

The Salem Witch Trials, 1692-1693

Antonín Kučera

Bachelor's Thesis
2021



Tomas Bata University in Zlín
Faculty of Humanities

Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně

Fakulta humanitních studií

Ústav moderních jazyků a literatur

Akademický rok: 2020/2021

ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

(projektu, uměleckého díla, uměleckého výkonu)

Jméno a příjmení: **Antonín Kučera**
Osobní číslo: **H18916**
Studijní program: **B7310 Filologie**
Studijní obor: **Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxi**
Forma studia: **Prezenční**
Téma práce: **Čarodějnické procesy v Salemu, 1692-1693**

Zásady pro vypracování

Shromáždění materiálů k tématu
Studium odborné literatury
Formulace cílů práce
Analýza čarodějnických procesů v souladu s cíli práce
Vyvození a formulace závěrů práce

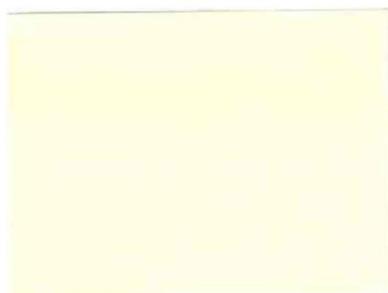
Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **Tištěná/elektronická**
Jazyk zpracování: **Angličtina**

Seznam doporučené literatury:

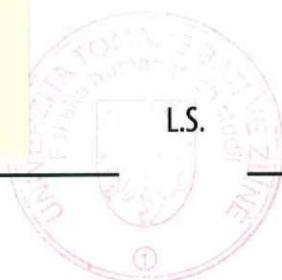
Baker, Emerson W. *A Storm of Witchcraft: The Salem Witch Trials and the American Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
Boyer, Paul, and Stephen Nissenbaum. *Salem Possessed: Social Origins of Witchcraft*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.
Roach, Marilynne K. *Six Women of Salem: The Untold Story of the Accused and Their Accusers in the Salem Witch Trials*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2013.
Schiff, Stacy. *The Witches: Suspicion, Betrayal, and Hysteria in 1692 Salem*. New York: Little, Brown, 2015.
Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Vedoucí bakalářské práce: **Gregory Jason Bell, B.A., M.B.A., M.A., Ph.D.**
Ústav moderních jazyků a literatur

Datum zadání bakalářské práce: **9. listopadu 2020**
Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce: **10. května 2021**



Mgr. Libor Marek, Ph.D.
děkan



doc. Mgr. Roman Trušník, Ph.D.
ředitel ústavu

PROHLÁŠENÍ AUTORA BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE

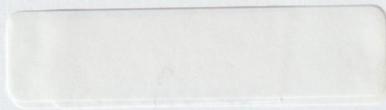
Beru na vědomí, že

- odevzdáním bakalářské práce souhlasím se zveřejněním své práce podle zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. o vysokých školách a o změně a doplnění dalších zákonů (zákon o vysokých školách), ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, bez ohledu na výsledek obhajoby ¹⁾;
- beru na vědomí, že bakalářská práce bude uložena v elektronické podobě v univerzitním informačním systému dostupná k nahlédnutí;
- na moji bakalářskou práci se plně vztahuje zákon č. 121/2000 Sb. o právu autorském, o právech souvisejících s právem autorským a o změně některých zákonů (autorský zákon) ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, zejm. § 35 odst. 3 ²⁾;
- podle § 60 ³⁾ odst. 1 autorského zákona má UTB ve Zlíně právo na uzavření licenční smlouvy o užití školního díla v rozsahu § 12 odst. 4 autorského zákona;
- podle § 60 ³⁾ odst. 2 a 3 mohu užít své dílo – bakalářskou práci - nebo poskytnout licenci k jejímu využití jen s předchozím písemným souhlasem Univerzity Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně, která je oprávněna v takovém případě ode mne požadovat přiměřený příspěvek na úhradu nákladů, které byly Univerzitou Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně na vytvoření díla vynaloženy (až do jejich skutečné výše);
- pokud bylo k vypracování bakalářské práce využito softwaru poskytnutého Univerzitou Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně nebo jinými subjekty pouze ke studijním a výzkumným účelům (tj. k nekomerčnímu využití), nelze výsledky bakalářské práce využít ke komerčním účelům.

Prohlašuji, že

- elektronická a tištěná verze bakalářské práce jsou totožné;
- na bakalářské práci jsem pracoval samostatně a použitou literaturu jsem citoval. V případě publikace výsledků budu uveden jako spoluautor.

Ve Zlíně 5.4.2021



1) zákon č. 111/1998 Sb. o vysokých školách a o změně a doplnění dalších zákonů (zákon o vysokých školách), ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, § 47b Zveřejňování závěrečných prací:

(1) Vysoká škola nevydělčně zveřejňuje disertační, diplomové, bakalářské a rigorózní práce, u kterých proběhla obhajoba, včetně posudků oponentů a výsledku obhajoby prostřednictvím databáze kvalifikačních prací, kterou spravuje. Způsob zveřejnění stanoví vnitřní předpis vysoké školy.

(2) Disertační, diplomové, bakalářské a rigorózní práce odevzdané uchazečem k obhajobě musí být též nejméně pět pracovních dnů před konáním obhajoby zveřejněny k nahlížení veřejnosti v místě určeném vnitřním předpisem vysoké školy nebo není-li tak určeno, v místě pracoviště vysoké školy, kde se má konat obhajoba práce. Každý si může ze zveřejněné práce pořizovat na své náklady výpisy, opisy nebo rozmnoženiny.

(3) Platí, že odevzdáním práce autor souhlasí se zveřejněním své práce podle tohoto zákona, bez ohledu na výsledek obhajoby.

2) zákon č. 121/2000 Sb. o právu autorském, o právech souvisejících s právem autorským a o změně některých zákonů (autorský zákon) ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, § 35 odst. 3:

(3) Do práva autorského také nezasahuje škola nebo školské či vzdělávací zařízení, užije-li nikoli za účelem přímého nebo nepřímého hospodářského nebo obchodního prospěchu k výuce nebo k vlastní potřebě dílo vytvořené žákem nebo studentem ke splnění školních nebo studijních povinností vyplývajících z jeho právního vztahu ke škole nebo školskému či vzdělávacímu zařízení (školní dílo).

3) zákon č. 121/2000 Sb. o právu autorském, o právech souvisejících s právem autorským a o změně některých zákonů (autorský zákon) ve znění pozdějších právních předpisů, § 60 Školní dílo:

(1) Škola nebo školské či vzdělávací zařízení mají za obvyklých podmínek právo na uzavření licenční smlouvy o užití školního díla (§ 35 odst.

3). Odpírá-li autor takového díla udělit svolení bez vážného důvodu, mohou se tyto osoby domáhat nahrazení chybějícího projevu jeho vůle u soudu. Ustanovení § 35 odst. 3 zůstává nedotčeno.

(2) Není-li sjednáno jinak, může autor školního díla své dílo užit či poskytnout jinému licenci, není-li to v rozporu s oprávněnými zájmy školy nebo školského či vzdělávacího zařízení.

(3) Škola nebo školské či vzdělávací zařízení jsou oprávněny požadovat, aby jim autor školního díla z výdělku jím dosaženého v souvislosti s užitím díla či poskytnutím licence podle odstavce 2 přiměřeně přispěl na úhradu nákladů, které na vytvoření díla vynaložily, a to podle okolností až do jejich skutečné výše; přitom se přihlédá k výši výdělku dosaženého školou nebo školským či vzdělávacím zařízením z užití školního díla podle odstavce 1.

ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce si klade za cíl určit, co se stalo v Salemu v roce 1692, a proč k těmto procesům vůbec došlo. Na začátku se práce zaměřuje na historické události sedmnáctého století a zkoumá vývoj Kolonie Massachusettského zálivu, první puritánské kolonie. Poté práce popisuje a analyzuje Čarodějnické procesy v Salemu, které se uskutečnily mezi lety 1692 až 1693, a byly vrcholem úpadku Puritánů. Práce také přináší různé teorie ohledně příčiny procesů. V neposlední řadě práce shrnuje následky již zmíněného úpadku Puritánů a popisuje, jak byla vzpomínka na Puritány oživena ve dvacátém století, převážně kvůli jejich experimentu „Město na kopci,“ který stále zůstává v popředí americké ideologie.

Klíčová slova: Puritáni, Calvinismus, „Město na kopci,“ Nová Anglie, Kolonie Massachusettského zálivu, Válka krále Filipa, Salem Village, Salem Town, Samuel Parris, Čarodějnické procesy v Salemu, Velké probuzení, Hříšníci v rukou rozhněvaného Boha

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this bachelor's thesis is to determine what happened in Salem in 1692 and why. The thesis starts by focusing on the seventeenth century and analyzing the character and development of the first Puritan settlement, the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Then the thesis describes and analyzes the Salem Witch Trials of 1692-1693, the peak of Puritan declension, and presents multiple theories concerning the causes of the trials. Finally, the thesis summarizes the aftermath of Puritan declension and describes how the memory of the Puritans was revived in the twentieth century, thanks in large part to their “city upon a hill” experiment, which remains at the forefront of American ideology.

Keywords: Puritans, Calvinism, “City upon a Hill,” New England, Massachusetts Bay Colony, King Phillip's War, Salem Village, Salem Town, Samuel Parris, Salem Witch Trials, Great Awakening, *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Gregory Jason Bell. Without his extensive knowledge of the topic and his constant communication, this thesis would probably never see the light of day. I also wish to thank my best friend, who was also writing her bachelor's thesis this academic year. She motivated me to start working on my thesis early and was there for me during endless rewrites. Finally, I want to thank my family for supporting me throughout my studies.

I hereby declare that the print version of my bachelor's thesis and the electronic version of my thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	10
1 PURITANS.....	11
1.1 PURITANS IN ENGLAND	11
1.1.1 CALVINISM.....	11
1.2 GREAT MIGRATION.....	12
1.3 JOHN WINTHROP.....	12
1.3.1 “CITY UPON A HILL”	12
1.4 PURITANS IN THE NEW WORLD.....	13
1.4.1 PURITAN SETTLEMENTS.....	13
1.4.2 LITERACY	15
1.4.3 ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.....	15
1.4.4 THE THREE COVENANTS.....	15
1.5 PURITAN DECLENSION.....	16
1.5.1 GENERATION GAP.....	16
1.5.2 HALF-WAY COVENANT	16
1.5.3 JEREMIADS	17
1.6 CONFLICTS WITH NATIVE AMERICAN TRIBES.....	17
1.6.1 THE PEQUOT WAR.....	17
1.6.2 KING PHILIP’S WAR.....	18
2 SALEM WITCH TRIALS	19
2.1 SALEM.....	19
2.2 SAMUEL PARRIS	19
2.3 THE FIRST ALLEGED SORCERESSES.....	19
2.4 HOW IT ALL STARTED.....	20
2.5 FIRST LEGAL STEPS	21
2.6 STILL NO TRIALS.....	21
2.7 COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER.....	22
2.8 CLOSURE.....	22
2.9 SPECTRAL EVIDENCE.....	23
2.10 SEQUENCE OF ACCUSATIONS.....	23
2.11 THE ACCUSERS AND THE ACCUSED	23
2.11.1 REBECCA NURSE.....	24
2.11.2 THE PUTNAMS.....	24
2.11.3 TITUBA.....	24
3 POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS OF THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS.....	26
3.1 WEATHER THEORY	26
3.2 ENCEPHALITIS	26
3.3 NATIVE AMERICAN SORCERY.....	26
3.4 RELIGIOUS DISPUTES	27
3.5 ERGOTISM	27

3.6 ECONOMIC EXPLANATION	28
3.7 MASS HYSTERIA	28
3.7.1 CONVERSION HYSTERIA	28
3.8 CLASS ANTAGONISM	29
4 PURITAN LEGACY	30
4.1 TIME OF CHANGES	30
4.2 THE FIRST GREAT AWAKENING	30
4.2.1 SOLOMON STODDARD	31
4.2.2 JONATHAN EDWARDS	31
4.2.3 GEORGE WHITEFIELD	32
4.2.4 OLD LIGHTS AND NEW LIGHTS	32
4.3 DEISM	33
4.4 SECOND GREAT AWAKENING	33
4.5 SALEM LEGACY	33
4.6 <i>THE CRUCIBLE</i>	34
4.7 PURITAN REVIVAL	35
4.8 INCREASING POPULARITY OF WITCHCRAFT	36
CONCLUSION	38
BIBLIOGRAPHY	40

INTRODUCTION

In 2017, the United States was the most desired immigration destination.¹ This is nothing new, for nearly four centuries ago, North America was considered a safe haven by a large number of English refugees, among them, the Pilgrims, who established Plymouth in 1620, and the Puritans, who founded the nearby Massachusetts Bay Colony a decade later. These Puritans were intent on creating a utopian society that the rest of the world would admire and emulate. They failed, in part because they carried with them the burden of predestination, which required that they appear righteous and successful. The desire to succeed led to increased materialism, which in turn prompted a societal declension that was hastened by, among other factors, conflicts with the Native Americans and a generational divide. The decline peaked with the Salem Witch Trials of 1692, which tarnished the Puritan doctrine and led not only to the Great Awakening but to the “democratization of American Christianity.”² Despite the failure of the Puritans, their influence on the American character remains great. This thesis examines not only why the Puritans failed, culminating in the Salem Witch Trials, but why the American memory of them did not.

¹ Charlotte Edmond, “Which Countries Do Migrants Want to Move to?” World Economic Forum, accessed March 12, 2021, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/11/these-are-the-countries-migrants-want-to-move-to>.

² Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), Chapter 1.

1 PURITANS

The Puritans might be overrated. As historian Edmund Morgan noted, it is almost unhealthy how much information exists on them. Historian John M. Murrin agrees, admitting that, except for the ancient Hebrews, no other human society has ever received so much attention as the Puritans. Yet, despite this attention, the Puritans in many ways remain a mystery.³ In order to make sense of what happened in Salem in 1692-1693, it is essential to first understand the Puritan history and character.

1.1 Puritans in England

The driving force behind the Protestant Reformation (1517-1648) were Calvinists, the supporters of the French reformer John Calvin (1509-1564). They tried to push through presbyterian polity, a form of government in which a minister accompanied by chosen patriarchs oversees the church. King James I of England (1566-1625), himself a Protestant and the head of the Anglican Church, considered the Calvinists to be fanatics. Worst among them, in his opinion, were the Puritans, separatists who viewed the Anglican Church as corrupt and who condemned even the church's few remaining traditions.⁴ Puritans wanted the church to be modest and devoted, but they could not agree on how to achieve these goals. Frustrated by this lack of unity and increasingly discriminated against, some decided to abandon England and its corruption in favor of the newly established Massachusetts Bay Colony, where they hoped to rectify the church.⁵

1.1.1 Calvinism

In general, Calvinists believed humans are born wrongdoers in a wicked world, the result of Adam and Eve's original sin and subsequent banishment from the Garden of Eden. Unlike Catholics, who believed Heaven could be achieved through good works, Calvinists believed that God alone could provide salvation. Moreover, since God is omniscient, he already knew which souls were destined for Heaven, and which were not. Yet, if one were indeed predestinated for Heaven, then one would naturally be good and prosper, thereby serving as

³ Roy M. Anker, "The American Puritans and the Historians," *Reformed Review* 39, no. 3 (1986): 161.

⁴ Larry Witham, *A City Upon a Hill: How the Sermon Changed the Course of American History* (New York: HarperCollins e-books, 2007), 11–12.

⁵ Emerson W. Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft: The Salem Witch Trials and the American Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 44.

“visible saints.”⁶ Historian Max Weber believed the Puritans were under tremendous societal pressure to constantly prove to others that they were among God’s chosen.⁷

1.2 Great Migration

During the 1630s, an estimated 21,000 Puritans abandoned England for Massachusetts.⁸ The Puritans were generally different than the English colonists of Virginia because they migrated as families for religious reasons, not as individuals with economic motives. By the end of the decade, however, the Great Migration waned because, due to the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1651), many potential migrants, seeing the possibility of church reform, stayed put.⁹

Then, in the 1640s and ’50s, younger Puritans, who had travelled to Massachusetts with their parents, began returning to England, mostly for economic or political reasons. As this younger generation abandoned their families, the economic situation in the Massachusetts colony worsened to the point that the Puritans were in turn forced to abandon their separatist impulse and do business with other British colonies, like Rhode Island and Virginia.¹⁰

1.3 John Winthrop

John Winthrop was, by most accounts, a wealthy man. Even so, when King Charles I (1600-1649) dissolved Parliament in 1629, Winthrop and his fellow Puritans began losing hope in their long-awaited reforms of the Anglican church. Winthrop, among others, eventually decided it would be better to leave. These Puritans collectively purchased a permit for a self-governing settlement north of Virginia, in what came to be known as the Massachusetts Bay Colony.¹¹

1.3.1 “City Upon a Hill”

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was established as “a city upon a hill” by the Puritan migrants who abandoned England between 1630 and 1640 to escape both the corrupt church and societal discrimination. On the *Arbella* during his passage over in 1630, Winthrop

⁶ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 44–46.

⁷ Anker, “The American Puritans and the Historians,” 162.

⁸ Roger Thompson, *Mobility and Migration: East Anglian Founders of New England, 1629-1640* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 3.

⁹ Francis J. Bremer, and Tom Webster, *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 408–09.

¹⁰ Bremer and Webster, *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America*, 409.

¹¹ Witham, *A City Upon a Hill*, 17–18; Massachusetts was named after the Massachusetts tribe that inhabited the area when the Pilgrims arrived in 1620.

mentioned the New Testament phrase in his sermon,¹² “A Model of Christian Charity,” as a means of suggesting that the Massachusetts Bay Colony would be a God-blessed utopian society that would serve as an example for others and ultimately lead not only to Anglican church reform but to the Puritans’ subsequent triumphant return to England. Winthrop warned his fellow voyagers that they would fail, and thus remain in Massachusetts forever, if they did not love God and dutifully follow his rules, among them being “knit together.”¹³ The Puritans, as historian Bernard Bailyn has pointed out, were not forward-looking like the Pilgrims but “nostalgic, backward looking.”¹⁴ They had no intention of staying in America. Instead, they were on an “errand into the wilderness” to show the Anglican church, via a living example, how to reform.¹⁵

1.4 Puritans in the New World

Puritans arrived in the New World with the heavy burden of establishing “a city upon a hill,” a utopian society. To achieve this goal, they embraced the importance of literacy. Puritans needed to be able to read the Bible and interpret it for themselves, so that they could live by its rules; other literature was deemed unimportant. Economic prosperity was considered a blessing from God, and a sign of their saintliness. And three covenants were established to ensure that the Puritans were adhering to their Godly mission. However, not everything worked as Winthrop and other founders planned, and instead of being “knit together” in one place, some Puritans established other colonies after being exiled from Massachusetts for religious or political reasons.

1.4.1 Puritan Settlements

The original intention of the Puritans was to gather in one place, but eventually they scattered all over New England, establishing many towns. Winthrop stayed in Boston and helped establish a church that had about three hundred full members by 1635 (half of Boston’s population). These Bostonians became land-hungry and started spreading out, albeit still temporarily under the leadership of Winthrop and the directors of the Massachusetts Bay

¹² Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 43–44; Matthew 5:14 (King James Version).

¹³ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 44; Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 25.

¹⁴ Bernard Bailyn, “New England and a Wider World: Notes on Some Central Themes of Modern Historiography,” *Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, accessed January 16, 2021, <https://www.colonialociety.org/node/1770>.

¹⁵ Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Boston: Belknap Press, 1956), 3.

Colony.¹⁶ By 1643, the colony found it necessary to subdivide into four counties: Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk and Norfolk. Salem became the county seat of Essex County.¹⁷ Meanwhile, exiles established other colonies.

1.4.1.1 Thomas Hooker

Puritan minister Thomas Hooker (1586-1647) believed every adult man who owned property should have the right to vote and occupy a position even without being a member of a church, but Winthrop opposed this idea, so Hooker took his flock to Connecticut. Such discord undermined Winthrop's utopia, since it produced feelings of fear and anxiety among the populace.¹⁸

1.4.1.2 Roger Williams

Roger Williams (1603-1683) questioned the authority of the government over religious conformity. He was a separatist who condemned even the few remaining traditions of the Anglican Church. After his arrival in Boston in 1631, Williams rejected an offer to work at the parish. Two years later, he moved to Salem where he started also castigating the king, and even the Massachusetts Bay Colony's charter, despite the clergy's warnings. After being tried by the General Court, Williams was banished from Salem. His followers did not join him since they did not agree with his extreme opinion that Salem's congregation should be segregated from Massachusetts.¹⁹ Williams went to Narragansett Bay in January 1636 and, along with other refugees, established the colony of Rhode Island.²⁰

1.4.1.3 Anne Hutchinson

Only a few years after the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a pious Anne Hutchinson (1591-1643) began opposing the ministers by claiming that women were not inherently evil and that commoners could and should interpret the scripture for themselves. Being gifted with eloquence, she organized public gatherings during which she castigated local preachers. For such actions, Hutchinson was eventually tried by both the church and the colonial government. Despite being sick and pregnant, she managed to defy her interrogators through her expert knowledge of the scripture. Even so, Hutchinson was

¹⁶ Peter Charles Hoffer, *The Brave New World: A History of Early America* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Harcourt Publishing, 2006), 171–72.

¹⁷ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 46.

¹⁸ Emory Elliott, "The Legacy of Puritanism," National Humanities Center, accessed January 24, 2021, <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/eighteen/ekeyinfo/legacy.htm>.

¹⁹ Hoffer, *The Brave New World*, 178–79.

²⁰ Hoffer, *The Brave New World*, 186.

eventually exiled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and in 1638 she too ended up in Rhode Island.²¹

1.4.2 Literacy

Puritans viewed literacy as a key factor for achieving salvation. Reading the Bible, interpreting it for oneself, and living by its rules were essential, since the Puritans believed neither in the holiness of priests nor in performing the seven sacraments.²² Many Puritans learned to read in English, Latin, ancient Greek, and Aramaic, so that if they did not understand the English translation of God's word, they could read it in the original language. To aid them in doing so, the Puritans established Harvard College in 1636. As a result of such an emphasis on literacy, the Massachusetts Puritans were the most literate society in the world at the time.²³

1.4.3 Economic Prosperity

The Massachusetts Bay Colony had a robust economic base. During the colony's early years, settlers engaged in the fur trade and in the fishing and lumber industries. The colony also exported prefabricated homes to the sugar plantations in the West Indies, where there was a lack of wood.²⁴ Naturally, such economic activities led to increased real estate values, especially for land with water access. Slowly, economic inequality increased in the colony, with religious and social implications.²⁵

1.4.4 The Three Covenants

English theologian John Cotton left for America in 1633 after being inspected by the High Commission in London for spreading the Puritan faith in a market town where he lived. After his arrival, Cotton introduced the covenants of grace, church, and civil rule to the Puritans. Only the elect who underwent the experience of grace could become members of the church.²⁶ To experience grace, the Lord would have to show himself to the Puritan.²⁷

The elect were supposed to govern, establishing divine laws for the general public. If the community deviated from those laws, the entire society was punished and had to make

²¹ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 107–08; Hutchinson was later killed by Indians.

²² Bremer and Webster, *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America*, 449.

²³ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 46.

²⁴ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 47.

²⁵ Bailyn, "New England and a Wider World."

²⁶ Witham, *A City Upon a Hill*, 20–21.

²⁷ Donal Dorr, "The Experience of Grace," *The Furrow* 29, no. 5 (May 1978): 294.

amends for their misdoings. Cotton said the election was completely passive and performing good deeds would not be of much help. However, once the person had the experience of grace, God's decision could never be revoked.²⁸ The establishment of the three covenants was of the utmost importance because Puritans believed that without religious doctrine and social order, they could not build their utopian society.

1.5 Puritan Declension

The “city upon a hill” experiment clearly failed, as the Puritans never returned to England in triumph. Throughout the seventeenth century, the “utopian” society faced many obstacles. Then, the second generation of Puritans became demotivated by the fact they were not the elect. They could not even ensure baptism for their children since only the elect could enjoy the church sacraments. This problem was later resolved by the half-way covenant, a system of partial membership for the second and third generations. Nevertheless, the decline continued, prompting Puritan ministers to begin preaching jeremiads, sermons that were supposed to make the community feel guilty and repent.

1.5.1 Generation Gap

During the latter half of the seventeenth century, the second generation of Massachusetts Puritans reached adulthood. Some of them grew quite disillusioned. Even though they did not necessarily want to abandon the “city upon a hill” experiment, the second generation was not as eager as the first generation elect, in large part because they had no power, either in the church or in society. They could neither request church membership nor embrace the sacraments, as these were the privileges only for the elect saints. The second generation was not even guaranteed a place in Heaven, while the third generation, their children, risked going to Hell.²⁹ Something had to be done to give the second and subsequent generations an avenue towards salvation, or else Puritan society would be undermined.

1.5.2 Half-Way Covenant

Some of the ministers finally began to realize that the initial membership requirements were too unrealistic. One of them, Richard Mather (1596-1669) of Boston, developed a new system of limited church membership, the half-way covenant. This way, a baptized parent could negotiate a partial membership and baptism for their child. Nevertheless, members of

²⁸ Witham, *A City Upon a Hill*, 21–22.

²⁹ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 48.

the half-way covenant could not receive the eucharist and did not have the right to vote in church. By 1655, some parishes began embracing the new half-way covenant; others resisted the change. Eventually, however, most churches, by necessity, were forced to accept it.³⁰

1.5.3 Jeremiads

During the 1670s and '80s, the Puritan ecclesiastics shifted their focus towards the Book of Jeremiah, chiefly the parts where the Hebrews were scolded for losing their enthusiasm for their religion. They began adopting this approach, through sermons that later came to be known as jeremiads. The clergy intended to reinvigorate the Puritans, make them feel guilty about their apparent religious decline, and get them to apologize to the Lord and pray for their souls, which would in turn lead to God's forgiveness of them.³¹ Along with the half-way covenant, the jeremiads were an attempt to get the community back on the right track. More succinctly, they were a "ritual means of purification."³² They failed.

1.6 Conflicts with Native American Tribes

Life in New England was not just about religion and civil disputes, there were also the Native Americans who seemed to be getting in the settlers' way. Two major conflicts occurred between the Native Americans and the Puritans during the seventeenth century: the Pequot War (1636-1637) and King Philip's War (1675-1678). Both wars resulted in great numbers of casualties on both sides.

1.6.1 The Pequot War

The first serious armed confrontation between Puritans and Indians, the Pequot War started because the English were encroaching upon Pequot territory in Connecticut, and in doing so, spreading their diseases, e.g., smallpox, among the natives. The Pequots sought revenge by killing two English merchants. The English responded by burning Pequot homes and farmlands. Then the Pequot began murdering and torturing English colonists. The conflict reached its peak during the Mystic Massacre on 26 May 1637 when Puritans, with the support of Mohegans and Narragansetts, set a Pequot village on fire, killing about 500, mostly women and children (the men were away on a hunting expedition at the time). This

³⁰ Bremer and Webster, *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America*, 411–12.

³¹ Elliott, "The Legacy of Puritanism."

³² Ian Ramsey North, "From a 'City on a Hill' to 'The Hill We Climb,'" Boston College Law: Impact, accessed March 7, 2021, <https://bclawimpact.org/2021/02/04/from-a-city-on-a-hill-to-the-hill-we-climb>.

ruthless act established Puritan supremacy for almost two generations. Ultimately, the rest of the Pequot were either killed or sold into slavery.³³

1.6.2 King Philip's War

One year before King Philip's War, Boston's prominent preacher Increase Mather (1639-1723) expressed his concerns about the potential future conflict in his sermon "The Day of Trouble Is Near," nevertheless, neither Mather nor anyone else could foretell the daunting damages of King Philip's War.³⁴ Residents of the Massachusetts Bay Colony did not like the Wampanoag people because they were giving away their territory to non-residents of the colony. The chief of the tribe, Metacom, called King Philip by the English, was falsely accused of committing murder, and this accusation started the war. The English people's intention was to take ownership of the land. The English won the war in 1676, but not without a depletion of resources and approximately 600 casualties. The Native Americans suffered five times as many casualties, including Metacom himself, whose head was displayed on a pike at the entrance to Plymouth for years afterward.³⁵

1.6.2.1 Consequences

The Indians lost their foothold in southern New England as a larger part of the populace was either massacred, enslaved in the Caribbean, or exiled to the West. To pay for the war, the Massachusetts Bay Colony was forced to raise taxes, which led to a major economic downturn. Also following the war, terrified inhabitants of Salem built a one-kilometer-long palisade as a means of protection from the Indians, which is indicative of the fact that, although peace had come to Massachusetts, few colonists believed it would last.³⁶

³³ Bremer and Webster, *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America*, 477.

³⁴ Witham, *A City Upon a Hill*, 38.

³⁵ Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*, 15–16; Boston Research Center, "Native American Executions on Boston Common," *Encyclopedia of Boston*, accessed February 12, 2021, https://bostonresearchcenter.org/projects_files/eob/single-entry-executions.html.

³⁶ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 50–52.

2 SALEM WITCH TRIALS

In 1692, nearly two hundred residents of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were accused of sorcery. Fourteen women and five men were sentenced to death by hanging, sentences which were carried out over the summer. Another man was pressed to death for refusing to answer the charges brought against him.³⁷

2.1 Salem

By 1692, Salem, the county seat of Essex, was divided into two sections: Salem Village and Salem Town. The Village was inland and agricultural, while the Town, located on the coast, was industrial and wealthier. Class antagonisms increased between the two parts of Salem,³⁸ leading the Village to request and receive its own parsonage, with its own minister. This gave the Village more autonomy.³⁹

2.2 Samuel Parris

Samuel Parris (1653-1720), a wealthy merchant from Barbados, sold his business and moved to Salem Village in 1688 with his wife, daughter, niece, and their Indian slaves. There, he became a preacher in the Village church. Parris was initially promised ownership of the parsonage and a fixed salary, but then a new church committee rescinded these offers.⁴⁰ Possibly in response, Parris became one of the key players in the Salem Witch Trials.

2.3 The First Alleged Sorceresses

On June 19, 1656, Ann Hibbins was executed in Boston after being accused of witchcraft. Strangely, no records from the trial survived, so the evidence brought against her remains a mystery. Hibbins's husband William was a wealthy church member, but he lost a lot of money in an obscure business deal, and soon certain Bostonians began spreading rumors which infuriated Ann, who always had a sharp tongue. Moreover, later on, she blamed a carpenter for charging her too much for his work and refused to apologize even after her husband insisted, which led to her excommunication in 1641. Since her husband was a

³⁷ Stacy Schiff, *The Witches: Suspicion, Betrayal, and Hysteria in 1692 Salem* (New York: Little Brown, 2015), Chapter 1.

³⁸ Sean Purdy, "Conjuring History: The Many Interpretations of the Salem Witchcraft Trials," *Rivier Academic Journal* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 1.

³⁹ Richard B. Latner, "Salem Town and Village," The Salem Witchcraft Site, accessed January 31, 2021, <http://www.tulane.edu/~salem/Salem%20and%20Village.html>.

⁴⁰ Marilynne K. Roach, *Six Women of Salem: The Untold Story of the Accused and Their Accusers in the Salem Witch Trials* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2013), "Part One: Tituba."

prominent figure in Boston, Ann was untouchable, but soon after he died in 1654, Ann was arrested for allegedly performing witchcraft.⁴¹

Again, in Boston in 1688, Ann Glover was arrested, tried, found guilty, and executed for casting a spell on the children of John Goodwin, who reportedly began behaving strangely as a result.⁴² A well-known Puritan minister, Cotton Mather (1663-1728), was present in Boston at the time and mentioned the Glover affair in his 1689 publication, “Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions.” News of this event surely reached Salem soon afterwards.⁴³

2.4 How It All Started

In 1691, books discussing fortune-telling made their way to New England, prompting an interest in black magic, largely among young people. In Salem Village, young women were meeting in secret groups to ask the spirits about their future love lives, but soon this went wrong, and the ladies began suffering from unexplainable physical and mental conditions.⁴⁴

Betty Parris (nine-years-old), Samuel Parris’s daughter, and Abigail Williams (eleven-years-old), his niece, were among the first victims of this unknown disease. They were hiding under chairs in obscure poses and speaking unintelligibly. Williams also had constant headaches. After the failure of home remedies, Parris summoned a physician, William Griggs, who determined the girls were possessed, but Parris still did not want to turn to the law to solve this problem.⁴⁵ Instead, he turned to various neighboring pastors who suggested he wait for God’s help. Most of the Villagers, however, were not satisfied with this passive approach. Parris’s young neighbor Mary Sibley advised Tituba and John Indian, Parris’s married slaves, to bake a witch cake, rye meal combined with the sick ladies’ urine, and feed it to the family dog. Sibley thought if the ladies were possessed, the dog would soon have the same symptoms, but Parris condemned this idea as a devilish ploy.⁴⁶

This disease then began spreading to other households. Ann Putnam, Jr. and Elizabeth Hubbard, William Griggs’s niece, became ill by the end of February. In the meantime, Betty

⁴¹ Peter Muise, “BIZZARE BOSTON: Ann Hibbins, Boston’s Wealthy Witch,” *Spare Change News*, accessed March 14, 2021, <http://sparechangenews.net/2015/06/bizarre-boston-ann-hibbins-bostons-wealthy-witch>.

⁴² Roach, *Six Women of Salem*, “Part One: Tituba.”

⁴³ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 112–13.

⁴⁴ Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 15.

⁴⁵ Marilynne K. Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials: A Day-by-Day Chronicle of a Community under Siege* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002), 7–18.

⁴⁶ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 15.

Parris and Abigail Williams were questioned by adults, and not being aware of the dire consequences, they gave out names of people their parents and neighbors were already suspecting. Based on their testimonies, Thomas Putnam, Ann's father, went to Salem Town and asked that three women, Sarah Good, Tituba Indian, and Sarah Osborne, be arrested. Officials acquiesced to his demands.⁴⁷

2.5 First Legal Steps

In March, Good, Tituba and Osborne were publicly scrutinized in the Salem Village church house by two officials from Salem Town, and Tituba was the only one who admitted her guilt. The three were sent to Boston prison, and Sarah Osborne died there a natural death in May. Even after the arrests, the young ladies kept behaving oddly. Yet again, Samuel Parris turned to clergy for help and invited a former Salem Village pastor, Deodat Lawson, to observe the situation. Lawson gave an anti-witchcraft sermon in the church house, but Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam, Jr. kept interrupting him. Later on, Lawson visited the Putnam family and found out that even Ann's mother, an adult woman, briefly suffered from the disease.⁴⁸

Martha Cory was the fourth woman to be imprisoned, and soon other arrests followed, including that of seventy-one-year-old Rebecca Nurse. As the number of the accused increased, the following scrutiny took place in Salem Town instead of Salem Village, and the number of officials and also the audience grew larger. A shocking event occurred when Abigail Williams accused a former Salem Village pastor, George Burroughs, of being a wizard. A deputy was sent to arrest Burroughs, who was then preaching in Maine.⁴⁹

2.6 Still No Trials

Charles II of England (1630-1685) became king once again in April 1661 after the downfall of England's Puritan Commonwealth and decided to renounce each and every charter for cities, corporations, universities, and settlements and restore them only based on evidence of allegiance. This caused problems for Massachusetts Bay Colony because it was always more autonomous than other settlements, and its initial charter was for a business corporation and not for a colony being administered by the monarchy. Massachusetts tried unsuccessfully to change the king's mind, and the colonial government was formally

⁴⁷ Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials*, 19–21.

⁴⁸ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 15–16.

⁴⁹ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 16.

canceled in June 1684.⁵⁰ Since there was no charter, no trials could take place until May 14, 1692, when the new governor of Massachusetts, Sir William Phips (1651-1695), returned from England with Increase Mather and a new charter.⁵¹

2.7 Court of Oyer and Terminer

A few days after Phips returned, he set up a court of Oyer and Terminer, which means “to hear and determine,” with William Stoughton (1631-1701) as chief justice. The first witch trial took place on June 2, and Bridget Bishop, imprisoned since April, was summarily found guilty and hanged on what came to be known as “Witches’ Hill.” On June 29, the court managed to try five women in one day, sentencing all of them to death. On August 5, six trials took place, but only five death sentences were carried out. Elizabeth Proctor avoided capital punishment because she was pregnant at the time.⁵²

In the beginning of September, another six accused witches were sentenced to death, but two of them managed to avoid it, one by being granted amnesty for confessing, and another by breaking out of prison. The last court hearing, on September 17, produced nine more death sentences. Two days later, Giles Corey, Martha Corey’s husband, was crushed to death because he refused to plead to the charges brought against him. The last and possibly the most dramatic hangings took place on September 22.⁵³

2.8 Closure

Families who lost their relatives during the Salem Witch Trials wanted to establish the innocence of their deceased and also get some financial settlement for their sorrows. Individuals and families who accused others of witchcraft either asked for forgiveness or tried to justify their behavior. Many people also detested Samuel Parris for his actions throughout the trials and his approval of spectral evidence in court and wanted him to be removed from the parsonage. In July 1693, many Villagers filled a petition for Parris to be tried by an impartial church council, and Governor Phips did not oppose, but Parris managed to postpone this for a while. On November 18, 1694, Parris finally apologized in front of the assembly, but the people did not find his apology sincere and wondered why he delivered it two years after the end of the Salem Witch Trials. After the church council meeting and many ongoing disputes, Parris announced in April 1696 he would give up on his post. The

⁵⁰ Roach, *The Salem Witch Trials*, xxvii.

⁵¹ Schiff, *The Witches*, Chapter 6.

⁵² Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 17.

⁵³ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 17.

Villagers did not like that he was still living in the parsonage, and after other disputes, Parris received his salary of £79 in arrears and left the Salem Village for good.⁵⁴

2.9 Spectral Evidence

The trials mostly depended on spectral evidence, statements given by people who insisted they saw the silhouettes of the alleged sorcerers standing in their rooms and tormenting them, and this presumably caused their disease. From the legal point of view, spectral evidence should be inadmissible, but strangely, the judges of Salem made an exception, even though they were considered to be prominent and reasonable men. Also, the clergy seemed to have lacked judgement concerning the witchcraft episode. For example, the well-known Puritan minister Cotton Mather regularly attended the trials and prayed for the ill accusers. Later on, he wrote a book about the Salem Witch Trials, justifying his part in them.⁵⁵

2.10 Sequence of Accusations

The Salem Witch Trials followed an abnormal pattern. At the beginning of the outbreak, only three names of alleged sorceresses were submitted to the authorities, but when the trials were over that fall, hundreds of people had been accused. Moreover, the first three accused women had an inferior social status: Tituba was a black servant, Sarah Good was practically homeless, and Sarah Osborne was disabled. However, as the accusations were mounting, people from the upper social class became the target; churchgoers, businessmen, and former Harvard students were named. Furthermore, only the Villagers were accused initially, but as time went by, residents of other Essex County towns were charged. It was later proven that the young girls who were giving out names sometimes did not even know those they incriminated. The accusers mostly lived far away from the accused, so this was not a result of some neighborly quarrel. In fact, neighbors frequently defended the alleged witches in their neighborhood.⁵⁶

2.11 The Accusers and the Accused

It is difficult to understand what made the accusers give the specific names they gave. Rebecca Nurse was a harmless elderly woman who was clearly devoted to God, yet she was hanged for being a witch. Nurse was accused by the Putnam family, the mother and daughter,

⁵⁴ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 230–33; Parris kept relocating throughout the rest of his life and eventually died in 1720.

⁵⁵ Anthony Brandt, “An Unholy Mess,” *American History* 49, no. 5 (December 2014): 41.

⁵⁶ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 26–28.

for unjustifiable reasons. The Indian slave Tituba was considered to be a witch because she was living with the girls who were among the first to become sick. Since she was just a slave, no one stood up for her.

2.11.1 Rebecca Nurse

Rebecca Nurse was a septuagenarian when she was accused of witchcraft by Ann Putnam, the wife of Thomas Putnam, respected and wealthy Villager, and their daughter Ann, who was only twelve years old. Nurse was known as a remarkably pious woman who in the 1670s adopted a child left behind by one of her neighbors. At first, the jury decided Nurse was innocent, but this verdict outraged the assembly and even Judge William Stoughton, who asked the jury to reconsider; they eventually changed the verdict to guilty. The Nurse family fought this decision and managed to convince Governor William Phips to grant her amnesty, but once again the community was infuriated, prompting Phips to change his mind and order Nurse's execution on July 19, 1692.⁵⁷

2.11.2 The Putnams

Thomas and Ann Putnam were among the wealthy families in Salem Village. Thomas was a member of the church in Salem Town since Salem Village did not have its church at the time. Ann did not have full membership because she was not sure she was one of the elect. The Putnams had many children, but their second daughter Sarah died a few months after being born, suffering from a rash, and Ann did not believe this was normal. In 1691, Ann realized she was one of the elect and joined the Salem Village church that was already administered by Samuel Parris.⁵⁸ Even so, she remained upset over her daughter's death, which surely made for a disquieted home life for the Putnams. Obviously, her daughter Ann was influenced but what was happening at home, which may have influenced her to act out in 1692. In any case, in 1707 the younger Ann, by then an adult, confessed that her accusations during the witch trials were false.⁵⁹

2.11.3 Tituba

Tituba's origins still remain a mystery, but it is most likely Samuel Parris bought her in a slave market before he left Barbados. Tituba was among the first women to be accused of witchcraft, but when the trials were over, her case was dismissed for lack of evidence. She

⁵⁷ Brandt, "An Unholy Mess," 34–38.

⁵⁸ Roach, *Six Women of Salem*, "Part One: Ann Putnam, Sr."

⁵⁹ Roach, *Six Women of Salem*, "Part Three: Ann Putnam, Sr."

later admitted that the only reason she confessed to being a witch was because Parris physically abused her and forced her to do so, and to name others.⁶⁰ Why she was not executed after her confession, like, e.g., Ann Glover, remains a mystery.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Roach, *Six Women of Salem*, “Part One: Tituba; Roach,” *Six Women of Salem*, “Part Three: Tituba.”

⁶¹ Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft*, 154.

3 POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS OF THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS

It is tough to figure out what went wrong with the “city upon a hill” colony only three generations after its establishment, although there have been many theories posited.⁶² One theory claims extremely cold weather clouded the minds of the accusers. Another puts the blame on the religious dispute over whether or not the Villagers should adopt the half-way covenant. The physical symptoms the young girls were experiencing could be explained by encephalitis or a type of bread poisoning. It also cannot be overlooked that the clergy took advantage of the witchcraft situation in order to increase their own gains.

3.1 Weather Theory

American economist Emily Oster believes witchcraft prosecutions are mostly characterized as an extensive illustration of brutality and searching for a fall guy induced by difficult economic situations mainly caused by harsh winter conditions and a lack of food. The most crucial stage of the Salem Witch Trials happened when temperatures were well below average, during what climatologists call the “little ice age,” which lasted approximately from 1550 to 1800.⁶³ To make matters worse, in 1691 Salem suffered a firewood shortage.⁶⁴ The combination of the cold weather and the lack of firewood resulted in a hardship that might have clouded the minds of the accusers and the clergy.

3.2 Encephalitis

Oster’s weather theory undermines a hypothesis proposed by American historian Lauri W. Carlson, who claimed that the melancholic accusers experienced hallucinations and symptoms of mania because they were suffering from encephalitis, a mosquito-borne disease that manifests itself by the same symptoms that were displayed by the accusers. This argument can be easily refuted because the Salem Witch Trials started in winter, when mosquitos are not active.⁶⁵

3.3 Native American Sorcery

Cotton Mather, a Puritan minister and a regular participant of the trials, produced many works justifying his role in the Salem Witch Trials. Mather eventually concluded that the

⁶² Schiff, *The Witches*, Chapter 1.

⁶³ Franklin G. Mixon, Jr., “Weather and the Salem Witch Trials,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 241, <https://doi.org/10.1257/0895330053147886>.

⁶⁴ Roach, *Six Women of Salem*, “Part One: Tituba.”

⁶⁵ Mixon, Jr., “Weather and the Salem Witch Trials,” 241.

trials were a product of Indian witchcraft. In general, Puritans presumed that the Indians worshiped the Devil, and Mather claimed that they bewitched Salem and made its inhabitants fight against each other to avoid the risk of another conflict with the Natives. Salem trader Robert Calef opposed this interpretation in his book *More Wonders of the Invisible World*. Calef insisted that Tituba's confession to sorcery was coerced by Samuel Parris, who was power-hungry. Calef's claim might be supported by the fact that Parris did not pay Tituba's jail fees after she retracted her confession later on.⁶⁶

3.4 Religious Disputes

Another motive for the Salem Witch Trials could be a religious conflict occurring in Salem in the '90s. Salem Villagers were unsure whether or not they should endorse the half-way covenant, which was already supported by Salem Town, or whether they should continue supporting the belief of predestination. Many priests were forced to leave their posts due to this debate. Samuel Parris believed church membership should be reserved only for the elect. There was some bad blood between him and the church commission, which promised him he would own the parsonage but later changed its mind, and one of the members of the commission was the husband of Rebecca Nurse, Francis Nurse. Parris soon began preaching about evil forces attacking the Salem Village church.⁶⁷

3.5 Ergotism

In 1676, French physician Denis Dodart identified a connection between ergotized rye and a type of bread poisoning called ergotism. American historian Marc Mappen observed that ergotism influenced mostly women and kids who then experienced shivering hands, dizziness, delusions, gagging, muscle spasm, frenzy, hysteria, and depression. Betty Parris and Abigail Williams and other Salem women, including the dog who ate Tituba's cake, manifested such behavior. Mappen also claims that Salem by the end of the seventeenth century had just the right atmospheric and geographical conditions for ergot to develop. Although rye was common in seventeenth-century Massachusetts, no one knew how to avoid the ergotized version, so ergotism is an acceptable interpretation of the physical symptoms of the afflicted.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Purdy, "Conjuring History," 2.

⁶⁷ Brandt, "An Unholy Mess," 39.

⁶⁸ Franklin G. Mixon, Jr., "'Homo Economicus' and the Salem Witch Trials," *Journal of Economic Education* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 180–81, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1183189>.

3.6 Economic Explanation

Priests in Salem had, for a limited time, exclusive control over the interpretation of Puritan doctrine, which made the Salem Witch Trials unique. The Villagers were hopeless in recognizing witchcraft and sought help from the experts, the ministers, who delivered persuasive sermons and managed to gain increasing economic and political power. The clergy took advantage of the diseased girls to maximize their own gains. At first, not many parishioners attended Samuel Parris's services, and he regularly did not receive his salary, but after the witchcraft outbreak, many Villagers appealed for his help, and Parris suddenly became a prominent figure. This explanation goes hand in hand with ergot poisoning since the young ladies' physical symptoms were explained as sorcery by the ministers who then economically profited after sending dozens of Salem inhabitants to jail.⁶⁹

3.7 Mass Hysteria

Undoubtedly, mass hysteria was at work during the Salem Witch Trials. According to historian John Demos, sorcery trials are in a way like a theater performance. Everyone had their part to play, an audience attended every examination, and news of the events spread far beyond Salem. A *denouement* was required, and what could be more dramatic than guilty verdicts.⁷⁰

3.7.1 Conversion Hysteria

Sigmund Freud's term, conversion hysteria, the transformation of anxiety into bodily manifestations, has been used to explain what happened in Salem in 1692.⁷¹ Conversion hysteria may seem similar to epilepsy, but there are some slight differences. Conversion hysteria seizures sometimes include making strange sounds, rapidly moving one's limbs, and may cause many injuries. Such seizures may become contagious and may occur if an individual observes seizures of other people.⁷² This is easily applicable to the Salem Witch Trials since, over time, more girls became ill and manifested the same symptoms.

⁶⁹ Mixon, Jr., "'Homo Economicus' and the Salem Witch Trials," 181–82.

⁷⁰ Brandt, "An Unholy Mess," 41.

⁷¹ Brandt, "An Unholy Mess," 41.

⁷² David A. Oakley, "Hypnosis and Conversion Hysteria: A Unifying Model," *Cognitive Neuropsychiatry* 4, no. 3 (September 1999): 248, <https://doi.org/10.1080/135468099395954>.

3.8 Class Antagonism

It might not be so surprising that the Salem Witch Trials occurred because the Salem community was embroiled in many conflicts in the late 1680s and early '90s. In Salem Village, the Putnam family was maneuvering for power against the Porter family. The rural village had been granted its own parsonage and a degree of autonomy from Salem Town, which was situated on the coast. By extension, two main aspects distinguished the accusers from the accused: material wealth and clerical preference. The accused were mainly wealthy townspeople, while the accusers were not. It can be surmised that the villagers were jealous of the wealth of the townspeople, which was rooted in land ownership. Also, the accused favored George Burroughs as the minister of the Salem Village congregation, but the accusers favored Samuel Parris and pressured Burroughs into leaving his post.⁷³ Burroughs was among the nineteen people sentenced to death during the Salem Witch Trials.

⁷³ Douglas Linder, "The Witchcraft in Salem: A Commentary," The Salem Witch Trials of 1692, accessed March 28, 2021, http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/sal_acct.htm.

4 PURITAN LEGACY

Despite being largely ignored by historians, the first half of the eighteenth century in New England was characterized by progress and adaptation, and by vigorous efforts to revise history.⁷⁴ A major influence during this time was the Great Awakening, which led to a renewed sense of faith in response to the Age of Reason.

4.1 Time of Changes

About 1695, when the conflicts between the families of deceased alleged witches and their accusers came to an end, it was apparent the “city upon a hill” experiment was a total failure.⁷⁵ The new charter the Massachusetts Bay Colony received from England in 1692 reduced their autonomy, and a royal governor was appointed to supervise the colony. The colonists were generally displeased.⁷⁶ England also wanted to remodel Puritan cities, such as Boston, and make them more sophisticated. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the majority of congregationalist churches in New England strayed from the rigorous Calvinist teachings so as to make membership more accessible.⁷⁷

4.2 The First Great Awakening

The First Great Awakening (c. 1730s-1760) was a zealous religious response to the Enlightenment and the Age of Reason, which called for a scientific search for answers. Although the Awakening was not a monolithic experience, its effect on the monolith of American religion was immense. Puritanism faded, only to be replaced by various upstart denominations, including Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Moravian, etc.⁷⁸ In other words, the eighteenth century witnessed the splintering of Christianity into many different sects, resulting in what one historian has referred to as the “democratization of American Christianity.”⁷⁹ By the mid-century, it did not matter how you worshipped, but that you did worship. Christianity became accessible to all, not just the elite or the predestined.

⁷⁴ Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), 209.

⁷⁵ Elliott, “The Legacy of Puritanism.”

⁷⁶ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 212.

⁷⁷ Elliott, “The Legacy of Puritanism.”

⁷⁸ John E. Findling and Frank W. Thackeray, *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 1–2.

⁷⁹ Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, Chapter 1.

4.2.1 Solomon Stoddard

Solomon Stoddard (1643-1729), a Northampton priest, was one of the most influential Great Awakening speakers. In the seventeenth century, he immediately endorsed the half-way covenant, disapproved of religious dissidents and materialists, and disagreed with his fellow Puritans' loose ethical principles. In 1687, Stoddard published "The Safety of Appearing at the Day of Judgement in the Righteousness of Christ," in which he even strayed from the half-way covenant and claimed the church membership should be granted to any decent Puritan along with having the privilege of endorsing all the sacraments, which was not typical for the Puritan doctrine.⁸⁰

In addition, in one of his sermons, he proclaimed there should not be just local churches but that everyone should become a member of a national church. According to Stoddard, autonomous Congregationalist churches defied the Bible because, in the Old Testament, the Israelis were formed as one nation, and Puritans should follow their example. His fellow ministers accused him of converting to Presbyterianism and disagreed with the idea of having a national church that would rule all the local churches. Nevertheless, Stoddard's notion of the New World's inhabitants becoming one nation became successful by the end of the eighteenth century.⁸¹

Even though Stoddard fought against exclusive church membership, he believed people should be rebuked first, and their sins should not be taken for granted. In his sermons, he declared people sinned because they were not afraid of going to Hell and that other clergy should make them aware of their actions' dire consequences and evoke in them the urgency of reform.⁸²

4.2.2 Jonathan Edwards

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), Stoddard's grandson, also delivered his sermons in the new preaching style but did not hesitate to remind his audience of God's strictness and authority, just like many other Puritan ministers had done. He wanted people to fear God's omnipotence, acknowledge their wickedness, and realize only God's mercy would redeem them.⁸³ Unlike the Salem Village ministers in 1692, who warned their congregation of the

⁸⁰ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 213.

⁸¹ George McKenna, *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 52–53.

⁸² McKenna, *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism*, 53.

⁸³ Findling and Thackeray, *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century*, 2.

Devil's presence, Edwards instead focused on the Lord's essence among the congregation, and this strategy helped boost church attendance.⁸⁴

Being gifted with eloquence, Edwards managed to describe in great detail how the ones who would not seek salvation would suffer immensely in Hell. His most famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," delivered in 1741,⁸⁵ compared people to a spider dangling by a thread over the fires of Hell. Edwards believed that not acknowledging one's indiscretions and not relying on the Lord's benevolence, which was part of religious conversion, was the very definition of sin. His goal was to make his audience feel passionate about religion again.⁸⁶

4.2.3 George Whitefield

In 1739, George Whitefield (1714-1770), viewed by many as the best Great Awakening speaker, came to America from Great Britain. Whitefield was a supporter of Methodism and was also affected by German pietism, a movement that emphasized the importance of having a close connection with God, and its speakers were not pessimistic like Stoddard and Edwards. Whitefield's intention was not to instill fear in his audience but to arouse emotions, and he managed to do so thanks to his wonderfully theatrical way of speaking.⁸⁷ He reportedly captivated the attention of approximately twenty thousand people in a single day, and caused thousands of people to convert.⁸⁸ Whitefield's added value was that, unlike Edwards, he preached to his audience outdoors and not just inside parishes.⁸⁹

4.2.4 Old Lights and New Lights

The Great Awakening, however, did cause certain disputes. Conventional religious rulers, labeled as "Old Lights," fearing that the revivalist "New Lights" would jeopardize their traditional churches, decided to repress them. In Connecticut, the Old Lights persuaded the governor to ban roaming missionaries from preaching, preempting Whitefield and others from delivering their sermons. New Lights eventually got this prohibition annulled, but the hostility between these two parties did not subside. Complicating matters further, the New

⁸⁴ Mixon, Jr., "'Homo Economicus' and the Salem Witch Trials," 182–83.

⁸⁵ Findling and Thackeray, *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century*, 2.

⁸⁶ Marilynne Robinson, "Jonathan Edwards in a New Light: Remembered for Preaching, National Endowment for the Humanities, accessed March 6, 2021, <https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2014/novemberdecember/feature/jonathan-edwards-in-new-light-remembered-preaching-fire-and>.

⁸⁷ Findling and Thackeray, *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century*, 3.

⁸⁸ Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 229.

⁸⁹ McKenna, *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism*, 58–59.

Lights in New England split in two over an argument over church sovereignty and whether or not children of non-Christians should be baptized.⁹⁰

4.3 Deism

Deism was a sensible doctrine developed in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that found its way to America but never became truly dominant. Deists did not accept heavenly revelation, refused to believe that the Bible indeed contained the Lord's word, and renounced all the typical principles of Christianity, such as wonders, predictions, and the belief that God is frequently guiding humans. They instead believed in common sense and reason. In America, only a handful of intelligent and affluent people leaned towards deism, among them some of the founding fathers of the United States, including Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin.⁹¹ This demonstrates how far American society had strayed from Puritan Christian values.

4.4 Second Great Awakening

The Second Great Awakening (c. 1790-1840) was yet another spiritual revival in the United States. The primary purpose of this revival was to persuade people that they were highly dependent on the Lord. People regularly gathered at camps where they spent numerous days listening to religious speakers, such as Charles Finney (1792-1875), preach about God and the Bible. The revival resulted in increased church attendance during the first half of the nineteenth century because people's faith in God was reinitiated.⁹²

4.5 Salem Legacy

The Salem Witch Trials managed to severely tarnish both the Puritan doctrine and the concept of confession, as both were misused during the hearings. By the end of the eighteenth century, it was a generally held belief that innocents had died due to false accusations. Possibly for this reason, the story of the trials resonated with nineteenth-century Americans, who themselves were increasingly accusing each other over the issue of black chattel slavery. The topic became ripe for literature, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, himself a

⁹⁰ Findling and Thackeray, *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century*, 4–5; This caused many people to join the Baptist church.

⁹¹ Darren Staloff, "Deism and the Founding of the United States," National Humanities Center, accessed April 11, 2021, <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/eighteen/ekeyinfo/deism.htm>.

⁹² Ohio History Connection, "Second Great Awakening," Ohio History Central, accessed April 12, 2021, https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Second_Great_Awakening.

descendent of the Puritans, made use of it in *Young Goodman Brown* (1835) and *The Scarlet Letter* (1850).⁹³

In the nineteenth century, the Salem Witch Trials were depicted in numerous artworks. T. H. Matteson's painting "Examination of a Witch" was displayed in New York in 1848 and shows a young woman being strip-searched by the Villagers to discover any indication of a witchcraft mark. Thomas Satterwhite Noble's picture "Witch Hill," depicting a bound woman sent to the gallows, even managed to win an award at the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition in 1869. Moreover, Douglas Volk's 1884 masterpiece "Accused of Witchcraft" displays a frightened woman embracing her father while the officials, a minister, and a faceless accuser are about to take her away.⁹⁴ As the bicentennial of the witch trials approached, more depictions were created, and these depictions cemented the witch trials into American lore.

In 1878, the last accusation of sorcery made it to court in Salem. Lucretia Brown, an Ipswich resident, was bedridden ever since childhood even though in her 50s after following Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), a religious leader, she got briefly better. In response, Eddy came to believe that Daniel Spofford, her former excommunicated disciple, cast a spell on Brown. Eddy became obsessed with this idea and convinced about twenty of her students to testify against Spofford in court. The trial took place in Salem, and it was dismissed before Eddy could testify when the judge decided the court could not possibly determine whether Spofford had hurt Brown with his mind.⁹⁵ This event, although not as dramatic as the Salem Witch Trials, kept witchcraft in the spotlight in Salem.

4.6 The Crucible

In 1953, American playwright Arthur Miller (1915-2005) brought the Puritans to the forefront of American consciousness with *The Crucible*. The play offers a fictionalized story of the Salem Witch Trials, yet the characters' names are identical to the actual Salem Village inhabitants of 1692. In the play, Reverend Samuel Parris catches a group of young girls (including his niece Abigail Williams and his daughter Betty Parris) and his slave Tituba dancing in the woods and performing a pagan custom. Later on, as Betty falls sick, it is

⁹³ Schiff, *The Witches*, Chapter 12.

⁹⁴ Benjamin Ray, "Various Images of Salem Witch Trials," *Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive*, accessed March 14, 2021, <http://salem.lib.virginia.edu/generic.html>.

⁹⁵ Gordon Harris, "Lucretia Brown and the Last Witchcraft Trial in America, May 14, 1878," *Historic Ipswich*, accessed February 25, 2021, <https://historicipswich.org/2019/09/02/lucretia-brown-and-the-last-witchcraft-trial-in-america>.

revealed that Williams had an affair with a farmer, John Proctor, and the ritual's purpose was to curse his wife Elizabeth, who was aware of the adultery. The girls start accusing others of witchcraft, Proctor's wife among them. Finally, Proctor discloses his liaison with Williams, but his wife does not confirm this because she wants to protect his reputation. Proctor is accused of sorcery and gets arrested but is advised to make a false confession to save his life. He signs the confession, but when he realizes it would be made public, he destroys it and is executed later on.

Miller used the Salem Witch Trials to reflect on the problems Americans were experiencing in 1950s. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), headed by Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957), was investigating the possibility that certain Americans, both within the government and in Hollywood, were communists. Ultimately, this so-called "McCarthyism" produced devastating allegations but not actual proof. Even so, many actors and writers who refused to name others were blackballed by the industry. Miller proved via his play that he was not afraid of the HUAC "witch hunts."⁹⁶

When comparing the Salem Witch Trials with the 1950s communist scare, it is vital to realize that, although witchcraft does not exist, communism does, so at least McCarthyism had some basis in reality. Still, as with the Salem Witch Trials, many 1950s Americans were falsely accused and professionally (albeit not physically) martyred.⁹⁷

4.7 Puritan Revival

During the second half of the twentieth century, Calvinism was resurrected by certain British evangelicals dissatisfied with modern theological and worldly trends. The Puritan Conference was held annually in London, and a publishing company called "The Banner of Truth" was established, which reprinted old Puritan literature.⁹⁸

Historian Perry Miller (1905-1963) became known for making American history, and especially the Puritan era, more comprehensible. He viewed the Puritans as the genesis of the country and many scholars agreed. Miller thought the establishment of Boston in 1630 was more significant than the establishment of other towns and colonies. According to

⁹⁶ Henry Popkin, "Arthur Miller's 'The Crucible,'" *College English* 26, no. 2 (November 1964): 139–40, <https://doi.org/10.2307/373665>.

⁹⁷ Popkin, "Arthur Miller's 'The Crucible,'" 140–41.

⁹⁸ John Coffey, *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 339.

Miller, America was the only country set up with a clear purpose that can be traced in recorded texts, the most important being Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity."⁹⁹

As World War II ended and the Cold War began, Americans needed to have a purpose. The nation seemed to be in decline, being interested only in material wealth and not focusing on a larger cause. Miller worried that American consumerism would be the end of America. He believed the economic successes of the Puritans led to their failure because it caused them to stray from their original purpose. He feared history would repeat itself in the 1950s and compared America's success and wealth to the Roman Republic, which ultimately failed.¹⁰⁰

After Miller reinvigorated "city upon a hill," nearly every American president, starting with John F. Kennedy, has referred to it. It mostly gained popularity in the 1980s when Ronald Reagan transformed it into his "shining city on a hill." Yet, Reagan's interpretation was different than Miller's, who believed Winthrop's aim was to raise the importance of community and condemn individualism. Reagan instead connected the sermon with the American Dream, power, industry, material wealth, and individuality. Despite such contrasting interpretations, Winthrop's sermon has become a pillar of American culture, even being referenced by poet laureate Amanda Gorman at Joe Biden's presidential inauguration.¹⁰¹

4.8 Increasing Popularity of Witchcraft

A new pagan religion, Wicca, developed in the twentieth century. The Wiccans worship two entities, a god and goddess, and the members describe themselves as witches who perform witchcraft. The religion was created in England by Gerald Gardner (1884-1964) after the country abolished the anti-witchcraft laws and was first introduced in the United States in 1963 by Raymond Buckland (1934-2017). Soon enough, in the 1970s, Wicca and many other pagan religions flooded the country.¹⁰² In 1986, the U.S. government recognized being a witch as an official religion that ought to be protected by the First Amendment. In 2007,

⁹⁹ Abram Van Engen, "How America Became 'A City Upon a Hill,'" National Endowment for the Humanities, accessed January 18, 2021, <https://www.neh.gov/article/how-america-became-city-upon-hill>.

¹⁰⁰ Van Engen, "How America Became 'A City Upon a Hill.'"

¹⁰¹ Van Engen, "How America Became 'A City Upon a Hill,'" ABC News, "Poet Amanda Gorman Reads 'The Hill We Climb'," YouTube Video, 6:18, January 20, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wz4YuEvJ3y4>.

¹⁰² Kamila Velkoborská, "Wicca in the USA: How a British-Born Religion Became Americanized," *Theories and Practice: Proceeding of the Second International Conference on English and American Studies, September 7-8, 2010, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic*, eds. Roman Trušník, Katarína Nemčoková, and Gregory Jason Bell, *Zlín Proceedings in Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2011): 245-48.

Wiccans gained the right to put their symbols on the gravestones of soldiers.¹⁰³ Thus, by the tricentennial of the Salem Witch Trials, it was acceptable to be a witch in the United States.

In 1972, Salem opened its Witch Museum, as a way to profit off of the town's sordid past.¹⁰⁴ As of 2014, the museum was averaging 300,000 visitors per year.¹⁰⁵ The Salem Witch Museum uses realistic scenery, intriguing storytelling, and adequate lighting to demonstrate the events of the Salem Witch Trials vividly. It also provides its visitors with the definition of witchcraft and explores how the witch hunters violated the human rights of the so-called witches.¹⁰⁶

The film version of *The Crucible*, starring Winona Ryder as Abigail Williams and Daniel Day-Lewis as John Proctor, was released in 1996 to critical acclaim, earning two Academy Award nominations.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, a television series "Salem" was created in 2014 and managed to run for three seasons, even though its intention was not to portray the Salem Witch Trials accurately.¹⁰⁸ And finally, an online multiplayer game, "The Town of Salem," was released in 2014.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Thurman Hart, "Wicca," *The First Amendment Encyclopedia*, accessed April 12, 2021, <https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/1379/wicca>.

¹⁰⁴ Schiff, *The Witches*, Chapter 12.

¹⁰⁵ Tom Dalton, "What's Drawing the Most Visitors?" *The Salem News*, accessed March 14, 2021, https://www.salemnews.com/news/local_news/whats-drawing-the-most-visitors/article_f3539932-e4df-5c71-8f99-b94db67b2047.html.

¹⁰⁶ Tina Jordan, "Salem Witch Museum 2018," YouTube Video, 0:45, January 31, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SNqvlSJM6wQ>.

¹⁰⁷ IMDb, "The Crucible (1996)," <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0115988>.

¹⁰⁸ IMDb, "Salem," <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2963254>.

¹⁰⁹ Steam, "Town of Salem," https://store.steampowered.com/app/334230/Town_of_Salem.

CONCLUSION

This thesis analyzed how Puritan society dramatically declined from a “city upon a hill” in the 1630s to the sanctioned execution of innocents during the Salem Witch Trials in the early 1690s. It also explained how and why the witch trials have remained at the forefront of American consciousness for over three centuries.

The first part of the thesis focused on the Massachusetts Bay Colony. After leaving England because of religious persecution, the Puritans became “knit together” on their “errand into the wilderness.” They fully intended to establish “a city upon a hill,” a utopian society, which the rest of the world would admire. At first, they seemed to be doing well as the colony was prospering economically, religiously, and intellectually. This did not last however, and soon the Puritans realized their Godly mission was endangered by magnified materialism, a generation gap, and wars with Indians. These factors contributed to a decline in Puritan society that ecclesiastics, despite their best efforts, could not undo.

The Salem Witch Trials of 1692-1693 ended up being a convenient scapegoat for the downfall of Puritanism. All of a sudden, young girls started behaving strangely, and no one understood the cause. Soon, bewildered priests turned to the authorities for help, the result of which was the arrest of hundreds of supposed witches and the ultimate execution of twenty of them.

To make sense of the Salem Witch Trials is not easy. Many theories have been developed, some more sound than others. The physical symptoms the girls in Salem experienced could have been the result of a bread poisoning called ergotism. The accusers’ frantic behavior could be blamed on the clergy, who interpreted the girls’ symptoms as a sign of enchantment, and suddenly, church attendance was no longer low because everyone wanted to listen to the powerful sermons the ministers delivered. Nevertheless, Salem was a torn community. The Villagers were in direct conflict with the inhabitants of Salem Town because of their diverse clerical preferences and wealth disparity. The false witnesses were poor, while the ones who were framed were rich. It cannot be ruled out that jealousy and resentment got the better of the accusers.

The trials left a stain on the Puritan doctrine, and a religious revival was necessary. The Great Awakening, led by preachers such as Jonathan Edwards or George Whitefield, brought a renewed sense of faith to the British colonies. However, it also led to the democratization of American Christianity and the subsequent decline of Calvinism, on which the Puritan faith was based.

Even though the Salem Witch Trials occurred more than three centuries ago, the events have not been forgotten. The topic has been used in literature, filmmaking, television, and even in gaming. Every year, hundreds of thousands of people visit the Salem Witch Museum to learn more about the 1692 witchcraft epidemic.

Nor has Puritanism been forgotten. Historian Perry Miller reexamined seventeenth-century New England and concluded that John Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity" sermon gave America a clear purpose. He used the Puritans as a deterrent example and warned Americans not to succumb to materialism. Otherwise, the nation would fail just like the Puritans did. After Miller revitalized the sermon, U.S. presidents such as John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan referred to the United States as a "city upon a hill," albeit in different ways. This utopian ideal, that the United States has God-given power and responsibility to show the world the way, influenced American foreign policy throughout the Cold War. Thus, although the Puritans are long gone, their influence on American ideology remains strong. In fact, according to poet laureate Amanda Gorman, Americans are still attempting to succeed where the Puritans failed.¹¹⁰

Puritans also made their mark on the American character. Many Americans, including immigrants, have been adhering to the Puritan principles, such as working day and night, not taking a leave of absence, and expecting their children to adopt the same attitude. The Puritans were not afraid to cross the ocean and enter a land they did not know because they believed only then they would be free to worship and prosper. Even though some have questioned the concept of the American Dream, many still believe that their efforts will be rewarded one day, and their dream will come true. Unless this strong ideology perishes, the Puritan traditions of "fixing" the country will never go away.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ ABC News, "Poet Amanda Gorman Reads 'The Hill We Climb.'"

¹¹¹ Elliott, "The Legacy of Puritanism."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABC News. "Poet Amanda Gorman Reads 'The Hill We Climb.'" YouTube Video, 6:18. January 20, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wz4YuEvJ3y4>.
- Anker, Roy M. "The American Puritans and the Historians." *Reformed Review* 39, no. 3 (1986): 161–73.
- Bailyn, Bernard. "New England and a Wider World: Notes on Some Central Themes of Modern Historiography." Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Accessed January 16, 2021. <https://www.colonialsociety.org/node/1770>.
- Baker, Emerson W. *A Storm of Witchcraft: The Salem Witch Trials and the American Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Boston Research Center. "Native American Executions on Boston Common." *Encyclopedia of Boston*. Accessed February 13, 2021. https://bostonresearchcenter.org/projects_files/eob/single-entry-executions.html.
- Boyer, Paul, and Stephen Nissenbaum. *Salem Possessed: Social Origins of Witchcraft*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Brandt, Anthony. "An Unholy Mess." *American History* 49, no. 5 (December 2014): 34–43.
- Bremer, Francis J. *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1995.
- Bremer, Francis J., and Tom Webster. *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005.
- Coffey, John. *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Dalton, Tom. "What's Drawing the Most Visitors?" *The Salem News*. Accessed March 14, 2021. https://www.salemnews.com/news/local_news/whats-drawing-the-most-visitors/article_f3539932-e4df-5c71-8f99-b94db67b2047.html.
- Dorr, Donal. "The Experience of Grace." *The Furrow* 29, no. 5 (May 1978): 294–98.
- Edmond, Charlotte. "Which Countries Do Migrants Want to Move to?" World Economic Forum. Accessed March 12, 2021. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/11/these-are-the-countries-migrants-want-to-move-to>.
- Elliott, Emory. "The Legacy of Puritanism." National Humanities Center. Accessed January 24, 2021. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/eighteen/ekeyinfo/legacy.htm>.

- Findling, John E., and Frank W. Thackeray. *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Harris, Gordon. "Lucretia Brown and the Last Witchcraft Trial in America, May 14, 1878." Historic Ipswich. Accessed February 25, 2021.
<https://historicipswich.org/2019/09/02/lucretia-brown-and-the-last-witchcraft-trial-in-america>.
- Hart, Thurman. "Wicca." The First Amendment Encyclopedia. Accessed April 12, 2021.
<https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/1379/wicca>.
- Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989. Kindle.
- Hoffer, Peter Charles. *The Brave New World: A History of Early America*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Harcourt Publishing, 2006.
- IMDb. "Salem." <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2963254>.
- IMDb. "The Crucible (1996)." <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0115988>.
- Jordan, Tina. "Salem Witch Museum 2018." YouTube Video, 0:45. January 31, 2018.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SNqvLSJM6wQ>.
- Latner, Richard B. "Salem Town and Village." The Salem Witchcraft Site. Accessed January 31, 2021. <http://www.tulane.edu/~salem/Salem%20and%20Village.html>.
- Linder, Douglas. "The Witchcraft in Salem: A Commentary." The Salem Witch Trials of 1692. Accessed March 28, 2021.
http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/sal_acct.htm.
- McKenna, George. *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Miller, Arthur. *The Crucible*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003.
- Miller, Perry. *Errand into the Wilderness*. Boston: Belknap Press, 1956.
- Miller, Perry. *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Mixon, Franklin G., Jr. "'Homo Economicus' and the Salem Witch Trials." *Journal of Economic Education* 31, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 179–84.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1183189>.
- Mixon, Franklin G., Jr. "Weather and the Salem Witch Trials." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 241–43.
<https://doi.org/10.1257/0895330053147886>.

- Muise, Peter. "BIZZARE BOSTON: Ann Hibbins, Boston's Wealthy Witch." *Spare Change News*. Accessed March 14, 2021. <http://sparechangenews.net/2015/06/bizarre-boston-ann-hibbins-bostons-wealthy-witch>.
- North, Ian Ramsey. "From a 'City on a Hill' to 'The Hill We Climb.'" Boston College Law: Impact. Accessed March 7, 2021. <https://bclawimpact.org/2021/02/04/from-a-city-on-a-hill-to-the-hill-we-climb>.
- Oakley, David A. "Hypnosis and Conversion Hysteria: A Unifying Model." *Cognitive Neuropsychiatry* 4, no. 3 (September 1999): 243–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/135468099395954>.
- Ohio History Connection. "Second Great Awakening." Ohio History Central. Accessed April 12, 2021. https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Second_Great_Awakening.
- Popkin, Henry. "Arthur Miller's 'The Crucible.'" *College English* 26, no. 2 (November 1964): 139–46. <https://doi.org/10.2307/373665>.
- Purdy, Sean. "Conjuring History: The Many Interpretations of the Salem Witchcraft Trials." *Rivier Academic Journal* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 1–18.
- Ray, Benjamin. "Various Images of Salem Witch Trials." *Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive*. Accessed March 14, 2021. <http://salem.lib.virginia.edu/generic.html>.
- Roach, Marilynne K. *Six Women of Salem: The Untold Story of the Accused and Their Accusers in the Salem Witch Trials*. Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2013. Kindle.
- Roach, Marilynne K. *The Salem Witch Trials: A Day-by-Day Chronicle of a Community Under Siege*. New York: Cooper Square Press, 2002.
- Robinson, Marilynne. "Jonathan Edwards in a New Light: Remembered for Preaching." National Endowment for the Humanities. Accessed March 6, 2021. <https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2014/novemberdecember/feature/jonathan-edwards-in-new-light-remembered-preaching-fire-and>.
- Schiff, Stacy. *The Witches: Suspicion, Betrayal, and Hysteria in 1692 Salem*. New York: Little Brown, 2015. Kindle.
- Staloff, Darren. "Deism and the Founding of the United States." National Humanities Center. Accessed April 11, 2021. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/eighteen/ekeyinfo/deism.htm>.
- Steam. "Town of Salem." https://store.steampowered.com/app/334230/Town_of_Salem.
- Thompson, Roger. *Mobility and Migration: East Anglian Founders of New England, 1629-1640*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994.

- Van Engen, Abram. "How America Became 'A City Upon a Hill.'" National Endowment for the Humanities. Accessed January 18, 2021. <https://www.neh.gov/article/how-america-became-city-upon-hill>.
- Velkoborská, Kamila. "Wicca in the USA: How a British-Born Religion Became Americanized." *Theories and Practice: Proceeding on the Second International Conference on English and American Studies, September 7-8, 2010, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic*, eds. Roman Trušník, Katarína Nemčoková, and Gregory Jason Bell. *Zlín Proceedings in Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2011): 245–54.
- Witham, Larry. *A City Upon a Hill: How the Sermon Changed the Course of American History*. New York: HarperCollins e-books, 2007.
- Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.