*; and Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World.*

century New England, Puritan ministers denounced the practice of sympathetic magic as sacrilegious and demonic. Their most significant concern was that demonic heresy and apostasy corrupted both dissenters and congregation members. (Godbeer, *The Devil*, 5, 30-31) And though it was debatable whether some forms of magic were supernatural (from God) or preternatural (from the Devil),[114] it was firmly believed that the demonic witch was seduced and aided by the Devil. (Brekus 85-86) Indeed,

> [u]nder the law, in the Bay Colony and in Plymouth a witch was a person who had a 'familiar spirit,' or consulted with one, and was thus in direct communion with the Devil and bound by a solemn oath to carry out his evil designs. As every child knew, (for the law directed that no child should be ignorant of the capital laws) the surrender of one's soul to the Devil made one liable to the penalty of death. (Powers 455)

Despite Puritan clerical opposition, New Englanders resorted to magic for "highly practical purposes in a distinctly utilitarian frame of mind." (Thomas, "An Anthropology," 102) Based on trial records and eyewitness accounts, Puritan New Englanders, like their English counterparts, continued to practice sympathetic and counter-magic. (Stratton and Kalleres 4-5) They believed it had an apotropaic function, protecting the home and its dwellers from malevolent forces, witches, bad luck, and misfortune, or offering good luck and prosperity. Artefacts have been found deliberately concealed in and around domestic spaces, particularly near hearths, chimneys, and thresholds, and less frequently in walls and other liminal spaces, such as the roof and attic, within floors and ceilings, and surrounding doors and windows. Objects were varied: eel spears, poppets, witch bottles, shoes and boots, hats and other headwear, socks and stockings, gloves and mittens, corsets and stays; skeletal remains of cats, horse skulls, preserved rats, mice, and birds, and printed texts and written charms and countercharms such as Bibles, prayer books, and other religious texts associated with divine protection, as well as almanacks accompanied many early magico-religious amulets, folk remedies.[115] Also, many older women were versed in folk medicine, birthing techniques, and birth control, and occasional disease outbreaks would make the colonists resort more to them. (Jensen 180)

---

[114] See Walter W. Woodward's PhD Dissertation, *The Magic in Colonization: Religion, Science, and the Occult in the Colonization of New England*. On the ministers' understanding of magic, see, for example, Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*; and P. A. Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction*.

[115] For more on the use of magic in early New England, see, for example, Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion.* About the use of image magic in Salem, see, for example, Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion*, pp. 213–16; St. George, *Conversing by Signs,* pp. 190–92. On apotropaic artefacts in the US, see, for example, Augé, *Silent Sentinels: Archaeology, Magic, and the Gendered Control of Domestic Boundaries in New England, 1620–1725;* and M. Manning, *Homemade Magic: Concealed Deposits in Architectural Contexts in the Eastern United States*.

Predictably, as in England, in early modern New England, any form of magic and its explicit practice was deemed abhorrent and admonished by the authorities and the Puritan clergy. (Quaife 170) For example, in his 1689 sermon entitled "A Discourse on Witchcraft," Reverend Cotton Mather decries the practice of popular magic in New England: "There is Mention of Creatures that they call White Witches which do only Good-Turns for their Neighbours. I suspect that there is none of that sort; but rather think, There is none that doeth good, no, not one. If they do good, it is only that they may do hurt."[116] (qtd. in Kors and Peters 367)

Surviving records show that eighty-eight women and thirty men were suspected of witchcraft in New England between 1638 and 1691, not including those who were simply Quakers.[117] Eighty-three witch trials resulted in about seventeen executions. Most cases occurred in Connecticut and Massachusetts. The rate of accusation in Essex County, Massachusetts was not unlike that of Essex County in England, where most of the families were originally from, but inferior to the rate of accusation in Hampshire County in the Connecticut River Valley, as indicated in the table below. (Roach xx; Demos, *Entertaining*, 66)

	Years Covered	Population	Indictments	Executions	Annual rates (per 100,000 pop.) Ind.	Ex.
England	1542–1736	4,000,000				
Ewen est.			—	1,000	—	0.13
Macfarlane est.			2,000	300	0.26	0.04
Essex co.	1560–1680	100,000	650	74	5.42	0.62
New England	1630–1700	50,000	234	36	6.69	1.03

Figure 37. Demos, *Entertaining*. Witchcraft cases: Old England vs New England. p. 66

New England's first execution for witchcraft occurred in the Colony of Connecticut, with Alice Young of Windsor's hanging at Hartford, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1647. One year later, midwife Margaret Jones was the first person to be hanged for witchcraft in Massachusetts Bay Colony. Before 1692, the most well-known New England witchcraft cases were as follows: Mary and Hugh Parsons,

[116] In 1689, the Reverend Cotton Mather delivered this sermon in Boston, which later on the same year was printed and circulated in Massachusetts as a part of a larger collection titled *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*.

[117] Half of the men tried for witchcraft in New England were deemed guilty through their association with suspect women. They were incriminated secondary targets as husbands or associates of a woman-as-witch and should be unaccounted for. Thus, the proportion of women charged with witchcraft in the New England colonies, similarly to that of England, is nearer to ninety per cent rather than only eighty per cent. (Quaife 81) For more on the topic of the targeting of women as witches in seventeenth-century New England, see, for example, Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman*; Jane Kamensky, *Governing the Tongue*, especially chapter 6; and Reis, *Damned Women*.

Springfield, Massachusetts (1651); Elizabeth Godman, New Haven, Connecticut (1655); Ann Hibbins, Boston (1656); Winifred and Mary Holman, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1659–1660); the Hartford Witchcraft Trials (1662–1665); Elizabeth Knapp, Groton, Massachusetts (1672); Mary Webster, Hadley, Massachusetts (1684); and Mary Glover, Boston (1688).[118] (Goss 4-9)

A comparable pattern to the witch trials in England and on the mainland Europe during earlier centuries emerges in Connecticut and Massachusetts during the seventy years before the Salem witch hunt of 1692. (Rumsey 45-46) Namely, that the bulk of those prosecuted for witchcraft in early modern New England were women.

Women accounted for eighty-nine percent of the English Home Circuit accused. In New England, though the percentages were sixty-seven, eighty and sixty-five in the earlier decades, the Forties, Fifties and Sixties. In the last three decades of the seventeenth century, the number of New England women charged with the crime of witchcraft increased. Namely, ninety percent in the Seventies, ninety-five percent in the Eighties and ninety-one percent in the Nineties, not accounting for the Salem witch hunt numbers. (Quaife 79-80)

2.2.1. Why a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch?

By the 1680s, the composition of New England congregations was increasingly female.[119] C. Mather claimed, "[t]here are far more Godly Women in the World than there are Godly Men. ... I have seen it without going a Mile from home, That in a Church of between Three and Four Hundred Communicants, there are but few more than One Hundred Men; all the Rest are Women." (*Ornaments*, 44-45)

As in England, in seventeenth-century Puritan New England, the pervasive association of the crime of witchcraft with women and womanhood underpinned two perceptions of women: the Puritan goodwife and her inverse, the demonic witch. (Kamensky 152; Karlsen 2-3) Puritan theology affirmed the spiritual but not the socio-political equality of men and women. Yet, as Handmaidens of the Lord, the natural God-ordained subservient role of Puritan women in the church, family, and state was understood to determine the efficiency and success of a righteous well-ordered, and loving covenantal

[118] About other witchcraft accusations and trials in colonial New England, see, for example, Demos, *The Enemy*, Chapter V.

[119] About this issue, see, for example, Harry. S. Stout and Catherine. A. Brekus, "Declension, Gender, and the 'New Religious History';" and Gerald F. Moran, "'Sinners Are Turned into Saints in Numbers': Puritanism and Revivalism in Colonial Connecticut." On the relationship between declension and male piety, see, for example, Mary M. Dunn, "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period."

community. Failure to maintain the gendered expectations could be ruinous to the community. (Godbeer, "Your wife," 478, 481)

Virtuous Orthodox Puritan women in their allotted roles were expected to find God early, pray and fast, ascend to full members of the congregation. Moreover, they were required to be literate (for personal reading of the Bible), be the helpmates of their husband's household, and submit to his will, be the pious mothers to his children, and above all sumit to the will of God their whole lives.[120] Moreover, their "[f]emale piety represented the humility and control of anger, pride, lust, and greed that allowed Puritans to establish and sustain a society that conflated grace with human affection and divine providence with New England history." (Porterfield 11-13) Any Puritan goodwife who subverted the gendered expectations associated with female piety and engaged in inversionary behaviour instead could only have been corrupted by the Devil.[121] Moreover, Puritan demonic witches were menacing because they seemed to manipulate God's providence by preternatural means. Thus, once labelled his servant, the Puritan demonic woman-as-witch had to be either reformed or eliminated. (Lindley 16-18; Vaughan and Bremer 215-230; Godbeer, "Your wife," 479, 481; Godbeer, *Escaping*, 150-154; Porterfield 8-9; Brekus 76-77)

2.2.2. Which Puritan demonic woman-as-witch?

Like their English contemporaries, the ministers of the dominant faith in early New England perceived women as frailer. As such, Puritan goodwives were thus perceived to be more vulnerable to fall prey to their sinful proclivities – the Devil's *mira* – easily surrendering their souls to his possession. (Reis, *Damned*, 108, 110)

In addition to being weak-minded, certain behaviours were contrary to female piety. For example, being uninhibited, verbally aggressive and contentious. Being self-assertive and strongminded, being resolute in retaliating when wronged, rejecting the sequestered world of female domesticity for the public world of men, failing to display deference towards patriarchal authority – magistrates, ministers, and husbands, producing disorderly speech, that is, speaking out, boisterously and in public.

---

[120] For more on the role of the Puritan wife, see, for example, Ulrich, *Good Wives;* and Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman.*

[121] Colonial Puritans believed in the Devil, though its preternatural powers were not equal to God's. The Devil was merely granted leeway by God to test and delude mankind or to be used as a means of delivering his wrath. An outbreak of witchcraft, for example, was to the Puritan mind evidence of the Devil's insidiousness, as well as punishment and a warning. (Lindley 16-18) Moreover, the Puritan demonic witch's powers were exclusive of preternatural origin, i.e. bestowed on her by the Devil. According to Alison P. Coudert, the insistence on the witch's absolute servility to the Devil and the denial that she had any independent powers of her own further highlights the androcentrism in Protestant theology. (Breslaw 313, 315)

[122] (Amussen, *Gender*, 137; Godbeer, "Your wife," 486, 503-504; Courdet 66) These rebellious women upset the natural order and disrupted the peaceful godly patriarchal community. (Amussen, *Gender*, 137; Godbeer, "Your wife," 486, 503-504). Based on I Samuel 15:23, "in Puritan circles rebellion was routinely equated with witchcraft and rebellious wives with witches." [123] (Breslaw 317)

Any inversionary behaviour would promptly be connoted as diabolical in origin. Hence, indicative of a covenant with the Devil having been made. (Karlsen 120-121) Predictably, Puritan Goodwives singled out for their inversionary behaviour were particularly at risk of being accused of the crime of witchcraft.[124] (Amussen, *Gender*, 137; Godbeer, "Your wife," 486, 503-504) Witchcraft subverted the order of Creation, and witches defied the ubiquitous hegemony of God. Ultimately, they "were a symbol of the struggle between God and Satan for human souls." (Karlsen 117)

Instances of female obstinacy were often mentioned in witchcraft testimony. The implication of accusations against Puritan women-as-witches resided primarily in their sin of discontentment. The frustration felt about their lives in a Puritan society made them even more exposed to the Devil's delusions. (Karlsen 125) Inversionary behaviour implied discontent. Dissent and covenanting with the Devil - heresy and apostasy - would follow. (Karlsen 180-181, 192)

Regarding their age and social-economic background, the women accused of witchcraft in colonial New England were not notably that different from those back in seventeenth-century England. Over the years, most women were locally infamous for some instances of inversionary behaviour: theft, slander, or other forms of assaultive speech. They were also frequently involved in trouble and conflict with other family members and neighbours or were abrasive, quarrelsome, and stubbornly resilient in their adversity. These women tended to be middle-aged, between forty and sixty years old, married, with few or no children, and of a relatively low social position. Some professed and practised a medical vocation. Others were either eligible for inheritances because they had no male relatives or were poor, as demonstrated in the tables below. (Karlsen 72, 102-103, 117; Demos, *Entertaining*, 93-94)

[122] For more on the "diabolically unfeminine speech", the "unwomanly tongue," and the danger of female verbal authority challenging the hierarchical framework of Puritan society, see, for example, Kamensky, "Female Speech and Other Demons: Witchcraft and Wordcraft in Early New England" in Reis, *Spellbound*, pp. 25-51.

[123] I Samuel 15:23 reads: "For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king."

[124] Karlsen discusses in more detail the demographic, economic, and behavioural traits of accused women-as-witches in *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* mainly chapters 2 to 4.

	Action	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Deserted	Total
Non-Salem Cases	Accused	11	80	16	2	109
	Tried	1	25	5	0	31
	Convicted	0	13	3	0	16
	Executed	0	9	2	0	11
Salem Cases	Accused	40	68	22	2	132
	Tried	14	27	9	1	51
	Convicted	3	16	6	1	26
	Executed	0	10	4	0	14

Figure 38. Karlsen. Marital status of female witches, New England, 1629-1725. p. 72.

Action	Women without Brothers or Sons	Women with Brothers or Sons	Total
Accused	96 (61%)	62 (39%)	158
Tried	41 (64%)	23 (36%)	64
Convicted	25 (76%)	8 (24%)	33
Executed	17 (89%)	2 (11%)	19

Figure 39. Karlsen. Female witches by presence or absence of brothers or sons, New England, 1620-1725 (A). p. 102.

Action	Women without Brothers or Sons	Daughters and Grand-daughters of Women without Brothers or Sons	Women with Brothers or Sons	Unknown Cases	Total
Accused	96 (36%)	18 (7%)	44 (16%)	109 (41%)	267
Tried	41 (48%)	6 (7%)	17 (20%)	22 (26%)	86
Convicted	25 (56%)	0 (0%)	6 (13%)	12 (27%)	45
Executed	17 (61%)	0 (0%)	2 (7%)	9 (32%)	28

Figure 40. Karlsen. Female witches by presence of absence of brothers or sons, New England, 1620-1725 (B). p. 103.

However, when considering the age of the accused in the Salem witch hunt, one in five of the people accused was under twenty. (Quaife 162-163) It is illustrated in the following table. (Demos, *Entertaining*, 65)

Age-cohort	Male	Female	Total
Under 20	6	18	24
21–30	3	7	10
31–40	3	8	11
41–50	6	18	24
51–60	5	23	28
61–70	4	8	12
Over 70	3	6	9
Total	30	88	118

Figure 41. Demos, *Entertaining*. Age of witches - Salem group. p. 65.

Overall, the Puritan demonic witch should best be understood within the context of seventeenth-century Puritan theology, particularly in the gendered aspects of Puritan female piety. (Weisman 23-24) It follows, so must the cumulative heterogeneous seventeenth-century cultural memory of the demonic woman-as-witch of Salem, which we address next. Moreover, though a tenuous argument to some, we concur with George L. Kittredge that the Salem witch hunt of 1692 was “no sign of exceptional bigotry or abnormal superstition. [Their] forefathers believed in witchcraft, not because they were Puritans, not because they were Colonials, not because they were New Englanders, but because they were men [and women] of their time.” (Kittredge 338)

2.2.3. The Demonic Witch of the Salem Witch hunt of 1692

The late seventeenth-century English colonists in New England believed in witchcraft. Sporadically, they did accuse and execute suspected witches as the crime of witchcraft was integrated into the colonial legal system. (Goss 4) However, the Salem witch hunt[125] of 1692 in Massachusetts was the last and most prominent instance of the crime of witchcraft, which remains infamous today. It was more severe in every regard, was lengthier, jailed more suspects, condemned and executed more people, and distinctively escalated throughout twenty-five different communities in Essex County until

[125] According to Fels, there has been a disinterest in terming the Salem witchcraft episode as a witch hunt, particularly since the 1960s, due to the loss of interest in the social psychology of the Salem events and walking away from placing the “religious inclinations of the Salem villagers at the centre of the explanations for the witch hunt.” (Fels 132) In our work, we opted for the term “hunt” instead of “trials.”

the Puritan social order was severely threatened. (Ray 1-7)

Signalling the end of the Puritan theocracy in New England, the Salem witch hunt of 1692 may have contributed to a significant shift in the political dynamics of Massachusetts Bay Colony, perhaps catapulting the colony into the secularisation of the eighteenth-century society and the Age of Reason. (Goss ix-x)

The Salem witchcraft episode has been analysed demographically, theologically, anthropologically, and psychologically.[126] Nevertheless, no one theory alone explains it to satisfaction. For example, Salem Town had been experiencing backsliding in church membership,[127] and by 1683, only half of the wealthy landholding inhabitants belonged to it.[128] Protestant pluralism and the persistence of counter-magic and witchcraft beliefs were the culprits of this decline. (Butler 62, 66) We thus agree with Goss when he states there were "many factors which cumulatively created a particularly volatile situation which finally exploded in 1692." (Goss x)

This chapter offers a brief overview of the Salem witch hunt events.[129] Our approach excludes reviewing the many postulations about why the Salem witch hunt occurred, as it falls beyond the delineated scope of our discussion.

---

[126] For further comprehensive studies focusing on the cumulative and heterogeneous reasons why the Salem witch hunt occurred, see, for example, the following selection of scholarly works: Starkey, *The Devil in Massachusetts: a modern enquiry into the Salem Witch trials*; Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem possessed: the social origins of witchcraft*; Godbeer, *The Devil's dominion: Magic and Religion in early New England*; Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the culture of Early New England*; Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular religious belief in early New England*; Hansen, *Witchcraft at Salem*; Hoffer, *The Devil's disciples: Makers of the Salem witchcraft trials* and *The Salem Witchcraft trials: a Legal History*; Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England* and *Spellbound: Women and Witchcraft in America*; Norton, *In the Devil's snare: the Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692*; Wilcox, *Witch-hunt: The Clash of Cultures*. Boyer and Nissenbaum argued that the Salem witchcraft crisis was the product of profound apprehensions about developing a market-based economy. Demos focused on the psychological characteristics of both victims and accusers. Karlsen focused on the issue of why the accused witches were primarily women and argued that many of them were to inherit property, thus becoming menacingly independent of men. Godbeer argued that the Salem trials were the product of religious and socioeconomic tensions. Wilcox discussed how the war played a significant part in the Salem witch hunt and how much the Indian attacks fuelled the witchcraft craze of Salem in 1692. Reis interprets the Salem witchcraft episodes through the lens of both religious belief and gender.

[127] In New England, non-conforming church membership was not spontaneously transferred when a communicant moved. Though some congregations promptly welcomed a newcomer from another church, others required a new confession of faith in front of the congregation before a vote would take place. Salem's decline in church membership mirrored Boston's social and religious context. In the 1640s, new church members were members' spouses and children from families already associated with the church; non-members were generally newly immigrated families and single individuals. In 1683 only half of Salem's affluent selectmen belonged to the church when it claimed fewer than fifteen per cent of Salem's poorer social groups. By 1692, though sixty-one people had joined the church of Salem Village, only one member had sought full communion. There was a similar trend throughout New England, and Ministers like Parris criticised such backsliding and the waning of church membership. (Hoffer 49, 53; Butler 62,66)

[128] In the winter of 1691–1692, Salem Village was a thinly populated rural area adjacent to the coastal town of Salem. Land grants in the mid to late 1630s helped populate the Salem Village area, located north and west of the town centre. Salem Town, the first permanent settlement in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was founded in 1626. During the 1630s, immigrants flowed in and moved five to ten miles inland to "the Farms." Once established by the 1660s, the villagers petitioned for permission to build their own meeting house and hire a minister. In 1672 Salem Village was allowed to establish a parish. Between 1672 and 1689, Ministers James Bayley, George Burroughs and Deodat Lawson were appointed and dismissed from the Salem Village church. In November 1691, the village was torn apart by the controversy regarding the new Minister Parris' salary. In addition to the conflicts within the village and between the Village and the Town, there was the issue of the church membership backsliding and the constant threat of the Indians and French to the north. In early 1692, Abenaki Indians attacked the settlements in Maine, reminiscent of King Philip's War of the mid-1670s. Also, in 1684, the colony lost its self-governing charter, and the Crown appointed a new governor in 1686, Sir Edmund Andros. With the excuse of the "Glorious Revolution" back in England, Massachusetts revolted against Andros in 1689. It set up its commonwealth based on the old charter while it anticipated Reverend Increase Mather's return from England with a new charter. (Robinson et al. xi-xv)

[129] For a detailed and comprehensive day-by-day account, see Appendix B.

2.2.3.1. The happenings

Around mid-January 1692, in the Salem Village parsonage, the home of Reverend Samuel Parris,[130] his nine-year-old daughter, Elizabeth (Betty), began to show symptoms of a severe illness. Before long, Betty's eleven-year-old orphaned cousin, Abigail Williams, who also lived at the parsonage, presented similar symptoms.

Figure 42. Gonçalves, Inês. The foundations of Salem Village parsonage. Danvers, MA. 2015. Author's personal collection.

Despite prayer and fasting, the girl's condition was not improving. At a loss, Minister Parris consulted with nearby ministers who advised him to follow Cotton Mather's procedure in the Goodwin case[131] and devote himself to 'sit still and wait upon the Providence of God, to see what time might discouver.'

---

[130] For more about Reverend Samuel Parris, see Appendix E.

[131] C. Mather's experience with the afflicted Martha Goodwin, who spent five or six months in his home, gave him an alleged close encounter with evil spirits. As a result, he authored his first publication titled *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*, which became a seminal demonological work in New England. The work appeared in a second edition in 1691 and a third edition in Edinburgh in 1697. The London edition contained a recommendation by Richard Baxter. (Silverman 87)

Minister Paris called on William Griggs, the local physician, by mid-February, for medical advice. The doctor pronounced they were caught by the "evil hand." (Ray 48; Klaits 120) The girls' afflictions intensified. Reverend John Hale from Beverly, who examined the girls, noted,

> [t]hese children were bitten and pinched by invisible agents; their arms, necks, and backs turned this way and that way, and returned back again, so as it was impossible for them to do of themselves, and beyond the power of any epileptic fits, or natural disease to effect. Sometimes they were taken dumb, their mouths stopped, their throats choked, their limbs wracked and tormented so as might move a heart of stone, to sympathise with them, with bowels of compassion for them [and] pins [were] invisibly stuck into their flesh, [as if] pricking with irons. (24)

Their afflictions, or signs of possession, would continue for a day or two, never to return or would alternate with serene intervals, during which they would have no recollection of their behaviour. Their attacks also rendered them unable to hear or speak the word of God. In addition, they exhibited extreme, if intermittent, hostility towards the clergy members. (Karlsen 11-12, 13)

On February 14, Minister Parris delivered a sermon about declension in the congregation, asserting that God had abandoned them because of their 'slightings' of Christ: 'God is angry and sending forth destroyers.' (LeBeau 47-48)

On February 25, while the Parrises attended a weekly religious sermon in a neighbouring village, their neighbour, Mary Sibley, instructed Tituba, the Parris household enslaved person and her husband, John Indian, to make a witch cake to help ascertain the girls' afflicters.[132] Tituba baked a loaf of rye bread blended with some of the girls' urine and fed it to the family dog. As the dog feasted on the witch cake, the witches' identity would become known. (Baker 14-15; Mixon 33-35)

The first to become afflicted outside the Salem Village parsonage were next-door neighbours of the Parris family, Ann Putnam Jr., the twelve-year-old daughter of Thomas Putnam Jr. and his wife, Ann Putnam Sr., members of one of the leading families of the village. (Baker 101-103, 132; Robinson et al. xv)

Before long, the matter was taken out of Parris' hands. (Ray 48; Klaits 120) Elizabeth Parris,

[132] Minister Lawson had warned against the risks of counter-magic even if intended to help the afflicted. He discouraged the burning of hair or boiling of urine to hurt a witch or scratching a suspect to weaken her power. (Roach 55) Reverend Parris would later chastise Mary Sibley in front of the Salem congregation for the "diabolical means" she had dared employ to detect witchcraft. "By this means," he concluded, "the devil hath been raised amongst us, and his rage is vehement and terrible, and when he shall be silenced, the Lord only knows." (Baker 14-15)

Abigail Williams, and Ann Putnam Jr., pressured by the Salem magistrates Jonathan Corwin and John Hathorne to name their tormentors, accused Tituba, Sarah Good and Sarah Osbourne of bewitching them. Sarah Good was a destitute woman, ill-famed for her volatile temperament and tendency to mutter menacingly. Moreover, Sarah Osborne was a land-owning woman often involved in lawsuits and relatively uninhibited. At the beginning of March of 1692, all three women were interrogated by magistrates Corwin and Hathorne. While Sarah Osborne and Sarah Good maintained their innocence, Tituba offered the Salem magistrates a thorough confession and assisted the court in ferreting out other so-called witches.[133] Her recorded statements are dated March 1 and 2, 1692. In them, she carved out a diabolical conspiracy in Massachusetts covering all the likely seventeenth-century English and Puritan witchcraft beliefs. For example, the Devil was a black man, the existence of animal familiars, the flying on sticks to the sabbat , and the entering into a covenant with the Devil by signing his black book in blood.[134] (Breslaw xix, xxii-xxiii; Burns 25)

Ann Putnam Jr.'s seventeen-year-old step-cousin, Mary Walcott, the daughter of Captain Jonathan Walcott, the leader of the Salem Village militia, also became afflicted. By March 16, three more girls were tormented. Elizabeth (Betty) Hubbard, William Griggs' niece; Mary Warren, and Mercy Lewis, who worked as servants to John and Elizabeth Proctor and the Putnams, respectively.[135] (Baker 101- 103, 132; Robinson et al. xv) Along with Susannah Sheldon, these girls spawned most of the witchcraft accusations,[136] or rather, that people were tormenting them in spectral form. (Klaits 120; Baker 101- 103, 132; Robinson et al. xv)

The preliminary witchcraft hearings, or examinations, began in Salem in March. The frightened people of Salem Village turned to their religious authorities to help them ascertain the significance of

---

[133] Several women who incriminated themselves by confessing to covenanting with the Devil during the Salem outbreak later retracted their statements. They contended that they had been intimidated into confessing and that the religious and secular authorities were inclined to listening what they chose to hear. (Karlsen 11-12, 13) Though indicted, Tituba was never brought to trial. Yet she was held in the Salem Town jail for twenty-two months, longer than any other accused witch. In December 1693, Tituba was purchased by the individual who paid her jail fees. (Ray 43)

[134] To read Tituba's statements in full, see Rosenthal's *Records of The Salem Witch Trials*, pp. 133-136. Before Tituba's confession, witchcraft cases in New England had proceeded in various ways, with nearly everyone denying the charges. The accused sometimes counter-sued for slander to force dropping their complaint. Some were held in custody for a time with or without a trial and finally released on bond for good behaviour. A few were tried and found not guilty, while others were convicted and executed, although, in some cases, the convicted were spared by judicial intervention. The few who confessed did not appear to do so during interrogation but at arraignment when entering a plea, hoping for mercy. However, those who did so were still executed. (Burns 25) It is also significant that many of Tituba's renderings were repeated in most of the subsequent confessions. Ann Putnam Sr. became the first to follow Tituba in describing the devil's book. In many guises, it appears in numerous statements by both accusers and confessors. The afflicted later referred repeatedly to being tempted to write their names in the Devil's book, while confessors typically described having done so. Before Tituba, Elizabeth Knapp was the first to refer to the diabolic covenant represented in a book. Samuel Willard's account of her afflictions is found in Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences*. (Norton 52)

[135] Older girls and teenagers carried out vital household chores assisting the female heads of their families, namely their mother, their mistress or their relative. Their constant fits upset the daily household routines and their labour became either unreliable or unavailable. Also, the young women atypically became the centre of the household around which all its other members revolved, even though the girls in their roles as daughters, nieces, or servants enjoyed a menial station in the familial hierarchy. (Norton 51-52)

[136] A total of nineteen afflicted can be identified in legal complaints, in indictments, and involved in legal proceedings.

the preternatural events happening to them. On March 20, Minister Parris delivered a sermon based on John 6:70.[137] He was adamant about several critical issues. The concealed evil within the congregation. The ongoing battle between the soldiers of Christ and the agents of the Devil. The dangers in telling saints and sinners apart. The imminent invasion of the Devil and his minions.[138] (Parris 2-3)

On March 24, Deodat Lawson, one of the former Salem ministers, returned to deliver a less-than-reassuring sermon.[139] He reminded the congregation that prayer and repentance were the only relief for God's sanctioned afflictions sent upon them. That all those who refused to repent and confess must be punished. Moreover, the Devil might misrepresent excellent and decent Christians as afflicters of others. Thus, accusing people facetiously and with insufficient corroborating evidence, he fostered further turmoil and malevolence. (Miller 2009 192-193)

In the absence of the newly appointed royal Massachusetts Bay Colony Governor, William Phips,[140] Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton presided over the examinations while closely counselled by Minister Cotton Mather, the spokesperson for the Boston ministers.[141] Stoughton, assisted by several other magistrates, such as Justice Hathorne and Justice Corwin, continued executing arrests and carrying out examinations through May without the possibility of indictments and grand juries.[142]

Against regular English judicial practice, the magistrates did not require a monetary bond posted by the person complaining. They also held the examinations in public before a large and prejudicial audience. (Ray 67) The examinations took place in Salem Village, first at the meeting-house

---

[137] In the Bible: "Then Jesus replied, «Have I not chosen you, the Twelve? Yet one of you is a devil!»"

[138] His sermons were most detrimental to the acceptance and advancement of the Salem witch hunt. With his orthodox rhetoric, not only did he fearmonger further that there were multitudes of men and women in covenant with the Devil in Salem and in the whole of New England, but he also issued a stern warning the congregation by restating Romans 13:1 KJB "Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God." In short, questioning and resisting the Puritan authorities amounted to disobeying God. (Roach 285-290) Nineteenth-century historians, such as J.W. Henson and C. Upham, were particularly critical of Parris by attributing to him, almost entirely, the blame for deliberately ensuing the Salem witch trials. However, the nineteenth-century debate over Parris' character and role in the Salem witch episode, has dwindled in the twentieth century and his portrayal has somewhat changed. Yet, witchcraft historians such as Starkey, Boyer, and Nissenbaum agree that "though he could not be blamed for the Salem witchcraft episode, Parris contributed significantly to an atmosphere that made a witch-hunt probable." (Gragg xv-xviii)

[139] Deodat Lawson's sermon was titled *Christ's Fidelity the only Shield against Satan's Malignity*.

[140] When the initial witchcraft charges emerged, the Massachusetts colony had been without a governor and a governing charter for three years in the aftermath of England's Glorious Revolution. The thirty-one-year-old Sir William Phips, a ship captain and military leader born in Maine, was making his way to New England with the new charter when the Salem magistrates conducted their first preliminary hearings. Once in Boston, Phips briefly looked into the charges of witchcraft but soon left instead to Maine to fight off the Native Americans during the summer of 1692. (Klaits 123-124)

[141] The Court's Chief Magistrate was Massachusetts Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton. Stephen Sewall was the clerk, and Thomas Newton was the prosecutor. Jonathan Corwin, Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, Increase Mather, John Richard, Nathaniel Saltonstall, William Sargeant, Samuel Sewall and Wait Winthrop were among other members of the commission. (Starkey 1963; Boyer 1974).

[142] The proper pattern of complaint, arrest warrant, examination, grand jury hearing, trial and imprisonment, was disrupted. (Rosenthal 18-19) Normally, the grand jury stage which followed the examination did not occur for three months. The interim governor, Simon Bradstreet, would not permit the examinations to proceed to indictments, preventing the witchcraft cases from advancing to a grand jury and, ultimately, to a trial. (Ray 67-69)

and as the audience swelled at Ingersoll's Ordinary. (Klaits 123-124)

Figure 43. Ingersoll's Ordinary in Danvers, MA. Present-day.

Figure 44. Gonçalves, Inês. Replica of the Salem Village meeting-house. Danvers, MA. 2015. Author's personal collection.

The afflicted would often go into violent convulsions when confronted with the accused, providing graphic testimony of their torments. (Klaits 123-124) Besides the blurring between presumption and proof, visions of spectres, perceptible only to the accusers, were admitted as spectral (substantiating) evidence.[143] (Rosenthal 18-19; Gaskill, *Between*, 195)

[143] In seventeenth-century New England, felony capital offences, such as the crime of witchcraft, followed the three phases of the English common law practice. First, the complaints, arrest warrants, and preliminary hearings or examinations. If the examination bore incriminatory evidence, the accused was jailed and held for a formal indictment and a grand jury hearing, or jury of inquest, which could acquit the defendant or sustain the indictment. If the indictment was upheld, becoming a true bill, the proceedings moved to the decisive stage, the jury trial. The jury would convict or acquit the defendant. A conviction meant execution by short drop hanging. (Ray 67-69) William Stoughton ruled spectral evidence as acceptable, though it had not previously been allowed in New England witchcraft trials, for which the authorities largely criticised him. (Bremer 30-32; Rumsey 45-46)

When Governor William Phips returned in June, the jails were full of accused men and women awaiting trial.[144] He thus appointed a Court of Oyer and Terminer in Salem Town to preside over the indictments, trials and penalties.

In the aftermath of the first executions in June and July, the number of accused continued to surge. On August 4, the eve of former Salem Minister Buroughs' trial, the venerable Minister C. Mather delivered a sermon to bolster the congregation to remain steadfast in the chosen path[145]. C. Mather listed how the Devil's hatred of humanity was visible in it. Namely, wars, plagues, storms, the sluggish improvement of human technology, and the covenant of witchcraft. (Trigg 56)

By the end of the summer of 1692, as Governor Phips' wife was accused of being a witch, he forbade further arrests and released many of the accused in jail. (Blumberg 2007)

Figure 45. Gonçalves, Inês. Modern-day location of the old Salem Town jail. 2015. Author's personal collection.

After Reverend I. Mather published a demonological treatise refuting spectral evidence, Governor Phips dissolved the Court of Oyer and Terminer on October 29 due to the resulting mounting scepticism and feeling of unrest. (Reed 211-212)

The trials resumed in January 1693, at different venues, under the Superior Court of Judicature. It excluded spectral evidence and condemned only three fifty-six defendants who had spent

---

[144] Instead of remaining a localised witchcraft outbreak, by the end of May 1692, the afflicted accused an ever-growing number of tormentors from beyond Salem Village. Indeed, most of the people trialled and executed were neither from Salem Village nor Salem Town but rather from the neighbouring villages of Andover, Charlestown, Marblehead, Lynn, Reading Topsfiled, Salisbury, Billerica, Gloucester, Malden, Beverly and Ipswitch. (Trask ix; Rumsey 45-46) The Ipswitch prison had been previously available to the Salem court. However, the population increase in that region warranted another prison in Salem itself. Accordingly, in 1668 a prison was placed in the centre of the old town, near the first meetinghouse. Later, a more secure prison was built in 1684. It was that prison that housed so many accused who were crammed into a small space awaiting trial on charges of witchcraft in the summer of 1692. (Powers 216)

[145] C. Mathers's sermon titled *The Wonders of the Invisible World* evolved into a published defence of the trials produced with the blessing of Governor William Phips and supported by an author's defence from the lieutenant governor and chief Justice of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, William Stoughton. It received considerable attention, including a large advertisement in the *London Gazette*, a review in the *London Complete Library*, and three English editions.

a bitter winter in prison. Governor Phips met the convictions of the Superior Court of Judicature with clemencies. By May of 1693, he exonerated all those charged with the crime of witchcraft and still in prison, entirely dismissing Chief Justice Stoughton's standing. (Gaskill, *Between*, 197; Mixon 38) The last trials took place two weeks later. On July thirty first, the council read a letter from Queen Mary II, queen-consort of William III, endorsing Governor Phips's performance. At this time, the Salem witch-hunt had been halted for over ten weeks. (Gaskill, *Between*, 197; Mixon 38-39)

Tragically, the final death toll was considerable. The following people were hung for the crime of witchcraft during the Salem witch hunt: on June 10, Bridget Bishop; on July 19, Sarah Good, Elizabeth Howe, Susannah Martin, Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Wildes; on August 19, George Burroughs, Martha Carrier, George Jacobs, John Proctor, John Willard; on September 22 Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Mary Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilmott Red, Samuel Wardwell. Giles Corey was pressed to death on September 19. Several died in jail while awaiting trial: on May 10, Sarah Osborne; on June 16, Roger Toothaker; on December 3, Ann Foster; and on March 10, 1693, Lydia Dustin. Sometime before July 19, an unnamed infant of Sarah Good also died in prison. (Hill XV)

Earlier on, Governor Phips restricted the publication of any official account of the Salem witch hunt except for his endorsement of Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, published in 1693, which reaffirmed the narrative of the diabolical conspiracy in New England and portrayed the Puritan establishment most favourably.[146] (Baker 8; Ray 10-11)

2.2.4. Puritan Demonological and Strixological Idiosyncrasies in the Salem Witch-Hunt.

In what the Salem witch-hunt is concerned, we find that it was mostly about diabolism. Minister Parris, for example, gravely cautioned his congregation against the Devil and his demonic witches. In his Sermon Notebook, in his entry dated September 11, 1692, he declared:

> It may serve to reprove such as seem to be amazed at the war the devil has raised amongst us by wizards, & witches against the Lamb & his followers that they altogether deny it. If ever there were witches, men & women in covenant with the devil, here are multitudes in New England. Nor is it so strange a thing there should be such: no nor that some church members should be such. ... The devil's prevalency in this age is most clear in the marvellous number of witches

[146] For more on this issue, see chapter 3.

abounding all places. ... We may see here who they are that war against the Lamb, & his followers. Why they are devils, or devil's instruments. Here are but 2 parties in the world, the Lamb & his followers, & the dragon and his followers: & these are contrary one to the other. Well now they are against the Lamb, against the peace & prosperity of Zion, the interest of Christ: They are for the devil. (qtd. in Hill 131)

The Salem Puritan ministers' ultimate concern was with diabolism and the depraved, inversionary, anti-society it threatened to arise in New England. (Reis, *Damned*, 1-9, 56-57; Kamensky 163-164) Diabolism was about the kind of rebellion and disobedience promoted by the inversionary behaviour of the demonic witch, the Devil's apostate, a heretic ally. The Puritan demonic witch was "(un)governed" by the Devil. (Kamensky 164) Also, it was a radical in the service of the Devil's ultimate purpose: to depose God's kingdom on earth. (Griffiths 58-60)

The relentless dread of the Devil's enthroning rationalised any witchcraft outbreak as retribution for backsliding and apostasy from God.[147] (S. Manning 21-22) Thus, the laws of seventeenth-century New England embodied the Puritan theological views of witchcraft.[148] When prosecuting the crime of witchcraft, the gathering of extensive evidence of diabolism was a legal requirement. It was, however, only enforced in the Salem witch hunt of 1692. (LeBeau 28, 66; Godbeer, *Escaping*, 161-164)

For authoritative guidance on the Puritan strixological and demonological cruxes before them, as well as on the proper legal procedures to adopt for examining an accused witch and assessing the evidence in a trial, the Salem Puritan ministers, as inexperienced magistrates that they were, turned to the contemporary pivotal works on hand.[149] (Robinson 132; Starkey 1989 53-54; Norton 41-42)

[147] I. Mather coordinated the public project to create "a Collection of special Providences of God towards his New-England people." In May 1681, the colony's ministers drew up detailed proposals that expressed their growing concern about the power of Satan. The topics to be treated were "Prodigious Witchcrafts, Diabolical Possessions, Remarkable Judgements upon noted Sinners." (qtd. in Harley, "Explaining," 315-316) See, for example, T. Shepard, *Eye-Salve*, 1673, pp. 15-17; I Mather, *A Call from Heaven, to the Present and Succeeding Generations*, pp. 70-72; I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, sig. A7r-8v; and A. H. Quint, "Journal of the Rev. John Pike."

[148] Laws on witchcraft in New England followed the English Witchcraft Act of 1604 (1 James 1 c. 12). The statute's wording was closely drawn from the Old Testament. By 1647, all the New England colonies had incorporated the death penalty for the crime of witchcraft into their legal codes: "If any man or woman be a witch (that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit), they shall be put to death." Such legal codes were drawn upon the biblical verses Exodus 22:18 KJB; Leviticus 20:27 KJB; and Deuteronomy 18:10. Also, on legal practices in Massachusetts Bay, see, for example, Konig, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts*; and Powers, *Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts 1620-1692*.

[149] Namely, W. Perkin's *Discourse on the Damned Art of Witchcraft*; M. Dalton's *Country Justice*; G. Gifford's *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcrafts*; R. Bernard's *Guide to Grand Jury Men*; J. Gaule's *Select Cases of Conscience Touching Witches and Witchcrafts*, 1646; J. Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus*; M. Hale's *A Tryal of Witches at the Assizes Held at Bury St. Edmonds*, 1682; J. Keble's *An Assistance to Justices of the Peace*; R. Burton's *Kingdom of Darkness*; C. Mather's *Memorable Providences*; and R. Baxter's *Certainty of the World of Spirits*. When cases of bewitchment occurred back in seventeenth-century England, they would often be published as sermons or as part of religious tracts, easily accessed by many eminent New England Puritans who maintained relationships with nonconformists back in England. Ministers like the Mathers circulated letters, manuscripts, and published tracts. This transatlantic flow of texts was the primary source of printed material even after the development of a colonial press by 1639. Particularly during the period from 1679 to 1685, when the lapse of the Press Act in England led to a proliferation of printed material, there was a market for books about witchcraft and possession on the eve of the Salem outbreak. (Gasser 100-103) On the importance of literacy and books in New England and the transatlantic market for godly literature, see, for example, Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, pp. 43-61. On transatlantic correspondence relating to scientific knowledge and the

We shall now discuss how the Salem Puritan ministers applied these resources when dealing with three of the most distinctive features of the Salem witch-hunt: the affliction of the accusers, the spectral evidence provided by the accusers, and the confessions offered by the accused.

2.2.4.1. Being afflicted

M. Dalton's fourth edition of his *Country Justice,* published in 1630, included information from the Witchcraft Act of 1604 (1 James 1 c. 12) and drew on R. Bernard's *Guide to Grand-Jury Men*, in which the Pendle witch trials are established as precedent:[150]

> Now against these Witches (being the most cruel, revengeful and bloody of all the rest), the Justices of Peace may not always expect direct evidence, seeing all their works are the works of darkness, and no witnesses present with them to accuse them; & therefore for their better discovery, I thought good here to insert certain observations, partly out of the Book of discovery of the Witches that were arraigned at Lancaster, *Anno* 1612 before Sir James Altham & Sir Ed Bromley, Judges of Assise there; and partly out of M. Bernards Guide to Grand Jury-men. (Dalton 342-343)

And though Gifford in his *A Dialogue* urged "looke not upon the witch, lay not cause where it is not, seeke not helpe at the hands of devils, be not a disciple of witches," (sig. H3 V) the torments of the Salem young afflicted were, from the beginning, attributed to the bewitchment of a witch. As it was more common in Puritan New England. (Levack, *The Devil*, 211-212)

Dalton's "observations" were closely followed by the ministers and magistrates of the Salem witchcraft trials[151] in assessing the "signs" of bewitchment:

> Now to shew you some signs, to know whether the sick party be bewitched.

natural world, see, for example, Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*. Also see, for example, Norton's *In the Devil's Snare*, pp. 41-42, for a summary of the instructions as delineated by Bernard, Perkins and Gaule.

[150] See also section 2.1.4.1.

[151] It is further suggested that R. Baxter's book also provided evidence for New England ministers and magistrates to draw upon while investigating claims of demonic affliction and witchcraft. See Baxter, *Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits*, 20–36, 38–40, 52, 107, 128–46, 214–17, 218–20. On Baxter's contacts with New England and his interest in and contribution to the work of the Mathers in publishing evidence of providences and witchcraft, see, for example, Keeble and Nuttall, *Correspondence of Richard Baxter*.

> 1. When a healthful body shall be suddenly taken, etc. without probable reason, or natural cause appearing. etc. *Ber. 169*
>
> 2. When two or more, are taken in the like strange fits, in many things.
>
> 3. When the afflicted party in his fits doth tell truly many things, what the Witch, or other parties absent are doing or saying, and the like.
>
> 4. When the parties shall do many things strangely, or speak many things to purpose, and yet out of their fits know not anything thereof.
>
> 5. When there is a strength supernatural, as that of a strong man or two, shall not be able to keep down a Child, or weak person upon a bed.
>
> 6. When the party doth vomit up crooked pins, needles, nails, coals, lead, straw, hair, or the like.
>
> 7. When the party shall see visibly some Apparition, and shortly after some mischief shall befall him. *Ber. 173* (343)

In addition, they were also quite familiar with C. Mather's *Memorable Providences* where a detailed description of the afflictions endured by the Goodwin children[152] is provided:

> Sometimes they would be Deaf, sometimes Dumb, and sometimes Blind, and often, all this at once. One while their Tongues would be drawn down their Throats; another-while they would be pull'd out upon their Chins, to a prodigious length. They would have their Mouths opened unto such a Wideness, that their Jaws went out of joint; and anon they would clap together again with a Force like that of a strong Spring-Lock. The same would happen to their Shoulder-Blades, and their Elbows, and Hand-wrists, and several of their joints. They would at times ly in a benummed condition and be drawn together as those that are ty'd Neck and Heels;' and presently be stretched out, yea, drawn Backwards, to such a degree that it was fear'd the

[152] C. Mather had investigated the bewitchment of the Goodwins, attributing their problems to the witchcraft of Mary Glover, an Irish washerwoman. He reported his observations in *Memorable Providences* ... In the Summer of 1688, the four children of a Boston mason named John Goodwin were afflicted by Goody Glover, a Catholic Irishwoman. Though she confessed and was hanged, the children flushed hot and cold, saw spectres, and levitated. Mather took the eldest Goodwin girl into his own home, but her torments did not abate and often gave way to "frolics". She would talk wittily and "beyond herself." She frequently said that if she could steal or be drunk, she would be well immediately. While in this state, Mather tried to see whether she could read. She would not read the Bible, and listening to passages being read out loud cast her into agonies. But she could read a Quaker book, a Popish book, or a jest book perfectly well. She was also able to read the forbidden Book of Common Prayer. When the Goodwin girl and a younger brother were removed from her parents' home, they exhibited none of these symptoms. When returned home, the younger brother began having fits again, and they were particularly severe when his father tried to take him to church. (Jensen 198-199, 218) The work *Memorable Providences...* was published in Boston and sent to Richard Baxter in England, who arranged a London edition to prove "the unreasonableness of infidelity." (Gaskill, *Between*, 186)

> very skin of their Bellies would have crack'd. They would make most pitteous out-cries, that they were cut with Knives, and struck with Blows that they could not bear. Their Necks would be broken, so that their Neck-bone would seem dissolved unto them that felt after it; and yet on the sudden, it would become, again so stiff that there was no stirring of their Heads; yea, their Heads would be twisted almost round; and if main Force at any time obstructed a dangerous motion which they seem'd to be upon, they would roar exceedingly. Thus they lay some weeks most pittiful Spectacles... (Section V)

As such, to the Puritan ministers and magistrates, the victims of bewitchment were innocent sufferers. (Harley, "Explaining," 311-312) Though previously, preternatural experiences were often considered the Devil's *mira* and dismissed as such, the ones by the afflicted Salem girls were firmly accepted by the Puritan ministers over the pleas of innocence of the accused. (Brekus 78) Despite the visible patterns in their afflictions, they varied only slightly from one afflicted to another.[153] Seemingly, their affliction was "a dramatic religious ritual through which [the afflicted] publicly enacted their struggle to avoid internalizing the evil of witchcraft." (Karlsen 231, 244) Thus, confronting the afflicted during the different judicial procedures with their alleged tormentors promptly exacerbated their afflictions. Claiming to be choked, injured, pricked and bitten by the accused's spectres, their afflictions were to the ministers and magistrates of Salem physical evidence of the bewitchment by witches engaged in diabolism. (Ray 50, 52, 57, 61-62; Trigg 55-56; Rivett 224)

Since the cases of bewitchment by witchcraft depended on evidence that only the afflicted victims could see, determining it beyond any dispute was contingent on the efficacy of the accusers' staging of their torments and the gullibility of their audience, namely the ministers, the magistrates, the jury, their relatives, friends and neighbours. (Hoffer, *The Salem*, 47, 49, 54,59, 75) In this nineteenth-century illustration below, the afflicted girls are portrayed pointing at the imaginary flock of yellow birds surrounding the accused witches' heads.

[153] In New England there were sixty-seven afflicted accusers between 1620 and 1675. Of those, fifty-nine (86 percent) were female and most were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Their misbehaviour included speaking out of turn, violating the Sabbath, mocking religious rituals, ignoring their elders, insulting the ministers, jerking violently, retching, and lying as if dead. When doctors failed to find a natural cause for the symptoms and concluded that the causes were preternatural, families turned to ministers. (Games, *Witchcraft*, 65-76) Moreover, Puritan youngsters often participated in conversion experiences to determine whether they were among the elect. It involved acknowledging their sinfulness, assessing their resistance to demonic temptation and the searching signs that God had chosen them for salvation. Not succumbing to demonic temptation and averting becoming witches themselves was a sign of their sanctity an, thus aiming or reclaiming their position in their communities. We find it significant that these experiences were most common among adolescent girls and boys. (Levack, *The Devil*, 210-211) Conversely, James Sharpe and Diane Purkiss have argued that the demonic afflictions of adolescents may have functioned as a form of rebellion against adult authority. Affliction provided an excuse for outrageous behaviour, which far from being condemned, instilled in sympathy, concern insteadnd the full attention from the authority figures in their household and community, the audience of the young afflicted. (Almond 22-26) Under the *Lawes and Liberties of 1648* it was a felony for children to curse or disobey their parents. However, the parents were not legally penalised for verbally abusing their children. (Hoffer, *The Devil's Disciples*, 65)

Figure 46. The trial of a witch. Harper's Magazine. December 1892.

Typically, these girls would be curtailed in their public behaviour and speech. However, now that their audience took them at their word, "the afflicted authored further reversals, as their accusations advanced from the few to the many, from the lowly to the eminent, and from women to men. Long a quasi-private affair, bewitchment became public theater in Salem." (Kamensky 170) Often the afflicted barely knew the people they accused of being their tormentors or had had little interaction with them, and in many instances, they had never even crossed paths.[154] (Karlsen 224-225; Starkey 46-47, 139) The afflicted were urged to expose their tormentors based on their alleged aptitude for identifying their spectral foes. (Karlsen 11-12, 13) Aided by the male heads of the families of the afflicted, who had the necessary legal status to press charges, ultimately, the imprisonment, examination, trial and eventual execution of the alleged demonic witches of Salem "acted as a judicial exorcism and demonstrated the

[154] When the Salem events began, Elizabeth Parris and Abigail Williams were unable to identify those responsible for their torments. Eventually, they named Tituba, Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne. These women correspond to Puritan Salem's beliefs about witches, arousing little surprise or opposition. Indeed, the accusations of the afflicted were only met with some degree of opposition once they started naming more respectable and godly members of the community. They named both those who might have been expected to allure and torment younger women into witchcraft and those they considered seducers or tormentors. (Karlsen 245) Klaits, however, points out that most of the accused women were married or widowed and over forty years old, the same age as the mothers of the afflicted. Whether the afflicted accused their parents, once the accusations of the afflicted posed a threat, the social Puritan order at its roots, those in authority stopped encouraging such accusations. (Klaits 119, 126-127)

authenticity of the [afflictions]." (Almond 17)

Though the group of the afflicted included some older married women, such as Goodwife Ann Putnam Sr., and a couple of men, namely Native American John Indian and Judge Corwin's son, the bulk of the afflicted were under the age of twenty-five and single. (Norton 8-11; Baker 98-99) Twenty girls and seven boys were aged seventeen and under, while five girls and one boy were eighteen plus.[155] (West 16-24) As we can observe in the table below, their ages were entirely within the norm for New England. (Karlsen 224)

Age	Female	Male	Total
Under 10	3	1	4
10–19	27	5	32
20–29	13	1	14
30–39	8	1	9
40–49	3	0	3
50–59	1	0	1
60–69	3	0	3
70 and over	1	0	1
TOTAL	59	8	67

Marital Status	Female	Male	Total
Single	42	9	51
Married	20	1	21
Widowed	3	0	3
TOTAL	65	10	75

Figure 47. Karlsen. Possessed accusers by sex and marital status, New England 1620-1725. p. 224.

It is also significant that thirty were orphaned by one or both of their parents, all in war-related Indian attacks further North. As servants, some moved in with relatives or family friends or unfamiliar people. Also, several of the afflicted were either the daughters of ministers or lived with them, while others were or had recently been servants in ministers' households or had been raised by pious and conscientious parents. (Karlsen 226-227, 23) For example, eleven-year-old Abigail Williams, the niece of Samuel Parris, was part of his household. Twelve-year-old Ann Putnam Jr. and seventeen-year-old Mary Walcott were cousins and members of the Putnam family. Three others, seventeen-year-old Mercy

[155] K. West discusses the role of children in the Salem witch trials. Taking a critical theory approach to explore what might be understood as a child in 1692 New England and to consider the adult investment in reading the child, she explores narratives of the afflicted girls and the many accused children who are often absent or overlooked in histories. Also, for more on the afflicted, see Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, Chapter 4.

Lewis, seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Hubbard, and twenty-year-old Mary Warren, were maidservants. (Ray 44-46)

By early September 1692, the ministers and magistrates finally began to dismiss the evidentiary validity of the sensory testimonials provided by the afflicted. In time, the afflicted accusers would be considered deluded by the Devil's *mira*. (Ray 44-46) Thomas Brattle, one of the earliest and fiercest critics of the afflicted, in his "Letter" dated October 8 1692, contended about the afflicted: "I am sure they lie, at least speak falsely... It is true, they may strongly fancy, or have things represented to their imagination, when their eyes are shut; and I think this is all which should be allowed to these blind, nonsensical girls... The Devill imposes upon their brains, and deludes their fancye and imagination." (qtd. in Hill 98)

In 1696, having escaped her death sentence for being pregnant, forty-nine-year-old Elizabeth Procter submitted the first petition for financial restitution. It was the first of many petitions which blamed the afflicted for the Salem witch hunt. (Ray 172) Years later, the government would denounce afflicted accusers as "profligate and vicious." (Ray 44-46)

2.2.4.2. Spectral Evidence

The admittance of the spectral testimony of the afflicted during the Salem witchcraft trials was without precedent in Puritan New England.[156] Salem was the first and last court in North America to admit it. (Ramey and Farris 93-94; Yerby 93-94) Puritan ministers and magistrates regarded the testimony of the afflicted as undisputed condemning evidence mainly since the accused witches could not produce any exculpatory alibies for the alleged apparitions of themselves. (Godbeer, *The Devil*, 216-217, 218; Starkey 28–29, 37; Mixon 35-36; Weisman 104). Nevertheless, the statements of at least two witnesses were necessary to establish guilt. (Francis 86)

Having been conferred with secular and religious validation, the afflicted repetitively submitted their afflictions caused by spectres in court as sensory evidence, thus authenticating the charges of the

[156] According to Kittredge, spectral evidence was admitted in England, both in examinations and in trials. Such instances are described in witchcraft pamphlets and treatises. See, for example, *The Most Strange and Admirable Discoverie of Witches*; Thomas Potts, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches*; *The Arraignment and Triall of Jennet Preston, of Gisborne in Craven, in the Countie of York*. Also, in the Mary Smith's case in A. Roberts, *A Treatise of Witchcraft*; the Husbands Bosworth case in *the Letter of Alderman Robert Heyrick of Leicester*; *Daemonolgia* by Edward Fairfax; Edwin C. Clark, *A True and Exact Relation of the Severall Informations of the late Witches*; J. Glanvil's *Saducismus Triumphatus*; and *A Trial of Witches at Bury St. Emonds*; *Calendar of State Papers*; the Ann Tillling's case in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; *An Account of the Tryal and Examination of Joan Butts*; the Margaret Stothard's case in *The Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legen*. Chief Justice Holt admitted in at least two cases in 1695 and 1696. In the 1697 edition of M. Dalton's Country Justice, spectral evidence – "Their Apparition to the Sick Party in his Fits" – is indicated as one of the proofs of witchcraft. (364, 592)

crime of witchcraft against their tormentors, the accused witches. All Salem defendants executed as witches were found guilty of witchcraft solely based on charges stating spectral afflictions. (Ray 8-9, Mixon 35-36; Ramey and Farris 92-97; Yerby 92-97)

Spectral evidence both validated and advocated further the uncontrollable preternatural aberrant plasticity of the body of the witch and her subversive use of her body's shape in which the spectre or shape is removed and forwarded from the actual body. (Ramey and Farris 93-94, 98-99; Yerby 93-94, 98-99) The Puritan ministers and magistrates argued that spectral evidence was a realisation of the preternatural acts taken by the Devil in the invisible world. The Puritan doctrine of spectral evidence asserted that the Devil assigned a demon familiar to a witch when a witch had signed a covenant with Him. This demon could take on the witch's shape and torment the saintly. Taking on the likeness of a witch, her spectre would carry out the witch's behests. For example, they inflict physical harm on others, try to talk the person into signing the Devil's black book, pinch the witch's enemies, blind them, burn their houses, or wreck their ships. (Anglo 211; Fox 77; P. Miller 193-194) Salem's Puritan ministers and magistrates did not doubt that the accused witches were covenanting with the Devil, just as the afflicted had stated. (Rumsey 1-4, 5,6; Godbeer, *The Devil*, 216-217, 218)

The acceptance of spectral evidence was part of a broader seventeenth-century scientific effort to gain knowledge of the soul and the invisible world. Spectral forms were traced through Robert Boyle's formulation of how the senses act upon matter. In his work *The Origine of Formes and Qualities according to the Corpuscular Philosophy*, Boyle studied curing touches and the evil eye, providing the magistrates with a procedure for tracking the spectre's movement as an invisible witness within the trials. Boyle also argued that spirits and souls could interact with the physical world. He was also among a group of early scientists and theologians trying to prove the existence of the Devil and the preternatural world. (Baker 117-118; LeBeau 33-34; Rivett 254-255)

The fundamental point of contention was whether the Devil could also pose as the innocent and torment others in their likeness. This unresolved question had prevented the courts from relying solely on such testimony for conviction before the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692. (Baker 117-118; LeBeau 33-34; Rivett 254-255) For example, while Dalton, in his *Country Justice,* emphasises that only the truly afflicted could see and feel the spectrally present yet physically absent body of the witch and the torments it inflicted, R. Bernard, in his *A Guide to Grand-Jury Men*, urges caution against

> [a]n apparition of the party suspected, whom the afflicted in their fits seeme to see. This is a great suspition: for some bewitched haue cryed out, seeing those who were suspected to be

> Witches, and called vpon them by name ... yet this is but a presumption, though a strong one: because these apparitions are wrought by the Diuel, who can represent vnto the fantasie such as the parties vse to feare, in which his representation, hee may as well lye, as in his other witnesse. For if the diuell can represent the Witch ... may wee not thinke he can represent a common ordinary person, man or woman vnregenerate (though no Witch) to the fantasie of vaine persons, to deceiue them and others, that will giue credit to the Diuell? (209-210)

And, Perkins, in his *A Discourse of the Damned Art,* clearly asserts that

> [t]he Deuill, comes in the likenesse of some knowne man, and tells them the person in question is indeede a Witch, and offers withall to confirme the same by oath: should the Inquest receiue: his oath or accusation to condemne the man? Assuredly no ... If this should be taken for a sufficient proofe; the Deuill would not leaue one good man aliue in the world. (208-209)

He further cautions and advises

> all jurors who give their verdict upon life and death in courts of Assizes, to take good heed, that as they be diligent in zeal of God's glory and the good of his Church in detecting of witches by all sufficient and lawful means; so likewise they would be careful what they do and not to condemn any party suspected upon bare presumptions without sound and sufficient proofs, that they be not guilty through their own [rashness?] of shedding innocent blood. (199-218)

Though not initially, the question of the legitimacy of the use of spectral evidence during the Salem witchcraft trials was eventually brought to the forefront. Governor Phips consulted the local Congregational ministers, namely James Allen, John Bailey, and Samuel Willard of Boston, Nehemiah Walter of Roxbury, Charles Morton of Charlestown, Michael Wigglesworth of Medford, Samuel Angier of Newton, Jabez Fox of Woburn, Samuel Whiting Sr. of Lynn, Joseph Gerrish of Wenham; Samuel Philips of Rowley, William Hubbard of Ipswich and John Wise of Ipswich's Chebago section, and Joseph Capen of Topsfield. On June 15, 1692, C. Mather submitted their reply, titled "The Return of Several Ministers." The Boston ministers questioned whether the Devil was impersonating someone in spectral form without the person's permission. Therefore, that person was innocent, or whether the person had given

permission and was thus guilty. They restated their endorsement of the works of Perkins and Bernard but rejected the touch tests. More significantly, they emphasised that the accused's appearance as a spectre seen by the afflicted was not proof of guilt, for the Devil was permitted by God to impersonate the innocent. Initially, Chief Magistrate William Stoughton ignored the question of uncertainty and the Boston ministers' explicit counsel, following Magistrate Hathorne's lead. However, on June 25 1692, the Governor received two petitions composed by Boston's Baptist minister, William Milborne, objecting to spectral evidence in the trials, fearing it mostly served to condemn the innocent. Governor Phips dismissed both petitions and signed a warrant for Reverend Milborne for his subversive appeal. On June 30, 1692, one afflicted identified Reverend Samuel Willard of Boston as her spectral assailant. The court summarily dismissed her accusation. (Roach 171, 176, 184-188; Harley, "Explaining," 322; Ray 62)

By the fall of 1692, I. Mather and Samuel Willard raised questions about the evidence used in the courts. On October 8 1692, Thomas Brattle wrote a letter to an unknown minister conveying substantial uncertainty about the legal procedures followed in Salem, namely the use of spectral evidence and the touch tests, as well as the trend of admitting a growing number of confessions. (Games, *Witchcraft*, 87-88)

As the trials deescalated, ministers I. Mather and John Hale exposed their concerns about using spectral evidence during the trials and the prospect that a grave miscarriage of justice had been carried out. In his *Cases of Conscience*, I. Mather tried to absolve the Salem magistrates from enabling the execution of innocents. He also argued that relying on the spectral evidence provided by the afflicted as the ultimate proof of guilt of covenanting with the Devil had been specious and led to the loss of innocent life. (Gasser 122) Though too late to have had a tangible impact on the outcome of the Salem witchcraft trials, I. Mather's work eviscerated the rationale of the Salem court.[157] Primarily, he reiterates the unacceptability of spectral evidence since the Devil could take the shape of an innocent person. Moreover, he underscores the impropriety of accepting the accusations of confessors who were not bewitched but possessed, for "to be represented by Satan as a Tormentor of Bewitched or Possessed Persons is a sore affliction to a good man." (I. Mather, *Cases of Conscience*, 10-11, 15-17).

With the exclusion of spectral evidence for its unreliability, Governor William Phips halted the trials, and there were no more executions, despite the best efforts of Lieutenant Governor Stoughton.

[157] We find it noteworthy that C. Mather, differently from his father, I. Mather, in the aftermath of the Salem witchcraft trials, remained adamant about the reality of the afflictions and the spectres. (Harley, "Explaining," 326) For more on C. Mather and his stance on the Salem witch trials of 1692, see, for example, his *Unum Necessarium: Awakening for the Unregenerate*, sig. A3v; *Things for a Distress'd People to Think Upon*, p. 27; *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances*, pp. 9, 33; *Pietas in Patriam: The Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips*, pp. 66-76; *Diary of Cotton Mather*, *1681-1708*, 216, entry for January 15, 1696.

Slowly, the Salem witch hunt would be dismissed as a mere delusion by the Devil, nevertheless with a tragic and unforgivable outcome.

2.2.4.3. Confessing to Diabolism

One of the most idiosyncratic features of the Salem witch hunt was the proclivity of the accused witches to confess to diabolism. (Games, *Witchcraft*, 65-76) The confessions amounted to a third of those accused, fifty-three in total, as listed by Breslaw below. (Ray 121-122; Breslaw 187)

Confessors	Date of First Confession	Confessors	Date of First Confession
Tituba	March 1	Stephen Johnson	September 1
Abigail Hobbs	April 20	Sarah Hawkes	September 1
Mary Warren	April 21	Mercy Wardwell	September 1
Deliverance Hobbs	April 23	Samuel Wardwell	September 1
Candy	July 4	Sarah Wadwell	September 1
Ann Foster	July 15	Mary Osgood	September 8
Mary Lacey, Jr.	July 21	Deliverance Dane	September 16
Mary Lacey, Sr.	July 21	Joseph Draper	September 16
Richard Carrier	July 22	Dorothy Faulkner	September 16
Thomas Carrier	July 21	Abigail Faulkner	September 16
Andrew Carrier	July 23	Joannah Tyler	September 16
Martha Emerson	July 23	Martha Tyler	September 16
Hannah Bromage	July 30	Sarah Wilson, Sr.	Septmber 16
Mary Toothaker	July 30	Edward Farrington	September 17
Elizabeth Johnson, Jr.	August 10	Dorcas Hoar	September 21
Sarah Carrier	August 11	Sarah Cole	October 3
Rebecca Eames	August 19	Abigail Barker	unknown
Mary Bridges, Jr.	August 25	Mary Bridges, Sr.	unknown
Sarah Bridges	August 25	Eunice Fry	unknown
Hannah Post	August 25	Margaret Hawkes	unknown
Susannah Post	August 25	John Jackson, Jr.	unknown
Mary Barker	August 29	Margaret Jacobs	unknown
William Barker, Sr.	August 29	Rebecca Johnson, Sr.	unknown
Mary Marston	August 29	John Sawdy	unknown
Abigail Faulkner, Sr.	August 30	Mary Taylor	unknown
Elizabeth Johnson, Sr.	August 30	Sarah Wilson, Jr.	unknown
William Barker, Jr.	September 1		

Figure 48. Breslaw. Chronological list of the confessions. p. 187.

The first accused witch to submit a confession was Tituba.[158] The details of her statements became the essential elements recounted in most of the ensuing confessions. The Devil appeared in the shape of a man dressed in black or in that of a familiar – a yellow bird, a black dog, a cat, a hog – alone or in the company of one or more witches. They compelled the confessor to make a mark on his black book,[159] enter a covenant with him, and further torment the already afflicted and others. In return

[158] To read Tituba's examinations in full, see, for example, Rosenthal, *Records of The Salem Witch-hunt*, pp. 128-129,132-136.

[159] In the surviving records of the Salem witchcraft trials, the Devil's black book is mentioned by twenty-one men and women tried by the Court of Oyer and Terminer in 1692. Forty-eight examination records, depositions, and indictments describe the physical properties of the Devil's manuscript and the means

for their apostasy, the Devil promised them wealth, a better life, to supply them with whatever else they required, and even to protect them from the Indians. In the company of his many witches, the Devil also attended spectral sabbats in the pasture of Minister Parris in Salem Village or at Chandler's fort in Andover. They flew to these gatherings where they ate crimson bread and drank pilfered communion wine. At the same time, the Devil performed unholy baptisms in nearby bodies of water such as the Shawsheen River, Five-Mile Pond, Newbury Falls, or simply in a pail of water at the confessor's home.[160] (Baker 158-160; Burns 28-29) Indeed, to the ministers, these accounts of abandoning God's covenant for one with the Devil reflected the secularisation and deconstruction of the seventeenth-century New England Puritan culture. (Francis 139, 142, 155)

It is relevant to refer here that once Tituba had confessed, the torments of the afflicted subsided. It was thus taken as evidence by the Puritan ministers and magistrates, right from the beginning, that confession was instrumental in ascertaining the guilt of the accused witches. It also facilitated their repentance for their alleged conscious and informed decision to pay allegiance to the Devil. Also, perhaps most importantly, it seemingly offered relief to the afflicted. (Ray 114-115) Indeed, Gaule and Perkins both considered confession as crucial. Still, while Gaule cautions against admitting confessions without considering whether the confessor "was forced to it, terrified, allured, or otherwise deluded," Perkins and Bernard consider torture acceptable since confession was a convictive proof and therefore essential to the death penalty.[161] (Rosenthal et al. 33, 37; Weisman and Societies 99-101; Johnstone 147-150) If confessing did not subside the torments of the afflicted, the confessor would be asked to heal the afflicted with their touch. Also known as the touch test, it was a procedure employed by the magistrates to determine the validity of the statement and the guilt of the accused witch or confessor.[162]

Expectedly, confessions spawned more accusations and in turn, more confessions and more accusations, mostly involving diabolism.[163] Moreover, it should not be dismissed that those who

---

whereby it was inscribed. (Trigg 38-39, 43)

[160] Around four dozen records out of approximately 950 contain accounts of witches' spectral meetings and references to performances of the Devil's sacrament in Salem Village and Andover. From the beginning, these testimonies alarmed the Puritan authorities. It became clear to them that the Devil was recruiting witches from all over Essex County as apostates to engage in diabolism. The Devil's ultimate goal was to undermine and destroy the church in Salem Village and all the churches in the Massachusetts Bay Province. (Ray 85-86)

[161] Particularly in cases where the presumptions were strong and the accused refused to enter a plea or 'stood mute' as in the case of Giles Corey who endured the *peine fort et dure* or pressing. See, for example, Perkins, *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*, pp. 32, 45, 46; Bernard, *A Guide to Grand Jury Men*, pp. 33, 353; Gaule, *Select Cases of Conscience Touching Witches* , pp. 48, 142.

[162] In his Letter, Thomas Brattle described the science the judges said was behind the touch test: "[t]he Salem justices, at least some of them, do assert, that the cure of the afflicted persons is a natural effect of this touch; and they are so well instructed in the Cartesian philosophy, and in the doctrine of effluvia, that they undertake to give a demonstration of how this touch does cure the afflicted persons; and the account they give of it is this; that by this touch, the venomous and malignant particles, that were ejected from the eye, do, by this means, return to the body whence they came, and so leave the afflicted persons pure and whole." (qtd. in Burr 171). For more on this subject see, for example, Rivett, *The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England*, pp. 251–55, 263–66.

[163] From around the end of July to mid-September 1692, most accused witches began to confess and the accusations spread to Andover. The percentage

confessed to diabolism may have thought themselves genuinely guilty. (Ray 121-122; Godbeer, *The Devil's*, 216-217, 218; Johnstone 2) Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Puritan demonology supported that each godly Christian was accountable for resisting or giving in to the Devil's influence. It was a God-sanctioned test of faith for the self-conscious godly to resist the Devil's internal temptation, a test which could easily be failed. (Johnstone 1-3) The confessed witches may have been unable to distinguish between their human propensity toward sinfulness and their active participation in covenant with the Devil. (Brekus 82)

The Puritan magistrates conducted their examinations from a presumption of guilt. They insisted on the accused having covenanted with the Devil in the interrogations, rebuffing any likelihood of their innocence. (Burns 31-34) In their effort to make witchcraft a clear and ever-present threat to their congregation, as, for the ministers and magistrates, admitting to diabolism was the best evidence of witchcraft. In addition, confession released the accused witches from their punishment, assured redemption and reconciled them with the community covenanted to God. Revealing the acknowledged truth and manifesting repentance outwardly purged the sin from the individual and the social body. It also reaffirmed the essential guidelines that governed a Puritan community. Ultimately, confessions reassured magistrates they were on the righteous path of serving God by saving New England from the Devil. (D. Hall, *Worlds*, 175, 189-192; Griffith 56-58; Brekus 83; Mofford 142-143)

That being so, an accused witch refusing to confess and eloquently pledging his/her innocence in the Salem court would ultimately ensure his/her conviction. Though most of the deniers had plausible defences and were reputable, the magistrates of Salem relentlessly sought to obtain their confessions. The accused witches had to admit that they were guilty of diabolism, or at the very least, they were sinners. Not only was their eloquence perceived as preternatural, i.e. inspired by the Devil, insisting on their innocence demonstrated their defiance of the Puritan authorities. In other words, it was also a form of inversionary behaviour. To make matters worse, proving their innocence was an impossible task. The accused witches had to prove that they had never explicitly entered into a compact with the Devil and had also never implicitly covenanted with the Devil through everyday sin. (Kamensky 153; Reis, "Confess," 12-13)

---

of confessions continued to rise over the rest of the Summer until September. A substantial number of the Andover confessions were children and young unmarried adults. They confessed against their parents or other senior relatives, although all eventually retracted. Seemingly, relatives of the accused compelled them to confess to save themselves. Their confessions are quite similar, and the accusers also claimed to have partaken in the alleged crimes. By then, they could see the confessors were not being executed but remanded to jail. (Rosenthal et al. 29; Baker 158; Burns 24, 31-34; Johnstone 12-13) Also, confessing to diabolism shifted the emphasis from individual witches to a community of apostates. The Andover confessions swelled the Salem witchhunt as the diabolic pact became central. For more on this subject, see, for example, Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*, pp. 226–8, 232–9, 252–3; R. Kieckhefer, *European Witch-Trials*, pp. 73–92; Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 101–8, 146–57; Easlea, *Witch-Hunting, Magic and the New Philosophy*, pp. 6–7.

Nevertheless, confession and repentance also became a legal loophole. Perhaps unknowingly, the Salem court encouraged a situation where submitting a specious confession prevented an accused witch from being trialled and sentenced to death. In contrast, a genuine denial assured the opposite outcome. (P. Miller, 197-198, 204, 207) As we can see in the previous table (figure. 48), seven were convicted out of the fifty-three confessed witches. One (man) was executed, and one woman perished in prison. The remaining confessors were imprisoned and later either reprieved or released from prison.

As further indicated in figure. 48, out of the fifty-three accused Salem witches who confessed, forty-two were women. In addition to the considerably higher number of women accused of being witches in Salem, women more largely dreaded having inadvertently covenanted with the Devil for the same reasons alluded to previously. They were far more easily convinced that they had entered into a literal compact with the Devil to become witches, proof of their depraved nature. What they confessed to and how they confessed illustrated the constraints and boundaries of Puritan womanhood and met the intolerable demands of their own's and their community's expectations of what constituted appropriate female Puritan behaviour. The distinction between an implicit covenant through ordinary sin and an explicit pact with the Devil was particularly distorted for Puritan women. More often than their male counterparts, they outwardly conflated the two. They were also more likely to interpret their sins as tacit covenants with the Devil and spiritual renunciation of God. (Reis, "Confess," 12-13; *Spellbound*, 55-56, 67-68*; Damned*, 124-125; Baker 157)

Some women pleaded not guilty, and many others confessed, but all endured the burden of their womanhood. In the Salem court, a woman accused of being a witch risked being damned regardless of her response. The court, the accusers, the witnesses, and even the accused women themselves shared the belief that women were more likely to be perceived as witches than men, so proving in court their innocence beyond any reasonable doubt was close to unattainable. (Reis, "Confess," 12-13; *Spellbound*, 55-56, 60-61, 67-68; *Damned*, 136-137, 141, 143, 145-148, 163)

Following their plea of innocence, the accused women were required to establish in court that their souls were not and had not been corrupted by the Devil. Instead, they often incriminated themselves inadvertently because they conceded to being sinners, thus being unable to categorically convince the court and their peers that their souls had not stricken a compact with the Devil. On the other hand, by refusing to confess and repent for their prior sins and their intractability in denying the charges of witchcraft against them, it was construed by the Salem theocratic court as a denial to admit to sin, in general. Hence, this heresy proved their engagement in diabolism. However, very few women did not demonstrate guilt and remorse for their past transgressions. (Reis, "Confess," 12-13;

Spellbound, 55-56, 60-61, 67-68; *Damned*, 136-137, 141, 143, 145-148, 163)

Additionally, the protestations of innocence, the vehement denial of the witchcraft charges and the absolute refusal of the accused women to confess to diabolism suggest independence in the face of the Puritan male authorities and God himself. Indeed, it denounced Puritan theology, contradicted the court's proceedings, and invalidated notions of proper Puritan female decorum. Those who staunchly exhibited inversionary behaviour in court and failed to conform by confessing were convicted. They were not only convicted for being witches, heretics, and apostates but also for being rebels. (Reis, "Confess," 12-13; *Spellbound*, 55-56, 60-61, 67-68; *Damned*, 136-137, 141, 143, 145-148, 163)

One of the aspects of diabolism recurrent in the confessions was the signing of the Devil's book to become a witch and part of a demonic coven of witches. It was a codex capable of directing preternatural power, an aberrant parody of the Bible and the Devil's ledger. The materiality of the Devil's book – yet only with a spectral manifestation in Salem – reinforced the foreboding reality of the Devil's growing grip on seventeenth-century New England. (Trigg 37-38, 41-44)

As people of the Word, for the Puritan New Englanders, a fundamental tenet of their faith was the close relationship between the spoken or written words and actions.[164] Hence, the Devil's book signing further mocked their holy covenant with God. By marking the unholy paper with their blood or smearing it with their saliva, the accused witches were believed to have given their assent to the inscribed demonic covenant. After committing this inscriptive impiety in spectral form, they were expected to tempt, cajole, and torture others into signing the Devil's book, i.e., a perverted form of evangelism. Despite the Salem court's persistent request for a paper copy to be produced as evidentiary proof, the confessors could not. After all, it was a spectral book the Devil kept closely guarded. (Kamensky 6; Trigg 37-38, 45, 49-50; Hoffer, *The Devil*, 79-80)

Having expounded on the historical elements of the transcultural memory of the women-as-witch of Salem witch hunt of 1692, in the following segment of our work, we shall discuss the choice of historical fiction by nineteenth-century American women authors as the medium for her counter-memorialisation.

[164] For example, several studies have identified a magical component in the Puritans' relationship with books. They are known to have practised bibliomancy and to have credited particular volumes with the ability to ward off evil and sickness. See, for example, D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, pp. 25–26.

3. COUNTER-MEMORY: REMEMBERING THE SALEM WOMAN-AS-WITCH

> "To make the past present, to bring the distant near ... To invest with the reality of human flesh and blood ... to call up our ancestors before us in all their peculiarities of language, manners, and garb, to show us over their houses, to seat us at their tables, to rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, these parts of the duty which properly belongs to the historian, have been appropriated by the historical novelist."
>
> (Macaulay 155-156)

> "What matters therefore in the historical novel is not the retelling of great historical events, but the poetic awakening of the people who figured in those events. What matters is that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality."
>
> (Lukács 42)

> "I've always been fascinated by the ways in which historical fiction continually reinvents the past."
>
> (qtd. in De Groot 10)

> "... all history is also some sort of fiction that justifies itself according to the rules it establishes for its own use."
>
> (Costa 237)

3.1. Romantic Historical Fiction as Mnemonic Context and Mimesis.

It was not until the nineteenth century that a mass culture of public discourse and mass reading emerged in America.[165] From 1820 to 1865, reading materials such as books, magazines, pamphlets, and tracts were widely made available due to increased production and dissemination. The unprecedented growth in the urban population increased the audience for print which also fostered the concentration of publishing resources along with the exponential development of urban infrastructures and transportation advances that extended circulation and lowered the costs of shipping books. (Machor 3, 21-23) By 1850, the number of publishing and printing houses in the United States amounted to over seven hundred.[166] Publishers such as Wiley, Little Brown, Scribner's, and Putnam became established industries, and by the 1850s, Harper and Brothers, for example, were the largest contemporary publishing house in the world. (Machor 18)

This increase in print consumption also resulted from the American people's literacy level. According to Machor, "[w]hite adult literacy rates in the first decade of the nineteenth century stood at 75 percent in the North and 50 to 60 percent in the South, but a continual increase above and below the Mason-Dixon line caused the literacy rate to reach 90 percent by 1840 for white adults nationwide. Literacy grew especially among women to the point where rates for men and women had become roughly equal by the 1840s." (21) This educational expansion resulted from the parallel growth of libraries and schools. A considerable increase followed such growth in school enrolments and the number of hours and days spent at school. In this respect, James L. Machor states that, "[t]he most significant development in this area came in public schooling." He further argues that

> [a]lthough most elementary schooling were church affiliated or otherwise private through the first decade of the nineteenth century, by the early 1830s funding for public common schools was established in virtually every state along the eastern seaboard from Massachusetts to South Carolina. By the 1850s, a national public school movement, with a goal of "universal access" to education, was at work in the United States, extending to western states such as

[165] For a more comprehensive account about the reception study, historical hermeneutics and narratives of the conventional literary history of nineteenth-century American fiction from 1820 to 1865, see, for example, Machor, *Reading Fiction in Antebellum America*. And for more analysis of the central role technological progress and industrialisation have played in explaining the growth of the American reading public in the nineteenth-century, see, for example, Ronald J. Zboray, "Antebellum Reading and the Ironies of Technological Innovation." *American Quarterly* Special Issue: *Reading America* Vol. 40, No. 1. 1988. 65-82.

[166] See also, for example, David Dowling, *Capital Letters: Authorship in the Antebellum Literary Market*, pp. 1-24.

> Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. This commitment to state-supported schools came much earlier and proceeded at a faster pace than in Europe. (22)

Other easily overlooked aspects also helped more people to read more. For example, the developments in lighting made it possible to read longer into the night and until dawn, the progress in eyeglasses, and the opportunities for reading outside schools and libraries. The latter resulted from changes in American homes' architecture and leisure time promotion. Houses were progressively built with individual bedrooms, which provided different family members with the necessary privacy and quiet space for reading; a general expansion and reorganisation of leisure time in this period also contributed to an increase in the number of readers. Also, the changes brought about by industrial capitalism, such as mechanization, assembly lines, and scientific management.

Furthermore, the ensuing separation of work and home spaces allowed more workers to restrict the time spent in the workplace, thus enlarging more leisure hours to be devoted to reading. Finally, as economic production activities moved outside the home, more literate women and young adults had more time to read. However, it is essential to note that most of these "new" readers belonged to the urban middle class. (Machor 21-23)

Reading became significantly important as the means of shaping the new nineteenth-century American identity of the "self" and of contributing to promoting the growing quest for American national "questions of identity, morality, aesthetics, and power." (Machor 3) There was a reciprocal relationship between this period's pursuit of literacy and reading and the development of institutions that encouraged the idea that the country's social, moral, and political health depended on an educated American people. In the late eighteenth century, it was acknowledged that the Republic would be more successful if American mothers were literate to raise their children better to become proper American citizens. Moreover, along with encouraging women to become better educated and improve their minds through reading, the "cult of domesticity" was firmly settled within the capitalist separation of work and home. Not only was the home redefined as a surrogate womb of nurture, but womanhood was also further misogynised. American women were to be perceived as the only individuals uniquely endowed with the ability to educate children because they were naturally more moral, patient, and nurturing. American mothers "were encouraged to both read to their children and become better readers themselves; to promote learning, Christian values, and respect for the social order and to provide the young with the means that would facilitate future economic success." (Machor 24-25) However, better educated and well-read American women readers meant that more and better writers would result, a phenomenon

that we shall address in the next section of the present work.

As historical themes became essential in developing nineteenth-century American culture, a taste for exploring the historical imagination in American novels developed. (Henderson xvii) In fact, in Harry B. Henderson's words: "[o]ne of the fascinations of the American historical imagination in this period [nineteenth century] is the extent to which the narrative histories and historical fiction reveal both structures responding to the currents and tensions of the age." (15) This author further argues that "[t]o look in literature for the essence of 'the American experience' was necessary to seek for something that could be found in the literature of no other nation and, indeed, to identify nationality as the basis of literary creation." (Baym, *Feminism*, 57)

George Dekker authoritatively assigns this "fascination" to Sir Walter Scott's influence on the nineteenth-century American authors who were forerunners of American historical fiction.[167] They particularly commended Scott's assertion that he was writing novels about people being caught in a historical setting that they did not fully understand. (Orel 7) According to G. Dekker,

> [t]hroughout the nineteenth century, the historicism of the *Waverley* tradition... was in all likelihood the single most important educative counterforce to the antihistorical tendencies of the national creed of progressivism. What is more, the polar form of the *Waverley model* obliged American historical [authors] to represent the viewpoints of the losers in the long succession of contests between the forces of progress and reaction... . (342)

In fact, Sir Walter Scott crafted the genre as we know it and spawned a vast international book market for many other works of the kind. His first work, entitled *Waverly* (1814), was avidly read in England and New England, making it possible for this fiction to glint in the American reading public's imagination. Moreover, even works of American historical fiction were likely to be disparaged for not reproducing "Scott's sense of the past" adequately. (Price 261-262)

However, even though American readers immensely enjoyed reading English and some other Continental authors, "a spirit of nationalism" developed after the War of 1812,[168] as Charles Ramsdell notes. (qtd. in Leisy 3) Readers "began to want American-authored [historical romances] set in the

---

[167] Dekker focuses particularly on Hawthorne and goes as far as establishing not only literary but biographical parallels between Scott and Hawthorne. Dekker pays special attention to his works: "Young Goodman Brown," "The Minister's Black Veil," "The Custom House," *The House of the Seven Gables* and *The Scarlet Letter*.

[168] The War of 1812 was a conflict fought from June 18, 1812, to February 17, 1815, between the United States and Great Britain over British violations of U.S. maritime rights. It ended with the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty of Ghent.

American past." (Leisy 3) The genre caught the imagination of many American writers – some better known than others –, having enjoyed widespread popularity in the subsequent decades. James Fennimore Cooper broke ground in the field of American Historical fiction with his work *The Spy* (1821), a Romantic adventure inspired by the American Revolution. Later in the same year, he was hailed enthusiastically as "the American Scott." However, despite the persistent influence of the English literary models, the American novelists began to favour non-European settings.

In Scott's historical fiction, there are a set of tenets, which, we agree, are later pervasive in earlier American historical fiction. According to Amy J. Elias:

> ... historians could be social scientists in a true sense, observing cultures impartially and extrapolating through inductive logic the organizing patterns of societies, cultures, and history; that history was linear, a line of interlocked events developing from one point in historical time to another; that this linear time moved along a universal developmental continuum, based in a universal human nature, in which cultures progressed from lower to higher forms; that history was thus positivistic and progress was a realistically attainable goal; that cultures that were "low" on the civilization continuum nevertheless evinced admirable traits, and that "high" cultures paid for their advanced state with a loss of that admirable something; that the recording of such observations was an artistic science with political and social consequences. (11-12)

The distinctive American historical fiction upholds not only all of these tenets but also the contradictions and the array of experiences of the American culture. Two main features of America's short History stand out: the solitary nature of the situation men were led into in the new nation and the dualism of good versus evil inherent to New England's Puritanism.

Though American historical fiction may have initially developed from the English tradition, Richard V. Chase notes that it became "more profound and clairvoyant" and "narrower and more arbitrary" concerning its motifs.[169] (5) The American historical novel was, particularly in the early nineteenth century, highly directed to (or focused on) the nation's political life. Undeniably, many of the narratives – historical or not – expressed the new Republic's founding ideals and the historical

[169] Chase further claims that this was so until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when the American writers turned to French and Russian literary models, as the influence of the English progressively decreased (2). For more on this topic, see, for example, Peter Garside, "Popular Fiction and National Tale: Hidden Origins of Scott's Waverley;" Ina Ferris, "Re-positioning the Novel: Waverley and the Gender of Fiction;" Katie Trumpener, "National Character, Nationalist Plots: National Tale and Historical Novel in the Age of Waverley."

contradictions of this enterprise. The narratives, such as historical fiction novels, "thus provide a site where the nation's sense of itself can be reinvented or deconstructed, a place where the individual reader can affirm his or her imaginary relationship to the past or press beyond that to a more demanding truth." (R. Clark ix-x)

The (re)presentation – or (re)creation – of the US' cultural memory in nineteenth-century historical fiction, as a potentially flawless society, can easily be traced back to Colonial times, a time when it was pervasive in the Puritan mindset of New England. More clearly, as Robert Clark notes,

> [f]rom the first description of the New World by Christopher Columbus, down through the writings of the Pilgrim Fathers and such eighteenth-century works as Crevecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer*, writers had been inclined to see the American continent as the state where man could construct a 'City upon a Hill' or discover and earthly paradise. ... the image of an earthly perfection that the new world holds out to the Old. Democratic political rhetoric can be seen as fusing the agrarian and the Puritan idea of labour as morally beneficial into a newly invigorating ideology that explained and motivated land settlement: when one believed that the United States was an inherently perfect republic of yeomen farmers, and yet had every justification for extending the national domain. (4-5)

In short, American historical fiction in its early forms followed Scott's tradition. It relied on the nature of history and how it could be identified and assessed by an unbiased observer. It assumed and maintained bourgeois westernised notions of cultural and personal values. It also vindicated the forward movement of history motivated solely by progress. (Elias 11-12)

3.1.1. 'Novel' or 'Romance'?

For any fiction to fall under the category of "historical," "the determinative social and psychological traits [that] the historical fiction represents [must] clearly belong to a period historically distinct from our own [and] the characters [do not] need to have been actual historical personages." As long as the historical and fictional characters behave authentically following the historical setting they are embedded in. (G. Dekker 14-15) Indeed, as Harry E. Shaw notes:

> [w]hen we read historical novels[170], we take their events, characters, settings, and language to be historical in one or both of two ways. They may represent societies, modes of speech, or events that in very fact existed in the past, in which case their probability, points outward from the work to the world it represents; or they may promote some sort of historical effect within the work, such as providing an entry for the reader into the past, in which case the probability points inward, to the design of the work itself. (21)

It is, of course, the broadest definition possible and, right here, we were confronted with a much-debated taxonomy issue among the different authors we have read: '(historical) novel' versus '(historical) romance' – especially in nineteenth-century American literature.

For example, Richard Chase asserts that it "would be wrong to think of 'romance' as being a 'novel.' The major differences, says this author, are "in the way in which they [portray] reality". While " "'Romance' favours a liberated action over the character ... the 'Novel' tends to stress the importance of the character." He further stresses that, differently from the European model, in the case of American 'Romance,' "the plot is expected to be more colourful and furnished with astonishing events liable to have a symbolic or ideological trait." (Chase 12-13)

Nina Baym, on the other hand, abridges this dispute by simply pointing out that, when reading Antebellum periodicals from 1822 to 1855, the term 'romance' was used interchangeably as a synonym for the term 'novel'. (Baym, "Concepts," 430) The interchangeability in the use of the two terms can be traced back to Scott, seemingly continued by his American followers such as Sedgwick, Cooper, and Stowe.[171] So, while Chase claims exceptionalism to the American romance, since Scott, "[t]he novel did not evolve out of the romance; both genres developed along tracks that frequently intersected.'' (Gordon 22)

3.1.2. Historical fiction: mnemonic and mimetic features.

In the broadly quoted words of Michel de Certeau, "[f]iction is the repressed other of historical discourse." (qtd. in White 147) At the same time, history focuses on factual truth, historical fiction deals

[170] Unlike Chase, Shaw makes no distinction between the terms "romance" and "novel."

[171] For a detailed account of the rise and development of the historical novel due to the particular influence of Scott's work and how it was a mode apart from the concerns of the more straightforward type of literature as represented by the novel as well, see De Groot, chapter 2.

with the innumerous possibilities and alternatives – as many as our imagination allows – of reality. It this then a medium of past and contemporary cultural memory. It also allows insight into the historical period (re)created imaginatively, as well the historical period of the author. (Southgate 8-10)

Though 'history' and 'imagination' may be seen as opposites, they are essential to the "[re]construction of meaning through narrative."[172] (Southgate 19) This (re)construction requires memory, as well, "[f]or it constitutes the only tool we have for gaining any access to the past, and so for giving any account of what happened before the present moment." (Southgate 72) However, the way memory is used by historical fiction and by history is, of course, significantly different. (Southgate 74) In addition, the re(memorised) elements of the past from which the narratives – historical and fictional – are (re)constructed carefully and purposefully. In other words, "meaning is bestowed upon the past by us" as individuals, historians, or authors of historical fiction. (Southgate 96)

Historical fiction as a genre conquered transcultural success and became a means for national self-definition. The history of another nation though distant from the reader, is made familiar through the impression of historical verisimilitude. Simultaneously, how authors approach, interpret and use their sources to (re)create the historical fictional narrative is usually modulated by the nationalist paradigm in place at the time or by their counter-memory approach to it. The authors had to read vastly and do in-depth research so as not to misrepresent the historical facts and characters, for they are not at liberty to shape their material for idiosyncratic purposes, endeavouring in historical accurateness. However, most historical novelists tend to keep within their national historical boundaries due to prosaic difficulties such as access to sources, linguistic barriers, or lack of confidence. (De Groot 93-97)

Yet, we find that this might not be a clear-cut situation concerning nineteenth-century American historical fiction. Among many others, we can offer the example of Eliza Buckminster Lee, one of our slected authors. She did not only write novels about the American past but also dared to write a novel titled *Parthenia: or, The last days of Paganism*. She received a classical education after being brought up in a clergyman's family. Knowing Latin and Greek enabled her to research the necessary historical primary resources aptly. In her Preface to the said novel, Lee refers to "[t]he period at which the events ... occurred, or (as in one or more exceptions) are imagined to have occurred ..." (Lee V)

Lee's frank words suggest that she wanted her readers to be fully aware of the fictional aspect of most, but not all, of her historical narrative. We find this exemplifies what György Lukács maintains as being the motif of the historical novel: its demonstration of history as an educational process. Indeed,

[172] For an in-depth discussion about "the 'blurred area' between history and fiction," see, for example, Anne Rigney, *Imperfect Histories*; and Rodríguez, "The Salem Witchcraft Trials in the 19th Century Historical Fiction: The Literary Construction of Alternative Versions of History."

historical fiction is imbued with the ability to reach out to any nation or a whole nation and provoke a sense of revolutionary potential regardless of the accuracy of its historical content or the readers' prior knowledge of it. (qtd. in De Groot 93-97) As De Groot points out, this kind of extratextual information has the effect of bolstering or lowering the reader's expectations since

> [t]he notes and extraneous metanarratives of the novel point to the artificiality of the exercise, encouraging the audience of the work to acknowledge the multiplicity of history and the subjective version of it being presented [as a] collage effect of authority ... a gesture toward plausibility and historical accuracy [.] The habit of authorial paratextual commentary upon the process and development of [their work by the authors of historical fiction] highlights the artificiality of the novel, [and] introduces a fundamental metafictional element to the form... . (6-9)

Finally, Lee's use of a preface exemplifies how prefaces in the earlier historical fictional novels can be understood as "a material mediation between the epistemological and ontological concerns promoted by the emergence of historical fiction and the practices of readers themselves." (Caserio and Hawes 64) As we shall discuss in detail later in our work, this is the case with another of Lee's works, *The Witch of New England*, as well as with Castleton's *Salem*, Disosway's *South Meadows* and Du Bois' *Martha Corey* .

Nevertheless, historical fiction does not concern only the mimesis of history. Indeed, it also "[offers the] possibility for involving complex and dissident readings [and] fundamentally challenges subjectivities, offering multiple identities and historical storylines." (De Groot 139) From its inception, historical fiction "queried, interrogated and complicated fixed ideas of selfhood, historical progression, and objectivity." It is "a disruptive genre, a series of interventions which have sought to destabilise cultural hegemonies and challenge normalities." (De Groot, 139) Historical fiction "can report from places made marginal and present a dissident or dissenting account of the past." (De Groot, 139) Certainly,

> [much of the] accepted history has been disputed and [many] untold atrocities have been uncovered in a fictional context. This demonstrates how the historical novel can advocate ideological positions, mourn a lost history or attack the mainstream version of events for polemic and political purposes. ...These [re]considerations of past events have significance

> for present identity, particularly national, and therefore ... make a clear contemporary political intervention. (De Groot 140)

It follows that historical fiction, though it has a concern for realism, development of character and authenticity, primarily demands a committed engagement not only on the part of its author but also of readers. The experience of writing, reading and understanding historical fiction is unique. A historical novel is "a slightly more inflected form than most other types of fiction, the reader of such a work is slightly more self-aware of the artificiality of the writing and the strangeness of engaging with imaginary work which strives to explain something other than one's contemporary knowledge and experience: the past." Historical fiction combines "the fictional uncanny and the factually authentic." (De Groot 4)

Historical fiction may also force us to consider our enduring human closely and societal features, though "[i]t is possible that such features may simply be edited out of the historical setting: a 'sanitizing' of the past... ." (Hughes 6) However, "[e]ven if the societies of the past show tendencies which have come to full development in the present, less tolerable features can be taken as having withered in the process of historical change which developed the more desirable aspects." (Hughes 6) Resorting to (re)creating a counter-memory to purge the past, and perhaps turn it into a "cautionary tale."[173] It is the case with the favouring of the historical plot (re)presenting the Salem witch hunt of 1692 in the novels we shall discuss later in this study.[174] So,

> [h]istorical novels, based on a version of history and to some extent validated by it, are permeated by the ideology of the version of the past they present; but it is the history which seems the 'true' element of the narrative, and thus the least politicized aspect of the text. This account of historical [fiction] assumes, however, that the presentation of history is as much a part of the 'myth of the past'[175] as the invented story. (Hughes 7-8)

Or, quite simply put, the historical fiction writer (re)creates his/her perception of the present and of history. A whole past society is (re)created, and because of its unfamiliarity to the readers' familiar

---

[173] See Adams, *The Specter of Salem.*

[174] See, for example, David Levin's seminal work: *In defense of historical literature*, chapter 4: "Historical fact in Fiction and Drama: The Salem Witchcraft Trials."

[175] Helen Hughes also suggests "the validity, in relation to historical [fiction], of a third definition of myth: that of Roland Barthes, who defines 'myth' as a semiological system which gives a 'natural' image of a 'reality' that has actually been fabricated within a historical past - in Mythologies, Even an account of historical 'reality' which seems neutral is actually–through selection of 'facts' or their interpretation–an ideologically charged construction." (7-8)

setting, these forms of past society can be romanticised in some of their aspects without losing their authenticity. Likewise, features of the author's contemporary society may be (re)presented for censure when embedded in the highlighted historical context to defamiliarize the readers and encourage their critical thought. (Hughes 5) Indeed, historical fiction (re)fills the gaps of the historical records and "extends beyond its ability to imagine lost subjectivities and speak with silenced voices to its creation of multi-layered texts that can incorporate, and hold in tension, multiple perspectives." (Mitchell and Parsons 6) As Neumann argues, this means that historical fiction's intertextual and intermedial references build "structural multi-perspectivity." It contributes to a unique historical (re)collection or, in our view, (re)memorialisation. (Erll et al. 339) Indeed, "intertextual and intermedial reworkings" of historical fiction is a way of redressing past wrongs, or of (re)creating a remarkable historical experience, no matter how painful; or of creating "a sense of shared cultural memory [and counter-memory] that transcends the passage of time." (Mitchell and Parsons 6)

Historical fiction is, thus, clearly, mimetic and mnemonic. As a medium for (re)presenting the past, it facilitates cultural memory not only by memorialising but also as counter-memory. Indeed, "[i]n this way, the [historical fiction] novel both offers itself as a witness to, or commemoration of, the [historical event] and its victims, including the survivors, and dramatises the process by which memory is transmitted; the [historical] events are made memorable by the affective evocation of unrepresentable suffering and the numberless dead." (Mitchell and Parsons 10-11)

3.1.3. Romantic historical fiction as a sub-genre

Kristin Ramsdell postulates two Romantic subgenres for historical fiction: the period romance and the Romantic historical. In the period romance, a generic love story takes place in a richly described historical setting, with lengthy descriptions of clothing, food, houses, countryside, entertainment, manners, customs, language, and other details of the period's contemporary everyday life. However, the love story is not shaped or affected by any of it. The actual historical events and characters serve primarily as a background to the love story. (111-113)

In the Romantic historical, the love relationship is determined by the historical events and characters of the period in question. The actual Romantic interest is centred on a central fictional character (or characters) that, for historical verisimilitude, behaves authentically in conformity with his/her place and time. (Ramsdell 111-113) Therefore, the Romantic historical is a subgenre more

thoroughly historicised and, consequently, more meaningful when studied from a cultural point of view. As Ernest E. Leisy maintains, it "satisfies a desire for national homogeneity [and] is concerned with historical truth." (Leisy 4)

Quite a wide array of Romantic historicals feature extraordinary adventures, mysterious or supernatural environments, perilous pursuits, and astounding victories. Beyond historical plausibility, they often also portray epic or mythic characters who engage in supernatural elements, or characters with extraordinary capabilities, archetypal heroes and traditional plots - abductions, escapes, rescues, disguises and unknown identities - as well as over-elaborate dialogues, melodramatic love triangles, unbelievable escapes, shocking coincidences, and relatively transparent symbolism. Nevertheless, their Romantic aspect promotes the timelessness of a chosen historical context. The plot of the Romantic historical goes "beyond the fate of its particular characters toward some larger issue or theme." (Crane 26-27, 33-34)

After an intricate Romantic relationship, in the outcome of any of these situations, the (re)union of the Romantic protagonists – with the two protagonists forming a committed relationship, usually engagement or marriage – is what is most relevant and rooted for the readers, though it is not always attained. It is what Ramsdell calls the "Satisfactory Ending." (4) Considered to be an equally satisfying ending is the absence of rape or hero-against-heroine violence; and the presence of honourable characters, monogamous relationships, and heroines who remain victorious. (Ramsdell 4)

Of all the above situations, the 'disguise' motif is recurrent. It implies a change of social status – from rags to riches and vice-versa – and the concealment of the character's true identity, personality and motivation. It "suggests a particular view of human nature as having an unchanging unified core beneath surface appearances. The nature of the individual is strongly linked with his or her social status, and the stress on the revelation of the true attributes of a personality suggests the importance attached to it" (Hughes 16)

Another recurrent motif, according to Helen Hughes, is the "heroine's own pattern of behaviour to overthrow masculine power in one way while succumbing to it in another... ." (17) For example, some of the women-as-witch heroines in the Romantic historicals object of our study[176] are primarily inversionary. Ultimately, they yield to the Puritan establishment as they are convicted, executed for witchcraft or forced to extricate themselves from its grip and move away.

The nineteenth-century American Romantic historical claimed "to illustrate some theme of

[176] See sub-chapters 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7.

epic significance, such as the fate of the nation, the malign or benign forces animating nature, or the monstrous deformation of humanity in the modern city." (Crane 32) However, it seems considerably less varied during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. At least initially, it was fixated on the theme of national identity, repeatedly attempting to imagine the formation or transformation of the American people. As Gregg D. Crane concludes, this was "also a product of the romanticism which gave birth to the form itself. (35-37)

One could also contend that Transcendentalism – the American Romantic literary school, 1830-1860 – is inescapably present in this period's Romantic historicals. Perhaps it is so, though we do not consider this literary aspect while discussing our selected *corpus* at this time. It is pertinent, however, to highlight Hawthorne's particular literary aesthetics and Romantic views since his work was contemporary to our selected authors.

For example, according to Jerry R. Phillips and others, Hawthorne "accepted the Calvinist doctrine of original sin – the human propensity for evil. Consequently [he] was deeply suspicious of the perfectionist schemes of utopian reformers and Transcendentalists." (58). He was then a critical Romantic/transcendentalist "inspired by the neo-Calvinist ideas of divine mystery and damnation." (Phillips 58) With his mind set against the utopias and optimism embodied by the Transcendentalists he is more concerned with the human nature of fallibility, in which good and evil are always and forever intertwined.

Moreover, what Samuel Coale calls "the Manichean [tenets and mystery] shape of Hawthorne's shadow" is cast over our selected *corpus*. The battle between the Puritan Orthodox views on witchcraft and the generally innocent and good-natured men and women accused of witchcraft is an ever-present battle. Quite differently, however, from the reality of 1692, our women-as-witch heroines – an inconsistency in terms, we know, as the character of the witch is expectedly that of the villain – arise victorious and unblemished, even if in death. Indeed, as Coale puts it, implicitly or explicitly,

> [t]he ironies of the romance form as created by Hawthorne fuel further Manichean dilemmas. He originally created his 'neutral territory' to evade or transcend that very Manichean world of impenetrable imprisoning matter which he experienced and perceived. And yet the romance he created reflected entirely that world and all its dualistic antagonism, in effect reproducing the very Manichean world he had attempted to surmount. This irony, I think embodies that great American theme of escape from submission to that world of fact that appears again and again. (21)

While most nineteenth-century American historical fiction was still strongly influenced by European forms, themes and literary language, women authors inspired by the work of their contemporary historians became interested in writing about early American Colonial history. Choosing to write, for example, about the Salem witch hunt sets them on the path of truly American literature, as the natural and historical American landscape and its culture were inseparable. (Phillips 20) The sudden upsurge of female authors can be further understood by shedding some light, for example, on the question of nineteenth-century gender identity, authorship and readership in America, as we shall briefly discuss in the following section of our work.

3.2. Nineteenth-Century American women's Romantic historical fiction

"America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash... ."
Hawthorne, Letter of January 19, 1855.
(Woodson 304)

"The woman writes as if the devil was in her; and that is the only condition under which a woman ever writes anything worth reading. Generally, women write like emasculated men, and are only to be distinguished from male authors by greater feebleness and folly; but when they throw off the restraints of decency, and come before the public stark naked, as it were – then their books are sure to possess character and value."
Hawthorne, Letter of February 2, 1855.
(Woodson 307-08)

"Americans inherited the image of the learned woman as an unenviable anomaly and kept alive the notion that the woman who developed her mind did so at her own risk."
(Kerber 190-191)

"To be a woman writer in the nineteenth century meant to be invalidated as a serious writer: at best, to be invisible or socially acceptable as "child-like"; at worst, to be ridiculed."
(Yarington and De Jong 2)

3.2.1. The "scribbling women"

The Antebellum industrialisation increased the number of books and periodicals American publishers could produce. The transportation revolution allowed them to make these imprints available anywhere in the country. Working-class people and farmers owned books, though middle-class Americans could afford many more. Ninety per cent of America's adult white population in 1850 could read and write. Women's literacy rates stood at thirty to sixty per cent and men's at sixty to ninety per cent. These statistics are corroborated by many books in all the major categories that men and women borrowed from public libraries.[177] Also, women did not proportionally borrow more novels than men and extensively read books and essays on history, science and technology, medicine, law, philosophy, religion biographies, and travel literature, debunking the separate sphere of women's reading. As a result, the proportion of books borrowed from public libraries and the reading patterns of men and women differed only slightly. (Zboray, *A Fictive,* 162-167)

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the family's role in promoting literacy altered, and children's education fell into the women's domestic or private sphere. The new American maternal role was to nurture, educate and acculturate the children, the future citizens of the young Republic. This new characterization of a mother's role transformed the family context of reading. The mother now had more supervision over the selection of the types of reading experiences and printed materials their children were exposed to in the home. (Zboray, *A Fictive,* 83-86) The importance of women's role in moulding the young minds of the Republic grew.[178] The future "Republican mothers" had to raise the new developing nation's "liberty-loving sons." (Barker-Benfield 139) Motherhood became a social and political control device, and all potential "Republican" mothers should be well-informed and minimally educated. (Kerber 200) A shift in social and cultural perception promoted the enhancement of American women's minds through education. The literacy gap between American men and women grew narrower due to significant improvements in female education between the 1780 and 1830s. Indeed, Linda K. Kerber argues that "no social change in the early Republic affected women more emphatically than the

[177] About the data collected, Zboray concluded that [t]he evidence so far presented has challenged the concept of the women's sphere. ... The evidence presented in the charge records thus points away from the idea of strictly separated intellectual spheres for men and women. Both sexes followed very similar reading patterns, or at least held vast areas of literature in common." (Zboray, *A Fictive,* 162-167)

[178] For more about the "Republican Mother," see Kerber, *Women of the Republic.*

improvement of schooling, which opened the way to the modern world."[179] (193) Also, the industrial revolution and the post-revolutionary war period made it necessary an improved education for a newly print-oriented society, as it became more challenging for the new American citizens to function if they remained illiterate. (Kerber 200)

New curricula at the newly founded Ladies Academies and female seminaries included subjects formerly lectured only to male students. (Barker-Benfield and Clinton 130-145) Between 1790 and 1830, these exclusively female schools, besides offering reading, writing, and ciphering - taught in the common schools - also instructed their female students in Grammar, History, Arithmetic, Geography, and the Classics, as well as Rhetoric. The transition to a more advanced level of study equal to one offered by male-attended colleges occurred only in the 1820s. Ladies Academies then began also to teach Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Algebra, Botany, Astronomy, Latin, and Greek. (Payne 5) Thus, as Mary Kelley concludes:

> [i]n educational practices ranging from classroom instruction to literary societies to reading protocols to emulation of intellectually accomplished women, students were schooled in a curriculum that matched that of the male colleges. The emphasis that teachers and principals at female academies and seminaries placed on "liberal culture," or the arts and sciences, as we call them today, reminds us that there was one important distinction between female and male institutions of higher learning. Latin and Greek stood at the center of the course of study at the colleges, at least for the initial two years of a student's career. Women began with the liberal arts that men engaged fully only in the third and fourth years. The education these students were being offered more closely resembled the curriculum we associate with the modernization of the college and university undertaken in the late nineteenth century. Only then did the arts and sciences take the place that had been held by Latin and Greek, both of which were made electives. (qtd. in Payne 5)

Approximately the same number of women and men enrolled in institutions of higher

[179] For a more detailed evolution of American women's access to education and the outcome of this cultural phenomenon at the end of the eighteenth century, see Kerber's *Women of the Republic*, especially chapter 7. Also, American women, as readers of non-fictional history, see the same title, chapter 8.

learning.[180] This new scholarly setting was, however, not available to all young American women but mainly to those from the upper and middle WASP classes. (Barker-Benfield and Clinton 130-145) Nevertheless, it encouraged an odd number of women to step out from their socially acceptable and conservative domestic sphere into the male-dominated public one. Women educated at these schools, primarily middle-class, entered public life as writers, educators, editors, journalists, translators, historians and reformers. Also, at this time, there was one servant for each 6.6 white middle-class families. It meant middle-class women were primarily managers of the household, nurturers of children, and consumers rather than producers and could make varied uses of their leisure time. (Donnelly 1-7) Many writers, working-class men and women, and other dissatisfied intellectuals of their time saw connections between their patriarchal constraints and other contemporary social issues. Many fought against slavery, child and animal abuse, and the exploitation of workers and sought to improve women's social conditions in general. (Mangum 2-4) For example, Constance Goddard Du Bois, one of our selected authors, was an activist for reform in the government's treatment of the American Indians.[181]

The link between being educated at a female academy and becoming a member of the nation's community of letters is, we think, irrefutable and corroborated by those women writers who came into adulthood between 1790 and 1840. Moreover, the common practice of keeping a school journal which their teachers accessed may have promoted in these female pupils the easiness of giving a written, rather than an oral, account of their experiences. As journal writers, they learned to transfer their private feelings onto the page and open them to public scrutiny. (Kerber 214) As M. Kelley puts it, "[t]he combined privileges of skin colour, social standing, and advanced education provided these women with an unparalleled opportunity to set the terms of women's engagement with public life. In elaborating and projecting an increasingly expansive role as makers of public opinion, they did exactly that." (Payne 29) The increased literacy among women, in general, ignited an outburst of magazines, advertising and novel-writing. American women, both authors and readers, started asserting their own literary and critical voices.[182] (Barker-Benfield and Clinton 4) Initially, this was realised using conventional and socially accepted parlour activities, such as reading and writing letters and reading magazines and books. Female authorship stemmed from letter-writing practices accessible to all middle-class women. Later, these women became authors who negotiated contracts and wrote to other women whom they

[180] For more about the numbers of women and men enrolled in institutions of higher learning during the nineteenth century, see *Schools and Academic Collection*, American by the Antiquarian Society; and Colin B. Burke, *American Collegiate Populations*.

[181] See Appendix D.

[182] For more on this issue, see, for example, Bauer and Gould 19-37.

often encouraged to write as well. (S. Williams 71)

However, theologians, such as Horace Bushnell and John Todd, “warned of the dangers of women’s ‘unsexing’ themselves by pursuing ‘masculine’ activities.” (qtd. in Kilcup 147). In *The Ladies Repository* of August 1853, another cleric, Reverend Jesse Peck, urged that a “woman’s sphere was exclusively domestic” (qtd. in Kilcup 147). At the Woman’s Rights Convention, which took place in Boston in 1855, Ralph Waldo Emerson asserted that: “[w]oman [was] the “Angel in the parlor;’ her proper function [being] to embellish trifles.” A true woman, he added, "would not wish to act for herself. Should she want to get anything done, he continued, her best recourse was to rely on a good man, in whom she would find a guardian.” However, he also stressed that women's role in the human race's progress was to function as the “civilizers of mankind.” “What is civilization?” he went on to ask. “I answer, the power of good women.”[183] Despite the struggle of merging intellectual quests with the traditional and confining female household tasks, at that time, middle and higher-class women managed to escape from domestic work for their literary pursuits, both as readers and authors. (Kerber 251) Nineteenth-century women seemingly believed themselves to have a pivotal role in redeeming and compensating for the failings of a male-dominated culture by providing the necessary feminine moral balance. (Dobson 225)

Another significant obstacle for nineteenth-century women was that a woman’s intellectual and economic independence was culturally linked to sexual promiscuity and immorality. Fearing being labelled as “unfeminine” and “immoral,” most American women writers in the nineteenth century either condoned it or did oppose this patriarchal and misogynist view of gender. Moreover, though economically independent, most women writers did not promote economic independence for women. They also conveyed domesticity as the only desirable condition for women, perhaps dreading losing their ability to earn a living from their writing or out of conviction. (Kilcup 150-152) For example, Pauline Bradford Mackie, one of our selected authors, stated in an interview, “if a woman has a child, it’s her job to stay at home and take care of it.”[184] That said, it was their contemporary political culture that advocated dual spheres of activities in which “women were responsible for educating young children in the proper moral and patriotic virtues and for upholding those same virtues within the home, while men represented the household in the external political world through discussion and voting.” (Bardes and Gossett 2-3)

[183] Emerson, *Miscellanies*.

[184] See appendix D.

Nevertheless, the right of women to encroach on politics by engaging from a public platform was much debated during the 1830s and was controversial in American culture until the Civil War. Women, writers or not, who publicly expressed their political views on contemporary issues defied the norms of social conduct and the political role defined by men for women as Republican mothers. A woman writer could not take on a topic identified as political, for it fell under the male sphere /dominion. Regardless of their noble motives, these free-thinking and outspoken women were viewed with suspicion.[185] (Bardes and Gossett 38) For example, in his correspondence with Ticknor, Hawthorne fully reveals the association of speech and sexuality when it came the nineteenth-century women's public voices. Indeed, female public expression is shamefully inadequate and indecent (Bardes and Gossett 59)

The male-dominated society frowned on this female infringement in the American literary marketplace. Women writers entering the literary public sphere challenged the hegemony of separate spheres ideology. Since early nineteenth-century America, it was predominant the social convention that nineteenth-century American men and women had different or separate spheres of influence, namely public versus private, civic versus domestic, and political versus moral. Few women refuted the concept outright or ignored its relevance to their lives as writers. However, all acknowledged that becoming an author meant a loss of privacy, potentially lethal to their moral status. (Mangum 115-116) Yet, while at the start of the nineteenth century, the modest 'proper lady' was in opposition to the reprehensible publishing woman writer, by the middle of the century, it became socially acceptable. By the end of the century, the woman author finally gained celebrity status. She did not wholly step out of the domestic sphere but flaunted her domesticity to secure positive publicity. (Mangum 131-132)

The gradual professionalisation of the woman writer had a transformative impact on the perceptions of gender roles in American women's lives. As authors and active readers, women wore down the rigid distinctions between the sexes. Furthermore, as Rosemarie Zagarri argues, it made

> ... women fuller participants in public life. Reading women participated in an imagined community that discussed a wide variety of social, political and moral issues. Women reformers made their views known to a large audience and helped frame the scope of public discourse. Woman's fiction and poetry helped elevate the moral and cultural tone of society, providing a

[185] For a more extensive discussion about this subject, see, for example, M. Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage*; Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*; and Easly, *New Media and The Rise of the Popular Woman Writer, 1832-1860.*

> more refined and virtuous vision of social interaction. Participation in the literary public sphere, made women both the subjects and objects of debate, thus forever altering men's perception of women and woman's perceptions of themselves. (Bauer and Gould 33)

By the mid-nineteenth century, women writers found groundbreaking ways to magnify their voices. They demanded the right to speak on the public platform exercising their rights as citizens and asserting their independence, unsexing themselves and claiming their stand as the subject instead of the victims of objectivation. Their public discourse became the power which generated female empowerment. (Bardes 68-69)

Nevertheless, still crippled by social restrictions, many 'scribbling women' and lady editors – even if they were the editors and writers of ladies' magazines – remained hidden from the public stage and kept writing to a parlour activity. Resorting to writing anonymously or with an alias, often they did not take credit for their work. On the other hand, pseudonymous authorship allowed women's entrance into an increasingly professionalised print market. For example, many American well-published female writers[186] represented the Woman's Building Library at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, published under pseudonyms. (Brown 39) Though almost all of them were Protestant, of English descent, and from middle and upper-middle-class families, the literary profession became an added household income source, stimulating their intellectual "power and pleasure". (Baym, *Women's*, xi)

By the 1850s, the female audience had become the largest segment of the literary market. (Baym 17-18) By the early 1870s, women produced nearly three-fourths of all the novels published in the United States. (Coultrap-McQuin 2) Consequently, authors and publishers alike became increasingly aware of their female readers' tastes and preferences. A markedly defined niche emerged as the leading fictional style. American booksellers and writers began to publish books and periodicals associated with gender. (Wadsworth 134-35) Baym termed it "woman's fiction," and it was by far the most popular literature between 1820 and 1870. As such, "on the strength of that popularity, authorship in America was established as a woman's profession, and reading as a woman's avocation." (Baym, *Women's*, 11)

Nineteenth-century male assumptions about the nature and duties of women are amply found and studied in published works and statements of physicians, judges, clergy, and other authority figures of patriarchy. Women's views are instead found primarily in letters, journals, and diaries, which were

[186] For an eye-opening perspective on how not all nineteenth-century women writers were keen on engaging in ground-breaking proto-feminist fiction but to succeed in their contemporary literary market, see, for example, Wood, "'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote;" Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, pp. 45-92.

not intended for publication, and their fictional work. (Donnelly 1-7) Undeniably, "[w]hat the history of women, as reflected through the history of their literature, reminds us of again and again is the need to value what individuals and groups of women accomplished while holding them to account for their oversights and failures." (Mangum 2-4) Regrettably, very few of these women's works would be preserved as part of the American literary canon for nearly a century. Nowadays, most readers would better understand and appreciate the novels if they knew how their authors were educated, lived, worked, and socialised as American women during the nineteenth century. Hence, we agree with Yarington and De Jong that "scholars need [to provide] a more complete context and, therefore, understanding of what being a woman writer was all about ... ." (2-3)

3.2.2. Their Romantic historical "trash"

Women were urged to read history books instead of novels, as historical non-fiction safely improved the female mind without dangerously exhilarating it. Their interest in reading history emerged very early, and allusions to reading history or planning to read it and mentioning familiar historical characters and events proliferate in the historical writings of American women writers. (Baym, *American*, 265-279). There were also already several renowned American women historians[187] at the time, but historical fiction presented the best opportunity for imaginatively (re)writing the dominant male version of American history. Historical fiction opened a new and prolific mode of history writing for American women from the 1820s onwards. (Baym, *Feminism*, 122)

The first historical novel written by an American about America was Susanna Rowson's *Reuben and Rachel*, published in 1798. Later in 1824, Child published *Hobomok.* James Fenimore Cooper is accredited with initiating the American historical novel and publishing his first historical romance, the Revolutionary War novel *The Spy*, in 1821. However, his later works of colonial historical fiction, such as *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish*, were written after the colonial historical works by Lydia Child and Catherine Sedgwick. (Guilbert 10-11) In fact, according to Nina

[187] According to Kerber, Women's history as a subject of study in America began with the late eighteenth-century search for a usable past by compilers of "Ladies' Repositories," ladies' magazines, and textbooks for girls' schools. (260) See, for example, Samuel Lorenzo Knapp, *Female Biography;* Lydia Maria Child, *Brief History of the Condition of Women*; Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, *Woman's Record*; Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *Domestic History of the American Revolution*; Benson John Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*.

Baym, his works were discernibly influenced by theirs.[188]

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the interest in telling, interpreting, preserving and commemorating the US' national history rose considerably.[189] Women writers, having been left out of the new American historiography, saw the popular historical fiction genre as a means of changing the prevailing patriarchal narratives of national origins and historical development. They wanted to reflect the many experiences and contributions of American female historical agents underrepresented in the nation's past. (Guilbert 9) So, many women writers used historical fiction to write women back into the country's (her)story. More clearly,

> [w]hen female historical novelists stepped in to provide their own answers to this essentially theoretical question and to develop their own models of historical process, they inevitably introduced the term of gender into the equation. Without challenging the essential principles of historical progress and the transmission of culture between generations of Americans, women writers made critical adjustments to it, questioning the patriarchal assumptions on which it rested. By imaginatively revisioning the American past, these writers sought to insert women into antebellum historiographies discourse, to revise, if not absolutely to reject, the theory of patriarchal historical transmission, and thereby to define an enduring role for women historical actors in the ongoing progress of the nation." (Guilbert 16)

Female writers of historical fiction thus tried to recreate the nation's political life by rewriting women's history. Mindful of the impact of historiography on the female subject, women writers resorted to the fictional historical discourse to comment on it. Women writers have frequently used historical fiction to write about subjects that would otherwise be off-limits. It is also a way of offering a critique of the present through their treatment of the past. Perhaps even more important for female authors is the way the historical novel has allowed women to invent or 're-imagine' the unrecorded lives of marginalised and subordinated people, in this case, women. Some problems arise from writing about History. For example, the lack of records, the inappropriateness of standard periodisation and chronology, and the focus on public events. It led some female historians, including H.F.M. Prescott, to opt for writing historical fiction instead. (Wallace 2) Despite their correct use of historical sources, the higher degree

---

[188] See Nina Baym, "How Men and Women Wrote Indian Stories."

[189] See sub-chapter 3.1.

of the fictionality of their work often led it to be labelled as historically inaccurate and dismissed as inconsequential by nineteenth-century critics. As works of historical fiction, they were more harshly censured for "failing to reproduce Scott's sense of the past." Their historical works were intended for various audiences, and women writers of historical fiction published as prolifically as men.[190] (Baym, *American*, 265-279) Their work is primed for the relevant contemporary themes and antiquarian interests and, we find, for expressing various proto-feminist sentiments. More than twenty women's prose miscellanies include historical fiction. Also, many uncollected historical stories were published in the periodical press. Indeed, many famous American women of letters tried or dabbled in historical fiction, but only a few remained exclusive to the genre. Others still abandoned historical fiction after only one unsuccessful attempt.[191] (Baym, *American*, 152-156) Unsurprisingly, most women writers of historical fiction were Anglo-Protestant from New England. Almost half of the historical societies founded in America between 1790 and 1830 were New England-based or devoted to memorialising the New England past. Also, "New England far exceeds other regions in per capita production and consumption of literature" (Buell 28).

Female-authored Romantic historicals are primarily characterised by their regionalism, i.e., the frequent use of colonial New England as the plot's historical, temporal and geographical setting. Women writers often found inspiration in their own families' histories. (Dekker 7) These histories often (re)memorialised the lives of female ancestors otherwise side-lined or completely lost to history. Often, they were drawn from oral traditions and accounts, handed down from mother to daughter, or in the private writings – letters and journals – of female relatives. Personal familial historiography became "revisionary family history." It was embedded into works that ostensibly commemorated the prodigious historical deeds of others. (Mitchell and Parsons 53, 66) This type of historical fiction that claimed to be "based on true events" purposely blurred the boundary between fact and fiction. (Kerber 263-264) Claiming to be based on "true events," it sought to ensure the respectability of History while maintaining the allure of Romantic fiction. (Kerber 263-264) Such is the case of M. B. Condit's *Philip English's Two Cups or 1692*, one of our selected titles, in which the narrator is sent by some of her relatives her grand uncle's two manuscripts detailing the English's ordeal during the Salem witch hunt of 1692. Like her

---

[190] Here, we agree with Baym as she counter-argues Dekker's earlier assertions that "[s]till, the nineteenth-century historical romance must be regarded as a predominantly masculine genre on two counts. First, ... the most successful historical romancers were men [and] its heroic matter favoured the celebration of male feats and male relationships." (*American*, 221) Besides not making clear his concept of 'successful,' he completely disregards many other nineteenth-century women writers, such as the ones discussed in our study. He further ignores how many women wrote at that time published under a male pseudonym.

[191] See Appendix C, based on Baym's list of "Historical Works by American Women" in *American Women Writers and the Work of History*, pp. 265-279.

cousin Nathaniel Hawthorne, much of her historical novella hinges on many elements of the oral traditions of the Hawthorne, Forrester, English families, and their hometown of Salem. (Moore 22-26)

The episode of the Salem witch hunt promoted, during the nineteenth century, a genealogical pursuit to prove descent from Salem witches victimised by the Colonial Puritan authorities. It was triggered not only by the keen interest taken by several contemporary historians – primarily Charles Wentworth Upham – on the "delusion" of the Salem witchcraft trials but also by the rise in the publishing of historical fiction about Puritanism and Puritan Colonial New England. Through them, the illusion of mimetic Puritanism is conveyed. According to Lawrence Buell, in the nineteenth century, "America's stereotypes about the Puritans" and "the notion of America's Puritan legacy" became firmly delineated. [192] (193) The (re)presentation of Colonial New England and the (re)memorialising of the theme of Puritanism – especially, we find, in what witchcraft and gender were concerned – in historical fiction by women writers was a thought-provoking subject. The cultural proximity to the authors and their readers afford it. Their historical fiction, far from being entirely factually accurate, do (re)present the Puritan past in various mimetic levels. Most importantly, by invoking the Puritan era as a symbolic setting against which the Romantic plot is laid: "[t]he conventional historical plot of this novel is about liberalizing the Puritan polity, but at the same time the Puritans are defended vigorously, and at length [most] New England historical novels do insist that the Puritans were the national progenitors, though these make up less than a fifth of the historical novels overall ..." (Baym, *American*, 163, 168)

Witchcraft and, more specifically, the Salem witch hunt of 1692 was one of the favourite aspects of Colonial Puritan history explored by many American women writers of historical fiction during the 19th century, like the ones in our study. They chose to deal with this theme as a Romantic historical. It may have aimed at giving more visibility to the Puritan religious intolerance, fanaticism, superstition, bigotry, zeal, and misogyny or to better express the sectarian strife of Colonial times. Philip Gould, however, offers us a more political point of view. It was because of the legacy of classical republicanism, and its natural fear of latent factions, during the rise of the political parties between the 1790s and the 1830s. (Gould 172-209)

Though these women authors mainly wrote in a domestic context, we must agree with Jane P. Tompkins that their work "is anything but domestic, in the sense of being limited to purely personal concerns. Its mission, on the contrary, is global and its interests identical with the interests of the race." (146) They ultimately inscribed women – or more specifically the woman-as-witch – into the

[192] For a more detailed study on the fictionalizing of Puritan history, see Buell, pp. 239-260.

predominantly male cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt as Romantic witch heroines to "demonstrate the ways that patriarchy ignores, violently controls or represses the desires of women, be they, aristocrats or beggars." (De Groot 157)

From a literary critique perspective, the women-as-witches heroines in our *corpus* of Romantic historicals are all protagonists of their own didactic stories of trials and triumph. The lesson itself is also entertaining. The witch-heroines overcoming adversity and obstacles were a source of great satisfaction to the many readers who read mimetically. Therefore, they engaged and channelled their emotions through their identification with the witch-heroine. To the extent that readers see the witch-heroine's predicament as an outlet for their anger and frustrations and in loathing her enemies, as, for example, the Puritans, the group of girls from Salem, Samuel Parris, or Cotton Mather. To the same extent, the readers can rejoice in the witch heroine's triumph and accept the solution offered to her difficulties as pertinent to their lives. In every case, the witch heroine is met with mistreatment, unfairness, disadvantage, and powerlessness. These recurrent injustices result from issues pertaining mainly to her gender and age against her cultural backdrop.[193] The outcome or solution to the woman-as-witch heroine's troubles is always her self-perception and acceptance as a female person and citizen.

While at the beginning of the Romantic historical, the witch-heroine always "takes herself very lightly - has no ego, or a damaged one, and looks to the world to coddle and protect her. She makes demands on others as a function of not making demands on herself. She expects nothing from herself because she recognizes no inner capacities." By the end of the novel, the woman-as-witch heroine "has developed a strong conviction of her own worth as a result of which she does ask much from herself. She can meet her own demands and, inevitably, the change in herself has changed the world's attitude toward her, so that much that was formerly denied to her now comes to her unsought." (Baym 1993 19)

The story of young women – such as the one of Deliverance Wentworth in Mackie's *Salem Maide* (1898)[194] – realising and avowing their powers and gaining respect and recognition from a hostile and unsympathetic Puritanical Colonial world must have been immensely pleasurable on many different levels. A real eye-opening and empowering moment for many of the nineteenth-century American women who read these Romantic historicals. It is what Baym calls a "moderate, or limited, or pragmatic

---

[193] Marta M. G. Rodríguez argues that: "In the case of the common frames, it is evident that they have shaped the historical events to conform to 19th-century literary conventions, as it is the case of the introduction of elements from the domestic and sentimental novel, the historical romance of adventures and gothic fiction. The result of this adaptation is that the main motive for the witchcraft accusations was to take revenge for love rejections and disappointments." ("The Salem," 24, 27-28)

[194] See section 4.7.4.

feminism." (Baym, "Women," 17-21). The women-as-witches heroines were examples of boldness which inspired nineteenth-century American women to change their social and cultural *status quo* by adopting a similar inversionary behaviour. Ultimately, we find that resorting to the woman-as-witch heroine and the literary representations of the cultural memory of seventeenth-century Puritanical Salem was an explicit move by these women authors towards a proto-feminist questioning of their own contemporary nineteenth-century patriarchal gender limitations, and an outright counter-memorialisation of Salem's woman-as-witch.

3.3. Not forgetting the Salem woman-as-witch

"After the 'Salem' witch trials New Englanders, in particular, internalized a now rather well-known dialogue of self-accusation and self-defense. It was begun as soon as the trials were over."

(Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 37-38)

The non-fictional and fictional literary (re)construction of American cultural memory has been ongoing since the European colonisation (Erll et al. 48). This controlled and culturally contained construction of a site of U.S. American memory (Ricoeur 2004) was pervasive in the nineteenth century, mainly between the British-American War of 1812-15 and the Civil War of 1861-65. The publication of many historical novels was "central to the development of the American culture at that time... ." (Henderson xviii). These were the literary sites of memory which supported the architecture of national American culture and identity as they responded to "the collective desire for fictional commemorations of earlier stages of colonial and national U.S. American History" (Erll at all. 48-49). Post-revolutionary Americans set out to inculcate a "unifying set of national values" and contributed to the "construction of a collective national memory" in the early United States (Adams 4). Alternatively, in nineteenth-century America,

> [m]emory was needed not simply to understand the past: it had to relate to who one was in the present. But the more a person felt the need to insist on memory and to construct his or

> her past, the more it seemed to be in danger. The wish to tell one's story was met by the anxiety of being unable to do so, even though there was a story to tell. Memory was celebrated but in constant crisis... . (Ben-Amos and Weissberg 10)

The Salem witch hunt is an example of such a story widely known regionally in New England and nationally. Reassembled chiefly through memory and imagination, the "mythology that is going to constitute the history of the Salem witchcraft trials" became a particular portion of the needed cultural counter-memory of the American colonial past. (Rodríguez 2009 3) It is not only due to a large body of contemporary written materials, such as the trial transcripts and published commentary that recorded the events, but also to the later historiographical and literary nineteenth-century (re)creations. Thus, we agree with Rodríguez. The nineteenth century should be "the starting point for any analysis of the mythology that has been created around the Salem witch trials." (Rodríguez, "The Salem,"15)

3.3.1. In historiography

The Salem witch hunt of 1692 is very well-documented for several reasons. Its records are uniquely detailed. There are three or four separate accounts of some pre-trial examinations and the statements of the accusers and the accused. The Salem court was centrally localised within the small community from where all the accusations arose. Several ministers and other godly and well-educated people from within and outside that community contribute with their writings. In Puritan religious culture, not only did one often examine all visible manifestations of God's providence, but one also wrote about them, wrote to others about them, and reflected on and debated them. (Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 30-34) So, as well as court records, the notebooks and letters of magistrates, clergy members, and other literate people were also readily available for historical research shortly after the events.

Though the texts about the Court of Oyer and Terminer were lost, most pre-trial and informal records were not. (Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 23) The original records of the Salem witchcraft trials are a unique medial source in providing modern scholars with a better insight – though perhaps not accurate[195] - into the early American Puritans' views on the events and criminal procedures surrounding the crime of witchcraft, as well as on the crime itself. (Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 30-34)

---

[195] For more on early modern witchcraft trial records see Gibson, *Reading Witchcraft*.

Written in 1697 and later published in 1700 by Robert Calef, the book *More Wonders of the Invisible World* contained the accounts he had gathered not only from the court records but also from the surviving accused, their families and from the living witnesses to the events of the Salem witch hunt. Robert Calef held responsible for the witchcraft accusations "a parcel of possessed, distracted, or lying Wenches." It had been their deceitfulness that "let loose the Devils of Envy, Hatred, Pride, Cruelty, and Malice ... disguised under the Mask of Zeal for God". (qtd. in Adams 30) Indeed, Calef was the first to identify a guilty party other than the accused witches openly. He was the one who carved into the cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt a charged choice of words such as "zeal," "infatuation," "delusion," "superstition," "folly," "credulity," and "ignorance." (McWilliams 186, Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 37-38) Like himself, all the succeeding historiographers of the Salem witch hunt fashioned openly biased historical accounts.

Next, *The History of New England,* published in 1720 by Daniel Neal, an English clergyman who wrote a history of the Puritans, was the first regional history in which the topic of the Salem witchcraft trials was included and treated in depth. Later on, the more familiar version of the Salem witch hunt – beginning with the hiring of the Reverend Paris and proceeding through Stoughton's refusal to apologise – was first presented by Thomas Hutchinson in the second volume of his comprehensive book *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay* published in 1767. Hutchinson used the original trial records and found Robert Calef's work to be the most authoritative seventeenth-century outline of the history of the trials. Hutchinson's lively judgment-filled version of the Salem accounts persisted as the favoured source for subsequent other histories up to the nineteenth century. (Adams 33-34) His conclusions became the assumptions upon which, for example, George Bancroft and his *History of the United States* (1834) and Charles Wentworth Upham's *Salem Witchcraft* (1867 would (re)construct the Salem witch hunt cultural memory. (McWilliams 173-174)

Nineteenth-century historians emphasised the accusatorial tone of the early trial records with little care for their explicit content. Moreover, as Gibson points out, "[t]hey preserved, too, an anxious concern with the inclusive and (as they saw it) worryingly democratic nature of American justice [b]ut they buried the actual texts under thick layers of myth that have proved almost impossible to remove." (Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 37-38) Indeed, according to Le Beau, "[b]y the third decade of the nineteenth century, the Salem witchcraft trials had become sufficiently embarrassing to some and marginalized to others to assume only a minor role in the nation's and region's history." (Upham, Salem, xv) The belief that the Salem trials had been the fault of the New England clergymen and public men who were most interested in them was then articulated by the Salem mayor, congressman, and Unitarian pastor C. W.

Upham. In 1867 Upham published the first substantial history of Salem to date, and it was the first history to organise the scattered records into a coherent and detailed (re)construction of the memory of the trials. He based it on a series of lectures he had delivered in 1831 at the Salem Lyceum, which proved so popular that he decided to expand it to over 1,000 pages in two volumes. Having been the object of his fascination for a long time, he read the records of the Salem trials carefully. However, Upham failed to draw an unbiased argument blaming some accusers and judges almost exclusively over others. To him, the men and women accused of witchcraft were innocent victims of *delusion*, while their accusers – the girls, the ministers, the neighbours - were malicious liars. Finally, Upham saw Cotton Mather as culpable, biased, and the source of inflammatory speeches, while Reverend Samuel Parris acted out of revenge or personal gain.[196]

Though in some cases Upham misread the records and in others, he creatively sought to breach the gaps in the historical narrative, he was the favourite authority on the Salem witchcraft trials in the nineteenth and perhaps for many, he is still today. As Gibson concludes, Upham's "view – a summation of liberal-Christian impulses expressed in the medium of witchcraft history – is dominant in liberal American culture." (Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 56) Indeed, the pervasiveness of his historical account of the Salem witch hunt, particularly of the victimised woman-as-witch, is one of the most distinctive features of all the witch-heroines in our *corpus*

Thus, the Salem witchcraft trial records and the resulting Salem histories should be perceived as part of the cultural counter-memory of these events. We agree with DeRosa that they are less a collection of readings that reveal the primary sources than a collection of readings on their own. Their reiterations set the tone for the following Salem accounts that continuously repel the very origins they describe because they describe them. (DeRosa 98)

3.3.2. In historical fiction

By the nineteenth century, the cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt was established and became an often (re)created leitmotif, particularly in historical fiction.[197] Adams explains that it "provided Americans with a useful cultural boundary marker between the rational, independent present and the

[196] For a more detailed discussion on Charles W. Upham's conclusions, see Brian F. Le Beau's "Foreword," *Salem Witchcraft, pp. vii-xxix.*

[197] For considerations on the use of Salem witchcraft as a plot device within American imaginary literature, see, for example, David Levin, *Forms of Uncertainty*, Buell, *New England Literary Culture*; and Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence.*

superstition-filled colonial past." It was also a "New England-based attempt to turn real British colonists into symbolic American settlers." Indeed, "a memory of the 1692 Salem witchcraft trials emerged as a negative symbol." (Adams 43-44). In other words, a cautionary tale is (re)created as a counter-memory.

Often in nineteenth-century American novels, "the story of individuals [is] constructed within a larger historical setting and driven by the memory of past events" (Ben-Amos and Weissberg 10). For example, the women-as-witch heroines in our selected *corpus* are brought to life within the context of the Salem witch hunt's counter-memory. More clearly, the woman-as-witch (trans)cultural memory is in symbiosis with the counter-memory of the Salem witch hunt. Also, "[t]he introduction of the general beliefs in witchcraft emphasizes the similarity of what happened in Salem to the previous executions in Europe. At the same time, we can see a clear historiographical influence because some of the references included in the history books can also be found in the works of fiction." (Rodríguez 23) In an attempt to fill in the gaps about the underlying causes of the Salem witch hunt, Rodriguez observes that in most of the historical fiction that uses the Salem witch hunt theme, one can find the "love triangle or love plot" as a typical frame of reference. It replaces "the family feuds, the fights among neighbors because of land problems, and the misfortunes, such as the loss of cattle or the ruin of the crops, which have been generally used by scholars to explain the accusations." (Rodríguez, "The Salem," 24) As a result, the primary motive for the witchcraft accusations is often to take revenge for unrequited love or love rebuffs. (Rodríguez, "The Salem," 27-28) Such is the case in everal of our selected Romantic historicals. For example, in Lee's *Delusion*, Edith Grafton is accused by Phoebe, the orphaned girl she had taken in and who never really warmed up to Edith. In Disosway's *South Meadows*, Allison Beresford's cousin accuses her of witchcraft after becoming seriously ill, and some cattle on the farm perish. In Watson's *Dorothy the Puritan*, Dorothy Grey is accused by her once-best friend Elizabeth Hubbard, whom Alden Wentworth snubbed over Dorothy.

Rodríguez further focuses on the many deafening historical deviations in these works of historical fiction as "the specific conception of the world that the work wants to transmit". They have an underlying explanation related to the literary, social or historic surrounding of the literary work and should be treated as part of the specific conception of the world that the work wants to transmit." She further adds: "if only one accusation is presented, or if one fictional character is constructed out of several historical individuals, it should be considered a specific contribution of literature to the fictional representation of the [Salem witch hunt] and not a lack of accuracy or a desire to alter the historical reality." (Rodríguez, "The Salem," 27-28) The nineteenth-century authors chose to add, or to leave out, or to make up many of the historical elements of the Salem witch hunt. It is "their literary construction

of this historical event." (Rodríguez, "In Salem," 27-28). We find that authors aim also at contributing to the creation of the cultural counter-memory of the Salem witch hunt. Finally, like Adams, Rodríguez also sees the nineteenth-century historical fiction that uses the Salem witchcraft trials as "a warning against what can happen in any society that is drawn by delusion and hysteria" (Rodríguez, "Salem," 27-28), i.e., as a cautionary tale.

In addition to the (re)construction of the counter-memory of the Salem witch hunt, we must also consider the nineteenth-century use of the (trans)cultural Anglo-American memory of the woman-as-witch. In her doctoral dissertation, Susan Jennifer Elsey postulates about the recurrent use of the image of the witch in nineteenth-century British Victorian literature and Art. As previously discussed, the early modern witch was a loathed figure. Still a sinister outcast, the nineteenth-century witch was appropriated as the "spokescharacter" through which writers and artists could express what was often considered unspeakable in the reputable Victorian society. The woman-as-witch thus became a figure of pity or derision who predominantly evoked empathy and reminded the intended audiences of "the margins and the marginalised". (Elsey 1,13) Elsey further argues that nineteenth-century witches are:

> ... devoid of any magical ability whatsoever; their role as hag, or siren, or unjustly demonised victim is used instead as a metaphor for the malign nature of flaws, such as greed or selfishness, in individuals or society in general. In contrast, the same authors' short stories often addressed the idea of the woman-as-witch with far greater directness and, perversely, with greater ambiguity, in works portraying her as both a woman erroneously labelled a witch through fear, hatred or delusion (including self-delusion), and as a malign demon. The underlying message of nineteenth-century fiction is that witchery is in the eye of the beholder... . (48)

Elsey's description resonates with the woman-as-witch heroines as they are portrayed in our *corpus*, i.e., not as the wicked hag, but as "the innocent or deluded victim." (Elsey 205)

The Salem witchcraft trials were also used to explore nineteenth-century religious orthodoxy. The Puritan past was presented as a paradoxical model both emulated and repudiated. Between 1830 and 1850, the contemporary spectre of the Salem witch hunt had already become part of the American cultural memory. It expressed Americans' fears about various domestic threats to their freedom and progress for "[t]he metaphor of Salem witchcraft functioned well as a universally familiar shorthand for the social and political costs of sliding backward into a colonial world of irrationality, tyranny, and

superstition." (Adams 61-63) One must then be aware of the traces left in the medial cultural sources other than history books, such as historical fiction, to be able to infer how and what was considered important enough to be remembered, forgotten or (re)created as a cultural (counter-)memory at this time (2-5). We agree with Adams when she states that,

> Controlling the narrative about an event… gives hope of controlling any collective social memory of it. The initial narrative of events in particular stakes out a moral territory that defines prevailing mores and affirms existing standards. Memory distils experience by "selectively emphasizing, suppressing and elaborating different aspects" of the historical record. Referring back to the historical record is a critical source of legitimization for the lessons the community is meant to derive from the original event. (31)

Besides Adams' work, we find that Rodríguez in her 2009 Doctoral thesis, offers an unprecedented and extensive review of the many seminal studies which focus on the Salem witch hunt as a literary plot device in nineteenth-century historical fiction.[198] However, Rodríguez's work is further a comparative study of the plot and the historical "reality." It is a detailed and comprehensive study of the historical vs the fictional "intertextual markers" in all the nineteenth-century historical works of fiction in which the Salem witch hunt is a plot device. We find her take on the female protagonists less extensive. We agree that they are, as she puts it, "que no lo se las representa en estas obras como a las docellas indefensas de la novela domestica y sentimental." However, they also "play active and even heroic roles when their menfolk are unable to perform their traditional parts effectively." (Rodríguez, *História*, 616; G. Dekker 7)

Unlike History, cultural memory does not hold up exclusively against reality and facts.[199] Thus, next, we complement Adam's and Rodríguez's by reviewing the female protagonists in a selection of Romantic historical novels about the Salem witch hunt, as women-as-witches heroines. We will discuss the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of Salem and how they are mimetically and mnemonically (re)cretated in our literary *corpus*.

These Romantic historicals draw upon their women authors' personal, family or fictional memories. They offer subjective, selective, and individualistic views. They provide an alternative or

---

[198] See Rodríguez, *Historia e ficción: la representación de los processos de Salem (1692) en la prosa de ficcion angloamericana del siglo XIX*.

[199] See sub-chapters 1.1 and 1.2.

counter-memory to the more official versions of the nineteenth-century historians circulating at the time. How the authors of Romantic historicals chose to write about witchcraft and the Salem witch hunt, "often [stressing] the importance of chance, irrational and inexplicable impulses, supernatural events, and the individual as the subjective center of his or her own mental world, detached from wider social processes." (Gibson, *Witchcraft*, 108)

Nevertheless, the exegesis of Salem-plotted historical fiction cannot be reduced to a mere exploration of how the authors of historical fiction may have perverted the historical facts. (DeRosa 98). It must also examine the process of cultural (re)presentation of the woman-as-witch. The women writers we selected to discuss are connected by their appropriation of the woman-as-witch, and they go beyond the historical representations. In its place, they (re)create and (re)present her as a Romantic heroine. The women-as-witches written by these female authors always initiate some form of subversion. In their texts, witches and women form a covenant of subversion against the limits and violations imposed upon them by external stereotypes or cultural constructs. Our selected authors further interpret and (re)configure the woman-as-witch from Salem for their proto-feminist agenda. They creatively retrieve and explore their time's unique and often disputed historical and testimonial narratives about the Salem witch hunt. We think the contributions of their mnemonic (re)imaginations of the woman-as-witch from Salem, as a discriminated victim and a Romantic heroine, were two-folded. Not only did they maintain the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch and witchcraft, but they also advanced the establishment of the cultural (counter-)memory of the Salem witch hunts, not forgotten in and since nineteenth-century America.

4. MNEMONIC (RE)IMAGINATIONS OF THE WOMAN-AS-WITCH OF SALEM

"To us of this enlightened end of the 19th century, that period of our colonial history when a belief in witchcraft was rampant possesses a peculiar fascination. Therefore [enjoys] most popular favor."

The Herald, August 5, 1898, 3.

The (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 was counter-memorialised through the nineteenth-century mnemonic (re)imaginations of its historical events and key figures in the medium of Romantic historicals. [200] Indeed, we concur with Rodríguez that these women writers "preferred romantic convention to historical accuracy," adapting the historical data to the preferences of their readers. ("Romancing," 31)

Our selected *corpus* includes the following novels, which will be discussed in chronological order:

- *Delusion, or The Witch of New England* by E. B. Lee
- *Philip English's Two Cups* by M.B Condit
- *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century* by D.R. Castleton
- *South Meadows* by E.T. Disosway
- *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* by C. G. Du Bois
- *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* by A.C. Watson
- *Ye Lyttle Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft* by P. B. Mackie.

In discussing these Romantic historicals, we will elaborate on the significant aspects of the (re)creation of the principal female characters, namely, if they present any inversionary behaviour or whether they are a Romanticwoman-as-witch heroine or not. If the elements of the English village witch, demonic with or Puritan demonic witch are (re)presented. Finally, whether the Puritan demonological and strixological idiosyncrasies of the Salem witch-hunt – such as the afflicted, their torments, their spectral tormentors, and the confession to diabolism [201] – are also (re)created or not.

---

[200] See sub-chapters 1.3. , 1.4. and 3.1.

[201] See sub-chapters 2.1. and 2.2.

4.1. *Delusion or The Witch of New England* by E. B. Lee.[202]

An assertive liberal-Unitarian revisionist and adherent of Transcendentalism, Lee turned away from New England's Orthodox Calvinist traditions. She promoted the benefits of an open mind combined with the ideals of Christianity, which she believed in its pure form, teaches the extinction of the unnatural differences between the sexes and promotes respect and reverence for women. (Buchanan 219) As Dan McKanan aptly notes, in *Delusion*, Lee "suggested that orthodoxy produced not just arrogant perpetrators of genocide but also passive parents, sinners too depressed to reform, and spectators of violence too timid to intervene." (28) Also, Lee blamed "these doctrines of total depravity" for leading people to "distrust their own best affections, and reprobation, which led people to despair rather than repentance and conversation." (McKanan 28)

In the Preface of *Delusion*, Lee offers a glimpse into her views on the role of Puritan orthodoxy in the Salem witch hunt. She begins by emphasising that her goal "has not been to write a tale of witchcraft, but to show how circumstances may unfold the inward strength of a timid woman, so that she may at last be willing to die rather than yield to the delusion that would have preserved her life." (Preface) Also, the assumption in Puritan orthodoxy was that all sin involved excessive self-assertion. (Buchanan 219-220) However, as we shall see, Lee countered this assumption by providing her female protagonist, Edith Grafton, with unwavering self-assertion in the face of her witchcraft ordeal.

Though Lee intended to focus on the woman-as-witch heroine, already in the Preface, she also suggested the vicious implications of Puritan orthodox doctrine and the dangers of magnified fear and suspicion, which lead to senseless acts of persecution – the delusion – perpetrated in Salem. As she put it, "of those who were actually accused, many were young" and they "maintained a firm integrity against the overwhelming power of the delusion of the period... ." (Preface)

In other instances in *Delusion*, Lee decries the hypocritical masses for blindly following the prevailing dogmas. (McKanan 28) For example, she notes about the trials that they were "held in the meeting house, and were opened and closed with a religious service. This seems like a mockery to us, but our fathers thought they were performing a sacred duty; and however frivolous or disgusting were many of the details, the trial was rendered more appalling by giving to the whole the appearance of a holy sacrifice." (141)

[202] For more about the author, see Appendix D.

Nevertheless, Lee maintains a magnanimous and open-minded understanding of the Puritans and their actions in the Salem witch hunt when she remarks: "It has been the fashion, of late, to depreciate the clergymen among our Puritan fathers. It is true they erred, but their errors belonged to the time and the circumstance that placed in their hands unusual power." (76)

4.1.1. A Plot Summary

The romantic attachment between Edith Grafton and Seymore unfolds in seventeenth-century New England. Almost exclusively through the narrator's geographical descriptors, the reader can infer that Seymore is a dweller at his elderly grandparents' impoverished farm in inland Salem Village. At the same time, Edith lives with her father in coastal Salem Town.

Seymore is the great-grandson of one of the Pilgrims. Born in England, he was sent to America by his father, at the behest of his dying mother, to live with his paternal grandparents when he was twelve. Now a seventeen-year-old, he divides his time between his "agricultural labors" and his college textbooks. (Lee 19) Hard-working, committed, scholarly and pious, but with meagre resources, Seymore is studying to become a minister, with the aid of an English, Lady Lady C____, as she is named in the novel, and Minister Grafton, who kindly supply him with the books he struggles to buy.

Edith is the seventeen-year-old daughter and only child of Minister Grafton. He is a Calvinist minister and a scholar of Classical Studies. At a young age, Edith lost her mother, Mrs Mary Grafton, to a "long illness," but not without her mother first "commending the little Edith to [Dinah's] watchful love" – Dinah and Paul are the enslaved African of the Grafton household. (Lee 31)

Edith and Seymore occasionally meet over a couple of years. They are both captivated by each other. Nevertheless, they do not act on or express their feelings openly to each other. However, foreshadowing the failed outcome of Edith and Seymore's relationship, in one of her visits to Lady C____ at Long Lane Farm with her father, Edith is told the tragic love story of Lady Ursula and officer Fowler. They were cheated out of a life together by war and death.[203]

Being the village Minister's daughter, Edith is beloved by all. She is also very committed to meeting the village's social needs, especially after her father loses his four months-long battle with "a

[203] The author points out that "[t]he story of the Lady Ursula is founded in fact." (Lee 57) We have also found other nineteenth-century references to the same love story. See, for example, Nathaniel Hawthorne. and Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Passages from the American Note-Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. vol. 2, pp. 72-73; and C.W.H Dall, *Historical Pictures Retouched*.

lung fever" (Lee 75). In her grief, she finds comfort in Seymore. They grow close, and their feelings for each other deepen.

Edith had kept a close watch on Nanny for several years. Nanny is an old, ailing, shunned woman living "under the cliff" with her five-year-old orphan granddaughter Phoebe. (Lee 59) After Nanny's death, honouring her wish, Edith does not hesitate to take in Phoebe, whose wild nature never quite warms up to her.

In the Spring of 1693, Phoebe became afflicted at the age of seven. She accuses Edith of being the witch who is tormenting her. Edith is arrested, charged, examined, trialled and found unanimously guilty by a jury in which Seymore participates. While awaiting the execution of her death sentence in jail, Edith is visited by Seymore. He tries to convince her to save herself by confessing. Briefly tempted to do so, she ultimately turns Seymore away.

In the end, Edith gives in to the desperate pleas of her faithful and beloved Dinah. Though Dina and Paul had been granted their freedom in Mr Grafton's will, they are more than willing to risk it to help Edith break out of jail. Resorting to an elaborate ruse, Edith escapes prison, leaves Dinah in her place, trusting she would not be harmed and finds refuge in the same shack outside the village where Nanny used to live.

4.1.2. Edith Grafton

Edith Grafton, "[o]ur heroine, for such we must try to make her," has "the inward strength of a timid woman ... willing to die rather than yield to the delusion that would have preserved her life." (Lee 27, iii) Edith falls in love but also falls prey to the "Delusion that passed through [the] country in 1692 [which] has left a dark chapter in the history of New England." (Lee 111) Edith, "although superior to the age in which she lived, could not but be influenced by its particularities." (Lee 109)

As a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine, we find Edith is (re)created as an inversionary protagonist. Edith is not portrayed as an absolute Romantic beauty from the moment we meet her. She is instead

> ... a young woman who might have seen seventeen summers. She was slightly but well formed, and, had it not been for her fresh and radiant health, she would have possessed that pensive, poetic expression that painters love. She was not indeed beautiful, but hers was one

> of those countenances in which we think we recall a thousand histories, - histories of the inward life of the soul, - not the struggles of the passions; for the dove seemed visibly to rest in the deep blue liquid eye, brooding on its own secret fancies. (Lee 22)

Moreover, Edith's looks are downplayed in favour of her character. It is painstakingly described, as we can see, for example, in the passage below:

> The solitude of her situation had given her character a pensive thoughtfulness not natural to her age and disposition... [She] had grown up free from all artificial forms of society, but yearning for associates of her own age and sex. After her father, her affections had found objects only in birds and animals, and the poor cottagers of one of the smallest parishes in the country.
>
> Living, as she did, in the midst of beautiful nature, and with the grandeur of the ocean always before her, it could not fail to impart a spiritual beauty, a religious elevation, to her mind that had nothing to do with the technical distinctions of the day. Edith Grafton was formed for gentleness and love, to suffer patiently, to submit gracefully, to think more of others' than of her own happiness. (Lee 27-28)

The inversionary attributes of Edith's character seem further bolstered by her father's passing. In her new situation, she is now not only financially independent but also left to her own devices without the guidance of any male figures. Truly,

> [t]he character of Edith was formed to produce this effect. There was nothing exaggerated in it. Her solitary life, without mother or sister, had taught her great self-reliance; while her genuine humility had preserved her from that obstinacy of opinion that a want of knowledge of the world sometimes creates. The grave and solid studies she had entered into with her father had strengthened her mind, as it were, with the "bark and steel" of literature; while the native tenderness of her heart had prevented her from becoming that odious creature, a female pedant. Her greatest charm was the exquisite feminineness of her character... (Lee 90-91)

Much of Edith's inversionary traits result from her equally unusual early life circumstances for a seventeenth-century young Puritan woman. First, when left without a mother at a very young age, Dinah, the Grafton's household enslaved African, becomes her loving adoptive mother. Dinah and Edith's familial relationship is overtly depicted in several instances. For example, in regard to Dinah's role in raising Edith:

> Her [Dinah's] cares were unavailing: her kind mistress died, commending the little Edith to her watchful love.
>
> Dinah received her [Edith] as if she had been more than the child of her own bosom. Henceforth she was the jewel of her life; ... It was wonderful with what a silken thread Dinah guided the little Edith. ... She [Dinah] possessed in her own character the firmness of the oak, and an iron resolution, but tempered so finely by the influences of love and religion, that she yielded to everything that was not hurtful; but there she stopped and went not a hair's breadth further.
>
> It was beautiful to see the little Edith watching the mild and loving but firm eye of Dinah, - which spoke as plain as eye could speak, - and when it said "*No*," yielding like a young lamb to a silken tether. ... The character and example of her mother were ever held up to her by Dinah. (Lee 31-33)

And second, Edith's father, Mr. Grafton, seems ahead and out of step with his time. Though a devout Puritan minister, "[t]he mildness of his disposition had never permitted him to become a bigot nor a persecutor. (Lee 26) Consequently, "[i]n an age of persecutors, he was so averse to persecution, that he did not escape the charge of heresy and insincerity." (Lee 77). More importantly, Mr. Grafton afforded Edith, his only daughter, a non-formal yet comprehensive education:

> At this time accomplishments were unknown except to those women who were educated in the mother country; but such education as he could give his daughter had been one of his first cares." (Lee 26)

> As soon as the little girl was old enough, she became the pupil of her father. Under his instruction, she could read the Latin authors with facility; and even his favourite Greek classics

> became playfully familiar as household words, although she really knew little about them. But the Christian ethics came home more closely to her woman's heart ... (Lee 33)

Besides supporting Edith's education, Mr. Grafton did recognise the vital importance of providing her with the monetary means for her survival on her own upon his demise. Instead of trying to marry her off as soon as possible,

> [i]t had been an object much at heart with Mr. Grafton to save a little property for his daughter. He had succeeded in purchasing the small house, and a few acres about it, which was kept in perfect order and good cultivation under the excellent management of Paul.
>
> Edith's unprotected state, being without near relatives, made him desirous that she should have an independent home among his attached but humble parishioners. He knew that she was scarcely less beloved by them than himself. But he looked forward to his place being filled by a stranger; and he was mainly anxious that her comfort should not depend on the bounty, or even the gratitude, of the most disinterested of his flock.
>
> He was able to accomplish his wish, and leave her a small patrimony, abundantly equal to the wants of their frugal establishment... . (Lee 92-93)

The apparent irony is that bestowing his daughter with financial independence, assuring her non-reliance on others, particularly men, did not shield her from being targeted as a witch. On the contrary, it further placed her in peril.

As the "delusion of witchcraft" ensues, Edith is a nineteen-year-old educated unwedded woman of means, living with Dinah and Paul as her only companions. (Lee 99) In addition to this, in one of Edith's letters to Seymore, dated October 1692, we can see that contrary to Seymore - and by implication contrary to her Puritan peers - "Edith was disposed to think lightly of the subject [of witchcraft] at first." (Lee 112) She writes:

> You say you look upon this delusion of witchcraft, that is spreading through the country, with fearful and trembling interest, and that you believe God may permit his will to be made known by such instruments as these. God forbid that I should limit his power! But I fear these poor children are wicked or diseased, and that Satan has nothing to do with it. (Lee 99)

Edith's disbelief in the genuineness of the afflicted and that the Devil was at work in New England adds to her inversionary manner, to which she adheres unabated:

> But when she [Edith] found out that some of her own neighbors had been suspected, and that one old woman, in another village, for denying all knowledge of evil spirits, had been executed, she was filled with consternation; and when others, to save themselves from the same dreadful fate, increased the delusion of the times by confessing a compact with the evil one, her pity was mingled with indignation. With so much clearness of intellect, and simplicity of heart, she could not persuade herself that it was any thing but wilful blindness, and a wicked lie. (Lee 112-113)

4.1.3. Nanny

Edith also associates with the unseemly people in her community. She sometimes undertakes a "walk of two miles" to visit Nanny, "among the poor of her father's parish". (Lee 59) Explicitly drawing a parallel with Florimell, in Spenser's *The Faery Queen*,[204] it is suggested that Edith is, inadvertently, consorting with the village witch. Nanny's dwelling is

> [i]mmediately under the cliff, and sheltered like a swallow's nest, was the smallest of human habitations; so dark, and old, and moss-grown, that it seemed part of the rock against which it rested. It consisted of one room: a door and single pane of glass admitted the light, and the nets hanging around, and an old boat drawn up on the beach, indicated that it was the shelter of a fisherman. (Lee 59)

Nanny's portrayal further supports the allusion. She is "the old woman", "a virago; and indeed was sometimes thought insane." (Lee 60) Her "old woman's countenance" exhibited a "malignant expression." (Lee 61) Surely,

[204] Chapter VIII in *Delusion* opens with a quotation of lines 52-56 from Book III, Canto VII in Edmund Spenser's *The Faery Queen* (1590). This section of the poem describes the secluded cottage where the Witch dwells. Florimell, the chaste beauty, walks into it, unaware of the potential dangers.

> [h]er face might once have been fair; but it was now deeply wrinkled, and bronzed with smoke exposure. Her teeth were gone, and her thin, shrivelled lips had an expression of pain and suffering; while her eyes betrayed the envy and contempt she seemed to feel towards others. ... She took down from under her cap her long, gray hair, and spread it over her breast. It was dry and coarse, and without a single black hair. (Lee 63)

Together with her portrayal, Nanny's delivery of several instances of auguring words about soon-to-be troubled times for Edith, brought on by Nanny's granddaughter Phoebe, appears to establish her role as the village witch:

> Nanny looked at Edith almost with scorn. "Tell you what I think!" she said. "As well might I tell yonder birds that are hovering with white wings in the blue sky. What do you know of sorrow? But you will not always be strangers. Sorrow is coming over you; I see its dark fold drawing nearer and nearer." (Lee 62)

> "Poor child!" said the old woman; "you can weep for others, but yours is the fate of all the daughters of Eve: you will soon weep for yourself. With all your proud beauty and your feeling heart, you cannot keep your idols: they will crumble away, and you will come at last to what I am." (Lee 65)

> The old woman seemed at first to listen; but her mind soon wandered: broken and, as it afterwards would almost appear, prophetic sentences escaped from her lips: "Judgments are coming on this unhappy land, - delusions and oppression. Men and devils shall oppress the innocent. The good like you, the innocent and good, shall not escape! Then she looked at the sleeping child [Phoebe]: Can the lamb dwell with the tiger, or the dove nestle with the hawk? But you promised: you will keep your word. (Lee 104-105)

However, despite the overt allusion that Nanny is the village witch, by and by, she is not. She is just an older woman who keeps to herself with a past. She is just

> poor Nanny, as she was called ... She had come from the mother country four years before, with this little child, then an infant, and had taken a lodging in the poor fisherman's hut. She

> said the little girl was her grandchild, and all her affections were centred in her. She was entirely reserved as to her previous history, and was irritated if any curiosity was expressed about it, though she sometimes gave out hints that she had been an accomplice and victim of some deed for which she felt remorse. As she was quite harmless, and the inhabitants were much scattered, she was unmolested, and earned a scanty living by picking berries, fishing, and helping those who were not quite as poor as herself. (Lee 69-70)

Hence, due to her inversionary behaviour, Nanny is perceived as a witch, i.e. Nanny is a woman-as-witch. Edith is acutely aware of this since "[p]ersons in any way distinguished for any peculiarity were most likely to be accused." (Lee 113). She frets for Nanny's safety, but Nanny "escaped suspicion by a timely death," quietly in her bed with only Edith to comfort her. (Lee 112):

> The old woman at the cliff is now very ill: I trust God will take her from the world before she is seized for a witch. There are many ready to believe that she has ridden through the air on a broomstick, or gone to seas in an egg-shell. ... The old woman had made herself feared and hated by the scattered inhabitants. She was called a witch, and they deserted her sick bed ... Before evening, the old woman died; ... No mourners were to be summoned from afar: there was no mockery of grief. She had lived disliked by her neighbours. (Lee 99, 100, 105)

4.1.4. The Witch of New England

As prophesied by Nanny, soon Edith "the lamb" falls prey to Phoebe "the tiger," when Phoebe becomes afflicted (Lee 105):

> Dinah had remarked, for several days, in the little Phoebe most strange and unnatural contortions, and writhings of the body, startings and tremblings, turning up her eyes and distorting her mouth; and also that she took little food, and often was absent from home... . (Lee 113)

> Edith was already tired; she looked at the clock: it was the bed hour for the child. "Come, my child, be serious for a moment, and say your evening prayer:" Phoebe kneeled: the prayer

was short, but whenever she came to the word God, or Savior, she cried out that she could not say it. ... Full of anxiety, and even terror, Edith sought her humble friend [Dinah], told her the circumstance, and besought her to fly and conceal herself. (Lee 114-115)

Fearing only for Dinah on account of her social status and race, Edith seems oblivious of her inversionary behaviour and how she is in the crosshairs of being accused of tormenting Phoebe. As the woman-as-witch Romantic heroine, Edith "was deluded by her own consciousness of innocence, and she thought fanaticism itself could not attach a suspicion to harmlessness like hers." (Lee 117). Both the narrator and Dinah, however, are pretty aware of it:

> In new England, it seems to have begun in the wicked fancies of some nervous or really diseased children, who were permitted, at last, to accuse and persecute persons who were remarkable for goodness or intellect, and especially females who were distinguished for any excellence of mind or person. ... Children and ignorant persons first complained of being tormented and affected in divers manners. They then accused some persons eminent for their virtues and standing in society. (Lee 111-112)

> "I do not fear for myself, my dear mistress," said Dinah. "If the child has such design, she has already formed her plan and already accused us; and she will not be content with accusing me; you are not safe. ... She is like the young hawk in the nest of the dove." (Lee 115)

Before long, Edith is confronted in her home by "the officials in all occasions of this nature," the deacon and an elder of the church. (Lee 116) Forcefully, "she asked who were her accusers and demanded the right of being confronted with them." To which, "[t]he men informed her that she would be taken in the morning to the meeting-house for examination, and then it would be time enough to know her accusers." (Lee 117) The next morning,

> the same two persons who had visited her the night before came to conduct Edith to the meeting-house, the place of examination. The house was nearly full; and among that crowd there was scarcely one to whom Edith had not been a friend and a benefactor... But now every eye was averted, or turned on her with suspicion and terror... she was placed between two men, who each held an arm, and in front of those who were to examine her. (Lee 123-124)

At long last, Edit faces her accuser, whom she knew very well: it was Phoebe. The various occasions of the staging of Phoebe's torments allegedly attest to Edith being the witch tormenting her and demonstrating the child's "wicked perjury and wilful malice." (Upham 51) Bolstered by their audience and its unwavering trust in their testimony of spectral tormenting, the afflicted children remain adamant in their accusations and their feigned afflictions, regardless of any dire consequences to the accused with whom they are not strangers. Perhaps, Edith dared to wonder if they were indeed possessed by the Devil. Phoebe,

> [t]he afflicted – that is, the accuser – was now called in. Edith looked eagerly around, and, with grief and astonishment, saw her little Phoebe, the child of her care, when almost close to her, utter a piercing cry, and fall down in violent convulsions. She started forward to assist and raise her, but the men drew her rudely back. And this was her accuser!
>
> At the same time with Edith, a poor old woman, nearly eighty years of age, was brought in. Her accuser was her own grandchild – a girl about the same age as Phoebe. Together [Phoebe and this other girl] had concerted this diabolical plot, and had rehearsed and practised beforehand their contortions and convulsions, excited no doubt, by the notoriety of wicked children they had heard of. (Lee 124)

> The moment the child touched Edith's hand, she was still: this was part of the plot: but the moment her hand was withdrawn, she fell down again in violent convulsions, and cried out that pins were thrust into her. In the midst of this acting, she caught Dinah's stern, reproachful eye fixed upon her, and she instantly became still. But this did not aid poor Edith's cause; for they [the audience] cried out that the child was struck dumb by the accused. (Lee 126)

> ... the moment the child saw her, she began again to act her part, and to throw her body and limbs into violent contortions. Edith was not alarmed: she saw it was feigned; and, drawing her to her knees, she held both her little hands tightly clasped in hers. Phoebe became instantly calm; but this was a part of the system of deception, - that, as soon as the accused touched the afflicted, they should be calmed and healed. (Lee 131)

> "O, my poor Phoebe, how can you be so wicked as to tell this dreadful lie? ... I may die: you may cause my death; ... I shall be dragged before angry men, and, with irons on my hands and

> ankles, I shall be lifted to the scaffold, and there, before hundreds of angry faces turned towards me, I shall die alone! ... unsay all you have said, and we will go home together."
>
> The child answered with much violence, "No, no, never! You pricked me with pins, and you tormented me."
>
> "O, monstrous!" said Edith; "if I could believe in devils, I should believe you were now possessed...." (Lee 132-133)

In addition to Phoebe's damning testimony, Edith's "partner of her suspected guilt," the other older woman accused of witchcraft, made matters worse for Edith, by confessing to diabolism and incriminating her:

> The poor old creature was bent and haggard. She would have wept, but alas! The fountain of her tears was dried up; and she looked at her grandchild with a sort of stupid incredulity and wonder. Her inability to weep was regarded as an infallible proof of her guilt. ... The poor old wretch ... not only confessed to every thing of which she was accused, but added such circumstances of time and place, and the various forms the devil had taken in her person ... The old woman also.... [c]ried out that she was pierced with pins, and pinched by Edith, although with invisible fingers, as she stood near her; and, turning back her sleeve from her bony and wrinkled arm, she showed a discolored spot, which she declared had not been there when she left her home. (Lee 124, 125, 126)

Considering this supposed evidence, Edith is hard-pressed, repeatedly, only by men, into confessing. First to avoid trial, and after being found guilty, to avoid execution: "[t]he deacon looked sternly decided and unmoved, but he began to urge her to confess, - to do as others had done, and save her life by acknowledging the crime." (Lee 128) The elder who had escorted her to the meeting-house confirmed "that her own cause had been much injured by the confession of the old woman: and he ended by entreating her to confess also, and save her life." (Lee 136) The most poignant plea, though, comes from her beloved Seymore, who yet again fails an affectionate, understanding and forgiving but contemptuous Edith:

> "Be calm, dear Seymore," she said; "with your convictions, you could not have done otherwise. You believe in the reality of these possessions. The evidence against me was more

> and stronger than has been sufficient to condemn many as innocent as I am. You can have no cause for self-reproach."
>
> "Innocent! O, say not that you are innocent! God has many ways of trying his elect. You he has tried severely with temptations from the prince of evil. He chooses souls like yours. O, Edith, for my sake, for your own sake, acknowledge that you have been tempted. It is only required that you should say you have been deceived; then all will be well. "... "Many have confessed," he said, "many of undoubted truth, of ripe wisdom, who could not be deceived, and who would not confess to a lie. "....
>
> And can you bear to have your name sullied by this alliance with the wicked? Those who die as criminals are believed guilty of crimes; and can you consent to be remembered as the associate of evil spirits?" (Lee 148-150)

Edith remained steadfast in her inversionary response at every request to confess, and she would rather hang than confess. Moreover, in three different instances, Edith admits to ordinary sin but is unyielding about not having incurred or even believing in diabolism and dares to presume to know God's designs:

> Indignation kindled in Edith's eye; but she checked it, and said, "I cannot, I durst not, belie my own soul, and commit so great a sin. God, who is the searcher of my heart, as we shall both answer at the judgment day, is witness that I know nothing of witchcraft, - of no temptation of the evil one. I have felt indeed – as who has not? – the temptations that arise from our own passions; but I know no other, and can confess not other." (Lee 129)

> "It is easy for the accused to believe themselves guilty. She trembled when she thought how many, not weaker than herself, when suspected and deserted by friends, had yielded to their fears, and even fancied themselves *guilty* of crimes which they abhorred; and she mentally prayed, "Ah, my Father, save me from myself." (Lee 137)

> For a moment, Edith's face was crimsoned. "What! Become a traitor to my own soul! lose forever the unsullied jewel of truth, the peace of a pure conscience! and do you counsel this? "... "But I should confess to a lie, - a base and wicked lie. I have no faith in these temptations. I believe God suffers us to be tempted by our own passions and unrestrained imaginations,

but not by visible or invisible evil spirits. ... I feel that God will pardon my sins, and accept my death as in obedience to my conscience." (Lee 149-150, 151)

Despite all the insistence, Edith Grafton, like every woman-as-witch executed in Salem in 1692, does not confess to diabolism. Unlike them, however, she also does not hang. She escapes unarmed: "Edith was one of the last of the accused. When it was discovered that she had escaped, no inquiries were made, and no regret expressed." (Lee 159)

4.2. *Philip English's Two Cups or 1692* by M.B. Condit.[205]

The brief account of *Philip English* contains many elements of the oral tradition of the Hathorne, Forrester and English families. (Moore 26) Condit, a Forrester, probably used recorded fact for her inspiration as it was passed to her by word of mouth and newsprint. For example, in the *Salem Observer* on June 8, 1833, one can find an article about the uncovering of the remains of Jonathan Pue when digging the foundation of the new Episcopal church in Salem. (Moore 26-27) The remains were speculated to be those of Philip English, at first. It reads as follows:

> **In digging the foundation of the new Episcopal Church in this town the remains of many of the old worshippers of St. Peter's were disturbed. Among them was the remains of Jonathan Pue Esq., "His Majesty's Inspector and Informer," who died in the year 1760, seventy-three years since. His wig was in a good state of preservation and his worsted sash was not entirely decayed; three silver buttons were also found in his grave. An old lady (now deceased of our acquaintance) informed us, she remembered this ancient royalist officer and that she had seen him frequently in his seat at Church, and instead of a box to carry his rappee, he had a pocket of leather, which would probably hold a pound.**
>
> **Sixty or seventy years ago about twenty feet was added to the length of the church, and directly under that part a brick grave was found. . . . Nothing was found by which a discovery could be made who the occupant was. It has been thought by some it might be Philip English—it is certain it was a person of some note, as six silver plated coffin handles were found in the grave, and some fragments of an ornamented plate, the bones were quite large and must have belonged to a large man.**

[205] For more about the author, see Appendix D.

Perhaps because of her familial relations, her portrayal of the Mathers and Judge Hathorne is accepting, and the historical events regarding their roles in the Salem witch hunt are muddled. For example, Condit fictionalises a meeting between the Mathers and Judge Hathorne in which they are utterly shocked by the accusation of witchcraft against Susannah English. Moreover, Cotton Mather, for example, expresses an astonishing view that "things have gone too far." (Condit 87) Furthermore, John Hathorne, for instance, with his allies the Mathers and governor William Phipps, facilitates and secures Susannah English's escape with her husband. (Condit 90-98)

4.2.1. A Plot Summary

In this novella, we meet Margaret Elton (maiden name). One day she unexpectedly receives "a box by express ... from Salem, Mass." (Condit 7) Salem was Margaret's "dear old town [her] actual home" she had left "long years" before. (Condit 7) It was sent to her by Ursula Hillsworth, "a very old gentlewoman of Salem" who had been betrothed to Margaret's grand-uncle Edmund Elton and who also "might have claimed cousinship, three or four generations old." (Condit 15)

In the box, she finds a "large bundle, and a quaint looking old cabinet." (Condit 9) As she turns "the rusty key and [opens] the cabinet," she finds a letter addressed to her and "two manuscripts, yellow, but not worn, but mottled with those snuff-colored and brown spots, the unmistakable signs of old age." (Condit 11) In the letter, Ursula explains she has been, all these years, the safe keeper of Edmund Elton's alleged biography about Philip English, his wife, Susannah English[206] and his "Gold and Silver Cups." (Condit 12)

The receiving of such a missive sends Margaret down memory lane. Back in Salem, when she was sixteen years old, Margaret had come in close contact with the actual cups. At "the dusty corner of Brown and St. Peter streets... workmen were digging at the corner of these streets, to lay the foundations

[206] Philip English was in fact married to Mary English and father to Susannah English. For more about these key figures involved in the Salem witch hunt of 1692, see Appendix E.

of a new church[207]." (Condit 18) Curious about the whole affair, young Margaret "stopped, and there lingered until long after dark." (Condit 18) She thus so happened to witness when the grave of Philip English was unexpectedly found and dug up. In his coffin, "a small wooden box" and in it "two very black-looking cups, or goblets, un-like, but of antique shape." (Condit 23) After some heavy-duty cleaning, it turned out to be a gold cup with a Scotch coat of arms and a silver one with the inscription "Philip and Susannah English, 1693." (Condit 26) The cups were reburied with the remains of their proprietor, but Margaret's grand-uncle's pen unearths their stories in the manuscripts she now reads for herself.

The first manuscript is titled "Philip English's Gold Cup." It reads about Philip's early years and familial relations in it. Philip was born "about the year" 1645 in "the northern counties of England." (Condit 44) His father, Roger English, "an English gentleman," married "a Scotch lady" with "a sweet, sunny face, with fair, clear skin and fine blue eyes" who "died when very young." (Condit 43-45) Both Philip and his two-years-older brother Walter were entrusted to the care of "their old Scotch nurse, Margery." (Condit 45) They were close as children and through their time in Cambridge, and even when they "were settled once more under the paternal roof." (Condit 48) However, "both Philip and Walter fell in love with almost their earliest playmate, their father's neighbor's only daughter, the sweet Susannah Hollingsworth. ... She was like themselves, motherless; and had seemed to everyone like a sister to them." (Condit 49-50) Susannah had deep feelings for both brothers, but she was in love with Philip. In a petty, jealous move, Walter lies to Philip that "Susannah had promised to marry no man but him [Walter]" and lies to Susannah that "Philip had followed to the new country" some other woman. (Condit 50, 57) Broken-hearted, Philip makes arrangements to sail to the New World, never to seek his English home or see his father's face again. Walter's lie did not separate Philip and Susannah. As lovers' fate would have it, they run into each other onboard the same ship bound for Massachusetts. There they marry and live happily. When saying his goodbyes to his nurse Margery, Philip had entrusted her with the mission of offering his Gold Cup, the Raeburn Beaker, to Susannah, thus coming back to him.

The second manuscript, "The Silver Cup: A tale of New England Witchcraft," focuses on the English's troubles during the Salem witch hunt of 1692. Susannah English is accused by the afflicted of being a witch. Though an arrest warrant is issued, Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, Mr. Moodey and

---

[207] On the corner of St. Peter Street (formerly Prison Lane) and Brown Street in Salem Massachusetts, stands St. Peter's Episcopal Church. Founded in 1733-34 as the first Anglican Church in Salem. The original church building was a wooden structure, built on land donated by wealthy Salem merchant Philip English.

Justice Hathorne warn Philip about the warrant and arrange for Susannah and Philip's escape to New Amsterdam (modern-day New York). Sometime later, "a letter came from Salem" detailing "[that] corn was very scarce" and "[that] the poor were terribly pinched." (Condit 100 - 101) Without hesitating and in a show of magnanimity, Philip English sent the much-needed corn to the people of Salem. Upon the English's return later that Summer in 1693, they received a "hearty welcome home." (Condit 105) As a sign of gratitude, the people of Salem bestow Philip with a silver cup which he proclaims: "shall be ever with me, it shall stand beside my 'Raeburn Beaker,' and they shall both lie with me in my grave." (Condit 107)

4.2.2. Susannah English

Susannah English's standing in the Salem community did not prevent her from being accused during the witch hunt. However, it was critical to shield her from the heinous consequences of that accusation, thus becoming a woman-as-witch heroine. Paradoxically, were her social status not enough to make her a person of interest, her several instances of inversionary behaviour would have painted a target on her back.

From the beginning, Susannah is critical of Reverend Parris and his hand in fanning the witchcraft flames in Salem. Despite seeing the suffering of the first afflicted girls, she remains inquiring. One day,

> Susannah had been spending a long day at Salem Village, with the Rev. Mr. Parris and his godly household; ... She had suffered all day long from what she had seen, and the spirit she found reigning there, disturbed and half affrighted her. Mr. Parris' views of the witchcraft proceedings which blackened the already agitated atmosphere, made most unwelcome suspicions deepen into convictions, and these strong convictions made her distrust and almost dislike, those whom she had both pitied and loved. (Condit 67-68)

Almost immediately upon returning to the safety of her inner sanctum, Susannah hastily elaborates on her reproaches of Revered Parris, and of the afflicted as well, to Phillip:

> Susannah began a sort of half expostulation with herself, and a half confession and appeal to Philip. "Philip," she said, "these witchcraft-doings are growing frightful and terribly wicked, I think. I know not where or how they will ever end. Mr. Parris seems to fear that Satan is bodily to destroy God's work among us. Methinks, he would fain use means like his own to prevail against him. He says that imprisonments, torture, and even death, should be dealt without mercy to those who would league themselves with the fiend. How can these strangely afflicted children point out who are Satan's followers? I could talk but little with them. He told me that Dr. Cotton Mather, and many of our most learned clergy, think just as he does." (Condit 69-70)

Fearing for Susannah if her thoughts were heard elsewhere, her doting husband Philip urges: "[l]et us say little of these things save to each other.... [L]et us be prudent, for these are sadly troublous times." (Condit 72, 73) Susannah, however, fervent and principled about the whole matter, exclaims: "Shall we not own what we believe? Comfort those that are in bitter sorrow? – do what we think is right?" (Condit 73) And indeed, per her wishes, they did: "Philip and Susannah had kept aloof as much as possible. They had never failed to express disapproval of all harsh measures, and their limited belief, as it seemed to the exacting and scrupulous of the extreme persecutors, the wretched victims they had relieved, soothed, comforted in every way they could." (Condit 75-76)

Exacerbating Susannah's inversionary stance by underlying her fearless compassion,

> [a]fter a sermon, that warned more of Satan's malice than it soothed by the promise of God's mercy ... Mrs. English slowly rose, and passing down the broad aisle almost to the lowest bench, seated herself beside an aged and infirm woman – good-wife Cloyse. Bowed she was with years, but more at this time with a tortured heart. ... Rebecca, her dear sister Rebecca,[208]

[208] For more about Rebecca Nurse and other key figures involved in the Salem witch hunt of 1692, see Appendix E.

> languished at that moment in a loathsome prison; ... And as she raised her head, and found herself left, – shunned, as it were, as an unclean thing by the congregation – [t]he misery was almost drawn from her heart, the expression of hopeless wretchedness changed in her uplifted eyes as Susannah came and seated herself beside her. (Condit 77, 79-80)

And though "a frown... for a moment clouded the face of Cotton Mather," and there was a "surprised and questioning expression in the assembly" followed by many "comments on that day's service," indeed "no one dared approach the Lady English in the matter she, at least, heard nothing for some time of the conclusions darkly hinted at by some, mercilessly acted upon by others." (Condit 81-82) Soon after, Justice Hathorne informs the Mathers and Mr. Moodey that: "A warrant is now out in Salem; the Mistress Susannah English is charged as a 'most venomous witch.'" (Condit 85)

Despite being served with the warrant, examined, and briefly remanded to the jail in Boston, the ministers and Justice Hathorne are resolutely convinced of Susannah's innocence and go as far as forewarning Philip and helping him plan their escape to New Amsterdam. Susanna's inversionary behaviour had made her a woman-as-witch to the Salem community but had failed to do so to most of its Puritan authorities.

4.3. *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth-Century* by D.R. Castleton[209]

Similarly to Lee and Condit, Castleton uses her tale as a medium for the cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt. As she elaborates in her Preface, in doing so, Castleton believes her Romantic historical will make it more accessible to the nineteenth-century American general public. She realises that the benefits of a mnemonic (re)imagination of the Salem witch hunt far outweigh the likelihood of it being forgotten altogether if confined to history books tucked away on dusty shelves. Castleton finds "these books, though deeply interesting, are too valuable and too weighty to be found in free circulation among general readers." (Castleton iii-iv) Thus, through *Salem*, the aims to correct the "vague and

[209] For more about the author, see Appendix D.

incorrect" cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt while assuring it does not fall into oblivion. Indeed, she endeavours to "retouch the rapidly fading picture" with care. (Castleton iii-iv)

Castleton also underlines her efforts to base her tale on sound historical research and contextualization. Though she admits to having "twine[d] round history's legends dim the glowing roses of romance ... only to heighten the effect of the picture," Castleton is adamant that "[i]n all that is purely historical [she] claim[s] to be strictly authentic." (Castleton v) Besides relying on "the court records ... carefully compiled from the most reliable historians," Castleton outlines her field research to Salem Village, Gallows Hill and Prison Lane where she, with her own hands, held artefacts such as the witch-pins from the afflicted. (Castleton v)

Lastly, in *Salem*, Castleton emphasises the absent sense of atonement on the part of the driving agents of the Salem witch hunt. Embittered, the narrator elaborates: "[i]n looking back upon this terrible tragedy, even after the long lapse of years, there seems to be no way to account for it by any of the known and recognized laws of the human mind; the actors in it seem to have been utterly reckless of consequences to others, and totally incapable of human feeling. There is no mention on record of their being once moved by natural pity for the sufferings they wrought..." (Castleton 334)

What is more, Castleton echoes and reiterates the relevance of counter-memorialising the Salem witch hunt as a cautionary tale for the betterment of the country itself. The narrator asserts:

> But the history of the Past is the warning of the Future the beacon that shows where one frail little bark went down has saved many a gallant vessel from a similar fate; and if the terrible delusion of 1692 has taught our magistrates and rulers caution and temperate judgment if the sacred fear of taking human life even from the worst of criminals which pervades our jury-boxes, and has sometimes been regarded as almost pusillanimity, has sprung from a remembrance of the terrible era when the judgment of the whole community – legal, ecclesiastical, and secular – swerved aside and was bent like a reed before the breath of passion and superstition, the annals of "Salem Witchcraft" have not been preserved in vain. (Castleton 336)

4.3.1. A plot summary

Mistress Elsie Campbell and her granddaughter Alice Campbell arrive at "the then newly settled town of Salem" while "[i]t was midwinter in New England, the very commencement of the year 1679." (Castleton 7-9) Both are "evidently Scottish by birth." Mistress Elsie "might have been about fifty-five years of age" and was "still an erect and handsome woman." Alice, "a beautiful girl, in whose fair face ... might be read much of the beauty as well as the strong self-will which marked the face of the grandmother," was not more than "six or seven years of age." (Castleton 9) They settled on the very last house "in the row which then constituted the straggling, narrow, crooked little Main (now Essex) Street of the small, irregular, and unpretending little town of Salem ... nearest to the water." (Castleton 11) Over the next "period of a dozen years," "[t]here was no longer any talk of returning to Scotland." (Castleton 22,30) Alice "dropped the Scottish dialect which her grandmother retained, and the little Highland lassie was fast changing into a fair new England maiden." (Castleton 23)

Before long, the troubles of the Salem witch hunt came knocking on their door. Mistress Campbell, her grandmother, who spoke with a thick Scottish accent and was "well-skilled in all the homely curative lore", was arrested. (Castleton 271) She "had been cried out upon by the accusing girls – the constables had come with a warrant that morning and taken her away to jail, to be tried as a witch." (Castleton 274) Though Mistress Campbell is condemned and sentenced to death, she escapes the noose. On her way to the execution site, Governor William Phip's cavalcade happens to ride. He acquiesces to Alice's pleas for mercy, and Mistress Campbell is reprieved. As fate would have it, one of the officers in the governor's company is Alice's long-lost father. Alice heads back to England in her father's company while her grandmother, Mistress Elsie Campbell, makes her way back to her childhood farm in Scotland. And so, "[t]he terrible delusion of witchcraft, upon which this narrative is founded, had a sudden rise, but it had a still more sudden termination." (Castleton 331)

The stories of several other women interpolate Elsie and Alice Campbel's story, directly or incidentally caught up in the Salem witch hunt. Namely, Sarah Good, Sarah Osburn,[210] Tituba, Rebecca Nurse and Mrs. Hanna Browne.[211] Also, adjacent to the main storyline, various digressions and a couple of chapters are painstakingly crafted for the reader as historical contextualisation about the Salem witch

[210] The spelling of this surname varies in the Salem witchcraft trial records. Here we are using the exact spelling Castleton uses in the novel.

[211] For more biographical information on these key figures in the Salem witch hunt, see Appendix E.

hunt.[212] Yet, beyond these instances, except for some of the characters' arc or the circumstances in which the afflicted girls put forward the accusations, we agree with Castleton's initial assertions in the Preface, that she took artistic license for dramatic effect mostly takes precedence over historical accuracy.

4.3.2. The girls and the older women

From the point of view of being a woman-a-witch, key female figures of the Salem witch hunt recreated in the novel are seemingly arranged into two groups: the girls and the older women. As we shall illustrate, though all of them, one way or another, are portrayed as engaging in inversionary behaviour, the balance of power is skewed in favour of the girls. They thrive as the accusing afflicted, while the older women wither as the accused witches, much alike, we might add, to what happened during the Salem witch hunt and the dominant position of nineteenth-century historians, as previously discussed.[213]

4.3.2.1. The afflicted

Though "the afflicted children" and their afflictions are repeated in detail in several instances in the novel,[214] we first learn about them from a conversation between Alice and her grandmother. Alice reports what she heard during her visit to Rebecca Nurse. (Castleton 45) Aghast, Alice details the inversionary behaviour of the afflicted, illustrating how

[212] See Castleton, Preface and chapters IV and XXII.

[213] See sub-chapters 2.7, 2.8, 3.2 and 3.3.

[214] See Castleton pp. 44, 48-49, 65-68, 96, 121-122, 190.

> [t]he girls have got so bold, it seems they don't mind any body; and last Sabbath -day, it seems they spoke right out in meeting. ... Mr Lawson was to preach that day, and Abigail Williams spoke right out in the meeting, and spoke impudently to him. Before he had time to begin, she cried out, 'Come! stand up, and name your text; and when he had given it, 'That's a long text,' cries she. And then, while he was preaching, another cries out, 'Come! there's enough of that,' and more like that. Was it not shameful? And they said Ann Putnam was so rude that the people next to her in the seatings had to hold her down by main force. .... But .... [i]f the minister allowed it, who could venture to do any thing to stop them? (Castleton 48-49)

Promptly, the author establishes that the afflicted were guilty of having dabbled in sympathetic magic. Alice reminds her grandmother; "Don't you remember what we heard about those children and girls at Mr. Parris's house – how they had meetings there to try tricks and charms, and practice all sorts of black arts?" (Castleton 44) The author seems keen on displaying this inversionary side of the afflicted. According to Castleton, they are to be blamed for the Salem witchcraft outbreak but justified in their actions for not knowing any better. Ultimately, they were only Puritan girls who were, oddly enough, left unsupervised, without proper guidance, and who were permitted to engage in sympathetic magic. As discussed earlier, this kind of inversionary action would have been firmly admonished in seventeenth-century Puritan Salem. Castleton emphasises that on this occasion, it was not. In chapter IV, one of the historical contextualisation chapters, Castleton expounds on her arguments for and against the afflicted. On the following instance, the narrator notes that,

> [d]uring the winter of 1691 and '92, a party of young girls, about a dozen in number, were in the habit of meeting together at Mr. Parris's house; ... For what definite and avowed purpose these meetings at the house of the pastor had originally been intended, we have no information; but their ultimate purpose seems to have been to practice sleight of hand, legerdemain, fortune-telling, sorcery, magic, palmistry, necromancy, ventriloquism, or whatever in more modern times is classed under the general name of Spiritualism.
>
> During the course of the winter, they had become very skilful and expert in these unholy arts. They could throw themselves into strange and unnatural attitudes; use strange exclamations, contortions, and grimaces; utter incoherent and unintelligible speech. They

> would be seized with fearful spasms or fits, and drop as if lifeless to the ground; or, writhing as if in agony of insufferable tortures, utter loud screams and fearful shrieks, foaming at the mouth or bleeding from the nose. (Castleton 56-59)

Yet, Castleton underlines the need to bear in mind

> … that the actors in these terrible scenes were for the most part young girls, at the most nervous and impressible period of life – a period when a too rapid growth, over-study, over-exertion, or various other predisposing causes, are often productive of hysteria, hypochondria, and nervous debility, which, if not met and counteracted by judicious care, has often tended to insanity and …. [l]et it be remembered, too, that these misguided young persons had been engaged for long months in studies of the most wild and exciting nature, unlawful and I unholy, and in the practice of all forbidden arts – studies and practices under the unhallowed influences of which the strongest and most stolid of mature minds might have been expected to break down. (Castleton 56-59)

Though we find Castleton's views on the feebleness of the young female Puritan mind problematic, we appreciate the author's quest for a reasonable explanation for the inversionary behaviour of the afflicted accusers in the Salem witch hunt. Indeed with "no clearly defined intention or even perception of the awful sin to the commission of … their deeds… they had begun in sport, or at best without consideration." (Castleton 65) Moreover, "their acting was perfect but it would seem there must have been a master-mind acting as prompter and stage manager." (Castleton 67)

It is not only the lack of authenticity of the afflicted's torments and the unreliability of their accusations that the author remarks. The credulity and oversight of the Puritan community and authorities of Salem regarding the afflicted are also bluntly brought into question. For example, Alice tells her grandmother:

> “Well, they [the afflicted young children] have gone on worse and worse – they behave awfully now. The people don’t know what to make of it – some say they are crazy, and some think they make it up. Oh! and they have (or pretend to have, I don’t know which it is) terrible fits; and they will scream and rave and foam at the mouth and bleed at the nose, and drop down to the floor as if they were dead, and be cold and stiff; and they’ll declare they see and hear things that no one else can hear or see, oh! I can’t tell you what they don’t do. The neighbors are called in; but no one can do any thing with them. They call them ‘the afflicted children.’ ... And they all say the children are bewitched.” (Castleton 44-45, 49)

Again in chapter IV, one of the historical contextualisation chapters, the narrator describes that the appalling conduct of the girls becomes firmly upheld given the findings of the Puritan secular and religious authorities:

> Mr. Parris convened an assemblage of all the neighboring ministers to meet at his own house, and devote the day to solemn supplication to the Divine Power to rescue them from the power of Satan.
>
> This reverend body of the clergy came, saw the children, questioned them, and witnessed their unaccountable behavior, and, struck dumb with astonishment at what they heard and saw, declared their belief that it must be and was the power of the Evil One.
>
> This clerical opinion was at once made known, and, as it coincided with the medical opinion of Dr. Grigg, it was considered conclusive. (Castleton 64)

What is more, the narrator enlightens us that “[t]his was not an uncommon conclusion in those days; for a superstitious belief in demonology was a commonly received thing, and any symptoms not common, or not referable to commonly understood natural causes, were usually attributed to the influence of ‘an evil eye.’” (Castleton 61) This choice of detail by Castleton suggests the

contemporaneity of the transcultural memory of the English village woman-as-witch[215] was still pervasive in nineteenth-century US society.

In a short time, "a conviction of the reality of the sufferings of the girls, and that they were the result of witchcraft, was nearly universal among the people." (Castleton 68) It follows that, as Alice aptly points out: "if they are bewitched ... who do they think it is that bewitches them?... But surely they must know; if anyone pinches them, or sticks pins into them, they must know who does it." (Castleton 96-97) And, indeed, the girls did "know" that several older women in Salem were the witches who tormented them:

> one of the afflicted girls cried out that the prisoner... had just stabbed her, and had broken the knife in so doing, in corroboration of which statement she produced a piece of broken knife-blade. Upon which a young man then present produced the rest of the knife, which the court then examined, and declared to be the same. He then affirmed that he had broken the knife the day before, and had thrown away the piece, the accusing girl being present at the time. Upon which clear proof of her malicious mendacity, the court merely bade the sinful and falsified witness "to *tell them no more lies*;" and after this plain exposure of her guilt, she was still used as a witness against the unhappy prisoners. (Castleton 121-122)

4.3.2.2. Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn.

Similarly to what happened in the Salem witch hunt,[216] in this novel, Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn[217] were two of the first women accused by "the afflicted children." In another conversation, Alice and Elsie Campbel express their disbelief about these initial accusations and offer some recreated bio notes about these women-as-witches:

[215] See section 2.4.1.

[216] See section 2.7.1.

[217] For more about these key figures in the Salem witch hunt, Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn, see Appendix E.

“’Deed thin, an’ it is too. Alice do you mind Sarah Good?”

“Sarah Good? No I thin not. I do no remember ever to have heard of her.”

“yes, ye do; certies! Dinna ye mind the puir creature tha’ kim beggin’ wi’ her child, an’ ye gave her fustian gown an’ petticoat, an’ I gave her my old shawl an’ my black cardinal. Ye mind her, Alice, surely?”

“Yes, indeed! I remember the woman and the child; but I had forgotten the name. But, grandmother, she can not be a witch, I’m sure; I do not believe a word of it – not a single word. A poor, sick miserable creature – a ‘ne’er-do-weel,’ as you may call her, I dare say she might be – a poor, half-crazy, homeless beggar; but I guess she was nothing worse. And what power can that poor creature have? If she had any, I think she would have used it to clothe herself and that poor, half-starved child. Should not you?”

“I dinna ken. He said the gals charged it upon her, ony way.”

“I don’t believe it. But who was the other? You said there were two.”

“I guess ye dinna ken o’ the ither. It is ane Sarah Osburn. I hae heard tell o’ her: she wa’ the Widow Prince, a woman o’ some substance here once, an’ she married her ain farmer mon. ... He an’ her sons had trouble atween them, an’ he left her, an’ she ha’ been half dementit ever sin’. I thought sure an’ certain she wa’ deed long ago; I dinna hear o’ her this mony a day; an’ noo it turns up she is charged wi’ bein’ a witch.

The gals cry out on her, an’ say she is the ane that torments then. I dinna see how it can be – a puir, feckless old body; what power ha’ she?” (Castleton 97-98)

Castleton is keen on proving the historical veracity of her account of Sarah Good ‘s and Sarah Osburn’s cases. In the opening paragraph of the chapter recollecting their examinations, the author obligingly justifies that “[a]s this does not purport to be definitely a work upon Witchcraft, it is not our intention to weary the patience or harrow up the feelings of the reader unnecessarily by portraying the painful details of the several trials, except in so far as they have a connection with or a bearing upon the several personages of our story.” (Castleton 102) Furthermore, to emphasise, yet again, the

historiographical substantiation of the events recreated in the novel, as well as to hint at the author's views, the narrator remarks:

> If such information is desired, it is matter of history, and may easily be obtained from reliable sources.
>
> But we have thought that by presenting a few passages, taken from the records of the preliminary examination of the persons first accused, and brought up for trial, the reader would gain a clearer realization of the unfairness of the whole proceedings; and see how, owing to the inflamed state of the popular mind, and the preconceived prejudices of all classes of people, clearly including judges and jurors, against the accused, the unhappy prisoners were, in fact, already judged and condemned even before they were brought to trial. (Castleton 103)

So, "in the morning of the first of March, 1692, the two leading and most distinguished magistrates of the neighborhood, Justices John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin" arrived in Salem to preside over the examination of first accused women-as-witches in the meeting-house.[218] (Castleton 105) As in the official court records, Sarah Good is interrogated first: "the constable produced the body of Mrs. Sarah Good, and placed her on the stand." (Castleton 107) Her description loosely conforms to the records as well, but more importantly meets the expected inversionary behaviour and appearance of a woman-as-witch. Sara Good is characterised as

> a small, weak, miserable creature; a poor, helpless, friendless woman – worn down by a life of want and misery.; a homeless vagrant, without character or subsistence; one for whom no one cared, whose perennial pauperism had outworn the patience of nearly all her benefactors, and whose name, if not positively evil, was not respectable – an abject thing to be pitied, not persecuted. (Castleton 107-108)

Her examination is represented in much detail but is still an adapted transcription, for as the narrator highlights,

[218] See Appendix E. See also the "Examination of Rebecca Nurse" in Rosenthal pp. 126, 129, 131.

> [w]e shall endeavour to give her examination according to the minutes which have been preserved; but let be remembered that this examination was in the form of questions put to her by Justice Hathorne, evidently expressive of his belief in her guilt, and in the truth of the evidence brought by "the afflicted girls" against her; that no friend or counsel was allowed her; that she was very ignorant, wholly unused to such a cross-examination as she was subjected to, totally unaware of the danger of being entrapped in her unguarded answers, or that what she might say in her wild, random replies was liable to be misunderstood or misrepresented. (Castleton 108)

Repeatedly Justice Hathorne urges Sarah Good to confess having engaged in diabolism: "Sarah Good, what evil spirit have you familiarity with?", "Have you made no contracts with the devil?", "Have you made no contract with the devil?". (Castleton 108-109) As evidentiary proof, "Justice Hathorne requested the afflicted children all to look her, and see if this was the one that hurt them; and they all did look, and said she was one of them that did hurt them. Then children were all tormented ..." (Castleton 109)

Though Sarah Good insists that she serves "[t]he God that made heaven and earth," she accuses Sarah Osburn. (Castleton 111) When asked by Justice Hathorne, "Who was it, then, that tormented the children?," she replies "It might be Osburn." (Castleton 110) We find it significant that the narrator attempts to justify this kind of inversionary behaviour in which a woman-as-witch would accuse another woman of being a witch, just like previously the narrator attempted to justify the actions of "the accused children". The narrator elaborates that,

> Sarah Good had not intended to accuse Goody Osburn. She had only been led by the questions put to her to allow that Osburn might be guilty. The whole amount of what she had intended to say seems clearly, that if the sufferings of the children, of the reality of which she did not seem to entertain a doubt, were caused by either Osburn or herself, it must be by Osburn, as she was conscious of her own entire innocence of it; and this, which was uttered only in self-defense, was cruelly perverted by the court into a positive accusation against her fellow-prisoner." (Castleton 113)

Sarah Osburn was then "brought in and placed upon the stand" (Castleton 111). According to the narrator,

> [t]his poor creature was, if any thing, more pitiable than the other [Sarah Good]. She had been a woman of respectable character, and of some standing in the community. Her first husband had died, leaving her a comfortable fortune, and two or more sons. She afterward married Osburn, who was much beneath her in social position. He had squandered her money, quarrelled with her children, and deserted her; and she was sick in body and almost imbecile in mind. (Castleton 111)

Based on Sarah Good's accusation, Justice Hathorne insists on Sarah Osburn to confess not only to diabolism but also to tormenting "the afflicted children" in her spectral form:

> "Have you made no contract with the devil?"
>
> "No; I never saw the devil in my life."...
>
> "Why do you hurt these children?"
>
> "I do not hurt them."...
>
> "Sarah Good saith it was you that hurt the children."
>
> "I do not know that the devil goes about in my likeness to do any hurt...
>
> Mr. Hathorne now desired all the children to stand up and look upon the prisoner, and see if they did not know her – which they did." (Castleton 111-112, 113)

Other parts of Sarah Osburn's examination, as the one below, highlight two other pertinent aspects. Firstly, the prejudicial testimonies submitted by her peers about her character, and her dismissive views on diabolism in Salem. Second, in the eyes of Justice Hathorne, her conflation of ordinary sin with diabolism and how it ends up confirming her guilt instead of her innocence:

Three witnesses declared she had said that morning, "She was more like to be bewitched than that she was a witch;" and Mr. Hathorne asked her what made her say so.

She answered him she was frighted one time in her sleep, and either saw, or dreamed she saw, a thing like an Indian, all black, which did pinch her in her neck, and pulled her by the back of her head to the door of the house. ...

(Here it was said by some one in the meeting-house that she had said she would never believe that lying spirit any more.)

"What lying spirit is this? Hath the devil ever deceived you, and been false to you?

"I do not know the devil: I never did see him."

"What lying spirit was it, then?"

"It was a voice I thought I heard."

"And what did it propound to you?"

"That I should go no more to meeting. But I said I would go, and I did go next Sabbath-day." (Castleton 113-114)

Regarding the fate of Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn, the narrator informs us that:

they were sent to Boston jail, where Sarah Osburn died in the following May. The child of Sarah Good, a little girl of five years of age, who had also been accused, died while in confinement. ... [A]t the execution of this Sarah Good, Mr. Noyes, the Salem minister[219]... followed the wretched woman even to the gallows, vehemently urging her to confess, and calling out to her, "You are a witch, and you know you are a witch."... [T]he miserable creature cried out in frenzy from the steps of the ladder, "You are a liar! I am no more a witch than

[219] For more on Reverend Noyes, see Appendix E.

you are a wizard; and, as you take away my innocent life, may God give you blood to drink." (Castleton 121-122)

4.3.2.3. Tituba

Tituba was accused of diabolism along with Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn. In the novel, conversely to them, and similarly to "the afflicted children," Tituba is not shown in the best light. The Castleton comes awkwardly close to being openly racist in her savage depiction of Tituba, blaming her and John Indian[220] for corrupting the young impressionable minds of the afflicted in the Parris household with *maleficium* . They

> ... had been in daily and hourly communication with John Indian and Tituba, the two Spanish West Indian slaves – creatures of the lowest type, coarse, sensual, and ignorant – who had been their companions, teachers and leaders, indoctrinating them in all the pagan lore, hideous superstitions, and revolting ceremonials of their own idolatrous faith... (Castleton 59)

And,

> [t]he faces of the two West Indian slaves [Tituba and 'Indian John'] were full as dusky, but far more repellent traces of their Spanish blood and temperament lurked in their long, narrow, vicious, half shut eyes, which flashed their keen, malignant glances from beneath the heavy eyelids the swarthy lowering brow was narrow and retreating, and the whole lower portion of the face was sensuous in the extreme, the coarse, heavy powerful jaws having the ferocity of the beast of prey, united in the low cunning of the monkey. (Castleton 72)

[220] Tituba and John Indian are presented in this as being married to each other, which is historically inaccurate. For more biographic details about Tituba and John Indian see Appendix E.

In chapter V entitled "Idol Worship", Tituba and John Indian are also described as dabbling in *maleficium*, which again brings to mind the transcultural memory of the English village woman-as-witch. It also points to the nineteenth-century vilification of Tituba as the catalyst of the Salem witch hunt. Had she not been practising *maleficium* , had she not persuaded Betty Parris, Abigail Williams and their other young impressionable young female friends to join in, their afflictions would not have come about. Beyond that, the implication that the domestic enslaved people in the household of Puritan Minister Parris were witches engaging in *maleficium* is exceptionally provocative – but not so unlikely[221] – and comes very close to making him look like an unsuspecting accomplice.

The narration of the whole event is exhaustive and wittingly unnerving. John Indian,

> [h]urrying along beneath the starless, leaden skies, with the unerring instinct of a brut nature, he made his way over hill, and dale, rocks, briars, and quaking morass, until having entered the intricacies of the forest, he reached a lonely spot... Here he paused for a moment, and took a rapid but keen survey of the place. Apparently he was right – his memory or his instinct had not been at fault; ... [A]h! he has found it ... [T]his was the place he sought.
>
> Hastily scraping away the fallen leaves and dead branches of a former year from the roots of the tree, he drew from his pocket a small spaddle, or trowel, and commenced to dig an oblong cavity about the shape and size of an infant's grave." (Castleton 73-74)

Though at first, the proposition may seem to be that John Indian is a solo man-as-witch, Tituba soon joins him. She too knew the spot. And, she knew what was about to happen there. She knew her role very well. The narrator continues:

> A slight rustle of the brushwood, and beneath the black shadow of the trees a stealthy step is furtively approaching; ... It was Tituba...
>
> [She] began busily gathering together small dry twigs of wood, bits of bark, and fir cones, and built them up, placing them in order as for a small fire ... [W]hen this was done,

[221] About the use of sympathetic and counter-magic in seventeenth-century New England, see sub-chapter 2.2.

> she came to her husband's side, squatting down, like a hideous toad, by the brink of the whole which he was digging – sitting upon her haunches, with her knees drawn up, her elbows resting upon them, and her spread hands supporting her heavy jaws on either side. So she sat, motionless but intent, her snaky eyes never moving from the spot, until John, having reached the object of his search, lifted out something wrapped up in coarse foreign mats." (Castleton 74-75)

Once the object of their quest is found and dug up, the narrator animatedly describes the preternatural ritual, with all the familiar hallmarks of *maleficium* – humanlike statuettes, fire circle, blood sacrifices, herbs, poppets, prayers and incantations – carried out in the thick of the Salem woods by Tituba and her partner, in the worship of some pre-Christian deity. John Indian,

> [r]removing the coverings, he bought to view a hideous wooden figure – an idol, probably – bearing a mocking and frightful resemblance to a human being. This figure was about two feet high, of ghastly ugliness, and coarsely bedaubed with red and blue paint.
>
> Freeing the figure from its mats, John proceeded to set it up before the face of the rock, and behind the little bonfire which Tituba had heaped up ... Joining their hands together to form a ring, the two next danced silently round the slowly igniting fire, with mad leaps and strange, savage contortions of limb and features, until the whole mass was on a blaze, and the red flames threatened to consume them. Then they unclasped their hands, and Tituba drew forth from the bosom of her dress some gum, and herbs, and spices of pungent, acrid odor, and flung them onto the fire, and, making a rude sort of besom of broken green branches, she fanned the rising smoke and curling flames into the griming face of the idol; while John took from his bosom a small new-born pup, and coolly severing the head of the blind and unresisting little victim, held the body above the flames, and let the blood drip over the hissing embers. Next the woman (forgive me, oh! ye of the softer sex) drew from the folds of her dress some rough wooden puppets, or effigies ... [O]ne by one she held them up silently before her husband's face, who regarded them gravely, and nodded to each one in sucession, as if he had recognized or named it, and, as he did so, she thrust them one by one into the

> circling flames. ... [N]ow for the first time they broke silence by giving utterance to a wild, low incantation.
>
> It was a rude sort of rhythmical recitative, of alternate parts – first one and then the other, rising upon their knees and sitting back upon their heels, with brawny arms held out to the frowning heavens, would utter their fiendish jargon in some strange pagan tongue... But at length the unhallowed flame has burned itself out, and the devil worship is ended. (Castleton 74-78)

Tituba's examination also conforms to the Salem court records.[222] However, the extemporaneous information about her is inconsistent. As we have just seen, according to the narrator, Tituba has been engaged in *maleficium* and is the one who exposed the afflicted to it. However, when giving her testimony, Tituba is lying when confessing to diabolism, lying in her accusations against others, because "the afflicted children", the accusers, have instructed her to do so. Tituba is

> [t]he next one brought upon the stand [and] while it is evident she had been in full council with the accusers, was under their control and was well instructed as to all that she was to say.
>
> To this end she begins, like the other two [Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn], by declaring her entire innocence, at which the children appear to be greatly tormented; but as she begins to confess, the children grow quiet, and she herself becomes afflicted ...
>
> The object of all this was undoubtedly to show the moment she confessed her sin, and repented of it, she had broken loose from her compact with the devil, and her power to afflict others had ceased at once; and the devil was [now] wreaking his vengeance upon her through some other of his many confederates.
>
> By her confession and repentance, she had passed from the condition of an *afflicter*, and had herself become one of the *afflicted* ones and an accuser, naming Sarah Good, Sarah Osburn, and others as afflicting and tormenting herself and the children. (Castleton 115-116)

[222] See Appendix E. See also the "Examination of Rebecca Nurse" in Rosenthal pp. 126, 129, 131, 133.

To be sure, Tituba's "whole story is full of absurd and monstrous fancies of devils, etc.". (Castleton 116-117) Despite being the first to offer a thorough confession, she admits to *maleficium* and diabolism here. Tituba carves out the diabolical conspiracy allegedly stirring in Salem. Here are "some portions of her examination." (117)

"Did you ever see the devil?"

"The devil came to me, and bid me serve him."

"Who have you seen?"

"Four women sometimes hurt the children."

"And who are they?"

"Goody Osburn and Sarah Good. I don't know who the others were. Sarah Good and Osburn would have me hurt the children, but I would not." ... There is four women and one man – they hurt the children, and they lay it all upon me." ...

"... Last night there was an appearance...."

"What is this appearance you see?"

"Sometimes it is like a hog, and sometimes like a great dog. ... The black dog said, 'Serve me'. ...

"What else have you seen?"

"Two cats – a red cat and a black cat. ... They said, 'Serve me.'"...

"Did you not pinch Elizabeth Hubbard this morning?"

"The man brought her to me, and made me pinch her." ...

"How did you go?"
"We ride upon sticks, and are there presently."...

"Did you go through the trees, or over them?"

"We see nothing; but are there presently." (Castleton 117-120)

The passages selected by Castleton underscore the main trait of diabolism: compacting with the Devil. They also highlight other characteristics of demonic Puritan witchcraft, such as the familiars, spectral tormentors and the nocturnal transvection to a sabbat.[223] Yet the narrator seems to lack a sound understanding of Puritan demonology when aiming this disparaging rebuke at the Puritan ministers and magistrates:

> [i]t seems strange, indeed, to us that at this senseless babble... grown men, of fair average common-sense and education, could ever have winced and shivered, and turned pale in shuddering horror as they listened; and yet it undoubtedly was so, for puerile and monstrous to us, it seems to have been fully conclusive to the mind of the learned court, for the prisoners were all three committed to jail to await further examinations. (Castleton 120-121)

In Salem... Tituba is (re)created as an evil, cunning, manipulative, vindictive and strong woman who does indeed engage in *maleficium* . Conversely to the other accused women in the novel, Tituba is not redeemed as a woman-as-witch but vilified as an actual witch. She is portrayed as deliberately veering attention to even more accused, boosting the witch hunt further. The counter-memorialisation of Tituba does not occur here. For Castleton, Tituba, the seventeenth-century confessor and accuser, should remain a demonic Puritan witch of Salem as punishment for her inversionary behaviour.

4.3.2.4. Rebecca Nurse

The next Salem woman-as-witch Castleton focuses on is Rebecca Nurse.[224] In the novel, "[d]ear, kind, generous old" Goody Nurse is a good friend, neighbour and landlady to Alice and Elsie Campbell. (Castleton 94) Still, her unsympathetic comments about "the afflicted children" are first

[223] See sections 2.1.3.2 and 2.2.4.

[224] For more biographical information on this key figure of the Salem witch hunt of 1692, see Appendix E.

referred to by Alice who reports them to her grandmother. While the rest of the Salem community pities the afflicted, Goody Nurse lashes out at them:

> "Afflicted children! Indeed! – afflicted fiddlesticks, I say! ... I don't believe a word of it; I believe it's all shamming. If either of my little maids had trained on so at their age, I guess I would have afflicted them with the end of my broomstick. I would have whipped it out of them, I know. They have been left to go with them pagan slaves [Tituba and John Indian]... till their heads are half cracked; and Parson Parris he just hallows and encourages it. If he'd box their ears for them, all around, three times a day, I guess it would cure them." (Castleton 45)

Inversionary in the unabashed delivery of her thoughts, Castleton's recreation of Rebecca Nurse continues:

> "If they are sick, I pity them, with all my heart, I'm sure. For nobody knows better than I do what a dreadful thing it is to have fits. I had then once when one of my children was born. But that is no excuse for letting them disturb the whole meeting-house. If they can't behave, let them stay at home. I say. I believe that Mr. Parris is at the bottom of it all; I don't think much of him, and I never did. ... He aint my minister... he never was, and never will be, and I'm glad of it. I belong to the Old Church, and I never separated from it, as you know; and I only go to the village church when I can't go to town. ... I don't like the man. I won't say he's a bad man, but I don't say he's a good one; and I, for one, won't go to meeting again while those saucy, impudent girls are allowed to interrupt the worship of the Lord. If it is not silly, it is wicked; and if it is not wicked, it is silly; and, any way, I won't go to hear it, I know.'(Castleton 46-47)

Goody Nurse's righteous stance will, however, be costly to her as presaged by her daughter Elizabeth to Alice: "this is no time to be making enemies; and somebody may repeat what she says. ... Mother is a dear good woman as ever lived – she would not hurt a fly; but she is very outspoken, and

there is always an ill bird in the air to catch up such thoughtless words and make the worst of them; and mother is too free – I wish she was not." (Castleton 47-48)

The historical framing of Rebeca Nurse and her family as being part of the few who were less than supportive, not only of "the afflicted children" but of Minister Parris as well, is expounded by the narrator:

> As the girls were regarded with mingled pity and consternation, as being helpless victims of some terrible and supernatural power, they were not punished or reprimanded; as they were some of them members of the minister's own family, and he did not seem to dare to check or blame them, it was of course to be understood that he countenanced and believed in the strange influence under which they professed to be suffering, and of course his belief governed that of many of his congregation.
>
> But all were not so compliant of faith. Several members of the Nurse family and other others openly manifested their strong disapprobation of such desecration of the Lord's house and the Lord's day,and declared their intention of absenting themselves from attendance on the Sabbath services while such a state of things was allowed; and it was afterward noticed that whosoever did this was sure to be marked out as an object of revenge. (Castleton 62-63)

Castleton allots chapter IX entirely to Rebecca Nurse, her family history, and her witch hunt ordeal. "Among the best known, most influential, and widely respected of all the families of Salem village was the large family of Francis Nurse," Rebecca's husband. (Castleton 144) Goody Nurse is described as being

> an eminently Christian woman, full of good words; a regular member of long standing in the mother church at Salem [Town]; but after their removal to Salem village, by reason of her advanced age and consequent infirmities, often a worshiper at the nearer church in the village, although never formally united with them. Goody Nurse seems to have been one of those rarely gifted women who unite the solid worth and excellence of a deeply religious character with the lighter graces of a cheerful and attractive manner; kind-hearted, single-minded, and

> free-spoken… a “beloved and venerable mother [she] refused credence to [the afflicted children’s] pretensions, and had absented … from attendance at the village church in consequence of the great and scandalous disturbances they created there. (Castleton 146-147)

Also, her forthright inversionary manner is not confined to her domestic sphere, which made her a target for the afflicted’s accusations. Indeed,

> Mrs. Nurse, who was a free-spoken, active body, had taken a decided part in these church discussions… No doubt Mrs. Nurse had been free in the expression of her sentiments upon both subjects – it was the nature of the woman to be so; and unfriendly remarks about the children, any doubt of the truth of their statements or the reality of their sufferings, were sure to be carried to them at once, and of course suggested to them new victims to accuse as the authors of all their sufferings and torments. (Castleton 147-148)

As foreshadowed, “at length it was stealthily whispered about that Goodwife Nurse was suspected and was to be cried out upon.” And though initially, “the rumor was indignantly discredited” due to the “quiet, unobtrusive virtues of the aged, Christian, village matron, her well-known charities and kindliness of heart setting defiance to the monstrous charge against her”; soon Rebecca Nurse was “called out” and “several of the afflicted ones had accused her.” (Castleton 148) The narrator continues:

> The mind of the aged and saintly woman could not admit the fact; it was all too unnatural – too monstrous – that her good name be this vilely traduced. …. The pious and loving old woman, the mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother of a large and affectionate family, made no attempt to escape or evade her enemies, as she might possibly have done; but fully conscious of her own integrity, and with a heart full of love and good -will to others, she felt sure her friends, her towns people, and her fellow-worshipers would justify and defend her. … But her inexorable fate was hurrying along; and on the 23d of March a warrant was duly issued against her on the complaint of Edward and Jonathan Putnam; and on the next morning, at

eight o clock, she was arrested torn, sick and feeble as she was, from the clinging arms of her weeping daughters and indignant husband and sons, and brought up for examination… the prisoner and her friends, although fully alive to the disgrace and obloquy of such a charge, did not realize the awful peril of death in which she was now standing.

It was bitterness enough that, sick and feeble as she was in health, infirm and aged, she was taken all unprepared from her quiet and comfortable home, and the tender care of her devoted husband and children, upon a charge so utterly unfounded, and subjected to an examination so harrowing and so disgraceful. (Castleton 152-153)

Rebecca Nurse's examination[225] was presided by magistrates Corwin and Hathorne, but only the latter carried out the interrogation. Castleton again includes an adapted transcription of some portions of the "preliminary examination of this venerable 'Mother in Israel' [which] took place at once in the village meeting-house." (Castleton 153) As in the previous examinations of Sarah Good, Sarah Osburn and Tituba, the afflicted were significant in their damning testimony against Rebecca Nurse :

Hathorne began in this case by addressing one of the afflicted ones :

"What do you say? Have you seen this woman hurt you ?"

"Yes, she beat me this morning."

"Abigail, have you been hurt by this woman?"

"Yes, I have."

Here Ann Putnam had a terrible fit, and cried out that it was Rebecca Nurse who was afflicting her. When Ann's fit was over, and order restored in court, Hathorne continued :

"Goody Nurse, here are two who complain of you as hurting them; what do you say to it?"

"I can say, before my Eternal Father, I am innocent; and God will clear my innocency." (Castleton 154)

[225] See Appendix E. See also the "Examination of Rebecca Nurse" in Rosenthal p. 157.

Here, Goody Nurse comes alarmingly close to heresy for daring to presume to know God's mind and to be innocent in His eyes. As her situation is aggravated by spectral evidence and her behaviour on the stand, Justice Hathorne carries on with his line of inquiry, attempting at every turn to obtain an admission of guilt:

> the wife of Thomas Putnam ... suddenly cried out with a loud voice :
>
> "Did you not bring the black man with you? Did you not bid me tempt God and die? How often have you eat and drank your own damnation ?"...
>
> "Oh, Lord ! help me, help me!" Upon this all the afflicted children were tormented; ...
>
> "Do you not see what a solemn condition these are in, that -when your hands are loosed they are afflicted?"
>
> Then Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard accused her, but she answered:
>
> "The Lord knows I have not hurt them; I am an innocent person."
>
> Then Hathorne continued :
>
> "It is very awful to see all these agonies; and you, an old professor, thus charged with contracting with the devil by the effects of it; and yet to see you stand with dry eyes, when there are so many wet." It was considered one proof of a witch that she could not shed tears...
>
> Hathorne continued: "You would do well, if you are guilty, to confess, and give glory to God."
>
> "I am innocent," she replied, "as the child "unborn."
>
> Then he told her that they charged her with having familiar spirits come to her bodily person then and there, and asked her...
>
> "Have you any familiarity with these spirits?"
>
> "No, I have none; but with God alone." ...
>
> "Possibly you may apprehend you are no witch; but have you not been led aside by
>
> temptations in that way"

"No, I have not."

"Have you not had visible appearances, more than what is common in nature?"

"I have none; nor ever had in my life."...

"They accuse you of hurting them, and you think it is not unwillingly, but by design; you must then look upon them as murderers."

"I can not tell what to think of it." ...

Upon every motion of the prisoner s body the children had fits, upon which Hathorne said:

"Is it not an unaccountable thing that when you are examined these persons areafflicted?"

Seeing that he and all the others believed in her accusers, her only reply to this was:

"I have nobody to look to but God."...

"Do you believe these afflicted persons are bewitched?"

"I do think they are."...

Thomas Putnam s wife had said while in her fits that the apparition of Goody Nurse had come to her at several times, and had horribly tortured her; and then Hathorne asked her:

"I can not help it; the devil may appear in my shape." (Castleton 155-161)

As pointed out by the narrator, "Goody Nurse was a clear-minded but uneducated woman; she held the common opinion of her times she believed in witchcraft, and was willing to allow that the children were bewitched; but she knew her own innocence." (Castleton 160) Rebecca Nurse's inversionary stance comes across in the resolute and heroic upholding of her innocence. As she cries out: "Would you have me belie myself?," she remains determined to assert that she is not guilty, not only of diabolism but of ordinary sin as well. (Castleton 160) Yet her denial ultimately reinforces her guilt as a woman-as-witch in the eyes of the magistrates.

Following on the sequence of the Salem records, once the examination was over, Castleton outlines Rebecca Nurse's imprisonment, trial, conviction, ex-communication from the church of Salem

and, eventually, her execution. We find most relevant, however, the two instances in which the narrator depicts Rebecca Nurse as a woman-as-witch heroine.

In the first one, after “the aged and suffering Christian” (Castleton 167) is excommunicated, the narrator laments

> [h]ow the noble but grief-stricken old woman met this new and most appalling stroke of refined cruelty, neither history nor tradition has told us – but it were needless. Our own hearts can reproduce the terrible picture. We can almost see her aged form, as with slow and fettered steps she passed up the accustomed aisle, with the stern guardians of the law on either side of her, the hushed and awe-smitten crowd shrinking away from the pollution of her touch.
>
> We can see the dim, sad eyes turning their piteous gaze from side to side, hoping to catch one glance of love or sympathy or pity. In vain. If pity or sympathy were there, only the bowed head and averted face manifested it. In that dark hour, like her Master, “the Man of sorrows,” she stood forsaken and alone. We can see the quivering of her whole frame, as the stern, terrible words fall upon her clouded hearing, and see her waver and shrink and totter, as if the summer thunder-bolt had blasted her. It is but for a moment: the weak woman has faltered but the believing disciple stands firm again; she knows in whom she has believed she knows that her “Redeemer liveth;” and trusting in his love and power, she, who has meekly followed his example through life, follows it even now. We see her fold her fettered arms across her submissive breast, as, raising her dim eyes to heaven, she faintly murmurs, in his own words, “Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.” (Castleton 169-170)

In the second instance, Rebecca Nurse’s inversionary stance is counter-memorialised as worthy of the highest praise. The narrator exults that

> ... we are permitted to see a beautiful and softening light thrown over the tragical horrors of this dark picture of fanatical persecution. .... [we can see] the calm, unwavering constancy, and the unbending fortitude of the sufferer herself aged even beyond the allotted “threescore years and ten;” infirm of health, suffering still from the effects of a recent illness and her long

and rigorous confinement no persecution could break down her trust in God, or her assurance of her own innocence and integrity of heart.

> She was urged by her enemies to confess her guilt, and she well knew that only by confession could she hope to save herself from the horrors of an impending and ignominious death; but she repelled them with scorn: "Would you have me belie myself?" and their threats had no power to move her. ... but more precious still was the immortal soul, which put its faith in God, and knew its own integrity. What to her were her few remaining days of the life on earth, that she should barter for them the blessed hopes of the life eternal? and she stood firm. (Castleton 171-172)

We thus find that in Castleton's (re)imagination of Rebecca Nurse, she is not only redeemed as a woman-as-witch heroine, but, in a way, as a Romantic one as well. For, ultimately, she is a martyr of her unwavering love of the true Puritan faith.

4.3.2.5. Mrs. Hanna (Corwin) Browne

We meet Hanna Browne, another of the older women to be (re)imagined by Castleton, in chapter XI entitled "The Merchant's Wife." Not a key figure in the Salem witch hunt – as she was neither accuser nor accused – yet she is collateral damage to it as implied by Castleton.[226]

Mrs. Browne is the sister of Justice Jonathan Corwin, one of the Salem trials judges, and the wife of "the Honorable Colonel William Browne." She lives in the "large house then standing upon the site of the present market-place in Derby Square." (Castleton 174) An honourable lady in good standing, "richly and becomingly dressed," Mrs. Browne is "still a fair and graceful matron although now past the earlier bloom and freshness of her youthful beauty." (Castleton 175)

[226] For more biographical information on this key figure of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 see Appendix E.

During a visit from her brother, Mrs. Browne confides in him how, in these disjointed times in Salem, she feels insecure even within her palatial domesticity:

> "... I feel that I am in the midst of spies and eavesdroppers" she said, glancing fearfully up at the closed windows, and dropping her voice to a still more cautious whisper. "One knows not where to look for treachery now. My power over my own servants is gone, and I am at their mercy. A chance-dropped word, innocent as it may be, may be caught up and twisted from its meaning, and carried to those who will know how to make a fearful use of it. It has come to this, brother, that I, a quiet, home-keeping matron a believing, and, I hope, a consistent Christian connected by birth and marriage with the best and most influential families in the land I, the daughter of Judge George Corwin, and the wife of the Honorable William Browne, dare not, in my own house, to speak ray own mind or order my own servants, lest I should draw down a fearful vengeance on myself or my dear ones." (Castleton 183-184)

Highlighting Mrs. Browne's almost paranoid fears seems double-folded. On the one hand, it speaks to the fact that indeed during the Salem witch hunt some of the accused were of better standing than most.[227] On the other, as we shall see, it foreshadows Mrs. Hanna Browne's tragic ending.

As she continues, the irony which permeates the Salem witch hunt is not lost on her and comes through as implied criticism to the failure of 'New' England: "... I can not bear it any longer. .... I have made up my mind to leave the country." ... "Home to England." .... "If, by the mercy of God, this horrible cloud is ever dispersed, I will return if not, I will remain there. Our fathers left England to enjoy freedom of conscience, and the liberty of thought and speech, and we have been taught to honor them for it. I will go back in pursuit of the same inestimable blessings." (Castleton 184)

Her brother, however, does not commiserate with Mrs. Browne's concerns: "I think you are nervous and causelessly alarmed. What possible danger can reach you, secure as you are in your social and moral position?" (Castleton 185) In her response to her brother's sexist, pompous and oblivious question, Mrs. Hanna Browne retorts:

[227] See section 2.2.1 and Appendix E.

> "Not more secure than others have believed themselves to be, Jonathan. Oh, my brother! think of Mrs. Nurse the purest, truest, humblest Christian; of high standing in the Church, and blameless in character. I knew her well. ... and where is she now? Snatched from the home of which she was the loved and loving centre: reviled and deserted by the neighbors she had served and blessed; excommunicated by the Church of Christ, of which she had long been an honored member; her innocent life lied away by malicious tongues; she was imprisoned for months; she met a felon s death; and her poor remains are not even allowed to rest in hallowed ground. Oh, brother! forgive me if I speak too strongly, but my heart is full of bitterness ; and how do I know if, before another week closes, I may not myself occupy the cell from which she has gone, and my little children be cast out to the mercy of the cold world, as so many other poor children have been?" (Castleton 185-186)

Mrs. Browne then proceeds to share her more than unsympathetic views on the afflicted girls and their precarious role in the Salem witch hunt. As she puts it she "know[s] something of these girls." (Castleton 187) She calls out most of the initial group by name – Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam, Mary Warren and Sarah Churchill – and describes them in less than kind terms such as "artful, designing, false-hearted,""mischievous, malicious," "moved by revenge for fancied wrongs." (Castleton 187) She is convinced that "for months past, indeed all through the winter; these girls have been practicing all manner of charms and enchantments, all sorts of sorceries and black arts, under the teaching of those Pagan slaves of Mr. Parris until their brains are overset, and their sense of right and wrong is wholly perverted." (Castleton 187-188). Mrs. Browne eloquently elaborates:

> "I do not dare to say how far their sufferings and fits are real or assumed. How far they are acting a part I can not tell, of course; but I do believe that if they are not insane, they are themselves bedeviled.
>
> I can not understand why their testimony is so freely taken, while that of others is rejected; these insolent, artful girls, whose flippant and reviling tongues are dealing death so recklessly who are boldly clamoring against lives worth far more than their own why are they entitled to such credence? Tell me, my brother, do our laws condemn one without allowing him a chance to defend himself? and yet, it is well known, these unhappy prisoners are not

> allowed counsel; they are not allowed to speak for themselves, unless it is to confess, and all witnesses in their favor are set aside is this right, is this impartial justice, is this English law ?" (Castleton 188)

Having called out her brother on his and his peer magistrates' gullibility and prejudice, Mrs. Browne concludes: "this terrible power, thus encouraged and helped on by the ministry, the law, and by medical science, is growing daily more and more exacting; do you fail to see that the victims it demands are daily more numerous and of a higher class in life? Tell me, brother, what will you do if they should accuse your wife or me?" (Castleton 189)

On equal footing, Mrs. Hanna Browne carries on her discussion with her brother, challenging him on the many legal fallacies, biases, and the failure to procure justice. She has ascertained them in the trials so far, particularly in the cases of Sarah Good and her little girl Dorcas Good and Rebecca Nurse. But then, perhaps in an attempt to soften her passionate inversionary flurry of thoughts, Mrs. Hanna Browne reassures her brother: "I am but an ignorant woman, Jonathan – wholly unskilled in all these subtle questions. I never, indeed, thought of these things before; but I can not shut my eyes or close my mind to the terrible realities that are going on around me. I have suffered deeply, and thought much, and of course I have formed my own conclusions." (Castleton 194)

For example, Mrs. Hanna Brown's critical understanding of diabolism, as construed in Puritan demonology,[228] and her dismissal of demonic witches:

> "I do believe in persons being bedeviled; but that does not, to my apprehension, imply a belief in witchcraft. ... If the devil hath power, which we dare not deny, surely the Lord God Almighty hath a greater power. I think a person may, by his own act, by means of his own sins, forsake God, and be brought into bondage to the power of the devil. Such a one is bedeviled. But I do not believe the devil hath power to take possession of any innocent soul that trusts in God, and make use of it to torment others; and that, as far as I understand it, is witchcraft being a witch, having power from the devil to torment and bewitch others." (Castleton 194-195)

[228] See section 2.2.4.

In chapter XIII entitled “The Midnight Terror, ” Castleton recounts the demise of Mrs. Hanna Browne. Her descent into devastating illness began

> [n]early a week subsequent to the conversation between Justice Corwin and his sister … [t]hat night Mrs. Browne was oppressed by a strangely vivid and most uneasy dream. … Gasping, panting, breathless, and oppressed, she struggled with this fearful sort of nightmare now half reviving to consciousness, now again sinking down into a sort of conscious stupor, until at length, when the sense of oppression became absolutely unbearable, she suddenly started and awoke – awoke to the full conviction that some one or something was in the room with her. … [a] tall, vague, shrouded figure, dimly revealed to her by the hall window just behind him, is not her husband! not her husband’s the cold, damp, clammy hand that firmly clutched her wrist, and held her one moment forcibly in the doorway, then sternly thrust her back into the chamber, closing the door between them. (Castleton 213-216)

Though the next morning her husband finds out that “the flowering vines around the porch, beneath the window she had found open, were slightly but discernibly broken, trampled, and crushed, as if an expert climber had ascended and descended by that means” he does not inform her of this “for he feared such a confirmation of her story would only lend a new intensity to her belief.” (Castleton 227) Instead, Mrs. Hanna Browne was left to be consumed by what her senses had experienced that night: the “sweet sickening odor,” the “low sweet, wailing symphony,” the “chant by human voices,” and “the rude grasp” of the veiled figure upon her arm. (Castleton 214,215,224) The implication is that Mrs. Hanna Browne may have fallen prey to *maleficium* . Thus, she agonises and wonders:

> [i]f it has come from the invisible world (it may be a warning I know not), we are, of course, powerless to contend against it; if it is (as it may be) the result of earthly malice, our only safety is in silence. I am too well aware that I have already given offense to the evil ones who seem to rule the hour, by the earnest zeal that I have manifested in behalf of my poor old friend, Goody Nurse. I feel that I am watched and suspected the merest trifle, a chance word, a look even, may place me in the same position. Complete silence and total inaction are, I

> feel, my only chance for escape, until you can take me and our children away. My only hope of safety is in being overlooked and forgotten. (Castleton 225-226)

Alas, for Mrs. Browne, a woman of her time,

> the conviction was far too firmly rooted, and she brooded over it in fearful silence day and night. Although in advance of her times in regard to the subject of witchcraft, and looking with scorn and horror upon the mad fanaticism of the multitude around her, she was not, of course, wholly superior to the almost universal superstition of the age she lived in. If the occurrences of that fearful night which seemed burned in upon her heart and brain were natural or supernatural, she could not tell; either way they boded her no good, and they haunted her. ... Her naturally delicate, nervous organization could not long bear up against so intense a pressure, and her health gave way. Slowly at first, and almost imperceptibly, but daily more and more speedily, the sad change came; and as the summer drew near to its close, she drooped more and more. ... The most skilled physicians were called in, but the case baffled their highest art; for she alone knew what had sapped the springs of life, and she would not tell. ... (Castleton 227-229)

Mrs. Hanna Browne is not a woman-as-witch. Nevertheless, Castleton (re)creates her as a Romantic heroine whose health is fatally chipped away by the terrifying conviction that she had angered a faceless enemy with preternatural powers, i.e. a demonic witch.

4.3.3. The Romantic heroines

In this mnemonic (re)imagination of the Salem witch hunt, Castleton makes it clear that "the *dramatis personae* of [her] story" are Alice Campbell and her grandmother Elsie Campbell. (Castleton 30) Neither of these characters is based on actual key figures of the Salem witch hunt. Yet, they

strengthen Castleton's counter-memory of key women-as-witches of the Salem witch hunt by comparison. Alice Campbell behaves like the young women in Salem should have acted. And Elsie Campbell survives her ordeal, just like the victims of the Salem witch hunt should have.

4.3.3.1. The Campbell Girl: Alice

The inversionary elements in her behaviour suggest that, to Castleton, Alice is the wholesome model that the young women of Salem should have emulated. Though Castleton (re)imagines Alice as an adolescent experiencing the Salem witch hunt first-hand, she does not get caught up in the histrionics and maintains a mature and enlightened attitude. For example, about Sarah Good and Sarah Osburn she argues: "these two poor old creatures what power can they possibly have? Grandmother, I don't think I believe one word of it." (Castleton 100) In other words, she does not believe the claimed demonic suffering of afflicted children or their accusations.

A beautiful girl, inside and out, Alice

> was gloriously fair, but with cheeks and lips vermeil with the fresh hues of health. A figure full and free as Hebe, yet with the light grace of the wild gazelle; with long, dancing, chestnut curls, just touched with gold when the light wind tossed them into the sun's golden rays; and clear blue eyes, in which youth, health, and summer held innocent merriment. As gay and guileless as a child, yet as gentle and loving as a woman she was the idol of her grandmother, with whom she still lived in the humble home in which we first found her. (Castleton 31)

In addition to her scepticism about the Salem witch hunt happenings, Alice presents several other inversionary traits. A double orphan, of an unknown paternal progeny, being raised by a Scottish grandmother, who never lost her thick Scottish accent; Alice also keeps questionable friendships. First, her only childhood friend is a native American boy name Pashemet. Alice

had one friend, her constant companion and welcome attendant in all her wanderings: this was Pashemet, a young Indian lad some years older than herself. Pashemet belonged to the tribe of the Naumkeags, once a powerful and prosperous race, whose hunting-grounds had included the site of the present town. He was the son of one of the Sagamores, or chiefs, who had embraced Christianity... No two beings could have been imagined less alike than the calm, grave, self-contained Indian lad, and the quick, impulsive, demonstrative daughter of the white race; and yet, in spite of this contrast (or, possibly, in consequence of it), a warm and tender friendship had sprung up between them, and drew them strongly together.

Pashemet was six or seven years older than Alice, and while she looked up to him in loving confidence and warm admiration, he watched over her steps with the tender affection of an elder brother and the careful guardianship of a loving father. (Castleton 26-27)

The only male role model in her life, the relationship between Pashemet and Alice was mutually rewarding and they became as close as blood siblings would. Much of Pashemet's influence helped to shape her into a more independent, self-reliant young woman skilled in a set of virile tasks. For example,

[h]e taught to his delighted listener much of the fanciful lore of his own people... and in return Alice imparted to him the limited education she had received from her grandmother. He taught her to use the Indian bow with an almost unerring aim, to feather the arrows, to weave the nets, to climb the hills, to walk on snow-shoes. He procured her a light Indian canoe, and taught her to guide it over the water with a skill and dexterity scarcely less than his own. He led her to the haunts of the fairest flowers and the earliest fruits. (Castleton 27)

Alice also keeps company with the Nurse family. She visits them and even takes meals with the whole family at their farm:

"I have been up to Nurse s Farm, grannie." ...

> "You see, I meant to go up only as far as Salem Corner; but it was so pleasant, I kept on just for a walk; when who should come up behind me but Rebecca Preston and Mary Tarbell, Landlord Nurse's two married daughters, and with them their youngest sister, Sarah Nurse. Well, I knew them all, and Sarah Nurse I used to go to school with; and so we walked along talking together, and when I would have turned back they would not hear of it: I must go home with them, and stay to supper, and see their mother." (Castleton 39, 40-41)

After the execution of Rebecca Nurse, Alice does not stay away to avoid any social criticism for her association with the family of a convicted witch. Instead, because "Alice was naturally affectionate and grateful," she commiserates with them and does not shy away from openly expressing her condolences and support for the Nurse family. (Castleton 197) When her grandmother inquires "[t]o Nurse's Farm? ... Oh, Allie, my dearie, how could ye hae the heart to go there?,",Alice replies with fortitude:

> "Say, rather, how could I have the heart to keep away," answered the sobbing girl. "Think how kind and good she was to me, and how much I loved her; think, too, what they have suffered. Oh, how could I keep away, and let them think I believed all those lying, infamous charges? think that I did not love her, and sorrow with them? Oh, I could not keep away; and though to go has almost broken my heart, still I am glad I have been. ... And when I was coming away, they took me round to see where they had laid her; but they told me not to pause or even turn my head as we passed the spot, for fear it might betray it, for they think her enemies may still be on the watch to steal her away.
>
> "And so they came with me to the gate, and kissed me, and thanked me for my sympathy, and I came away; but I am glad I went, grandmother, sad as it was" (Castleton 200, 206)

Alice's inversionary conduct goes even beyond, her relations. Though seemingly unsuitable conduct for a young lady, Alice "still retained all the impulsiveness of her childish days." (Castleton 80).

She very much enjoys exploring the outdoors by herself and often engages in leisurely physical activities. On one such occasion,

> [a]s Alice stood and gazed, her spirits rising within her at the profuse beauty showered all around her, she experienced that almost universal desire for rapid motion which is oftenest expressed in the common words "wanted to fly;" but as that kind of locomotion was then, as now, out of the question, her next thought was naturally of her little boat, which was moored close by.
>
> In a moment, without pause or reflection, she had embarked and rowed gayly from the shore. ... [H]er spirits rose with the accustomed exercise, from which she had been debarred all the winter; and as she plied her oars vigorously and skillfully, bursts of glad girlish laughter, and snatches of sweet old songs – ballads learned far away in the Scottish home of her infancy – floated after her. ...
>
> She had meant but to take a short pull, just to practice her arms; but the beauty of the day tempted her on farther and farther... [T]hen, resigning her oars, she reclined lazily in the boat, suffering it to drift slowly homeward on the incoming tide; while she lay building castles in the air, such as youth and idleness are wont to make pleasure-houses of. (Castleton 81-82)

Finally, Alice's inversionary behaviour excels in the face of her grandmother's witchcraft ordeal. Determined to keep her grandmother from the noose, Alice reaches out to her good friend Pashemet for assistance. He comes through for her for "he was true to his pledge. Even then he was in town with a party of his bravest young warriors." (Castleton 306) Alice remains steadfast by her side until the very end and on the day of her grandmother's execution

> ... another vain attempt was made by Alice's friends to withdraw her from the awful scene; but the faithful child would not be removed. ... Clinging tightly with both her clenched hands to the back of the cart, to support her tottering and uncertain steps, with her uncovered head bent down upon her hands, and her bright, disheveled hair falling as a veil about her, Alice followed as the melancholy procession moved onward... (Castleton 305)

But before Pashemet and his warriors can spring into action,

> [i]n one of the very narrowest portions of the street a gay cavalcade was seen approaching their gay military harness ringing out and glittering in the sunbeams.
>
> It was the new governor, Sir William Phips, who had only arrived in the country in the previous May; and who was now riding into town, accompanied by a party of officers, most of them composing his suite, and one or two personal friends. (Castleton 309)

With selfless disregard for her safety and while everyone else submissively observed her grandmother's execution procession, Alice

> [i]n one instant, straight and clear as a flash of light from heaven, broke in upon her clouded mind an intuitive ray of hope; in one moment she had quitted the cart to which she had convulsively clung, and with one wild bound, like the death-leap of some maddened creature, she sprung directly in Sir William's path, and flinging up her wild arms to arrest him, she raised her sad, beseeching eyes to his, and faltered out her impassioned appeal: "Mercy! mercy! Your Excellency; pardon – pardon – for the sweet love of heaven – she is *innocent*! Oh! as you hope for mercy in your own sorest need hereafter, have mercy upon us mercy! mercy!" (Castleton 310)

Castleton opts to have Alice rewarded for her inversionary behaviour. Her grandmother receives clemency and has her sentence reprieved. And Alice meets her long lost father for the very first time.

4.3.3.2. The Campbell woman: Elsie

By 1692 Mrs. Elsie Campbell "was little changed; she was still a hale, handsome, and resolute, though now an elderly woman. But she did not show her years, if she felt them." (Castleton 31) As a Romantic heroine, she gets to mend her broken heart again and again. When Alice confronts her grandmother about the missing details of her mother's passing and who her father was, Elsie imparts her backstory. It is described in chapter XVI, entitled "Goody Campbell's Story."

As a young lass, Mrs. Elsie Campbell falls in love with a soldier she marries without her father's blessing. Having married her only for her father's wealth which she would now not inherit, her husband "cursed [her] to [her] face, an swore [she] haed cheated him into marryin a penniless lass." (Castleton 251) In her own words:

> I wa' his wife, an' I luved him, in spite o' a' his onkindness. So I held by him for ower two years – through guid an' evil – till my little baby wa' born, an' thin jist what my father haed foretold kim true – the regiment wa' ordered to move, an' he went whistlin' awa', an left me wi' the puir wee thing lyin' by my side, an' na' the first haf-penny to live on, an' rne too weak to ettle to win ane. ...
>
> In less than a month I got news o' the shipwreck o' ane o' the transport ships, an' my husband wa' lost. Thin my father an' mither forgave me, an' took me hame to their hearts ance mair; an' whin they deed long after, they left me weel-to-do." (Castleton 251)

Then, Mrs. Elsie Campbell's daughter Alice (senior) as a young woman falls in love with "a young mon, the on' y son o' a wealthy English family" but "she wa' very fair, an sweet, an' innocent, an' the young mon made luve to her." (Castleton 252) Though Alice and the English gentleman are truly in love and want to get married, this time it is Mrs. Elsie Campbell who refuses to bless the match. She bemoans:

> "But I reaped as I haed sowed my – bonnie Alice fled fra' my hame, as I haed fled fra' my father's. Ah! then I kenned what my ain sin haed been; then I kenned what my father and mither haed suffered for me, an' I felt I haed na' a word to say.
>
> In a day or two mair I got letters, beggin' me to forgi'e them (ah ! hoo could I refuse – I that haed dune the varry same thing myself?); they wrote me that they were privately married...
>
> Weel, time wint on; I got letters fra' my Alice regularly, an' she wa' so happy, her husband wa' a' she could ask - an' I tried to feel satisfied." (Castleton 253-254)

Mrs. Elsie Campbell's satisfaction is, however, brief. Soon, because Alice's husband had to accompany his father on a medical trip, she was left alone though pregnant. To remedy the situation, "as Alice wa' in delicate health, her husband wad na' lave her amang strangers, an he haed gi'en consint she should come harne an' stay wi' me while he wa' gone." (Castleton 254)

While preparing for her daughter's arrival, Mrs. Elsie Campbell "chanced upon Jeannie Evans, the sister o' the lad that [she] wanted Allie to marry, ye mind, an' [she] kenned weel she haed na' forgi'en Allie for the slight she felt we haed put upon her brither." (Castleton 255) Despite being fully aware of Jeannie Evans's retaliatory tone, Mrs. Elsie Campbell, without questioning, is startlingly quick to believe her piece of gossip: "My faith! hoo blind people kin be whin they don't choose to see! ye dinna think it is a real marriage yet, do ye – an' he sendin' her aff like this?" (Castleton 255) So, again Mrs. Campbell is distraught for Alice (senior) marital status.

On Alice (senior)'s first night back to her mother's home, she goes into labour. According to Mrs. Campbell, "[t]hat night, alas! she haed to ca' us up – oh, that wa' a dreadfu' night! an' before the mornin' broke on us, you, a puir, weakly baby, wa' prematurely born, an' Alice – my treasure, my darlin', my on'y child – wa' gaen fra' me forivver." (Castleton 257) Mrs. Campbell, once more, "wa' mad – mad!" with the pain of losing her only child. (Castleton 257) Then and there Mrs. Campbell makes a life-altering decision for her infant granddaughter: she decided to conceal little Alice's existence from her father, and had done so successively.

Alice does not accept kindly Mrs. Elsie Campell's actions and harshly chastises her grandmother, no doubt again causing her grief. With a "raised and passionate" voice, Alice argues:

"But, grandmother, that was unjust. You took the angry word of a revengeful woman against him, and gave him no chance to disprove it. That was cruel – cruel and unjust. I will not so lightly accept the story of my mother s shame and my father's dishonor. I will hold fast by the loving trust my sweet mother had in him. ..."

"Grandmother," said Alice, sternly, "I remember only that for more than eighteen years you have deprived my poor widowed father of his daughter s love, and me of a father's love and care. ..."

"Grandmother, you are cruel – cruel! you have no mercy you have no pity for me! You stab me to the heart, and then ask me for love and gratitude you have no mercy, none." (Castleton 260-261,263, 264)

But Mrs. Elsie Campbell's woes are far from over. First, due to the stress of the altercation, Alice falls gravely ill and lies in bed, feverish, for days due to her physical frailty. Then, before having a chance to nurse her beloved granddaughter back to health, Mrs. Elsie Campbell is accused of being a witch and ripped away from her home.

Facetiously, what prompted the accusation against her was Alice's words: "[a]s Alice uttered these words, with raised and passionate voice, a slight rustling under the open window attracted Goody Camp bell's attention, and fearing they might be overheard, she rose to close the sash; but as she did so, a retreating footstep, and a low, mocking laugh, floated back to her, and convinced her that they had had listeners..." (Castleton 264) After three days of being bedridden, "Alice awoke from her restorative sleep, calm and refreshed, and with a clear brain" just to be told by their household servant Winny that "Goody Campbell had been cried out upon by the accusing girls the constables had come with a warrant that morning and taken her away to jail, to be tried as a witch, like poor Goody Nurse!" (Castleton 273, 274) Mrs. Elsie Campbel is now also a woman-as-witch, and Castleton features her fictional ordeals in chapter XVIII, entitled "Mistress Campbell's Trial."

Like Rebecca Nurse, Mrs. Elsie Campbel initially feels shielded by her shroud of innocence from the ludicrous accusations of witchcraft against her. According to the narrator, in her mind,

Of her impending danger she took not the slightest heed indeed, she scarcely realized it; for, conscious of her own entire innocence of the crime imputed to her, and ignorant that she had any enemies or illwishers, she never doubted that the whole thing was a mistake, and that it needed only to be explained to be rectified at once; and she confidently made this assertion. But in answer to this, the officers produced the warrant for her arrest, in which her name was plainly inserted.

Still, though surprised and indignant at the ignominy and shame which such a charge, even if unfounded, must leave upon her hitherto spotless good name in the little community, she felt no personal fear for the result. [Indeed, h]er knowledge of her own entire innocence made the unfounded charge seem almost an absurdity in her eyes. She could not realize that others, from a different standpoint, took different views; and she felt a thorough contempt for what seemed to her the willful blindness of her accusers and prosecutors, and this sentiment she did not hesitate openly to declare.

It was strange that her reliance upon her own innocence should have rendered her thus fearless, with the tragic fate of poor Goody Nurse before her, for she believed in her friend s integrity as fully as in her own. (Castleton 276-277, 280)

Worried about Alice, without faltering

[s]he told the officials of the dangerous nature of her grandchild's illness, and tried to touch their feelings. She promised, with solemn protestations, that she would not leave the house, but would consider herself their prisoner and wait, and be found there, ready to answer any future legal summons, if they would only leave her for a few days to watch over her sick child. But she pleaded in vain; her words fell upon unheeding ears. ... [T]he very imputation of being a witch had shut her off from all human sympathy... (Castleton 277-278)

Mrs. Elsie Campbel's inversionary behaviour is evident during her examination. Despite her utterly fictional examination, it is a mnemonic (re)imagination of the inversionary behaviour of the actual

women-as-witches of Salem in their defiance of the Puritan authorities and demonology. As sympathetically touted by the narrator:

> ... Elsie Campbell, with her heart full of anxiety for her child, and bitter contempt and hatred of her judges, was a sharp match for the sharpest of her opponents.
>
> Reckless of all possible consequences fearless by nature– sure that a trial must make her innocence clear to all – and stung to madness by the uncalled-for malice of her accusers and the injustice of her confinement, her sharp Scottish shrewdness and quick mother wit flashed back upon them in angry, scornful words. ...
>
> [B]elieving the charge brought against her had originated in some absurd ignorance, which would be brought to light in the course of events, and wrould triumphantly vindicate her good name, she could not believe that even her persecutors really believed in it; and exasperated at what she considered an unauthorized and unlawful interference in her private rights, in compelling her to leave her home and the bedside of her sick child, she assumed a defiant and even contemptuous attitude, to which the sharpness of her foreign tongue gave perhaps additional point. (Castleton 281, 284-285)

Mrs. Elsie Campbell's examination, also presided by judge Hathorne, further showcases some of her inversionary traits, which include decrying diabolism. In fact, "the whole conduct and bearing of the prisoner, both in confinement and upon trial, was rasping and irritating in the extreme, and such as to increase the prejudice already existing against her." (Castleton 284) It can be extrapolated from the following examples:

> "Elsie Campbell, look at me. You are now in the hands of authority; answer, then, with truth."
>
> "I kinna answer ye wi' ony ither. The truth is my mither tongue – I aye speak it."
>
> "Tell me, then, why do you torment these children?"
>
> "I dinna torment them. I niver hurted a bairn in my life I d scorn to do it."

"But they say that you do."

"I kinna help wha' they say. I am jist an honest, God-fearin' woman; I dinna ken aught o' yer witchcraft." ...

"Here are three or four witnesses who testify against you."

"Weel-a-weel, an' what kin I do ? Many may rise up again' me – I kinna help it. If a be again me, what can I do ?"...

"Do you mean to say that we are blind, then?"

"I suld think ye maun be, if ye kin see a witch in me." ...

"You may have engaged not to confess your sins."

"I wa' na' brought up to make confessions to men I am nae papist."...

"Do you not believe there are witches in the country?"

"Sure, I dinna ken there is ony; I am but a stranger an' sojourner here what do I ken?"

"Why do you laugh?"

"Did I laugh? I did na' ken it; but weel I may at sich folly."...

"But who do you think is their master?"

"That is nae affair o' mine – I dinna serve him."

"But who do you think they serve?"

"Aiblins they be dealin' in the black art, ye maun ken as weel as I."

(Castleton 282-287)

After a lengthy but "rather pointless examination," in which Mrs. Elsie Campbell remain resolute in her righteous stance, the witness for the prosecution provides her accusatory against Mrs. Campbell and her fate is sealed:

At last, after a consultation, the magistrate informed her that one of her accusers had testified that she had been known to torture and cruelly use the young maid, her own grandchild, living with her.

"Alas ! that she is na' to the fore to speak for me," said poor Elsie; "*she* wad na say sae; but she is lyin' deein' at hame, her lane, puir lambie." ...

The wily accuser saw her advantage, and hastened to press it on.

"She has said so she has been heard to say it, and you yourself have heard her."

"She ha' said it – said what?" said Elsie, starting like a war-horse at the sound of the trumpet.

"What ha she said ?"

"That you were cruel to her; that you had no mercy ; that you stabbed her to the heart and tortured her."

As these terrible words fell upon her ears, a burning flush rose to poor Mistress Campbell's brow; too well she remembered Alice s passionate and heedless words too clearly she realized now who had been listening beneath her window on that sad night; and as the utter impossibility of ever clearing herself from this new and horrible imputation broke upon her, she wrung her fettered hands in anguish, sank back and groaned aloud.

Of course the impression this made was overwhelming: it was regarded as a clear and signal proof of her guilt. ...

"Do you deny the truth of it, then? Can you say that your grandchild never said it?"

"Na!" said the unhappy prisoner, trembling with wrath and shame," I'll na' deny it; but they were thoughtless, heedless words, if the lassie did utter them, and had naught to do wi' witchcraft." (Castleton 288-290)

Between Mrs. Elsie Campbell's inversionary behaviour, and the false testimony offered against her, just like the previous (re)imaginations of the women-as-witches of Salem, she also had no chance of overturning the expected guilty verdict. The narrator concludes:

> Insinuation, question, and cross-examination failed to draw any thing more from the wary and determined old woman, and she was remanded to jail.
>
> Of course the impression she had made was a very unfavorable one; her sharpness had irritated her judges, and the pertinacity with which she refused to gratify the curiosity of the court was looked upon as a sure test of her guilt.
>
> Twice more she was arraigned, and still she refused to give any further explanation of the ominous words; and her refusal to comply being regarded as contumacy and contempt of court, in addition to the primary charge against her, the verdict of the jury was "Guilty" and she was condemned and sentenced to death. (Castleton 291)

Even so, what is most significant here is that Mrs. Elsie Campbell is a (re)imagined Romantic woman-as-witch heroine. Thus, Castleton counter-memorialises her outcome. First, a solemn narrator chronicles:

> The last terrible moment had come. .... the unhappy prisoner came forth not led forth, for the brave and dauntless old woman came out unsupported, and walking with a firm, unfaltering step.
>
> There was a marked and striking difference between Goody Nurse and Mistress Elsie Campbell. Both went to their death unflinchingly; but one had the meek resignation of a humble Christian, the other the fierce heroism of a Stoic: the first was saintly, the last was majestic.
>
> Conscious of her own integrity, and of the falsity of the malicious charges against her, and full, as we have seen, of unmitigated contempt for the tribunal before which she had been so unjustly condemned, the spirit of the old Scottish Covenanters was roused within her. ... [S]he was fixed in her purpose that no trembling nerve, no faltering step, should gratify the malice of her enemies by a token of her suffering.
>
> So she came out, disdaining support, and would have mounted the fatal cart unaided, had not her manacled limbs forbidden it. (Castleton 304-305)

Then, Mrs. Campbell's heroic posture wins over any of the initial senseless, biased fanaticism of the Salem bystanders, and the narrator emphasises it:

> The street was crowded with spectators, as upon the former executions; but it was clearly evident there was a change of sentiment in the lookers-on. Possibly the thirst for blood had now been satiated, and had died out the tide of popular feeling was evidently turning. The faith in the accusers, once so unquestioning, had been lessened: the girls had become too confident and too reckless. ... now, instead of the coarse jeers, curses, and bitter invectives with which the howling mob had followed the first sufferers, there was, as they passed along, an awed and respectful silence broken only now and then by sobs and sighs, and half-uttered exclamations of "God help them." (Castleton 307-309)

Lastly, Mrs. Campbell's innocence and her inversionary behaviour – in this instance, her self-righteous, defiant fearlessness in the face of an impending prejudiced execution – are vindicated by another audacious act, earlier discussed, i.e., when Alice steps in front of Governor Phips's cavalcade serendipitously passing by and pleads for her grandmother's reprieve.[229] As a result, "one of the officers in the company, who had come out from England with the governor, galloped to the scene, and forcing his horse up to the side of the death-cart, peered with quick, inquiring eyes into the face of the prisoner" recognises Mrs. Elsie Campbell and is recognised in return by her as Alice's father. (Castleton 311) At this moment, Mrs. Elsie Campbell is literally and figuratively set free by the truth. Her death sentence is overturned, hence her innocence is acknowledged. And her long-time burdens are shed as she finds out that indeed her daughter was a proper married woman, making Alice not a natural but a legitimate child:

> "An' wa' she your wife – in varry deed?" asked the still doubting listener, with her keen, penetrating eyes fixed full upon his face.

[229] See section 4.3.3.1.

> "Was she my wife? Good heavens! Yes ten thousand times yes! who dares to question it? Yes! my sainted Alice was my dear and honored wife; did you did any one ever doubt it?"
>
> "Yes," said Elsie Campbell, meekly, "I did doot it – I wa' told it wa' a sham marriage, an' I believed it; I thought you had done me an' my dead a mighty wrong, an' I could na' forgi'e it. But I see now that I hae done ye a mighty wrong, an' I dare na' ask ye to forgi'e me." (Castleton 314)

While Alice returns to England with her father, Mrs. Elsie Campbell opts for spending the rest of her days, blissfully, in Scotland:

> The little Lowland farm, once occupied by her parents, and which had been her own patrimony, was now again, she had learned, for sale. It was the scene of her own childhood and youth. It was consecrated to her by the tender memories of her parents and her only child. Here she was born. Its kindly roof had given her a shelter when she came back to it a deserted wife or desolate widow.
>
> It was near enough to England to enable her to see and hear from her beloved grandchild regularly; and the quiet grave – yard where her parents slept was now to her the dearest spot on earth. She would return there, to await the close of the eventful life which had there begun… (Castleton 323-324)

Ultimately, in this mnemonic (re)imagination of Mrs. Elsie Campbell as a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine, we find Castleton both redeems her in (her)story and in the history of the Salem witch hunt.

4.4. ***South Meadows: A Tale of Long Ago* by E. T. Disosway**[230]

Disosway is cautious in asserting that “[m]ost of the facts here cited are historical” and that “[m]uch that may possibly seem extravagant has been taken from the authentic accounts of the Salem witchcraft trials, and is in some cases a verbatim reprint.” (Disosway iv) Though the diegesis in this novel unfolds within the historical context of the Salem witch hunt, it does not strive to convey historical accuracy about the key figures involved in those events, i.e. the actual afflicted, accused witches and the magistrates.

Being the daughter of Reverend Gabriel Poillon Disosway – a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church and author of several historical works – may explain why Disosway opts for educating her readers, whenever the historical fiction allows, on the practices of the “early Puritans.” (Disosway 29) For example, the narrator or one of the other characters elaborates on such Puritan tenets as the quest for freedom of worship and speech at the back of the Great Puritan Migration, “[t]the observance of the fourth commandment,” and “the long Puritan Sabbath;” “the bare walls and rigid simplicity of the Puritan house of worship”; the adherence to their grave, sober and demurred manners; the history of the US Thanks Giving; the uncertainty of being one of the Elect, and the inescapability of being born into ordinary sin. (Disosway 29, 40-41, 42, 46-49, 57, 98-107) In addition, and most pertinent to our discussion, several precepts of Puritan demonology are also much debated throughout. Indeed, the resulting tone is simultaneously too pious, dismissive, critical, and atoning. In other words, according to Disosway, the early Puritans were just people of their time who did not know any better. Indeed,

> [w]e cannot believe that all who proclaimed themselves bewitched were cold-blooded hypocrites; would not have been carried to the length of giving over their fellows to punishment and death. Some were, doubtless, hypocrites; others were ignorant; a few, perhaps, used accusations of witchcraft as a cloak to cover a malicious and revengeful scheme; but civilized human nature, on the whole, would recoil from such atrocity. (Disosway 242)

[230] For a bio-note about the author, see Appendix D.

Though they should be understood and forgiven, their comportment in the Salem witch hunt should be counter-memorialised as a cautionary tale.

Similarly to Lee and Castleton, Disosway introduces her reasons for composing this instance of historical fiction about the Salem witch hunt. She finds it "incomprehensible that the delusion of witchery" such as this one "should have received so little attention at the hands of either the historian or the writer of fiction," except perhaps for Charles Upham[231] and "his admirable work", which gave "an exhaustive history of the subject itself." (Disosway iii) However, in her opinion, not even Upham accounted properly for "the influence of this extraordinary delusion, and the insight it affords into the character and social life of the Puritan colonists." (Disosway iii)

Disosway is also astonished about how the then-American historical novelists "could [not] find in this dramatic period a very wide range for [their] creative fancy," leaving the field "almost entirely neglected." (Disosway iii) Thus, by authoring this novel, Disosway intends to remedy the situation, even if only slightly. Indeed, according to her, *South Meadows* "may be of interest as illustrating how insidiously the superstition entangled even the most intelligent minds, and led many into excesses under the belief that they were doing God service." (Disosway iii-iv)

Suggesting an attempt on Disosway's part at a semblance of historical integrity, the (re)presentation of the Salem witch hunt in this novel is carried out by two distinct voices. On the one hand, an omniscient narrator and on the other, the voice of one of the characters: Ida Beresford. In her journal, she narrates the events and conversations she witnessed and partook in, along with her most private inversionary thoughts and opinions about them. The journal entries pertain to chapters VIII through XIX, with a final one – chapter XXVI – being the book's final chapter. However, the journal entries lack precise dates, making for a vague timeline. Disosway's choice of inserting Ida's journal is another example of early Puritans' commonplace behaviour. In Ida's own words, in her attempt to become a better, less "unmaidenly" Puritan, in the journal her uncle gave her to keep her "from mischief and idleness," she commits to the page "many things:" her "bad thoughts" and her "good actions." (Disosway 66, 75)

[231] For more about Charles Upham and his historical work titled *Salem Witchcraft*, see section 3.3.1.

4.4.1. A plot summary

The novel begins on a pleasant June evening two centuries earlier when the ship St. George from Old England was approaching Boston harbour. Onboard, among the Puritan and Anabaptist voyagers, the orphaned Episcopalian Beresford sisters: Allison, the elder, eighteen, blond, with blue eyes, and Ida, a brunet. (Disosway 5, 7) Though the sisters were unaccompanied, a short, thick-set sailor named Jack had kept a close eye on them ensuring their safety. (Disosway 5,7)

Allison and Ida had travelled to New England to become wards of their only living relatives: Ebenezer, Martha Fairfax, and their adolescent daughter Ruth. A fervent Puritan, Ebeneezer was their uncle on their mother's side. Still, he had been estranged from his sister Allison (senior) for thirty-four years before Ebenezer Fairfax had fought in the civil wars. Yet his sister married an Episcopal, who died a few years later, and her two children were cared for by friends who provided for them. When she died, her children, at her request, were left to the care of her brother. (Disosway 16 -17) And though "not a spark of affection kindled in Ebenezer Fairfax's heart when he saw the two figures of his nieces, clad in mourning, standing by Jack's side on Boston pier," he felt it was his duty to assume the responsibility to take care of his nieces, as he did with every burden which it had pleased Providence to lay upon his shoulders, conscientiously and without flinching, serving God in his day and generation." (Disosway 15, 17)

Allison's and Ida's New England home was South Meadows, the idyllic Fairfax farm where a "low, stone farm-house stood on a gentle rise of ground, which sloped gradually down to the pasture meadows on the left. On the right the descent was precipitous, and a cheerful brook, shaded by large chestnut trees, babbled noisily at the foot of the hill." (Disosway 12) A thrifty and prosperous farm somewhere in the neighbourhood of Salem, they had a water mill, a dairy, chickens, ducks and geese, cattle and horses, a herb garden with bee hives, orchards, medicinal plants and decorative flower gardens, and a large barn which like the main house was "built for their children's children." (Disosway 12-14)

When Allison and Ida arrive at South Meadows, they are met by their aunt Martha and cousin Ruth whose "faces were not inviting; smiles seldom lit up a kindly expression, and they were not forthcoming at the first sight of the unwelcome strangers." (Disosway 24) The remaining farm dwellers – Job the farm servant and "Sing Bird, an Indian serving-woman" – were just as unwelcoming. (Disosway 24) Allison and Ida are shown to "the little lean-to chamber." It is a "narrow, comfortless

apartment, uncarpeted, unadorned and furnished only with the bare necessaries of a sleeping room." (Disosway 25)

For the next following years, Allison dutifully labours to repay her aunt and uncle's "bounty and kindness" by "active assistance in household duties." (Disosway 26-27) Unlike her younger high-spirited sister Ida, Allison is dutiful and hard-working to the point of exhaustion and detriment to her health. She is also mindful, and forbearing, and expresses her opinions only to Ida. However, she fails to win over her stern Puritan relatives. Cousin Ruth and aunt Martha become increasingly unsympathetic towards her. They resent Allison for inadvertently making Ruth's childhood betrothed, Mr Joshua Campbell, enjoy her fleeting company far too much and for being too kind towards Sing Bird on her sick bed.

Before long, "[s]trange and terrifying rumors daily reach [South Meadows] from the town of Salem Farms, where it is said witchcraft has broken out." (Disosway 144) Thus, after the death of Sing Bird, a red heifer, a brindled cow and a black colt, soon followed by Ruth's afflictions, aunt Martha and uncle Ebenezer were irrevocably gripped by Minister Cotton Mather.[232] In his undisputed demonological stance, the Devil was at work in South Meadows. Ultimately, "Ruth accuses ... Allison of tormenting her by devices obtained from Satan." (Disosway 192) Minister Cotton Mather examines Allison, who maintains her innocence and rejects having engaged in diabolism. As Allison is taken to the Boston prison for further examination by Cotton Mather and other ministers, Ida runs away from South Meadows. She finds refuge with Mr Joshua Campbell's aunt.

As a result of yet another gruelling examination by Cotton Mather, during which Allison adamantly denies being a witch, she is sentenced to long-term imprisonment. The poor conditions of the prison worsen her already failing health. Released from prison into the care of a nearby devout older woman and a physician, Allison passes away alone, without being granted her dying wish to be with her sister Ida one last time.

The narrative of the Beresford sisters and their ordeal with the Salem witch hunt ends on a bittersweet note. Ten years after Allison's demise, a nostalgic Ida sits by her sister's grave and tells us about her recent engagement to dear Mr Joshua Campbell.

[232] For more on Minister Cotton Mather see Appendix D.

4.4.2. The Devil bewitches South Meadows

Often throughout the narrative, several of Disosway's characters and the narrator seem to voice the author's knowledgeable grasp of Puritan demonology and the transcultural memory of the English demonic woman-as-witch. Let us observe a few instances more closely.

On one of his routine visits to South Meadows, Mr Joshua Campbell, while having an animated discussion with his cousins Allison, Ida and Ruth, and aunt Martha, expounds on how he is very much aware of witch hunts back in "Old England". He states:

> "I have recent news from Old England. It is said that two more witches have been sentenced to die the death of the guilty. I pray that none may ride on clouds or broomsticks to this new land. I suppose they deserved their fate, for both of them were prodigiously old women, with hollow, red eyes, shrivelled skins, and figures bent with the weight and infirmities of fourscore years and ten. Verily, signs unmistakable, which Dame Nature unkindly sets upon all who live beyond their appointed years; so Satan clutches and makes them his tools, and gives them over to dark and mysterious wiles until they are released from further obligations to Beelzebub by drowning or burning." (Disosway 83-84)

In Mr Campell's mischievous tone, several stereotypical characteristics of a woman perceived as a demonic woman-as-witch[233] – old age, transvection, demon familiars and diabolism – are evident. While teasing his younger cousin Ida about Sing Bird because of her pre-Christian beliefs, he jokingly cautions her:

> "But if you see Sing Bird riding on a broom, you may be assured she is bound for Egypt, that land of darkness, so long famed for magic and sorcerers. Keep her in at night, little cousin," he said, speaking to me, "so that she may not bewitch the cattle; and, above all, watch the gray cat lying on yonder hearth, and see that Sing Bird doth not change shapes with the dumb beast. They have a wise way of discovering these servants of Lucifer across the ocean. There

[233] See sections 2.1.2. and 2.1.3.

> they bind the witch hand and foot, and then she is thrown into the nearest pond. If she swim, she is doomed; if she sink, she dieth a happier death, and is relieved from all charges of mysterious intercourse with Satan." (Disosway 84-85)

Lastly, though Mr Campbell does "repair to the Sacred Scripture for edification, doctrine and instruction," as a good Puritan should, he does, however, refute demonic witchcraft and defiantly asserts: "I thank God I am not fond of this dreadful drollery; and also that I am not a poor, miserable old woman, to be hanged or drowned for living to be old and miserable." (Disosway 85)

In chapter XIII, Ida describes when South Meadows receives the visit of a most "honoured guest": "Cotton Mather, son of the godly Increase Mather, who discourses over long on every Lord's day ..." about such Puritan tenets as the inherent ordinary sin of all women and their feebleness in warding off the Devil.[234] (Disosway 117) The sexism is particularly aggravating for Ida. In her words,

> the discourse concerned the woman as being the first in the transgression, being deceived readily by Satan in the form of a serpent. It damped my spirits greatly, and inasmuch as he pointed out so distinctly the sin of our sex, the guilt of the human race seemed resting upon my own shoulders. I would that woman had not been the first to err, but if Adam had lived longer, perchance, he would have learned more courtesy, and assumed his own share of the sin. This ever to me has been a proof that man was not more noble than woman. (Disosway 118)

During his stay at South Meadows, Cotton Mather initiates and discusses "witchcraft and sorcery" at length with his host, Ebenezer Fairfax, in the presence of Aunt Martha and the young impressionable girls, Allison, Ida and Ruth. (Disosway 129) Cotton Mather lectures on how he

> has both known and seen holy people who have suffered torments from the vile arts of men and women who have sold their souls to the Evil one. Some have confessed this openly; Satan,

[234] See section 2.2.1.

> it seemeth, has come to them in the guise of a black man, bidding them sign their names in a little black book. This having been done, power is given them to torment not only the bodies, but the souls of their fellow-creatures – the Evil one holding forth promises to be redeemed according as they serve him. One good woman was assaulted by many spectres with covered faces, who besought her to write her name in the little book, and tormented her in the cruelest manner when she resisted their solicitations. (Disosway 129-130)

Here, Disosway depicts Cotton Mather referencing the inexorability of diabolism in the context of Puritan demonology. Namely, a woman covenanting with the Devil, who appears in the guise of a black man, by signing his black book to serve him as a witch and recruit other witches in exchange for rewards, which include spectral transvection.[235] What is more, the legitimacy of the confession is not questioned by Minister Cotton Mather but conveyed as factual and absolute. Despite it, a calm uncle Ebenezer reverently defies Mather's views on the subject of witchcraft and diabolism, its existence and propagation in New England. Moreover, Ebenezer Fairfax utters doubts about the Devil's agency over Man, similar to Puritan divines such as Bernard, Dalton, Perkins and Increase Mather.[236] He could not believe that Satan possessed such power over humanity. Indeed, "[t]he evil imagination of man runneth into mischief continually. It would be a sorry day if New England condemned witches and wizards as Old England has done in the past. In the counties of Essex and Suffolk it is said that within the space of two years above two hundred persons were indicted for this crime, and above the one-half of them executed." (Disosway 130)

The cultural memory of the English witch hunts in Essex and Suffolk, England, between 1644 and 1646, is thus very much present in his mind. He is uneasy that a witch hunt like the one led by Mathew Hopkins, the self-proclaimed Witch-Finder General, could happen again in *New* England, led by Puritan holy men like Cotton Mather. In truth, Ebenezer Fairfax

> even doubted the tales that were repeated concerning a certain Margaret Rule, who had been reported as being bewitched. He also said that it would ever remain as blot upon the fair fame of Governor Winthrop that he had presided over the trial and signed the death-warrant of the first witch executed in New England. It had been proven that this person – one Margaret Jones

[235] See section 2.2.4.

[236] See the previous reference.

– cured miraculously by a touch of her hand, or by the use of medicines unknown to the most skilful leeches of the day, and had made certain predictions which came to pass as she had said.[237] (Disosway 130-131)

Thus, Disosway makes a pious Puritan like Mr Ebenezer Fairfax come perilously close to the same inversionary heretic stance that any seventeenth-century Puritan could have had and perhaps should have had. Not only does he dismiss witches, diabolism, and counter-magic but he also has misgivings about the credibility of the afflicted and the efficacy of the touch test.

To settle the whole matter and persuade Uncle Ebenezer, Cotton Mather elaborates on one final argument: the supernatural vs the preternatural. He argues that,

> "[w]e live under the New Dispensation. The days of miracles have ceased, as I understand the Scripture. The God of the Israelites wished to suppress the wise arts and vile, deceptive, false sorceries brought from out the land of Egypt, a land that hath ever been given over to darkness and superstitions. God wished to suppress this spirit of divination, which was sought by the Jews and was a relic of heathenish slavery. I have ever believed that Samuel was seen only in the imagination of the wicked King Saul. Miracles were wrought in the days of old to show the power of the Almighty to a rebellious and ignorant people. I have ever deemed a miracle a supernatural display of the power of God; surely, it cannot have fallen upon Margaret Rule!" (Disosway 132-133)

In other words, in the context of seventeenth-century Puritan demonology, God's *miracula* do not occur anymore. Extraordinary events, good or bad, are preternatural, i.e. the Devil's *mira* carried out by his witches.[238] Unyielding, Mr Ebenezer Fairfax "differed from his learned guest," for the time being. (Disosway 133)

---

[237] Margaret Rule was a girl from Boston who claimed to be afflicted. On September 10th 1693, having examined her, Cotton Mather declared his conviction of the truth of her statements. See Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World.* Margaret Jones was found to have caused pain and sickness, and even deafness by her touch, according to John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, who was a judge at her trial. See *Winthrop's Journal*, *History of New England 1630-1649*, p. 344.

[238] See sub-chapter 2.1.

Soon word from the town of Salem Farms reaches South Meadows:

> Nearly every family bewails the affliction of a member, and the number is still on the increase. The minions of Satan set upon the victims, scratching, biting, pinching them, and throwing fantastic visions before their open eyes. Some fall into fits, which are said to have something diabolical in them. They become deaf, then dumb, then blind, and sometimes all these disorders come together upon them. Their tongues are drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders and elbows are out of joint, and they make piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, the marks of these wounds committed by invisible hands being plainly seen. (Disosway 144)

Mr Ebenezer Fairfax remains at first unconvinced, and argues "that there be as many lies as lines in all these tales." (Disosway 144-145) Indeed, not even the "many witch-books" authored "by Sir Matthew Hale, Richard Baxter, Sir Thomas Browne, and others of note," quoted persuasively "at the trials of those accused of sorcery," could convince him. (Disosway 145) However, after a series of baffling bouts of illness in South Meadows, Ebenezer and his wife begin to fear that the Devil draws near. In a conversation with his nephew Joshua Campbell, Ebenezer expresses his first doubts:

> "Uncle Fairfax, can it be true that you also believe in this puzzling and terrifying superstition? Are we to be falsely accused, dragged from our homes to prison and torture by the malice and spite of our enemies? Surely the Prince of Darkness hath not received this power from our gracious Creator. Have you weighed all the dangers and perils that may follow this madness ?"
>
> Uncle Ebenezer shook his head. He paused a long time as if in great doubt, and finally said: "Nephew, I am all in the dark. I pray for light. My reason sayeth ever, 'Believe it not; it is a delusion and a snare; but Cotton Mather, the Scripture, and godly men urge otherwise." (Disosway 158)

Here Master Campbell goes on a frenzied speech, "for this matter weighs heavily upon [his] heart." (Disosway 159) He tries vainly to convince his aunt and uncle of the unlikelihood of a witchcraft outbreak in Salem or that the Devil has come to South Meadows. Joshua Campbell argues:

> "This extraordinary disorder or delusion is daily on the increase. Lives will be sacrificed, misery spread, and dire confusion wrought, before men will listen to the dictates of reason. We must either believe, or disbelieve and set faces as flint against this mischief, and beware of lighting a torch whose flames will be inextinguishable. ... Many things are incomprehensible in every act of our daily life" said Master Campbell. "Is not the act of walking a never-ceasing mystery? A mysterious disease has broken out in this community why should men ascribe it to Satan's influence, and consider other contagions and plagues as judgments from the hand of the Almighty?" (Disosway 159-160)

But to no avail. Mr Ebenezer Fairfax "now believes with Cotton Mather and a host of holy men wise in learning and Scripture, that sorcery and witchery pervade the land." (Disosway 168) But laymen and women do too. Job, the farm help, believes in witches. In a conversation with Ida, Job outlines his simple-minded views:

> "I am not learned in the Scripture; I dare not go against Master Mather and all the other godly men of New England. They are appointed to teach me; they lead, I follow." ... "I have seen what men called a witch," he said. "A poor, lone, lorn woman, who had passed beyond threescore years and ten. She dwelt in a little hut near the forest, with a black cat for her company. She was accused of dealings with the Evil One. But who can say? I once saw her gathering sticks for firewood, and the smoke issuing from her chimney came from piney wood; but there were those on her trial who did swear that it was blue, and smelt of brimstone." (Disosway 170-171)

While Disosway implies that the "godly men of New England" are to blame for instigating the Salem witch hunt, she also highlights that Job's concept of woman-as-witch mismatches that of the

"godly men" he blindly follows. (Disosway 171) Indeed, Job's English demonic village woman-as-witch differs from Cotton Mather's Puritan demonic woman-as-witch.[239] This is further confirmed by Job's use of counter-magic to protect the farm animals. He feeds the cow "a red cob" of corn and ties "a red cord" or "a scarlet thread," fastened around the necks or legs of the animals. He feels accomplished as their guardian for now "[t]he witches won't touch that. ... It is said they fear and dislike the color." (Disosway 183)

Despite it all, in the end, the Devil bewitches South Meadows. and not a shred of doubt remained in the minds of Martha and Ebenezer Fairfax. Their cherished daughter "Ruth is bewitched" and "an evil spirit has her fast in his toils," as they find "her lying on the floor, a most dismal spectacle." (Disosway 186)

4.4.3. Ruth Fairfax: (not) the afflicted

Ruth Fairfax, with dark hair and eyes, though "she was several inches taller," like her mother, was a "thin, spare" young woman with an inviting semblance and a smile that "seldom lit up a kindly expression." (Disosway 24, 68, 133) She has been raised to be a virtuous dutiful young Puritan woman. Yet, her general behaviour is inversionary. She is pampered, often idle, brazen, callous, self-righteous, and lacking in Christian charity. Ida ruthlessly describes her in the following way:

> Allison hath often said, "There is good in every creature made by God." I have not found any good in Ruth. She is a cruel woman. ... If my cousin were a soldier, she would never show pity; she would give no quarter to a fallen foe. She could not show mercy for the dying lying at her feet.
>
> I have seen her pinch Tabby for standing in her path. She will beckon Watch, the dog, to her side, and then thrust him away without a crumb. She sayeth to Sing Bird, if her hand and foot are wearied and her back aching from her constant labor, "Go on, go on!" She would thrust and pinch Allison also if she dared, for she hates her; I have seen it as she watches her

[239] See sections 2.1.3., 2.2.2. and 2.2.4.

> with her sullen, cunning eyes. ... [S]he hath the heart of a craven. She clings to me as we pass through a dark passage, or in the darkness of night. She will never be left alone; her chamber door is ever left ajar, and oftentimes Aunt Martha is summoned hastily to her bedside when she cries out in sudden fright, by reason of terrible visions and troubled dreams. (Disosway 70-72)

Also, on occasion, while aunt Martha, Ruth, Ida and Alison were working,

> ... Ruth, very soon tiring of the task, left her place and sat upon the cricket which Ida had vacated. She folded her arms and looked steadily in the fire, evincing no attention or interest in what was passing around her. She had a headache, and could not endure the scent of the apples. Ida understood her cousin's way of shifting disagreeable duties upon the shoulders of another person; she glanced at her sister and then at Ruth, who, catching her eye, knew its meaning. Her brow darkened... (Disosway 53)

The pretext is that Ruth is "sorely affected" by "old aches." (Disosway 56, 60) Indeed, "she hath suffered greatly ever since her birth. This thorn in the flesh was given when she was but a small child, and it has not departed; her days have been often made wretched and her nights unrestful by reason of it." (Disosway 60) Her condition also seems to excuse Ruth even when she is more abrasive towards everyone, including to her devoted mother:

> Ruth entering the room her mother stopped speaking and hastened to make her comfortable in the arm-chair, placing it in a quiet corner and bringing a pillow for her head.
>
> "Nay, mother;" she pushed it aside impatiently; "come not nearer;" she closed her eyes wearily, and then opening them again and seeing her mother's patient sad face, and her cousins standing near her, exclaimed, angrily:
>
> "Have I not been worse a thousand times? Go away, I want nothing. Will you not go, I say?"
>
> Her mother turned from her with a deep sigh. (Disosway 62-63)

Her ailment seems to worsen as Master Joshua Campbell now visits South Meadows more often, but not for her sake. Instead, he enjoys engaging in lively exchanges with Ida while Allison demurely avoids his attention. Having been betrothed to Ruth since they were both in their cradles, Joshua Campbell – a tall, fair young man from Boston – is her first cousin, the son of her aunt Carver, on her mother's side, whose late husband, like Ida and Allison, was an Episcopalian. (Disosway 62, 50-51) Ruth realises that Allison is the object of his affections, not her. In one of his visits, as Joshua Campbell departs, "Ruth bursting into a paroxysm of tears, her mother hurried to her and held her head tenderly against her bosom as she bathed it gently, and endeavored to soothe and allay her agitation. Ruth's sobs grew fainter, and finally she was led away to her own chamber… ." (Disosway 59) On another occasion:

> Joshua Campbell, taking off his hat, turned this time in earnest towards Boston-town.
>
> Ruth was weeping, laughing, and shrieking hysterically as Ida entered. She was in the "dolours terribly," as Aunt Martha said, while she bathed her temples, stroked her dark hair, and with great solicitude and anxiety endeavored to soothe and quiet the excitement that distressed her child.
>
> The sounds could be distinctly heard outside of the door, and both Ida and Allison wondered at Master Campbell's departure at that moment, when his betrothed was struggling with pain. Why did he not at least remain until she had grown calmer, and the worst symptoms of her nervous disorder had abated? The mystery remained unsolved, and it was long before he paid another visit to the farm of South Meadows. (Disosway 67-68)

From then onwards, "whenever Master Campbell inquires if Allison be ill or well when she is out of sight, or busy with household duties, Ruth greatly mislikes this act of courtesy. Her dark brows meet together, and two unlovely ruts fret her forehead, and her glance is black and mistrustful." (Disosway 89) Finally, one day, having escorted Allison safely home from an errand, at night, during a storm, Joshua Campbell took his leave, indefinitely, because of the heated exchange between them himself and aunt Martha:

> "We are all grateful," said Aunt Martha. "But I have been taught that it is indecorous and unseemly for young men and maidens to wander for hours in lonely places."
>
> Allison sank upon a chair; the blood left her cheeks. But Master Campbell's face reddened; he cared no longer to dissemble his anger. He struck a great blow with his fist upon the wooden table.
>
> "By heaven! When the pure and innocent are thus judged by professors, what can the vilest sinner expect from their hands?"
>
> "I am not thy judge," Aunt Martha said, feebly striving to quench the fire she had kindled. "I have only uttered the opinion of the world ."
>
> He checked another angry exclamation. ... He left without any further farewell... [Ida was] sure he will never cross this threshold again; and [Ida was] more certain now that he will never marry my cousin Ruth. (Disosway 113-114)

It follows that the inversionary aspect of Ruth's behaviour intensifies. On the one hand, her condition is still not on the mend, and on the other, her Puritan piety seems increasingly waning:

> Cousin Ruth cannot stand extra tasks, and she would rather sit by the fire and watch us as we work busily at our different duties. She feels the cold, and it is more comfortable by the great hearth; but she takes good care of her gown, lifting and laying it carefully over her knees, so that the heat will not fade nor scorch the green taffetas, which she has lately had remodelled and fashioned more modishly. I think she will wear it when Cotton Mather comes, though I doubt if he take pleasure in maidens' gowns and the like vanities. (Disosway 121)

Moreover, Ruth, who witnesses the discussion between Cotton Mather and her father, Ebenezer Fairfax, starts taking a keen interest in demonic witchcraft and how witches must be punished by death. (Disosway 131-132) Indeed, "Ruth fixed her dark eyes upon the speaker's face, and drank in eagerly all that he was saying. [Ida had] never seen her more interested in any matter than she appeared to be in the witchcraft question." (Disosway 133)

Ruth's interest is further peeked by Ida's finding: in the bottom of a chest, hidden away in the dark closet, "a printed pamphlet, and on the outside of the discolored brown pages [Ida reads] the names of Edward, Helen and Elizabeth Fairfax."[240] (Disosway 135-136) Reading it, Ida learns about their great-grandfather, Edward Fairfax, who firmly believed that both his daughters, "Helen and Elizabeth were bewitched by a woman called Sharp, whose white cat tormented them in divers ways and in many disguises. This woman was tried, but escaped punishment. Anne, an infant, was born, but died at four months. Her death was laid to the wiles of the woman Sharp's wife, through witchcraft..." (Disosway 138) Before Ida had a chance to put it away again, Ruth took the pamphletbut before she could read much further, her father, Ebenezer Fairfax "gave it but one look, then he took it from her hands and cast it into the flames," for it was "a black, dolorous thread" in the history of the Fairfax family (Disosway 139-140)

In Ida's ominous opinion "[i]t is better for Ruth not to have known the fate of the bewitched woman, for her nature is weak and distrustful and given to superstitious fancies..." just like the one of Helen Fairfax, who, according to family tradition, "could easily be persuaded to believe in the fancies and vagaries of her disordered imagination, which produced fantastical and diabolical visions." (Disosway 141-142)

Ruth gets so entranced by it all that she begins seeding the delusion of being herself afflicted. She claims to have experienced the Devil first-hand, in light of her inability to carry out her most basic Christian tasks:

> "It exists; of this I am certain," said Ruth, in a low voice, while her head still rested on the casement. "It must be so for last Saturday, in the evening, sitting by the fire, my mother asked me to go to bed. I told her I would first go to prayer, and when I went to prayer I found I could not utter my desires with any sense, or open my mouth to speak. My mother did perceive it, and came toward me. After this, a little space, and I did according to my measure attend to my duty; but now it is clearly revealed that the heathen woman wrought this confusion, for in

[240] On pages 137-138, Disosway offers an amalgamation of several passages quoted from pages 7, 43, 46 and 47 in the witchcraft pamphlet titled *Discourse of Witchcraft: As it was acted in the Family of Mr Edward Fairfax of Fuystone in the County of York in the year of 1621*. Edward Fairfax was the natural son of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the elder of Denton in Yorkshire and a half-brother of Thomas Fairfax, 1st Lord Fairfax of Cameron. A poet and a celebrated translator, he was a true believer in demonic witchcraft. And as Disosway explains, "[t]he case of Helen Fairfax is a well-known tradition in the celebrated Fairfax family of England." (Disosway iv)

looking upon her while she lay upon her bed, her shuddering and shivering made me to shudder and shiver also, and when she closed her eyes I closed mine likewise."

"It is even so," said her mother. (Disosway 160-161)

Ruth continues by casually pointing out other inversionary elements, as innocuous as they might be. Ida describes the conversation, as follows:

> Yesterday she sat by the window with her open Bible on her knee. Suddenly she closed the lids with a sharp click, and called loudly to her mother, who sat near her darning my uncle's yarn hose.
>
> "I can read no more, the words are all flying away from before my eyes. But now I looked out upon the garden; then I fastened my eyes on the words of holy writ, and red and green spots came dazzling and blurring all over the sacred page. What can this mean, mother?"... "I am no dullard, and it hath never happened to me before." (Disosway 182-183)

Before long, "[w]hat hath happened before in the family of Fairfax may come to pass again. The fair Helen was bewitched, set upon by the minions of the Evil One, so she believed." (Disosway 163) Ruth Fairfax starts believing to be afflicted and accuses Allison of being her tormentor. The legitimacy of her affliction is nuanced. Ida in her journal portrays Ruth as a possessed person taking revenge on Allison. After all, Ruth had heard in detail about how the Salem afflicted behaved and how the blame always fell on an accused witch. This is how Ida depicts Ruth's afflictions:

> Cousin Ruth is bewitched; I doubt no longer that an evil spirit has her fast in his toils. When I was summoned to the kitchen, I found her lying on the floor, a most dismal spectacle. Her whole frame was gathered, shivering and writhing, in a heap; her eyes rolled piteously, and turned in their sockets until the whites only could be seen; and ever and anon she gasped out as if choking for breath. "Pins are being thrust through and through my heart." Then for five minutes she spoke no more, but her shivering and shuddering continued until she called out

again in great agony: “They are in my tongue-scorching, red hot pins and needles ! Oh ! Oh ! how fiercely they burn! Take them out ! Help ! help ! Father, mother, take them out!”

She hung out her tongue like a thirsty animal, but refused water when they brought it to her. As I looked at her, I doubted no longer in witchery, but I noted with a shudder that whenever Allison approached her, the pains and convulsions increased. ...

My wits were not all astray. I pulled Allison by the back of the skirt and beckoned her from the room, and said: “Touch her not, for Heaven’s sake; keep from her; do not let her eyes rest on you, for she knows not what she is doing and saying.” ...

At the sound of footsteps, Ruth, who was lying on her own bed, unclosed her eyes. She saw nothing, but the writhing and terrible convulsions began again to deform her frame and distort her features.

I saw my aunt glance at Uncle Ebenezer, ... he seized my hand with an iron grasp, and beckoning to Allison, he led us from the chamber and shut fast the door. “I forbid both from entering yonder chamber. Go not to my daughter’s bedside, nor within sight of her eyes nor sound of her voice.” ...

The night was broken by Ruth’s groans and sobs and cries, now low and wailing, then rising high and higher into shrieks of despair, as she cried that the demon was rending soul and body.

My uncle wrestles in prayer by her side and in the solitary closet; but the spirit is not appeased nor exorcised by these measures; the vexed soul of his daughter is only more troubled; she refuses meat and drink; no healing draught nor wholesome medicine has been administered. (Disosway 186-189)

Outside of Ida’s journal entries, the focus of the narrator is not on the legitimacy of Ruth’s affliction, but on the fact that her affliction is severe and that it is the result of bewitchment by Allison. When Cotton Mather requests for Ruth to be taken to his home so he, along with Judge Stoughton and Samuel Willard, can examine her, the narrator recounts the anticipated instances of convulsions, torments, and spectral evidence:

Ruth was borne in her father's arms; he gently deposited her in an arm-chair, supporting her fainting form, while his wife held her head, and from time to time wiped the moisture that settled upon her pallid brow, though the day was raw and chilly. Fasting, sleepless nights, the excitement of her nerves, and constant use of stimulants, had left Ruth pale and emaciated; her eyes were closed, but when she heard her name she opened them wide, and flashed a wild, bewildered glance upon the sympathizing group who were looking with pitiful interest upon the bewitched maiden. She closed them immediately with a deep groan, as if pained by the daylight. ...

"I would ask," said Elder Willard, at the end of the prayer, "if a skilful leech hath been consulted, and if physic hath proved ineffectual in this case? It cannot be denied that the maiden is sorely afflicted."

"Alas !" said Martha Fairfax, with tears. "Nothing can be swallowed. For the space of two weeks she has not secured an hour of healthful slumber, nor taken a spoonful of wholesome diet. She snatches a few moments of fitful and uneasy rest, ever disturbed by odd fantasies and horrible visions. Her body is wholly wasted away by the disorder of her spirit."

"Whom hath she accused?" questioned Samuel Willard, with great sympathy.

"My niece, Allison Beresford; she alone." (Disosway 229-230)

The belief in Ruth's accusation of Allison is substantiated by her visions alone. Ruth cannot only see the spectre of their deceased servant Sing Bird, but that of the Devil himself enveloping Allison, whose mere proximity exacerbates Ruth's afflictions almost immediately, as testified by her mother, Martha Fairfax:

"My daughter hath suffered greatly since February," continued her mother. "She has had pains in her head, back, and all over her body. She has been pinched by the apparition of Sing Bird, a heathen woman who, I now fully believe, did long since bind herself over to Satan before her decease. I have seen the black and blue marks with my own eyes. And now my husband's niece is ever standing by her side; behind her is the devil, in the form of a black man, or a great hog, or a little dog. Once he was seen in the form of a yellow-bird; and all

these guises come ever with the personal apparition of my husband's niece Allison. When she was removed the evil continued. The pinching and choking have, indeed, ofttimes been augmented. (Disosway 230)

Allison was examined on two separate occasions: first by Cotton Mather alone in South Medows; and a second time by Cotton Mather, Minister Samuel Willard, and judge Stoughton in Cotton Mather's house. On both occasions, Ruth was exposed to Allison's presence; both times, she provides the same sensory performance as the afflicted in Salem. In South Meadows,

> [t]hey placed Allison within sight of Ruth, and her distress was so great and convincing that even my hard heart was moved to pity her. She tore great locks of hair from her head and cried out, in those dreadful dismal tones that are truly demoniac in their sound:
>
> "Pins and needles-red-hot needles are thrust through and through my head and in my heart! Save me, father!" Help me, mother! Deadly serpents are raising their fangs! Save me! Save me!" When the name of the Lord was mentioned she became worse, but whenever Allison was in sight every sign and bad symptom increased with fearful violence. If she raised her hand, Ruth did the same; or made any movement of her body, Ruth imitated it immediately. (Disosway 206-207)

In Cotton Mather's house,

> [a]t the sound of her cousin's name, Ruth opened her eyes; her lip quivered; her face darkened and became distorted with painful twitchings and contortions. The spectators were watching each closely. Allison made no answer. She raised her eyes to Heaven, as if appealing for aid and protection; her lips moved in silent prayer. Ruth watched every motion; she raised her eyes also until the whites only were visible; her lips also moved, and when Allison looked down, she lowered her own again. All this was plainly seen and noted. ...

> [Allison] opened her lips; she sighed; she vainly essayed to speak, but at the moment language failed; her words seemed frozen; and Ruth, to the great horror of all, followed every gesture involuntarily in dumb show.
>
> "Surely, this is strong proof," said Samuel Willard, sadly. "Verily, I would have doubted this had my own eyes not witnessed it." (Disosway 233-234)

Ruth's afflictions are wholly accepted, for as the daughter of a pious Puritan family, she was surely herself a pious Puritan young woman. That, as we pointed out earlier, her disposition as a Puritan is actually inversionary and that she has always had ailments is moot. Ruth now claims that her afflictions are caused by bewitchment and that Allison is the woman-as-witch bewitching her. Against the backdrop of the Salem witch hunt, it is enough proof for the godly Puritan men who attest to her testimony. It is relevant that, though Disosway casts doubt on Ruth, she also offers an explanation as to why Ruth, like the other afflicted of Salem, is so unquestionably believed.

Even before obtaining a confession from Allison, whose strength begins to falter, Cotton Mather receives word that Ruth is on the mend. Hastily her recovery is attributed to prayer. Yet, Allison remains a menacing woman-as-witch, as the narrator suggests:

> For nearly two weeks, Ruth remained in a lethargic state of stupor; stimulants alone kept soul and body from parting. Then a change came; a slow improvement almost imperceptible at first, but hope was gradually entertained of her recovery. She no longer refused nourishment; medicine was duly administered, and her parents with anxiety now had hopes of her ultimate restoration to her usual health, though she was regarded as one who had been raised from the dead.
>
> In the meantime, the verdict was suspended. The prison doors must not be flung open until the patient was certain of recovery and there were no fears of a relapse. Ruth remained for days in a comatose state, half asleep and only partially conscious, yet taking nourishment and medicine willingly at stated intervals, and showing no sign of bodily pain or mental anguish. Yet it was not deemed advisable to inform Allison of Ruth's altered condition, as fears

> were entertained lest she should again exercise the influence she had possessed over her cousin. (Disosway 252-253)

And soon, "Ruth's sleep was regular and sound, all fever had left, and she suffered no longer from the racking pains and aches, though she was faint and her strength exhausted. [At last] she is clothed and in her right mind, as it were. She eateth with visible pleasure, and sleeps well and healthfully; every unfavorable symptom hath departed." (Disosway 257, 266)

One cannot help but notice that Disosway opted for making the correlation between Ruth's recovery and Allison's health deterioration proportionally inverse: the sicker Allison became, the better Ruth felt. Though this oddly implies that Allison was the witch bewitching Ruth, it is ultimately a plot choice made by Disosway for whom, as we shall see hereafter, Allison Beresford, the Romantic woman-as-witch heroine, must die.

4.4.4. Allison Beresford: (not) the woman-as-witch

Allison is inherently inversionary. Firstly, "in figure and features" she"greatly resemble[s]" her "most unfortunate and unhappy kinswoman," her great-aunt Helen Fairfax, the afflicted. (Disosway 142) Secondly, for having "been nurtured in the church of [her] father" an Episcopalian. (Disosway 27) But "[s]he had determined to avoid this stumbling-block — the difference in their religious education." (Disosway 28) In order to make up for it in the eyes of her austere Puritan relatives, she overcompensates and earnestly goes far beyond what is requested or expected from her. Allison naively "believed that love would beget love. She trusted that time and persevering kindness would overcome any prejudice." (Disosway 25) From the beginning, Allison does not wish for her and her sister to be burdensome. She,

> broached immediately the thought that was uppermost in her mind, by saying: "Dear aunt, we cannot be idle drones in your hive. I am young, strong and active; I can be very useful in many ways. Do not fear to appoint me tasks; whatever they may be I will cheerfully do them, for I must work both for Ida and myself. ... We are poor; we are dependants upon the bounty and kindness of my uncle. I would not have it so, but will repay the obligation in part for Ida and myself by active assistance in household duties. I am strong, and can stand burdens which she would faint under." Her delicate, slender figure belied this eager assertion. ... [Yet] Allison's position in her uncle's family was speedily defined. The duties she cheerfully assumed made her very useful, and each day brought an additional labor. ... Every extra service offered by Allison was willingly accepted. Her aunt soon regarded her as a useful and reliable addition to the family ... Her uncle scarcely noted the fact that his niece rose earliest in the morning and retired latest at night. He saw her at the kneading-trough, or at the churn - baking, brewing, washing or mending, and was wholly unconscious that a thousand heavy tasks were imposed upon her. He unwittingly increased the burdens already too heavy for her young shoulders, by calls upon her time for various requests which he knew would be cheerfully complied with. (Disosway 26-27, 31-32)

In addition, Allison "quietly accompanied her uncle to the Boston meeting-house the first Sabbath she passed at South Meadows, and continued to do so with the inmates of the household." (Disosway 43) The lack of

> the ritual and external graces of the Church of England, the bare walls and rigid simplicity of the Puritan house of worship struck Allison with a feeling of loneliness and discomfort; but although missing her own church liturgy, she believed that the same Lord is God over all, and in this spirit of charity, she found that she could raise her heart in communion with her Maker. ... [So] she followed quietly the example of her uncle's family - rising and standing through the long prayer, and sitting during the psalm-singing. (Disosway 48)

Another one of Allison's inversionary traits is her views on Puritan orthodoxy. For example, about the persecution that Puritans suffered in England, she declares that,

> “Godly men and holy women are sometimes carried beyond the limit of pity and mercy in the exercise of their contrary opinions. It has been so in Old England; the Puritans were driven to the New World by the injustice and tyranny of those who had the power to oppress and persecute, and it is not strange, therefore, that they have learned to regard the Episcopal in a measure as an enemy, and look with great disfavor upon the forms of our Church.” (Disosway 61)

Allison also comes across as open-minded and impartial though critical of “godly men,” foreshadowing what is to come later during her examination by Cotton Mather, when she asserts: “[w]e have heretofore heard but one side, now we are hearing somewhat of the other. Good and bad are mixed through both, so it is in every human heart. God is a just discerner. Christ was the only perfect pattern, and he was neither Puritan nor Episcopal.” (Disosway 61)

Similarly to her uncle Ebener Fairfax’s initial stance, Allison comes dangerously close to being a heretic as she also does not believe in demonic witchcraft or in diabolism, though she only dares to say this under her breath in the lean-to chamber. (Disosway 169) She “does not believe in witchcraft… though… many godly magistrates and ministers agree in making laws to prevent evilly disposed persons from harming their fellow-beings by the practice of so-called mysterious arts and magic charms.” (Disosway 86) Moreover, she laments for those who are left with no choice but to confess to diabolism. Allison is “very sorry for any creatures who are made to confess that they are sold to Satan” and she “cannot believe that a good God will allow his creatures to suffer in this way.” (Disosway 134) Allison bases her stance on the scriptures where she reads about “unclean spirits in the New Testament” and how “they possessed no power over any save the persons into whom they entered, and Satan was put to flight and disgrace in his conflict with our Saviour. (Disosway 169)

When she is ultimately accused by her cousin Ruth of being the witch who torments her, much like the women-as-witches of Salem, Allison believes that her innocence will prevail, and all will very soon be well. Her younger sister Ida and her well-meaning friends, sailor Jack and Mr Joshua Campbell, “bade her reflect that the innocent had not escaped [in Salem]. Many still languished in prison; she could not expect that a special providence would be extended in her behalf [and] that she had not yet learned the true temper of the Puritan metal, for if conscience, however misguided, bade it cut sorely and sharply, it looked not to the quality of mercy.” (Disosway 198) Yet, she remains resolute and tries

to ease Ida by saying: "my own conscience assures me that I have no need of fear. Ruth has only one of her bad turns; it will pass away as the others have passed away, and all will be well. ... My innocence, then, must be my protection..." (Disosway 188) Naively, "[h]er trust is in God, and she believes that He will never let her be confounded while her own heart is conscious of its innocence." (Disosway 207)

When Master Cotton Mather comes to South Meadows to ascertain Ruth's afflictions, emboldened by her beliefs, "Allison, stepping forward where she could plainly be seen, said firmly and boldly: "I am no witch. I have no familiarity with Satan or his minions; I know not what a witch is. I am guiltless of my cousin's suffering. I am a poor, helpless, innocent creature. May God have mercy on me, seeing that men have none!" (Disosway 207) Allison's fate now lies in the virtuous hands of a seemingly compassionate Master Cotton Mather. Thus, "it was arranged that she should return to Boston-town with Master Mather. He would take her to his own house till her innocence was fully established, and Ruth had recovered from her disorder." (Disosway 208)

Given the crucial role Cotton Mather is about to carry out in establishing Allison's innocence or guilt of being a witch, Disosway educates the reader about his actual role in the Salem witch hunt and his work in demonology. The narrator is, once again, critical but apologetic:

> Cotton Mather believed that Satan had caused the singular disorder that prevailed at Salem Farms. His connection with the witchcraft delusion is now regarded as a stain upon his fair fame, and otherwise irreproachable character, and in the light of the nineteenth century, the honest men, who spent hours of conscientious praying and fasting over the unfortunate victims of a mysterious epidemic, were themselves given over to believe a lie and delusion. If Cotton Mather was superstitious in this matter, so also were many of his brethren of the Christian Church at that day. ... Old England had provided severe laws against witchcraft, and her Puritan children in the New World carried out the rules of the mother country. (Disosway 212-213)

As Disosway makes clear in her "Prefatory," she was well-familiarised with Upham's work on the Salem witch hunt, which lays much of the blame on Cotton Mather as one of its principal

instigators.[241] However, in her view, Cotton Mather was merely a man of his time, a time when the (trans)cultural memory of the English demonic witch was still prevalent. Thus, the defensive pedagogical tone as well as his subsequent (re)imagination.

For example, the narrator argues, in an apologetic tone, that, previously to the Salem witch hunt,

> Cotton Mather had taken the afflicted, or accused persons, in several cases, to his own house,[242] for the purpose of exorcising the demon, or inducing the guilty to confess and relinquish the fearful practice of tormenting their fellow-creatures by the power obtained from the Evil One. ... The picture of a devout and learned man, undertaking conscientiously and in good faith to expel or exorcise the Prince of Darkness from a young woman by the power of prayer, now excites ridicule. We cannot realize the universal belief in sorcery a relic of the Dark Ages, which at that day ran through every nation, often bursting out in foul deeds of cruel injustice, and ignorant sacrifice of the innocent. (Disosway 213-214)

In Disosway's mnemonic (re)imagination of Cotton Mather, the minister endeavours to exorcise the Devil from Allison and induce her to confess to diabolism. However, Allison is an implausible woman-as-witch. Indeed, Allison Beresford is not "a fearful beldame, with a scowling eye and nose like a pot-hook." She does not "beareth a black cat upon her left shoulder;" does not "hath, a wart over her right eye, also under her chin." Furthermore, she was not "a hag" but "a young woman." Could "the Evil One dwell in so youthful a form?" Were it not "only the aged gave themselves over to Satan ?" (Disosway 215-216, 217) Disosway (re)creates Allison bearing no traits of the (trans)cultural memory of a demonic witch, or of the woman-as-witches of Salem who were significantly older. Indeed, Allison is of the right age to be one of the afflicted accusers. But in her resolve, her inversionary stance was very much like the women-as-witches of Salem. And though "Allison Beresford remained in the house, and under the immediate influence of Cotton Mather, and still asserted that she was wholly innocent of the charges brought against her. Cotton Mather had only made use of prayer and exhortations to

[241] See, for example, Charles Wentworth Upham and his reply to a *North American Review* about his previous publication – *Salem Witchcraft* – *Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather: A Reply.*

[242] See section 2.2.4.1.

confession; these having failed, he felt that it was necessary to resort to other and more severe measures." (Disosway 223)

These "more severe measures" would be devised by Cotton Mather and his fellow co-examiners, judge Stoughton and Minister Samuel Willard, yet only after a harrowing debate about several pivotal tenets of Puritan Demonology among themselves, while also accessing if Allison was a witch or not. It is of note,that some of these tenets are the same idiosyncrasies discussed in an earlier chapter.[243]

One of their concerns is "[w]hether it be not possible for the devil to impose on the imagination of persons bewitched, and to cause them to believe that an innocent person – yea, a pious one – does torment them, when the devil himself doth it. Or whether Satan may not appear in the shape of an innocent and pious, as well as in that of a wicked person, to afflict such as suffer by diabolical molestations." (Disosway 225) One of the judges focused on how "[m]any of the minions of Satan who have brought about this dire mischief in the land have worn an apparent garb of innocence and holiness outwardly, but in the case of the afflicted I have seen, the name of anything good and holy would not be endured." (Disosway 226) Or, if God "may permit Satan to personate, dissemble and thereby abuse innocents and such as do, in the fear of God, defy the devil and all his works." (Disosway 231) But ultimately, Mather, Stoughton, and Willard agree that "[t]he Scripture asserts, and experience confirms, that witches are the common enemies of mankind, and set upon mischief. Otherwise, why is it written, 'The witch shall die ?!' .... The Scripture is imperative; the witch shall die." (Disosway 227, 231)

Before having her fate sealed, Allison is brought to Mather, Soughton, and Willard's presence one more time. Her

> ... easy bearing and calm manner of the supposed witch might have disarmed her judges, had they not been previously advised that Satan in this child of sin wore the guise of an angel of light. ...
>
> "Stand opposite the afflicted person, Allison Beresford," commanded Cotton Mather, "and acknowledge at last that thou hast been tempted, like Eve the mother of all living, by the

[243] See section 2.2.4.

> same serpent, to sin against thy soul, for purposes of thine own we wot not of. Speak, maiden; renounce the devil, and make full confession of thy guilt." (Disosway 233)

Though Allison is urged to confess to diabolism while confronted by her convulsing accuser, her cousin Ruth, she assertively proclaims her innocence instead: "I am no witch; I have no familiarity with the devil. Before Heaven, I am as innocent as any in this place. I know not what a witch is. ... I am no witch; I cannot lie, even to please godly gentlemen," she returned, proudly." (Disosway 234-235) Hence, by uttering only two statements, Allison Beresford is also a (re)imagination of the woman-as-witch of Salem, recreated as a heroine. In addition to her several inversionary traits, she braves her accuser and examiners. She believes herself to be on equal footing with the godly men and with all the Puritans present as far as ordinary sin is concerned – though she is an Episcopalian. And she decries witchcraft and diabolism which makes her also a heretic.

Again, as her woman-as-witch heroine, Disosway does not allow Allison Beresford to be immediately hanged. As an alternative, Allison is "sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment, with prison fare, and a daily examination and attendance from a prudent and godly adviser... ." She is given the chance to admit and admit the sin of diabolism while awaiting Ruth's recovery. (Disosway 236) Her "tender years" and her "very comely appearance" seem to puzzle the biased minds of the Puritan "godly men" who struggle to perceive Allison as a witch. (Disosway 228) Allison's life is spared based on their discriminatory views that older women, rather than younger ones, ought to be witches.

While in prison, Allison naively attempts to make sense of it all. Perhaps "[m]isguided views, combined with a nervous disease of singular nature, produced unfortunate and unnatural results. ... She could not doubt that Ruth suffered physically and mentally, neither could she deny that she possessed an unhappy and mysterious influence over her unfortunate cousin." (Disosway 242) During one of Cotton Mather's many interviews, Allison holds her own when discussing demonological matters with him, reaffirming her innocence, and disavowing his learned piety. One such conversation goes on as follows:

> "I have asserted my innocence; Heaven can judge of the purity of my heart. I cannot explain how these strange things have come about, but I ever doubt that Satan has been permitted

to wreak such ruin and mischief, since a calm and tranquil spirit has given me perfect peace of mind during my imprisonment, and I no longer fear what misguided men can do ."

"Are thy prayers never clouded by the fumes of self-deception? Canst thou repeat the Lord's Prayer without stammering ?"

"Nay," she answered; " it affords me daily comfort, and if by any means my tongue should stammer in uttering the sacred words, I am not the first or only stammerer in the world, Master Mather,"...

"I have heard that in Old England, during the Long Parliament, three thousand persons perished by legal executions for the crime of witchcraft –"

"Sir Mathew Hale and Sir Thomas Browne, gentlemen learned in arguments metaphysical and theological, approved of all that was done," he interrupted hastily. "Alas! does this thought of three thousand lost souls in perdition afford you comfort now?"

"I would say that if the best Puritans condemned these unfortunates to death in Old England, I doubt if mercy be awarded to thirty in New England, who are in their hands. "... Can you explain the suffering of Ruth Fairfax, or advise means for her recovery?"

"God has smitten her with a mysterious disease. I am no physician; otherwise I should endeavor, by the use and skill of medicines, to arrest the disorder. He who hath afflicted, may restore in his own good time. I may not live to see it; my times are in His hand, and His will be done." ...

I would not be shaken from my belief, neither would I willingly lose my confidence in my God, seeing that men have utterly failed me; more than this I cannot say. (Disosway 243-245)

Before being afforded the kindness of receiving the visit of her beloved younger sister Ida or being told about her cousin Ruth's recovery, Allison Beresford passes away. Yes, Cotton Mather, at the very least, releases her from prison and places her under the care of a physician. And, yes, Disosway tries to humanise him by (re)creating a brief crisis of self-doubt. In an inner monologue, he wonders

> “[w]hy doth my conscience smite me sorely? Have I removed my feet from evil? Have I turned to the right hand or the left? Doth not the labor of the righteous tend to life? My soul is melted within me because of this trouble; it reeleth to and fro; it staggereth like a drunken man. Verily I am in the depths of woe. Have I indeed not spoken righteousness or not judged uprightly?” (Disosway 263)

In this mnemonic (re)creation by Disosway, Master Cotton Mather bears the brunt of Allison Beresford’s premature and unjust demise. Still, the bitter irony is that Allison, a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine, can only escape being sentenced to death as a witch if she becomes God’s sacrificial lamb. For, only “Death had set the captive free. The superstition and blind zeal of the age would unhesitatingly have delivered her over to death. But another hand was outstretched a stronger arm rescued her from the scaffold or the stake. In this presence her judges stood still, and knew that “He was God”.” (Disosway 269)

4.5. *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* by C. G. Du Bois.[244]

In her “Preface,” Du Bois emphasises that though this is a work of Romantic historical fiction, its lack of historical accuracy far outweighed by its Romantic characters and events. The author asks the reader to obligingly “overlook various anachronisms of speech which the author of these pages has allowed her characters, – believing that to reproduce with absolute fidelity a past phraseology, one must be more antiquarian and linguist than romancer, and that a faithful historical study can be made by an outline sketch as well as by a finished picture.” (Du Bois 6)

More of a “romancer” than a historian, Du Bois’s choice of title immediately suggests two things. First, Martha Corey is the woman-as-witch of the 1692 Salem hunt of her choice. Second, this Romantic plot is set within the Salem witch hunt context. In her “Preface,” Du Bois also references the torture of Giles Corey, Martha Corey’s husband. About it, she states that

[244] For more about the author see Appendix D.

> [t]he horror of Giles Corey's fate, the *peine forte et dure* inflicted by bis barbarous persecutors under an old half-forgotten law, his slow pressing to death by a heavy weight, and the grim details of the manner of it, may be found described in the histories of the Salem witchcraft, together with the more repulsive features of the witchcraft trials. It seemed needful to draw a veil across this darker side of the subject, and to depend on the reader's historical consciousness for the appreciation of that which is left untold. (Disosway 6)

However, the reader's expectations are entirely thwarted, for, in truth, Du Bois draws a somewhat opaque veil of oblivion over the Coreys in this diegesis. Martha and Giles Corey are not even mentioned until they are introduced in chapter X. Also, they are only featured in twelve out of the twenty-eight chapters of this novel.

Though we find this is a far less well-researched novel than those previously discussed, she provides some insight into the depth of her awareness of the cultural memory of the woman-as-witch in both the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. For example, in one instance, the narrator states: "It was not necessary at that time for any one to discuss the premises in the theory of witchcraft, for it was as generally understood and believed in as is any accepted scientific theory to-day Accepting the credibility of such cases, occurring by hundreds in Europe, and in scattered instances in America, the question was only, Is this a similar and well authenticated case?" (Du Bois 239)

Also, though she realises "the vindictiveness of fear and debasing superstition" of demonic witchcraft, Du Bois seems far more reliant on the nineteenth-century cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt than on the seventeenth-century sources or her contemporary historians. (Du Bois 289) For example, several key historical figures of the Salem witch hunt were used but only to advance the Romantic portion of the plot. Such is the case of Bridget Bishop and Lady Mary Phipps.[245] Thus, we cannot help but wonder about her choice of the title – *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft.* It could be a literary gimmick to ensure a more successful reception of her far more Romantic than historical fiction, which would suggest the pertinence and appeal of the subject of the Salem witch hunt

[245] For more biographical information see Appendix E.

for the end of nineteenth-century American readers.[246] As we shall be detailing hereafter, the more apt title for this novel would be, perhaps, be "Beatrice and Charles: an ill-fated marriage."

4.5.1. A plot summary

Charles Beverley is the only son and heir of Thomas Beverley, an affluent wine merchant and proprietor of a "stately mansion, which was one of the best appointed in London, although in close proximity to the wharves where the wine-merchant's ships lay to unload and receive their cargoes." (Du Bois 8) Also called the "Hermit" by the "various young idle men of his acquaintance," Charles enjoyed a leisurely life spent between the liquor-filled gatherings at his "bachelor apartments" and his "fondness for solitary boating on the Thames" to his parents' home. (Du Bois 7, 23)

Though his father was determined that "Charles should marry no lower than an earl's daughter," Charles Beverly has been romantically involved with Alicia Lee in secrete for a month. (Du Bois 10) Alicia is the ward of Thomas Beverley. The daughter of "a distant relative of the wine-merchant, [who] had offended the staid traditions of the family by marrying a French actress, who had deserted him and their infant child a few years after. When her father's death occurred, Alicia was still too young to remember her parents [so] Thomas Beverley assumed the responsibility of the child's support... ." (Du Bois 8) With "golden-brown hair," "dark gray eyes," a "beautiful mouth" and "a seductive smile," Alicia wins over Charles's heart and "[i]t was arranged that an elopement should take place, and that the lovers should take ship for France, and be married upon their landing at Calais." (Du Bois 12) However, their plans are disrupted when Charles' mother learns about their illicit affair, for Alicia is already married to Dick Hastings, a young yeoman of Hatfield. It was a marriage of convenience arranged to quell Alicia's ill-rumoured reputation as a maiden after spending the night with Dick after a village ball. As soon as the ceremony was over, she "declared that she would never live with her husband, whom she detested" and appealed to the Beverleys to move her to London with them. (Du Bois 15) Though broken-hearted and despondent over Alicia, ever a most dutiful son, Charles

[246] See section 3.3.2.

acquiesces to his mother's plea to end his Romantic attachment with her and to his father's wish to marry Lady Beatrice Desmond instead.

Beatrice Desmond is the only daughter of Lord Harrington Desmond, the Earl of Coverdale who owes Thomas Beverley "an immense sum of money." (Du Bois 21) To settle the account and avoid his financial ruin, Lord Desmond offers his daughter's hand in marriage to Charles Beverley. After a private wedding ceremony at Lord Desmond's home in Coverdale, Beatrice is accosted by her cousin Capitan Percy Desmond. He loves her, though very much unrequited, and will stop at nothing to separate her from her new husband. Capitan Desmond informs her that Charles is already married and "has deserted a lawfully wedded wife," Alicia. (Du Bois 45) As she is also committed to winning Charles back by any means necessary, Alicia willingly joins forces with Capitan Desmond and lies to Beatrice by recounting her love affair with Charles, showing their love letters and concluding: "I am loath to bring sorrow upon you, my lady… but when I heard my husband had deserted me for you… ." (Du Bois 46) Steeped in shame and desperation, Beatrice foolishly scurries away with Capitan Desmond to London, where she is to sail to France and seek refuge with a relative. However, Beatrice finds out that Capitan Desmond intends to go with her. Suspecting his less than honourable intentions, Beatrice boards, on her own, "the 'Rose Algiers,' owned by Sir William Phips, and that it was bound for Boston, in the Colony of Massachusetts" instead. (Du Bois 57) Not without first, sending Charles a note, stating: "I heard from Alicia Lee that you have deceived me by a false marriage, being wed to her. You will never see me more. I write this, for it comes to my mind that I may be suspected of fleeing with Percy Desmond. I hate him with all my heart. I go alone." (Du Bois 63)

Once in Boston, Beatrice travels to Salem with Bridget Bishop, whom she had befriended during the voyage. Beatrice becomes first a servant and then a thriving cook in Mistress Bishop's inn. Until one stormy night, in walks, Charles accompanied by Reverend Parris. Recognising him, Beatrice panics and flees. She runs into Giles and Martha Corey's wagon outside the inn. They were considering staying there overnight, but Beatrice convinces them to carry on to their farm. As Mistress Bridget Bishop tirades over the girl cook who left suddenly, Charles realises it must be Beatrice and urges Reverend Parris to follow her with him. They run into the Coreys in distress as their wagon is stuck in the river. Charles valiantly rescues them but gets hurt, and his horse runs away with precious cargo. In the saddlebags, Charles has the papers necessary to convince Beatrice of the truth of his story and the validity of their marriage: "letters from her parents, and from the clergyman who performed the ceremony, and proofs of Desmond's treachery, and the perjury of Alicia Lee… ." (Du Bois 97)

Now taken in by the Coreys, though Beatrice admits having feelings for Charles, she will not take him at his word. Charles tries to recover the saddlebags with the papers, but Reverend Parris denies ever finding them while intentionally keeping the papers from him. Charles then seeks the assistance of Lady Mary Phips to send a letter to his father back in England, requesting duplicates of the papers that will exonerate him in Beatrice's eyes. All the while, Reverend Parris undermines his efforts by sending Capitan Desmond a letter urging him to take the necessary measures to stop the duplicates from being sent. Instead, Capitan Desmond and Alicia Lee voyage over to Salem.

Upon arrival, Capitan Desmond and Reverend Parris firm a mutually beneficial alliance against Charles Beverley. As part of the plan, Alicia runs into Charles and tricks him into boarding a ship where he is made prisoner. To have his life spared, Charles must exile himself with Alicia on a West-Indie island and write to Beatrice, letting her know that he is now happily married to Alicia. He refuses and, with the help of one of the sailors, they run the ship aground and take refuge on the sailor's home island. Sure that Charles is lost to her, Alicia commits suicide with an indigenous poison and bids him farewell with her dying breath.

Back at the Coreys' farm, Beatrice learns how to spin and patiently awaits Charles when she is surprised by Captain Desmond's visit. Neither Beatrice nor Martha believes Demond's tales. Beatrice wishes to remain with the Coreys, who promptly offer her their protection against Capitan Desmond's violent advances to whisk her away. Infuriated, Capitan Desmond leaves, promising swift retaliation. Two weeks later, Beatrice receives word from her step-aunt, Mrs Betsey Plunkett, who tries to convince her to believe Capitan Desmond and return to England. But Lady Phips, who Mrs Plunkett calls for to convince Beatrice, has by now received the duplicates of all the papers which confirm the excellent word of Charles Beverley.

In the meantime, "Salem Village was stirred to its very centre" by witchcraft. (Du Bois 240) Before long, Martha Corey is accused by one of the afflicted girls of sending her spectre to torment her. By association, Beatrice is also accused of being a witch. While they are imprisoned, Charles Beverley returns to Salem. As soon as he learns of his wife's predicament, he turns to Lady Phips, who only agrees to issue a release order for Beatrice. Accompanied by Mrs Betsey Plunkett and her husband, Charles and Beatrice sail safely back to England. And, "[t]he news of Martha Corey's sad fate was the first break in their happiness. Until then, they had hoped for her deliverance." (Du Bois 313) From then onwards, "Beatrice and Beverley kept each recurring anniversary of her execution day as one of mourning, and they treasured her memory as among their most precious possessions." (Du Bois 313)

4.5.2. Reverend Parris: the "mercenary schemer" of the Salem witch hunt.

If in Disosway's *South Meadows*, Cotton Mather is held responsible for the Salem witch hunt of 1692, in *Martha Corey* Du Bois lays the blame on Reverend Parris. In chapter XII the author takes a hiatus from the narrative to (re)create his background story. Though it touches on some of what is known about Reverend Parris as a historical figure,[247] most of it is very much fictionalised.

We can see this, for example, in the description of Reverend Parris' home in Salem. According to the narrator, "[a]n orchard extended behind the house, and a small garden was laid out with shrubs and flowers" because Parris "had spent a great part of his life in the tropics, and he endeavored to reproduce in bleak New England a southern profusion of vegetation." (Du Bois 126) The historical Parris, who had spent his younger years in the West Indies, is inlaid within the (re)created Parris and his choice of garden foliage. Du Bois resorts to this deception while fleshing out her (re)imagined Reverend Parris in other instances.

When Du Bois refers to the documented conflict between Reverend Parris and his flock in Salem:

> Mr. Parris was a singular man, so all his parishioners agreed, whether they belonged in the ranks of his admirers or detractors; for thus his congregation was divided. Some maintained that he was a man of superior intellect, and that his sermons were marvels of ingenious thinking and deep reasoning; others declared that they preferred plain doctrine, and that they could understand neither the minister nor his sermons.
>
> Since he had led their flock, they had been in constant turmoil. ...
>
> An element of pomp and of mystery was introduced into the simple ceremonies of the congregation. Their marriages, funerals, and social or religious gatherings seemed to be occasions of mental conflict, agitation, and distrust. The enemies of Mr. Parris said that he had wrought this change, and they desired to displace him. (Disosway 126-127)

[247] For more biographical information, see Appendix E.

Alternatively, for instance, when Du Bois justifies the conduct of her (re)created Parris by exaggerating the documented misfortunes of his youth:

> His ambition hitherto had been constantly thwarted. He left college, where he had meant to win high honors, in order to engage in trade in company with a rich uncle in the West Indies, whose fortune he expected to inherit. It cost an effort to give up his place in his class at his uncle's peremptory summons, but wealth was the keystone of the structure of his hopes. For it he toiled patiently for years, submitting himself to the caprices of a tyrannical old man, and stifling even the voice of conscience; for besides legitimate measures of commerce, he found that his uncle was secretly engaged in the slave-trade. (Du Bois 128)

Thus, in Du Bois's (re)imagination of Reverend Parris, he is not a Puritan minister of his time but a man with a troubled past. Undeniably,

> [t]his inhumanity, this stifling of natural sentiment, wrought a demoralizing effect upon the man's character. ...
>
> The injuries he received from others were magnified and distorted by an envious temper until they overshadowed his life...
>
> Revenge became a dominant passion. It took the place of his foiled ambition as the dearest nursling of his fancy. ...
>
> Controversies had agitated the church in Salem Village from the day of its founding; and Mr. Parris, far from allaying them, - as all were ready to hope the new minister would do, - took a secret pleasure in fomenting and directing the passions of his flock in order to hold greater power in his own hands. ...
>
> Opposition meant enmity in Mr. Parris's opinion; and he returned the feeling with a malevolence that would have astonished his opponents. (Disosway 128-129)

In his own words, "as you refuse to treat me as a friend, but only as a mercenary schemer, I will assume that character… ." (Du Bois 175) And indeed, Reverend Parris most certainly does in this novel.

The inception of his Salem witch hunt scheme is traced back to the following event: During one of his trips to Boston, Reverend Parris decides "to call upon Mr. Cotton Mather." (Du Bois 170) While there, Cotton Mather shares with him that he is writing "an account of the visitation of Satan upon the family of John Goodwin, who have been for a long time most deplorably bewitched." (Du Bois 170) Moreover, on this very occasion, Cotton Mather has in his household one of the bewitched Goodwin children, "out of pity for her affliction, she being an innocent sufferer, and with a disinterested desire to investigate this great matter of witchcraft … ." (Du Bois 170) When asked if he would like to bear witness to the strange "manifestations of her malady," Reverend Parris eagerly accepts. (Du Bois 170) Reverend Parris

> watched the door impatiently, until it opened, and an overgrown, awkward girl of thirteen years shuffled in, and looked, with mingled boldness and cunning, at the expectant face of Mr. Mather and the critical countenance of his guest.
>
> "This child has long been tormented by the evil one," said Mr. Mather, "through the agency of a woman who has gone to her deserved account, being executed for her crime; but, strange to say, the influence still continues."
>
> Hereupon the girl gave a shriek, threw up her arms, and walked across the room dragging one foot after the other. "Glover's chain is about my leg!" she cried.
>
> "Avaunt, foul spirit!" commanded Mr. Mather. The girl moved freely; but instantly directed violent and well-aimed blows at her reverend protector, from which he did not shrink, for no sooner did her arms approach him, than they were detained by an invisible force.
>
> "It is always thus," cried Mr. Mather, exultantly. "The evil spirits find about me some armor of protection I myself am ignorant of. Go, child; it is enough."
>
> The girl moved shrieking, and with strange contortions of face and figure, to the door, which she banged behind her. (Du Bois 171-172)

After witnessing such a spellbinding spectacle, Reverend Parris is also offered the first draft of Cotton Mather's manuscript for further scrutiny of the subject of witchcraft. Since, as Reverend Parris presages: "It is a subject which grows in consequence upon nearer approach. I begin to believe its possibilities are wider than I ever suspected." (Du Bois 172) However, we must note that Cotton Mather published his demonological treatise, *Memorable Providences relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions...* in 1689, detailing the afflictions of the Godwin children he had closely observed in the Summer of 1688.[248] Thus, Du Bois erroneously conflates this event's timeline with the Salem witch hunt, which occurred in 1692. Later, she will also misreference the title of the manuscript presented to Reverend Parris by Cotton Mather as *The Wonders of the Invisible World* published in 1693 and focuses on the Salem witch trials. (Du Bois 173, 233)

On that same evening, "when Mr. Parris reached his home in Salem Village after a safe journey from Boston" he finds a circle of girls by the fire, merrily listening to Tituba and her stories "of snake-charmers and witches." (Du Bois 231) Besides his daughter Betty Parris and his niece Abigail Williams, they were Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Elizabeth Booth and Mary Warren. (Du Bois 232) Not only does Reverend Parris not chastise and admonish the girls, but he partakes in their fun and further inflames their wicked fancy by sharing his experience at Cotton Mather's with them. He recounts:

> "I saw in Boston a girl who was actually possessed by a witch. I saw her actions under influence of the evil spirit, as plainly as I see you now, Ann Putnam. ..."
>
> "Possessed, what is that?" asked his niece, Abigail Williams.
>
> "Why, Tituba has told you, silly child," said Mercy Lewis, scornfully. "It is to be the object of the witch's spite and harm, to feel a pain if she sticks a pin into a wax image of you, or sends an imp to torment you."
>
> "Yes," said Mr. Parris; "and the child I saw would feel a chain about her foot, pins stuck into her arms, would be urged to tear the Bible or any holy book, to interrupt the good minister in his prayers, and do more wild things than you could do by trying. Here is a book the Rev. Mr. Mather sent me describing more particularly the actions of this girl and her sisters. The

[248] See section 2.2.4.1.

> whole family were tormented in the same way, and the witch was hung for torturing them, as she deserved to be. If you like, I will read this aloud to you."
>
> "Oh, yes, it will be as good as a story," said Ann Putnam.
>
> "And better because it is true," said Mary Warren.
>
> To this audience, predisposed to be affected by marvels, Mr. Parris read page after page....
>
> He left the room, satisfied that the evil seed he had sown had fallen on ground ready prepared to receive it. (Du Bois 232-234)

Reverend Parris knowingly and purposefully acted as he did. He instigated and unleashed the afflicted. Unaware of his scheme, the girls are nevertheless willing participants in the pretence, using all the material Reverend Parris provides them. Truly, Du Bois exposes the girls as wild, callous, manipulative and vicious frauds, as we can see in the examples below.

In this instance, Ann Putnam Jr.'s levity while plotting against an elderly neighbour is propped up by a villainous Reverend Parris:

> Ann Putnam's wild eyes shone with excitement and mischief. "If I were so bewitched," she said, "I would know who to lay it to. You know they say old Sarah Good is a witch. I was coming across the field past her hut, and I fell flat down, and when I got up she was standing in the door and mumbling to herself. ...
>
> "It is not at all impossible," said Mr. Parris ... "Witches often vex their victims by causing them to fall in unaccountable ways."
>
> "... I always hated her, for she complained of me once to my father, and I got a whipping, and now she has a grudge against me. If she was hanged for a witch, it would serve her right." (Du Bois 233-234)

In the following example, Du Bois showcases the girls' performative skills:

> She clutched at her breast, and rolled her eyes. "Ann, you are pretending. This is one of your tricks," said Mercy Lewis, who was Mr. Putnam's servant. The other girls laughed. "Well, what do you think of this?," asked Ann. She fell suddenly flat upon the floor, and when her companions mockingly ran to her, they found her as stiff and motionless as if dead. Her hands were clinched and her eyes rolled upward. No effort could restore her, and the consternation she had desired to effect became general.
>
> "Throw cold water in her face," said Mercy Lewis. Before it could be brought, Ann suddenly revived, sat up, and stretched herself. "Where am I?" she asked. "What has happened?"
>
> Amid loud laughter and jokes, mingled with some murmurs of doubt and apprehension, the circle broke up, and the girls, who were the idlest and most mischievous in the village, took their way to their respective homes. (Du Bois 234)

In this next instance, we can see the girls' manipulation of their parents and elders, fully aware that their pretence came at a cost they were willing to chance:

> At the house of Thomas Putnam... Ann and Mercy eagerly gave their account of the evening's events, and Mr. Parris's comments. ... In her mother's presence she repeated the fall, with exaggerated contortions of face and figure, crying out that Good was near her and belaboring her with a whip... Ann was afraid of her father's discipline, though well aware that, by working on her mother's excitable feelings, she could indirectly influence him; so she mentally vowed to go farther in the path upon which she had committed herself. If she were convicted of imposition, she knew that a severe chastisement would be her reward; and viewed in that light, retreat became impossible. (Du Bois 236-237)

Eventually, the afflicted girls turn on their apparent mentor and accuse Tituba of tormenting them. Du Bois emphasises how effectively their performance is misleading everyone – the physician, the congregation, the ministers – and fuelling the witch hunt sparked by Reverend Parris. To be sure,

Elizabeth Hubbard, it was learned, was more violently affected than Ann Putnam hadbeen, and she vehemently declared that the slave Tituba was the cause of her sufferings. Dr. Griggs, upon this, called upon Mr. Parris...

... the girls were evidently placed upon their mettle to exceed the expectations of the awe-stricken spectators. So strange were their actions - not only two of their number, but every one presenting some singular phenomenon of physical suffering - that Dr. Griggs could not withhold his credence.

"Mr. Parris," he said solemnly, "this is a case of the evil eye. You may give that as my professional opinion. ...

... the demon present in the persons of the "afflicted children," as they were called, interrupted the speaker by many incongruous remarks and actions. Such a thing had not been heard of in the meeting-house. It showed a bold determination in the Prince of Darkness to plant his evil banners upon the very fortress of religion... (Du Bois 238-240)

As he remains in control of his scheme, Reverend Parris labours to keep up the appearance of how a Puritan minister is expected to behave in the present demonological predicament. For instance, a little while after the events previously discussed, Reverend Parris in conversation with Dr. Griggs laments:

"It comes so near me, Dr. Griggs," said the minister, "the assaults of the Evil One are so particularly directed against my household, that I am all amazement and know not what to look for next. Since Tituba has confessed herself to be a witch, there is no need that she should be imprisoned. When the court meets, her sentence will be given. Yet for fear of her malice I have sent my daughter out of reach of danger."

"You do well to consult her safety," said Dr. Griggs; "but is any one out of reach of this peril? Distance is evidently no obstacle to the malevolent action, as is proved by these children being equally affected by Tituba, who is with them in the house, or Osborn and Good, who are at a distance."

> "Of course that is well known," said Mr. Parris; "but if my daughter is out of her sight, it may be she will not incur Tituba's malice." (Du Bois 255-256)

Tituba at this point has already confessed to witchcraft. Yet, she absurdly remains at the service of the Parris household instead of being in jail, as was the case of every examined or confessed witch in the Salem witch hunt of 1692. The implication is of course, that, in fact, Reverend Parris did not fear Tituba or any of the accused witches or their spectral reach.

By the end of the Summer, Reverend Parris is triumphant as a mercenary schemer. Undeniably,

> [t]he marvellous spread of the witchcraft excitement, and the proportions it had assumed, promising to make the trials of colonial interest, surprised even Mr. Parris.
>
> He stood behind the scenes and pulled the wires, – allowing a brother minister to preach in his place on the subject, and suggesting the coming of ministers from Salem and Boston, and proposing the removal of the court to Salem town, which afterwards came about, – in order that no reaction of sentiment should fasten upon him the responsibility of originating the events. At the same time, by judicious management and suggestion, almost imperceptible to those concerned, he was able to work upon the heated imaginations of the young girls who had begun the excitement, and to obtain the accusation of any person he desired.
>
> Sometimes it was Tituba who mentioned to her companions the names he had whispered to her, and declared that at the witches' congress she attended, these persons had been seen by her in phantom shape. The red-letter list of his enemies, which had recorded the grudge and secret hate of years, was used to furnish these names. (Du Bois 283-284)

Also,

> Mr. Cotton Mather had written to Mr. Parris in a letter congratulating him on his success, and encouraging him to continue in the course he had begun. He wrote: –

> "I shall see that the zeal of our council, magistrates, and ministers slacken not. Everywhere by word of mouth and pen and by the influence of example I urge the prosecution of this important matter. You may count on my aid, until we, with the other ministers in this colony, by our godly zeal have overthrown the devices of Satan and his devils, and have so wrought that not one witch is left to vex us."
>
> So exhorted and sustained, Mr. Parris felt that he could not go too far. (Du Bois 288)

Yet, Du Bois does not allow for Reverend Parris to emerge unscathed having caused the demise and suffering of so many. Her (re)imagination of Reverend Parris is ultimately rewarded with the appropriate retribution by God and his fellow man: the torment of a guilty conscience and ostracisation. As the narrator concludes:

> Mr. Parris had gained the fulfilment of his long-cherished desires and deeply laid schemes. He had seen his enemies fall before him. He had held in his hands boundless power over the lives and destinies of his fellow-men; but the prize he had coveted had turned to dust and ashes in his grasp. The gratification of his revenge brought no lasting satisfaction. Instead, a horror of his deeds succeeded, and tortured him almost to madness. The spectres of his victims who had suffered a cruel death on Witch Hill haunted him, waking or sleeping.
>
> The inevitable reaction brought remorse and dismay to those who had encouraged the delusion while it lasted; and all were ready to disclaim their own share in the judicial murders that had been committed, and to lay the blame on those who had chiefly incited them. Mr. Parris found himself an object of scorn and execration. He was dismissed from the pastorate of Salem Village, and after dragging out a miserable existence in poverty and privation, he died neglected, and filled a forgotten grave. (Du Bois 314)

4.5.2. Martha Corey[249] vs. Lady Beatrice Desmond

The (re)imagination of Martha Corey by Du Bois is that of a woman-as-witch with many features of inversionary behaviour. Yet, as we shall see, she does not become a woman-as-witch solely on their account.

When Charles Beverly first contemplated Martha Corey's face he "admired the firm curve of a beautiful mouth, the happy, undaunted light of clear blue eyes, and an attractive expression which animated every feature and won an instinctive regard" complemented by "the rippling gayety of her laugh, and the fearless glance of her blue eye." (Du Bois 107, 117) She is much younger than the earlier older woman accused, such as Bridget Bishop, Sarah Good or Rebecca Nurse, which makes her an unlikely target of the afflicted girls. Giles Corey himself emphasises to Charles that: "[s]he is not so young as she looks, but she is my third wife, and she has no children. You wonder perhaps she did not marry a man nearer her own age; but although every one wonders, she prefers me." (Du Bois 103)

The Coreys' home "betokened the care of a notable housewife" with "spotless linen and shining furniture," pewter dishes shining like silver and sanded floors "in neat and intricate patterns." (Du Bois 103) Also, Martha Corey is "somewhat of a physician" who knows how to dress wounds and make ointments and poultices out of herbs, which she uses, for example, to take care of her husband's rheumatism. (Du Bois 100)

Yet, most relevant is that Martha Corey is by no means a conventional wife and the Coreys do have a somewhat unorthodox marriage. From the first moment we meet the Coreys, Martha has a leading position in decision-making in their family life. On several occasions, we see Giles Corey begrudgingly assenting to her decisions. For example, "[h]ave your own way then, Martha," said the old man gruffly, resuming his seat," when Martha decides to provide assistance to Beatrice and to carry on their way to the farm despite the stormy night. (Du Bois 87-88) Even Capitan Percy Desmond at one point observes to Giles: "[t]he woman rules here, I see, old man," said Captain Desmond, scornfully. "You dare not gainsay her." (Du Bois 216)

Her authoritative stance is grounded in her piety. Whenever Martha Corey needs to sort out her thoughts and make her judgments, "... [s]he is most likely praying in the closet off the kitchen." (Du

[249] For more biographical information on Martha Corey, one of the key figures of the Salem witch hunt, see Appendix E.

Bois 105) Indeed, Giles Corey grumbles "when you want Martha, look for her there. It is the only fault I find with her. She is always on her knees. I am a church-member. I kneel night and morning, and I feel that my prayers are accepted. Why need Martha do more?" (Du Bois 105)

But Martha Corey does need more for she prays for guidance which always and only comes to her like so. It is "the source of the intuitive inspiration which her husband called 'wit'." (Du Bois 109,117) The very same wit which sees "the rights of the matter" and like a lawyer and a minister tells people where they stand. (Du Bois 213) For example, having heard Charles Beverly and his account, she declares "his innocence was made clear to my mind, as I prayed for light to judge rightly in this matter." (Du Bois 116)

Yet, by behaving in this manner, Martha Corey is fundamentally inversionary. As a woman, she dares to seek independently divine wisdom and guidance sidestepping the Puritan holy men. What is more, she is a woman who stands by her freedom of thought and enjoys engaging in intellectual pursuits. In one instance Charles notes to her: "You think deeply on subjects others pass by without notice..." She replied: "I have so much time for thought... My hands are always busy; but if my mind was unemployed, I should be a wretched being. ... If I could not think and could not pray, what would become of me? Fortunately, no one can forbid that." (Du Bois 121)

Being married to Giles Corey is another one of her inversionary challenges. A younger woman married to a much older sick man with step-children of the same age as her is as problematic as her husband is. About Giles Coreys' quarrelsome reputation and position in Salem Village, Martha says:

> "Giles has been many times persecuted with unjust accusations and vexed with lawsuits; our neighbors quarrel about the boundaries of their grants, which are an endless source of strife and bad feeling; the church in the village is tom in twain by controversies, which Mr. Parris increases instead of soothes, as it seems to me. Indeed, I know not a spot on earth where more occasion of disturbance has arisen, year after year, in which each man felt disposed to take sides against his neighbor, than in Salem Village. ... We are just beyond the limits of the village... but we cannot escape a share in all its concerns. Giles is so free to speak his mind, so careless or what comes of it, and his daughters and their husbands are eager to discuss all matters with him." (Du Bois 123-124)

When Salem is stirred by the delusion of witchcraft, Martha Corey "will tell you there are no witches." (Du Bois 242) And though "Martha expressed her convictions very freely[,] she met with little sympathy even from those who were fond of her." (Du Bois 264) Her nearly heretic dismissal of demonic witchcraft constitutes another precarious aspect of Martha Corey's inversionary behaviour, as we shall see next.

In a conversation with her husband, Giles Corey, after he returns from Salem and recounts what he has witnessed, Martha Corey stands firm by her views and remains a critical thinker. Right from the start, she questions the afflicted children and the authenticity of their afflictions and accusations:

> "They have arrested these poor creatures for witchcraft!" exclaimed Martha, in amazement. "On whose accusation? "...
>
> "What will be done to those who are arrested?" asked Martha, repressing her emotion.
>
> "They will be tried; and if found guilty, hanged," said Giles.
>
> "Impossible!" cried Martha. "Surely no sane person will accept the testimony of malicious children against the life of a fellow-creature!" ...
>
> "Who can prove the children see the shape of the witch which no one else sees? Who can prove that the witch's spirit leaves her body when there is no outward sign of it?" ...
>
> "How could I prove that your spirit has left your body when you are asleep? Reasoning so, there is no one on earth who could not be accused of witchcraft." ...
>
> "I know some of those children," said Martha. "They are most wilful and malicious." (Du Bois 248-249)

Giles Corey points out that besides the accusations by the afflicted children, one of the accused has confessed and provided further probative testimony: "[t]he woman Tituba has confessed she is a witch, and that she has tormented these children. She told of the meetings in the forest, and the black man with the book..." (Du Bois 250) To which Martha Corey unkindly counter-argues:

> "I see through it,... She is ignorant, almost without intelligence. She would answer any question or do any deed that would save her from her master's displeasure. She is in great fear of him. I have heard that he beats her. Mr. Parris no doubt desires that the word of his daughter and niece shall be believed. No doubt he is carried away himself by the delusion, and desires to prove that Tituba is really a witch." (Du Bois 250)

The heated exchange comes to a tense end in which once again Martha Corey will not concede to her husband, as a dutiful wife would. An irate Giles exclaims:

> "You have gone far enough, Martha," said Giles. "You have slandered the ministers, opposed your husband, and set yourself against the Bible. Does it not say, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live'?"
>
> "Yes," said Martha; "but it does not tell what evidence we are to accept against them, or how we are to know them for witches. ... I cannot change my opinion to please you..."
>
> "You love your opinion better than your husband," answered Giles. "It has always been so. ..."
>
> "... all this talk about witchcraft sounds to me like mockery, even blasphemy. How can the ministers be so blinded?" (Du Bois 250-252)

Despite her inversionary traits – or perhaps because of them – Martha Corey will come to be accused as a woman-as-witch because of her association with Beatrice Desmond. Had she not taken in Beatrice, Martha would not have crossed the metaphorical sword with Capitan Percy Desmond who holds sway over Reverend Parris, the "mercenary schemer" of the Salem witch-hunt, as Du Bois (re)imagines it.

The watershed moment happens when Capitan Desmond pays a second unannounced visit to Beatrice at the Coreys' farm. As he arrives, "Martha did not attempt to oppose his entrance, but ran quickly to a corner of the room, picked up her husband's gun which stood there, and coming forward into the centre of the room, raised it and took deliberate aim at the unwelcomed visitor." (Du Bois 243)

Martha brazenly cautions Capitan Desmond: “[n]ot a step farther, on your peril, … Giles always keeps this loaded, and I am a good shot. … I should not like to shoot you. Of course you believe that you could wrest this gun from my hands and turn it against me; but at the slightest forward motion you make, I fire; and at this distance you are a dead man.” (Du Bois 243) Losing his temper, Capitan Desmond ignores her warnings and Martha shoots him on the arm. While he lays on the ground wounded, Martha adds: “I have reloaded my gun… and you know now what I can do. If you are sensible, you will submit to my orders. You must not bleed to death. I will dress and bandage the wound, and put your arm in splints and in a sling; …” (Du Bois 245) Having had his wounds dressed Capitan Percy Desmond takes off not without leaving Martha Corey with a threat he would come to fulfil what?, sooner than Martha could believe possible:

> “This day’s work will be your destruction, Martha Corey. I never forget nor forgive. I give you fair warning. I have been at Salem Village, and there is a storm brewing there that shall sweep this country, and I am not so powerless but that I have a hand in the raising of it. Look out for yourself, and remember my words when the lightning strikes your house.” (Du Bois 245)

Before long the rumour among neighbours, relatives and even Martha Corey’s husband is that, “who knows? She may be a witch as well as any… It may be Martha has bewitched me, but who knows? The devil might take her shape without any consent on her part.” (Du Bois 259)

It follows that Ann Putnam and Marry Warren both accuse Martha Corey. Ann Putnam had seen her spectre. But “[w]hen asked to describe her clothes, she said she could not see, her eyes were blinded; but her face was plain enough.” (Du Bois 261) When warned in advance that a warrant had been issued for her arrest and that Edward Putnam and Ezekiel Cheever would promptly carry it out, Martha could not but help engage in a ploy to illustrate the ridiculousness of the whole affair. She lays out her strategy:

> “And I suppose they have been asked as usual to describe the clothes I wear,” said Martha. “They say that is one of the proofs these children give… [I]t shows no great insight when all the women dress alike or nearly so, and the children can hardly fail in their guess, knowing

> the day of the week, and what occupation they are likely to be at. "… It is certain the children have been asked what clothes I wear today, and they will answer, as usual, a homespun gown, a cotton kerchief, and so on. But in order to prove their lack of knowledge, I will dress myself in some of my grandmother's clothes, that have long lain in a chest I brought from England." (Du Bois 266-267)

All the same, Martha Corey is arrested because the very wit that characterises her is outwitted and ineffective against a delusion. As they arrive at the Coreys' farm, Edward Putnam and Ezekiel Cheever address Martha directly:

> "Your spirit has appeared to some of the afflicted children. "…
>
> "And you asked them, I suppose, what clothes I wore," said Martha, with a smile. "What answer did they make? "…
>
> They said their eyes were blinded, and they could not see what clothes you wore."
>
> "Ah!" cried Martha; "that Ann Putnam has plenty of wit. She knows me so well she foresaw I would endeavor to outwit her, and would likely put on some strange garment; so she showed her prudence by her answer."
>
> "Woman, you testify against yourself. We need inquire no further," said Putnam. "You foresaw our coming, foresaw the questions that had been asked, and prepared for them. Who could do that but a witch?"
>
> "If to have a nimble wit is to be accounted a witch," replied Martha, "some of my worthy friends are safe enough from the accusation…." (Du Bois 269-270)

With haste, Martha Corey finds herself in a "procession of hooting boys and girls, crowding men and women, and mounted horsemen, who surrounded [her] as she was borne through the village street in a cart, and taken to Nathaniel Ingersoll's house, where she was to remain until her examination was ordered. (Du Bois 273)

True to her unwavering innocence, “Martha Corey was dismayed by her arrest, but not cast down. She looked forward to a speedy vindication when she should be brought face to face with her accusers, and this opportunity was soon given her. A preliminary examination of her case was ordered to take place in the meeting-house before the magistrates present in the village.” (Du Bois 288) There she expects “to be the instrument of his purpose in checking this delusion” for though she is no better than many of the good people who believe this delusion, but [she] may be able by [her] words to place it before them in the true light.” (Du Bois 263) There “[t]he judges will be learned in the laws, and the ministers from Salem and Boston must be open to conviction. They are of fair minds and great learning.” (Du Bois 271) There she will fulfil her duty to stand by her belief and perhaps help others. (Du Bois 263)

Yet, Martha Corey was painfully aware of the pervasiveness of what a woman-as-witch entails in the cultural memory of her peers. “She knew what a degraded being the witch of popular conception was; how lost forever from grace and beauty, and all perception of good; shut out from hope of pardon, hating and hated. To meet the conviction that this was believed of her by the congregation before whom she stood, was to Martha Corey worse than the bitterness of death.” (Du Bois 289)

Her examination, as (re)created by Du Bois, went on as follows, with Reverend Parris ensuring the outcome demanded by Capitan Percy Desmond, aided by the sensory evidence provided by the afflicted children on cue. The magistrate asks her:

> “Martha Corey, you are here confronted by the children you have hurt by your malice. Why have you done it? “...
>
> When the supposed witch looked at them, they were thrown into convulsions.
>
> “They know I do not hurt them,” said Martha. “I have never injured any one. My character should prove that I am innocent of so foul a charge.”
>
> “Why, then, should the children suffer when you look upon them?”
>
> “They feel no pain,” said Martha. “They assume it.”
>
> The shrieks and contortions of the children here became appalling. ...

> “Martha Corey,” he said,” these children testify that you have for a long time grievously tormented them. The proof of this is given before our eyes. What have you to say for yourself?”
>
> “I am innocent,” said Martha. “I am amazed that this can be believed against me.”
>
> “She will not confess. Further examination is useless,” said Mr. Parris. “Tituba may be brought forward as a witness that she has met Goody Corey at the witches’ congress, and has seen her name signed in blood in the devil’s book. ... Let Goody Corey be taken guarded to prison in Boston,” said the magistrate. (Du Bois 290-292)

At this moment, Beatrice Desmond remains utterly despondent in the face of all she witnesses. It brings back to her mind a childhood experience back in old England, and she is confounded by the transcultural grasp of the memory of English demonic witchcraft. At one point, she confides in Martha: “It cannot be possible that they would kill any one for witchcraft nowadays. When I was a child I remember how they ducked a woman they called a witch in a pond near our house, and how I screamed and fled, and for a week could not be diverted from my terror. It was a cruel thing. But as you say, it must be a delusion, though nearly all believe in it.” (Du Bois 252-253)

Ignorant of Reverend Parris’ alliance with her foe Capitan Percy Desmond, and thus dismissive of the intrinsic peril of her actions, Beatrice leaps in defence of her dear friend Martha Corey. She is determined to present her testimony as a character witness for Martha. Thus, she visits Reverend Parris and declares:

> “I beg you,” said Beatrice, to release my friend. She is a true, good woman, a devoted Christian. How can it be thought that she could be guilty of such a hideous crime? I have lived in her house for months, and can testify to her saintly piety, her frequent acts of devotion, her unselfish temper, always leading her to acts of kindness and charity. She never injured a being in her life. She would be the first to rescue a child from hurt. You do not believe that she is guilty, – I am sure you do not. I implore you, lift your voice in her defence. You have influence, you will be listened to.” (Du Bois 274-275)

Reverend Parris declines and assures her that Martha Corey's innocence will indeed be ascertained on trial. But Beatrice, sceptical of the Puritan ministers and magistrates,

> ... could not look forward to the trial with any expectation of better things, if the testimony of a saintly life was held as of no account compared with the accusations of raving, half-demented children. It might be, however, that on that occasion the magistrates would feel bound by their high office to listen with respect and impartiality to testimony in favor of the accused; and she determined to reserve her strength for the hour when she might stand before them to plead, not for mercy, but for justice. (Du Bois 275-276)

As soon as "Beatrice descend[s] the stairs and pass[es] out into the street," Reverend Parris instructed a constable in the following manner:

> "The warrant that was prepared for the arrest of Beatrice Desmond, companion and friend of the witch Goody Corey, which was left in my' hands until I could determine, by further question of the afflicted children, that she was indeed the person who had tormented them, I will now give to you. I find there is no doubt that she has been drawn by Goody Corey into this evil compact; and although I regret the necessity, I must urge you to do your duty without delay. She has just left my house. You can follow her at once." (Du Bois 285)

And just as Martha Corey is accused of witchcraft for her involvement with Beatrice's marital complications, Du Bois seems compelled to subject her other Romantic heroine, Beatrice, to becoming a woman-as-witch for her close association with a suspected witch, Martha. It is, in fact, a recurring situation in the Salem witch hunt.[250]

Once detained, "Mr. Parris had contrived that Beatrice's examination should not be held in public. He had sent her directly to prison in Boston, explaining that her connections being of power and

---

[250] See sections 2.1.2., 2.2.2 and 2.2.4.3.

influence, nothing was to be done in her case until the general council should assemble to take all responsibility from the hands of the local authorities." (Du Bois 292)

As Beatrice and Martha share a prison cell in Boston, Martha remains ever firm in her faith. While consoling Beatrice, she cheers for the cautionary rendering of their ordeal: "Do not lose heart, Beatrice!" said Martha. ... It may be some good will come out of it, some lesson to the ages that are to come. Good is sure to come to our own souls if we accept this cross, – a brighter crown, a more glorious reward." (Du Bois 307-308)

At last, when Charles Beverly liberates Beatrice from prison, Du Bois leaves Martha Corey sitting in jail. Instead of redeeming her by escaping prison, similarly to what is the case in the previous instances of Romantic historical fiction discussed, Martha Corey is redeemed through martyrdom. She boldly declares to Charles and Beatrice as she urges them to safety: "I will remain and suffer what is laid upon me. I rejoice in Beatrice's deliverance. It removes a heavy burden from my soul." (Du Bois 310)

Martha Corey and Lady Beatrice Desmond are both Romantic woman-as-witch heroines, and Du Bois places them at the centre of a symbiotic relationship of impending doom. Martha Corey is meant to perish in rehabilitating martyrdom, as she is Du Bois (re)imagined version of Martha Corey, one of the executed women-as-witches in the Salem witch-hunt. On the other hand, Beatrice is meant to live happily ever after. Furthermore, we find Du Bois's amalgamation of an entirely fictional character – Beatrice Desmond – into a historical setting – the Salem witch hunt of 1692 – determining the outcome of the (re)creation of a historical figure – Martha Corey – quite compelling.

4.6. *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* by A. C. Watson[251]

Contrary to the authors discussed thus far, Watson foregoes introducing her novel with a descriptive preface clarifying her reasons for penning a story set in seventeenth-century Salem at the time of the witch-hunt. Instead, the reader is presented with an illustration of Dorothy, as shown below.

[251] For more about the author see Appendix D.

Figure 49. Dorothy the Puritan

It is impossible to know if it was the publisher's choice or the author's endorsement. Nevertheless, this illustration encapsulates the nineteenth-century cultural memory of what a seventeenth-century Puritan young woman may have looked like. Moreover, it turns the reader's empathy to how normal and relatable any Puritan woman-as-witch of Salem may have been. Not wicked hags as other contemporary illustrations depict, but ordinary women, some indeed young, fair and pious like Dorothy.

The subtitle reads *The Strange Story of a Delusion*. The noun "delusion" is the nineteenth-century recurrent identifier for the Salem witch hunt of 1692. However, quite similarly to Du Bois and her Romantic historical fiction *Martha Corey*, Watson focuses far less on the witch hunt portion of the diegesis than on Dorothy's personal and emotional, almost delusional anguish as a Puritan sinner. Again, the Romantic aspect of Dorothy as a heroine far surpasses her experience as a woman-as-witch. Indeed, though Watson appropriately references names of places, dates, and key historical figures of

the Salem witch hunt, this is primarily a Romantic story about a Puritan girl in a Puritan settlement, which happens to be Salem village during 1692.

Watson broadly weaves into the diegesis bits of information to contextualise the Puritans' faith, daily life, demonology, and gender bias. For example, the (trans)cultural memory of witchcraft is apparent in the novel's opening paragraphs. Indeed,

> [i]t was an age of superstition. What more natural than the Puritans should have peopled these unknown wilds with demons, witches, and strange beings, whose baleful influence, issuing from these dark retreats, spread destroying hands upon helpless humanity?
>
> Of the Salem of those days few vestiges remain; two hundred years have obliterated many of the old landmarks. Our imagination must therefore come to our aid in picturing the little puritanical town and its sober citizens, with their superstitions and their straight-laced doctrines. (Watson 1-2)

Other instances concern, for example, the "landing on Plymouth Rock" and the settlement of Salem by "self-contained, undemonstrative Puritans." (Watson 10-11) The "unlimited control extended not only over the religious life but also over the secular" by the Puritan ministers whose "word was law." (Watson 24) Or how the "Sabbath day was observed literally according to the command of the Bible" and all that it entailed. (Watson 25-28, 69-70)

As for the belief in witchcraft, Watson sees it as "that dread calamity that had swept over the seas from the shores of Europe, like a hungry vulture was hovering with claws extended above the little restful hamlet in the New World," i.e. seventeenth-century Salem (Watson 128) Indeed,

> [t]he country was too wild and unexplored for much travel, the hills and valleys being covered with dense forests, whose somber shades appeared to this superstitious people to be inhabited by witches, demons, black imps, and all horrible beings possessed of unnatural powers to work harm to God-fearing people. This condition of mind easily grew into fanaticism

when fostered by the accounts that came across the seas from Europe, of the burning, hanging, and torturing of witches for their evil deeds." (Watson 139-40)

In the opening pages of chapter IX, titled "The Witches," Watson offers a critical summary of the key aspects of the (trans)cultural memory of witchcraft. She points out the witchcraft trials in England, France and Germany where "[w]itches were burned by hundreds and thousands." (Watson 154) Watson also mentions Matthew Hopkins's innovative method of witch-finding, the swimming test, not found in mainland Europe. The author also mentions the many "supposed witches" who, allegedly, "had most marvelous gifts conferred upon them by their master" after signing "in his great Black Book," such as summoning familiars, causing all sorts of *malleficia*, and transvecting to sabbats.[252] (Watson 155)

Regarding the happenings of the Salem witch-hunt, throughout the diegesis, Watson highlights some of the aspects of the legal proceedings and mentions the execution dates as well as cases of those executed: "On the 19th of July five condemned witches" were executed, "after a mere mockery of a trial." (Watson 216-217) The victims were "Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Rebecca Nurse, and Susanna Martin. ... The accused had no council to plead their cause; they simply were called upon to answer a number of absurd and conflicting questions." (Watson 216-217) In another instance, on August 19, 1692, "five more victims were to pay the penalty of their friends' bigotry and ignorance. The names of these unfortunates were, George Burroughs, John Proctor, George Jacobs, John Willard, and Martha Carrier." (Watson 261) And finally, "on the 22nd of September the last of the convicted witches should pay the penalty of the law." (Watson 320)

In the end, Watson regrets and seems truly puzzled by the Salem witch hunt of 1692. In the narrator's words, "[i]t seems hardly possible, looking backward through the dim mists of years, that such an ignorant delusion should have gained the prominence it did in an enlightened and God-fearing community. Yet great and undoubtedly sincere men authorized the law to take its course, the legislature making provision for all necessary expenses incurred for the trials of the accused witches." (Watson 219)

[252] See sectionr 2.1.3.

Finally, Watson condenses the abating of the Salem witch-hunt but not without giving a fair amount of emphasis to how the Salem community had repented the error of their delusional ways. The narrator reports:

> In October following the entire community became convinced of their fatal error. The light began to dawn, and the power of the magic circle visible in that light of calm reason dwindled and grew pale.
>
> "They have perjured themselves," cried many. The dark horror came to an end, the storm settled into a great calm, with the wrecks of homes and hopes and hearts strewing the shore line. The prisons of Ipswich, Boston, Salem, and Cambridge opened their doors, and the poor dazed creatures came forth. The number of those unfortunate ones imprisoned for witchcraft is not definitely known, but it is estimated that some hundreds suffered this ignominy.
>
> Great was the remorse experienced among the now awakened citizens. They bowed themselves humbly to the earth, beseeching forgiveness for their grievous fault. The governor, Sir William Phipps, commanded that no more cases of witchcraft should be tried, and no more spectral testimony be taken in evidence. (Watson 335-336)

On the whole, we find it most significant that Watson's treatment of the cultural memory of the woman-as-witch in *Dorothy The Puritan* results in a more blended mnemonic (re)imagination than the ones discussed this far, as we shall examine in the following sections.

4.6.1. A plot summary

Dorothy Grey is the seventeen-year-old niece of David and Martha Holden, brother and sister, both orthodox Puritans. A twice orphan since infancy, Dorothy is their niece, the daughter of their younger sister. (Watson 91) Sixteen years earlier, "[d]riven by persecution and injustice from the mother-

country," David and Martha, carrying one-year-old baby Dorothy in their arms, made their way across the Atlantic "seeking an asylum in the New World." (Watson 12) Because "[a] year before their pretty, blue-eyed sister had died [and h]er husband, a rollicking trooper in the army of 'Merry Charles,' had been killed in battle," Martha and David "took their beautiful child to their hearts" and adopted her. (Waston 12)

To the constant frustration of her aunt Martha and uncle David, Dorothy is too free-spirited, disruptive, and lacking in piety. Yet, to the surprise of the Goodwives of Salem village, Mr Alden Wentworth, deacon to Reverend Parris, falls in love with her and asks her uncle for Dorothy's hand in marriage. Wentworth knows she does not love him and dreads his seriousness, but he trusts she will come to love him in time. As a ward of her uncle, Dorothy has no choice but to give her consent to a loveless arranged marriage resentfully. She views herself as "not worthy" to be the wife of a judge and minister. She is "a scorn to the good matrons in the meeting-house" and would shame him by her "levity." (Watson 34) Dismayed by her betrothal, Dorothy shows no interest in partaking in her wedding preparations once the date is set or in building their new home. Instead, she evades Wentworth and finds solace in her solitary walks in the forest.

Unexpectedly, Dorothy's thoughts are populated by "a gorgeous apparition" who arrives aboard the ship Hope in Salem harbour. (Watson 57) A "full-fledged cavalier," "splendidly attired" in "crimson velvet breeches, with ruffles of lace hanging full below the knee; the russet-leather top boots; the slashed satin coat, with soft puffings of mull between the slashes; the great hat with its nodding plumes held in place by a jewelled buckle; the embroidered gloves... ." (Watson 57-58) A Mephistophelian character, Sir Grenville Lawson, ensnares Dorothy's fancy with his gentility, his web of fantastical tales about her father's kin in merry Old England, and dazzles her by placing a trinket, "a chain of golden beads," around her delicate neck. (Watson 119)

After many romantic meetings in the forest, Dorothy is persuaded to elope with Sir Grenville Lawson, marry, and voyage to England. They meet in the night and begin their journey. However, at some point, Sir Grenville Lawson confesses to already being married. Distressed by the revelation, Dorothy escapes him and wanders into the forest, for as he fear-mongered her, she now cannot return to Salem without dire consequences.

Dorothy comes across Goody Trueman's dwelling alone and lost in the night forest. The rumoured witch of Salem, Goody Trueman, takes her in for four months into early Spring while Dorothy

convalesces. Following Goody Trueman's wise advice, Dorothy decides to return to Salem. As she walks back with "a buoyant tread," she is of one mind: "[o]nce more her life was clear and open; the reproachful memories of her past follies were dead, buried, and forgotten. No one need ever know. She would be silent; her ingenuity would help her to invent some plausible tale that would be accepted, and no witness could disprove her statement." (Watson 148) And no one on the Holden farm does. In fact, "the prodigal was received with joy, and the fatted calf was killed for the penitent. Yet she was only half a penitent, for with remorse came not confession." (Watson 151)

Things have changed in Salem. The witch hunt is now afoot. Three women have been accused and jailed, Goody Trueman among them. Elizabeth Hubbard, once Dorothy's best friend, is now the ringleader of the circle of afflicted children of Salem. In Dorothy's absence, Elizabeth has made her intense feelings for Wentworth known and is rejected by him. She also believes Dorothy has compacted with the Devil and, for this reason, has left Salem.

It has been almost a year since Dorothy's flight, and as Dorothy and Wentworth reconnect, she also falls in love with him and accepts to be his wife. Now, besides the onus of her secret, she constantly dreads losing Wentworth's devotion and forgiveness. She wants to tell him the truth but lacks fortitude. She commits to paper all the details of her flight. Writing down her sin seems to purge her guilt. Yet she buries her written confession instead of handing it to him.

The vexing return of Sir Grenville Lawson to Salem, who lingers about, makes Dorothy's life miserable. Both her marriage and her mental health suffer. One night she agrees to meet Sir Grenville at the cemetery and finally confronts him. Dorothy unearths the little wooden box with her written confession, which she is now determined to show to her husband. After repudiating Sir Grenville Lawson's renewed plea to elope with him now that he is widowed and still loves her passionately, Dorothy is startled by Elizabeth Hubbard. She accuses Dorothy of casting spells in the night. Before long, Elizabeth submits her testimony against Dorothy. The ministers swiftly determine that Dorothy is a witch and issue a warrant for her arrest, though she is the young goodwife of one of their own.

As fate would have it, Elizabeth overhears Sir Grenville Lawsons's servants talking about the night of his flight with Dorothy and learns what happened. As soon as Dorothy is sent to prison, Elizabeth poisons Wentworth against his wife and succeeds. Outraged and discouraged, he visits Dorothy only to confirm her worst fear: he will not forgive her omission and rebuffs her.

Both aunt Martha and Sir Grenville attempt to convince Dorothy to flee, but she will not. Dorothy is resolutely resigned to her ill fortune as punishment for her offence against Wentworth. After her examination, during which she denounces the circle of accusing children and does not confess to diabolism, Dorothy is convicted and put in irons. On the day of her execution, Dorothy is carted to Gallows Hill. As she faces her death, Dorothy beseeches Wentworth for his forgiveness one last time, and he grants it at last. Then, Dorothy "swayed as a reed sways in the gale, her eyes closed, her face relaxed and became still and white as the face of the dead. With a little fluttering cry she fell forward at his feet. Wentworth rushed to her, and lifting her from the ground in his strong arms held her thus an instant, and faced the people. "She is mine," he cried, "she is mine! Death has given her back to me!" (Watson 329) Elizabeth Hubbard tries to prevent Wentworth from carrying Dorothy's lifeless body away. Yet, aunt Martha and Wentworth succeed in carting Dorothy back to the Holden farm. There, "Dorothy was lifted from the cart in her husband's arms and placed upon the bed... [S]he was apparently dead; and so the watchers thought, as they leaned above her and saw no signs of life. The doctor said otherwise. "It is suspended animation; she may speak again and know ye." (Watson 334) By nightfall, "Dorothy opened her eyes, to behold her husband. He placed his arms about her. ... [S]he closed her eyes and lay very still. He kissed her. (Watson 334-335)

Eight years later, Dorothy, Wentworth and their little daughter Dot live in "one of the most remote settlements of the New World," where he is "a teacher to the Indians." (Watson 336-337) They are "happy and united", and "the past is forgotten." (Watson 341)

4.6.2. Old Goody Trueman

We are first introduced to Goody Trueman by Alden Wentworth, who goes to the farm where Martha and David Holden live to warn them of the latest rumour about her preternatural activities. Wentworth

> ... turned abruptly to Martha and David. "I called to acquaint thee, Mistress Holden, with the fact that old Goody Trueman hath been seen again on the edge of the forest. They do say her

> cloak was of the color of fire; that a black demon stood by her side, and did hover over her as she plucked the poisonous ivy that grew upon the rocky hillside. When Jonathan Wells, who saw her approach, raised his stick to send her adrift she was no more seen; the stick did but cleave empty space; only a small red glow was visible against the clouds. It was as though she had risen with her imps in the air." (Watson 21-22)

Watson incorporates most of the stereotypical features which define a village woman-as-witch in the report about Goddy Trueman.[253] Her isolation, as she lives in the forest away from the village; the garish colour of her clothing contrasts with the earthy, demurred tones of the Puritan attire; her handling of toxic herbs; the spectral presence of a demon by her side, and the allusion that her presence was also spectral. Yet, Goody Trueman is also a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch because she must "hath signed the treaty with the Prince of Darkness," thus she is also engaged in diabolism. (Watson 22) It follows that Goody Trueman is to be dreaded. As Wentworth puts it: "we conjecture not aright always when we think we behold the agents of the devil. I do but speak to thee of these sayings that be abroad in Salem to warn thee to be circumspect, and if this creature does possess this dreaded power, to be on thy guard." (Watson 22)

Dorothy herself reports the next sighting of Goody Trueman. As she returns from one of her walks, in the dusky light, she is startled by the events she recounts to her aunt and uncle:

> "Goody Trueman was upon the hill, beyond the settlement; she did send a bat and owl to torment me. They flapped their wings upon me, but I did utter a prayer most fervently and hasten my steps, and they left me then in peace." She hesitated, then continued: "For the space of many moments I deemed she might cast her spell upon me; I covered my face with my mantle; when I dared look again she had disappeared. Dost think she mounted her broomstick? I looked most searchingly into the clouds but could see nothing." Dorothy asked this anxiously. ... David shook his [head] in acquiescence, and with decision. "No doubt she

[253] See section 2.1.3.

> flew above thy head invisible. Ah, it is an awful thing to contemplate," he said. "A great danger surely confronted thee." (Watson 31)

In addition to the more Puritan spectral aspect of Goody Trueman, Watson adds a few more relevant elements of a village woman-as-witch. Moreover, to protect herself against any acts of *maleficium* by Goody Trueman, Dorothy resorts to prayer as counter-magic.

On the night of her flight, after escaping Sir Grenville Lawson, Dorothy "came upon a small clearing, apparently in the very heart of the forest [where a] small, weather-beaten house stood in the center of the clearing." (Watson 108) The foreboding location of such as dwelling is worsened by the "uncanny in the open door, in the dancing fire light at this late hour, when all honest folks were asleep." (Watson 108-109) Almost as in a fairy tale, Dorothy, the thoughtless damsel in distress, enters the potential lair of a witch. In it, she finds "three black cats—black, without a single white hair," "a large white arctic owl perched upon the bed-post," and "other birds in cages."(Watson 110-111) Suddenly, Dorothy hears,

> the sound of heavy steps, accompanied by the click of a crutch. The steps came nearer—halting, uncertain, dragging steps, that seemed to scarcely advance, so slow was their approach." ... "What was this thing, that walked as no human creature walked, that wandered abroad at midnight, that kept for company the owl and bat, and whose home was in the solitude of the forest, away from the abode of man?" (Watson 111)

Suppose by now Dorothy – or the reader – undoubtedly assumes she is about to come face-to-face with the witch. In that case, Watson takes it one step further by combining Goody Trueman's poor choice of first words with Dorothy's racing inner thoughts overwhelming her:

> "I hear human breathing," said a voice. "Ha! None can deceive old Goody. ..."
>
> This was the hut of Goody Trueman, the witch of the wilderness: the one who had signed the compact with the King of Darkness; the one who rode at midnight upon the back

> of a vampire, followed by thousands of serving imps; the one whose name stood foremost in the Black Book, and who was in league with the powers of the Evil One. (Watson 112)

But Watson does not stop there. Goody Trueman's appearance is set to confirm Dorothy's cultural memory of a witch because her "voice had an odd, uncertain cackling in its tones." Her face is "withered, wrinkled." Indeed,

> Goody Trueman was certainly in appearance the veritable type of a witch: small, shrunken, hunchbacked, her head resting low between her shoulders, her eyes catlike and deep-set, her skin like brown parchment, her nose and chin almost meeting, and her bony, restless hands crooked like the claws of an eagle. On her head she wore a steeple-crowned hat, and over her quilted petticoat a brilliant scarlet cloak, which, when the firelight struck it, glowed a flame color. (Watson 112-113)

Undoubtedly, from Dorothy's point of view, the scene was terrifying as Goody Truman's

> ... shadow spread in gigantic proportions upon the wall, covering even across the low ceiling. She appeared to Dorothy to be standing in the midst of fire, like the lost, hideous soul she was deemed to be. She was indeed the realization of that terrible creature so often pictured to the little Salem girl. The supposed witch advanced a step nearer, and held out her crooked hands to the blaze. One of the cats leaped forward and nestled upon her shoulder, purring as he placed his black, furry face close beside that of his mistress.
>
> Dorothy gazed an instant at this fearful picture, then from her white lips came a piercing shriek, so startling to the feathered inhabitants of the hut that they fluttered in affright.
>
> "Satan hath won me! 'Tis the witch, 'tis the witch!" she called loudly. (Watson 113)

The next morning, in the light of day, however, to Dorothy, now in a more sensible frame of mind, Goody Trueman no longer appears as a menacing witch. “By daylight she did not resemble so decidedly Dorothy’s idea of a servant of the devil.” (Watson 114) Now, as “Old Goody was standing before the fire… stirring some savory mixture in a saucepan, muttering to herself as she did so,” she was merely a destitute, lonely old woman perceived to be one, i.e. a woman-as-witch. (Watson 114) Moreover, Dorothy’s perception is further challenged by the ordinary action of Goody Trueman preparing food. Goody Trueman’s “very human occupation of cooking was certainly at variance with the popular notion that witches did not eat, save at those terrible orgies held with their imps at midnight in the forest.” (Watson 114)

Finally, Goody Trueman engages with Dorothy by assuring her: “I am no witch, only a harmless old woman who seeks thy good.” (Watson 115) Dorothy insists still, struggling to let go of her inculcated fear:

> “Ay, so thou sayest. Dost thou not at midnight ride upon thy charger through the air, and fly above the houses in Salem? Oft have the good people heard thee, like a mighty wind rushing by, thy imps with thee. Dost thou not gather the deadly nightshade and brew a draught that weakens men’s souls, so that they cannot say thee nay, but consent to sign their names in the Black Book thou hast always under thy arm?”…
>
> “Then thou wilt not make me sign my name in the Black Book?…
>
> I have been ever taught that thou art an enemy to all that is good, and dost seek to harm all mankind.” (Watson 115)

Dorothy is only finally assuaged once Goody Trueman declares her sentiments about *maleficium* and diabolism: “No, no; I know of no book…. I wish no communion with the witches. I scorn and fear their practices. The old woman laughed her discordant, cackling laugh.” (Watson 115-116)

Later, Goody Trueman is among the first accused of witchcraft and sent to jail. When Dorothy visits her, Watson once more highlights Good Trueman’s woman-as-witch appearance: “[o]ld Goody lay upon her back on a pile of straw in the corner of the cell. She had heavy irons upon her arms and ankles.

The small shaft of light that came from the narrow window in the upper part of the wall shone across her withered features. She looked indeed hideous and haglike." (Watson 193)

In the final reference to her, the narrator informs us that eight years later, old Goody Truman is interred "in the little Puritan God's-acre," where "[o]n one simple headstone is carved Goody Trueman." (Watson 341) Watson presents Goody Trueman with the redemption none of the witches of the Salem witch hunt was afforded. As Watson references through Elizabeth Hubbard's words, a witch's "body belongs to the ditch; no witch can have a Christian burial—she is excommunicated." People executed as witches could not be buried in the consecrated ground of a church cemetery.

In the end, old Goody Trueman is a mnemonic (re)imagination but not of any key historical woman-as-witch of Salem. Watson (re)creates her as a nineteenth-century composite of a village witch and a Puritan demonic witch. She is suspected of both engaging in *maleficium* and signing the Black Book, i.e. diabolism. Watson highlights the bias behind a woman becoming a woman-as-witch. Goody Trueman merely looks the part: a post-menopausal unmarried poor, isolated woman. Her only inversionary behaviour is summarised in her own words: "I had a grievous trouble once, long ago, beyond the seas in my old home. I grew afraid to trust all human love, so I did seek solitude in these forests. Much brooding hath made me what I am, distraught perhaps at times, but never seeking harm to aught." (Watson 116) According to Watson, we find that Goody Trueman is met with bias and unreasonable fear in the seventeenth-century Puritan village of Salem, and ends up paying the ultimate price for it, not unlike many other women-as-witches.

4.6.3. Elizabeth Hubbard of the accusing magic circle.

While in Castleton's *Salem* the afflicted are introduced as misguided youth who ought to know better, and in Du Bois's *Martha Corey*, they are puppets to the scheme of Reverend Parris, Watson is harsher in her depiction of the afflicted and their role in the Salem witch hunt of 1692. Often referred to as "the accusing circle" or "the magic circle," in *Dorothy The Puritan*, the afflicted are less of a group of young girls who came together organically but rather a society founded for the practice of demonic witchcraft. According to the narrator,

> [d]uring two preceding winters, those of 1691 and 1692, a society, or rather a circle, as it was called, consisting mostly of young girls, had been formed in Salem. This circle appears to have had for its first object amusement, the young people of those days sadly lacking any diverting pastimes. Gradually, however, these evening meetings, which took place principally in the house of the Rev. Mr. Parris, assumed a more serious aspect, and instruction in the black art became one of the main features of the entertainment. Mr. Parris had in his employ two servants, or rather slaves, a man and his wife, named John Indian and Tituba. (Watson 156)

Furthermore,

> [t]hese slaves Mr. Parris had brought with him from the Spanish Indies. They were steeped in witchcraft, and understood many of the horrible practices of the ignorant tribe from which they came. They instructed the circle, and kept it well supplied with material calculated to inflame the imaginations of the already intensely excited young people. The result of all this conjuring was that a species of hysteria seized upon the girls, and their antics soon began to give evidence — according to the popular idea — that they were bewitched. (Watson 157)

Watson accentuates how it makes little sense that the afflicted should be believed and bolstered instead of discredited and punished for "the curious performances of the members of the society." (Watson 157) The described antics pretty much conform to what is well-known. Their "creeping under chairs, uttering piercing cries, falling into convulsions, laughing and crying." (Watson 157) Or how "[t]he girls of the magic circle groveled on the ground in convulsions, horrible groans issuing from their frothing lips." (Watson 291) Also, how "[n]ow and then one of the 'afflicted children' would disturb the solemnity of the scene by screaming out that one of the witches was torturing her; then she would fall upon the floor in a fit or a faint." (Watson 160)

From the moment the poor, bewildered old Salem Village "doctor declared the disease unknown to science, and considered the girls certainly under the dreaded spell of witchcraft," the afflicted became a force to be reckoned with. (Watson 157) As the narrator puts it:

> The afflicted children, as they were called, went triumphantly on their course, and were looked upon with sympathy and tenderness by the community at large. At last, intoxicated by the exalted position they now sustained in the village, they grew bolder, and openly accused three poor old helpless women of having bewitched them. From this small and apparently innocent source sprang the terrible torrent that swept so many blameless lives into eternity. (Watson 157-158)

While briefly trusting the afflicted were "ignorant of the great evil they were doing, and in which they apparently gloried," the narrator goes on to detail their new and improved social status as witch-finders. (Watson 217) If up until then, they were dismissed for being merely female children in a Puritan community,

> [t]he girls now began to have all honors conferred upon them, being treated with the greatest respect and consideration. Their words were listened to as though they possessed the power of the oracles of old. They went from village to village, accompanied by an escort, ferreting out witches. Woe be to the one that incurred their displeasure by expressing doubt of the purity of their motives! This acuteness displayed in detecting a witch was considered a peculiar gift, conferred by Providence upon these now all-powerful girls. They became the instruments, as it were, to cleanse the earth of this foul plague-spot. When they 'cried out,' as it was called, upon a suspected person, the unfortunate individual was summarily dispatched to the prison to await trial on their evidence. (Watson 218-219)

Watson insists on how truly the afflicted commanded attention and revelled in it, fuelling the fervently misguided holy Puritan men. To be sure,

> [t]he wretched girls, intoxicated by the attentions conferred upon them by men of such renown, performed daily their ridiculous pranks for their edification, the wise sages in the meanwhile looking solemnly on, wagging their heads and saying, "Of a certainty these poor girls are bewitched; it behooves us to hang the witches." (Watson 253)

Elizabeth Hubbard[254] is the principal instigator of the afflicted children. According to the narrator, she was “the niece of Mrs. Griggs, wife of the physician of the village; she was also a member of his household. She had from childhood been possessed of a peculiar, erratic temperament, which, added to her tropical style of beauty, made her ever prominent in all gatherings of any importance that took place in Salem.” (Watson 128) Elizabeth was also “steeped to the utmost in the beliefs of the age. ... To this whimsical creature all that was incomprehensible, all that lay below the surface, all that needed the gentle touch of faith to make tangible and perfect, savored to her of the supernatural.” (Watson 128)

Elizabeth Hubbard’s “erratic temperament had made her from the start a prominent actor in this magic circle” as she possessed “the marvelous power of interpreting the spell of the witches” or so she firmly believed. (Watson 157) In an instance of conversation with Wentworth, it is evident Elizabeth’s deluded conviction that she is a witch-finder doing God’s work “to cleanse the earth of this dread scourge.” (Watson 245) She is “Elizabeth Hubbard of the accusing circle.” (Watson 251) Thus she blusters:

> “Can I help it if I have been chosen as a mouthpiece to denounce wickedness?...
>
> It has come to me that I and others, perchance, do feel it our bounden duty, as the great call is within us, to accuse one who has been accurst this many a day; whom all do fear, for the great calamities she hath power to bring upon us. A witch indeed is in our midst. ...
>
> I accuse no one. The voice that is within me controls my words, other wise I should possess no power. ...
>
> I will not rest night or day till the power that is within me shall have done its utmost to rid the world of these lost beings, who have sold their souls to the King of Darkness. It is my mission; I shall fulfill it.” (Watson 132-134)

Watson hints that Elizabeth Hubbard is either possessed herself or mentally disturbed: she hears “the voice” and experiences “visions.” (Watson 169) Either way, she is a menace to anyone she

[254] For more about Elizabeth Hubbard, one of the key historical figures of the Salem witch hunt, see Appendix E.

fancies since she has the ear of most of the Salem Puritan community, with perhaps the exception of aunt Martha, Wentworth and her once best-friend Dorothy.

Elizabeth first casts suspicion over Dorothy while she was missing. About Dorothy, Elizabeth states: "She has been — in my poor knowledge I say this — bewitched by the black man, and is perchance even now concocting evil schemes against us. She ever loved to be alone; he has taken her unawares. ... She hath been taken unawares, I repeat, and been forced to sign her soul away. Satan hath claimed her for his own." (Watson 124-125)

Later, "Elizabeth Hubbard, erect, watchful, her great eyes, like coals of fire, roving restlessly over the faces before her, stood at one end of the table, one hand upon a book, the other resting upon the back of a chair. The grave countenances of the men were turned respectfully upon her as they listened with the closest attention to the fantastic utterances that fell from her lips," further elaborates on her damming testimony, making sure that Dorothy is proven to be a demonic wman-as-witch:

> "I heard laughs come from the hollows in the graves, and strange forms rose into the air and circled about my head. She then did bid me do my worst, and vanished from my sight, whether up into the air or down into the earth I know not, but the place where she was standing became vacant. Then I heard the fluttering of wings, lights danced upon the grass, and a great cry came out of the forest toward the north." (Watson 243-244)

Once the accusation is made and the arrest warrant for Dorothy is issued, Elizabeth Hubbard must prove her to be a witch by raising the necessary sensory evidence to convince a fearful and impressionable audience. The narrator reports:

> ... one of the afflicted children had been taken with a strange and terrible spasm. Her limbs were drawn up, her mouth was twitched to one side, her eyes rolled horribly. From her throat issued piercing shrieks interspersed with denunciatory words against some one who did afflict her, and who, she did assert, was even then standing in the crowd. ... "She is near me! Her eyes are piercing mine, they burn! I suffer tortures! Take her away, take her away! ... Going swiftly to the girl, [Ellizabeth Hubbard] stooped over her and spoke some words close to her

> ear. Even as she did so she was also seized with a like spasm, only, if possible, more fearful to behold.
>
> "We are bewitched," she shrieked, as she writhed upon the ground, "we are bewitched! The woman who doeth us this harm is standing in the crowd."..." There she stands," cried Elizabeth, rising to her feet and pointing toward Dorothy. Her face was pale, her eyes bloodshot, her whole bearing instinct with a frenzy approaching madness. "I scarce dare look upon her—there, with the old woman by her side. She is the queen of the witches; they do her bidding night and day. I do denounce thee, Dorothy Wentworth, I, Elizabeth Hubbard, the inspired." (Watson 265-266)

As the Salem witch hunt comes to an end so does Elizabeth Hubbard's witch-finder holy mission. In the end, the narrator rejoices that "[t]he destiny of [Elizabeth and] the girls of the accusing circle, with but few exceptions, was shrouded in mystery; statistics state little of their subsequent career; it is very possible that they retired into their quiet lives and oblivion. I doubt if we could meet to them a greater punishment than that engendered by an awakened conscience, with its pangs of bitter remorse. (Watson 341)

4.6.4. Dorothy the Puritan woman-as-witch

Dorothy Grey is a conventional Romantic beauty. As the narrator describes, besides her "her full red lips,"

> ... when she laughed one became conscious of the wondrous beauty of her face. This beauty consisted partly in the freshness of extreme youth, her presence affecting one as does the early dawn of a morning in spring, or the pink bud of an unopened rose, the dew still upon its leaves, its sweet incense yet undiffused. Her eyes were of a translucent blue, innocent in expression, the pupils large and dark. Her hair was a light brown, gold when the sun touched it, bringing a shimmering luster to its waving confusion. Her complexion, bronzed by the sea

> air, was in strange contrast to the clear blue of her eyes, yet it but lent an added charm to the winsomeness of her face. Her figure, though slight and girlish, yet gave evidence of strength and endurance. (Watson 5-6)

However, though Dorothy might have her "mother's face," she seemingly has her "father's temperament." (Watson 38) Dorothy's constant daydreaming, being lost in leisurely tasks such as bird-watching, talking to animals, merrily humming and singing all the time. How she is lost in her vanity while contemplating her reflection on the water and spending idle hours alone in the forest, picking wildflowers while neglecting her chores. Or still, the way she irreverently decries the tediousness of the three-hour-long sermons. How she wants to show off her mother's opulently adorned garments and jewellery gifted by her father. Her profoundly seeded desire to leave puritanical Salem for the England of her fancy, where she will be with her "father's people." (Watson 14) All strongly intimated that "there flowed in her quickly moving blood something more akin to her dare-devil father, the jolly trooper, than to her gentle Puritan mother." (Watson 13-14) In Dorothy's words:

> "I must speak, I must tell thee both of my feelings; I can withstand this desire within me no longer; I must sing and dance; I like not to pray forever. Ah, that I might be free, free, just once to go forth into the great world—where, I care not, only to be free!" She choked hysterically [... while] holding her skirts higher on one side and peeping over them, she gave a clear, rippling laugh, like that of a child caught in mischief." (Watson 15-16)

Dorothy is thus an unsettling, destabilising, blunt force of nature, and is clearly aware of her inversionary behaviour. She openly admits to her aunt Martha, uncle David and Wentworth: "I have another self within me that does ever urge me in the wrong direction. Why has God willed us to be unhappy when He has given us so much to enjoy?" (Watson 23) To herself, she foretells: "There is no doubt that I shall become the scandal of the town, for surely at times my spirits will gain the mastery." (Watson 40)

In addition to her gaiety, Dorothy is infamous in Salem for engaging in yet other frowned-upon activities. For example,

> Dorothy wandered often by the edge of the forest, sometimes alone, sometimes with her girl friends.
>
> She loved best to be alone; the straight-laced, sad little maids of the settlement were not much to her liking. She would gather the wild violet and the strange feathery ferns that bordered some little murmuring stream, and as she placed them in the bodice of her dress or in her hair, she would speak to them... (Watson 28)

So infamous is Dorothy's inversionary behaviour, that when her betrothal to minister Alden Wentworth is known,

> great was the surprise and consternation that seized upon the good people of Salem. Many a wise head did wag in ominous presentiment of dire results. Many a sharp tongue did expostulate in the privacy of the home circle upon the grave judge being bewitched by the light in a fine blue eye, not seeking further for the heart beneath. ... Perhaps it was true, as the villagers said, that he was deceived by a sudden fancy..." (Watson 41-42)

In view of her inversionary behaviour, Wentworth could have not fallen in love. Instead, she must have seduced him with her wicked ways. Moreover, "the good matrons of the village" could not but stop themselves from callous side remarks about the behaviour of the minister's wife-to-be who they simply could not abide by. (Watson 43) Such pronouncements as, for example, "Why good wives... what think ye of that vain, idle minx being placed above us in the meeting-house? Her levity, her laughter, and her antics are a scandal to the edifice." (Watson 46) Regardless, Dorothy was not completely reproachable, since "her family is of good repute; none better or stauncher church-members have we than David and Martha Holden." Also, "[s]he is but a child, and seeks a child's pleasures." (Watson 48)

After her ill-starred "flight" with Sir Grenville Lawson, and having spent "the winter in the forest" with old Goody Trueman, upon her return to Salem, Dorothy "is little wild Dorothy no longer." (Watson 87, 105, 163) Dorothy experiences emotional growth and comes to maturity. She is now a proper pious young Puritan woman. Now,

> the soft air, the sunshine, the fragrance, and the songs of the merry birds were all unnoticed by [Dorothy] who sat within the threshold, her head bowed above her spinning-wheel. Her hands were busy, her foot was upon the treadle...
>
> Round and round went the busy wheel, the lint from the linen flying through the atmosphere, the whirring sound echoing pleasantly, like the song of a good housewife happy at her task. Dorothy's passage through the fire of tribulation had purified much of the light dross which had been hers both by inheritance and temperament. The merriment of her nature had toned to a gentle humor, which, though seldom seen, shone forth occasionally, like the rare glimpse of the sun on a winter's day.
>
> Her beauty had increased and expanded. The childish contour of her face was replaced by firmer, sweeter lines, while a pathetic pensiveness had taken the place of her former mischievous archness. Her perverse, irritating moods had departed, and in their stead came a quiet acquiescence that amounted at times almost to indifference. (Watson 172-174)

Nonetheless, Dorothy carries the excruciating burden of her sin, becoming increasingly more anxious and a recluse. The Romantic aspect added by Watson is that now Dorothy, as the minister's wife, is intensely scrutinised by her peers, Wentworth, Sir Grenville Lawson and Elizabeth Hubbard. Thus, to the fire of Dorothy's former inversionary behaviour, just enough ashes are added for her to become a woman-as-witch.

For instance, after being accused of engaging in diabolism by Elizabeth Hubbard, her absence on Sabbath days is quickly commented on. For indeed,

> [o]ne of the most heinous crimes Dorothy had committed was her persistency in remaining absent from the meetings on the Lord's Day.
>
> Elizabeth and the rest of her companions asserted that she dared not enter the church, she dared not remain in the presence of good people; that Satan had claimed her for his own, and if she placed her foot upon the threshold of the holy spot she would emit flames of fire from her mouth. (Watson 253)

Also, Wentworth becomes increasingly suspicious of Dorothy's erratic behaviour and slowly comes to wonder whether it may be attributed to her having compacted with the Devil. It is Dorothy's heavy conscience that is deliberately seeping into and poisoning every aspect of her life. That day,

> [i]t had not been Dorothy's wish to be present at this gathering of the town, but Wentworth had peremptorily bidden her to do so. His reason she suspected. Of late he had watched her suspiciously, ever since the night she had lost her selfcontrol and had revealed to him that some secret sorrow was weighing upon her. Try as he would, a lurking doubt assailed him; he fought against it valiantly, yet all to no purpose.
>
> It was commonly believed that one in league with the witches dared not look upon them as their souls passed to that dread reunion in the realms of their master. If one who understood their baleful workings and dealt in their horrid practices gazed steadfastly upon them, some sign of their brotherhood would become known to the observers. (Watson 262-263)

To Dorothy, "[t]he terrible accusations that had been made against her by the witch-accusers had naturally alarmed her. This, however, was dwarfed into insignificance by the dread that daily and hourly tortured her of losing her husband's faith and love. This dread robbed every waking hour of peace, and filled her troubled sleep with wretched nightmares." (Watson 277)

Since Dorothy is not the (re)imagination of any of the historical women-as-witches of Salem in particular, her trial is entirely fictional. Yet, Watson is careful to incorporate not only many of the Puritan demonological and strixological idiosyncrasies of the trials, but also the reported stoic stance of the defendants. We find, however, that Watson sensationalises the whole trial scene, especially the villagers attending and their misplaced excitement, as well as their total lack of Christian empathy. The narrator set the tone from the opening scene, as follows:

> Owing to the great throng attracted thither by the unusual trial of the wife of a judge for sorcery, the court had adjourned from the "ordinary" to the meeting-house. The place was filled with excited spectators, who jostled and pushed each other roughly. Before the pulpit a raised

> platform had been built, upon which were seated the judges, with their secretaries. Many distinguished person ages occupied chairs upon this raised dais; the poor wretches who were unfortunate enough to be called before this bar for justice had generally been condemned previously by public sentiment. They had no counsel, and in many cases no friends, people being afraid to openly espouse the cause of one against whom public indignation had been turned. (Watson 309)

As Dorothy is presented in court,

> [s]he was placed about eight feet from the judges, and below the platform upon which they were seated.
>
> Between her and the judges, upon the same level with herself, were ranged the accusing girls. She was peremptorily directed to stand erect and keep her eyes fixed upon the magistrates. Moreover, an officer was commanded to hold her hands lest she should afflict some one present. (Watson 310)

When confronted by the ministers, Dorothy resolutely proclaims her innocence:

> Then the judges held a rigid examination, demanding her reasons for having sold herself to Satan, also her mode of conducting the direful torments she had brought upon these poor, unhappy girls who suffered by her wickedness.
>
> "I am no witch," said Dorothy calmly, not understanding half the confusing questions addressed to her, simply denying her guilt with a grave shake of her head. (Watson 310)

When submitted to an evidentiary test, however, Dorothy stumbles in her effort to establish her innocence as she is cunningly sabotaged by her accusers. The ministers ask Dorothy:

> "Say the Lord's Prayer," commanded the judge sternly, this being considered one of the important tests of the guilt of the witches. Dorothy had hardly commenced the first words of the prayer before the girls began to fall to the floor in spasms. She ceased, her words became confused, and she stopped abruptly.
>
> "She cannot say it!" they shrieked. "She cannot pray! She is a witch, she has sold herself!"
>
> Presently all the girls became dumb, staring fixedly upon the prisoner, their mouths twitching, their fingers pointed at Dorothy's white, haggard face. (Watson 310-311)

Spectral evidence is also introduced as one of the afflicted "spoke in a high, shrill voice: 'I see the evil eye upon her! The black man is looking even now over her shoulder! She is one of them, she is one of them! See the yellow-bird perched upon her hair!'" (Watson 310-311) Followed by the touch test. One of the ministers addressing the girls in the accusing circle asks: " 'Which among you has the courage to approach the prisoner at the bar and touch her?' They all started forward, but retreated immediately in terror, saying they dared not, she had hosts of demons flying about to destroy them." (Watson 311-312)

The inquiry to ascertain if Dorothy has engaged in diabolism by compacting with the Devil is next. When demanded [a]t what date was thy name signed in the Black Book?," Dorothy firmly replies "I have signed no book. I am not guilty of witchcraft; I know none of its practices. I am innocent of the charges brought against me." (Watson 312) Only to have the afflicted deliver their sensory evidentiary performance:

> "She does know, she does! She is not innocent!" shouted Elizabeth." She has dug up moldy things from the churchyard—hideous secrets used for our undoing. She deals in all charms and spells; she draws men's souls to destruction. I suffer, I burn, I am tortured in her presence!"
>
> "Hold her hands more firmly, jailer," called the judge, "lest she escape us."

“She has cast a spell even now upon the magistrates,” again screamed Elizabeth. “A demon sits upon the platform by Mr. Parris.”

The case then proceeded, interrupted presently by the announcement that a great bird was sitting aloft on the beam. At this, all the girls fell to the floor screaming, and apparently in convulsions. “Take her away, she tortures us, take her away! We cannot live in her presence!” (Watson 312- 313)

Finally, “[r]emove the prisoner,” commanded the judge in a loud, harsh voice. “Of a surety she is a witch we need no added proof. Put irons upon her in her cell, let the jailer guard her constantly.” (Watson 312- 313) Dorothy denounces the credibility of the afflicted and, one last time, denies having sinned by compacting with the Devil. Most importantly, Dorothy confesses to incurring ordinary sin. She “raised her head proudly. ‘I am no witch, honored sir; these girls do dissemble, and ye have committed a grievous error. Nevertheless, I accept what fate has ordained, I rebel not; I accept it as my due for my many sins, and do most earnestly believe that through the mercy of God this punishment will be mine atonement.’” Having conveniently taken Dorothy’s words out of context, the afflicted, her tormentors, shrieked “She confesses, she confesses!” But Dorothy fearlessly claps back: “‘I confess nothing; I deny that I am what ye say. I am as guiltless of the acts of witchcraft as ye say ye are.’” (Watson 312- 313)

Watson continues the sensationalist Romantic streak with her description of Dorothy’s procession to Gallows Hill where she is to be executed. As the narrator recounts,

[t]he procession was then formed. Dorothy, seated upon the rough board placed across the springless cart, was surrounded by officials and dignitaries. Some rode on horseback in advance of her, some on either side. The magic circle walked not far from the side of the vehicle, anxious to witness the last hours of their victim. By their absurd antics they intensified the excitement, which already ran fever high. ... (Watson 321-322)

Moreover, “at the head of the procession, clad in rich trappings, rode the chief magistrates and high officials with many eminent personages. Prominent among them was Cotton Mather...” (Watson 322-323) Here Watson does not miss the opportunity to bring to light the Puritan ministers and

magistrates' hubris and biased self-righteousness in their belief that they were eradicating the Devil and his agents. Cotton Mather,

> turning toward Judge Stoughton, who rode beside him, "this is a most gracious day for the world; eight lost wretches have we dispatched to their deserts, and now one more" — he turned in his saddle at these words, to glance at the last victim — "who, judging by her countenance, should be as good as the angels. Truly Satan loves to dwell in a fair domicile."
>
> "Well said, well said," replied Judge Stoughton. "We will at this rate soon rid the land of these imps of iniquity. ..." (Watson 322-323)

As we know by now, Dorothy is not executed. Yet again, as a (re)imagination of a woman-as-witch of Salem, Dorothy Grey is redeemed, in this case, in more ways than one. Watson does not allow Dorothy, the young, beautiful minister's wife, to be hanged for being a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch. Watson does, though, allow Dorothy to purge herself from her ordinary sin and keep the love of her devoted husband. Finally, Watson (re)creates Dorothy as a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch, who was accused because of her inversionary behaviour and convicted for her accusers' demonic delusions of *maleficium* .

4.7. *Ye Little Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft* by P. B. Mackie[255]

Like Watson, Mackie also foregoes introducing her novel with a descriptive preface clarifying her reasons for penning a story set in seventeenth-century Salem at the time of the witch-hunt. Also, like Watson, Mackie illustrates her diegesis. On page ix, one can find the list of four illustrations by Edward Wilbur Hamilton.[256]

---

[255] For more about the author, see Appendix D.

[256] Edward Wilbur Hamilton (1864-1943), portrait and landscape painter and illustrator, a significant member of the Boston School (painting).

Perhaps suggestive of scarcer primary source research on her part, Mackie focuses considerably less on the actual historical events and figures of the Salem witch hunt of 1692. However, she highlights the many idiosyncrasies of the late seventeenth-century Puritan demonology, strixology, and magical thinking. On occasions, she imparts anecdote-like instances as follows:

> There may be seen to this day in Salem a bottle containing the pins which were drawn from the bodies of those who were victims of witches. But the bottle which stood beside it for over a century was at last thrown away, as it was empty save for a few grains of some powder or dust. Little did they who flung it away realize that that pinch of grayish dust was the remains of the milk, which Satan, according to Bartholomew Stiles, had bewitched, and which was a large factor in securing the condemnation of Deliverance Wentworth. (Mackie 109-110)

Perhaps Mackie had the opportunity of observing the bottles mentioned, or perhaps they were part of her contemporaneous cultural memory of the Salem witch trials.

Nonetheless, Puritan superstition is at the forefront of this novel. As we have seen, with authors like Buckminster, Castleton and Disosway, Puritans are portrayed as people of their time who thus still withheld and practised the English (trans)cultural memory of witchcraft. The recurring *motif* with Mackey is that they engaged in magical thinking and believed in the Devil and demonic witches because they were Puritans.

Similarly to Castleton's *Salem* and Disosway's *South Meadows*, Mackey's *Ya Little Salem Maide* is a Romantic historical fiction that does not tell the story of the impact of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 on a particular Romantic relationship. It offers insight into the sentimental journey of a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine affected by that historical event.

Lastly, Mackie's (re)imagination of the woman-as-witch of Salem is a scantily edged demonic witch continually dismissed as a pretext for the melodramatic amusement of the reader or the chastisement of the regressive magical thinking of the Puritans, as we shall underline next.

4.7.1. A plot summary

Over two centuries ago, Deliverance Wentworth, a little Puritan maiden, is passing along the Indian path leading from Salem Town to her home. She encounters a Cavalier “seated near the path on the trunk of a fallen tree.” (Mackie 1) After striking a conversation with Deliverance, he bids her to deliver a menacing message covertly to Sir Jonathan Jamieson, the resident of the house “with many gables and dormer windows”: “The King sends for his black powder.” (Mackie 9,11) She acquiesces to the secret “service for his majesty, King George.” (Mackie 27) As a reward for her errand and silence, Deliverance is given “a string o’ gold beads,”which she carefully stores away in “a hollow oak.” (Mackie 134, 16)

The next evening, on one of Sir Jonathan Jamieson’s visits to her father, Master Wentworth, Deliverance summoned the courage and whispered the message to him. “Thereat Sir Jonathan jumped, and his jaw fell as if he had been dealt an unexpected blow.” He then raged, “take care lest you harbour a witch in yonder girl.” (Mackie 33)

Figure 50. "Take care lest you harbour a witch in yonder girl" - *Ye Little Salem Maide*, 33

Following Sir Jonathan Jamieson's instigating accusation, a series of boding evil events end with Deliverance being marched to jail by the Town Beadle[257] as a woman-as-witch.

Figure 51. *Ye Little Salem Made*, frontispiece

After a series of damning testimonies at her trial, Deliverance is found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. While Deliverance awaits in prison for her execution, her best friend Abigail Brewster, without the knowledge of the jailer, talks to her through the window bars of her prison cell. Without revealing too much, and after satisfying Abigail that she is no witch, Deliverance requests Abigail's aid in securing some ink and paper so she can write a letter to her brother, Ronald Wentworth, "a fellow of Harvard," to be delivered by Abigail herself. (Watson 206)

Sir Jonathan Jamieson visits Deliverance in prison under the pretext that he is doing research for his book on witchery. In reality, he bargains with Deliverance to give up the Cavalier to obtain a reprieve of her sentence. Because Deliverance remains resolute in her service to the king and does not believe his sob story over the Cavalier's one, Sir Jonathan threatens her with torture, but to no avail.

---

[257] A minor parish official whose duties include ushering and preserving order at services – including keeping people awake during the Sabbath by hitting them on the head with his staff – and sometimes civil functions.

After retrieving the letter from Deliverance, Abigail sets off on her journey to Boston the next day, for Deliverance will hang in a couple of days, and there is no time to waste if she is to be rescued by the Cavalier. As she tells no one about her errand in Salem, Abigail is deemed missing.

While on the road to Boston, night falls, and Abigail finds herself lost in the dark forest, where she encounters "an old woman" in her "little thatched cottage." (Mackie 191) Though Abigail first joins the older woman, she cannot conquer her deep seeded fear that the older woman is a witch and scurries away.

When Abigail arrives in Boston, she serendipitously runs into Ronald Wentworth, Deliverance's brother. After reading his sister's letter, he and Abigail set off to request a meeting with Governor Phipps to convey to him Deliverance's predicament. Once there, they discover that the Cavalier is his guest and has been confined to bed for several weeks with gout. Minister Cotton Mather joins them. After visiting Deliverance in prison, he is now also of the mind that Deliverance is innocent. He also urges Governor Phipps to ride to Salem and prevent the injustice of Deliverance's execution from being perpetrated. The Cavalier finally reveals his identity as he declares: "you behold in me Christopher Mallett, Lord of Dunscomb County and Physician to his Majesty, the King." (Mackie 243)

As Governor Phipps heads to Salem accompanied by soldiers, he is followed by Ronald Wentworth and Abigail Brewster on horseback. For Lord Christopher Mallet, particular travel provisions had to be made. Actually,

> [t]wo black men now bore out the Governor's state sedan-chair, upholstered in crimson cloth and gold fringe, the outside painted cream-colour. It had one large glass door.
>
> Lady Phipps hovered near, a feather duster in her hand.
>
> Lord Christopher next appeared, leaning on two slaves, his face pale from his recent bleeding. Groaning, he seated himself in the chair. When he was comfortably settled, one of the slaves at her ladyship's direction shut the door. (Mackie 259)

Figure 52. “Her ladyship tilted her chin in the air” - *Ye Little Salem Maide*, 260.

After a dire journey back to Salem, they all arrive just in time to join Deliverance on the scaffold on Gallows Hill and thwart her execution. Following Governor Phipps’s impassioned speech in which he declares that Deliverance is “innocent of the charge brought against her,” Lord Christopher Mallet imparts his tale. (Mackie 296) He reports his ordeals with Sir Jonathan Jamieson:

> It having been my practice to consult regularly a soothsayer, I learned from him that in two years’ time England would be visited by the Black Plague. ... I resolved to discover a simple [recipe] which would be both a preventive and a cure for this plague ... I took his Majesty the King into my confidence. The proposed adventure received his gracious approval. For its furtherance he gave me large monies ... I travelled to India to consult with Eastern scholars, wondrously learned in mysterious ways beyond our ken. Weeks, day and night, I spent in experimenting. ... My last experiment had stood the test. I had triumphed. The recipe was perfected. ... One man only besides the King was in my confidence. ... this false friend, having free access to my house, entered and stole the parchment having the recipe. ... I set to work

> again to recall the intricate formula of the recipe. I was unsuccessful. ... At last I learned that my enemy had gone to America and landed at ye Town of Boston, whither I followed him. ... My only hope lay in surprising my enemy afore he had time to destroy the parchment from fear and malice. My search led me to your town. ... Now, prompted by an unfortunate desire to annoy him and full of triumph, I did whisper in the little maid's ear tormenting words to say when next she met him, chuckling to myself as I thought of his astonishment that a fair and innocent child should have an inkling of his guilt. (Mackie 302-305)

Furthermore, had it not been for Deliverance, "a brave lass who hath done a doughtier deed in her King's service," and "her nimble wit, working in prison, that obtained the stolen parchment," Sir Jonathan Jamieson would have been successful in "having the recipe compounded, to return with it to England and obtain the honour of its discovery himself." (Mackie 306-307) As the story comes full circle, Deliverance's sentence is reprieved, her innocence is restored, and she is acclaimed as a heroine.

Accompanied by her brother, Deliverance returns home to her father, Master Wentworth, and Goodwife Higgins. Abigail continues to be Deliverance's best friend. Lord Christopher Mallet returns to England but stays in touch with Deliverance. Her brother Ronald Wentworth returns to Harvard after declining the opportunity of voyaging to England. And Sir Jonathan Jamieson, having escaped Salem during Lord Christopher's speech, now lives "in great opulence among the Cavaliers of Virginia" and has "written a most convincing book upon 'Ye Black Art & Ye Ready Wayes of Witches'." (Mackie 320)

4.7.2. This Puritan plague of witchery

Early on, Mackie sets her overtly disapproving tone on the subject of Puritan demonology and magical thinking. The disparaging remarks are (re)presented throughout the novel by Puritan and non-Puritan characters and seem intended to both inform and ridicule the Puritans and their "witchery." (Mackie 4) We shall now discuss a few instances.

When Deliverance first meets the Cavalier, Lord Christopher Mallet, by the forest, he flippantly brings up Satan. Almost panicked, she retorts: "Ye must not say that word lest the Devil answer to his

name." She pointed to where the sunset glimmered red behind the trees. "Do ye not ken that when the sun be set, the witches ride on broomsticks? After dark all good children stay in the house." (Mackie 3) Lord Christopher wittily replies: "and have you a law that witches must not ride on broomsticks? You Puritans had best be wary lest they ride your nags to death at night and you take away their broomsticks." (Mackie 3) Deliverance, as a young maid – thus raised within the (trans)cultural memory of witchcraft and Puritan demonology, in which witches do practice *maleficium* and ride broomsticks in the night to meet up with the Devil, who is as all-pervading as God – ultimately fails to recognise the derision in the Cavalier's comment. Or, perhaps she cannot admit to it. Instead, she shares the latest news update concerning the witch-hunt in Salem. She naively reports to the Cavalier:

> "Old Goody Jones is to be hanged for witchery this day week. One morn, who should find his nag steaming, flecked with foam, its mane plaited to make the bridle, but our good Neighbour Root. When I heard tell o' it, I cut across the clearing to his barn before breakfast, and with my own eyes saw the nag with its plaited mane and tail. Neighbour Root suspicioned who the witch was that had been riding it, but he, being an o'er-cautious man, kept a close mouth. Well, at dawn, two days later, he jumped wide-awake all in a minute, - he had been sleeping with an eye half-cocked, as it were, - for he heard the barn door slam. He rose and lit his lantern and went out. There he saw Goody Jones hiding in a corner of the stall, her eyes shining like a cat's. When she saw he kenned her, she gave a wicked screech and flew by him in the form o' an owl. He was so afeared lest she should bewitch him, that he trembled till his red cotton nightcap fell off. It was found in the stall by our goodly magistrate in proof o' Neighbour Root's words." (Mackie 3-4)

The Cavalier's torment is Mackie's as well, as he utters: "the Lord will yet make these people repent the innocent blood they shed. Hark ye, little mistress, I have travelled in far countries, where they have the Black Plague and terrible diseases ye wot not of. Yet this plague of witchery is worse than all ..." (Mackie 4) In truth, for an English physician at the end of the seventeenth century, or for Mackie in the nineteenth century, the belief in witchcraft is beyond any rational interpretation or remedy. However, instead of dispelling Deliverance's belief in witchcraft, he indulges her. He reassures Deliverance that if

she keeps a “fair and shining a conscience,” she will avert “Satan and his hags who work by the powers of darkness.” (Mackie 5)

Another example is when Abigail Brewster enters Master Wentworth’s still room.[258] Under her magical thinking, her perception of that particular space suggests that witchcraft is afoot. As the narrator reports it:

> She opened the still-room door and stepped inside. The window-shutters were closed. All was cool, dark, and filled with sweet scents. ... Something brushed against her ankles, frightening her. But when she heard a soft purring, she was greatly relieved that it was Deliverance’s kitten. ... Under the window a long board served as a work-table. It held a variety of bowls, measuring spoons, and bottles. In the centre was a very large bowl, covered by a plate. She lifted the cover and peered in, but instantly clapped the plate on again. A nauseating odour had arisen from the black liquid it contained. ... (Mackie 162-163)

To add to the witchcraft-like setting, Abigail “sees” witches’ familiars[259] everywhere. The narrator details that,

> from a dark corner, there jumped at her a witch in the form of a toad.
>
> Now it is all very well for a little maid to stand still and scream when assailed by a witch, but when a second and a third, a fourth, a fifth, and even a sixth witch appear, hopping like toads, it behooves that little maid to stop screaming and turn her attention to the best plan of removing herself from their vicinity. So Abigail frantically stepped upon a stool and thence to the table. Then she looked down. She saw the six witches squatted in a row on the floor, all looking up at her, blinking their bright eyes. They had such a knowing and mischievous air that she felt a yet greater distance from them would be more acceptable. ... she swung herself

[258] A room dedicated to keeping the workspace, implements and materials needed for a herbalist was a distillery room where medicines, cosmetics, beeswax candles, furniture polishes and soaps were brewed. Herbs and flowers from the kitchen garden were preserved for flavouring food and processed into essential oils. Also, candied marigolds and violets, sweetmeats, marchpanes, dried petals for broths and stews, and vegetable dye to colour butter and cheese were all prepared in the stillroom.

[259] See section 2.1.3.

> to the rafter above the table. Her feet, hanging over, were half concealed by the bunches of dried herbs tied to the beams. (Mackie 164)

On another occasion, young minister Cotton Mather, deceived by his senses and conditioned by his bias, is under an almost relentless impression that young Abigail Brewster's spectre tormented him while he travelled during the night. When in truth, it was her hiding in fear of him. Implying the ludicrousness of the situation, the narrator reports thatCotton Mather, who, pausing half-way across the room, was staring at the little maid, said:

> I did see the spectre of that child rise before me in the forest this very morn," he cried in a curious voice. "Nay, good sir," cried Abigail, finding voice in her terror, "it was my very living shape ye saw."
>
> "It rose in my path," spoke Cotton Mather, as if he heard her not. "I, believing it a living child, did glance about to see who accompanied it. When I looked for it again the Shape had gone."
>
> "Nay," cried Abigail, in mortal terror.
>
> "Nay, good sir, nay, it was my living self." (Mackie 244-245)

In yet another instance, when Goodwife Higgins and several Goodwives span their spinning wheel by the Wentworth's kitchen fireplace, they "turned their conversation upon witchcraft, and as they talked, sturdy voices shook and florid faces blanched at every gust of wind in the chimney." (Mackie 22) And, according to the narrator, "[a]h, what tales were told around the fireplace of the New England kitchen where centred all homely cheer and comfort, and the gossips' tongues wagged fast as the glancing knitting-needles flashed!" (Mackie 22) One such tale was young Goodwife Tucker's ordeal when her infant was taken from her by witches but later returned thanks to the effectiveness of the counter-magic swiftly set into action. In her words:

Ne' er shall I cease to have remembrance o' that wicked morn. I waked early and saw a woman standing by the cradle. 'In God's name, what come you for?' I cried, and thereat she vanished. I rose; O woeful sight these eyes beheld! The witches had taken away my babe and put in its stead a changeling. ... Long had I been feared o' such an evil and ne'er oped my eyes at morn save with fear lest the dread come true. Ye ken, gossips, a witch likes best a first bairn. There the changeling lay in my baby's crib, a puny, fretful, crying wean, purple o' lips and white o' cheeks. Quick the goodman went out and got me five eggs from the black hen, and we burnt the shells and fried the yolks, and with a jar o' honey (for a witch has a sweet tooth) put the relishes where she might find them and be pacified. She took them not. All that day and the next I wept sorely. Yet with rich milk I fed the fretting wean, feeling pity for it in my heart though it was against me to hush it to sleep in my arms. The night o' the second day the goodman slept heavily, for he was sore o' heart an' weary. But the changeling would not hush its wailing, so I rose and rocked it until worn out by much grief I fell asleep, my head resting on the hood o' the crib. When I oped my eyes in the darkness the crying was like that o' my own babe. I hushed my breath to listen. Quick I got a tallow dip and lighted it for to see what was in the crib. I fell on my knees and prayed. The witches had brought back my bairn,[260] and taken their fretting wean away. ... Full peaked and wan it looked ... and blue it was from hunger and cold, for no witches' food will nourish a baptized child." (Mackie 24-26)

Another example of how the seventeenth-century Puritans resorted to counter-magic to deal with their day-to-day challenges, which they thought were of preternatural origins, is mentioned. Like young Goodwife Tucker, Goodwife Higgins had to apply counter-magic to save her cream. Indeed, "[e]ven the cream was bewitched. The butter would not come until she had heated a horseshoe red-hot and hung it over the churn." (Mackie 43)

Eventually, "this superstition of witchery" takes over Salem. (Mackey 58) However, according to Mackey, there were stifled dissenting opinions for [i]t was said that the gallows had been set up, not only for the guilty but for those who rebuked the superstition of witchery. The unbelievers would be made

[260] Young Goodwife Tucker's speech suggests her Scottish background. Indeed, legends about changelings populate the fairy and witch lore in the British Isles, particularly in Scotland, suggesting Mackie was familiar with them. See, for example, "On the Fairies of Popular Superstition," Scott and Lang, *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott.*

to suffer to the fullest extent of the law." (Mackie 58) Moreover, "another fearful rumour was being circulated to the effect that a renowned witch-finder of England had been sent for. He was said to discover a witch by some mark on the body, and then cause the victim to be bound hand and foot and cast into a pond. If the person floated he was pronounced guilty and straightway drawn out and hanged. But he who was innocent sank at once."[261] (Mackey 58)

Mackie also briefly mentions the Sabbath day infamous for Minister Parris's instigating sermon.[262] The narrator describes how

> [m]any voices faltered and broke this morning. Few families but missed some beloved face. Over one hundred persons in the little village were in prison accused of witchery.
>
> The minister filled his prayers with the subject of witchcraft and made the barnlike building ring with the text: "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?"
>
> At this Goodwife Cloyse[263] ... rose and left the meetinghouse in displeasure. She believed the text alluded to her sister [Rebecca Nurse], who was then in prison charged with having a familiar spirit.
>
> The next day she too was cried upon and cast into prison as a witch, although a woman of purest life. (Mackie 61-62)

Mackie's overall censorious but informed understanding of the Salem witch hunt is apparent in the following passages. The narrator begins by commenting on "the people" who "were as frantic now lest they or their friends be accused of witchcraft, as they had formerly been fearful of suffering from its spells." (Mackie 80) About the afflicted and those who confessed, and their motivation, the narrator seethes about the

[261] We infer Mackie here is referencing Matthew Hopkins, the self-proclaimed "Witch-Finder General" and the swimming of a witch – see chapter 2.4.1. Yet, conceivably she does so merely to establish the (trans)cultural memory of the English witchcraft in the Salem witch-hunt. Or perhaps for literary effect, since Hopkins died in 1647, forty-five years before the Salem witch-hunt.

[262] See bio note about Minister Parris in Appendix E.

[263] See bio notes about Sarah Cloyse and Rebecca Nurse in Appendix E.

> craving for excitement which had actuated so many of the possessed, the opportunity for notoriety long coveted and at last put within reach of the coarsest natures, now began to be regarded in their true light. Moreover, there was a great opening for the wreaking of private hatreds, and many, to quiet their uneasy consciences, persuaded themselves that their enemies were in league with the Devil. But this zeal in pushing the prosecutions was becoming dangerous. For the accused person, confessing, and so granted his liberty, would straightway bring charges against his accusers. ...
>
> There were those who walked abroad, free, but bearing the burden of a wounded conscience. Many of these found intolerable the loathing and fear which greeted them, and desired that they might have died before they had falsely confessed to a crime of which they were not guilty.
>
> There were rumours, that for any contumacious refusal to answer, the barbarous common English law – peine forte et dure – would be brought in usage. (Mackie 81)

Regarding some of the Puritan strixological and demonological aspects, the narrator denounces that "[u]nbelievers were overwhelmed with evidence" and "[t]he signs of witchery multiplied in number. Certain spots upon the body were accounted marks of the Devil. Were the victims from age or stupefaction unable to shed tears, it was counted against them. The most ordinary happenings of life, viewed in the light of this superstition, acquired an unnatural significance." (Mackie 81) It led to absurd outcomes such as "[t]wo dogs, regarded accomplices in the horrid crime, were hanged with their owners" and "[a] child not more than four or five years old was also committed as a witch. Her alleged victim showed the print of small teeth in his arm where she had bitten him." (Mackie 81-82) And though, as pointed out earlier, Mackie suggests the "plague of witchery" in Salem was the exclusive responsibility of the Puritan Orthodoxy, here she accommodates their accountability to include the inescapable weight of the (trans)cultural memory of English witchcraft. The narrator proposes a series of rhetorical questions such as:

> [h]ad not the laws of England for over one hundred and fifty years been in force against witches? Thirty thousand had been executed, and Parliament had lately appointed a witch-finder, who, when he had discovered all the remaining witches in England, so it was said, was

to be sent to the colonies. Had not King James written a book against sorcerers and those possessed by the Evil One?

Archbishop Jewell had begged Queen Bess to burn all found guilty of the offence. Above all, the Lord Chief Justice of England had condemned them, and written a book from the Bible upon the subject.[264] (Mackie 82)

Reminiscent of the sentiment of but a few at the time of the Salem witch hunt, Mackie also introduces Judge Samuel Sewall as a reluctant participant in the proceedings. The narrator details that

> [o]ne judge, however, wore a black skullcap, from beneath which his brown locks, streaked with gray, fell to his shoulders, around a countenance at once benevolent and firm, but which now wore an expression revealing much anguish of mind. This was the great Judge Samuel Sewall, who, in later years, was crushed by sorrow and mortification that at these trials he had been made guilty of shedding innocent blood, so that he rose in his pew in the Old South Church in Boston Town, acknowledging and bewailing his great offence, and asking the prayers of the congregation cc that God would not visit the sin of him or of any other upon himself, or any of his, nor upon the land. (Mackie 93-94)

Mackie (re)creates several other characters with similar disavowing views to Judge Sewall. Upon finding out about her impending execution, Deliverance´s older brother, Ronald Wentworth clamours: "Long have I misdoubted these trials for witchery ... It tempts one to atheism. She, Deliverance, a witch, to be cast into prison! A light-hearted, careless child! God himself will pour out His righteous wrath upon her judges if they so much as let a hair of her head be harmed. They have convicted her falsely, falsely!" (Mackie 212) One of his Harvard colleagues, Master Hutchinson[265], shares his

[264] Here, Mackie may have misjudged her nineteenth-century readers' knowledge of English witchcraft and demonology, as her choice of key references requires further research to be fully apprehended. We find it unlikely that her readers would know about the work of King James VI and I entitled *Daemonology,* first published in 1597 in Scotland. Or about Mathew Hopkins, the self-proclaimed "Witch-Finder General" from 1643 to 1647 in East Anglia. Or about Bishop John Jewel's sermon before Queen Elizabeth I beseeching for legal action against witches, which led to the criminalisation of Witchcraft by the 1563 Witchcraft Act, lawfully titled an 'Act agaynst Conjuracons Inchantments and Witchecraftes.' Or, finally, about Mathew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of England and author of *A tryal of Witches, at the Assizes Held at Bury St. Edmunds for the County of Suffolk* published in 1682 and later one of the legal guides consulted by the ministers and justices of Salem.[264] Then again, perchance Mackie merely echoes contemporary nineteenth-century common knowledge about English witchcraft which testifies the robust (trans)cultural memory at this time.

[265] We infer Mackie refers to Thomas Hutchinson. For more about Hutchinson as one of the historians of the Salem witch hunt, see section 3.3.1.

insights on "how weak are the proofs brought against those accused of witchery." (Mackie 222) Governor Phipps, though he is first presented as "carried away by fanaticism, and in his zeal to clear the land of witches makes no provisions to spare the innocent," later delivers an exculpatory long-winded speech on the scaffold in defence of Deliverance's unmistakeable innocence. (Mackie 234-235) In it, while taking no accountability in the Salem witch hunt, he argues:

> "It hath become my duty to declare unto you that I came, not to pardon Deliverance Wentworth, but to declare her innocent of the charge brought against her, for the which she has been condemned to death. Circumstances have been so cunningly interwoven by the Evil One as to put upon this young maid, whom I pronounce wholly free and innocent of blame, the character of a witch. ... Assisted by that godly minister, Master Cotton Mather, I have made careful study of the will of the Lord regarding the sin and punishment of witchery. Better, far better, I say unto you, that twenty innocent people should be made to suffer than that one witch should go unhanged when you have catched her. This I say because we are now in a fair way to clear the land of witches. I would have you abate not one jot nor tittle of the zeal you have so far manifested, lest the good work be half done and thereby nothing be accomplished. For but one witch left in the land is able to accomplish untold evil. Therefore, while the Lord hath been gracious to so expediently correct the error of your judgment in sentencing this maid to be hanged, yet I do not condemn your error, but see rather, within the shell of wrong, the sweet kernel of virtuous intent, that you spared not in your obedience to the Lord's behest, one who, by reason of her tender years, appealed most artfully to your protection." (Mackie 296-297)

Mackie portrays even Cotton Mather as doubting one of the Puritan demonology's central but controversial tenets: spectral evidence.[266] In a conversation with the Cavalier, Lord Christopher Mallet, Cotton Mather declares: "While all this but the more surely convinces me of the evil reality of this awful visitation of witches ... yet we must not put too much faith in pure spectre evidence, for it is proven in this case that the Devil did take upon himself the shape of one very innocent and virtuous maid." (Mackie

[266] For more about Cotton Mather and his stance on spectral evidence in the context of Puritan demonology and the Salem witch hunt, see section 2.8.2.

251) To which the Cavalier added, while displaying disapproval, what his "very honoured contemporary, Sir Thomas Browne"[267] had told him about the afflicted "that the fits are natural, but heightened by the Devil cooperating with the malices of the witches, at whose instance he does the villanies." (Mackie 251)

By contrast, Mackie's reference to Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton is damaging. About the self-righteous magistrate who firmly believed in his mission to root out diabolism from New England, the narrator says that he was

> chosen to be chief justice, in that he was a renowned scholar, rather than a great soldier. Hard and narrow as he was said to be, he yet possessed that stubbornness in carrying out his convictions of what was right, which exercised in a better cause might have won him reputation for wisdom rather than obstinacy.
>
> To the end of his days he insisted that the witch-trials had been meet and proper, and that the only mistakes made had been in checking the prosecutions. It was currently reported that when the panic subsided, and the reprieve for several convicted prisoners came from Governor Phipps to Salem, he left the bench in anger and went no more into that court. "For," said he, "we were in a fair way to clear the land of witches. Who it is that obstructs the cause of justice, I know not. The Lord be merciful unto the country!" (Mackie 94-95)

Coming full circle, the Cavalier, Lord Christopher Mallet, delivers his speech on the scaffold, openly condemning Puritan demonology and its theocratic application, particularly against children. Lord Christopher "with renewed earnestness, raising his hand impressively," declares:

> "my dear people, God hath afflicted you more sorely with this plague of witchery than with the Black Plague itself. Yet it lies with you to check this foul disease. The Bible says, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.' But it also commands, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged.'

[267] Sir Thomas Browne submitted this opinion before Lord Chief Justice John Hale at St Edmundsbury in 1664, in the witchcraft trial of Amy Duny and Rose Cullender. In his work titled *Religio medici* published in 1635, Browne clarifies: "Againe I believe that all that use sorceries, incantations, and spells, are not Witches, or, as we terme them, Magicians; I conceive there is a traditionall Magicke, not learned immediately from the Devil, but at second hand from his Schollers;… Thus I think a great part of Philosophy was at first Witchcraft, which, having afterwards derived to one another, proved but Philosophy, but was indeed no more than the honest affects of Nature; what, invented by us, is Philosophy, learned from [the Devil] Magick" (Section III 31).

> Abide by the latter injunction, that you save your souls from sin and let not your land run red with innocent blood. Let each one of you be so exalted in goodness that evil cannot enter into you. But, and my words on witchery impress you not, let me at least beseech you who are of man's estate and have catched a child in sin, to remember that it but does as those around it, and is therefore to be dealt by tenderly." (Mackie 309-310)

Despite the condemnation, "[t]he terrible trials still continued" and "[o]nly that morning... two persons hanged... ." (Mackie 314)

4.7.3. The Green Forest witch

On the one hand, as we just discussed, Mackie criticises Puritan demonology and scorns "this plague of witchery." On the other, Mackie briefly exploits the woman-as-witch, using it as a literary device for entertainment value.

While on the road to Boston, night falls, and Abigail Brewster finds herself lost in the dark forest. She then comes across a scene much like a fairy tale. Indeed,

> "[t]here just beyond the five pines was a little thatched cottage, very humble, but all so neat and clean. The roof was covered with moss which, even in the twilight, gleamed like green velvet. Up one side and over the corner, trailed the dog-rose with its blush-tinted blossoms, while on both sides of the pathway flourished the wild lilies and forest ferns. In the doorway stood a spinning-wheel, a stool beside it." (Mackie 191)

As Abigail "walked boldly to the threshold and looked in," she finds "[a]n old woman, her back turned to the door, held a smoking skillet over the red coals on the hearth." (Mackie 191) And, as a young Puritan girl, her very first thought is that "[t]his old woman might be a witch." (Mackie 191) To protect herself from a potential witch's *fascinatio* (evil eye), Abigail almost instinctively resorts to some

counter-magic. "Quickly she doubled her thumbs in her palms, and hastened to be first to address the old woman with pleasant words, – these being precautions advisable to take in dealing with witches." (Mackie 192) As the older woman turned, her appearance conformed to the archetype and confirmed Abigail's fears. The older woman is described as having "a single yellow tooth projected on the old woman's lower lip, and she had a tuft of hair like a beard on her chin, – unmistakable signs of witchery." Nevertheless, "for faded and sunken as the old woman's eyes were, they were still blue as if they had once been beautiful, and they had a kindly light on beholding the little maid." (Mackie 192-193) Indeed, "[s]trangely enough, the old woman seemed to her like a witch one moment, and the next reminded her of her own dear old Granny Brewster. (Mackie 194)

When the older woman retorts to Abigail, her choice of words again seems meant to both arouse apprehension and empathy. She says: "It be good to see a bonny face ... take the bucket and fetch fresh water from the spring back o' the five pines. Ay, but it be good to see a human face, to hear a young voice, and the sound o' young feet. Haste, little one, whilst I cook another flapjack, which ye shall have wi' a pouring o' molasses." (Mackie 193) Promptly Abigail obliges. However, as she "lifted the bucket to the stone ledge, the effort took all her strength. She could not help but think how like a dead weight it would seem to the old woman, with her bent back..." (Mackey 193) Abigail overwhelmed by her magical thinking, remains unconvinced even though the alleged flapjack "smells uncommon relishing for a witch-cake." (Mackie 194) She cannot conquer her deep seeded fear that the older woman is a witch and scurries away.

Figure 53. "Strangely enough, the old woman seemed like a witch" – *Ye Little Salem Made*, 194.

On their way back to Salem from Boston, Abigail Brewster and Master Ronald Wentworth find themselves, at night, at the same place. Abigail forewarns Ronald that "there be a witch's cottage back of those five pines. ... I saw an old goody with a gobber tooth, cooking a witch-cake in a weamy-wimy hut, near five pine trees. And just beyond I drew her water in a bucket, at a spring." (Mackie 265) Though he scornfully dismisses her at first, the situation quickly descends into horror. Master Ronald Wentworth,

> looked back and saw the little maid's face white in the moonlight. "I ken not where it can be now," she said in a fearful whisper, "but it was there." She pointed to an empty space of ground where some flowers could be seen in the silver moonshine, but there was neither hut nor any sign of human habitation. ...
>
> As the student observed these flowers a strange uneasiness took possession of him. A climbing rose stood upright in the air with naught to cling to, while the other flowers seemed to follow a pathway to an invisible dwelling.
>
> "I beseech ye, let us hurry from the place," whispered Abigail, "it be uncanny. But there on that spot an hut stood when I went to Boston Town."
>
> Master Ronald spurred his horse, but suddenly drew up again. "What was that?" he cried; "my horse stumbled."
>
> "Hurry!" shrieked Abigail, glancing down and recognizing the outlines of the dark object, "it be the witch's pail."
>
> Now Master Ronald, for all his fine scorn of witches, spurred his horse and rode on in a lively fashion. (Mackie 266-267)

This time, Abigail is sure the older woman is a witch, and she asserts it to Master Ronald. As a Puritan, he cannot dismiss the preternatural context they are confronted. As if the result of some magical camouflage or demonic delusion, the older woman's dwelling is not visible to the naked eye but only sensed. Here Mackie's (re)creation is that of a woman-as-witch who is a witch. While in the instance, for example, of Nanny in Lee's *The Witch of New England* or Old Goody Truman in Watson's *Dorothy The Puritan*, the witch turns out to be merely a woman-as-witch, here we have quite the opposite. Almost

a mere caricature of a witch – neither a village witch nor a demonic one *per se* – the older woman's appearance is the only pertinent aspect, yet almost too innocuous for Abigail to feel genuinely threatened. In truth, she reminds Abigail of her grandmother and gets her to do chores for her. More like the witch who lures children with sweets and kittens in a fairy tale, the older woman's flapjacks did tempt Abigail. Still, she resisted and, as Mackie implies, she averted a much worse outcome. Overall, Mackie's mnemonic (re)imagination of the older woman in the green forest as a witch differs from all the previous ones discussed so far because it comes across as incongruous. What is more, it adds a touch of magical realism to this work of historical fiction.

4.7.4. Deliverance Wentworth: the witch-maid

Mackie (re)creates Deliverance Wentworth as a woman-as-witch who maintains Salem's Puritan demonology and magical thinking. Her inversionary traits, however, do support her being an apparent Romantic woman-as-witch heroine.

Deliverance is a young maid, orphaned by her mother and who "turned fourteen and for a year past a teacher in the Dame School."[268] (Mackie 13) Master Wentworth, her father, "was given to day-dreaming." (Mackie 64) But he was famous in "Boston Town for his beauty and honey waters as well as for his diet-drinks. Recently, he had had a large order from the Governor's lady – who had many vanities and was very fine indeed - for balls of sweet gums and oils, which, wrapped in geranium leaves, were to be burned on coals to perfume the room." (Mackie 42)

Deliverance often assists her father, as a herbalist, with his concoctions:

> Next to the kitchen the still-room was the most important one in the house. Here were kept all preserves and liquors, candied fruits and spices. From the rafters swung bunches of dried herbs, the gathering and arrangement of which was Deliverance's especial duty. From early

[268] It was a private elementary school in colonial New England with a female teacher. For a small fee, in money or goods, women, often housewives or widows, would take in young girls and boys. The children were taught a little writing, reading, essential prayers, and religious beliefs. In addition, girls might also learn sewing and embroidery. Teaching materials generally included a hornbook – a single-sided alphabet tablet – a primer, Psalter, and the Bible. See, for example, *Child Life in Colonial Times* by Alice Morse Earle.

spring until Indian summer did she work to make these precious stores. With the melting of the snows, when the Indian women boiled the sweet waters of the maple, she went forth to hunt for wintergreen. Together she and her father gathered slippery-elm and sassafras bark. Then, green, fragrant, wholesome, appeared the mints. (Mackie 28)

As a complement to her herbalist proficiency, Deliverance employs apotropaic magic methods.[269] As the narrator describes:

> Also, there were mysterious herbs which grew in graveyards and must be culled only at midnight. And there was the blessed thistle, which no good child ever plucked before she sang the verse:
>
> "Hail, to thee, holy herb,
>
> Growing in the ground,
>
> On the Mount of Calvarie,
>
> First wert thou found.
>
> Thou art good for many a grief
>
> And healest many a wound,
>
> In the name of Sweet Jesu,
>
> I lift thee from the ground."
>
> And there were saffron, witch-hazel, rue, shepherd's-purse, and bloody-dock, not to mention the yearly store of catnip put away for her kitten. (Mackie 28-29)

In addition, as we first meet her, she had just been sentenced to public punishment for her "foolish pate with vanity." (Mackie 19) For her "grievous sin," she "stood from early morn till set o' sun on a block o' wood beside the town pump..." (Mackie 2) In her conversation with the Cavalier, Deliverance recognises her sin and humbly undertakes her punishment. She declares:

[269] See section 2.1.3.

> “my punishment was none too heavy, for my heart had grown carnal and adrift from God, and the follies and vanities o’ youth had taken hold on me. It happed in this wise. Goodwife Higgins … made me this fair silken gown out o’ her wedding-silk brought from England. … Now, Abigail Brewster, whose father be a godly man, telled him that when I passed her going to meeting last Sabbath morn, I switched my fair silken gown so that it rustled in an offensive manner in her ears. So the constable came after me, and I was prosecuted in court for wearing silk in an odious manner. The Judge sentenced me to stand all day on the block, near the town-pump, exposed to public gaze in my fine raiment. Also, he did look at me o’er his spectacles in a most awesome, stern, and righteous fashion, for he said I ‘drew iniquity with a cord o’ vanity and sin with a cart-rope.’ (Mackie 6-7)

Her inversionary interaction with the Cavalier ends in a somewhat Mephistophelian note. A garish stranger, wearing “immoderate great sleeves with the watchet - blue tiffany peeping through the slashes,” a Cavalier, by the side of the road tasks Deliverance with a perilous errand in exchange for a “chain of gold beads wrapped in silk.” (Mackie 8, 14) As we now know, this errand is the catalyst of Deliverance’s witchcraft ordeal, as she predicts herself: “Perchance he will think me a witch and I say such strange words to him,” she answered, drawing away; “some say no one be more afeared o’ witches than he.” (Mackie 11)

Deliverance’s prediction is also the result of her magical thinking. She believes in witches and fears them. For example, on her way home after her encounter with the Cavalier, “[t]he gloom of twilight was rising thickly in the forest. Bushes stretched out goblin arms to her as she passed them. The rustling leaves were the whisperings of wizards, beseeching her to come to them. A distant stump was a witch bending over to gather poisonous herbs.” (Mackie 15) Also, when she is adamant about her innocence, she is confusingly fearful of her cellmate. As the narrator puts it:

> A woman, accused like herself, was placed in the same cell. She was brought from Ipswich, owing to the over-crowded condition of the jail in that village. For two days and nights, Deliverance had wept in terror and abhorrence of her companion. Yet some small comfort had lain in the fact that the woman was fastened by such a short chain in the further corner that she could not approach the little maid. Several times she had essayed to talk to

> Deliverance, but in vain. The little maid would put her hands over her ears at the first word. (Mackie 84)

After Sir Jonathan's accusation, the perception of Deliverance is immediately aggravated. As she,

> [r]eluctantly, Deliverance opened the door and stepped out into the kitchen. Sir Jonathan had been gone several moments. She was astonished to see the goodwives had risen and were huddled together in a scared group with blanched faces ..." Look ye, gossips," cried one, "look at the glint o' her een."
>
> To these Puritan dames the extreme beauty which the solitary childish figure acquired in the firelight was diabolical. The reflection of the dancing flames made a radiant nimbus of her fair, disordered hair, and brought out the yellow sheen in the silken gown. Her lips were scarlet, her cheeks glowed, while her soft eyes, wondrously blue and clear, glanced round the circle of faces. Before that innocent and astonished gaze, first one person and then another of the group cowered and shrank, muttering a prayer. (Mackie 34-35)

Furthermore, from that moment onwards, every daily mundane but odd occurrence in Deliverance's presence becomes an ill-omened preternatural event. First, "[t]hrough the door, swung open by the wind, swept a terrible gust, and with it passed in something soft, black, fluttering, which circled three times around the room, each time drawing nearer to Deliverance, until at last it dropped and fastened itself to her hair. Shrieking, the women broke from each other, and ran from the room..." (Mackie 36) But, as it turns out, it is only a bat.

Then, one early morning, after finding Deliverance's "small hooded bed empty," Goodwife Higgins is deeply distressed by the following sight:

On the window-ledge a little yellow bird sat preening its feathers. It looked at her with its bright, black eyes and continued its dainty toilet undisturbed. Now, this was strange, for as every one knew, the wild canary was a shy bird and flew away at the least approach. The goodwife grew pale, for she feared she was in the presence of a witch, knowing that witches often took upon themselves the forms of yellow birds, that they might by such an innocent and harmless seeming, accomplish much evil among unsuspecting persons. She tiptoed out of the room, and returned with her Bible as a protection against any spell the witch might cast upon her.

"Ye wicked one," she cried, and her voice shook, "ye who have given yourself over from God to the Devil, get ye gone from this godly house! "

At these words the bird flew away, proving it beyond doubt to be possessed by an evil spirit, for it is known that a witch cannot bear to hear the name of the Lord. The goodwife was yet more affrighted to see the bird fly in the woods in the direction in which the strawberry patch lay. There Deliverance probably was. What power could avail against the witch casting a malignant spell upon her? She leaned out of the window, calling, -

"Deliverance, Deliverance, come into the house! There be a witch abroad. Deliverance, oh, Deliverance!"

Several moments passed. At last to her anxious gaze appeared Deliverance, tripping out of the green woods from the direction in which the bird had flown. She was attired in her tiffany gown, and there was that about the yellow sheen of the fair silk and the long braid of her yellow hair which made her seem like the yellow bird in human form. (Mackie 39-40)

Also, when Ebenezer Gibbs, the boy Deliverance had sent to the "crying-corner" earlier that day at the Dame school – "the place where the children stood to weep after they had been punished" – along with some other of her pupils, becomes afflicted. (Mackie 48) After "Dame Grundle rang the bell for dismissal," Deliverance and some of the children head to the meeting-house where "the great witch-trial was still in session." (Mackie 49) Yet,

[s]uddenly she heard a strange sound. Glancing down she beheld one of her scholars, crawling on his hands and knees, mewing like a cat. Another child imitated this curious action, and yet

> another. A fourth child screamed and fell in convulsions. In a few moments the panic had spread to them all. The children were mad with terror. One little girl began barking like a dog, still another crowed like a cock, flapping her arms as though they were wings. ... "Even the babes be not spared," they cried;" see, they be bewitched."
>
> Goodwife Gibbs broke from the rest, and lifted up her little son who lay in convulsions on the dusty road. "The curse o' God be on the witch who has done this," she cried wildly; "let her be revealed that she may be punished."
>
> The child writhed, then grew quiet; a faint colour came back into his face. His eyelids quivered and unclosed. Deliverance called him by name, bending over him as he lay in his mother's arms. As she did so he struck her in the face, a world of terror in his eyes, screaming that she was the witch and had stuck pins in him. (Mackie 50-51)

Likewise, another errand gets Deliverance into further trouble. Her father, Master Wentworth, unwittingly compounds the suspicions against Deliverance by sending her "to carry to Goodwife Gibbs the tea he had brewed:"

> "Father sends ye this, goodwife," said the little maid; "it be a strengthening draught for Ebenezer. He bids me tell ye a fever sickness has seized o' the child."
>
> The goodwife snatched the bottle and flung it violently from her.
>
> "Get ye gone with your brew, ye witch-maid! No fever sickness ails my little son, but a spell ye have put upon him." (Mackie 62-63)

As well, at the meeting-house, after sitting right next to Goodwife Cloyse, who "[t]he next day she too was cried upon and cast into prison as a witch," (Mackie 62) Deliverance falls asleep in the nearby cemetery. When asked about such an unusual venue for a nap, her brazen and thoughtless reply does her no favours. She replies: "The Devil set a snare for my feet," to which "the watchman severely, quickly hiding his pipe behind him" retorts: "Satan kens his own ..."(Mackie 65)

Finally, in addition to the previous instances of suggestive preternatural nature, and in conjunction with her inversionary behaviour, the next event cements Deliverance's rumoured allegiance with the Devil. As she recentred the meeting-house,

> ... a great rush of wind swept in and a timber in the rafters was blown down, reaching the floor, however, without injury to any one.
>
> Many there were who later testified to having seen Deliverance raise her eyes just before the timber fell. These believed that she had summoned a demon, who, invisibly entering the meeting-house on the wings of the wind, had sought to destroy it.
>
> The sky, lately so blue, grew leaden gray. So dark it became, that but few could see to read the psalms. Thunder as yet distant could be heard, and the roaring of the wind in the tree-tops, and ever in the pauses of the storm, the ominous booming of the ocean.
>
> The watchman came inside. The tithing- man closed and bolted the great door. The minister prayed fervently for mercy. None present but believed that an assault of the demons upon God's house was about to be made.
>
> The rain began to fall heavily, beating in at places through the rafters. Flashes of lightning would illumine the church, now bringing into vivid relief the row of judges, now the scarlet-coated soldiers, or the golden head of a child and its terror-stricken mother, again playing on and about the pulpit where the impassioned minister, his face ghastly above his black vestments, called unceasingly upon the Lord for succour.
>
> The building was shaken to its foundations. Still to an heroic degree the people maintained their self-control.
>
> Suddenly there was a more brilliant flash than usual, followed by a loud crash.
>
> When this terrific shock had passed, and each person was beginning to realize dimly that he or she had survived it ... (Mackie 66-67)

As "strange rumours were afloat regarding Deliverance Wentworth" and "[d]ark looks were cast upon Deliverance, and muttered threats were made," unsurprisingly Deliverance is formally charged

with the crime of witchcraft. (Mackie 52, 63) Very early the very next morning, "the form of the Town Beadle with his Bible and staff of office darkened the doorway" of the Wentworth farmhouse. (Mackie 70)

> … the Beadle had been turning over the leaves of his Bible. He laid it open face downward on the table, to keep the place, while he carefully adjusted his horn-bowed spectacles on his nose. He cleared his throat.
>
> "Peace be on this household," he announced pompously, "and suffer the evil-doer to be brought out from his dark ways and hiding-place into the public highway where all may be warned by his example." Having delivered himself of these words he raised the Bible and read a stretch therefrom. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live, neither wizards that peep and mutter. . . . Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after them to be defiled by them." He closed the book and removed his spectacles. Then he lifted his staff and tapped Deliverance on the shoulder. "I arrest ye in the name of the law," he cried in a loud voice, "to await your trial for witchery, ye having grievously afflicted your victim, Ebenezer Gibbs." (Mackie 71-72)

As Deliverance protests her innocence – "I be no so wicked as ye make out" – the Beadle's only concern is to remain safe from her alleged witchcraft: "Touch me not," cried the Beadle, jumping back in wondrous spry fashion for so pompous a man, and in his fright overturning the stool, "nay, come not so near. Take your hands off my doublet. Would ye cast a spell on me? Approach no nearer than the length o' this staff." (Mackie 73) He then bids Goodwife Higgins as "[h]e drew a stout rope from his pocket. "Tie her hands behind her, gossip," he commanded, "I hanker not for to touch a witch-maid. Nay, not so easy, draw that knot tighter." (Mackie 74)

Once arrived at the prison, the jailer is urged to "[t]ake care lest she cast a spell on ye to make your bones ache," advised the Beadle, standing safely outside the threshold. "I be no feared," answered the jailer, whom long experience and familiarity with witches had rendered impervious, "but the lock on this chain ha' rusted an' opens hard." (Mackie 77) Promptly, "Deliverance felt a hand clasp her left foot, and in another instant the jailer had snapped the iron ring around her ankle. The other end of the chain was fastened to the wall." (Mackie 78)

Two weeks later, without any visits, "on a fair June day," Deliverance was finally led to the meeting-house for her trial. After Goodwife Higgins and her testimony about "the yellow bird on the window-ledge" incident, Master Wentworth, her father, "[t]heart-broken man had nothing to say which would lead to her conviction" to which the audience commented: "She has bewitched him. She has not even spared her father. See how blind he is to her sinfulness... ." (Mackie 96-97) Their testimonies are followed by Sir Jonathan Jamieson's. Deliverance engages him: "Oh, sir," she cried, using strong old Puritan language, "tell the truth and mortify Satan and his members, for he has gotten me in sore straits." (Mackie 98) But when admonished to remain silent, true to her inversionary stance, she decries: "Methinks that I be the only one not allowed to speak, ... which be not right, seeing I be most concerned." And she shook her head, very greatly perplexed and troubled. (Mackie 98)

Sir Jonathan Jamieson proceeds with a damaging statement as he cunningly ticks all the Puritan demonology boxes. He states:

> ... some several weeks ago as I did chance to stop at the town-pump for a draught o' cold water, the day being warm and my throat dry, I paused as is meet and right before drinking to give thanks, when suddenly something moved me to glance up, and I saw the prisoner standing on a block near by, laughing irreverently, which was exceeding ill-mannered. ... "I was moved to think there was a spell cast upon the water, for after drinking I had great pain and needs must strengthen myself with a little rum. Later I met our godly magistrate and chanced to mention the incident. He telled me the prisoner's name, and how her vanities and backslidings were a sore torment to her father, and that he knew neither peace nor happiness on her account." (Mackie 99-100)

He continues:

> "The night of the same day on which I saw the prisoner standing on the block near the town-pump, I went with a recipe to Master Wentworth's home to have him brew me a concoction of herbs. ... While thus talking, he opened the door, called his daughter from the kitchen, and gave her a small task. ... As I was about to pass the prisoner ... I paused, and put my hand in

> my doublet pocket ... But as my fingers clasped the silver piece, my attention was arrested by the expression of the prisoner's face. So full of malice was it that I recoiled. And at this she uttered a terrible imprecation, the words of which I did not fully understand, but at the instant of her uttering them a most excruciating pain seized upon me. It racked my bones so that I tossed sleepless all that night." He paused and looked around solemnly over the people. "And since then," he added, "I have not had one hour free from pain and dread." (Mackie 101-102)

Again, Deliverance resolutely restates her innocence: "I be innocent o' any witchery, your Lordships," she repeated bravely, "and there be another judgment than that which ye shall put upon me." (Mackie 103)

Another witness comes forward: "[t]he fourth witness, Bartholomew Stiles, a yeoman, bald and bent nearly double by age," points "his trembling finger" at Deliverance as he declares: "Ay, there her be, worships, there be the witch." (Mackie 104) Then he gives his account of what had happened the previous week:

> "That day at set o' sun I was going into toone wi' my buckets o' milk when I spied a bramble rose. 'Blushets,' says I to them, 'ye must be picked;' for I thought to carry them to the toone an' let them gae for summat gude to eat. So I set doone my pails to pull a handful o' the pretty blushets. O' raising my old een, my heart was like to jump out my throat, for there adoon the forest path, 'twixt the green, I saw the naughty maid i' amiable converse wi' Satan. ... "As ye ken," continued the old yeoman, "the Devil be most often a black man, but this time he was o' fair colour, attired in most ungodly fashion in a gay velvet dooblet wi' high boots. So ta'en up wi' watching o' the wickedness o' Deliverance Wentworth was I, that I clean forgot myself... wi' mine very een, I beheld the prisoner turn an' run towards her hame, whilst the Devil rose an' come doone the path towards me, Bartholomew Stiles! ... I dropped) an' closed my een an' prayed wi' a loud voice. I heard Satan draw near. He stopped aside me. 'Ye old silly,' says he, 'be ye gane daffy?' Ne'er word answered I, but prayed the louder. I heard the vision take a lang draught o' milk from the bucket wi' a smackin' o' his lips. Then

> did Satan deal me an ungentle kick an' went on doon the path. ... Then I saw that what milk remained i' the bucket out o' which Satan drank, had turned black (Mackie 106-108)

As evidentiary proof of his testimony, Bartholomew Stiles reaches into his pocket, takes out "a small bottle filled with a black liquid" and presents it to the judges. Upon observation, it smells and looks like "milk which has clabbered" and is "now a malignant fluid." (Mackie 108-109)

Of course, the preternatural occurrence is later explained away by the Cavalier himself. Not the Devil observed by the old yeoman, but simply Lord Christopher Mallet who states: "... I met an old silly, praying. I dropped a black pellet in one of his pails of milk as an idle jest." (Mackie 306)

Though not identified by name,"[t]he next witness was the minister who had conducted the services on the afternoon of that late memorable Sabbath, when the Devil had sought to destroy the meeting-house during a thunder-storm." (Mackie 110) None other than Minister Samuel Parris, according to the narrator, "this very minister was driven from the town by his indignant parishioners, who blamed him not that he had shared in the general delusion, but that many of his persecutions had been actuated by personal malice." (Mackie 111)

Again, "I be no witch," cried Deliverance, shrilly. "Dear Lord, give them a sign I be no witch." (Mackie 112) It is a brazen request because of her hubris in thinking that God would attend to the request of a woman with ordinary sin. Moreover, if any sign had come, it would be interpreted as preternatural, not supernatural, i.e. of the Devil, not of God.

The last witness is the afflicted boy, Ebenezer Gibbs. As the narrator describes,

> ... a child came slowly up the aisle, clinging to his mother's skirts. His thin little legs tottered under him; his face was peaked and wan, and he hid it in his mother's dress. When the Beadle sought to lift him, he wept bitterly, and had to be taken by force, and placed upon the platform where the accused was seated. The poor baby gasped for breath. His face grew rigid, his lips purple. His tiny hands, which were like bird's claws, so thin and emaciated were they, clinched, and he fell in convulsions. (Mackie 113)

Unlike the previous authors, Mackie does not reference the afflicted girls at all. Indeed, Deliverance's accuser is not even a girl. Moreover, his afflictions are more easily identified as symptoms of a health condition. Master Wentworth diagnoses it but is dismissed by all. Also, there is no mention that Deliverance's spectre torments him. When it comes down to proving beyond any doubt that she is a witch, Mackie opts for the touch test. The narrator explains that

> [t]he supreme test in all cases of witchery was to bring the victim into court, when he would generally fall into convulsions, or scream with agony on beholding the accused.
>
> The Beadle and his assistants would then conduct or carry the sufferer to the prisoner, who was bidden by the judge to put forth his hand and touch the flesh of the afflicted one. Instantly the convulsions and supposed diabolical effects would cease, the malignant fluid passing back, like a magnetic current, into the body of the witch. (Mackie 114)

As soon as little Ebenezer Briggs is brought forward to Deliverance, "[i]n the awed silence he was seen to raise himself in the prisoner's arms and smile. With an inarticulate, cooing sound, he stroked her cheek with his little hand. ..." (Mackie 115-116) At first oblivious that the ambiguous test had proven her guilt, Deliverance cried: "Ye see, ye see I be no witch, ... ye see he be no afeared o' me." (Mackie 115-116) Nevertheless, "as soon as the words left her lips, she shrank and cowered, for she realized that the test of witchery had succeeded, that she was condemned." While "little Ebenezer Gibbs regained strength," Deliverance's "arms were then bound behind her that she might not touch any one else." (Mackie 115-116)

To refute and reassure those "doubters [who] had protested that the prisoner being young and a maiden," at this point in Deliverance's trial, "the famous Cotton Mather, of Boston Town, being then about thirty years old and in the height of his power" intervenes. (Mackie 116-117) He first addresses the heresy of disbelieving diabolism and that the Devil can take the shape of innocent pious Puritans.[270] He expounds:

[270] See section 2.2.4.

“Atheism,” he said, tapping his Bible, “is begun in Sadducism, and those that dare not openly say, ‘There is no God,’ content themselves for a fair step and introduction thereto by denying there are witches. You have seen how this poor child had his grievous torment relieved as soon as the prisoner touched him. Yet you are wrought upon in your weak hearts by her round cheek and tender years, whereas if the prisoner had been an hag, you would have cried out upon her. Have you not been told this present assault of evil spirits is a particular defiance unto you and your ministers? Especially against New England is Satan waging war, because of its greater godliness. For the same reason it has been observed that demons, having much spitred against God’s house, do seek to demolish churchs during thunderstorms. (Mackie 117-118)

Then he reinforces the veracity of the torments of the afflicted, by referencing his own personal experience and observations of the Goodwin children[271]:

Of this you have had terrible experience in the incident of this prisoner. You know how hundreds of poor people have been seized with supernatural torture, many scalded with invisible brimstone, some with pins stuck in them, which have been withdrawn and placed in a bottle, that you all may have witness thereof. Yea, with mine own eyes have I seen poor children made to fly like geese, but just their toes touching now and then upon the ground, sometimes not once in twenty feet, their arms flapping like wings!”

And he concludes:

“Surely,” he spoke aloud, yet more to himself than to the people, “the Devil does indeed take on at times the appearance of a very angel of light!” ...

The conviction is most earnestly forced upon me that God has made of this especial case a very trial of faith, lest we embrace Satan when he appears to us in goodly disguise,

[271] See sectionr 2.8.1.

> and persecute him only when he puts on the semblance of an old hag or a middle-aged person. Yet, while God has thus far accorded the most exquisite success to our endeavour to defeat these horrid witchcrafts, there is need of much caution lest the Devil outwit us, so that we most miserably convict the innocent and set the guilty free. … they who were hearty and of mature age could not withstand the torture of being twisted and pricked and pulled, and scalded with burning brimstone, how much less could a weak, tender maid resist their evil assaults?… What better proof could you have that the Devil would indeed beguile the court itself by a fair outward show? Behold a very Sadducee! See in what dire need we stand to permit no false compassion to move us, lest by not proceeding with unwavering justice in this witchery business we work against the very cause of Christ. (Mackie 119-121)

Mackie's (re)imagination of Cotton Mather is a rather sympathetic and eloquent one. He further makes one last exceptional appeal: "Still, while I would thus caution you not to let one witch go free, meseemeth it is yet worth while to consider other punishment than by halter or burning." (Mackie 121) Exceptional not only for its merciful content but for its blatant historical inaccuracy, since no witches were ever submitted to being burnt to death in New England, let alone in Salem. It makes us wonder whether it is a new motif added to the late nineteenth-century American cultural memory of witchcraft.

Finally, Cotton Mather reinforces his commitment to fighting the Devil and his agents, starting with Deliverance as he declares:

> "I become more and more convinced that my failure to bring this miserable maid to confession, and indeed the whole assault of the Evil Angels upon the country," he continued, using those words which have been generally accepted as a revelation of his marvellous credulity and self-righteousness, "were intended by Hell as a particular defiance unto my poor endeavours to bring the souls of men unto heaven. Yet will I wage personal war with Satan to drive him from the land." (Mackie 123-124)

Deliverance is unsurprisingly found guilty: "Deliverance Wentworth," said Chief Justice Stoughton, "you are acquaint with the law. If any man or woman be a witch and hath a familiar spirit,

or hath consulted with one, he or she shall be put to death. You have by full and fair trial been proven a witch and found guilty in the extreme." (Mackie 125-126) Urged, one last time, to "confess that [she] sinned through weakness, and repent that [she] did transfer allegiance from God to the Devil." Deliverance is steadfast in her inversionary stance as she clamours: "I be no witch," cried Deliverance, huskily, "I be no witch. There be another judgment." (Mackie 126) But as "she would not confess to the crime of which she had been proven guilty in the eyes of the law, she was sentenced to be hanged within five days, on Saturday, not later than the tenth nor earlier than the eighth hour. ... [I]t was forbidden any one to visit her, excepting of course the officers of the law, or the ministers to exhort her to confession." (Mackie 128)

Soon Deliverance, the "witch-maid", finds herself being bullied into a confession[272] by Sir Jonathan Jamieson and Minister Cotton Mather. (Mackie 174) Sir Jonathan insists that "[s]he has a spectre which would do [him] evil" and "to try less gentle means and use threats" like the ones used on "old Giles Corey."[273] (Mackie 181, 183, 184) Like him, if Deliverance refuses to admit her guilt, she "shall not be accorded even the mercy of being hanged, but tied hands and feet, and laid upon the ground. And the villagers shall come and heap stones on you, and I, whom you have afflicted, shall count them as they fall." (Mackie 185) Though shaken to her core, the "witch-maid" remains unwavering in her silence.

Cotton Mather's sympathetic streak shines through once again. After praying with Deliverance and closely observing her genuine suffering, he is "moved to compassion" and self-doubt by her inversionary behaviour. (Mackie 186) Before leaving Deliverance with Sir Jonathan, he tells him: "Let us use all zeal to do away with these evil sorcerers and their fascinations, good Sir Jonathan, but yet let us deal in mercy as far as compatible with justice, lest to do any living thing torture be a reflection on our manhood. ... This affair savours ill .... my heart turned within me, and strange feelings waked at her cry." (Mackie 186-187)

Mackie adds one final touch to her (re)creation of Deliverance, as she receives one unexpected visit. "Looking at her through the bars on the outside window-ledge, was a limp, bedraggled and forlorn kitten with a torn ear. It had climbed the apple tree to be rid of its merciless pursuers." (Mackie 275-276) Deliverance's black kitten had made its way to her in jail. True to his cultural memory of witchcraft,

---

[272] See section 2.2.4.3.

[273] See for a bio note on Giles Corey, see Appendix E.

to the jailer, this meant "[t]he witch be turning herself into an imp o' Satan." (Mackie 279) And, as "[f]rom the cell came again that terrible cry, a wailing, mournful sound so wild and eeri" he was further convinced "[t]he witch be calling on her Master, Satan," chattered the jailer." (Mackie 280)[274]

On the following day, the day of her execution, as the Town Beadle commanded Deliverance forward, "the little maid bent down and lifted something from the straw pallet. As she turned, they saw she held a little black kitten, curled in slumber, against her breast." (Mackie 286) As a result, "the old jailer shuddered and muttered a prayer, and the Beadle's fat face grew white. They believed that she, after the manner of witches, had summoned an imp from Hell to bear her company." (Mackie 287)

Though Thomas, her little black kitten, functions as an emotional support animal to Deliverance, Mackie highlights how its innocuousness is instead perceived by Deliverance's magical thinking community as validation of the presence of the preternatural. Ultimately, it obliterates any doubts, if there still were any, that Deliverance is a woman-as-witch.

Deliverance Wentworth is the "witch-maid" who falls prey to the very belief system she is nurtured in. Though imbued with inversionary behaviour, Mackie's (re)imagination of the woman-as-witch of Salem, similarly to Watson's in *Dorothy The Puritan*, feels less historically redeeming. Yes, Deliverance is rescued from the grip of execution. And yes, she is a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine who risks her own life for the love of her King and loyalty to a friendly Cavalier. Yet, we cannot avoid the impression that with Mackie, the historical woman-as-witch of Salem, somewhat fades into the background while giving way to the more ludic witch we can nowadays find in the touristy Salem Town.

[274] See section 2.1.3.

CONCLUSION

> "In our secularized societies, witchcraft may seem the epitome of past collective madness. However, people still hold on to beliefs in witches, particularly female, unaware of the extent of the demeaning impact the witch stereotype had and still has on the image of women in society. Even though feminist scholars have lately argued that witchcraft was a means of female empowerment, it is nonetheless a belittling cultural construct all women should abhor and fight against."
>
> (Abreu, "Transatlantic," 33)

Having analysed the different historical, literary and cultural *corpus* of our research, we shall now pinpoint the key findings of our study and highlight the merit and contribution thereof. We shall also draw attention to the study's shortcomings and suggest further research fields.

The goal of the present study was to provide a descriptive analysis of how the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 was counter-memorialised through the American nineteenth-century mnemonic (re)imaginations, namely in Romantic historicals authored by E. B. Lee, M. B. Condit, D.R. Castleton, E.T. Disosway, C. G. Du Bois, C. Watson, and P. B. Mackie.

Such a goal was achieved by analysing compelling stereotypes like the village witch, the demonic witch and the Puritan demonic witch and their (re)creations as female characters in our literary *corpus*.

In Lee's *Delusion or The Witch of New England* (1840), Edith Grafton is (re)created as a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine. As such, most of her inversionary traits result from her equally unusual early life circumstances for a seventeenth-century young Puritan woman. Firstly, when left without a mother at a very young age, Dinah, the Grafton's household enslaved African, becomes her loving adoptive mother. Upon her father's passing, she is bestowed with financial independence. Yet, her financial non-reliance on others, particularly men, did not shield her from being targeted as a witch. On the contrary, it further placed her in peril. Indeed, Edith is a nineteen-year-old educated unwedded woman of means, living with her enslaved servants Dinah and Paul as her only companions, with a very agreeable and eligible love interest, Seymore. During her trial, Edit faces her accuser, Phoebe, her foster little girl. The various occasions of the sensory staging of Phoebe's torments allegedly attest to Edith

being the witch tormenting her. In addition to Phoebe's damning testimony, another older woman accused of witchcraft made matters worse for Edith by confessing to diabolism and incriminating her. Despite the evidence, Edith remained steadfast in her inversionary response by not confessing. Moreover, though Edith admits to ordinary sin, she is unyielding about not having incurred or even believing in diabolism and dares to presume God's designs. Despite all the insistence, Edith Grafton, like every woman-as-witch executed in Salem in 1692, does not confess to diabolism. Unlike them, however, Lee ensures that her woman-as-witch heroine escapes unarmed.

Conversely to Edith, a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch, Lee (re)creates Nanny as part of the unseemly people in Edith Grafton's community. Nanny's portrayal further supports the insinuation that she is a village woman-as-witch. She is the older, wicked-looking woman known for her Inversionary behaviour and auguring words. She also collects herbs, is unsocial and lives in the cabin on the cliffs. Despite the overt allusion that Nanny is the village woman-as-witch, Lee counter-memorialises Nanny as a poor older woman who keeps to herself and has a past.

M.B. Condit, in her Romantic historical, *Philip English's Two Cups or 1692* (1869), (re)presents Susannah English as the Romantic woman-as-witch heroine. Wife to the wealthy merchant Philip English, Susannah English's good standing in the Salem community did not prevent her from being accused during the witch hunt. However, as (re)presented by Condit, in the end, Susannah English's social status at least prevented her from undergoing the heinous consequences of that accusation. From the beginning, Susannah is openly critical of Reverend Parris and his hand in fanning the witchcraft flames in Salem. Also, despite witnessing the suffering of the first afflicted girls, she remains sceptical at best. Exacerbating Susannah's inversionary stance is her fearless compassion towards the accused and their relatives. For example, she sits next to Sarah Cloyse, sister to the accused Rebecca Nurse, at church, right after Reverend Parris' castigating demonological sermon. Once Susannah English is accused, despite being served with the warrant, examined, and briefly remanded to the jail in Boston, the ministers and Justice Hathorne are resolutely convinced of Susannah's innocence and go as far as forewarning Philip and helping him plan their escape to New Amsterdam. As Condit (re)creates it, Susanna's inversionary behaviour had made her a woman-as-witch to the Salem community. Still, it had failed to do so to most of its Puritan authorities, some of whom were Condit's distant relatives.

Similarly to Lee and Condit, D. R. Castleton uses her historical fiction *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth-Century* (1874) as a medium to make the cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt more accessible to the nineteenth-century American general public. She is aware that the benefits of a

mnemonic (re)imagination of the Salem witch hunt far outweigh the likelihood of it being forgotten altogether if confined to the history books tucked away on dusty shelves, as she explains in the Preface. In *Salem*, Castleton also emphasises the absent sense of atonement on the part of the driving agents of the Salem witch hunt. She further echoes and reiterates the relevance of counter-memorialising the Salem witch hunt as a cautionary tale for the betterment of the country itself.

The outstanding female figures of the Salem witch hunt (re)created in the novel are seemingly arranged into two groups: the girls and the older women. Though they all engage in inversionary behaviour, the balance of power is skewed in favour of the accusatory girls. Though afflicted, they thrive, while the older women encounter their demise under the accusation of being Puritan demonic witches, just like what happened during the Salem witch hunt. Though Elsie and Alice Campbel are the main women-as-witches heroines in this mnemonic (re)imagination of the Salem witch hunt, their stories are interpolated by the (re)created ones of several other women-as-witches. Namely, Sarah Good, Sarah Osburn,[275] Tituba, Rebecca Nurse, and Mrs. Hanna Browne.[276] Though neither Alice nor Elsie are based on actual key figures of the Salem witch hunt, by comparison, they strengthen Castleton's counter-memory in which Alice Campbell behaves like the young women in Salem should have acted. Furthermore, Elsie Campbell owns her inversionary behaviour and overcomes her ordeal, just like the victims of the Salem witch hunt should have. Thus, Castleton counter-memorialises their outcome and opts to have Alice rewarded for her inversionary behaviour while Elsie, her grandmother, receives clemency and gets her sentence reprieved.

By telling about the witchcraft ordeal of the orphaned Episcopalian Beresford sisters, Allison and Ida, E. T. Disosway, in her mnemonic (re)imagination of the Salem witch hunt, *South Meadows: A Tale of Long Ago* (1874), debates and justifies several precepts of Puritan demonology throughout. Indeed, according to Disosway, the early Puritans were just people of their time who did not know any better. However, though they should be understood and forgiven, their behaviour in the Salem witch hunt should be counter-memorialised as a cautionary tale. In addition, several of Disosway's characters and the narrator seem to voice the author's knowledgeable grasp of the (trans)cultural memory of the English village woman-as-witch and the Puritan demonic woman-as-witch. For example, Disosway

[275] The spelling of this surname varies in the Salem witchcraft trial records. Here we are using the exact spelling Castleton uses in the novel.

[276] For more biographical information on these key figures in the Salem witch hunt, see Appendix E.

depicts Cotton Mather referencing the inexorability of diabolism, the absolute legitimacy of confessing to diabolism, and that extraordinary events, good or bad, are preternatural i.e. the Devil's *mira*.

Alison is the one accused of witchcraft by her cousin Ruth Fairfax. Having heard in detail about how the Salem afflicted behaved and how the blame always fell on an accused witch, Ruth's accusation is substantiated by her visions of the Devil himself enveloping Allison and her afflictions, which worsen in Alison's proximity. Nevertheless, Allison Beresford is an implausible woman-as-witch. Disosway (re)creates Allison bearing no apparent traits of the (trans)cultural memory of a village witch or a demonic witch or of the woman-as-witches of Salem who were significantly older. Indeed, Allison is of the right age to be one of the afflicted accusers. As a result, Allison's life is spared based on the magistrates' and ministers' discriminatory views that older women ought to be witches rather than younger ones. But in her resolve and inversionary stance, Allison Beresford is also a (re)imagination of the woman-as-witch of Salem, recreated as a heroine. She braves her accuser and examiners. She believes herself on equal footing with the godly men and with all the Puritans present at her trial as far as ordinary sin is concerned – though she is an Episcopalian. And she decries witchcraft and diabolism, which makes her also a heretic. Ultimately, for Disosway, Alison Beresford as a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine can only escape being sentenced to death as a witch if she becomes God's sacrificial lamb, with her premature and unjust demise in jail.

As the title suggests, in *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* (1890), Martha Corey is the woman-as-witch of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 (re)created by C.G. Du Bois. Yet, Martha and Giles Corey[277] only feature twelve of the twenty-eight chapters.

A less well-researched book than those mentioned above, *Martha Corey*, provides some insight into Du Bois's awareness of the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch. However, she seems far more reliant on the nineteenth-century cultural memory of the Salem witch hunt than on the seventeenth-century sources or her contemporary historians. (Du Bois 289) In this novel, several key historical figures of the Salem witch hunt were used but only to advance the Romantic portion of the plot. Such is the case of Bridget Bishop and Lady Mary Phipps.[278] Du Bois's choice of title, *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft* comes across as a literary gimmick to ensure a more successful reception

[277] For more biographical information, see Appendix E.

[278] See Appendix E.

of her far more Romantic than historical fiction, suggesting the pertinence and appeal of the subject of the Salem witch hunt to the end of nineteenth-century American readers.[279]

In Disosway's *South Meadows*, Cotton Mather is held responsible for the Salem witch hunt of 1692. In this novel, in *Martha Corey*, Reverend Parris, (re)imagined by Du Bois not as a Puritan minister of his time but as a man with a troubled past, is the "mercenary schemer" of the Salem witch hunt. Reverend Parris knowingly and purposefully acted as he did. He instigated and unleashed the afflicted girls. Unaware of his scheme, the girls are nevertheless willing participants in the pretence, using all the demonological material Reverend Parris maliciously provides them. Indeed, Du Bois exposes the afflicted girls as wild, callous, manipulative and vicious frauds. Ultimately, Du Bois' (re)imagination of Reverend Parris is justly rewarded with the torment of a guilty conscience and ostracisation.

The (re)imagination of Martha Corey by Du Bois is that of a woman-as-witch with many features of inversionary behaviour. From the first moment we meet the Coreys, Martha has a leading position in decision-making in their family life. She is a younger woman married to a much older sick man with a quarrelsome reputation and with stepchildren the same age as her. On several occasions, we see Giles Corey begrudgingly assenting to her decisions.

Martha Corey's authoritative stance is grounded in her piety. She prays whenever she needs to sort out her thoughts and make judgments. By behaving in this manner, Martha Corey is fundamentally inversionary. As a woman, she dares to seek independently divine wisdom and guidance, sidestepping the Puritan holy men. Moreover, she is a woman who stands by her freedom of thought and enjoys engaging in intellectual pursuits. Despite her inversionary traits – or perhaps because of them – Martha Corey will come to be accused as a woman-as-witch because of her association with Lady Beatrice Desmond. Had she not taken in Beatrice, the broken-hearted English refugee, Martha would not have crossed the metaphorical sword with Capitan Percy Desmond, who wants Beatrice at any cost and holds sway over Reverend Parris, the "mercenary schemer" of the Salem witch-hunt, as Du Bois (re)imagines it.

Martha Corey is charged, convicted, and executed for witchcraft, just like her historical counterpart. Nevertheless, Du Bois' counter-memorialisation offers a more satisfactory closure with Martha Corey being (re)created as a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine whose only crime was getting

[279] See section 3.3.2.

involved with the wrong person's marital complications. Concurrently, Du Bois seems compelled to subject her other Romantic heroine, Lady Beatrice, to becoming a woman-as-witch for her close association with a suspected witch, Martha Corey, a recurring situation in the Salem witch hunt.[280] When Charles Beverly liberates his wife Beatrice from prison, Du Bois leaves Martha Corey sitting in jail. Martha Corey and Lady Beatrice Desmond are both Romantic woman-as-witch heroines, and Du Bois places them at the centre of a symbiotic relationship of impending doom. Martha Corey is meant to perish in rehabilitating martyrdom, as she is Du Bois' (re)imagined version of Martha Corey, one of the executed women-as-witches in the Salem witch-hunt. On the other hand, Beatrice is meant to live happily ever after. Furthermore, Du Bois's amalgamation of an entirely fictional character – Beatrice Desmond – into a historical setting – the Salem witch hunt of 1692 – determining the outcome of the (re)creation of a historical figure – Martha Corey – is quite compelling.

Similarly to Du Bois' *Martha Corey*, A. C. Watson, in her *Dorothy the Puritan: The Story of a Strange Delusion* (1893), focuses far less on the Salem witch hunt portion of the diegesis than on the protagonist, Dorothy Grey, her personal and emotional, almost delusional anguish as a Puritan sinner. Again, the Romantic aspect of Dorothy as a heroine far surpasses her experience as a woman-as-witch. Indeed, though Watson appropriately references names of places, dates, and key historical figures of the Salem witch hunt, this is primarily a Romantic story about a Puritan girl in a Puritan settlement, which happens to be Salem village during 1692. Nevertheless, Watson broadly weaves into the diegesis bits of information to contextualise the Puritans' unwavering faith, demonology dogma, daily life, and gender bias. Regarding the happenings of the Salem witch-hunt, throughout the diegesis, Watson highlights some of the aspects of the legal proceedings and mentions the execution dates and cases of some of the executed, namely Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Rebecca Nurse, and Susannah Martin.

Watson also incorporates most of the stereotypical features which define a village woman-as-witch in his characterisation of another woman-as-witch, Goddy Trueman.[281] Her isolation, as she lives in the forest away from the village; the garish colour of her clothing contrasts with the earthy, demurred tones of the Puritan attire; her handling of toxic herbs; the belief in the spectral presence of a demon by her side, and the allusion that her presence was also spectral. The nocturnal forest creatures, such

[280] See sections 2.1.2., 2.2.2 and 2.2.4.3.

[281] See section 2.1.3.

as bats and owls, surround her. She is also said to command and employ them to pursue people, which denotes that these are not merely forest animals but her familiars.[282] Finally, Goody Trueman has been known to ride a broom in transvection into the night. Furthermore, she is depicted as a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch as she is suspected of engaging in diabolism.

Old Goody Trueman is a mnemonic (re)imagination but not of any key historical woman-as-witch of Salem. Watson (re)creates her as a nineteenth-century composite of a village witch and a Puritan demonic witch. She is suspected of both engaging in *maleficium* and signing the Black Book, i.e. of having a pact with Satan. Goody Trueman, however, is the presumptive woman-as-witch. She is a post-menopausal unmarried poor, isolated woman. Her only inversionary behaviour is to seek social isolation to mend a broken heart. Goody Trueman is met with bias and unreasonable fear in the seventeenth-century Puritan village of Salem and ends up paying the ultimate price for it, not unlike many other women-as-witches.

As for the fictional depiction of the afflicted, in Castleton's *Salem,* they are portrayed as misguided youth who ought to know better. In Du Bois's *Martha Corey*, they are but puppets to the scheme of Reverend Parris. Yet, in *Dorothy*, Watson is unforgiving in her depiction of the afflicted and their role in the Salem witch hunt of 1692. Often referred to as "the accusing circle" or "the magic circle," the afflicted are less of a group of young girls who came together organically but rather a society founded for the practice of demonic witchcraft. They are led by Elizabeth Hubbard,[283] whom Watson hints is either possessed or mentally disturbed as she undertakes her witch-finder holy mission. Once best friends, it is Elizabeth who accuses Dorothy of bewitching her.

Since Dorothy is not the (re)imagination of any historical women-as-witches of Salem in particular, her trial is entirely fictional. Nevertheless, Watson is careful to incorporate many of the Puritan demonological and strixological idiosyncrasies of the court trials. She also includes the reported stoic stance of the defendant, as Dorothy denounces the credibility of the afflicted, denies having sinned by compacting with the Devil and only confesses to incurring ordinary sin. However, Watson sensationalises the whole trial scene, especially the villagers attending, their misplaced excitement, and their total lack of Christian empathy.

---

[282] See section 2.1.3.

[283] For more about Elizabeth Hubbard, one of the key historical figures of the Salem witch hunt, see Appendix E.

Though convicted, Dorothy is not executed. As a (re)imagination of a woman-as-witch of Salem, Dorothy Grey is redeemed, in this case, in more ways than one. Watson does not allow Dorothy, the young, beautiful minister's wife, to be hanged for being a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch, who was accused because of her inversionary behaviour and convicted for her accusers' demonic delusions of *maleficium* . Watson does, nonetheless, allow Dorothy to purge herself from her ordinary sin and keep the love of her devoted husband.

Perhaps suggestive of scarcer primary source research on her part, in her *Ye Little Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft* (1898), P. B. Mackie focuses considerably less on the actual historical events and figures of the Salem witch hunt of 1692. However, she highlights the many idiosyncrasies of the late seventeenth-century Puritan demonology, strixology, and magical thinking. Puritan superstition is at the forefront of this novel. As we have seen, with authors like Buckminster, Castleton and Disosway, Puritans are portrayed as people of their time who withheld and practised the English (trans)cultural memory of witchcraft. However, the recurring *motif* with Mackie is that they engaged in magical thinking and believed in the Devil and demonic witches because they were Puritans. Mackie's overtly disapproving tone comes through the disparaging remarks (re)presented throughout *Ye Little Salem Maide* by Puritan and non-Puritan characters and seems intended to inform and ridicule the Puritans and their "witchery" Fundamentalism. For example, Mackie (re)creates Cotton Mather as scepticism of one of the central Puritan demonology dogmas: spectral evidence.[284] Though she suggests the "plague of witchery" in Salem was the exclusive responsibility of the Puritan Orthodoxy, she also accommodates their accountability to include the inescapable weight of the (trans)cultural memory of English witchcraft.

While scornful of Puritan demonology and their belief in the Puritan demonic witch, Mackie briefly exploits the (re)presentation of a village woman-as-witch, using it as a literary device for entertainment value: the Green Forest witch. While in the instance, for example, of Nanny in Lee's *The Witch of New England* or Old Goody Truman in Watson's *Dorothy The Puritan*, the witch turns out to be merely a woman-as-witch, in *Ye Little Salem Maide* we have quite the opposite. Almost a mere caricature of a witch – neither a village witch nor a demonic one *per se* – the older woman's appearance is more like the witch who lures children with sweets and kittens in a fairy tale. Mackie's mnemonic (re)imagination of the older woman in the green forest as a witch differs from all the previous ones as it

[284] For more about Cotton Mather and his stance on spectral evidence in the context of Puritan demonology and the Salem witch hunt, see section 2.8.2.

comes across as incongruous. Moreover, it adds a touch of magical realism to this work of historical fiction.

Similarly to Castleton's *Salem* and Disosway's *South Meadows*, Mackie's *Ya Little Salem Maide* is a Romantic historical fiction that does not tell the story of the impact of the Salem witch hunt of 1692 on a particular Romantic relationship. Instead, it offers insight into the emotional journey of a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine affected, directly or indirectly, by that historical event. This is the case of Deliverance Wentworth. Mackie (re)creates Deliverance Wentworth as a woman-as-witch who maintains the belief in Salem's Puritan demonology and magical thinking. Her inversionary traits, however, do support her being an apparent Romantic woman-as-witch heroine. Proficient in herbology which she learnt from her father, Deliverance openly employs apotropaic magic methods[285] and has already been publicly punished at the stock for her vanity. After a sequence of events of a suggestive preternatural nature surrounding Deliverance, her rumoured allegiance with the Devil is cemented. Accused of bewitching a little boy, she is formally charged with the crime of witchcraft. In the (re)creation of Deliverance's trial, Mackie does include the testimonies of neighbours and relatives, the touch test and Deliverance's stoic stance refusing to confess and asserting her innocence. Though she is convicted, her execution is stopped at the last minute.

All in all, Deliverance Wentworth is the "witch-maid" who falls prey to the dominant belief system she is nurtured in. Though imbued with inversionary behaviour, Mackie's (re)imagination of the woman-as-witch of Salem, similarly to Watson's in *Dorothy The Puritan*, feels less historically redeeming. Yes, Deliverance is rescued from the grip of execution. And yes, she is a Romantic woman-as-witch heroine who risks her own life for the love of her King and loyalty to a friendly Cavalier. Yet, Mackie's (re)imagination of the woman-as-witch of Salem is a scantily edged demonic witch continually dismissed as a pretext for the melodramatic amusement of the reader or the chastisement of the regressive magical thinking of the Puritans. Indeed, in *Ya Little Salem Maide,* the historical woman-as-witch of Salem somewhat fades into the background while giving way to the more ludic woman-as-witch we can nowadays find in touristy Salem.

Based on our analysis of the selection of nineteenth-century Romantic historicals by American women writers, with the counter-memorialisation of the woman-as-witch of Salem, a clear paradigm shift occurred: we no longer find a heretic wretched or a victim but rather a Romantic heroine. What is

---

[285] See section 2.1.3.

more, through their mnemonic (re)imaginations of the Salem women-as-witch as a village woman-as-witch, a demonic woman-as-witch or a Puritan demonic woman-as-witch, these authors contributed to the establishment, continuity, and dissemination of the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of Salem, not only during their own time but also right up to the early twentieth century.

For a better understanding of the implications of these findings, further studies on the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch of Salem in the other nineteenth-century mnemonic (re)imaginations – in short stories, plays, poems, or novels – should be undertaken. Our study was narrowly tailored to the analysis of the historical fiction genre and the (re)memorialising lesser-known or overlooked women writers of nineteenth-century America.

The research work undertaken for this study has already been shared in sixteen conference papers and the following published chapters: "In a Flight of Fancy from Pendle to Salem – The Cultural Memory of the Early Modern Woman-as-Witch on both sides of the Atlantic," Sousa and others, *"No princípio era a palavra" – O lugar das Humanidades*; "The Salem Witches (Re)Created as Nineteenth-Century Romantic Heroines," Barton C. Hacker et al. *Connecting women*; and "Eliza Buckminster Lee's *Delusion or The Witch of New England* : (Re)Memory of the Salem Witch Trials," Abreu, *Women Past and Present*.

We close the present study, hoping it can raise the much-needed awareness of the (trans)cultural memory of the woman-as-witch in general and the Salem woman-as-witch in particular. The counter-memorialisation of a long-standing stereotype requires the dissemination of studies like ours so that our children and grandchildren can be made aware of the presumption of a woman-as-witch as an insidious gender stereotype and steadfastly refuse to pander to it for mere entertainment's sake, as is the case of Halloween celebrations or Netflix series. If truth be told, would Levinia the "Beloved Little Witch" have populated my childhood memories if I were made aware of what I know now?

APPENDIX A

THE PENDLE (LANCASHIRE) WITCH TRIALS OF 1612: CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1577 Alice Lister is named by Archbishop Sandys as a catholic recusant.

1580 George Dobson "resigned" as Vicar of Whalley.

1583 Friar John Nutter is executed.

1584 Reginald Scot´s *The Discovery of Witchcraft* is published.

1586 Margaret Clitheroe is pressed to death.

1587 William Allen created cardinal.

On May 15, William Preston married Jennet Balderston in Gisburn church.

1588 Spanish Armada: Cardinal Allen calls on Catholics to co-operate with invaders.

1592 Thomas Li(y)ster Junior is born.

Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Demdike, first meets her familiar spirit, Tibb.

1594 Death of Ferdinando, Earl of Duby, attributed to witchcraft.

Robert Nutter complains that Chattox and her daughter Anne Redfearn are bewitching him.

1595 Christopher Nutter dies at Candlemas, February 2, claiming that he was bewitched or that he was at Madlintide on July 22.

John and Ann Starkie are bewitched.

1596 John Darrel feigned the dispossession of Thomas Darling.

1597 In March, Edmund Hartley is hanged for bewitching the Starkie household.

Publication of *Daemonologie* by King James VI Scotland.

Richard Assheton dies.

1598 Trial of Jon Darrel before the High Commission.

Thomas Lister senior inherited the estate on death of his father.

Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, gives her soul to a thing "like a man" called Fancie.

1600 In June, John Rigby hanged, drawn and quartered.

On July 26, Friar Robert Nutter executed at Lancaster.

Chattox takes eight teeth from three skulls in Newchurch churchyard.

1601 Alizon Device and her mother Elizabeth have linen and oatmeal stolen by Chattox´s daughter from Malkin Tower.

1602 Death of Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul.

1603 King James´ *Daemonologie* is republished in London, the same year as James' accession to the English throne

1604 The Witchcraft Act of 1604 supersedes the Elizabethan version of 1563.

1605 Guy Fawkes is arrested by Thomas Knyvet – The Gunpowder Plot.

1606 Chattox´s bewitching of James Robinson´s newly tunned drink.

Hugh Moore of Pendle dies, blaming Chattox for bewitching him.

After an argument between Chattox and John Nutter´s son, he has a cow die unexpectedly.

1607 In February, Thomas Lister junior marries Jane Heyber.

Before February 8, Thomas Lister senior is buried at Gisburn.

1608 Publication of William Perkins´ *A Discourse.....*

Jane Lister, the widow of Thomas Lister senior, dies on 20th February.

John Robinson, alias Swyer, dies after Elizabeth Device makes a clay picture – four years prior according to her, and three years according to her son James.

1609 Elizabeth and James Device become witches, according to Jennet.

1610 Roger Nowell becomes High Sherif of Lancashire.

According to James Device, he becomes a witch after encountering a spirit on Easter Monday. On Maundy Thursday, James goes for communion at Newchurch and meets hare on return.

James meets a dog in Newchurch.

James Robinson dies.

James saw Redferne, his wife and daughter with pictures.

Richard Baldwin of Weathead Mill has an argument with Demdike. His daughter falls hill.

Demdike magically turns milk into butter.

Anne Nutter dies shortly after laughing at Chattox.

Chattox is suspected of bewitching the ale of John Moore of Higham. His son John dies half a year later.

John Duckworth, John Moore's son, after reneging on a deal with James Device, falls hill.

After an argument with Chattox, a cow of John Moore's wife goes mad and dies about six weeks later.

Thomas, the son of Edward Dodgson, is baptised on September 10.

James Device had an altercation with Mistress Ann Towneley of Carr Hall. She dies two weeks later.

During summer, Alizon takes a familiar. She meets a Black dog in John Robinson's close in Roughlee.

Chattox's familiar spirit, "Fancie," comes to Chattox.

In September, Thomas Dodgson of Bolton by Bowland is baptised.

1611 A daughter of Richard Baldwin dies after languishing for about a year.

The one-year-old child of Thomas Washman dies after languishing for two or three weeks.

Thomas, the son of Edward Dodgson, is buried on April 6.

Around June 29, Henry Bulcock accuses Alizon of bewitching one of his children.

In Lent, after languishing for about six months, John Duckworth dies.

Until then, no legal action had been taken by the people of Pendle Forest against the cunning folk.

1612 John White of Eccles publishes *The Way to the True Church*.

On January 4, William, the infant son of Thomas Lister of Westbrie, is buried in Gisburn Church.

On Wednesday, March 18, John Law, a pedlar from Halifax, meets Alizon Device along the road through Colne Field, while she was on a begging expedition. This incident sparked off the whole process of the official enquiry.

On Saturday, March 21, Abraham Law receives a letter in Halifax from his father, John Law, telling of his father's condition.

On March 23, Alizon encountered a black dog in a close in Newchurch.

On March 27, James saw a brown dog come from Demdike's house.

On Sunday, March 29, Abraham Law having journeyed from Halifax brings Alizon Device to his father in Colne. Alizon confesses.

On Monday, March 30, James heard shrieking at Malkin Tower. Abraham law gives evidence to Roger Nowell at Read. Alizon is imprisioned. The others are released.

On Thursday, April 2, Roger Nowell examines Demdike, Chattox, Anne Redfearne, John Nutter, Margaret Crooke and James Robinson. And, a black cat lay on James.

On April 4, Roger Nowell examines Demdike, Chattox and Anne Redfearne are sent to the gaol in Lancaster Castle.

On April 6, Jennet Preston is tried for the murder of Dodgson's child, and is acquitted.

On April 9, Maundy Thursday James Device steals a sheep from John Robinson of Barley.

On April 10, Good Friday, a meeting is held at noon at Malkin Tower.

On April 15, Robert Holden hears evidence against the Samlesbury witches.

On April 21, according to James, his [familiar] spirit appeared for the last time, asking for his soul.

On Monday, April 27, Roger Nowell and Nicholas Bannester set up an inquiry at the house of James Wilsey at Fence and question Elizabeth, James, and Jennet Device, mostly about the Good Friday meeting at Malkin Tower. (Details and dates of the arrest of others such as Alice Nutter and their despatch to Lancaster along with Elizabeth and James, are not recorded.)

On Tuesday, May 5, Roger Nowell, Nicholas Bannester, and Robert Holden examine Henry Hargreives.

On May 7, Grace Sowerbutts is again examined by Robert Holden.

On Tuesday, May 19, Mayor William Sandes, Justice of the Peace James Anderton and coroner and gaoler Thomas Covell, examine Chattox and James Device in Lancaster Gaol.

On Sunday, July 27, Jennet Preston is tried as a separated case in York and is found guilty for the murder of Thomas Lister.

On July 29, Jennet Preston is hanged at York.

On Friday, August 7, Robert Holden takes further evidence in the case of the Samlesbury witches. He examines John Singleton and probably Grace Sowerbutts about the Samlesbury allegations.

On Sunday, August 9, Jennet Booth of Padiham gives evidence to Nicholas Bannester against Margaret Pearson also of Padiham.

On August 15, Nicholas Bannester made his will.

On August 16, Judges Bromley and Altham arrive in Lancaster from Kendal in the North.

On Monday, August 17, the Lancaster Summer Assizes begin.

On Tuesday, August 18, Chattox, Elizabeth Device and James Device are tried separately and found guilty. The trial started in the afternoon and all cases were heard by judge

Bromley. Anne Redfearne is tried for the murder of Robert Nutter and was found not guilty on a second charge for the murder of Christopher Nutter and found guilty.

On Wednesday, August 19, the Samlesbury witches are tried and found innocent. Anne Redfearn is tried, on a second charge, for the murder of Christopher Nutter and is found guilty, along withAnne Whittle (Chattox) Alizon and James Device, Alice Nutter, Katherine Hewitt, John and Jane Bulcock, Isabel Robey of Windle (sentenced to death by hanging) and Margaret Pearson (pilloried and imprisoned) are tried and are found guilty.

On Thursday, August 20, those sentenced to death are taken from Lancaster Castle and hanged together in a public hanging on the Lancaster Tiburn Gallows; this was situated in probably modern-day Moors on the outskirts of Lancaster, in the angle of Quernmore Road and Wyresdale Road, close to Williamson Park.

On November 16, Thomas Potts completes 'The Epistle Dedicatorie' to *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, his detailed and only extant account of the trials.

APPENDIX B

THE SALEM WITCH HUNT OF 1692: Chronology of Events

The following account is an abridgement of Roach's seminal and meticulously comprehensive work, *The Salem witch trials: A day-to-day chronicle of a community under siege* (2004), focusing entirely on the events that occurred in Old Salem Town and Salem Village (modern-day Danvers).

January

Sunday 3

In the Salem Village's Meeting House, Reverend Samuel Parris delivers an uncharacteristic sermon focused on the Devil's unyielding hostility towards the Church and his "main drift... to pull it all down." However, he argued, Satan and his "wicked and reprobate" aides would fail. (Roach 4)

Friday 15

In Salem Village, when Tituba, the Parris household's enslaved person, was getting ready to sleep, a "tall, darkly clad, white-haired man" accosted her. He wanted to recruit her to help kill Abigail Williams and Betty Parris, or else he would kill her. He would reward her with countless fine things if she served him loyally for six years. As she declined, he pledged to carry out his threat. (Roach 6)

Wednesday 20

In the Salem Village parsonage, while Reverend Parris and his wife were in the parlour with Betty Parris (their daughter) and Abigail Williams (their niece), four women [witches] and the man-devil appeared behind Tituba in the adjoining room. They ordered her to join them in hurting and pinching the girls. All of them entered the parlour. The Parrises, whom the Devil put under a spell, did not notice them. As Tituba refused to harm the children, the witches circled her, tugged her across the room, and compelled her hands to pinch Betty and then Abigail. The women [witches] vanished, but the man-devil stayed behind only to predict that Reverend Parris would pray, read a passage of the Bible and ask Tituba to interpret it as usual, but she would not remember it. The Devil further ensured he would return on Friday to show her his book, repeating the six-year loyalty requirement. (Roach 7)

Friday 22

In the Salem Village parsonage, the "man-devil" returned early Friday morning insisting with Tituba to sign his book with her blood. As he gave her "a pin tied to a stick so she could prick her

finger", Elizabeth Parris Sr. called out for Tituba, and he disappeared. (Roach 8)

Saturday 23

In the Salem Village parsonage, Tituba continued to be tormented by the spectres of witches among whom were Sarah Good and Sarah Osborn. Before turning into a man with a little yellow bird or a pair of cats, the Devil appeared to Tituba as a hog or a great black dog, repeatedly urging her into servitude by signing his book. She ultimately gave in and signed his book with her blood in a crescent mark. She saw nine other marks, including Good's and Osborn's. (Roach 8)

February

In Salem Village, Sarah Good, a beggar, often made her disgust plain if the charitable offering was too insufficient. On this occasion, when Reverend Samuel Parris gave something to her child Dorcas, Sarah made her way grumbling under her breath. Oddly, the girls' aliments were worse after her visit. (Roach 13)

Wednesday 24

In Salem Village, the Parris household had resorted to all known home remedies to ease Betty's and Abigail's odd disorders, to no avail. The girls continued to wince, bend, babble, and experience headaches, body aches and shortness of breath. Sometimes they would collapse or go into seizures while they laboured and gasped, unable to speak. After consulting with several doctors, William Griggs informed the Parrises of his diagnosis: the girls were "under an evil hand." The neighbours concurred that Betty and Abigail were bewitched. (Roach 18)

Thursday 25

While Reverend Parris and his wife travelled to a neighbouring town, their servants Indian John and Tituba took the opportunity to prepare a witch cake. Following the instructions of Mary Sibley, a neighbour, Tituba mixed rye meal with a splash of the sick girls' urine, patted and rolled the dough into a small loaf, baked it and fed it to a dog, waiting for results.[286] (Roach 18-19) However, the girls worsened and now stated seeing spectres who pinched and hit them. On this day Ann Putnam, daughter of Thomas and Ann Putnam, and Elizabeth Hubbard, the niece of Doctor Griggs, also became afflicted. (Roach 18-19)

---

[286] Mary Sibley was the mother of Mary Walcott, a girl who would become afflicted as well. She delved in countermagic and proposed this old English folk remedy to find the unnatural source of Betty's and Abigail's illness. Feed it to a hound, a possible familiar of the witch, would hurt and force the witch to be revealed. (Hoffer 1998 67)

Friday 26

In Salem Village, Betty and Abigail blamed Tituba for their intensified pain. When asked to name their spectral tormentors, the girls hinted some names, including Tituba's. Only the girls could see Tituba pursuing them about the room, as she was physically elsewhere in the household. Bewildered, the Parrises witnessed the girls' necks, arms, and backs contorting or getting strangled while they gulped for air. Several Salem gentlemen and neighbouring ministers, seeing the same spectacle, concurred on the preternatural nature of their ailments and counselled Reverend Parris to pray and wait for God's Providence. When first questioned, Tituba conceded making the witch cake but refuted being a witch. (Roach 19-20)

Saturday 27

In Salem Village, Ann Putnam Jr. had been tormented by a spectre since Thursday, which, on this day, while pinching and trying to get Ann to sign a book, declared itself to being Sarah Good. Another girl, Elizabeth Hubbard, on her way home from her uncle Grigg's house, was hounded by a wolf. Elizabeth thought Sarah Good had either requested a wolf to pursue her, or it was Sarah herself metamorphosised into a wolf. Elizabeth added that the spectre of Sarah Osborn[287] was also tormenting her, though Sarah Osborn was practically confined to bed and lived in the northern part of the Village. (Roach 20)

Monday 29

The four girls' condition did not abate. Ann's father, Thomas Putnam, his brother Edward, Joseph Hutchinson, and Thomas Preston travelled to Salem Town to submit official complaints before magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin against Sarah Good, Tituba, and Sarah Osborn for the crime of witchcraft. Arrest warrants were issued for Tituba and Sarah Osborn to Constable Joseph Herrick of Ryal Side and for Sarah Good to Constable George. The accused were to be taken to Nathaniel Ingersoll's ordinary in Salem Village by ten o'clock the following day for examination. (Roach 21-23)

In Salem Village, at the parsonage, Tituba was pestered by the Devil and his four witches to hurt

the children again and then go to Boston with them, or endure the penalties. Tituba refused to follow their orders. The man-devil, Sarah Good with a cat at her side, a bird on her hand, two unknown

[287] One of the first three people accused of witchcraft, Sarah Osborne had scandalised the neighbourhood by Marying Alexander Osborne, a young Irish indentured servant, after the death of her first husband. Though they seem to have had a son and a daughter, her sons from her first marriage would have inherited the farm when they came of age. Despite their father's will, they never did. There were also rumours that Sarah's second younger husband beat her.

women, and a horde of familiars congregated around Tituba at prayer time. Little yellow birds flew around while a yellow dog squatted in the corner. Red and black cats pawed Tituba wailing for her to serve them. A bird turned into Sarah Osborn. (Roach 21-23)

Abigail and Betty could see it all. Tituba struggled to remain attentive to prayers, as the witches overwhelmed her senses. Sarah Good gifted her one of the yellow birds, suckling between her fingers, which Tituba refused. A long-nosed, winged, two-legged, three feet high, and covered in hair creature observed from the hearth. The Devil tempted Tituba with the choice of one of the imps for a familiar. As she refused and pushed them away, they nearly shoved her into the fire. Tituba gave in and pinched the cats which hurt the girls. (Roach 21-23)

After prayers, the witches compelled Tituba to hurt the girls and to scurry into the cold night. Soon she was perched on a pole in front of Goodwives Good and Osborn, and they all flew to Thomas Putnam's house. The neighbours were holding a prayer meeting for Putnam's tormented daughter Ann. Good and Osborn urged Tituba to kill Ann with a knife, which a terrified Ann could see. Tituba refused, and while trying to take away the blade, the witches threatened to slit Tituba's throat or cut off her head.

At last, the witches retreated and set off to Boston by themselves. Tituba was carried back to the parsonage by the Devil. (Roach 21-23)

During the evening Betty and Abigail recounted seeing the creature, which turned into Sarah Osborn and Ann Putnam Jr., shriek terrified that Tituba and Sarah Osborn were trying to decapitate her with a knife in retaliation for not killing herself. (Roach 21-23)

March

Tuesday 1

By Tuesday morning, Goodwife Hannah Ingersoll examined all three suspects in custody for witch marks at Ingersoll's ordinary in Salem Village. Though Sarah Osborn protested her innocence, her husband William Good made sure to alert Goody Ingersol about an odd wart below his wife's right shoulder. Due to the size of the crowd, the proceedings were moved from Ingersoll's to the Salem Village meeting house. (Roach 24-32)

Magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin rode up from Salem Town to preside over them and appointed Ezekiel Cheever to take notes. Hathorne questioned Sarah Good first. Betty Parris, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam Jr., and Elizabeth Hubbard, the afflicted girls, appeared to be in distress and experienced convulsions, but were able to identify Sarah Osborn as one of their spectral

persecutors. In the afternoon, as Constable Joseph Herrick led Tituba into the meeting house, the girls squirmed and wailed yet again and only calmed down once Tituba acquiesced the accusations against her, Good and Osborn. Further pressed by the magistrates, Tituba expounded on demonic familiars that had warmed themselves at Parris's hearth, the human-headed bird, and that Sarah Good was the wolf that chased Elizabeth Hubbard. All three women were held for trial. Sarah Osborn and Tituba were sent to Salem jail, and Sarah Good with her infant to the other Essex County jail, at Ipswich. Her four-year-old daughter Dorcas was left in the care of William Good. Kept overnight at Constable Herrick's farm, Sarah Good escaped leaving shoes and stockings behind. However, barefooted in a Massachusetts March and carrying a baby, she returned to her captivity. (Roach 24-32)

That night, while walking home after the meeting, William Allen and John Hughes were frightened by peculiar sounds. They saw an unknown beast squatted on the ground, transforming into Good, Osborn, and Tituba, and suddenly vanished. Elsewhere, Elizabeth Hubbard once again felt stabbing pains and tugging pinches delivered by the vengeful spectre of Sarah Good. (Roach 24-32)

Wednesday 2

Hathorne and Corwin further interrogated Sarah Osborn and Tituba in the Salem Town prison. While Osborn persistently denied the charges against her, Tituba complemented her previous statement by recapping what she had experienced.[288] As she confessed, she also became afflicted as Good and Osborn were tormenting her out of spite. Upon searching Tituba's body, "the marks of the Devil's wounding of her" were found. (Roach 32-33)

On this night, in Salem Village, William Allen and John Hughes encountered a great white dog which followed Hughes home, and, during the night, a big grey cat was in the middle of his bed. Allen saw in his chamber a shimmering Sarah Good, who vanished as soon as he kicked her. (Roach 32-33)

Thursday 3

In Salem Village, the spectres of an unidentified woman and Sarah Good's little daughter, Dorcas, continued to viciously bite, pinch and choke Ann Putnam Jr., while holding the Devil's book and persistently trying to get her to sign.

In the Salem Town jail, various magistrates re-examined Tituba, Osborn, and Good. Tituba added to her previous statements that, in Salem Village, Deodat Lawson's wife and child had died of witchcraft. (Roach 33)

---

[288] Cf. Saturday, January 23th and Monday, February 29th.

Saturday 5

The magistrates questioned Sarah Good and Tituba in the Salem Town jail. Neither changed their previous statements. (Roach 34)

Sunday 6

In Salem, Ann Putnam Jr. recognized Elizabeth Proctor, the third wife of John Proctor, as the new spectre pestering her. Elizabeth Proctor's grandmother, Goody Burt, was a well-reputed healer. (Roach 35)

Wednesday 9

In Salem Village, the vengeful spectres of Sarah Good and Sarah Osborn still hounded the afflicted girls. But not Tituba since her confession. (Roach 36)

Saturday 12

Ann Putnam Jr. identified Martha Corey's spectre as her novel tormentor in Salem Village. Martha Corey was a full communing member of the Salem Village church. Nevertheless, at ten o'clock Saturday morning, Ann's uncle, Edward Putnam, and their neighbour, Ezekiel Cheever, notified Martha Corey about the witchcraft accusation against her. Seemingly, a member of God's elect might also be an agent of the Devil. Mid-afternoon, on their way to the Corey Farm, the two men first inquired Ann Putnam Jr. about the Martha Corey apparition's garments, but she could not answer at that moment. Martha Corey's spectre was also the first spectre to torment the newly afflicted Mary Warren, the twenty-year-old servant to John and Elizabeth Proctor. (Roach 37-38)

Sunday 13

Spectral activity interrupted Salem Village's Sabbath . Middle-aged Bethshua Pope, a neighbour to the Coreys, went momentarily blind. At home, Ann Putnam Jr. described the apparition of a feeble woman seated in her grandmother's chair to her audience, who agreed it recalled Rebecca Nurse, a member of the Salem Town church. Elsewhere in Salem Village, Abigail Williams twisted and convulsed, tormented by the spectres of Martha Corey and Elizabeth Proctor. As soon as Martha Corey, the woman, visited Ann Putnam Jr., the girl jerked horridly but managed to cry out that Martha Corey was her afflicter. Ann told Martha, that she could see a yellow bird sucking between her forefinger and middle finger. Martha Corey brushed her hand, and the girl could no longer see the bird. Ann collapsed as Corey tried to get close. Ann elaborated it had been Martha Corey's spectre who had covered Bethshua Pope's eyes last Sabbath at Meeting. Ann could see the Invisible World, where a man, impaled on a spit, roasted in The Putnam's hearth. (Roach 39-41)

Mercy Lewis screamed as Martha Corey's spectre struck her with an iron rod. Both girls, Ann

Putnam Jr. and Mercy Lewis, begged Martha Corey to leave. Later that same evening, Mercy headed towards the fire. Edward Putnam and two other men could only keep her from casting herself into the fire. (Roach 39-41)

Tuesday 15

In Salem Village, Elizabeth Hubbard reported seeing the spectre of Martha Corey, while Abigail Williams recognised Rebecca Nurse among her spectral persecutors. (Roach 41)

Friday 18

In Salem Village Ann Putnam Sr. fought off the spectre of Rebecca Nurse for two hours. (Roach 42)

Saturday 19

In Salem Village, the spectres of Martha Corey and Rebecca Nurse continuously attacked and tormented Ann Putnam Sr. to join them. Edward Putnam and Henry Kenney made official complaints against Martha Corey before judges John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, in Salem Town, for afflicting Ann Putnam Sr., Ann Putnam Jr., one of Kenney's next of kin, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, and Elizabeth Hubbard. Essex County Sheriff George Herrick was ordered to bring the suspect to Ingersoll's for examination. (Roach 43)

In the meantime, former Reverend Deodat Lawson of Salem Village, now of Boston, visited Reverend Parris. During his visit, Parris's niece Abigail went into a frenzy, running back and forth in the room, flapping her arms as if flying, and called, "Whish, whish, whish!". Suddenly, only she could see the spectre of Rebecca Nurse insisting she would take the Devil's book. She then raced into the fireplace, as if trying to fly up the chimney. (Roach 43)

Sunday 20

In Salem Village, Reverend Deodat Lawson was the guest preacher this Sabbath. Many of

the afflicted and Martha Corey were present. Abigail Williams saw Martha Corey's spirit, surreptitiously leaving her body on the bench and perching with her yellow bird on a girder above the congregation. The bird flew to the pulpit and landed on Reverend Lawson's hat. Martha Corey's spectre also tormented Abigail Williams and Elizabeth Hubbard. While Rebecca Nurse's apparition also harassed Abigail, it did not disturb the Hubbard or Walcott girls, who could nevertheless see it. (Roach 44)

Monday 21

Marshal George Herrick ordered constable Joseph Herrick to bring Martha Corey in custody to Ingersoll's, Salem Village, for her morning examination. However, the proceedings moved to the Salem Village meetinghouse due to the vastly growing audience. Reverend Nicholas Noyes opened with

a prayer and Samuel Parris was asked to take notes. As the afflicted dropped squirming, Justice John Hathorne demanded Martha Corey to explain herself. For the congregation's bewilderment, she brazenly opted for making a public statement of faith: "Pray give me leave to go to prayer ... I am an innocent person. I never had to do with witchcraft since I was born. I am a Gospel Woman." The afflicted could hear and could also see the bound and impaled apparition of someone burning over a devil's fire next to Martha Corey, while they were bitten, jabbed, and choked by her spectre. Henry Crosby, her stepson-in-law, testified how she had stated that neither the girls nor the Devil would be able to stand up to her and that she would make the ministers and magistrates consider her truthful. Ann Putnam Jr. added that, when she had seen Martha Corey praying to the Devil, Hathorne persistently urged her to confess, but she snickered, rebuffed it, and insisted on her innocence. She denied harming the girls in person, spectre, or with familiars. She refuted the reality of the familiar yellow bird and protested that the girls were not bewitched. Martha Corey was ordered to stop biting her lip, clenching her hands, slumping forward against the seat that served as a bar. The afflicted, particularly Elizabeth Hubbard and Mercy Lewis, felt her every move with pain and bruises. If Martha shifted her feet, so would them. Bethshua Pope felt as if her loins were being turned inside out and first threw her muff at Martha Corey and then pulled off her shoe and hurled it against her head to make her desist. The afflicted claimed that Martha Corey had covenanted with the Devil for ten years of service from which only four remained. They saw the yellow bird suck at her fingers and saw the Devil whispering into her ear. They insisted that she brought them a book and harassed them to sign it. Needham, a neighbour, testified how another one of her stepsons-in-law, John Parker, had thought Martha Corey a witch for a long time. The court ultimately ordered that Martha Corey's hands be seized, but after a brief cessation, the afflicted convulsed again for Martha Corey was clutching her fingers, even though her hands were being held. Nearby, little Dorcas Good's enraged spectre attempted to choke Mary Walcott. (Roach 44)

Tuesday 22

In Salem Village, the spectre of Rebecca Nurse in her nightgown pressured Ann Putnam Sr. to sign the little red book for two hours whilst Ann Putnam Sr. recited scripture to strengthen her resolve. (Roach 48-50)

Israel and Elizabeth Porter visited the home of Francis and Rebecca Nurse to speak with Rebecca Nurse about the accusation that her spectre was allegedly tormenting folk. Also present were Daniel Andrews (Porter's brother-in-law) and Peter Cloyse (Rebecca's brother-in-law). Seventy years old and hard of hearing, Rebecca Nurse had been ailing for years and bedridden for nearly a week. Despite her illness, she mentioned she had prayed for the afflicted girls but did not visit them because she had

once been subject to fits. When the Porters said accusations were made against her, she was dumbfounded. In the end, Rebecca Nurse conceded to her ordinary son but steadfastly denied having committed the sin of diabolism. (Roach 48-50)

Wednesday 23

In Salem Village, Ann Putnam Sr. continued to be plagued by Rebecca Nurse and Martha Corey's spectres. When Reverend Deodat Lawson visited the Putnam home, he found her lying in bed recuperating from a convulsion. Both she and her husband asked the Reverend to pray with them. Afterwards, Thomas Putnam noticed that though his wife seemed to be asleep, she was stiff as a plank. Then she eased and, with her eyes tightly shut, whirled her arms and legs while arguing with the spectral Rebecca Nurse. (Roach 50-51)

Elsewhere, the apparitions of Rebecca Nurse and Martha Corey continued to torment Abigail Williams, while Elizabeth Hubbard only caught a glimpse of Nurse's spectre but was not abused by it. Consequently, Edward and Jonathan Putnam appeared in Salem Town before magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, to enter complaints against Rebecca Nurse. They accused her of tormenting Ann Putnam Sr., Ann Putnam Jr., and Abigail Williams, among others, as well as against Dorcas Good, Sarah's four-year-old daughter. The magistrates issued arrest warrants. Marshal George Herrick would have the two accused at Ingersoll's by eight o'clock the next morning. (Roach 50-51)

Thursday 24

In Salem Village, the afflicted continued to be tormented and Ann Putnam Sr. convulsed before the proceedings. Marshal George Herrick brought Rebecca Nurse to Ingersoll's by eight o'clock and instructed Samuel Braybrook to get Dorcas Good. Rebecca Nurse stood before John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin. Reverend John Hale read the morning prayer, and Reverend Samuel Parris took notes. While being badgered by Hathorne and confronted with the afflicted's convulsions, Rebecca Nurse insisted on her innocence and implored, throwing her hands up in the air as she spoke. The afflicted winced and wailed as their agonies correlated with her gesture. Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard hollered that Nurse's spectre was harming them. Mary showed the arc of a fresh bite on her arm, and all the girls felt battered and pinched. They could also see the Devil whispering in Nurse's ear, surrounded by a flock of bird familiars. The girls felt pinched when Rebecca Nurse moved her hands. Their spines bent backwards if she leaned against a support. Given this screeching spectacle, she reiterated her innocence. But now, Rebecca Nurse's spirit bolted outside to gallop on horseback around the meeting house, riding behind the Devil. Ann Putnam Sr. could barely move, and her husband, Thomas, had to carry her out to break the bewitchment. At one point during the examination, Rebecca

Nurse cocked her head, and Elizabeth Hubbard's neck jerked sideways. Abigail Williams cried out to make Rebecca Nurse's head straight, or else Elizabeth Hubbard's neck would break. So, Rebecca Nurse's head was forcibly held up, and the girl's neck loosened. Rebecca Nurse protested, she could not stop the Devil from taking her shape. Nevertheless, the magistrates held Rebecca Nurse responsible for the torments exhibited during the examination and ordered her to the Salem Town jail. (Roach 51-55)

They also examined little Dorcas Good. The afflicted felt gripping agonies merely with the child's gaze, although an officer immobilised Dorcas's head. Many also protested that she bit them and exhibited child-size bite marks on their limbs. The magistrates ordered Dorcas Good to Salem Town prison, as well. (Roach 51-55)

Friday 25

In Salem Village, around two in the afternoon, the spectre of Rebecca Nurse lashed out at Ann Putnam Jr. Bite marks and the imprints of chain links could be seen on her skin by her uncle Edward and others. At Stephen Sewall's house in Salem Town, Betty Parris, after suffering dreadful convulsions, described to Stephen Sewall's wife the apparition of a dark shape of a frightening man. He promised her anything she wished and a trip to a golden city if she obeyed him. After admitting to having tried fortune-telling by egg and glass, Betty's afflictions ceased. In Salem Village, Samuel Parris rebuked Mary Sibley for instructing Tituba to bake the witch cake, claiming it was the cake charm that opened the door to the Devil. (Roach 55-57)

Saturday 26

In Salem Village, the spectres of Elizabeth Proctor and Martha Corey continued to assault Mercy Lewis. In Salem Town, Stephen Sewall told Deodat Lawson about Betty Parris's encounter with the Devil. Little Dorcas Good was examined at the home of prison keeper William Dounton by Lawson, senior Salem minister John Higginson, and magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin. She claimed her mother had given her a little snake. It nursed on her hand, where a flea-bite-like red spot on her lowest forefinger joint was visible. (Roach 58)

Sunday 27

In Salem Village, Reverend Samuel Parris delivers his notorious sermon. For his sermon's text, he quoted Christ's remark about the duplicitous Judas Iscariot among the disciples: "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a Devil?" Sarah Cloyse, one of Rebecca Nurse's sisters, rose and walked out of the meeting house, slamming the door behind her. The afflicted would see her paying vassalage to the Devil while setting her hand on his book, outside at the gate. (Roach 59)

Tuesday 29

In Salem Village, Abigail Williams was tormented by the spectre of Elizabeth Proctor at her uncle's house, while Elizabeth Proctor's apparition also harassed Mercy Lewis at Thomas Putnam's. The Putnams told Samuel Barton and John Houghton that Mercy Lewis had named Elizabeth Proctor in a frenzy. Mercy, however, clarified she had no remembrance of naming anyone. (Roach 60)

Thursday 31

In Salem Village, the apparition of Rebecca Nurse and a coven of about forty other witches anguished Abigail Williams. They occupied her uncle's parsonage to hold a Devil's Supper with red bread and red beverage, all served by the devilish female deacons Sarah Good and Sarah Cloyse. (Roach 63)

April

Friday 1

Stephen Bittford is awoken by the spectral forms of Rebecca Nurse and the Proctors at James Darling's house in Salem Village. After they vanished, he was left with "a very great pain in [his] neck and could not stir [his] head nor speak a word" and couldn't turn his neck for two or three days. (Roach 63)

Monday 4

Captain Jonathan Walcott and his uncle Lieutenant Nathaniel Ingersoll journeyed from the Village to Salem Town to swear a complaint against Elizabeth Proctor and Sarah Cloyse. They accused her of harassing Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott (Captain Jonathan's daughter), Ann Putnam Jr., Mercy Lewis, Sarah Cloyse's niece, and a new afflicted, John Indian, the Parrises' enslaved domestic servant. John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin decide to consult with the government in Boston due to the growing scale of the witchcraft crisis. Abigail Williams identified Elizabeth and John Proctor's apparitions at the Salem Village parsonage. (Roach 67)

Wednesday 6

Spectral occurrences continued at Thomas Putnam's household in Salem Village. At the parsonage, Goodman Proctor pinched Abigail Williams. South of the Village, the spectres of his neighbours Giles and Martha Corey wake farmer Benjamin Gould, leaving him with severe pinches in his side (Roach 68)

Thursday 7

In Salem Village, the spectres of the Coreys, the Proctors, Sarah Cloyse, her sister Rebecca

Nurse, and Dr William Griggs' wife Rachel Grigg , Elizabeth Hubbard's aunt, surrounded Benjamin Gould's bed. This time, Gould was left with an aching foot and could not wear a shoe for two or three days. (Roach 68)

Friday 8

In Salem Town, John Hathorne and Jonathan received word that members of the Governor's Council of Assistants would be attending the next witchcraft examination, which would take place in Salem Town. They issued arrest warrants to Marshal George Herrick for Elizabeth Proctor and Sarah Cloyse. (Roach 68)

Saturday 9

Sarah Cloyse's spectre continued to torment Abigail Williams in Salem Village. (Roach 68)

Sunday 10

Sarah Cloyse's spectre drew blood as it bit and pinched John Indian, during the Salem Village's Sabbath meeting. Ephraim Sheldon heard Mercy Lewis name Sarah Cloyse when convulsing at Ingersoll's, though, afterwards, she insisted she saw no one. Abigail Williams saw the spectres of Sarah Cloyse, Rebecca Nurse, Martha Corey, and Sarah Good. (Roach 69)

Monday 11

By eleven o'clock, Sarah Cloyse and Elizabeth Proctor were presented to the Governor's Counsel, Deputy Governor Thomas Danforth, and four assistants, James Russell, Isaac Addington, Samuel Sewall, and Samuel Appleton. They assembled at the meeting house in Salem Town, and the examination was presided over by justices John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, with Reverend Samuel Parris taking notes. Reverend Nicholas Noyes delivered the opening prayer. (Roach 69-73)

Elizabeth Hubbard lingered in a daze. Mary Walcott convulsed but was able to accuse Goody Cloyse, Goodwives Nurse, Martha Corey, and others, of hurting and offering her the book, right then. Abigail Williams described what she saw on Thursday, March 31. Sarah Cloyse asked for water before fainting. The afflicted alleged her spectre had gone to visit her sister, Rebecca Nurse, in prison. (Roach 69-73)

While writhing and twitching, Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam Jr. purported Elizabeth Proctor perched upon the beam and called John Proctor a wizard, saying she saw his spectre moving around. As soon as a girl cried out, her feet were yanked up. (Roach 69-73)

The court took other evidence from Benjamin Gould. Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam Jr. tried to swat away the spectre of Elizabeth Proctor, hurting their fingers. Abigail yelped, and Ann collapsed with searing head pain. (Roach 69-73)

The magistrates asked the accused to recite the Lord's Prayer, but they misspoke, saying “deliver us from all evil” instead of “deliver us from evil,” and “hollowed be thy name,” instead of “hallowed.”

The senior Salem minister John Higginson ended the proceedings with a prayer, and the accused were led back to jail. (Roach 69-73)

As Mary Walcott rode home with her brother Jonathan and John Indian, she saw for the first time Elizabeth Proctor’s spectre. John Indian convulsed again, almost falling off his horse, clinched with his teeth on the other man’s back and his wrists strangely bound, probably just as one of the prisoners had her own hands tied back in Salem. Bishop whacked John with his stick until John stopped jerking and promised it would not happen again. (Roach 69-73)

Tuesday 12

John Proctor’s examination is held in Salem Town. When Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, and John Indian entered the room, they and the other afflicted cried out before convulsing, “[t]here is Goodman Proctor in the magistrate's lap.” John Indian yelled at Sarah Cloyse’s spectre, "Oh, you old witch.” He then fell in such violent seizures that the marshal and three other men could hardly keep him in place. Mary Walcott, while knitting, calmly noted that Goodman Proctor, his wife, and Sarah Cloyse were causing it. The raucous spectacle interrupted the examination. A while later, Mary Walcott finally stopped knitting and became frantic: “Goody Cloyse has pinched me now. Oh, yonder is Goodman Proctor and his wife, and Rebecca Nurse and Martha Corey and Goody Cloyse and Good's child. Oh, Goodman Proctor is going to choke me." (Roach 73-74)

Wednesday 13

In Salem Village, the spectres of Rebecca Nurse, Martha Corey, and Elizabeth Proctor continued to pursue Abigail Williams. Rebecca Nurse attempted to make her leap into the fire, Martha Corey might eviscerate her, but Abigail Williams refused to sign the witches' book. Now, the spectres of Giles Corey and Abigail Hobbs, a rowdy young woman of Topsfield, chased Ann Putnam Jr. The infant daughter of Constable John and Hannah Putnam was taken with convulsions. Earlier, he had remarked that Rebecca Nurse and Sarah Cloyse’s mother, Joanna Towne, had also been a witch. John Putnam's mother and a doctor were called. The doctor agreed when Mother Putnam swiftly concluded that it was an evil hand upon it. (Roach 75)

Thursday 14

In Salem Village, Martha Corey's apparition continued to try to persuade Abigail Williams to sign the book. Abigail Hobbs's spectre harassed Mary Walcott. Giles Corey’s apparition struck Mercy

Lewis, almost breaking her back. (Roach 75)

Friday 15

In Salem Village, Rebeca Nurse was blamed for the passing of constable John Putnam's infant daughter. (Roach 75)

Saturday 16

In Salem Village, the afflicted were now taunted by the spectres of Goodwife Bridget Bishop from Salem Town and of Mary Warren, the Proctors' once afflicted servant who had retracted. (Roach 75)

Sunday 17

In Salem Village, Abigail Hobbs' spectre choked Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott, Ann Putnam, and Elizabeth Hubbard, but they all declined to sign her book. Abigail Hobb's ailing stepmother, Deliverance Hobbs, was also afflicted, although she only saw birds, dogs, and cats crowding inside and outside the Salem Village meeting house. (Roach 75-76)

Monday 18

In Salem Village, Ezekiel Cheever and John Putnam Jr. submitted complaints against Giles Corey, Abigail Hobbs, Bridget Bishop, and Mary Warren for tormenting Ann Putnam Jr., Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott, and Elizabeth Hubbard. Marshall George Herrick arrested the accused and took them to Ingersoll's. Bridget Bishop's apparition presented itself to Mercy Lewis. (Roach 76)

Tuesday 19

In Salem Village, justices John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin presided over Giles Corey's examination. Reverend Samuel Parris and Ezekiel Cheever took notes. Giles Corey denied the charges against him. Apart from Elizabeth Hubbard, the afflicted stated he tormented them. Benjamin Gould retold the events of April 6 and 7. The court ordered one of Giles Corey's hands freed and some of the afflicted convulsed. Corey tilted his head, and the girls' heads also tilted dangerously askew. Frustrated, he sucked in his cheeks, and so did the afflicted. Several statements were presented against his good character, foul language, and inadequacies as a neighbour over the years. Giles Corey was committed to jail. (Roach 78-83)

Abigail Hobbs was known for her quips about being close with the Devil. Yet when she was led in the afflicted remained peaceful. She confessed to diabolism. She recounts how the Devil had come to her, disguised as a black man, that she consented to him taking her shape, and that she could see familiar but that they did not suckle in her body. Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis, Betty Hubbard, Abigail Williams, and Ann Putnam Jr. could witness the spectres of Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne sticking

their fingers into Abigail Hobbs's ears. So, she could no longer hear the questions, and, soon after, she could no longer see. (Roach 78-83)

When Mary Warren pleaded her innocence, the afflicted girls, including Bethshua Pope and John Indian irrupted into convulsions. Overwhelmed, Mary Warren collapsed. The afflicted bellowed that the spectres of Martha Corey and the Proctors had struck her down to stop her from confessing. (Roach 78-83)

As the accused Bridget Bishop, entered and stated her innocence, the afflicted became agitated. Mary Walcott proceeded to describe how recently her brother Jonathan Walcott had struck at Bridget Bishop's spectre with his sword and she had heard its petticoat or skirt tearing. Sure enough, the court confirmed the tear in Bishop's petticoat. The afflicted insisted she had hurt them, and she had tempted them to sign the Devil's book. Samuel Braybrook testified that Bridget Bishop had profanely stated the Devil could not hurt her. She was reintonded to custody. (Roach 78-83)

The court re-examined Mary Warren, who yet again convulsed while denying signing or touching the Devil's book. As she became increasingly agitated, the court dismissed the proceedings. All the prisoners were taken to Salem Town jail. There, an angry Giles Corey spectre harassed Mary Warren. (Roach 78-83)

Wednesday 20

The magistrates re-examined Mary Warren in Salem Town prison. She stated Elizabeth Proctor had admitted to being a witch and that John Proctor brought her the Devil's book, which she now realised signing. When Mary described Giles Corey's spectre, she suffered a fit. The magistrates sent for Giles Corey to face Mary Warren's accusations, and, as soon as he arrived, again she convulsed. (Roach 83-84)

Abigail's stepmother was awakened and savagely attacked by the forms of Mercy Lewis and Sarah Wildes. The apparition of Abigail Hobbs told Abigail Williams she had signed the Devil's book and that she should do it too. Ann Putnam Jr. was tormented and was offered the book to sign by Reverend George Burroughs, the Village's former minister, now a conjurer. George Burrough's spectre boasted of having killed his first two wives and Deodat Lawson's wife and child. Burroughs had also bewitched many soldiers and had recruited Abigail Hobbs. (Roach 83-84)

The spectre of George Jacobs Sr., a Salem farmer in Northfields pestered Mercy Lewis. Having declined to sign his book, he struck Mercy Lewis with his cane and cautioned her that he had killed his first wife. (Roach 83-84)

Thursday 21

In Salem Town, John Putnam Jr., Benjamin Hutchinson, Thomas Putnam, and John Buxton, submitted complaints on behalf of Ann Putnam Jr., Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott, and Abigail Williams against Sarah Wildes, William and Deliverance Hobbs, Nehemiah Abbott Jr., and Mary Esty, the sister of Rebecca Nurse and Sarah Cloyse, Mary Black (Nathaniel Putnam's enslaved domestic servant, Edward and Sarah Bishop and Mary English. Marshal George Herrick brought them all to Ingersoll's at ten o'clock the following morning. (Roach 85-88)

The Salem magistrates, with Reverend Nicholas Noyes attending, questioned Mary Warren again in jail, who elaborated on her previous account. The Proctors had caught her eating buttered bread and cider. They then asked her to read a passage from a book that resembled a bible. As soon as she touched the page, a black mark appeared. Only then she perceived the devilish treachery. But the magistrates contended that she must have willingly touched the book, or else the Devil could not have used her form. She argued that the Proctors had tortured her, had threatened to drown her, to burn her with hot tongs, and to run her through hedges. Also, though the Proctors spoke of image magic, she claimed she had never seen poppets in their house. Elizabeth Proctor owned quite a few books and enjoyed reading, often carrying a book in her pocket. The Proctor's apparitions came, and she again convulsed. (Roach 85-88)

In Salem Village, Abigail Williams met Benjamin Hutchinson outside Ingersoll's and told him that the spectre of George Burrough had bragged to her about murdering his two wives and Reverend Lawson's, and about picking up the most massive gun in Casco Bay with one hand. (Roach 85-88)

Still, at Ingersoll's, the spectres of William and Deliverance Hobbs attacked Abigail Williams and Mary Walcott. Benjamin Hutchinson and Ely Putnam stabbed into the air in the area where the girls directed them. However, the multiple spectral witches crowding the room escaped. (Roach 85-88)

In Salem Town, Mary English was detained by eleven o'clock at night. The officers stormed into their bed-chamber. Philip English rose and got dressed while Mary English stayed in bed. The officers drew open the bed curtains, read the warrant, and ordered her up. Since she refused, a guard was left outside the house. Mary English got dressed, took her breakfast with her family, instructed her servants and late the next morning, she finally complied to go. (Roach 85-88)

Friday 22

Before the court reconvened at Salem Village, the afflicted claimed to have witnessed all the local witches – the ones who had been arrested, and those still free – gathering at Reverend Parris's pasture. The girls struggled to free themselves from the witches' grasp as they tried to bring the girls

along. Neighbours came to their aid, hitting wherever the afflicted indicated the witches stood. The afflicted and the confessors depicted in detail this Sabbath. However, it took place entirely in the Invisible World. (Roach 88-95)

Martha Carrier, Ann Foster and Mary Lacy flew on a shaft from neighbouring Andover and other families. As it broke, old Ann Foster held on to Carrier's neck. Foster hurt her leg because she was not in her spectral form but only obscured by a spell. They all cop a squat under a tree at the pasture's edge. They picnicked on bread and cheese while drinking water from a nearby brook. Reverend George Burroughs, and John Busse, an occasional preacher and physician in Wells, Maine, brought the wine from Boston, and joined in. (Roach 88-95)

Two companies of witches rallied to the beat of a drum. Burroughs called them to order with a trumpet blast and then delivered a sermon prompting them to carry out their task of replacing the churches of God with the ones of the Devil, from Salem Village throughout New England. At noon Burroughs dispensed the scarlet sacrament with the assistance of his deacons Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Good, Sarah Osborn, and Sarah Wildes. After the devilish rite, the witches feasted on brown bread and cider around a table headed by Burroughs and a man in a white high-crowned hat, who was perhaps the Devil. The Devil's disciples were now over three hundred. They would all be rewarded in Hell, but Burroughs and Carrier would be King and Queen of Hell. (Roach 88-95)

Having heard about the spectral upheaval in Parris' pasture and alarmed by the sound of a trumpet, which all the villagers had heard, the biggest audience yet attended this morning's proceedings at the Salem Village meeting house. The suspects were brought in without being introduced. When asked to identify Goodwife Deliverance Hobbs, only Ann Putnam Jr. could do so. John Indian restated that she had choked him. Initially, Deliverance Hobbs rejected having hurt anyone or allowing the Devil to use her form. However, in the end, Deliverance Hobbs admitted signing the book. As soon as she confessed, the afflicted quietened. Having searched her body, as ordered by the court, some women found a mark. Deliverance Hobbs was remanded for trial. (Roach 88-95)

Nehemiah Abbott Jr. began by stating his innocence. Ann Putnam Jr. could name him because other witches had told her. Mary Walcott identified him from his spectre, but Mercy Lewis denied it emphatically. Abbott again denied hurting them despite the girls' insistence. Met with uncertainty, the magistrates would re-examine Nehemiah Abbott Jr. later. (Roach 88-95)

William Hobbs – the husband of the confessor Deliverance Hobbs and father of the confessor Abigail Hobbs – was examined next. All the afflicted except Sarah Bibber said he hurt them, though he denied it. Abigail Williams saw his spirit leap from his body towards them. She warned Mercy Lewis and

Mary Walcott, both of whom convulsed. While William Hobbs reiterated that he did not engage in witchcraft, the court suggested he had an evil eye. Every time he gazed at the afflicted, they fell into a frenzy. Although he disavowed all knowledge about his wife and daughter's witchery, the court committed him to jail too. (Roach 88-95)

When Sarah Wildes entered the courtroom, the afflicted saw her above them, perching and frolicking on the crossbeam. They all convulsed uncontrollably, even Sarah Bibber. She was held for trial. (Roach 88-95)

When Mary Esty was led in, the afflicted were speechless by the fits. Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, and Ann Putnam Jr. accused her of hurting them. John Indian saw her with Deliverance Hobbs. When Mary Esty fastened her hands, Mercy Lewis could not part hers until the officers forced Esty's hands loose. Ann Putnam Jr. and Elizabeth Hubbard cried out that Mary Easty was the shape they had seen. As she bowed, so did the girls' necks snap forward. Again, the officers had to force her head straight. The afflicted cried out she had brought them the book. Mary Esty was remanded to prison until her trial. (Roach 88-95)

Edward and Sarah Bishop and Mary English asserted their innocence. Sarah Bishop was accused of bewitching Sarah Trask. She became distracted, had seizures in the meeting house, and expressed suicidal thoughts. A month later, feeling no better, she stabbed herself to death on the neck with her sewing scissors. The forms of Sarah Bishop and Mary English had both set upon her neighbour Elizabeth Hubbard. They were all held for trial. (Roach 88-95)

Saturday 23

In Salem Village, the form of John Willard, former deputy, now tempted Ann Putnam to sign his book. Deliverance Hobbs, having turned confessor, finally conceded she had signed the book and was one of the covenanting witches in Salem Town. The covenanting witches who had attended, in spectral form, the Sabbath at Reverend Parris' pasture. She also described Burroughs, the man with the white high-crowned hat, and his deacons Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Good, Sarah Osborn, and Sarah Wildes, whose stepdaughter, Abigail, fell in a seizure. Deliverance Hobbs stated Giles Corey and a gentlewoman of Boston were trying to snap Abigail's neck. (Roach 97)

Sunday 24

At the meeting house in Salem Town, Susanna Sheldon, Ephraim's sister, was tormented by the spectres of Philip English and a Boston woman. On her way home, she encountered Philip English's form near William Shaw's place. He held a book and was accompanied by a dark-haired man in a tall-crowned hat, indeed, the Devil. (Roach 97-98)

In Salem Village, Elizabeth Hubbard and Ann Putnam Jr. were assaulted by the spectre of widow Dorcas Hoar of Beverly. John Willard form hurt Ann Putnam Jr. as she cried out his name. (Roach 97-98)

Monday 25

In Salem Village, the real-life John Willard challenged the accusations made by Ann Putnam Jr. at her father's house. She, however, thought him an apparition and frantically pleaded for him to stop hurting her. (Roach 98-99)

In Salem Town, Philip English's spectre tormented Susanna Sheldon during the day. Two women and the dark-haired man assailed her in the evening. Susanna refused to touch their book and demanded they would tell her their names. They identified themselves as Old man Buckley's wife and daughter. The Buckley spectre had two hairless kittens with human ears as familiars. As Susanna Sheldon rejected the book again, the Devil hit her on the head before vanishing. (Roach 98-99)

Tuesday 26

In Salem Village, Goodwife Whits of Boston tormented Susanna Sheldon. The forms of Sarah Buckley and her daughter returned with their book, but Susanna resisted signing it. Enraged, Sarah Buckley snatched her from the doorstep into the air and dropped her in William Shaw's woodlot, where she was found shrieking and flapping among the twigs as if fighting off someone invisible by William Shaw Jr. (Roach 99)

Wednesday 27

In Salem Village, Susanna Sheldon was, once again, harassed by the man in the high-crowned hat and the apparitions of Mary English, Giles Corey, and Bridget Bishop. While they bit her savagely, they were all suckling their familiars: a yellow bird, a pair of turtles, and a snake. Susanna would yet again resist signing their book. (Roach 100)

Thursday 28

In Salem Village, the spectres of Goodman Corey and Mary English would not allow Susanna Sheldon to eat anything. Corey would make her choke at every spoonful in her mouth. Philip English clasped her hands for fifteen minutes while he tormented her to sign the book.

John Willard's spectre approached Ann Putnam Jr. accompanied by the ghosts of his murder victims: his first wife and Ann's infant sister Sarah spectrally flogged to death only six weeks' old. Willard also warned he would kill her if she did not sign his book. (Roach 98-99)

Friday 29

In Salem Village, the spectres of Bridget Bishop, Mary English, the Giles and Martha Corey,

and the Devil haunted Susanna Sheldon. Martha Corey nursed her hairless black pig familiar before they curtsied and worshipped the Devil. The Bridget Bishop spectre admitted having killed several women, including John Trask's wife. (Roach 101)

Saturday 30

In Salem Town, Jonathan Walcott and Thomas Putnam of Salem Village swore a complaint against Reverend Reverend George Burroughs, Lydia Dustin of Reading, Susannah Martin of Amesbury, Dorcas Hoar and Sarah Morrell of Beverly, as well as Philip English (Mary English's husband) of Salem Town for tormenting Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam Jr., Elizabeth Hubbard, and Susanna Sheldon. Hathorne and Corwin issued arrest warrants for all the accused and ordered that they be present before them at Ingersoll's by ten o'clock the following Monday. (Roach 101)

May

Sunday 1

In Salem Village, the spectre of Goodwife Rebecca Jacobs, the daughter-in-law of old George Jacobs Sr., attacked Elizabeth Hubbard. She had been mentally unbalanced for over twelve years. (Roach 103)

Monday 2

Philip English continued hiding though the magistrates issued a second arrest warrant for him, and Reverend George Burroughs was still in Maine. In Salem Village, Sarah Morrell was accused of witchcraft and, after questioning, was held for trial. Lydia Dustin was remanded for harassing Mary Marshall of Reading, another one of the afflicted. Elizabeth Hubbard accused Dorcas Hoar, a widow who read fortunes, of choking her husband. Ann Putnam Jr. and Abigail Williams also accused her of having strangled a woman in Boston. As Elizabeth Hubbard cried out, a pinch mark could be seen on her body. Marshal Herrick noted that Dorcas Hoar had pressed her fingers together just then. Dorcas Hoar denied all the accusations against her. She refuted having anything to do with witchcraft, the Devil, or his book. However, Susanna Sheldon and Abigail Williams insisted that a bluebird had just flown onto Dorcas Hoar's back. The court ordered a touch test. Mary Walcott, Abigail Williams, and Elizabeth Hubbard were repelled as they tried to touch Dorcas Hoar. She was held for trial. (Roach 103-109)

Amesbury constable Orlando Bagley ushered Susannah Martin to the Salem Village meeting house. As she entered, the afflicted became agitated. Before they collapsed, Mercy Lewis pointed at her, and Ann Putnam Jr. threw her glove in a fit at her. Susannah Martin refuted engaging in witchcraft

or having allowed her spectre to be used by the Devil. She chuckled at the spectacle until she retorted that the afflicted were the witches and that the court was as illiterate as she about the issue. Susannah Martin did, however, make a parallel between her predicament and the false spectre raised for King Saul by the Witch of Endor. Elizabeth Hubbard claimed that Susannah Martin pinched her hand. Other of the afflicted testified having seen her form on the girder. Mercy and most of the others convulsed. Susannah Martin gnawed her lip, John Indian felt bitten and broke into intense attacks. The court made another attempt at a touch test, but Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, Sarah Bibber and John Indian were all repelled. Despite Susannah Martin's Biblical challenge and insistence on her innocence, the distress of the afflicted was more persuasive. She ended up being incarcerated. (Roach 103-109)

Sarah Good's spectre suffocated Sarah Bibber for the first time. Sarah Good's spectre also made Sara's baby cry and convulse right out of his mother's arms but was rescued by its father John Bibber, who struggled to keep hold. (Roach 103-109)

The form of Reverend George Burroughs, described as the little, black-bearded man in dark clothing, appeared to Elizabeth Hubbard. He presented her with a book. She saw the crimson penning but declined to touch it. His spectre pinched her twice before going away. (Roach 103-109)

Tuesday 3

In Salem Village, the form of Reverend George Burroughs emerged to Elizabeth Hubbard again and bragged to her that he was a conjurer. Sarah Morrell, Lydia Dustin, Dorcas Hoar, and Susannah Martin were escorted to the Boston jail. In Salem Town, after trying to retract her confession, the spectre of Deliverance Hobbs's spectre was again tormenting the afflicted. Under the pressure of the magistrates' interrogation, Deliverance Hobbs gave in and named other witches, mostly already incarcerated accused. (Roach 109-110)

Rebecca Nurse's shape tormented Mary Walcott and claimed having murdered several of her neighbours. (Roach 109-110)

Ann Putnam Jr. refused the book that Reverend George Burroughs's apparition presented her yet again. The ghosts of his wives came forth and accused him of their murders. (Roach 109-110)

The ghosts of Deodat Lawson's first wife, their child, and Elizabeth Fuller appeared to Ann, all claiming Burroughs as their killer. (Roach 109-110)

Wednesday 4

In Salem Village, Rebecca Nurse's spectre continued to torment Abigail Williams; Marshal Partridge escorted the accused Reverend George Burroughs from Maine to Salem Village. (Roach 110-111)

Friday 6

The spectre of Alice Parker haunted Margaret Jacobs, who lived with her grandfather George Jacobs Sr. in Northfields, midway between Salem Town and Salem Village (Roach 112)

Saturday 7

In Salem Village, the form of Reverend George Burroughs appeared to Mercy Lewis. It paraded many books she had never seen and then bragged he could conjure the Devil. Burroughs also bragged that he had recruited Abigail Hobbs as a witch and bewitched Mr Shepard's daughter. Mercy Lewis then asked how he could have done all this. Burroughs replied the Devil served him. His spectre further tortured Mercy Lewis, yet she would not sign his book. (Roach 112-113)

Sunday 8

In Salem Village, Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam Jr., Mercy Lewis, and Mary Walcott were particularly agitated. Thomas Putnam and John Putnam Jr. swore to the magistrates Hathorne and Corwin a complaint against widow Bethia Carter, her daughter Bethia Jr., and widow Ann Sears, all of Woburn, and Sarah Dustin, Lydia Dustin's daughter, of Reading. (Roach 113)

Thomas Farrar of Lynn brought the book to Ann Putnam Jr. and told her he was "old Father Pharaoh" from Lynn. The real-life Thomas Farrar was a drunk and violent individual. (Roach 113)

Reverend George Burroughs's spectre now threatened to kill Susanna Sheldon if she gave testimony against him. (Roach 113)

Monday 9

In Salem Village, Reverend George Burroughs's spectre snatched Mercy Lewis, took her to the top of a high mountain and promised her all the kingdoms in the display if she would sign his book. He threatened to break her neck and toss her down onto one hundred pitchforks as she declined. (Roach 113-116)

Before the court convened, the Reverend George Burroughs apparition also approached Susanna Sheldon at Ingersoll's. He bragged about the three children he had killed in Maine and his two wives. (Roach 113-116)

Reverend George Burroughs was brought up from Salem Town for his examination. Since he was a minister, assistants William Stoughton and Samuel Sewall joined Hathorne and Corwin to examine Reverend George Burroughs, while Reverend Samuel Parris took notes. Before being led into the courtroom, the minister addressed Parris privately. As he came in, most of the afflicted went into a fit. Susanna Sheldon gave her statement. When Burroughs was ordered to gaze upon her, she fell as if smacked down. The same happened with the other afflicted. Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth

Hubbard, Susanna Sheldon, and Ann Putnam Jr. convulsed relentlessly as the court read their testimonies. The magistrates disregarded the inconsistencies in their narratives. For them, Reverend George Burroughs had collaborated with the Invisible World invisible forces to interfere with the witnesses. The court further heard the depositions given by Abigail Hobbs and her mother, Deliverance Hobbs, about his poppets, his recruiting, and the witch meetings, as well as the depositions by Eleazar Keyser, whom strange lights had chased. Reverend George Burroughs was held for trial. (Roach 113-116)

Ann Sears, Sarah Dustin, Bethia Carter, Bethia Carter Jr. and Sarah Churchill, who turned confessor, were all also held for trial. (Roach 113-116)

George Jacob's spectre attacked Mercy Lewis at Ingersoll's and John Willard's shape tormented Susanna Sheldon. He was surrounded by his murder victims, all demanding that Susanna Sheldon to tell Hathorne about their predicament. But Willard's spectre threatened to cut her throat if she did. (Roach 113-116)

The spectre of Elizabeth Coleson, Lydia Dustin's granddaughter, offered Susanna Sheldon a black coin to entice her to touch the book. (Roach 113-116)

Tuesday 10

In Salem Village, Susanna Sheldon continued to be haunted by the ghosts of Willard's victims, asking for retribution. Willard's spectre threatened havoc if she swore, but vanished as a beaming man appeared. This angel pledged her safety, but not during the examinations. Two hours later, it identified the ghosts and revealed their wounds. (Roach 116-119)

The latest prisoners were ushered to Boston, whilst, in the Salem Village, the magistrates ordered Constable John Putnam to arrest John Willard, but he had run away. (Roach 116-119)

Sarah Churchill's confession resulted in arrest warrants for George Jacobs Sr. and his granddaughter Margaret. Constable Joseph Neal brought both suspects to Thomas Beadle's tavern in Salem Town. George Jacobs Sr. entered the courtroom on his two walking sticks and confronted his agitated accusers. He echoed the lack of legitimacy of the spectral evidence since the Devil could take the form of any person. Jacobs Sr. was held for additional interrogation. (Roach 116-119)

Once More, Susanna Sheldon was tormented by the apparitions of Willard and Coles. An older man, several animal familiars, and the Devil in the high-crowned hat accompanied them. They all sought to entice her with money to sign the book. (Roach 116-119)

Wednesday 11

In Salem Town, Susanna Sheldon on her way to court was followed by the shapes of John

Willard and of an older adult hovering the river on a saucer. (Roach 119-121)

George Jacobs Sr. was queried further at Thomas Beadle's Tavern where the afflicted became agitated as soon as he was led in. Ann Putnam Jr., Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Walcott aired their grievances against him. George Jacobs Sr. denied everything. Mercy Lewis tried to move towards him but was repelled. He was held for trial. (Roach 119-121)

Recovered from her spectral torments, Margaret Jacobs was examined next. Margaret became a confessor and went along with everything the court presumed. She implicated her grandfather George Jacobs Sr., Reverend George Burroughs, John Willard, and Alice Parker. John Willard's spectre began to torment and threaten Mercy Lewis. Around the same time, George Jacobs Sr. began to hassle sixteen-year-old John DeRich. Having been knocked into the river, he would have submerged if a neighbour had not rescued him. (Roach 119-121)

In Salem jail, Abigail Hobbs claimed that Burroughs had tried to make her sign his book. Margaret Jacobs had second thoughts about her confession. (Roach 119-121)

Thursday 12

The magistrates interrogated Abigail Hobbs in Salem Town prison for more specifics about Reverend George Burroughs’s use of image magic to murder his Maine neighbours. She denied acceding to the children's agony, rambled about the Proctors’ doubts about her fits, and finally admitted hurting the afflicted girls with image magic. Abigail Hobbs’ was ignorant of Elizabeth Proctor's book of magic but stated that she had been given by her a poppet representing either Ann Putnam Jr. or Abigail Williams. Alice Parker and Ann Pudeator also yielded such poppets. When their shapes called on her in prison, they hinted they would soon join her. Abigail Hobbs added that the aggressive spectre of Alice Parker bragged of having killed people at sea or in the harbour, as well as of drowning Goody Orne's son, and of striking Mary Warren's sister dumb. Ann Pudeator's apparition boasted of having poisoned her husband and having attempted to kill John Turner by tossing him on his head from a cherry tree. Hathorne and Corwin issued arrest warrants for Ann Pudeator and Alice Parker. (Roach 121-123)

Alice Parker, despite her paralysing fits, denied being a witch. Mary Warren sought to strike Alice Parker but was repelled. Margaret Jacobs openly accused Alice Parker. John Louder stated he had been chased across the Salem Common by her spectre. An agitated Mary Warren recounted how Alice Parker had grown angry with her father for nor harvesting her hay. Shortly after Alice Parker had gone to the Warren household since Mary Warren's sister and her mother had become ill. Mary Warren’s mother died, and her sister was rendered a mute. Mary Warren further accused Alice Parker of forcing her to torment poppets and of boasting about attending the Sabbath in Parris's pasture. Mary Warren's

convulsions worsened considerably. (Roach 121-123)

The magistrates issued an order to transfer eleven suspects to Boston jail: George Jacobs Sr., Giles Corey, William Hobbs, Edward and Sarah Bishop, Bridget Bishop, Sarah Wildes, Mary Black, Mary English, Alice Parker, and Ann Pudeator. (Roach 121-123)

In Salem Village, Mary Walcott was choked and pinched by the form of Sarah Buckley, and John Putnam hit the invisible witches while Mercy Lewis convulsed. (Roach 121-123)

Friday 13

In Salem Town, Mary Warren is severely tortured by the spectre of Abigail Soames, a thirty-seven-year-old single maidservant from Gloucester, now of Salem. Justices Hathorne and Corwin promptly issued an arrest warrant for her. Constable Peter Osgood detained Abigail Soames at the home of Samuel and Elizabeth Gaskill, her masters. Still bitten and jabbed by Abigail Soames' shape, Mary Warren was taken from prison to Thomas Beadle's tavern. She buckled and cried out that Abigail Hobbs was the woman whose spectre hurt her. The court had Abigail Soames' clothes searched for evidence of image magic. They found and confiscated a big needle in her apron. Reverend Noyes observed Mary Warren instantly settled down. She stated that Abigail Soames' spectre had boasted of having helped to kill someone named Southwick. As Abigail Soemes turned and gazed at Mary Warren, Mary went into a terrible fit. Though Elizabeth Gaskill testified that Abigail had been confined to bed for the past thirteen months, Mary Warren underscored that Abigail Soames went out only at night. The court ordered a touch test. Mary Warren calmed down as soon as Abigail Soames held her hand. Nevertheless, Mary Warren testified that Abigail Soames' spectre threatened to bring a tool to stab her in the heart that very night. Abigail Soames only stared at her accuser. Mary Warren felt thumped backwards and burst into tears while Abigail Soames laughed. Mary Warren mimicked Abigail Soames' every move and stance. Ordered to face Mary Warren, Abigail Soames did so but with her eyes firmly shut. Then Abigail Soames was made to touch Mary Warren again. As Abigail Soames opened her eyes, Mary Warren collapsed. Abigail Soames was held for acts of witchcraft against Mary Warren. After her examination, the shapes of Elizabeth Proctor, Rebecca Nurse, and Reverend George Burroughs continued to plague Mary Warren. Eventually, she retracted her earlier confession. (Roach 124-126)

Maidservant Mercy Short was sent on an errand to Boston jail. When Sarah Good asked her for tobacco, Mercy Short unkindly tossed at her a handful of shavings from the floor. Sarah Good replied in a fury and Mercy Short's agonies began soon after. (Roach 124-126)

Saturday 14

In Salem Village, Ann Putnam Jr. saw the spectre of Elizabeth Hart but was not harmed by it.

Nonetheless, Nathaniel Ingersoll and Thomas Putnam entered complaints against Elizabeth Hart and others, Thomas Farrar Sr. from Lynn, Elizabeth Coleson and Bethia Carter Jr. from Reading, George Jacobs Jr. with his wife Rebecca Jacobs, her brother Daniel Andrews, Sarah Buckley and her daughter Mary Witheridge, all from Salem Village. (Roach 126-127)

Mercy Lewis and another afflicted girl visited Daniel Wilkins this evening. She saw John Willard's spectre assault both old Bray and young Daniel Wilkins, while it vowed to kill him in two days if it could. (Roach 126-127)

Sunday 15

Salem Village's meeting was interrupted when Sarah Buckley's spectre attacked Mary Walcott. In Sale Town, the spectres of George and Rebecca Jacobs tormented Susanna Sheldon. (Roach 127-128)

In Andover's meeting house, the spectre Martha Carrier, a rumoured witch, approached eleven-year-old Phebe Chandler and shook her shoulder during the singing of a psalm, wanting to know where she resided. (Roach 127-128)

Salem Marshal George Herrick reissued arrest warrants for Elizabeth Hart and Thomas Farrar of Lynn. (Roach 127-128)

Daniel Andrews and his brother-in-law George Jacobs Jr. fled the country. When Constable Jonathan Putnam and his men arrived at Jacobs Jr.'s house, they arrested his wife, Rebecca Jacobs. Rebecca Jacobs was “a woman crazed, distracted, and broken in her mind.” (Roach 127-128)

Ann Putnam Jr. again saw John Willard's spectre afflict Bray, Daniel, and Rebecca Wilkins. Daniel's older sister heard John Willard's spectre renewed his vow to kill Daniel Wilkins, even if it had to get Reverend George Burroughs to do it. (Roach 127-128)

Monday 16

In Salem Village, Susanna Sheldon was wounded on her left side by the spectres of George and Rebecca Jacobs and her back by Elizabeth Coleson. (Roach 128-130)

Reading constable John Parker reported to the Salem magistrates that he could not find Elizabeth Coleson. (Roach 128-130)

Martha Carrier's voice in some bushes by the path demanded to know where Phebe Chandler was going while carrying beer to some farmworkers in Andover. Two hours later, as Phebe Chandler returned home, Martha Carrier's voice threatened to poison her within a few days. (Roach 128-130)

Daniel Wilkins, a boy, continued struggling for breath. Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcott saw John Willard's apparition choking him while Sarah Buckley's shape pressed on his chest. Henry and Benjamin

Wilkins and his neighbour Thomas Flint saw Daniel Wilkins gasping until he died. According to Samuel Parris' church record, he was killed by witchcraft. (Roach 128-130)

John Willard was finally captured forty miles away, in his field in Lancaster on the Nashua River. (Roach 128-130)

Tuesday 17

At Ingersoll's in Salem Village, Rebecca Jacobs, Sarah Buckley, Mary Witheredge, Elizabeth Hart, and Thomas Farrar Sr. were in custody. Constable John Putnam rode up with John Willard. His afflicted accusers cried in pain until Herrick pinioned Willard. (Roach 130)

Constable John Putnam instructed twelve local men to examine the corpse of Daniel Wilkins. His back was punctured and bruised all over, seemingly by a small tool. One side of his neck was injured from ear to throat. When they turned the corpse around, blood came gushing out. Based on the physical evidence and the afflicted girls' statements, the jury established that Daniel suffered "an unnatural death by some cruel hands of witchcraft or diabolical act." (Roach 130)

The shape of John Willard tried to choke Sarah Bibber, Mary Walcott, and Mercy Lewis in Ingersoll's chamber. It kept assaulting them until Herrick shackled Willard in prison.

The spectre of Elizabeth Coleson Jr. haunted Susanna Sheldon. (Roach 130)

Wednesday 18

Justices John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin preside over the examinations. First, Elizabeth Hart, seventy-five-year-old farmer Thomas Farrar Sr., Sarah Buckley, and her husband. Of the afflicted, only Abigail Williams gave her testimony. Others testified to the accused' spectral violence perpetrated against the Wilkins family. Mary Warren had seen Sarah Buckley in a coven of witches trying to entice her at Parris' pasture. (Roach 131-135)

Ann Putnam Jr., Susanna Sheldon and Mary Warren recovered from their fits after being touched by Sarah Buckley. Susanna Sheldon saw the Devil speak softly at Sarah Buckley's ear. Despite the insistence on her innocence, she was held for trial. (Roach 131-135)

Mary Witheredge was held for acts of witchcraft against Elizabeth Hubbard. Rebecca Jacobs confessed to all accusations made against her. The spectre of Roger Toothaker, a farmer and cunning man, was now visible around Salem. (Roach 131-135)

As John Willard was brought in, and whenever he gazed at the afflicted, they all convulsed, except John Indian, who claimed John Willard's spectre was cutting him. Susanna Sheldon saw the Devil whisper in John Willard's ear. Mary Warren recovered from her frenzy once touched by John Willard. Having failed to say the Lord's Prayer five times, John still asserted his innocence. He was

remanded for tormenting Mercy Lewis, Ann Putnam Jr., Susanna Sheldon, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam Sr. and Mary Walcott. (Roach 131-135)

After spending close to a month in Salem jail, Mary Esty's case was reconsidered. This time, since only Mercy Lewis stated being tormented by Mary Esty's spectre and the other afflicted being unsure, Mary Esty was released into her family's care. (Roach 131-135)

A court order was issued to escort Elizabeth Hart, Thomas Farrar Sr., and Roger Toothaker to Boston prison. (Roach 131-135)

In Salem Town, Reverend George Burroughs's shape appeared to Mary Warren in jail. He assembled his covenant of witches with a trumpet blast and tried to persuade Mary to join their sabbat in Parris's pasture. His deacons, Rebecca Nurse and Sarah Good presented her with sweet bread and blood. Mary resisted temptation. (Roach 131-135)

Thursday 19

The prisoners were hauled from the Salem Village watchhouse to Boston jail. (Roach 136)

Friday 20

In Salem Village, Mary Esty's spectre shadowed Samuel Abbey, Ann Putnam Jr., her twenty-year-old cousin Sarah Trask, and Abigail Williams on their way to constable Putnam's house. It told Ann and Abigail it was taking revenge on Mercy for accusing her in court. (Roach 137-138)

At constable Putnam's house, Ann and Abigail could see the spectres of Mary Esty, John Willard, and Mary Witheredge suffocating and beating Mercy. They then turned on Ann Putnam Jr., Abigail Williams, and Mary Walcott when she arrived. Esty's shape tried to strangle Mercy with a chain for hours and swore to kill her before midnight. When Constable John Putnam returned home accompanied by Marshal George Herrick and Benjamin Hutchinson, Mercy was unresponsive. To rescue Mercy, they hastily went to the magistrates and filed a new complaint against Mary Esty for tormenting Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott, Ann Putnam Jr., and Abigail Williams. (Roach 137-138)

Elizabeth Hubbard arrived at the Putnams' later. She and the other afflicted girls were now also assaulted by the spectres of the Proctors' daughter Sarah, her aunt Sarah Bassett of Lynn, and the widow Susanna Roots of Beverly. (Roach 137-138)

Marshal Herrick returned at midnight with news of Mary Esty's incarceration, but Esty's spectre kept Mercy convulsing until dawn when she finally fell asleep.

That same night, the apparitions of Sarah Proctor, her parents, and Daniel Andrews haunted Susanna Sheldon and her neighbour Elizabeth Booth. (Roach 137-138)

Saturday 21

In Salem, once Goodwife Mary Esty was clapped in irons, Mercy began to recover. (Roach 138)

Thomas and John Putnam swore a complaint before magistrates Hathorne and Corwin against widow Susanna Roots, Sarah Proctor, and Sarah Bassett for harassing Mary Walcott, Abigail Williams, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putnam Jr., and others. (Roach 138)

Sunday 22

Susanna Sheldon regained her speech, vision, and hearing in Salem Village at ten o'clock. Yet now Philip English's spectre threatened to slash her throat to make a mark on his book. The ghost of Joseph Rabson appeared to accuse Philip English of drowning him when his boat overturned. It also told Susanna Sheldon that it would not leave her peacefully until she informed Hathorne of his homicide. When the shape of Philip English threatened to cut her legs off, the shining man appeared and encouraged her to provide a truthful stamen in court. Swearing to kill the Governor and other Bostonians if he were to be captured, Philip English’s spectre vanished. (Roach 138-139)

Monday 23

In Salem Village, the magistrates examined and held Sarah Bassett of Lynn, Elizabeth Proctor's sister-in-law, and Susanna Roots of Beverly. Then they interrogated Mary Esty yet again. This time the evidence comprised Mercy Lewis’s testimony and the afflicted girls' distress during the examination, as the spectre of Mary Esty gouged them with a spindle. (Roach 139-141)

Nathaniel Ingersoll and Thomas Rayment complained against Benjamin Proctor, his aunt Mary DeRich, and Sarah Pease for tormenting Abigail Williams, Mary Warren, Elizabeth Hubbard, and others. Constable John Putnam apprehended Benjamin Proctor and Goody DeRich. Constable Peter Osgood detained Goody Pease – no records of their examinations survived. (Roach 139-141)

Mary Esty, Abigail Soames, Susanna Roots, Sarah Bassett, Mary DeRich, Benjamin Proctor, and Elizabeth Cary were transported to Boston jail. (Roach 139-141)

The wife of Captain Nathaniel Cary, a wealthy Charlestown shipmaster, was one of the accused. He managed an interview with Abigail Williams at Ingersoll's. When Abigail and the others afflicted entered, they went into fits. Elizabeth Cary protested her innocence. The magistrates made her stand, arms extended for an amount of time. No relief was allowed, for if she was strong enough to torment, she was strong enough to withstand the ordeal. Soon, John Indian became afflicted. The girls said that Elizabeth Cary's spectre slumped over him. While forced to avert her gaze, Elizabeth Cary was guided to touch John Indian. He held onto her as both fell to the ground. She was held for trial in a

private room at the expense of her husband. (Roach 139-141)

This same night, the spectres of Sarah Proctor, her parents, John and Elizabeth Proctor, and her aunt Mary DeRich, tormented Elizabeth Booth by Proctor's Creek. (Roach 139-141)

Tuesday 24

In Salem Village, the spectres of Mary Ireson, a woman from neighbouring Lynn, and Mary Toothaker, wife of Roger Toothaker and sister of Martha Carrier, tormented, choked and threatened to kill Mary Warren if she did not sign their book. (Roach 142)

Wednesday 25

Joseph and Priscilla Bayley of Newbury journeyed to Boston through Salem Village. As the Proctors' house came into sight, Joseph felt a hard blow to his chest. Yet, he only saw his wife behind him. Passing the house, he could see John Proctor looking out the window while Elizabeth Proctor stood just outside the door, but his wife, Priscilla Bayley, only saw a young girl at the door. A half-mile further, Joseph Bayley could not speak and was in a daze. When they reached the fork in the road, another painful blow across his chest nearly knocked him off his horse. He saw an unfamiliar woman some three hundred feet away. Joseph and Priscilla Bayley carried on and reached Boston undisturbed. However, upon their return to Newbury, he felt pinched by someone invisible. (Roach 142-143)

Thursday 26

This Lecture Day was the first formal community fast under the new charter. People from other nearby towns attended the Salem Village rituals. Mary Marshall of nearby Reading, along with Marshal Herrick and Constable Joseph Neal witnessed Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis, and Ann Putnam Jr. being attacked by the spectres of Mary Bradbury of Salisbury, Goody Rice of Reading, Goody Read of Marblehead, and Goody Fosdick of Malden. The latter claimed having hurt Mr Tufts' slave. (Roach 143)

Friday 27

In Boston, the new Governor William Phips reinstituted the law courts. The new Justices of the Peace included Secretary Isaac Addington, former deputy Governor Thomas Danforth, for Middlesex, and John Higginson Jr. and Dudley Bradstreet for Essex County. (Roach 143-144)

William Phips also established a Court of Oyer and Terminer, a judicial body to apply "the law and custom of England" against all sort of crimes in Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex counties. Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton of Dorchester became chief justice over Justices Nathaniel Saltonstall of Haverhill; Wait-Still Winthrop, Peter Sergeant, John Richards, and Samuel Sewall of Boston; and Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, and Jonathan Corwin of Salem Town. (Roach 143-144) Five or more magistrates could hear a case if William Stoughton, Bartholomeu Gedney, or John Richards were

presiding. Stephen Sewall of Salem was nominated the clerk. Thomas Newton was assigned the King's attorney general. George Corwin of Salem became sheriff of Essex County. (Roach 143-144)

Saturday 28

In Salem Town, Thomas Putnam and Benjamin Hutchinson submitted a complaint against Elizabeth Cary on behalf of Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, and Mercy Lewis. John Holten and Jonathan Walcott also entered complaints against Martha Carrier of Andover, Elizabeth Fosdick of Malden, Wilmot Read of Marblehead, Sarah Rice of Reading, Elizabeth How of Ipswich, Captain John Alden of Boston, William Proctor, the son of John and Elizabeth Proctor of Salem, Captain John Flood of Rumney Marsh, Mary Toothaker of Billerica, Dr Roger Toothake's jaded wife and the sister of Martha Carrier, and Arthur Abbott, who lived at the border of Ipswich, Topsfield, and Wenham. They were all arrested and escorted to Ingersoll's on the following Tuesday. (Roach 2004 144-145)

Sunday 29

Wilmot Read from Marblehead, Sarah Rice from Reading, and Elizabeth How, Rebecca Nurse's niece, were arrested. (Roach 145-146)

Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Walcott missed the meeting at Salem Village to call on James Holten, who had excruciating stomach spasms. The girls could see the spectres of John and Elizabeth Proctor, and their children, William and Sarah, pressing on him. Then, the spectres moved on to tormenting the girls instead. (Roach 145-146)

Elsewhere in Salem Village, Abigail Williams was plagued by Rebecca Nurse's shape, and Mercy Lewis was attacked by Elizabeth How's and Mary Walcott's spectres. (Roach 145-146)

Elizabeth How was suspected of hurting two unnamed but much-afflicted women in Topsfield. (Roach 145-146)

Monday 30

Philip English had been hiding for a month at his friend George Bollard's house in Boston, when he was apprehended and committed to the marshal of Essex. (Roach 146-147)

Nathaniel Putnam and Joseph Whipple of Salem Village entered a complaint against Elizabeth Fosdick and Elizabeth Paine, of Malden, for bewitching Mercy Lewis and Mary Warren. (Roach 146-147)

In Ipswitch, the spectre of Elizabeth How almost drowned Susanna Sheldon in a pond. (Roach 146-147)

Elizabeth How's brother-in-law, Captain John How, had a sow suddenly screech, jump in the air and fall to its death. Being sure that Elizabeth How bewitched the animal, Capitan John How cut off the sow's ear for countermagic. His hand went numb, and the pain prevented him from working for the

next few days. (Roach 146-147)

Tuesday 31

The court assembled at Salem Village meetinghouse, presided by Justices John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Bartholomew Gedney. Reverend Samuel Parris took notes, and Attorney General Thomas Newton observed. (Roach 147-152)

Philip English was examined and held for harassing Mary Walcott and Elizabeth Booth. Also, William Beale of Marblehead and Richard Read, after refusing to change his testimony in a property dispute back in 1690, English was left furious. As they rode along Lynn Common, William Beale got a nosebleed and became painfully ill the following year when he saw Philip English's shape just before his son's unexpected demise. (Roach 147-152)

Constable John Parker of Reading brought in Sarah Rice for questioning. Mary Toothaker and her daughter were also questioned. (Roach 147-152)

The afflicted were agitated, and one of the girls identified Captain John Alden of Boston as their tormentor. Captain John Alden was a brazen man who traded weapons and gunpowder with the French and the Indians during the French-Indian war. He was also known for having children with Indian women. As his spectre threatened the girls with his sword, it was taken away from him while in Marshal Herrick's custody. (Roach 147-152)

The afflicted collapsed at Elizabeth How's gaze and named her their spectral attacker. They displayed new contusions and scrapes on their arms, and Ann Putnam Jr. had a pin stuck in her hand. Mary Warren and Mary Walcott collapsed violently as Elizabeth How stared at them. Susanna Sheldon also convulsed. The court ordered Elizabeth How to reanimate them with her touch. Though she denied her spectre and engaged in image magic, she was remanded. (Roach 147-152)

In court, the afflicted named Martha Carrier as their tormentor. Convulsing, Susanna Sheldon stated Martha Carrier's spectre threatened to cut her throat if Susanna Sheldon would not sign the book. All the afflicted screamed in terror and convulsed as they saw the ghosts of thirteen murdered victims in Andover. Mercy Lewis recovered at Martha Carrier's touch, but the other girls' fits worsened. After Martha Carrier was hurried away, bound hand and foot, the afflicted's condition improved. (Roach 147-152)

The afflicted went into upheaval when they saw Wilmot Read. Ann Putnam Jr. testified she often saw Wilmot's spectre hurt others and bring the book, just as it was doing now. John Indian and the afflicted had to be carried to be touched by Wilmot Read, but they were deterred. Wilmot Read restated she knew not why the afflicted ailed. (Roach 147-152)

Captain John Alden was compelled to stand on a chair while Marshal Herrick held his hands to avert spectral pinches. The captain argued that it would be nonsensical to afflict strangers who lived so far away. Bartholomew Gedney appealed to Captain John Alden to confess and exalt God. Captain John Alden countered that he would do so by not lying and requested real evidence against him. CaptainAlden's Alden accusers went into fits at his gaze and were taken to him for his touch. Without bail, he and Sarah Rice were assigned to Boston prison. (Roach 147-152)

William Proctor, John and Elizabeth Proctor's son, was accused of tormenting Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Warren during his examination. The held himm held, bound neck and heels, for twenty-four hours or until he confessed. However, as he got a severe nosebleed, someone untied him. (Roach 147-152)

Ann Putnam Sr., haunted by ghosts but not spectres since March, gave a statement in court against Rebecca Nurse. As it was read aloud, the spectres Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Cloyse and Martha Corey grasped Ann Putnam Sr., according to her daughter Ann Putnam Jr. (Roach 147-152)

June

Wednesday 1

Magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin interrogated Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, and others again in Salem Town. Reverend George Burroughs's spectre had battered the confessors for their testimonies. Even as they spoke, the form of Rebecca Nurse attacked them, while Philip English's shape stabbed a pin into Mary Warren's hand. (Roach 155)

Mary English stated she had heard the confessor Mary Warren insisting she and the other afflicted were not mindful of what they declared during their hysterics. (Roach 155)

Susanna Churchill confessed to having signed the book Ann Pudeator's apparition had brought, and now Ann Pudeator forced her to poke pins into poppets. At the same time, Bridget Bishop bragged about her killings. (Roach 155)

The Special Court of Oyer and Terminer would be convening the next day. John and Elizabeth Proctor, Susannah Martin, Alice Parker, Rebecca Nurse, Bridget Bishop, John Willard, Tituba, and Sarah Good were carted from the jail in Boston to the one in Salem. Sarah Good's infant child had died, and her little daughter Dorcas stayed behind alone. (Roach 155)

In Salem Village, Ann Putnam Sr.'s life was threatened by the Rebecca Nurse's form. The ghosts of Ann Putnam Sr.'s sister, Mary Bayley, along with three of her children and six Barker nieces

and nephews, all blamed Rebecca Nurse, Elizabeth Cary, and an unknown deaf woman from Boston for killing them. (Roach 155)

Thursday 2

In Salem Village, early morning, in her bedroom, Ann Putnam Sr. is haunted by the threatening ghosts of Samuel Fuller and Lydia Wilkins, who insisted Ann Putnam Sr. must tell Justice John Hathorne that John Willard had murdered them. His spectre appeared to brag about the Salem children he and William Hobbs murdered. Joseph Fuller's ghost also approached Ann Putnam Sr. to accuse Martha Corey as a witch. (Roach 155-160)

Joanna Chibbun saw the apparitions of Sarah Good and of her dead infant daughter, who claimed to have been murdered at the hands of her mother, to be given to the Devil. The ghost of Goodman Harwood emerged, followed by the spectre of Rebecca Nurse, who had killed him by pushing him from a cart. (Roach 155-160)

In Salem Town, the preliminary testimony began at eight o'clock in the morning. (Roach 155-160)

Justices John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin issued arrest warrants for Elizabeth Fosdick and Elizabeth Paine. (Roach 155-160)

At ten o'clock in the jail, a group of nine women and physician John Barton examined the bodies of Rebecca Nurse, Alice Parker, Sarah Good, Elizabeth Proctor, and Susannah Martin in search of witch marks. Bridget Bishop, Elizabeth Proctor, and Rebecca Nurse had a growth on their genitals. The marks looked perfectly natural to the eldest woman in the group, an experienced midwife, particularly after Rebecca Nurse mentioned her difficult deliveries. (Roach 155-160)

The first Court of Oyer and Terminer convened, presided by Chief Justice William Stoughton, with the assistance of Samuel Sewall, Justice John Hathorne, Bartholomew Gedney, and probably John Richards and Nathaniel Saltonstall. Their first case was that of Bridget Bishop. While escorted from prison through the town centre, she glanced toward the meeting house just as a nail-studded board was heard crashing inside the empty building. Once Bridget Bishop was brought before the court, she pleaded not guilty. (Roach 155-160)

Testimony against Bridget Bishop opened with the afflicted, who recounted all the instances of bewitchment under oath as they convulsed again. Deliverance Hobbs confessed that Bridget Bishop had beaten her with iron rods to make her sign that book, and she had shared the Devil's bloody sacrament in Parris's pasture. John Cook was flogged on the side of his head by her. She tried to stick something into the mouths of Samuel Gray and William Stacey as they slept. Richard Coman was left

gasping for air as he found her lying down on his chest while his wife unknowingly slept beside him. John Louder quarrelled with Bridget Bishop after her fowls scratched up the Gedney garden. Soon after, her spectre sat on his stomach one night and tried to choke him. Bridget Bishop's neighbours were startled by discovering several poppets stuck with pins when they tore down a wall. A considerable list of her neighbourhood disasters was blamed on her engaging in witchcraft. Indicted for tormenting Abigail Williams, Ann Putnam Jr., Mercy Lewis, Mary Walcott, and Elizabeth Hubbard, the jury found Bridget Bishop guilty. (Roach 155-160)

At four o'clock, the same committee of one male physician and nine matrons re-examined the bodies of Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Nurse, Elizabeth Proctor, and Susannah Martin for the witch's mark. This time they did not find any. (Roach 155-160)

Friday 3

In Salem Town, John Proctor's spectre offered a cup of blood to Sarah Bibber, who repelled it.

Evidence was given against John Willard and Rebecca Nurse. Reverend Samuel Philips and Reverend Edward Payson of Rowley, among others, testified in favour of Elizabeth How. (Roach 161)

Saturday 4

In Salem Town, Edward Putnam and Thomas Rayment entered a complaint against Mary Ireson of Lynn for tormenting Mary Warren, Susanna Sheldon, Mary Walcott, and others.

Justices Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, and Jonathan Corwin examined Job Tookey, a labourer and waterman of Beverly, who sided with Reverend Burroughs and confessed that he could speak with the Devil, for the Devil was his. The afflicted claimed his spectre had hurt them after his confession. (Roach 612-163)

Monday 6

In Salem Town, the examination of Mary Ireson began at ten o'clock at Beadle's Tavern, presided by Justices Bartholomew Gedney and John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin. Salem clothier Simon Willard and Lieutenant Simon Willard took notes. (Roach 163-165)

Elizabeth Booth, Susanna Sheldon, Mary Warren, and Mary Walcott went into convulsion whenever Mary Ireson looked at them and quickly recovered at her touch. All the afflicted were sure that she was the apparition which had assaulted them and brought them the Devil's book to sign. Susanna Sheldon claimed Mary Ireson's spectre was threatening to tear out her throat. The afflicted cried out that she was observing the Devil as he instructed her not to confess. The justices rejected Mary Ireson's premise of that she could be a witch and not know it. She was remanded for trial. (Roach

163-165)

An arrest warrant was issued for Ann Dolliver of Gloucester for tormenting Mary Walcott and Susanna Sheldon this day. When Justices Bartoholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, and Jonathan Corwin asked if she had ever performed witchcraft, Ann Dolliver replied, never with the intent to cause harm. She further admitted that she had occasionally spent the night in the woods. When Susannah Sheldon, Mary Walcott, and Mary Warren were called in, they all fell and insisted her spectre had hurt them earlier this day. They added that the ghost of a recently deceased child was asking for retribution against Ann Dolliver for suffocating her. Ann Dolliver's spectre had tried to kill her father, Reverend Higginson, out of spite. Ann Dolliver also pestered people with concealed wax poppets. She admitted having a couple of poppets for her protection. Ann Dolliver also admitted to reading a book fourteen years earlier about how to torment those who tormented her. Ann Dolliver was jailed to await trial. (Roach 163-165)

Tuesday 7

In Salem Town, justices John Hathorne, Bartholomew Gedney, and Jonathan Corwin re-examined Job Tookey, while Salem merchant William Murray took notes. He denied all accusations. The afflicted could see the ghosts of Job Tookey's murder victims: Andrew Woodbury and Gamaliel Hawkins. They had died in Barbados after Job Tookey used image magic: he pierced the heart of Hawkins' image with a pin. Mary Warren also blamed John Busse for their deaths and for participating in the Parris' pasture sabbat. (Roach 165-166)

Wednesday 8

In Salem Town, Elizabeth Booth is told by the ghost of George Needham that Martha Corey had murdered him over him not repairing her linen wheel. Thomas Gould Sr.'s spirit added that Martha had killed him for claiming she had hurt John Parker's children, Corey's step-grandchildren. (Roach 166)

Governor Phips convened the General Court in Boston for the first time under the new charter. Chief Justice and Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton signed and sealed Bridget Bishop's death warrant. Sheriff George Corwin is instructed to have her hanged on Friday. (Roach 166)

Thursday 9

Elizabeth Woodwell and Mary Walcott saw the shape of Giles Corey attend the lecture at Salem Village meeting house. (Roach 167)

Friday 10

In Salem Town, Bridget Bishop is transported in a horse and cart between eight o'clock and noon by Sheriff George Corwin and his men to be hanged in Gallows Hill. Old Jacobs's spectre was

hitting the attending afflicted. Once executed, Bridget's corpse was buried nearby. (Roach 167-168)

Saturday 18

In Salem Village, Constable Jonathan Putnam suddenly fell very ill. Mercy Lewis was sent for and identified the spectres of Rebecca Nurse and Martha Carrier tormenting him. (Roach 172-173)

Reverend George Burroughs, George Jacobs Sr., Giles and Martha Corey, Ann Pudeator, Sarah Cloyse, Sarah Wildes, Susanna Root, and Dorcas Hoar were sent back to Salem Village. (Roach 172-173)

In Salem Town prison, Marshall George Herrick, Constable Joseph Neal and warden William Dounton, probing George Jacobs Sr. for witch marks, found a seemingly insensitive growth on his right shoulder. No marks were found on Reverend Burroughs, but two more were discovered on George Jacobs Sr.'s right hip, right shoulder blade, and inside his right cheek. Two of them were painless to pins. (Roach 172-173)

Tuesday 21

In Salem Village, Daniel Rea's eleven-year-old daughter Jemima Rea began experiencing convulsions due to recurring assaults from the spectres of Rebecca Nurse, Mary Black, and Sarah Cloyse.

Neighbours visiting William Shaw's house found Susanna Sheldon convulsing, tormented by Lydia Dustin's spectre. Susanna's hands were tied and had to be cut free. (Roach 173-174)

Also, everyday items turned up in odd places. For example, a broom in an apple tree or a shirt and a milk tub in the woods. (Roach 173-174)

Friday 24

In Salem Town, John Proctor's spectre hounded Abigail Hobbs. It assured her that it was better to afflict than be afflicted and that she would not hang. It forced her to touch the book and gave her a poppet and a thorn to hurt Ann Putnam Jr. (Roach 175)

Saturday 25

Elizabeth How's former Ipswich neighbours came forward as character witnesses. (Roach 176)

Sunday 26

In Salem Village, Sarah Good's apparition left Susanna Sheldon suffocating on the floor with her head crammed behind a chest and her hands. (Roach 176)

Monday 27

Sarah Bibber was tormented by Rebecca Nurse's spectre, while the spectre of Elizabeth

Proctor berated Elizabeth Booth. (Roach 176)

Tuesday 28

In the Salem Town House, Sarah Good's trial commenced at nine o'clock. Her husband testified against her. One of the afflicted claimed that Sarah Good's spectre stabbed her in the breast with a knife, breaking the blade. The jury found her guilty of witchcraft. (Roach 177-179)

The court also recorded depositions against Tituba and in favour of Elizabeth How from her ninety-four-year-old father-in-law. (Roach 177-179)

Rebecca Nurse petitioned to have herself re-examined for witch marks by Mrs John Higginson, Elizabeth Porter, and the midwives Mrs Buckstone and Mrs Woodbury. (Roach 177-179)

Constable William Baker arrested seventy-year-old Mary Bradbury. Her spectre had been one of the ones who had attacked Timothy Swan. The Carrs gave further testimony against her. (Roach 177-179)

Wednesday 29

In Salem Town, the Grand Jury considered evidence concerning Susannah Martin, and the Court of Oyer and Terminer began her trial "by adjournment." Susannah Martin pleaded not guilty to the charges while the afflicted suffocated and convulsed. Her neighbours gave testimony about her character. For example, in her neighbourhood, many cattle deaths followed Susannah Martin's outbursts for twenty-five years. Bernard Peach, a farm labourer, was twice hounded by her spectre and once, it contorted him backwards until he bit its hand. Having been acquitted of an earlier witchcraft allegation, Susannah Martin denied she had ever used witchcraft and asserted her pious way for life. The jury found a defiant Susannah Martin guilty. (Roach 180-184)

The evidence against Rebecca Nurse came overwhelmingly from the afflicted, who continued to suffer spectral attacks in court. Sarah Bibber claimed to be pricked on the knee by Rebecca Nurse's spectre. However, Rebecca Nurse's daughter-in-law, Sarah Nurse, saw her do it to herself. Rebecca Nurse's neighbours attested to her character. Sarah Holten avowed Rebecca Nurse's malevolence had murdered her husband Benjamin three years earlier after an altercation. John and Sarah Holten's pigs wandered into the Nurse's field, and Rebecca Nurse stormed to the Holtens' house very upset. (Roach 180-184)

Despite the occasional clashes with her neighbours, Rebecca Nurse had never been accused of witchcraft. The spectral evidence against her was questioned by her relatives and neighbours alike. Twenty written depositions and even more statements demonstrated her good character and slight probability of being a witch. (Roach 180-184)

As soon as the foreman Thomas Fisk returned a verdict of not guilty, the afflicted cried out and convulsed. When the court resumed, Chief Justice William Stoughton reminded the jury that Rebecca Nurse had been heard referring to the confessor Abigail Hobbs as one of them, i.e., a witch. As the jury could not agree on understanding Rebecca Nurse's statement, they cross-examined her about it. She remained silent, for hard of hearing, she did not hear the question. The jury overturned their verdict to guilty, and Rebecca Nurse was sentenced to death by hanging. (Roach 180-184)

Thursday 30

In Salem Town, Elizabeth How pleaded not guilty while the afflicted went into a frenzy, requiring her to touch them several times so they could recuperate. At least a dozen people testified on Elizabeth How's behalf. However, Timothy Perley's family had suspected Elizabeth How of being a witch for over ten years. The Perleys asserted she had killed their cows after a quarrel and that she had bewitched their ten-year-old daughter to death. Despite her family and ministers' support, Elizabeth How was sentenced to death by hanging.

The Grand Jury heard evidence against John, Elizabeth Proctor, Martha Corey, and Sarah Wildes. The latter was found guilty on this day and sentenced to death.

In Salem Village, John Willard's form was tormenting his relatives, particularly young Samuel Wilkins. Samuel Wilkins felt pains jab and slashed his hand. Later, while returning from a trip to Marblehead, John Willard's spectre wearing a black hat attacked him from behind and knocked him from his horse into the Forest River. Afterwards, it stalked Samuel Wilkins all the way home across Salem. (Roach 184-188)

July

Friday 1

In Salem Town Thomas Putnam and John Putnam Jr. submitted a complaint against Margaret Hawkes from Barbados, and against her enslaved domestic servant Candy, for tormenting Mary Walcott, Mary Warren, and Ann Putnam Jr. (Roach 190)

Thomas Andrews gave further details about the charm on Isaac Cumming's mare. (Roach 190)

The Grand Jury also heard testimony against Martha Carrier. (Roach 190)

Saturday 2

Testimony was presented against Dorcas Hoar.

Ann Pudeator was interrogated a second time. Sarah Churchill said her spectre had brought her the Devil's book to sign. Ann Pudeator's neighbour, Jeremiah Neal, testified that she was argumentative and foreboding. Once after she borrowed a mortar to prepare a home remedy, his wife developed a flux which worsened her smallpox ailment and led to her demise. Ann Pudeator was questioned about her many half-full jars and their contents, but her answers were ambiguous. Sarah Bibber did not recognise her, but Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Walcott had seen her spectre. Ann Putnam Jr. fell in a fit after realising Ann Pudeator, who had to touch her as well as Mary Warren. Ann Pudeator was remanded for trial. (Roach 190-191)

Elderly Mary Bradbury of Salisbury was questioned about her spectre tormenting Timothy Swan. Elizabeth Hubbard, Sarah Bibber, Mary Walcott, Mary Warren, and Ann Putnam Jr. identified Mary Bradbury as their tormentor and dropped to the grown whenever she looked at them. Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam Jr. saw the ghost of Ann Putnam Jr.'s uncle, John Carr, who accused Mary Bradbury of killing him. Mary Bradbury was held for trial. (Roach 190-191)

The of Candy, Margaret Hawkes's enslaved domestic servant, assailed Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam Jr. (Roach 190-191)

Sunday 3

Salem Town's church observed the Lord's Supper this Sabbath . After the morning service, the elders formally asked church members to vote if Rebecca Nurse should remain a communing member of their congregation. Though she had joined this congregation twenty years earlier, undisputed, they voted to excommunicate her unanimously. That afternoon, Rebecca Nurse heard Reverend Nicholas Noyes officially declare the decision. (Roach 191-192)

Monday 4

In Salem Town, Margaret Hawkes and her enslaved domestic servant Candy were interrogated by Magistrates Bartholomew Gedney and John Hathorne while Reverend Nicholas Noyes observed. They permitted Candy to fetch her poppets so she could demonstrate how she had hurt people. She retrieved a handkerchief tied around a piece of cheese, a bit of grass, and a rag, one tied once and another twice. Mary Warren, Deliverance Hobbs and Abigail Hobbs, convulsed when they saw the makeshift poppet. The Devil and the forms of Elizabeth Hawkes and Candy were harming the girls by pinching the rags. Resorting to different methods, the magistrates tried to destroy Candy's poppet to break the afflicted free from the bewitchment, to no avail. Elizabeth Hawkes confessed. Both she and her slave were held for trial.

Thirty-nine of Rebecca Nurse's neighbours signed a petition on her behalf to contest the

court's unpopular verdict against her, to be presented to Governor Phips. Rebecca Nurse also penned a statement explaining that being hard of hearing, she could not follow all the questions she was asked. At the news that Governor Willian Phip had reprieved Rebecca Nurse, the afflicted went into fits. As a result, he decided to keep in place her guilty verdict.

In Salem Town jail, Candy's throat burnt as if scorched. (Roach 192-194)

Friday 15

In Salem Village, Widow Ann Foster of Andover was examined. Though, initially, she refuted the charges, as Mary Warren, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, and Ann Putnam Jr. began to convulse, she recanted and confessed. The Devil had appeared to her "almost half a year since" as a bird that landed on a table. It offered her prosperity and then "vanished away black." Since then, she could afflict with her glance. However, she had only begun hurting people because Martha Carrier had persuaded her to do so, three weeks prior. (Roach 199)

Saturday 16

Ann Foster was questioned in Salem Town prison. She maintained her earlier confession and added Martha Carrier had coerced her into serving the Devil six years ago. Martha Carrier instructed her to bewitch neighbour John Lovejoy's hog to death. Also, under her indications, Ann Foster used poppets and pins to make Andrew Allen's children sick, killing one of them, Timothy Swan and some Salem Village people. She also threw a tangled rag into the fire to torment Sarah Bibber. Ann Foster continued her narrative about when she and Martha Carrier, sitting on twigs and uttering the word "journey," had flown to the Salem Village Sabbath for an impromptu picnic of bread and cheese under a tree to listen to Reverend George Burroughs. She now feared for her life for confessing and incriminating Reverend George Burroughs and Martha Carrier. (Roach 199-200)

Monday 18

In Salem Town prison, Goodwife Ann Foster further implicated Martha Carrier. At the Salem Village Sabbath, Ann Foster had heard of a coven of three hundred and five witches brewing ways to ruin the colony from Salem Village. (Roach 200)

Tuesday 19

In Salem Town, sometime between eight and noon, Sheriff George Corwin carted Rebecca Nurse, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth How, Sarah Good, and Sarah Wildes to the gallows. Sarah Good denied confessing at Reverend Nicholas Noyes's request and reaffirmed her innocence. They were all hanged by short drop and buried nearby. (Roach 201-202)

In Salem Town, Joseph Ballard swore a complaint against Mary Lacy Sr. and her daughter

Mary Lacy Jr. for tormenting his wife Elizabeth Ballard and put up a £100 bond to prosecute Mary Lacy. The magistrates issued an arrest warrant for May Lacy Sr. only. (Roach 201-202)

Wednesday 20

Mary Lacy Sr. was arrested in Andover and brought before the Salem Town magistrates. She admitted to having flown to the Salem Village Sabbath with Martha Carrier but contended that her mother, Ann Foster, did not partake. After Lacy confessed, Elizabeth Hubbard and Mary Lewis' convulsions ceased. An arrest warrant was then issued for Mary Lacey Jr.

Mary Walcott and Abigail Williams experienced their usual afflictions. Abigail William's aunt, and Elizabeth Parris Sr., also felt accosted by spectral ailment.

As Samuel Pickworth walked along the west side of Salem Town Common, he saw Ann Pudeator's spectre near Captain Higginson's house. Her spectre hastily glided past him and escaped into her home. (Roach 202-203)

Thursday 21

In Salem Town, the confessor Ann Foster is interrogated a fourth time. She detailed that the Salem Village sabbat's agenda was to plan how to bewitch people and to set up the Devil's Kingdom on Salem. She signed the confession with her mark.

Mary Lacy Jr. soon admitted that, three or four years before, she flew cradled by the Devil to Newbury Falls, where he baptized six witches: Mary Bradbury, Elizabeth How, and Rebecca Nurse. Now she tormented people by pressing things. She admitted hurting Mary Warren, Timothy Swan, Elizabeth Ballard, and James Fry's child. As Mary Warren convulsed, she saw the spectre of Richard Carrier, Martha Carrier's son, on the magistrates' table, Mary Lacy Jr. identified it. She further accused Martha Carrier of stabbing several women and children to death with pins and needles. Mary Lacy Jr. detailed how "[s]ometimes we leave our bodies at home, but at other times we go in our bodies, and the Devil puts a mist before their eyes and will not let them see us." The repentant Mary Lacy Jr. took Mary Warren's hand and implored for absolution. (Roach 205-208)

Interrogated again, Ann Foster claimed Martha Carrier had murdered several children and that Roger Toothaker's wife, Mary Toothhaker, and his daughter, Martha Toothaker, and Richard Carrier had been with the witches. According to Mary Lacy Sr., he boasted of having bewitched cattle to death and that he and his mother had committed murder. (Roach 205-208)

Ann Foster now admitted to being involved with the Devil for six years. Mary Lacey Jr.'s mother and grandmother confirmed her confession. The three generations of women were remanded to Salem Town jail, and an arrest warrant was issued for Richard and Andrew Carrier. (Roach 205-208)

Friday 22

Andover's Constable Joseph Ballard escorted Martha Carrier's eighteen-year-old Richard and sixteen-year-old Andrew sons to Thomas Beadle prison in Salem Town. They both proclaimed their innocence. However, Mary Lacy Jr. detailed how they all rode together on poles with the Devil and how Richard Carrier had made his younger brother, Andrew Carrier, a witch. Richard confessed that one night, as he was walking home, he encountered a dark man wearing a high-crowned hat who claimed to be Christ and pledged him new clothes and a horse as a reward for his service. Richard acquiesced and made a red mark in the man's little red book. He began to hurt Timothy Swan on behalf of Mary Bradbury. He attended two Salem Village sabbats with Mary Lacy Jr. His mother, Sarah Good, and Reverend George Burroughs also participated in the sabbat at Reverend Samuel Parris' pasture. Richard Carrier continued by naming several more witches. He admitted having afflicted several people and being baptised at the falls, in Newbury, along with Mary Bradbury, Rebecca Nurse and Elizabeth How, all of whom signed the book. The afflicted and Mary Lacy Jr. accepted Richard's confession by touching his hand while he begged for forgiveness. (Roach 208-210)

When told of his older brother's confession, Andrew Carrier assented to most of its details. The brothers were remanded to jail. An arrest warrant was issued for Roger Toothaker's daughter Martha, wife of Joseph Emerson of Haverhill. (Roach 208-210)

Saturday 23

Constable William Starling and two deputies apprehended Roger Toothaker's daughter, Martha Emerson in Haverhill and escorted her to Salem Town for questioning. The afflicted witnesses now included the recent confessors. Mary Warren and Mary Lacy Jr. accused Martha Emerson of tormenting them, attested by Richard Carrier. Mary Lacy Sr. contended that Martha Emerson and her mother Mary Toothaker had attended the sabbats. Mary Warren stated that Martha Emerson's spectre bragged of restraining a man with a bewitched harness. Martha Emerson confessed that her father Roger Toothaker had taught her to kill a witch by boiling a sealed bottle of urine from an afflicted person. Her aunt Martha Carrier and Mary Green of Haverhill had stopped her from confessing earlier. Their spectres were now raging at her for revealing them. Though she recanted and protested her innocence, she remained in jail.

In Salem prison, John Proctor wrote a letter to several Boston ministers, Increase Mather, James Allen, Joshua Moody, James Bailey and Samuel Willard, beseeching their help securing more objective trials. (Roach 210-211)

Friday 29

In Salem Town, Mary Bridges Sr. confessed. Haverhill constable executed arrest warrants against Mary Green and Hannah Bromage. (Roach 215)

Saturday 30

Mary Green, her husband, and Hannah Bromage from Haverhill were transported to Salem Town by Constable William Starling and three deputies for examination. Mary Toothaker joined them. Her husband Roger Toothaker had died in prison. Her daughter Martha Emerson had confessed, and most believed her sister Martha Carrier was a deacon to Reverend George Burroughs, the wizard. Mary Toothaker, however, protested her innocence, though the afflicted convulsed when she looked at them. Encouraged by confessor Mary Bridges Sr., Mary Toothaker confessed that the Devil had appeared to her as a dark-skinned man two years before. He had pledged to protect her and her son from the Indians and prosecution. She rubbed a mark on the white of some birch bark that the Devil brought her. She consented when the afflicted claimed the Devil stood on the table by her. She detailed the witches' meetings, their plans to crown the Devil, and that Mary Bradbury had recruited them to hurt Timothy Swan. (Roach 215-217)

Ann Putnam Jr. and Mary Walcott had accused Hannah Bromage. They convulsed when she glanced at them, which stopped at her touch. Confessor Mary Bridges asserted Hanna Bromage had helped her to afflict Elizabeth Ballard, Joseph Ballard's wife, to death. Mary Lacy Sr. and Mary Bridges could see that Hanna Bromage's spectre had stabbed Ann Putnam Jr with a spear as she convulsed violently. Mary Bridges insisted the Devil would not leave Hannah Bromage's side. Doubting her own innocence, Hanna Bromage confessed to being less keen on religious services for the previous six weeks and that perhaps the Devil was in her heart. (Roach 215-217)

Sunday, July 31st

In Salem Village, Rebecca Wilkins was again assaulted by the spectre of John Willard, on her way to the meeting. (Roach 218)

August

Tuesday 2

In Salem Town, The Court of Oyer and Terminer assembled to try Martha Carrier, John and Elizabeth Proctor, John Willard, George Jacobs Sr., and Reverend George Burroughs. (Roach 220-222)

Martha Carrier pleaded not guilty to the indictments, but quite a few of the afflicted suffered convulsions during the trial and blamed it on her spectre. Many stated she was a witch as she remained

insubordinate and infuriated with the afflicted. The jury returned a guilty verdict for Martha Carrier. (Roach 220-222)

Most of the surviving depositions against John Proctor came from the afflicted, especially his maidservant Mary Warren. Over fifty-two neighbours, friends and relatives, including Captain John Holten submitted a petition asserting that John and Elizabeth Proctor had never been suspected of witchcraft. The jury found John Proctor guilty. (Roach 220-222)

Most of the depositions against Elizabeth Proctor were related to the torment that her spectre had inflicted since late winter on various girls, women and a few men. Like her husband, she was found guilty. On the grounds of being pregnant, her execution was deferred until after she gave birth. (Roach 220-222)

Wednesday 3

In Salem Town, depositions against Martha Carrier, Mary Esty and Reverend George Burroughs were sworn before the Grand Jury. (Roach 223)

Thursday 4

Haverhill Constable William Starling arrested Mistress Mary Clark and brought her to Salem Town for examination. The afflicted and several confessors went into fits. Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam Jr. identified Mistress Mary Clark as a pinching, choking, tormenting spectre who had stabbed Timothy Swan with a ragged spear. The magistrates pressed Mistress Clark to confess “for the good of her soul”, but she rebuffed the accusations. While carrying out the Lord's Prayer test, she “erred much.” The Grand Jury additionally heard depositions against Mary Esty, Martha Corey, and George Jacobs Sr. (Roach 224)

Friday 5

John Willard's substantiated viciousness and his role in his nephew's death resulted in a guilty ruling.

Based on the events of May 10th and 11th, stated by Sarah Churchill and John DeRich, George Jacobs Sr. was found guilty of witchcraft.

Reverend George Burroughs was tried in the afternoon, early enough for Reverends Increase Mather, Deodat Lawson and John Hale to join the many people who journeyed to Salem Town to attend Reverend George Burroughs’ trial. He exercised his right to contest potential jurors and rejected several of them. The afflicted convulsed and displayed teeth marks on their arms. The confessors reiterated their testimonies about the incidents of April 20, 22, 23; May 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18; June 1, 4, 18; and July 22. Chief Justice William Stoughton asked Reverend George Burroughs who he thought

hurt the witnesses, to which he replied that it was the Devil. According to the afflicted, the four ghosts of his murdered wives were present. Some opined Reverend George Burroughs neglected prayer and other religious ordinances. He spoke up in his defence, questioned the integrity of the statements against him, and maintained his innocence, rejecting any participation in witchcraft, even after the jury returned a guilty verdict. (Roach 226-231)

After her examination, Margaret Scott of Rowley was remanded for trial in Salem Town jail for tormenting Mary Daniel and Captain Wycomb's daughter, Frances Wycomb. (Roach 226-231)

Thursday 11

In Salem Town, Abigail Faulkner, wife of Francis Faulkner, was examined by Justices John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Reverend John Higginson while Simon Willard took notes. (Roach 234-236)

Confessors Sarah Phelps and Martha Sprague were now also afflicted. (Roach 234-236)

The confessors Thomas and Sarah Carrier, the children of Richard Carrier, elaborated on their prior accounts. Sarah Carrier confessed to being a witch since age six. She had not seen the Devil when she was baptised at Andrew Foster's pasture. She only saw Betty Johnson with Mary Toothaker who pledge, but did not deliver Sarah, a black dog. She did not use poppets to afflict because she pinched her victims in spectral form aided by her mother. (Roach 234-236)

Betty Johnson stated that Martha Carrier and the Devil had bullied her into signing the book four years prior at her house. The coven sabbat included one hundred- twenty witches and a short minister. They used poppets like the ones she displayed for the court. She indicated three spots on her body on which her familiars suckled. They were confirmed with a body search. (Roach 234-236)

Betty Johnson's aunt Abigail Faulkner, wife of Francis Faulkner and daughter to Reverend Dane, declined to confess. The afflicted convulsed when they saw her and when she gazed at them. Her spectre had ghosted Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam Jr. for months, but only now did it hurt them. Also, Abigail Faulkner had conjured with a sieve. The court held her for tormenting Martha Sprague and Sarah Phelps. (Roach 234-236)

Friday, 12

In Salem Town, Daniel Eames' implacable spectre attacked Mary Lacy Jr. and Betty Johnson in jail, as well as Mary Walcott, Mary Warren, Ann Putnam Jr. and Timothy Swan, the Ingalls's child, in Andover. (Roach 238)

Saturday 13

Daniel Eames was arrested. During his examination, Betty Johnson reported accompanying

his spectre by night when he afflicted Sarah Phelps' child by pinching and stabbing a poppet. His spectre had also hurt Betty herself and young Mary Lacy in prison the previous day. Though he denied having gone into covenant with the Devil, all the afflicted convulsed and collapsed and needed his touch to recover. He insisted on his innocence but conceded that he had once dreamt about witches who tried in vain to lure him into engaging in diabolism. During Abigail Faulkner's examination, Mary Warren was adamant that Eames' spectre had afflicted her. The confessors, Mary Post and Mary Bridges, however did not know of him being a witch. (Roach 238-239)

Friday 19

In Haverhill, Constable William Starling arrested Frances Hutchins and Rebecca Eames, wife of the Boxford selectman Robert Eames and mother of the accused Daniel Eames. He ushered them to Salem Town for questioning. Ruth Wilford was still at large. (Roach 242-245)

Among a sizable crowd, Reverends Nicholas Noyes of Salem, John Hale of Beverly, Zachariah Symms, Samuel Cheever and Cotton Mather from Boston attended today's hangings. John Proctor asked Reverend Nicholas Noyes to pray with him, but was refused for not having confessed. Reverend George Burroughs, Martha Carrier, John Willard, George Jacobs Sr., and John Proctor maintained their innocence. Cotton Mather acquiesced to pray with them. They asked for their sins and those of their accusers to be forgiven and that no more innocents would perish. Reverend George Burroughs said the Lord's Prayer. Samuel Sewall would later describe his faultless oration moved the crowd. As doubt began to arise, the afflicted declared the Devil fed him the words. The hangings were carried out, and the bodies were buried near the gallows' site. (Roach 242-245)

Rebecca Eames, during her examination, conceded an ugly horse, the Devil, and a tattered girl had come to her. She had promised him allegiance in exchange for the ability to take revenge on those who had wronged her. The Devil then rode with her spectre to afflict people. Having seen the spectre of her son Daniel as well, Mary Lacy Jr. said that Rebecca Eames's form bragged how she had given him to the Devil when he was only two years old. She could not remember any of this, but took the hands of Mary Warren and Mary Lacy Jr. to ask for their forgiveness. Mary Lacy Jr. could see Daniel's spectre exhorting his mother not to confess. Rebecca Eames was remanded to prison until trial. Confessors Abigail Hobbs and Mary Lacy Jr. would try to get her to admit, for they knew she was an old witch. (Roach 242-245)

Saturday 20

Margaret Jacobs addressed a letter to her father from Salem Town prison. In it, she prays for that they will reunite in Heaven. She foresaw her looming demise at the hands of the afflicted. (Roach

245-246)

The spectre of Giles Corey's burst into the house in Northfields where John DeRich was working and took some dishes for a sabbat. (Roach 245-246)

Sunday 21

Aided by Reverends Samuel Willard and Joshua Moody, Philip English, his six-year-old daughter Susanna, and his wife Mary fled to New York. (Roach 246-247)

Thursday 25

Several girls from Andover were disturbed by spectres associated with confessor Mary Bridges, namely Elizabeth How and her family, Sarah Cloyse, and Reverend Francis Dane. (Roach 248-250)

Confessor Mary Bridges' daughters and stepdaughters Hannah Post, Sarah Bridges, Mary Bridges Jr., and Susanna Post were ushered to Salem Town by Constable Ephraim Foster. They were accused of tormenting their sixteen-year-old step-cousin Martha Sprague and the constable's thirteen-year-old daughter, Rose Ephraim, who had joined the ranks of the afflicted witnesses and confessors. Confronted by Justices Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin and Reverend John Higginson, the girls all confessed that the Devil had come to them as a pig, a cat, a yellow bird, a white bird, a bear and as a dark man, who, at times, said to be Jesus. Susanna Post had signed with a red liquid, while Hannah Post had cut her finger to sign in blood. They also admitted to tormenting people and attending sabbats. They further incriminated several others: Abigail Faulkner, already imprisoned, Elizabeth How, already hung, John Howard, Elizabeth How's brother John Jackson Sr. and his son John Jr. Hannah Post was now afflicted by the spectre of Martha Emerson. (Roach 248-250)

Saturday 27

In Salem Town, the elderly John Jackson is examined. The afflicted convulsed, and Martha Sprague, Rose Foster, and Mary Warren declared he hurt them. Hannah Post, Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam Jr. stated the spectres of John Jackson and his son were drinking and tipping their hat to Reverend George Burroughs at John Chandler's the night before the last executions. The court ordered John Jackson would not look at Hannah Post after her testimony. The Putnams, the Walcott girls, Mary Lacy Jr and Sarah Bridges convulsed. Mary Lacy Jr. and Richard Carrier recognised him from the night before. John Jackson contested their sanity and stated that he was away in Rowley, working at Captain Wycomb's at the time. He was remanded to jail while protesting his innocence. (Roach 251-252)

When the twenty-two-year-old John Jackson Jr. entered, the afflicted convulsed. He confessed that his aunt Elizabeth How had bewitched him four years earlier. He also confessed that the Devil had come to him then as a black man and that he had been baptised once in Reverend Phillip's meeting

house. The Devil, in the form of cats and his aunt, had referred to a book. The afflicted could see John Jackson Sr.' spectre urging his son not to confess. John Jackson Jr. sobbed that his father had bewitched him too. (Roach 251-252)

After his examination, John Howard, another accused, was taken to Ipswich jail with the Jacksons. (Roach 251-252)

In Salem Town, the apparitions of William Barker Sr., Mary Marston, and Mary Barker pinched and chocked Martha Sprague and Rose Foster. (Roach 251-252)

Monday 29

Constable Ephraim Foster escorted William Barker Sr. and his nieces Mary Barker and Mary Marston from Andover to Salem Town for questioning. Before Justices Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Reverend John Higginson, Mary Barker, the thirteen-year-old daughter of an Andover church deacon confessed and accused Abigail Faulkner and Elizabeth Johnson Sr. of coercing her to sign the Devil's book last summer. Following the Devil's lead, she had tormented people and had attended the Salem Village sabbat. In exchange for having all her sins forgiven, she had committed her body and soul to the Devil. (Roach 254-255)

Mary Marston refuted having hurt the afflicted. However, she had permitted the Devil to take her form the previous Monday. While Abigail Martin and Martha Sprague convulsed, she added that the last winter, when her husband John was away, a dark man emerged in the room and sought to have her serve and believe in him. Only after she marked his book he revealed who he was. At first, he had promised her happiness, but turned menacing when she refused him. According to the convulsing Mary Lacy and Martha Sprague, the Devil and William Barker's spectre stood by her. Mary Marston added having ridden a shaft to the Salem Village sabbat. (Roach 254-255)

William Barker confessed the Devil had appeared to him three years earlier as a black man with a cloven foot. The Devil offered to clear his family'sdebts so they could live at ease. The Devil was conspiring to supplant Christianity with Devil worship. He had chosen Salem Village to begin his endeavour since the villagers were already divided against their minister. The Devil's followers would live free of the judgment, punishment, or shame of sin. William Baker also named John Busse the Salem Village sabbat leader. The coven had three hundred and seven witches who were livid for being exposed by the afflicted. (Roach 254-255)

In Salem Town, Samuel Martin and Moses Tyler submitted a complaint against widow Elizabeth Johnson Sr. and her daughter Abigail Johnson. They were accused of tormenting Martha Sprague and Abigail Martin. (Roach 254-255)

Tuesday 30

In Salem Town, eleven-year-old Abigail Johnson confessed.

Elizabeth Johnson Sr. faced with the afflicted, confessed to being a witch since her other daughter's arrest three weeks earlier. One night the Devil tried to get her consent to torture with her spectre. The Devil had first come to her in the guise of a white bird. Later, he came as a dark man. She had signed the book with a black smudge on her finger. Both she and her sister Abigail Faulkner had been baptised in Five Mile Pond with many other witches and their blind cousin James How. Elizabeth Johnson Sr. admitted to hurting Sarah Phelps and three of Samuel Martin's children with the help of her sister Abigail Faulkner and Sarah Parker. She could not name all her victims nor confirm that her son Stephen was a witch. Elizabeth Johnson Sr. was now a confessor.

Abigail Faulkner Sr. protested her innocence, and though she had squeezed her hands together enraged, the girls remained unaffected.

William Barker Sr. submitted a written statement from prison, accusing confessors Abigail Faulkner and Elizabeth Johnson of coercing him into signing the Devil's book. (Roach 256-58)

Wednesday 31

After attending the August 19 hanging, Rebecca Eames confessed. Now, the victim of harassment by Abigail Hobbs and Mary Lacy Jr., she expounded further. Rebecca Eames admitted to having been a witch for twenty-six years after smearing her mark on the Devil's book. Both she and her son Daniel Eames had been baptised in the Five Mile Pond. Daniel, who had been a wizard for thirteen years, tormented Timothy Swan, in Andover, along with his mother, widow Mary Toothaker, and Abigail Faulkner Sr. (Roach 258)

September

Thursday 1

Constable Ephraim Foster escorted Samuel Wardell, his wife Sarah, their nineteen-year-old daughter, Mercy, and Sarah's twenty-one-year-old daughter, Sarah Hawkes,[289] as well as fourteen-year-old William Barker Jr. and Reverend Francis Dane's grandson, and fourteen-year-old Stephen Johnson from Andover to Salem Town, to be examined. (Roach 260-264)

Justices Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin and Reverend John

[289] Thirteen years earlier, their mother Elizabeth Wardell had been accused of witchcraft, but the slanderer was sued in court.

Higginson led the examination. Martha Sprague, Abigail Martin, Rose Foster, Sarah Bridges, Hannah Post, Mary Warren and Mary Lacy Jr. were the afflicted eyewitnesses who convulsed the entire session. (Roach 260-264)

Samuel Wardwell, a carpenter and a farmer was also known as a fortune-teller. After first protesting his innocence, he confessed to having submitted to the Devil out of dissatisfaction with his work's volume and fortune-telling. (Roach 260-264)

Sarah Hawkes had also engaged in fortune-telling and had turned the sieve and shears. She confessed the Devil had come to her as a black man. He had made her pen her covenant to him on a floating paper. After baptising her in Five Mile Pond, he came as a dark presence that ran away with her thoughts. She had witnessed a dozen unknown witches fly on rods to the sabbat in Salem Village. As Sarah Hawkes dropped her glove, so did Martha Sprague and Rose Foster. Sarah admitted to having used it to bewitch them and was made to touch Martha to revive her. Because Sarah bruised her the first time, she had to touch her again to stop the swelling. Once Sarah also admitted to having renounced her former baptism, the afflicted were no longer repelled, and she could hold their hands. (Roach 260-264)

Similarly to her half-sister, Mercy Wardwell confessed the Devil had come to her in the guise of a scorned lover, a dog, God, or Christ. She acceded to serving the Devil for twenty years and firmed the compact with a red mark on a slip of paper. Once Mercy also admitted to renouncing her former baptism, the afflicted could hold her hand. (Roach 260-264)

Sarah Wardwell confessed the Devil had appeared to her in the shape of a man six years prior. The Devil offered her anything she wanted. He had presented her with a piece of paper to put her mark on. Sarah Wardwell had not known her husband was also a witch before she joined the coven. Her gaze struck down the afflicted. Sarah Wardwell confessed to hurting Martha Sprague the previous evening in retaliation for the girl's accusation against her husband. Now she repentantly repudiated the Devil. (Roach 260-264)

William Barker Jr. and Stephen Johnson confessed to having hurt Martha Sprague. William Barker Jr., however, claimed he had no recollection of it. While rounding up his cows for the night, the Devil came to him as a dog only six days earlier. Later on, during a sleepless night, William met a black man dressed in black. He dipped his finger into a receptacle with a reddish substance and signed a compact with the Devil. The reward was a suit of clothes, which the Devil failed to deliver. After confessing that the Devil had plunged his head into a pond and that he had renounced his first baptism, William Barker Jr. was able to hold the hands of the afflicted. (Roach 260-264)

Stephen Johnson confessed the Devil appeared to him at midsummer while he was alone hilling corn. First, the Devil took the form of a talking speckled bird, then that of a black cat and, finally, of a man who urged him to sign the book. For the reward of a pair of French Autumn shoes, Stephen put a bloody fingerprint on a sheet of paper and pledged to afflict for a year. After his confession, Stephen could also hold the hands of the afflicted. (Roach 260-264)

All the confessors were jailed for tormenting the afflicted and for covenanting with the Devil.

Henry Salter's spectre tormented Mary Walcott, while the spectre of widow Mary Parker persecuted Martha Sprague and Hannah Bixby, aunt of the afflicted Phelps children. (Roach 260-264)

Friday 2

Salem Town, while Salem merchant William Murray took notes, magistrates Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Reverend Higginson presided over the examination of Mary Parker, a widow from Andover. Mary Warren, Sarah Churchill, Hannah Post, Sarah Bridges and Mercy Wardwell broke into fits as soon as her name was mentioned. Mary Parker had to restore them with her touch. She refuted the accusations against her. Martha (?), Mary Lacy Jr., and Mercy Wardwell took turns collapsing whenever Mary Parker looked at them. Mercy Wardwell named her as one of Timothy Swan's tormentors, and Mary Warren bled from the mouth as she jerked violently. With a pin jabbed into her hand, Mary Warren was dragged to be touched by Mary Parker. Mary Parker did not confess. (Roach 264-265)

Saturday 3

In Salem Town, Ebenezer Babson submitted a complaint against Margaret Prince and Dicer. Additionally, he posted a bond to ensure prosecution. An arrest warrant was promptly issued to Thomas Riggs Jr., the constable of Gloucester, for their arrest. (Roach 267)

Monday 5

In Salem Town, Justices John Hathorne, Reverend John Higginson and the other magistrates oversaw the examination, while Simon Willard logged and Reverend Nicholas Noyes, Eleazer Keyser, and Ebenezer Babson observed. Elizabeth Hubbard, Mary Marshall, eighteen-year-old Elizabeth Marshall, and fourteen-year-old Alice Booth and their new sister-in-law Elizabeth Booth were also afflicted. And so were the confessors Hannah and Susanna Post, Mary Lacy Jr., Sarah Churchill, Mary Warren, and Samuel Wardwell. (Roach 2004 272-274)

Over thirty years earlier, Margaret Prince of Gloucester had been rumoured to be a witch, but she had sued the instigator for libel. Elizabeth Booth and Mary Warren collapsed and were revived by her touch. Margaret Prince was incarcerated. (Roach 2004 272-274)

Jane Lilly, Mary Taylor and Mary Coleson were all from Reading and related to old Lydia Dustin. Mary Marshall accused all of them of witchcraft. Mary Marshall, Hannah Post, young Mary Lacy and Mary Warren were affected by Mary Taylor's evil eye and convulsed. When questioned by the magistrates and the confessor Samuel Wardwell, Mary Taylor refuted it and of having been baptised by the Devil. She was held for trial. (Roach 272-274)

While the afflicted convulsed, Mary Warren stated Jane Lily had visited the John and Elizabeth Proctors' house. Sarah Churchill insisted she saw Jane Lily's shape visit John and Elizabeth Proctor in prison. Jane Lilly declared her innocence and ignorance of any Devil's dealings. She also denied having burnt down Hooper's house and having murdered him. Refusing to confess, Jane Lilly was returned to prison for tormenting Mary Marshall. (Roach 2004 272-274)

Mary Coleson was accused of afflicting Mary Marshall out of revenge since her mother, widow Lydia Dustin was arrested. Ordered to gaze at her accusers, several collapsed, including Alice Booth and Elizabeth Booths. They all recuperated as she touched them. Mary Coleson was imprisoned. (Roach 2004 272-274)

Simon Willard, the scribe and Eleazar Keyser submitted a complaint against Joseph Emons of Manchester for afflicting Mary Warren. Likewise, Thomas Dodd of Marblehead entered a complaint before Justice Higginson against Nicholas Frost, a turbulent Piscataqua mariner whose spectre was hurting his daughter Johanna. (Roach 2004 272-274)

The spectres of Giles Corey and Margaret Jacobs afflicted John DeRich. (Roach 268-272)

Tuesday 6

In Salem Town, the Court of Oyer and Terminer was convened at midday for the trial of Dorcas Hoar, Alice Parker, Giles and Martha Corey, Mary Esty, Ann Pudeator and Mary Bradbury. (Roach 2004 272-274)

Reverend John Hale of Beverly presented testimony about the character of his parishioner Dorcas Hoar. Though given to occasionally foretelling which neighbour's next of kin would die, based on the lines and shapes of their faces, Dorcas Hoar had never encountered the Devil. But the ghost of Thomas Tuck had tried to contact her about some land. Besides, Dorcas Hoar's hair was peculiar. Most of it was short and grey except for a very long dark entangled lock at the back of her head. The justices ordered it cut off as she protested it was for her protection. Even after the clipping of her hair, Dorcas Hoar was found guilty. (Roach 2004 272-274)

In Salem Village, the spectre of Alice Parker this evening tormented Sarah Bibber, Mary Walcott, Ann Putnam Jr., and Mary Wardwell. (Roach 2004 272-274)

Wednesday 7

In Salem Town, evidence concerning Mary Esty, Ann Pudeator and Alice Parker of Salem, and Mary Bradbury of Salisbury was presented to the Grand Jury. (Roach 274-277)

Reverend James Allen, Reverend John Pike, magistrate Robert Pike and other of Mary Bradbury's Salisbury neighbours petitioned the court on her behalf. (Roach 274-277)

New accusations of spectral assaults against Mary Warren and Mary Walcott the previous day were levelled against Alice Parker, who had been suspected of witchcraft for a while. Alice Parker was perceived as odd since she was found passed out in the snow in January last. Mary Warren accused her of drowning several mariners and Goody Orne's son. (Roach 274-277)

Many of the witnesses for the Mary Esty trial refused the summons. But one of her relatives by marriage, Margaret Reddington, made sure to testify that Esty's spectre appeared with an offering of spoiled meat a week before the July Thanksgiving. (Roach 274-277)

Statements regarding Mary Parker of Andover were presented to the high court. At the same time, Rebecca Johnson, her daughter Rebecca, Henry Salter, and Mary Tyler were examined. (Roach 274-277)

When Rebecca Johnson faced the afflicted, they convulsed. Martha Sprague and Rose Foster saw Elizabeth Booth hit by Elizabeth Johnson Sr. 's spectre, while it threatened to hurt her unborn child. Alice Booth had seen Rebecca Nurse's form during a witches' sacrament. Rose Foster, Martha Sprague, and Alice Booth could all see the Devil standing beside widow Elizabeth Johnson Sr. and her daughter in the courtroom. (Roach 274-277)

Mary Warren, Rose Foster, Mary Lacy Jr. and Mary Walcott collapsed when Henry Salter faced them. Mary Walcott recounted the incident of Thursday, September 1. Also, she, Martha Sprague, and Hannah Post had seen his spectre attack Timothy Swan and others. His spectre also shared with Mary Warren that his methods of witchcraft were conjuration by Bible and key, and by sieve and scissors. She could see the Devil stand behind him along with two women, a man, and some children. Henry Salter conceded to lies and drunkenness, but not to witchcraft. (Roach 274-277)

Constable Foster's wife Hannah and Ralph Farnum Sr. were tormented by the spectre of Mary Tyler (Roach 274-277)

Thursday 8

In Salem Town, at first, Mary Tyler protested her innocence in vain against John Bridges and Mr John Emerson, who urged her to confess that she was a witch and had consorted with the Devil. In the end Mary Tyler confessed to everything or else she would hang. (Roach 277-280)

When Mary Osgood faced the afflicted, they convulsed. Martha Sprague, Rose Foster, Hannah Post, Mary Lacy Jr., and Betty Johnson needed her touch to recover. Mary Osgood confessed she was a witch but could not remember when. However, she recalled, during an ill period eleven years before after giving birth to her youngest child, as she walked in melancholy through her orchard, a cat distracted her from her prayer to God, and she prayed to the Devil instead. The Devil appeared as a dark man alleging to be God and asked her to mark his book with blood from her finger. Also, two years prior, she was baptised in Five Mile Pond after flying there on a pole with Mary Tyler, Abigail Barker and Eunice Fry. She was able to torment people by focusing while grabbing her sheets. It allowed the Devil to torture people in her form and by hurting them with her eye. She never attended any of the sabbats, though. Her husband, Constable Peter Osgood, believed her confession. Like Reverend Francis Dane, Sarah Wilson and Abigail Barker were incarcerated for covenanting with the Devil. Abigail Barker was imprisoned for also tormenting Rose Foster and Ralph Farnum Sr. All the accused confessed. (Roach 277-280)

Evidence concerning Martha Corey and Mary Bradbury was submitted to the high court. Constable Ephraim Wildes was sent with a second subpoena for Mary Towne's family to come forward for Mary Esty's trial. (Roach 277-280)

Friday 9

In Salem Town, evidence concerning Giles Corey is submitted to the Grand Jury. Although he protested his innocence to all the charges, he refused to enter a plea, which was punishable by *peine forte et dure* or pressing under heavyweights until the defendant cooperated. Giles Corey's trial was adjourned. (Roach 281-284)

Most of the evidence submitted to the Grand Jury against Martha Corey concerned the reported incidents of March 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 26; April 6, 13, 14, 29; May 31; June 8 and her examination on March 21. (Roach 281-284)

Mary Esty and Sarah Cloyse, sisters of the deceased Rebecca Nurse, presented a petition. In it, They declared their innocence and appealed for the testimonies of the afflicted and the confessors to be disregarded as evidence. (Roach 281-284)

In addition to tormenting the afflicted, Ann Pudeator stood accused of the slow demise of constable Jeremiah Neal's wife, for pushing young John Turner headfirst from a cherry tree; and for murdering her second husband and his first wife. Samuel Pickworth reported the events of July 20 and John Best Sr. told how his late wife believed Ann Pudeator was her tormentor. (Roach 281-284)

In addition to the convulsing afflicted, the Endicotts and the Carrs provided evidence against

Mary Bradbury. Samuel Endicott reported she had sold him butter which turned rancid and maggoty. Also, during a violent storm at sea, he saw Mary Bradbury's spectre on the ship. On her behalf, her husband, minister, the local magistrates and dozens of neighbours submitted several appeals. Yet she was sentenced to death. (Roach 281-284)

Saturday 10

In Salem Town, Martha Corey, Mary Esty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Dorcas Hoar and Mary Bradbury were found guilty of witchcraft and sentenced to hang by short drop. (Roach 284-285)

The Grand Jury heard evidence against the confessor Abigail Hobbs. (Roach 284-285)

Ann Foster firmed the documented version of her confession with a mark. (Roach 284-285)

Henry Bragg, a Salem Town labourer, registered a complaint against Sarah Cole of Salem and against Hannah Carrol, wife of Salem wheeler Nathaniel Carrol, for tormenting his son William. Henry Bragg put up a bond to prosecute the magistrates Bartholomew Gedney, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Reverend John Higginson and promptly issued the arrest warrants. (Roach 284-285)

After their convictions, Ann Pudeator petitioned the court to oppose accepting such damning but false testimony. Mary Esty forwarded a second petition to the Governor, the court, and the ministers. (Roach 284-285)

Despite confessing to being a witch and incriminating others, Dorcas Hoar was still found guilty.

Mary Bradbury was broken out of jail, while her accuser Samuel Endicott went missing, never to be found again. (Roach 284-285)

In Salem Village, the spectre of Joan Penny of Gloucester, Mary Bradbury's step-grandmother, tormented Mary, the daughter of Zebulon Hill. (Roach 284-285)

Monday 12

On the outer edge of Salem Town, Alice Booth and Elizabeth Booth witnessed the spectres of around fifty witches crammed in the house of widow Schafflin – Alice and Elizabet's mother and mother-in-law – to accept a diabolic sacrament of bread and wine. They recognised thirteen witches led by Giles Corey. (Roach 287)

Tuesday 13

In Salem Town, the cases of Ann Foster and her daughter Mary Lacy Sr., Wilmot Read, Samuel Wardwell, Margaret Scott, Rebecca Eames, Mary Parker, Abigail Faulkner, and Abigail Hobbs were tried before the Court of Oyer and Terminer. (Roach 287-288)

Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, and Mary Warren related to the Grand Jury the incidents of

Ann Foster's examination on July 5. Also, the confessions of her daughter and granddaughter implicated her.

Mary Lacy Sr. was arrested for bewitching Joseph Ballard's wife, Elizabeth Ballard. Though the afflicted reported to the Grand Jury how Mary Lacy Sr. had hurt them, her confessions provided the most incriminatory evidence against herself. Thus, she was found guilty. (Roach 287-288)

The confession of Samuel Wardwell was read to him for confirmation. However, he recanted his statements against Mary Taylor and Jane Lilly. Eames Wardwell's spectre afflicted Martha Sprague, Rose Foster, Rose's mother, and Hannah, daughter of Rebecca. Zebulon Hill made an official complaint against Mary Taylor's step-grandmother, Joan Penny, for tormenting his daughter Mary. (Roach 287-288)

With his money and connections, Captain John Alden escaped after fifteen weeks in Boston prison and left for New York. (Roach 287-288)

Wednesday 14

Elizabeth Coleson was finally captured in Charlestown and brought to Salem Town for questioning by Sheriff Timothy Phillips. She then joined her mother Mary Coleson, aunt Sarah Dustin, and grandmother Lydia Dustin in the Middlesex County prison in Cambridge. (Roach 288-290)

The evidence submitted to the Grand Jury against ill-tempered Wilmot Read pertained mostly to the reports from May 26 and 31 of the afflicted. She was found guilty of witchcraft.

Despite having confessed, Samuel Wardwell of Andover was found guilty of witchcraft due to his dabbling in fortune-telling and sympathetic magic. (Roach 288-290)

Lieutenant Nathaniel Putnam, Deacons Nathaniel Ingersoll and Edward Putnam, and Reverend Samuel Parris visited a stubbornly unrepentant Martha Corey in prison to inform her of the ex-communication vote. Nonetheless, she proclaimed her innocence. (Roach 288-290)

Thursday 15

Before Justice Higginson, Goodwife Mary Marston, Stephen Johnson, and Mercy Wardwell validated and marked their prior confessions in Salem Town. Mercy, however, added she ignored whether her parents were witches. (Roach 290-292)

Evidence was given to the Grand Jury against widow Margaret Scott of Rowley, Mary Warren, Elizabeth Hubbard, Frances Wycomb and Rebecca Eames. (Roach 290-292)

Giles Corey remained silent. So, he was taken back to prison. (Roach 290-292)

Deputy Sheriff George Herrick arrested Sarah Cole of Salem. (Roach 290-292)

Friday 16

In Salem Town, Dorothy and Abigail Faulkner (daughters of Abigail Faulkner Sr. and granddaughters of Reverend Francis Dane); Martha and Johanna Tyler (daughters of Mary Tyler and step-cousins of Martha Sprague); Sarah Wilson Jr.; and Joseph Draper were examined by magistrates John Higginson Jr. and Captain Thomas Wade. They all confessed and incriminated Abigail Faulkner for making them witches. (Roach 292-293)

Johanna Tyler had signed the book pressured by Abigail Faulkner and the Devil. She tormented people by desiring it. She went to the sabbat in Chandler's pasture, afflicted Sarah Phelps and let the Devil use her shape to deter Sarah Wilson's confession. Abigail Faulkner's spectre was now hindering her. (Roach 292-293)

William Barker Sr. verified confession and his son William Jr. maintained his accusation of Mary Parker before the Court of Oyer and Terminer. (Roach 292-293)

For "standing mute," the court condemned Giles Corey to pressing, to make him enter a plea, which under the new charter was undisputed. (Roach 292-293)

Saturday 17

Confessors Margaret Scott, Wilmot Read, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Abigail Faulkner, Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacy Sr., Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbs were all found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging,by the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Because Abigail Faulkner was pregnant, she was temporarily reprieved. (Roach 294-295)

The outstanding untried cases were scheduled for November 1. (Roach 294-295)

Sarah Hawkes, the stepdaughter of the convicted Samuel Wardwell, also confirmed her confession before Justice Higginson. (Roach 294-295)

After collapsing at William Proctor's gaze and revived by his touch, Mary Warren stated that he "had almost murdered her to death this day by pains in all her bones and inwards also." (Roach 294-295) His spectre had also tormented Alice Booth and her sister Elizabeth who saw William Proctor twisting a poppet, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam Jr., Sarah Churchill and Mary Pickworth. (Roach 294-295)

Sunday 18

The Salem Town Church excommunicated Giles Corey, though he had not been proven guilty of the crime of witchcraft.

In Salem Village, Ann Putnam Jr. was viciously tormented by witch spectres, including Giles Corey's and the ghost of one of his murdered victims. It declared Martha Corey had pressed him to

death with his feet before she was born, then covenanted with Satan to escape the murder charge. (Roach 296)

Monday 19

In Salem Town, for “two days, one after another,” the court and Giles Corey’s friend Captain Thomas Gardner had tried to make him change his mind, "but all in vain. " Giles Corey was pressed to death for standing mute. It was the last and only pressing in Massachusetts. (Roach 296-297)

Wednesday 21

Ipswich Constable John Choate brought Joan Penny to Salem Town for questioning. She did not confess and failed the Lord’s Prayer test. Joan Penny was held for trial and ushered to Ipswich jail by Constable Choate. (Roach 298-299)

A petition on behalf of the first condemned person who had confessed, Dorcas Hoar, was signed by ministers John Hale and Nicholas Noyse, and schoolmasters John Emerson and Daniel Epps. It arrived in Boston addressed to Governor William Phips, or, in his absence, to Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton. They requested that Dorcas Hoar's execution be delayed for a month, so she might “prepare for death and eternity.” Stoughton granted the delay. (Roach 298-299)

Thursday 22

Dorcas Hoar and others sentenced but not yet scheduled to be executed were left behind in Salem Town prison. Mary Esty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Martha Corey, Margaret Scott, Wilmot Read, Mary Parker, and Samuel Wardwell were hanged. Many in the audience sobbed. Mary Esty addressed parting words to her husband, children, and friends. Martha Corey protested her innocence from the ladder and, boldly defying the notion Puritan women must refrain from public speaking, she “concluded her life with an eminent prayer.” Samuel Wardwell choked on the executioner's pipe smoke while trying to declare his innocence. After it was all over, Reverend Nicholas Noyes remarked, “[w]hat a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of Hell hanging there.” (Roach 300)

October

The hostile response to the witch-hunt is simmering, now that the girls have overreached themselves by naming several leading members of the Puritan society as witches, including Lady Phips, the wife of the Governor. (Hill xxi)

Wednesday 12

Because of the escalating suspicions in Boston, Governor William Phips determined to cease

court proceedings against the hundred and fifty accused in custody; and to end arrests "without unavoidable necessity," while he waited on the Crown's advice for a course of action. He would also forbid printed discussions that only ignited "needless disputes." (Roach 315)

Saturday 29

In Boston, the Massachusetts General Court approved a list of thirteen capital offences which included the crime of witchcraft: "If any man or woman be a witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death." (Roach 325-326)

In Salem Town, the following Tuesday, the Court of Oyer and Terminer would resume the trials of pending witchcraft cases. However, Governor Phips decided this court must instead fall. (Roach 325-326)

1693

January

Tuesday 3

Governor William Phips assigned a new session of the Superior Court of Judicature to try the remaining suspects. The Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assizes and General Gaol Delivery convened in Salem Town. Chief Justice William Stoughton presided with Judges Thomas Danforth, Waitstill Winthrop, John Richards, and Samuel Sewall. The magistrates agreed that spectral evidence would only be admitted in minor cases. Out of the fifty-two people brought to trial, over the following month, forty-nine were directly exonerated. Governor William Phips pardoned the three alleged witches found guilty and five others previously sentenced. By May, he ordered the release of all the accused witches still in custody on payment of their jail fees. (Roach 360)

APPENDIX C

Nineteenth-century American published works about the Salem witch hunt of 1692
(in chronological order)

Scott, Jonathan. *The Sorceress or Salem Delivered*. 1817

Anonymous. "Salem Witchcraft: An Eastern Tale." *The New York Literary Journal and Belles Lettres Repository* 3 (1820)

Neal, John. *Rachel Dyer*. 1828.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "Alice Doane's Appeal." *The Token.* 1835.

Stone, William L. *The Witches: A Tale of New England*. 1837. or *Mercy Desborough*. 1844.

Buckminster, Eliza. *Delusion, or the Witch of New England*. 1840.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. "Main street." 1840.

Anonymous. *The Salem Belle, a Tale of 1692*. Boston: Tappan & Dennet, 1842.

Halyard, Harry. *The Haunted Bride, or The Witch of Gallows Hill, A Romance of the Olden Time*. 1848.

Anonymous. "Alice: A Story of Cotton Mather's Time." *United States Magazine and Democratic Review 25* (1849): 249–56, 338–44.

James, George P. R. "Christian Lacy. A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft." *Graham"s Magazine* 37 (1851): 17–27.

Matthews, Cornelius. *Witchcraft: A Tragedy in Five Acts*. 1852.

Everett, Eliza J. "The Tribunal of Witchcraft." *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 10 (1856) 386–88, 402–03.

DeForest, John W. *Witching Times*. 1857.

Longfellow, Henry W. "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms." *The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. 1868.

Condit, M.B. *Philip English's Two Cups.* 1869.

Castleton, D. R. *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century*. 1874.

Williams, Espy W.H. *Witchcraft, or, The Witch of Salem. A Legend of Old New England in Five Acts.* 1882.

Disosway, Ella T. *South Meadows.* 1874.

Du Bois, Constance G. *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft*. 1890.

Musick, John B. *The Witch of Salem or Credulity Run Mad.* 1893.

Watson, Augusta C. *Dorothy the Puritan. The Story of a Strange Delusion*. 1893.

Wilkins, Mary E. *Giles Corey, Yeoman*. 1893.

Mackie, Pauline B. *Ye Lyttle Salem Maide. A Story of Witchcraft*. 1898.

APPENDIX D

AUTHORS' BIO NOTES

The following biographical summaries concern the authors of our literary *corpus*.

The presented information was abridged from a selection of sources.[290] In some instances, very little or conflicting information is available, which explains the brevity of the biographical overview offered.

Eliza Buckminster Lee (ca. March 1789- June 22 1864)

Baptised in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on March 28, 1789, Lee was probably born shortly before that date, but the records are unclear. The daughter of Sara Stevens and the Unitarian Minister Joseph Buckminster, Lee's mother, died when she was of very tender age. Though very little is known about her childhood, she was brought up, along with her older brother, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, in a clergyman's family. Her domestic duties were numerous, and she was expected to be, at all times, agreeable and subordinate, trained to excel in motherhood, housekeeping, hosting, and blindly loving and obedient to her future husband. Her father was a liberal committed to literature, recognised as one of the forerunners of Transcendentalism, along with Ralph Waldo Emerson's brother, the Reverend William Emerson. Despite Reverend Buckminster's efforts to establish better schools for girls then, her father and brother home-schooled her in Classical education. The clergyman's daughter seems to have had a reasonably good education.

In July 1827, at 39, Eliza married Thomas Lee, nine years her senior. The couple had no children. A wealthy resident of Brookline, Massachusetts, Thomas Lee retired early and devoted himself to landscape and gardening.

[290] See, for example, *Benet's Reader's Encyclopedia of American Literature*; Dictionary *of American Biography*; *Oxford Companion to Women's Writing in the United States*; *Brownson's Quarterly Review*; *North American Review*; and Ancestry.com.

Figure 54. Thomas Lee's estate was then named the "Holm Lea."

Lee pursued her studies and devoted herself to literature. After spending most of her life in Boston, Lee died in 1864 of "dropsey" (chronic heart failure).

Lee began her career as a writer with her first historical fiction, Sketches *of a New England Village* (1838). It described scenes from a typical New England town of the time, emphasising the community's religious life.

Several titles followed: *Delusion or The Witch of New England* (1839); *Life of Jean Paul Richter* (1840) – a translation of his autobiography to which she appended a biographical sketch; *Naomi or Boston Two Hundred Years Ago* (1848); *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster*, d.d. and of his Son, *Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster* (1849) – one of her best-known works; *Florence the Parish Orphan* (1852), *Parthenia or the Last Days of Paganism* (1858). While most of her works have been long out of print, several were successful during Lee's lifetime. Such was the case of *Florence* and *Parthenia*, both trendy in their day.

Lee was also known during her time for her translations of works by Richter, Auerbach and other German authors. Although she does not seem to have ever been at home with the language, she learned enough to make her a capable translator, which helped establish her as a literary figure, as illustrated below.

POPULAR BOOKS.

THE LITTLE BAREFOOT.

A TALE, BY

BERTHOLD AUERBACH.

Translated from the German by Eliza Buckminster Lee. With four full-page, and numerous smaller Original Illustrations.

Price, $1.25.

"Little Barefoot" is a very quaint and touching story of the adventures and struggles of two orphan children, named Amrie, and Dami her brother. The translation is very graceful, and just enough of the German tone and coloring are retained to add to the charm of the book. The main points of the story are to show how self-reliance, a resolute spirit, and, most of all, a cheerful faith in God, finally triumph over all adversity, and establish a character which commands love and respect, and is a constant blessing.

Figure 55. *The Little Barefoot*. Review. *Popular Books.*

Lee is acknowledged as one of the "women publishing politically and historically informed writing directed toward contemporary public issues whom Hawthorne knew to some extent" (Idol Jr. and Ponder 1999, 28). Religion and philosophy were subjects that particularly intrigued Lee, and several reviewers found her ideas an exciting mix of "masculine" intelligence and "feminine" emotion. Some reviewers noted that she questioned religious orthodoxy. Others argued that her works moved toward a rather negative view of the world and humanity; or that her perspective was refreshing and liberating. However, by contemporary standards, she was neither a scholar nor a writer of noticeable creative ability, nor had she mastered the English language. Her prose style is simple and engaging, perhaps slightly flawed by her overuse of similes and metaphors. Her little aptitude for literary art is copiously compensated not only by her keen dedication to it but, most importantly, by her sharp criticism, as illustrated in our discussion of her novel *Delusion*.

About Lee's *Delusion*, the following review can be found in the notices of books section of *The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters*, volume II, 108-109.

Delusion; *or the Witch of New England.* Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1840. pp. 160. 12 mo.

We have read this unpretending little book with much interest. And yet it seems to us rather the promise of excellence than the maturity. The conception and execution of the story as a whole are imperfect; but the rays of a delicate genius are thickly strewn through the pages. We do not think the *subject* most suitable to the peculiar powers displayed,—that being stern and terrible, these sweet and graceful. Neither are the parts very well woven together and made to conspire to one end. And though the traits of single characters are beautifully touched, the various *individuals* are not made always to bear that living relation to each other, which is the mark of dramatic merit. There are some tokens of inexperience in laying the plot of a story. But with these abatements, we must own this a work of rare beauty. And the beauty lies in single expressions, original turns of thought, new and striking images, and sometimes in the force and fitness of a word. We hesitate not to say there are unequivocal appearances of a genius capable of better things. The common style of the host of authors is so merely imitative,—a repetition not only of scenes, situations and characters, but of phrases and figures, that it is refreshing to receive any thing from native intellect and taste. There is an evident *real* sensibility, which this fiction but veils, which gives some of the nicest strokes, and without which no ingenuity can trace the secret channels of the human breast. This, combined with genuine power and exquisite delicacy of imagination, makes our author, if we may take an illustration from the art of painting, a fine colorist, if she will study a little more severely the *drawing*, and mutual relations in character;—which we hope she will do in a new attempt.

Figure 56. *Delusion.* Review. *The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters*, volume II, 108-109

Eleanor Forrester Barstow Condit – penname M.B Condit

(February 20 1826 – October 26 1887)

Daughter of Gideon Barstow, III, US Congressman and Nancy Forrester Barstow, Condit was born in Salem, Essex County, MA. Her mother was Nathaniel Hawthorne's first cousin.
She married Caleb Harrison Condit, an architect from Newark, New Jersey, on June 20 1854, in Brookline, MA. They were the parents of Joel Wheeler and Margaret Condit (twins, but Margaret died in infancy), Charlotte Matilda Parker, Margaret Harrison Condit and Gideon Barstow Condit.

The 1880 census records Condit as a patient at the McLean Asylum while still married.
Condit died, a widow, with no declared occupation, of nephritis, in Somerville, Middlesex County, MA. She is buried in Cambridge, Middlesex County, MA.

Caroline Rosina Derby – penname D.R. Castleton

(December 24 1805 - August 27, 1878)

Castleton was born in Salem, Massachusetts, to Hannah Brown Fitch (1777-1862) and Ezekiel Hersey Derby (1772-1852), a prominent merchant Salem family. She was one of six siblings and is not known to have married or born children. Seemingly, Castleton lived all her life with several of her sisters, without any declared occupation, most likely in the family Derby farmhouse at the Corner Lafayette St. and Ocean Avenue, a 110-acre farm famously depicted by M.F. Corné circa 1800.

Figure 57. Corné, M.F. Ezekiel Hersey Derby Farm. Ca. 1800

Castleton passed away, in Salem, at the age of seventy-two with "lung fever" (pneumonia) in 1878. At her bequest, the portraits of her maternal grandparents, painted by Joseph Blackburn, are on view in the Putnam Gallery at the Peabody Essex Museum. Timothy Fitch (1725–90) from Nantucket, who married Eunice Brown, amassed a vast fortune as a Medford Slave Trader during the New England Triangular Trade.

Figure 58. Portrait of Timothy Fitch. 1760. Photo by Jeffrey R. Dykes.

Figure 59. Portrait of Eunice Brown Fitch about 1760. Photo by Jeffrey R. Dykes.

About Castleton's historical fiction *Salem*, published only four years before her death, in *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review* (vol. III), in the contemporary literature section, it is said: "A Spirited story, founded on the Salem witchcraft." (761)

Castleton was also a prolific writer of short stories for the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* as illustrated by the following list of titles:

"The Man Who Was Not an Egotist" (November 1857)
"Peacock" (October 1858)
"Twilight" (March 1859)
"The Lovers' Quarrel" (October 1859)
"Tury or, Three Stories in One" (1860)
"Bachelor's Hall" (January 1860)
"Pomp (December" 1860)
"The Debatable Baby" (May 1861)
"Penny Dexter" (January 1862)
"Mademoiselle" (February 1862)
"Jumping Jack's Daughter" (February 1863)
"Eulalie" (August 1863)
"The Little Heiress" (October 1863)
"Episodic Farming" (February 1864)
"St. Leon's Heir" (May 1865)
"Julian" (August 1865)
"The Wife's Thank-Offering" (November 1865)
"The St. Leons" (August 1866)
"Our Expected Guests" (March 1867)
"Strayed and Stolen" (April 1867)
"Lucy Ruthven's Will" (November 1868)
"Grandpapa's Baby" (February 1869)
"Thunder-Struck" (January 1870)
"Linda's Young Lady" (April 1870)
"Transmutation" (June 1870)
"Up and Down" (September 1870)
"Archie Hutchington" (May 1871)
"The Angel of the House" (September 1871)
"Johnny Mingo" (December 1871)
"The Snow-Bird" (January 1872)
"A Waif and Estray" (February 1873)
"Lost (May 1873)"
"Was It a Failure?" (July 1873)
"Who Was Right?" (October 1873
"The Wrong Word" (April 1874)
"Enfranchisement" (June 1875

Ella Taylor Disosway (June 21 1838 – March 13 1895)

Born in Castleton, Richmond, New York, daughter to Reverend Gabriel Pollion Disosway (ca. 1798-1868) and Diana Tabb Riddick (1810-1883), Disosway is one of thirteen siblings.
A clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal church, Disosway's father was one of the founders of Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, Virginia, in 1832. He became an antiquary merchant once back in New York. He regularly contributed to newspaper and periodical press and published a few notable books, such as *The Earliest Churches of New York and its Vicinity* in 1864.

Disosway died, single, with no declared occupation, in New Brighton, Richmond, New York. *The Publishers' Weekly* on October 23 1874 (Vol 6 Issue 17) introduces Disosway as "a new writer in American literature" with her "New England historical novel", *South Meadows*. About it in *The Literary World: A review of Current Literature* (Vol. V June 1874 - May 1875), it is said: "It is a tale of New England in the seventeenth century, and deals in an interesting manner with the Salem witchcraft trials." (95) While, in his *American fiction, 1851-1875* (1957), Wright highlights how "Cotton Mather figures prominently in this story of Salem witchcraft." (102)

Disosway is known to have also published a translation from the German of C. G. Salzmann. The English title *What God Does is Well Done* in 1875. She published two other novels. One in ca. 1885, a novel titled *Beppie* – about the early nineteenth-century life as lived by the Riddicks, Allens, and Godwins in Nansemond County, in Suffolk, Virginia – and in 1888, a novel titled *The Grey Guest Chamber* – about the rekindling of old friendships while attending the American Great Exhibition.

Constance Goddard Du Bois (ca. 1856-1934)

Figure 60. Du Bois. Courtesy of The Autry National Centre.

A historical novelist, philanthropist, turned ethnographer. As a descendent of Capitan Josiah Munro of Massachusetts, and one of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Du Bois was born in Zanesville, Ohio, the daughter of Delafield Du Bois (1833-1898) and Alice Cogswell Goddard (1832-1913). She was the oldest of three siblings.

In 1889, Du Bois settled in Waterbury, Connecticut, where she became the president of the Waterbury branch of the Woman's National Indian Association and the editor of Waterbury's *Asa Gray Bulletin*, a botanical publication, during the 1890s.

Though Du Bois remained single, she seemingly shared her home and life with Caroline Root Conkey (1844-1917), who practised medicine in Waterbury for thirty years.

As a young woman, Du Bois wrote historical fiction but became interested in the plight of the American Indians, especially the Mission Indians of Southern California. She became an activist for reform in the government's treatment of the American Indians and, as a result, took on personal fieldwork to determine the conditions on Southern California reservations, primarily documenting the living conditions of the Luiseño and Kumeyaay. Du Bois became a member of the American Anthropological Association and the American Folk-Lore Society. She undertook fieldwork for the American Museum of Natural History and Alfred L. Kroeber at the University of California, Berkeley.
In the *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* Vol. 26. No. 2 (2006), Laylander describes how DuBois spent her summers in the San Diego area in the late 1890s and early 1900s. She was intensely involved with the Diegueno (Ipai and Tipai, or Kumeyaay) and Luiseno Indians living in the region's rugged backcountry.

As a result, Du Bois, between 1899 and 1908, DuBois published two dozen ground-breaking studies of San Diego County's Native Americans. Her writings focused on myths, ceremonies, and other elements of the traditional culture of the Luiseno region, as well as on the present state of native crafts and the difficult circumstances faced by native groups in early twentieth-century America.

DuBois also channelled financial aid, offered political support, and promoted a revival of traditional basketry. In collaboration with Alfred L. Kroeber and other anthropologists, she became a pioneering ethnographer, devoting particular attention to describing native myths and ceremonies.
In the census of 1910, she is declared an "author" and "renter." In the following 1920 and 1930 censuses, Du Bois is recorded as a "patient" at the Hartford Retreat for the Insane.

Figure 61. Hartford Retreat for the Insane, East view. Ca. 1915-30

She passed away on August 18 1934, in Hartford, Connecticut and is buried at the Riverside Cemetery in Waterbury, New Haven County, Connecticut.

Figure 62. Du Bois' gravestone. Riverside Cemetery. Connecticut

About Du Bois' *Martha Corey*, in the *Book News* (Vol. IV, September 1890 - August 1891), it is said: "The author depicts with fidelity to the facts of history and a fine dramatic skill the horrible effects of New England superstition in the closing years of the seventeenth century." (202) And, in *The Churchman* of March 5 1892, 298, the following review is offered:

Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft. By Constance Goddard Du Bois. [Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.]

This is a graphic and powerful novel. It dwells upon the darker side of the Puritan character as shown at the time of the witch burning, but the treatment is no harsher than that which these traits received from the courageous Robert Calef, who had the hardihood to send in (when a circular had been issued asking for information concerning witches) a list of people who had been specially active in the persecutions, but who had, in his judgment, been punished by special judgments of God. The characters are drawn with a touch at once graceful and firm, and the very color of the times is preserved with great care and skill.

Figure 63. Review of *Martha Corey*. *The Churchman*, March 5 1892, 298

Besides *Martha Corey*, Du Bois published other historical fiction titles, namely, *Columbus and Beatriz*. A. C. McClurg, Chicago, 1892; *The Shield of the Fleur de Lis: A Novel*. Merriam, New York, 1895; *A Modern Pagan: A Novel*. Merriam, New York, 1895; *A Soul in Bronze: A Novel of Southern California*. H. S. Stone, Chicago, 1900; "The Raven of Capistrano: A True Wonder Tale". *Out West* (issues 26-27), 1907.

Mary Augusta Watson – penname Augusta Campbell Watson
(March 1959 - August 11 1936)

Daughter of Cornelius Cuyler Campbell (1839-1880) and Mary Campbell, Watson was born in New York.

On June 11 1885, she married widower George Herbert Watson (1843-1921), a merchant, and sixteen years her senior, at the church of the Annunciation in Manhattan, New York.

On February 1897, Watson gave birth to her daughter Hellen M Watson.

In the census of 1900, her husband is recorded as a “capitalist”, while she has no occupation and four servants. Often referenced in the society portions of the newspapers, organising or partaking in lavish fundraiser luncheons and teas, Mrs George H Watson was, for example, one of the “Friends of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.”

In the census of 1920, Watson's husband no longer had an occupation, while the house staff was reduced to a cook and two maids. He would pass away the following year, and she would join him fifteen years later. They are both buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery in Connecticut, where they spent most of their life as a couple.

Figure 64. Watson's gravestone. Cedar Grove Cemetery, Connecticut,

Besides *Dorothy The Puritan* in 1893, Watson published three other novels: *The Old Harbor Town: A novel founded on events of the war of 1776* in 1892, *Off Lynnport Light* in 1895 and *Beyond The City Gates: A Romance of Old New York* in 1897. The year of publication of her last novel coincides with the year of the birth of her daughter. After it, Watson would not publish again.

As publicity for her third novel, the following was said about Watson in the *Buffalo Commercial* of April 26 1895:

Augusta Campbell Watson, the author of "Off Lynnport Light," is described as a charming young woman, whose literary work is done in an atmosphere of luxury. She is Mrs. Geo. H. Watson of New York city. A little less than three years ago she wrote a novel about some of our ancestors who lived in New London at the time of the Revolution, and she called the novel, "The Old Harbor Town." Before she wrote this story she was not known as an author. Then she wrote another book, about the Puritans at Salem, and she called it "Dorothy the Puritan." Her third story, just out, is a simple little love tale evolved from sea coast scenes.

Figure 65. About Watson. *Buffalo Commercial*, April 26 1895.

The reviews about Watson's *Dorothy the Puritan's* reception are positive. For example, in the *Boston Evening* of June 2 1693, we can read:

Dorothy the Puritan.

By AUGUSTA CAMPBELL WATSON.

16mo, Cloth, $1.00.

The events contained in this new and pleasing romance occurred in the historical old town of Salem, Mass. The realistic pictures of life among the early settlers, with a vivid and accurate description of the witchcraft delusion which pervaded New England during the latter part of the seventeenth century, are graphically interwoven with the romantic scenes of the story. Dorothy, the heroine, whose picture appears on the frontispiece, is a most lovable, womanly character, and her pathetic story, with its background of tragic history, appeals deeply to the heart of the reader.

New Edition. 5th Thousand.

Figure 66. *Dorothy the Purtian.* Review. *Boston Evening*, June 2 1693

The Outlook of September 16 1893, says that Watson's *Dorothy* is "a charming tale of old Salem days. The witchcraft fanaticism furnishes situations for the story, but does not otherwise intrude; which is a proof of the discretion of the author since the New England episode with witches has, of late been a little overdone. The characters in the story, Dorothy Wentworth, Elizabeth Hubbard, and the Holdens, are presented with distinctness and developed with verisimilitude." (524)

A few years later, *Dorothy* is hailed as an example of "Colonial Renaissance in American Literature" and Watson as "one of the first women to give colonial atmosphere to her books." (*The Morning Times* July 26 1896)

Indeed, Watson's *Dorothy* became the "famous," "popular", and "widely read" novel, which inspired playwright and actress Estelle Clayton to write a romantic comedy titled "A Puritan Romance," starring herself and her sister Isabel Evesson.

Figure 67. “Miss Estelle Clayton.” *The Morning News*, October 17 1897

It was performed in several theatres in New York, Boston and Philadelphia to reviews as the one below in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 10 1897.

"A Puritan Romance," a New Comedy, at the Park.

"A Puritan Romance," a new play by that brilliant young actress, Estelle Clayton, in which she and her fascinating sister, Isabel Evesson, appear as joint stars, will have its initial formal premier at the Park Theatre to-morrow evening. Both these women are well known in this city for their talent and their personal beauty, and their starring venture will be watched with great interest by their many friends and the theatre-going public generally. Miss Clayton received her inspiration for this play from Augusta Campbell Watson's widely read novel, "Dorothy, the Puritan." In constructing it she did not, however, strongly adhere to the lines of the original story. She merely drafted a skeleton of it and accepted the characters, and then built her own dramatic structure, introducing new characters for the purpose of strengthening the comedy interest. Miss Clayton's purpose from the start was the writing of a play which, while presenting the Puritan true to the traditions of history, would show him in a brighter and more acceptable light than he has heretofore been presented, either by the historian or the playwright. That she has succeeded in doing this is evidenced by the criticisms which have been published on the trial performances during the past week. Light and laughter have been her purpose, and the Puritan, as Miss Clayton presents him, is a most intensely interesting stage personage. The comedy element is very strong and the dramatic situations are said to be most intensely theatrical, but not overdrawn. Miss Evesson plays the part of Dorothy, the heroine, and Miss Clayton the soubrette character. Their support is an excellent one, the principals of which are W. H. Elwood, Myron Calice, A. C. Deltwyn, C. W. Macdonald, Basil West, L. M. Martell, Joseph Martin, Grace Huntington, Virginia Buchanan, Fanny Hunt and Augusta Dergin. In producing the play Manager Edward A. Braden gave unusual attention to the details of scenery, electrical effects and costumes.

Figure 68. "A Puritan Romance." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 10 1897.

Pauline B M Hopkins Cavendish – Penname Pauline Bradford Mackie

(July 5 1874 – May 21 1956)

PAULINE BRADFORD MACKIE.

Figure 69. Mackie. Harkins, E F. *Little Pilgrimages Among the Women Who Have Written Famous Books.* 1902. 281.

Daughter of the Episcopal minister Reverend Andrew Mackey and Sarah Denniston, Mackie was born in Fairfield, Connecticut. After her father died when she was young, Mackey grew up with her two brothers, Andrew and Cecil, in Toledo, Ohio, and lived in Washington DC, Berkley, California and New York. Per *The Chicago Inter Ocean* of May 18, 1903, after graduating, she began newspaper work [at the *Toledo Blade*] which soon led to her novel writing." (8) The granddaughter of Mehitable Bradford, Mackey is a descendant of Massachusetts governor William Bradford, Mehitable's grandfather. (Harkins 290)

On August 2, 1899, Mackie married a Harvard graduate, Herbert Mueller Hopkins (1870 – 1910). He was the son of Reverend W. C. Hopkins, rector of Saint Mark's Church in Toledo, and the grandson of "Bishop Hopkins of national fame in the Episcopal Church." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, July 16, 1899, 26) As a result, Mackie "took up her residence on the coast." However, "Mrs Hopkins, in her writing, prefer[ed] to keep her maiden name." (*The Chicago Inter Ocean* of May 18, 1903, 8)

Figure 70. Hopkins, H. M. in *Poems* . 1911. Frontispiece – posthumously.

Herbert M. Hopkins was an assistant professor in Latin at the State University and then an assistant professor of the English Literature Department at Berkley University. In 1901 Mackie's husband became the chair of the English Department at Trinity College in Hartford, where he also lectured Latin.

As a novelist, in 1902, he published a novel titled *The Fighting Bishop* and, the following year, *The Torch*. As a poet, he had most of his poems published in *The Bookman*, *Harper's Magazine*, *The Churchman*, *Out West*, *The Reader* and *The Outlook*. Indeed, "[b]oth Professor Hopkins and his wife have made places for themselves among the modern novelists of America." (*Nashville Banner*, December 17, 1904, 7)

In 1907, Mackie's husband "went into the ministry, and he was sent to Grace Church [in New York] as a deacon. He went to the Bronx from Grace church after his ordination and established the Church of the Holy Nativity. He also helped to build a rectory but had only lived in it for three months when on December 22, he was taken to the hospital." He died January 18 1910, "5:30 Friday morning in St. Luke's hospital of typhoid fever." (*The Burlington Free Press*, January 20, 5)

According to the 1910 and 1915 Censuses, Mackie remained a widow at first, raising her son, Cecil Mackie Hopkins (1905-1991), by sharing her home with her brother Cecil Mackie, an insurance broker. Though we could not find a record of Mackie's second nuptials after 1920, she is at times introduced as "Mrs. Harry Cavendish" or "Mrs. Pauline M. Cavendish" but "under the pen-name

of Pauline Bradford Mackie" as, for example, in *The Baltimore Sun* of February 29, 1920, 34 or in *The New York Tribune* of February 22, 1920, 34. Moreover, in the 1920 Census, Mackie is recorded as "married" and a "lodger," i.e., a next of kin, of an English army Lieutenant named Harry Cavendish, 37, who immigrated to the US in 1905 and was naturalised in 1917. However, on June 1937, Mackie applied to claim Social Security, and in the 1940 census, she was again "widowed" and living by herself in Connecticut.

She died at age eighty-two in Manhattan and is buried in the Woodland Cemetery in the Bronx with her first husband.

Figure 71. Mackie's gravestone. Woodland Cemetery, the Bronx.

Per *Out West*, Volume 16, of March 1902, Mackie was a member of the Spinners' Club of San Francisco and considered a "native Californian" though "born somewhere else." (277)

Figure 72. Mackie. *Out West*, Volume 16, March 1902, 277.

As illustrated below, praise for Mackey's work was sung in the American press.

CHRISTMAS CALL
OUT DECEMBER 16TH

THE highest priced magazine will not contain a more notable array of celebrated writers than will the Sunday Call Christmas edition.

CAPTAIN SHRIMP.
By PAULINE BRADFORD MACKIE.

A LITTLE EMPTY STOCKING.
By JOHN STRANGE WINTER.

A SHOT IN TIME.
By GENERAL CHARLES KING.

AN ANGEL UNAWARES.
By MARION HARLAND.

JACK REDMOND'S TREASURE.
By EDITH SESSIONS TUPPER.

JEANNE'S VISIT TO ST. NICHOLAS.
By JESSIE JULIET KNOX.

HIS IDEAL CHRISTMAS.
By JUSTIN McCARTHY.

CHRISTMAS DAY IN ROME.
By MME. SOPHIA BOMIPIANI.

CHRISTMAS IN THE FATHERLAND.
By COUNT ANDREW BERNSTAFF.

CHRISTMAS IN THE SAGEBRUSH.
By ISABEL DARLING.

FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS BY THE SUNDAY CALL'S STAFF OF FAMOUS ARTISTS.
Including METHFESSEL, DIXON, CAHILL, WARREN, BRADSHAW, KELLY, BRONSTROP, THORNDYKE, BORIEN and ROHRAND.

AND MANY OTHER NOTABLE FEATURES, INCLUDING

"PECK'S BAD BOY GROWN UP."

Figure 73. *The San Francisco Call*, December 11, 1900, 9.

Pauline Bradford Mackie to Write for the Christmas Call.

PAULINE BRADFORD MACKIE has written for the Christmas Call a short story that will be remembered—one that will add greatly to the already high position she occupies in the world of letters.

The name of this author now ranks among those of the leading literary lights in the field of fiction. Her book, "A Georgian Actress," which was published this year, has justly been considered one of the best novels of the season. Her stories possess a refined delicacy of touch that is hardly rivaled, and yet the dramatic interest is so well sustained that the reader's attention is won from cover to cover.

Photo by Alisky.

Miss Mackie has written a Christmas short story exclusively for the Christmas Call. It will appear in no other paper in the United States. The author has taken for her scene the good old pilgrim days of Miles Standish and has woven a love plot with just enough color, dash and adventure to make it altogether charming. As Miss Mackie is now making California her home and is at present a resident of Berkeley, it is only right that her best work should be offered first to the people of her own State.

"Captain Shrimp" is the title of her story, which will appear in the Christmas Call on December 16. Read it. It is the best short story of its kind which has appeared this season.

Here are a few of the other excellent stories which will be a feature of the Christmas Call, all of them by well-known writers: "A Little Empty Stocking," by John Strange Winter; "A Shot in Time," by General Charles King; "An Angel Unawares," by Marion Harland; "Jack Redmond's Treasure," by Edith Sessions Tupper; "Jeanne's Visit to St. Nicholas," by Jessie Juliet Knox; "His Ideal Christmas," by Justin McCarthy; "Christmas Day in Rome," by Mme. Sophia Bomipiani; "Christmas in the Fatherland," by Count Andrew Bernstaff; "Christmas in the Sagebrush," by Isabel Darling.

Figure 74. *The San Francisco Call*, December 13, 1900, 6.

The Girl *and the* Kaiser

MRS. HERBERT M. HOPKINS
Author of
THE GIRL AND THE KAISER.

BY

PAULINE BRADFORD MACKIE

(Mrs. Herbert M. Hopkins.)

Illustrated and Decorated by
JOHN CECIL CLAY

is a really beautiful and delightfully seasonable volume that every one will like. The story is a bubbling romance of the German Imperial court, with an American girl as the heroine.

The scenes all occur within twenty-four hours, but in that time the sweet and innocent freshness of an American girl has rather got the better of the dictatorial German Kaiser. The gentle simplicity of the love story, with its Old-World atmosphere, the girlishness, artlessness of the heroine, are elements which combine to give a charm that is all-pervading.

The elaborate decorations for the text pages and the cover, by John Cecil Clay, are full of delicate sentiment and a winning spirit of youth.

SPECIAL PRICE, $1.18

THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY

Figure 75. *The Indianapolis News*, November 12, 1904, 15.

Her published work, primarily historical fiction, included short stories, novels and plays, as listed below.

"His Christmas Gift" (1894)

"Mademoiselle de Berny" (1897)

Ye Little Salem Maide (1898)

"A Puritan Soldier's Love" (illustrated by Charlotte Harding – 1899)

The Georgian Actress (1900)

"Captain Shrimp" (1900)

The Washingtonians (1901)

"The Flight of Rosy Dawn" (1902)

The Voice in the Desert (1903)

The Story of Kate (1903)

The Girl and the Kaiser (1904)

The Yellow Bird (1912)

The Moving House (1914)

"A Belgian" (1915)

The Baronet and the Butterfly (with Sarah Jeffries Currie – 1920)

Whistler (with Sarah Jeffries Currie – 1920)

The Geranium Lady (with Sylvia Chatfield – 1922)

In April 1914, Mackie was awarded The Prize Play for Children by the Women's Educational and Industrial union of Boston for her children's fairy play, widely performed, *The Moving House* (1914). The judges, Professor Baker, Mr. W. P Eaton, and Mrs. Beulah Dix Flebbe, considered Mackie's play "a satisfactory play to be acted by men and women for children." (*Los Angeles Evening Express*, November 1914, 30; *Boston Evening*, October 1914, 30)

Mackie's co-authored play, *The Baronet and the Butterfly*, was later adapted as a "dramatization of certain incidents of the life of the famous artist, Whistler." (*New York Tribune* February 22, 1920, 34) In 1928, this romantic comedy was performed by Edward Pawley on Broadway. (*The Daily News*, December 12, 1928)

Figure 76. *The Baronet and the Butterfly. The Daily News,* December 12, 1928.

Though a published author, Mackie seemingly did not see it as a career. For example, the 1920 Census is the only instance, we found, when she is recorded as a "writer" on her "own account." Mackie's stance perhaps may be better understood when we read about her hands-on approach to motherhood. In *The Boston Globe* of February 12, 1915, "Mrs. Hopkins shatters Theory of 'Self-raising' children." In the interview, Mackie categorically states: "It seems to me that if a woman has a child, it's her job to stay at home and take care of it."

About Mackie's novel *Ye Lyttle Salem Maide*, according to Harkins, "The criticisms of the press were most favourable." (Harkins 289-290) For example, in *The Buffalo Review* of July 23, 1898, that "[t]he story reproduces an atmosphere similar to that of *The Scarlet Letter* and is based on incidents concerning the superstitions of Early New England and the absurdities relating to witchcraft." Another publication, The Herald of August 5, 1898, also stated: "To us of this enlightened end of the 19th century, that period of our colonial history when a belief in witchcraft was rampant possesses a peculiar fascination. Therefore [it] will enjoy must popular favor." (3)

When interviewed by Harkins, Mackie provided further titbits about her *Salem Maide*. It was the fact that her grandmother was a granddaughter of William Bradford, "what first turned her fancy to the events" described in the novel. (Harkins 290) Also, Mackie admitted the novel went through several "trials and tribulations" at the hands of the New York and Boston publishing houses. (Harkins 289) So much so, "the greater part of the entire manuscript was for the third time rewritten, and in this form it appeared in print." (Harkins 289) Amusingly, Mackie went as far as to confide that: "[s]ince its publication … I have never had the courage to read it through." (Harkins 289).

APPENDIX E

BIOGRAPHIES OF MAJOR FIGURES INVOLVED IN THE SALEM WITCH HUNT.

The following biographical summaries concern the significant figures in the Salem witch hunt who are (re)imagined or mentioned in our literary *corpus*. The presented information was abridged from a selection of sources.[291] In some instances, very little information is available, which explains the brevity of the biographical overview offered. In some other cases, no biographical information was possible.

Bridget Bishop (ca. 1632 – June 10, 1692)

Bridget Bishop was born sometime between 1632 and 1635, putting her in her late fifties at the Salem witchcraft episode. Her first husband was a man known as Goodman Wasselbe, who left Bridget widowed and childless by July 26, 1666, when she married her second husband, Thomas Oliver. Thomas Oliver had three children with his previous wife, two of whom had been born in England before 1637. Bridget and Thomas had one daughter, Christian, born in Salem on May 8, 1667. There are no extant records of Bridget having any other children.

Bridget's union with Thomas Oliver is well documented in local court records due to the contentious nature of their marriage. In January 1670, Bridget and Thomas were sentenced to be whipped and fined for fighting. In the hearing testimony, a witness observed that Bridget's face had been bloodied on at least one occasion and was black and blue on several others. Thomas testified in his defence that Bridget had struck him ''several blows.''

In 1678 they appeared in court again for defaming the Sabbath by engaging in public name-calling. Being found guilty, Bridget and Thomas were sentenced to stand before the public in the Salem

[291] See, for example, David Goss, *The Salem Witch Trials: A Reference Guide* (2008); Daniel Cagnon, *A Salem Witch: The Trial Execution and Exoneration of Rebecca Nurse* (2021); E.G. Breslaw, *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (1996). See also online sources such as https://salem.lib.virginia.edu/home.html; http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/salem.htm; http://law2.umkc.edu/Faculty/projects/Ftrials/salem/englishp.htm.

Town marketplace on market day, tied and gagged with a sign announcing their offence. One of Thomas's daughters voluntarily paid a fine, releasing her father from this humiliating punishment. No record of a similar reprieve for Bridget exists. In 1679, Thomas Oliver died without leaving a will, and Bridget was granted the administration of his estate on November 28, 1679.

In February 1680, Bridget was accused of witchcraft by a man described as ''Wonn [Juan?], John Ingerson's Negro.'' In this first witchcraft case, she was accused of frightening horses and vanishing into thin air. Other accusations included the mysterious appearance of an unknown cat and the experience of physical pain by the accuser. Corroborating testimony came from several other Salem youths, including John Lambert and Jonathan Pickering. Bridget appears to have paid her bail bond but was not tried or convicted of witchcraft.

On December 14, 1687, Bridget was arrested on a charge by Thomas Stacey for stealing brass objects from him. She was brought before Salem magistrate John Hathorne, who would later interrogate her for witchcraft. She was allowed to post bail and was never convicted of the crime, and she did not appear again before the court until April 19, 1692.

Before 1692, Bridget remarried a third time to Edward Bishop, a wood sewer of Salem. In addition to her somewhat independent and free-thinking lifestyle, the fact that Bishop ''was in the habit of dressing more artistically than women of the village'' also made her a primary suspect. Trial testimony described her as wearing ''a black cap, a black hat, and a red paragon bodice bordered and looped with different colours.'' It was considered an ensemble reflecting personal vanity and pride, two characteristics not considered appropriate for a godly person in Puritan New England.

On April 18, 1692, a warrant was issued for Bishop's arrest for suspected acts of witchcraft. She boldly faced her accusers, denying any wrongdoing. When asked by one of her jailers if the sufferings of the afflicted children did not move her, Bishop claimed that she was not troubled to see them tormented. She frankly observed that she could not tell what to think of them and did not concern herself about them at all. These statements weighed heavily against her since witches were supposed to be devoid of sympathy for their victims.

The afflicted girls were not Bishop's only accusers, however. Her sister's husband claimed that ''she sat up all night conversing with the Devil'' and that ''the Devil came bodily into her.'' Besides this, two labourers, John Bly and his son, claimed that they had found several ''poppets'' made of rags and hog bristles with headless pins stuck through them embedded in the cellar wall of Bridget's house

foundation. Perhaps most damning was the testimony of a Quaker couple, Samuel and Sarah Shattuck, stating that immediately after having ‘‘a falling out’’ with Bridget, their previously normal son had gone insane and now required constant care. Bridget was found guilty based on this circumstantial evidence and a great deal of spectral evidence. She was hanged alone on Gallows Hill in Salem on June 10, 1692, and was the first victim of the Salem witchcraft episode.

Figure 77. Gonçalves, Inês. Location of Bridget Bishop's home and apple orchard. Author's personal collection.

Hanna (Corwin) Brown(e) (January 1, 1645 – November 21, 1692)

Her parents were Captain George Corwen and Elizabeth' Alice' (Herbert) Corwin. The sister of the Salem trial Judge Jonathan Curwin, born in Salem, also got married there to Major William Browne from Marblehead. Hanna Browne died in Salem on November 21, 1692, at 47.

George Burroughs (1652 – August 19, 1692)

George Burroughs was born in Suffolk, England, in 1652. At a young age, he immigrated with his family to Boston and settled with his mother in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Burroughs graduated from Harvard College in 1670. Then he travelled to Falmouth, Maine, where he hoped to establish a ministry. He served as pastor of the Falmouth Congregational Church until the town was attacked by Indians in 1676, forcing him to retreat south to Salisbury. At Salisbury, he again served as a minister until he received a call from the congregation of the Salem Village Church in 1680. He remained at Salem Village for two years.

By 1683, he had alienated the village church members and returned to Maine. He served a new parish in Wells, Maine, until a warrant was issued following his accusation for ''sundry acts of witchcraft'' by Thomas Putnam and Jonathan Walcott. On May 4, 1692, Reverend Burroughs was arrested and brought to Salem for questioning. At this time, he was interrogated privately by Reverends Cotton and Increase Mather, both of whom declared him to be suspect. Increase Mather was especially suspicious of Burroughs, to the extent that in his post-trial book, Cases of Conscience, he stated, ''had I been one of the judges, I could not have acquitted him.'' Burroughs's trial was the only one over fifty that Increase Mather attended. Burroughs was brought to trial in August 1692 and hanged along with three other men and one woman on Friday, August 19, 1692.

Sarah Cloyce (or Cloyse) (1648-1703)

Born a Towne, she was the youngest sister of Rebecca Nurse and Mary Easty. She married Edmund Bridges of Salem Town, by whom she had eight children. The couple had run a tavern there, which had an ill repute. When Bridges died about 1682, Sarah took her family to Salem Village, where she met and married widower Peter Cloyse.

On March 27, 1692, three days after her sister Rebecca had been jailed for witchcraft, Sarah stormed out of a Sabbath meeting, in which Reverend Parris implied that Rebecca was a "devil." Not

long after that, she was charged with witchcraft and arrested. She remained imprisoned, awaiting trial, until January 1693, when she was released or escaped. Once freed, she, her husband and members of her dead sister's families moved or fled to Wes Sudbury (now Framingham), where they settled close together along a road they named Salem End Road. The Cloyse house, probably built before 1697, still stands at 657 Salem End Rd., Framingham.

Giles Corey (or Cory) (1611–September 17, 1692)

Giles Corey was born in Northampton, England, in 1621. Giles and Elizabeth Corey did not immigrate to Massachusetts Bay Colony until he married Margaret, his first wife and mother of all his surviving children. With her, he settled in Salem Town, where he lived until 1659, when he relocated to Salem Farms, an outlying agricultural community between Salem Town and Salem Village. After settling on an extensive farm, Margaret died, leaving Giles with a large family. Corey married an English woman from London, Mary Brite, on April 11, 1664. Giles and his new wife were forty-three years old at the time of the marriage. During the next twenty years, Corey's wealth grew, as did his role in the community. He became an active member of the Salem Village Church yet also became known for behaviour inconsistent with that of a devout Christian.

In 1675, in a fit of anger, Corey beat a hired field hand named Jacob Goodale to death. He was charged with unintentional manslaughter for this crime and was forced to pay a heavy fine. As a result, Corey's reputation in the local community was forever tainted by this incident. It was a memory that would resurface during the testimony of the afflicted girls.

Mary Brite Corey died on August 27, 1684, at sixty-three. In 1690, Giles Corey wed his third and final wife, Martha Panon, widow of Henry Rich. They continued to live comfortably in his house at Salem Farms and attend Salem Village Church until 1692, when on March 19, Martha was arrested for witchcraft. By April 19, 1692, Giles was also accused and arrested.

The most incriminating accusations were submitted against Giles by confessed witch Abigail Hobbs. She testified that Giles and his wife, Martha, were fellow witches, and by Court Clerk Ezekiel

Cheever, and John Putnam, Jr., on behalf of the afflicted girls—Ann Putnam, Jr., Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis, and Elizabeth Hubbard.

On September 16, 1692, Giles was formally charged with the crime of witchcraft and pled not guilty but refused to submit himself to the court for a jury trial. He was keenly aware that all persons who had thus far been tried had been found guilty, and the likelihood of an impartial verdict was remote. He, therefore, ''stood mute'' before his accusers and the proceedings came to a standstill. As a result of his unwillingness to further cooperate with the court, he was sentenced to undergo the ancient procedure according to the English common law of peine forte et dure. Also known as the torture of ''pressing,'' it had been declared illegal in Massachusetts Bay Colony under the 1641 Body of Liberties.

On September 17, Giles was taken to a field near the Salem jail. He was stripped of his clothing, laid upon his back, and staked to the ground. Wooden beams rested across his chest upon which heavy stones were placed. Periodically, the number of stones would be increased. The following day, September 18, 1692, Giles was excommunicated from the Salem Village Church. Friends and family were brought to him to persuade him to submit to a trial, but without success. Corey refused to speak or cooperate with the court except to demand ''more weight.'' The Essex County Sheriff, George Corwin, complied with his request, and Giles finally died when the weight of stones crushed his rib cage. He was seventy-one years of age at the time of his death. There is a widely circulated belief that Giles Corey refused to cooperate with the court specifically to ensure that the court would not confiscate his substantial estate.

In actuality, his course of action only guaranteed that he would never have the stigma of a guilty verdict attached to his name since his case would never be tried in a court of law. However, he wisely took the preliminary precaution to deed all his land into the possession of his sons-in-law, William Cleeves and John Moulton. Sheriff Corwin could thus not seize the Corey estate illegally, as he had done with the property of several other victims.

Martha Corey (or Cory) (c. 1628 - September 22, 1692)

Born in England, Martha Panon was the third wife of Giles Corey and among the last group to be hanged in September 1692. She had a controversial past before her marriage to Corey. In 1677 she bore a mulatto son named Benjamin or Ben-Oni Following this event, she lived a reclusive life with her illegitimate child in the home of John Clifford of Salem, who continued to help raise the boy to manhood. Benjamin (aka Ben-Oni) was over twenty-two years of age in 1699, still living in Salem.

Her fortunes improved somewhat when, in 1684, she married Henry Rich of Salem, Massachusetts, and had a legitimate son, Thomas Rich. Sometime between 1684 and 1690, Henry Rich died. Martha soon married Giles Corey on April 27, 1690. At that time, she was accepted into the Salem Village Church membership as Martha Corey. She soon openly expressed scepticism about the truthfulness of the afflicted girls' testimony. Ann Putnam, Jr., was the first to accuse Martha of witchcraft. Martha's attitude concerning the girls' testimony hurt her case and convinced court officers that she was indeed a witch. She was arrested on Monday, March 21, 1692, and immediately brought to the Salem Village meetinghouse, where magistrate John Hathorne examined her. Martha maintained that she was a ''Gospel woman.''

After the pretrial hearing, Martha was sent to jail in Salem and later transferred to the Boston prison due to overcrowded conditions. Besides the usual witnesses and afflicted accusers, the court called her husband, Giles, to testify against her. He, unfortunately, provided incriminating evidence against her during his testimony, indicating that she had lied to the court concerning information she claimed to have received from him. After her trial, Martha stood condemned with the sentence of death for acts of witchcraft. She was excommunicated from the Salem Village Church on September 11, 1692. Twenty-two days later, she was hanged on Gallows Hill. On October 17, 1711, the verdict of guilty against Martha (and Giles) Corey was removed, and on December 17 of that year, the Commonwealth compensated their heirs with the sum of twenty-one pounds. Lifting their ex-communication from the Salem Village Church took somewhat longer; Giles and Martha were not restored to membership until 1992.

Martha's son, in 1723, petitioned the Court in Salem for damages resulting from the wrongful death of his mother. He was awarded fifty pounds on June 29, 1723.

Philip and Mary English

Also known as Phillipe D'Anglois (1651-1736), was a French Huguenot from the Isle of Jersey who, in 1670, aged nineteen, had immigrated to Salem. In 1675 he married Mary Hollingsworth, daughter of a prosperous Salem merchant. By 1692, he was the most successful merchant in Salem, owning fourteen properties, a fleet of twenty-one vessels, and a wharf. English made his fortune by trading fish for produce from the tropics and European manufactured goods. Fishermen sailed the North Atlantic coast from Main to the Newfoundland Banks on his ships. He owned a splendid mansion near the waterfront on Essex Street, where he raised his two daughters. English also took an active role in local affairs and was elected a Salem Town selectman in April 1692.

Figure 78. The home of Philip and Mary English. Nineteenth-century recreation.

English's great wealth caused deep resentment. Moreover, although Protestant, he was still French, and it was the French whose Indian allies were slaughtering the Maine settlers. Troubles began for the couple in April when the Salem Village afflicted girls accused Mary English of witchcraft. Just before midnight on Saturday, April 18, Sheriff George Corwin and his deputies arrived at the English home. Opening the curtains around Mary's bed, she was ordered to accompany him. Not easily intimidated, Mary told Corwin to go away and arrest her in the morning. Corwin agreed to wait, ordering his deputies to guard the house during the night to prevent her escape. On Sunday Morning, after Mary

had eaten breakfast, she consented to be arrested but not taken to jail. Instead, she was taken to a second-floor room at the Cat and Wheel tavern near the meetinghouse. On May 12, Mary was transferred to a prison in Boston. When Philip protested, accusations of witchcraft were soon directed at him, and by May 31, Philip joined his wife in the Boston jail. The Boston jailer freed the couple each morning on the promise that they would return to sleep in prison at night.

According to English family lore, Boston minister Joshua Mooley convinced Philip and Mary English to flee Boston just before the scheduled start of their witchcraft trials. Somewhat reluctantly, they took his advice. Using their influence and posting a £4000 bond, they escaped safely by carriage to New York, leaving behind their two teenage daughters to stay with friends in Boston.

While in New York, Philip and Mary English kept informed about the situation back in Salem Village, and when there was food scarcity, Philip arranged for a shipload of corn to be sent there.

In 1693, with the crisis over and amnesty declared, they returned to Salem, only to find that Corwin had stripped their house and pillaged most of their moveable property. In 1694, Mary died shortly after bearing a son, and Philip returned to rebuilding his businesses. From then until he died in 1736, he was implacable in pursuing claims against Corwin , his family, and the colonial government to reimburse his stolen property.

English remained embittered to the end and arrested twice for denouncing Rev. Nicholas Noyes and Bartholomew Gedney with "vile" and "abusive" language and calling Salem's church the "Devil's church." On his death bed, when his son urged him to forgive Rev. Noyes, he grudgingly said he would – but added, "if I get well, I'll be damned if I forgive him."

Sarah Good (1653 – July 19, 1692)

The daughter of John Solart, a prosperous owner of a public house or tavern in Wenham, Massachusetts, Sarah Good was born with excellent prospects in 1655. Unfortunately, her father committed suicide in 1672 when Sarah was only seventeen, leaving an estate of five hundred pounds and no will. As a result, Solart's estate was divided between his widow and his two sons, with a small

portion reserved for each of his seven daughters when they came of age. When his widow remarried, her new husband took charge of the family estate and refused to divide the remainder with the daughters. Consequently, Sarah began life with no dowry to attract a prosperous suitor. Instead, she married an impoverished former indentured servant, Daniel Poole, who died in 1682 or shortly after that, leaving Sarah deeply in debt.

These debts were assumed by her second husband, William Good, who lost a portion of his property in payment to Sarah's creditors. Ultimately, Sarah and William were forced to sell their home and remaining land to settle their debts, leaving themselves virtually homeless. By 1690 William was reduced to doing odd jobs, and farm labour for whoever would hire him, while Sarah would work as a hired domestic servant or follow William to the various farms in the Wenham community. Accommodations for the Goods would often take the form of a rented room, barn, or stable provided by a family that employed their services. Added to these difficulties, by 1692, was the constant presence of their four-year-old daughter, Dorcas, who accompanied her mother. By the time of the Salem trials, the sight of this sad, impoverished little family travelling from farm to farm along the rural roads of Salem Village and Wenham was a familiar scene.

By this time, Sarah's attitude had become bitter and sullen. She developed a common habit of cursing and scolding many individuals who occasionally refused to extend charity to her and her family. Indeed, on the social scale of Salem Village, Sarah Good occupied the bottom rung. It is therefore not surprising that on February 29, 1692, when Tituba, Samuel Parris's West Indian slave, was badgered for the names of her accomplices in witchcraft, she chose Sarah Good as a safe target. Good was among the few individuals who would have been no social threat to Tituba and was regarded as a nuisance by most residents.

During Sarah's trial, she maintained her innocence, boldly claiming she was being ''falsely accused!'' However, she did not flinch at the opportunity of accusing her neighbour, Sarah Osborne, as a witch in the hope of deflecting blame elsewhere. At length, her husband was asked to bring testimony against her, which he did. Even her young daughter, Dorcas, accused of witchcraft on March 24, confessed that she had been trained in the black arts by her mother. Her mother had also given her a snake as a familiar. Ultimately, Dorcas Good was confined in chains at the Boston jail from April 1692 until May 1693. Sarah was condemned to hang but was granted a reprieve until she had given birth to the child she was then carrying. She was executed on July 19, 1692, shortly after her newborn child had died in prison. Perhaps her most famous statement came as she stood at the place of execution,

being asked by Salem pastor Reverend Nicholas Noyes to confess to witchcraft. Witnesses remembered her responding with: ''You are a liar! I am no more a witch than you are a wizard, and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink!'' In 1717, Noyes died of a haemorrhage with blood dripping from his mouth. This incident became the basis for ''Maule's Curse'' in Nathaniel Hawthorne's gothic romance, *The House of the Seven Gables*. In 1710, William Good petitioned the Great and General Court for damages done to his wife, Sarah, and their daughter, Dorcas, who suffered from ill health and mental illness following a year of harsh confinement. He claimed Dorcas needed constant attention due to the experience and had not matured beyond four. The Commonwealth awarded William Good the sum of thirty pounds sterling, one of the most considerable sums granted to the families of the witchcraft victims.

John Hathorne (1641– May 10 1717)

John Hathorne, the great-great-grandfather of writer Nathaniel Hawthorne, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on August 5, 1641. He was the son of the local magistrate, William Hathorne, and his wife, Anne Smith Hathorne. Although not college educated, he quickly rose to become not only a successful West Indies merchant but a political leader of the Salem community.

By the 1680s, Hathorne had been elected to several vital offices, including justice of the peace and Essex County magistrate. On several occasions, he was asked to resolve problems which arose in the nearby farming community of Salem Village. In 1686, he served as a member of the Salem Village committee to find a successor to their previous minister, Reverend George Burroughs.

In February 1692, he was called again by the people of Salem Village to conduct pretrial examinations of Tituba, Sarah Good, and Sarah Osborne. From this point onward, he, and his fellow magistrate Jonathan Corwin, played a significant role in the witchcraft trial events, conducting many pretrial examinations to discover those suspects who should be sent to trial before the Governor's Court of Oyer and Terminer in Salem. Hathorne never expressed regret concerning his activities during the trials.

Figure 79. Hathorne's grave. Charter Street Burying Ground. Salem, MA.

Elizabeth Jackson Howe (c. 1637 – July 19, 1692)

Elizabeth Howe was born in May 1637, in the hamlet of Hunsley, near the town of Rowley in East Yorkshire, England. She was christened and baptised at St. Peter's Church at Rowley, East Riding, in Yorkshire and came on board the ship John arriving in Salem, Massachusetts, with her parents, William and Deborah (Jackson) Howe, in 1638. Having passed the first winter with friends in Boston, by 1639, they were relocated to the newly established community of Rowley near Ipswich. The Jackson family had come with their two young children and others from their old community in England to help develop a new parish with their English pastor, Reverend Ezekiel Rogers. Her father was a yeoman farmer and soon became one of the original settlers of Rowley, Massachusetts, named after their original parish in England. By 1652, Elizabeth's father owned twelve acres and was soon appointed overseer of the common ways.

At the tender age of seven, Elizabeth was listed as a ''maid'' in the household of Reverend Ezekiel Rogers. At about twenty-one, Elizabeth married twenty-five-year-old James Howe, formerly of Hatfield, Essex, England, on April 13, 1658. Howe was also a farmer and resided in the neighbouring town of Ipswich. They had five children: Elizabeth, Mary, John, Abigail, and Deborah.

In 1682, during a periodic fit or seizure, Hannah Perley, a ten-year-old daughter of a neighbour's family, accused Elizabeth Howe of causing her illness using witchcraft. When later confronted by Elizabeth and Ipswich's two ministers, the young girl denied that Elizabeth had done anything wrong. Several years later, the child died, but no further steps were taken against Elizabeth. During the years that followed, Elizabeth attempted to gain membership in the Ipswich Church but was repeatedly denied.

She was accused by the afflicted children of witchcraft and arrested on May 31, 1692. Elizabeth expressed complete innocence. During the examination, several persons claimed that Howe's spectre was attacking them. To this was added the testimony and accusation of Hannah Perley's parents, who maintained that they believed malefic witchcraft performed by Elizabeth Howe had killed their daughter. Several other Ipswich persons—including the brother of her husband, John Howe—claimed that their livestock had been harmed after having arguments with Elizabeth. In light of all this testimony, Elizabeth Howe was transferred to jail to await her trial. In late June, she was found guilty and sentenced to death. She was hanged in Salem at Gallows Hill on July 19, 1692.

Elizabeth Hubbard (1675 – 17?)

Aged 17, she was the live-in great-niece of Dr William Griggs and his wife. During the witch hunt, she testified against twenty-nine people, seventeen of whom were arrested, 13 of whom were hanged, and 2 of whom died in jail. She testified for the last time on January 7, 1693. When the Salem witch hunt was over, she moved to Gloucester. After nineteen years, in 1711, she married John Bennett and had four children. Her death date is unknown.

Mercy Lewis (1673–)

A nineteen-year-old domestic servant of the Putnam Family at the Salem trials, Mercy Lewis was born on the Maine frontier into the pioneer family of Philip Lewis, whose father, George Lewis, had come from England in the 1640s. When Mercy was three years old, on August 11, 1676, her community of Falmouth on Casco Bay was attacked by Wabanaki Indians. The young child escaped with her parents, but the assault claimed the lives of several relatives, including Mercy's paternal grandparents. Her parents sought safety on an island in Casco Bay along with the village minister, Reverend George Burroughs. After a brief period in Salem, Massachusetts, the Lewis family returned to Maine and resettled at Casco Bay in 1683. A second Indian attack in the summer of 1689 resulted in her parents' deaths. Mercy was briefly placed as a servant in the home of Reverend George Burroughs, later moving to Salem Village, where a married sister resided. Here she was taken in as a servant by the Putnam family and became a confidant of Ann Putnam, Jr., joining her in corroborating her accusations of several residents, including Giles Corey, Bridget Bishop, Mary Lacey, Sr., Susannah Martin, John Willard, Nehemiah Abbot, Jr., Sarah Wildes, and her former master, Reverend George Burroughs. Little is known of her life following the end of the trials. Historians such as Mary Beth Norton, in her book, *In the Devil's Snare*, have speculated that the traumatic effect of the Indian attacks and her subsequent life in the home of George Burroughs contributed to Mercy's aberrant and hostile behaviour during the Salem witchcraft episode, motivating her to lash out at a man who managed to almost miraculously survive two attacks which virtually wiped out her own family. After the trials, Mercy married a twenty-two-year-old yeoman farmer named Allen from her hometown of Casco Bay, Maine. She bore a child in New Hampshire and later moved with her family to Boston. Her age at the time of her death is unknown.

Susannah North Martin (c. 1621–July 19, 1692)

Susannah Martin was baptised in Olney, Buckinghamshire, England, on September 30, 1621. Her parents were Richard and Joan (Bartram) North. After his first wife's death, Richard North married

Ursula (North) and relocated the family to New England in 1639, becoming one of the first settlers of Salisbury, Massachusetts.

Susannah married blacksmith George Martin of Salisbury at age twenty-five on August 11, 1646. It was his second marriage and her first. George Martin came from Ramsey, Hampshire, England, the birthplace of Susannah's father, Richard North. George also had one daughter from his previous marriage. The following year, Susannah gave birth to her first child, a son named Richard. This birth was followed the next year by a second son, George. Altogether, Susannah and George had eight surviving children, five sons and three daughters, all born and raised in Salisbury. Susannah's name appears twice in the court records of Essex County before 1692. Two years following her marriage, Susannah was fined twenty shillings for an unidentified offence.

During the Salem trials, a Salisbury resident, William Browne, testified that he remembered his wife, Elizabeth Browne, accusing Susannah Martin of witchcraft in the early 1660s. On April 13, 1669, Susannah was again accused of witchcraft. This time she was forced to post a sizable bond with the court to guarantee she would return to stand trial.

The Salem Court issued a warrant for Susannah's arrest on April 30, 1692. She soon made herself a memorable character by the clever manner and reasoning of her responses to the questions posed by the magistrates as she staunchly maintained her innocence in the face of all such circumstantial evidence. Besides the usual incidences of afflicted behaviour by the Salem Village accusers, several of Susannah Martin's neighbours in the Salisbury community appeared in court to testify against her.

She was also subjected to a physical examination whereby a court-appointed committee of women searched her body for abnormalities or witches' teats. Nothing suspicious was found on Susannah's body. Her trial occurred on June 26, 1692, after which she was found guilty and condemned to death. She was hanged on Tuesday, July 19, 1692, along with Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Wilde, Sarah Good, and Elizabeth Howe. Unlike many victims' families, Susannah's children never applied for compensation in 1711, so Susannah's name was not cleared.

Cotton Mather (1663–1728)

Figure 80. Pelham, Peter. Cotton Mather. 1727.[292]

Reverend Cotton Mather was born on February 11, 1663, the son of the famous Boston cleric and president of Harvard College, Rev. Increase Mather. He graduated from Harvard feeling uncertain about his abilities as a preacher due to a speech impediment. Despite his limitations as a public speaker, he excelled in his calling as a minister. He soon became pastor of the Second Congregational Society, also known as the Old North Church of Boston.

In 1688, while serving in this capacity, Reverend Mather was called upon to investigate a suspected case of witchcraft involving members of his congregation, the family of John Goodwin. This incident involved four Goodwin children who exhibited symptoms resembling the effects of malefic magic, including sharp pains, paralysis, involuntary spasms, and verbal outbursts of profanity.

[292] A gift by Josephine Spencer Gay in 1923. The picture of Cotton that Hannah Mather Crocker donated in 1815 is currently in storage and is a ca. 1750 copy of the photograph by Pelham. This portrait is currently on view at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Mather took a leading role in tracing these afflictions to their source — the family's Irish washerwoman, Mary Glover. Interestingly, when confronted with the evidence, ''Goody'' Glover freely and frankly confessed that she had been tormenting the children and went so far as to demonstrate to Mather how such spells were cast upon her victims using a crude ''poppet.'' Unwilling and unable to express regret or ask forgiveness for her sin, Goody Glover was hanged on Boston Common, and Mather chronicled all the incident details in his best-selling book, *Memorable Providences*.

Four years later, Reverend Mather was aware of the Salem disturbances similar to the Goodwin episode and was actively interested in the proceedings. Throughout 1692, Reverend Cotton Mather became directly involved with the Court of Oyer and Terminer at Salem, overseen by five magistrates, three of whom were members of Mather's congregation. As events intensified during the summer months, Mather expressed the opinion that the people of New England were being assaulted by ''an Army of Devils,'' accounting for the numerous accusations and confessions of witchcraft.

By late 1692, Governor William Phips, also a member of Mather's Boston parish, asked Mather to write a text justifying the trials and the measures which, by September, had resulted in the execution of nineteen people. Subsequently, Mather produced Wonders of the Invisible World, a publication providing insights into the rationale for the trials and Mather's unique perspective on certain specific cases.

As public criticism grew, Reverend Mather and Governor William Phips came under more intense scrutiny, forcing both to attempt to minimise their roles in the now highly controversial Salem episode. Despite this, the publication of Wonders of the Invisible World only seemed to focus more blame upon Mather, diminishing his once stellar reputation in Boston. The later published critiques of the trials by Thomas Brattle and Robert Calef only further tarnished Mather's image to the extent that to express feelings of regret, self-doubt, and despair concerning his role played. He died on February 13, 1728, surviving two wives and only two of his fifteen children.

Increase Mather (1639–1723)

Figure 81. Van der Spriett, John. Increase Mather. London. 1688.

Increase Mather was born in Massachusetts Bay Colony in the town of Dorchester on June 12, 1639. After graduating from Harvard College in 1656, he received his M.A. from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1658. After the Restoration (1660), he was forced to return to Boston and, by 1664, was made pastor of the Second Congregational (Old North) Church, a position he held throughout his life. His son, Cotton Mather, was born one year before his appointment. As a leader of the Boston community, Increase worked to support the Puritan establishment and oppose the anti-Puritan influence of Restoration political appointees, especially Sir Edmund Andros, who revoked the Massachusetts Bay Charter and created the Dominion of New England in 1685.

In 1688, Increase travelled to London and obtained a new charter from King William III and Queen Mary II, which united the colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth under a new royal governor — Sir William Phips. During this period, he also began his tenure as president of Harvard College — a position he would hold from 1685 to 1701. A prolific writer, he wrote numerous books and pamphlets during his years as Harvard's president, among them *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits*, which decried the use of spectral evidence during the Salem witchcraft episode. The increase was much more critical of the trial proceedings during the trials than his son, Cotton. Growth remained detached from the attack except to serve as one of the contributors to the lengthy document entitled ''The Return of Several Ministers,'' which cautioned justices upon the use of spectral evidence, and as an interviewer of Reverend George Burroughs when he was brought to Boston for questioning. Although the trials dimmed his reputation slightly, Increase remained a crucial religious leader in New England until his death on August 23, 1723.

Rebecca Nurse (1621–July 19, 1692)

Rebecca Nurse was born Rebecca Towne, the daughter of New England colonist William Towne, sometime in February 1621. Two of her sisters lived in the Salem Village area at the time of her indictment—Mary (Towne) Eastey and Sarah (Towne) Cloyce. The afflicted children would accuse all three, and only Sarah Cloyce would escape with her life.

Rebecca married a Salem Village farmer, Francis Nurse, a prosperous community member. A housewife, mother of eight children, and nearly seventy years old at the time of the trials, she had a spotless reputation.

Figure 82. Gonçalves, Inês. The Rebecca Nurse's Homestead, Danvers, MA. Author's personal collection. 2015.

Yet, she was accused by both Anne Putnam, Sr. and Ann Putnam, Jr. of visiting them in spectre form and harming them by sundry acts of witchcraft. She was served with a warrant on March 23, 1692, and examined by John Hathorne at the Salem Village meetinghouse on March 24. On that occasion, her principal accusers were Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam, Jr., who claimed she had tortured them and asked them to sign the Devil's Book.

The local community rallied behind Rebecca's protestations of innocence and circulated a petition testifying to her good character. It was signed by thirty-nine members of Salem Village, including the influential Israel Porter, who personally testified on Rebecca's behalf in court. She was described as ''not only innocent of any crime but a very model of Christian piety.''

Despite these claims, Ann Putnam, Jr. was adamant in her accusations, claiming that Nurse had brought ''the black man'' with her to tempt the afflicted girls to sign the Devil's Book and provoke God's wrath. Others joined Putnam in a litany of claims against Rebecca, blaming her for untimely deaths and convulsive fits. When a court-appointed panel of women examined her body, ''witch's marks'' were discovered, which Rebecca claimed were natural growths which might be found on any older person.

Ultimately, she was tried on June 29, 1692, and eventually found guilty. Her family petitioned Governor Phips to review her case. Phips did so and granted Rebecca a stay of execution until he could reach a verdict. The Court responded with such virulent protest to Phips's leniency that he rescinded

his reprieve. Rebecca was hanged on July 19, 1692, along with Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth Howe, and Sarah Wildes.

Nicholas Noyes (December 22, 1647 – December 13, 1718)

Born in Newbury, MA, the son of Rev. Nicholas Noyes and Mary Cutting Noyes, grandson of the Rev. William Noyes, and nephew of Rev. James Noyes, Nicholas Noyes graduated at Harvard in 1667. After preaching thirteen years in Haddam, Connecticut, and spending time as the chaplain with troops in Connecticut during King Philip's War in 1675–76, he moved in 1683 to Salem, where he remained a minister until his death.

In 1692 he was the assistant to Reverend John Higginson. When the trials began, he volunteered to deliver the opening prayer at many of the proceedings, and to examine several of the accused, including Sarah Good. He also testified against Alice Parker at her examination, and supervised the excommunication of Rebecca Nurse from the church in Salem Town.

In November 1692, one of his close relatives, his cousin Sarah Hale, married to Beverly's Reverend John Hale, was accused of tormenting Wenham's Mary Herrick.

As he passed away of a brain hemorrhage, Sarah Good's execration against him at her execution – "God will give you blood to drink." – became eerily prophetic.

Sarah Osborne (c. 1643 – May 10, 1692)

Born Warren, she moved with her first husband, Robert Prince, to Salem Village in 1662, where the couple had two sons and a daughter. Her husband's early death in 1674 left her a widow. She then bought the indenture of an Irish immigrant named Alexander Osborne as a farmhand and took it up with him. Their open relationship caused a scandal, not only because he was many years he junior but also because she tried to maintain control of the property in his favour, even when her first

husband's will left it specifically to her two sons when they came off age. This dispute brought Sarah into conflict with her sons, her neighbour John Putnam, the Prince boy's uncle, and Thomas Putnam.

Like Sarah Good, Osborne was considered a disreputable woman, and when named a witch by Ann Putnam Jr. and the other afflicted girls, the adult community supported the charge. Despite Sarah's protestations of innocence, she was jailed and bound over for trial. She died in prison, aged 49, the first victim of the Salem witch hunt.

Her house was located at Spring St. previously. It was moved to 273 Maple St., Danvers, where it still stands.

Figure 83. House of Sarah Osborne in Danvers, Massachusetts. 1900s.

Elizabeth (Betty) Parris (c. 1683–1760)

In 1689, Betty Parris and her cousin Abigail Williams were brought from their hometown of Casco to live at the Salem Village parsonage by Reverend Samuel Parris. Betty was most likely born in Boston in 1683 and lived there with her family as her father, Samuel Parris, attempted to earn a living as a merchant and later as a minister. She and her cousin Abigail were the first two ''afflicted children'' who exhibited signs of demonic torment during the winter of 1691–92. They allegedly initiated the episode by attempting to foretell their future husbands' identity through a clear glass containing a suspended egg white held up to a lit candle. Such ''fortune-telling'' experiments were strictly forbidden

in Puritan households. These activities were followed by hysterical behaviour, including barking, screaming, crying, and violent fits, which prompted Betty's father to call for a local physician, Dr Griggs, to examine her. His diagnosis was that Betty and her cousin were under the power of ''the Evil Hand'' of witchcraft. This began the questioning, ultimately leading to the accusation, trial, and deaths of twenty persons.

By March 1692, to remove her from the spotlight of witch findings and isolate her from the other girls, Betty Parris was sent by her parents to Salem Town to reside in the home of Major Samuel Sewell (1657–1725), a member of the Essex County militia and clerk of the Governor's Special Court of Oyer and Terminer then trying the witchcraft cases. Her role after this relocation diminished significantly. After her father's dismissal as minister from the Salem Village Church, she travelled with her family to her father's new parish in Sudbury, Massachusetts, where Betty lived until adulthood.

In 1710, Elizabeth Parris married Benjamin Baron, a shoemaker in Sudbury who fathered her four children, Thomas, Elizabeth, Catherine, and Susanna. She died at her home in Concord, Massachusetts, on March 21, 1760.

Samuel Parris (1654–1720)

Figure 84. Miniature portrait of the Rev. Samuel Parris. Massachusetts Historical Society.

Samuel Parris was born in London in 1654, the son of merchant Thomas Parris, and was brought with his family to a newly purchased sugar plantation in Barbados in the late 1650s. At the time of his father's death in 1673, young Samuel was attending school at Harvard College in Massachusetts Bay Colony. Leaving his studies at the age of twenty, Parris moved back to Barbados to take charge of his father's estate. Establishing himself in the sugar trade as an agent at Bridgetown, Parris could not succeed in business and soon found it necessary to relocate.

In 1680, Parris moved with two enslaved people — John and Tituba Indian — to Boston. Within a year following his arrival, he married Elizabeth Eldridge, a young woman of a good family, who bore him his first child, Thomas, a year later. In 1683, a daughter, Betty Parris, was born, and five years later, Susanna. Once again, Parris attempted to establish himself in business in Boston but soon became disenchanted with the life of a merchant. By 1686, he began serving as a guest minister and interim pastor for several Boston area churches. In 1688, Parris started formal negotiations with Salem Village to become that congregation's new preacher. In July 1689, he and his family settled, and Parris began his ministerial duties.

Within a short time, certain members of the village congregation began to express dissatisfaction with Parris, resulting in his periodic salary payment. By October 1691, the anti-Parris faction began to resist providing his requirement of winter fuel. At this point, Parris's sermons began to warn his parishioners of the dangers of succumbing to the satanic impulse to thwart God's work by hurting the Lord's anointed messenger. Following this initial confrontation, Parris's daughter, Betty, and niece, Abigail Williams, began to spend their afternoons in the company of Tituba, the family domestic servant. Throughout the winter, these three—and possibly other young females—engaged in fortune-telling activities considered sinful by the Christian community.

Betty and Abigail began complaining of various ailments by February, including pinching, choking sensations, and partial paralysis. Local physician Dr William Griggs evaluated the girls' condition and declared his belief that they were under the power of the ''evil hand'' of witchcraft. Reverend Parris then organised a series of fasts and prayer meetings with local ministers hoping to bring about spiritual healing, but to no avail. Finally, in desperation, he summoned magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin to Salem Village to investigate the source of the girls' afflictions. This marked the beginning of the Salem episode, which would continue until the spring of 1693.

The disastrous effects of the Salem trials ruined Parris's local reputation and further alienated members of his congregation. Attempting to restore order, he apologised for his role in the episode, but the opposition was intent on his removal. In 1697, Parris's wife, Elizabeth, died, and the distraught minister finally agreed to vacate the village pulpit, quickly replaced by Reverend Joseph Green. The remainder of Parris's career involved preaching at several other Massachusetts churches, including Stowe and Sudbury, where he died in 1720.

William Phips (1651–1695)

Figure 85. Sir William Phips. Ca. 1691. State House Collection, Maine.

Born on February 2, 1651, near the present-day town of Woolrich, Maine, Sir William Phips began life as the humble son of a farmer who traded with the local Wabanaki Indians. In his late teens, he walked to Boston and became apprenticed as a ship's carpenter, ultimately marrying the widow of the prosperous Boston merchant John Hull in 1673 – Mary Spencer Hull (ca. 1650 - c.1694). William

and Mary probably knew each other as children since both their fathers interacted through business in the same region of Maine. Rising quickly through skill and good fortune, Phips became a sea captain who, in the 1680s, sought the patronage of wealthy British investors to back treasure-seeking expeditions to the Caribbean.

In 1687, Phips succeeded in locating the wreck of a Spanish treasure galleon and later shared his newfound wealth with the recently crowned monarchs, King William and Queen Mary II. In response, the royal couple made him a knight and royal official in New England. By 1690, he had undergone a profound religious conversion and later became involved in re-issuing the new charter for the Massachusetts colony. By early 1692, he was appointed as royal governor of Massachusetts and returned there from England in May, in time to witness the start of the witchcraft trials episode.

During the trial period (1692–1693), Phips established the initial Court of Oyer and Terminer that tried cases at Salem from May through September and then moved the trials to Boston. He was closely associated with both Cotton and Increase Mather, whom he frequently consulted concerning the trial proceedings, and was later praised by Cotton Mather in his 1697 biography of Phips.

As accusations of witchcraft spiralled, even Phips' wife, reportedly sympathetic towards the accused witches, Lady Mary Phips, was also suspected of being a witch. Soon after that, in October of 1692, Phips ordered spectral evidence and testimony would no longer suffice to convict suspects in future trials. Three weeks later, Phips prohibited further arrests of witches, released forty-nine of the fifty-two accused witches still in prison and dismissed the Court of Oyer and Terminer. In May of 1693, Phips pardoned the remaining suspected witches in jail.

During this period, Phips was also involved in waging war against the Wabanaki on the Maine frontier, finally negotiating a treaty with them in 1693. In May of that same year, he also declared a general manumission of all those still imprisoned awaiting trial or punishment for witchcraft — effectively bringing that episode to a close. At this point, Governor Phips began to suffer from severe criticism, which called into question his management of colonial affairs, including the possible misuse of colonial funds. Recalled to London to answer his critics, he died suddenly on February 18, 1695.

Ann Putnam Jr. (1680–1716)

Ann Putnam Jr., was born in 1680 to Thomas and Ann Putnam of Salem Village. She was twelve years old at the time of the Salem witchcraft episode. Her closest friends were Mary Walcott and Mercy Lewis, seventeen years old. Ann Jr., Mary, and Mercy were the first girls outside the home of Reverend Samuel Parris to be afflicted and testify during the pretrial hearings.

Ann was one of the original group of eight young girls who gathered at the Parris parsonage to listen to Tituba's stories and attempt to engage in fortune-telling activities to predict the identities of their future husbands. According to Reverend John Hale, Ann Putnam, Jr., in the company of Betty Parris and Abigail Williams, while studying the white of an egg suspended in a glass of water, claimed to have seen a coffin. As a result of this frightening apparition, they all began to exhibit irrational behaviour, including contortions, fits of hysteria, involuntary muscle spasms, and violent behaviour.

Ann Jr. accused sixty-two people during the Salem witch hunt.

Ann Putnam, Jr.'s parents died in 1699, leaving her at nineteen to raise her nine younger brothers and sisters. Never marrying, she dedicated the remainder of her life to the care of her family. In 1706, she asked to be reconciled with the family of Rebecca Nurse, seeking their forgiveness and that of the other members of the Salem Village congregation.

On that occasion, she stood in the village church as the Reverend Joseph Green read her confession, declaring that she desired ''to be humbled before God for that sad and humbling Providence that befell my father's family in the year about '92; that I, then being in my childhood, should be such a Providence of God be made an instrument for the accusing of several persons of a grievous crime, whereby their lives were taken away from them, whom now I have just grounds and a good reason to believe they were innocent persons; and that it was a great delusion of Satan that deceived me in that sad time. I did not do it out of anger, malice, or ill-will to any person, for I had no such thing against them, but what I did was ignorantly [done], being deluded by Satan.''

Ann Putnam, Jr. died in 1716 in Salem Village at age thirty-seven. She was the only member of the group of ''afflicted children'' to apologise for her actions.

Samuel Sewell (1652–1730)

Figure 86. Smibert, John. Judge Samuel Sewall. 1733. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

Samuel Sewell was born at Bishop Stoke in Hampshire, England, on March 28, 1652. He came with his family to Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1661, most likely to flee the restoration of the Stuart monarchy. In 1671, he graduated from Harvard College with a bachelor's degree and received his master's degree in 1674. On February 28, 1676, he married Hannah Hull, the only daughter of Boston merchant John Hull, one of the wealthiest men in the colony, receiving a dowry of five hundred pounds.

By 1676 he was engaged in international maritime trade and enjoyed success as a Boston merchant working with his wealthy father-in-law. In May 1678, he became a freeman of Boston, a position which provided him with the right to vote for candidates to the House of Deputies. Successful

in business and public life, Sewell purchased a printing press in 1681 and was soon appointed by the Massachusetts Bay Colony to serve as the colony's official publisher. Following his father-in-law's death in 1683, Samuel took over all of the extensive Hull business interests and numerous civic duties, including a position with the House of Deputies for the town of Westfield, Massachusetts; a seat on the Board of Overseers of Harvard College; and captain of the South Company of Boston militia. He was almost unique among Puritans in that he firmly believed that the establishment of the New Jerusalem in America was predicated upon the conversion of the Native Americans: ''I put up a Note [posted in his meetinghouse] to pray for the Indians that Light might be communicated to the by Candlestick, but my Note was the latest, and so not professedly prayed for at all.'' To this goal, he welcomed the publication of John Eliot's Indian Bible in Algonquian.

Upon the arrival of the new governor, William Phips, in May 1692, Sewell was asked to serve as a justice on the newly created Court of Oyer and Terminer to try cases of witchcraft in Salem. Throughout this appointment, Sewell kept a diary of his observations and impressions of the court proceedings. When the episode ended in May 1693, public opinion had turned against the Court and its justices, and Sewell himself suffered from pangs of guilt for his involvement. On January 14, 1696, he stood in the South Church meetinghouse while the minister, Reverend Willard, read Sewell's apology: ''Samuel Sewell, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and his family, and being sensible that as to the guilt contracted upon the opening of the late commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem & he is, on many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, desires to take the blame and shame of it, asking pardon of men and especially desiring prayers that God . . . would pardon that sin and all other [of] his sins. . .'' Each year for the remainder of his life, he set aside a day of fasting, prayer, and humiliation for his role in the Salem episode. He died at his home in Boston on January 1, 1730.

William Stoughton (1631–1701)

Figure 87. Unknown artist. William Stoughton. Ca. 1700.

Lieutenant Governor William Stoughton was born in England on September 30, 1631. He was the son of Israel and Elizabeth Stoughton, who relocated to a sizeable tract of land in Massachusetts Bay Colony during the height of the Great Migration.

While growing up under prosperous circumstances in New England, William decided that he would prepare himself for the Puritan ministry. In 1650, he completed his formal theological training with a bachelor's degree from Harvard College. Desiring an advanced degree, he left Massachusetts for England and continued his studies at Oxford University. Here he received an M.A. degree in 1652. From that year until he lost his fellowship in 1660, Stoughton pursued the life and career of a professional

scholar. Two years following his dismissal from Oxford, he decided to return to Massachusetts and was soon serving as a preacher at the First Congregational Church of Dorchester.

Within a few years, his ability as a preacher was widely recognised, and his parishioners offered him the pastor position. By the 1670s, Stoughton's reputation as a community leader had grown significantly, and he was drawn into the political arena of colonial life. Within a short time, he served as the deputy president of the royalist colonial government of New England, first from 1674 to 1676 and later from 1680 to 1686. Between these two terms of office in America, Stoughton served as an agent of Massachusetts affairs in London at the Court of King Charles II.

After his return from England, Stoughton was appointed to the office of Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Great and General Court—a position he would hold until shortly before his death. For this reason, it is not surprising to discover that Hon. Royal Governor Sir William Phips chose William Stoughton to serve as Chief Justice of the newly created Court of Oyer and Terminer at the start of the Salem witchcraft episode in 1692.

Throughout the trials, Stoughton distinguished himself as a close-minded, harsh, and unrelenting persecutor of the victims of the afflicted children, to such an extent that he became known for his zeal in securing as many executions as possible. To this end, he repeatedly allowed many violations of correct English court procedure, including the admission of spectral evidence and the Commonwealth's illegal seizure of private property. In October 1692, Thomas Brattle, Boston merchant and observer of the events in Salem, described Stoughton's biased role thus: ''The chief Judge is very zealous in these proceedings, and says, he is unequivocal as to all that hath as yet been acted by this court, and as far as ever I could perceive, is very impatient in hearing anything that looks another way.''

By the fall of 1692, Stoughton and Governor Phips were on opposite ends of the witchcraft trial issue, with Governor Phips wishing to bring the trials to a speedy conclusion with minimum bloodshed and Stoughton intent upon condemning and executing as many of the convicted as possible. The issue reached a head when, in October, the governor finally closed the Salem Court of Oyer and Terminer and moved proceedings to Boston, disallowing spectral evidence and declaring that all persons in custody awaiting trial or execution were to be set free.

Ironically, when in 1694, Governor William Phips was recalled to London to answer scandalous charges of corruption and the mismanagement of colonial affairs, Stoughton stepped into the acting governor. He died in Boston on July 7, 1701.

Tituba (no dates available)

Tituba was the enslaved domestic servant at the Parris household. Often described as an Indian woman married to a man called Indian John or John Indian, Tituba was most likely a captive from South America. Most enslaved Amerindians living in Barbados during the 1670s probably came from one of the Arawak-Guiana tribes of northeastern South America. The Arawak women were known for being skilled in domestic services, such as nurturing children, cooking, raising farm animals, weaving, and cultivating root crops. In the Arawak language, "Tetebetado" indicates a female. So, Tituba possibly meant "a Tetebetana girl" or a woman of "the Tetebetana". However, some argue that the name is African, Yoruban precisely and that Tituba was almost certainly an African from Ghana or the child of a captive from Ghana.

She was enslaved by Minister Parris in Barbados in the Spanish West Indies and taken to Massachusetts in 1680. In 1689 she was moved to the Salem Village parsonage. Before the outbreak of witchcraft activity, Tituba tackled traditional housekeeping duties, including the care and supervision of Betty Parris and her cousin, Abigail Williams. During the winter of 1691–92, Tituba allegedly entertained the girls with fortune-telling activities that triggered their aberrant behaviour. The girls accused her of being their tormenter. When interrogated by magistrates Corwin and Hathorne before a packed Salem Village meeting house, Tituba offered a thorough confession and assisted the court in flushing out other demonic women-as-witches in Salem.

Tituba was held in custody and served as a witness for the court until her release in May 1693, after spending twenty-two months in the Salem Town jail. Like many other confessors, Tituba was never brought to trial, though indicted. Instead, she remained. Finally, in December 1693, another enslaver paid for her jail fees and took her away from Salem. She was sold to a gentleman from Virginia for seven pounds to pay her jailer's bill. Tituba's life following her release from jail is untracked, but she travelled to Virginia with her new master.

Mary Walcott (1675–after 1729)

Mary Walcott was the daughter of Captain Jonathan Walcott (1639–1699) – commander of the Village militia and the brother-in-law of Thomas Putnam – and Mary Sibley Walcott (1644–1683). She was born and raised in Salem, Massachusetts, and was seventeen at the Salem episode. Because her mother died early, her father remarried a Salem Village girl, Deliverance Putnam, sister of Thomas Putnam. This family connection with the Putnam household placed Mary among the most outspoken and dangerous of the young accusers, Ann Putnam, Jr. and the Putnam domestic servant, Mercy Lewis. Unsurprisingly, she was among the first to accuse others and support the accusations of the ''afflicted girls.''

In his study, Salem Story, Bernard Rosenthal refers to Mary as ''an old standby'' supporter of the afflicted but not one of the most virulent accusers. In some respects, she appeared almost passive by comparison. She was observed calmly knitting during the testimony on several occasions while her companions were engaged in violent convulsions. Although not one of the most virulent of the afflicted, when needed, she would become involved and participate, usually by exhibiting physical symptoms of witchcraft. On one occasion, she showed Reverend Deodat Lawson a strange set of teeth marks upon her arm, which she claimed had resulted from a spectre biting her.

After the trials ended in 1693, Mary fell back into obscurity. In 1696, at twenty-one, she married Isaac Farrar, the son of John Farrar of Woburn, Massachusetts. They had several children and moved to the remote town of Townsend, Massachusetts. Following her first husband's death, she married David Harwood in 1701 and moved to Sutton, Massachusetts. With David Harwood, she had nine children, the last of whom was born in 1725. She was known to be alive in Sutton in 1729.

Mary Warren (1672–c. 1697)

Genealogical evidence indicates that Mary Warren was the daughter of Abraham and Isabel Warren of Salem, Massachusetts. Her mother died shortly after Mary's birth in 1672, and her father

died intestate in 1689. At the time of the Salem witchcraft episode, Mary was employed as a domestic servant in the household of John and Elizabeth Proctor. This was a common practice to enable unmarried girls without families to support themselves until marriage. During the trials, Mary was among the initial group of ''afflicted girls,'' but her master, John Proctor—displeased with her behaviour—brought her home and ''kept her close to the [spinning] wheel & threatened to thresh her, & she had no more fits 'til the next day. . . .'' She is known for her role as a confessed witch in providing testimony against Alice Parker, accused of murdering her mother and father by witchcraft, and against her masters, John and Elizabeth Proctor. She was one of the first fifty individuals to save their lives by confessing guilt and turning the state's evidence by providing the Court of Oyer and Terminer with the names of other alleged witches.

Nearly nothing conclusive is known about Mary's later life. It does not appear that Mary married following the death of John Proctor, but perhaps she suffered mental illness and depression for several years before a premature end. Reverend John Hale provides the possible suggestion of this in his book, *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*, which was written in 1697. Hale indicates that an anonymous member of the afflicted girls ''was followed by diabolical manifestations to her death and so died a single woman.'' Since only three members of the ''afflicted girls'' group—Mary Warren, Elizabeth Hubbard, and Abigail Williams—are not known to have lived beyond 1693, there is the remote possibility that Mary is the ''single woman'' who died before 1697.

Sarah Averill Wildes (1629–September 22, 1692)

The story of Sarah Wildes went back many years before the Salem outbreak. Sarah was a Topsfield resident married to a farmer, John Wildes, Sr. She had been involved in several disputes with her neighbours over the years and tended to be vindictive. Some of these neighbours believed that Sarah had used witchcraft as revenge for perceived wrongs done to her. This testimony was first presented at Sarah Wildes' hearing on April 22, 1692. Magistrates John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin had issued warrants for Sarah Wildes' arrest on April 21 based upon an April 19 complaint by Thomas

Putnam and John Buxton on behalf of Ann Putnam, Mercy Lewis, and Mary Walcott. The most significant of these tales involved Sarah Wildes and Mary Reddington.

Reverend John Hale, the pastor of the Beverly congregation, testified in court on April 22 that he had been visited by Mary Reddington nearly fifteen years earlier, who had confided in him. She was the wife of John Reddington and mother-in-law to Essex County Marshall John Herrick. During this pastoral visit, Hale related that Mary Reddington had expressed the belief that Sarah Wildes was bewitching her. Hale added to this testimony additional information from Wildes' family relations which further incriminated Sarah. Others quickly began to complain about her, including Abigail Hobbs and the rest of the afflicted girls.

During her examination, the confessed witch, Deliverance Hobbs, claimed that the spectre of Sarah Wildes had almost torn her to pieces. Many other incidences were recalled at the April session. Elizabeth Symonds recollected an incident when she met Sarah Wildes on the road and argued with her briefly over a borrowed scythe. Sarah threatened Elizabeth, and later that evening, a dark shape appeared in her bedroom chamber, which came and laid upon her in bed, preventing her from moving all night.

Most intriguing was a charge by forty-eight-year-old Mary Gadge, who claimed that she recollected that David Balch had told her two years earlier he had been bewitched by a coven of witches, one of whom was Sarah Wildes. Added to this was the reminder that Sarah Wildes had also been accused of witchcraft but acquitted in 1676. She was determined by the magistrates to be a likely candidate for witchcraft and was ordered to stand trial on June 29, 1692. On that day, a guilty verdict was submitted against her, and she was executed along with Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Good, Susannah Martin, and Elizabeth Howe.

Abigail Williams (c. 1681 -)

Aged 11 or 12 in 1692, she played a significant role in the Salem Witch trials as one of the prominent accusers. She lived with her uncle, the Rev. Samuel Parris, Salem Village's minister. Although it was ordinary practice for young girls to live with relatives to learn about housewifery, we know very little about Abigail, including where she was born and her parents.

WORKS CITED

Abreu, M.Z.G. De. "Transatlantic Migration of Early Modern England Demonology Doctrines and Mindset to Colonial America." Da Silva, E. et all. American Studies Over_Seas 1: Narrating Multiple America(S), 2022.

———————., and Steve Fleetwood. Editors. *Women Past & Present: Biographic and Multidisciplinary Studies.* Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers, 2014.

———————. "Robert Filmer: Discovering What or Who a Witch Is." *Novos Caminhos da História e da Cultura: Actas do XXVII Encontro da APEAA*. 2007, pp. 601– 13.

——————. *O Sagrado Feminino: Da Pré-História À Idade Média*. Edições Colibri, 2007.

——————. *A Reforma da Igreja em Inglaterra: Accão Feminina, Protestantismo e Democratização Política e dos Sexos*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, FCT, 2003.

Adams, Gretchen. A. *The Specter of Salem: Remembering the Witch Trials in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Almond, Philip C. *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern England: Contemporary Texts and Their Cultural Contexts.* Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Anger, Jane. *Her protection for Women*. London: R. Jones and T Orwin, 1589.

Amussen, Susan D. *Gender, Culture and Politics in England, 1560-1640: Turning the World Upside Down.* Bloomsbury, 2017.

——————. *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

Anderson, Virginia D. J. *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century.* Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Ang, Ien. "From Cultural Studies to Cultural Research: Engaged Scholarship in the Twenty-First Century." *Cultural Studies Review* vol.12, no.2, 2006, pp. 183- 97.

Anglo, Sydney. *The Damned Art : Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

Anonymous. *The Famous History of the Lancashire Witches, Etc. [a Chapbook.]*. London, 1780.

Apps, Lara and Andrew C. Gow. *Male Witches in Early Modern Europe.* Manchester University Press, 2003.

Arnold, Mathew. *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*. Smith, Elder & Company, 1869.

Assmann, Jan. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

———., and Rodney Livingstone. *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*. California: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Assheton, Nicholas, and Francis R. Raines. *The Journal of Nicholas Assheton... .* 1848.

Augé, C. Riley. *Silent Sentinels: Archaeology, Magic, and the Gendered Control of Domestic Boundaries in New England, 1620-1725*. PhD Dissertation. University of Montana. 2013.

Baines, Thomas, and William Fairbaim. *Lancashire & Cheshire, Past & Present....* . London: William Mackenzie, 1868.

Baker, Emmerson W. *A Storm of Witchcraft: The Salem Trials and the American Experience.* Oxford University Press, 2015.

Bardes, Barbara. A., and Suzanne Gossett. *Declarations of Independence: Women and Political Power in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction*. New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

Barker-Benfield, G. J., and Catherine Clinton. Editors. *Portraits of American Women: From Settlement to the Present*. New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1991.

Barry, Jonathan, et al. *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Studies in Culture and Belief.* Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Barstow, Anne L. *Witchcraze: A New History of the European Witch Hunts.* Pandora, 1994.

Bauer, Dale M. and Philip Gould. Editors. *The Cambridge Companion to Nineteenth-Century American Women's Writing*. Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Baym, Nina. *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995.

———. *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and About Women in America, 1820-70*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

———. *Feminism and American Literary History: Essays*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

———. “How Men and Women Wrote Indian Stories.” *New Essays on “The Last of the Mohicans.”* Daniel Peck. Editor. Cambridge Univeritsy Press, 1992, pp. 67-86.

———. “Concepts of the Romance in Hawthorn's America.” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*. Vol.38, 1984, pp. 426-43.

Baxter, R. *The certainty of the worlds of spirits... .* London: 1691

Ben-Amos, D. and L. Weissberg. *Cultural Memory and the Construction of Identity*. Wayne State University Press, 1999.

Bennett, Anna N. *"Because She Would Not Be Governed:" Medieval Women, Power, and the Politicization of Witchcraft.* 2015. University Rhode Island, Master's Thesis.

Berger, S. and B. Niven. Editors. *Writing the History of Memory*. A&C Black, 2014.

Bernard, G. W. and S. Gunn. *Authority and Consent in Tudor England : Essays Presented to C.S.L. Davies.* Ashgate, 2002.

Bernard, Richard. *A Guide to Grand-Iury Men, Diuided into Two Books ... The Second Addition [Sic].* 1627.

Bever, Edward. *The Realities of Witchcraft and Popular Magic in Early Modern Europe : Culture, Cognition, and Everyday Life.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

———————. "Witchcraft, Female Aggression, and Power in the Early Modern Community." *Journal of Social History*, vol. 35, no. 4, 2002, pp. 955-988.

Bijster, M. E. *Cultural Memory in Doris Lessing's Fiction: An analysis of The Grass is Singing, Alfred and Emily and Martha Quest in light of cultural memory studies.* 2012. Utrecht Unviersity, Master's Thesis.

Bommas, Martin et al. *Memory and Urban Religion in the Ancient World*. Bloomsbur, 2012.

Bond, Lucy and J. Rapson. *The Transcultural Turn: Interrogating Memory between and Beyond Borders*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyer, 2014.

Bostridge, Ian. *Witchcraft and Its Transformations C.1650-C.1750.* Clarendon Press, 1997.

Botelho, Lynn A. and Pat Thane. *Women and Aging in British Society since 1500.* Longman, 2000.

———. *Old Age and the English Poor Law, 1500-1700.* Boydell, 2004.

Boyle, Robert. *The Origine of Formes and Qualities according to the Corpuscular Philosophy*. Oxford: H. Hall, 1666.

Brekus, Catherine A. *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past.* University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Bremer, Francis J. *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction.* OUP USA, 2009.

Breslaw, Elaine G. *Witches of the Atlantic World: An Historical Reader and Primary Sourcebook.* NYU Press, 2000.

Breuer, Heidi. *Crafting the Witch: Gendering Magic in Medieval and Early Modern England.* Routledge, 2009.

Briggs, Katherine. M. *Pale Hecate's Team. An Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and His Immediate Successors. [with Plates.].* 1962.

Briggs, Robin. *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tension in Early Modern France.* Clarendon, 1989.

———. *Witches & Neighbours : The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft.* Harper Collins, 1996.

Broedel, Hans P. *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft: Theology and Popular Belief.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.

Broomhall, Susan. Editor. *Early Modern Emotions : An Introduction.* Routledge, 2017.

Brown, Candy G. "Publicizing domestic piety: the cultural work of religious texts in the Woman's Building Library." *Libraries & culture*, 2006, pp. 35-54.

Buchanan, Daniel P. "Tares in the Wheat: Puritan Violence and Puritan Families in the Nineteenth-Century Liberal Imagination." *Religion and American Culture* 8.2 (1998): 205-236.

Buell, Lawrence. *New England Literary Culture: From Revolution through Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Burke, Colin B. *American Collegiate Populations: A Test of the Traditional View*. New York; London: New York University Press, 1982.

Burns, Margo. "Other Ways of Undue Force and Fright": The Coercion of False Confessions by the Salem Magistrates." *Studia Neophilologica* no.84, sup1, 2012, pp. 24-39.

Burr, George L. *Narratives of the witchcraft cases, 1648-1706*. New York: C. Scrbner's Sons, New York, 1914.

Burton, Robert. *Kingdom of Darkness*. London: 1688

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People.* Harvard University Press, 1990.

Caldicott, Edric and Anne Fuchs. Editors. *Cultural Memory: Essays on European Literature and History*. Oxford: P. Lang, 2003.

Calef, Robert. *More Wonders of the Invisible World: Or the Wonders of the Invisible World Displayed. In Five Parts*. John D. and T. C. Cushing, Jr., 1823.

Campbell, Neil, and A. Kean. *American Cultural Studies: An Introduction to American Culture*. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.

Capp, Bernard. *When Gossips Meet : Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England.* Oxford University Press, 2003.

Carlson, Elizabeth. "'Witchcraft is a rife and commone sinne in these our daies': The Powers of Witches in English Demonologies, 1580-1620." *Western Illinois Historical Review* Vol. 3, 2011, pp. 22-57.

Carroll, Lewis. and J. Tenniel. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and through the Looking-Glass*. Cosimo Classics, 2010.

Carolyn Matalene. "Women as witches." *International Journal of Women Studies*, 1. 1978.

Caserio, Robert L. and Clement Hawes. *The Cambridge History of the English Novel*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Castleton, D.R. *Salem: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century*. Harper & Bros., 1874.

Cavendish, Richard. *The Powers of Evil in Western Religion, Magic and Folk Belief.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.

Chase, Richard. V. *The American Novel and Its Tradition*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1957.

Chen, Kuan-Hsing and David Morley, editors. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. Routlege, 1996.

Child, Lydia M. *Brief History of the Condition of Women: In Various Ages and Nations*. C. S. Francis, 1845.

Chollet, M. et al. *In Defense of Witches: The Legacy of the Witch Hunts and Why Women Are Still on Trial.* St. Martin's Publishing Group, 2022.

Clark, Robert. *History, Ideology and Myth in American Fiction, 1823-52*. London: Macmillan, 1984.

Clark, Stuart. *Languages of Witchcraft : Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture.* Macmillan, 2001.

———. *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe.* Clarendon Press, 1997.

Clayton, John A. *The Pendle Witch Fourth Centenary Handbook : History and Archaeology : Fact and Fiction, 1612 - 2012*. Barrowford Press, 2012.

Coale, Samuel. *In Hawthorne's Shadow : American Romance from Melville to Mailer*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1985.

Cobb, Daniel M., and Helen Sheumaker. Editors. *Memory Matters: Proceedings from the 2010 Conference Hosted by the Humanities Center, Miami University of Ohio*. SUNY Press, 2011.

Cohn, Norman. *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt.* Sussex University Press, 1975.

Coke, Edward. *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England: Concerning High Treason, and Other Pleas of the Crown, and Criminal Causes*. 1628. London: W. Clarke and Sons, 1809.

Condit, M. B. *Philip English's Two Cups or "1692".* Anson D.F: Randolph & Co., 1869.

Confino, A. "Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method." *The American Historical Review*, vol.102, no.5, 1997, pp. 1386-1403.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Cooper, Thomas. *The Mystery of Witch-Craft. ...* London: N. Okes, 1617.

Costa, Jaime B. da. *Paul Auster: Narrative and Thought From a Dual Consciousness. The Early Fiction.* Fafe: Labirinto, 2020.

Coudert, Alison P. *Religion, Magic, and Science in Early Modern Europe and America.* Praeger, 2011.

Crane, Gregg D. *The Cambridge Introduction to the Nineteenth-Century American Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Crawford, Patricia, and Laura Gowing. *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England.* Routledge, 2000.

Cressy, David. *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century.* Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Crooke, Helkiah. *Microkosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man....* 1615.

Cubitt, Geoffrey. *History and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.

Culler, Jonathan D. *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 1997.

Dall, Caroline W.H. *Historical Pictures Retouched: A Volume of Miscellanies*. Boston: Walker, Wise, 1860

Dalton, M. *The Countrey Justice... .* Company of Stationers, 1661.

Darr, Orna A. *Marks of an Absolute Witch: Evidentiary Dilemmas in Early Modern England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

Daston, Lorraine. "Marvelous facts and miraculous evidence in early modern Europe." *Critical Inquiry*, vol.18, no.1, 1991, pp. 93-124.

Davidson, Jane P. *Early Modern Supernatural: The Dark Side of European Culture, 1400-1700.* Praeger, 2012.

Davies, Owen and Francesca Matteoni. *Executing magic in the modern era: criminal bodies and the gallows in popular medicine.* Springer Nature, 2017.

———. *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture, 1736-1951.* Manchester University Press, 1999.

De Blécourt, Willem et al. *Cultures of Witchcraft in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

———. "The making of the female witch: Reflections on witchcraft and gender in the early modern period." *Gender & History*, vol.12, no.2, 2000, pp. 287-309.

De Certeau, Michel. *Heterologies: Discourse on the other*. Vol. 17. University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

De Groot, Jerome. *The Historical Novel*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2010.

Dekker, George. *The American Historical Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Dekker, Thomas. et al. *The Witch of Edmonton.* 1621.

Demos, John P. *The Enemy Within: A Short History of Witch-Hunting.* Penguin, 2009.

———. *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England.* Oxford University Press, 2004.

DeRosa, R. *The Making of Salem: The Witch Trials in History, Fiction and Tourism.* McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, 2009.

Disosway, E. T. *South Meadows: A Tale of Long Ago*. Porter and Coates, 1874.

Dobson, Joanne. "The Hidden Hand: Subversion of Cultural Ideology in Three Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Women's Novels." *American Quarterly*, vol.38, no.2, 1986, pp.223-242.

Donnelly, Mabel C. *The American Victorian Woman: The Myth and the Reality*. New York; London: Greenwood, 1986.

Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.

Dowling, David. *Capital Letters: Authorship in the Antebellum Literary Market*. University of Iwoa Press, 2009.

DuBois, C. G. *Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft*. A. C. McClurg, 1890.

Duden, Barbara. *The Woman beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany.* Harvard University Press, 1991.

Dunn, Mary M. "Saints and Sisters: Congregational and Quaker Women in the Early Colonial Period," *American Quarterly* vol. 30, no.5, 1978, pp. 582-601.

During, Simon. *Cultural Studies: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2005.

Earle, Alice. M. *Child Life in Colonial Days*. Macmillan, 1899.

Easlea, Brian. *Witch Hunting, Magic and the New Philosophy : An Introduction to Debates of the Scientific Revolution, 1450-1750.* Harvester Press, 1980.

Easly, Alexis. *New Media and The Rise of the Popular Woman Writer, 1832-1860*. Edinburgh Critical Studies in Victorian Culture, 2021.

Edgar, Andrew, and Peter R. Sedgwick. *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts*. 2nd ed. ed. London: Routledge, 2008.

Elias, Amy J. *Sublime Desire: History and Post-1960s Fiction*. Baltimore, Md. ; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Eliot, T.S. *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*. 1949. London: Faber and Faber, 2010.

Ellet, Elizabeth F. *Domestic History of the American Revolution*. Baker and Scribner, 1850.

Elmer, Peter. *Witchcraft, Witch-Hunting, and Politics in Early Modern England.* First Edition. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Elsey, Susan J. *Images of the Witch in Nineteenth-Century Culture*. 2012. University of Liverpool, PhD Thesis.

Erll, Astrid. "Travelling narratives in ecologies of trauma: an Odyssey for memory scholars." *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, vol.87, no.3, 2020, pp. 533-563.

———. "Homer: A relational mnemohistory." *Memory Studies*, vol.11, no.3, 2018, pp. 274-286.

———. and S. B. Young. *Memory in Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

———. *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

———., et al. Editors. *Cultural Memory Studies : An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin ; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.

———. and A. Rigney. "Literature and the production of cultural memory: Introduction." *European Journal of English Studies*, vol.10, no. 2, 2006, pp. 111-115.

Ewen, C. L'E. *Witchcraft and Demonianism: A Concise Account Derived from Sworn Depositions and Confessions Obtained in the Courts of England and Wales, Etc. [with Plates.].* AMS Press, 1933

Fairfax, Edward et al. *A Discourse of* Witchcraft… . Philobiblon Society, 1858.

Farington, Susan M. *The Farington Papers…* . Chetham Society, 1856.

Faulkner, William. *Requiem for a Nun*. Vintage Books, 1975.

Favret-Saada, J. (author) and M. Carey (translator). *The Anti-Witch.* Hau Books, 2015.

Federici, Silvia. *Witches, Witch-Hunting and Women.* PM Press, 2018.

———————.*Caliban and the Witch.* London : Pluto, 2004.

Fels, Tony. *Switching Sides: How a Generation of Historians Lost Sympathy for the Victims of the Salem Witch Hunt.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018.

Ferris, Ina. "Re-Positioning the Novel: *Waverley* and the Gender of Fiction." *Studies in Romanticism*, 1989, pp. 291-301.

Fletcher, A. and J. Stevenson. *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England.* Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Flint, Valerie I.J. *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Clarendon Press, 1993.

Ford, John, et al. *The Lady's Trial. The Sun's Darling. The Witch of Edmonton. Fames' Memorial. Poems. Honour Triumphant. A Line of Life. Glossarial Index.* Lawrence and Bullen, 1895.

Foster, Stephen. *Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England.* Yale University Press, 1971.

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

Francis, Richard. *Judge Sewall's Apology: The Salem Witch Trials and the Forming of a Conscience.* Harper Perennial, 2006.

Froome, Joyce *Wicked Enchantments: The Pendle Witches and Their Magic*. Lancaster: Palatine Books, 2010.

Gadamer, H-G. *Truth and Method*. London: Continuum, 2004.

Games, Alison. *Witchcraft in Early North America.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010.

—————. *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World*. Harvard University Press, 1999.

Garside, Peter. "Popular Fiction and National Tale: Hidden Origins of Scott's Waverley." *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 46, no.1, 1991, pp. 30-53.

Gaskill, Malcom. *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans.* Oxford University Press, 2014.

———————. *Witchcraft : A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford University Press, 2010.

———————. *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England.* Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Gasser, Erika. *Vexed with Devils: Manhood and Witchcraft in Old and New England.* NYU Press, 2017.

Gibson, Marrion. *Witchcraft Myths in American Culture.* Routledge, 2007.

———————. *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing*. London ; New York: Routledge, 2000.

Gifford, George. *A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witchcrafts... .* 1603. New York: Percy Socety, 1842.

———————. *A Discourse of the Subtill Practises of Devilles by Witches and Sorcerers, Etc. B.L.* London, 1587.

Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan. Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination.* Yale University Press, 1984.

Girard, René. *The Scapegoat.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

———————. *Violence and the Sacred.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.

Glanvill, J. *Saducismus Triumphatus...* . London: J. Collins and S. Lownds, 1581.

Godbeer, Richard. ""Your Wife Will Be Your Biggest Accuser" Reinforcing Codes of Manhood at New England Witch Trials." *Early American Studies*, vol.15, no. 3, 2017, pp. 474-504.

———————. *Escaping Salem: The Other Witch Hunt of 1692.* Oxford University Press, 2005.

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

Gonçalves, Inês T. F. "The Salem Witches (Re)Created as Nineteenth-Century Romantic Heroines." Barton C. Hacker et al. Editors. *Connecting women: national and international networks during the long nineteenth century.* Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2021, pp. 169-190.

———————. "The Salem Witches (Re)created as Nineteenth-Century Romantic Heroines." Sousa, S. et al. Editors. *No princípio era a palavra – O lugar das Humanidades. Atas do XIX Colóquio de Outono.* Famalicão: Húmus, 2019, pp. 93-110.

———————. "Eliza Buckminster Lee's Delusion or The Witch of New England: (Re)Memory of the Salem Witch Trials." M. Z. G. Abeu, *Women Past and Present: Biographic and Multidisciplinary Studies*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014, pp. 95-105.

Goodare, Julian. *The European Witch-Hunt.* Routledge, 2016.

Goodier, Christine. *1612 the Lancashire Witch Trials: A New Guide*. Lancaster: Palatine Books, 2011.

Gordon, Mathew J. *The Reformation of the World: History, Revelation and Reform in the Antebellum American Romance*. University of Southern California, 2010.

Goss, K. David. *The Salem Witch Trials: A Reference Guide.* Greenwood Press, 2008.

Gould, Phillip. *Covenant and Republic: Historical Romance and the Politics of Puritanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Gragg, Larry Dale. *A Quest for Security: The Life of Samuel Parris, 1653-1720.* Greenwood Press, 1990.

Graves, Mathew, and Elizabeth Rechniewski. "From Collective Memory to Transcultural Remembrance." *PORTAL*, vol. 7, no.1, 2010, pp. 1-15.

Greenblatt, Stephen. and Michael. Payne. *The Greenblatt Reader.* Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell,

2005.

Griffiths, Megan R. *Radicals, conservatives, and the Salem witchcraft crisis: Exploiting the fragile communities of colonial New England.* 2017. Leiden University, Master's Thesis.

Guilbert, Juliette. *Rewriting the Republic: American Women's Historical Fiction 1824-1869*. Dissertation. Yale University, 1999.

Haec-Vir: or the Womanish-Man. London: John Trundle, 1620.

Hagen, Trever, and Anna L. Tota. Editors. *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*. Routledge International Handbooks, 2016.

Halbwachs, Maurice, and Lewis A. Coser. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Hale, John. *Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*. Applewood Books, 2006.

Hale, Sarah J.B. *Woman's Record: Or, Sketches of All Distinguished Women*... Harper & brothers, 1853.

Hall Jr., Robert A. *Cultural Symbolism in Literature*. Ithaca, New York: Linguistica, 1963.

Hall, David. D. Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. 7th ed. 1997.

———————. David Morley, and Kuan-Hsing Chen. *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. London: Routledge, 1996.

———————. *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England.* Harvard University Press, 1990.

Hansen, Chadwick. *Witchcraft at Salem.* G. Braziller, 1969.

Harland, John, and Thomas T. Wilkinson. *Lancashire Folk-Lore: Illustrative of the Superstitious Beliefs and Practices, Local Customs and Usages of the People of the County Palatine*. F. Warne, 1867.

Harley, David. "Explaining Salem: Calvinist Psychology and the Diagnosis of Possession." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 101, no. 2, 1996, pp. 307-330.

Harsnett, Samuel. *A declaration of egregious popish impostures...* . London: Iames Roberts, dwelling in Barbican, 1603.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, and Sophia P. Hawthorne. *Passages from the American Note-Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, vol.2. Ticknor and Fields, 1868.

Heale, W. *An Apologie for Women: Or, An Opposition to Mr. Dr. G(ager) His Assertion ... that it was Lawfull for Husbands to Beate Their Wives*. London: Joseph Barnes, 1609.

Hebel, Udo J. *Transnational American Memories*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

Heywood, Thomas. *Gynaikeion, or Nine Books of Various Historie Concerning Women: Inscribet by the Names*. London: 1624.

———————., and Richard Brome. *The Witches of Lancashire*. 1634. Nick Hern Books, 2002.

Henderson, Harry. B. *Versions of the Past. The Historical Imagination in American Fiction*. Oxford University Press, 1974.

Herrick, Robert et al. *Hesperides: Poems*. London: Walter Scott, 1887.

Hester, Marianne. *Lewd Women and Wicked Witches : A Study of the Dynamics of Male Domination.* Routledge, 1992.

Hic Mulier; or, The Man-woman. London: John Trundle, 1620.

Hill, Frances. *The Salem Witch Trials Reader*. Hachette Books, 2000.

Hirsch, Marianne. F. H. and Valerie Smith. "Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction." *Signs* vol.28, no.1, 2002, pp. 1-19.

Hobbes, Thomas, and M. Missner. *Thomas Hobbes: Leviathan (Longman Library of Primary Sources in Philosophy).* Taylor & Francis, 2016.

Hoffer, P.C. *The Devil's Disciples: The Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

————. *The Salem Witchcraft Trials: A Legal History.* University Press of Kansas, 1997.

Hoggard, Brian. *Magical House Protection : The Archaeology of Counter-Witchcraft.* Berghahn, 2019.

Holland, Henry. *A treatise against Witchraft...* . Cambridge: Iohn Legatt, Cambridge University, 1590.

Hughes, Helen. *The Historical Romance*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1993.

Hults, Linda C. *The Witch as Muse : Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe.* University of Pennsylvania Press ; Bristol : University Presses Marketing, 2005.

Hutton, Ronald. *The Witch : A History of Fear, from Ancient Times to the Present.* Yale University Press, 2017.

—————. *Physical Evidence for Ritual Acts, Sorcery and Witchcraft in Christian Britain : A Feeling for Magic.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Jackson, Louise. "Witches, Wives and Mothers: Witchcraft Persecution and Women's Confessions in Seventeenth-Century England." *Women's History Review*, vol.4, no. 1, 1995, pp. 63-84.

James VI and I. *Daemonologie in Form of a Dialogue*. Edinburgh: 1587.

Jensen, Gary F. *The Path of the Devil: Early Modern Witch Hunts.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.

Johnson, Richard, et al. *The Practice of Cultural Studies*. London: SAGE, 2004.

Jonson, Ben. *The Masque of Queens*. London: 1609.

Johnstone, Nathan. *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England.* Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Jones, Kare, and Michael Zell. "'The Divels Speciall Instruments': Women and Witchcraft before the 'Great Witch-Hunt.'" *Social History*, vol.30, no. 1, 2005, pp. 45-63.

Kamensky, Jane. *Governing the Tongue: The Politics of Speech in Early New England.* Oxford University Press, 1999.

Karlsen, Carol. F. *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England.* W. W. Norton, 1998.

Kattago, Siobhan. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Memory Studies*. England and USA: Ashgate, 2015.

Keble, Joseph. *An assistance to justices of the peace, for the easier performance of their duty*. London: W. Rawlins, S. Roycroft, and H. Sawbridge, 1683.

Keeble, Neil H. and Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Editors. *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter: 1638-1660*. Clarendon Press, 1991.

Keightley, Emily and Michael Pickering. *The Mnemonic Imagination: Remembering as Creative Practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Kelley, Donald. R., and David H. Sacks. *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain : History, Rhetoric, and Fiction, 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the republic: Intellect and ideology in revolutionary America*. UNC Press Books, 2000.

Kermode, Jenny I. and Garthine Walker. *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England.* UCL Press, 1994.

Kieckhefer, Richard. *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

Kilcup, Karen L. *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader*. Malden, Mass. ; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

Kittredge, George L. *Witchcraft in Old and New England.* Russell & Russell, 1956.

Klaits, Joseph. *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts.* Indiana University Press, 1985.

Klaniczay, Gabor, and Eva Pócs. *Witchcraft Mythologies and Persecutions: Demons, Spirits, Witches.* vol. III, Central European University Press, 2005.

Knapp, Samuel L. *Female Biography: Containing Notices of Distinguished Women, in Different Nations and Ages*. New York: Thomas Wardle, 1846.

Kohlke, Marie-Luise. and Christian Gutleben. *Neo-Victorian Tropes of Trauma: The Politics of Bearing after-Witness to Nineteenth-Century Suffering*. Brill, 2010.

Konig, David T. *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts*. Virginia: Universiyt of Carolina Press, 2004.

Kors, Alan, and Edward Peters. Editors. *Witchcraft in Europe, 400-1700: A Documentary History.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated, 2001.

Koslofsky, Craig. *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Law, Mary J. "Introduction: Cultural Memory, the past and the Static of the Present." *Acta orientalia* vilnensia, vol.7, no.1-2, 2006, pp. 7-12.

LeBeau, Bryan F. *The Story of the Salem Witch Trials: "We Walked in Clouds and Could Not See Our Way."* Prentice-Hall, 1998.

Lee, Eliza. B. *Delusion: Or, the Witch of New England*. Hilliard, Gray, 1840.

———————. *Parthenia; or the Last Days of Paganism: a Tale*. Second edition.: Boston, Cambridge, 1858.

Lehmann, Arthur C. and James E. Myers. *Magic, Witchcraft, and Religion an Anthropoligcal Study of the Supernatural.* Mayfield, 1985.

Leisy, Ernest E. *The American Historical Novel*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Lerner, Gerda. *The Creation of Patriarchy.* Oxford University Press, 1986.

Levack, Brian P. *Gender and Witchcraft.* Routledge, 2001.

—————————. *The Devil Within: Possession & Exorcism in the Christian West.* Yale University Press, 2013.

————————. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe.* Longman, 1995.

————————. *Witchcraft in England.* Garland Pub, 1992.

Levin, David. *Forms of Uncertainty: Essays in Historical Criticism*. University Press of Virginia, 1992.

———————. *In defense of Historical Literature: Essays on American History, Autobiography, Drama, and Fiction*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Lindley, Susan. H. *You Have Stept out of Your Place: A History of Women and Religion in America.* Presbyterian Publishing Corporation, 1996.

Lofthouse, Jessica. *North-Country Folklore in Lancashire, Cumbria and the Pennine Dales*. London: Hale, 1976.

Lossing, Benson J. *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*. Oxford University Press, 1851.

Lukács, G. *The Historical Novel.* 1962. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981.

Macaulay, Thomas B. *Critical and Historical Essays*. 1828. Methuen & Co, 1903.

Macfarlane, Alan. *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study.* Routledge & K. Paul, 1970.

Machor, James L. *Reading Fiction in Antebellum America: Informed Response and Reception Histories, 1820-1865*. Baltimore, Md. ; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

Mackie, Pauline B. *Ye Lyttle Salem Maide: A Story of Witchcraft*. Illustrated by E. W. D. Hamilton. Lamson, Wolfe and Company, 1898.

Mangum, Teresa. *A Cultural History of Women: In the Age of Empire*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing place, 2013.

Manning, Chris. “The Material Culture of Ritual Concealments in the United States.” *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 48, no. 3, 2014, pp. 52-83.

———————. *Homemade Magic: Concealed Deposits in Architectural Contexts in the Eastern United States*. 2012. Ball State University, MA Thesis

Manning, S. *The Puritan-Provincial Vision: Scottish and American Literature in the Nineteenth Century.* Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Markham, Gervase. *The English House-Wife... .*London: Nicholas Okes for John Harison, 1631.

Martin, Lisa A. *Children, Adolescents, and English Witchcraft*. 2005. University of North Texas, Master’s Thesis.

Marwick, Max. *Witchcraft and Sorcery Selected Readings.* Penguin Books, 1970.

Matalene, Carolyn. “Women as Witches.” *International Journal of Women Studies*, vol.I, no. 6, 1978, pp. 573-587.

Mather, Cotton, and Worthington C. Ford. *Diary of Cotton Mather: 1681-1708*. Massachusetts Historical Society, 1708.

———————. Pietas in Patriam: The Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips... . London: Sam Bridge, 1697.

———————. *Humiliations follow'd with deliverances...* . Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1697.

———————. *Things for a distress'd people to think upon...* . Boston: B. Green and J. Allen, 1696.

———————. *Unum necessarium awakenings for the unregenerate… .* Boston: Benjamin Harris, 1693.

———————. *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion, or the Character and Happiness of a Virtuous Woman…* . Boston: S.G. & B.G., 1692.

———————. *Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions ….* Boston: R.P., 1689.

———————. and I. Mather. *The Wonders of the Invisible World…* . Boston: J. R. Smith, 1862.

Mather, Increase. *Cases of conscience concerning evil spirits personating men, witchcrafts, infallible proofs of guilt in such as are accused with that crime.* … Boston: 1693.

———————., and G. of Hackney. *Remarkable Providences Illustrative of the Earlier Days of American Colonisation.* 1684.

———————. *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences…* . Boston, SG & JB, 1684.

———————. *A call from Heaven to the present and succeeding generations …* . Boston: John Foster, 1679.

Maxwell-Stuart, Peter G. *Witchcraft in Europe and the New World 1400-1800.* Palgrave, 2001.

McKanan, Dan. *Identifying the Image of God: Radical Christians and Nonviolent Power in the Antebellum United States*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

McWilliams, John P. *New England's Crises and Cultural Memory: Literature, Politics, History, Religion, 1620-1860.* Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Mendelson, Sarah H. and Patricia Crawford. *Women in Early Modern England: 1550-1720.* Oxford University Press, 1998.

Middleton, Thomas, and A.C. Swinburne. *The Roaring Girl. The Witch. A Fair Quarrel. The Mayor of Queenborough. The Widow.* London: T. F. Unwin, 1890.

Millar, Charlotte-Rose. *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England.* Routledge, 2017

——————————. “The Witch’s Familiar in Sixteenth-Century England.” *Melbourne Historical Journal*, vol. 38, 2010, pp. 119-136.

Miller, Nancy K., and Jason D. Tougaw. *Extremities: Trauma, Testimony, and Community*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Miller, Perry. *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province.* Harvard University Press, 2009.

Mitchell, Kate, and N. Parsons. Editors. *Reading historical fiction: The revenant and remembered past.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Mixon, Franklin G. *Public Choice Economics and the Salem Witchcraft Hysteria.* Palgrave Macmillan US, 2015.

Mofford, Juliet H. *Devil Made Me Do It!: Crime and Punishment in Early New England.* Globe Pequot, 2011.

Moore, Margaret B. *The Salem World of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. Columbia; London: University of Missouri Press, 1998.

Moran, Gerald F. "Sinners Are Turned into Saints in Numbers': Puritanism and Revivalism in Colonial Connecticut." *Belief and Behavior. Essays in the New Religious History*, 1991, pp. 39-61.

Nenonen, Marko, and Raisa M. Toivo. Editors. *Writing witch-hunt histories: challenging the paradigm.* Brill, 2013.

Newall, Venetia. and Katharine M. Briggs. *The Witch Figure: Folklore Essays* ... . Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

Niermeier-Dohoney, Justin R. "Inversion, the Witch, and the Other:Conceptualizing Persecution in the Early Modern Witch Hunts"*Tuckasegee Valley Historical Review*, vol.16, Spring, 2010.

Nora, P., and L. D. Kritzman. *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*. New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Norton, Mary B. *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692.* Alfred A. Knopf, 2002.

———————. *Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Formation of American Society.* Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.

Oldridge, D. "Fairies and the Devil in Early Modern England." *The Seventeenth Century*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2016, pp. 1-15.

———————. *The Devil in Tudor and Stuart England: In Tudor and Stuart England*. History Press, 2011.

Olick, Jeffrey K., et al. *The Collective Memory Reader*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Orel, Harold. *The Historical Novel from Scott to Sabatini: Changing Attitudes toward a Literary Genre, 1814-1920*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.

Ostling, Michael. "Babyfat and Belladonna: Witches' Ointment and the Contestation of Reality." *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, vol. 11 no. 1, 2016, pp. 30-72.

Pallotti, Donatella. "Maps of Woe Narratives of Rape in Early Modern England." *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, vo. 2, 2013, p. 211.

Parish, Helen L. "Paltrie Vermin, Cats, Mise, Toads, and Weasils": Witches, Familiars, and Human-Animal Interactions in the English Witch Trials." *Religions,* vol.10, no.2, 2019, pp. 134.

———————. *Superstition and Magic in Early Modern Europe: A Reader*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014.

Parris, S. et al. *The Sermon Notebook of Samuel Parris, 1689-1694.* Colonial Society of Massachusetts: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Pateman Carole. *The Sexual Contract*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1988.

Pavlac, Brian A. *Witch Hunts in the Western World : Persecution and Punishment from the Inquisition through the Salem Trials*. Westport, Conn. ; London: Greenwood, 2009.

Payne, Elizabeth A. Editor. *Writing Women's History: A Tribute to Anne Firor Scott*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011.

Pearson, Jo. "Resisting Rhetorics of Violence: Women, Witches and Wicca." *Feminist Theology*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2010, pp. 141-159.

Peel, Edgar and Pat Southern. *The Trials of the Lancashire Witches: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Witchcraft*. Nelson: Hendon, 1985.

Perkins, William. *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft; ...* . C. Legge, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1608.

Petherbridge, Deanna. et al. *Witches & Wicked Bodies*. National Galleries of Scotland, 2013.

Phillips, Jerry R., et al. *Romanticism and Transcendentalism: 1800-1860*. New York: DWJ Books, 2006.

Pickering, Michael. *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

Poole, Robert. *The Lancashire Witches: Histories and Stories*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Porterfield, Amanda. *Female Piety in Puritan New England: The Emergence of Religious Humanism.* Oxford University Press, 1992.

Potts, Thomas. *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster.* ... London: W. Stansby for J. Barnes, 1613, 1612.

Powers, Edwin. *Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts, 1620-1692: A Documentary History.* Beacon Press, 1966.

Preston, VK. "Reproducing Witchcraft: Thou Shalt Not Perform a Witch to Live." *The Drama Review*, vol. 62, no.1, 2018, pp. 143-159.

Price, F. "A Great Deal of History: Romantic Women Writers and Historical Fiction." *Women's Writing,* vol. 19, no. 3, 2012, pp. 259-72.

Purkiss, Diane. “Women’s Stories of Witchcraft in Early Modern England: The House, the Body, the Child’.” *New Perspectives on Witchcraft*, vol. 4, 2013, pp. 278-302.

———. *The Witch in History : Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations.* Routledge, 1996.

Quaife, Geoffrey R. *Godly Zeal and Furious Rage: The Witch in Early Modern Europe.* Routledge, 2011.

Radstone, S. and B. Schwarz. *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. 1st ed. ed. Ashland, Ohio: Fordham University Press, 2010.

Ramey, Joshua A. and Matthew S. H. Farris. *Speculation, Heresy, and Gnosis in Contemporary Philosophy of Religion.* Ashgate, 2015.

Ramsdell, Kristin. *Romance Fiction: A Guide to the Genre*. Englewood: Libraries Unlimited, 1999.

Ray, Benjamin C. *Satan and Salem: The Witch-Hunt Crisis of 1692.* University of Virginia Press, 2015.

Read, Sarah. *Maids, Wives, Widows.* Pen & Sword History, 2015.

———. *Menstruation and the Female Body in Early-Modern England.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Reed, Isaac. “Why Salem Made Sense: Culture, Gender, and the Puritan Persecution of Witchcraft.” *Cultural Sociology*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2007, pp. 209-234.

Reineke, Martha J. *Sacrificed Lives : Kristeva on Women and Violence.* Indiana University Press, 1997.

Reis, Elizabeth. “Confess or Deny? What’s a “Witch” to Do?” *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2003, pp. 11-15.

———. *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England.* Cornell University Press, 1999.

———. *Spellbound: Women and Witchcraft in America.* Scholarly Resources, 1998.

Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Rigney, Anne. “Plenitude, Scarcity, and the Production of Cultural Memory.” *Journal of European Studies* 35, vol. 1-2, 2005, pp. 209–26.

———. *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Rio, Martin A. del. *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri Sex, Etc.* 1606.

Rivett, Sarah. *The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England.* Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Roach, Marilynne K. *The Salem Witch Trials: A Day-by-Day Chronicle of a Community under Siege.* Taylor Trade Publishing, 2004.

Roberts, Alexander. *A Treatise of Witchcraft...* . 1616.

Robinson, Mary E.G. et al. *"The Devil Hath Been Raised": A Documentary History of the Salem Village Witchcraft Outbreak of March 1692.* Rhode Island Historical Society, 1992.

Roby, James. *Traditions of Lancashire*. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, Paternoster-Row, 1829.

Rodríguez, Maria M. G. "Romancing a Witch-hunt: The Salem Witchcraft Trials and the Rise of the US Novel." *A critical gaze from the Old World: transatlantic perspectives on American studies*. Peter Lang, 2018, pp. 17-33.

———————————. "The Salem Witchcraft Trials in the 19th Century Historical Fiction: The Literary Construction of Alternative Versions of History." *The Grove. Working Papers on English Studies*, no. 19, 2012, pp. 11-32.

____________________. *Historia e Ficción: La Representación De Los Processos De Salem (1692) En La Prosa De Ficcion Angloamericana Del Siglo XIX*. 2009. Universidad de Valadollid, PhD Thesis.

Roper, Jonathan. *Charms, Charmers and Charming: International Research on Verbal Magic.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Roper, Lyndal. *The Witch in the Western Imagination.* University of Virginia Press, 2012.

————————. *Witch Craze : Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany.* Yale University Press, 2004.

Rosen, Barabara. *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt.* Cambridge University Press, 2009.

——————————. et al. *Witchcraft in England, 1558-1618.* University of Massachusetts Press, 1991.

Rosner, Anna. "The Witch Who Is Not One: The Fragmented Body in Early Modern Demonological Tracts." *Exemplaria*, vol.21, no. 4, 2009, pp. 363-379.

Rowlands, A. *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe.* Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

————————. "Witchcraft and Old Women in Early Modern Germany." *Past & present*, no. 173, 2001, pp. 50-89.

Rublack, Ulinka. "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 52, 2002, pp. 1-16.

——————————. "Pregnancy, Childbirth and the Female Body in Early Modern Germany," Past and Present, no. 150, 1996, pp. 84-110.

Rumsey, Peter L. *Acts of God and the People, 1620-1730.* UMI Research Press, 1984.

Ryan, Kelly A. *Regulating Passion : Sexuality and Patriarchal Rule in Massachusetts, 1700-1830.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Saukko, Paula. *Doing Research in Cultural Studies: An Introduction to Classical and New Methodological Approaches*. London: SAGE, 2003.

Scarre, Geoffrey. *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Europe.* Macmillan Education, 1987.

Scot, Reginald. *The Discoverie of Witchcraft.* 1584.

Scott, Walter. and A. Lang. Editors. *Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*. Bart. A. and C. Black, 1895. vol. v. 2.

Shadwell, Thomas. *The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue O Divelly the Irish Priest. A Comedy, Etc.* London: J. J.&P. Knapton, 1736.

Shakespeare, W. *Macbeth*. London: J. Dicks, 1871.

Sharpe, James A. *Witchcraft in Early Modern England.* 2nd edition, Routledge, 2002.

———————. "Witchcraft and Women in Seventeenth-Century England: Some Northern Evidence." *Continuity and Change*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1991, pp. 179-199.

———————. *Instruments of Darkness : Witchcraft in England, 1550-1750*. London: Penguin, 1996.

Shaw, Harry. E. *The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Shepard Jr., Thomas. *Eye-salve, or A watch-word from our Lord Iesus Christ unto his churches...* . Cambridge: Samuel Green, 1673.

Silverman, Kenneth. *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather.* Harper & Row, 1984.

Slotkin, Richard. *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860.* Wesleyan University Press, 1973.

Southgate, Beverley C. *History Meets Fiction*. Harlow: Longman, 2009.

St. George, Robert B. *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture.* University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Starkey, Marion L. *The Devil in Massachussets: A modern Enquiry into the Salem Witch Trials*. New York: Anchor Books, 1989.

Stearns, Peter N. *Old Age in Preindustrial Society.* Holmes & Heier, 1982.

Stein, Rebecca L. and Philip L. Stein. *The Anthropology of Religion, Magic, and Witchcraft*. Routledge, 2017.

Stephens, Walter. *Demon Lovers : Witchcraft, Sex and the Crisis of Belief.* University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Stout, Harry S., and Catherine A. Brekus. "Declension, Gender, and the New Religious History." *Belief and Behavior: Essays in the New Religious History*, 1991, pp. 15-37.

Stratton, Kimberley B. and Dayna S. Kalleres. *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient*

World. Oxford University Press, 2014.

Tamm, Marek "Beyond History and Memory: New Perspectives in Memory Studies." *History Compass*, vol. 6, no. 11, 2013, pp. 458-73.

Thomas, Keith. "An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, II." *The Journal of interdisciplinary history*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1975, pp. 91-109.

———————. *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*. London: Penguin, 1991, 1971.

Tompkins, Jane P. *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction 1790-1860*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Trigg, Christopher. "The Devil's Book at Salem." *Early American Literature*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2014, pp. 37-65.

Trumpener, Katie. "National character, nationalist plots: National tale and historical novel in the age of Waverley, 1806-1830." ELH, vol.60, no.3, 1993, pp. 685-731.

Tryon, Thomas. *The Good House-Wife Made a Doctor...* . London: H.N. and T.S. for Randal Taylor, 1692.

Tumblety, Joan. *Memory and History: Understanding Memory as Source and Subject*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Quint, Alonzo H. "Journal of the Rev. John Pike." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Vol. 14. 1875.

Ulrich, Laurel T. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750.* Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010.

Upham, Charles W. *Lectures on Witchcraft: Comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem, in 1692.* Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1831.

——————————. and B. LeBeau. Editors. *Salem Witchcraft: With an Account of Salem Village and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects.*1867. Dover Publications. 2000

——————————. *Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather. A Reply*. H.B. Dawson, 1869.

Valetta, Frederick. *Witchcraft, Magic and Supersition in England.* Ashgate, 2000.

Vaughan, Alden T. and Francis J. Bremer. *Puritan New England: Essays on Religion, Society, and Culture.* St. Martin's Press, 1977.

Wadsworth, Sarah. *In the Company of Books: Literature and Its "Classes" in Nineteenth-Century America*. Amherst. University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.

Walby, Sylvia. *Theorizing Patriarchy.* Basil Blackwell, 1990.

Walker, Garthine. *Crime, Gender, and Social Order in Early Modern England.* Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Wallace, Diana. *The Woman's Historical Novel: British Women Writers, 1900-2000*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Watson, Augusta C. *Dorothy the Puritan. The Story of a Strange Delusion.* E.P Dutton & Company. 1893

Watson, Patricia A. *The Angelical Conjunction: The Preacher - Physicians of Colonial New England*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press , 1991.

Weisman, Richard. *Witchcraft, Magic, and Religion in 17th-Century Massachusetts.* University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.

Welsch, Wolfgang, et al. "Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today." *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation,* World, 1999, 194-213.

West, Kristina. *Reading the Salem Witch Child: The Guilt of Innocent Blood.* Springer International Publishing, 2020.

White, Hayden. "Introduction: Historical Fiction, Fictional History, and Historical Reality." *Rethinking History*, vol. 9, no. 2-3, 2005, pp. 147-57.

Whitehead, Anne. *Memory*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.

Wiesner-Hnaks, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe.* Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Wijermars, Mariële *Memory Politics in Contemporary Russia: Television, Cinema and the State*. Taylor & Francis, 2018.

Wilby, Emma. *Cunning Folk and Familiar Spirits: Shamanistic Visionary Traditions in Early Modern British Witchcraft and Magic.* Sussex Academic, 2005.

Wilcox, Clifton W. *Witch-Hunt: The Clash of Cultures*. Xlibris US, 2014.

Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society, 1780-1950*. Chatto & Windus, 1958.

Williams, Susan S. *Reclaiming Authorship: Literary Women in America, 1850-1900*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Willis, Deborah. *Malevolent Nurture: Witch-Hunting and Maternal Power in Early Modern England.* Cornell University Press, 1995.

Winthrop, John, and J.K. Hosmer, Editor. *Winthrop's Journal, History of New England, 1630-1649.* C. Scribner's sons, 1908.

Wood, Anne D. "'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote." *American Quarterly* , vol. 23, no.1, 1971, pp. 3-24.

Woodson, Thomas et al. *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, vol. 16, *The Letters, 1853–1856*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987.

Woodward, Walter. *The Magic in Colonization: Religion, Science, and the Occult in the Colonization of New England*. 2000. University of Connecticut, PhD Thesis.

Yarington, Earl F., and M. De Jong. *Popular Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Literary Marketplace*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.

Young, Francis. *English Catholics and the Supernatural, 1553-1829*. England: Ashgate, 2013.

Zboray, Ronald J. *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

———————. "Antebellum Reading and the Ironies of Technological Innovation." *American Quarterly Special Issue: Reading America*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 1988, pp. 65-82.

Zika, Charles. *Dürer and his Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.