



**Samantha Stevens of *Bewitched* on Her Perch**

This statue was installed in 2005 amid great controversy.

# Bewitched and Bewildered: Salem Witches, Empty Factories, and Tourist Dollars

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**Abstract:** *In 2005, witchcraft hysteria once again roiled the city of Salem, Massachusetts. This time, however, city residents divided over a new monument—a statue honoring Samantha Stephens, a fictional witch from the television sitcom Bewitched. In the minds of many, the Stephens statue was tacky and an insult to the history, memory, and heritage of the tragic days of 1692, when a more deadly hysteria led to the executions of twenty townspeople. To the statue’s defenders, the Samantha Stephens representation was merely a bit of whimsy designed to supplement marketing plans to cement Salem’s reputation as a tourist destination.*

*This article sides largely with the second perspective, but with a twist. It argues that Samantha Stephens is worthy of memorializing because the 1970 filming of Bewitched episodes in Salem is largely responsible for the city’s tourist trade. The article traces changing perspectives on witchcraft since the seventeenth century and, more importantly, places those changes in economic context to show the mutability of history, memory, and heritage across time. Ultimately, Samantha Stephens helped rescue Salem from a devastating twentieth-century demon: deindustrialization. Dr. Robert E. Weir is the author of six books and numerous articles dealing with social, labor, and cultural history.<sup>1</sup>*

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On June 15, 2005, the city of Salem, Massachusetts unveiled its newest monument. Its subject is Samantha Stephens, a television character portrayed by Elizabeth Montgomery in the ABC comedy series *Bewitched*, which aired between 1964 and 1972, and remains a cable-TV staple. Montgomery died of cancer in 1995, but she's immortalized in bronze in Salem's Lappin Park, where she's perched upon a cloud, a crescent moon, and a broomstick, her nose ready to twitch, Samantha's trademark prelude to magic.

Most of the activity swirling around the statue these days is foot traffic in and out of a popular café. There are no visible reminders that the Stephens monument once stirred town passions with a fury analogous to 1692, albeit with less tragic results. In 1692, at least 168 Salem-area residents were jailed as suspected witches and wizards and twenty were executed. The Stephens statue was bound to generate strong opinions. After all, it debuted just three years after the city commemorated the tercentennial of the region's infamous witch trials by dedicating the Salem Village Witchcraft Victims' Memorial, a stark granite wall from which twenty bench-like stone slabs jut, each inscribed with the name of a person executed in 1692. Even that monument was seen by some residents as "theme parking" Salem.<sup>2</sup>

In advance of the official unveiling, Salem Mayor Stanley Usovich Jr. sought to defuse critics of the *Bewitched* statue. He declared it "a little bit of fun" akin to the monument to basketball coach Red Auerbach that sits atop a bench in Boston's Quincy Market.<sup>3</sup> That logic prompted John Carr, a former Salem Historic District Commissioner, to offer a withering remark: "It's like TV Land going to Auschwitz and proposing to erect a statue of Colonel Clink."<sup>4</sup>

The statue had its defenders—including some among Salem's neopagan Wiccan community—but community consensus was summed by a blogger called Bleedingheart: "This reeks of poor taste."<sup>5</sup> Danvers resident and historian Richard Trask chimed in that "An enlightened society should choose to remember and respect past tragedies rather than purposefully or ignorantly make light of them."<sup>6</sup> Others agreed. At the statue's dedication an activist in a facing building unfurled a banner emblazoned with the word "SHAME," and a sixty-four-year-old protestor who shouted during the ceremony was arrested for disorderly conduct.<sup>7</sup> In 2006, the statue was defaced with red paint.<sup>8</sup>

Passions have cooled since then, though debates over Salem's historical soul continue to rage. But perhaps a different way to consider the *Bewitched* statue is to view it as an appropriate symbol for modern Salem. It may be, as the *Boston Globe* put it, "the triumph of kitsch over history," but Mayor Usovich also commented that the statue would "add to the experience of

coming” to Salem.<sup>9</sup> His was a tacit reminder that Samantha Stephens fits well into the city’s current economic reality. While giving a nod to history, the mayor remarked, “We also understand that Halloween is one of the biggest holidays of the years for retailers” and that it was tourism that kept the city solvent. Restaurateur David McKillop was quick to chime in, “Salem is not just an historical town.” Although the *Bewitched* statue is, indeed, just another way “to sucker in tourists,” one should not underestimate how important it is that they *do* come.<sup>10</sup> Salem’s seventeenth-century encounter with alleged witches was tragic, but the *Bewitched* statue responds to a very different tragedy: deindustrialization. Witchcraft once tore Salem apart, but in the post-World War II period, witches helped save Salem by casting a spell over tourists.

## HISTORY AS FACT, MEMORY, HERITAGE, AND COMMODITY

It would strike many people as odd that a dispute over historical accuracy in Salem would break out in 2005. Visitors and scholars alike would agree with the *Boston Globe’s* assessment that, “Salem owns Halloween like the North Pole owns Christmas.”<sup>11</sup> Salem is, after all, nicknamed “The Witch City,” even though most of the drama of 1692 actually occurred outside the current city’s limits. A broomstick-riding witch adorns the crest of Salem police vehicles and the local newspaper, its high school teams are called “The Witches,” and football games are purportedly played on the former Gallows Hill. Essex Street shops are filled with witch-kitsch. Isn’t it a bit late to worry about tackiness?

It is child’s play for an historian to dissect what’s wrong with how modern-day Salem presents the past. (Short version: almost *everything!*). But such an exercise does not tell us how or why it got that way, nor does it illuminate the complex path through which the past is repackaged. “History” consists of past events and the way professional scholars are able to reconstruct them based on the sources available. Those sources are generally incomplete, but historians seek to paint a nuanced and multilayered portrait of the past. In this sense it is more complete than one of the sources it draws upon: memory.

Memory is focused and personalized. It may be incorrect, ideologically driven, or biased; factors that historians seek to identify. However, the key difference between memory and history is that memory is a relatively unexamined solo and history is a scrutinized chorus. Memory is etymologically linked to the word “memorial,” that “by which the memory of a person, thing, or event is preserved.”<sup>12</sup> A subset of collectivized memory is that which we call “heritage” or “preservation,” forms of memorialization

that are ideological in the sense that conscious choices have been made to determine what is *worthy* of tribute. The difference between individual “memory” and collectivized “heritage” is that memory at least purports to interpret something that actually happened, whereas the construction of heritage quite frequently rests as much upon symbolism, imagination, myth, and imposed meaning as upon historical facts.<sup>13</sup>

History, memory, and heritage have each played roles in shaping the narrative of 1692. As Salem State University professors Anthony Morrison and Nancy Schultz have observed, Salem has become a “constellation of meanings and metaphors ... [that] have seized the American imagination.”<sup>14</sup> Over time, a fourth factor has also emerged: the past as commodity. In essence, scholars have preserved history, Salem residents its memory, and heritage advocates its (alleged) didactic symbolism. The past as commodity is more complex. Scholars study the past for its intrinsic value, memory resonates on the personal level, and heritage fuels political and civic agendas. For the past to become a commodity, however, it must have exchange value.

Imaginative retellings of the events of 1692 conveniently meet all the criteria needed for money to change hands. The historical events are intrinsically interesting in their own right, but they also appeal to prurient interests. The witchcraft trials and executions are marketed as unique, though they were not, and sensationalized staging of the Salem drama serves to soften the reality that what happened was tragic and gruesome. There can be little doubt that prurience sells. Each year Salem attracts millions of visitors. By contrast, the Saugus Iron Works operated by the National Park Service (NPS) counted just 10,529 visitors in 2009, though it is located just seven miles distant and could be easily combined with a Salem sojourn.<sup>15</sup>

The past can only be commodified if structural delivery systems, disposable income, and economic need coincide. This is to say that Salem could only become a destination spot if a tourism industry exists, if there are enough potential visitors with resources to make tourism lucrative, and if Salem boosters feel a compelling need to cater to sightseers. The last point is crucial. In this regard Salem is analogous to Lowell, another NPS site. In 2009, 565,960 visitors visited postindustrial Lowell.<sup>16</sup> When Lowell was an *industrial* city, it had little need for the NPS as textile production was more lucrative than tourism. Such is also Salem’s story.

## FORGETTING WITHOUT FORGIVING: AFTER 1692

Before looking at what witch dollars mean to modern-day Salem, let us briefly consider how history, memory, and heritage played out in advance

of the commodification of the past. Many visitors to modern-day Salem are singularly focused on the events that took place between January 20 and October 29, 1692, and leave with little understanding of the city's complex history. As staged for tourists, Salem witchcraft unfolded when eleven-year-old Abigail Williams and her nine-year-old cousin Betty Parris, daughter of the town minister, began to experience unexplainable fits. In quick order, witchcraft was suspected, accusations were laid against local citizens, other girls showed signs of affliction, area jail populations swelled, and a juryless Court of Oyer and Terminer was set up to allow magistrates to rule on witchcraft allegations.<sup>17</sup> The court's decision to consider both material and spectral evidence—marvels allegedly seen only by those suffering from possession or witchcraft—created a climate of fear and legal befuddlement that led to death sentences for twenty-nine alleged black magic practitioners. Twenty executions were carried out before Governor William Phipps dismissed the Court of Oyer and Terminer in late October of 1692.

At this point, the tourist presentation of Salem witchcraft is mostly reduced to postscript, if mentioned at all. Once the legitimacy of spectral evidence was rejected, Salem's narrative became harder to commodify—history, in this case, is less “interesting” than the histrionic (and imagined) performance of pre-October events. In reality, Salem's legal wrangling over open indictments lingered into 1696. Sixteen individuals were tried for witchcraft in January of 1693, and five were convicted. In March, Lydia Dustin, who had been acquitted of witchcraft, died in prison because she had not paid her jailer fees. The last outstanding indictments were not dismissed until May of 1693, but in 1695, the Quaker Thomas Maule was arrested for sedition when he published a work critical of the witchcraft proceedings.<sup>18</sup> He spent nearly a year in jail before trial, where the charge was dismissed.

Maule was not the first to reconsider the memory of Salem witchcraft. Several principals, including Cotton Mather, Increase Mather, and Samuel Willard, had already published tracts mildly dismissive of total reliance upon spectral evidence, though Cotton Mather would be forever (and perhaps unfairly) recalled as the unrepentant defender of the trials for his 1693 work *Wonders of the Invisible World*.<sup>19</sup> The seachange memory shift in how Massachusetts residents perceived 1692 generally begins not with Maule, but with Samuel Sewall, a former witch prosecutor who, on January 14, 1697, publicly confessed “blame and shame” for his role in the witch trials. Sewall asked the “pardon of men” and the forgiveness of God for “that sin and all other his sins.”<sup>20</sup>

Within a decade, numerous works and confessions appeared that cast doubt on the validity of the trials, the most dramatic of which was accuser

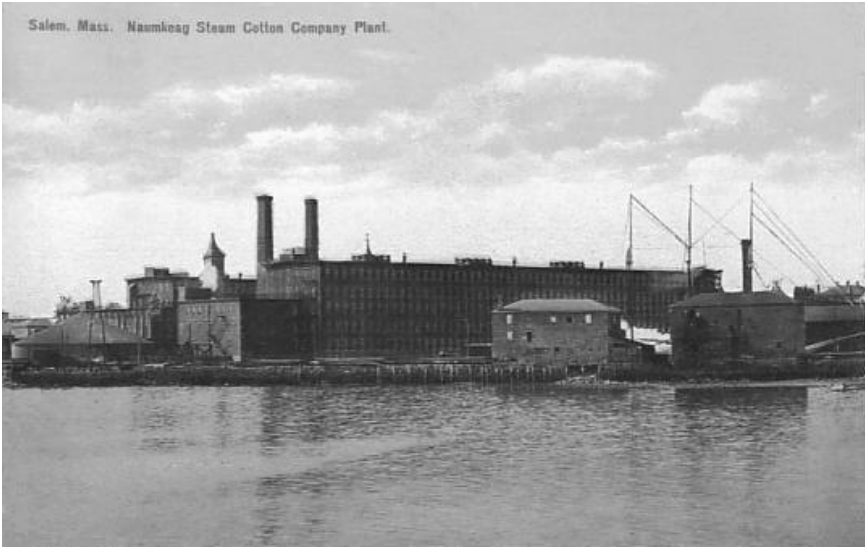


Ann Putnam Junior's August 25, 1706 confession that a "great delusion of Satan" led her to contribute to the conviction of "innocent persons."<sup>21</sup> Thus, in just over a decade, the prevailing memory in and around Salem was that the trials had been a gross miscarriage of justice.

Perhaps the most telling work was Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (1700), which openly ridiculed Cotton Mather's treatise and the very idea that "Devils were walking about our Streets with lengthned [sic] Chains making a dreadful noise in our Ears and Brimstone ... [and] making a horrid and a hellish stench in our Nostrils."<sup>22</sup> Little is known of Calef other than that he was a cloth merchant, but that status suggests much about the battle over memory. As Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum detailed in their pathbreaking *Salem Possessed* (1974), social and economic tensions between agrarian Salem Village and commercial Salem Town factored into who was accused and who leveled charges of witchcraft in 1692. In broad terms, witchcraft accusations were sometimes linked to villagers' resentments toward the proto-capitalist ideals and exchange systems emerging in Salem Town.<sup>23</sup> In this regard, Calef's lampoon of the trials presages the future triumph of rationalism—Salem Town rose upon a foundation of merchant wealth and changing ideals, while the centrality of tradition- and land-based Salem Village faded.

In fact, Salem Village no longer exists; most of it is now incorporated into the inland towns of Danvers and Peabody, and it is only the coastal town that bears the name Salem. By the time Calef's work appeared in 1700, Salem Town contained around 1,800 people, making it one of the larger cities in the English colonies and one of its most important ports.<sup>24</sup> The 1790 census revealed Salem to have 7,921 residents, which made it the sixth largest city in the recently formed United States of America.

It was also the nation's wealthiest city as measured by per capita income, and it was the memory of how that wealth accrued, not witches, that dominated local thought. When the East India Marine Society's museum, a precursor to today's Peabody Essex Museum, was established in 1779, its treasures were those gathered from merchants' trips to the Far East, not items associated with the events of 1692.<sup>25</sup> Salem Village was renamed Danvers in 1752, and most residents of Salem Town were likely quite happy to sever that embarrassing link to the Puritan past. As one chronicler in 1786 explained, Salem residents worried more that "the let-down in shipping brings unemployment" than they contemplated whether witches were in their midst.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the sin most associated with Salem from the 1770s to 1815 was privateering, not witchcraft. The American Revolution, the 1796 Jay Treaty, the 1807 Embargo Act, and the War of 1812 each seriously



**Naumkeag Cotton Steam Company, 1910**

In 1900 it employed nearly one-fifth of all Salem workers.



**Naumkeag, 2011**



disrupted Salem's port trade. Enterprising merchants re-outfitted their ships for plunder, sometimes in the service of the United States and sometimes for more personal gain.

By the opening of the nineteenth century, many of the grand houses and fine public buildings that graced Salem had been built with merchant money. That path to prosperity was, however, about to end. As one history of Salem notes, by 1845, "Salem cease[d] to be an outstanding seaport. She never really recovered from the blow struck by the Embargo and the War of 1812."<sup>27</sup> Silting plagued Salem's harbors, and port activity inexorably shifted to larger cities such as New York and Boston, which had deeper waters and more extensive docking facilities. By 1877, the only ships leaving Salem for foreign parts were bound for England, and there were precious few of those.

Though commercial shipping had declined, few Salem residents cared to rekindle the memory of 1692 or consider witchcraft's potential as a commodity. Why would they? By then the heritage of 1692 had long been appropriated by groups invoking the witch trials as a metaphor to bolster their own ideological predispositions, including advocates of the American Revolution seeking to tar British courts as corrupt, Federalist boosters bragging of a post-superstitious America, slave-owning apologists seeking to expose New England hypocrisy, abolitionists equating the Fugitive Slave Act to witch hunts, and defenders of Protestantism battling against superstitions such as Catholicism and Mormonism.<sup>28</sup> As Gretchen Adams notes, when the first volume of Charles Wentworth Upham's history, *Salem Witchcraft*, appeared in 1860, stirred-up witchcraft memories induced more shame than enterprise. When New Englanders wished to promote regional values they evoked their *Pilgrim* forbearers, not the Puritans.<sup>29</sup>

Nor would anyone in Salem have felt that there was profit in commodifying the events of 1692. New England sported a small tourist trade, but it was confined almost entirely to a leisure class that was too small to generate revenues that could replicate those derived from the age of sail. In addition, Gilded Age elites would have been indisposed temperamentally to wallow in the gruesome depictions of past events that would titillate future visitors. But these were only secondary reasons why it did not occur to city officials to promote witchcraft tourism. The city felt the sting of mercantile decline, but it was not down on its luck. Manufacturing, not tourism, filled the economic void left by shipping's decline.

## INDUSTRIAL MAGIC

The Lowell analogy once again comes into play. Why settle for retail or tourism revenues when much larger profits could be made in factory production? Indeed, as some of Salem's sea trade merchant families—including the Griffins, the Pingrees, and the Peabodys—quickly discovered, manufacturing and investment capitalism could replenish the financial coffers of revered, but cash-poor, lineages. New England led the way both as the epicenter of America's Industrial Revolution and its earliest victim of post-industrialism. The latter would not have been imaginable to early-nineteenth-century Salem dwellers as it was industrial magic that rescued their decaying port city. Industry, in fact, transformed the region even before residents realized that shipping was doomed. Early forays into manufacturing made Salem such a center of employment that it was still the tenth largest city in the entire country as late as 1820, despite the steep fall off in merchant trade resulting from the War of 1812.

By 1810, Essex County manufacturers made more than half of all the shoes and boots worn in the United States. This industry alone was valued at a staggering \$1.1 million (roughly \$36.4 million in 2009 dollars). Lynn, Danvers, and Salem were dotted with tanneries, leather-processing companies, and hide rendering facilities that brought in an additional \$290,000 (\$3.6 million in 2009).<sup>30</sup> Working-class tenements began to appear in neighborhoods adjacent to Salem's silting harbors. If there was any lingering doubt that the lifestyle of both Salem Village and Salem port were dead, by 1850 the value of manufactured goods in Essex County was eleven times greater than that of agricultural products. There were but a handful of workers left in the maritime trades, and Essex County had the most factory workers of any Massachusetts county.<sup>31</sup> In 1885, Salem had fifty-four shoe factories employing 1,322 workers. Of a population of just over 27,500, boot and shoe manufacturers alone employed nearly five percent of every man, woman, and child in the city. By 1895 Salem was, in C. B. Gillespie's words, "a leather city."<sup>32</sup>

Gillespie exaggerated, but only because as he fixated on the region's longtime association with footwear, Salem had become a textile city. According to the 1880 Census, twenty-four Essex County textile firms employed 10,517 workers, numbers competitive with nearby (and declining) Lowell.<sup>33</sup> Salem's industrial giant was the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company. It began production in 1847, when Captain Nathaniel Griffin capitalized it with a half million dollars (\$11.3 million in 2009) of his shipping fortune. It grew quickly and had 2,700 looms and nearly 2,000 employees by 1900.<sup>34</sup>

Essex County was abuzz in industrial activity, including the production of electric goods. Lynn shoe industrialists Charles Coffin, Silas Barton, and Elihu Thompson began investing in the nascent industry in the 1880s. Their prescience was rewarded when, in 1892, their firms merged with the Edison Electric Company and emerged as General Electric (GE). Salem had several companies that did ancillary business with GE and many residents commuted to Lynn, just four miles distant. In 1883, the Parker brothers incorporated their game company; by 1900, it too was a major employer in Salem.<sup>35</sup>

There were numerous other enterprises including stone yards, tinware shops, a lead mill, machine shops, foundries, a brickyard, a glue factory, sail making facilities, paint and dye shops, bicycle factories, and fisheries. Another good descriptor for Salem would be an “immigrant city.” Industry attracted many newcomers, including those arriving from Ireland, French-Canada, and Poland.<sup>36</sup> In the first decade of the twentieth century, Salem’s population grew by nearly eighteen percent.

Even Salem’s heritage romantics nodded to its working-class realities. In 1908 wealthy philanthropist Caroline Emmerton began the creative pastiche that became The House of the Seven Gables, a site nominally associated with Nathaniel Hawthorne that is arguably less historically accurate than many of today’s much-maligned witch attractions.<sup>37</sup> Modern visitors need vivid imaginations to conjure Salem in 1908. Emmerton’s flight into literary romance was embedded also in her social work goals. The House of the Seven Gables was intended to revitalize a decaying neighborhood and Emmerton operated a settlement house in the Seaman’s Bethel on the other side of Derby Street from The House of the Seven Gables. The entire neighborhood would have invited adjectives such as “seedy” and “dirty” as it teemed with small factories, tenements, and down-market shops.

The Salem of the early twentieth century was neither a literary nor a witch city for most; it was an industrial city, and a rather grimy one at that. The city’s 6,852 workers toiled in 446 establishments, with about three-quarters of them employed in leather, footwear, or textiles. The Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company employed nearly one-fifth of all Salem workers.<sup>38</sup>

## TOURISM WITHOUT WITCHES

Caroline Emmerton’s efforts reminds us, however, that tourism *was* on the minds of some Salem residents, though witchcraft was not the primary focus. To return to an earlier point, in order for tourism to pay, there must be tourists and a tourism infrastructure to cater to them. Travel among those

classes with wealth and status has been commonplace for centuries; travel as an experience for the masses is much more recent. The word “tourist” made its English language debut in 1780. In some cases it was hyphenated as “tour-ist,” a subtle indication of travel’s class-bound dimensions—travel was for those of sufficient means to partake of the circuit (“tour”) of regional or world sites.<sup>39</sup>

As Dona Brown explains, New England regional tourism began to develop in the early 1800s and, “By the mid-nineteenth-century, everyone with even a remote hope of achieving middle-class status understood that a vacation was as essential to that status as owning a piano and a carpet.”<sup>40</sup> This sounds more extensive than it was—travel required not only money but time, neither of which most farmers or factory hands possessed in great abundance. There simply weren’t enough individuals with “even a remote hope” of becoming middle class to justify building a serious tourist trade in a city such as Salem. Moreover, despite an expanding rail network by mid-century, transportation remained slow.

Salem attracted tourists, but not enough to support the city. Most potential middle-class visitors would have considered Salem for one of two reasons: its industrial might, or its nostalgia-inducing seaport ambience. In both cases competitors held advantages. Industrial Lowell was a tourism magnet in the 1830s because of its unique scale; Salem’s crisscross of small shops simply could not compete, and even the Naumkeag factory paled in comparison to Lowell’s beehive of 10,000 workers and 320,000 spindles. Similarly, though old New England seaports evoked nostalgic charm and some tourists ventured to Salem, it was gritty compared to Nantucket, Cape Cod, and other seaport towns. Indeed, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, deliberately marketed itself as a more pleasant alternative to Salem. Likewise, Portsmouth pulled a page from the heritage books and reminded travelers that it lacked Salem’s cheerless “Puritan” past.<sup>41</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, those seeking a vicarious brush with Salem’s witchcraft past could find it, though most middle-class travelers would have done so in the guise of literary enlightenment. Caroline Emmerton, after all, traded on Nathaniel Hawthorne’s venture into the supernatural in *The House of the Seven Gables* and *The Scarlet Letter*, not works such as *Twice-Told Tales* or *The Blithedale Romance*. There was also growing interest in sites associated with 1692 and a small market for witch memorabilia. As early as 1783, diggers created a small sensation when they found a bottle with two finger bones, a coffin nail, and a pin belonging to the wizard George Jacobs. Those seeking less gruesome mementos could purchase witch-themed goods such as spoons, pewter vessels, postcards, pins, puzzles, and sheet music.<sup>42</sup>

The proliferation of such items is suggestive of Salem's future marketing trends, but they played a very small economic role until much later. First of all, tourism alone was not yet extensive enough to enrich city coffers. In the 1880s, it is estimated that about 30,000 visitors made their way to Salem, many of them day-trippers from nearby Boston. In an age before tourist-related marketing data was carefully assembled it is difficult to know how many sought a brush with Hawthorne and how many sought vicarious witch thrills, but the scant evidence suggests that respectability trumped prurience. As Stephen Gencarella notes, guidebooks continued to place far more emphasis on the city's maritime past, even as the 1892 bicentennial of the witch trials loomed.<sup>43</sup>

This made logistical sense. As noted, many of the 1692 landmarks weren't actually in Salem, and a substantial number were lost over time, either deliberately destroyed or conveniently forgotten. Salem's only dwelling even remotely associated with the trials, the so-called "Old Witch House" in which Judge Jonathan Corwin lived, isn't really a seventeenth-century structure, rather one dramatically remodeled in 1746. Likewise, it's not even certain that Gallows Hill is where witches were hanged in 1692. One couldn't actually see that much *in* Salem other than gazing upon markers noting where certain buildings *once* stood, or viewing much reproduced images such as Tompkins Matteson's 1853 painting *Examination of a Witch* or displayed woodcuts that had appeared in popular magazines, items more fanciful than historical.

More importantly, tourists couldn't see much because Salem had not yet chosen to display 1692. After all, investors and factory owners made up the city's business elite, and it was Salem's manufactured goods that brought income to the city, not a relatively small trickle of visitors. There was simply no compelling need to develop an elaborate tourist infrastructure until other revenue sources declined. The twentieth-century would provide that impetus in the form of three economic upheavals.

The first of these was a cataclysmic fire in 1914. The conflagration resulted from a chemical explosion at the Korn Leather Company on Boston Street. Before it was extinguished, the fire destroyed 1,376 buildings and left 3,500 residents homeless. Entire working-class precincts were wiped out, as was the Naumkeag Steam Company and thirty-five other factories. Although Naumkeag was back in business in 1916—powered by electricity rather than steam—only thirteen of the remaining thirty-five firms rebuilt in Salem. Particularly hard-hit were shoe and bootmaking operations. Very few Salem leather workers toiled within the city confines after 1914, whereas 2,737 individuals had done so in 1900.<sup>44</sup>

The fire came at a particularly inopportune time as the leather work industry was, in retrospect, already perched on the cusp of decline. Footwear temporarily remained important in nearby Lynn, but World War I rationing, the development of synthetic leather, and competition from lower-wage states began to take their toll. Those challenges were magnified by the second great economic tsunami: the Great Depression. According to U.S. Census data, in 1920 there were over a hundred leather shops in Essex County; by 1930, just fifteen. Ten years later there were just 2,407 boot and shoemakers left in all of Essex County—fewer than in Salem before the 1914 fire—and roughly one-tenth the number of leather goods workers employed in the county in 1880. In fact, in 1940 there were but only 140 leather shops in the entire Commonwealth and it was a dead industry within Lynn, once the world's largest producer of footwear.<sup>45</sup> Textiles followed the same pattern of decline, throwing the region into a downward spiral.

In Salem, the depression also brought capital/labor conflict to its largest employer. A 1929 “stretch-out” (increase in the number of machines tended by a single employee) at Naumkeag nearly precipitated a strike.<sup>46</sup> And four years later, more than five hundred workers walked out in protest over wage cuts and poor working conditions. The 1933 uprising was dramatic and tense. Among other things, it featured a visit from communist labor activist Anne Burlak—dubbed the “Red Flame” for her feistiness—who helped organize French-Canadian textile workers. In the end, New Deal cotton textile codes forced recalcitrant management to settle on terms largely favorable to the (non-communist) United Textile Union. But the plant was struck again in 1934 in what was ultimately an unsuccessful national textile workers strike.

Lighting manufacturers offered a rare industrial bright spot in the 1930s. The Hygrade Incandescent Lamp Company was headquartered in Salem. When it merged with Nilco and Sylvania in 1931, the firm decided to build a new factory on Salem's Loring Avenue, which opened in 1936. At its peak, it employed nearly 700 Salem workers.<sup>47</sup>

The depression's overall toll in manufacturing was steep throughout the region. Essex County had 83,897 wage earners in 1930; by 1940 it had nearly 10,400 fewer (73,489).<sup>48</sup> Grim statistics such as these led Salem officials to follow Caroline Emmerton's lead and seek to boost tourism. In 1930, Pioneer Village opened for business, reportedly America's first outdoor “living history” theme park. It attracted some 20,000 visitors to the area. The park offered thirty scenes of New England life in the 1600s, continuing exhibits and reenactments that were offshoots of earlier historical tableaux and pageants. Among the Pioneer Village attractions were witch-related objects, most prominently a ducking stool and a public pillory.<sup>49</sup> The city's



only other nod to witches was the 1935 opening of the Old Witch Jail and Dungeon, a historical fraud that *might* have contained a beam or two from the original jail (and would be demolished in 1956).

For the most part, though, Salem boosters attempted tourism without witches. In 1935, the National Park Service took over the Derby Wharf district, then in “ruinous condition” according to an NPS report. This was the genesis of what would, three years later, become the Salem Maritime National Historic Park.<sup>50</sup> The park, House of the Seven Gables, Peabody Essex Museum, and Pioneer Village constituted the heritage that town officials wished to emphasize, not the unsavory events of 1692. Although the same litany of witch-related sites appeared in 1930s guidebooks as had appeared fifty years earlier, the city’s official visitors’ guide, revised in 1916 and not changed significantly until after World War II, gave only slightly more emphasis to the witch trials than earlier manuals and considerably more to the Peabody Essex Museum.<sup>51</sup> After all, city pageants in 1914 and 1926 had reinforced the notion that Puritans were zealots and bigots. So too had novelists, playwrights, and screenwriters. Academics largely paid little attention; after Upham’s second volume on Salem witchcraft appeared in 1867 very little of consequence was written on the trials until after World War II.<sup>52</sup>

### BEWITCHED (BUT NOT QUITE CHARMED)

In 1944 Historic Salem Incorporated (HSI) formed to save historical structures, including the “Witch House,” which was moved thirty-five feet to accommodate the widening of Essex Street. Around the same period the town’s high school adopted a witch mascot. In 1949, Marion Starkey published *The Devil in Massachusetts: A Modern Enquiry into the Salem Witch Trials*. While the book makes some scholars blanch at the literary and interpretive liberties Starkey took, it was the first important look at Salem witchcraft in eighty-two years (unless one counts George Kittredge’s 1929 *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, which dealt primarily with the folklore of witchcraft). Why the sudden change?

Economic change played a key role. The period between 1947 and 1973 was, despite a few brief downturns, the longest period of sustained economic growth in U.S. history. However, too much economic history is delivered in broad sweeps that ignore regional and local patterns. As we have seen, Essex County suffered grievously during the Great Depression. Many of the jobs lost during the 1930s failed to return during a postwar “boom” that ignored vast swaths of Massachusetts. For many Commonwealth residents, the 1950s

was when Massachusetts was bedeviled by levels of deindustrialization that transformed the nation's first Industrial Revolution success story into one of its first casualties.

Salem's 1950 population was 41,880. In 1960, it had dropped to 39,211 and, in 1980, was just 38,091. According to 2006 estimates, Salem has yet to match its 1950 population total, let alone its 1910 peak of 43,697. Salem had 18,535 wage earners in 1950, of whom 7,867 (42.4 percent) worked in factories.

## POPULATION DATA

	Essex County	Salem
1820	74,665	12,731*
1830	82,859	n/a
1840	94,987	15,082*
1850	131,300	20,264*
1860	160,952	22,252*
1870	200,843	24,117
1880	243,077	27,563
1890	299,995	30,801
1900	357,030	35,956
1910	436,477	43,697
1920	482,156	42,529
1930	498,040	43,353
1940	496,313	41,213
1950	522,384	41,880
1960	568,831	39,211
1970	637,887	40,556
1980	633,688	38,276
1990	670,080	38,091
2000	723,419	40,407
2006 (estimates)	736,457	41,343
Source: U.S. Census		* Indicates largest city in Essex County

Salem, however, would soon absorb an economic blow that rivaled the Great Depression in severity: the disappearance of blue-collar jobs. The collapse of "Operation Dixie" (1946-1953), an effort by the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) to unionize Southern textile workers, transformed the South into a repository of scab and "Scissor Bill" labor.<sup>53</sup> In 1953 Naumkeag—by then called Pequot Mills—moved its operations to Whitney, South Carolina, despite concession offers from local textile unions. Naumkeag's closure and the loss of 600 jobs was one of many such departures

in the Bay State. In a single decade between 1940 and 1950, New England's 5.2 million cotton spindles were reduced to 3.7 million. Within another decade there were fewer than 100,000 textile workers in Massachusetts, and just 39 in all of Salem in 1990. Cities such as Holyoke, New Bedford, Fall River, Lowell, and Lawrence suffered losses from which they have yet to recover.<sup>54</sup>

Other blue-collar staples disappeared. By 1960 there were fewer than a million manufacturing jobs left in all of Massachusetts, and just fifty-five shoemakers remained in 1969. Salem's industrial neighbor, Lynn, held onto General Electric, but much of the rest of its economic base eroded, along with its population. By 1980, Lynn's population was just three-quarters of its 1930 peak of 102,320.<sup>55</sup>

In 1970, however, Salem caught an economic break. A combination of a studio fire and sagging ratings led *Bewitched* producers to approach the city for permission to film episodes of the television sit-com in Salem. When the show's production company, Screen Gems, advised Salem Mayor Samuel Zoll that it would pump \$100,000 into the local economy, the mayor extended an enthusiastic welcome. Eight episodes were filmed between June and mid-August, local restaurants and hotels did brisk business, and curiosity seekers flooded to the area.<sup>56</sup> Although HSI had done its best to preserve witch heritage, the commodification of witch tourism largely dates from Ms. Montgomery's arrival in the city in 1970.

The timing was fortuitous. *Bewitched* filmed in and around Salem toward the end of its television run, but—as Stephen Gencarella notes—sensationalized interest in the occult was fueled by popular culture products such as the popularity of *Ouija* boards and films such as *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and, later, *The Exorcist* (1973).<sup>57</sup> Even Harvey Comics jumped onto the occult bandwagon. Between 1960 and 1974, *Wendy the Good Little Witch*, a side character in *Casper the Friendly Ghost*, created in 1954, got her own title.<sup>58</sup>

On a more substantive side, countercultural explorations of alternative spirituality and the rebirth of feminism contributed to new takes on Salem's past. It was not just tourists who came in actress Elizabeth Montgomery's wake, so too did modern-day Wiccans. ("Wiccan" refers to a set of modern neopagan religious practices that purport to draw upon ancient rites. Female practitioners routinely refer to themselves as "witches.")

In 1971, Laurie Cabot moved to Salem and the city soon boasted over a thousand neopagans. In 1977, Governor Michael Dukakis declared Cabot the "Official Witch of Salem," but perhaps the Chamber of Commerce should have handed out the award. Many of the city's Wiccan transplants

proved to possess business acumen and blocks around the city's august (and, by the 1970s, rather timeworn) Peabody Essex Museum began to hum with retail activity. In 1970, twenty-two percent (more than three thousand) of Salem's 17,239 wage earners worked in retail, sales, and services; ten years later it was more than a third (6,229, or 33.4 percent of 18,630). By then, Massachusetts had nearly twice as many people employed in retail and services as in manufacturing.

The turning point came in 1974, when more than a million visitors came to Salem and revenues from tourism surpassed those from manufacturing.<sup>59</sup> When tourists arrived, they were more likely to head for the Salem Witch Museum than to the Peabody Essex Museum or the Salem Maritime Park. The Witch Museum opened its doors in 1972, was instantly a destination hotspot, and remains Salem's most-visited site, though witchcraft scholars agree that its sound, light, and tableau depictions of Salem in 1692 are fanciful at best. Also opening its doors was the Witch Dungeon Museum, an attraction that bills itself as an "award winning reenactment" of accused witch Sarah Good's trial and promises a "tour of the dungeon" in which she was held, though the actual site no longer exists.<sup>60</sup> These forays onto supernatural turf troubled some town officials; guidebooks from the period continued to say little about witch-themed sites and completely ignored Salem's most popular destination.<sup>61</sup>

Denial notwithstanding, since the 1970s Salem's economic profile has been consistent: establishments catering to what is sometimes dubbed "fright tourism" have grown, while the city's old industrial, fishing, and maritime bases continue to fade. Mid-1970s stagflation, mergers, and Reagan-era deregulation and free trade policies completed Salem's industrial demise. These also gave the rest of the nation a bitter taste of the deindustrialization Massachusetts first experienced in the 1950s. However, because Salem had a growing tourism industry, it weathered post-1970s economic shifts much better than most towns ravaged by deindustrialization, and was considerably more prosperous than nearby Lynn and Lawrence.

As Salem's tourist sector expanded, the last vestiges of its former industrial might eroded, then collapsed. Sylvania—by then GTE Sylvania—laid off 555 Salem workers in 1989. The 1993 North American Free Trade Agreement hastened Sylvania's sale to the German firm Osram, which shifted what little was left in Salem to non-unionized plants in Kentucky and Mexico. Even more shocking was the demise of Parker Brothers. The first round of layoffs came in 1968, when the firm became part of the General Mills conglomerate. In 1985 Parker Brothers trimmed its total workforce from 6800 to 2900, a loss of 600 jobs in Salem. The company was bought out by Tonka in 1987

and sold to Hasbro in 1991. That very same year the Salem plant closed with a resulting loss of 370 jobs.<sup>62</sup>

With the closure of Sylvania and Parker Brothers, all pretense that Salem was an industrial town evaporated. The 1990 Census reveals that more than half of Salem's 19,958 workers were concentrated in just three categories: retail, clerical, or service-industry jobs. Ten years later, a mere 8.1 percent of Salem's residents worked in manufacturing in any capacity.<sup>63</sup> Those looking for optimism could point to rising employment levels at the North Shore Medical Center and Salem State University, but it was tourism that fueled most of Salem's economic expansion.

By the 1980s, evocations of witchcraft were only part of a larger fright-tourism industry that had branched out into all things macabre. A list of attractions opening since 1982 includes: the "Haunted Happenings" trolley tour (1982), the "Witch Trial Trail" (1983), the "Terror Trail," (1983), the inaugural production of the play *Cry Innocent* (1992), the New England Pirate Museum (1993), the Salem Wax Museum (1993), Salem Witch Village (1993), the Witch Trial Memorial (1993), the "Darkness Falls Upon Salem" paranormal tour (1996), the competing "Haunted Footsteps" ghost tour (1997), a witchcraft and cemetery walk (2000), "The Witches Cottage" (2005), and "Count Orlock's Nightmare Gallery" (2007). Salem cashes in on gruesomeness to the degree that one local entrepreneur recently battled the city of New Bedford over the legacy of nineteenth-century ax-murder suspect Lizzie Borden, who had nothing to do with Salem.<sup>64</sup>

Shops selling witch paraphernalia ranging from rubber masks, t-shirts, and costumes to ritual goods used by Wiccan practitioners surround the aforementioned attractions. Does it pay? Yes! In 2003 Salem attracted 400,000 visitors during October alone; 75,000 showed up on Halloween night in 2007. "[Tourism] brings a lot of money into the area," noted one local.<sup>65</sup> A stunning amount in fact; the U.S. Census Bureau noted retail sales of \$430,315,000 in 2002, which made retail four times more valuable than wholesale trade.<sup>66</sup>

Surprisingly, Salem officials have been reluctant to echo former Mayor Usovich's praises for the ventures that bailed out their city. In 2000, the city's official guidebook failed to mention witchcraft or the 1692 trials. Despite the massive influx of visitors in 2003, Salem's Lynne Multon, a consultant to the tourist industry, sardonically noted that city officials would rather the town "be known as a great seaport."<sup>67</sup> To that end, the Peabody Essex Museum, an arts and culture museum with an international scope, unveiled its long overdue 110,000 square-foot, \$125 million addition in 2003. On cue, city officials and publicists began touting Salem's "sophistication" and its



Caroline Emmerton's Settlement House, Founded in 1907

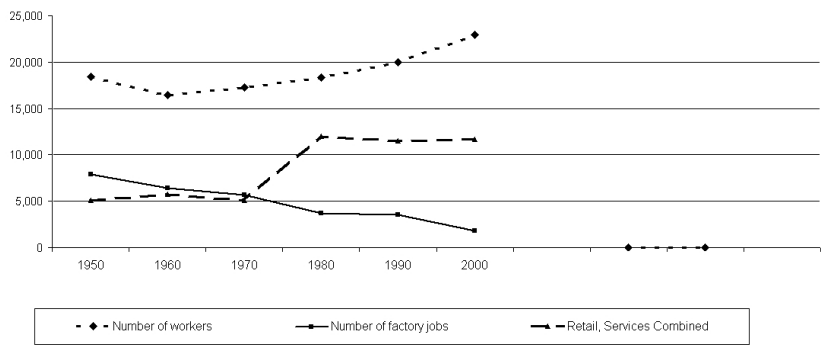
maritime glories, as if somehow the Peabody Essex Museum's expansion was completely divorced from the influx of visitors brought by fright tourism.<sup>68</sup>

In 2004, city marketers sought further to deemphasize images of Salem as "The Witch City." A new city slogan appeared: "Destination Salem: Experience the Unexpected." Ghoul destinations have been included in subsequent guidebooks, but the Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) occupied the center spread of the 2007/08 guidebook. Brown University's Robin DeRosa notes, "To hear it from official Salem... is to experience a strange kind of parallel universe: one in which Salem's witch past is nearly completely obscured by its maritime past and its non-witchcraft-related educational attractions."<sup>69</sup>

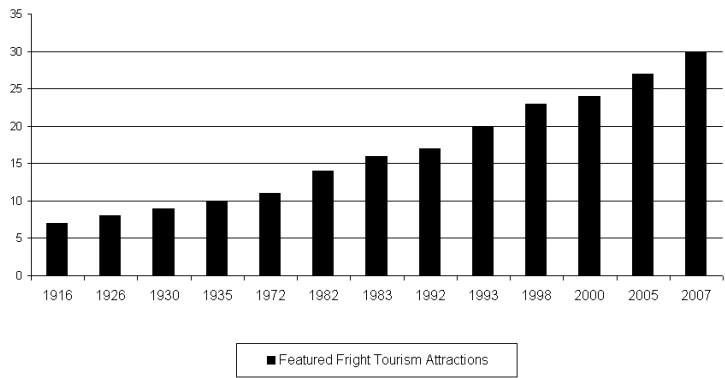
How does one account for the contrast between 2010 and 1970, when Salem officials welcomed the crew of *Bewitched* and nary a word was spoken of the show being tacky or inappropriate? Embedded in the *Bewitched* statue controversy of 2005-2006 is the fear that—in the wake of Parker Brothers' demise—tourism (however configured) may be the only real game left



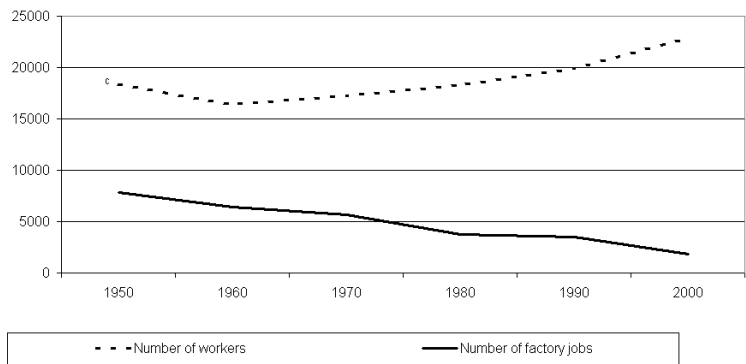
Job Trends in Salem, 1950 – 2000



Growth of Fright Tourism in Salem



Decline in Manufacturing in Salem, 1950 – 2000



in town; in short, Salem has become a one-industry town. Local retailers report that, for them, October is akin to the Christmas shopping season at suburban malls, a time in which they do as much as seventy-five percent of their business. Individually, Salem's shops and fright-tourism venues are hardly replacements for Naumkeag or Parker Brothers, but collectively they come close.

It may not be a Chamber of Commerce dream to have seventy licensed psychics and dueling ghouling establishments the length and breadth of its commercial district; but if these disappeared, Salem would be hard-pressed to replace lost jobs and revenue.<sup>70</sup> City officials are probably correct that it's not wise to have so much of its economic development singularly keyed to tourism, but for now there are few alternatives. In 2007 current Mayor Kim Driscoll announced a new \$13 Haunted Passport program, which gives visitors discounted entry fees for seventy-five Salem tourist sites. According to Driscoll, the passport is analogous to a Diner's Club card. It certainly has fed city coffers, to the tune of nearly \$100,000. There's that \$100,000 figure again, the same sum generated when *Bewitched* came to Salem. And here's a bigger number: in 2008, the much-maligned Salem Witch Museum provided \$175,000 in tax revenue to the Salem treasury.<sup>71</sup> New ahistorical but revenue-generating attractions emerge regularly, including the "Spellbound Museum", "Frankenstein's Laboratory," the "Ghosts and Gore Tour."

## REVIVALS (OF A SORT)

In 2010 Salem unveiled still another slogan, "Discover the Magic of Salem."

The official travel guide reflects equal parts resignation and unease with the status quo. An elegant street dominates the front cover and an ad for "The Land of Witches and Pirates" the reverse. It opens with a high-contrast spread for the Peabody Essex Museum, but the Salem Witch Museum covers page four. Hawthorne and maritime Salem get a lot of play in the brochure, but so do the witch trials.

There are local boosters who would limit the marketing of the supernatural, but that would be unwise at present. Thus far the salient finding of deindustrialization studies can be summed with a slogan of its own: "When It's Gone, It's Gone;" that is, runaway industries almost never return for a second engagement. The Parker Brothers factory was razed and Sylvania's plant is now a Salem State University classroom complex. Once-mighty Naumkeag lies subdivided into leased offices, expensive spaces whose

market value rests on the fact that Salem is a desirable location, close to Boston, but vital in its own right, courtesy of tourist dollars.

Scholars also have cause to appreciate tourism more fully. As Wiccans came into Salem after the *Bewitched* television crews left in 1970, they encountered a city in which non-mainstream religious practices were stereotyped. By registering their disgust for prevailing witch imagery, they reopened debates over both heritage and history that might not otherwise have occurred. As Salem's witch trial tercentenary approached in 1992, Laurie Cabot and the Witches' League for Public Awareness (WLPA) lambasted politicians for "cheating the public" by neglecting to "educate." Mayor Neil Harrington sought to mute Cabot's protests, but Cabot refused to back down and she led the charge to reinterpret discussions of witch practices in Salem's public narratives. The WLPA also played a major role in selecting the design of the tasteful Salem Village Witchcraft Victims' Memorial that debuted in 1992.<sup>72</sup>



Artifact from 1692?

Not really. This "Witch House" house was once owned by witchcraft judge Jonathan Corwin, but the house now presented to visitors is of 1746 vintage, not 1692, and was moved thirty-five feet when the street was widened in 1944.

As protectors of heritage rather than history, modern-day Wiccans invite the charge that they construct *faux* memories akin to those of Southerners seeking to reify the Lost Cause. The manipulation charge was leveled in *Witch City*, a controversial 1991 documentary in which filmmaker Joe Cultrera placed Wiccans among the groups fabricating Salem history. Such disputes stir public passions. Six years later, the Peabody Essex Museum canceled a plan to air *Witch City* lest the museum be dragged into what was an ongoing controversy.<sup>73</sup>

In an odd and indirect way, however, scholarship has been well served by Salem's forays into fright tourism and debates over its appropriateness. Earlier I noted that it is "child's play" for scholars to find inaccuracies in tourist-targeted presentations of Salem witchcraft. And so it is. But too often the reflexive annoyance of scholars is analogous to how they approach popular films or productions appearing on television's *The History Channel*. There is little gain in ascending smug intellectual summits unless scholars use inaccuracies as teaching moments.

Take, for example, a battle over Salem's memory that was unquestionably rekindled by Wiccans: Robert Calef's views that the witch trials were unjust, and that Puritans were narrow-minded and superstitious. No professional historian would argue that the trials were "just" as that term is understood today, but neither would they agree that Puritanism is so easily pigeonholed. But when did they begin to register these views? Studies of Puritanism by esteemed historians such as Perry Miller and Edmund Morgan have been available for many decades, but relatively few scholars bothered to apply their lessons to Salem.

The public discourse over Salem's memory and heritage was at least partially responsible for an outpouring of new scholarship. That discourse inspired, even made fashionable, deeper looks at the intellectual, religious, economic, and social conditions that produced the witch trials. *Salem Possessed* was published in 1974; the year tourism passed the one million per year mark. In the preface, Boyer and Nissenbaum commented on the documentation they used and registered "surprise at how casually and rarely any of these materials had been tapped by historians."<sup>74</sup> Once the gaze returned to Salem, however, other monographs followed. Among the stellar works to emerge were: John Demos' *Entertaining Satan* (1982), Chadwick Hansen's *Witchcraft at Salem* (1985), Carol Karlsen's *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* (1987), Richard Trask's *The Devil Hath Been Raised* (1997), Peter Hoffer's *The Devil's Disciples* (1998), Elizabeth Reis' *Damned Women* (1999), R. David Gross' *The Salem Witch Trials* (2000), Laurie Carlson's *A Fever in Salem* (2000), Mary Beth Norton's *In the Devil's Snare* (2002), and Gretchen



Various brochures display Salem’s occult attractions.



A Salem witch logo adorns a Harley rider’s jacket.



### Retail Magic

A friendly witch greets shoppers.



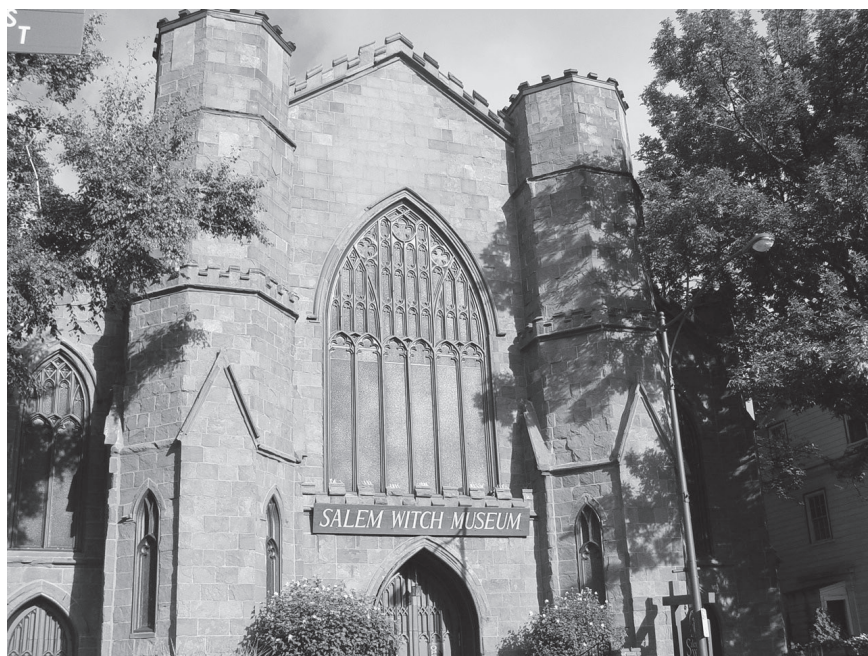
An advertisement announces one of Salem's many séances.



Adams' *The Specter of Salem* (2009). As in the case of tourism and Wiccan heritage battles, many of the most important scholarly works on seventeenth-century Salem have appeared post-*Bewitched*.

The task of getting the past “right” has even aroused theater professionals such as those associated with Gordon College. Since 1992, its History Alive! troupe has performed *Cry Innocent*, a recreation of the trial of accused witch Bridget Bishop. The group is “committed to the production of new plays and theatrical scenarios based on true stories from the past”. Artist Director Kristina Stevick insists that historical “accuracy” is of the utmost importance, and she decries many of the “sensationalized and flimsy” looks at the past associated with Salem tourist sites that seek to titillate rather than educate.<sup>75</sup>

Memory... heritage... history... and *commodity*. Scholars should not fall prey to the same smug mistake that plagued a *Boston Globe* reporter



Salem Witch Museum

Founded in 1972, it is Salem's number one attraction. It is “dedicated to bringing the larger issue of persecution and ‘scapegoating’ of all innocents to light through its permanent exhibit, *Witches: Evolving Perceptions*, as well as through its educational programs.

referenced at the beginning of this article. When commenting upon Salem's Samantha Stephens statue in 2005, the paper sarcastically noted it was a mere ploy "to sucker tourists more likely to know their reruns than their Hawthorne."<sup>76</sup> Tourist kitsch? An enticement for gullible sensation-seekers? Or economic truth? The statue of Samantha Stephens illuminates nothing about seventeenth-century Salem witchcraft, latter-day Wiccans, or the state of Puritanism scholarship, but its very presence in Lappin Park speaks volumes about Salem's ever-evolving *economic* history. Indeed, in a deeply metaphorical way, Samantha Stephens embodies the economic transformation of Salem. She has displaced the symbol that came before her: the blue-collar worker. That worker, of course, had supplanted the seafarers and merchants who had dethroned the seventeenth-century yeomen who had been quick to blame witches for the social and economic turmoil of their world.

Posterity will judge whether tourism, service-industry jobs, and "theme-parking" can sustain Salem; but for the present, local resident Justine Curley saw what the *Boston Globe* missed. Said she, "It is because of those [*Bewitched*] episodes that we have the tourism that we have...now."<sup>77</sup> Salem officials extended a warm welcome to *Bewitched* in 1970 because the city was already well down the path of postindustrial despair that continues to plague nearby cities such as Lynn and Lawrence.<sup>78</sup> Cynics may scoff and scholars may blanch, but if the television program had not come to Salem in 1970, it is conceivable that the city's commercial district might today be groping for vitality rather than teeming with tourists. Actress Elizabeth Montgomery earned her Lappin Park laurels. It's as if her character of Samantha twitched her nose and made deindustrialization disappear.

*Postscript: As this piece was being prepared for press, Destination Salem unveiled a new slogan: "Salem. Still making history." In keeping with ongoing reluctance to be too closely associated with fright tourism, the new slogan debuted at a meeting held at the Peabody Essex Museum.<sup>79</sup>*

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mara Dodge and Gretchen Adams for their careful reading and sagacious comments for improving this paper. Thanks also to Cathy Stanton for sharing research in progress and to participants at a 2009 New England Historical Association meeting who commented upon an earlier version of this work.

<sup>2</sup> Kate Muir, "In Memory of a Bad Spell," *London Times*, September 23, 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Kathy McCabe, "'Bewitched' Statue Bothers, Bewilders But Salem Touts it as Tourism Booster," *Boston Globe*, April 28, 2005.

<sup>4</sup> David Segal, "'Bewitched' Statue Bothers Some in Salem," *Boston Globe*, May 10, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> "Salem, Mass. Unveils Elizabeth Montgomery 'Bewitched' Statue," *Democratic Underground.com*, June 16, 2005. Note: For those unfamiliar with the term "Wiccan," it references a set of modern neopagan religious practices that purport to draw upon ancient rites. Female devotees routinely refer to themselves as "witches."

<sup>6</sup> Richard Trask, "Statue of TV Witch Makes Light of Past Tragedies," *Boston Globe*, June 26, 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Tom Dalton and Alan Burke, "City Bewitched by Statue," *The Salem News*, June 16, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> "Statue of Limitations," *Salem Gazette*, July 27, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Charles White, "Enough to Make One's Nose Twitch," *Boston Globe*, July 27, 2006.

<sup>10</sup> Kathy McCabe, "The Saga of the Salem Statue," *Boston Globe*, May 5, 2005; Thomas Doherty, "Bewitched in Salem," *Boston Globe*, May 3, 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Patricia Harris and David Lyon, "13 Frights," *Boston Globe*, October 25, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, University of Massachusetts database, Accessed July 1, 2010.

<sup>13</sup> Civil War historians have been at the fore in distinguishing history from memory. Two very fine works in this regard are David Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002) and Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, eds., *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). Blight's book draws upon and discusses some of the classic works on memory. I have added the category of "heritage" to clarify further the distinction between individual and collective memory. "Collective memory," in my view, is sometimes an imprecise term. There is a world of difference between memories kept alive in family histories and oral culture, and those deliberately tailored to fill an ideological agenda. It is the difference between the African-American legacy of slavery and the intentional creation of carpetbagger mythology.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Doherty, "Bewitched in Salem." Note: The first half of the quote is from the *Globe* summary and the second half comes from Dane Monison and Nancy Schultz, eds. *Salem: Place, Myth and Memory* (Lebanon, NH: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.nature.nps.gov/stats/>. Salem's NPS Maritime district counted 723,088 during 2009. One sincerely doubts that this is because visitors find maritime seventy times more intrinsically interesting than iron making.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> A *Court of Oyer and Terminer* (derived from French legal terms for "to hear" and "to determine") is a special criminal court assembled to investigate and prosecute treason and other serious crimes. The Court of Oyer and Terminer convened in Salem was assembled by Massachusetts royal governor Sir William Phips.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Maule, *New England Pesecutors [sic] Mauled with their Own Weapons*, 1695. <http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=witch;idno=wit123>.

<sup>19</sup> Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1693. <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/Bur4Nar.html>.

<sup>20</sup> Harvey Wish, ed. *The Diary of Samuel Sewall*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1967), 80-81; Eve LaPlante, *Salem Witch Judge: the Life and Repentance of Samuel Sewall* (New York: Harper One, 2009).

<sup>21</sup> Ann Putnam's Confession (1706), [http://www.uoregon.edu/~mjdennis/courses/wk3\\_putnam.htm](http://www.uoregon.edu/~mjdennis/courses/wk3_putnam.htm).

<sup>22</sup> Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1700, <http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/Bur5Nar.html>.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Salem Witchcraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1974).

<sup>24</sup> There was no official census until 1790, so most population figures prior to that date are estimates. Some sources claim Salem as Colonial America's largest city in 1700, but that honor goes to Boston and those making the claim are likely looking at regional population figures that add Salem's population to that of Boston (4947 est.). There were somewhere around 250,000 English settlers in the Colonies in 1700. In like fashion, accurate port tonnage figures are hard to determine. Boston and Philadelphia certainly conducted more trade. Charleston, SC, Baltimore, and New York may also have moved more tonnage than Salem.

<sup>25</sup> Robert Peabody, *Merchant Ventures of Old Salem: A History of the Commercial Voyages of a New England Family to the Indies and Elsewhere in the XVIII Century* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912).

<sup>26</sup> Frances D. Robotti, *Chronicles of Old Salem: A History in Miniature* (Salem: Newcomb & Gauss, 1948), 45.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 63.

<sup>28</sup> Gretchen Adams, *The Specter of Salem: Remembering the Witch Trials in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. Although Pilgrims and Puritans shared theological perspectives, Pilgrim Separatists stood outside the margins of the official English power structure. As such, they conducted no high-profile witch hunts and were invoked by future generations as a model of hard work and perseverance, whereas their Puritan neighbors would be forever viewed through a lens of intolerance because of the Salem witch trials.

<sup>30</sup> Tench Coxe, *A Statement of the Arts and Manufacturers of the United States for the Year 1810*. Note: The “Inflation Converter,” (<http://www.westegg.com/inflation/>) is a useful tool for historians, though it may not always be an accurate measure. Its algorithms account for seeming discrepancies in figures converted to 2009 dollars in this work.

<sup>31</sup> US Census, 1850.

<sup>32</sup> C. B. Gillespie, *Illustrated History of Salem and Environs* (Salem: Salem Evening News, 1897), 19.

<sup>33</sup> US Census, 1880.

<sup>34</sup> Aviva Chomsky, “Salem as an Industrial City, 1850-2004,” in *Salem: Place, Myth and Memory*, eds. Dane Monison and Nancy Schultiz; Rudolph Dick, *Nathaniel Griffin of Salem and His Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2006); John Frayler, “Pickled Fish and Salted Provisions: Historical Musings from Salem Maritime NHS,” *Merican* VI: 6 (October 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Philip Orbanes, *The Game Makers: The Story of Parker Brothers from Tiddledy Winks to Trivial Pursuit* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business Press, 2004).

<sup>36</sup> Cathy Stanton and Jane Becker, *In the Heart of Polish Salem: An Ethnohistorical Study of St. Joseph Hall and Its Neighborhood*, National Park Service, Northeast Region Ethnography Program, December 2009.

<sup>37</sup> Joseph Conforti, *Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). The House of the Seven Gables as one sees it today is an assemblage created from moved properties. The main house has not always had seven gables. Moreover, Hawthorne insisted that his work was an imaginative composite, not one based on any single house. Emmerton moved several buildings to a site upon which they did not originally sit to enhance the Hawthorne aura.

<sup>38</sup> US Census, 1910.

<sup>39</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989, <http://dictionary.oed.com.silk.library.umass.edu:2048/>.

<sup>40</sup> Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1995), 7.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 188.

<sup>42</sup> John Hardy Wright, *Sorcery in Salem* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1999), 113-120. See “More Souvenir Spoons,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1891 for a reference to a particularly garish Salem “witch spoon.” Interestingly the first witch spoons were made outside of Massachusetts in New Hampshire and Rhode Island, though the very idea of collecting souvenir spoons of any sort may have originated with a Salem firm, Daniel Low & Company.

<sup>43</sup> Stephen O. Gencarella, “Touring History: Guidebooks and the Commodification of the Salem Witch Trials,” *Journal of American Culture*, 30:3 (2007), 271-284.

<sup>44</sup> Chomsky; US Census 1900, 1930.

<sup>45</sup> U.S. Census, 1880-1940. Note: Massachusetts shoemakers did not suffer the same magnitude of low-wage competition that would devastate the textile

industry simply because it was already an industry that paid rock-bottom wages. The rationalization of the leather trades in the late nineteenth century led to the disappearance of most skilled jobs in favor of the factory system and outwork. The Massachusetts (and American) shoe industry would not survive the stagflation of the 1970s, however. Aging factories lost out to imported shoes from Brazil and Asia. As late as 1966, 641 million (of 735 million) pairs of manufactured shoes were made in the USA and Massachusetts had 55 shoe firms; thirty years later the US made only 143 million pairs (of 1.2 billion). By 2005, the nation was importing 1.3 billion pairs of shoes yearly from China alone. Only a handful of manufacturers remain in Massachusetts, the most prominent being New Balance, and it too has reduced its workforce in recent years. See Alexander Keyssar, *Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Suzanne Sprig, "Few Survivors Left in Massachusetts," *Ocala-Star Banner*, April 18, 1985; Chomsky.

<sup>46</sup> A stretch-out refers to an increase in the number of machines an employee tends. Stretch-outs are used to cut labor costs by reducing the number of production staff employees. Those remaining, of course, are driven faster. Stretch-outs induced numerous labor strikes in the textile industry.

<sup>47</sup> Chomsky.

<sup>48</sup> US Census, 1930, 1940. Note: There was not separate Census data for Salem in these years.

<sup>49</sup> David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageants: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 268; Wright.

<sup>50</sup> H. John Dobrovsky, et. al, "Historic Structure Report, Derby Wharf," National Park Service, 1973.

<sup>51</sup> Gencarella, "Touring History."

<sup>52</sup> Glassberg, 259; Robin DeRosa, *The Making of Salem: The Witch Trials in History, Fiction and Tourism* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009).

<sup>53</sup> The term "Scissor Bill" refers to a worker who refuses to join a union. It was coined by the Industrial Workers of the World.

<sup>54</sup> U. S. Census, 1950, 1960.

<sup>55</sup> US Census, 1930-1980. Suzanne Sprig, "Few Survivors Left in MA," *Ocala Star Banner*, April 18, 1988.

<sup>56</sup> "The Salem Saga, 1970," <http://www.harpiesbizarre.com/salemsaga.htm>.

<sup>57</sup> Gencarella, "Touring History."

<sup>58</sup> Wendy remained popular even after Harvey discontinued the stand-alone series. She got a revived run between 1991 and 1994, appeared in three comics with pop idols New Kids on the Block in 1991, a film in 1998, and a video game in 2001.

<sup>59</sup> Jason Marks, "Salem is Bewitching Still," *New York Times*, August 25, 1974.

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.witchdungeon.com/witchdungeon.html>.

<sup>61</sup> In 2005, the Maritime Historical Park claims to have attracted 676,216 visitors, which would make it a rival to the Witch Museum. This is an exceedingly dubious



count based on estimates of those entering the gift store. As Derosa notes, many who wander in there purchase witch-related books and items.

<sup>62</sup> Chomsky, 219-248.

<sup>63</sup> US Census, 1990, 2000. Note on Census data: As anyone who has worked with these figures can attest, any measurement one devises is imprecise because the U.S. Census itself constantly changes what it collects and how it measures it. It is nearly impossible, for example, to extrapolate from occupations listed as “professional” or “educational” how many of these are service-related. In many years, the Census did not differentiate between buyers and clerks in retail categories. The numbers cited in this study should be viewed as indicative of trends, not precise mathematics.

<sup>64</sup> Rodrique Ngowi, “Mass. businesses battle over Lizzie Borden legacy,” *Daily Hampshire Gazette*, August 25, 2008; Denise Lavoie, “Businesses end dispute over noted name,” *Boston Globe*, October 8, 2008. In brief, Leonard Pickel of Salem was sued for copyright violation by New Bedford’s Lizzie Borden Museum. Pickel agreed to use a different name and his display is now called 40 Whacks Museum!

<sup>65</sup> Jim Sullivan, “A Witchin’ Good Time in October,” *Boston Globe*, October 30, 2003; Erin Ailworth, “The selling of scary,” *Boston Globe*, October 31, 2007.

<sup>66</sup> Salem City Quick Facts, U.S. Census Bureau.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, October 30, 2003.

<sup>68</sup> Deborah Asbrand, “Schtick Among the Salem’s Pleasures,” *Boston Globe*, September 23, 2003. Intriguingly, the Peabody Essex owns witch trial related objects, but seldom displays them.

<sup>69</sup> Official Guidebooks, 2000, 2005, 2007/08, 2010; Derosa, 155-56.

<sup>70</sup> “The Selling of Scary,” *Boston Globe*, October 31, 2007. In 2008, several local Wiccan merchants came to blows over plans to allow even more psychics into Salem, with one smashing a lamp over the head of another. *Boston Globe*, October 30, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> David Filipov and Scott Lapierre, “Salem draws line at hunting ghosts,” *Boston Globe*, December 20, 2008.

<sup>72</sup> Mary Tabor, “The Witch City Dusts Off It is Past,” *New York Times*, September 9, 1991; M. O’Neill, “Celebrations are Toil and Trouble for Salem Witches,” *Sunday Herald Sun*, October 27, 1991; Marialisa Calta, “Salem Remembers, 300 Years Later,” *New York Times*, May 10, 1992.

<sup>73</sup> Craig Wilson, “Witch Way Will Salem Go? History lesson clashes with commercialism,” *USA Today*, October 24, 1997. Note: The PEM’s decision was, as cooler heads could have predicted, a vain one. By refusing to air the film the museum angered just about everyone regardless of their ideology.

<sup>74</sup> Boyer and Nissebaum, x.

<sup>75</sup> History Alive! Mission Statement. Kristina Stevick, personal correspondence, February 3, 2010.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Doherty, “Bewitched in Salem.”

<sup>77</sup> Kathy McCabe, “Another step for statue,” *Boston Globe*, May 15, 2005.

<sup>78</sup> Lest one forget, postindustrial Lowell only began to revive from a long decline that began in the 1920s when Senator Paul Tsongas convinced the National Park Service

to establish a presence in the city in 1978. Lowell has done much better socially and economically compared to Lawrence, its twin Boston Associates postindustrial textile center located just 15 miles distant, though Lowell remains a city plagued by social problems.

<sup>79</sup> Tom Dalton, "The New Salem: A Museum, a Courthouse and Now a Slogan," *Salem News*, February 18, 2011.