



## Agency and emotion of young female accusers in the Salem witchcraft trials

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## **Agency and emotion of young female accusers in the Salem witchcraft**

### **trials**

This article utilises emotions theory to explore the actions and behaviour of the young female accusers in the Salem witchcraft trials. It argues common historical interpretation of this behaviour has largely ignored the cultural context of witchcraft belief among young women, as well how agency and emotion functioned in the courtroom setting. By comparing the physical and emotional reactions of the young Salem accusers with other cases of young female bewitchment across England and New England, I argue this behaviour was a cultural response to witchcraft which imbued young female accusers with unprecedented cultural power and agency.

Keywords: witch-trials, Salem, emotions, witchcraft.

Word count: 8,955

### **Introduction**

At the center of the 1692 Salem witch-trials was a core group of young women, aged between nine and twenty, who accused numerous people of witchcraft, leading to the execution of nineteen.<sup>1</sup> Despite the lengthy historiography of this event, the essential question regarding the behaviour of these young women has never been sufficiently answered. While some historians have acknowledged these young women played a significant role in the events of 1692, there has been very little analysis of the dynamics of expression that led to unprecedented cultural power amongst a typically powerless group. Furthermore, no substantial analysis been conducted to compare the behaviour and actions of the young Salem accusers with other cases of young female bewitched across England and New England. This comparison is important because it frames the actions of the young Salem accusers within a cultural context that included similar cases of bewitchment leading to accusation.

In recent years the historical study of emotions has been applied to witchcraft cases to shed new light on problems of gender and agency by exploring the emotional norms and relationships that drove historical action. Although relatively new, the ‘histories of emotions’ field has been incredibly useful to witchcraft studies, because as some scholars suggest, witch trials were “dramas of emotional expression and repression.”<sup>2</sup> Some of the central themes of utilising emotions as an analytical framework involves deciphering the emotional norms and expectations of witchcraft, as well as the role and influence emotions played in witchcraft contexts. By so doing, historians have uncovered the hidden depths of witchcraft belief, and provided an important yet neglected aspect of witchcraft accusations that goes beyond the typical sociopolitical reasonings of the past.

There has been relatively little study on emotions and the Salem witch-trials as of yet, but there is little doubt this will be a fruitful exercise for historians due to the availability of the records and their rich emotional content. In the context of the behaviour of the young female accusers, emotions theory overcomes two inherent challenges – firstly, it treats emotions as key drivers of historical action and change, thereby rendering the girls’ capacity to act as reasonable historical actors affecting real action and change.<sup>3</sup> This is important, because much of the Salem historiography underestimates or delegitimises the active role these young women played in the trials. Only by recognising the legitimate agency of these young women is it possible to take their role in this process seriously, and thus move towards understanding the complex fears, desires and anxieties leading to witchcraft accusations. Secondly, it overcomes the challenge of remaining objective by assuming the emotions during the trials were genuine representations, therefore allowing proper exploration of their meaning. This is important because the most common approaches to the behaviour of these young women tends to polarise their behaviour as either pathological or fraudulent.

By utilising emotions as a lens through which to explore commonalities in behaviour and narrative in witchcraft cases involving young female accusers, this paper aims to provide a much-needed cultural approach to understanding the actions and behaviour of these young women. Discussion centers around emotional expression including emotion and the body, common emotions directed by accusers and common narrative themes in young female accusations. The final discussion centers around one of the most understudied yet most unique aspects of the Salem accusations – the murder accusations that accompanied witchcraft accusations. The intention of identifying commonalities is not to suggest that young female accusers were acting as a homogenous group, but to further the argument that this behaviour was part of a cultural belief system grounded in Puritan religious culture. As such, the witch-hunt was a result of internal belief actively shaped by these young female participants.

### **Historical approaches to the young female accusers in the Salem witch-trials**

The need for a different analytical framework in which to view and discuss the behaviour of the young Salem accusers was identified by E. J. Kent. In her discussion on the Salem girls, Kent suggests a cultural historical approach has yet to be applied to the events of 1692.<sup>4</sup>

Despite assertions that there is little left to say on the topic of Salem, historians have typically categorised the actions and behaviour of these young women in one of two ways. Some have maintained the girls were suffering from a medical or mental disorder, thereby rendering their behaviour as helplessly irrational. Most recently, Emerson W. Baker suggested the girls were suffering from mass psychogenic disorder which, like previous medical explanations, hinders capacity to view these young women as reasonable historical actors.<sup>5</sup> The other prominent

approach has been to view their behaviour as deliberately fraudulent. Bernard Rosenthal's work is reflective of this, pointing to instances of perceived calculated action and the confession of Ann Putnam Jr. as evidence of fraud.<sup>6</sup> In fact, fraudulent explanations are frequently considered, even when they do not form the central thesis. Mary Beth Norton's work, *In the Devil's Snare* (2002), went further in its attempt to understand the behavior of the young female accusers by drawing connections between their traumatic experiences on the frontier.<sup>7</sup> Despite this, Norton ultimately suggests their actions progressed from genuine to deliberate fraud during the long trial process.<sup>8</sup> This skepticism is closely linked to the involvement of adolescent girls, who joined the group of accusers after the initial afflictions occurred among younger children. Peter Hoffer, another fraud advocate, suggested the group dynamics that eventuated when adolescent women joined the group of accusers was akin to the formation of a "gang of juvenile delinquents."<sup>9</sup>

The problem with medical, psychological and fraudulent approaches is that they are all reductive interpretations. While medical and psychological explanations provide all-encompassing suggestions for behaviour, thereby treating the accusers as a homogenous group, the 'fraud' argument prevents insightful historical analysis into the narratives provided by these young women by framing all of their actions as disingenuous. Moreover, both explanations are reductive of young women's belief in the supernatural. Chadwick Hansen suggested "one cannot fully understand any aspect of the events at Salem without a recognition of the genuine power of witchcraft in a society that believes in it."<sup>10</sup> Ironically, his work *Witchcraft at Salem* (1969) went on to suggest the girls' behaviour was not fraudulent, but pathological – they were "mentally ill."<sup>11</sup> The invisible world seventeenth-century early modern Europeans believed in has been acknowledged in a seventeenth-century

New England context, yet seems to be largely ignored within discussions of the young female accusers.

The fraudulent argument deserves particular attention. Fraud advocates often point to a number of instances to prove fraud: physical evidence of pins which were found in the accusers; witness testimony that suggests the accusers were lying such as Mercy Lewis' alleged admission she did it "for sport"; and confessions by some accusers such as Ann Putnam Jr. and Margaret Jacobs.<sup>12</sup> Rosenthal claims those arguing an alternative to fraud have a difficult task because fraud advocates "have some hard evidence" such as Margaret Jacobs' confession.<sup>13</sup> This argument suggests that if some behaviour was deliberately fraudulent, then all of it must have been, and there is little else to say on the behaviour other than that it was an act of deliberate collusion.

Undoubtedly, some accusers were engaging in fraud during these trials. However, overfocus on this inevitably leads to discounting all testimony by all of these young women, by assuming all accusers acted in the same way. In the fraud argument, the similarities in behaviour and testimony across these accusers is treated as evidence of fraud. There is, however, a different and more appropriate way to read this similarity – as a contextually rational interpretation of witchcraft. Comparison to other witch-trials involving young female accusers demonstrates that this behaviour was more likely a result of an internal interpretation of the supernatural world, rather than a deliberately malicious activity. Witch trials were complex because they relied on a number of factors including cultural and social context, sincere belief in the supernatural and, often, negative emotion felt by accuser towards the accused. Accepting some fraud did occur does not mean this should be viewed as the totality of this behaviour.

By assuming they were driven by irrationality, hysteria or fraudulence, historians have placed these young women outside the boundaries of what other people thought or felt simply because of their age and gender. Moreover, their age and gender has led to fundamental assumptions about their power to truly affect the trial process. One of the most prominent works on Salem, Paul S. Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum's *Salem Possessed* (1974), took a socioeconomic approach which suggested the trials resulted out of social and economic tension within a divided community.<sup>14</sup> By identifying the source of conflict through male preoccupations with land and money, the study contends it was adults with power that shaped the events through their interpretation of the young women's afflictions.<sup>15</sup> While the suggestion that powerful adult men were responsible for the direction the witch-hunt took is certainly true to an extent, this is another example of a prominent work which denies the agency of these young women and the role they played in shaping the witch-trials.

Most recently, criticism of the Salem historiography has come from Tony Fels. His criticism is twofold – the historiography has focused too much on external causes for the witch-hunt and ignored the religious element, and it has been framed in a way that sympathises more with accusers than the victims of the witch-trials.<sup>16</sup> Fels' assertion that the most common approaches are lacking because they ignore the Puritan religious context in which this event took place is very sound. In fact, comparison to similar cases involving young female accusers further strengthens the importance Puritan religious belief played in these accusations. However, his suggestion that all approaches have favored the accusers is less convincing. As discussed, there are many examples in the historiography where historians have framed these young female accusers as unsympathetic. Taking the testimony of these accusers seriously does not need to equate to sympathy. The essential problem with

overemphasising external sociopolitical factors is that it ignores the complexities of the trials, particularly the religious element, and this includes ignoring complexities within accusers whose actions and behaviour nonetheless caused indisputable harm to their community.

### **Emotional communities**

Despite the acknowledged difficulties of extracting emotion from legal records created by male elite actors, a more optimistic view asserts all recorded emotion can tell us about “prevailing emotional norms” and “representations of emotions,” which is sufficient evidence enough.<sup>17</sup> Emotions scholar Barbara Rosenwein coined the term “emotional communities” which she defines as “groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions.”<sup>18</sup> The concept of emotional communities has received little attention in witchcraft scholarship, although Rita Voltmer has referred to the setting of the courtroom as the intersection of the “actual emotional community of the judges and interrogators with the imagined emotional community of the witches.”<sup>19</sup>

Research on emotional communities of accusers, however, has been scarce. Rosenwein defines the community as a “social group,” which may apply to families, neighbourhoods and parish church memberships among other groups, in which the group member share “common interests and goals.”<sup>20</sup> This definition is applicable to many witchcraft cases which saw various members of a community accuse others within that same community of witchcraft. In investigating these, Rosenwein suggests the researcher can hope to uncover all “systems of feeling” including:

what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognise; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.<sup>21</sup>

This is a particularly fitting concept for investigating the actions of young women who did indeed adhere to the same norms of emotional expression, and who also performed in solidarity of one another by enacting shared emotion and standing up for the validity of each other's apparitions and fits.<sup>22</sup> Not only does it provide insight into prevailing emotional norms, but it also reveals how emotion and agency functioned among the emotional community of young female accusers.

Viewing these young female accusers as an "emotional community" does not mean they all felt and acted the same way for the same reasons. My intention is to draw out the commonalities in emotion to demonstrate what Kent calls the "cultural logic" in which these young women acted.<sup>23</sup> This cultural logic reflects the Puritan religious context in which this behaviour was performed, and accepted. It is noteworthy, too, that while there were commonalities in behaviour, the trial testimony and transcripts also divulge differing interpretations, narratives and personal emotional reactions to the events among these young women. For instance, Elizabeth Hubbard, who was a core Salem accuser, was often in a trance during the trials. While trance-like states are a common behaviour in witchcraft trials involving young women, Hubbard's trance should be viewed as her personal reaction to these events. It differs, for instance, to the very vocal admonitions delivered by accusers such as Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam Jr. during the trials. Given the lack of knowledge we have

on the lives of these young women's aside from their involvement in these trials, these subtleties are important.

### **Emotion and young female accusers**

One of the chief problems with the Salem historiography has been the exceptionalism with which most historians have viewed the behaviour of the young female accusers. In fact, the Salem witch-trials were preceded by a number of other cases across England and New England in which young women became chief accusers. It is important to look at the Salem accusers' within a context which included a long history of witchcraft accusations made by young women, and not to ignore this simply because their accusations were directed at more people or spanned more time.<sup>24</sup> Rosenwein's method is to view the emotions emphasised in particular contexts, but also to take note of ones not recognised. She advocates reading related texts and noting all the words, gestures and cries that signify feelings or the absence of feelings. As she states, "I am interested in who is feeling what (or is imagined to feel what), when, and why.... I look for narratives within which feelings have a place, and I try to find common patterns within and across texts."<sup>25</sup> By applying this to cases featuring young female accusers, I hope to draw out the commonality of expression that made up this emotional community as well as how emotion and agency functioned to indicate rational interpretations of witchcraft.

Typically, witchcraft accusations made by young women began with the afflicted body. Common symptoms displayed by the Salem accusers included fits, bodily contortions, torturous pain in various body parts, being struck mute and going into trances.<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that the Salem witch-trials also included similar behaviour exhibited by Ann Putnam,

who was an older married woman, and John Indian, who was a male slave. However, by and large, accusers exhibiting this behaviour were young and female which follows a pattern of young female accusers in other witchcraft cases.

Rejecting medical and fraudulent explanations has led some historians, like Carol F. Karlsen, to view this behaviour as the product of cultural belief systems.<sup>27</sup> Beyond the similarity of physical symptoms, however, there is also a similarity in emotional reactions and responses. Cultural historian Karen Harvey notes early modern Europeans “understood and experienced emotions as embodied: feelings, moods and desires were rooted in the physiology of the human body.”<sup>28</sup> While the historiography has provided discussion on the physical symptoms, it is important to remember that the body was also instilled with emotion. Witchcraft afflictions are indicative of this, as subjects experienced physical pain and unexplained symptoms along with heightened emotional distress. Within this cultural context, it was not simply the physical symptoms that were disturbing, but also the impassioned, unrestrained emotions exhibited by young female accusers.

In 1593, the five daughters of Robert Throckmorton from the English village of Warboys became afflicted and accused their neighbor, Alice Samuel, of witchcraft. Although the witch was the cause of much physical and emotional distress, close proximity to her produced a calming effect on the afflicted. When the afflicted Throckmorton children were in the presence of Alice Samuel during their fits, they would be “presently well” which resulted in Samuel living with the family so as to ease the afflictions.<sup>29</sup> While adults may have initially diagnosed physical affliction as witchcraft, it was young women who performed credible emotional responses to the accused through their bodily affliction.

Close proximity to the witch had the same effect in the Salem witch-trials and was tested through the employment of the “touch test” in court. The “touch test” was a tool commonly employed in witchcraft trials and involved the accused touching the accuser. The expected result was for the accuser to feel relief from their affliction. Thomas Brattle, who was present at the Salem witchcraft trials, noted the Salem judges believed in this method because they thought the touch would force “malignant particles of the eye to be ejected thus leaving the afflicted ‘pure and whole.’”<sup>30</sup> When the accused were ordered to touch the hand of one of the afflicted young women, their fits would cease.<sup>31</sup> This change in physical symptoms highlighted a connection between accuser and accused, which was emphasised further in the Salem witch-trials through ‘mimicry’ which saw the accusers assuming the same physical symptoms as the accused.<sup>32</sup> These emotive performances of bodily affliction frequently formed the basis of evidence against the accused. Joan Throckmorton’s fits led the accused Alice Samuel and Agnes Samuel to confess, while a common occurrence in the Salem witch-trials was for the afflicted to cease their fits only once a witch confessed – a fact which was duly noted in the court records.<sup>33</sup> It is worth noting different trials did not necessarily expect the same results from physical touch. In the Lowestoft trial, touching the accused led the accuser into wild, angry fits. In this case, the presence of emotion, rather than its absence, served as evidence of the torment faced by the afflicted.

Through these physical and emotional responses, young women publicly marked the accused as their tormentor. The notation of these responses by the male elite presiding in the courtroom demonstrates the influence which young women exercised through their emotive responses. Although the touch test was a tool employed by judges and possessed a history of demonological association, the nature of the public trial meant male actors did not have control over the behaviour these young women displayed. This is most obvious in instances

where young women did not react as anticipated, or where their behaviour appears to counter the opinion of the men in court. After charging Nehemiah Abbott Jr. as the man they saw in their apparitions, the Salem accusers retracted their statement in court, explaining although he looked a lot like the man from their apparitions, it was not him.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, when judge John Hathorne had doubts about the guilt of the accused witch Mary Esty, he asked the afflicted young women to confirm Esty was the woman from their apparitions, allowing the accusers to vehemently verify their accusations.<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, the nature of the public trials allowed young women to drive the action beyond their affliction and take active part in the court proceedings. During the trial of Bridget Bishop in which she denied the accusations, Mercy Lewis cried out, “Oh goode Bishop did you not come to our house Last night and did you not tell me that your master made you tell more then you were willing to tell.”<sup>36</sup> Similarly, after accusing Elizabeth Procter of having urged her to write in her book, Abigail Williams publicly asked, “Did not you... tell me that your maid had written?”<sup>37</sup>

These instances simply do not fit neatly into the typically prescribed narrative of female actors working as tools for the patriarchal elite. In fact, they stand as examples of female agency driving the action in the courtroom by emphasising their own perspective. That is not to say interpretation by adults did not play a role in the outcome of the trials or the length of the witch-hunt in particular areas.<sup>38</sup> For this reason, the power held by these male gatekeepers in the courtroom is often used to defuse the agency of the young women. However, this interpretation often overlooks the fact that early modern Europeans did not blindly believe witchcraft accusations. Margaret Arnold, the sister of Samuel Pacy whose two daughters were afflicted in Lowestoft, England in 1662, suspected their actions were fraudulent and had

the young women come to live with her in an attempt to prove it. During their stay, she became convinced their behaviour was legitimate and testified to this in court.<sup>39</sup> The judges in this case also considered fraud, particularly when the touch test was employed and did not have the results they were expecting.<sup>40</sup> Their judgment that it was not possible children could “counterfeit such Distempers... for so long [a] time” infers the believability of young accusers was tied not only to the innocence of their age but also to the perceived legitimacy of their emotional responses.<sup>41</sup> While there has been a tendency to assume the male elite interpreted witch-trials based on their own ideas and understandings, it is clear the emotional responses and reactions of the accuser presented an image of a fraught and diabolical relationship that was very convincing. As such, the action and direction of prosecutions was powerfully driven by the emotional reactions of the young female accusers. Within their culturally constructed physical bewitchment symptoms, young women functioned as active interpreters, and provide remarkable examples of the emotive body driving historical action.

While witch trials often revolved around the *perceived* emotion of the witch – for instance, an old woman’s envy or anger deliberately causing a neighbor’s domestic misfortune. However, as Ostling and Kounine note, the “unbridled passions discoverable in the history of witchcraft might belong primarily to the accusers.”<sup>42</sup> It is therefore necessary to examine what common emotions were expressed by these afflicted young women. Identifying conflict is tricky because there is little evidence to suggest most young female accusers had experienced some form of negative emotion towards the accused that transpired into a witchcraft accusation in the typical sense. In fact, when unlikely people were accused, such as Rebecca Nurse who had a good-standing reputation as a pious church member, Salem accuser Abigail Williams noted she was “exceedingly perplexed” by Nurse’s apparition which pinched, choked, and tempted her to leap into the fire.<sup>43</sup> Given Rebecca Nurse’s reputation, Abigail’s perplexion is

reasonable. These subtleties indicate the rationality and engagement with social context that frequently present themselves in these narratives.

However, in the long history of young female accusers, it is typical for there to be no known conflict between accuser and accused. Accusations made against Alice Samuel were initially met with anger from the Throckmorton parents, who did not have any known conflict with their neighbor. Yet they persisted with these accusations for three years, evolving to also accuse Alice's daughter, Agnes, and her husband, John, all three of whom were executed for witchcraft. The lack of discernible emotional conflict between accuser and accused lends more credence to the suggestion that accusations made by young women were driven by their own interpretations of witchcraft, as designated by the Puritan context in which the Warboys, Lowestoft and Salem cases all took place.

Among the most prevalent emotions directed at the witch by young female accusers were anger, fear and compassion. In the Lowestoft case, eleven-year-old Elizabeth Pacy scratched accused witch Amy Duny on her hands and face "till Blood came... and afterwards the Child would still be pressing towards her, and making signs of Anger conceived against her."<sup>44</sup> Another accuser in this case was eighteen-year-old Susan Chandler who experienced a fit when asked to give evidence "screeching out in a miserable manner, crying Burn her, burn her, which were all the words she could speak."<sup>45</sup> Following a similar instance of violent scratching of the accused witch Alice Samuel in the Warboys case, it was commented the afflicted was "carried away with such vehemencie and crueltie for the time, against the maid, as that it appeared to be altogether besides her nature."<sup>46</sup> It is significant to note early modern European women were not allowed to express anger in public.<sup>47</sup>

Witchcraft trials allowed young afflicted women to express anger without consequence, which reflects the strong gendered agency and power they held in these courtroom accusations. Accusers were also beset with fear and terror. This was expressed by the Salem accusers in their depositions as well as in court through their cries and fits, particularly when the accused witch acted antagonistically towards the accusers or refused to confess.<sup>48</sup> In Warboys, the afflicted grew to also include young female maidservants from the Throckmorton house. Like the Throckmorton children, they fell into fits and expressed their fear of the accused Alice Samuel crying out “take her away Mistris, for Gods sake take her away and burne her, for shee will kill us all if you let her alone.”<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, evidence in the Lowestoft case suggested the young female accusers were “greatly frightened” by apparitions of Amy Duny – a woman with a reputation as a witch.<sup>50</sup>

These emotions played an integral role in this process because emotions helped to identify the witch – the witch’s presence inspired anger or terror. In Salem, there is also variation in who inspired fear. George Burroughs, for instance, is often described with a masculine energy that produces feelings of terror. In Elizabeth Hubbard’s testimony against Burroughs, she also references his promise that if she writes in his book, she will “be well and that I should need feare no body.”<sup>51</sup> Here, fear plays another role in the form of a promise that engages with a fundamental Puritan belief. John Canup suggests the spiritually charged world made it impossible for New Englanders to ever be alone – even in their own thoughts, they were accompanied by the Devil.<sup>52</sup> One of the most frightening aspects of Puritan ideology was the belief the Devil could be hiding anywhere, and could descend on any individual at any given time. Burroughs’ apparition essentially promises to remove the fear of this happening, through acceptance. This is understandably a tempting offer for a young woman

because, as Kent notes, “female social identification was profoundly tied up with witchcraft accusation.”<sup>53</sup>

While young female accusers expressed emotions of anger and fear, this was tempered by compassion and forgiveness if the accused confessed. In the Warboys case, the afflicted told Alice Samuel they would forgive her “from [the] bottome of their hart, if she wold confesse... [and] that they woulde intreate theyr parents and theyr friendes... cleerely to forgie and forget all that was past.”<sup>54</sup> Following Abigail Hobbs’ confession of witchcraft in the Salem trials, three afflicted girls openly said in court they were “very sorry for the condition this poor [Abigail Hobbs] was in” and expressed their compassion over and over again.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, the confession of Mary Lacey Jr. led to the public embrace of her and her accuser, Mary Warren, wherein they both fell “weeping together” as Mary Lacey Jr. begged for forgiveness for afflicting her.<sup>56</sup> Both Abigail Hobbs and Mary Lacey Jr. were adolescent girls, which means this courtroom display involved one female adolescent accuser publicly embracing and comforting another adolescent girl she had accused of practicing witchcraft.

Whether or not these emotions were “authentic” is of little consequence. As Rosenwein asserts, authenticity only matters if a particular emotional community is itself concerned with authenticity.<sup>57</sup> Emotions are “social signals” – therefore, the question to be asked is not whether the compassion was authentic but why the standard response to confession was compassion and pity.<sup>58</sup> Again, this emotion is entirely rational when Puritan belief is considered. As these young female accusers knew, anyone could be visited by the Devil or one of his disciples and may be tempted into becoming a witch. When the witch refused to acknowledge his or her role in this, she was still seen to be firmly in league with the diabolical. If she showed remorse and admitted her sins, however, pity and compassion were

appropriate emotional responses for young women who knew only too well that this was a person who had given into the temptation to be free from fear.

The intention in comparing the similarities in emotional behaviour between young female accusers is to show these fundamental aspects of affliction went beyond mere “imitation.” Those suggesting these young women were suffering from a psychological, mental or physical illness, must question how this illness could be so common in different contexts, places and time periods. Moreover, locating these emotions within the Puritan belief system demonstrates the rationality at work here when accepting this system’s sincere belief in the supernatural. Recognising this unstable, invisible world is challenging for any Western perspective but it must be acknowledged for all historical actors involved in witch trials – including these young female accusers. While sincere belief in witches is often afforded as a reasonable explanation for the actions of the male adults in power involved in the Salem witch-trials, young women’s belief in the supernatural is largely ignored. In fact, the entire premise of the fraud argument suggests authentic supernatural beliefs played no element in the accusations. However, just as male gatekeepers are recognised as witch-hunters fuelled by their genuine belief in a supernatural world, it should be acknowledged many young women were also fulfilling a similar role fuelled by their own understanding and experience of witchcraft. When the witch-trials spread to Andover, young female accusers from the Salem witch-trial joined other young female accusers from Andover with the purpose of uncovering the witches in their community.<sup>59</sup> The consequences of their actions were immense, and this was a witch-hunt in which the accusers took an active role in shaping. Their community had specific values and interests, which involved the performance of complex emotional responses built around a network of similar experiences, feelings and expectations grounded in authentic witchcraft belief arising from the Puritan context they

were raised in. As such, they should also be recognised as active witch-hunters in this process, navigating and mediating their own witchcraft responses and beliefs.

In analysing the narratives told by teenage girls in English witchcraft accusations, Diane Purkiss identifies them as “stories about the enormous difficulty of individuation, of coming to a sense of self, in a society that allowed them very few legitimate ways of exploring or finding themselves.”<sup>60</sup> Purkiss’ work is an excellent example of reading female testimony in English witch-trials, although there has been little comparable analysis in the Salem witch-trials. As with emotional responses, common narrative themes exist between Salem accusers and other young female accusers. The most prominent theme is temptation, and how accusers mediated their own response to temptation.

Most commonly, the witch appears to the afflicted girls and tempts them to write in the Devil’s book.<sup>61</sup> The temptation to do this is great because if they succumb to writing in the book, they will be cured of their afflictions.<sup>62</sup> Over and over again, the afflicted emphasise their rejection of the Devil’s book. In Deodat Lawson’s account of Abigail Williams’ fit, he asserts that upon being offered the book by the apparition of Rebecca Nurse, Abigail said “I won’t, I won’t, I won’t, take it... I am sure it is none of God’s book, it is the devil’s book, for ought I know.”<sup>63</sup> In court, their depositions also echo their refusal to sign the book, even when promised “fine things” in return.<sup>64</sup> The richest description of temptation in the Salem trials comes from Mercy Lewis, when describing the apparition of former Salem minister George Burroughs who “carried [her] up to an exceeding high mountain and shweed [her] all the kingdoms of the earth and told [her] that he would give them all to [her] if [she] would writ in his book.”<sup>65</sup>

Nathan Johnstone has written about temptation and the Protestant faith, suggesting Protestants elevated temptation into the “single most important aspect of [the Devil’s] agency.”<sup>66</sup> Temptation, however, could not exist without desire. The Devil, or the witch, had to offer something tempting to be convincingly threatening. Thus, temptation has emotional connotations because the “emotional promise” the witch made the accuser often highlighted the specific desires of the individual.<sup>67</sup> For many young female accusers, this desire was often for economic stability in the form of a husband or riches.<sup>68</sup> Karlsen has pointed to this thematic similarity to suggest it was reflective of the socioeconomic desires of young women who had few prospects.<sup>69</sup> While social and economic factors may have played a role in certain witchcraft accusations, not all accusers were poor or had reason to fear they would never marry. What they all did have in common, however, is a Puritan belief system that designated appropriate ways to respond to internal temptation.

Elizabeth Throckmorton told the spirit tormenting her – “I am glad in my heart that you cannot overcome me,” while Salem accuser Mary Walcott’s testimony against Sarah Buckley asserted her own strength by saying she would “kill me that night if she had power for to do it I told her that I did not fear her I told her God is above the Devil.”<sup>70</sup> What is most significant in these narratives is that young women emphasised the strength of their emotional resolve against temptation, thereby engaging in a deliberate conversation informed by their own cultural context as female agents in the witch-hunting process. Effectively, the narratives they weaved were identity narratives of overcoming temptation, in which they emphasised their own strength and positioned themselves in believable antithesis to their tormentors. Temptation was overcome by strong emotional resolve, and a strong sense of self-piety. Through these narratives, young women expressed a sense of self by highlighting and mediating their own strength and agency. Instead of viewing this as conforming to male-

dominated expectations, or a consequence of socioeconomic context, an alternative viewpoint is that affliction and accusation arose as a consequence of religious context, as well as a response to it.

### **Narratives of deceit**

Having discussed commonalities between young female accusers, it is necessary to turn to one of the most significant, unique and understudied aspects of the Salem accusers' narratives - the accusations of murder that accompanied the witchcraft accusations.

Thematically, this is a narrative of deceit, which has profoundly Puritan elements because it reflects the perceptions of these pious accusers condemning community violence and exposing the perceived perpetrators of this violence with reference to dominant religious beliefs.

In their evidence, the Salem girls peppered their witchcraft accusations with additional accusations of murder against at least seventeen people.<sup>71</sup> Many of these accusations seem to be the result of gossip, as suspicious or unexplained deaths occurring before the accusers were born were worked into their narratives.<sup>72</sup> Those they were accused of murdering were typically people close to them such as spouses, children or other relatives.<sup>73</sup> The victims typically appeared as apparitions to the young accusers, revealing their murderer and urging "vengeance" against them.<sup>74</sup> Sometimes, specific reasons for their murder were given, which seemed to fit community expectations of the accused. Sarah Good, a poor woman in the community, was accused of murdering her child because she could not look after it.<sup>75</sup> Others were murdered over domestic disagreements, which the accusers relayed.<sup>76</sup> Twice, the accusations were personal to the accusers, with Mary Warren and Ann Putnam Jr accusing

Alice Parker and Mary Bradbury of murdering their relatives.<sup>77</sup> For Mary Warren and Ann Putnam Jr., these murder accusations indicate a very personal accusation which should not be simply dismissed, particularly when considered within the context of emotions and how negative emotions affected witchcraft accusations.

Laurel Ulrich suggests while some forms of violence in seventeenth-century New England could be viewed as positive, anti-social violence such as murder or suicide were the most negative kind because they destroyed the social bond.<sup>78</sup> In their construction of the accused not only as diabolical agents of witchcraft, but also as murderers, it is evident the Salem accusers interpreted this violence as among the worst kind of bad behaviour. Possible reasons for fearing violence have been discussed in the historiography, most notably through Norton's analysis of several accusers' connection to the Indian War.<sup>79</sup> There is also research which suggests that young people who were maidservants, as several accusers' were, may have experienced violence through their employment.<sup>80</sup> All of the existing scholarship investigating the social and economic conditions affecting the colony is valuable in understanding the context in which these young women were living, but it must be noted that not all young accusers had the same background.

Diane Purkiss advocates for viewing women's stories about witchcraft as part of a "coherent system of popular belief," depending on "a set of assumptions and tropes which make sense on their own terms" – in effect, "a story which works."<sup>81</sup> These narratives informed the public that the accused were not just agents of diabolism – they were also people with violent histories who had harmed the community and had not received their rightful punishment. Like the temptation narrative, this "story" makes sense from a religious context because the ghosts in the narratives represent justice unserved. These ghosts even relay moralistic notions

in their interactions with the accusers, in their cries for vengeance, and as in Ann Putnam Jr.'s claim the ghost of a servant boy murdered by Giles Cory told her, "It must be done to him as he has done to me."<sup>82</sup>

The revelation of past murders exposed hidden diabolism through the suggestion that members of the community had been secretly tearing it apart by embracing anti-social violence for a long time. Viewed from an emotional standpoint, the introduction of murder accusations into the witch-trial script is evidence young women were also struggling with perceived feelings of deceit, which they interpreted and negotiated in supernatural terms. Purkiss argues women's stories of witchcraft constituted a "powerful and useful fantasy" enabling them to negotiate their fears and anxieties.<sup>83</sup> In the Salem accusers emotional fantasy narratives, the "vengeance" cried out by the murdered in the apparitions may thus be read as a vengeance being cried out for by the accusers themselves. Like most witchcraft accusations, it arises out of feeling, and these emotional scripts are evidence of that feeling. The concern from which it springs from though, is a consequence of religious context, representing a set of internally held beliefs and interpretations – not a result of external causes. It is "a story which works" because it was firmly grounded not only in religious norms but also an engagement with social context.

## **Conclusion**

Despite the plethora of existing research on the Salem witchcraft episode, the investigation into the workings of emotion in the Salem witch-trials are only just beginning. This opens the door for further exploration into this subject, which should also include investigation into the

emotions of the accused and other historical actors involved in the trials. Should historians choose to embrace it, this may also provide further insight into the complex beliefs, systems and norms that governed the actions and behaviour of young female accusers. Viewing this behaviour as a legitimate interpretation of witchcraft belief thereby allows us to view their responses and behaviour as rational and reasonable within this cultural context, rather than hysterical and irrational as has been done in the past. This paper has argued this behaviour was a product of cultural belief, in which emotions played a significant and driving role. Positioning the young Salem accusers within the historical trajectory has been important, not only because of the identified similarities in their physical behaviour but also in the similarities of the expressed emotions they performed, and in the witchcraft narratives they communicated. While witchcraft accusations certainly arose out of specific contexts and interpretations, emotions played a powerful role in guiding and navigating these accusations. Fear, anger and compassion assisted in expressing the accusers' feelings towards the accused, as well as constructing authentic and believable narratives about their involvement with witchcraft. It has also been argued these young women held considerable agency as social actors in the witch-hunting process through their own interpretations of authentic witchcraft belief. In some ways, the search for an external reason to explain this behaviour has ignored one of the most important aspects of growing up as a young New England woman – a profoundly held Puritan belief which integrated a belief in a supernatural world. Further research will be able to shed more insight into the emotional relationships present in the textual records, as well as the interplay between emotion, agency and gender.

### **Acknowledgements**

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The core group of Salem accusers included Elizabeth Parris (9), Abigail Williams (11), Ann Putnam Jr (12), Elizabeth Hubbard (17), Susannah Sheldon (18), Mary Walcott (18), Mercy Lewis (19) and Mary Warren (20).

<sup>2</sup> Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling (eds), *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Charlotte-Rose Millar, *Witchcraft, the Devil, and Emotions in Early Modern England*, Abingdon, Oxon, 2017, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> E. J. Kent, 'Salem Girls (1692): Problems of Gender and Agency', in Jennifer Spinks and Dagmar Eichberger (eds), *Religion, the Supernatural, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe: an Album Amicorum for Charles Zika*, Boston, Brill, 2015, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> Emerson W. Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft: the Salem Trials and the American Experience*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 100-102.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard Rosenthal, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: the Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2002, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Charles Hoffer, *The Devil's Disciples: Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, p. 97.

<sup>10</sup> Chadwick Hansen, *Witchcraft at Salem*, New York, G. Braziller, 1969, p. xv.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. x.

<sup>12</sup> See Rosenthal, 1993.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Rosenthal (ed), *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, 2014, p. 27. It is also worth noting that only Margaret Jacobs and Ann Putnam Jr. confessed to being deliberately fraudulent, and Margaret Jacobs is seldom included in the 'core' list of accusers because she was not a frequent accuser.

<sup>14</sup> Paul S. Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: the Social Origins of Witchcraft*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Tony Fels, *Switching Sides: How a Generation of Historians Lost Sympathy for the Victims of the Salem Witch Hunt*, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.

<sup>17</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca, N.Y. , Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 29. ; Rita Voltmer, 'The witch in the courtroom: torture and the representations of emotion', in Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling (eds), *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p. 98.

<sup>18</sup> Rosenwein, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Voltmer, p. 111.

<sup>20</sup> Rosenwein, pp. 24-25.

<sup>21</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions ', *Passions in Context*, 2010, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> The Salem girls commonly predicted each other's fits. See Robert Calef, 'More wonders of the invisible world', reproduced in *Salem-Village Witchcraft: A Documentary Record of Local Conflict in Colonial New England*, Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum (eds), Belmont, Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1972, p. 99. The young women affected in the Warboys case also predicted each other's fits even when separated by distance. See *The Most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys*, London, 1593, *Early*

*English Books Online*,

[http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346), accessed 16 March 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Kent, p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> The Salem witch-trials were undoubtedly the largest witch-hunt led by young female accusers, spanning over a year and involved the accusation of hundreds of people. The witch-trials spread to neighbouring Andover which held trials in 1693. See Bernard Rosenthal (ed), *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, 2014, pp. 15-43.

<sup>25</sup> Rosenwein 2006, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Deposition of Ann Putnam Jr. v. Sarah Osburn, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 139; Examination of Bridget Bishop, as recorded by Ezeiel Cheever, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 184; Examination of Giles Cory, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 187-188; Examination of Job Tookey, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 393.

<sup>27</sup> Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*, New York, Vintage Books, 1989, p. 235.

<sup>28</sup> Karen Harvey, 'The body', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, London, Routledge, 2017, p. 165.

<sup>29</sup> *The Most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys*, London, 1593, *Early English Books Online*,

[http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346), accessed 16 March 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Letter of Thomas Brattle, reproduced in *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases 1648-1706*, G. L. Burr (ed.), New York, Barnes & Noble, p. 171.

<sup>31</sup> Examination of Abigail Soames, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 268-269.

<sup>32</sup> For examples of mimicry see: Examination of Martha Cory, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 144-147; Examination of Rebecca Nurse, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 157-159; Examination of Giles Cory, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 187-188.

<sup>33</sup> Deposition of Samuel Parris, Thomas Putnam, & Ezekiel Cheever v. Sarah Good, Sarah Osburn, & Tituba, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 137; Examination of Deliverance Hobbs, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 213.

<sup>34</sup> Examination of Nehemiah Abbott Jr, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 205.

<sup>35</sup> Examination of Mary Esty, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 208-209.

<sup>36</sup> Examination of Bridget Bishop, as Recorded by Ezekiel Cheever, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 184.

<sup>37</sup> Examination of Sarah Cloyce & Elizabeth Procter, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 174.

<sup>38</sup> Boyer and Nissenbaum, p. 30.

<sup>39</sup> *A tryal of witches at the assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds*, London, 1682, *Early English Books Online*,

[http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:17151079](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:17151079), accessed 16 March 2018, pp. 24-30.

- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- <sup>42</sup> Kounine & Ostling, p. 3.
- <sup>43</sup> Testimony of Abigail Williams v. Rebecca Nurse & Sarah Cloyce, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 342.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- <sup>46</sup> *The Most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys*, London, 1593, *Early English Books Online*, [http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346), accessed 16 March 2018.
- <sup>47</sup> Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Witchcraft', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, London, Routledge, 2017, p. 292.
- <sup>48</sup> Deposition of Ann Putnam Jr. v. George Burroughs, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 245-246; Examination of Martha Cory, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 143-148.
- <sup>49</sup> *The Most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys*, London, 1593, *Early English Books Online*, [http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346), accessed 16 March 2018.
- <sup>50</sup> *A tryal of witches at the assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds*, London, 1682, *Early English Books Online*, [http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:17151079](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:17151079), accessed 16 March 2018, p. 20; *A tryal of witches at the assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds*, London, 1682, *Early English Books Online*, [http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:17151079](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:17151079), accessed 16 March 2018, p. 10.
- <sup>51</sup> Statement of Elizabeth Hubbard v. George Burroughs, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 243.
- <sup>52</sup> John Canup, *Out of the Wilderness: the Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England*, Middletown, Connecticut, Wesleyan University Press, 1990, p. 48.
- <sup>53</sup> Kent, p. 75.
- <sup>54</sup> *The Most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys*, London, 1593, *Early English Books Online*, [http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346), accessed 16 March 2018.
- <sup>55</sup> Examination of Abigail Hobbs, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 192.
- <sup>56</sup> Examinations of Mary Lacey Jr., Mary Lacey Sr., & Ann Foster, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 476.
- <sup>57</sup> Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', p. 21.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>59</sup> Declaration of Mary Osgood, Mary Tyler, Deliverance Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilson Sr., & Hannah Tyler, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 737-738.
- <sup>60</sup> Diane Purkiss, 'Fractious: Teenage Girls' Tales in and Out of Shakespeare', in Mary Ellen Lamb and Karen Bamford (eds), *Oral Traditions and Gender in Early Modern Literary Texts*, Burlington, Ashgate, 2008, p. 58.

<sup>61</sup> See Deposition of Ann Putnam Jr. v. Dorothy Good, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 156; Examination of Bridget Bishop, as recorded by Ezekiel Cheever, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 184.

<sup>62</sup> Examination of Sarah Cloyce & Elizabeth Procter, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 173.

<sup>63</sup> Deodat Lawson, 'A brief and true narrative', reproduced in *Witch-Hunting in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Documentary History 1638-1692*, David D. Hall (ed.), Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1991, p. 283.

<sup>64</sup> Deposition of Mercy Lewis v. George Jacobs Sr., reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 252; Testimony of Abigail Williams v. Elizabeth Procter, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 343.

<sup>65</sup> Deposition of Mercy Lewis v. George Burroughs, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 245.

<sup>66</sup> Nathan Johnstone, 'The Protestant Devil: the experience of temptation in early modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2004, p. 176.

<sup>67</sup> Robin Briggs, 'Emotion and affect in Lorraine witchcraft trials', in Laura Kounine and Michael Ostling (eds), *Emotions in the History of Witchcraft*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p. 138.

<sup>68</sup> Edward Fairfax, *Daemonologia: A Discourse on Witchcraft*, London, Frederick Muller, 1971, p. 38; Samuel Willard, 'A brief account of a strange and unusual providence of God befallen to Elizabeth Knapp of Groton', reproduced in *Witch-Hunting in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Documentary History 1638-1692*, David D. Hall (ed.), Boston, Northeastern University Press, 1991, p. 200; Cotton Mather, 'A brand pluck'd out of the burning', reproduced in *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases 1648-1706*, G. L. Burr (ed.), New York, Barnes and Noble, 1975, p. 269.

<sup>69</sup> See Karlsen.

<sup>70</sup> *The Most strange and admirable discoverie of the three witches of Warboys*, London, 1593, *Early English Books Online*,

[http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx\\_ver=Z39.88-2003&res\\_id=xri:eebo&rft\\_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346](http://gateway.proquest.com.ez.library.latrobe.edu.au/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:57402346), accessed 16 March 2018;

Testimony of Mary Walcott v. Sarah Buckley, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 285.

<sup>71</sup> Those accused of murder as well as witchcraft include Dorcas Hoar, George Burroughs, Bridget Bishop, John Willard, Martha Carrier, Rebecca Nurse, Job Tookey, Ann Dolliver, Sarah Good, Elizabeth Procter, John Procter, Martha Cory, Margaret Prince, Ann Pudeator, Alice Parker, Mary Bradbury and Giles Cory.

<sup>72</sup> There are also instances in which community rumour has clearly played a role, such as the accusation that Martha Carrier had murdered thirteen people in Andover. This accusation seems to be grounded in gossip, as thirteen people died in Andover during a smallpox outbreak in 1690 for which the Carrier family was accused of spreading. See David K. Goss, *The Salem Witch Trials: A Reference Guide*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 2008, pp. 87-88.

<sup>73</sup> Examination of Bridget Bishop, as Recorded by Samuel Parris, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 185; Examination of Dorcas Hoar, as Recorded by Samuel Parris, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 225; Examination of John Willard, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, pp. 286-288.

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<sup>74</sup> Deposition of Ann Putnam Jr. v. George Burroughs, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 245; Examination of Ann Dolliver, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 390; Examination of Job Tookey, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 393.

<sup>75</sup> Deposition of Johanna Childen v. Sarah Good, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 405.

<sup>76</sup> Letter of Thomas Putnam to Samuel Sewall, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 671; Testimony of Elizabeth Booth v. Elizabeth Procter & John Willard, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 443.

<sup>77</sup> Depositions of Sarah Bibber, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam Jr., & Mary Warren v. Alice Parker, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 601; Deposition of Ann Putnam Jr. v. Mary Bradbury, reproduced in *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, Bernard Rosenthal (ed.), 2014, p. 615.

<sup>78</sup> Laurel Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750*, New York, Knopf, 1982, p. 187.

<sup>79</sup> Norton, pp. 118-154.

<sup>80</sup> See Peter Rushton, 'The matter in variance: adolescents and domestic conflict in the pre-industrial economy of Northeast England, 1600-1800', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1991.

<sup>81</sup> Diane Purkiss, 'Women's Stories of Witchcraft in Early Modern England: The House, the Body, the Child', *Gender & History*, vol. 7, iss. 3, 1995, pp. 408-409.

<sup>82</sup> Letter from Thomas Putnam to Judge Samuel Sewall, reproduced in *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases 1648-1706*, G. L. Burr (ed.), New York, Barnes & Noble, p. 250.

<sup>83</sup> Purkiss, 1995, p. 410.