

All Performances

Theses, Dissertations and Capstones

2003

Witchcraft, communism and social control

Kristi B. Salmons

Follow this and additional works at: <http://mds.marshall.edu/etd>



Part of the [Other Sociology Commons](#), and the [Social Control, Law, Crime, and Deviance Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Salmons, Kristi B., "Witchcraft, communism and social control" (2003). *Theses, Dissertations and Capstones*. Paper 837.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by All Performances. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses, Dissertations and Capstones by an authorized administrator of All Performances. For more information, please contact zhangj@marshall.edu.

Witchcraft, Communism, and Social Control

Masters Thesis
Submitted to the
Graduate College of
Marshall University

In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts
Sociology

Kristi B. Salmons

July 25, 2003

Advisor: Dr. Richard Garnett

Abstract

Society is composed of rules and regulations governing action, behavior and thoughts of its members. The Salem witch trials of 1692 and the McCarthy Era are discussed in terms of their how and why each event occurred so similarly. Findings suggest social stress and large scale societal shifts to be at the crux of the issue. Other factors discussed relating to causality are; gender, deviance and its functions, norms and conformity.

Introduction

Society is composed of rules and regulations governing the actions, behaviors and even thoughts of its participants. Through networks, both formal and informal, society's values, beliefs, mores, and folkways are perpetually weighted, measured, ranked, and organized. Shifts in these governing dynamics are brought about through a number of avenues. Legislation may be passed, popular opinion may change or a precipitating incident may incite these changes. Societal shifts occur everyday and are predominantly non-dramatic in scheme. Over time the pendulum sways on a continuum from what may be characteristically defined as more liberal to more conservative and back again. When this altering of social norms is dealt with in slow, small doses, society is able to function normally.

However, when threatened, society begins to redefine its boundaries, clarifying the definitions among members, allies, and enemies. Thus in this state of uncertainty, changes in social regulation occur rapidly, with little overt adverse response from its members and without foresight on the part of those implementing the more strict regulations, in an attempt to stifle the perceived peril.

Self-preservation and the preservation of the societal "greater good" become more important than any possible future consequence the actions taken may hold. Society turns inward, limiting boundaries of acceptable action. In the most drastic of cases, society places restriction on the beliefs as well as the thoughts of its population.

The greater the perceived threat, the more stringently society narrows its area of inclusion and widens the range of exclusion. In times of extreme jeopardy society tends to become ultra-conservative, dulling or curtailing individual civil liberties in favor of governmental control. However, this explanation is, at its foundation, simplistic. Many aspects of society, if not most, work in tandem to ensure survivability of the social structure. It is within its social control mechanisms that new boundaries are laid; many times there are staunch punishments of both legal and social varieties for failures to meet society's new criteria.

Deviation from societal norms becomes almost intolerable in times of crisis. This deviation is required for group solidarity to strengthen. In order to gain solidarity amongst group members the boundaries must be well defined and defended. According to Kai Erickson, deviant behaviors act as a "marking mechanism to let the

members of a society know where the boundaries of behavior lie". He goes on to say that they "supply the framework for cultural identity" (Erickson, 19).

Throughout the annals of American history, there have been incidents, seemingly unrelated, that have caused much of the same societal reactions, even though they may have occurred centuries apart. The witch trials of 17th century Salem Massachusetts and the McCarthy era of the 20th century, while hundreds of years apart and seemingly unrelated in any way, do have common traits. These events and their links to one another will be discussed as well as the reasons each event occurred. In addition, the discussion will encompass the implications for our present and future in America.

Salem

The Salem Witch Trials defined an era. Undoubtedly almost every American has been privy to an account of the witches of Salem. However, these descriptions often either assume the guilt of those executed and imprisoned or do not address the issue at all. As a macabre story told to frighten children, usually around Halloween, the tale has

taken on a life of its own. The real Salem story is not as one-dimensional as its legend would lead one to believe.

The History

"We should every one of us be a dog and a witch too, if God should leave us to ourselves. It is the mere grace of God, the chains of which refrain us from bringing the chains of darkness upon our souls" (Levin Xii). -Cotton Mather

The Puritans of 17th Century Salem believed they were God's chosen people. As such, they segmented themselves off from the rest of the world in order to attain a pristine, perfect society of God. Due to their strong Old Testament beliefs, they "believed that God visits terrible judgments upon His wayward people" (Levin xiii). One such type of punishment was God's tacit permission for the devil to torment those of the flock who strayed (Levin xii). This punishment was not just visited upon individuals, but on the whole of society for evil actions taken by "the most wicked (of its) citizens" (Levin xiii). As result of this belief it was each citizen's duty to fight vigorously against the evil within, as well as outside, themselves.

Obligatory to members of the fold, was this sentiment referred to by Levin as an obligation to "strike down the devil whenever he appeared too boldly among their unregenerate brethren" (xxii).

In February of 1692 Elizabeth Parish and her cousin Abigail Williams began having violent fits. The fits consisted of such things as loss of voluntary motor skills, "hearing strange sounds, adopting contorted body positions, and crawling into holes" (Carlson 136). The community of Salem, stunned, began search for the reason for these behaviors. They began their inquisition with the educated of their community. Physicians were the first line of defense. They searched for a cure or cause but were left wanting. When physicians could not explain, nor cure, the retched and presumably diseased, Salem turned to its ministers. They were, after all, God's chosen people. Four of Boston's ministers were summoned at the request of the Goodwin family to conduct a full day of prayer for the afflicted. The Goodwin's youngest child was that day "miraculously cured" seemingly through the efforts of the ministers (Carlson 13). Accepted with no further ado by the people of Salem was the affliction's otherworldly basis. Because the ailment was supernaturally based, Salem thought, someone must be to blame. It was at this

acceptance point that magistrates and judges, were brought in to levy punishment against those who were accused of possessing and exposing the children to this demonic plague.

Although Elizabeth Parris and Abigail Williams were the primary accusers, according to Clark and Robinson others who had been meeting with one of Reverend Parris' slaves gave claim as well. They say, "nine year old Betty Parris... (Samuel's daughter), Elizabeth Hubbard (the seventeen year old servant of William Griggs, the village physician), nineteen year old Mercy Lewis and twelve year old Ann Putnam (the servant and the daughter of one of Salem Village's most prominent families), twenty year old Mary Warren, and several others" were the core accusers of Salem Village (136). Statements were taken and from these warrants were prepared.

The first warrants were served on February 29, 1692. One of the first alleged witches was Tituba, a slave of the Parris family. Tituba was a native of the West Indies, a palm reader and conjurer of magic. Both Elizabeth Parris and her cousin accused Tituba of causing their alarming fits (Levin, ivi). Also among the first accused were Sarah Good and Sarah Osborne. Sarah Good was a poor woman who Levin describes as a destitute, wizened pipe-smoking hag

(Levin, xiv). On March 1, 1692 her inquisition was typical. It went as follows:

"The examination of Sarah Good before the worshipfull Assts
John Harthorn Jonathan Curren

(H.) Sarah Good what evil spirit have you familiarity with

(S G) none

(H) have you made no contract with the devil,

(g) good answered no

(H) why doe you hurt these children

(g) I doe not hurt them. I scorn it.

(H) who doe you imploy then to doe it

(g) no creature but I am falsely accused

(H) why did you go away muttering from mr Parris his house

(g) I did not mutter but I thanked him for what he gave
my child

(H) have you made no contract with the devil

(g) no

(H) desired the children all of them to look upon her, and
see, if this were the person that had hurt them and so they
all did looke upon her and said this was one of the persons
that did torment them--presently they were all tormented.

(H) Sarah good doe you not see now what you have done why
doe you not tell us the truth, why doe you thus torment
these poor children

(g) I doe not torment them,

(H) who do you imploy then

(G) I imploy nobody I scorn it

(H) how came they thus tormented,

(g) what doe I know you bring others here and now you
charge me with it

(H) why who was it.

(g) I doe not know but it was some you brought into the
meeting house with you

(H) wee brought you into the meeting house

(g) But you brought in two more

(H) Who was it then that tormented the children

(g) it was osburn

(H) what is it that you say when you goe muttering away
from persons houses

(g) if I must tell I will tell

(H) doe tell us then

(g) if I must tell I will tell, it is the commandments I
may say my commandments I hope

(H) what commandment is it

(g) if I must tell you I will tell, it is a psalm

(H) what psalm

(g) after a long time shee muttered over some part of a
psalm

(H) who doe you serve

(g) I serve god

(H) what god doe you serve

(g) the god that made heaven and earth

though she was not willing to mention the word God her answers were in a very wicked, spitfull manner reflecting and retorting against the authority with base and abusive words and many lies shee was taken in. it was here said that her housband had said that he was afraid that shee either was a witch or would be one very quickly the worsh mr Harthon asked him his reason why he said so of her whether he had ever seen any thing by her he answered no not in this nature but it was her bad carriage to him and indeed said he I may say with tears that shee is an enemy to all good.

(Salem Village

March the 1t 1691/2

Written by Ezekiell Chevers Salem Village March the 1t 1691/2)"

(http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/ASA_GOOX.HTM).

Sarah Osbourne was warranted on suspected "immortality and had not been attending church, though attendance is compulsory" (Levin, xiv).

With nothing more than "eye witness" testimony charges were brought. A prime example of statement bring warrant is that of Elizabeth Hubbard against Sarah Good.

"On the 26 February 1691/1692, I saw the apparition of Sarah Good, who did most grievously afflict me by pinching and pricking me and so she continued hurting me until the fist day of March, being the day of her examination, and then she did also most grievously afflict and torture me also during the time of her examination, and also several times since she has afflicted me and urged me to write in her book. Also on the day of her examination, I saw the apparition of Sarah Good go and hurt and afflict the bodies of Elizabeth Parris, Abigail Williams, and Ann Putnam junior, and I have also seen the apparition of Sarah Good afflicting the body of Sarah Vibber. Also in the night after Sarah Good's examination, Sarah Good came to me barefoot and barelegged and did most grievously torment me by pricking and pinching me, and I verily believe that Sarah Good has bewitched me. Also that night, Samuel Sibly, who was then attending me, struck Sarah Good on her arm" (Carlson, 142).

*(All the evidence presented in Good's case may be seen in Appendix B.)

To this end, thirty four year old Samuel Sibly's

testimony concurred with that of Elizabeth Hubbard. In describing the events at Dr. Grides, Sibly said, "There Sarah Good stands upon the table by you with all her naked breasts and barefoot, barelegged, O nasty slut, if I had something I would killer her then. I struck her with my staff where she said Sarah Good stood, and Elizabeth Hubbard cried out; "You have hit her right across the back! You have almost killed her! If anybody was there they may see it" (Carlson, 142).

And so the accusations went. The first three accused, Tituba, Good, and Osborne, were brought before magistrates John Hawthorne and Jonathan Corwin on March 1, 1692. Levin says that Tituba confessed to being in league with the devil. After this confession the girls increased their accusations of witchcraft and devil pacts. Clark and Richardson go on to say, when the accused were brought before their accusers, the indicters' fits would increase. Upon confession, these attacks would cease, as if 'justice had been served' (135). A woman by the name of Mrs. Glover was eventually sentenced to prison for the "crime" of possession. "The Hag", as Cotton Mather referred to her, was an outsider of Puritanical Salem. She was Roman Catholic, poor, and spoke fluent Latin but could not speak much English. The magistrates asked Mrs. Glover to recite

the Lords Prayer, because demons in the devil's league could not do such a thing. Her response was that she could recite it "very readily" in Latin if she were allowed. This was not good enough for the Magistrates, or in the words of Cotton Mather, "this did not count" (Fever in Salem 13). Mrs. Glover was then sentenced to prison.

The issue became so prominent in Massachusetts Bay Colony, a special court was devised to hear only cases of witchcraft. Governor Phips appointed the judges. The rules of evidence are described by Craker as having "three major types of evidence". These included, "spectral evidence, non-spectral acts of malefic witchcraft, and confession" (Craker, 1997 332). Of spectral evidence Craker articulates, "Spectral evidence refers to the common belief that, when a person had made covenant with the devil, he was given permission to assume that person's appearance in spectral form in order to recruit others, and to otherwise carry out his nefarious deeds" (Craker, 332). Spectral evidence was used through the trials.

What Craker term, "non-spectral acts of malefic witchcraft" includes paraphernalia, such as "puppets and potions". In other words, objects used to do magic are considered in this category of evidentiary standard. The final category is that of the confession; i.e. a person

willfully admitting his or her guilt. Craker points out, "Roughly one third of those charged admitted complicity with the devil. However, forty-three of fifty confessions on record came during the later... phase of the executions" (333). This fact can be attributed to the survival rate for those who did not confess. No one who had confessed being in league with Satan had been executed, while early in the trials all who had denied culpability had hung.

In total legal action was levied against twenty-eight members of Salem village and numbers of others. Those include: Daniel Andrew, Bridget, Edward, and Sarah Bishop, Mary Black, Sarah Buckley, Sarah Cloyse, Giles and Martha Corey, Mary DeRich, Mary Easty, Dorcas and Sarah Good, George, Margaret, and Rebecca Jacobs, Rebecca Nurse, Sarah Osborne, Benjamin, Elizabeth, John, Sarah, and William Proctor, Tituba, Mary Warren, John Willard, Abigail Williams, and Mary Withridge

(<http://www.salemwitchtrials.com/accused.html>). Along with fifteen other members of Salem Village's surrounding areas Forty-three individuals were accused of the crime of witchcraft and other variations of the witchcraft offense.

On June 3, 1692, Bridget Bishop was the first convicted of the crime of witchcraft in Salem Village. Lieutenant Governor Saltonstall, the same man who had just

six days earlier convicted her, sentenced Bishop to death by hanging. Traditionally in Salem the Governor imposed the punishment set forth by the judge. However, due to Governor Phips' departure from Boston for the summer, the task of review and implementation rested upon the shoulders of a single man, Lieutenant Governor Saltonstall. On June 10, Bridget Bishop was hanged for her crimes. That summer, nineteen people were executed; most were hung for the crime of witchcraft. However Giles Cory, who had refused to answer the charges set before him, was pressed to death. Cory suffered for literally days while rocks were placed on him one by one. He did avoid a conviction but was inevitably executed. At least four others died in prison due to the abhorrent conditions.

As summer slipped into fall, allegations of witchcraft grew exponentially. No social class was safe. As momentum grew the accusations knew no boundaries. In the beginning, only those outside or on the fringe of society were named, but as the witch-hunts progressed, those of higher standing were named and imprisoned. (Biographical sketches of some of the accused may be found in Appendix B) As a result, public opinion changed direction. Levin states, "During August and September more and more people of all ranks came to suspect that there had been a going to far in the witch

hunt and trials" (xv). As such judges were appointed to replace Lieutenant Governor Saltonstall in his judiciary capacity and Jonathan Corwin was named to replace him in his review capacity.

McCarthy Era

As anomalous as the events of Salem may seem, there have been others, more recent in our history, of which, as a country, we are even more embarrassed. The McCarthy Era in American history is viewed, by many, as ultra conservatism gone wrong. America saw its governmental agencies, academics and public figures accused of the crime, the new witchcraft that was called communism.

The History

In 1950's America, an ever-intensifying Cold War with the Soviet Union was playing on the minds of everyday Americans. The time was marked by uncertainty and fear. Bringing the tension to a boil was US Senator Joseph McCarthy, a man who, according to Fried (1) was, "scarcely a household name outside his own state of Wisconsin" before giving his now infamous speech on February 9, 1950 (1).

(For an excerpt from Senator McCarthy's speech see Appendix C) In the speech given in front of a small group of Republicans in Wheeling, West Virginia, McCarthy charged the United States State Department with "harboring precisely two hundred and five Communists, i.e. traitors" (Fried 1). He also indirectly asserted that the State Department had simply and knowingly given "China and Eastern Europe to Communist regimes and intended more" (Fried 1). McCarthy presented no proof, merely allegations of guilt.

The "red scare" during the era of McCarthyism was a time of great ambiguity. Soviet communism posed a threat to everything "American", down to the very core of the American ideal. The term "Red" was derived from the national color of the USSR. The "Red Scare" was, at its core, the fear of the globalization of communism. If communism was global, democracy, capitalism, and the American variety of freedom, would have been subdued.

The "red scare" was made possible by many events in America's, relatively young history. At the end of World War II, "most Americans (were) confident *that* U.S. power was unchallengeable" (Haynes 37). America was incredibly strong following WWII. During this war the United States had made pacts with Great Britain and the USSR to

extinguish the threat of Hitler and his allies. However the "wartime alliance(s)" formed during WWII faltered after the war's end. While the US and Britain "rapidly demobilized their armed forces, Stalin maintained a huge contingent of the Red Army in Eastern Europe and installed communist governments throughout the region" (Haynes 37). In order to maintain control over the newly communist Eastern Europe, Stalin created a prison-like physical boundary line complete with, "barbed wire, minefields, watchtowers, and armed guards" (Haynes 37). In response to these actions taken by Stalin, Winston Churchill in a speech given in Fulton, Missouri, 1946, said, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent" (Haynes 37). The Far East as well had "fallen" to communism. As of 1949, according to Haynes, China, Taiwan, and North Korea was taken by communist rule. Due to the strategic importance of Turkey and Greece, the US, in conjunction with Britain heavily guarded them against falling under communist rule. When Britain was unable to continue economic and manpower support to the areas, Truman asked the United States Congress to give military aid. The Truman Doctrine signed into law "the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed

minorities or by outside pressure" (Haynes 38). In 1947 the Marshall Plan, devised by Secretary of State George Marshall, was established to give monetary aid to Europe to avoid further spread of communism.

The Amerasia documents unearthed in 1945 named several Americans as spies for the communists. This led to increased fear that the Russians knew sensitive internal US secrets. The most famous of espionage cases were that of the Rosenberg's. David Greenglass worked at a US atomic facility. He confessed, due to the Amerasia documents, to espionage charges. Because he cooperated with the authorities his sentence was reduced. Greenglass, in his confession, "implicated his brother-in-law Julius Rosenberg. Harry Gold also identified the Rosenbergs as working for the Soviet's. The Rosenbergs were convicted and subsequently executed in 1953, even though as Haynes points out, "The evidence was convincing that Ethel Rosenberg had assisted her husband in espionage, but her role was not as central as Julius" (60). The Rosenbergs were intransigent communists. As such when they were offered a deal to have their sentences of execution stayed if they told the US what they knew of the USSR's plans, they adamantly refused. Had the Rosenbergs confessed and

implicated others; their sentences would have been reduced just as were those of Greenglass and Gold.

According to Miller and Nowack, as quoted in Zinn, "Between the launching of his (McCarthy's) security program in March 1947 and December 1952 some 6.6 million persons were investigated. Not a single case of espionage was uncovered, though about 500 persons were dismissed in dubious cases of "questionable" loyalty" (420). They go on to say, "All of this was conducted with secret evidence, secret and often paid informers, and neither judge nor jury. Despite the failure to fine subversion, the broad scope of the official Red hunt gave popular credence to the notion that the government was riddled with spies" (Zinn 420-421).

Other events provided McCarthy with an atmosphere in which his claims were accepted as truth. For example, in 1947 the Alien Registration Act gave the federal government, the power to suppress and put down "groups it deemed subversive" (Fried 15). The act made provisions for the "required registration of all aliens and fingerprinting those over 14 years of age, the establishment of additional deportable classes, including aliens convicted of smuggling, or assisting in the illegal entry of, other aliens"

<http://www.bcis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/legishist/484.htm>). It also "amended the Act of October 16, 1919, making past membership-in addition to present membership-in proscribed organizations and subversive classes of aliens grounds for exclusion and deportation", as well as "the Immigration Act of 1917, authorizing, in certain meritorious cases, voluntary departure in lieu of deportation, and suspension of deportation

<http://www.bcis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/legishist/484.htm>). This act rendered it legal to expel immigrant members of society who did not follow the status quo, those who posed a threat to societal stability.

Another precipitating action was that of California Senator Jack Tenney's formation, in 1943, of a "fact-finding committee on American activities" (Fried 19). The committee's sole purpose was to find, expose, and vilify those in the public eye who were assumed to be pro-communist.

In October of 1945, Herbert Hoover addressed the nation as to the need for an addition to be made to America's enemies. Hoover alleged, "To the Fascist foe must be added another, the American Communist. These panderers of diabolic distrust already are concentrating their efforts to confuse and divide by applying the Fascist

smear to progressive police departments, the FBI, and other American institutions to conceal their own sinister purposes. The godless, truth less way of life that American Communists would force on America can mean only tyranny and oppression if they succeed" (Fried 17). Hoover followed his speech by, the next year, signing into law a measure allowing the FBI to wiretap "anyone it considered subversive" (Fried 19).

After the election of 1946, Henry Truman formed a commission to identify "disloyal" federal employees. Those found to be treacherous "possessed no right to their jobs" (Fried 24). The purpose of this commission, as was that of the commission of 1943, was to find and expose Communists, not those in the public eye, but those behind the scenes. Fried states, "The trouble was that Communists were universally acknowledged to be devilishly clever at hiding their identities" (24). In order to resolve this problem, the commission must seek nontraditional types of evidence. It was deemed necessary to look "for information about a suspect from any source, however dubious" (Fried 24). The burden of proof was placed on the suspect rather than the commission. In other words, suspected Communists were guilty until they proved otherwise; in fact, according to Fried, "they (communists) enjoyed none of the rights of a

court proceeding and had to be satisfied with such limited due process" (24).

Even the leaders of labor unions were not safe from accusation. The Republican congress of 1947 focused on repressing labor organizations. The Taft-Hartley Act mandated all labor union leaders to "file an affidavit with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)" declaring themselves as non-communists. If the leaders failed to comply with the directive, aid from NLRB would be withheld from that leaders union (Fried 25).

On the shoulders of all these major events, not to mention many more minor actions, Joseph McCarthy was offered the legitimate opportunity to accuse without evidence. During the years of McCarthyism, pleading the Fifth Amendment was treated as an admission of guilt (Fried). By the late 1950's McCarthy was no longer an issue. He had been brought up on charges of "conduct unbecoming a member of the United States Senate" and had thusly been proved a fool in the public eye (Zinn 422) "'McCarthyism' became a term of opprobrium, connoting mean-spirited fanaticism as well as false or irresponsible accusation" (Haynes 162). Stalin's death in 1953 helped to end the years of false accusation as did "revolts against Soviet rule in East Germany (1953), and Hungary (1956) and

a near revolt in Poland (1956)- demonstrating the Soviet's uneasy hold over their empire" (Haynes 191). Mao Tse-tung was taken out of power in 1957-1958 making American's more at ease with the fragility communist powers were exhibiting. By 1960 domestic partisanship had changed and in "the presidential campaign, domestic communism was not an issue in dispute between the two parties" (Haynes 91).

Norms and Deviance

According to Birenbaum and Sagarin, norms are "guidelines for human conduct that are accepted in a given situation at a given time" (1). Societal norms are, then, the behaviors a society deems acceptable, excluding other behaviors in the process. Then are norms created to limit behaviors or to give indication of acceptable action? Birenbaum and Sagarin say the purpose of having norms is to both limit and to cite acceptable behaviors. In their own words, "norms are both proscriptive and prescriptive" (5). They describe the proscriptive and prescriptive nature of norms as, "prohibition" of behavior and what society deems as acceptable, respectively. Norms are ever present or as Hall (1997) says, "rules and norms themselves are universal" (43). In every society, in every time period,

norms have determined human behavior. Birenbaum and Sagarin, in concordance with classical sociologist Emile Durkheim state, " Even if all people were perfect because of some innate goodness or successful training, there would still be societal need to recognize conformity and deviance" (5).

Deviance from societally approved action activates a sanctioning process through which, depending on the severity of the transgression, either officially or unofficially calls for repercussive action to be taken by other members of that society. Deviance must serve a purpose in society for if it did not, societies would not have any need for norms. Howard Becker supports this view. He says, according to Birenbaum and Sagarin, "it is the rules that make violation or the defiance; if there were no rules, there would be no rule breakers" (22). However not all deviant behavior is punished, and some things punished are not at all deviant. For example if no one sees the deviant act and there is no noticed evidence that a deviant act has occurred, then that action will go unpunished. Conversely, some behaviors are punished but are not deviant. Almost everyone in America exceeds the posted highway speed limit at some point in his or her life. The fact that most people speed makes the behavior of speeding

a norm rather than an act of deviance. It is however, still an officially punishable offense. In fact behaviors that are punishable at the present time in history in a given society may not be so in the future and may not have been in the societies past. As Becker points out, " At various times, enforcement officials may decide to make an all-out attack on some particular kind of deviance, such as gambling, drug addiction, or homosexuality" (Rubington 1973 11). He goes on to say, " The same behavior may be an infraction of the rules at one time and not at another; may be an infraction when committed by one person, but not when committed by another" (13). Such was the case with membership in the Communist party in America. Before the start of the Cold War many Americans were in fact card holding Communists. This was perfectly acceptable. However, once the war was underway and Communism was seen as a threat to American severity, the acceptance of being Communist was redefined.

Erikson says it is helpful to think of deviancy as a benefit to society. He states,

" It is a common practice in sociology to picture deviant behavior as an alien element in society. Deviance is considered a vagrant form of human activity which has somehow broken away from the more orderly currents of social life and needs to be controlled. And since it is generally understood that this sort of aberration could only occur if something

were wrong within the organization of society itself, deviant behavior is described almost as if it were leakage from machinery in poor condition: it is an incidental result of disorder and anomie, a symptom of internal breakdown" (Rubington 25).

He suggests deviation should be viewed rather as, "a normal product of stable institutions, an important resource which is guarded and preserved by forces found in all human organizations" (Rubington 25). Erikson's contention is that deviance actually serves the purpose keeping social solidarity together. With each reprimand a 'sharpening' of, "the authority of the violated norm and declares again where the boundaries of the group are located" (Rubington 28).

Conformity

Conformity was key to the escalation of Salem's witch hunt. If authorities, i.e. Reverend Parris, and other religious and governmental leaders, had not supported the idea of otherworldly causation, events would have been quite different. Salem was not the only instance of witch hunting in history. Twenty years prior to its appearance in Salem, a young woman exhibited symptoms similar to those of the Salem girls of 1692. As cited in Hall (1994), Groton Minister Samuel Willard describes the initial events

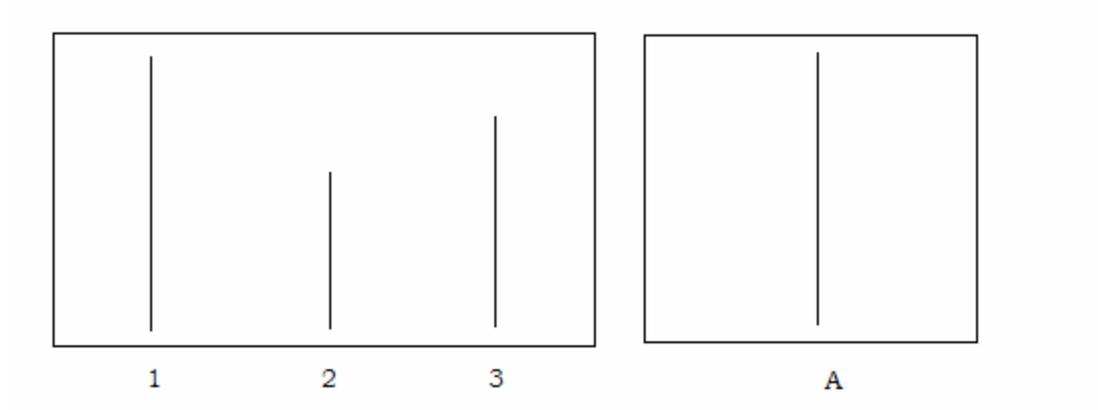
as follows: Elizabeth Knapp "began to experience violent fits and said she saw otherworldly things". Elizabeth said, "The devil had promised to make her a "witch" if she would sign a "compact" to become his servant" (Hall 1994). She too, as the girls in Salem, had accused another towns person of causing her ailment but no witch hunt erupted in Groton. Religious ideology in Salem and in Groton began from two different perspectives. In Groton, according to Hall (1994), the belief was "in the full course of God's providence, good would overcome evil". The Puritans of Salem Village, as previously stated, believed it was left up to the individual to fight against evil for himself and for his cohorts. In other words, both societies conformed to their belief structure in dealing with accusations of witchcraft.

During the witch trials there were many incidents of people who did not believe the accusations placed on others in their township, but nonetheless did not speak out against the trials and subsequent executions, continuing the escalation of events further. Staub says, "Violence usually evolves" (Staub 1999). He articulates that passivity on the parts of both internal and external bystanders only reinforces the actions of perpetrators, allowing them to continue and to become more embedded and

therefore empowered to escalate the act of violence. Conformity is a subject not lacking in experimental treatments. There have been many studies on the phenomenon of conformity. Some study it from the perspective of why there is conformity, while others take the position of asking why there is deviance. Conformity is defined by Kiesler and Kiesler as, "a change in behavior or belief toward a group as a result of real or imagined group pressure" (Kiesler 1969). All conformity is not the same however. According to the Kieslers, there are two distinct types of conformity, compliant skeptics and true believers. Compliant skeptics are individuals who comply with the group but do not believe in what they are doing. In fact, compliant skeptics may even disapprove of the actions they are instructed to take, but perform anyway. True believers, on the other hand, wholeheartedly believe in their actions. These conformists actually change their personal opinions to be congruent with those of the group.

One of the most famous conformity experiments ever instituted is that of Solomon Asch. In his experiment, Asch set up a situation in which four people were asked to judge which line of a set was most like another line. Here

is an example of Asch's model.



Obviously the answer is 1. However, among the four or five subjects only one was not involved in the experiment, the others, termed confederates, were part of the experiment. Each of the confederates as well as the subject must then say out loud which of the lines they believed matched the single line on the right. The first confederate picked the wrong line. Subsequently a quandary ensues for the subject. Does he/she choose the one he knows to be correct or does he conform to the group? (Kiesler)

Asch's findings were dramatic. As cited in Levine, "... (on the first measure) approximately two thirds (63.2%) of the total responses were independent, or correct. On the second measure, he found that 24% of the participants were always independent, whereas only 5% always yielded. Now, these data do not deny that some conformity occurred. Approximately one third (36.8%) of the total responses

involved yielding to the erroneous majority, which was much larger than the percentage of incorrect responses given by control participants who responded alone (<1%)". These conclusions indicate that even if a person knows its wrong, 31% of people will always go with the group.

While Asch's experiment was conducted in the 20th Century, his findings, at least at a basic level, suggest a type of herd mentality when group pressure is applied. This is one possible explanation as to the intensification of action in Salem in 1692. Perhaps in order to avoid dissension from group ideologies and the repercussions dissension would carry, individuals figuratively picked the line of group consensus. They, in order to avoid sanction, went along with the group and accused people they knew to be innocent of the crime.

Stanley Milgram, a professor at Yale University, began study on compliance to authority through a foot-in-the-door tactic. He tested 1000 subjects in 20 experimental configurations to find out how many would comply with direct orders to harm another. The commands were given by an implied authority figure, a man in a white lab coat, and consisted of directing the subject administer increasing levels of electric shock under the guise of "teaching" a "learner" a list of word pairs. At each miss by the

learner, the teacher (subject) would administer shock as directed by the authority figure. When a lever was pressed the learner (actually working for the experimenter) would make sounds of increasing agony. The levers of shock were clearly marked from "15-Volts-Slight Shock" through "450 Volts- XXX". After the teacher pressed the 330 Volt switch, the learner would scream in agony and fall silent (indicating serious harm or even death). An astonishing 63% of the teachers went on to press the final lever. In a slightly altered condition the teachers were not asked to press the lever themselves but were ordered to give someone else instruction to do so. In this condition 93% of subjects ordered the lever pushed (Myers).

These subjects were seemingly ordinary people ages 20 to 50, what made them comply? As cited in Myers, Milgram said the fundamental lesson of his study is that "ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process" (625). Even though the subjects of Milgram's experiments knew they were hurting the individual they persisted because of their obedience to a perceived authority and in spite of their own will not to comply. Because they were ordered to do so, the subjects did what they were told. This type of mind-set is referred to by

Milgram as "state of agency". State of agency according to Myer is the action of, "carrying out orders of those in authority (and a) lost sense of responsibility for actions" (http://www.unc.edu/~kbm/SOCI10/1_22_03.html). It seems as though their attitudes about right and wrong had somehow changed, or were perhaps put on hold, in the face of their actions and all of this in a relatively short period of time.

Could the people of Salem Village been lead to accuse and even execute their comrades? Milgram's findings suggest the affirmative in this instance. This explanation does not deal with the initial accusations; it does however make appropriation for the subsequent acceleration of the trials. While there were not any known instances of leaders directly telling one person to accuse another, the approval of their leaders may have been enough to allow for further allegations to be proclaimed.

In this same vein, Philip Zimbardo, a professor at Stanford University, conducted a different experiment. Zimbardo's prison experiment was designed to determine if situation could override normality. He began by evaluating a number of subjects through utilization of the F-test (a test to find authoritarian personalities). He then pared off any that were not decidedly within the normal range of

psychological functioning. With random assignment the subjects were given roles of guards or prisoners. The experiment was supposed to run for 14 days but was cut short after only six days due to the increasing brutality displayed by some of the guards toward the prisoners. It is important to note the fact that neither group was given instruction on how to act like a guard or prisoner but the behaviors exhibited from both categories were true to their simulated situation. For example, while in the experimental prison condition, those designated as prisoners talked with each other about being in prison (Zimbardo 1998). Zimbardo found that while two guards were "good guards" and treated the prisoners nicely, they did nothing to stop the brutality displayed by the "sadistic guards". Zimbardo says, "Most dramatic and distressing to us was the observation of the ease with which sadistic behavior could be elicited in individuals who were not 'sadistic types'". This study shows people will do what is expected of them. If it were expected of the people of Salem to accuse and to support the allegations of others then it would make sense to reason this is one possible explanation for the escalation of events in the village.

Gender

The feminist perspective brings to light the gendered nature of the witch hunts. Clark and Richardson (1996) state, "most historians (have) offered only the shallowest acknowledgement of the gendered nature of the witchcraft persecutions, but the vast majority of those charged with witchcraft were women" (119). Implying that in previous witch-hunts the accusers were primarily men, they say, "One factor distinguishing the Salem witch outbreak from certain others was that the Salem accusers were primarily women, and, for the most part, young women" (136). Clark and Richardson say no discernable pattern of accusation can be easily seen. For example, the age range of the accused included Rebecca Nurse at seventy-one years of age and Dorcas Good at only five years old. They go on to say "some were wealthy, upstanding members of the community; others were beggars or tavern keepers" (138). They do, however, cite three connections between "most" of those accused. Ann Putnam was a primary accuser. Her family "had been or were currently engaged in disputes with" a number of the accused (138). Secondly, "many of those accused belonged to families who were engaged in land or boundary disputes with Salem Village" (138). Finally they

suggest, "The majority of the women who were accused stood to inherit property, putting them in control of assets beyond the norm for women in that patriarchal society" (138). Citing problems with the justice system of Salem village, Clark and Richardson say spectral evidence made more complex the court proceedings. The conclusion drawn from their research is best summed up as follows: "The majority of those accused, tried, and executed were women—women who stood to inherit, women who ran taverns, women who did not fit into the orderly Puritanical social system, women who were not the "Daughters of Zion" Cotton Mather wished them to be" (139). In other words, the crux of Clark and Robinson's argument is gender did in fact play a major role in the accusations, trials, and executions. In fact an all male jury was picked to sit for the trials, of again, mainly women, according to

<http://etext.virginia.edu/salem/witchcraft/texts/jurors.htm>

1, . In colonial America only men could sit on juries because one of the requirements to do so was to be a landholder. Women were not permitted to own land and thusly were not allowed to serve on juries. This fact also gives further credence the Clark and Robinson claim of inheritance playing a factor in who was branded "witch". It would be logical to make the connection between some of

these women standing to inherit land that should have, in popular opinion, gone to a man.

Social Control

Social control is imposed through a myriad of mechanisms. In Salem a primary source of control was that of control through collective action, which Birenbaum and Sagarin liken to "rule of mob" (110). Collectively, members of Puritanical Salem Village ostracized and berated those accused of witchcraft.

Informal sanctions such as these were not uncommon. The purpose of informal sanctioning is to act as a warning beacon to any who would follow in the footsteps of the deviant. Used to discourage future deviance, collective sanctions, according to Birenbaum and Sagarin also, "aim to strengthen the moral stance of the normals, infusing them with a sense of correctness, well being, and uprightness as they join other good, whole, and normal people in heaping ridicule on the outcast" (110). This guards against further defection from the group.

Social control in the form of formal and informal sanctions and rewards were similarly utilized in both scenarios. Community reaction in the McCarthy Era was

almost identical to that of Salem in 1692. Each governing body brought charges that clarified the boundary lines between which behaviors were acceptable and which were not. In both cases civil liberties were infringed upon, but accepted as the lesser of two evils. Special rules and laws were created to admonish further the crimes seen as most threatening to survival of the society.

Zinn suggests the Red Scare was an attempt on the part of those in power, "to make the general public fearful of communists and ready to take drastic actions against them—imprisonment at home, military action abroad" (427). Zinn goes on to say the media played a large role in the production of this anti-communist sentiment. He says, "The large-circulating magazines had articles like "How Communists Get That Way" and "Communists Are After Your Child" (427). The New York Times in 1956 ran an editorial, "We would not knowingly employ a communist party member in the news or editorial departments... because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment on it honestly" (427). Even, "a comic strip hero, Captain America, said: "Beware, commies, spies, traitors, and foreign agents Captain America, with all loyal, free men behind him, is looking for you..." (428). Such propaganda

added fuel to the fire that was anti-communism and as such the social control machine was in full swing.

Social Stress

Throughout history, social stress has given rise to accounts of witches. As Carlson (1999) points out, "Stressors related to warfare, both the Thirty Years' War in Europe and the French and Indian Wars of New England in the latter 1600's, have also been thought to have played a part in the appearance of witches" (5). Simply the stress of rural agrarian life would have made Salem, "vulnerable in a way that more densely settled urban areas were not" (5). Carlson goes on to say, "In small communities where residents relied on one another, everyone's fate was intertwined, and if someone within the community—a friend or neighbor—had the ability and motive to cause affliction and death, the horror was intensified" (5). Therefore, anything in society that was different, or abnormal, could provide enough stress to begin accusations of otherworldly roots.

Salem not only had the stress of an "intertwined" fate but not long before the first accusations were levied, the American colonies' economy had begun a shift from agrarian

to "a market-based, capital-driven economy" (Carlson, 31). When presented with such sweeping changes Salem, which was formed as a kind of divine experiment, began losing its autonomy. The ever-encroaching boundaries of Salem proper added to the stress felt by the relatively small colony of Massachusetts Bay. This "boundary crisis", as termed by Kai Erikson, was imperative to the initiation and continuance of "witchcraft hysteria" in 1692. Each society has boundaries and when those boundaries are threatened communities must strengthen and redefine them. It is Erikson's position that Salem Village at that time was undergoing some, "unsettling historical change" (70). He goes on to say, " any community which feels jeopardized by a particular form of behavior will impose more severe sanctions against it and devote more time and energy to the task of rooting it out" (20). Not only were physical boundaries being intruded upon, so were its political borders. Marion Starkey (1949) says by command of Charles II of England, Massachusetts' charter was revoked. She goes on to say this deprived the colony of the "advantages it had enjoyed in the past" (139). Coupled with, and most definitely as direct result of, all the changes the small community faced was that of internal dissension. As previously discussed, Salem village was a highly integrated

society due to its members' dependence on one another for survival. Starkey states, "The spirit of brotherhood, which the original settlers had counted on so heavily, had lately diffused into an atmosphere of commercial competition, political contention, and personal bad feelings" (139). The lines of normalcy had been blurred, and the colony's future was uncertain at best.

Even Salem Village's religious foundation was in question. It was a time of rapid social change in every aspect of life. Erikson points out, "Perhaps no other form of crime in history has been better index to social disruption and change, for outbreaks of witchcraft mania have generally taken place in societies which are experiencing a shift of religious focus- societies, we would say, confronting a relocation of boundaries" (154). Then according to Erikson's view, witchcraft in Salem was a direct response to changing societal boundaries. When a line is blurred or is in question it needs to be clarified in order for society to feel whole and protected. This is what the witch trials did for Salem colony; allowed the townspeople a redefinition of boundaries. It clarified the line between good and evil per se. The Puritans' belief structure had begun rigidly and had weakened with each passing generation. In 1692 the Puritan way of life was on

its way out and on the way in, a new more secularized government.

The McCarthy Era was a period of uncertain, even anomie, conditions at times. Due to the Cold War many feared for their very lives. As in Salem in 1692 social control was exerted from many different sources. Internal sanctioning did once more act as a kind of caveat against not witchcraft but Communism. As an attempt to put down the threat of Communism, again, the definition of correct, American, behavior was narrowed. Those who did not fit the newly defined mold were ridiculed, found unworthy of the jobs they had done for years prior, and often imprisoned, in order to discourage others from following the footsteps of the accused. Sanctioning occurred officially and unofficially through public opinion and governmental sources. If someone was believed a communist, the individual was shunned from society. Due to apprehension of the ramifications of being linked to a Communist, those around the accused were likely to help prove their guilt rather than defend them.

Americans were terrified of the Communist agenda. As such they were willing to give up some of their civil rights if it meant the eradication of those who could harm

them. Just as out of trepidation the members of Salem society allowed their trials to continue, so did American society as a whole in the 1950's. Governmental action was so strong due to the very nature of communism. As a Capitalist society, America, especially those in power, was alarmed by the mere notion of the communal way of life. According to Haynes, "Communist ideology was incompatible with the values held by most Americans. Americans have always held a variety of political views, but most support private property, take immense pride in their individualism, and glory in political democracy" (7). Communism in the Soviet Union, devalued personal property, emphasized the collective, and "established a one-party dictatorship that ruthlessly suppressed dissent" (Haynes 7). While most Americans were somewhat religious, the Soviet Union favored atheism. As result, "to many Americans, communism was a godless abomination" (Haynes 7).

Over two and a half centuries apart, these two events are found to be extremely closely related in stature. Both societies were under stress from outside sources; Salem Village from Salem Proper, and the United States from Communist Russia. Everything was in question, their fundamental ideologies, those things most basic to their societies, were even being challenged. In each case the

response was further definition of boundaries, both physical and ideological. Salem achieved this end by scapegoating, identifying those in society that did not match the new set of norms forwarded by the aforementioned stressors. Similarly 258 years in the future since events in Salem Village, McCarthyism saw the same response. Is this then a universal characteristic, a social fact, of societies under stress? Did the Great Roman Empire act as these have? Did they redefine their boundaries in the face of threat?

Extrapolation

Today in America the tone is again one of fear. The figurative national security card is thus being played once more. At the present time laws are being passed in the name of national security that takes away individual rights. Special rules and laws are taking hold yet again. The United States is heading for another witch trial, another McCarthian dynamic in the recent future.

In his State of the Union Address on January 29, of 2002 President George W. Bush laid the ground work for a "war on terror". He stated in his address, "some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about

it: If they do not act, America will" (Whitehouse). The United States has thusly become policemen to the world, fighting an enemy with no specified limits. First Afghanistan, then Iraq, now Korea. Just after the events of September 11, 2001 President Bush promised the nation," Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated" (Whitehouse 2). He goes on to say," Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command -- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war -- to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network" (Whitehouse 2). With such an unspecific enemy the enigma that is "terror" has crept into the collective consciousness of America. As in Salem 1692 and the McCarthy Era, America is plagued by indefinable enemies. Drastic laws are currently being passed under the guise of national security. Just as in the two previous time periods, the public allows their rights to be curtailed due to fear of something, be it witches, 'commies', or terrorists. The Patriot Act passed on____, makes provision for such things as," modification

of authorities relating to the use of pen registers and trap and trace devices" (Center for Democracy). Law enforcement agencies now have the right to wire tap, to come into a residence, without the knowledge of the owner, and to investigate. They have also been given the right to electronically survey any individual it deems a "risk". From all these examples it is evident when faced with either the resignation of civil rights or the indeterminate fear, members of a society will choose to give up their rights to be protected from the enigma that frightens them.

Today the burden of proof is placed upon the accused, just as in times before. Shortly after military action in Afghanistan some captured suspects of terrorism were shipped to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. About 60 suspected al Qaeda members were shipped directly from Afghanistan to the US Naval base in Cuba. According to the United States government, "As long as the prisoners never touch US soil - and the naval base is not considered part of the US - they are denied the rights guaranteed to criminals under the American constitution, such as a presumption of innocence and a trial by jury" (Guardian). Special sanctioning processes such as these are evident uniformly among all three events discussed.

It may be inferred then that events causing social stress tend to elicit similar responses. In each case examined the societies demonstrated a narrowing of boundaries, both physical and behavioral; all making new rules, taking privileges, and pulling inward. Due to some intimidation, either real or imagined, the societies felt threatened for their very survivability. Rules and regulations governing behavior are affected by societal change. Uncertainty breeds fear and fear begets the symptoms exhibited in the previous events. The purpose of narrowing social boundaries is to strengthen the group enough to fight off the offensive. The same tactics are utilized to defeat the enemy and therefore the same mistakes are made. In the societies hast for 'justice' innocent people are suspected, convicted, even executed for their boundary infractions, even when the threat is from an intangible source. In other words, mistakes from the past have not taught their lessons. If we do not learn from history, are we not then destined to repeat it?

Appendix A: Evidence against Sarah Good

This is the evidence in total against Sarah Good, taken from actual Salem court documents and accessed from: <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=BoySal2.sgm&images=images/modeng&data=/texts/englih/modeng/oldsalem&tag=public&part=7&division=div1>)

Summary of Evidence v. Sarah Good

To: Titabes Confession & Examinacon ag't. her selfe & Sarah Good abstracted

Charges Sarah Good to hurt the Children & would have had her done it 5. were with her last night & would have had her hurt the Children w'ch she refused & that Good was one of them

Good with others are very strong & pull her with them to Mr. putnams & made her hurt the Child. Good [ther] rode with her upon Apoole behind her, takeing hold of one another doth not know how they goe for she never sees trees nor path but are presently th --

Good [ther] tell her she must kill some body with a knife & would have had her killed Tho: putnams Child last night the Child at the same time afirmed she would have had her cutt of her own head if not Titabe would doe it & complained of a knife cutting her

Good came to her last night when her Mr. was at prayer & would not let her hear hath one yellow bird & stopped her Eares in prayer time, the yellow bird hath been seen by the Children & Titabee saw it suck Good between the forefinger & long finger upon the right hand

Saw Good [ther] practice witchcraft.

Saw Good have a Catt besides the bird & a thing all over hair [ther]

Sarah Good appeared like a wolfe to Hubbard going to proctors & saw it sent by Good to Hubbard

Good [ther] hurt the Children again & the Children affirme the same Hubbard knew th[em] not being blinded by them & was once or twice taken dumb herslefe i:e: Titabe

Good caused her to pinch the Children all in their own persons

Saw Goods name in the booke, & the devell told her they made these marks & said to her she made ther marke & it was the same day she went to prison

Good [ther] came to ride abroad with her & the man shewed her Goods mark in the book

Good [ther] pinched her on the leggs & being searched found it soe after confession

Nota S. G. mumbled when she went away from Mr Parriss & the children after hurt.

-363-

Dorothy Goods Charge ag't. her mother Sarah Good. That she had three birds one black, one yellow & that these birds hurt the Children & afflicted persons.

her own Confession

Nota None here sees the witches but the afflicted & themselves Charges Sarah Osburne with hurting the Children -- looking upon them at the same time & not being afflicted must consequently be a Witch

Deliverance Hobs Confession

being at a meeting of the witches in Mr: parisses feild
when Mr. Burroughs preached & administred the sacram't to
them saw Good amongst the rest & this fully agrees with
what the afflicted persons relate. 22th. Apr (92)

Abigaile Hobbs' Confession

was in Company with Sarah Good & knowes her to be a
witch & afterwards was taken deafe & Mary walcott [ther]
saw Good & osburn run their fingers into this d
oits ears a little after she spoke & s'd Good told her she
sh'd not speake

Mary Warren's Confession

That Sarah Good is a Witch & brought her the booke to
signe to.

Elizabeth Hubbard

Mary Walcott

Ann puttnam

Mercy Lewis

Sarah Vibber

Abigail Williams aflicted by S. Good & saw her shape.

Richard Patch

W'm Allen that she app'rd to him when abed

W'm Good. that she hath a strange Tett or wort

John Hughes that he saw strange sights.

Sam; Braybrooke that she said she would not confess
unless proved ag't her & that ther was but One Evidence &
that an Indian & ther for did not fear

(Reverse) Evidences ag't. Sarah Good Extract of them No.
1 Ind't.

(Reverse) V. Sarah Good Witnesses to the Indictm'ts No.
1

(Reverse)

Sarah vibber

Abigall Williams

Eliz. Hubbard

Ann Putman

No. 2

Eliz: Hubbard

A nn Put man

Mary Wolcott

Abigaill Wi lliams

3

Ann Putman

El. Hubbard

Abigall Williams

Sarah Davis of Wenham widow of Jno. Davis

(Reverse)

Sarah vibber

Abigall Williams

Elizabeth Hubbard

Ann Putman

No. 2. versas Good

Marcy Lewis

Ann Putman

Sarah Bibber

Mary Wolcott

Abigall Williams

No. 3

(Essex County Archives, Salem -- Witchcraft Vol. 1 Page

7)

Appendix B: Biographical Sketches

Biographical Sketches of some of the Accused

Bridget Bishop

- She had been widowed three times in her life.
- She married her second husband, Thomas Oliver, on July 26, 1666.
- Thomas Oliver was also a widow and brought three children to their marriage.
- Thomas and Bridget had a daughter together.
- Thomas and Bridget had a very troubled marriage and fought often.
- In 1679 Thomas died.
- In 1680 she was charged with witchcraft, but wasn't convicted.
- In 1687 she married Edward Bishop.
- She was between 55 and 60 years old when she was charged with witchcraft on April 19, 1692.

George Burroughs

- He was the second Salem Village minister, but quarreled over his salary and left.
- He had five children.
- He was widowed three times.
- His second wife died about a year after their arrival in Salem Village.
- After his second wife's death, he remarried and moved to Maine.
- He was rumored to have mistreated his wives.
- One of his children was not baptized; a fact that was brought up in his trial.

- He was well known for his physical strength.
- Upon his arrest for witchcraft, his wife took everything that was valuable in the house, sold his books and loaned the money for interest. She then took her own daughter and left George's children to fend for themselves.
- During his trial, witnesses testified that his two dead wives came to them in their dreams explaining that he had killed them.
- He was also identified by the afflicted girls as the "Black Minister" and leader of the Salem Coven.
- At his execution, he repeated the Lord's Prayer flawlessly.

Martha Carrier

- She was arrested upon the complaint of Joseph Holton and John Walcott.
- Four of her five children were taken with her to jail.
- Her eight-year-old daughter, Sarah, admitted to being a witch since she was six. She told the court that her mother baptized her a witch in Andrew Foster's pasture.
- Richard and Thomas Carrier also confessed to witchcraft, and blamed their mother for making them witches. Numerous others confessed that she also made them witches.
- Martha denied the charges of witchcraft and making others witches.
- She spoke her mind freely on her feelings of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and its methods.
- The Rev. Francis Dane spoke in her defense and stated that she was a victim of gossip.

- Almost 10 years after her hanging, her surviving family was paid 7 pounds and 6 shillings in restitution for her death.

Giles Corey

- He had a criminal record prior to his arrest for witchcraft. The record was mostly for stolen foods and tobacco.
- John Proctor once accused him of setting fire to his house, but he couldn't prove it.
- He was known for his quick, hot temper and also would argue and threaten neighbors.

Martha Corey

- Known throughout Salem to be a religious person.
- She had a reputation for being opinionated and outspoken.
- Martha gave birth to an illegitimate mulatto, whom lived with her and her second husband, Giles.
- She was against the witch trials from the beginning.
- She never confessed to being a witch, nor did she believe in them.

Dorcas Good

- She was Sarah Good's daughter.
- At five-years-old, she was the youngest prisoner of the Salem witch trials.
- When questioned, she stated that her familiar was a little snake. She said it would talk to her and sucked blood from her finger. A red spot was found at the tip of her finger where she said the snake would suckle.

- She was never the same after her mother's death and months in prison.
- In 1710 her father, William Good, told the General Court that since her imprisonment Dorcas was unable to "govern herself."

Sarah Good

- She was a homeless woman and begged door to door.
- She would mumble words under her breath if people failed to give her alms. People believed these mumbled words to be curses directed at them.
- Her visits would be attributed to death of livestock.
- At her hanging, the Rev. Nicholas Noyes asked her to confess to being a witch. Her famous response to him was: "I am no more a witch than you are a wizard, and if you take away my life God will give you blood to drink." Twenty-five years later, Noyes died of a hemorrhage, choking on his own blood.

Rebecca Nurse

- She was 1 of 8 children of William Towne of Topsfield.
- She was married to Francis Nurse.
- The Rev. James Allen and she once fought over the boundary of their two neighboring properties.
- She worshipped at the Salem Village church, but remained a member of the Salem Town church.
- Rebecca was hard of hearing, so she did not often respond to those who spoke to her.
- She was 71-years-old when she was charged with witchcraft.
- She was originally found not guilty by the court, but when the courtroom and the afflicted girls protested, Chief Justice Stoughton asked the jury to reconsider a

statement made by one of the prisoners. Nurse was found guilty the second time because of the reconsidered evidence and her failure to respond to questions because her poor hearing.

- Her reputation as a good and prudent women didn't help her escape the gallows.
- She was excommunicated, but her descendants had it revoked on March 6, 1712.

Samuel Parris

- He was born in London in 1653.
- The Parris family later moved to Barbados, where his father became a sugar planter and merchant.
- Samuel attended Harvard College, but returned to the islands after his father's death in 1678.
- He became a merchant, but when a hurricane wrecked his business and sugar prices were low, he sold his business and moved to Boston. He was a merchant for only eight years.
- He tried to be a merchant in Boston but couldn't compete, so he decided to become a minister.
- Salem Village hired him as their minister in 1688.

Elizabeth Proctor

- She was John's third wife and married to him for 18 years.
- She was in charge of running the family tavern.
- Elizabeth fought on two occasions with Robert Stone over an unpaid bar tab.
- Her grandmother, Ann B. Lynn, was once suspected of witchcraft.

- Mary Warren testified that Elizabeth tried to make her sign the "Devil's Book."
- Since she was pregnant at the time of her condemnation, she was able to avoid execution at her appointed time.
- By the time she had her child, those convicted of witchcraft had been pardoned. Thus, her unborn child saved her life.
- Although pardoned, she was still a convicted felon in the eyes of the law and barred from claiming any of her husband's property.
- On December 17, 1710, 578 pounds and 12 shillings was paid to her in restitution for her husband's death.

John Proctor

- John was a native of Ipswich, Massachusetts and moved to Salem Town in 1666.
- Upon his father's death, he inherited a share of a profitable estate.
- He was a wealthy landowner and owned a tavern on Ipswich Road.
- He was known to be very outspoken and to have a hot temper--traits which did not help him during the trials.
- John was the first male to be accused a witch in Salem.
- He publicly supported and defended his third wife, Elizabeth, when she was accused and tried for witchcraft.
- He was sternly opposed to the witchcraft trials, and was 60-years-old at the time of his arrest.

- At his execution, he pleaded for more time because he was not fit to die (he felt he had not made peace yet with others and God.)

Tituba

- She was originally from an Arawak village in South America.
- As a child, she was captured, taken to Barbados and sold into slavery.
- Tituba was purchased by Parris, or given to settle a debt, while Parris was a merchant in Barbados.
- Since Parris was an unmarried merchant at the time he acquired Tituba, it was rumored that she may have served as his concubine.
- Parris, Tituba and another Indian slave named John moved to Boston in 1680.
- She married John in 1689 around the same time Parris and his family moved to Salem.
- Tituba was the first accused of witchcraft and the first to confess. However, she later recanted her confession when people stopped believing the cries of the accused.
- Historians believe that she had one daughter, Violet, who stayed with the Parris household until Samuel Parris' death.

Directly quoted from:

<http://www.salemwitchtrials.com/biographies.html>

Appendix C: McCarthy's Speech

In February 1950, a senator from Wisconsin made his mark in Cold War history with the following speech. As the Cold War was beginning, Joseph McCarthy warned America about the communist threat from within the government. In the following excerpt, McCarthy names several people working within the State Department and describes their crimes in detail. Those he accused lost their jobs and were branded communist -- but McCarthy never proved their guilt.

Joseph McCarthy's speech on communists in the State Department (excerpt)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Tonight as we celebrate the 141st birthday of one of the great men in American history, I would like to be able to talk about what a glorious day today is in the history of the world. As we celebrate the birth of this man, who with his whole heart and soul hated war, I would like to be able to speak of peace in our time, of war being outlawed, and of worldwide disarmament. These would be truly appropriate things to be able to mention as we celebrate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Five years after a world war has been won, men's hearts should anticipate a long peace, and men's minds should be free from the heavy weight that comes with war. But this is not such a period -- for this is not a period of peace. This is a time of the Cold War. This is a time when all the world is split into two vast, increasingly hostile armed camps -- a time of a great armaments race. Today we can almost physically hear the mutterings and rumblings of an

invigorated god of war. You can see it, feel it, and hear it all the way from the hills of Indochina, from the shores of Formosa right over into the very heart of Europe itself.

...

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time. And, ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down -- they are truly down. Lest there be any doubt that the time has been chosen, let us go directly to the leader of communism today -- Joseph Stalin. Here is what he said -- not back in 1928, not before the war, not during the war -- but two years after the last war was ended: "To think that the communist revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of a Christian democracy, means one has either gone out of one's mind and lost all normal understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the communist revolution."

And this is what was said by Lenin in 1919, which was also quoted with approval by Stalin in 1947: "We are living," said Lenin, "not merely in a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with Christian states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."

Ladies and gentlemen, can there be anyone here tonight who is so blind as to say that the war is not on? Can there be anyone who fails to realize that the communist world has said, "The time is now" -- that this is the time for the showdown between the democratic Christian world and the

communist atheistic world? Unless we face this fact, we shall pay the price that must be paid by those who wait too long.

Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out peace -- Dumbarton Oaks -- there was within the Soviet orbit 180 million people. Lined up on the anti-totalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1.625 billion people. Today, only six years later, there are 800 million people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia -- an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500 million. In other words, in less than six years the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against us. This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of communist victories and American defeats in the Cold War. As one of our outstanding historical figures once said, "When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be because of enemies from without but rather because of enemies from within." The truth of this statement is becoming terrifyingly clear as we see this country each day losing on every front.

At war's end we were physically the strongest nation on Earth and, at least potentially, the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a beacon in the desert of destruction, a shining, living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful, potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this nation. It has not been the less fortunate or

members of minority groups who have been selling this nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer -- the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been worst.

Now I know it is very easy for anyone to condemn a particular bureau or department in general terms.

Therefore, I would like to cite one rather unusual case -- the case of a man who has done much to shape our foreign policy.

When Chiang Kai-shek was fighting our war, the State Department had in China a young man named John S. Service. His task, obviously, was not to work for the communization of China. Strangely, however, he sent official reports back to the State Department urging that we torpedo our ally Chiang Kai-shek and stating, in effect, that communism was the best hope of China.

Later, this man -- John Service -- was picked up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for turning over to the communists secret State Department information. Strangely, however, he was never prosecuted. However, Joseph Grew, the undersecretary of state, who insisted on his prosecution, was forced to resign. Two days after, Grew's successor, Dean Acheson, took over as undersecretary of state, this man -- John Service -- who had been picked up by the FBI and who had previously urged that communism was the best hope of China, was not only reinstated in the State Department but promoted; and finally, under Acheson, placed in charge of all placements and promotions. Today, ladies

and gentlemen, this man Service is on his way to represent the State Department and Acheson in Calcutta -- by far and away the most important listening post in the Far East. Now, let's see what happens when individuals with communist connections are forced out of the State Department. Gustave Duran, who was labeled as, I quote, "a notorious international communist," was made assistant secretary of state in charge of Latin American affairs. He was taken into the State Department from his job as a lieutenant colonel in the Communist International Brigade. Finally, after intense congressional pressure and criticism, he resigned in 1946 from the State Department -- and, ladies and gentlemen, where do you think he is now? He took over a high-salaried job as chief of Cultural Activities Section in the office of the assistant secretary-general of the United Nations. ...

This, ladies and gentlemen, gives you somewhat of a picture of the type of individuals who have been helping to shape our foreign policy. In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important government departments, is thoroughly infested with communists.

I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy.

One thing to remember in discussing the communists in our government is that we are not dealing with spies who get 30 pieces of silver to steal the blueprints of new weapons. We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy. This brings us down to the case of one Alger Hiss, who is important not as an individual anymore but rather because

he is so representative of a group in the State Department. It is unnecessary to go over the sordid events showing how he sold out the nation which had given him so much. Those are rather fresh in all of our minds. However, it should be remembered that the facts in regard to his connection with this international communist spy ring were made known to the then-Undersecretary of State Berle three days after Hitler and Stalin signed the Russo-German Alliance Pact. At that time one Whittaker Chambers -- who was also part of the spy ring -- apparently decided that with Russia on Hitler's side, he could no longer betray our nation to Russia. He gave Undersecretary of State Berle -- and this is all a matter of record -- practically all, if not more, of the facts upon which Hiss' conviction was based.

Undersecretary Berle promptly contacted Dean Acheson and received word in return that Acheson, and I quote, "could vouch for Hiss absolutely" -- at which time the matter was dropped. And this, you understand, was at a time when Russia was an ally of Germany. This condition existed while Russia and Germany were invading and dismembering Poland, and while the communist groups here were screaming "warmonger" at the United States for their support of the Allied nations.

Again in 1943, the FBI had occasion to investigate the facts surrounding Hiss' contacts with the Russian spy ring. But even after that FBI report was submitted, nothing was done.

Then, late in 1948 -- on August 5 -- when the Un-American Activities Committee called Alger Hiss to give an accounting, President Truman at once issued a presidential directive ordering all government agencies to refuse to turn over any information whatsoever in regard to the

communist activities of any government employee to a congressional committee.

Incidentally, even after Hiss was convicted, it is interesting to note that the president still labeled the expose of Hiss as a "red herring."

If time permitted, it might be well to go into detail about the fact that Hiss was Roosevelt's chief adviser at Yalta when Roosevelt was admittedly in ill health and tired physically and mentally ... and when, according to the secretary of state, Hiss and Gromyko drafted the report on the conference.

According to the then-Secretary of State Stettinius, here are some of the things that Hiss helped to decide at Yalta: (1) the establishment of a European High Commission; (2) the treatment of Germany -- this you will recall was the conference at which it was decided that we would occupy Berlin with Russia occupying an area completely encircling the city, which as you know, resulted in the Berlin airlift which cost 31 American lives; (3) the Polish question; (4) the relationship between UNRRA and the Soviet; (5) the rights of Americans on control commissions of Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary; (6) Iran; (7) China -- here's where we gave away Manchuria; (8) Turkish Straits question; (9) international trusteeships; (10) Korea.

Of the results of this conference, Arthur Bliss Lane of the State Department had this to say: "As I glanced over the document, I could not believe my eyes. To me, almost every line spoke of a surrender to Stalin."

As you hear this story of high treason, I know that you are saying to yourself, "Well, why doesn't the Congress do something about it?" Actually, ladies and gentlemen, one of the important reasons for the graft, the corruption, the

dishonesty, the disloyalty, the treason in high government positions -- one of the most important reasons why this continues -- is a lack of moral uprising on the part of the 140 million American people. In the light of history, however, this is not hard to explain.

It is the result of an emotional hangover and a temporary moral lapse which follows every war. It is the apathy to evil which people who have been subjected to the tremendous evils of war feel. As the people of the world see mass murder, the destruction of defenseless and innocent people, and all of the crime and lack of morals which go with war, they become numb and apathetic. It has always been thus after war. However, the morals of our people have not been destroyed. They still exist. This cloak of numbness and apathy has only needed a spark to rekindle them. Happily, this spark has finally been supplied.

As you know, very recently the secretary of state proclaimed his loyalty to a man guilty of what has always been considered as the most abominable of all crimes -- of being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of great trust. The secretary of state, in attempting to justify his continued devotion to the man who sold out the Christian world to the atheistic world, referred to Christ's Sermon on the Mount as a justification and reason therefore, and the reaction of the American people to this would have made the heart of Abraham Lincoln happy. When this pompous diplomat in striped pants, with a phony British accent, proclaimed to the American people that Christ on the Mount endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust, the blasphemy was so great that it awakened the dormant indignation of the American people.

He has lighted the spark which is resulting in a moral uprising and will end only when the whole sorry mess of twisted warped thinkers are swept from the national scene so that we may have a new birth of national honesty and decency in government.

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/06/documents/mccarthy/>

Works Cited

1. Biographical Sketches. Accessed from:
<http://www.salemwitchtrials.com/biographies.html>
2. Birenbaum, A.Sagarin, E. Norms and Human Behavior.1976.New York, Praeger
3. Carlson, L. A Fever in Salem: a new interpretation of the New England witch trials.1999. Chicago: I.R.Deer.
4. Clark, E. Richardson, G. Women and Religion :the original sourcebook for women in Christian thought.1996. San Francisco, Harper San Francisco.
5. Craker, W. Spectral Evidence, Non-Spectral Acts of Witchcraft, and Confession at Salem in 1692. *The Historical Journal* 40 (2).1997 p.331-338.
6. Erikson, K. Wayward Puritans; a study in the sociology of deviance. 1966. New York, Wiley.
7. Goode, E. Deviant Behavior 5th Ed. 1997.Prentice Hall Inc, New Jersey.
8. Haynes, J. Red Scare or Red Menace? 1996. Ivan R. Deer, Chicago.
9. Hall, D. Witch Hunting in Salem. *Christian History* 13 (1).1994 p. 38.
10. Kiesler, C. Kiesler, A. Conformity. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. Philippines. 1969.
11. Levin,D. What happened in Salem?: Documents pertaining to the seventeenth-century witchcraft trials. 1960. New York, Harcourt, Brace.
12. Levine, J., "Solomon Asch's Legacy for Group Research". Personality & Psychology Review, 1999, Vol. 3 (4).
13. Linder, D. American Trials homepage. Accessed from:

http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/salem/ASA_GOOX.HTM

14. McCarthy Speech. Accessed from:
<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/06/documents/mccarthy/>

15. Myers, D. Psychology 4th Edition. Worth Publishers. New York. 1995.

16. Myers outline. Accessed from:
http://www.unc.edu/~kbn/SOCI10/1_22_03.html

17. Rubington, E., Weinberg, M., Deviance the interactionist perspective 3rd Edition. Macmillan Publishing Company. New York. 1973.

18. Staub, E., "The Origins and Prevention of Genocide, Mass Killing, and other Collective Violence". Peace and Conflict, 1999, Vol. 5 (4).

19. Starkey, M. The Devil in Massachusetts, a modern inquiry into the Salem witch trials.1949. New York, A.A. Knopf.

20. The Accused. Accessed from:
<http://www.salemwitchtrials.com/accused.html>

21. The Jurors. Accessed from:
<http://etext.virginia.edu/salem/witchcraft/texts/jurors.html>

22. The Victims. Accessed from:
<http://www.salemwitchtrials.com/victims.html>

23. The White House Website. Accessed from:
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>

24. The White House Website <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>

25. Zinn, Howard. A Peoples History of the United States 1492 to Present. 2001. Perennial Press.

26. Zimbardo, P. Haney, C., "The Past and Future of U.S. Prison Policy: Twenty-Five Years After the Stanford

Prison Experiment". American Psychologist. July 1998, Vol.
53 (7).