

given was that certain changes be made in the records. Harmony could not be secured, however, and Mr. Lawson withdrew in 1688. Following him came Rev. Samuel Parris, who was ordained on Monday, Nov. 19, 1689. It is evident, therefore, that from the calling of Mr. Bayley in 1672 to the ordination of Mr. Parris in 1689 there was wanting in the parish that harmony so essential to church prosperity. That the disagreements about the settlements of the different pastors and over the parish records affected the minds of the people after the witchcraft delusion appeared among them there is little doubt. That it was the cause of the first charges being made seems hardly probable.

George Burroughs, on leaving Salem Village, returned to Casco, Maine. He remained there a long time, for he and others were there in 1690 when the settlement was raided by Indians. Burroughs then went to Wells, Maine, and preached a year, or more. There he was living in peace and quietness when the messenger from Portsmouth came to arrest him, at the demand of the Salem magistrates, in 1692. After leaving Salem Village he had married a third wife, a woman who had been previously married and had children of her own; for after Burroughs' death, when the Massachusetts colony granted compensation to his family, his children complained that this third Mrs. Burroughs took the

entire amount for herself and her children.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Burroughs was a small, black-haired, dark complexioned man, of quick passions and possessing great strength.<sup>6</sup> We shall see by the testimony to be quoted further on that most of the evidence against him consisted of marvellous tales of his great feats of strength. We are told that, "his power of muscle discovered itself early when Burroughs was a member of Cambridge college, which fact convinces us that he lifted the gun and the barrel of molasses by the power of his own well-strung muscle and not by any help of the devil."<sup>7</sup> Sullivan, in his History of Maine, says that Burroughs was a man of bad character and cruel disposition.<sup>8</sup> Fowler declared that his researches lead him to a different conclusion.<sup>7</sup> Increase Mather wrote that the testimony "proved him a very ill man,"<sup>7</sup> and confirmed the belief of the character which had been already fastened on him. Cotton Mather says in his account that "his tergiversations, contradictions and falsehoods were very sensible at his examination and on his trial." Hutchinson says of Burroughs' trial, that "he was confounded and used many twistings and turnings, which I think we cannot wonder at."<sup>9</sup>

5 Essex Court Records.

6 Putnam's Salem Witchcraft Explained, 278.

7 Calef's "More Wonders, etc." Fowler's ed., 278-290.

8 p. 209. 9 Hist. Mass., II., 39.

All these statements appear to be founded, more or less, on Cotton Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World." Unfortunately we have none of the testimony offered for the defence, if any there was. Possibly there was none. Mr. Burroughs was nearly a hundred miles distant from the places where he had lived much of his time, and far from his friends. He was among a people largely hostile, and perhaps was denied all opportunity to obtain friendly witnesses. Whatever we may say about the trials being conducted according to the English law, which did not then allow counsel to the accused, but in theory considered the judges his counsel, it is undeniable that in this case, as in many other of these witchcraft trials, the interests of the accused were not properly guarded. The whole conduct of the judges, from beginning to end, was that of prosecuting attorneys. Preconceived belief in the guilt of the accused is evidenced throughout by their acts and by their words.

The only ground of explanation, and that by no means satisfactory, and certainly not a justification, is that the court was following the advice given to Major Richards by Cotton Mather, that "whatever hath a tendency to put the witches into confusion is likely to bring them unto confession too. Here crosse & swift questions have their use." . . . "A credible confession of the guilty wretches is one of the

most hopeful ways" he says, "of coming at them, & I say a credible confession, because even confession itself sometimes is not credible.

. . . I am far from urging the un-English method of torture" to obtain confessions.<sup>10</sup>

The warrant for the arrest of George Burroughs was issued in Portsmouth, N. H., on April 30, 1692, by "Elisha Hutchinson, major," directed to Jno. Partridge, "field marshal," requiring him to "apprehend the body of Mr. George Burroughs at present preacher at Wells, in the Province of Maine and convey him with all speed to Salem, . . . he being suspected for a confederacy with the devil in oppressing of sundry about Salem, as they relate," he (Hutchinson) having received "particular order from the governor and council of their majesties colony of the Massachusetts for the same." Partridge returned that by virtue of the warrant he "had apprehended said George Burroughs and have brought him to Salem and delivered him to the authority there this fourth day of May, 1692."<sup>11</sup>

Some question has been raised about the haste with which the arrest was made. The warrant was issued on the last day of April. On May 2, Hutchinson addressed a letter to Hathorne and Corwin, saying he had "caused Burroughs to be apprehended and sent to Salem." This

<sup>10</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII., 391.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, V., 32.

letter Partridge probably took to Salem with him on that day. This would give him two days to go to Wells and return to Portsmouth, and the third and fourth in which to reach Salem. The time was ample, even in those days of slow travel. Depositions charging Burroughs with being concerned in the witchcraft business had been made as early as April 23. After formal complaint had been made and the warrant issued, it was natural that matters connected with the arrest should be expedited. Burroughs remained in jail until the 9th of May, when he was examined. Stoughton and Sewall come down to assist Hathorne and Corwin in the work. A private inquiry was instituted by the judges and the ministers of the neighboring churches. The record of that portion of the examination is as follows :

Being asked when he partook of the Lord's supper, he being (as he said) in full communion at Roxbury, he answered it was so long since he could not tell, yet he owned he was at meeting one Sabbath at Boston, part of the day, and the other at Charlestown part of a Sabbath when the sacrament happened to be at both yet did not partake of either. He denied that his house at Casco was haunted yet he owned there were toads. The above was in private none of the bewitched being present.

Then followed the examination in open court :

At his entry into the court room many (if not all of the bewitched) were grievously tortured. Susan Sheldon testified that Burroughs' two wives appeared in their winding sheets and said that man killed them. He was bid to look

upon Susan Sheldon. He looked back and knocked down all (or most of the afflicted who stood behind him.)

Mercy Lewis' deposition going to be read and he looked at her and she fell into a dreadful and tedious fit.

Mary Walcott,	Testimony going to
Elizabeth Hubbard,	be read and they
Susan Sheldon,	all fell into fits.

Being asked what he thought of these things he answered it was an amazing and humiliating providence but he understood nothing of it, and he said (some of you may observe that) when they begin to name any name they cannot name it . . . . The bewitched were so tortured that authority ordered them to be taken away some of them.

Capt. Putnam testified about the gun. Capt. Wormwood testified about the gun and the molasses.

He (Burroughs) denied that about the molasses. About the gun he said he took it before the lock and rested it upon his breast.

John Brown testified about a barrel of cider.

He denied that his family was affrighted by a white calf in his house.

I have quoted thus much of the examination, not because the testimony is important, but that the reader may understand the nature of the evidence introduced in these witchcraft trials. Burroughs was committed to prison by the magistrates, and remained there until August, when he was indicted and tried. Four indictments were found against him. One charged him with afflicting Mary Walcott, a second with afflicting Elizabeth Hubbard, the third with afflicting Mercy Lewis, and the fourth, Ann Putnam. Neal, who wrote about 1747, says



Burroughs was brought upon his trial on August 5.<sup>2</sup>

Among the more interesting depositions made during the trial of Burroughs were those of Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis, two of the afflicted. Ann testified that Burroughs appeared to her one night and told her he had had three wives and had bewitched the two first of them to death. Subsequently, she testified that Burroughs' two first wives appeared to her when Mr. Burroughs was present; that they turned their faces towards Burroughs and "looked very red and angry," and told him that he had been a very cruel man to them; that they should "be clothed with white robes in heaven when he should be cast into hell." As soon as Burroughs disappeared the two turned their faces toward Ann, "and looked as pail as a white wall," and told her they were his two first wives and that he had murdered them. "One told me," she continues, "she was his first wife and he stabbed her under the left arm and put a piece of sealing wax on the wound, and she pulled aside the winding sheet and showed me the place." The second wife told Ann, "that wife which he hath now, killed her in the vessel as she was coming to see his friends."

In reading this remarkable piece of evidence, which is given here substantially in the language of the original, it is important not to lose sight of the fact that Ann Putnam, the reputed author of it, was only twelve years of age. Are we not forced to one of two conclusions : either that the girl's story is literally true, or that it was manufactured for her by her father or some other of the older people interested in the prosecution ? Would a girl of that age be capable of "manufacturing" such a story ? To whom shall we attribute the authorship ? To Thomas Putnam ? If he manufactured this, how much more of the witchcraft testimony owes its origin to the same source ? I am not disposed to sit in judgment in this matter ; but certainly even the casual reader should not be allowed to fill his mind with these remarkable statements without having his attention called to important controlling facts.

The statement of Mercy Lewis is equally remarkable. She deposed that on the night of May 9, Burroughs carried her up on to a high mountain and showed her "all the kingdoms of the earth and told me that he would give them all to me if I would write in his book, and if I would not he would throw me down and break my neck." She told him she would not write in the book if he threw her down on "100 pitchforks."



A great portion of the testimony against Burroughs, as I have said, consisted of statements regarding his phenomenal strength. Samuel Webber, for instance, told how Mr. Burroughs put his finger into the bung of a barrel of molasses, lifted it up and carried it around him and set it down. This is the only direct testimony of great feats of strength which does not discredit itself. No doubt this is an exaggeration of the facts or a misapprehension of the circumstances. Thomas Greenslit's testimony which is given below is the only other direct evidence of phenomenal strength. Everything else is hearsay evidence. As for Greenslit, he appears to have been a man utterly devoid of character, and not to be believed. His deposition bears date September 15, which would be nearly a month after the execution of Burroughs. May it not have been procured after the execution, to offset the indignation of some of Burroughs' friends?

We may as well dispose of Greenslit at this point, by giving the substance of his deposition, although not in chronological order. He deposed that he saw Mr. Burroughs, who was lately executed,

“lift a gun of six foot barrel or thereabouts putting the forefinger of his right hand into the muzzell of said gun and that he held it out at arms end only with that finger, and further this deponent testifieth that at the same time he saw the said Burroughs take a full barrel of molasses

with but two of fingers of one of his hands and carry it from the stage head to the end of the stage."

Simon Willard testified to being in Falmouth, Me., in September, 1689, when some one was

"commending Mr. Burroughs, his strength, saying that he could hold out his gun with one hand. Mr. Burroughs being there said, I held my hand here behind the lock and took it up and held it out. I, said deponent, saw Mr. Burroughs put his hand on the gun, to show us how he held it and where he held his hand, and saying there he held his hand when he held his gun out; but I saw him not hold it out then. Said gun was about seven foot barrel and very heavy. I then tried to hold out said gun with both hands but could not do it long enough to take sight."

Willard also deposed that when he was in garrison at Saco some one in speaking of Burroughs' great strength said he could take a barrel out of a canoe and carry it and set it on the shore, and Burroughs said he had "carried a barrel of molasses or cider and that it had like to have done him a displeasure, so he intimated that he did not want strength to do it but the disadvantage of the shore was such that his foot slipping in the sand he had liked to have strained his leg." Benjamin Hutchinson testified that he met Abigail Williams one day about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, in Salem Village. Burroughs was then in Maine, a hundred miles away. She told him she then saw Burroughs. Hutchinson asked where. She answered, "there," and pointed to a rut in the road. Hutchinson threw an iron fork towards

the place where she said she saw Burroughs. Williams fell into a fit.

Coming out she said, "You have torn his coat for I heard it tear." "Whereabouts? said I." "On one side said she." Then we went to the house of Lieut. Ingersoll, and I went into a great room and Abigail came in and said, "there he stands." I said, "where? where?" and presently drew my rapier. Then Abigail said "he is gone but there is a gray cat." Then I said "whereabouts?" "There," said she, "there." Then I struck with my rapier and she fell into a fit; and when it was over she said, "you killed her."

Hutchinson said he could not see the cat, whereupon Williams informed his credulous soul that the spectre of Sarah Good had come in and carried away the dead animal.

These affairs, be it remembered, occurred in broad day-light. Deliverance Hobbs, called as a witness in the case, protested her innocence. Subsequently she was examined in prison and confessed that she was a witch. She had attended a meeting of witches where Burroughs was preacher, and "pressed them to bewitch all in the village. He administered the sacrament to them with red bread and red wine like blood.

. . . Her daughter, Abigail Hobbs, being brought in at the same time, while her mother was present, was immediately taken with a dreadful fit; and her mother being asked who it was that hurt her daughter, answered it was Goodman Corey, and she saw him and the



GALLOWS HILL, SALEM.



gentle woman of Boston striving to break her daughter's neck."

I quote at this point a deposition exactly as I find it on the files, without the change of a letter or a punctuation mark. Besides being a good illustration of the evidence relied upon to convict persons of witchcraft, it gives an insight into the intellectual condition of a portion of the people of the day :

The complaint of Samuel Sheldon against Mr. Burroughs which brought a book to mee and told mee if i would not set my hand too it hee would tear me to peesses i told him i would not then he told mee hee would Starve me to death then the next morning hee tould me hee could not starve mee to death but hee would choake mee so that my vittals should doe me but litl good then he tould mee his name was borros which had preached at the yilage the last night hee came to mee and asked mee whither i would goe to the village to morrow to witness against him i asked him if he was examined then he told mee hee was then i told him i would goe then hee told mee hee would kil me before morning then hee apeared to mee at the house of nathan-iel ingolson and told mee hee had been the death of three children at the eastward and had killed two of his wifes the first he smothered and the second he choaked and killed two of his own children.

Ann Putnam, it will be remembered, told an entirely different story about the way in which Burroughs "killed his two first wives," and she claimed to have the story directly from the apparitions of those wives.

A jury of seven appointed to search the body of Mr. Burroughs for witch marks reported that



they found nothing but what was natural. He was convicted, however, and on the 19th of August hanged on Gallows hill, Salem.

Calef says he was "carried in a cart with the others through the streets of Salem to execution. When he was upon the ladder he made a speech for the clearing of his innocence with such solemn and serious expressions as were to the admiration of all present: his prayer which he concluded by repeating the Lord's prayer so well worded and uttered with such composedness and such (at least seeming) fervency of spirit, as was very affecting, and drew tears from many, so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution. The accusers said the black man stood and dictated to him.<sup>14</sup> As soon as he was turned off, Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a horse, addressed himself to the people, partly to declare that he (Burroughs) was no ordained minister, and partly to possess the people of his guilt saying that the devil has often been transformed into an angel of light; and this somewhat appeased the people and the execution went on. When he was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a hole, or grave, between the rocks, about two feet deep, his shirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trowsers of one executed put on his lower parts. He was so put in together with Willard and Carrier that one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one of them, were left uncovered."<sup>15</sup>

Judge Sewall wrote under date of August 19 :

"This day George Burroughs, John Willard, John Procter, Martha Carrier and George Jacobs were executed at

<sup>14</sup> A person guilty of witchcraft was supposed to be incapable of repeating the Lord's prayer correctly, although this was only incidental and corroborative testimony and was never considered as in any sense conclusive. It is not certain that the repetition was always demanded by the magistrates or judges. It does appear however that the accused often voluntarily repeated the prayer as Burroughs did on this occasion.

<sup>15</sup> Fowler's Ed., 254.

Salem, a very great number of spectators being present, Mr. Cotton Mather was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes, Cheever &c. All of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all. Mr. Mather says they all died by a Righteous Sentence. Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, presentation of his Innocence did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed."<sup>16</sup>

Thus ended the life of the most important personage executed during this period and one of the most noted of witchcraft victims in the history of the world. Whatever opinions we may entertain with regard to the general subject of witchcraft, or of the mistakes of the courts in these cases, only one opinion seems possible concerning the treatment of the accused before and after trial. They were treated with the grossest brutality, from the beginning to the end, from the most aged and infirm to the youngest and most innocent.

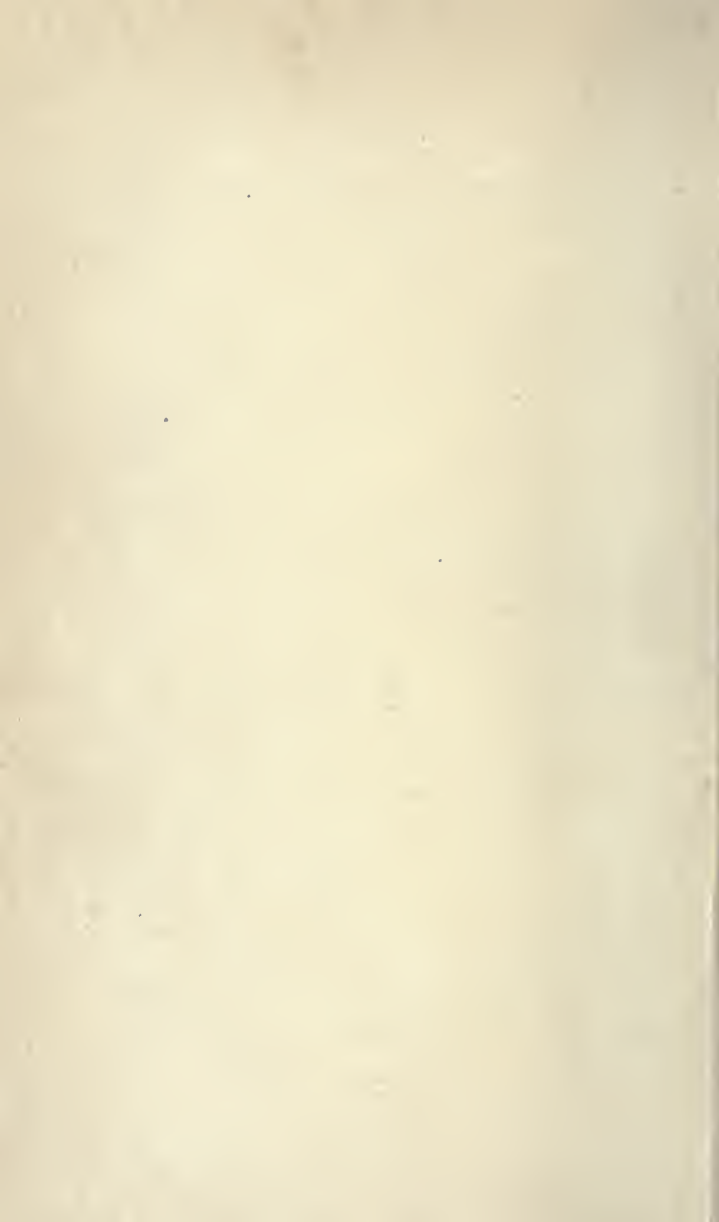
## CHAPTER VIII.

### *BRIDGET BISHOP AND THE JACOBS FAMILY.*

**B**RIDGET Bishop was arrested April 19, 1692, on a warrant issued the day before. Her examination took place on the day of arrest, and she was committed to jail. Bridget was the second wife of Edward Bishop, "sawyer." Bishop was her third husband. Her first was one Wasselebee, and her second, Thomas Oliver. Bishop himself married again nine months after Bridget was hanged. The Bishops at the time of Bridget's arrest were living near the line between Salem Village and Beverly, on the road which now leads from North Beverly to Danversport, and nearly opposite the Cherry hill farm. Goodwife Bishop kept some sort of a public house for the entertainment of travelers. From the documents on file it appears that she sold cider, if nothing stronger, and that her guests sat up late at night playing at shovel-board, drinking and making so much noise that the neighbors complained of the place. Bishop and his first wife Hannah, were before the court



LYCEUM HALL, SITE OF BRIDGET BISHOP'S SALEM HOME.



in 1653 and fined, he for "pilfering of apples" and lying, and she for stealing Indian corn and lying.<sup>1</sup> Bishop was also fined for contempt of court in not obeying a summons in January, 1692. Bridget Bishop was arrested on a charge of witchcraft in 1680, tried and discharged. It is evident, therefore, that neither of them stood before the community in the best possible light. Any new charge to the discredit of either was quite likely to be believed.

Samuel Gray, who preferred the charge of witchcraft against this woman in 1680, testified long after, on his death bed, his sorrow and repentance for such accusations as being wholly groundless.<sup>2</sup> The court reporter on the occasion of Bridget Bishop's examination before the magistrates in 1692 left this record :

As soon as she came near all fell into fits.

Mary Walcott said that her brother Jonathan stroke her appearance and she saw that he had tore her coat in striking and she heard it tear. Upon some search in the court a rent that seems to answer what was alleged was found.

They say you bewitched your first husband to death.—If it please your worship, I know nothing of it.

She shake her head and the afflicted were tortured.

The like again upon motion of her head.

The court sought to make her confess by leading questions repeated in various forms, but was unable to shake her firm denial of every charge.

<sup>1</sup> Essex County Court at Ipswich, 1653, Nos. 42-43.

<sup>2</sup> Calef, Fowler's ed., 247.



The report continues :

Then she turned up her eyes and the eyes of the afflicted were turned up.

It may be you do not know that any have confessed to-day who have been examined before you that they are witches.—No, I know nothing of it. John Hutchinson and John Lewis in open court affirmed that they had told her.

Why, look you, you are taken now in a flat lie.—I did not hear them.

The remainder of the report is so nearly like that in other cases that its use here would be mere repetition. The prisoner was sent to jail. The new court of Oyer and Terminer, which had been constituted by Gov. Phips on May 27, sat in Salem, June 2, for the trial of Bridget Bishop, Rebecca Nurse and others. She was, therefore, one of the first persons tried by the new court, and one of the first of the alleged witches of Salem and Salem Village to be tried in 1692. The evidence against her at this trial has come down to us with a considerable degree of fulness. There were five indictments. They charged the prisoner in the usual form with witchcraft in, upon and against Mercy Lewis, Abigail Williams, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard and Ann Putnam, respectively. In addition to the customary testimony of the afflicted that the shape of the accused did often pinch, bite, choke and otherwise hurt them, and had urged them to write their names in a book, which the apparition called "our book," they

manifested the usual evidences of torture in the court room. Among the interesting testimony in the case was that of William Stacey, who deposed that he had the small pox some thirteen years before, and Bridget Bishop professed great love for him in his affliction. Some time after he did some work for her, for which she paid him three pence. He put the money in his pocket; but had not gone above three or four rods when he looked in his pocket but could not find any money. One day he met Bishop going to mill; she asked him whether his father would grind her grist. He wished to know why she asked. She answered, because folks counted her a witch.

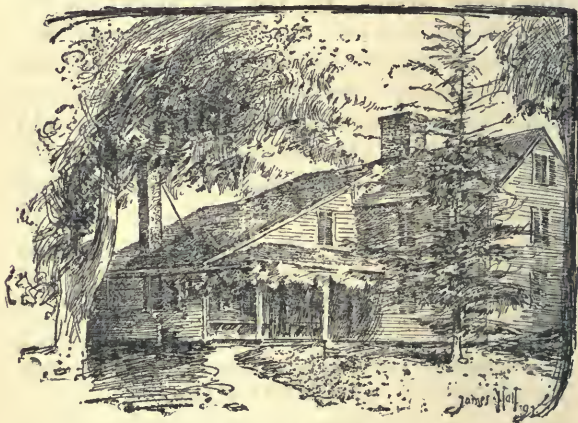
“Deponent made answer he did not doubt his father would grind it, but being gone about six rods from her with a small load in his cart, suddenly the off wheel plumped or sunk down into a hole upon plain ground, that this deponent was forced to get one to help him get the wheel out. Afterwards he went back to look for said hole where his wheel sunk in, but could not find any hole.”

One winter about midnight he felt something cold pressing on his teeth between his lips. He saw “Bishop sitting on the foot of the bed.” She “hopt upon the bed and about the room.” Some time after, Stacey,

“In a dark night, was going to the barn, who was suddenly taken or hoisted from the ground, threw against a stone wall, after that taken up again and throwed down a bank at the end of the house. Some time after this deponent met the said Bridget Bishop by Isaac Stone’s brick

kill ; after he had passed by this deponent's horse stood still with a small load going up hill, so that the horse trying to draw, all his gears flew in pieces and the cart fell down."

Rev. John Hale of Beverly, testified that the wife of John Trask desired of him that Bishop be not permitted to receive the Lord's Supper till she had given satisfaction for some offences



TRASK HOUSE, NORTH BEVERLY.

that were against her because she " did entertain certain people in her house at unseasonable hours in the night to keep drinking and playing at shovel-board whereby discord did arise in the other families and young people were in danger to be corrupted." He greatly feared that " if a stop had not been put to those disorders Edward

Bishop's house would have been a house of great prophainness and iniquity." The next news he heard of Christian Trask was that she was "distracted," and her husband said she was so taken the night after she complained of Goody Bishop. He continued his testimony at length, stating that the "distractions returned from time to time until Mrs. Trask died. As to the wounds that she died of I did observe three deadly ones, a piece of her windpipe cut out, another wound above it through the wind pipe and gullets the veins they call juglar, so that I then judged and still do apprehend it impossible for her with so short a pair of scissors to mangle herself so without some extraordinary work of the devil or witchcraft." Is there any reason to doubt, after reading this testimony, that Christian Trask was insane, and so committed suicide?

Two witnesses testified that on taking down the cellar wall in the old Bishop house where Bridget lived in 1685, they found in holes in the wall several poppits made up of rags and hog's brussels with headless pins in them with the points out. Poppits were believed to represent the person whom the witch desired to afflict, and by sticking pins into those images the mischief was supposed to be mysteriously and safely accomplished. Whatever was done to the images

was, so the belief ran, done to the person whom they represented.<sup>3</sup>

Samuel Shattuck testified that Bridget Bishop came to his house to buy a hogshead which he asked very little for, and she went away without it. Sundry other times she came in a smooth flattering manner he had thought since to make mischief. At or very near this time his eldest child which had promised much health and understanding was "taken in a drooping condition and as she came often to the house it grew worse and worse. As he would be standing at the door would fall out and bruise his face upon a great step-stone as if he had been thrust out by an invisible hand." Sometimes the child would go out in the garden and get on a board and when they would call it it would walk to the end of the board and hold out its hands as if it could come no further and they had to lift it off. Again, Bishop brought him a pair of sleeves to dye. He dyed them and she paid him two pence. He gave the money to Henry Williams, and Williams told him he put it in a purse among some other money and put the purse in a box and locked the box. He never after found the money or purse in the box. "It had gone out." John Lander testified that Bishop came into his room one night and sat on his stomach. He put

<sup>3</sup> Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., II., 143.



out his hands and she grabbed him by the throat and choked him. One Sunday while he remained at home :

“ The door being shut I did see a black pig in the room coming towards me, so I went towards it to kick it and it vanished away. Immediately after I sat down in a narrow bar and did see a black thing jump into the window and came and stood just before my face upon the bar, and the body of it looked like a munkey and I being greatly affrighted, not being able to speak or help myself by reason of fear I suppose, so the thing spake to me and said, I am a messenger sent to you for I understand you are troubled in mind, and if you will be ruled by me you shall want for nothing in this world, upon which I endeavored to clap my hands upon it, and said you devil I will kill you, but could feel no substance and it jumped out of the window again, and immediately came in by the porch although the doors were shut, and said you had better take my council, where-upon I strooke at it with a stick but struck the ground-sill. Then his arm was disennabled, and opening the door and going out he saw Bishop in her orchard going towards her house, and seeing her had no power to set one foot before the other.”

Another piece of testimony against Bridget Bishop was that of John Bly and wife. They had a dispute with the Bishops about a hog. They testified that the hog was taken with “ strange fits, jumping up and knocking her head against the fence, and seemed blind and deaf, and would not eat, neither let her pigs suck but foamed at the mouth.” They gave it red ochre and milk which made it better but soon “ it did set off jumping and running as if she was stark mad, and, after that was well



again, and we did then apprehend or judge and do still, that said Bishop had bewitched said sow." John Cook told the court that five or six years previously he was assaulted with the shape of the prisoner in his chamber, and so terrified that an apple that he had in his hand flew strangely from him into his mother's lap six or eight feet distant.

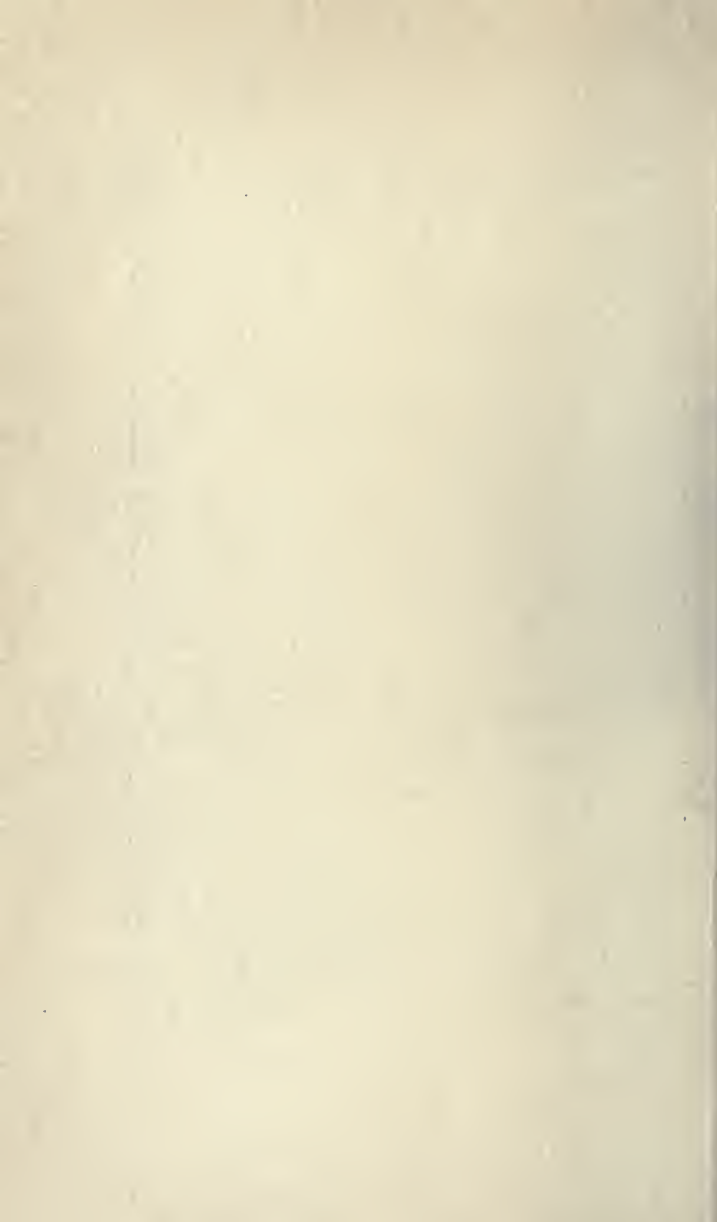
The trial occupied most of the week. Bridget was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. She was executed on Friday, June 10, being the only person hanged on that day, and hence the first victim of the great witchcraft delusion of 1692. Calef says, "she made not the least confession of anything relating to witchcraft."<sup>4</sup> Of her execution we have no details, but the court records contain the original warrant for her execution and the sheriff's return thereon. As this is the only death warrant which has been preserved in these cases it is quoted here in full :

To George Corwin gent<sup>m</sup> High Sheriff of the county of Essex greeting :

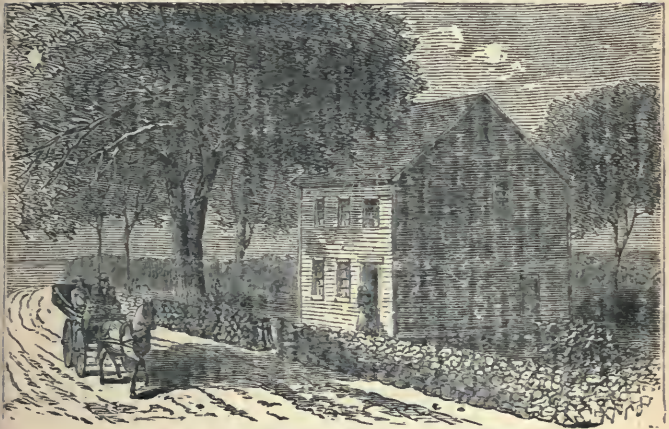
Whereas Bridget Bishop, als Oliver, the wife of Edward Bishop of Salem in the county of Essex, sawyer, at a speciall court of Oyer and Terminer held at Salem the second day of this instant month of June for the countyes of Essex, Middlesex and Suffolk before William Stoughton Esq. and his associate justices of the said court was indicted and arraigned upon five several indictments for using, practicing and exercising on the nynteenth day of April last past and divers other days and times before and after



THE SHATTUCK HOUSE, SALEM.



certain acts of witchcraft on and upon the bodyes of Abigail Williams Ann Putnam junr. Mercy Lewis May Walcott and Elizabeth Hubbard of Salem Village single women whereby their bodyes were hurt afflicted pined consumed wasted and tormented contrary to the forme of the statute in that case made and provided. To which indictment the said Bridget Bishop pleaded not guilty and for tryal thereof put herself upon God and her country whereupon she was found guilty of the felonies and witchcraft whereof she



BRIDGET BISHOP HOUSE, NORTH BEVERLY.

stood indicted and sentence of death accordingly passed agt her as the law directs. Execution whereof yet remains to be done. These are therefore in the name of their maj(es)-ties William and Mary now King and Queen over England &c to will and command you that upon Fryday next being the tenth dy of this instant month of June between the hours of eight and twelve in the aforenoon of the same day you safely conduct the sd Bridget Bishop als Oliver from their majties goal in Salem aforesd to the place of execu-

tion and there cause her to be hanged by the neck until she be dead, and of your doings herein make return to the clerke of the sd court and pr cept. and hereof you are not to faile at your peril and this shall be your sufficient warrant given under my hand and seal at Boston the eighth dy of June in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovirgne Lord & Lady William & Mary now King and Queen over England &c annogr dom 1692

William Stoughton

According to the within written precept I have taken the body of the within name<sup>d</sup> Brigett Bishop out of their majesties goal in Salem and safely conveyed her to the place provided for her execution and caused ye sd Brigett to be hanged by the neck untill she was dead [and buried in the place] all which was according to the time within required and so I make returne by me.

George Corwin Sheriff.

The words in brackets in the sheriff's return were written in the original and then partially erased. They are important, however, as indicating the disposition of Bishop's body. No doubt other bodies were disposed of in the same manner. Corwin probably erased the words after writing them because the matter of burial was not mentioned in the warrant.

The history of the Jacobs family in connection with the witchcraft prosecutions is peculiarly interesting. George Jacobs, Sen., George Jacobs, Jun., and his wife Rebecca and daughter Margaret, were all accused. The old man must have been seventy years of age or more, for he had long, flowing white hair. He lived on a farm in what was then known as Northfields,

and in Salem rather than Salem Village, but on territory now included in the town of Danvers. The exact site was near the mouth of Endicott or Cow House river, the first of the three rivers one crosses in driving from Salem to Danvers. Jacobs was evidently a man of some property, and probably a good average citizen; but, like most of the others who fell under suspicion of witchcraft, and for that matter, many of their neighbors, he had had a little trouble which had brought him into court. The records show that in 1677 he was fined for striking a man. His son, George, jun., three years earlier, was sued by Nathaniel Putnam to recover the value of some horses that he had chased into the river where they were drowned. The court found against Jacobs.<sup>5</sup> On the 10th day of May, 1692, Hathorne and Corwin issued a warrant "to the constable of Salem" directing him to apprehend George Jacobs, sen., of Salem, and Margaret Jacobs, daughter of George Jacobs, jun., of Salem, single woman. On the same day, Joseph Neal, "constable for Salem," returned that he had apprehended the bodies of George Jacobs, sen., and Margaret Jacobs. They

<sup>5</sup> George Jacobs, jun., being complained of for driving of horses into the river and threatening to drown them and some horses lost and one found dead in the river shortly afterwards the court . . . . found the said Jacobs blamable and that they do adjudge him to pay the charge arising upon the hearing of the case, the costs is 20s. County Court, Salem, I, No. 11.



were taken to Salem that day, and the examination of the old man was begun at once. After some preliminary questions and the usual "sufferings" of the afflicted, the report continues, Jacobs saying:



BEADLE TAVERN, SALEM.

I am as innocent as the child born to-night. I have lived 33 years here in Salem.

What then?—If you can prove that I am guilty I will lye under it.

Sarah Churchill said, last night I was afflicted at Deacon Ingersoll's, and Mary Walcott said, it was "a man with 2 staves. It was my master.

Pray do not accuse me. I am as clear as your worships  
You must do right judgements.

What book did he bring you, Sarah?—The same book  
that the other woman brought.

The devil can go in any shape.

Did he not appear on the other side of the river and hurt  
you? Did not you see him?—Yes, he did.

Look there, she accuseth you to your face, she chargeth  
you that you hurt her twice. Is it not true?—What would  
you have me say? I never wronged no man in word nor  
deed.

Here are 3 evidences.—You tax me for a wizzard. You  
may as well tax me for a buzzard. I have done no harm.

Is it not harm to afflict these?—I never did it.

But how comes it to be in your appearance?—The devil  
can take any license.

Not without their consent.—Please your worships, it is  
untrue, I never showed the book. I am silly about these  
things as the child born last night.

That is your saying. You argue you have lived so long,  
but what then, Cain might (have) live so long before he  
killed Abel and you might live long before the devil had so  
prevailed on you.—Christ hath suffered 3 times for me.

What three times?—He suffered the cross and gal . . .

You had as good confess (said Sarah Churchill) if you are  
guilty.

Have you heard that I have any witchcraft?

I know that you lead a wicked life.

Let her make it out.

Doth he ever pray in his family?

Not unless by himself.

Why do you not pray in your family?—I cannot read.

Well you may pray for all that. Can you say the Lord's  
prayer? Let us hear you.

He might [miss] in several parts of it & could not re-  
peat it right after many trials.

Sarah Churchill, when you wrote in the book you was  
showed your master's name you said —Yes sirr.

\* \* \* \* \*

Well, burn me or hang me I will stand in the truth of Christ. I know nothing of it.

This examination, begun on the 10th, was suspended for some reason before completion, and finished on the 11th. On that day the accusing girls were present in full force. Among them was Sarah Churchill, who gave very positive evidence against the prisoner. Subsequently, Sarah Ingersoll deposed.—

That seeing Sarah Churchill after her examination, she came to me crying, and wringing her hands, seemingly much troubled in spirit. I asked her what ailed her. She answered she had undone herself. I asked in what. She said in belying herself and others in saying she had set her hand to the devil's book whereas she said I never did. I told her I believed she had set her hand to the book. She answered and said, no, no, no. I never did. I asked her then what made her say she did. She answered because they threatened her, and told her they would put her into the dungeon and put her along with Mr. Burroughs, and thus several times she followed me up and down telling me she had undone herself, in belying herself and others. I asked her why she did not deny she wrote it. She told me because she had stood out so long in it, that now she durst not. She said, also, that if she told Mr. Noyes but once she had set her hand to the book, he would believe her, but if she told the truth, and said she had not set her hand to the book a hundred times he would not believe her.

George Herrick testified that in May he went to the jail and searched the body of Jacobs. He found a tetter under the right shoulder a quarter of an inch long. He ran a pin through it but "there was neither water, blood nor corruption, nor any other matter, and so we make return."

The following document is also among the papers :—

wee whose names are under written having received an order from ye sreife to search ye bodyes of George Burroughs and George Jacobs wee find nothing upon ye body of ye above sayd Burroughs but wt is naturall but upon ye body of George Jacobs wee find 3 tetts wch according to ye best of our judgements wee think is not naturall for wee run a pinn through 2 of ym and he was not sincible of it one of them being within his mouth upon ye inside of his right cheak and 2d upon his right shoulder blade and a 3d upon his right hipp.

Ed Welch sworne

Will Gill sworne

Zeb Gill jurat

John Flint jurat

Tom West sworne

Sam Morgan sworne

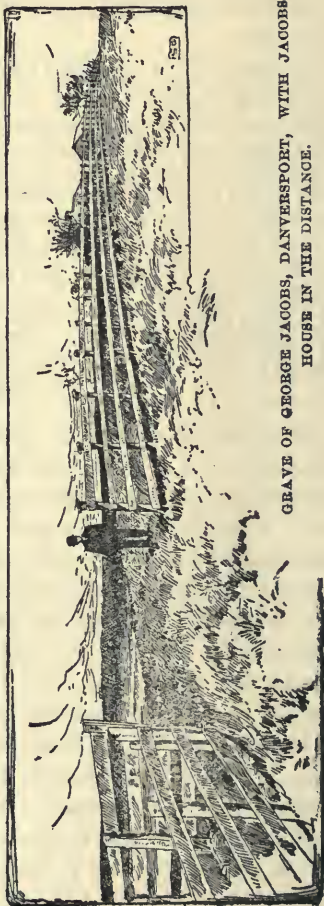
John Bare jurat.

The jury found Jacobs guilty, and he was sentenced to the gallows, and executed on August 19.<sup>6</sup> After his condemnation the sheriff's officers went to his house and seized all his goods, and even took his wife's wedding ring. It was with great difficulty that she obtained it again. She was under the necessity of buying provisions of the sheriff, such as he had taken from her. These not being sufficient to sustain life, the neighbors supplied her with more.

In the mean time warrants were issued on May 14, for George Jacobs, jun., and his wife Rebecca. Jacobs escaped. When the constables took Rebecca she had four young children in her home. Some of them followed her on the road, but being too young to continue far they were

left behind, and cared for by the neighbors. Rebecca Jacobs was kept in irons eight months, then indicted and brought

6 Jacobs was buried on his farm in Danversport, where his grave may be seen at this day. The remains were exhumed about 1864, examined and redeposited in the earth where they had lain for nearly two centuries. The skull was found to be fairly well preserved. The jaw bones were those of an old man, the teeth being all gone. A metallic pin was the only article found save the bones. Family tradition has it that Jacobs was hanged on a tree on his own farm. Mr. C. M. Endicott says his grandmother, a direct descendant, told him that the body after execution in Salem was brought home for burial by his son, who witnessed the hanging. Others say it was a grandson. Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., I., 53 Calef, Fowler's Ed., 258



GRAVE OF GEORGE JACOBS, DANVERSPORT, WITH JACOBS' HOUSE IN THE DISTANCE.



to trial on January 3, 1693. She was promptly acquitted. In the mean time touching petitions had been presented to the chief justice by the mother, and to Gov. Phips, praying for her release. They were of no avail. The woman was kept in a dungeon, half fed, and uncared for beyond what was necessary to sustain life, through the long winter months. Her treatment was in keeping with that of other victims. In cruelty and barbarity it must be frankly said that it finds parallel only in the acts of the savages of the forests. Whether the officials were actuated by honest motives in the prosecutions, may be a fair question, but there is no question that the treatment of prisoners was malignant and full of the spirit of persecution.

Margaret Jacobs, to save herself from punishment acknowledged that she was a witch and testified against her grandfather, and also against Mr. Burroughs. On August 2, 1692, the day after Mr. Burroughs and George Jacobs, sen., were executed, she addressed a letter to her father as follows:—

Honored father,—After my humble duty remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good health, as blessed be God I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being close confined here in a loathsome dungeon, the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how soon I shall be put to death, by means of the afflicted persons. My grandfather having suffered already and all his estate seized for the king. The reason of my confinement is this, I having, through the magistrates' threatenings, and my own vile



and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my own conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own soul, the Lord pardon me for it. But O, the terrors of a wounded conscience, who can bear? But blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my sins, but in mercy, I hope, to my soul, would not suffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, but 'tis their pleasure to put me here, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in Heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her kind love to you, and to uncle, viz. d—A—, so leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I rest your dutiful daughter.

Margaret Jacobs.

From the dungeon  
in Salem prison,  
Aug. 20, 1692.

At the next session of the court Margaret made another confession in which she said,

“The Lord above knows I know nothing in the least measure, how or who afflicted them, they told me without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me, they told me if I would not confess I should be put down into the dungeon and would be hanged, but if I would confess I should have my life. The which did so affright me with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life made me make the like confession I did, which confession, may it please the honored court is altogether false and untrue. . . . Whatever I said was altogether false against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty, but the Lord, charging it to my conscience made me in so much horror that I could not contain myself before I had denied the confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death with a quiet conscience than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession I was committed to close prison.”



JACOBS HOUSE, DANVERSPORT.



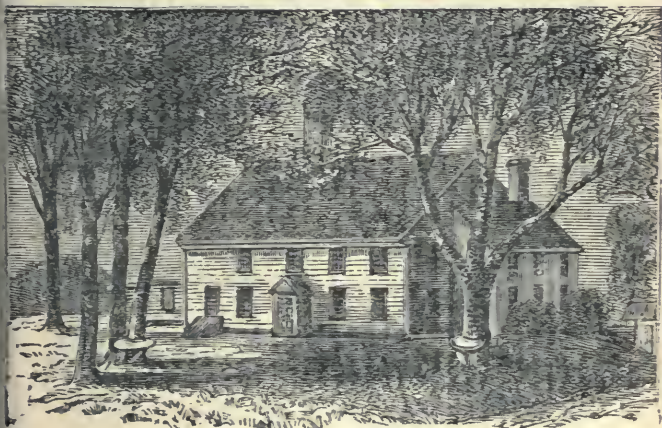
She asked the court to take pity and compassion on her young and tender years, she having no friend but the Lord to plead her cause. At the time set for her trial she was troubled with a disorder in her head, and thus escaped. The evidence which she gives as to the pressure brought to bear to make her confess herself a witch corroborates what was said by many others, and raises the question in our minds whether all the so-called confessions were extorted by similar promises of mercy on the one hand, and threats of punishment on the other. Margaret remained in prison some time after the proclamation of freedom was issued by the governor, because she could not pay the fees and charges of the jailer.

## CHAPTER IX.

### *THE PROCTERS, WILLARD, CARRIER AND HOW.*

**T**HE story of the trial of John Procter and his wife Elizabeth is full of interest. The Procters lived originally in Ipswich, but subsequently in Salem Village, at the point now known as Procter's Crossing in Peabody. The house stood near the southerly end of Pleasant hill. Procter was a respectable and well-to-do farmer. He came into conflict on one or two occasions with Giles Corey, but this does not seem to have had anything to do with the subsequent proceedings on the charge of witchcraft against him or his wife, although the same efforts have been made in this case as in many others to attribute the prosecution to personal animosities. Procter, in 1678, was a referee in a case between Corey and John Gloyd. The decision of Procter, and the other arbitrators was against Corey, but that did not appear to create any ill-feelings between the two, and they are said to have drunk together after the

decision had been announced.<sup>1</sup> A short time after this Procter's house caught fire and some one was unkind enough to suggest that Corey set the fire, as already mentioned in an earlier chapter. As there stated, he was acquitted, when brought to trial.



PROCTER HOUSE, PEABODY.

Complaint was made against Elizabeth Procter on April 4, by Capt. Jonathan Walcott and Lieut. Nathaniel Ingersoll, for afflicting Abigail Williams, John Indian, Mary Walcott, Ann Putnam and Mercy Lewis. She was arrested on the 11th, and taken to Salem for examination, together with Sarah Cloyes, sister of Rebecca

<sup>1</sup> Essex Court Records.



Nurse. Danforth, deputy governor, Samuel Appleton, Samuel Sewall and Isaac Addington sat with Hathorne and Corwin on this occasion. Procter himself, like a good husband, followed his wife to court, but at the cost of his life. The girls of the accusing circle cried out against him and he was then and there arrested. During the examination of Goodwife Procter, this scene occurred :

Elizabeth Procter, you understand whereof you are charged, viz., to be guilty of sundry acts of witchcraft. What say you to it? Speak the truth, and so you that are afflicted, you must speak the truth as you will answer for it before God another day. Mary Walcott, doth this woman hurt you?—I never saw her so as to be hurt by her.

Mercy Lewis, does she hurt you?—(Her mouth was stopped.)

Ann Putnam, does she hurt you?—(She could not speak.)

Abigail Williams, does she hurt you?—(Her hand was thrust in her own mouth.)

John Indian, does she hurt you?—This is the woman that came in her shift and choked me.

Did she ever bring the book?—Yes, sir.

What to do?—To write.

What, this woman?—Yes, sir.

Are you sure of it?—Yes, sir.

Again Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam were spoke to by the court, but neither of them could make any answer, by reason of dumbness, or other fits.

What do you say, Goody Procter, to these things?—I take God in Heaven to be my witness, that I know nothing of it, no more than the child unborn.

Ann Putnam, doth this woman hurt you?—Yes, sir, a great many times. (Then the accused looked upon them and they fell into fits).

\* \* \* \* \*

Did not you, said Abigail, tell me that your maid had written?—Dear child it is not so. There is another judgement, dear child.

Then Abigail and Ann had fits. By and by they cried out, "Look you, there is Goody Procter on the beam." Shortly both of them cried out of Goodman Procter himself, and said he was a wizzard. Immediately many, if not all, the bewitched, had grievous fits.

Ann Putnam, who hurt you?—Goodman Procter and his wife.

Afterwards, some of the afflicted cried, there is Procter going to take up Mrs. Pope's feet, and her feet were immediately taken up.

What do you say, Goodman Procter, to these things?—I know not, I am innocent.

\* \* \* \* \*

During the examination of Elizabeth Procter, Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam both made offer to strike at said Procter but when Abigail's hand came near it opened—(whereas it was made up into a fist before) and came down exceeding lightly, as it drew near to said Procter and at length, with open and extended fingers, touched Procter's hood very lightly. Immediately, Abigail cried out, her fingers, her fingers, her fingers were burned.

The following document which was filed in the case of Procter and his wife and Sarah Cloyes, was the form used in all other cases. It is quoted here more for the light it throws on the methods of procedure in those days than for its importance in this or any other one case :

Salem, April 11th, 1692. Mr. Samuel Parris was desired by the Honorable Mr. Danforth, deputy governor, and the council, to take in writing the aforesaid examinations, and accordingly took and delivered them in, and upon hearing the same, and seeing what was then seen, together with the

charge of the afflicted persons, were by the advice of the council all committed by us.

John Hathorne Ass't's.  
Jonathan Corwin.

Procter and his wife were brought to trial about August 5. I find three indictments against him on the files. One charges that he afflicted Mary Walcott on April 11; a second that he afflicted Mercy Lewis on the same day, and the third that he afflicted Mary Warren on March 26. Two indictments against Elizabeth Procter are on file. One charges that she afflicted Mary Walcott, the other that she afflicted Mercy Lewis, the date of the offence alleged in each case being April 11. The testimony offered at these trials differed very little from that used to convict in other cases, and the witnesses were substantially the same. One or two of the depositions are of rather more than ordinary interest, perhaps. Among them, I find this somewhat remarkable production :

Elizabeth Booth testified that on ye 8th of June hugh joanes Apered unto me & told me that Elesebeth Prockter kiled him because he had a poght of sider of her which he had not paid her for. On June 8th Elesebeth Shaw Apered unto me & told me yt Elesebeth Procter & John Willard kiled Her Because she did not use those doctors she Advised her to. . . Ye wife of John Fuller Apered unto me and told me that Elesebeth Procter kiled her because she would not give her Aples when she sent for sum.

. . . The apparition of Law Shapling and Doc Zerubabel Endicott appeared and said Elizabeth Procter killed them, and the apparition of Robert Stone, sen., told him that John Procter and his wife killed him, and at the same

time Robert Stone, jr., appeared and said Procter and his wife killed him because he took his father's part.

John Bailey deposed that,

“ On the 25th of May last myself and wife being bound to Boston on the road, when I came in sight of the house where John Procter did live there was a very hard blow struck on my breast, which caused great pain in my stomach and amazement in my head, but did see no person near me only my wife on my horse behind me on the same horse; and when I came against said Procter's house, according to my understanding, I did see John Procter and his wife at said house. Procter himself looked out of the window, and his wife did stand just without the door. I told my wife of it; and she did look that way and see nothing but a little maid at the door. Afterwards, about a mile from the aforesaid house, I was taken speechless for some short time. My wife did ask me several questions, and desired me if I could not speak I should hold up my hand; which I did and immediately I could speak as well as ever. And when we came to the way where Salem road cometh into Ipswich road, there I received another blow on my breast, which caused me so much pain I could not sit on my horse. And when I did alight off my horse, to my understanding, I saw a woman coming towards us about 16 or 20 pole from us, but did not know who it was. My wife could not see her. When I did get up on my horse again, to my understanding, there stood a cow where I saw the woman.”

As matter of fact, Procter and his wife were at this time, in jail in Boston, and had been there since April 11. Bailey was undoubtedly frightened at the stories he had heard the previous evening in Salem Village, where he must have passed the night on his way from his home in Newbury to Boston. His wife, who perhaps had

not heard the stories about Procter and other "witches," was not agitated and could plainly see that there was only a maid standing at the door. As for Bailey's other troubles that morning, we may believe as much or as little as we please of the story he told. We know now that there was not a particle of reality in it. It may have been deliberate falsehood, or it may have been the effect of a too fervid imagination. Of Procter's family, Benjamin, the oldest, was in prison with his parents; and his sister Sarah, aged sixteen, William, aged eighteen, Samuel, aged seven, Abigail between three and four, and one still younger, were about home. William was sent to prison three days later, so it must have been the "little maid," Abigail, whom Bailey saw standing in the door way.

Daniel Elliott testified that he heard one of the accusing girls say that she cried out against Goodman Procter for sport. "The girls must have some sport," she is said to have added.<sup>2</sup>

Procter and his wife were convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. Every effort possible was made to save him from suffering the penalty. John Wise and thirty-one old neighbors in Ipswich signed a petition in his behalf to the court of assistants. They said:

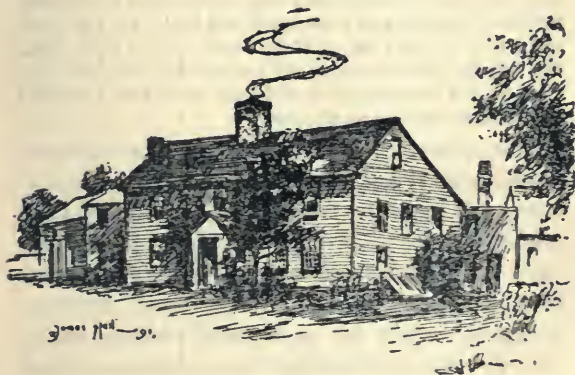
"We reckon it within the duties of our charity, that teaches us to do as we would be done by, to offer thus much

<sup>2</sup>Putnam's Salem Witchcraft Explained, 449.



for the clearing of our neighbors' innocency, viz., that we never had the least knowledge of such a nefandus wickedness in our neighbors since they have been within our acquaintance. . . . As to what we have ever seen or heard of them, upon our conscience we judge them innocent of the crime objected."

Nathaniel Felton and twenty of their nearer



NATHANIEL FELTON, JR. HOUSE.

Salem Village neighbors signed a similar petition, saying :

"We whose names are underwritten, having several years known John Procter and his wife do testify that we never heard or understood that they were ever suspected to be guilty of the crime now charged upon them, and several of us, being their near neighbors, do testify, that to our apprehension, they lived christian like in their family, and were ever ready to help such as stood in need of their help."

Procter wrote a letter to Rev. Messrs. Increase



Mather, Allen, Moody, Willard and Bailey, which was signed by himself and several of his fellow prisoners, in which he said :

“Here are five persons who have lately confessed themselves to be witches, and do accuse some of us of being along with them at a sacrament, since we were committed into close prison, which we know to be lies. two of the five are (Carrier’s children) young men, who would not confess anything till they tied them neck and heels, till the blood was ready to come out of their noses. My son William Procter, because he would not confess that he was guilty when he was innocent, they tied him neck and heels till the blood gushed out at his nose.”

This letter was written after the preliminary examinations, and while the prisoners were lying in jail awaiting trial. They asked that they might be tried in Boston, and if not, that they have other magistrates,—requests which show in the strongest manner that the trials were notoriously unfair, for no accused persons would take the risk of offending the magistrates before whom they might be tried unless the emergency was a most extraordinary one, because failure to attain the object sought was sure to be prejudicial to their cause. They also begged that some of the ministers be present at the trials, “hoping thereby you may be the means of saving the shedding of our innocent blood.” No attention was paid to this appeal for fairness in trial, nor to the appeals for life subsequent to Procter’s conviction and sentence. He was executed on August 19. His body, it is believed by his de-

scendants, was recovered afterwards and buried on his farm, where it has since reposed.

Elizabeth Procter escaped by pleading pregnancy. Some months after the death of her husband she gave birth to a child.<sup>3</sup> Her home had been desolated. Not only had her husband been hanged, three of her children imprisoned, and she herself brought within the very shadow of the gallows, but the officers of the law had stripped that home of all its worldly possessions. Her execution was again ordered early in 1693, but Gov. Phips granted a reprieve. Many of her relatives in Lynn were accused and some brought to trial. All in all, the severe treatment of this family has led to the charge of special persecution. The reason for this, it is believed, was Procter's intense opposition to the witchcraft prosecutions from the very beginning, and particularly when he said he could "whip the devil out of them."<sup>4</sup> Possibly if he could have applied his remedy to the accusing girls, in the beginning, we should never have had any "Salem Village Witchcraft."

John Willard of Salem Farms was employed

<sup>3</sup> Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England gives the date Jan. 27, 1692-3; but the correctness of this is questioned.

<sup>4</sup> "Lieut. Ingersoll declared yt John Procter tould Joseph Pope yt if he hade John Indian in his custody he would soon beat ye devill out of him, and so.said severall others." Court Records, Salem.

during the earlier days of the witchcraft prosecutions to assist in bringing in persons accused. Accusations were finally made against Willard himself. It has been stated that he was charged because he had expressed sympathy with the accused and doubts of the justice of the proceedings. One remark quoted is: "Hang them, they are all witches." Just why this remark should bring upon him the displeasure of the prosecutors is not easy to understand. Is it not more probable that he was cried out against, as so many others were, from no apparent motive, but through the excitement and terror of the times? He was "talked about" for some time before any movement was made to arrest him. He went to his grandfather, Bray Wilkins, and asked the old man to pray with him, but Wilkins was just going from home and could not stop then. He told Willard he would not be unwilling if he got home before night, but Willard did not reappear. On election week Wilkins and his wife, both more than eighty years of age, rode to Boston on their horse. Willard went also with Henry Wilkins, jr. Daniel Wilkins, Henry's son, had heard the stories about Willard and protested against his father going with him. He is quoted as saying of Willard: "It were well if Willard were hanged." On election day, Bray Wilkins and his wife and Rev. Deodat Lawson were at Lieut. Richard Ways' house for

dinner. Willard and Henry Wilkins came in later. The elder Wilkins says he thought Willard did not look on him kindly, for, he says, "to my apprehension, he looked after such a sort upon me as I never before discerned in any." Wilkins was taken very sick that afternoon and remained so some days. He was carried home, and on arriving there, found Daniel Wilkins, the young man who had advised his father not to go to Boston with Willard, also very ill. The old man himself fell ill again. Mercy Lewis and Mary Walcott were sent for to come and solve the mystery of so much sickness in the Wilkins family. They were, as usual, equal to the occasion. They "saw the apparitions of Sarah Buckley and John Willard upon the throat and breast of Henry Wilkins," and saw them press and choke him until he died. Lewis then went to the room where old Bray Wilkins lay. Asked if she saw any thing, she replied: "Yes, they are looking for John Willard." A little later she exclaimed: "There he is upon his grandfather's belly."

A warrant for Willard's arrest was issued on May 10 on complaint of Thos. Fuller and others. Two days later, Constable Putnam returned the document with the endorsement that he had made search for him and could not find him. He was produced in court on the 18th, having been arrested in Groton. Among the more interest-

ing papers on file in the case is the following deposition of Mrs. Ann Putnam. Whether it was presented to the magistrates to induce them to issue a warrant for Willard's arrest, or was given in at the preliminary examination at



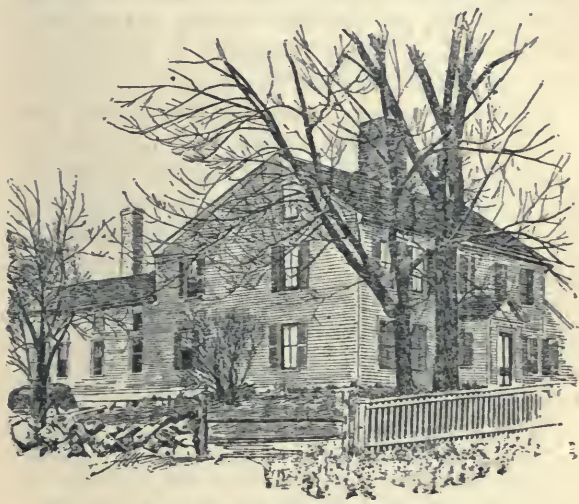
SITE OF BEADLE TAVERN, ESSEX STREET, SALEM, MASS.

Beadle's tavern in Salem, we have no means of knowing. The document is as follows :

The shape of Samuel Fuller and Lydia Wilkins this day told me at my own house by the bedside, who appeared in winding sheets, that if I did not go and tell Mr. Hathorne that John Willard had murdered them they would tear me to pieces. . . . At the same time the apparition of John



Willard told me that he had killed Samuel Fuller, Lydia Wilkins, Goody Shaw and Fuller's second wife, and Aaron Way's child, and Ben Fuller's child and this deponent's child, Sarah, six weeks old, and Phillip Knight's child with the help of William Hobbs, and Jonathan Knight's child and two of Ezekiel Cheever's children with the help of William Hobbs; and Elliott and Isaac Nichols



BENJAMIN FULLER HOUSE, MIDDLETON.  
[His child bewitched to death by Willard.]

with the help of William Hobbs. . . . Joseph Fuler's apparition also the same day came to me and told me that Goody Corey had killed him.

Must we not accept one of two explanations of this remarkable piece of evidence: that the whole story was literally true, and therefore



witchcraft a reality, or that Mrs. Ann Putnam deliberately falsified? Will the theory of general terror and hallucination in the community sufficiently explain the statement? Were the people "out of their wits", as Martha Carrier said? On the other hand, I am bound to say that I find no evidence of any cause which should prompt Mrs. Putnam to make such serious charges against Willard and others, unless we accept the claim of some writers who profess to believe that it was for the purpose of supporting the general plan of prosecution for witchcraft. Willard was committed to jail, and subsequently tried at the August session of the court. Only one piece of evidence has been preserved from this trial. Susan Sheldon, eighteen years of age, testified that at Nathaniel Ingersoll's house, on May 9, she saw the apparitions of four persons.—

William Shaw's first wife, the widow Cook, Goodman Jones and his child, and among these came the apparition of John Willard to whom these four said, you have murdered us. These four having said thus to Willard they turned as red as blood. And turning about to look at me they turned as pale as death. These four desired me to tell Mr. Hathorne. Willard hearing them, pulled out a knife, saying if I did he would cut my throat." . . . On another occasion there came to her a shining man and told her to go and tell Hathorne. She told him she would if he would hunt Willard away, she would believe what he said. "With that the shining man held up his hands and Willard vanished away. About two hours after, the same appeared to me again and the said Willard with them, and I asked them

where their wounds were and they said there would come an angel from Heaven and would show them, and forthwith the angel came. . . . And the angel lifted up his winding sheet, and out of his left side he pulled a pitchfork-tine and put it in again, and likewise he opened all the winding sheets and showed all the wounds. And the white man told me to tell Mr. Hathorne of it and I told him to hunt Willard away, and I would, and he held up his hand, and he vanished away." She also saw Willard suckle the apparitions of two black pigs on his breasts.



THOMAS FULLER HOUSE, MIDDLETON.  
[Fuller was a complainant against Willard.]

John Willard was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged; and on August 19 he was executed. Brattle says of Willard and Procter at their execution, that "their whole management of themselves from the jail to the gallows was very affecting, and melting to the hearts of some considerable spectators."<sup>5</sup>

Martha Carrier was arrested, probably on May 28, as the warrant against her was issued on that day. She was examined on the 31st. Martha was about forty years of age, and the mother of a large family of children, four of whom were taken into custody at the same time that she was. We have little information regarding her life previous to her arrest. At the examination before the local magistrates they said to her: "You see you look upon them and they fall down." "It is false," she replied; "the devil is a liar. I looked upon none since I came into the room but you." Susan Sheldon said: "I wonder what could you murder thirteen persons for." Goodwife Carrier repelled the insinuation, and the afflicted all had terrible fits. She charged that the magistrates were unfair, and said: "It is a shameful thing that you should mind these folks that are out of their wits." To the accusers she cried: "You lie, I am wronged." The recorder of the trial adds:

"The tortures of the afflicted were so great that there was no enduring it, so that she was ordered away and to be bound hand and foot with all expedition, the afflicted in the meanwhile almost killed. As soon as she was well bound they all had strange and sudden cease."

Martha Carrier was committed to prison where she remained until the August term of court, when she was tried, convicted and sentenced. Her execution took place on the 19th of the same month.

Her daughter Sarah, eight years of age, confessed herself a witch and testified against her mother. Little Sarah said she had been a witch since she was six years old, that her mother made her a witch and made her set her hand to the book. The place where she did it was in Andrew Foster's pasture. The witches promised to give her a black dog, but it never came to her. A cat came to her and said it would tear her in pieces if she would not set her hand to the book. Her mother came like a black cat. The cat told her that she was her mother. Richard Carrier, eighteen years of age, told the magistrates that he had "been in the devil's snare." His examination continued as follows :

Is your brother Andrew ensnared by the devil's snare?—

Yes.

How long has your brother been a witch?—Near a month.

How long have you been a witch?—Not long.

Have you joined in afflicting the afflicted persons?—Yes.

You helped to hurt Timothy Swan, did you?—Yes.

How long have you been a witch?—About five weeks.

Who was at the Village meeting when you were there?—

Goodwife How, Goodwife Nurse, Goodwife Wilds, Procter and his wife, Mrs. Bradbury and Corey's wife.

What did they do there?—Eat, and drink wine.

From whence had you your wine?—From Salem, I think.

Goodwife Oliver there?—Yes, I know her.

During the trial of Martha Carrier, Benjamin Abbott testified that he had some land granted to him by the town of Andover, and,—

"When this land came to be laid out Goodwife Carrier was very angry, and said she would stick as close to Benja-

min Abbott as the bark stuck to a tree, and that I should repent of it before seven years came to an end, and that Dr. Prescott could never cure me. These words were also heard by Allen Toothaker. She also said to Ralph Farnum, jr., that she would hold my nose so close to the grind stone as ever it was held since my name was Benjamin Abbott. Presently after I was taken with a swelling in my foot, and then was taken with a pain in my side, exceedingly tormented, which led to a sore which was lanced by Dr. Prescott, and several gallons of corruption did run out, as was judged." This continued six weeks and subsequently he had two sores in the groin which brought him almost to death's door and continued, "until Goodwife Carrier was taken and carried away by the constable, and that very day I began to grow better," therefore he had great cause to think that Carrier had a great hand in his sickness. Abbott's wife testified to all the above, and also that there was "terrible sickness and death among the cows, some of whom would come up out of the woods with their tongues hanging out of their mouths in a strange, affrighting manner."

The case of Elizabeth How, wife of John How, husbandman, sometimes described as of Ipswich and sometimes as of Topsfield, has always excited much interest. The documents in the case show that she was a woman of most exemplary character, devout and pious, kind and charitable. These traits availed her nothing, however, when children accused her of witchcraft. She was arrested on May 29, on a warrant issued the previous day, and brought before the magistrates for examination on the 31st. Elizabeth How was torn from a loving and afflicted husband and two interesting daughters.



Her husband was blind, and it is related that after his wife was placed in Salem jail he and one daughter used to ride thither twice each week to visit her. After the conviction and sentence, one of the devoted daughters went to Boston to beg for the life of her mother, but the governor was immovable. On her being brought before the magistrates, the girls went through their usual performances. "What say you to this charge?" asked Hathorne. "If it was the last moment I was to live," she replied, "God knows I am innocent of anything in this nature." She was committed for trial, and tried at the sitting of the court in July. The first charge against her was made by a Perley girl ten years of age. There had been trouble between the How and Perley families, which is pretty clearly stated in the testimony that follows. Timothy Perley and his wife Deborah testified that,—

There being some difference between Goode How and Timothy Perley about some boards, the night following three of our cows lay out, and finding them the next morning we went to milk them and one of them did not give but two or three spoons fuls of milk and one of the other cows did not give above a half a pint, and the other gave a quart, and these cows used to give three or four quarts at a meale; two of these cows continued to give little or nothing four or five meals and yet they went in a good English pasture, and within four days the cows gave their full proportion of milk that they used to give.

These witnesses further deposed that Elizabeth How—



“ Afflicted and tortured their daughter, ten years of age, until she pined away to skin and bone and ended her sorrowful life.” Also that How desired to join the church in Ipswich and they went there to testify against her and “ within a few days after had a cow well in the morning as far as we know, this cow was taken strangely running about like a mad thing a little while and then ran into a great pond and drowned herself, and as soon as she was dead my sons and myself towed her to the shore and she stunk so that we had much ado to slea her.”

Francis Lane testified that he helped James How get out some posts and rails, and How's wife told them she did not think the posts and rails would do, because John Perley helped get them, and when they went to deliver the posts and rails the ends of some forty broke off, although Lane said, “ that in his apprehension they were good sound rails.” Capt. John How, brother-in-law of Elizabeth, testified that she asked him to go with her to Salem Farms, when she was to be examined, and he declined because he had to go to Ipswich, and that soon after he got home,

“ Standing at my own door talking with one of my neighbors, I had a sow with six smale pigs in the yard, the sow was as well as far as I know as ever one, a sudden she leaped up about three or four feet high and turned about and gave one squeak and fell down dead.”

He told his neighbor he thought the animal was bewitched, and then cut off her ear, and the hand he had the knife in was “ so numb and full of pain that night and several days after that I could not do any work, and I suspected no other

person but my said sister Elizabeth How." Samuel Phillips and Mr. Payson, minister of Rowley, went one day to see this ten years old daughter of the Perleys, and she told Goodwife How in their presence that "if she did complain of her in her fits she did not know that she did so." They also affirmed that a brother of the girl, looking out of a chamber window, told her to say that Goodwife How was a witch, and "the girl spake not a word." Elizabeth How was hanged with others on Tuesday, July 19.



## CHAPTER X.

---

### *SUSANNA MARTIN, MARY EASTY AND OTHERS.*

---

**S**USANNA Martin of Amesbury was a widow. She had been charged with witchcraft as early as 1669, but escaped conviction at that time. Her examination in 1692 took place at the Village on May 2, the warrant having been issued on the 30th of April. In the preliminary examination, Goodwife Martin was confronted by about the same witnesses and the same sort of testimony as those who had preceded her. The following extract from the record of her examination is interesting:—

Hath this woman hurt you?—Abigail Williams declared that she had hurt her often. Ann Putnam threw her glove at her in a fit. And the rest were struck dumb at her presence.

What, do you laugh at it?—Well I may at such folly.

\* \* \* \* \*

What ails these people?—I do not know.

But what do you think ails them?—I do not desire to spend my judgement upon it.

Do you think they are bewitched?—No, I do not think they are.

Well tell us your thoughts about them.—My thoughts are mine own when they are in, but when they are out they are another's.

\* \* \* \* \*

Do you believe these afflicted persons do not say true?—They may lie for aught I know.

May not you lie?—I dare not tell a lie if it would save my life.

Who do you think is their master?—If they be dealing in the black art you may know as well as I.

The afflicted complained that they were pinched and saw her on the beam. Then the magistrates said: "Pray God discover you if you be guilty." Martin replied: "Amen, amen. A false tongue will never make a guilty person." Then there was an uproar in the room. The girls had terrible fits and John Indian shouted: "She bites, she bites." All the girls pretended to be struck down when they approached her. Martin was committed to jail, where she remained until the 29th of June when she was brought before the higher court for trial. At her trial one singular piece of testimony was offered. It was evidence of such peculiar neatness on the part of Goodwife Martin as to lead a neighbor to conclude that she was a witch. This neighbor testified that Susanna Martin came to her house in Newbury one very stormy day in an "extraordinary dirty season," when it was not fit for any person to travel. She asked her if she came from Amesbury afoot, and expressed surprise thereat, and told her children to give Mrs. Martin a chance to get to the fire and dry herself. Martin replied, "she was as dry as I was, and I could not perceive that the

soles of her shoes were wet." This, the witness declared, startled her and she at once concluded that the woman was a witch.

John Kembal deposed that he agreed to purchase a puppy from Martin, but not keeping his bargain, and purchasing a puppy from some one else, she remarked she would "give him puppies enough." Coming from his intended's house soon after sunset one night,

"There did arise a little black cloud in the north-west and a few drops of rain and the wind blew hard. In going between John Weed's house and the meeting house there did appear a little thing like a puppy of a darkish color. It shot between my legs forward and backward." He used all possible endeavors to cut it with his axe, but could not hurt it, and as he was thus laboring with his axe, the puppy gave a little jump from him and seemed to go into the ground. "In a little further going there did appear a black puppy somewhat bigger than the first but as black as a coal," to his apprehension, which came against him "with such violence as its quick motions did exceed the motions of his axe," do what he could. And it flew at his belly, and away, and then at his throat and over his shoulder one way, and off and up at it again another way, and with such violence did it assault him as if it would tear out his throat or his belly. He testified that he was much frightened but recovered himself and ran to the fence, "and calling upon God and naming the name of Jesus Christ, and then it invisibly flew away."

Barnard Peach deposed that Susanna Martin, "six or seven years past," came in at his window, took hold of his feet and drew his body into a heap and lay upon him for an hour and a half or two hours; finally he put out his hand

and taking hold of hers drew it up to his mouth and bit three of her fingers to the breaking of the bones. Several other depositions of similar character to these were given in at the trial, and Susanna Martin was found guilty and executed on July 19.

Mary Easty, wife of Isaac Easty of Topsfield, and sister of Rebecca Nurse and Sarah Cloyse, was fifty-eight years of age in 1692, and the mother of seven children. The Eastys lived on, and owned one of the largest farms in the town. It was the farm known to the present generation as the Peirce farm, having for many years been owned by Col. Thomas W. Peirce, and occupied by him as a summer residence until his death in 1885. Previous to the ownership of Col. Peirce the proprietor was Mr. B. W. Crowninshield. A warrant for the arrest of Mary Easty was issued by the magistrates on April 21, and she was examined on the following day and committed to prison. During her examination, the magistrates said to her: "Confess if you be guilty;" to which she replied: "I will say it, if it was my last time, I am clear of this sin." Her answers to this and other questions had evidently led the magistrates to have doubts as to her guilt, for they asked the accusing girls if they were certain this was the woman, and they all went into fits. Subsequently they said: "O, Goody Easty, Goody Easty, you are the woman, you are the



woman." On May 18, for reasons which the present age knows not nor ever can know, Mary Easty was released. Two days after her discharge, Mercy Lewis, living at Constable John Putnam's, had a fit and performed in a manner usual to the accusing girls. A messenger was sent for Ann Putnam to come and tell who afflicted Mercy. At Ann's home he found Abigail Williams, and the girls visited Mercy Lewis and declared that they saw Mary Easty and John Willard afflicting her body.<sup>1</sup> John Putnam and Benjamin Hutchinson went to Salem the night of the 20th of May and procured from Hathorne a warrant for the arrest of Mrs. Easty. She was apprehended the next morning and taken to Beadle's in Salem for examination.

"After midnight, she was aroused from sleep by the unfeeling marshal, torn from her husband and children, carried back to prison, loaded with chains, and finally consigned to a dreadful and most cruel death. She was an excellent and pious matron. Her husband, referring to the transaction nearly twenty years afterwards justly expressed what all must feel, that it was 'a hellish molestation.'"<sup>2</sup>

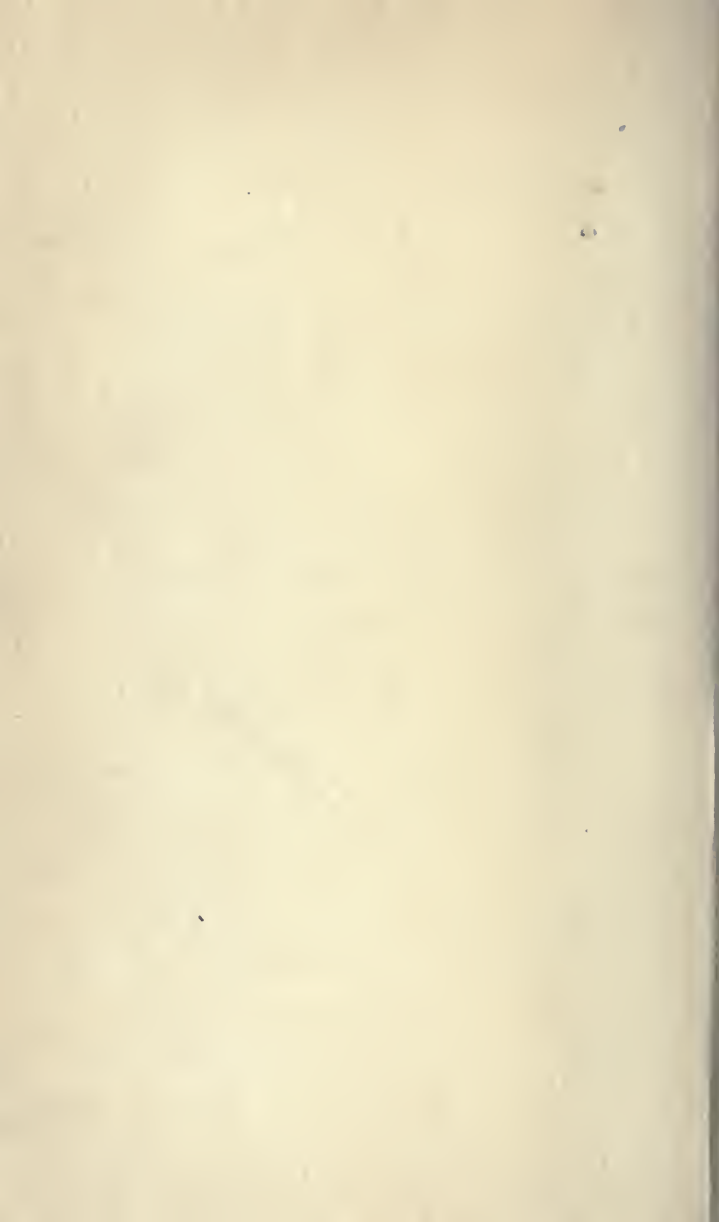
For the second time Mary Easty was examined and committed to jail. She remained there from May 21 until the September sitting of the court, when she was tried, convicted and sentenced. Previous to the trial, she united with her sister, Sarah Cloyse, in a request to the court that the judges would act as counsel for

<sup>1</sup> Essex Court Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Salem Witchcraft, II., 205.



CONSTABLE PUTNAM'S HOUSE, DANVERS,



ker, mariner. She was arrested on a warrant dated May 12, examined before the local magistrates and committed to jail. Her trial took place in September. She was convicted, together with Mary Parker, Wilmot Reed, Margaret Scott and Ann Pudeator. All were executed on Thursday, the 22d. One piece of evidence in the case of Alice Parker is somewhat amusing, read at this distance from the tragic event with which it was connected. Jonathan Westgate testified that Parker came to Beadle's tavern one night and scolded her husband for drinking so much there. Westgate took the part of the husband. Mrs. Parker called him a rogue, told him he had better mind his business, and that he had better said nothing. Some time after this, as he was going home one night, a black hog appeared to him running at him with open mouth. He endeavored to get away from it but fell down. He said he fell on his hip, and his knife run into his hip. When he got home his knife was still in the sheath, and when he took it out the sheath fell to pieces. His stockings and shoes were full of blood, and he had to crawl along by holding to the fence. The hog he apprehended was either the devil or some evil thing, not a real hog. He "did then really judge or determine in his mind that it was either Goody Parker or by her means and procuring, fearing that she is a witch." I presume that

all who read this story will conclude that Westgate was drunk that night, that when he fell his knife-point went through the end of the sheath and cut him, and at the same time the sheath was cut open or crushed. When he got up, Westgate was probably so drunk that he could not walk without holding on to the fence.

Mary Parker was of Andover, and a widow. A warrant for her arrest was issued on September 1, being one of the latest issued for any person who was subsequently executed. She was examined on the following day before Hathorne, Corwin, Gedney and Higginson, "justices of the peace." She was charged with practicing witchcraft on Martha Sprague of Boxford. Samuel Shattuck at the trial testified that one time a man took her up to carry her home,

"But in a little way going he let her fall upon a place of stones, which did not awake her, which caused me to think she was really dead, after that we carried her into the house and caused her clothes to be taken off, and while we were taking off her clothes to put her into bed she was up and laughed in our faces."

Jonathan Bullock testified to seeing Parker lying out in the dirt and snow. Mary Wardwell "owned she had seen the shape of Parker when she afflicted Swan and Martha Sprague, but did not know Parker was a witch."

Ann Pudeator, widow of Jacob Pudeator, was about seventy years of age. She was arrested on Thursday, May 12, on charge of witchcraft,

and examined the same day. She appears to have been discharged and rearrested about July 2, for on that day she was again examined. She was committed to jail and remained there until tried at the September sitting of the court and convicted. We have no particulars of her execution save that it occurred on Thursday, September 22. After sentence Mrs. Pudeator addressed a petition to the court in which she declared that the

"Evidence of Jno. Best, sr., and Jno. Best, jr., and Samuel Pickworth, which was given against me in court, were all of them altogether false and untrue, and, besides, the aforesaid Jno. Best hath been formerly whipped and likewise is recorded for a liar."

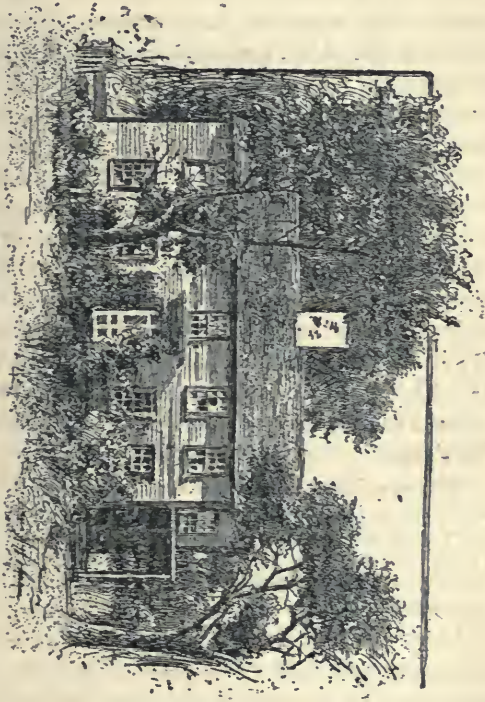
Ann Pudeator was the mother of the notorious Thomas Greenslitt who testified to the herculean feats performed, or alleged to have been performed, by Mr. Burroughs. She owned some property in Salem.

Wilmot Reed was wife of Samuel Reed, a Marblehead fisherman. "Mammy Red," as the Marbleheaders used to call her, had long been counted a witch, but her performances never troubled her neighbors in the least. They did not think of complaining of her. It remained for the girls of Salem Village to do that. This woman, so runs the tradition, used to wish that "bloody cleavers" might be found on the cradles of certain children, and whenever the wish was



uttered, of course, the cleaver was found there and the child sickened and died. She would "cause milk to curdle as soon as it left the cow." "Newly-churned butter turned to wool when it came in contact with Mammy Red."<sup>5</sup> The warrant for her arrest was issued May 28. The arrest was made on the 31st, and the examination held on the same day. She was charged with practicing witchcraft on Mary Walcott, Mercy Lewis and others. James Smith, constable of Marblehead, on May 31, returned that he had apprehended the said Reed and brought her to the house of Lieut. Ingersoll in Salem. She had little to say on examination, save that she knew nothing of the matter charged against her. Her trial before the court of Oyer and Terminer developed no new facts. Two indictments were presented, one for afflicting Elizabeth Booth on May 31 and divers other days, and the other for afflicting Elizabeth Hubbard on May 31 and divers other days. One thing is noticeable here as in many other of these indictments: that the indictment is not for afflicting any of the persons named in the original complaint, nor is the offence alleged the same as in the warrant of arrest. In most of the indictments the crime is alleged to have been committed on the day of the preliminary examination and in the court room. At the preliminary

<sup>5</sup> Road's Hist. and Traditions of Marblehead, 31.



THE THOMAS HAINES HOUSE.  
[Haines a witness against How.]

examination of Goodwife Reed, Abigail Williams had a fit. Mercy Lewis said Reed pinched her. Mary Walcott said she brought the book to her. Ann Putnam said Reed never hurt her, but she had seen her hurt others. Elizabeth Hubbard said Reed would knock her down if she did not sign. Ann Putnam cried out that she brought the book to her "just now." Elizabeth Booth fell into a fit, and Mary Walcott and Ann Putnam said Reed afflicted her. "Susan Sheldon," continues the report, "ordered to go to the examinant, was knocked down; being carried to Reed in a fit was made well after Reed grasped her arm. Elizabeth Hubbard dealt with after the same manner." Reed "looked upon Elizabeth Hubbard and she was knocked down." Abigail Williams and John Indian being carried to Reed in a fit, were made well by her grasping their arms.

"This examinant being often urged what she thought these persons ailed would reply, I can not tell. Then being asked if she did not think they were bewitched, she answered, I can not tell. And being urged for her opinion in the case,—all she would say was, my opinion is they are in a sad condition."

At her trial on September 14, Mary Walcott, Mary Warren, Ann Putnam and Elizabeth Hubbard testified in exactly the same words, that, before the first examination, a woman came to each of them and said her name was Reed, and that on the day of examination they saw her

afflict others. Charity Pitman and Sarah Dodd testified to a wordy encounter between Reed and a woman of the name of Syms, five years previously, in which Reed wished certain troubles might come to Syms, and soon after it "fell out with Mrs. Syms according to Reed's wish."

We have little information concerning Margaret Scott of Rowley. No doubt there were numerous papers in her case but they have been lost or destroyed. Only a few remain. Her preliminary examination took place on August 5, the arrest having probably been made on the previous day. I am unable to find anything about her or her family from the records or from the writings of local historians. Margaret Scott was tried at the September sitting of the court and sentenced on the 17th. She was executed on Thursday, the 22d. Francis Wyman testified during her trial, "that quickly after the first court at Salem about witchcraft, Margaret Scott or her appearance came to him and did most grievously torment him by choking and almost pressing him to death, and he believed in his heart that Margaret Scott was a witch." Phillip Nelson and his wife testified that for

"Two or three years before Robert Shilleto died we have often heard him complaining of Margaret Scott for hurting of him and often said that she was a witch, and so he continued complaining, saying he should never be well so long as Margaret Scott lived, and so he complained of Margaret Scott until he died."

Most of the evidence against this woman related to affairs that transpired five or ten years previous to 1692.

Sarah Wildes, wife of John Wildes of Salem Village and Topsfield, was arrested April 22, on a warrant issued the day before. John Buxton and Thomas Putnam went down to Salem from the Village on the 21st, and complained to the justices of Mrs. Wildes. The justices issued their warrant to Marshal Herrick to arrest her and bring her to Lieut. Nathaniel Ingergoll's "to-morrow about ten of the clock." She was then examined, during which time Bibber and others claimed to see her on the beam of the meeting house. The usual circle of accusing girls was present and they "performed" after their customary manner. Sarah Wildes was committed to jail where she remained until June 29, when she was tried before the higher court, found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. On Tuesday, July 19, she went to that court above where no errors are made in the final judgment. The Wildes family belonged to the faction in Topsfield which was active in the feud with Salem Village. It is not possible to say whether this in any way influenced the prosecutors of Sarah Wildes. Ephriam Wildes, son of Sarah, deposed that the marshal of Salem came to Topsfield with the warrants for the arrest of his mother and William Hobbs and his wife. The



marshal served that on Sarah Wildes, and young Wildes arrested Hobbs and wife. Subsequently they accused his mother, and he thought it might be because he arrested them.

As we have already seen, Martha Carrier and Mary Parker were of Andover. So, too, was Samuel Wardwell. Andover was particularly unfortunate during the rage of the witchcraft delusion. It suffered more than any place save



WIDOW MARY PUTNAM HOUSE.

[Mother of John Putnam, grandmother of Gen. Israel Putnam.  
Gen. Putnam born here.]

Salem Village. The outbreak there, although closely connected with that in the Village, was yet somewhat independent of it. The wife of Joseph Ballard of the town had been ill some time, and the local physician could not help her. In the spring of 1692 Ballard, hearing of the "cases of torment" at the Village, sent down there to have Ann Putnam come up and see if



she could discover any witchcraft about his wife's case. She came, accompanied by one of her companions. They were received with much pomp and solemnity, almost with superstition befitting a tribe of barbarians. The people gathered in the meeting-house, where the Rev. Mr. Barnard offered prayer. The girls then proceeded to the home of Mrs. Ballard and at once named certain persons who, they alleged, were tormenting her. These persons were forthwith arrested and sent to jail. Before the excitement ceased, nearly fifty persons had been arrested. Among them were Mary Osgood, wife of a deacon of the church; Abigail Faulkner and Elizabeth Johnson, daughters of Rev. Francis Dane, the senior pastor of the church; two of Mrs. Faulkner's daughters and one of Mrs. Johnson's; Mrs. Deliverance Dane, daughter-in-law of the minister; Samuel Wardwell and Ann Foster, besides Carrier and Mary Parker. Intimations were made that Mr. Dane himself and Justice Dudley Bradstreet, Mrs. Bradstreet, his wife, and his brother John, were not free from suspicion. John was charged with bewitching a dog,<sup>6</sup> and the animal was executed, as was another in the same town said to be bewitched. The Bradstreets fled the colony. Ann Foster died in prison. Abigail Faulkner was tried, convicted and sentenced, but subsequently re-

prieved.<sup>7</sup> Samuel Wardwell was found guilty and executed. Sarah, his wife, Elizabeth Johnson and Mary Lacey were tried the following January and convicted. They were sentenced to be hanged, but the proclamation of Gov. Phips set them free. The papers in the case of Samuel Wardwell are quite numerous and are interesting. Wardwell was about forty-six years of age, and appears to have been a good average citizen of the times. He was taken before the local magistrates for examination on September 1. What he said then we know not, but from his subsequent testimony it is evident that he denied the charge of witchcraft in the most positive terms. He was sent to jail to await the action of the grand jury. That body returned two indictments: or at least that is all that are now on file. One charged that Samuel Wardwell practiced witchcraft on Martha Sprague of Boxford on August 15; the other, that he, "about twenty years ago, with the evill spiritt, the devill, a covenant did make wherein he promised to honor, worship and believe the devill, contrary to the statute of King James the First, etc." On the 13th of

<sup>7</sup> Calef says because she was pregnant. (Fowler's Ed., 260.) Upham says she made a partial confession, and that Sir William ordered a reprieve, and after she had been thirteen weeks in prison, he directed her to be discharged on the ground of insufficient evidence. He adds that this is the only instance of a special pardon granted during the proceedings. (Salem Witchcraft, II., 332.)

September, Wardwell made a confession substantially as follows :

After returning several negative answers, he said he was conscious he was in the snare of the devil. He had been much discontented that he could get no more work done : and that he had been foolishly led along with telling of fortunes which some times came to pass. He used also when any creature came into his field to bid the devil take it, and it may be the devil took advantage of him by that.

Constable Foster of Andover said this Wardwell told him once in the woods that when he was a young man he could make all his cattle come round about him when he pleased. The said Wardwell, being urged to tell the truth, he proceeded thus :

“ That being once in a discontented frame he saw some cats with the appearance of a man who called himself the prince of the air, and promised him he should live comfortably and be captain, and required said Wardwell to honor him which he promised to do, and it was about twenty years ago. He said the reason of his discontent then was because he was in love with a maid named Barker who slighted his love.” He added that he covenanted with the devil until he should be sixty years and he was now about forty.

Wardwell's wife and daughter appeared to testify against him, probably to save their own necks, which they succeeded in doing. He, however, repented of the false confession he had made and retracted. The retraction cost him his life. At some subsequent time the daughter retracted her confession against her father and mother. Probably it was after Wardwell had

been hung. This case of Wardwell's is the only instance, so far as we know, where a husband and wife accused each other. Cases of children accusing parents and parents accusing children were, as we have seen, quite common. Wardwell was hanged with that group of eight which suffered on Thursday, September 22. When he stood on the gallows and was speaking to the people, a puff of tobacco smoke blew in his face and caused him to cough, whereupon the accusers said the devil hindered him with smoke.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Calef, Fowler's Ed., 262.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *ACCUSED AND TRIED BUT NOT EXECUTED.*

**P**urpose in this chapter, briefly to sketch some of the more peculiar and interesting features connected with a few trials of persons accused of witchcraft in 1692, but not executed, and in several cases not convicted. The case of Mary Perkins Bradbury of Salisbury is one of them. Mrs. Bradbury was the wife of Thomas Bradbury, and was seventy-five years of age. Some of those living near her had spoken of her as a witch long previous to 1692. In July of that year she was examined and committed to jail. Her trial took place at the early September session of the court. Two indictments against her have come down to us. To these indictments Mary Bradbury answered; "I do plead not guilty. I am wholly innocent of any such wickedness." It is difficult to say just when Mrs. Bradbury's preliminary examination took place. I find testimony against her by George Herrick given on May 26. On July 28

her husband testified that they had lived together fifty-five years, and that his wife had eleven children and four grand-children. Her trial before the upper court occupied the whole or a part of three days. Testimony was given on September 7, 8, and 9. She was convicted and sentenced, but for some reason was not executed. I presume it was owing to her high character and the powerful influences brought to bear to secure pardon. From the depositions on file we are enabled to gather something of interest regarding her life and the complications of her family with that of Mrs. Ann Putnam. Mrs. Putnam, wife of Thomas Putnam of Salem Village, was daughter of George Carr of Salisbury. The Carr and Bradbury families came into conflict under somewhat peculiar circumstances, and when Mrs. Bradbury was brought to trial most of the Carr family appeared to testify against her.

The story of the trouble between the families is, briefly, this: James Carr and William Bradbury, the latter, son of Mary Bradbury, were paying attention, or trying to, to the widow Maverick, daughter of Mr. Wheelright. Carr deposed in 1692, that about twenty years before, he was invited most courteously by the widow to

“Come oftener, and within a few days after one evening I went thither again, and when I came thither again, William Bradbury was there who was then a suitor to the said



widow, but I did not know it till afterwards. After I came in the widow did so courseyly treat the said William Bradbury that he went away seeming very angry. Presently after this I was taken after a strange manner as if living creatures did run about every part of my body ready to tear me to pieces. And so I continued for about three quarters of a year, by times, and I applied myself to Dr. Crosby, who gave me a great deal of physick but could make none work. Though he steeped tobacco in bosset drink he could make none to work, whereupon he told me that he believed I was behaged. And I told him I had thought so a good while. And he asked me by whom, and I told him I did not care for speaking, for one was counted an honest woman, but he urging me I told him and he said he believe that Mrs. Bradbury was a great deal worse than Good Martin."

After this, one night, something like a cat came to Carr in bed. He went to strike it off but could not move hand or foot for a while. Finally he did hit it and since then physick had worked on him.

Richard Carr testified that,

"About thirteen years ago, presently after some difference had happened to be between my honored father, Mr. George Carr, and Mrs. Bradbury, the prisoner at the bar, upon a Sabbath at noon, as we were riding home, by the house of Capt. Thomas Bradbury, I saw Mrs. Bradbury go into her gate, turn the corner of, and immediately there darted out of her gate a blue boar, and darted at my father's horse's legs, which made him stumble, but I saw it no more. And my father said, 'boys, what do you see?' We both answered, 'a blue boar.'"

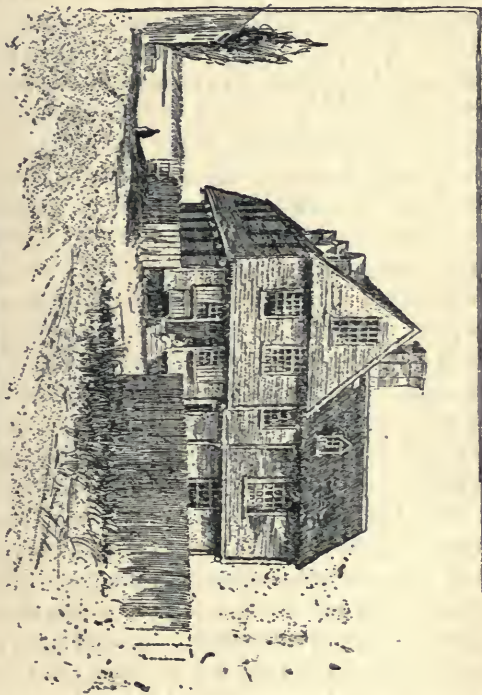
Young Zerubabel Endicott, who was present on this occasion testified to the same, and also that he "saw the blue boar dart from Mr. Carr's

horse's legs in at Mrs. Bradbury's window." William Carr, son of George, and brother of Mrs. Ann Putnam, gave testimony in favor of Mrs. Bradbury. He testified that he was with his brother when he died, and that he "died peacefully and quietly, never manifesting trouble about anybody, nor did he say anything about Mrs. Bradbury or any one else doing him hurt." Here is a piece of testimony that illustrates the condition of mind of the people in 1692. It shows how everyday occurrences, as we should now call them, were attributed to supernatural agencies. We may not wonder that a rough sailor should some times believe in other than human agencies as the cause of unusual events, but not only did the rough sailor believe in them, but the judges and the highest officials in the province believed in them enough to admit the evidence to convict, and to pass sentence of death on the strength of that evidence. The testimony to which I refer is that of Samuel Endicott, thirty-one years of age. He testified :

About eleven years ago, being bound upon a voyage to sea with Capt. Samuel Smith, late of Boston, deceased, just before we sailed Mrs. Bradbury of Salisbury, the prisoner now at the bar, came to Boston with some firkins of butter, of which Capt. Smith bought two. One of them proved half-way butter and after we had been at sea three weeks our men were not able to eat it, it stunk so, and run with maggots, which made the men very much disturbed about it, and would often say that they heard Mrs. Bradbury was a witch, and that they verily believed she was so,

or else she would not have served the Capt. so as to sell him such butter. And further this deponent testifieth, that in four days after they set sail they met with such a storm that we lost our main mast and rigging and lost fifteen horses, and that about a fortnight after, we set our Jersey mast, and that very night there came up a ship by our side and carried away two of the mizzen shrouds and one of the leaches of the main sail. And this deponent further sayeth that after they arrived at Barbadoes and went to Saltitodos and had laden their vessel, the next morning she sprang a leak in the hold, which wasted several tons of salt insomuch that we were forced to unlade our vessel again wholly to stop our leak. There was then four foot of water in the hold. After we had taken in our lading again we had a good passage home, but when we came near the land the Capt. sent this deponent forward to look out for land in a bright moonshining night, and as he was sitting upon the windlass he heard a rumbling noise under him. With that he, the said deponent, testifieth that he looked on the side of the windlass and saw the legs of some person, being no ways frightened, and that presently he was shook and looked over his shoulder and saw the appearance of a woman from the middle upwards, having a white cap and white neck cloth on her which then affrighted him very much, and as he was turning of the windlass he saw the aforesaid two legs.

This deposition bears date September 9, 1692. The substance of the testimony used to convict an intelligent, high minded woman of a capital crime, is, that some butter that she sold to a sea captain, if she did sell it to him, became rancid after the vessel got into a hot climate, and that the vessel sprung aleak. On these grounds the sailors concluded she was a witch. After that it was easy to see her appearance or most anything else.



PHILIP ENGLISH HOUSE.  
[Built, 1685; taken down in 1833.]

The story of the arrest and examination of Phillip English and his wife Mary, if we had all the documents in the case, would, no doubt, be exceedingly interesting. The papers have not come down to us save in the most meagre form. Phillip English was a wealthy merchant of Salem, and, in 1692, lived on Essex street, between what are now Webb and English streets. He occupied one of the finest mansions of the town, and perhaps of the colony. English owned fourteen buildings in Salem, a wharf and twenty-one vessels.<sup>1</sup> How charges of witchcraft came to be made against him and his wife has always been a mystery. Dr. Bently intimates that his controversies and law-suits with the town, and the superior style in which the family lived may have had something to do with leading the accusing children to name them. We are indebted to the same authority for our information about the arrest of Mrs. English. She was in bed when the sheriff came for her. The servants admitted him to her chamber, where he read the warrant. Guards were then placed around the house until morning, when she was taken away for examination. It is related that the pious mother attended to family devotions as usual that morning, kissed her children good-by, and calmly discussed their future in case she never returned to them. She then told the of-

<sup>1</sup> Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., I., 161.



ficer she was ready to die.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. English was examined on April 22, and committed to jail. The warrant against her husband was issued on April 30. It was returned May 2, with the endorsement by the sheriff, "Mr. Phillip English not to be found." His arrest was not effected until May 30. He was then examined and committed to jail along with his wife. They soon escaped from jail and went to New York, where they lived until the storm had passed. They then returned to Salem and resumed their customary life.

The record of the prosecution of the Hobbs family constitutes an interesting chapter of witchcraft history. Abigail, the daughter, was the first to be arrested. The warrant against her was issued on April 18. It is said she was a reckless, vagabond creature, wandering through the woods at night like a half deranged person. The arrest of her father, William Hobbs, and her mother, Deliverance Hobbs, was effected three days later, mainly on the strength of statements made by the daughter. She charged that both of them were witches. Hobbs was about fifty years of age and lived on Topsfield territory. Abigail was examined in Salem prison on April 20, and stated, among other things, that the devil came to her in the shape of a man and brought images of the girls for

<sup>2</sup>Ibd.



her to stick pins into. She did stick thorns into them and they "cried out." On May 12, she was again examined in prison.

Did Mr. Burroughs bring you any of the puppets of his wives to stick pins into?—I do not remember that he did.

Have any vessels been cast away by you?—I do not know.

She testified that she stuck thorns into people whom she did not know, and one of them, Mary Lawrence, suggested to her mind by the court, died.

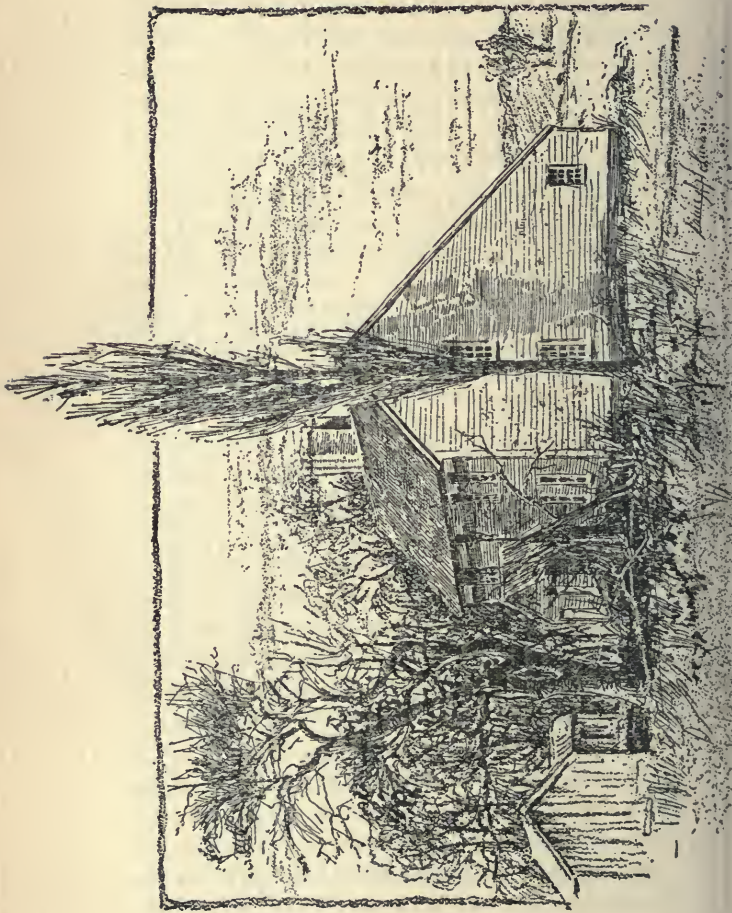
Who brought the images to you?—It was Mr. Burroughs. How did he bring it to you?—In his own person, bodily.

This is one of the most remarkable statements made in the whole history of the delusion. At the time Abigail Hobbs made it she was in jail, and had been since before the arrest of Burroughs. Previous to her arrest he was in Maine, eighty miles distant. Yet, she declares that Burroughs came to her *in his bodily person*, bringing images of a half dozen girls for her to afflict by sticking thorns into them, and that when she pricked them thus the real girls cried out from pain and she heard them. That there might be no mistake about this, seemingly, the magistrate asked, speaking of another party, whom she said she had thus afflicted, "Was he (Burroughs) there himself with you *in bodily person?*" Her answer was: "Yes, and so he was when he appeared to tempt me to set my hand to the book; he then appeared *in person*

and I *felt his hand* at the same time." This last statement is stronger than the first ; it leaves no question as to what was meant by "bodily person." Before concluding her testimony she declared that she had "killed" "both boys and girls." Abigail was examined before the magistrates on June 29. At her trial in September, the following testimony was given :—

lidia Nichols aged about 7 years testifieth and saith that about a yeare and a halfe agoe I asked abigaill hobs how she darst lie ont a nights in ye woods alon she told me she was not a fraid of anything for she told me she had sold herself body and soule to ye old boy. and sins this about a fortnight agoe ye said abigaill hobs & her mother came to our hous my father & mother being not at home she begane to be rude & to behave herself unseemly I told her I wonder she was not ashamed she bide me hold my tong or elce she would rays all the folks thereabouts & bid me look there was old cratten sate over the bedstead then her mother told her shee little thought to abin the mother of such a dafter. Elizabeth Nichols aged about 12 years testifieth ye same she said at our house about a fortnight agoe

When William Hobbs and his wife came before the magistrates they were confronted with the confession of their daughter, in which she had charged them with being witches. They were astounded. Mrs. Hobbs said she regretted that she ever brought into the world such a child. She indignantly denied being a witch, at first. Finally, after long questioning, a confession was secured from her, in which she charged her husband and young child with witchcraft. The paper containing the record of the examina-



tion of William Hobbs has suffered mutilation by reason of much handling and neglect in years past. Enough remains, however, to show that he stood immovable amid the storm of superstition that beat around him. He protested his innocence to the end.

What say you, asked Hathorne, are you guilty?—I can speak in the presence of God supremely, he answered, as I must look to give account another day that I am as clear as a new born babe.

Clear of what?—Of witchcraft.

Have you never hurt these?—No.

He is going to Mercy Lewis, said Abigail Williams, and Lewis fell in a fit. He is coming to Mary Walcott, was Williams next cry, and Walcott had a fit.

“How can you be clear when your appearance is thus seen producing such effect before our eyes?” queried the court. He was reminded of his wife’s confession but that failed to move him. The examination was continued some time, interspersed with halloos, shrieks and wild out-cries from the accusing girls. Then Hathorne asked, “Can you now deny it?”—“I can,” was the answer, “deny it to my dying day.” After further efforts to make him confess, and continued refusals, Hobbs was sent to jail. He remained there until the middle of December when John Nichols and Joseph Towne bailed him. He failed to appear at the January term and was defaulted, but at the May term he answered to the summons, and the default was

taken off. In the Governor's proclamation freeing all the accused, Hobbs was included and went at liberty. Abigail Hobbs was convicted in the higher court and sentenced to be hanged, but the sentence was never executed. Deliverance Hobbs lay in jail a long time. She does not appear ever to have been tried, and it is certain that she was not executed.

Dorcas Hoar of Beverly, a widow, was arrested on a warrant issued April 30, and examined at Lieut. Ingersoll's on May 2. Elizabeth Hubbard complained that the prisoner pinched her, showing the marks to the standers-by. The marshal said she pinched her fingers at the same time. "Dorcas Hoar," demanded the magistrate, "why do you hurt these?"—"I never hurt a child in my life," was the response. Not satisfied with this the accusers told her she killed her husband, and charged her with various other crimes. They said they saw "the black man whispering in her ear." These calumnies were too much for her to endure in silence, and she cried back to them indignantly, "Oh, you are liars, and God will stop the mouths of liars." "You are not to speak after this manner in the court," chided Hathorne. "I will speak the truth as long as I live, was the brave and defiant reply. She was committed for trial, and subsequently convicted and sentenced. Notwithstanding her courageous words, Dorcas



Hoar was brought to a confession. Judge Sewall, under date of Sept. 21, says :

“ A petition is sent to town in behalf of Dorcas Hoar who now confesses. Accordingly an order is sent to the sheriff to forbear her execution notwithstanding her being in the warrant to die tomorrow. This is the first condemned person who has confessed.”<sup>3</sup>

During the trial of Dorcas, Abigail Williams declared that she saw the appearance of this woman before ever she saw Tituba Indian or any one else. This, if true, would make Dorcas Hoar the first of the witches of 1692. She escaped from jail in the same mysterious manner that so many other of the accused did. These escapes were numerous during the witchcraft trials. Whether the jails were weakly constructed, or the jailers did not guard the prisoners closely at all times, it is not possible to say. It is possible that high officials some times connived at the escape of accused persons. Most of these escapes were from the Boston jail, which would naturally be as strong as any.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the Ipswich jail was a very primitive structure and escape from it must have been easy, yet no one, accused of witchcraft, ever escaped from it.

The case of Nehemiah Abbott is of interest,

<sup>3</sup> Sewall Papers, I., 365.

<sup>4</sup> Phillip English and wife were allowed the freedom of the town under bonds, being required only to sleep in jail. Essex Inst. Hist. Col., I., 161.



because, so far as known, he is the only person who was released after refusing to confess. Abbott was arrested at the same time as William Hobbs, April 21. He was examined on the following day. At first all the accusing girls said he had afflicted them, and fell into fits. Ann Putnam "saw him on the beam." Others identified him as one who had appeared to them. Asked to confess and find mercy, he replied, "I speak before God that I am clear in all respects." The girls "were all struck dumb" again. Suddenly Mercy Lewis said: "It is not the man." Other accusers wavered. Ann Putnam said that the reason she had declared Abbott to be the man was because the devil put a mist before her eyes. The case completely broke down and Abbott was released. One question suggests itself very forcibly in this connection: If Abbott was not the man who afflicted these girls at the time, why did they fall down when he had looked on them? and why did they have fits in the court room? Parris in his account of the trial says, when Abbott was

"Brought in again, by reason of much people, and many in the windows, so that the accusers could not have a clear view of him, he was ordered to be abroad and the accusers to go forth to him and view him in the light, which they did in the presence of the magistrates and many others, discoursed quietly with him, one and all acquitting him, but yet said he was like the man, but he had not the wen they saw in his apparition. Note, he was a hilly faced man, and stood shaded by reason of his own hair, so that for a

time he seemed to some bystanders and observers to be considerably like the person the afflicted did describe."

Mary Warren was, as I have mentioned in preceding pages, one of the early and persistent accusers. She was twenty years of age and a servant in the family of John Procter. She gave testimony against some of those first charged, but afterwards became skeptical and began to talk about the deceptions of the afflicted, and said they "did but dissemble." The other accusing girls then cried out against her, and she spoke still more emphatically against the prosecutions. A warrant for her arrest was procured on April 18, and she was examined the following day. Parris kept the official record of that examination. He says, when she was coming towards the bar, the afflicted fell into fits. The magistrates told her she was charged with witchcraft and asked: "Are you guilty or not?" To this she replied: "I am innocent." When the afflicted were asked if she had hurt them, some were dumb, and Hubbard "testified against her." All the afflicted soon had fits. Then Mary Warren fell into a fit, and some cried out that she was going to confess, "but," continues the report, "Goody Corey and Procter and his wife came in in their apparitions, and struck her down, and said she should tell nothing." Then followed one of the most dramatic scenes in the whole witchcraft history.

The official record of the examination says :—<sup>5</sup>

After continuing in a fit some time she said, I will speak, Oh, I am sorry for it, I am sorry for it. Wringing her hands she fell into another fit. Then attempting a little later to speak her teeth were set. She fell into another fit and shouted, O Lord help me. O good Lord, save me. And then afterwards cried again, I will tell, I will tell, and then fell into a dead fit again.

And afterwards cried I will tell, I will tell, they did, they did, they did, and then fell into a violent fit again.

After a little recovery, she cried, I will tell, I will tell. They brought me to it. And then fell into a fit again, which fits continuing, she was ordered to be led out, and the next to be brought in, viz., Bridget Bishop.

She was called in again, but immediately taken with fits.

Have you signed the devil's book?—No.

Then she fell into fits again, and was sent forth for air. After a considerable space of time she was brought in again, but could not give account of things by reason of fits and so sent forth.

Mary Warren was called in afterwards in private before magistrates and ministers. She said I shall not speak a word, but I will, I will speak, Satan. She saith she will kill me. Oh, she saith she owes me a spite, and will claw me off. Avoid Satan, for the name of God, avoid. And then fell into fits again, and cried, Will ye? I will prevent ye in the name of God.

It will be understood that Mary Warren, all this time, was struggling to confess and the devil sought to prevent her. At least, that is what she was pretending. Whether it was a piece of the most perfect acting, we do not know. Yet we do know now that there was no reality about the witchcraft pretensions from be-

ginning to end. Mr. Parris notes that not one of the sufferers was afflicted during her examination after she began to confess. Is it possible that the whole performance with Mary Warren was a part of a conspiracy between her and the other accusing girls and the older prosecutors? It is possible, but hardly probable. She made a second and circumstantial confession, in which she turned state's evidence, so to speak, and told all she had seen and heard. She was immediately released and returned to her former occupation of testifying against persons accused of witchcraft. The impression which her case made on the credulous people of Salem was to convince them that there was no fraud about the witchcraft accusations and prosecutions when members of the accusing circle were "cried out against" by one of their companions, and that if she could tear herself from the devil's snare, the others could do the same if so disposed.

Jonathan Carey, whose wife was charged with witchcraft, has left a circumstantial account of his wife's examination before the magistrates. It gives a clear idea of the mode of procedure, which did not differ in this case from that followed in others. Capt. Carey was an old shipmaster, and a man whose word was not to be doubted. He says:—

May 24. I having heard some days, that my wife was

accused of witchcraft; being much disturbed at it, by advice went to Salem Village, to see if the afflicted knew her. We arrived there on the 24th of May. It happened to be a day appointed for examination, accordingly, soon after our arrival, Mr. Hathorne and Mr. Corwin, &c., went to the meeting-house, which was the place appointed for that work. The minister began with prayer; and, having taken care to get a convenient place, I observed that the afflicted were two girls of about ten years old, and about two or three others of about eighteen. One of the girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The prisoners were called in one by one, and, as they came in, were cried out at, &c. The prisoners were placed about seven or eight feet from the justices and the accusers were between the justices and them. The prisoners were ordered to stand right before the justices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand, lest they should therewith afflict them. And the prisoner's eyes must be constantly on the justices, for, if they looked on the afflicted, they would either fall into fits, or cry out of being hurt by them. After an examination of the prisoners, who it was afflicted these girls, and c., they were put upon saying the Lord's prayer, as a trial of their guilt. After the afflicted seemed to be out of their fits, they would look steadfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak, and then the justices said they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again. Then the justices said to the accusers, "Which of you will go and touch the prisoner at the bar?" Then the most courageous would adventure, but, before they had made three steps, would ordinarily fall down as in a fit. The justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the prisoner, that she might touch them, and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the justices would say: "They are well," before I could discern any alteration,—by which I observed that the justices understood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a spectator. My wife also was there part of the time, but no notice was taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and asked her name.



But I, having an opportunity to discourse Mr. Hale with whom I had formerly acquaintance, I took his advice what I had best do, and desired of him that I have an opportunity to speak with her that accused my wife; which he promised should be, I acquainting him that I reposed my trust in him. Accordingly he came to me after the examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to speak with the said accuser, Abigail Williams, a girl eleven or twelve years old, but that we could not be in private at Mr. Parris's house, as he had promised me; we went therefore into the ale-house, where an Indian man attended us, who, it seems, was one of the afflicted; to him we gave some cider; he showed several scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and showed them as done by witchcraft, and acquainted us that his wife, who also was a slave, was in prison for witchcraft. And now, instead of one accuser, they all came in, and began to tumble down like swine; and then all three women were called in to attend them. We in the room were all at a stand to see who they would cry out of; but in a short time they cried out, "Carey;" and immediately after, a warrant was sent from the justices to bring my wife before them, who was sitting in a chamber near by, waiting for this. Being brought before the justices, her chief accusers were two girls. My wife declared to the justices, that she never had any knowledge of them before that day. She was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I requested that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me. Then she desired me to wipe the tears from her eyes, and the sweat from her face, which I did; then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying she should faint. Justice Hathorne replied she had strength enough to torment these persons, and she should have strength to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the room. The Indian before mentioned was also brought in, to be one of her accusers, being come in, he now (when before the justices) fell down, and tumbled about like a hog, but said nothing. The justices asked the girls who afflicted the In-



dian: they answered, she (meaning my wife), and that she now lay upon him. The justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest, instead of curing, she should make him worse by her looking at him, her hand being guided to take hold of his, but the Indian took hold of her hand and pulled her down on the floor in a barberous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought.

Capt. Carey said he had difficulty to get a bed for his wife that night. She was committed to jail in Boston, and subsequently removed to Cambridge. "Having been there one night, next night the jailer put irons on her legs; the weight was about eight pounds." These irons and other afflictions threw her into convulsions, and he tried to have the irons taken off, but in vain. When the trials came on Carey went to Salem to see how they were conducted. Finding that spectral testimony and idle gossip were admitted as evidence, he told his wife she had nothing to hope for there. He procured her escape from jail and they went to New York, where Gov. Fletcher befriended them.

John Alden, sen., of Boston, also wrote an account of how accused people were treated. Alden was son of the famous John Alden, one of the founders of the Plymouth colony. He had resided in Boston thirty years, was a member of the church there, and had commanded an armed vessel belonging to the colony. He was seventy years of age and quite wealthy. Alden



WITCH PINS, SALEM COURT HOUSE.



was sent for on May 28, and went to Salem Village on the 31st. Gedney, Hathorne and Corwin sat at his examination. It differed but little from that described by Capt. Carey. It was some time before the accusing girls learned who Alden was, and in the mean time they pointed to others as their tormentors. Finally they saw Alden and cried out against him. They were all ordered to go down into the street, says Alden, where a ring was made and the same accuser cried out, "there stands Alden, a bold fellow, with his hat on before the judges, he sells powder and shot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian squaws, and has Indian papooses." "Then was Alden committed to the marshal's custody, and his sword taken from him." The magistrates "bid Alden look upon the accusers, which he did and they fell down. Alden asked Mr. Gedney what reason there could be given why Alden's looking on *him* did not strike *him* down as well, but no reason was given." Alden was sent to jail, but he too saw no hope if brought to trial before the court as constituted, and made his escape.

Rebecca Eames, wife of Robert Eames, on the day Mr. Burroughs and his companion martyrs were hung, was a spectator of the scene at a house near Gallows hill. While in this house the woman whose guest she was felt a pin stuck in her foot. She immediately accused Rebecca

Eames of bewitching her, she "not being as good as she might have been." Goodwife Eames was immediately arrested, and was examined before the magistrates in Salem on August 19. Confessing herself a witch,

"She owned she had bin in ye snare a month or 2 & had bin perswaded to it: 3 months: & that ye devil appeared to her like a Colt very ugly: ye first time: but she would not own yt she had bin baptized by him she did not know but yt ye devil did persuade her to renounce god & christ & follow his wicked ways:"

She was committed to jail, tried the following month, convicted, and on the 17th, sentenced to be hanged. The sentence was never executed, but she remained in jail until the following March when she was reprieved. Her husband died on July 22, 1693, and she in 1721 at the age of 82.<sup>6</sup>

Sarah Buckley and Mary Whittredge, her daughter, were brought before the examining magistrates May 18, on warrants issued May 14. The accusing girls testified against Mrs. Buckley substantially as they had at the trials of other accused persons. Susan Sheldon declared that she "saw the black man whispering in her ear." She was committed to prison, where she remained until January, 1693, being heavily ironed all the time. William Hubbard "the venerable

<sup>6</sup>The records of the Court of General Sessions of Jan. 18, 1692, show that Zerubabel Endicott was arr. on charge of adultery with Rebecca Eames and bound over in the sum of £200.

minister of Ipswich," on June 20, 1692, certified to her high character. He had

"Known her for above fifty years, and during all that time, I never knew nor heard of any evil in her carriage, or conversation unbecoming a Christian: likewise she was bred up by Christian parents all the time she lived here in Ipswich." He was "strangely surprised that any person should speak or think of her as one worthy to be suspected of any such crime."

Rev. John Higginson, who had been a minister of the gospel for fifty-five years and pastor of the First Church in Salem for a third of a century, and Rev. Samuel Cheever, bore equally strong testimony to the high character of Sarah Buckley. The woman was probably ironed during her confinement in jail because of statements of Mary Walcott. Benjamin Hutchinson, on July 15, deposed that his wife being taken with great pain he went for Mary Walcott "to come and look to see if she could see any body upon her; and as soon as she came into the house she said Sarah Buckley and Mary Whitridge were upon his wife." These women, be it remembered, were already in jail. Hutchinson sent to the sheriff, desiring him "to take some course with those women that they might not have such power to torment." The sheriff ordered them to be fettered, and "ever since that" Hutchinson's wife had been "tolerably well." Sarah Buckley and Mary Whitridge were tried in January, 1693, and acquitted. They were



poor people, and the costs of court, the expense of living in jail and the jailer's fee of £10, fairly impoverished them. It is difficult for us to realize the state of a community where persons accused of a terrible crime, kept heavily ironed for many months in a vile prison, tried for their lives, and finally acquitted, were compelled to pay all the costs and fees before being liberated.

There were many other persons tried or accused, and still others suspected, besides those individually mentioned in the preceding pages, but the particulars already given will suffice to indicate how all were treated. The course pursued by magistrates and courts differed only in minor details.

## CHAPTER XII.

---

### *A REVIEW.*

---

**I**N reviewing the story presented in the preceding pages I confess to a measure of doubt as to the moving causes in this terrible tragedy. It seems impossible to believe a tithe of the statements which were made at the trials. And yet it is equally difficult to say that nine out of every ten of the men, women and children who testified upon their oaths, intentionally and wilfully falsified. Nor does it seem possible that they did, or could, invent all these marvelous tales ; fictions rivalling the imaginative genius of Haggard or Jules Verne. Nevertheless, we know that the greater portion of their depositions were without foundation in fact. Many of them we may attribute to the wild fancies of minds disordered by the excited state of the community. Others cannot be thus explained satisfactorily. In order to form a correct judgment of the acts and words of these people, we must first put ourselves in the place of the men and women of 1692. They

believed in witchcraft; that there was such a thing, no one doubted. As we have seen, the wisest jurists, as well as all the ministers, believed in the existence of witches. Books were written upon the subject, as upon insanity and kindred topics. People had been arrested and executed for the alleged crime in all Christian countries. For nearly half a century previous to 1692, prosecutions were made for witchcraft in New England. Men like Gov. Endicott, Gov. Winthrop, and even the liberal-minded Bradstreet, had passed sentence upon its unfortunate victims. Shall we, then, wonder that the people of Salem Village attributed to the demon witchcraft the strange performances of Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Parris, Ann Putnam and their associates, in 1692 and 1693? Rather shall we not record our admiration that then and there the belief in spectral evidence, and, necessarily witchcraft, received its death blow. The refusal of the Essex jury to convict in January, 1693, was the beginning of the end, not only in Salem but in the world. Some characters were exhibited during the dark period that command our profoundest respect. Heroic Joseph Putnam always denounced the course being pursued and kept his horse saddled for some weeks in anticipation of a call from the constable and with the full determination to escape.

That Mr. Parris was sincere in the belief that these children were bewitched, I see no reason to doubt. That he "fauned the flame" and encouraged the prosecutions for the purpose of "wreaking vengeance" on his opponents in church affairs, as is often asserted, is doubtful. That he should be more ready to believe one of his opponents guilty than one of his friends and



JOSEPH PUTNAM HOUSE, DANVERS.

supporters, is quite natural, although we may look in vain for any positive evidence of even this. Families that supported him did not always escape prosecution, while others, not of the ministerial faction, were numbered among the most active accusers. Every neighborhood disagreement that court record or tradition has handed down to us, has been enlarged upon and embellished by different writers to prove that persons were accused of witchcraft because of

some differences of opinion or some petty suit-at-law. And yet we frequently find these same people uniting in a complaint for witchcraft, as in the case of Sarah Good, where the complainants were Thomas Preston, son-in-law of Rebecca Nurse, and Thomas and Edward Putnam. That Parris should take an active part in the affair was natural, seeing he was the minister of the parish. Is it matter of wonder that he should attend the trials and ask questions? He was probably as familiar with the facts as any one who could be present. He was frequently reporter of the evidence, appointed by the court because he wrote in characters and could make minutes faster than most others. It is true that after the storm had past Parris had renewed disagreements with the church. But it was really a continuation of the old feud that had merely slumbered for a year, together with the added feelings engendered by the occurrences of that period. Naturally the activity of Mr. Parris in the prosecutions rendered him obnoxious to the surviving relatives of those whose lives were taken. All this, however, would be consistent with his sincerity. No one now questions but that the whole unfortunate affair, judged from our stand-point, was an error of the gravest nature. But judged from the vantage ground of 1692, the first error was in the conviction of persons on purely spectral evidence, for which



the judges, not Parris, were responsible. The second was made by the judges when they failed to penetrate the veil of improbability which shrouded the testimony of many witnesses, and to see that much of this testimony was either falsehood or delusion. The judges, as we have seen, followed very closely the precedents of the ablest English jurists. All those engaged in the prosecutions appear to have learned a lesson by their experience. Parris himself subsequently said that, "were the same troubles again he should not agree with his former apprehension."<sup>1</sup> Granting that he even took up the witchcraft cry too hastily in the beginning, where is the evidence that he did it to "wreak vengeance" on any who had opposed his ministry? I mean not to defend Parris. Undoubtedly he was hasty. More care, a cooler head, better judgment, might have prevented the witchcraft tragedy. The delusion would have been ended almost before it was begun had the tricks of those girls been exposed. Parris could have done this had he not been blinded by the infatuation of his belief in witchcraft. But that he was actuated by motives of spite would appear to be very doubtful.

Even more has Cotton Mather's position been misunderstood and misinterpreted. He and his

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Parris' "Acknowledgement," 1694; quoted by Calef, Fowler's ed., 150.



father, Increase Mather, were conservative in all matters relating to the witchcraft prosecutions after they began. Cotton Mather has been charged repeatedly with "getting up" the delusion at Salem Village, with being "the chief agent of the mischief," and helping it on throughout that dark summer. On the contrary, he was not present at a single trial, and was at only one execution. It is an open question whether he was not at the execution of Mr. Burroughs as a friend and brother minister and not as a persecutor. We should take with some measure of allowance Calef's statement about Mather's declaration that Burroughs was no ordained minister. Mr. Mather advised the judges and the council to exercise great care, and not to convict on spectral evidence alone. It has been said that he advised testing the accused by having them repeat the Lord's prayer. So he did. But in doing so he especially enjoined the judges not to use it as evidence to convict. Here are his exact words :

"That they be tested by repeating the Lord's prayer or those other Systems of christianity which it seems the divels often make the witches unable to repeat without ridiculous Depravations and Amputations. The danger of this experiment will be taken away if you make no evidence of it, but only put it to the use I mention. . . . The like I would say of some other experiments only we may venture too far before we are aware."<sup>2</sup>

At the very outset of the examination, Cotton Mather wrote to Maj. Richards,

"Most humbly begging him that he do not lay more stress on pure spectre testimony than it will bear. It is certain that the devils have sometimes represented the shapes of persons not only innocent but very vertuous."<sup>3</sup>

He wrote to Judge Sewall on Aug. 17, 1692 :

"I do still Think That when there is no further Evidence against a person but only This, That a Spectre in their shape does afflict a neighbor, that Evidence is not enough to convict ye . . . of witchcraft."

This letter was written two days before the execution of Proctor, Burroughs, Willard, Carrier and Jacobs, and therefore this further sentence is peculiarly significant :

"If any persons have been condemned about whom any of ye judges are not easy in their minds, that ye Evidence against them, has been satisfactory, it would certainly be for ye glory of the whole Transaction to give that person a Reprieve."<sup>4</sup>

That Cotton Mather believed in witchcraft, is not the question. We know he did in the strongest manner, and that he had written extensively in support of the doctrine. Nor is there any question but that he believed in the admission of spectral evidence. But the question is, how far would he go in the prosecutions and how much credence would he give to this evidence. It seems plain from quotations already

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Transactions of the Lit. and Hist. Society of Quebec, II., 313.

made from his writings that, while he believed in the admission of the testimony he did not believe in convicting persons on it alone. Phips wrote, on Feb. 21, 1693, that the advice given by the Mathers and other ministers for more caution in the admission of evidence, had much lessened the peril of conviction.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Cotton Mather was in a large degree responsible for the witchcraft troubles of 1692, because he had been for several years instilling into the minds of the people belief, not only in the reality of witchcraft, but in the existence of an ever present devil who was using the spectres of human beings to do his evil deeds. Mather appears to have had an unbounded faith in his own knowledge and power; he believed himself divinely appointed, above all his brother ministers, to lead in the work of purifying the community if not the world, and driving out the evil one.

Mr. Mather's plan for dealing with people supposed to be bewitched was to pray with them, not to prosecute the persons whom they accused of being their tormentors. He seems to have been as successful with his remedy as the judges were with theirs. He prayed with the Goodwin children and with their alleged tormentors. That outbreak was checked in the family where it originated, and no lives were then sacrificed, beyond that of Mrs. Glover. Perhaps if Mather had

<sup>5</sup> Felt's Annals of Salem, II., 482.

been as active in the Salem Village witchcrafts as some of his detractors allege, he would have been the means of saving the lives that were sacrificed to the law and the ill-timed activity of Parris, Noyes, Hale, and the court. Brattle, speaking of the execution of Burroughs and others, at which Cotton Mather was present, says :

“ They protested their innocency as in the presence of the great God whom forthwith they were to appear before; they wished, and declared their wish, that their blood might be the last innocent blood shed upon that account. With great affectation they entreated Mr. C. M. to pray with them; they prayed that God would discover what witchcrafts were among us; they forgave their accusers, they spake without reflection on jury and judges for bringing them in guilty and condemning them: they prayed earnestly for pardon for all other sins and for an interest in the precious blood of our dear Redeemer: and seemed to be very sincere, upright, and sensible of their circumstances on all accounts; especially Proctor and Willard, whose whole management of themselves, from the Jail to the Gallows, and whilst at the Gallows, was very affecting and melting to the hearts of some considerable spectators, whom I could mention to you: but they are executed and so I leave them.”<sup>6</sup>

The reader will have noticed, no doubt, that the charges of witchcraft in 1692 were made mainly by children, as in all previous cases in this and other countries. Children were the accusers in nearly every instance; children were the afflicted, and children were the principal

witnesses. Little Ann Putnam testified in nineteen cases, Elizabeth Hubbard in twenty, Mary Walcott in sixteen, Mary Warren in twelve, Mercy Lewis in ten, Abigail Williams, Susan Sheldon and Elizabeth Booth in eight each. In fact, the delusion originated with children and was kept alive by them. Shorn of their testimony, it could not have been maintained for a day. Ann Putnam's power over life and death exceeded that of judges and jury. When she said Martha Corey was a witch, Martha was arrested. When she said the man Abbott was the one whose appearance had tormented her, he was arrested. When she said he was not the man, he was instantly released. What motives prompted these children it is difficult to say. It may be they were carried away by the importance in the community which their statements gave them; or they may have been the victims of the same mental derangement that afflicted the older people. We do not know, we can never know, what prompted them to act as they did. The Carr family from which Ann Putnam was descended, is known to have been one whose members were very impressionable, given to fits of nervousness and hysteria.

But how shall we account for the stories told by the numerous adult witnesses? What explanation shall be offered for the marvelous tales of Mrs. Ann Putnam, of Richard Carr,



Samuel Sheldon, Jonathan Westgate, Samuel Shattuck and others? Some statements by these witnesses are undoubtedly merely exaggerated accounts of every day occurrences. Others are not thus explainable. The only solution which we should be likely to offer of such tales in this day and generation, would be that the person's mind was badly disordered by insanity, or by habitual intemperance, or that he had suffered an attack of nightmare. It is pretty evident that the two disorders last named did effect the testimonies of some of the witnesses, but the solution that seems most reasonable is that which attributes the conduct of these persons to a sort of epidemic, which pervaded the whole community. Men and women were temporarily insane over the strange occurrences in their midst. Their minds were actually diseased. Many who confessed themselves witches subsequently explained that they did this "because so many people were positive the devil had appeared in their shapes, they could not doubt it was true." They had been educated to believe such things not only possible but probable and common. They did not know but that the demon had invisibly taken their shapes to torment others. Persons whom they did not suspect of intentionally falsifying, testified under oath that these things had been done, and they could not doubt it. The safest way therefore, as they well



knew, was to confess. Others, no doubt did not believe the testimony against themselves, but acknowledged themselves to be witches because those who confessed were discharged, while those who did not were eventually convicted and executed. Some stood to the confession and were saved. Others, under the promptings of their consciences, repudiated the confession and suffered death. It is difficult to reconcile the conduct of Thomas Putnam, and his wife Ann, and their daughter Ann, jr., with other than motives of personal malice. Young Ann, as we have seen, was a leading complainant and witness in all the important cases. The mother testified at several trials, telling some of the most improbable stories recorded in all this history. Thomas was an active and leading character throughout from first to last. He prepared many of the depositions for his daughter, and on several occasions, made statements for her over his own signature. Why he was thus prominent does not clearly appear. It may be that he was prompted solely by what he believed to be for the public good: that he was honest, but misguided, yet his zeal was certainly extraordinary.

Of the conduct of the examining magistrates, the judges and other officials, but one opinion seems possible: they were misguided in their sense of duty, unjust to the accused, and unne-

essarily severe with the prisoners. This is true whether we judge them from the standpoint of 1892 or 1692. The accused were treated, from the moment some babbling child uttered a suspicious word against them, to the burial of their bodies after execution, with a harshness sometimes little short of brutality, and with far more severity than any evidence would indicate that persons accused of other crimes in those days were treated. They appear to have been regarded as veritable devils themselves, ready to torment everybody. Their rights, even as the rights of accused persons were understood in 1692, were not protected. The treatment of persons accused of witchcraft in England a half century earlier, by courts and officers, was apparently more civilized and humane, so far as any one can judge from the accounts left to us of those trials. The great mistake of the judges in Massachusetts was in allowing convictions on spectral evidence alone, and in holding that the devil could not appear in the shape of a person without that person's consent, although they had English precedents for this course. Stoughton maintained this view throughout the entire period, against the advice of some of his associates on the bench. It is not to be presumed that he or any one else connected with these prosecutions desired to convict innocent persons, or to take the lives of any not proven guilty by

what seemed to them legitimate evidence. They undoubtedly believed that the word of a witch was not to be taken under any circumstances; that when the accused made any statements in their own behalf they were prompted to it by the devil, and therefore not to be believed.

One thing at least seems certain regarding the witchcraft prosecutions: nearly every man prominently connected with them subsequently confessed his error. Even Stoughton, in 1696, approved a proclamation ordaining a public fast to be kept on the 14th of January, 1697, to implore that the anger of God might be turned away, and concluding with the expression of a fear that something might still be wanting to accompany their supplications, especially as related to the witchcraft tragedy. The General Court subsequently reimbursed to the heirs of the executed persons and to those who were imprisoned from time to time during 1692-3 more or less of the losses suffered by them, and reversed the attainders. I am aware that it is a disputed question whether all the necessary formalities to make the several acts of the General Court of full force and effect were ever fulfilled; but there is no question that the sentiment of the people's representatives was overwhelmingly in favor of doing thus much to right a great wrong.

Rev. John Hale of Beverly, one of the ablest

divines in New England, repented of the part he had taken in the affair, and wrote that,

“By following such traditions of our fathers, maxims of the common law, and precedents and principles, which now we may see weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, are found too light—such was the darkness of that day, the tortures and lamentations of the afflicted, and the power of former precedents, that we walked in the clouds and could not see our way.”

The First Church in Salem, by vote recorded, that “we are through God’s mercy to us, convinced that we were at that dark day, under the power of those errors which then prevailed in the land.”<sup>7</sup> On July 8, 1703, the ministers of Essex county addressed a memorial to the General Court, saying there was “great reason to fear that innocent persons then suffered, and that God may have a controversey with the land upon that account.”<sup>8</sup> The jurors who tried and convicted the accused, united in a public statement in which they said, among other things: “We justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken.” It may interest the reader to know who the jurymen were. Neal gives the following list of one jury: Thomas Fisk, foreman, William Fisk, John Batchelder, Thomas Fisk, jun., John Dane, Joseph Eveleth, Thomas Perly, sen.; John Peabody, Thomas Perkins, Samuel Sayer, Andrew Elliott and Henry Herrick,

<sup>7</sup> Records First Church, Salem.

<sup>8</sup> Witchcraft Papers, State House, Boston.

sen. Ann Putnam lived to realize the error of her conduct, and to repent of it most bitterly. In 1706, Rev. Joseph Green, then pastor of the Village church, read her confession to the church. It was as follows :

I desire to be humbled before God for that sad and humbling providence that befel my father's family in the year about 1692; that I, then being in my childhood, should by 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 good reason to believe they were innocent persons; and that it was a great delusion of Satan that deceived me in that sad time, whereby I justly fear I have been instrumental, with others, though ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon myself and this land the guilt of innocent blood; though what was said or done by me against any person I can truly and uprightly say before God and man, I did it not out of any anger, malice or ill-will to any person, for I had no such thing against one of them, but what I did was ignorantly, being deluded of satan. And particularly as I was a chief instrument of accusing of goodwife Nurse and her two sisters, I desire to lie in the dust, and to be humbled for it, in that I was a cause, with others, of so sad a calamity to them and their families; for which cause I desire to lie in the dust, and earnestly beg forgiveness of God, and from all those unto whom I have given just cause of sorrow and offence, whose relations were taken away or accused.

Many others connected with the prosecutions subsequently acknowledged their error. None of these people, as I understand it, denied witchcraft itself. The error they acknowledged was as to the method of procedure. They confessed that they had been too hasty in their



judgments, and had accused and convicted innocent persons.

Great stress has been laid on the so-called "confession" of Judge Sewall in the old South Church, Boston, on Fast Day, 1697. The act was nothing out of the usual course for Sewall, or for many others in that day. They had a habit, whenever any great joy or sorrow came to them or their families, of "putting up a bill" to be read from the pulpit. Sewall's diary shows that he did this often. It was not usually a confession of any special sin, but a "petition," he calls it. The governor had appointed a day of fasting and prayer. On that day Sewall handed his petition to the minister, and, as was the custom, stood up in his pew while it was being read. The petition was as follows :

Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family, and being sensible that as to the guilt contracted on the opening of the late Commission of oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order for this day relates) he is upon many accounts, more concerned than any he knows of, Desires to take the Blame and shame of it, Asking pardon of men, And especially desiring prayers that God who has an Unlimited Authority, would pardon that sin and all other his sins, personal and Relative. And according to his infinite Benignity and Sovereignty Not Visit the sin of him or any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the Land. But that He would powerfully defend him against all Temptation to Sin, For the Future, and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving Conduct of his Word and Spirit."<sup>9</sup>



These examples of repentance and change of sentiments might be continued almost indefinitely, but enough has been given to show that the leading prosecutors and the officials generally, subsequently acknowledged their mistake. The conclusion, therefore, which seems most rational is that which attributes the unfortunate affair to a species of neighborhood insanity, a wholesale delusion. It was like a cyclone that sweeps over the land, or a conflagration that wipes out of existence whole sections of a city. We do not realize the awful drama which is being enacted around us. Only when the storm has passed and we awake to a thorough comprehension of the calamity, do we appreciate its force; then, the hour of its raging seems like a dream. Such, I judge, was substantially the case with our ancestors two centuries ago. They did not realize, during the summer of 1692, the awfulness of the tragedy they were enacting. They believed that they were casting out devils, and that any measures, however severe, were justifiable. Their language after the storm was passed and a calm had settled over the land, implies as much,—and more,—that the full realization of what they had been doing, dawned on them only after all was over. The witchcraft tragedy must then have seemed to them like a horrid nightmare. We of the present generation shudder at the intolerant persecutions and

superstitions of our ancestors. Let us do nothing in politics or religion that will cause our descendants to blush for us. It is well to revive the unwise or unjust acts of our ancestors sometimes, as we would place a beacon on some shoal or reef where a ship had been wrecked, to warn others of the danger.



## APPENDIX A.

---

For more convenient reference a list of all persons accused of witchcraft in 1692, so far as known, is appended.

The following were executed: June 10, Bridget Bishop; July 19, Sarah Good, Sarah Wildes, Elizabeth How, Susanna Martin and Rebecca Nurse; August 19, George Burroughs, John Procter, George Jacobs, sen., John Willard, and Martha Carrier; September 22, Martha Corey, Mary Easty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeator, Margaret Scott, Wilmot Reed, Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker; September 19, Giles Corey pressed to death.

The following were condemned but not executed: At the third session of the court in August, Elizabeth Procter; fourth session, Dorcas Hoar; fifth session, Abigail Faulkner, Rebecca Eames, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster and Abigail Hobbs; at the January session of the new court in 1693, Mary Post, Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Johnson.

Below will be found a partial list of persons accused whether convicted or not: Andover, Nehemiah Abbott, Sarah Bridges, Abigail Barker, William Barker, William Barker, jun., Mary Barker, John Bradstreet, Mrs. Ebenezer Baker, William Barry, Martha Carrier, Richard Carrier, Sarah Cave, Deliverance Dane, Mrs. Nathan Dane, Abigail Faulkner, Ann Foster, Eunice Frye, ——— Harrington, Stephen Johnson, John Laundry, Mary Lacy, Mary Marston, Mary Osgood, Mary Parker, Hannah Tyler, Martha Tyler, Joanna Tyler, Hope Tyler, Samuel Wardwell, Sarah Wilson, Sarah Wilson, jun., Mary Wardwell.

Amesbury, Susanna Martin.

Beverly, Dorcas Hoar, Rebecca Johnson, Sarah Merrill, Sarah Morey, Susanna Roote, Sarah Riste, Job Tukey and John Wright.

Boxford, Rebecca Eames and Robert Eames.

Boston, John Alden and John Flood.

Billerica, Goodman Abbott, M. Andrews, Mary Toothaker, Jason Toothaker and Roger Toothaker.

Chelmsford, Martha Sparks.

Charlestown, Elizabeth Carey and Elizabeth Payne.

Gloucester, Mary Coffin, Ann Doliver, Martha Prince and Abigail Somes.

Haverhill, Mary Greene and Mrs Francis Hutchinson.

Lynn, Sarah Bassett, Sarah Cole, Mary Derick, Mary Derrill, Thomas Farrar, Elizabeth Hart, Mary Ireson and Mary Rich.

Malden, Elizabeth Fosdick.

Marblehead, Wilmot Reed.

Reading, Elizabeth Colson, Sarah Dustin, Lydia Dustin and Sarah Rice.

Rowley, Mary Post and Margaret Scott.

Salem, Candy (an Indian slave), Phillip English, Mary English, Thomas Hardy, Alice Parker, Sarah Pease, Ann Pudeator, Mary de Riels and Mrs. White.

Salem Village and Farms, Daniel Andrews, Edward Bishop, Bridget Bishop, Sarah Bishop, Mary Black, John Buxton, Sarah Bibber, Sarah Buckley, Sarah Cloyse, Martha Corey, Giles Corey, Sarah Good, Dorothy Good, John Indian, George Jacobs, sen., George Jacobs, jun., Margaret Jacobs, Martha Jacobs, Rebecca Jacobs, Rebecca Nurse, John Procter, Elizabeth Procter, Benjamin Procter, William Procter, Tituba, Mary Warren, Mary Whittridge and John Willard.

Salisbury, Mary P. Bradbury.

Topsfield, Nehemiah Abbott, jun., Mary Easty, Abigail Hobbs, Deliverance Hobbs, William Hobbs, Elizabeth How, James How and Sarah Wildes.

Wells, Me., George Burroughs.

Woburn, Bethia Carter.

Residence unknown, Rachel Clinton.

Sarah Osburn and Ann Foster were convicted and sentenced, but died in prison.

## APPENDIX B.

The question whether the attainders were ever removed and whether the heirs of all the sufferers ever received compensation at the hands of the General Court has been ably and exhaustively argued by Mr. A. C. Goodell of Salem, editor of the Province Laws, and Dr. George H. Moore of New York, in papers read before the Massachusetts Historical Society and published in the proceedings of that society, and also in pamphlet form. Both of these authorities agreed that an act passed in 1703 reversing the attainders of Abigail Faulkner, Sarah Wardwell and Elizabeth Procter. The records in the office of the clerk of courts in Salem contain a statement of the amounts allowed in the case of each person and also the acknowledgment of the receipt of the money by numerous claimants. The following document shows beyond question that pecuniary compensation was made to many of the sufferers whether the attaint was ever fully removed or not:

By His Excellency the Governor.

Whereas ye Generall Assembly in their last Session accepted ye report of their comitte appointed to consider of ye Damages Sustained by Sundry persons prosecuted for Witchcraft in ye year 1692 Viz<sup>t</sup>.

To Elizabeth How	12-0-0	John Procter & wife	150-0-0
George Jacobs	79-0-0	Sarah Wild	14-0-0
Mary Easty	20-0-0	Mary Bradbury	20-0-0
Mary Parker	8-0-0	Abigail Faulkner	20-0-0
George Burroughs	50-0-0	Abigail Hobbs	10-0-0
Giles Corey & wife	21-0-0	Anne Foster	6-10-0
Rebecca Nurse	25-0-0	Rebecca Eames	10-0-0
John Willard	20-0-0	Dorcas Hoar	21-17-0
Sarah Good	30-0-0	Mary Post	8-14-0
Martha Carrier	7-6-0	Mary Lacey	8-10-0
Samuel Wardwell & wife	36-15-0		
	<hr/>		269-11-00
	309-01-00		309-01-00
			<hr/>
			578-12-00

The whole amounting unto Five Hundred Seventy Eight poundes & Twelve Shillings.

I do by & with the advice & consent of Her Majesty's council hereby order you to pay ye above Sum of five hundred Seventy Eight poundes & Twelve shillings to Stephen Sewall Esqr. who together with ye Gentlemen of ye Committee that Estimated and Reported ye Said Damages are desired & directed to distribute ye Same in proportion as above to such of ye Said persons as are Living & to those that legally represent them that are dead according as ye law directs for which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand at Boston  
the 17 day of December 1711.

J: Dudley

To Mr. Treasurer Taylor

By order of ye Governor & Council

Is: ADDINGTON Sec<sup>ry</sup>

Other papers on the same files contain the receipts of the heirs of the above named parties for the amounts allowed to them. It will be seen that the names of six persons who were executed do not appear in this list, neither does that of Elizabeth Johnson jr. who was condemned but not executed, nor that of Sarah Osburn who died in prison. I do not find that their heirs ever received any compensation for the damages sustained by their persons and estates. Apparently none of the heirs of the six who were condemned ever petitioned for reimbursement or for the removal of the attain. For this reason doubtless their names do not appear in the list reported upon by the committee. Elizabeth Johnson did sign the petition, but her name was omitted, either accidentally, or purposely because of her bad character.

---

### APPENDIX C.

The letter of Gov. Phips to the home government under date of Feb. 21, 1692-3 is as follows:

May it please yo<sup>r</sup> Lords<sup>hp</sup>.

By the Capn. of ye Samuell & Henry I gave an account



that att my arrivall here I found ye Prisons full of people comitted upon suspicion of witchcraft & that continuall complaints were made to me that many persons were grievously tormented by witches & that they cryed out upon severall persons by name, as ye cause of their torments ye number of these complaints increasing every day, by advice of ye Lieut. Govr. & ye Councill I gave a Comission of Oyer and Terminer to try ye suspected witches & *at that time* the generality of ye People represented ye matter to me as reall witchcraft & gave very strange instances of the same. The first in Comission was ye Lieut. Govr. & ye rest persons of ye best prudence & figure that could then be pitched upon & I depended upon ye Court for a right method of proceeding in cases of witchcraft; at that time I went to comand the army at ye Eastern part of the Province for ye French and Indians had made an attack upon some of our Frontier Towns, I continued there for some time but *when I returned I found people much dissatisfied at ye proceedings of ye Court* for about Twenty persons were condemned and *executed* of which number *some were thought by many persons to be innocent.* The Court still proceeded in ye same method of trying them, which was by ye evidence of ye afflicted persons who when they were brought into ye Court as soon as the suspected witches looked upon them instantly fell to ye ground in strange agonies & grievous torments, but when touchd by them upon ye arme or some other part of their flesh they immediately revived & came to themselves, upon [which] they made oath that ye Prisoner at ye Bar did afflict them & that they saw their shape or spectre come from their bodies which put them to such paines & torments: When I enquired into ye matter I was enformed by ye Judges that they begun with this, but had humane testimony against such as were condemned & undoubted proof of their being witches, but at length I found that the Devill did take upon him ye shape of innocent persons & some were accused of whose innocency I was well assured & *many considerable persons* of unblameable life & conversation were cried out

upon as witches & wizards the *Deputy Govr.* notwithstanding *persisted vigorously in ye same method to ye great dissatisfaction & disturbance of ye people* untill I put an end to ye Court & stopped ye proceedings which I did because I saw many innocent persons might otherwise perish & at that time I thought it my duty to give an account thereof that their Mat<sup>es</sup>. pleasure might be signified hoping that for the better ordering thereof *ye judges learned in the law in England might give such rules & directions as have been practiced in England* for proceedings in so difficult & so nice a point; When I put an end to ye Court there were at least fifty persons in prison *in great misery by reason of the extreme cold & their poverty* most of them having only spectre evidence against them & their mittimusse being defective I caused some of them to be lett out upon bayle & put ye judges upon considering of a way to reliefe others & prevent them from perishing in prison, upon which some of them were convinced & acknowledged that their former proceedings were too violent & not grounded upon a right foundation but that if they might sit againe they would proceed after another method & whereas Mr. Increase Mather & severall other Divines did give it as their Judgement that ye Devill might afflict in ye shape of an innocent person & that ye look & ye touch of ye suspected persons was not sufficient prooffe against them, these things had not ye same stress layd upon them as before & upon this consideration I permitted a speciall Superior Court to be held at Salem in ye County of Essex on ye third day of January ye Lieut. Govr. being Chief Judge their method of proceeding being altered, all that were brought to tryall to ye number of fifty two, were cleared saving three & *I was enformed by the Kings Attorney Generall that some of ye cleared and ye condemned were under ye same circumstances* or that there was ye same reason to clear ye three condemned as ye rest according to his Judgement. The Deputy Govr. signed a Warrant for their execution & also of five others who were condemned at ye former Court of Oyer and terminer but considering how ye matter had been managed I sent a reprieve whereby ye execution was stopped until their Maj.

pleasure be signified & declared *the Lieut. Gov. upon this occasion was enraged & filled with passionate anger & refused to sitt on ye bench in a Superior Court then held [Tuesday, January 31, 1693] at Charles Towne & indeed hath from the begining hurried on these matters with great precipitancy & by his warrant hath caused the estates, goods and chattles of ye executed to be seized & disposed of without my knowledge or consent, the stop put to ye first method of proceedings hath dissipated ye blak cloud that threatened this Province with destruccon; for whereas this delusion of ye Devill did spread & its dismall effects touched ye lives & estates of many of their Mat<sup>ies</sup>. Subjects & ye reputacon of some of ye principall persons here & indeed unhappily clogged and interrupted their Mates. affaires which hath been a great vexation to me! I have no new complaints but peoples minds before divided and distracted by differing opinions concerning this matter are now well composed.*

I am Yor. Lordships most faithfull humble Servant,

William Phips.

To the Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. the Earle of Nottingham, att Whitehall, London.

---

#### APPENDIX D.

---

The most noted of the English cases of witchcraft, and the one most frequently cited in the Salem trials, was that heard before Lord Chief Justice Hale in Bury St. Edmunds in 1665. On that occasion Amy Duny and Rose Cullender were the accused and were tried together. The report of this celebrated trial is found in volume 6, "State Trials," page 647, and from that report the following account has been condensed.

The morning the afflicted came into the hall to give instructions for the drawing of their bills of indictment, three of them fell into strange and violent fits, shrieking

out in a most sad manner, so that they could not in any wise give any instruction in the court who were the cause of their distemper. And although they did after some certain space recover out of their fits, yet they were every one of them struck dumb, so that none of them could speak neither at that time, nor during the assizes until the conviction of the supposed witches. Elizabeth Pacy, eleven years of age, one of the afflicted, was brought into court at the time of the framing of the indictment and afterwards at the trial of the prisoners, but could not speak one word all the time, and for the most part she remained as one wholly senseless, as one in a deep sleep, and could move no part of her body, and all the motion of life that appeared in her was, that as she lay upon cushions in the court upon her back, her stomache and belly, by the drawing of her breath, would arise to a great height; and after the said Elizabeth had lain a long time on the table in the court, she came to a little herself and sat up, but could neither see nor speak, but was sensible of what was said to her, and after a while she laid her head on the bar of the court with a cushion under it, and her hand and her apron upon that, and there she lay a good space of time: and by the direction of the judge Amy Duny was privately brought to Elizabeth Pacy, and she touched her hand; whereupon the child without so much as seeing her for her eyes were closed all the while, suddenly leaped up, and caught Amy Duny by the hand, and afterwards by the face; and with her nails scratched her till the blood came and would by no means leave her till she was taken from her.

Deborah was held in such extreme agony that her parents wholly dispaired of her life, and therefore could not bring her to the assizes. Samuel Pacy, the father, testified that Deborah was suddenly taken with lameness in one leg. The same day Amy Duny came to the house to buy some herrings. She came three times and was denied three times, and the last time went away grumbling. At the same instant Deborah was taken with violent fits, feeling most extreme pain in her stomache, like the pricking of pins, and shrieking out in a most dreadful manner like unto

a whelp. She continued in this extremity from Oct. 10 to the 30th of the same month. The child cried out against Amy Duny as the cause of her malady. Soon the other child was taken, then both cried out, "There stands Amy Duny, and the Rose Cullender." They continued thus for two months. The father in the intervals caused them to read in the New Testament, and when they would come to the name of Lord, or Jesus, or Christ, and then before they could pronounce either of said words they would suddenly fall into their fits. But when they would come to the name Satan, or devil, they would clap their fingers upon the book, crying out, "This bites but makes me speak quite well."

Margaret Arnold, Pacy's sister, testified that her brother brought the children to her as she lived in Yarmouth. She did not believe the children vomited pins but that they were playing tricks, so she took all the pins out of their clothes and sewed them on, yet they afterwards raised at several times at least 30 pins in her presence. At times the young child went to the door when something which looked like a bee flew at her mouth. She ran into the house and fell into a fit, vomiting up a two-penny nail with a broad head. The child said the bee brought the nail and forced it into her mouth. The elder child at times declared that flies came to her and brought pins and afterwards she raised several pins.

Dianna Becking deposed, that her daughter had fits and she was taken with pains in her stomache, like pricking with pins; and afterwards fell into swooning fits, taking little or no food and daily vomiting crooked pins, "and upon Sunday last raised seven pins." These pins and also a lathe nail were produced in court. Mary Chandler, mother of Susan Chandler, another of the afflicted, testified to searching the body of Rose Cullender and finding various excrescences of flesh and other things not proper to mention here. She also testified that her daughter had terrible fits and vomited up crooked pins, all of which mother and daughter attributed to Rose Cullender. The girl was immediately brought into court and immediately struck dumb, crying out, "burn her," "burn her."



At the hearing, continues the report, there were divers known persons as Mr. Serjeant Kneeling, Mr. Serjeant Earl, and Mr. Serjeant Barnard present. Serjeant Kneeling seemed dissatisfied with the evidence; and thought it not sufficient to convict the prisoners: for admitting that the children were in truth bewitched; yet, said he, it can never be applied to the prisoners, upon the imagination only of the parties afflicted; for if that might be allowed, no person whatsoever can be in safety, for perhaps they might fancy another person, who might altogether be innocent in such matters. Dr. Brown of Norwich, "a person of great knowledge, who after this evidence given and upon view of the three persons in court, was desired to give his opinion, what he did conceive of them; and he was clearly of opinion that the persons were bewitched: and said that in Denmark there had been lately a great discovery of witches, who used the very same way of afflicting persons, by conveying pins into them, and crooked as these pins were, with needles and nails. And his opinion was that the devil in such cases did work upon the bodies of men and women, upon a natural foundation (that is) to stir up, and excite such super-abounding in their bodies to a great excess whereby he did in an extraordinary manner afflict them with such distempers as their bodies were most subject to as particularly appeared in these children, for he conceived that these swooning fits were natural, and nothing else but that they call the mother, but only heightened to a great excess by the subtilty of the devil, cooperating with the malice of these which we term witches, at whose instance he doth these villainies."

At first during the trial, there were some experiments made with the persons afflicted by bringing the persons to touch them; and it was observed, that when they were in the midst of their fits, to all men's apprehension wholly deprived of all sense and understanding, closing their fists in such manner, as that the strongest man in court could not force them open; yet by the least touch of one of these supposed witches, Rose Cullender by name, they would suddenly shriek out opening their hands, which accident



would not happen by the touch of any other person. There was what the report calls, "an ingenious person," who thought there might be great fallacy in the experiment and that the children might counterfeit their distemper. Thereupon Lord Conwallis, Sir Edmund Bacon and Mr. Serjeant Kneeling retired to the further end of the hall while one of the distempered was here in her fits. Amy Duny was conveyed from the bar and brought to the maid; they put an apron before her eyes, and then another person touched her hand, which produced the same effect as the touch of the witch did in court. Whereupon the gentlemen returned, openly protesting, that they did believe the whole transaction of this business was a mere imposture.<sup>1</sup>

This put the court and all persons into a stand. But at length Mr. Pacy declared that possibly the maid might be deceived by a suspicion that the witch touched her when she did not. When his daughter recovered she confirmed this and said that while she had been unable to speak, she heard and understood all that was going on in the court. This was looked upon as a confirmation of the experiment and that the parties were bewitched. It being demanded of the prisoners what they had to say for themselves, they replied, nothing material to anything that was proved against them. Whereupon, continues the account, the judge in giving his direction to the jury told them, that he would not repeat the evidence unto them, lest by so doing he should wrong the evidence on the one side or the other. Only this acquainted them, that they had two things to enquire after. First, whether or no these children were bewitched? Secondly, whether or no the prisoners at the bar were guilty of it? That there were such creatures as witches he made no doubt at all; For first, the scriptures had affirmed so much. Secondly, the wisdom of all nations had provided laws against such persons, which is an argument of their confidence of such crime. And such hath been the judgment of this kingdom, as appears by that act of parliament which hath provided punishments propor-

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that in the trials in Salem the touch of the witch on the afflicted restored them to their senses.

tionable to the quality of the offence. And desired them, strictly to observe their evidence; and desired the great God of heaven to direct their hearts in this weighty thing they had in hand: For to condemn the innocent, and to let the guilty go free, were both an abomination to the Lord.

With this short direction the jury retired and within half an hour returned with a verdict of guilty on the thirteen indictments. This was upon Thursday-afternoon, March 13, 1665. The next morning the three children with their parents came to the Lord Chief Baron Hale's lodgings, who all of them spake perfectly, and were in as good health as ever they were. Mr. Pacy declared that they were all recovered within a half hour after the witches were convicted.

In conclusion the judge and all the court were fully satisfied with the verdict, and therefore gave judgement against the witches that they should be hanged. They were much urged to confess, but would not. That morning we departed for Cambridge, but no reprieve was granted; and they were executed on Monday the 17th of March following, but they confessed nothing.

In 1716, almost a quarter of a century after the last witch was hung in New England, a Mrs. Hicks and her daughter aged nine years were hanged in Huntingdon for selling their souls to the devil, tormenting and destroying the neighbors and causing them to vomit pins, and raising a storm so that ships were almost lost by pulling off her stockings and making a lather with soap. Arnot says the last execution for witchcraft in Scotland was in 1722, when a woman was brought to the stake. Other writers say that the last execution in the south of Scotland was in 1696, when, among others, a handsome young woman suffered; and the last instance in the north of Scotland was in 1729. The statute against witchcraft was repealed in England by 9th Geo., 2, in 1736.



## INDEX.

---

- |                                 |                   |                             |                      |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Abbey, Samuel                   | 55.               | Bibber, Sarah,              | 204, 255.            |
| Abbott, Benj.                   | 185, 255.         | Billerica                   | 255.                 |
| "    Nehemiah,                  | 223-4,            | Bishop, Bridget,            | 72, 77, 80,          |
| 244, 254.                       |                   | 148-158, 226,               | 254, 255.            |
| "    N., jr,                    | 255.              | "    Edward,                | 148, 255.            |
| Addington, Isaac,               | 170, 257.         | "    Hannah,                | 148.                 |
| Alden, John,                    | 230-1, 255.       | "    Sarah,                 | 255.                 |
| Alford, Wm.,                    | 20.               | "    Townsend,              | 20, 111.             |
| Allen, Rev. James,              | 113, 176.         | Black, Mary,                | 255.                 |
| Amesbury,                       | 190, 254.         | Blackstone,                 | 25, 26, 166.         |
| Andover,                        | 87, 91, 205, 254. | Bly, John,                  | 155.                 |
| Andrews, D.                     | 255.              | Bodily presence,            | 105, 218.            |
| Andrews, M.,                    | 255.              | Boston,                     | 16, 43, 44, 87, 255, |
| Andros, Sir Edmund,             | 20, 28,           | "    jail,                  | 60, 67, 68.          |
| 70.                             |                   | Book, the devil's,          | 27, 61, 202          |
| Antimonian Views,               | 19.               | Booth, Eliz.,               | 172, 200, 244.       |
| Appleton, Samuel,               | 170.              | Boxford,                    | 198, 207, 255.       |
| Arnold, Margaret,               | 262.              | Bradstreet, Dudley and wife | 206.                 |
| Bacon, Sir Edmund,              | 264.              | "    John (Andover),        | 206, 254.            |
| Ballard, Joseph 205, Mrs.       | 206.              | "    John (of Rowley),      | 34.                  |
| Bailey, John                    | 173.              | "    Simon, Gov.,           | 41, 236.             |
| Bailey, Rev. Mr.,               | 176.              | Bradbury, Mary Perkins,     | 85,                  |
| Barnard, Rev. Thomas,           | 206.              | 210-14, 255.                |                      |
| Barry, Wm.,                     | 254.              | Bridges, Sarah,             | 254.                 |
| Bassett, Sarah,                 | 255.              | Broomsticks,                | 27, 61.              |
| Batchelder, Jno.,               | 62.               | Brown, Dr.,                 | 263.                 |
| Batten, Wm.;                    | 61.               | Browne, John and Samuel,    | 14, 19.              |
| Battis, Wm.,                    | 63.               | Brown, Sir Thomas,          | 24.                  |
| Bayley, Rev. James,             | 131.              | Buckley, Sarah,             | 179, 232, 233,       |
| Beach, Rev.,                    | 35.               | 254, 255.                   |                      |
| Beadle Tavern, 74, 160, 180,    |                   | Buffum, Caleb,              | 77.                  |
| 194, 197.                       |                   | Buffinton, Thos.,           | 63.                  |
| Becking, Hannah,                | 262.              | Bullock, Jno.,              | 198.                 |
| Bellingham, Dept. Gov.,         | 36.               | Burial of witches,          | 77.                  |
| Benom, Mrs.,                    | 89.               |                             |                      |
| Bently, Dr. Wm.,                | 216.              |                             |                      |
| Best, John, sen., 199, jr. 199. |                   |                             |                      |
| Beverly,                        | 15, 222, 254.     |                             |                      |

- Burroughs, Rev. Geo., 48, 61,  
80, 84, 131-147, 163,  
199, 218, 240, 243, 254-6.  
Burroughs, Mrs. Geo., 134.  
Buxton, John, 204, 255.  
Calef, Rob't, quoted from,  
43, 48, 54, 68, 95, 107,  
156, 240.  
Cambridge, 230.  
Candy, 255.  
Cape Ann, 10.  
Carey, Jonathan and wife,  
227, 230, 254-5.  
Carr, George, 211.  
" James, 211.  
" Mary, 132.  
" Richard, 212, 244.  
" William, 213.  
Carrier, Andrew, 185.  
" Martha, 85, 146, 182,  
184-6, 205, 254-6.  
" Richard, 185.  
" Sarah, 185.  
Carter, Bethia, 255.  
Casco, Me., 134.  
Cats, 27, 68, 185.  
Cave, Sarah, 254.  
Charlestown, 15, 44, 87, 255.  
Charter, 70.  
Charter Street Cemetery, 41.  
Cheever, Ezekiel, 57, 98, 147.  
" Samuel, 233.  
Chekley, Anthony, 73.  
Chelmsford, 256.  
Chickering, Henry, 111.  
Chilburn, Johanna, 61.  
Children in witchcraft, 46,  
209, 243.  
Churchill, Sarah, 46, 160-2.  
Church of England, 9, 10.  
Cleeves, William, 108.  
Clinton, Rachel, 255.  
Cloyse, Sarah, 169, 171, 193,  
194, 195, 196, 255.  
Coffin, Mary, 255.  
Cole, Ann, 36, 37. Sarah, 255  
Colson, Eliz., 255.  
Commissioners of Oyer and  
Terminer, 70.  
Conant, Roger, 10, 19.  
Conwallis, Lord, 264.  
Cook, John, 156.  
Corey, Giles, 89, 97-110, 144,  
168, 254-6.  
" Martha, 85, 97-110,  
225, 244, 254-5.  
Corwin, George, 73.  
" Jonathan, 16, 53, 72,  
74, 101, 170, 198, 228,  
231.  
Court.  
Assistants, 246.  
Established in 1692, 86.  
General, 33, 35, 70, 82, 86,  
114, 115, 132, 248, 256.  
Oyer and Terminer, 77-87,  
91, 92-4, 150, 246, 258-9.  
Sessions in 1693, 87.  
Special assizes, 86, 236.  
" or Superior, 91, 259.  
Crowninshield, B. W., 193.  
Cullender, Rose, 260-5.  
Dane, Deliverance, 206, 254.  
" Rev. Francis, 206.  
" Nathan, 254.  
Danforth, 87, 170.  
Danvers, 15.  
Delius, Godfrey, 95.  
Demonology, 22.  
Derich, John, 105.  
Derick, Mary, 255.  
Derrill, Mary, 255.  
Dodd, Sarah, 203.  
Dog bewitched, 206.  
Dolliver, Ann, 255.  
Drake, 69.  
Dudley, Joseph, 72, 257.  
Dudley, of N. Y., 95.  
Duny, Amy, 260-5.  
Dustin, Good, 61. Sarah and  
Lydia, 255.  
Eames, Rebecca, 28, 85, 231,  
254-6.  
" Robert, 231, 255.  
Eastey, Isaac, 116, 193.  
" Mary, 85, 116, 193-6,  
254-6.  
Elliott, Daniel, 174.  
Endicott, C. M. 164.  
" John, 10, 15, 16, 19,  
35, 111, 236, John jr.,  
113.

- Endicott, Samuel, 213,  
     "    Zerubabel, 114, 172,  
         212, 232.  
 England, 70-72.  
 English, Phillip and Mary,  
     216-17, 255.  
     "    Phillip's house, 215.  
     "    precedents, 73, 239,  
         247, 260-5.  
 Essex County, 38, 87, 249.  
 Evidence, spectral, 92, 105,  
     230, 236, 238, 241, 247.  
 Fairfax, Edward, 24.  
 Falmouth, Me., 143.  
 Fast Day, 44, 49, 248, 251.  
 Faulkner, Abigail, 85, 206,  
     254-6.  
 Felton, Nathaniel, 175.  
 First Church, Boston, 113.  
     "    "    Salem, 12, 13,  
         19, 74, 128, 233, 249.  
     "    Church, Salem, cove-  
         nant of, 13.  
 Fiske, Thomas, 128.  
 Foster, Ann, 85, 89, 206, 254-6  
     "    Constable, 208.  
 Freeman, 91.  
 Fuller, Benjamin, 181.  
     "    John, 172.  
     "    Thomas, 179, 183.  
 Gadge, Sarah, 55-6.  
 Gallows Hill, 41, 76-7, 146, 231.  
 Gardner, Captain, 107.  
 Gedney, Bartholomew, 72,  
     198, 231.  
 Gloucester, 255.  
 Glover, Mrs. Mary, 43, 72.  
 Gloyd, John, 168.  
 Godfrey, John, 36.  
 Good, Dorcas, 64, 255.  
     "    Sarah, 50-2-3, 54-60, 65,  
         84, 144, 254-6.  
     "    William, 54.  
 Goodell, A. C., 74, 256.  
     "    Jacob, 109.  
 Goodwin family, 43, 242.  
 Gray, Samuel, 149.  
     "    William, 20.  
 Green, Rev. Joseph, 250.  
 Green, Mary, 255.  
 Greenslit, Thomas, 142, 199.  
 Greensmiths, The, 36.  
 Griggs, Dr., 46, 48.  
 Groton, Mass., 37.  
 Haines, Thomas, house, 201.  
 Hale, Rev. John, 18, 39, 41,  
     147, 152, 229, 243, 248.  
     "    Mrs., 90.  
     "    Sir Matthew, 24, 260-5.  
 Harrington, 254.  
 Hathorne, John, 16, 53, 59,  
     72, 100, 101, 170, 194,  
     198, 221, 222, 228, 229,  
     231.  
 Harvard College, 16, 132.  
 Harwood, John, 121.  
 Haverhill, 255.  
 Herrick, Marshal George, 73,  
     116, 162, 204, 210.  
     "    Henry, 62.  
 Hibbins, Ann, 34-5.  
 Higginson, Rev. Francis, 11,  
     12, 15.  
     "    John, 198.  
     "    Rev. John, 233.  
 Hoar, Dorcas, 85, 222-3, 254,  
     256.  
 Hobbs, Abigail, 61, 85, 105,  
     144, 217-22, 254-6.  
     "    Deliverance, 61, 144,  
         217-22, 255.  
     "    William, 204, 217-22,  
         255.  
 Holland, 12.  
 Holt, Ch. J., 24.  
 Holten, Benj., Sarah, 121,  
     122.  
 Holyoke, Rev. Dr., 76.  
 House of deputies, 41.  
 Howe, Elizabeth, 84, 186-9,  
     254-6.  
     "    James, 186, 188, 255.  
     "    Capt. John, 188.  
 Hubbard, Elizabeth, 46, 57,  
     60, 62-3, 119-20-21, 139,  
     150, 200, 202, 222, 244.  
 Hutchinson, Ann, 19.  
     "    Benjamin, 143,  
         194, 233.  
     "    Elisha, 137.  
     "    Gov. quoted  
         from 30, 43, 79, 80, 85.



- |                              |                     |                               |                   |
|------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Hutchinson, John,            | 150.                | Manchester,                   | 15.               |
| "    Joseph,                 | 53.                 | Marblehead,                   | 15, 199, 255.     |
| Indian, John,                | 49, 169, 170,       | Marshfield, Widow,            | 33.               |
| 191, 202, 255.               |                     | Marston, Mary,                | 254.              |
| Ingersoll, Lieut. Nathaniel, |                     | Martin, Susannah, 84, 190-93, |                   |
| 53, 116, 169.                |                     | 254.                          |                   |
| "    Sarah,                  | 162.                | Massachusetts Bay,            | 10.               |
| Ingersoll's Tavern,          | 74, 182,            | Mather, Cotton,               | 16, 43, 72,       |
| 200, 222.                    |                     | 82, 87, 95, 135, 136, 146,    |                   |
| Intolerance of Puritans,     | 19.                 | 239-43.                       |                   |
| Ipswich,                     | 34, 40, 54, 67, 87, | Mather, Increase,             | 16, 35, 36,       |
| 115, 233.                    |                     | 135, 176, 240, 259.           |                   |
| Jacobs family,               | 158-67, 255.        | Maverick, Widow,              | 211.              |
| Jacobs, George, Sr.,         | 48, 85,             | Merrill, Sarah,               | 254.              |
| 146, 254, 256.               |                     | Middleton,                    | 15, 115.          |
| Jailors' fees,               | 234.                | Ministers, their answer,      | 82.               |
| Jails,                       |                     | "    Dutch,                   | 95.               |
| Boston,                      | 223, 230.           | "    of Essex County,         | 249               |
| Ipswich,                     | 54, 67, 223.        | Moody, Lady Deborah,          | 20.               |
| Salem,                       | 74.                 | "    Rev.                     | 176.              |
| Jones, Margaret,             | 31-2.               | Moore, Geo. H.,               | 256.              |
| Johnson, Elizabeth, Jr.,     | 87,                 | More, Dr.                     | 24.               |
| 206, 207, 254, 257.          |                     | Morey, Sarah,                 | 254.              |
| "    Sarah,                  | 207.                | Morse, William,               | 38, 40.           |
| "    Stephen,                | 254.                | Morse, Mrs.,                  | 41.               |
| Juries,                      | 91, 236, 249.       | Moulton, John,                | 108.              |
| Jury, grand,                 | 80-82.              | Moxon children,               | 33.               |
| Kenney, Henry,               | 117.                | Nantasket,                    | 10.               |
| Kemble, John,                | 192.                | Naumkeag,                     | 10.               |
| Knapp, Elizabeth,            | 37.                 | Neal, Jos.,                   | 159.              |
| Kneeling, Serg't,            | 263-4.              | Nelson, Phillip,              | 203.              |
| Knife blade,                 | 64.                 | Newbury,                      | 38, 41, 115, 191. |
| Lacey, Mary,                 | 85, 207, 254-6.     | Newburyport,                  | 38.               |
| Lane, Francis,               | 188.                | New England,                  | 10, 236.          |
| Lander, John,                | 154.                | Newton, Thomas,               | 73, 80.           |
| Laundry, John,               | 254.                | Nichols, Elizabeth,           | 219.              |
| Lawrence, Mary,              | 218.                | "    John,                    | 221.              |
| Lawson, Rev. Deodat,         | 133,                | "    Lydia,                   | 219.              |
| 178.                         |                     | North Beverly,                | 148.              |
| Lawyers,                     | 73.                 | Northend,                     | 92.               |
| Lewis, John,                 | 150.                | Norton, John,                 | 35.               |
| "    Mercy,                  | 46, 48, 63, 65,     | Nottingham, Earl of,          | 259.              |
| 139, 140, 141, 150, 169,     |                     | Noyes, N. Rev.,               | 16, 18, 65,       |
| 170, 172, 179, 194, 200,     |                     | 85, 101, 147, 162, 243.       |                   |
| 202, 221, 224, 244.          |                     | Nurse family,                 | 113.              |
| Locker, Constable George,    |                     | "    Francis,                 | 111.              |
| 57.                          |                     | "    Rebecca,                 | 79, 84, 111-130,  |
| Lord's Prayer,               | 146, 228, 240.      | 150, 169, 193, 238, 254.      |                   |
| Lyford, John,                | 10.                 | "    Samuel,                  | 116.              |
| Lynn,                        | 177, 255.           | Oliver, Thos.,                | 148.              |
| Malden,                      | 255.                | Osburn, Alex.,                | 65.               |

- Osburn, Sarah, 50, 52, 53, 59,  
61, 65-68, 89, 255, 257.
- Osgood, Mary, 206, 254.
- Pacy, Eliz. and Samuel, 261.
- Parris, Eliz., 46, 51, 56, 62-3,  
119, 236.
- “ Rev. Samuel, 16, 18, 25,  
46, 48, 49, 50, 57, 101,  
103, 117, 134, 171, 224,  
225, 227, 237, 238,  
243.
- Parker, Alice, 196, 254, 255.
- “ John, 196.
- “ Mary, 85, 196, 198,  
205, 254, 256.
- Parsons, Mary, 33.
- “ Hugh, 33.
- Partridge, Jno., 137.
- Payne, Elizabeth, 255.
- Payson, Rev. 189.
- Peabody, town, 15.
- Peach, Barnard, 192.
- Pease, Sarah, 255.
- Peirce, T. W., 193.
- Perkins, Wm., 25.
- Perley, Deborah, 187.
- “ John, 188.
- “ Timothy, 187.
- Phillips, Sam'l, 189.
- Phips, Sir Wm., 20, 29, 41,  
70, 71, 73, 87, 92-6, 150,  
177, 207, 242, 257.
- Pietrus, Peter, 95.
- Pickworth, Sam'l 199.
- Pins, witch, 49, 63, 231, 262.
- Pitman, Charity, 203.
- Plymouth, 10, 12.
- Pope, Mrs. 103.
- Poppits, 153.
- Portland, Me., 132.
- Post, Mary, 87, 254, 256.
- Powell, Caleb, 39, 40.
- Preston, Rebecca, 124.
- “ Thomas, 53, 116, 238.
- Prince, Robert, 65.
- Prime, Martha, 255.
- Proclamation, freedom, 87-  
94.
- Procter Benj. and Wm., 255.
- Procter, Eliz., 85, 168, 177,  
254-6.
- Procter, John, 84, 105, 110,  
146, 168-177, 225, 243,  
254, 256.
- Protests, against trials, 91.
- Pudeator, Ann, 85, 196, 198-9  
254, 255.
- “ Jacob, 198.
- Puritans, 9.
- Putnam, Allen, 37, 54.
- “ Ann, 46, 57, 60, 62,  
63, 65, 98, 100, 108, 109,  
116, 117, 120, 139, 140,  
141, 145, 150, 169, 170,  
190, 194, 202, 205, 224,  
236, 244, 246, 250.
- “ Mrs. Ann, 116, 117,  
122, 180-2, 211, 213, 244,  
246.
- “ Edward, 53, 98, 100,  
116, 122, 238.
- “ John, 115, 133, 179,  
194, 205.
- “ John 3rd, 220.
- “ Joseph, 236.
- “ Nathaniel, 103, 114,  
132, 159.
- “ Serg't Thos., 46, 53,  
63, 108, 116, 117, 132,  
133, 141, 204, 211, 238,  
246.
- Putnams, The, 16.
- Reading, 255.
- Reed, Saml., 199.
- Reed, Wilmot, 85, 196, 199-  
203, 254, 255.
- Reimbursed heirs, 248, 256.
- Repentance of accusers, etc.,  
248-255.
- Rice, Rev. C. B., 23.
- Rice, Sarah, 255.
- Rich, Mary, 255.
- Richards, John, 72, 87, 136,  
241.
- Riels, Mary de, 255.
- Riste, Sarah, 254.
- Roote, Susannah, 254.
- Rowley, 34, 87, 203, 255.
- Rule, Margaret, 87-88.
- Saco, Me., 143.
- Salem, 9, 12, 14, 15, 16, 41, 44,  
87, 89, 115, 216, 236, 255.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Salem Village, 43, 45, 46, 52,<br>53, 74, 115, 131, 133, 173,<br>204, 236, 255. | Spiritualism, 22.  |
| Salem Village Church, 131.  | Springfield, 33.   |
| Salisbury, 210, 255.  | Stacey, William, 151.                                    |
| Saltonstall, Nathaniel, 72.   | Stiles, John, 38.  |
| "    Richard, 15.   | Stone, Robt. Sr., Robt. Jr.,<br>172, 173.                |
| Sargent, Peter, 72.   | Stoughton, Wm., 71, 87, 92,<br>93, 138, 247-8, 259, 260. |
| Scott, Margaret, 85, 196, 203,<br>254, 255.                                     | Swan, Tim., 185.   |
| Scottow, John, 35.  | Symonds, John, 76.                                       |
| Sewall, Judge Sam., 72, 87,<br>108, 110, 138, 170, 223,<br>241, 251.            | Syms, Mrs., 203.   |
| "    Stephen, 79, 257.  | Tarbell, John, Mary, 123,<br>124.                        |
| Selpins, Henry, 95.   | Tavern, Beadle's, 160, 180.                              |
| Shapling, L., 172.  | "    Ingersoll's, 53.                                    |
| Shattuck, Sam., 154, 198, 245.  | Taylor, Treas., 257.                                     |
| Shaw, Deborah, 61.  | Tituba, 46, 49, 51, 52, 53, 60,<br>68-9, 119, 223, 255.  |
| Shaw, Elizabeth, 172.   | Toothaker, Jason, Mary,<br>Roger, 255.                   |
| "    William, 61.   | Topsfield, 15, 193, 204.                                 |
| Sheldon, Johanna, 122.  | "    controversy, 114-<br>16, 255.                       |
| Sheldon, Samuel, 145, 245.  | Tortures, 176.   |
| "    Susan, 61, 62, 139,<br>182, 184, 202, 244.                                 | Townes, John J. Jr., 115-16.                             |
| Shepard, Rebecca, 121.  | "    Jos., 221.  |
| Sherwood, Grace, 45.  | Trask, Christian, John, 152-<br>3.                       |
| Shilleto, Robert, 203.  | Trials by Jury, 77-87, 136.                              |
| Sims, Rev. Mr., 147.  | "    preliminary, 74-246.                                |
| Sibley, Sam., 62.   | Tukey, Job, 254.   |
| Skelton, Rev. Sam., 11, 12,<br>15.  | Tyler, Hannah, Hope, Jo-<br>hanna, Martha, 254.          |
| Small, Thos., 65.   | Upham, 54.   |
| Smith, Jas., 200.   | Varich, Rudolph, 95.                                     |
| Somes, Abigail, 255.  | Vibber, Sarah, John, 60, 62,<br>63, 121.                 |
| South Carolina, 45.   | Virginia, 45.  |
| Sparks, Martha, 255.  |  |
| Sprague, Martha, 198, 207.  |  |

---

 ERRATA.

On page 186, John How should read James How.

- Walcott, John, 169.  
 " Mary, 61, 65, 120-1,  
 139, 149, 150, 160, 169,  
 170-2, 179, 200, 202,  
 221, 233, 244.
- Wardwell, Mary, 198, 256.  
 " Samuel, 20, 85, 87,  
 205-9, 254, 256.  
 " Sarah, 87, 254.
- Warren, Mary, 61, 105, 172,  
 202, 225-7, 244, 255.
- Wasslebee, ———, 148.
- Water ordeal, 45.
- Waterman, Richard, 20.
- Way, Aaron, 119.
- Webber, Samuel, 142.
- Wells, Me., 137, 255.
- Wenham, 15.
- Wendall, Barrett, 84.
- Westgate, Jonathan, 197, 245.
- Wheelwright, ———, 211.
- White, ———, Mrs., 255.
- Whiting, John, 36.
- Whitridge, Mary, 232-33, 255.
- Wildes, Ephraim, 204.  
 " John, 204.  
 " Sarah, 84, 196, 204,  
 254-6.
- Willard, John, 80, 146, 172,  
 177, 183, 194, 243,  
 254, 255, 256.  
 " Rev. Samuel, 16,  
 37, 176.  
 " Simon, 143.
- Wilkins, Bray, 132, 178;  
 Henry, 178; Daniel,  
 178, 179.
- Winthrop, John, 14, 15, 16,  
 31-2, 236.  
 " Wait, 72, 87.
- Williams, Abigail, 46, 51, 57,  
 62, 116, 119-21,  
 143, 150, 169-70,  
 190, 194, 202, 221,  
 223, 236, 244.  
 " Henry, 154.  
 " Roger, 19.
- Williams House, 74.
- Wilson, Sarah, jr. 254.
- Witchcraft, Biblical, 22-3;  
 defined, 26; early cases  
 of, 22; punishment for,  
 27-30; laws against, 28,  
 29, 90; outbreak in Salem  
 Village, 46-69; first war-  
 rant in 1692, 53, 56; first  
 examination, 53; in Bos-  
 ton, 34, 43; Charlestown,  
 31; Connecticut, 89; Eng-  
 land, 23-4; Essex County,  
 36; Geneva, 23; Georgia,  
 23; Hartford, Conn., 36;  
 Massachusetts, 23; New-  
 bury, 38; Northampton,  
 89; Russia, 22; Scotland,  
 24; South Carolina, 45;  
 Springfield, 30, 31; Vir-  
 ginia, 45.
- Witch Hill, 41.
- Witch-mark, 45, 124, 145,  
 162-3, 262.
- Woburn, 255.
- Woodwell, Elizabeth, 104.
- Wright, John, 254.
- Wyman, Francis, 203.

612034







JUL 13 1989

**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

---

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY**

---

